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Asociolinguistic study of the sociolect spoken by traders operating in Bujumbura city markets

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FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE SOCIOLECT
SPOKEN BY TRADERS OPERATING IN
BUJUMBURA CITY MARKETS

By

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DEDICACE

A mon regretté père ;

A ma mère ;

A mon épouse HAKIZIMANA Prisca;

A mes frères et sœurs ;

A mes cousins et cousines ;

A mes oncles et tantes ;

A toutes mes connaissances ;

A tous les joueurs et entraîneurs de l'A.F.B (1ère division) ;

A tous ceux qui me sont chers ;

A tous ceux qui œuvrent pour la promotion du sport ;

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Fourthly, I thank traders of Bujumbura city markets especially those of Kamenge, Jabe and Kanyosha markets for their kindness to help me in the collection and analysis of the data. In the fifth position, I wish to send my special thanks to my parents, relatives who continuously prayed for me and supported me financially in a way or another. Last but not least, my particular and sincere gratitude go to my wife Odette Habonimana, who was not only my classmate but a companion of life. May she found her love, encouragement, determination and support recognized in this work.

Jonas BIGIRIMANA

ABBREVIATIONS

HIV/AIDS : Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno- Deficiency Syndrome

O.B.R. : Office Burundaises des Recettes (Burundi Revenue Authority)

KA.BU.CO : Kamenge Business Company

A.C.C.U. : Association des Commerçants des Chaussures Usées (Second Hand Pair of Shoes Traders union)

Smng : Sociological meaning

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ABSTRACT

This work entitled *A Sociolinguistic Study of the Sociolect Spoken by Traders operating in Bujumbura City Markets* sought to investigate how a group of people sharing profession, operating in a multilingual environment and having diverse backgrounds can create their own medium of communication. It determines to what extent such a coded system is important for a network. Five main chapters make this work.

The first one “*General Introduction*” states the problem, shows the hypotheses and objectives that we gave ourselves for the study as well as the scope of the study. Moreover some key terms useful for the work are defined.

The second chapter named “*Literature Review*” paves the foundation of the study by giving clarifications to the sociolect and related domains in linguistics. Here, other researchers give their different points of view to support our research.

The third chapter “*Methodology*” comes up with the different techniques used to sample the population and to collect the data. Also, it shows procedures which helped the data analysis. This section is ended by a short look at the difficulties encountered during the research.

The fourth chapter “*Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation of Findings*” is the study itself; it shows the presentation through different classifications of the data, an analysis through which meaning of data in the normal and in the special languages is observed. After, a short interpretation of the findings was judged important; to understand to what extent traders operating in Bujumbura City Markets are happy with their medium of expression of the existing and new realities.

The last chapter “*General Conclusion*” is a queue of the work. It summarizes the whole study and gives a door to future researchers.

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CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I.0. Introduction

Language is as old as mankind. It is a so ancient phenomenon that different languages have been spoken from times immemorial though under different forms. It is dynamic. It is one of the characteristic elements distinguishing human beings from animals. It is again a tool to communicate information, feelings, desires, events, etc. Moreover, it is a mirror to know how people of a given society live, what they do and how they do it. Due to its utility, it has raised interest to scientific researchers and an important knowledge is available in libraries and online for anyone who wants to know about it.

General linguistics, the science dealing with languages, covers other various sub areas of study such as: Phonology, Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics, Psycholinguistics, Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics. Each branch seeks to bring clarification to its scope. The sociolinguistic area is the broadest of all since it seeks to show and explain the relationship between society and a given language. Its definition is mostly based on the following statement: who speaks what to whom, when, why and where. In other words, it gives clarifications on the social context and its appropriate language, how language follows the social development; in short right word in right context.

For various reasons, all languages are not viewed with the same eye. Some are considered standard, others jargons, sociolects, dialects, registers, and so on. Also, while all languages have the same function, some are looked down and others promoted. For instance, in old societies, the speaker of a dialect was considered provincial, uncultivated, uneducated and even stupid. It was despised to the extent it was a characteristic of rural area. This work is concerned with *A Sociolinguistic*

Study of the sociolect spoken by traders operating in Bujumbura city markets to prove that small groups or networks have their own language, and though sociolects, slangs or dialects are not suitable for formal social situations or serious writings they link societies and reflect the lives and preoccupations of their users.

I.1. Background to the Problem

Since the time of colonization, Burundi has become a country with many linguistic aspects. Many people from different countries came to live in Burundi. There were for instance, African, European and Arab people. They came with the intention of occupying the whole country and then impose their language and culture on Burundians. After more than fifty years of independence of Burundi, many languages are being used in Burundi namely Kirundi, Swahili, French, English, Arab, Kinyarwanda, Luganda, etc. Consequently, people are pushed to learn other languages so as to be able to communicate in such a multilingual community. This helps them to get many opportunities and gain a better life.

Bujumbura city markets traders have diverse linguistic background; some are from Bujumbura, others upcountry in diverse region with diverse linguistic subdivisions. Others are from African countries. Some are illiterate, others literate, etc. This linguistic diversity in Bujumbura and the diversity of linguistic backgrounds push them to create a sociolect which is used in their everyday communication when doing their business.

I.2. Statement of the Problem

Any group of people sharing features, social class or educational background need to communicate. Due to this need, traders operating in Bujumbura city markets have created a medium of communication which is only intelligible among them. In fact, their sociolect confuses outsiders. This is because it looks like Kirundi for some, like Swahili for others, like French for others, like English for others and so

on. Even the words which somebody can understand do not have the known meaning. Also, this sociolect is not accepted either in formal situation of writing or of speaking. In a few words, it is a neglected language that needs proof to accept its existence and utility.

I.3. Purpose of the Study

The aim of this study is to show how people from diverse linguistic backgrounds can create their own system of communication which is not known by any other one else. Also, this study determines how such a sociolect helps Bujumbura markets traders to express existing and new realities in a coded way. In short, this study will show how social networks express their views, desires, hopes and despair through a coded way that can be understood by insiders only.

I.4. Hypotheses

- Trade is an important key to the creation of the Bujumbura city markets' sociolect.
- The realities undergone at the national level in general and Bujumbura city in particular influence the creation of the sociolect.
- It is possible to perceive from traders' sociolect their hidden ways of life and views about trade and customers.
- The sociolinguistic situation in Bujumbura city and Bujumbura city markets play an important role in the creation of the sociolect.

I.5. Objectives of the Study

This sociolinguistic study of the sociolect spoken by Bujumbura city markets trade operators has the following objectives:

- To collect the lexical items used in their sociolect and their corresponding meanings.
- To find out how a sociolect is structured and how it is a vehicle of messages through conventional codes.

- To discover the influences of the creation of the Bujumbura city markets traders' sociolect.

I.6. Scope of the study

This work aimed at studying the sociolect spoken by traders operating in Bujumbura city markets in general and in Kamenge, Jabe and Kanyosha markets in particular. The choice of these three markets is only geographical since both markets in Bujumbura city are under the same influences; that is to say they are in the same country and city but also under the same sociolinguistic situation. Also the markets are organized alike and traders do one common thing "buying and selling". This scope was sufficient to collect enough data for the study.

I.7. Definition of Key Terms

In this section, words or expressions which help in the understanding of the work within the context of the sociolinguistic are defined:

Traders: According to *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary*, traders are persons who buy and sell things as job. In this context, it means traders in Bujumbura city markets who have shops or other kinds of rooms within the markets. These are the traders who attend regularly their work places.

Sociolect: According to *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary*, a sociolect is a variety of language that the members of a particular social class or social group speak. In this context, it is a variety of language that traders in Bujumbura city markets speak. These traders belong to various social group and classes but they are linked by their profession of trade. They regularly attend their work places. Here, their relations are strengthened by small money exchanges, food sharing in the restaurant, and so on; but also they share goods or bad events which happen at their markets.

Bujumbura city markets: These are the ten markets found in Bujumbura city, which are Kamenge, Ngagara, Jabe, Bujumbura City Market (BCM, known as Kwa

Sioni), ex- COTEBU market, Ruvumera, Kinindo, Kanyosha, Musaga, and Kinama. But, in this study only Kamenge, Jabe and Kanyosha markets are concerned.

Sociolinguistics: According to *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary*, it is the study of the way language is affected by differences in social class, region, etc. As far as this topic is concerned, it is a study of how the sociolinguistic situation in Bujumbura city and new realities influence in the creation of a new way of communicating, just for the users to feel comfortable in a multilingual work place.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1. Introduction

This chapter establishes the frame of the study: all the findings will be rooted and studied within this scope limited by different clarifications and definitions, of course drawing from other researchers' views. Under this part many points have been discussed to give the foundation to our study. Here we can enumerate Sociolinguistics, Linguistic Interference, Stylistic variation, Notion about speech community, Social group and network, Jargon, Register, sociolect, The difference between a Sociolect and Dialect, High prestige and Low prestige, Societal Interpretation of "meaning", Language and Society, Language Vs Dialect, Language in Urban Society, and last but not least this review has been concerned with the Sociolinguistic Situation in Bujumbura City Markets in general.

II.2. Sociolinguistics

The topic of this study is classified under linguistics in general and in sociolinguistics in particular. It is a study of the sociolect spoken by a community of traders operating in Bujumbura city markets. However, the concept of sociolinguistics is not easy to define. Many scholars such as Gumperz (1972:75) attempted to define it as the study of the language in relation to the society and the culture. According to Yule (1985:205) the term sociolinguistics is used generally for the study of relationship between language and society.

This is a broad area of investigation that developed through the interaction of linguistics with a number of other academic disciplines. It has strong connections with Anthropology through the study of language and culture, and with Sociology through the investigation of the role the language plays in the organization of social groups and institutions. It is also tied to Social psychology, particularly with regard to how attitudes and perceptions are expressed and how in-group and out-group behaviors are identified.

We use also these connections when we try to analyze language from a social perspective. In the same context, Crystal (1985:21) states the following:

Sociolinguistics studies the way in which language interacts with society. It is then the study of the way in which language's structure changes in response to its different social functions and the definition of what these functions.

Here, Crystal argues that language varies in relation to society. By implication, to study a language calls upon to know the social functions it plays within the society in which it is used. The same author continues to state that society is here used to cover a spectrum of phenomena such as race, nationality, regional, social and political groups. Crystal's definition seems to be explicit in the sense that language varies in relation to social context (race, nationality, region and social groups to which the individual belongs). Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia defines sociolinguistics as:

The descriptive study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context, on the way language is used, and the effects of language use on the society.

According to the same website, Sociolinguistics overlaps to a considerable degree with Pragmatics. It is historically closely related to Linguistic Anthropology and the distinction between the two fields has been questioned many times. However, Sociolinguistics differs from Sociology of language in that, the focus of Sociolinguistics is the effect of society on the language, while the Sociology of language focuses on language's effect on the society.

It is worth mentioning that language varieties differ between groups separated by certain social variables for instance ethnicity, religion, status, level of education,

age, etc...and how creation and adherence to these rules are used to categorize individuals in social and socioeconomic classes. As the usage of language varies from place to place language usage varies among social classes and it is these sociolects that sociolinguistics studies.

In the perspective that Sociolinguistics overlaps with other disciplines such as Ethno linguistics, and that language is related to social groups, cultures, ethnic groups but also to social groupings (i.e. those due to occupational or class differences), Malmkjaer (1991:415) defines it as following:

The study of language in relation to society, and it gives insights from sociology, anthropology, as well as insights from other areas of linguistic study.

In short, though there are many definitions of sociolinguistics as there are researchers defining it, two concepts are constant: one is “*language*”, the other is “*society*”. To study sociolinguistics implies to study language variation which is linked to social structure. Then linguistic units vary in relation to social variables. And this implies that language varies according to social context. Hence, in analyzing linguistics facts one has to take into consideration social facts. Language is therefore a social phenomenon around which society is structured. In this perspective, bilingualism, code-mixing, code-switching, borrowing and stylistic variation will be developed.

II.2.1. Bilingualism

All over the world, the fact of speaking more than one language is remarkable especially in places where have been contacts between different cultures. In fact, the definition of this concept is too complex in the sense that there is no convergence in the way some scholars define it.

Bell (1976:129) defines a bilingual as following:

A bilingual is defined as a person who has perfect control over more than one language and who is, according to some sociolinguists referred to as a bilingual person.

However, cases of a bilingual are rare because language is closely linked to culture. Therefore, to master two languages fully and two cultures fully implies to have been born and grown up into two speech communities at the same times which is impossible. Then such a definition shows one single dimension putting apart other linguistic dimensions. Apart from those who define bilingualism in terms of ambilingualism, there are also others who recognize that there are degrees of bilingualism. In this connection, Bell (1976:130) states the following:

We need to recognize that bilingualism constitutes a range of skills. Extending from monolingual at one extreme, through the subordinate and coordinate bilingual, whose mastery of both languages is never seen to be deficient. It seems to be realities of the interlanguage are still going on, as moving from coordinate to compound but this is point not at an equal rate in all linguistic or social skills.

From this point of view, all bilinguals do not have the same abilities in all languages they speak. There are some who are somehow perfect bilinguals. If for example, a person cannot come to a fully mastery of the languages he speaks, he intends to mix the languages he knows, he borrows from one language to another, in appropriately, etc. consequently, code mixing, code switching, borrowing, and interference happen. In fact these may occur to an individual who knows more than one language. They are strategies of bilingual speakers who do not have the same ability in all languages they know. They are linguistic behaviors specific to bilinguals.

II.2.2. Code-mixing

Code-mixing is the fact of using two or more languages when you are speaking. This often happens in informal situations. For instance, a Kirundi speaker can report an event to his friend in Kirundi, French and Swahili or even in English. Exemple:

«Nagiye kuraba nsanga déjà parti Naciye kweli mba disappointed » (I have gone to see them but they have already departed and I was really disappointed) .

According to Malmkjaer (1991:62), code mixing is defined as the use of elements especially most typically nouns predominantly from one language to another. To make this point explicit, Harmers (1989:151) says the following:

Code mixing is a process characterized by the transfer of elements from a language Ly to the base languages Lx in the mixed utterance which results. We can distinguish monolingual chunks of Lx alternating with chunks of which refers to the miles of code.

A bilingual individual may code mix for several reasons. First, the exposure too many languages may motivate him to code mix if the individual speaks more than one language. Second, each competence in a language may force him to mix languages. Harmers (1989:152) sums up these reasons as follows:

Code mixing can of course express a lack of competence in the base language such as, lexical items and in this case, code mixing can compensate for this lack but as for code switching, code mixing can be a bilingual's special code which enables him to express attitude, intention, roles and to identify with a particular group.

As far as this topic is concerned, Bujumbura markets traders' special language is full of words and expressions obtained through code switching process.

They are exposed to many languages they speak, for Bujumbura is a center of cultures and languages. That is why this lack of competence leads them to shift to other languages they feel more comfortable with.

II.2.3. Code -switching

Code-switching is a situational change due to the change in setting (from school to home for example). According to Dawnes (1984:62):

The type of situation on will predict variety a speaker will employ. It may depend on particular group or community whom he belongs to.

From this, we understand that any speaker is limited by many things such as the situation on and the community to whom she/he belongs. However, even though there are rules that individuals should respect while talking, they can be broken. For instance, in primary school, when the teacher is teaching in French, although most of pupils cannot speak it well, he may allow them to ask him some questions in Kirundi. Wardaugh (1986:86) strengthens this ideas as follows:

There are indeed few single-code speakers, that is people are always faced with code choices when they speak. Very young children may be exceptions, as many learners of a new language (for a while at least, and the victim of certain pathological conditions.

In this code switching, the choice of conversation, the participants and the setting plays a great role. We can understand that there is really no single speaker in this world, the simple fact of being in contact with a speaker who has some notion in a second language can influence a kind of code switching. This situation often occurs as far as the traders operating in Bujumbura city markets are concerned.

II.2.4. Borrowing

The term “borrowing” is mainly used for “money”. But in linguistics, it means taking some words or lexical units from one language into another. In this connection, Odlin (1989:7) argues that mother king of mixing is the form borrowing from a second language into the native language. For instance, the use of the word “**croissant**” by English speakers; a loan word from French to describe a certain kind of bread. The process of borrowing words from one language to another is done mostly in all languages because no language is homogenous. Languages complete each other. In addition, language is dynamic not static. To illustrate this, in Kirundi language, the word “uburengeti” is now a Kirundi word which was taken from English “blanket”. Every Burundian knows the word and it has been integrated into Kirundi to the extent that every Burundian recognizes it as their term. The examples are numerous. *The Oxford Advanced Learners’ Dictionary of current English, Eighth Edition* defines borrowing as a word, a phrase, or an idea that somebody has taken from another person's work or from another language and used in their own.

No language satisfies itself at a hundred percent. The language users borrow words, phrases or ideas to make sense depending upon the context. Thus, borrowing is a sociolinguistic phenomenon which consists of taking a word, phrase or idea from one language into another and adapting it grammatically to the new area of use. It can be either in speaking or writing. This phenomenon calls upon for languages contact.

II.3. Linguistic Interference

When two or more languages are into contact, the confusion may happen between the mother tongue and other languages. The native language influences on the second language can lead to errors. When the influence of the first language on the

second language is negative rather than positive, the result is referred to as interference. To put more emphasis, Richards et al (1985:160) state:

Interference or negative transfer is the use of a negative language rule in the use of a negative language rule in the target language and this rule or pattern leads to an error or inappropriate form.

For example, a French learner of English may produce the incorrect sentence such as “I am ill since Monday” instead of “I have been ill since Monday” because of the influence of the French pattern. “Je suis malade depuis lundi”. This example shows the negative transfer which may lead to an incorrect form in the target language.

In fact, this kind of transfer which led to confusions between languages occurs in the speech of bilinguals. This is to say that interference occurs in the case of an individual who speaks more than one language and who has not the same ability in all languages he speaks. Harmsers et al (1985:22) says the following:

Even if interference...is an expression of the lack of linguistic competence in a dominant bilingual's weaker language it is characteristic of the balanced bilingual.

Considering linguistic interference, one can wonder at which level of language it happens. This is the reason why it is worthy knowing that it may rise in the phonic level, lexical level, or even in the grammatical levels.

II.4. Stylistic Variation

As it is already stated, language varies not only according to social context in which an individual finds himself in (who he is with what he is talking about, the relationship between the participants,). In fact, a user of a language may have

different ways of expressing the same thing. The language or linguistics items he uses may be conditioned by the person he is speaking to, the environment that he finds himself in, what he is thinking about, to name but a few. In this case one can speak of stylistic variation. In the same perspective, Lyons (1981:291-2) states the following:

In the social context, It is included not only such sociolinguistic variables as status, sex of the participants, age, formality or informality the situation,...but also the speaker's feelings and intentions.

II.5. Speech community, Social groups and Net work

II. 5.0. Introduction

The term society appears to be general and broad and can be used to refer to a variety of social situations. However, linguistically speaking, the term speech community is the most used when one wants to denote groups of people. The terms social group or class and social network are kinds of speech community but relatively minor in dimension and, usually, with peculiar characteristics as we shall see.

II.5.1. Speech Community

Wardhaugh (1986:13) states that much work in sociolinguistics is based on the assumption that it is possible to use the concept of speech community without much difficulty. For him, that is an illusion: just as it is difficult to define terms such as language, dialect and variety, it is also difficult to define the term speech community and for many of the same reasons.

For purely theoretical reasons, some linguists have provided definitions of some kind of ideal' speech community. One of such linguists is Chomsky in Wardhaugh (1986:13) who proposes his "completely homogeneous speech community."

Unfortunately, speech communities of this kind cannot be our concern: this is a theoretical view with narrow purposes. We have to remember that, whatever they are, our speech communities exist in a 'real' world. And societies or groups of people are not exactly under the same conditions wherever in the world.

For some other linguists, the term speech community is to be defined solely through the use of linguistic criteria. One of these is Lyons who in Wardhaugh (1986:113), offers a simple definition of a "real" speech community as "all the people who use a given language or dialect". Here also we should acknowledge that the terms "language" and "dialect" are not easy to define. There are many extra linguistic considerations such as political and social factors that come into play; and the result is often a considerable amount of popular confusion. This also shows us that "speech community" cannot be defined according to linguistic criteria only.

As an example, while the English language is spoken in many places of the world, we must recognize that it is also spoken in a wide variety of ways, in speech communities that are almost entirely isolated from one another; for example in South Africa, East Africa and London. Alternatively, a recognizably single speech community can prove to be bilingual or multilingual. The example is that of many African countries. If we consider the case of dialects, a single speech community may be bidialectal or even multidialectal; for instance Burundi is a multidialectal country. Commenting on this, Wardhaugh (1986:114) writes the following:

We must also acknowledge that using linguistic characteristics alone to determine what is or what is not a speech community has proved so far to be quite impossible because people do not necessarily feel any such direct relationship between linguistic characteristics A, B, C and so on, and speech community x.

This is why some alternative views must be developed; a view of speech community that is helpful to the investigation of language in society rather than dealing with abstract linguistics theorizing. This is because when people group themselves together to achieve their identity, in addition to linguistic ends, there may be other ends behind: social, historical, religions, cultural, political, regional, ethnic to name but a few. So, our search must be for criteria other than, or at least in addition to, linguistic criteria if we want to get a balanced understanding of speech community. In his definition, Gumperz (1972:101) who prefers to use the term linguistic community rather than speech community defines it as following:

A social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the line of communication. Linguistic communities may consist of small groups bound together by face to face contact or may cover regions, depending on the level of abstraction.

Gumperz defines communities through their relationship with other communities. Inwardly, a community must have certain cohesiveness and outwardly, a community must find itself cut off from other communities in certain ways.

We should also remember that in a speech community, we may encounter subgroups that we might consider as “sub-speech communities”. This is so because human beings find it easy to shift their identities quite freely for various purposes.

According to Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, Speech community is a concept in sociolinguistics that describes distinct groups of people who use language in a unique and mutually accepted way among themselves. This is sometimes referred to as *sprechbund*. To be considered part of a speech community; one must have a communicative competence. That is, the speaker has to be communicatively competent in more than one language. Speech communities can be members of a profession with a specialized jargon, distinct social groups like high school students

or hip hop fans, or even tight-knit groups like families and friends. Members of speech communities will often develop slang or jargon to serve the group's special purposes and priorities.

II.5.2. Social Group and Network

These are kinds of speech community with some peculiarities. For Richards (1985), the term social class (or group) refers to a group of people sharing similar socioeconomic and/or educational backgrounds. While talking about social class (or groups), as already mentioned, one has to bear in mind that social space is always multi-dimensional. At any particular moment, an individual locates himself or herself in social space according to the factors relevant to him or her at that time. While someone may have feelings about being a member of the lower social class, at any time, it might be more important to be HIV positive, female, or to be a member of a particular ethnic group, trade, or church. It is important to remark that all these factors are social ones.

As for social network, Richards (op. cit.) says that it is a group of people within a larger community who are in a relatively fixed relationship to one another and who communicate among themselves in certain more or less predictable ways.

And chambers and Trugrill (1974:75) remark that ethnic group differences in language can be considered to be a particular example of the role of social networks in affection with linguistic behavior. It appears that people are influenced linguistically, as might be expected, much more by members of the social networks to which they belong than anybody else. Moreover, people who are well-integrated into a particular social group may have linguistic characteristics rather different from those who are more peripheral in the group, because the group will be less strong and less consistent on the peripheral members.

The recognition of networks and social groups and their structures is of great importance for studies of language variation and language use. In other words, it is important for studies of social differentiation in language. But from the preceding quotations, it appears clear that social networks, more than social groups, do affect linguistic behavior. This is due to the fact that, in social groups, some members may be well integrated and others peripheral. The result is that they cannot observe linguistic norms in the same way.

Stressing the importance of social networks in establishing linguistic norms, Milroy, cited by Wardaugh (1986:144), preferred to explore network relationships and the possible connection of these to linguistic variation, rather than the concept of social class. In her work, Milroy hypothesizes that it is the relationship that an individual belongs to that exerts the most powerful, rather than the concept of social class. In her work Milroy, hypothesizes that it is the network of relationship that an individual belongs to that exerts the most powerful, and interesting influences on that individual's linguistic behavior. Wardaugh (1986:177) concludes by observing that a close-knit has the capacity to function as a norm enforcement mechanism. She adds that the close-knit network may be seen as an important social mechanism of vernacular maintenance, capable of operating effectively in opposition to a publicly endorsed and status-oriented set of legitimized linguistic norms.

From Wardaugh's considerations, we get the idea that in close-knit networks, a stable set of linguistics norms emerges and maintains itself without its being publically codified or recognized. This is explained by the fact that, in a network, there are frequency and density of certain kinds of contacts among members. And whom a person associates with regularly may be more "real" than any feeling he or she has of belonging to this or that social class.

The traders operating in Bujumbura city Markets find their place in networks. In other words, they constitute a kind of social network. First of all, they are many

categories of goods sellers spread all over the city. Second, traders come from various backgrounds: some are from high class others from low class, some are intellectuals others are not, some are Burundians others foreigners, and so on.

II.6. Jargon

As said, language varies according to social settings. This involves the status of the participants, the relationships between them, and the aim of the conversation and so on. This is why people when they speak they must take into consideration many factors such as who they are ,whom they are addressing, where they are, what they want to achieve, etc. For instance, when talking to a friend, a parent, a lover, a boss, one has different ways of speaking. The varieties used in such situations are referred to as styles.

Furthermore, sharing the same occupation, profession or interest can make people create a communicative system that is difficult or even incomprehensible to those who do not belong to their group. This secret language is referred to as a “jargon”. Traders operating in Bujumbura city Markets use this kind of language in a wide variety of contexts. The Websiter’s *Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (1983:417) defines a jargon as a strange, outlandish or barbarous language or dialect.

This definition describes jargon from a negative angle; especially with the use of the adjective bar barbarous. This negative connotation of the concept in question is not mentioned arbitrarily. In fact, most of the time the groups which like creating a special language are those of people who have realities to keep hidden. Here we can mention thieves, criminals, prisoners, drug users, students, etc.

From these examples, one can notice that secrecy sometimes reflects wrongness. This idea is strengthened by Bolinger (1975:343) in stating that secret language may sometimes have the purpose of hiding one’s real intentions and feelings. The most common activity done secretly sand quietly so as not to be noticed in this case is that of criminals.

Here, the most practical jargon is that of pickpockets that is persons who steal from other people's pockets especially in crowded places.

In addition, these people are able to transmit their messages (signals) in full hearing of their victims without being detected by them. This happens also for Bujumbura Markets Traders when they talk about a person present and at the same time keep them from finding out what is being said. This phenomenon is usual in markets traders' language.

In spite of the view of jargon as a neglected code, there is a different conception according to which, people who share the same occupation, profession, interest, etc. develop a specialized vocabulary and grammatical constructions without the intention of hiding their messages but for technical reasons.

In respect of above argument, Fromkin and Rodman (1978:265) argue the following:

Practically, every conceivable science profession, trade and occupation has its own set of words, some of which are considered to be slang and others technical, depending on the status of the peoples using these "in" words. Such words are sometimes called jargon or argot.

In sum, even though there are assumptions describing jargon as a slangy language, the above views show more or less clearly that it has a very important function as it allows us to refer to technical realities which have no equivalents in ordinary language. In this sense, there should be no hierarchy between social dialects; all of them are means of communication used in social networks. Besides, in terms of language, there is no social network which is superior to another, any of them, be it prestigious or not has its way of transmitting messages. In this respect, we ought to consider social networks at the same level as Wardhaugh (1977:219-220) says that

people such as soldier, dentists, hair dressers, mechanics, yachtmen and skiers, criminals and pickpockets use special words. The persons who share the same occupation have difficulty to communicate with people outside them because they do not share the same background knowledge.

In short, the study of jargon draws on the knowledge of the social network within which it is used. In fact, the interpretation of an utterance requires knowledge of some factors such as the sociolinguistic situation that is the number of languages spoken in the area, the relationships between the speakers and most importantly, the context in which the languages used.

II.7. Register

It has been said that a language varies according to social variables. It means that one or a group of people may vary language or speech in different situations. Then, everybody varies his/her language when he/she is addressing people at different stages (for example drinking in a pub, telling lies, begging, praying, singing, etc). In many situations, one has to use different languages which are referred to as register. -Therefore, a register is a conventional way of using language that is appropriate in a specific context which may be identified as situational (e.g. in church), occupational (e.g. among lawyers) or topical (e.g. talking about language).

II.8. Sociolect

Language has many variations due to many factors such as regional (or geographical) factors, social group or organization, etc. It is in this respect that linguists often use the terms: language, dialect, sociolect, idiolect to show how the language embodies a lot of varieties which correspond respectively to the large communities, small communities, social groups and individuals.

As far as the term sociolect is concerned, it is a linguistic variety which is appropriate to a given social group or a community whose members share some

similarities. The *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary of current English 8th edition* (2010:1414) explains that a sociolect is “a variety of language that the members of a particular social group speak”. The speakers of a sociolect sometimes share a similar socioeconomic and educational background.

From this definition, Wardhaugh (1986) says that a sociolect attests memberships. As an identity, the sociolect unites its users. For the case of the Bujumbura city markets traders, its usage make them feel that they are close to one another, that they share trade and environment experiences (events, client's behaviors, lack of goods or plenty of them, national events/realities,etc). In this way, the sociolect becomes a tremendous unifying factor. In Sapir's words, when one says “he talks like us”, one means “he is one of us” (Mandelbaum 1963).The sociolect consolidates its users. About sociolect, Peter Trudgill, a leading sociolinguist and philosopher says that it as a variety or lect which is thought of as being related to its speakers' social background rather than geographical background

The idea of sociolect began with the commencement of dialectology, the study of different dialects in relation to social society which has been established in countries such as England for many years, but only recently has field garnered more attention. In sociolinguistics, a sociolect or a social dialect is a variety of language (a register) associated with a social group such as a socioeconomic class, an ethnic group (precisely termed as ethnolect), an age group, etc.Also; sociolinguistics defines a sociolect by examining the social distribution of specific linguistic terms.

Hatungimana (1996) who, worked on University of Burundi students'sociolect, pointed out that through their special language, and the consolidation of their solidarity after the tragic events of 1995 in their campus is rebuilt. Many words and expressions were created. Students intentionally make that language unintelligible for the outsiders, that is to say people from out campuses. This has the purposes of

keeping the secret as much as possible in their sociolect since it depends upon the realities and behavior prevailing in the campuses' environment. It is of paramount importance to realize that the environment and the living conditions, according to behaviorists are very important in shaping people's behavior.

He depicted a given reality in the following utterance: “urya muntu n'ivyamazi”. In the students' social context, it means “food cooked in water”. That food is unappetizing because it is very far from being delicious. Hence, it is disliked by students. So, it seems as in traders' sociolect when they say that a person is beautiful, especially for girls worth full of paying court to (“kiri kumaso”) or when they say that a customer does not buy, we can't expect him/her to buy (“n'uwamatangazo”), or when they say that a person has a fat belly (“bonne gouvernance”). In his introduction, Halliday (1976:15) states that language should be better understood by the reference to its place and its time in the social process.

He says that the exchange in meaning depends on the context of the situation. Nshimirimana (2009) worked on the sociolect spoken by motorcyclists in Bujumbura city; he found that their sociolect is an illustration of a language variety spoken in an informal setting. The motorcyclists borrowed new terms from foreign languages such as Kiswahili, English, French, and Kirundi, and so on to create a new meaning in addition to the already existing one.

II.9. The Difference Between Sociolect and Dialect

The main distinction between a sociolect and a dialect, which are continually confused, are settings they are created in. The dialect's main identifier is geography where a certain region uses specific phonological, morpho-syntactic or lexical rules. Asif Agha (on line course) expands and specializes this concept by stating that the case where the demographic dimension marked by speech are matters of geographic provenance along, such as speaker's birth locale, extended residence and the like.

On the opposite side, a sociolect's main identifier is things such as socioeconomic class, age, gender, and ethnicity spoken in a certain speech community. For example, things such as the deletion of the copula “-s” in African American vernacular speech, which is restricted to a specific ethnic group within the United States.

An example of the dialectal difference based on region can be given by the use of the words “soda” or “pop” and “coke” in the different parts of the United States. As Thomas E. Murray (on line course) states “coke is used generically by thousands of people, especially in the Southern half of the country” contrastively “pop” is known to be a term that is used by many citizens in the Northern half of the country. An example of sociolect difference based on social grouping can be given by the deletion of copulas in AAVE, not just in the North or South, but all areas of the United States.

II.10. High Prestige and Low Prestige Varieties

Crucial to sociolinguistics is the concept of prestige; certain speech habits are assigned a positive or negative value which is then applied to the speaker.

This can operate on many levels. It can be realized on the level of individual sound/phoneme, as Labov discovered in investigating pronunciation of the post-vocalic /r/ in the North-Eastern USA, or on the macroscale of language choice, as realized in the various diglossias that exist throughout the world, where Swiss-German/High German is perhaps most well known. An important implication of sociolinguistic theory is that of speakers' choice of a variety when making a speech act, whether consciously or subconsciously.

II.11. Societal Interpretation of “Meaning”

The word “meaning” is ambiguous and therefore difficult to define. Many researchers have attempted to describe it and it is from here that divergences arise.

In fact, we tried to provide a definition which could be used operationally with respect to the present study. According to Allan (1986) there are three kinds of meaning: **sense**, the property of meaning in abstract categories such as sentence, lexeme, morpheme; **denotation**, the use of sense in speaking of some particular world, that is the people, things, places, events, states within it; and **utterance meaning**, what hearer H rationally determines that speaker S intends his meaning to convey.

As for Gaeng (1971), there are different types of meaning, namely: the central meaning and the transferred one. The former is defined as the meaning when a word occurs alone or out of context; and the latter as moon-central meaning, where a word or phrase primarily used for one thing is applied to another.

In fact, the context is a powerful determiner of meaning. In other words, the linguistic form of a word is meaningless out of the context. In support of this point, Waldron (1967:14) argues:

A word appears to have not one fixed meaning but a system of meanings, different in different in different context and the connection between the meanings of same word may be no longer immediately obvious.

In this study, special attention was paid to social context, our target being a social group in an informal setting, that of traders operating in Bujumbura city markets. No utterance can be fully understood simply in terms of its linguistic meaning, but contextual inference is always required.

II.11.1. Social Meaning

It is one of the different types of meaning. As already mentioned, different factors have an impact on the sense of an utterance. Likewise, members of a social group draw on the socially agreed-upon meaning in order to understand one another in their everyday conversations. From this point, it is right to talk of social meaning.

Hymes quoted by Dawnes (1984:93) supports the above point as follows:

There really is no way that linguistic theory can become a theory of language without encompassing social meaning, and becoming a part of the general study of communicative conduct and social action.

II.11.2. Factors Determining Speech Behaviors

The language we speak varies because of a number of factors. In fact, the same individual does not speak alike in different situations. Similarly, an adult person does not speak like a child; a man does not speak like a woman, etc. These are a few examples showing that the way we speak is subjected to diverse types of influence. According to Gumperz and Hymes (1972) the norm governing the uses of speech are explicitly differentiated according to caste, sex and age so that the relations to social structure are easily grasped by observers. They go on saying that since emotion is the source of action and is much affected by aesthetic devices, it is the principal business of speech behavior.

Furthermore, the languages spoken in a given environment can lead people to mix them in order to achieve communicative efficiency for the purpose of interaction. However, only bilinguals and/or multilinguals are the ones who are capable of doing so. This situation also involves geographical proximity between different language communities with only a slow spread of features across languages. Hence, Bujumbura city markets are good examples of this kind of situation.

In sum, it is not easy to deal with these factors exhaustively. In fact there are many others such as the state of health of the speaker, the relationship between the speakers, the aim of the conversations, etc.

II.12. Language and Society

All over the world, it is impossible to find a community that does not possess a language fully developed to face the users' communication needs. In this context, language is taken as structured systems of vocal sounds. Hence forth, not only is language the most important means of man's communication, but it is also a means by which man remains different from the other creatures. Apart from any other creatures, man is able to express the subtlest expression of the mind into intelligible vocal sounds. Brown and Loanberg (1974:13) argues that no animal think and no animal talks except man. Language and thought are inseparable. Words without thoughts are dead sounds. Thoughts without words are nothing.

Man therefore possesses this inalienable ability to turn his thoughts into words and express them the way he wants. Man cannot do without the presence of his fellow creatures with which he constitutes the society. In the same view, Victorian Fromkin (1978:3) states that whatever people may do when they come together whether they play, fight, make love or make automobiles... they talk. We live in a world of words.

The same author goes on to say that we talk to our friends, our associates, our wives and husbands, our lovers, our teachers, our parents, and in-laws. We talk to bus-drivers and to total strangers. We talk face to face and over the telephone. And every one responds with more talks.

Eminent sociolinguistics interested in language as social phenomenon have dealt with the language in more or less the same way, most of them, if not all proved that language and society to be two indissoluble entities with mutual influence on each other. For instance, Dawnes (1993:3) points out the following:

Language is indissoluble linked with the members of the society in which it is spoken and the social factors are inevitably reflected in their speech.

Language is then a tool by which people set up and maintain relationship among them. It is a gift to man to be distinguished from other creatures. It cannot be spoken elsewhere except in society of people.

II.13. Language vs. Dialect

The distinction between language and dialect is difficult to establish. Besides, there are many views around these concepts, but there is a common and deep-rooted belief that dialect is a product of variation within a particular language. There are different reasons for language variation. On one hand, it takes place due to geographical position. A striking example is that of American English and British English being dialect of the same language. On the other hand, social groups can emerge within the same geographical entity and in this case each develops its own dialect referred to as sociolect which is a key-element in the current study. Among the existing definitions of language, let us look at some. Researchers attempted to define this concept. For instance, Gaeng (1971:14) argues that language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by which members of a social group co-operate and interact.

However, all speakers do not use the same style in different situations. In fact; some differences due to age, sex, state of health and personality have an impact on the language used. In addition to the above mentioned differences, the language of people may show regular variations from that used by other groups of speakers of the same language. Speakers of dialects of the same language should understand each other. The degree of mutual intelligibility seems to be the criterion of distinguishing between language and dialect.

In this respect, Fromkin and Rodman (1978:245) say the following:

When dialects become mutually non intelligible, when the speakers of one dialect group can no longer understand the speakers of another dialect group, these dialects become different languages.

Therefore, interaction between speakers of dialects of the same language becomes a very important factor in keeping dialects from diverging, morning into different languages. So long as people communicate, they exchange speech patterns and then get familiar to each other's language. Hence, intelligibility is maintained. If on the other hand, dialect groups are totally separated without chance of contact between dialects speakers, linguistic peculiarities develop differently such that speakers from different dialect groups no longer understand one another. Gaeng (1971: 167) puts it in the following:

And even though migration to America took place at a time when political, cultural and religious bonds were considerably stronger than they were ten years earlier, communication across the Atlantic were still so difficult that British speech and the English of the American colonists began to diverge.

In short, this study is carried out in a sitting where there is permanent interaction between people speaking different languages. This is why in the present study; interaction is a key-element on which much emphasis can be put. The superstrate language in Bujumbura city Markets is Kirundi ,but it gets a lot of influence from other languages due to regular contacts between people of different cultural and/or educational background. Hence, the sociolect becomes to some extent a combination of the superstrate and the substrate languages.

II.14. Language in Urban Society

Language in city is different from language in rural area. While the rural areas are populated by people who share the same culture though within one culture there are subcultures, the town is a crossroads of people from different areas. In addition, the activities are quite different. While in the villages they cultivate, keep cattle, etc, in the towns business, services and so on occupy the towness. The town is a place of talk and through talking of townees one can get to picture of the city life. According to Halliday (1976:155) if one listens to city talk, one can hear constant reference to the institutions, the times and places, the patterns of movement and the types of social relationship that are characteristics of city life. From this, not only one can deduce the characteristics of city life from the town dwellers talk, but also one get a picture of what kind of institutions they have, the times the country is experiencing, and the places which is implied.

II.15.The Sociolinguistic Situation in Bujumbura city Markets

Bujumbura city Markets, located in the town, is centers of cultures and consequently the languages. The traders are from different areas of the country and from different classes. Also other traders are from abroad, i.e. African countries or other countries; apart from Burundian traders, there are Rwandese, Congolese, Tanzanians, etc.

Kiswahili is a trading language from a long time ago. It is spoken by traders though not mastered by everyone. It seems to be the language of the city. Kirundi, the National language is most spoken for many clients are Burundians. It is the first language that even foreign traders try to know for the progress of the traders. French is the Burundi official language. It is mainly known by people who have been at school and it is spoken by people, clients from abroad.

Hence, traders who have not been at school try to know at least the prices, and some expressions to cherish or to welcome the clients, how to discuss with them in French. English is reaching the French rank with the integration of Burundi in EAC (East African Community). Rwandese, Lingala, Senegalese, are spoken mainly by people from their respective countries. In short, there are different traders, different cultures from different areas and countries as well as the continents. The centers are the markets places. Every trader tries to adapt to the situation.

They try to master every language so as to keep every client. So, due these multilingual situations and many influences, they create their own language (their own sociolect) in which they feel comfortable and free.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

III.0. Introduction

The methodology chapter looks at all steps which were followed in the field research process. It is basically a part where we tried to describe the research areas as well as the strategies used to collect the data needed. The following step consisted of identifying the techniques used to analyze the linguistic words and expressions collected. Finally, the problems encountered during the study are mentioned.

III.1.Data collection Procedures

III.1.1. Research Areas Description

As this study has to do with the Bujumbura city markets traders' sociolect, the target population are traders operating in three Bujumbura city markets, that is Kanyosha located in Kanyosha zone, Muha commune, in the south of the city, Jabe located in Bwiza Zone, in Mukaza commune, in the central part of the city, and Buyenzi City Market (BCM) found in Ngagara Zone, in Ntahangwa commune, that is in the north of the capital of Burundi.

The reason of this choice is because traders are close and share many things such as the activities of buying and selling goods, customers. It is also worth mentioning that all the Markets are organized just likewise. That is, the working hours are just the same, from morning till evening always. In the markets, there are places where we can find clothes and shoes, kitchen ware and other equipments, foods, restaurants, toilets, everything in its place, though sometimes traders violate this order. No market sells a particular, specific item. In all the ten markets found in Bujumbura city, i.e Musaga, Kanyosha, Kinindo, Ruvumera, Bujumbura city market (BCM), Ngagara, Kamenge, Jabe, Kinama and the new market replacing the former central one located at ex-Cotebu fields; one can see a such organization. So the data corpus was sampled from the three markets.

III.1.2. Sampling Techniques

According to Richterich and Chancel (1977:57), sampling is a methodology of estimating certain characteristics of a population by means of a suitably selected sample of limited numbers of subjects. It is in this light that we have managed to get a sample from the traders who operate in Kanyosha, Jabe, and Kamenge out of the 10 markets found in Bujumbura city.

In fact, it was impossible for us to get access to all traders which, would be ideal. To handle such wide areas (ten markets), we had to mix stratified random sampling and simple random sampling techniques. Out of the ten markets covering Bujumbura city, we decided to restrict the field work to three ones. Here also one can wonder why we chose them. In selecting markets in which ones to conduct the study, we took into consideration simply their geographic locations for any one can represent them as said above; the only thing was to do our best to get enough data.

III.1.3. Choice of Informants

As far as the choice of informants is concerned, we used ninety (90) informants, that is thirty (30) at Kamenge market, twenty two (22) at kanyosha market, thirty eight (38) at Jabe market. For each market and each category of merchandises, both men and women were considered. However, not any one is an informant, because some likely can provide correct information whereas others are incapable. For this reason, we had to be careful and determine beforehand the criteria which helped us to find good informants who are capable to provide the required data. Hence to select informants for this study, some criteria such as the experience of the traders, age, sex, category of items sold and level of study were taken into account.

The traders had to be experienced. Those who have spent many years in their profession have mastered their sociolect. Age was also another factor to be considered while choosing informants.

There is an age under and above which a person cannot give the information that is required. A young trader may not have mastered his/her sociolect. For this reason, informants for this study were aged between eighteen and thirty-five years old. The sex of informants was also very important. In any community, there are words and expressions that women may use on their own avoiding men to discover them and vice versa. These words are sometimes taboo words, or words talking about the opposite sex. The level of study has a big influence because those who have a certain level can understand the evolution of language. Also, the category of items, traders selling may make their language vary. Words and expressions related to one thing used in shoes selling may not be similar to those used in food selling. As for example, while all the traders have their goods, those who sell clothes name them 'umuzigo' (luggage), those selling old shoes name them 'les cadavres' (ibiziga:corpses). Hence, the variety of merchandise the traders sell is an important criterion.

Table 1: Breakdown of the informants by markets

Markets	Informants
Kamenge	30
Kanyosha	22
Jabe	38

Table 2: Breakdown of Informants by Markets and Goods Sold

Goods Markets	Shoes and other clothes	Kitchen ware and other household articles	Main foods such as beans, rice, etc.	Meat	Fruits
Kamenge	6	6	6	6	6
Kanyosha	4	6	4	5	3
Jabe	11	7	6	6	8

At this stage one can wonder if this sample is sufficient or not. Bishop Karikunzira quoted by Hatungimana (1994:16) replied to this doubt in these words:

En fait, en supposant que le hasard seul ait décidé du choix des sujets, un échantillon de 500 éléments donnera des résultats justes aussi précis pour une étude qui engloberait la population des Etats unis que pour une enquête qui ne porterait que sur une ville.

[In fact, supposing that the chance had decided the number of subjects, a sample of 500 individuals will yield reliable and exact results about USA population as well as a survey concerning one town.]

From this view it is understandable that a little sample can give reliable information about a bigger population. Beside this, to constitute a given sample depends on many conditions and constraints. This is put by Mucchieli quoted by Hatungimana (1994:17)

C'est en fonction des besoins de l'enquête et de ses contraintes : temps, budgets, nombre d'enquêteurs, surface, de l'enquête que le promoteur d'un sondage choisira sa méthode d'échantillonnage.

[Depending on the needs of the research and its constraints that is time, budget, number of researchers, the breadth of the research the initiator of a pilot study will choose an appropriate method of making sample].

The above ideas come to destroy completely any doubt which could concern the adequacy of the final sample. According to Karikunzira and Mucchielli, there are no established requirements for choosing a sample. A sample is determined by combination of many factors such as budget, time, number of researchers and the breadth of the research without forgetting the research's judgement about the sufficiency. As far as our study is concerned, this heterogeneous group of 90 informants constitutes a reliable sample

III.1.4. Instruments

The constitution of the corpus needed a combination of different instruments in order to achieve enough quality data. These techniques used to collect data were conversation with traders at the markets, questionnaire and observation. The combination of these techniques gives complementary advantages. For instance, the use of the questionnaire only could fail; we could fail to catch the meaning, the origin and the contextual use of a given linguistic element. Then combination of different techniques therefore helped to prevent obstacles which could make the investigation difficult and complicate the study.

III.1.4. 1. Conversation with Traders at the Markets

The study was conducted by conversing with groups of traders or one by one. One can wonder how and where the informants were met. We paid them visit where they were operating in their respective markets and respective places selling different categories of merchandises. This was a kind of interview we did discretely though we did not record by tape for sociopolitical situation of the country

influenced. As Wolfran quoted by Hatungiman (1994) says that conducting the interview in a familiar environments such as the home, helped to reduce some of the suspicion associated with the interview. The advantage of meeting informants at their familiar milieu was that it reduced the suspicion they felt towards us. They could see us; they could ask us any question related to the work. We could give clarifications about the work, our intention, and our objectives and so on.

In order to get enough data, the first step was conversation. This was first of all done through a simple to a general introduction of who the informants are. By the time we knew that the informant is the right one, that he/she fulfils the criteria, we would judge to give him/her the questionnaire to complete or to keep on completing the questionnaire on our own for it would be difficult to know who could understand and complete it.

III.1.4.2. Questionnaire

After that we have discovered that our interlocutor is the right one and could write, we could leave her or him the questionnaire. Richterich and Chancerel (1980:59) define questionnaires as structured instruments to collect data which translate research hypotheses into questions. This was elaborated in accordance with the hypotheses and the objectives of our study. This was made of six (6) main parts. The first part was made of introductory questions to identify the informant. The second part developed words or expressions related customers, traders, trade and money. The third part concerned linguistic elements used to talk about names of markets and places within markets. The fourth part tackled words and expressions used to talk about social life within and outside the markets. The fifth part is a topic related to physical description. And the sixth part was any other words that were not mentioned above. It was composed in Kirundi because many traders are Burundians but a translation was also required.

III.1.4.3. Observation

This method consists of watching someone or something so as to notice some realities. So, this method was not only a fact of seeing, but also we could observe by hearing, smelling, touching or tasting. This has a great role to play in the sense that we got first-hand information. Moreover, observation may be used to cross check information from other research methods.

As far as this study is concerned, this observation was used in chatting with traders. This method was useful because it helped us to see how a sociolect word and expression may have different meanings in different contexts. Also, it was useful in clarifying the meaning by reference to extract linguistic elements. In addition, it helped us to know the origins of words which in turn helped in the analysis of the relationship existing between words and expressions used in the traders 'sociolect and their equivalents in the original language. In short, an observation was made through analyzing how traders use their sociolect in their daily life while talking to one another, conversing with one another, talking to customers, etc.

III.2. Data Analysis Procedures

After data collection, the following step was the analysis and interpretation of linguistic elements collected. There was a need to be broken down in order to make them as clear as possible. Through data presentation, we began by drawing an exhaustive list of words and expressions collected through different methods. Then, we went on eliminating all irrelevant words and expressions so as to remain with the adequate ones exclusively.

The following part consists of analyzing the data according to the themes and origin. Under this part, the original meanings of the linguistic items and an attempt to translate them as well the meaning within the sociolinguistic context are observed. Here also, examples to some difficult words are given.

It is worth mentioning that we also tried to analyze the more than one words expressions in separation, in order to get the meaning of the whole after. Moreover, a brief view of the style that the traders use in their sociolect was judged important. The last step is an interpretation of what we found. Under this part, we gave examples to show how, Bujumbura city markets traders' sociolect is their medium of communication. From this, we discover how the multilingual situation in Bujumbura city in general and in Bujumbura city markets influences, how trade is an important key to the creation of a code, how new and existing realities affect the networks which undergo it. In other words, we discover traders' life at work and outside. It is also from this part we reinforce the achievement of our objectives.

III.3. Problems Encountered

In carrying out this study, a number of difficulties were encountered. First of all, as we paid visits to traders at their work, they were very busy every time. They could give us appointments and don't respect them. This was because their customers come to buy at any time. Also those who could use the questionnaire delayed. Here we were obliged to wait for and come to check if they have finished the next time or next day. Secondly, some traders were reluctant to provide us with data. The reason is that during the time we conducted this study the socio political situation in Bujumbura was not good. For instance, when we were introducing our study at Jabe market, one of them murmured:

Ubwo koko ashaka kumenya ururimi dukoresha gusa ko ivyubu bigoye.

Trans: But, are we sure that he only needs to know about our language as things are difficult these days.

To solve this problem, we could explain them our purpose and some could understand. So we could work with those who have no doubt. Thirdly, the financial means also limited us. Some informants could ask us “**amazi y'ikaramu**” (pen ink to mean “beer” in their sociolect or they could say: **Aho navugiye erega camenye**

(I have been talking for a long time, I am thirsty). In addition, going to the three markets repeatedly required a large amount of transportation fees. Lastly, we got difficulties in translating some linguistic elements. This was due to the origin of words and expressions collected that is unknown.

CHAPTER IV: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

IV.1. Introduction

The collected data from all the three markets, constituted a good number of words and expressions sufficient to tackle a sociolinguistic study of the sociolect spoken by traders operating at Bujumbura city markets traders. The whole corpus mounts at a hundred and sixty six linguistic elements (166), which are a mixture of Kirundi, Swahili, French, English, etc. In order to achieve our objectives, this chapter deals with the data classification according to the themes and linguistic origin first. After this, it analyses the meaning of the words and expressions got, in the normal language and in the sociolect context. This subsection is ended by a brief view of the stylistic devices used in the sociolect. Lastly, an interpretation of the data to prove how a sociolect is an important medium of communication for a network is judged important for this study.

IV.2. Data Presentation

IV. 2.1. Classification of the Data according to the Themes

This thematic classification of the data covers a good number of areas that we judged important. These headings are the words and expressions related to trade, names or expressions assigned to markets and places within markets, social life at and outside the markets, and physical description of people. But, in order to give freedom to our informants, we added any other topic. See below the table detailing, the total of words and expressions for each domain and the percentage they represent within the whole corpus.

Table 3: Classification of Data according to the Themes

Domain concerned	Total of words and expressions	Percentage
Trade	105	63.2
Words used to name markets and places within the markets	20	12.0
Social life at and outside the markets	23	13.8
Physical description of people	14	8.4
Other expression	04	2.4

Within this thematic classification, the richest section of all concerns the trade. It scores one hundred and five (105) out of one hundred and sixty six (166) words and expressions composing the whole corpus. This score represents 63.2%. This is due to the considerable breadth of this heading. This theme includes many other subdivisions such as words and expressions related to customers, to traders themselves, to trade in general and money which are the main pillars of this career. The second richest domain is the sociological words and expressions related to traders 'life at and outside the markets. It scores twenty three (23) elements which is an equivalent of 13.8%. Traders work together, when there are no customers, they can talk about trade, life in general, basic needs such as eating and drinking, sex and so on. The third place is occupied by words and expressions related to markets and places within markets heading. This area has twenty (20) which represents 12.0%. In the fourth position, we have words and expressions ranged under physical description of people. It covers fourteen (14) expressions which represent 8.4%. Last but not least, we have other expressions heading. These are expressions which were given under any other topic heading in the questionnaire or while conversing with informants.

In short, this thematic classification shows themes which are sociolectally more or less productive than others. However, this classification is not the only basis on which the data can be categorized.

IV.2.2. Classification of the Data according to their Origin

This classification is composed of four categories. The first is concerned with words and expressions which are originally from Kirundi. Their number amounts to seventy nine (79) (that is 47% of the whole corpus). The second category is made of sixty three (63) words and expressions borrowed from foreign languages. Here, we distinguish forty five(45) borrowed from French(which represent 27.1% of the corpus); ten(10) borrowed from Kiswahili(that is 6.02%); eight(8) borrowed from English(that is 4.81%) and one(1) borrowed from Kinyarwanda(that is 0.6). The third category is made of twelve (12) linguistic elements which are of unknown origin (that is 7.22%). The final category is made of eleven (11) words which are derived from the integration of proper names into the sociolect (that is 6.62%). In short, the Bujumbura city markets' sociolect is a language mixture: different linguistic items of different origins mix to create a specific sociolect.

Table 4: Classification of the Sociolectal Words and Expressions according to their Origin

Origin	Total of words and expressions	Percentage of the whole corpus	The corpus reference in their analyses
Kirundi	79	47	1.2.4.5.6.13.14.15.18.19.23.26.29.30.31.32.33.34.36.38.44.45.46.49.50.51.52.53.54.55.56.58.59.61.63.65.66.67.68.70.76.77.79.80.81.83.86.91.92.93.94.98.101.102.110.111.112.123.124.130.132.133.136.138.139.140.142.143.146.147.150.152.155.157.158.159.162.163.166.
French	45	27.5	7.9.10.12.20.39.41.42.62.64.71.72.75.84.85.87.88.89.90.96.104.109.113.114.116.118.119.120.122.125.126.128.131.134.137.144.145.148.149.151.153.154.156.161.164.
Unknown origin	12	7.2	11.16.17.22.25.37.40.57.60.69.73.117
Proper names integrated in the sociolect	11	6.62	35.82.89.103.105.106.107.115.129.135.165.
Swahili	10	6.02	27.28.43.47.48.74.121.127.141.160.
English	8	4.8	3.8.21.78.95.97.100.108.
Kinyarwanda	1	0.6	24

IV.3. Data Analysis

IV.3.1. Words and Expressions Related to Trade

1. Igikashi:

Igikashi :(kir.n): banana to make beer

Smng: igikashi: This is referred to a customer who comes to buy and by the time they tell him or her first price of the goods, he or she gives low money or leave without replying.

2. Ikiyashu:

This is a new word which was derived from a Kirundi word **icuya** which means **sweat**.

Smng: Ikiyashu: The meaning of this word in the traders' language is a customer who checks the goods for a long time but finally does not buy. They say that such a customer comes to make you tired by working for nothing. For the first time, they call him **icuya** but because, to call a person such a name is like taboo or shame, they gradually changed and use **ikiyacu**, by interchanging **-cu-** and **-ya-** . This finally gave birth to this word as **-cu-** is difficult and was changed in **-shu**.

3. Umubosi:

This word is a Kirundi word borrowed from English "boss". Normally a boss is a person who is in charge of other people at work and tells them what to do or he is a person who is in charge of a large organization.

Smng: Umobosi: This linguistic item is used to talk about a customer who buys without discussing a long time and gives a lot of money.

4. Umukwe:

- (Kir.n): a son in law

Smng: umukwe: This is referred to as customer in general. In Burundian culture a son in law is respected. This can be seen during marriage ceremonies or parties preceding marriage. **Umukwe** has been brought in this context to show the respect

traders owe towards customers and is used especially when the customer seems to be rich.

5. Databuja:

(Kir.n) made of **data+buja**: This is someone who gives you what to do and after pays for you. In Burundian tradition, there used to be a system of **ubugererawa**, in which someone who has no land could go to beg from those who have. In this, the giver was **databuja** and the receiver was known as **umuja** because, he does what the offer demands in payment he continues to cultivate the land. And it is used when the people concerned is a male.

Smng: Databuja: It is used in the traders' language to refer to male adult customer.

e.g:- Ni mushike databuja mudushorerere!

- Welcome Mr. and buy from us!

6. Mabuja:

(Kir.n). **Mabuja** is not far from **databuja**. It is used for a female person.

Smng: Mabuja: The meaning in the context is not different from **databuja's**. It is then used to mean a female adult customer.

e.g:- Ni mushike mabuja hino tubereke ibiraya vyiza.

-You are welcome madam to see our good potatoes.

7. Grand frère:

(Fr.n): older brother

Smng: Grand frère: In this markets trader's language, it means a customer who is male and young. This is used by traders to show how important customers are. Normally in a family an older brother is important, he can help the little brothers or sisters in their education. If a customer hears that he is called like that, traders think that he can feel the importance they give to him and then be willing to buy from them. Moreover, the brotherhood or sisterhood is something of much importance.

8. Sisita:

(Kir.n): a borrowed name from English name "**sister**"

Smng: sisita: Traders use this expression to refer to a customer who is young and female .In this sociolect, giving a name to such a customer, the trader who is in most of the cases male wants his customer to feel sisterhood and after feel at ease to buy from him.

9. Aba vraiments:

-aba (kir.pron.): This is a Kirundi demonstrative pronoun “**these**”

-Vraiment (Fr.adv): It is a French adverb meaning “**truly**”

-aba vraiments: the truly ones

Smng: aba vraiments: the students

There are students who, when discussing the price by insisting saying “oya vraiment” (truly not). This happened to more than one student and then traders nick name them like that. This expression shows how students are influenced by their school until they forget that if they change the setting, they also change they language. Also, traders having different backgrounds are excited by such an expression.

10. Ukwezi kw’ aba vraiments:

-ukwezi (kir.n): month

- kw’ (kir.prep): possessive pronoun

-vraiment (Fr.adv): truly

Ukwezi kw’aba vraiments: the month of the truly ones.

Smng: ukwezi kw’aba vraiments: September month.

In Burundi, from many years ago, the primary and secondary schools years begin in September month. During this month, traders get many customers because parents are buying materials for their children.

11. Tonto:

Unknown origin: This refers to “uncles”

Smng: Tonto: In the sociolect of traders, it is assigned to aged men. Normally this name is known in child language when their parents prevent them from calling their

uncles by their names. Here, traders consider themselves as children and customers as their uncles.

12. Tantine:

(Fr.n): This is a French name which means “aunt”.

Smng: Tonto: In this sociolect, it is assigned to aged women. Like “Tonto”, this name is normally known in the language of the children when their parents avoid them to call their aunts by their names, but here traders use it to welcome women that are adult so that they feel as if it were children calling. This is because, a child is innocent when it calls someone, and he or she should answer to its attention.

13. Uwo mu gisagara:

- uwo (Kir.pr): This Kirundi pronoun stands for a person that we see

- mu (Kir.prep.): in

- Igisagara (Kir.n): town

Uwo mu gisagara: This simply means a townee.

Smng: uwo mugisagara: This is a customer, who in the special language of Bujumbura city markets traders is very intelligent and does not let traders lie to him by giving him bad goods. Here customers believe that people of the town are intelligent than the rural people to the extent that they cannot lie to them.

14. Umunyarusaku:

- (Kir.n): This Kirundi name means “someone who is curious”

Smng: umunyarusaku: Traders use this expression for a customer who asks the prices of all the categories of goods but does not buy anything.

15. Uwo amatangazo:

- uwo (Kir.pron.): people of

- amatangazo (Kir.n): news

Smng: uwo amatangazo: This expression has the same sociolinguistic meaning as “umunyarusaku” (see above)

16. Njebesi:

This expression is of an unknown origin.

Smng: Njebesi: It means a careless customer who does not check what he/she buys.

17. Mukorofi:

It also has an unknown origin.

Smng: Mukorofi: It has the same sociolinguistic meaning with “Njebesi” (See above).

18. Uwigira vyinshi:

- Kwigira (Kir.v): to make oneself

- ivyinshi (Kir.pron.): a lot of things

Uwigira vyinshi: to make oneself a lot of things.

Smng: uwigira vyinshi: In this sociolect, this linguistic element is used to name a customer who, comes to check goods but does not be satisfied with anything.

19. Umudoriya:

This expression has an unknown origin.

Smng: umudoriya: In this sociolect it has the meaning of a customer who comes to see the goods without buying or even ask the price. This is from the jargon of military. When soldiers are going to attack an enemy, they can send someone sometime before to look for information about the enemy. After, this person comes back to report the information so that they know what strategies to use. This situation was referred to name such a customer because traders hope that if “umudoriya” visits, he can come back or bring other customers next time.

20. Umukoneseri:

- Umu- (kir. pattern): This Kirundi particle stands for “someone”

- Koneseri: This is a forged noun from the French verb’ “connaitre”. It does not exist at all.

Smng: umukoneseri: It is a name that traders call each other when working. The traders must know all the prices of their goods and those of others for a good

concurrence. They are also supposed to know where goods are cheap. This is the reason why they say they are “**abakoneseri**” (We can say polyvalent people). In addition it is assigned to someone who is very experienced in trade.

21. Dilimani:

- Dili: borrowed word from English verb “deal”
- Mani: borrowed name from English name “man”

Smng: dilimani: Trader in general.

22. Ikibamba:

It is has an unknown origin.

This is a coinage word which was brought by one people and after liked by all traders without knowing its origin. It sounds like Kirundi but, it is not.

Smng: Ikibamba: a new people in trade career.

23. Bihere ngende:

- Bihere (kir.v): to finish
- ngende (kir.v): to go

Bihere ngende: finish and go

Smng: Biherengende: In this sociolect, this compound name is used as a name that is used to call a trader who sells quickly by gaining a little so that to go to import other goods.

24. Umukambwe:

(Kin.n): This Kinyarwanda name means someone who is experienced in something.

Smng: Umukambwe: Apart from that this lexical item is borrowed and used in trade context, its sociological meaning is not far from its meaning in its origin language. It is used to mean a trader who has been doing business for long time

25. Umuyungwe:

Unknown origin

Smng: umuyungwe: It means a trader who lies to customers by asking for a higher price than the known one.

26. Uwahejeje:

(Kir. n): someone who has finished

Smng: uwahejeje: a trader who is very rich.

27. Umutajili:

This is a Kirundi word borrowed from Kiswahili adjective “**tajili**” (rich).

Smng: Umutajili: a trader in general.

28. Mwenemari: This is expression is derived from Kiswahili name “**mwenye (adj.) mali**” (wealth)

Smng: Mwenemari: This is also to mean a trader in general. This is used by traders who pretend to master Kiswahili while not. They use it in Kirundi to show off while talking to those who know Kirundi only.

e.g -Je ni mwenemari.

- I am a trader.

29. Guhubura:

(Kir.v): to penetrate, to enter, etc.

Smng: Guhubura: to loose, to ruin

30. Harabona:

(Kir.v): There is light

Smng: Harabona: This expression is used by market traders to mean that “there are a lot of customers”

e.g. - Mu kwezi kw’aba vrainment harabona.

- In September, there are a lot of customers.

31. Kugubama:

(Kir.v): to be desolated

Smng: Kugubama: to miss customers

e.g. -Ntubona k’uyu musu ngubamye?

- Don’t you see that today there are no customers?

32. Habavye:

(Kir.v): It is peppered

Smng: Habavye: there are no customers

e.g - uyu musi habavye

- Today there are no customers

33. Camenye:

(Kir.): It has broken

Smng: camenye: In the sociolect, it means also “**there are no customers**”

e.g -Uyu musi camenye

- Today there are no customers

34. Kw’ isanganiro:

(Kir.n): at “isanganiro” (meeting point)

Smng: Kw’isanganiro: “There are crowds of customers”

In Burundi, used to be a radio called “**Isanganiro**”, which was a celebrity. Whenever it was time to listen to the news many traders could gather around a shop which has a radio. It is this crowd of listeners that the traders made allusion to get this expression. There is a similarity between a group of people listening silently to the radio and a group of customers checking goods without talking to each other for in most of the cases they meet at the markets from different areas.

e.g -Uyu musi ni Kw’isanganiro

- Today, there are many customers

35. Kuri R.P.A:

- kuri: this Kirundi preposition means “at”

- R.P.A: This is a French acronym which means “Radio Publique Africaine”

Kuri R.P.A: at Radio Publique Africaine (African Public Radio)

Smng: Kuri R.P.A: Like “**Kw’isanganiro**”, this expression is used to qualify a day, or time when there are customers. R.P.A was until recently the most popular radio not only in Bujumbura but also in all provinces of Burundi. In addition, this lexical element is used to name a shop which has many customers.

e.g -uyu musu hari Kuri R.P.A.

-Today, there have been many customers.

36. Umuzigo/Akazigo:

This is a Kirundi name meaning “luggage”, or something that one can carry that is very heavy.

Smng: Umuzigo/akazigo: In the traders’ special language, umuzigo/akazigo stands for any good that can be sold. This is especially used when buying many goods to be sold again from abroad.

e.g- E jo nari kuri O.B.R kuriha taxi y’akazigo nakuye mubuganda.

- Yesterday, I went to O.B.R. to pay tax for goods I imported from ouganda.

37. Idunyu:

This word has an unknown origin. It is a coinage word.

Smng: Idunyu: In this sociolect it means goods that are imported illegally without paying for O.B.R taxes.

e. g. -Idunyu zakawutse kuko OBR isigaye itaryama.

- There are no illegal goods because OBR has become more careful.

38. Agafu k’umwana

- (Kir.n): means “flour”

- umwana: means “child”

Agafu k’umwana: the flour of child

Smng: Agafu k’umwana: Goods that are entered within the country without paying for O.B.R taxes. Normally fraudulent goods are cheap and when traders sell them again they should profit from them a lot. They use “flour” because; in many Bujumbura families, bread from cassava, maize or wheat is the basic food for their daily meal. Then when traders attend their job, it is presupposed that at the end of the day they will get the food for their children.

e.g. -Ejo nzoja gutora agafu k’umwana k’umupaka.

-Tomorrow I go to receive fraudulent goods at the frontier.

39. Kudetaya:

This is a loan word used in Kirundi from French verb “detailer”

Smng: Kudetaya: This expression is used in the special language of the traders to refer to “to retail goods to customers”.

e.g : -Je sindanguza ndadetaya.

- I am not a wholesaler, I sell by detail.

40. Mbunde:

This lexical item is of an unknown origin.

Smng: Mbunde: It refers to a situation when a certain category of goods is over at the market.

e.g- Amashati nkayo yabaye mbunde muri iyi misi.

-Such shirts have disappeared from the market these days.

41. Kubomora ibaro:

- kubomora (kir.v): to break

- ibaro: loan word from French word “baron” meaning “luggage of clothes”

Kubomora ibaro: to break the luggage of clothes

Smng: Kubomora ibaro: In this sociolect it means to import goods from abroad or from Burundi wholesalers. Or it can simply be used to talk about opening a new luggage of goods especially of clothes or shoes for the public to buy.

42. Kwemporota:

This is a borrowed verb from the French verb “importer” which means “to import”.

Smng: Kwemporota: In this sociolect, this verb is generally used to talk about buying goods from big traders who sell to small ones. This was first used to talk about importing goods from abroad and after this meaning has been generalized and now it covers both importing merchandises from abroad and importing within Burundi.

43. Kuja isafari:

- Kuja (Kir.v): to go

- isafari (Swah.n): travel

Kuja isafari: to travel

Smng: Kuja isafari: In this sociolect, “kuja isafari” means to go abroad to import goods.

e. g. -Mundwiza nzoja isafari mubuganda imali zaheze.

- Next week I will go to ouganda to import as goods are over.

44. Gutaha cose:

- Gutaha (Kir.v): to go home

- cose (Kir.adv): all of it

Gutaha cose: to go home all of it

Smng: Gutaha cose: In the traders’ special language this expression refers to a situation when a trader goes home at the evening without having received any customer the whole day.

e.g. - Emwe, uyu musi natashe cose.

- Hey, today I got zero customers.

45. Gutaha nk’icinkumi:

- gutaha (Kir.v): to go home

- nka (Kir.adj): like

- icinkumi (Kir. n): like a single lady’s sex

Gutaha nk’icinkumi: to go home like a single lady’s sex

Smng: Gutaha nk’icinkumi: This expression means to lack customers. In their context, they think that any single lady should get men who are interested in her every day and ask her for sex. If there are no men, it is similar to when a trader has no customers who are interested in his/her merchandises. A trader stands for a single lady and sex stands for merchandises.

e.g:-Karabaye uyumusi ntaha nk’icinkumi.

- I am desolated; today I will not get customers.

46. Kwica akazi:

- kwica (Kir.v): to kill

- akazi (Kir.n): job

Kwica akazi: to kill the job. In other words, it means to make the job going bad.

Smng: Kwica akazi: In this sociolect, this linguistic element refers to a situation where a customer comes to buy and the trader asks for the first time a lot of money thinking that his/her customer ignores the prices.

47. Kugandisha imali:

This linguistic item is of an unknown origin apart from that we know “imali” is Kiswahili word meaning “richness”.

Smng: Kugandisha imali: This expression refers to a situation in which a trader becomes difficult with customers by asking for a lot of money more than the known price until no customers visit the place anymore.

48. Imali ziragenda:

- imali (Swah.n): richness

- ziragenda (Kir.v): they flow

Smng: Imali ziragenda: In the trader’s sociolect, this expression means that merchandises flow enormously.

e.g- Mukwezi kw’aba vraitments imali ziragenda.

During September, goods flow enormously.

49. Kuvuza umuziki:

- Kuvuza (Kir.v): to turn on

- umuziki: the music

Kuvuza umuziki: to turn on the music

Smng: Kuvuza umuziki: to quarrel with customers

e.g. - Uwo muziki numvise ninde yawuteye?

- Who is the cause of the quarrel I heard?

50. Kumena amaso abaguzi:

- kumena (Kir.v): to break
- amaso (Kir.n): eyes
- abaguzi (Kir.n); clients

Kumena amaso abaguzi: to break clients 'eyes

Smng: Kumena amaso abaguzi: In traders' sociolect this expression means to ask a lot of money more than the known price or it can mean to give bad goods to customers. For instance, a trader can give a worn out piece of cloth to a customer.

51. Guhengeka:

(Kir.v): This verb means to "tilt", or "to fix in a bad position"

Smng: Guhengeka: This word goes in the same sense with "Kumena amaso abaguzi", it means to give merchandises to buyers that are worn out by means of lies, showing the good face by hiding the bad one. This expression is especially used by shoes sellers.

e.g. - Uwudahengetse umuguzi ntasumira umwana.

- Someone who does not lie to customers cannot get food for the child.

52. Kwabira:

(Kir.v): to cry especially for animals such as cow, goat, etc.

Smng: Kwabira: It means to lack customers to the extent that no one can dare ask the goods' price.

e.g. - Uyu musu vyabiye.

- Today, no one dare ask the price of our product.

53. Gushora ingurube k'umusigiti:

- Gushora (kir.v): to go selling
- ingurube (kir.n): pig

Ku (Kir.prep): at

- umusigiti (Kir.n): a borrowed word from English name mosque

Smng: Gushora ingurube k'umusigiti: This lexical item is not far from

“kwabira”. It also refers to a situation when the traders attend their work place in the morning and close in the evening without seeing any customer addressing to them. Normally Muslims hate pigs because of their belief. Then if someone could bring a pig to a mosque, looking for a customer any one can imagine what can happen to him. It is this hatred that traders make allusion and assign to a trader missing completely customers.

54. Kuresha:

(Kir.v): to woo

Smng: Kuresha: This verb means to convince a customer to buy.

e.g - Nagerageje kumuresha ariko n’igikashi.

- I have tried to convince him to buy but he gave a little money.

55. Kubamba urusenga:

- kubamba (Kir.v): to extend, to block or to cover

- urusenga (Kir.n): net

Kubamba urusenga: to block with a net

Smng: Kubamba urusenga: In the traders’ sociolect this expression is used to refer to a situation by which a trader attends his work, arranges his merchandise on the shelves, on table and wait for the customers. This expression is rooted in fishing. The goods are considered as bait for fishers, while traders consider themselves like fishers.

e.g.- Naho nari nabamvye neza urusenga, ntaco ndaronka.

- Even though I have arranged well my goods, I have not yet got customers.

56. Guseka:

(Kir.v): to bump

Smng: Guseka: It is used by traders when a customer brings back the goods after he/ she has found out that they were not good because the trader lied.

e.g. - Yohani yarazi ngo numuhinga none irasetse.

- John thought he is an expert but the customer brings back the goods.

57. Guhara:

This is of an unknown origin.

Smng: Guhara: It has the same sociolinguistic meaning as “Guseka” (see above no 52)

58. Kugonesha:

(Kir.v): To make someone sleep deeply.

Smng: Kugonesha: This verb describes the situation by which a trader gives goods to a customer without paying immediately. It is an understanding between the seller and buyer. The buyer can bring the money after one or two weeks.

59. Guhuriza kurya kangahe:

Guhuriza (Kir.v): to meet

Kurya (Kir.prep): at

Kangahe (Kir.pron): which avenue

Guhuriza kurya kangahe: to meet at which avenue

Smng: Guhuriza kurya kangahe: In this sociolect, it means to discuss the price of certain merchandise and agree on a certain amount. But this is used by only traders between themselves to prevent customers or other traders from knowing whether one has gained or lost.

e.g. - Mwahurije kurya kangahe?

- How much money did you agree on?

60. Gukasira:

This is of an unknown origin.

Smng: Gukasira: It is used to describe a situation by which a customer comes and proposes a less than the half of the amount the trader said first.

e.g. - Yari yaje gukasira gusa, ntiyari umuguzi.

- He was not a customer; he gave less than the half.

61. Harumye:

This is a Kirundi expression to mean “the place is dry”.

Smng: Harumye: In the sociolect, it means “there are no customers”.

e.g. - Uyu musu harumye cane.

-Today, there are no customers.

62. Mugashomeri:

This expression is a loan word from French name “chomeur”.

Smng: mugashomeri: It has the same sociolinguistic meaning as “**Harumye**” (see above). It describes the time when there are no customers.

e.g. - Muri iyi misi turi mugashomeri.

- These days we have no customers.

63. Kuyamukura mu ngodo:

- kuyamukura (Kir.v): to withdraw something from someone, especially money

- mu (Kir.pron.): in

- ngodo (Kir.n): purse

Kuyamukura mu ngodo: To withdraw money from someone’s purse.

Smng: Kuyamukura mu ngodo: This expression means to manage to convince a difficult customer to buy something after a long discussion.

64. Kunegosia:

This is a borrowed verb used in Kirundi from the French verb “Négociier”.

Smng: Kunegosia: It means to describe a price.

65. Gukina ikirimba:

Gukina (Kir.v): to play

Ikirimba: This is of an unknown origin.

Smng: Gukina ikirimba: This expression implies a team of traders who organize themselves and give one another credits. They contribute some money for a certain period for one people and turn by turn, they receive it in a kind of cycle. The first one to get it will wait for all of others to finish and get it again. It is a way auto financing them.

66. Kuja ku Mutoyi:

- kuja (Kir.v): to go
- ku Mutoyi (Kir.n): at Mutoyi (a name of place)

Kuja ku Mutoyi: to go to Mutoyi.

Smng: Kuja ku Mutoyi: This expression is used by customers to describe a situation in which; a customer comes to buy something and gives a little amount of money. In order to avoid insulting her/him as he is angry, this trader sends her to Mutoyi. Mutoyi is located in Bugendana commune, Gitega Province. At this place, there is a shop which makes and sells goods such as utensils, foods, etc. These goods are expensive because of their quality. When a trader sends a customer to this place, one may think that it is for kindness, but it is a way of getting rid of him/her.

67. Kurimana:

- kurimana (Kir.v): to cultivate
- kurimana (Kir.v): This implies an action of cultivating, but in a way that one cultivates another and vice versa.

Smng: Kurimana: In the sociolect, it means to make concurrence of customers.

68. Amasazi:

This is Kirundi word from the name “umusazi” meaning “fool”. It can be translated as “they are fools”.

Smng: Amasazi: This expression refers to “money”. A fool person is someone who is difficult to manage, demanding, and requires much care. The traders think that money behaves like a fool. They make allusion to fools to talk about money.

e.g. - Yaguhaye amasazi angahe?

- How much money did he give you?

69. Amakwaca:

It has an unknown origin.

Smng: Amakwaca: It refers to money also.

e.g- Mpa ayo makwaca none uzogaruke no hanyuma!

- Give me the money and you will come back again!

70. Inzige:

(Kir.n): cicadas

Smng: Inzige: In this sociolect it means money. When cicadas attack a piece of crop, they come in mass flying and pausing on leaves of plants. Though they destroy they are somehow beautiful to see. Also, it is difficult to catch them by hands. When you try, you see them going. According to traders money is like grasshoppers. When money comes, it comes in mass and it is beautiful, also when it goes it goes in mass. It is also dangerous. It can be used to destroy people as well as things.

71. Amakashi:

This is a borrowed name from French name “cash”.

Smng: Amakashi: In this sociolect, it means “money”.

e.g. - Utanga amakashi angahe?

- How much money do you give?

72. Amarare:

It is a borrowed expression from the French adjective “rare”.

Smng: Amarare: In this sociolect it also means “money”. This is used in the traders’ sociolect to mean that money is rare.

73. Iponyo:

This linguistic item is of an unknown origin.

Smng: Iponyo: It means money.

e.g. - Iponyo zakenye muriyimisi

- This days there is no money.

74. Amapesa:

This is a loan word from Kiswahili name to mean “money”. We can remark the prefix **ama-** which is Kirundi and the name **pesa** which is Kiswahili.

Smng: Amapesa: It means money.

75. Amanoti:

This was borrowed from French name “notes” to mean “bills”.

Smng: Amanoti: It means money.

76. Ibirepe:

This is a Kirundi name meaning “old bags”

Smng: Ibirepe: Also means money. The traders call money “ibirepe” make allusion to arrangement of old bags at their market places. If you visit such places you can see them arranged like money in the bank. There is an arrangement of bags for different prices as there is arrangement of bills in bank for different amounts.

77. Inzingwa:

(Kir.n). It means “something that can be folded”.

Smng: Inzingwa: It also means money. This is because money is often folded before you conserve it.

78. Amadorari:

A borrowed name from English name “dollar”.

Smng: Amadorari: It means money: This was generalized from the American money dollar. Now Burundian, Rwandese and so on are called “amadorari”. This shows how powerful the dollar is.

79. Ibisabisho:

(Kir.n): Means prayers.

Smng: Ibisabisho: It refers to money. This word is originated from the Burundian tradition. In fact, when someone wants to get married, he must go to ask for a lady’s hand from her parents. This implies to pay for the dowry which is nowadays money in most of the cases. It is this money that was called “**ibisabisho**”. Traders use this expression to show how important money is. They believe that if you have money, you can get whatever you want especially a partner.

80. Abahisi babiri:

- abahisi (Kir.n): Lates

- babiri (Kir.n): two

Abahisi babiri: two lates

Smng: Abahisi babiri: This is used to talk about the ten thousand Burundian Franc bill. On one face of it there is a picture of two heroes of Burundi of independence and democracy respectively; Prince Rwagasore and Ndadaye Merchiol.

81. Umutuku:

(Kir.n): red

Smng: Umutuku: It also means a bill of ten thousand Burundian francs. This is because it simply used to be red.

82. Rimiteri:

It is borrowed from the company name of “Lumitel”, a new telecommunication company in Burundi.

Smng: Rimiteri: It means the new bill of ten thousand Burundian Franc .The color Lumitel Company uses in its publicity is yellow in most of the cases and the new bill of ten thousand is also yellow. The traders make allusion to this color to name the bill.

83. Inoti y’amahasa:

- Inoti: Borrowed word from French name “note”to mean “bill”

- Ya (Kir.prep): of

- Amahasa (Kir.n): twins

Inoti y’amahasa: the bill of twins

Smng: Inoti y’amahasa: It means again the ten thousand Burundian Franc bill. Like “Abahisi babiri”, it is because it holds a picture of the two heroes of Burundi. Because they fought for Independence and democracy just like in the same context, they are called twins.

84. Indisi:

This word is borrowed from French “dix” which means “ten”.

Smng: Indisi: In this sociolect, it means a ten thousand Burundian Francs bill.

85. Iporo:

This is a Kirundi borrowed noun from the French name “Port”.

Smng: Iporo: It refers to a five thousand Burundian Franc bill. Normally, on one face of the older bill there used to be a picture of the port. Traders refer to this port to name this bill.

86. Imbabi:

(Kir.n): means leaves

Smng: Imbabi: It refers to any bill. Just because, bills are like leaves of plants traders call them leaves.

87. Idemase:

This is a borrowed expression from French “deux” to mean “two” and “masse” to mean “weight”.

Smng: Idemase: It means a two thousand Burundian Francs bill.

88. Iyumupolisi:

The name here is a loan noun from “Police”. It means “the bill of policeman”.

Smng: Iyumupolisi: It means a two thousand Burundian Francs bill. According to the traders, this word was borrowed from the transportation of goods and people career jargon. Here, street security forces used to be corrupted and received two thousand bill. This has been done many times and drivers got accustomed to giving them the only amount.

e.g - Ongera ko iyumupolisi ndaguhe umuzigo.

- Give two thousand more and I give you the goods.

89. Umuroraje:

The name here was given to the street security policemen. This word is borrowed from “roulage” meaning “riding”. It is a part of “Police de roulage” (Riding Police) which is an institution in charge of street security.

Smng: Umuroraje: It is the same to “Iyumupolisi” (See above).

90. Imilibare:

It is a Kirundi expression borrowed from two French names “mille” (thousand) and “balle” (ball).

Smng: Imilibare: It means a thousand Burundian Francs bill.

91. Inyoni:

(Kir.n): A bird

Smng: Inyoni: It refers to a thousand Burundian francs bill. A long time ago this bill used to hold a picture of a bird with long wings. It was referred to and was named like that picture.

92. Indege:

(Kir.n): An aero plane

Smng: Indege: It means a thousand Burundian francs bill. This is not far from “Inyoni”. The traders have only translated the word to Kiswahili and after added the prefix *i-* to get “**Indege**” which seems to be Kirundi.

93. Ingazi:

(Kir.n): A ladder

Smng: Ingazi: In this sociolect, it is used to mean a five hundred Burundian franc bill. This bill used to have a picture of ladder on its one face. Traders named it from this picture. Though it was a long time ago, they kept this name until nowadays.

94. Umungazi:

(Kir.n): a palm tree

Smng: Umungazi: It is referred to name a five hundred Burundian francs bill. This was also because in the past it used to be marked with a picture of palm tree.

95. Ipawundi:

It is a borrowed name from the English name "pound"

Smng: Ipawundi: It also means the five hundred Burundian francs bill.

96. Isambari:

It is borrowed from French words "cent" to mean one hundred and "balle" to mean ball.

Smng: Isambari: It means a hundred Burundian francs bill.

97. Iwane:

It is borrowed from English word "one".

Smng: Iwane: It is used to talk about a hundred Burundian francs bill.

98. Umuhisi:

(Kir.n): late

Smng: Umuhisi: It means also a hundred Burundian francs bill. On this bill there is a picture of Prince Louis Rwagasore, heroes of Burundi independence. In Bururundi tradition, it was taboo to talk about the name of someone who died especially if he was respectful. This is why traders called this bill "Umuhisi".

99. Rwagasore:

This is the name of the heroes of Burundi independence.

Smng: Rwagasore: It refers to a hundred Burundian francs bill. In the same sense of "umuhisi", it means a hundred Burundian francs bill. This is because of the picture Prince Louis Rwagasore we can see from the bill.

100. Feki:

It is a borrowed word from the English adjective "fake".

Smng: feki: It means old bills.

e.g. - Iyo noti ya feki ntayo ntora.

- I am sorry; I do not receive this old bill.

101. Ayo mukahawa:

This Kirundi expression means “money from coffee”.

Smng: Ayo mukahawa: It means new bills. During the Coffee harvest season, cultivators bring their coffee to the station for sale. They do not pay them immediately. They wait for some months. When comes the time, they go back to the station for payment. In most of the cases they give new bills. Hence, traders name any new bill “money from coffee”.

102. Ivyuma:

(Kir.n): It means metals

Smng: Ivyuma: It means coins of one franc, five franc, fifty francs. The reason is that they are made from irons.

103. Kayogoro:

(Kir.n): It is a name of one of the communes of Makamba Province.

Smng: Kayogoro: In this sociolect, it means the older bills. During this period, there is a change of the bills ‘characteristics. This concerns the bills of one thousand, two thousand, five hundred, five thousand, ten thousand. This sociolectal word refers to the former ones.

104. Manda ya gatatu:

- manda: Borrowed from French name “mandat” meaning “mandate”

- ya (Kir.prep): of

- gatatu (Kir.n): three

Manda ya gatatu: Third mandate, third term

Smng: Manda ya gatatu: It is referred to the new bills replacing the former ones of five hundred, one thousand, two thousands, five thousand and ten thousand. The time of transition from the former to the new bills coincide with the period of elections in Burundi. During this period, there were oppositions to a third term of the President, demonstrations especially in Bujumbura town.

105. Viyeteli:

This word is from the name of a new company of telecommunication in Burundi “Viettel Burundi” an anonymous company. This gave name to “Lumitel”.

Smng: Viyeteli: This is used to talk about the new bills like “manda ya gatatu” (see above). Also, the birth of this company coincides with the new bills; that is to say five hundred, a thousand, two thousand, five thousand and ten thousand bills.

IV.3.2. Words and Expressions Related to Markets and Places within Markets.**106. Kabuko:**

It is an English acronym which stands for Kamenge Business Company. It is a company which is in charge of managing Kamenge market.

Smng: Kabuko: The traders use this acronym to mean the Kamenge market.

e.g - Uyu musu uraja muri Kabuko?

- Do you go Kamenge market today?

107. Mu mugamba:

- mu (Kir.prep): at

- mugamba (Kir.n): the traditional region covering the parts of the nowadays provinces of Bururi, Mwaro, Muramvya and Bujumbura Rural.

Mu mugamba: In Mugamba region.

Smng: Mu mugamba: This is used to talk about the markets of Ngagara and Musaga. According to the traders of Bujumbura city markets, Ngagara and Musaga zones have been habited by people from Mugamba region. This been extendend to their respective markets.

108. Kwijobe:

It is a loan expression from English used in Kirundi meaning “at the job”

Smng: Kwijobe: In this sociolect it means “at the market”. The traders use this expression to talk about any market. For them, like any other townee, in order to stay in Bujumbura for a long time, one must have a job somewhere. Their markets hold their jobs.

109. Muri ville:

- muri (Kir.pr): in

- ville(Fr.n): town

Muri ville: in town

Smng: Muri ville: It refers to Jabe market. Before the burning of Bujumbura central market in January 2013, Jabe market was occupied by medium traders like other markets. Customers, could say “Ngiye muri ville” (I go town) rather “Ngiye mw’isoko nkuru ya Bujumbura” (I go to Bujumbura central market). But after the incident, many traders have moved towards there. Now, traders say that Bujumbura central market is Jabe market; “to go town” is “to go Jabe market”.

110. Mubaduga:

This Kirundi linguistic element means “within the people who go up country”.

Smng: Mubaduga: It refers to Kamenge market. The traders name this market like that, because it is not far from the north bus station. This bus station includes all the buses which travel to the north part of the country. There are many travelers every day. Such an expression gives the picture of the characteristics of frontier parts of the town.

111. Mubarundi:

This Kirundi expression means “within Burundians”.

Smng: Mubarundi: In this sociolect, it is referred to Kanyosha market. Bujumbura city markets traders despise between themselves. “Umurundi” opposite to “umuzungu” (a white people, in this sociolect someone who is rich) is someone of up country. Kanyosha, is made up two parts, one is in rural area another is in town. They believe that people of up country are true Burundians while those who live in town have lost the culture. True Burundians live in mountains, they are poor. Kanyosha market has got this name because; in this zone there are “true Burundians”.

112. Kumbuga:

This Kirundi expression means “in the field”.

Smng: Kumbuga: It is referred to any market in Bujumbra city. Normally “imbuga” (field, ground) is any place where traders can put merchandises so that customers can come and buy. Traders have extended this meaning for a small place to the whole market.

e.g.- Uyu musu uraja kumbuga?

- Do you go to the market today?

113. Gutonda ipero:

- gutonda (Kir.v):

- ipero: Borrowed from French name “appel”

Smng: Gotonda ipero: It means to attend the market for selling. Due to the regularly attendance of traders at their respective places and markets, traders feel as military. They feel a must to attend like a pupil attending a revision classroom.

- Paul ntiyatonze ipero.

- Paul has not opened his room.

114. Jardin belge:

- Jardin(Fr.n) : garden

- Belge: Belgium

Jardin Belge: Belgium’s garden

Smng: Jardin Belge: It means Jabe market. This name is from the colonial time. At that time, Jabe quarter was reserved for only the Belgium colonialists. This is the reason why we have Jabe as name of a zone. So, traders have referred to this to name this market.

115. Mogadiscio/Benghazi:

Mogadiscio is in Somali and Benghazi is in Lybia

Smng: Mogadiscio/Benghazi: It means Musaga market. During this time, there are two events which influence this name. One is that, there is a mission assigned to

Burundi army to contribute for Somali peace making. Sometimes the soldiers are trapped and many die. This sometimes happened at Mogadiscio. Benghazi was known for the recent struggles of the people against their president. Another is that, at Bujumbura there are demonstrations against the third term of the President, and Musaga is one of the most sensitive parts of the city. These demonstrations leave behind many victims. So, traders, refer to these two situations to name Musaga and Musaga market. The relation is the victims of war and of demonstrations. This relation gave birth to the two names.

116. Morgue:

(Fr.n): morgue, mortuary

Smng: Morgue: Where old shoes are sold.

e.g. - Morgue ikukira A.C.C.U.

- The place where old shoes are sold belong to A.C.C.U.

117. Ikibanda:

The word is of an unknown origin.

Smng: Ikibanda: It refers to any place or room where goods can be stocked while waiting for buyers.

118. Mugikoneseri:

It is a borrowed expression from French name “connaisseur” meaning “expert”.

Smng: Mugikoneseri: It is referred to a place where clothes and shoes are repaired.

An expert is someone who masters something.

119. Mukivanderi:

It is a borrowed expression from French name “vendeur” meaning “vender”.

Smng: Mukivanderi: It is referred to the place where utensils and house equipment are sold. At this place, you can get second hand items. Also, there are venders who come to this place to buy little items after move around the city looking for clients. These venders are known “abavanderi”.

120. Munkoneseri:

This borrowed from the French verb “connaître” which means “to know”. It seems to be a derived name from the verb but it is not.

Smng: Munkoneseri: Traders use this expression to name the place where repaired clothes are sold; it means they have passed within “Mugikoneseri” (see above the meaning).

121. Mama nitilie:

- Mama (Kir.n): mother

- nitilie (Kisw.v): Is from the Kiswahili verb “Kutia” which means “to put”

- Mama nitilie: mother, put here for me

Smng: Mama nitilie: It is used to talk about the place where we can get ready food in the markets (kinds of mobile restaurants). In this restaurant, if you enter at mid-day you can hear traders ordering by saying “Mama nitilie!” (Mama put here food!). Also, in such restaurants, it is worth mentioning that women are managers in most of the cases. This ordering way has given birth to the name of the restaurants.

122. Salle à manger:

- salle (Fr.n): room

- a (Fr.prep): to

- manger (Fr.v): to eat

Salle à manger: room to eat

Smng: Salle à manger: In this sociolect, it refers to any restaurant in Bujumbura city where you can get food. In Bujumbura, in most of the cases, families have in their sitting room, a place reserved for eating equipped with table and chairs. The place is similar to ones in restaurant. And it is known as “salle à manger”. It is this allusion that gave birth to this expression.

123. Mu bishweka:

- mu (Kir.pr): in, within

- bishweka (Kir.n): torn clothes

Mu bishweka: in torn clothes

Smng: Mu bishweka: It is referred to the place where second hand clothes are sold.

124. Mu bacuzi:

- mu (Kir.pr): in, at, within

- abacuzi (Kir.n): blacksmiths

Mu bacuzi: within blacksmiths

Smng: Mubacuzi: It means the place where materials are repaired. It means where radios, televisions, coffee makers and so on, are repaired if they have a problem.

125. Muri magasins:

- muri (Kir.pr): in, within, at

- magasins (Fr.n): shop, store, warehouse

Muri magasins: within the shops

Smng: Muri magasins: It means the place where imported clothes are sold at the markets.

IV.3.3. Words and Expressions Related to Life Within and Outside the Markets

126. Gukunda stevia:

- gukunda (Kir.v): to like, to love

- stevia (Fr.n): It is a name of a new plant that is being involved in Burundi. It has a good taste and is drunk without sugar.

Gukunda stevia: to like stevia

Smng: Gukunda stevia: It means to like having sex so much.

127. Gukunda ingozi:

- gukunda (Kir.v): to like, to love

- ingozi (Kisw.n): a skin

Smng: Gukunda ingozi: It means to like women so much. Normally “ingozi” is a pair of shoes from the skin. Traders consider women like those shoes, because in

order to wear them, every day one must clean and polish them. This is similar to women, in the sense that they are clean and perfumed whenever they go out.

128. Impfizi ya leta/Impfizi ya Komine:

- Impfizi (Kir.n): a beef
- ya (Kir.prep.): of
- leta: borrowed from French “l’Etat” meaning “state”
- komine: borrowed from French “commune”

Impfizi ya leta/Impfizi ya Komine: It means the beef of the State or the beef of commune.

Smng: Impfizi ya leta/Impfizi ya commune: This is used to talk about a man with many wives. In the past, there used to be a government project which consisted of ameliorating the cattle. The government could look for a beef of good quality and place it at the chief commune; people were required to bring their female cows. And the mixture would be the combination of the two.

129. TVS:

It is a trade mark name of accompany which sells motorcycles and their spare parts.

Smng: TVS: It is used to talk about a beautiful wife. There is a TVS motorcycle named “Mugore mwiza” (beautiful wife). Traders have extended this name to beautiful wives.

130. Kumva abashitsi munda:

- kumva (Kir.v): to hear, to feel
- abashitsi (Kir.n): guests
- munda (Kir.v): in the belly

Kumva abashitsi munda: to feel guests in the belly.

Smng: Kumva abashitsi munda: In the sociolect, it means to feel hunger.

131. Kuduza idrapo:

- kuduza (Kir.v): to raise
 - Idrapo: borrowed from French “drapeau”, it means “a flag”
- Kuduza idrapo: to raise the flag

Smng: Kuduza idrapo: to feel the sexual desire.

e.g - Yabonye i TVS aca aduza idrapo.

- He saw a beautiful wife and he felt a sexual desire.

132. Kubura isoko:

- Kubura (Kir.v): to miss, to lack
 - Isoko (Kir.n): a market
- Kubura isoko: to lack a market

Smng: Kubura isoko: In this sociolect, it is used to talk about ladies who have been waiting for a long time a fiancé but in vain. To get a husband is like to get a market for one’s merchandises.

133. Kuyingisha:

(Kir.v): to make someone cry

Smng: Kuyingisha: To make someone happy, laugh.

134. Uwo ku mapavés:

- uwo (Kir.pr): It replaces somebody
 - ku (Kir.prep): on
 - amapavés: borrowed from French “les pavés” to mean “cobblestones”
- Uwo ku mapavés: Somebody who lives on cobblestones.

Smng: Uwo ku mapavés: It means a prostitute girl. In Kamenge, there is a paved street on which, at the evening, prostitutes attend to wait for their customers. This street has become a reference to name such people and others alike.

135. Uwo kwa Combe:

- uwo (Kir.pr): It replaces somebody
 - kwa (Kir.prep): to, at
 - combe (Kir.n): a name of a parson, a bar at Kamenge
- Uwo kwa Combe: Somebody who belongs to combe bar.

Smng: Uwo kwa Combe: It also means a prostitute girl.

Combe bar is located at the 11th avenue in Kamenge zone. It is said that at this bar, there are prostitute girls who attend the place for the sake of looking for customers. This bar has been a reference for these girls and others alike.

136. Kumira isashe:

- kumira (Kir.v): to swallow
- isashe: borrowed from Fench name “sachet” meaning “sack”, “bag”

Kumira isashe: to swallow the sack, bag

Smng: Kumira isashe: It means to suffer from AIDS. If a cow swallows a sack, there is no medicine, it must die. This expression gets origin here. Traders refer to this cow situation to name such a sad happening. They compare a cow dying of having swallowed a plastic bag with a person having caught HIV.

137. Kugira 6600Voltes:

- Kugira (Kir.v): to have, to get
- 6600voltes: This is a high tension of electricity on which if you touch you die immediately.

Mtoto chaud: hot child

Smng: Mtoto chaud: This expression is not far from “birwa ahashashe” (see above). It also means a man who court children like his for sex.

142. Urushingamano:

- uru-: A Kirundi prefix replacing something

- gushinga (Kir.v): to fix

- amano (Kir.n): toes

Urushinga mano: something that fixes toes

Smng: Urushingamano: It is used to talk about a banana beer from rugombo in Cibitoke Province. It is also known for its origin name “rugombo”. If somebody is drunk, he or she has much energy though, he has no equilibrium. They can fix well toes on earth, which ironical.

143. Inkizwa:

It is from a Kirundi word “umukizwa” (a converted person).

Smng: Inkizwa: Traders use this expression to refer to drinks such as juice, coke, Fanta, etc. Converted people belonging to some religions do not drink alcoholic drinks. Traders who do not belong to such beliefs suppose that “inkizwa” are reserved for only “abakizwa” (converted persons).

144. Gutanga iraporo:

- gutanga (Kir.v): to give, to submit

- iraporo: it is a borrowed name from French “rapport” (report)

Gutanga iraporo: To submit the report.

Smng: Gutanga iraporo: In this sociolect, it means to go out for drinking to the bar or caffè.

145. Guta réseaux:

- guta (Kir.v): to loose
- reseaux (Fr.n): network

Guta reseaux: to lose the network

Smng: Guta reseaux: It means to suffer from AIDS. Since AIDS is an incurable, if somebody catches it, it is like a cell telephone which has lost the signal completely due to a certain problem. Such a device becomes a good for nothing.

e.g. -Yarataye réseaux

- He suffers from AIDS

146. Kugira inyuma y'urugo:

- kugira (Kir.v): to have
- inyuma (Kir.prep): behind
- ya (Kir.prep): of

Kugira inyuma y'urugo: to have a land behind the gate.

Smng: Kugira inyuma y'urugo: It is used to talk about people with big buttocks especially women.

147. Ihuriro:

(Kir.n): conference room

Ihuriro: It is a room where meetings can be held.

Smng: Ihuriro: It means a restaurant. At midday, traders meet in different restaurants to have lunch. Here, they can discuss for a little time different topics about their work, information about the country and their social life. It is another opportunity to strengthen their unity.

e.g - Numva abashitsi benshi, reka nje mw'ihuriro.

- I feel very hungry; let me go to the restaurant.

148. Kuduza irido:

- kuduza (Kir.v): to raise

- irido: It is borrowed from French "Rideau" (curtain)

Smng: Kuduza irido: In this sociolect, it means to go eating at the restaurant. Near Bujumbura city markets, there are small restaurants spread here and there. Many of them are equipped with curtain on their doors which; when you enter, you must raise it to get inside. It prevents people outside from seeing what is happening inside.

e.g. - Ni sasita, reka nje kuduza irido camenye.

- It is 12a.m, let's go restaurant to have lunch; I am hungry.

IV.3.4. Words and Expressions Related to Physical Description of People**149. Iradiyo:**

The expression is a borrowed name from French name "radio".

Smng: Iradiyo: It means a head. A head is a part of body which has eyes, ears, nose, hair and the mouth for speaking. When someone speaks, it is like a radio speaking.

150. Uwo vyashobotse:

- uwo (Kir.pron.): It replaces somebody

- gushoboka (Kir.v): to succeed

Uwo vyashobotse: Somebody who has been successful

Smng: uwo vyashobotse: It means somebody who has big belly. According to traders, somebody who is fat is also rich.

151. Bonne gouvernance:

This French expression means "good governance"

Smng: Bonne gourvernance: It means a big belly. Somebody who has a big belly has "good governance". In this context, to have a big belly presupposes to be a member of the government which is maybe ironical.

152. Kiri ku maso:

- kuba (Kir.v): to be
- ku (Kir.prep.): on
- amaso (Kir.n): eyes

Kiri ku maso: It is on the eyes

Smng: Kiri ku maso: Traders use this expression to talk about a young lady who is very beautiful to the extent that whoever sees her wants to have sex with her.

153. Kugira igi crâne:

- kugira (Kir.v): to have
- crâne (Fr.n): skull

Kugira igi crâne: to have a skull

Smng: Kugira igi crane: It means to have a big head.

e.g- Afise igi crane, ako gapira ntikamuca mwo.

- Because he has a big head, it does not pass through that tee shirt.

154. Kilometero:

It a borrowed name from French “Kilometre” (Kilometer)

Smng: Kilometero: Somebody who has long foot. This meaning is also not far from the “Kirenge”’s.

155. Kirenge:

It is a Kirundi name which means “foot”

Smng: Kirenge: It means somebody who has a big and fat foot.

156. Libellule:

(Fr.n): dragonfly

Smng: Libellule: It is used to talk about somebody who has a thin belly.

157. Imvubu:

(Kir.n): hippopotamus

Smng: Imvubu: Somebody who is very fat from toes to hair.

158. Intare:

(Kir.n): a lion

Smng: Intare: Somebody who is so strong. A lion is a very strong animal to the extent that it has been given the name of king of other animals.

159. Mugamba:

(Kir.n): It is a traditional region covering parts of the nowadays provinces of Mwaro, Muramvya, Bururi, Bujunbura rural.

Smng: Mugamba: Somebody who is tall. It is said that in Mugamba region there are only tall people.

160. Kanusu:

This is a Kirundi expression. “Akanusu” means the half of a liter. It is borrowed from Kiswahili name “nusu” meaning “half”.

Smng: Akanusu: In this sociolect, is referred to a short people.

161. Laiterie:

It is a French name which means a dairy industry.

Smng: Laiterie: It means a woman with big breasts.

162. Imbata:

(Kir.n): a duck

Smng: Imbata: It is used to talk about an old fat woman. When a duck is moving, it is like such a woman.

e.g. - Iyo mbata yaguze?

- Does that old fat woman buy?

IV.3.5. Other Expressions**163. Umukozi:**

This Kirundi name means “worker”.

Smng: Umukozi: It is a kind of stick that traders use to bring down clothes or other goods which are placed at a high level of the shop in the market.

It is also known as “Rallonge”.

164. Rallonge:

It is a French expression which means an extension cord.

Smng: Rallonge: It means the kind of stick (see above).

165. Sioni/Lalakia:

Both these are names of people.

Smng: Sioni/Lalakia: These are referred to someone who is rich. One is trader in Bujumbura another was a trader in Gitega. Traders assume that they are the richest.

166. Kuba urwego:

- kuba (Kir.v): to be, to become

- urwego (Kir.n): pillar, column

Kuba urwego: to become a pillar

Smng: Kuba urwego: To become very rich. Normally, “inzego” (plural of “urwego”) are “institutions”. If someone is a member of institution, he/she is respected. Traders also respect a successful person in his/her business.

IV.3.6. Stylistic Devices in Bujumbura City Markets Traders’ Sociolect

For any scientific study, style plays an important role in order to study very well a language. Therefore, traders use stylistic devices in their sociolect to show the differences in speech or writing according to the situation, topic and addressee. Figures of speech such as “**Metaphor**”, “**Metonymy**”, **Euphemism** and “**Irony**” are observed in this variety of language. This list is not exhaustive.

Metaphor is a figure of speech whereby a word or phrase is used to describe somebody or something else, in a way that is different from its normal use in order to show that the two things have the same qualities, and to make the description more powerful.

e.g. -Kuri R.PA. (At R.P.A.: Radio Publique Africaine: African Public Radio).

The comparison occurs between the customers gathered around a shop or

merchandises buying and the gathering of people around a shop which is equipped with a radio.

Metonymy is a figure of speech by which, the action is referred to something by the name of something else that is closely connected with it. According to Suhumy (2000:43), there are many varieties of metonymy as there are kinds of relationships:

- the container and the content
- the part and the whole
- the cause and consequence, etc

e.g - Ingazi (a bill of five hundred Burundian francs)

- Kirenge (someone who has long feet).

Euphemism is an indirect word or phrase that people often use to refer to something embarrassing or unpleasant, sometimes to make it more acceptable than it really is.

e.g. - Gukwama (“to cease” meaning “to catch AIDS”)

- Gusubira kurima (“to go back cultivating” meaning “to ruin”)
- Kugira inyuma y’urugo (“to have land behind the gate” meaning “to have big buttocks”).

Irony is a figure of speech whereby a speaker uses words that say the opposite of what he really mean, often as joke and whith a tone of voice that shows this.

e.g.- Guhomba (to ruin) while meaning “kunguka”(to gain).

- Guhaga (to be full) while meaning “gusonza” (to be hungry).

IV.4. Interpretation of the Findings

The above presentation and analyses of data need a complementary interpretation and discussion based on the results. The richness of this sociolect can be well revealed if only we keep in mind with the basic questions of sociolinguistics: Who speaks what to whom, how, when and where.

In the light of this clarification, the sociolinguistic study of this special variety of a particular social group can help to understand the realities and environment of where it is used. Mc Conville (1994: 52) states:

“...all professional commentators agree that the distinctive argot Of inmates gives an insight into the institution, preoccupations, and style of prison life”

Here, Mc conville was commenting on prison language. Similarly, this can be achieved with this sociolinguistic study of the sociolect spoken by Bujumbura city markets traders, a sociolect that is classified among the family of jargons.

The creation of this sociolect was realized in a multilinguistic environment. During that period, apart from Kirundi, Kiswahili and French which are already known as main languages, English was gaining the market with the entering of Burundi in East African community. It is a period of changes of bills and implantation of new companies. Also, it is a period of socio political fear in Burundi in general and in Bujumbura in particular. Consequently, this sociolect gives a picture of the traders' state of mind during this period. It contains the characteristics of the sociolinguistic situation at Bujumbura city markets. It is a medium through which traders express the life.

IV.4.1. The Sociolect as a Medium of Bujumbura city Markets Traders' Expression

The sociolect is a tremendous medium through which traders express their preoccupation, depict their markets and shops, designate their life in and outside their work places. It is also through this sociolect that traders express their relation with customers, hopes, despair and desires. In short, this sociolect is a mirror of Bujumbura city markets traders and the environment they work in, but also it is a tool used to strengthen their relation at work.

An important part of the sociolectal words; that is a hundred and five (105 which represent 63.2%) expression are related to trade. This number reveals how important their career is. By trade; we understand traders, customers, and bills (money). In these one hundred and five, nineteen(19) are used to talk about all kinds of customers, nine(9) to talk about themselves, thirty eight(38) to talk about trade in general and thirty eight(38) to talk about money (bills name). From this, we can see how “money and trade” are at the center of everything for them. When a customer comes to buy, by the first view, they give her as much as possible respect. If for instance, it is a male there are different connotations depending on his apparent age. They can call him “**databuja**” (boss) if he is older, “**grand frere**” (older brother), “**umukwe**” (son in law) if he is not. When he buys without discussing a long time they say that he is “**bosi**” (boss). But when he does not buy, terms like “**ikiyashu**” (much sweat) “**igikashi**” (banana to make beer) are quickly employed to express deception and anger. When he buys after a long discussion, **kuyamukura mungodo** “to withdraw money from a customer’s purse” comes in game. If he/she comes to ask prices and does not reply or even does not ask them, “**uwamatangazo**” or “**umunyarusaku**” are used. There are times of “**mugashomeri**”(there are no customers), “**harumye**”(without customers) when everyday traders attend “**kwijobe**”(at the market) , and come back home “**camenye**”(hungry) “**nkicinkumi**” (having got zero customer the whole day) from the morning. “**Gutaha nkicinkumi**” (getting zero customers the whole day) often happens to “**ikibamba**” (a new person in trade), while “**umukoneseri**” (an expert in trade) continues to become “**uwahejeje**” (prosperous), “**umutajili**” or “**sioni**” (very rich). But, whoever you are it is difficult to become “**Lalakiya**” (very rich) unless you get “**idunyu**” (illegal goods) many time. This is because “**agafukumwana**” (illegal goods) cannot be got from simple “**umuzigo**” (goods). Those **abakoneseri**” (traders) who operate in “**Morgues**” (where old shoes are sold) attend the job earlier in order “**Kwemporota**” (to buy so that to sell again) and after “**kudetaya**” (to sell one by one), sometimes “**ibiziga**” (shoes or clothes) need

to be taken “**mubakoneseri**” (places where clothes are repaired) so that the “**mabuja**” (female) and “**databuja**” (male customers) appreciate them. If not, we will need “**kubahengeka**” (to give them torn shoes or clothes willingly by showing the good face only) while “**turiko turanegosia** (we are discussing). In “**ukwezi kw’aba vraitment**” (September), there is no need “**kugubama**” (to lack customers completely) unless you want “**kwica akazi**” (you chase them by asking a lot of money than the known price). At this moment, **abakwe** (customers) bring “**ayo mukawa**” (new bills) or “**ama viyeteli**” (new bills replacing the former ones) only.

Beside trade domain, traders operating in Bujumbura city markets name their places, markets and even go beyond and connote some quarters. Here, twenty (20) words and expressions were collected which represent 12% of the total corpus. For instance, being “**muvyuma**” (where devices are repaired), “**muri magasins**” (where new clothes are sold), “**kw’ihuriro**” (at restaurant), “**mubakoneseri**” (where clothes are repaired), everywhere “**harabona**” (there are a lot of customers). Moreover, at “**Jardin belge**” (Jabe market), “**mubaduga**” (Kamenge market), “**mubarundi**” (Kanyosha market) or in “**Mugamba**” (Ngagara market), “**imarizirasohoka**” (goods flow), “**abatajili**” (traders) operate well with OBR.

Therefore, traders have relations either at the market or outside it. Here, a collection of twenty three (23) words and expressions is used to talk mainly about sexual domain, AIDS, family, etc. For instance, to have many wives one is known as “**impfizi ya leta**” or “**impfizi ya Komine**” (a man who has many wives). When, a woman has been waiting for a partner for a long time but in vain, “**yarabuze isoko**” (a lady who missed a partner).

However, there are men who run after little girls who are known as “**mtoto chaud**” (a man who courts little girls equal to his own children). Also, when someone has a sexual desire, they say “**kuduza idrapo**”, but if having sex without protection, one can catch sexual disease such as AIDS and become despaired, expressions like “**gukwama**”, “**guhonyora ihwa**”, “**guhonyora urushinge**” (to have AIDS), etc are employed.

Moreover, fourteen (14) linguistic items which represent 8.4% are used for physical description of people. They describe strong people “**intare**”(a lion), fat people “**invubu**”(a hippopotamus), high persons “**mugamba**” (a traditional region name), short people “**kanusu**” without forgetting beautiful girl “**kiri kumaso**” (the sexual organ is on eyes), “**Tvs**” (a beautiful girl) , and women with big buttocks, “**bafise inyuma y’urugo**” (who have a land behind the fence) and so on.

The traders’ sociolect is a mirror from which one can perceive how it is sad to lack customers and ruin but also how enjoyable is to get customers and prosper in trade. It is a tool through which we can see how intelligent traders are and how hard they work to gain. Also, it reflects the period and the environment in which they operate their business. It is undeniable that this sociolect arises from the mixture of physical and psychological experiences. At the moment of this research, there is a situation of fear for insecurity in Bujumbura habitants; which affect the markets traders in a way or another, but also there are changes of bills characteristics and emerging of new company of communication. This sociolect is not only influenced by the social realities but also the socio-linguistic situation at Bujumbura city markets.

The sociolinguistic situation at Bujumbura city markets is a corner stone in the creation of the traders’ sociolect. Consisting a “multilingual community”, Bujumbura city markets, mix all languages spoken in Bujumbura and in great lakes as well, since they have diverse background (that is Kirundi, French, Swahili, English and Kinyarwanda) in creating the sociolect. The order of importance of each language in creating the sociolect is shown in table5. Thanks to that order we can see the importance of each language in traders’ community; that is in their everyday conversation.

According to that classification of the sociolectal words and expressions according to their origin; in the first position we have Kirundi (which represents 47% of the whole corpus). The speculation to this is that Burundian traders like to speak their mother tongue despite the influences, because it conveys well the affective meaning.

This is the reason why even words and expressions from other languages are transformed in Kirundi. Another reason is that, many of them have low level of school, which makes those who have higher to be influenced. Concerning French, it occupies the second position (27.1%), because it is used as the official language of Burundi. It is used to communicate with foreigners and it connotes intellectuality. Because, customers are not only Burundians, traders even those who are illiterate make effort to know French as a solution to the problem but also to avoid scorning customers or neighbors. In addition, the creation of linguistic items from French as a third category shows the failure of the two to express adequately changes, experiences. Concerning Swahili and English, they occupy the fourth (6.02%) and fifth (4.81%) positions respectively. These positions attest the speed at which they are being learnt in Burundi in general and at Bujumbura city markets in particular. This is due to the place they are gaining all over the world in Business and the integration of Burundi in the East African Community (E.A.C.). They have outdistanced Kinyarwanda (0.6%) though; Kirundi and Kinyarwanda are mutually intelligible.

All in all, this sociolect showed the sociolinguistic situation in Bujumbura city markets and the importance of each language in traders' community. It also shows what traders have in mind but also the environment in which they operate. This sociolinguistic situation is "a mine" where rough materials are collected and are transformed "to construct the sociolect", in other words, it is a cornerstone in the creation of the traders' sociolect since different languages enriched this linguistic variety in away or in another.

CHAPTER V: GENERAL CONCLUSION

This sociolinguistic study aimed at providing a better understanding of how a multilingual society manages to get a common medium of communication despite many influences. It helps to understand well the sociolect spoken by traders operating in Bujumbura city markets. It includes four main chapters.

The first chapter named "General introduction" states the problem and the hypotheses to be proved in the whole thesis. The second chapter "Literature review" is concerned with the views of different linguists on the sociolect and related domains such as language. It is a theoretical framework which paves the way to the study. The third chapter "Methodology" gives techniques used to collect data and procedures of the study. The last one "Data analysis and discussion" explains what has been achieved on the basis of data analysis and discussion.

In this study, the data collected and their analysis as well their discussion have found out that traders operating in Bujumbura city markets make a linguistic community with their own medium of communication. This system of communication is result of many influences namely, the linguistic background of traders (see the words like "**mugamba, kuja isafari, umukambwe, kudetaya and iwane**), the behavior of customers and traders, realities undergone at national level in general and in Bujumbura city in particular (see words and expressions like "**Mogadiscio, Benghazi, manda ya gatatu, viyeteri**). Moreover, borrowing, derivation, compounding have been used to create socilectal words without forgetting proper names integrated. Because, in any society and culture as well, there are taboo words that are difficult to utter at any time, traders also do not escape from this rule; in order to solve this problem, figures of speech are used.

The four hypotheses have been then proved in a way that, first, according to the classifications done, trade is more important; the words related to it are more than

the half of every other theme. Here, expressions related to customers are at the center as they are at the center of any business. Second, realities such as “the third term” (manda ya gatatu), change of the bills characteristics, involvement of new telecommunication company, sociopolitical fear are in the heads of traders. Thirdly, sexual life, family life and basic needs but also, views of traders about trade and customers characterize this sociolect. Lastly, all the words used are in different languages reflecting the sociolinguistic situation in Bujumbura city and Bujumbura city markets traders.

Furthermore, we cannot pretend to have attained perfection at this end of this work. Some difficulties have been encountered: the time was insufficient, insecurity and financial means did not allow use of all the techniques freely. The Bujumbura city markets remain an unexplored field. This study constitutes a modest contribution and should pave the way to other studies. We need to see further research conducted in this field on markets life. For example, it should be interesting to make a study on gender influence in the creation of the sociolect, but also the study of the evolvement of words meaning in the sociolect of traders in Bujumbura city markets, since time is factor that influences a lot the language change especially in such a multilingual society.

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APPENDICES

**APPENDIX 1: Some words and expressions used in Bujumbura city markets
traders' sociolect**

Linguistic items	Origins	Translation
1. Igikashi	Kirundi	Banana to make beer
2. Ikiyashu	Kirundi	Sweet
3. Umubosi	English	Boss
4. Umukwe	Kirundi	Son in law
5. Databuja	Kirundi	A male boss
6. Mabuja	Kirundi	A female boss
7. Grand frère	French	An older brother
8. Sisita	English	A sister
9. Abavraiments	French	The true ones
10. Ukwezi kw'abavraiments	French	The month of the truly ones
11. Tonto	Unknown	Uncle
12. Tantine	French	Aunt
13. Uwo mugisagara	Kirundi	A townee
14. Umunyarusaku	Kirundi	A curious person
15. Uwamatangazo	Kirundi	A person of news
16. Njebesi	Unknown	-
17. Mukorofi	Unknown	-
18. Uwigira vyinshi	Kirundi	Somebody who boasts
19. Umudoria	Kirundi	Boy or girl scout
20. Umukoneseri	French	Expert
21. Dilimani	English	A dealer
22. Ikibamba	Unknown	A new comer
23. Biherengende	Kirundi	Finish and go

24. Umukambwe	Kinyarwanda	An experienced person
25. Umuyungwe	Unknown	A new comer
26. Uwahejeje	Kirundi	Somebody who has achieved something
27. Umutajili	Kiswahili	A rich person
28. Mwenemali	Kiswahili	A rich person
29. Guhubura	Kirundi	To break
30. Harabona	Kirundi	There is light
31. Kugubama	Kirundi	To be desolated
32. Habavye	Kirundi	The place is peppered
33. Camenye	Kirundi	It has broken
34. Kw' isanganiro	Kirundi	At the meeting point
35. Kuri R.P.A	Kirundi	At R.P.A
36. Akazigo/umuzigo	Kirundi	A luggage
37. Idunyu	Unknown	-
38. Agafu k'umwana	Kirundi	The flour of child
39. Kudetaya	French	To detail
40. Mbunde	Unknown	Numerous things
41. kubomora ibaro	French	To break a luggage
42. Kwemporota	French	To import
43. Kuja isafari	Kiswahili	To go travelling
44. Gutahga cose	Kirundi	To go home with nothing
45. Gutaha nk'icinkumi	Kirundi	Go home like a single lady' s sexual organ
46. Kwica akazi	Kirundi	To work in a bad way
47. Kugandisha imali	Kiswahili	To make goods stay in the stock

48. Imali ziragenda	Kiswahili	Goods flow
49. Kuvuza umuziki	Kirundi	To turn on the music
50. Kumena amaso abaguzi	Kirundi	To break customers' eyes
51. Guhengeka	Kirundi	To bend, to tilt
52. Kwabira	Kirundi	To moo, to low
53. Gushora ingurubuke k'umusigiti	Kirundi	To go selling pig at the mosque
54. Kuresha	Kirundi	To woo
55. Kubamba urusenga	Kirundi	To extend a net
56. Guseka	Kirundi	To break into something
57. Guhara	Unkown	„
58. Kugonesha	Kirundi	-
59. Guhuriza kurya kangahe	Kirundi	To meet at what avenue
60. Gukasira	Unknown	-
61. Harumye	Kirundi	The place is dry
62. Mugashomeri	French	The period when the job is stopped
63. Kuyamukura mungo-do	Kirundi	To withdraw money from a customer's purse
64. Kunegosiya	French	To discuss
65. Gukina ikirimba	Kirundi	To play " ikirimba"
66. Kuja kumutoyi	Kirundi	To go at Mutoyi
67. Kurimana	Kirundi	To cultivate each other
68. Amasazi	Kirundi	Mental problem
69. Amakwaca	Unknown	Money

70. Inzige	Kirundi	sauterelles
71. Amakashi	French	Money
72. Amarare	French	The rare ones
73. Iponyo	Unknown	Money
74. Amapesa	Kiswahili	”
75. Amanoti	French	The bills
76. Ibirepe	Kirundi	Old luggage
77. Inzingwa	Kirundi	clothes
78. Amadorari	English	dollars
79. Ibisabisho	Kirundi	prayers
80. Abahisi babiri	Kirundi	Two lates
81. Umutuku	Kirundi	The red one
82. Rimiteri	Proper name	Lumitel
83. Inoti y'amahasa	Kirundi	The twins' bill
84. Indisi	French	Ten
85. Iporo	French	Port
86. Imbabi	Kirundi	Leaves
87. Idemase	French	Two masses
89. Umuroraje	French	Security officer
90. Imilimbali	French	A thousand
91. Inyoni	Kirundi	A bird
92. Indege	Kirundi	Airplane
93. Ingazi	Kirundi	A ladder
94. Umungazi	Kirundi	A palm tree
95. Ipawundi	English	Pound
96. Isambali	French	Cent balls
97. Iwane	English	One

98. Umuhisi	Kirundi	A late
99. Rwagasore	Proper name	Rwagasore
100. Feki	English	Fake
101. Ayo mukahawa	Kirundi	Money from coffee trade
102. Ivyuma	Kirundi	Irons
103. Kayogoro	Proper name	Kayogoro
104. Mandate ya gatatu	French	Third term, mandate
105. Vieteri	Proper name	Viettel
106. Kabuko	Proper name	Kabuko
107. Mu mugamba	Proper name	At Mugamba
108. Kwijobe	English	At the job
109. Muri ville	French	In town
110. Mubaduga	Kirundi	Within the up country people
111. Mubarundi	Kirundi	Within Burundians
112. Kumbuga	Kirundi	On the ground
113. Gutonda ipero	French	To attend the job place
114. Jardin Belg	French	Belgium garden
115. Moghadiscio	Proper name	Moghadiscio
116. Morgue	French	Mortuary
117. Ikibamba	Unknown	A new people in the career
118. Mugikoneseri	French	Within the experts
119. Mukivanderi	French	Within the experts
120. Munkoneseri	French	Within the special clothes
121. Mama nitilie.	Kiswahili	At the restaurant
122. Salle à manger	French	At the restaurant

123. Mubishweka	Kirundi	Within old clothes
124. Mubacuzi	Kirundi	Within technicians
125. Muri magasins	French	In the shops
126. Gukunda stevia	French	To like stevia
127. Gukunda ingozi	Kiswahili	To like a skin
128. Impfizi ya leta	French	The state's beef
129. Tvs	Proper name	Tvs
130. Kumva abashitsi munda	Kirundi	To feel hungry
131. Kuduza idrapo	French	To raise a flag
132. Kubura isoko	Kirundi	To lack customers
133. Kuyingisha	Kirundi	To make somebody cry
134. Uwo kumapavés	French	People who live at paved avenue
135. Uwo kwa Combe	Proper name	Combe' s persons
136. Kumira isashe	Kirundi	To swallow a plastic bag
137. Kugira 6600voltes	French	To have 6600voltes
138. Guhonyora urushinge	Kirundi	To trample on a needle
139. Gukwama	Kirundi	TO cease
140. Birwa ahashashe	Kirundi	To fall on a laid bed
141. Mtoto chaud	Kiswahili	A lover of young girls
142. Urushingamano	Kirundi	Banana beer
143. Inkizwa	Kirundi	Lemonades
144. Gutanga iraporo	French	To submit a report
145. Guta reseaux	French	To lose the network
146. Kugira inyuma y'	Kirundi	To have land behind the

urugo		fence
147. Ihuriro	Kirundi	Conference room
148. Kuduza irido	French	To raise a curtain
149. Iradiyo	French	A radio
150. Uwovyashobotse	Kirundi	A successful person
151. Bonne governance	French	Good governance
152. Kiri kumaso	Kirundi	It is on eyes
153. Kugira igi crâne	French	To have a skull
154. Kilometero	French	Kilometer
155. Kirenge	Kirundi	A foot
156. libelule	French	Dragonfly
157. Imvubu	Kirundi	Hippopotamus
158. Intare	Kirundi	A lion
159. Mugamba	Kirundi	Mugamba
160. Kanusu	Kirundi	A half
161. Laiterie	French	Dairy
162. Imbata	Kirundi	A duck
163. Umukozi	Kirundi	A worker
164. Rallonge	French	Extension
165. Sioni/Lalakiya	Proper names	Sion/ Lalakia
166. Kuba urwego	Kirundi	To become a pillar.

APPENDIX 2: Questionnaire

General Questions

1. Market.....

Isoko ukorera mwo.....

2. Age.....

Imyaka ufise.....

3. Sex.....

Igitsina

4. How long have you been operating in this market.....

Imyaka umaze udandariza ngaha.....

5. School level.....

Urugero rw'amashure mufise

6. Goods.....

Ubwoko bw'ibidandazwa udandaza.....

7. Does it happen to use special words in your work?

Mwoba mufise ururimi mwisangije mukoresha na cane cane mugukora akazi kanyu k'urudandazwa?

9. Would you please give us special words you use for the following?

Mwoshobora kumpa amajambo mukoresha mukuvuga ivyo bikwirikira?

I. Words and expressions concerning trade

Amajambo ajanye n'urudandazwa

A. Concerning customers

Ivyerekeye abaguzi

1. Customers in general

Abaguzi muri rusangi:

2. To ask the price

- Kubaza igiciro.....
3. To discuss the price
Guharira igiciro.....
4. To ask a price and propose a low amount
Kubaza igiciro agatanga make.....
5. To ask the price and leave without replying.....
Kubaza igiciro agaca yigira.....
6. To ask the price and buy easily without discussing
Kubaza igiciro agaca agura adahaririye.....
7. A customer who checks the goods and leave without buying
Umuguzi araba ntature.....
8. A customer who is afraid of the merchandises' price
Umuguzi atinya igiciro.....
9. A customer who gives a lot of money without discussing a lot
Umuguzi atanga menshi adahaririye.....
10. A customer that gives a little money
Umuguzi atanga make.....
11. A customer who pays after a long discussion
Umuguzi atanga amahera yabanje kugondozwa.....
11. A customer who says the amount that he does not have and says he will come back later
Umuguzi avuga ayo adafise agaca agenda ngo azogaruka.....
12. A careless customer who does not check well what he buys
Umuguzi ataraba neza ibidandazwa aguze.....
13. A careful customer who checks what he buys.....
Umuguzi araba neza ntibamuhende.....
14. A customer who despises the goods offered
Umuguzi yinenaguza.....

B. Concerning traders

Ivyerekeye abadandaza

1. A trader in general

Umudandaza.....

2. A new trader in the profession

Umudandaza mushasha mu mwuga.....

3. An experienced trader

Umudandaza.amenyereyeurudandazwa.....

4. A trader who asks a lot of money and consequently sells nothing....

Umudandaza asaba menshi bigahava bikamujwengerako.....

5. A trader who lies to customers by giving expired or bad merchindises

Umudandaza ahenda abaguzi mugutanga ibidandazwa bitameze neza

6. A trader who make goods expensive.....

Umudandaza acira menshi.....

7. A trader who sells goods for the price less than the one he had bought them

Umudandaza ahombesha.....

8. A trader who makes goods flow by receiving little gain

Umudandaza asohora vyinshi kugiciro gito kugira anyarutse yisubirire
kurangura.....

8. An insociable trader

Umudandaza abana nabi n'abandi n'abandi badandaza.....

10. A sociable trader

Uwubana neza n'abandi.....

10. A welcoming trader

Umudanadaza yakira neza abaguzi.....

C. Concerning trade

Ivyerekeye urudandazwa

1. To lack customers

Kubura abaguzi.....

2. To get customers

Kuronka abaguzi.....

3. When we can prosper, how do you say?

Iyo haboneka amahera muvyita gute?.....

4. When, there is a lack of money?

Iyo atayahari naho?.....

5. How do you name goods?

Ibidandazwa muvyita gute.....

6. Goods

Ibidandazwa.....

The following ones:

Ibi bikwirikira

a. Foods

Ibifungurwa.....

b. Utensils

Ibikoresho vyo mu nzu.....

c. Clothes

Impuzu.....

d. Shoes

Ibirato.....

e. Meat

Inyama.....

In general how do you say the following?

Muri rusangi muvuga gute:

1. To lose

Guhomba.....

2. To gain

Kunguka.....

3. To concurrence each other

Gutwarana abaguzi.....

4. To buy from a wholesaler

Kurangura.....

5. To sell as a grossist

Kuranguza.....

6. To sell merchandises in detail

Kwanda.....

7. To buy new goods

Kurangura bishasha.....

8. To buy second goods

Kurangura ibitari bishasha.....

9. If there is a lack of goods

Ibidandazwa vyabuze

10. If there is plenty of goods

Ibidandazwa vyabaye vyinshi.....

11. Illegal goods

Ibidandazwa vy'amagendu.....

D. Concerning money/bills

Ivyerekeye amahera/inoti

1. How do you call money?

Amafanga muyita gute?.....

2. The new bills

Amahera yakera.....

3. Old bills

Amahera ashaje.....

4. Coins

Ibingorongoro:

a. One franc coin

Ica rimwe.....

b. Five franc coin

Icatanu.....

c. Ten franc coin

Ica cumi.....

d. Fifty franc coin

Ica mirongoitanu.....

e. The new /former bills

Inoti za kera/izi nshasha:

f. Ten franc bill

Iya cumi.....

g. Twenty Franc bill

Iya mirongo ibiri.....

h. One hundred franc bill

Iy'ijana.....

i. Five hundred franc bill

Iy'amajana atanu.....

j. One thousand franc bill

Iy'igihumbi.....

k. Two thousand franc bill

Iya bibiri.

l. Five thousand franc bill

Iy'ibihumbi bitanu.....

m. Ten thousand franc bill

Iy'ibihumbi cumi.....

II. Words and expressions used to name markets and places within markets

Amajambo akoreshwa mukuvuga amasoko n'ibibanza mu masoko

A. Markets

Amasoko

1. Market

Isoko:.....

a. Jabe.....

b. Buyenzi city market.....

c. Kamenge.....

d. Ruvumera.....

e. Kinindo.....

f. Ngagara.....

g. Kinama.....

h. Musaga.....

i. Kanyosha.....

k. Isoko nshasha ya Cotebu.....

B. Places in markets

Ibibanza badandarizamwo:

1. Places where ustencils are sold

Ibikoresho vyo mu nzu.....

2. Foods and condiments

Ibifungugwa, ibirungo.....

3. Where clothes are sold

Impuzu z'agaciro.....

4. Where second hand clothes are sold

Impuzu zisanzwe.....

5. Where shoes are sold

Ibirato.....

6. Where meat is sold

Inyama.....

7. Where oil is sold

Amavuta.....

8. Where fish is sold

Indagara.....

9. Where flour is sold

Ifu.....

10. Where clothes are repaired

Aho basonera impuzu.....

11. Where materials are repaired

Aho bakorera ivyuma.....

III. Words and expressions concerning life within and outside markets

Ibijanye n'ubuzima mw'isoko no hanze y'isoko

A. In general how name:

Muri rusangi mwita gute:

1. A man who is love with many wives

Umugabo akunda abagore cane.....

2. A man who delayed to get married

Umugabo yatevye kubaka urwiwe.....

3. A man who loves young girls

Umugabo akunda udukobwa tukiri duto.....

4. A man who has many wives
Umugabo afise abagore benshi.....
5. A very rich man
Umugabo atunze cane.....
6. A beautiful wife
Umugore mwiza.....
7. An ugly lady
Umugore mubi.....
8. A wife with big buttocks
Umugore afise ibisusu binini.....
9. A wife with attractive eyes
Umugore afise amaso meza.....
10. A wife who has many husbands
Umugore afise abagabo benshi.....
11. An illegal wife
Umugore atazwi mu mategeko.....
12. A wife with big buttocks
Umugore afise amabere manini.....
13. How do you say if you are hungry?
Iyo ushonje ushonje uvuga gute?.....
14. How do you say if you are thirsty?
Iyo unyotewe uvuga gute?.....
15. To become fat
Kuvyibuha.....
16. To become thin
Kwonda.....
17. To have a sexual desire
Gushaka umugore/umugabo.....

18. To have AIDS

Kugwara umugera wa SIDA.....

19. A person who give man difficulty

Umuntu atikura amahera.....

20. A generous person

Umuntu atanga.....

21. A trader who opens the shop early

Umudandaza yugurura kare.....

22. A trader who opens the shop lately

Umudandaza yugurura atevye.....

23. A funny trader

Umudandaza atwenga.....

24. A trader who lies to customers

Umudandaza abesha.....

B.Concerning bars and restaurants

Ibijanye n'akabare n'uburiro:

How do you name the following drinks?

Mwita gute ibinyobwa bikwirikira:

1. Rugombo.....

2. Primus.....

3. Ifanta.....

4. Jus.....

5. Nyongera.....

6. Other drinks that are not mentioned

Izindi zitavuzwe.....

7. To go restaurant

Kuja gufungura mu buriro.....

8. To go to bar drinking

Kuja kunwa utuyoga mukirabo.....

IV. Physical description of people

Ibijanye na kamere k'abantu gafatiye kumubiri

1. A strong person

Umuntu w'inguvu.....

2. A so fat person

Umuntu avyibushe.....

3. A person with big belly

Umuntu afise inda nini.....

4. A person with big head

Umuntu afise umutwe munini.....

5. A person with small head

Umuntu afise agatwe gato.....

6. A person with a thin belly

Umuntu afise mu nda hato.....

7. A person with long feet

Umuntu afise ibirenge birebire.....

8. A Short person

Umuntu mugufi.....

9. A high person

Umuntu muremure.....

10. How do you name body parts?

Ibihimba vy'umubiri mubivuga gute

V. Any other words/any other topics

**Mwombwira ayandi majambo mukoresha mu rurimi gwanyu tutashizemwo
n'insiguro yayo?**

.....

Thank you indeed!

Murakoze cane !