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## **A lexical study of gisoni dialect spoken at Giteranyi**

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# UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Department of English Language and Literature

## A LEXICAL STUDY OF GISONI DIALECT SPOKEN AT GITERANYI

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-Professor, Sir H.M. BATIBO

A thesis submitted by  
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fulfilment of the requirement for  
the degree "Licence en Langue  
et Littérature Anglaises".  
Award of the University of Burundi

BUJUMBURA, JULY 1993

## DEDICATION

To you our beloved parents,  
To you NYIHINYUKA Gérard, your Wife and Son,  
To our brothers and Sisters,  
To our grand-mother for her wisdom,  
To all of you whose pain and joy affect us and vice  
versa,  
To all of you who believe in positive change  
in everything,

***We dedicate this thesis !***

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The achievement of the present work is a result of joined efforts. So many people contributed in a way or another to its completion. Though we cannot name all of them, we feel we would be indebted not to mention some of them.

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*We say thank you very much. May God the Almighty reward you accordingly.*

*Sincerely NIKUBWAYO William*

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- G.V : Gisoni Variety spoken at Giteranyi
- S.K : Standard Kirundi
- Q : Questions
- A : Answer
- or > : becomes

## CHAPTER I : THE PROBLEM

### I.1. INTRODUCTION

In linguistics, especially in its branch called dialectology which deals with the study of dialects, it is assumed that variation is a universal characteristic of languages rather than an occasional and accidental feature. In other words, all languages exhibit internal variations, that is, each language exists in a number of varieties.

According to Ronald Wardhaugh, in his work An Introduction to Sociolinguistics (1986), a variety can be, therefore, something greater than a single language as well as something less, less even than something traditionally referred to as a dialect. Ferguson (1971, P. 30) on his side, defines variety as "any body of human speech patterns which is sufficiently homogeneous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough semantic scope to function in all normal contexts of communication". The same author goes on saying that what is particularly important in these attempts of defining variety is that "variety" is defined in terms of a specific set of "linguistic items" or "human speech patterns" presumably sounds, words, grammatical features which we can uniquely associate with some external factors be it geographical area or a social group.

Therefore, we can assume that variation is to be found in all parts of a language : in the lexicon, the phonology, the grammar and the semantics. All those aspects of language are subject to change, and in all of them, change can be differentially received with resulting variation.

N.W. Francis (1983) distinguishes between casual or incidental variation, which can affect individual linguistic items without upsetting the system, and systematic variation, which affects the language in more fundamental ways. He goes on saying that the lexicon, being the least structured part of language, is more susceptible to incidental variation than to systematic. As a matter of fact, it is relatively easy to add a new word to the vocabulary without causing a systematic upset, especially when a need is created by some new object, event or circumstances in the world around us.

Kirundi, the language spoken in Burundi displays therefore varieties and these can be classified easily according to regional criteria rather than to social ones because we cannot speak of social classification of varieties insofar we don't have social classes as such within the Burundian society. These variations are found mainly in areas close to frontiers of the country; therefore bound to contacts with other dialects and cultures.

Indeed, people living in different parts of Burundi speak different dialects. For instance, people living in the Western region of Imbo speak IKIBO dialect which is quite different from IKIMOSO spoken in the eastern region of Kumoso. The same goes for people living in the Northern and Eastern parts of Burundi who speak IKINYABWERU in Bweru region ; IGISONI in Bugesera region, IKIYOGOMA in Buyogoma and IKIRAGANE in the southern region of Buragane : (See the linguistic map. p. 6).

The subject of our study can be considered as a variety of the Gisoni dialect spoken in Bugesera region. However, we cannot strictly limit such a variety in the delimited area of our study. In fact, we can also find some words and expressions elsewhere in neighbouring areas because it is not easy to set boundaries of areas where a given variety of a language is spoken. As a matter of fact, people move from one place to another and in their contacts, there is exchange of words thus, usage of same lexical items is observed in both areas.

## 1.2. BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

From the introduction, we can admit that Kirundi presents varieties at different levels towards the standard variety. Those varieties can show at their turn some internal variations depending on what linguistic features are taken into account. The Kirundi variety spoken at Giteranyi, being a variation of Gisoni dialect, has to be examined in some details. As W.N. Francis states in Dialectology : An Introduction (1983), it becomes apparent, when examining dialectal variation, that there are two aspects to be considered : On one hand, the forms and systems of the language which are affected, and on the other, the distribution of variation among the individuals and sub-groups of the speech community. In the former, we consider the ways in which variation appears in the language, and in the latter the ways in which it is distributed in the overall community of the language. Both aspects must be taken into account in a realistic total picture of the language and its users.

From the above aspects, we have chosen to work on the lexical aspect of Kirundi dialect spoken at Giteranyi because it is mainly the one which is really affected by such a variation and broadly distributed in the speech community of the study area. Besides, that area is set between two countries, therefore linguistic influences from neighbouring languages are evident insofar contacts between people are frequent. We may assume that Kihangaza, Kiswahili and English spoken in neighbouring Tanzania, Kinyarwanda in Rwanda have influenced in a way or another the dialect spoken at Giteranyi. Such an influence was made possible by the process of borrowing. As a matter of fact, this process is really an important element in language variation as far as lexicon is concerned.

R.A. Hudson (1980 : 38) says, about the borrowing process, that "One way in which a given language may enrich its vocabulary is through the process of borrowing ; when an item is taken from one variety into another".

Marie-Thérèse BIRIHANYUMA (1991), in her thesis, points out such an importance. Indeed, she says that the borrowing process involves the introduction of new words in a given language. She goes on saying that the lexical item is imported along with a new idea or object and has to be flexible to morphological and phonological structures of the host language.

As far as our thesis is concerned, we will deal with the lexical aspect and try to see the "Why" and "How" of such a variation in Gisoni dialect spoken at Giteranyi. In fact, when one moves from one area to another in Bugesera region, he notices clear differences in the way people speak whereas they were supposed to speak alike.

### 1.3. DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA OF STUDY

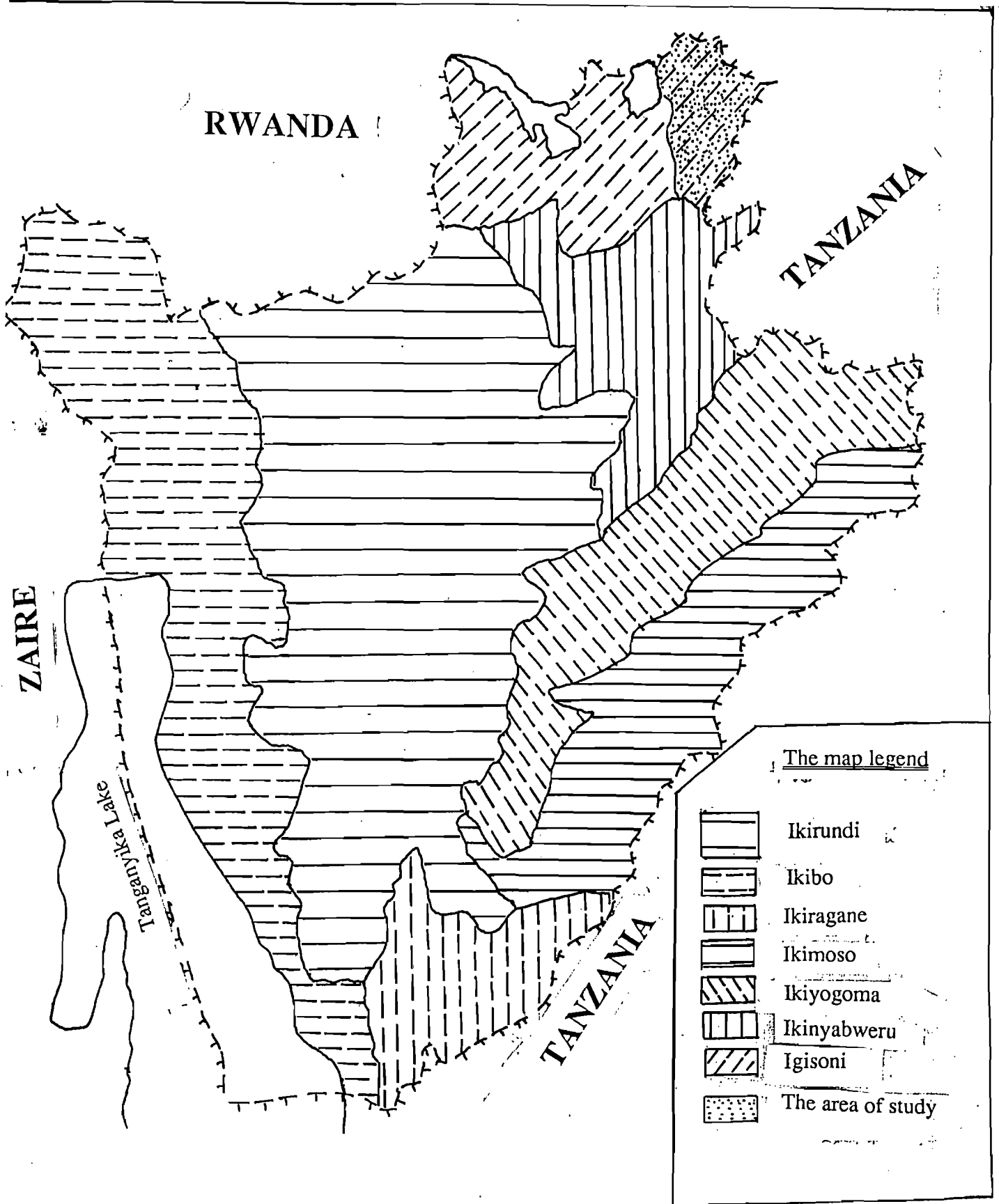
To speak of the variety spoken at Giteranyi, it will be logical to describe first of all the area and its population. Geographically speaking, Giteranyi is a commune located in the North-Eastern part of Burundi in Muyinga Province. It is limited in North by Rwanda, in East by Tanzania, in South by Butihinda Commune and in West, by Bwambarangwe Commune in Kirundo Province.

Traditionally speaking, Giteranyi is located in the region of Bugesera which comprises the whole province of Kirundo (See the map. p. 6).

As regards its population, Giteranyi Commune is inhabited by Burundian citizens : around 60% are natives of the area and about 39% are new settlers from other provinces mainly Ngozi and Kayanza provinces. The new comers have settled in the area since 1966 and most of them have dwelt in the Northern part of the Commune since the 1980<sup>s</sup>. It is worth mentioning that there are very few foreigners, that is Rwandese and Tanzanians even if the commune is set in between the two countries.

However, there are daily movements and contacts between the populations of the three countries. As a matter of fact, people from one country go to the other without any problem : there is no need to have required official papers to travel from one country to the other and people go to buy and sell goods in markets, go for medical cares in health centers and hospitals of both countries. In addition, we may have some families in one country with relatives in the other. Few years ago, there were primary school children from Tanzania who attended school in Burundi and vice versa.

All this indicates that there are frequent and daily contacts between populations of the two neighbouring countries and people from Giteranyi Commune. Coming back to the dialect spoken in Bugesera region, there are words and expressions peculiar to the area of Giteranyi which are worth studying on the lexical aspect. The map at P. 6 shows a delimitation of different dialects of Kirundi and the delimited area of study. Bugesera region covers Giteranyi Commune in Musinga and the entire province of Kirundo, except the Commune of Vumbi which is comprised in Bweru region.



Référence: Atlas linguistique de l'Afrique centrale(1985)

#### I.4. MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

The fact that dialect or language varieties deserve scholarly study instead of being considered as bizarre deviations inspired us to undertake such a study. Indeed, Burundians do not speak in a same way. Referring to the National team of linguistic researchers who elaborated the Atlas linguistique du Burundi : Inventaire Préliminaire (1985), they assert it in the following terms:

"... En effet, si aujourd'hui tous les Burundi se disent locuteurs du Kirundi, on ne peut pas en conclure qu'il en a toujours été ainsi et cela pour deux raisons : d'une part, l'extension géographique du Kirundi a certainement conduit à des créations dialectales ; d'autre part, l'existence des langues voisines a sûrement provoqué des modifications. Les Burundais ne parlent pas tous de la même façon, et pourtant, il est difficile de traiter le Kirundi comme un ensemble de diverses langues". PP 11-13.

(... If all Burundians claim to be Kirundi speakers, we cannot conclude that this has always been the case for two reasons : On one hand, the geographical extension of Kirundi has certainly led to dialectal creations ; on the other hand, the existence of neighbouring languages has surely caused modifications within Kirundi.

All Burundians do not speak in the same way, however, it is hard to consider Kirundi as a total sum of various languages ...).

We have observed that there are many differences in Kirundi spoken at Giteranyi vis à vis Kirundi Standard as far as lexicon is concerned. Being a native of the area, such differences were felt when we came in touch with people from other regions. Throughout our education, we were taught standard Kirundi and we noticed those differences.

This aroused a number of questions to know what could be reasons to such a lexical variation. As a matter of fact, its native

speakers take it for granted and are not even aware of such differences from the standard Kirundi. When they are in touch with non-native speakers of the area, they then start arguing and criticizing one another about what is right or wrong in their way of speaking.

Other motivations to this study are to be found in dialectology itself. In fact, there are four kinds of motivation in dialectal study according to N.W Francis (1983). He evokes the curious, the anthropological, the linguistic and the practical motivations. Among these, the curious and practical ones led us to the choice of the topic. As regards the curious motivation, sometimes, the way people talk may arise some interest from the speakers themselves or any other outsider of the group of speakers. He may be asking himself the reasons of such a way of speaking and will try to know apparent and real reasons for that. Thus, by deep investigation, he will try to find out such reasons. W.N Francis (1983) accounts for the curious motivation in following terms :

People are curious about different words for familiar things or different meanings. Differing pronunciation also arouses curiosity (...). Therefore dialect is a frequent source of humour, it can also lead to or reinforce prejudice. But most people find it interesting and are curious about its origins and distribution.

What about the practical motivation ? Most of the time, there is a tendency which considers speakers of a variety as uneducated. Today, this is completely wrong ! W.N. Francis (1983) recognizes that much dialect humour preserved this stereotype which was to a certain extent true ; after all, dialect was considered to be characteristic of the rural, peasant and uneducated. This cannot be considered anymore as true because variety in language is a result of many factors, and even among educated people or urban dwellers, there are some varieties of language.

From the view above, sometimes, there is a problem especially in teaching. As a matter of fact, there can be a tendency to impose the difficult task of teaching the standard language and attempt to eradicate the non standard one. In extreme cases, such an attitude may break down the cooperative relation between teachers and pupils which is essential for a successful school program. The teacher can accuse pupils of being stupid and the pupils on their side, condemn or disregard the teacher as being wrong, unreasonable and autocratic.

The above attitudes recall us the situation of some school teachers from other regions, coming to teach in Giteranyi primary schools. They faced problems of communication because they were blaming children for their way of speaking which was according to the teachers, not Kirundi at all, but something unintelligible close to Kirundi. Sometimes, children were beaten to death for a word or an expression, common in the area's lexicon in daily language but unknown to the teacher. In some instances, parents had to intervene in a sort of plea for their children. There were some children who gave up school or failed because they had been frustrated by such an attitude of some of their teachers.

#### I.5. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to collect the lexical items which make differences between the dialect spoken at Giteranyi from the standard Kirundi. And, as stated before, we will try to find out reasons to such differences. In other words, it is a study based mainly on lexical differences.

Besides, variation in language being a universal characteristic, we want to show that it is also a reality in Kirundi. Therefore, to make speakers of any Kirundi variety feel confident and comfortable when speaking it. In other words, we want them to be aware that language variety is a quite normal phenomenon. Thus, no one has to feel ashamed of speaking his own

dialect : we have to know that one's language is part of his personality and identity. In relation with what is stated, related to the value of one's language as far as personality and identity are concerned, N.W Francis (1983) goes in the same way as follows :

"Any attempt to change it (a person's speech) without the voluntary and enthusiastic participation of the person himself is bound to be resisted as a personal attack. Hence, whatever version of the language pupils use is to be accepted and encouraged (...).

Thus, if the teacher is not already familiar with the dialect of his pupils, it is his responsibility to become so, so that he can understand them and perhaps modify his own speech at least enough so that they can understand him more easily.

By doing so, the teachers should, little by little, teach the standard language without any risk of frustrating their pupils. This attitude requires an accurate and detailed knowledge about language and its varieties including the standard dialect. It must be the foundation of any serious approach to the dilemma dealt with in the previous sections. This is the very practical and useful side to the study of dialects in their different aspects.

#### 1.6. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

We assume that the importance of this study lies in the fact that its conclusions should contribute to more research in linguistic studies as far as dialectology in general and Kirundi dialectology in particular are concerned. Indeed, few researches and publications on Kirundi dialects are available or have been conducted. Thus, the study will be an invitation to linguists especially dialectologists to orient their interest in other

areas in the framework of some scientific projects such as CAMPUS<sup>1</sup> project. They should go in depth in studying Kirundi language and its varieties on the basis of some findings of the present study. Therefore, this study should contribute of the elaboration of a linguistic atlas of Kirundi language including its different dialects so far development in linguistics in general and research in dialectology become more and more a reality in Burundi. With such an atlas, we believe that any Kirundi speaker should be provided with different words used in different areas to name the same reality. Then, this should avoid the confusion and ambiguity to which lexical variation sometimes leads when speakers of different dialects attempt to communicate. Thus, they should realize progressively that no dialect is absolutely superior to another, it is a matter of variation which is a normal fact in languages. Finally, this study should be useful for other researchers who would like to investigate more on Gisoni dialect spoken elsewhere in Bugesera region.

#### 1.7. SCOPE AND DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

So far any language reveals variations in terms of grammar, phonology and lexicon, our study will restrict itself to the lexical aspect of Gisoni variety spoken at Giteranyi vis à vis the standard Kirundi. Besides, in dialectal variation, some parameters are involved namely geography class, racial identity, sex and age. As far as our study is concerned, we will tackle the geographical aspect of dialectal variation. Thus, in terms of geographic limits, the study will cover the area corresponding to the administrative limits of the commune. In fact, for practical reasons, it would be difficult to go beyond the Commune's limits. In fact, we don't have any appropriate means of transportation and our financial conditions cannot allow us

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<sup>1</sup> CAMPUS : Coopération avec l'Afrique et Madagascar pour la Promotion Universitaire et Scientifique.  
In Burundi, this project is conducting researches in Kumorosi and Buyogoma regions only.

to do so. In addition, if we go beyond those limits, we may face little by little another variety which may be different from the one which is the object of our study. For instance, in the southern part, the neighbouring Commune is Butihinda where the dialect spoken is Ikinyabweru. Moreover, we assumed that, being a native of the area, it will be easy for us to conduct the field work since we believe, we are acquainted with both people and milieu, therefore we can manage to deal with them properly.

#### I.8. DEFINITION OF SOME TERMS

In order to facilitate the reader's task, we would like to bring some light on different key terms which are of paramount importance to understand language variation. Indeed, sometimes there is ambiguity and confusion between the terms language and dialect. Most of time, it is hard to decide what is language and what is dialect. Haugen (1966 a) has pointed out that language and dialect are ambiguous terms. Ordinary people use them freely to speak about various situations. However, scholars often experience considerable difficulty to decide that one term should be used rather than the other in certain situations. An attempt to solve such a linguistic situation was made by Bell (1976, PP. 147 - 157) who listed 7 criteria that may be useful in discussing different kinds of languages and distinguishing one type of language from another. Here follows the definitions he attempted to clarify.

1. Standardization : Which refers to the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That usually involves the development of such things as grammars, dictionaries and possibly a literature.
2. Vitality : It refers to the existence of a living community of speakers. This criterion can be used to distinguish languages that are 'alive' from those 'dead'.

3. Historicity : This refers to the fact that a particular group of people finds a sense of identity through using a particular language.
4. Autonomy : It is an interesting concept because it is really one of feeling. A language must be felt by its speakers to be different from other languages. However, this is a very subjective criterion.
5. Reduction : It refers to the fact that a particular variety may be regarded as a sub-variety rather than as an independent entity. For instance, speakers of cockney will certainly say that they speak a variety of English, will admit that they are not 'representative' speakers of English, and will recognize the existence of other varieties with equivalent subordinate status.
6. Mixture : It refers to feelings speakers have about the 'purity' of the variety they speak. This criterion appears to be more important to speakers of some languages than others.  
For example, it seems to be more important to speakers of French and German than to English speakers.
7. De facto norms : It is related to the feeling that many speakers have that there are both 'good' speakers represent the norms of proper usage. Here focus is put on one particular sub-variety as representative of the 'best' usage.

e.g : The Parisian French or the Florentian variety of Italian.

To complete the concept of language variation, let us mention the following definitions about key terms important in a dialect study. We will refer to the definitions given by Jack Richards in his Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985).

### 1. Language :

Any particular system of human communication, for example the French language. Sometimes, a language is spoken by most people in a particular country but sometimes a language is spoken by only a part of the population of a country.

Language are not spoken in exactly the same way from one part of a country to the other. Differences in the way a language is spoken by different people are described in terms of regional and social variation.

In some cases, there is a continuum from a language to another. Dialect A of language X on one side of the border may be very similar to dialect B of a language Y on the other side of the border if languages X and Y are related.

### 2. Dialect :

A variety of the language, spoken in one part of a country (regional dialect) or by people belonging to a particular social class (social dialect) which is different in some words, grammar and pronunciation from other forms of the same language. A dialect is often associated with a particular accent. Sometimes a dialect gains status and becomes the standard variety of a country.

### 3. Regional dialect :

Variation in speech according to the particular area where a speaker comes from. Variation may occur with respect to pronunciation, vocabulary or syntax.

#### 4. Speech variety :

A term sometimes used instead of language, dialect, sociolect, etc. because it is considered more neutral than such terms. It may also be used for different varieties of one language.

#### 5. Accent :

A particular way of speaking which tells the listener something about the speaker's background.

Someone's pronunciation may indicate :

- a) the region or country he or she comes from ;
- b) what social class he or she belongs to ;
- c) whether or not he or she is a native speaker of the language.

#### 6. Language contact :

Contact between different languages especially when at least one of the languages is influenced by the contact. This influence takes place typically when the languages are spoken in the same or adjoining regions and when there is a high degree of communication between the people speaking them. The influence may affect phonetics, syntax, semantics or communicative strategies such as address forms and greetings.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

In brief, this chapter has largely been concerned with the background, motivation, purpose, importance, scope and delimitation of the present study. It dealt also with the description of the study area and finally the definition of some terms. This was a necessary preliminary to the remaining chapters in relation with Review of Related Literature (Chap. two) ; Methodology (Chap. three) ; Analysis and Evaluation (chap. four); Theoretical and Practical Implications (Chap. five) and finally, Conclusions (Chap. six).

=====

## CHAPTER II : REVIEW OF RELATED LITTEATURE

### II. 0. INTRODUCTION

It is a truism, unhappily often ignored, that no understanding of the present is complete without understanding the past. Indeed, one runs the risk of misinterpreting the present. The fact that a language exhibits variation within its geographical limits is not, of course, a modern discovery : the Greek knew it, the Romans knew it also, Chaucer recognized it and Shakespeare used it. As an evidence, a collection of dialect terms actually was printed in England in 1674.

From the above assertions, we judge it very important to talk about the evolution of dialectology through time in different countries. In this present chapter, we shall take a look at the first pionneers of such a linguistic branch related to dialects and what were their basic principles to the development of the dialect study.

### II.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to K.M. PETYT (1980) : The study of dialect : An Introduction to Dialectology, local differences in speech have attracted great attention for many centuries. For instances, in English literature, comments about regional characteristics date back probably as far as the twelfth century. By the eighteenth century, a number of dialect glossaries had appeared : these works listed the lexical peculiarities of the speech of a certain area-the words and phrases that seemed to be restricted to that locality. But, it was during the nineteenth century that the dialect study received its greatest impulse from the development

of comparative philology. Indeed, it is the subject which deals with the history of languages and relations between languages. During this period considered as the 'Golden age' of the subject, philologists did their greatest work in establishing correspondences between different but related languages, drawing up "family trees" of languages and working out what changes must have occurred within each language.

To work out such correspondences and laws, philologists sought the most "pure" data in each language, and they came to realize that dialects often preserve older and more regular forms than a standard language. Thus, from the early nineteenth century appeared not only a greater number of dialect glossaries, but also dialect grammars appeared.

The most important works for dialectology in modern times appeared in Germany. The first attempt to treat not just one dialect but all the dialects of an area was published in 1821 by Johann Andreas Schmeller.

The Dialects of Bavaria gave a "historical - geographical - grammatical presentation of the German language" in this area, and included a small map classifying the Bavarian dialects - probably the first mini-linguistic atlas.

The first dialect survey of an area was carried out by an Alsatian parson, L. Liebich in 1873, he sent a postal questionnaire to primary-school teachers in all German-speaking areas of Alsace. The questionnaire sought a large amount of information about local phonology and grammar.

Liebich wrote up his findings as a grammar of Alsatian dialects, with a number of maps ; unfortunately, his work was never published. However, Liebich completed it in 1876, a year that was to be a milestone in the history of both dialectology and linguistics in general. In fact, four important events occurred, all in German-speaking areas :

1. Eduard Sievers published Elements of phonetics, a pioneering work which helped to make phonetics a much more precise science, and this provided an important tool for all linguistic investigations.
2. A group of scholars who came to be called the Neogrammarians propounded their axiom that "phonetic laws have no exception". To illustrate this, they start by a number of observations ;  
 e.g. : The correspondances between Latin, pater/ped - Greek, Pater/pod, - Sanskrit pitar/pad, English Father/foot, they formulated a "law" : that Latin, Greek and Sanskrit [P] corresponds to Germanic [f] ; or that Indo-European [P], which is retained in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, develops into [f] in the Germanic languages. Such a law was held by the Neogrammarians to have no exception, that is, every Indo-European [P] will have changed in [f] in Germanic languages...

These two events were of profound importance for linguistics in general as well as for dialectology. The other two were of interest mainly to the latter.

3. A Swiss student of Sievers, Jost Winteler, published a monograph on the dialect of Kerenzen in the Canton of Clarus. This work became the model for many other studies of the dialect of a single locality.
4. Georg Wenker, a young schoolteacher from Düsseldorf, began work on a survey of the dialects of the area. He started with the idea of surveying the Rhineland around Düsseldorf. In 1877, he extended his investigation to Westphalia. In 1881, he began to publish a few maps and then gave up the project in favour of a survey of the whole German Empire. He carried out his investigation by post. In fact, he sent out a questionnaire to every single village school to be "translated" into the local dialect.

A second great national survey was started in France. After a call of Gaston Paris for a survey of local dialects of France, a Swiss scholar, Jules Gilliéron accepted the task. After careful planning fieldwork for the Atlas linguistique de la France was begun in 1897. He used the method of on-the-spot investigation. The survey was carried out by Edmont Edmond who was equipped with a carefully-designed questionnaire arranged in a way to provide a conversational framework for an interview.

Karl Jaberg and Jakob Jud, two Gilliéron's students refined their master's methods : Thus, various improvements were introduced : preliminary investigations were always conducted before the main survey ; the questionnaire was divided into a general part and a specific one to the particular regions.

In Britain, standard English has, for several centuries, enjoyed a favoured status, being accepted as the "correct" or at least the "best" form of English.

The result has been that other dialects have come to be regarded as inferior ; as a mark of lack of education and a lower social status.

It was clear that from about the 1300<sup>s</sup>, some writers were conscious of the existence of regional differences within English and from Chaucer's time, there were signs that a standard English was beginning to be recognized. From the 1500<sup>s</sup>, dialects began to command more attention ; a scholarly interest in dialect differences emerged in an increasing number of references to features peculiar to certain areas. There was also evidence of a standard English : "London English" became increasingly predominant among educated people. The first treatment of English dialects in general was attempted by Alexander Gil in his Logonomia Anglica published in 1619. The first attempt at an English dialect dictionary came later in the same century. From that time on, there was a greater recognition of dialect words in general dictionaries of English, also glossaries of dialects for particular parts of Britain began to appear.

## II.2. METHODS, PRINCIPLES AND METHODOLOGY

As far as Method is concerned, two types of survey are interesting : the French and the German surveys. As a matter of fact, there were contrasts in their different approaches. The most important worth mentioning are the following :

- The German survey used the indirect method of sending questionnaires by post whereas the French employed the direct method of face-to-face investigation by a fieldworker.
- Another difference is that the German survey only investigated a relatively small number of items, most phonological, though some "details" of inflection and vocabulary were covered incidentally.

The French questionnaire, with nearly 2,000 items, was much more comprehensive in its coverage of vocabulary and also, dealt with pronunciation. Furthermore, the German survey needed long and laborious interpretation while the French data could be made available without much interpretation, and was published quickly.

- Another difference is that the German survey, in all above aspects, was far superior to the French one as regards coverage. But in other aspects, the French method presented great superiority.

As regards principles, we should consider some of Gilliéron's principles. We shall see in which ways they have been modified in the light of later experience.

Gilliéron held that the localities to be investigated were to be fixed in advance. He insisted that the direct method of investigation should be used. For instance, the fieldworker can make sure that he obtains all the necessary information concerning the characteristics of the informants ; he can clarify any doubtful point either in the questions themselves or in the informant's responses.

He also held that comparability of response could only be guaranteed by asking every informant the same questions in precisely the same way by recording the informant's first response. Besides, Gilliéron believed that only one fieldworker should be employed, and that he should not be a professional linguist. He assumed that he using the same fieldworker throughout, it is possible to ensure uniformity of procedure in the conduct of interviews and the recording of responses.

Concerning the informants' selection, he believed it could be done according to definite criteria such as sex, age, educational and occupational status. However, later on, Paul Scheuermeier and his directors Jaberg and Jud concluded that the fieldworker's rule must be not to stick to any rule.

Obviously, there must be an irreducible minimum namely the informant must be a native of the area, a "natural dialect speaker, he mustn't be deaf, senile or mentally defective. However, the intuition and experience of the fieldworker can be relied on to choose the most suitable people. Edmond used only one informant in each locality, but later surveys have decided to use two or more since one person cannot be expected to know all the items that are being investigated.

As far as Methodology is concerned, there is a general approach to dialect investigation which is now common. It can be briefly stated in following steps :

1. A pilot survey is often carried out in order to have some ideas of the way usages vary over the area to be covered and thus, to decide what sort of items are worthy of detailed investigation.
2. Two basic "frames of reference" are then prepared :
  - a) A network of geographical points, the localities at which fieldwork is to be conducted is decided upon.

- b) A list of items to be investigated is drawn up, and these are eventually embodied in a questionnaire. The items may be of various types, and the proportions of these will vary according to whether the survey is to be primarily concerned with phonology, grammar, vocabulary and semantics.
3. Fieldwork is then conducted : One or more trained investigators go to the selected localities and make contacts with people they consider will be the most suitable informants. At each locality, one copy at least of the questionnaire is completed . By the time being, tape-recorders are largely used, therefore speeding up the interview, enabling it to be more spontaneous, and making it possible for the fieldworker or anyone else to study the responses at leisure.
4. Data are published, often partly in list form, partly as maps.

### II.3. RECENT APPROACHES TO GENERAL DIALECTOLOGY

In the present section, we will deal first, with some traditional approaches which have been concerned with the study of languages in linguistics in general and dialectology in particular. Second, we shall tackle recent views of some dialectologists, some being related to the first category.

#### III. 3.1. The Neogrammarian Hypothesis

It claims that "Every sound change, in as much as it occurs mechanically, takes place according to laws that admit no exception". (Osthoff and Brugmann 1878, P. xiii). In other words, sound changes or at least some of them, take place "mechanically" which means without the conscious will or even the awareness of the members of the speech community involved, and that all speakers of all languages are subject to this limitation.

However, a century of close study of Indo-European languages demonstrates that both vowels and consonants change according to orderly and definitely formulable "laws". The two great pioneering efforts in dialectology - Wenker's Deutscher Sprachatlas and Gilliéron's Atlas Linguistique de la France. - Were undertaken in the climate of the Neogrammarian hypothesis.

Traditional dialectology has focused on phonology and lexicon which were seen to be closely related and they are the areas where dialectology and linguistic theory confront one another. Of these two, phonology has been, by far, the more important. Here follow four aspects under which phonology has been approached :

- a) Traditional dialectology : It grew out of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century interest in historical and comparative linguistics. The interest is focused on individual facts of the variable distribution of a single sound without attempting to relate them to the overall structure of the dialects involved.
- b) Structural dialectology : The emphasis was shifted from the individual linguistic elements to the systems of which they are parts, and from the history of the changes which the individual elements have undergone to the synchronic description of the overall organization of the language or dialect. G. Sandkoff (1973 a, P. 166) has put in about it in following terms :

" The essential contribution of structural dialectology has been to stress the importance of comparing corresponding units in structured systems rather than studying the distribution of features whose status within the local system is not taken into account".

- c) Generative dialectology : The Generative school of linguistic theory, which in one form or another dominates the field today, may be said to have begun in the late 1950<sup>s</sup> as an

extension and modification of structuralism especially in the field of syntax. Chomsky's Syntactic Structures (1957) explored various grammatical models and came to the conclusion that a complete grammar has to be both Generative and transformational. By Generative, it is meant that the grammatical explanation of a linguistic construction should be in terms of an ordered set of processes by which more complex structures can be derived from simpler ones according to established rules, rather than by the assemblies, which had been the constituent structure approach of structural syntax.

By Transformational, it is meant that some constructions are best explained as remodelings of generated structures according to recognized rules of rearrangement and deletion. Some of the most important principles which are adhered to by all generative schools are the notions of competence and performance of the native speaker of a given language.

- d) Sociolinguistic dialectology : The sociolinguistic approach to dialectology differs from others discussed earlier not so much in theory as in objectives and emphasis. It is primarily concerned with the language variation as a correlation or indicator of social variation and as a source of language change. In fact, the focus shifts from the language itself to the people who use the language, their social orientation and contrasts. The study becomes a form of sociology - Linguistic Sociology rather than sociological linguistics.

### II.3.2. Different views on Structural dialectology

Among the previous aspects of traditional dialectology, structural dialectology has attracted linguists' attention and dialectologists have expressed their views in various terms specially about phonetic differences because these are so many and frequent that they deserved much consideration from scholars as far as dialectology was concerned.

As a matter of fact, between the speech of different parts of a country, there may be many phonetic differences. K.M. Petyt (1980) gives the example of England where some people say [kʌt] for Cut whereas others say [kʊt]. Some have [ka:t] for Cart, others will have [ka:t]. Another illustration is [ɪntʃ] and [ɪnf] for inch.

Therefore, he finds that isoglosses can be drawn around the areas where each pronunciation is used. However, the problem of isoglosses is that, it is very difficult to set boundaries between areas where different dialects or pronunciation are used. In such cases, dialectologists have had to rely on external criteria to decide about dialect areas : we may have non-linguistic factors such as political division or cultural differences.

Prince Nicolai TRUBETZKOY, a Russian Linguist was the first to bring light to the problem of phonetic differences from the structural point of view of modern linguistics. In 1931, he pointed out that not all differences of pronunciation are alike in their relations to the sound-systems of the dialects concerned. He went on saying that phonetic differences can be gradual. For instance, Cat may vary gradually in pronunciation as following : [Kat], [kʌt], [kɛt]. There may be "transitional" sounds for example [kæɛ] which is transitional between a more [a] - like and a more [ɛ] - like vowel.

Moreover, Trubetzkoy held that there were three main types of sound differences of phonological system which is subdivided into differences of inventory and distribution ; in the phonetic realization of phonemes and in the incidence of phonemes.

- Edward Stankiewicz (1957) suggested, about "different types of pronunciation differences" between areas, that such distinctions might help to answer to two opposing problems of dialectology. To define discreteness that is, to decide which among a more or less continuous network of isoglosses are the

important divisions between dialects. This problem has been tackled in an arbitrary way or with the help of extra-linguistic criteria. The opposing problem is that of defining continuity or similarity between separate systems. According to him, it is hard to compare systems defined in terms of their own internal relations. He, therefore, suggested to classify dialects on the basis of their phonemic inventories. It would provide an objective way to tackle the problem of discreteness. As regards continuity, this problem can be partly dealt with through examination of phonetic realization.

- G.R. Cochrane (1959) pointed out the question of sameness or difference between two varieties. It couldn't be handled simply in terms of inventory, distribution and realization : two varieties could have identical inventories of phonemes, with identical phonetic realization and identical possibilities of combination and yet they could sound very different because of differences in which phoneme occurs in particular words. He gave the example of Northern and Southern British English which are identical in their inventories of open vowels /a/ and /a:/ but these two vowels are only partly shared in terms of incidence.

- W.G. Moulton (1960) claimed that boundaries between phonemic systems are not always clear-cut. He took two particular Swiss dialects : Luzern and Appenzell to illustrate the problem of incidence between related dialects : In fact, both dialects have same short vowels namely /i, e, ɛ, æ, a, ɔ, o, u, ü, ø, ö/. However, respective native speakers would certainly not accept that the two have identical vowel systems, for they certainly do not sound alike. The reason given to such a situation is that different phonemes occur in the "same" word, but in other words, the incidence is different. The explanation given is related to history. In fact, both dialects have /ɛ/ phonemes which are the same phonologically and phonetically but not historically : they have developed from different origins and this is reflected in their different word-sets.

- K. Ringgaard (1965) contrasts the results of a direct survey by trained phoneticians with those of a partial survey which consists of sending a questionnaire to native speakers. His conclusion was that the result of phoneticians' survey gave little clear information about the phoneme system. On the contrary, the dialect speakers, responding as best they could in the written form, they produced a much clearer picture of the phonemic contrasts over the area.

In the framework of Generative dialectology, Noam Chomsky published Syntactic Structures (1957) in which he argued for a generative approach to linguistic description. In fact a speaker is constantly producing, hearing and understanding sentences that have never occurred in precisely that form before : this "creativity" is perhaps the most essential property of human language, so a complete grammar must account for all the infinite number of possible sentences. Besides, a generative grammar would have syntactic, semantic and phonological components.

Dialects come in this by the fact that they are forms of a language which are in many respects similar to each other, but which differ in many other respects. In this respect, the approach of traditional dialectology is to record the data in each dialect, and then essentially to take the similarities for granted and to concentrate on describing the differences between dialects.

- B. Newton's The Generative Interpretation of Dialect (1972) tackles the situation of the Greek dialects and their changes. He states that it is his intention to interpret dialects not as "a conglomeration of static self-contained system" but as "the outcome of historical changes acting on an originally uniform language".

In the section of recent approaches, there is a model which is evoked that is the "dynamic model" corresponding to a "continuum" of varieties. Until 1960, the problem of variation

had been neglected in linguistics. The usual approach in the "modern" era of the subject had been to view language as something essentially homogeneous.

Linguistics was structural : "a language is a system where everything holds together" said de Saussure- and linguists assumed that "structure" must be equated with "homogeneity". But since the mid-1960<sup>s</sup>, another viewpoint has been gaining ground. Heterogeneity within language is so pervasive that linguists have come to accept that this situation is in fact the norm, and that variation should therefore be seen as central rather than peripheral to linguistics. For Labov and his followers, heterogeneity is not incompatible with regularity and structure : they speak of "structured homogeneity" or patterned variation within the individual to some extent, but more importantly, within the community.

Labov suggested that true regularity of Linguistic patterns was to be found not in the individual speaker, but in the speech community as a whole. However, as variation moved into the centre of linguistics, such assertions proved inadequate because they were found to be simplistic. Some more complicated models were suggested : Labov and his followers suggested a model in terms of variable rules : rules with different probabilities of application according to the linguistic environments and non-linguistic factors such as class, sex, age and style : such a model has been referred to as "quantitative" : it attempts to state the relative quantities of different variants in different situations.

The main alternative point of view is called "dynamic" and it proposes that variation is simply an aspect of on-going linguistic change. Indeed, dialect differences are of course a matter of variation within language and dialectalization is an important study of the inter-relation of linguistic variation and change. This "dynamic" model grew out of studies on creole languages. Scholars have found a terminology to make differences

between levels of creole dialects : they used the term basilect to refer to the "broadest" form of creole, acrolect for the standard variety and the term mesolect for a form somewhere between the two. This last category was said to result from the mutual interference of the basilect and the acrolect.

- De Camp (1971) showed on his side, that it was unrealistic to divide varieties into creole and standard. For him, there is no sharp cleavage between these forms rather, there is a continuum of varieties between the extreme form of the creole and the standard language. In fact, some of variable features show more than three variants, some less, and there is no "bundling of isoglosses" as it were, in respect of these differences. Therefore, the result is that it is unrealistic to divide varieties into any number of dialects with their own systems ; there is simply a continuum of linguistic differences.

Indeed, differences within a language have been in terms of dialects, which are essentially forms of languages shared by a group of speakers. Speaking is done by individuals and anyone who has simply observed the use of language around him - will agree that individuals who have the same sociological characteristics: sex, age, education, occupation, may nevertheless differ in speech patterns.

Some other recent dialectologists have tackled the motivation and methods in dialectology. Among these, we have N.W Francis (1983) who pointed out 4 kinds of motivation behind any dialectal study namely : the curious, the anthropological, the linguistic and the practical motivations.

As far as method is concerned, the same N.W. Francis speaks of sampling the language that is, the Corpus. Indeed, according to him, any dialect study requires a simplest form of dialect corpus which is a random sample. And before one samples his survey, he must determine what aspect of the dialects is to be concerned with : syntax, phonology, lexicon etc.

He goes on by pointing out the place of a questionnaire in a dialect survey. As a matter of facts, he affirms that it is a central instrument. Its form depends on the objectives and the methods of the survey. As far as size is concerned, it will depend upon the circumstances and limitations of the survey as regards the form of the questions, he suggests six different types namely : naming in the presence of the object, naming by definition, supplying the meaning for a specific word, completion questions, conversion questions and translation questions.

Concerning the collection of data, Francis talks about the direct and indirect method. The former method involves the face-to-face contact of investigator and informant in an interview whereas the latter one involves the use of an intermediary by means of a postal questionnaire. He recognizes that each of these 2 methods has its own advantages and disadvantages. The indirect method which began with Georg Wenker in the 1870<sup>s</sup>, has a major advantage of allowing a very large sampling of population. However it doesn't allow much closer control of informant's response as well as in an actual interview.

For the direct method, it permits much closer control of the selection of both localities and informants according to different criteria to take into consideration : age, sex, education, occupation, social status and other variables. Moreover, the fieldworker attempts to get the desired sample of his dialect. However, there is a shortcoming of this method. If the interview is too long, the informant risks to feel bored and tired ; therefore he is likely to give unsatisfying answers.

N.W. Francis, like other dialectologists, talks about what should be the qualities of both fieldworker and informant in any dialect survey. According to him, the fieldworker, being the key element of the survey : he should be a native speaker of the dialect and well trained. However, his temperament and personality might out-weigh background and training even if all are important.

For Gilliéron, a fieldworker should not be a linguist at all. He argues that he has to be equipped with good high-fidelity field equipment. At the opposite pole from Gilliéron, W.G. Moulton argues for well-trained linguists as fieldworkers, prepared to make structural analyses and judgements in the field. For him, the fieldworker's task is more than simply to bring at home a collection of disparate facts.

Despite these different views about the fieldworker's qualities, the common opinion agrees that above all, he should have the qualities of personality that will allow him cooperation with informants. In addition, he must be patient because he mustn't reveal his irritation and push the informant to give answer. He has to try new lines of questioning to keep information flowing.

Concerning informants, W.N. Francis (1983) suggests that only good informants who conform to the specifications of the survey must be recruited. He must be a native of the area of survey, mustn't suffer from any physical defect such as being deaf, senile. Furthermore, certain qualities of mind and personality are needed in addition to these requirements, in a good informant. However, one major shortcoming of such a selection of informants is that it will be hard if not possible to guess the required qualities of the wanted informants if the fieldworker doesn't know them very well.

The last step deals with publication of data. K.M. Petyt (1980) discusses about the methods employed. The findings of dialect survey may be published in two forms and many surveys have employed a combination of the two. One form used is lists or tables of responses. The other form is the dialect map. Such a map can attempt to show at each locality the response recorded there.

Gilliéron and Edmont (1902), Jaberg and Jude (1928) are partisans of such a way of publishing findings. Therefore, a map can also attempt to draw lines called isoglosses.

Wenker (1876) supports this sort of publication. However, F. Wrede (1926) doesn't agree with such dialect boundaries i.e; lines separating different forms of language use. According to him, drawing such boundaries won't be an easy task insofar there is no precision in so doing.

#### II. 4. Approaches of Kirundi Dialectology

As stated earlier in chapter one, Kirundi language displays variations, essentially regional ones. As far as dialectology is concerned, there are few works available related to Kirundi dialects as such. However, there have been some attempts to produce works that can be considered as forerunners to dialectology as far as Kirundi language is concerned. We may cite different dictionaries written by some Europeans in the early period of contacts with different African Countries. It was done to help them learning Kirundi. Most of them are French-Kirundi dictionaries : For instance, Van Der Burgt, J.M (1902) ; Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'indication succincte de la signification Swahili et Allemande ; Ménard, F (1909) ; Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français ; Bonneau, E (1966) Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, Kirundi-Français and Rödegem, F.M. (1970), Dictionnaire Rundi-Français.

However, there are many works related to Kirundi grammar, semantics and sociolinguistics. As regards dialectology, let us mention recent approaches made by University Students and Lecturers in the area of Kirundi dialectology.

- Hicuburundi and Rigi (1979) in "The influence of foreign languages on Kirundi lexicon" tried to find out foreign words used in Kirundi acquired by the borrowing process.
- Hakizimana Aloys (1986) "Essai d'Interpretation Générative des Emprunts Kirundi au Français"<sup>2</sup> was a memoire mainly

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<sup>2</sup> "An Attempt to Generative Interpretation of Kirundi Borrowings from French ". Mémoire : University of Burundi.

related to the French influence on Kirundi. As a matter of fact, it showed an inventory of French words used in Kirundi which actually are considered by most Kirundi speakers as Kirundi words. In 1985, under the assistance of ACCT, CERDOTOLA<sup>3</sup> and the African Language and Literature Departement of Burundi University, a team of Burundian linguists and students, led by NDAYISHINGUJE Pascal, produced Atlas Linguistique du Burundi : Inventaire Préliminaire<sup>4</sup>. This was a basic document of reference to locate different variations or dialects of Kirundi. The aim of such a work was also a contribution to the elaboration of a Linguistic Atlas of Central Africa (Atlas Linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale : ALAC).

According to their research, they came up with a number of seven dialects of Kirundi : IKIBO, IKIRUNDI, IKIRAGANE, IKIMOSO, IKIYOGOMA, IKINYABWERU and IGISONI (See the map in chapter one p. 6). However, such a delimitation of areas where each of these dialects is spoken, is not to be taken as rigorous and exact. Indeed, it has been stated earlier with the problem of isoglosses, it is hard to set limits of a given area where a particular dialect is spoken. Even the authors of the Atlas say it in following terms :

"Le Burundi relevant d'un continuum de dialectes, il ne pouvait être question d'y trouver des limites linguistiques nettes. Les auteurs se sont donc, avant tout, attachés à représenter les facteurs non-linguistiques de la différenciation linguistique ..." p. 10 - 11.

(Burundi, being a continuum of dialects, the task was not to find exact linguistic limits. The authors have

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<sup>3</sup> - ACCT : Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique (Paris)

- CERDOTOLA : Centre Régional de Recherche et de Documentation sur les Traditions Orales et pour le Développement des Langues Africaines (Yaoundé).

<sup>4</sup> Linguistic Atlas of Burundi : Preliminary Inventory.

therefore, tackled the representation of non-linguistic factors for the linguistic differentiation ...).

Some University students made researches on dialects spoken in some areas of Burundi for their theses :

- NIMUBONA Norbert (1988) : "Etude Dialectologique en Commune Gisuru". This was a dialect study of Kirundi spoken in Commune Gisuru in Ruyigi Province, in the East of Burundi : The study came up with differences between Kirundi and Kimoso language spoken in the study area at morphological, phonological, syntactic and semantic aspects ; though there were a lot of similarities.
- NDARUSANZE Daniel (1991) : "The Kimoso Dialect Spoken at Bukemba" was mainly centered on Kimoso dialect in its different Linguistic aspects. He found that in Kimoso, some morphemes change. The duplication phenomenon of words and loan-words from Giha spoken in Buha (Tanzania) are frequent.
- BIRIHANYUMA M. Thérèse (1991) : "The Influence of English on Kirundi Dialect spoken at Matana" showed influence of English on Kirundi spoken at Matana around the Anglican Church settlement area, especially on the lexical aspect. She found that Anglican Church followers adopted an English lexicon that they distorted in order to fit the Kirundi morpho-phonemic features.

In addition to these dialectological studies, there are also socio-linguistic studies of some urban centers conducted by students for their Linguistic theses. Such works can be useful tools in the study of Kirundi dialectology based upon social considerations.

### II.5. Summary of the chapter

The chapter has reviewed the early works of dialectology in its early development. It has shown different approaches of the branch namely traditional which focused on individual items, structural which viewed a language or a dialect as a self-contained system, generative which used the data of linguistic performance as a key to the speaker's internalized knowledge of their language, and sociolinguistic which investigated the relationship between linguistic facts including dialect variation and the social organisation of the speech community.

Besides, the Neogrammarian hypothesis was tackled and according to its statement, there is no room for any variation in languages. However, variation occurs in language at different levels according to many factors : linguistic and non-linguistic namely age group, sex, social status and historical facts. This is to mean that the Neogrammarian hypothesis was true with certain limitations.

As regards the Generative approach, we assume that creativity is the most essential property of human language and we are convinced that the result of such a property are the various ways of speaking and different languages within the human community at small and large levels.

Furthermore, we favour the "dynamic" model of languages which proposes that variation is simply an aspect of on-going linguistic change. In addition, the "continuum" model seems to justify the hard task to set boundaries of varieties as regards dialects sharing a lot of facts. It argues simply for a continuum of linguistic differences at various levels.

With regard to methods, we recognize the value and importance of the two main methods that is, the direct and indirect ones and our favour goes to the direct one because it

allows a face-to-face conversation and therefore, a good data collection with more details. However, we don't deny the indirect method's advantages such as coverage of wide space, saving time, money and manpower.

Another point we would like to voice our opinion about is the Jaberg and Jud's conclusion about the fieldwork's principles: In fact, they affirm that the fieldworker's rule must be not to stick to any rule. Indeed, this cannot work because we assume that each work, especially a survey, has a minimum number of rules to follow otherwise it will be a disorganized one. At least, a fieldworker must deal with good informants, a well-elaborated questionnaire and a good method which lead to good and expected results.

As regards motivations, we join two of W.N. Francis (1983) the curious and practical ones which are at the origin of dialect study. We don't deny the relevance of the others but they seem to be related to the two which are mentioned above.

Finally, we would like to express our opinion on Gilliéron's view about the fieldworker. In fact, he asserts that he shouldn't be a linguist at all. On the contrary, we find that he should be one. We assume that even if he is someone equipped with good and sophisticated material, he must know different ways to deal with surveys in dialect studies and therefore someone who knows the objectives of such an investigation.

Besides, we join the idea of W.G. Moulton (1960) who argues for well-trained linguists as fieldworkers who are prepared to make structural analyses and judgements in the fieldwork.

For him, in fact, the fieldworker's task is more than simply to bring at home a collection of disparate facts.

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## **CHAPTER III. : METHODOLOGY**

### **III.0. INTRODUCTION**

In any attempt to research or to make a well-planned survey, one must know where to go and the way which leads to the implementation of the said aim. Therefore, we have to make sure that all procedures to collect a body of data are clear. And from such data, we can, by induction, discover patterns, systems and/or general rules.

In the present chapter, we are going to examine the nature of the corpus of data and consider the ways in which it has been obtained. We shall, therefore, describe different methods used; means of collecting data, the selection of subjects, analysis of data and some limitations to the present study.

### **III.1. DATA COLLECTION**

Before collecting data, the first task was to locate approximately localities to be investigated. This means that a visit was required at first hand before investigation started. In our case, such a visit was only necessary for some places far away from our native village. In fact, being a native of the area, we assumed that we knew enough the area, the only thing to do was to fix in advance the places to be investigated. However, a visit to get acquainted to people was made before the fieldwork was set on. Some localities in Giteranyi Commune didn't fit properly our study because they are inhabited by new settlers from other provinces. That is why our choice was directed to localities inhabited by native speakers of the local variety. We have, therefore, chosen 8 localities namely Kabogo, Mugano, Shoza, Gasenyi, Giteranyi, Rumandari, Nonwe and Gakoni.

### III. 1.1. Methods

In the present study, we have used the direct method or the French method initiated by J.Gilliéron. It is a face-to-face conversation or interview. As a matter of fact, it allowed us a direct contact with the informants, thus, a data collection in a natural way. There was possibility to elicit answers whenever necessary during the interview. Besides, there was a way to repeat and to rephrase the questions or to put them in another way to make them more clear.

We have not used the indirect method called also postal method which consists of sending the questionnaire to the informants to be answered in a written form though presenting its own advantages. We have opted for the direct method because we had to deal with illiterate people as it will be explained later on in following sections. Besides, the indirect method doesn't allow the fieldworker to make sure he has got all the necessary information about the characteristics of the informants. Moreover, it is difficult to the fieldworker to clarify any doubtful points either in the questions themselves or in the informant's answers when using the indirect method.

### III. 2. SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

The choice of subjects in a dialect study is important because one has to make sure that what the informants give corresponds exactly to what he really needs. So, he must take into account many criteria to determine these subjects. William J. Samarin (1967) expresses the same idea when he says that "Not every speaker of a language can qualify as a language informant. There are good informants and bad ones, but criteria for considering one good and another bad are difficult to enumerate".

### III. 2.1. The population

In a dialect survey, it is the responsibility of the fieldworker to find and recruit informants who conform to the specifications of the study. Theoretically, we suppose that the variety under study is the language of inhabitants or at least the common core which they all share. However, our population is composed of peasants that is, illiterate people or those with a very poor level of education. Indeed, illiterate people are supposed to speak a natural language which is not altered by education. In other words, they speak in a natural way. As a matter of fact, N.W. Francis (1983) affirms that education can change a dialect insofar educated people are taught standard language and, in such a situation, they tend to give up the local variety.

Among people living in Giteranyi, only natives of the area were qualified to be investigated because they were likely to give true and genuine information. Therefore, those who were born in the area as well as their parents were too, were supposed to be true dialect speakers and were interviewed. Indeed, new settlers were likely to give unsatisfying answers because they have got a background of other languages or varieties. The subjects, on the other side, might be physically and mentally healthy that is, they might not be deaf, senile or suffering from any other physical defects which could hinder good information. As far as choosing informants is concerned, here follows the opinion of Hans Kurath (1972) :

The informant chosen to represent his community, a social or age-group in it, should have certain personal characteristics, some of them indispensable, others desirable. First of all, he must be intelligent (even if illiterate), Communicative (but not talkative) and tolerably well informed on the topics covered by the questionnaire. He should of course be free of speech defects and hear well enough to understand the questions readily (...) p. 12.

### III.2.2. The sample

In our study, we dealt with people, native speakers of the variety chosen from both sexes. In addition, we worked with both young and adult people because the questionnaire consisted of different topics related to different activities in which one might find young people were more involved than adult ones and vice versa. Therefore, they were likely to give genuine information according to their respective concerns. In relation to the above idea, Robert A. Hall, Jr. (1964), in his Introductory Linguistics ; affirms that it is advisable to have informants from two different age groups. He puts it in following terms :

The earliest studies in linguistics geography were made from an almost wholly spatial point of view, considering dialectal phenomena in a two dimensional light, with little or no reference to differences in the speech of generations or social groups. In more recent works, considerable care has been expanded on the choice of at least two informants for each locality, to represent an older generation with little or no education and which has stayed very close to home, and a younger generation with a certain amount of education and also of mobility. P. 242.

As regards the number of informants, we have worked with a total of 100 people. We have considered the number to be representative. However, it doesn't mean that we have conducted a total of 100 interviews that is, each for every informant. In some instances, we have addressed to one individual, in some others, to the whole group without specifying the informant thus, we recorded a collective answer.

With regards to qualification, the informants had to show some cultural and psychological qualities to make their answers reliable.

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Indeed, not every native speaker is a good informant because he/she may be lacking some qualities. It was, of course, difficult to guess what qualities of different informants were but, we had to use a certain tact in choosing them.

William J. Samarin (1967) advocates some cultural and psychological qualities of informants namely to talk freely and naturally about one's culture. As regards psychological qualities, he evokes intelligence, good memory, alertness, patience, honesty, cheerfulness and so forth. It goes without saying that a good informant must master the language under study with good diction.

### III. 3. MEANS OF COLLECTION

In the present section, we will tackle the means of collecting data. Indeed, in such a task, the useful tools are the questionnaire and the instruments to operate such a collection.

#### III.3.1. The questionnaire

The questionnaire is the central instrument used in the systematic collection of dialect. It may take many forms, but in all cases, it amounts to a structured set of questions to be put to a number of informants so that their responses can be recorded and studied.

##### III.3.1.1. Content of questions

Concerning this lexical study of the dialect variety spoken at Giteranyi, questions were about different topics related to people's activities in different domains. Thus, they were arranged according to subject matter, dealing with man and human activity which supplied a body of lexicon.

As Karl Jaberg and Jacob Jud (1928) state it, a good questionnaire should include as rich and characteristic a selection as possible of the linguistic peculiarities of the dialect region to be studied.

Therefore, this questionnaire was elaborated in a way that peculiar words to the variety had to appear in the informant's answers. There were, of course, some sub-questions to make clear questions in order to get expected specific words insofar the informants might use both items from the local dialect and the standard Kirundi.

#### III.3.1.2. The form

The form of a questionnaire depends on the objectives and methods of survey. There are different types which constitute the largest part of most questionnaires, especially the lexical ones, suggested by W.N. Francis (1983). We have used some of them when we were conducting our fieldwork. The most interesting for our study were the following :

##### III.3.1.2.1. Naming in the presence of an object

In this type, the form of question was built following this model : "What do you call this ?" spoken while displaying or pointing to the object or picture.

##### III.3.1.2.2. Naming by definition

In this form, the typical question might be "What do you call the creature that gives you honey ? ". In this model, such a question was put in a way that avoided ambiguity for the informants as far as the referent was concerned.

### III.3.1.2.3. Supplying the meaning for a specific word

In this case, the question had to be put in following this type : "What do you mean by corn here in this area ? ". This kind of question was useful particularly for tracing local variation in meaning of words of widespread distribution.

### III.3.1.2.4. Translation questions

The informant was given, in this form, the standard word and asked to supply the dialectal equivalent as in "What is your word for river ? ". With this kind of questions, we assumed that the informant might be bidialectal, therefore, he had a clear understanding of both the standard and dialect, and could make difference between them.

In addition to these four forms of questions, there were some others where informants were asked to describe a process or give more details about an activity or an event, that is description of a process, for example the wedding celebration and customs related to it ; and narration when the informant was asked to say something about the past, for example, travelling few decades ago.

### III.3.1.3. The size of questionnaire

We have limited the size of the questionnaire to 30 questions because, in some cases, we were obliged to add more explanations and sub-questions in order to get what we were expecting from the informants. Therefore, it would have constituted a big questionnaire if we added some more questions. Besides, we assumed that the informant was likely to feel bored and tired during the interview if it was too long and took too much time.

#### III.3.1.4. The order of questions

Questions were ordered in a way that gave floor first of all, to adult people only, then to young people only and finally both generations were asked to give information one after another regardless age. In fact, it was a way to allow one group to pause while the others were responding. The interview was conducted starting by the travelling domain, then agricultural activities: crops and foods ; technical domains ; sports activities, social activities (life) and finally the miscellaneous related to different daily activities.

#### III.3.2. Instruments

In our study, the data collection was done mainly with a tape-recorder. As a matter of fact, it is the most useful tool in such a collection especially in a lexical study because it helps to store information and therefore to make a careful and deep analysis later on insofar it can be played over and over again.

In addition, using tape-recorders saves a lot of time especially for the informant who may become bored and tired during the interview when the investigator has to write down everything spoken. Let us refer to the opinion of Raven Mc David (1974, p. 56 n° 31) about using tape-recorder. He asserts that

"... it provides a permanent record and catches more conversational responses than even the best fieldworker can note and write down ...".

As far as instruments are concerned, let us mention that batteries supplied current for the tape-recorder because we were working in rural areas where there was no electrical power.

### III.4. DATA ANALYSIS

After data collection, the next step was the analysis. As regards our study, we have used the method of comparison. In fact, we have compared our own data, being of the variety spoken at Giteranyi and the standard language of which the dialect variety constitutes a variation. Such a comparative method, as affirms NDARUSANZE, D. (1991) has been used by other researchers who had dealt with dialect studies such as Gilliéron J (1902) and King, K-C (1954). We have compared the lexical items of the dialect variety spoken at Giteranyi and the standard Kirundi and, any differences between them helped us to proceed properly in the following chapters.

William J, Samarin (1967), in Field Linguistics : A guide to linguistic fieldwork, makes a point about the comparative method as far as data analysis is concerned in following terms :

"Only by the careful study of an abundance of examples and comparison with other forms can meaning be determined. But there will always be areas of the language where problems are more intractable than elsewhere (...) Comparison in the determination of meaning must include sets of different words as well as different occurrences of the same words, which after all, acquire their meaning by being in opposition to other words in similar contexts.

(P. 208 - 9)".

It is worth mentioning that in our data analysis we have grouped different lexical items into semantic domains, therefore, we could easily find the kinds of words or morphemes we needed for one thing or another.

### III.5. PUBLICATION OF FINDINGS

The aim of a dialect study is publication of the results for later use. In many cases, such a publication is presented in two main forms namely tabulated lists and maps. Besides, the fieldworker has to present the collected material. The simplest mode of presenting data is to reproduce the field notes of the investigation and the transcription of the tape-recordings exactly. In the present study, we have used the forms of tabular publication. In fact, by bringing together all responses to a given question in a single list, it presents a certain advantage in that it facilitates comparison of responses across the covered area.

### III.6. LIMITATIONS

In any study, we assume that there are some limitations and constraints due to many facts. Some are due to human facts, some others to the practical conditions as far as fieldworker is concerned.

As a matter of fact, concerning human facts, some of our informants were somehow reluctant to give pieces of information, requesting at first hand some beer as reward. In fact, most of them were found and/or gathered from the local pubs or at some other public places such as market.

Some others, having the opportunity to speak in a microphone of a tape-recorder surely for the first time, they tended to go astray of the topic under study. This was taking much time to remind them the aim of our interview. Another human factor to mention is that among our informants, some were bidialectal, they spoke both the variety of our study and the standard language. When giving information, they had a certain tendency to speak the standard language only. It was our duty to beseech them to talk in local and common way of speaking.

With regards to some practical conditions, we would have liked to investigate as many localities as possible. Unfortunately, our financial means couldn't allow us to do so because it supposed to have on our disposal appropriate means of transportation in order to cover long distances between many localities.

In addition, we have to mention that time was also a limiting factor. Indeed, our fieldwork was conducted in three weeks, that is, from August 10<sup>th</sup> to August 31<sup>st</sup> 1992. Such a time was somehow short to conduct an investigation in 8 localities with much attention.

Besides, the interview was conducted during the afternoon because at that time, people were free from their duties. Normally, in rural area, people are busy, working in their fields or elsewhere in morning. So, sometimes, sunset came about while we were conducting interview. Informants, therefore, were in hurry to join their home unless something, for example, drinks was offered as a reward. And, we assume that the reluctance they showed, was due to the short time we had to stay with them, actually we didn't get enough time to be acquainted with them.

Under this section, we judged it worth including some other facts which can, in general, be hindrances to a good fieldwork if the investigator is not careful enough to use his (or her) qualities. In fact, if a fieldworker shows that he is not patient and cooperative he would fail to gather expected results because of the investigator who may not be able to conduct very well the survey. He hasn't to push too insistently the informant to answer, he must avoid at all costs, to show his irritation. On the contrary, he has to try patiently other ways to keep information flowing.

Another fact which can limit and hinder good results in a fieldwork is the method to use. We believe that the direct method is more appropriate in such a work than the indirect one. So, the choice of method is of a paramount importance. The same goes for

the elaboration of a questionnaire. As a matter of fact, a questionnaire, however good it may be, if it is not put to good informants, native speakers of the dialect under study, it may fail to gather good answers.

In brief, we believe that the above factors can be elements for limitation in any dialect study if they are not well handled. That is why we have included them in the limiting factors as far as methodology was concerned.

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## **CHAPTER IV : ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION**

### VI. 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the deep analysis of the collected data. As a matter of fact, we have gathered data related to the lexicon in use at Giteranyi. Though the lexical study is the main objective of the present work, we have to bear in mind that it covers many aspects namely lexical phonology, lexical morphology, lexical syntax and lexical semantics. All these aspects will be tackled because, sometimes, we cannot understand the meaning of a word if its form, structure, formation and function remain unknown.

From this analysis, our attention will be directed to the distribution of the lexical items in the study area and, we will see whether from our investigation, we can attempt to set boundaries of the Gisoni variety spoken at Giteranyi.

### IV.2. ANALYSIS

The present section of analysis will be mainly and essentially a lexical one in different aspects.

#### IV.2.1. Vocabulary

Simply speaking, vocabulary is defined as a set of words used by a language. These words are formed according to different rules and, they are likely to change through time and space either in form or meaning depending on various circumstances. For dialects or varieties of any standard language, we may have same or different words meaning the same thing. This is what makes differences and variation in languages.

In our study, we have got some different words within the two languages that is, standard language and Giteranyi variety, which represent the same reality. We also have similar words in both of them, words of the last category being numerous. That is why our interest will be directed to differences because similarities are so many that their analysis will lead us astray our main objective of this study.

- e.g : - Umwâna : a child  
 - Inzu : a house  
 - Gukora : to work  
 - Ibiharage : Beans  
 - Inka : a cow

e.g : of different words :

<u>Giteranyi Variety (G.V)</u>		<u>Standard Kirundi (S.K)</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
. Umwaramo	:	Indwi	: a week
. Umuyondo	:	Ikiziriko	: a rope (to attach animals)
. Urugarye	:	Agatasi	: autumn season

(N.B : for more evidence : see Appendix A.11)

#### IV.2.2. Lexicon

The lexicon of a language may be taken easily and only for vocabulary. In addition, it comprises the description and the organisation of words in a given language. Thus, in the present study, we have to consider different aspects of the lexicon.

VI.2.2.1. Lexical phonology

This aspect of the lexicon deals with the phonetic structure of words. In fact, we may have differences at the phonemic level on words belonging to both varieties, and such differences have to be analyzed under this section.

- When expressing an action which was about to occur or to be performed in a recent past, simple past or expressing a certain state, mood or feeling, in a near past, the /a/ after /i/ disappears in Giteranyi variety.

. e.g : yari aguye : He/She was about to fall.

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>
i + a = a	i + a = i
- yar <u>a</u> guye	yar <u>i</u> guye

This difference at the phonemic level is observed when it deals with human beings. There is no difference, however, when the same personal pronouns stands for non-human beings.

e.g1 : Human beings :

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
.Yari aje > yar <u>a</u> je	yar <u>i</u> je	He/She was about to come
.Yari amukubise > yar <u>a</u> mukubise	yar <u>i</u> mukubise	He/She was about to beat him/her
*Yari arushe > yar <u>a</u> rushe	yar <u>i</u> rushe	He/She was tired
*Yar <u>a</u> nezere	yar <u>i</u> nezere	He/She was happy
*Yari aryamye > yar <u>a</u> ryamye	yar <u>i</u> ryamye	He/She was sleeping
*Yari akomeye > yar <u>a</u> komeye	yar <u>i</u> komeye	He/She was healthy or strong

e.g2 : Non-human beings

For this category, there is no difference because  
i + i > i

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
. Inka yari ije = yarije	inka yarije	The cow was about to come
. Imvura yari iguye = yariguye	imvura yariguye	It was about to rain
. Imbwa yari imuriye = yarimuriye	imbwa yarimuriye	The dog was about to bite him or her

- There is a change from -tya into -ti

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
. <u>gutya</u>	<u>guti</u>	like this
. <u>batya</u>	<u>bati</u>	like this
. <u>Dutya</u>	<u>duti</u>	" "

In fact, there is a disappearance of /a/ and the Giteranyi variety remains with only /i/

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>
. gutya → gut-i-i-a → gut-i-i →	guti
. batya → bat-i-i-a → bat-i-i →	bati
. dutya → duti-i-ia → dut-i-i →	duti

- In some qualificatives, there is a double emphasis to mean "very". In S.K, this is achieved by - ya whereas in G.V, it is achieved by - nya.

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
- gito	gitoya	gitonya	(very) small
- kinini	kininiya	kinininya	(very) big
- kigufi	kigufiya	kigufinya	(very) short
- ke	bikeya	bikenya	(very) few

In S.K - ya stands for intensity, the same goes for - nya (no + ya) in Giteranyi variety.

- In the verb "Kwumva" : to hear (sometimes to understand) there is a change from /s/ in S.K to /f/ in G.V.

e.g :

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
- Numvise	numvishe (or numvishije)	I have heard
- Twumvise	twumvishe (or twumvishije)	We have heard
- Barumvise	barumvishe (or barumvishije)	They had heard

As far as the phonemic aspect is concerned, it is difficult for us to explain the mechanism of such a change, but some scholars consider this case rather curious because what is said in variety is what corresponds to the linguistic norms.

With regard to intonation, we would mention that at the phonological aspect, there is no difference of word stress or the pitch of sounds in the variety spoken at Giteranyi. We have noticed that in most of cases, the word-stress is similar to what prevails in the standard language.

#### IV.2.2.2. Lexical morphology

To talk about lexical morphology brings us to deal with morphemes. As a matter of fact, morphemes have been defined by Bloomfield (1933 : 162) as being the minimum units of the lexicon. Thus, the lexicon itself can be defined as the total stock of morphemes in a language. In addition, morphemes are the smallest individually meaningful elements in the utterances of a language, according to Hockett (1958 : 123). We have to bear in mind that a morpheme can be a whole word or a part of it.

Moreover, we have to look at the word-formation process for some cases in our investigation. Indeed, such a process is achieved thanks to the combination of bound and free morphemes. Some affixes also contribute to such a process in the fact that they can change the word-meaning when added to it.

We have for example morphemes which change the sense of verbs when they are inserted in their structure.

e.g : - Ur - : The idea of contrary/opposite as in :

.	gushinga + Ur	→	gushingur-a
	(to fix)		(to unfix)

- An - : reciprocity as in :

.	gukunda + an	→	gukund-an-a
	(to love)		(to love each other)

As far as our study is concerned, there is no difference between the Gisoni variety spoken at Giteranyi and the standard Kirundi. Actually, such morphemes carry the same modifications in both idioms.

. In a certain category of words, the standard Kirundi uses the prefix - bu whereas the Gisoni variety spoken at Giteranyi often uses ga -. This is observed in adverbs of manner.

e.g :

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
. buke	gake	slowly ; a little bit
. bukebuke	gakegake	very slowly
. buhoro	gahoro	very slowly.

For the verb "kwita" : "to name", there is difference between standard Kirundi (S.K) and Gisoni variety (G.V) spoken at Giteranyi due to the phenomenon of passivisation. In fact, in G.V, the verb is passivised while in S.K it is not.

e.g :

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
- Jewe banyita	- Jewe banyitwa	. I am named
- Ndi uwo bita	- Ndi uwo bitwa	. I am the one named ...
- Uyo mumwita nde?	- Uyo mumwitwa nde ?	. How do you name this person ?

As regards word-formation, we find in G.V, words and expressions be it nouns, or verbs which derive from other words. But it has been difficult for us to tell exactly which derived from the other.

e.g :

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Literal meaning</u>
- gusohora → (to arrive)	Umusohozi → (a visitor)	"One who arrives"
- gukurika → (to be safe)	kurikayo ! →	Nice to be safe from ...
- kurisha → (to help to eat)	kurishanya (to help each other to eat)	

The use of the pronoun "self" or "alone" is different in the two idioms. In S.K, there is a common use of -nyene whereas in G.V, there is use of -nka.

e.g :

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
- jênyéne	jênka	myself/alone
- wênyéne	wênka	yourself/him/herself
- bônyéne	bônka	themselves
- cônyéne	cônka	itself/alone
- yônyéne	yônka	itself (animal/thing)

In fact, these two forms are both proto-bantu forms meaning respectively : - (n)yénè : "self"

- nka : "alone ", solely

- Nka is a form widely used and more restricted to the interlacustral language area while -(n)yene is more common in other bantu languages out of the interlacustral area. So, G.V has kept the form which is characteristic of the interlacustral zone and maybe is more influenced by such interlacustral languages of East Africa in near Tanzania.

#### . The reduplication phenomenon

Such a phenomenon is fairly common especially in the word-formation. Indeed, it is a type of allomorphic alternation in which an affix is of, exactly, the same form as a part or all the stem, or is the same plus an additional phoneme or phonemes. Most of time, this reduplication expresses a repetitive action when used with a verb of action.

- e.g :
- gutwenga → gutwengatwenga : to laugh/smile many times  
(to laugh/smile)
  - kuraba → kurabaraba : to look at many times  
(to look at)

In G.V, there is reduplication without necessarily expressing a repetitive action. In some cases, words are nouns, in some others, they are verbs. In G.V, we have the case of complete reduplication because the entire stem is repeated.

e.g <sub>1</sub> :

<u>Nouns</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
- Umugore → Umugorégore	a woman
- Umugabo → Umugabogabo	a man
- Umuhungu → Umuhunguhungu	a boy
- Umukobwa → Umukobwakobwa	a girl

e.g <sub>2</sub> :

<u>Verbs</u>	
- Kugenda → kugendangenda	: to walk aimlessly (to walk)
- Kureba → kurebareba	: to admire by looking at . (to look at)

e.g <sub>3</sub> :

<u>Adverbs</u>	
- gake → gakegake	: very slowly
- gahoro → gahorogahoro	: very slowly

\* The change from "i" to "ku"

. In the case of possessive pronouns associated with the locative i- "at", there is a change into ku- in G.V.

e.g :

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
muhira <u>i</u> wanje	muhira <u>ku</u> wanje	at my home
- iwanje	kwanjé	at mine
- iwiwe/iwe	kwiwé	at his/hers
- iwacu	kwacu	at ours
- iwabo	kwabo	at theirs

In this case of both locatives "i" and "ku" ; in G.V, there is use of "ku". When "i", is placed before "a", it disappears.

- iwanjé : i-a-a-anje : kwanje : ku-i-a- anje

┌┐

┌┐

w

w

- iwacu : i-a-a-acu : kwacu : ku-i-a-acu

┌┐

┌┐

w

w

- iwabo : i-a-a-abo : kwabo : ku-i-a-abo

┌┐

┌┐

w

w

Here in above cases, the G.V uses the locative ku- while the S.K uses i-. Normally these 2 locatives<sup>in SK</sup> are not exactly equivalent in meaning.

e.g : - Aba i Gitega : He/she lives at Gitega

but- Aba ku mutumba : He/she lives on a hill.

#### . Locative insertion

There is the insertion of a locative in possessive or adjective pronouns. In fact, in G.V, there is such an insertion of -kwa- (ku-a)

#### S.K

#### G.V

#### Gloss

e.g :

- |                 |                   |                    |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| - Umwâna wanje  | Umwana wokwanje   | my child           |
|                 | literal meaning : | the child at mine  |
| - inka yawe     | Inka yokwawe      | your cow           |
|                 |                   | (the cow at yours) |
| - impuzu zâcu   | Impuzu zokwacu    | Ours clothes       |
|                 |                   | (the cow at yours) |
| - ibitabo vyâbo | ibitabo vyokwabo  | their books        |

* Uwiwe	Uwok <u>wi</u> we	his/hers
* Ivyacu	ivyok <u>w</u> acu	ours
* icabo	icok <u>w</u> abo	theirs

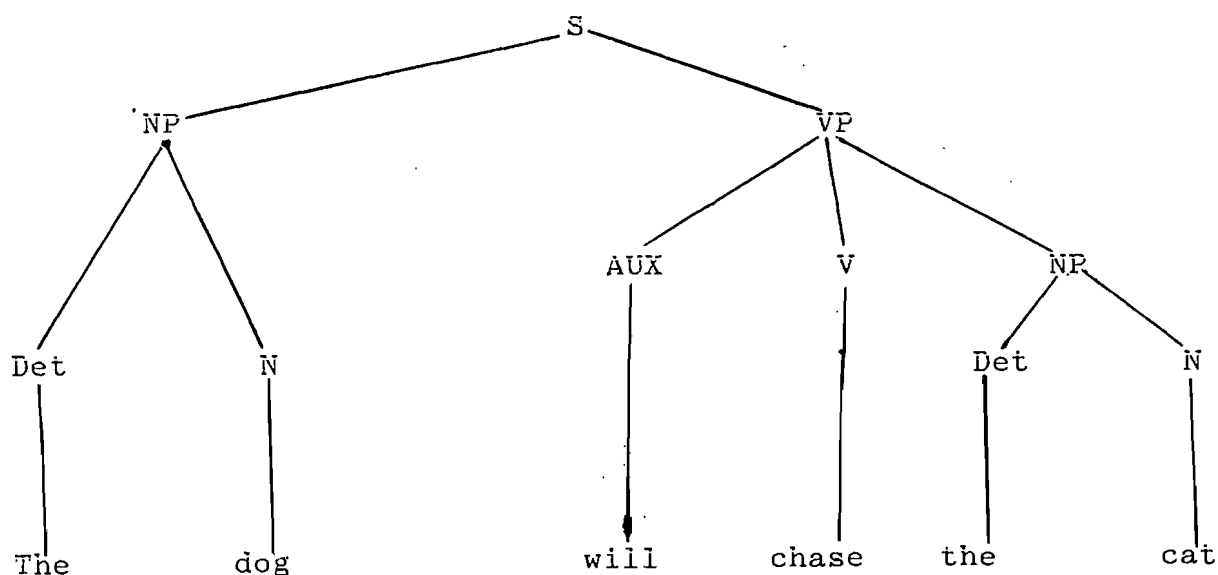
#### IV.2.2.3. Lexical syntax

Syntax, in general, deals with the nature and function of words and it also tackles the way different words combine to generate phrases, sentences and clauses. Besides, the lexicon, being one of the components of Grammar, contains a list of words in a language, together a specification of the syntactic category they belong to namely nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and prepositions.

e.g : - cat : Noun            - the : determiner  
       - chase : Verb        - will : auxiliary  
       - dog : Noun

These lexical items may combine and make a sentence such as:  
 The dog will chase the cat.

Using a phrase-marker, we can represent the above sentence as follows :



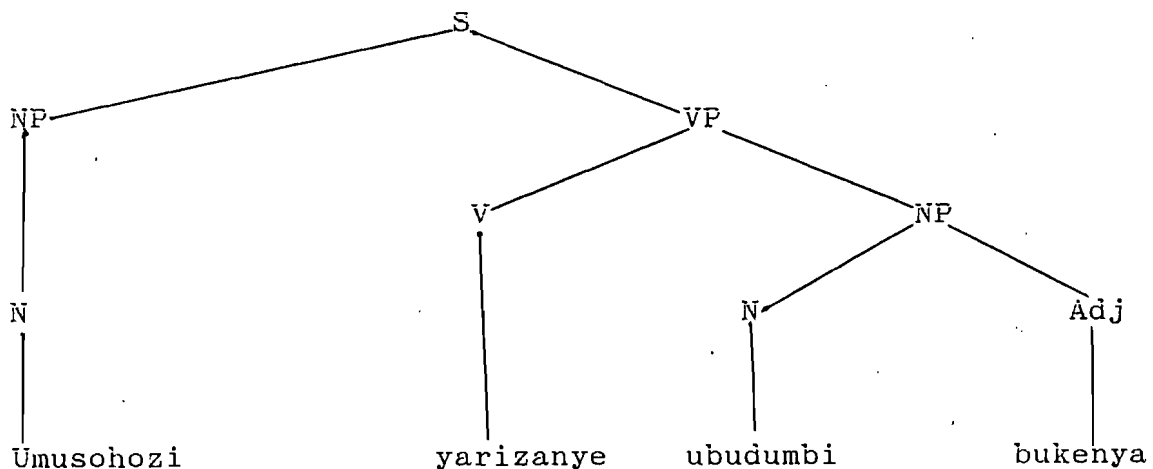
Such a combination follows the classic model of association which is in the order : Subject - Verb - Object (SVO). In some instances, we can have Subject - Verb for intransitive verbs.

The lexical syntactic level of our study doesn't have any particular rules of word combination to generate sentences and it doesn't show either any different category from standard Kirundi as far as nature and function of words are concerned. However, lexical items of G.V can be classified in different categories of syntax.

e.g : - Umusohozi : Noun            - Yarizanye : Verb  
       - bukenya : Adjective        - Ubudumbi : Noun

We can have a sentence from those lexical items :  
 - Umusohozi yarizanye ubudumbi bukenya  
 (The visitor was bringing few peas)

On a phrase - marker, we can represent the sentence as follows:



We have to mention that, at the syntactic level, our data is provided with words of different categories but mainly nouns and verbs.

e.g :

<u>Nouns</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Verbs</u>	<u>Adverbs</u>
1. Urwobo	- wênka	- gutunda	- guti
2. Umuguha	- bônka	- gushashura	- bati
3. Umugenyi	- vyigiginshi	- guhûmura	- gakegake
4. Ishagama	- Kininya	- kunaba	- weza
5. Umwaramo	- kagufinya	- gutomera	- gahorogahoro
6. Ubudumbi	- dukenya	- kunoga	

With regard to function, nouns can be either subjects or complements in sentences, adjectives can function as modifiers and quantifiers : As regards verbs, most of them are action verbs and transitive. However, there are some which are intransitive.

e.g: - Uyo      mugabogabo      yatunze      imwanyi      nziza  
 Det      N (subject) V (transitive) N(object) adj(modifier)  
 This man has sold good coffee)

- Abanyeshure      barahûmuye  
 N(subject)      V(intransitive)  
 (Pupils are resting)

#### IV.2.2.4. Lexical semantics

Under this section, we will tackle the meaning of some words in G.V with some differences vis à vis the standard language. We have got cases of homonymy in both varieties but with different meanings. We have to mention that there are borrowed words in the technical<sup>area</sup> namely mechanics, sports, medical area and terms related to clothing. Some of them don't have equivalent terms in S.K. In fact, most of them were borrowed from foreign languages for new usage. And now, they are used under their foreign form but distorted into Kirundi-like words.

IV. 2.2.4.1. Different words

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
1. Ubudumbi	Ubwishaza	peas
2. Urugarye	agatasi	autumn season
3. Ishagama	amaraso	blood
4. Amasanga	amahembe	horns
5. Imwanyi	ikawa	coffee
6. Umusohozi	umushitsi	a visitor
7. Amahuri	amagi	eggs
8. Kunaba	kwoga	to wash the body
9. Igitindo	ikiraro	a bridge
10. Gutunda	gushora	to sell

IV.2.2.4.2. Homonymy

In our data, we have got a number of words which actually exist in both idioms. However, their meanings differ or in some cases, there is a kind of meaning distorsion. This illustrates that Kirundi is full of differences as regards meaning even if it is said to be the same language spoken all over the country.

e.g. :

<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning in G.V</u>	<u>Meaning in S.K</u>
1. Gusohora	to arrive	to take out of a house or/room
2. Gucîra	to pass by	to spit
3. Kuganyira	- to forgive - to show pity	to tell one's trouble
4. Guhûmura	to rest, to pause	to cool down, to become adult
5. Gutêra (umupira)	to play football (in general)	to throw a ball or to sow (crops)
6. Kurandura	to harvest (esp. beans)	to up-root (in general)

We have to point out that in G.V, some lexical items carry both meanings according to the context. In some localities, the two meanings are equally used.

- e.g. : - "inkone" : - Used in the context of animals, it means a castrated animal  
 - In the context of drinks, it means the concentrated banana juice
- gusohora :  
 e.g : - "Mwasohoye ryari ?": When did you arrive ?  
 - Mwasohoye ibiki ? : What have you taken out?
- Kuganyira :  
 e.g : - Ndakuganyiye caane : I really pity you  
 - Mutuganyire ! Please, do forgive us !  
 (apology)

We have focused on meaning under this section because it is an important aspect in a lexical study. In fact, many linguists have sustained such an aspect as far as lexical studies were concerned. Stephen Ullmann (1950), in The Principles of Semantics, states that lexical semantics "will examine the meaning of words, that is, its function par excellence, and the semantic side of word-formation : the signification of affixes, differences between the meaning of compounds and their components".

Some other linguists find that the semantic aspect cannot be separated from the morphological one of any language. In fact, these two aspects are inseparable ; that is why there is always combination of form and meaning in the study of a language. Bloomfield (1943) says that in language, forms cannot be separated from their meaning. It would be uninteresting and perhaps not very profitable to study the mere sound of a language without any consideration of meaning. Nida (1951) supports the same idea by saying that the semantic system of a language cannot be described apart from forms and the distribution of these forms. There is no meaning apart from form.

#### IV.2.2.4.3. Expressions with social meaning

##### Introduction

The fundamental function of any language is communication. Therefore, speakers intend to have some effect on their listeners and words or expressions used reflect such intentions. Besides, they want to convey certain ideas, feelings which are in their minds. They may be related to the social relationship, activities, to the cultural way of viewing the world of the language's speakers. As a matter of fact, according to the speaker, a particular world-view and the culture of the speaker influence his attitudes in various linguistic domains. Such situations are also found in Gisoni variety spoken at Giteranyi in different linguistic aspects. We have come across some expressions formed on the ground of a given a social context. Such expressions, however, are not part of the lexicon as such. In fact, scholars consider them at the communicative level. They are rather social and cultural expressions. Nevertheless, considering their peculiarity in the G.V spoken at Giteranyi vis à vis the Standard Kirundi, we judged it worth mentioning, with the caution that we don't consider them as parts of Grammar.

e.g : 1. Mwarâye : This is a greeting form "Good morning"

The expression derives from "Kûrâra" : to spend night.

The greeting expression is, therefore, a question asked to the addressee to know if he has spent a good night :

"Mwaraye néza ? " Did you spend a good night ? Normally the "Neza: good" is dropped but felt by both the addresser and the addressee.

2. Kurîshanya : To feed one another.

It carries the meaning of a whole social process of a wedding ceremony organized the day after the wedding.

In fact, in the customs of the study area, the bride is supposed not to eat until her own relatives bring some food and drinks

from her parents. In doing so, they pay her a first visit. Therefore, she shares the meal with her husband and together with her relatives. It is said that the spouses help each other to eat. And the ceremony itself is called "Kurishanya".

### 3. Umwaramo : "a week"

When a locative "ku" is added, the word becomes Kumwaramo meaning "On Sunday". The word derives from the verb "Kwarama" : to rest : especially for a woman after giving birth. Such an allusion of a peaceful rest is referred to when "Sunday" is evoked because it is a day off and everybody is supposed to rest calmly and enjoys the weekend. In fact, most of people do nothing except going to church and share some beer either at home or in pubs.

#### IV.2.2.4.4. Double meaning-words

In Giteranyi variety, there are some words which have a double meaning, this is also common even in other language. However, in Giteranyi variety, some of such words can be used to mean opposite realities. In some other cases, the meant realities are somehow close to one another.

##### (i) "Mpore !" means "Sorry !"

Normally, this expression is used as an apology. But in Giteranyi variety, dependig on circumstances, it is used either to congratulate somebody after any happy event or to comfort or cheer someone up after any unhappy event. Sometimes, a prefix na- is added and the word becomes "Nampore !"

An attempt to explain the last meaning of comforting an unfortunate fellow can be found in the Kiswahili influence. In fact, the Kiswahili expression "pole saana !" is used in most instances to comfort someone especially to condole with him. Therefore people living on borders tend to translate the expression "pole" by "Mpore !" when expressing condolences.

#### IV.2.2.4.3. Expressions with social meaning

##### Introduction

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(ii) Igiharaharage

This word carries 2 meanings but which are close to one another. On one hand, the word means the place where beans were recently reaped. On the other, the word means the dry residue or harvested from which bean's seeds have been taken out.

(iii) "ikirere"

The word means both banana leaves which are dry, without any distinction. As a matter of fact, there are 2 kinds of banana leaves. On one side, there are those which are green like other green plants' leaves. In standard Kirundi, they are called "igishwara" or "amashwara". On the other side, there are those bark-like leaves which cover the banana tree. In Standard language, they are called "igihuba" or "amahuba" when they are dry.

(iv) kuganyira

This verb means either to show pity, mercy or to apologize. Of course it depends upon the context in which it is said.

e.g : - Ndakuganyiye ! : I pity you !

- Ndakuganyiye : I forgive you.

IV.2.2.4.5. Semantic classification

Another point worth indicating is the semantic classification as regards lexical semantics. In fact, in our data collection, we aimed at some domains of people's activities such as agriculture, sports, mechanics and lexicon related to crops and food. We assume, therefore, that each domain has got its own peculiar words. In this present section of our analysis, we want to produce a list of some words according to the semantic field just as a sample because we cannot do it for all lexical items collected in our fieldwork.

Example of Semantic Classification

Agricultural activities and products	Technical terms (mechanics): borrowed words	Sports terms borrowed words	Clothing terms borrowed words
1. Urugarye (autumn)	- iyadi : a yard	- Umudenesi : tennnis ball	- impare : trousers
2. Imwanyi (coffee)	- ifuremu : a frame	- Umudifiri: a referee	- itawuro : a towel
3. Umubisi (banana juice)	- ikariya : a carrier	- ishoti : a shot	- itayi : a tie
4. Uruhogo (a bunch of banana)	- amadigadi: mud-guard	- umukeperi : a keeper	- ikirangiti: a blanket
5. Ubudumbi (peas)	- Umukanika: a mechanic	- umunyegora : a goal-keeper	- isekeni : second-hand cloth
6. Kunoga (to reap esp. Coffee)	- ibureki : a brake	- umubeki : a back	- isurubare: shorts
7. Ibiyara : potatoes	- irekodi : a recorder	- umuwingini: a winger	- umushweta : a sweater
8. Ikabeci : cabbage	- umudereva : a driver	- itimu : a team	- isiketi : a skirt
9. Igiharagarage: place where (beans were planted)	- umunesi : a nurse	- umuranzimeni : a linesman	- isengeri : a singlet
10. Inkone : banana juice (concentrated)	- Umudogita : a doctor		

The columns show that in some semantic fields, words which are used are from elsewhere. It is the case of the technical terms, sports terms and those related to clothing. Reasons to such a situation will be explained in details in the next part related to the influence of foreign or neighbouring languages and dialects. From the classification on the previous page, we notice that, most of technical and clothing loan-words in use in G.V, are from the English language.

#### IV. 3. INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

This section is related to the origin of words. Actually such an aspect is not the object of dialectology because its main concern is a geographical distribution of words. However, we have found it worth including such an aspect in our study analysis as far as the lexicon is concerned. Moreover, we feel the duty of explaining the reader who doesn't know peculiar words of G.V, what the origins for those words are and therefore, we assume that he can understand more the lexical differences between the two idioms.

##### IV.3.1. The borrowing process

We have stated, in chapter one, that our study area is set between two countries : Rwanda and Tanzania. We have also noted that the human contacts between the three countries are very easy and frequent. Therefore, economic exchange, cultural and linguistic influences are possible through individuals. The linguistic aspect now interests us.

Indeed, we assume that at the linguistic level, there is mutual influence between different languages of these neighbouring countries insofar there is mutual intelligibility between some of them.

As a matter of fact, Kirundi, Kinyarwanda and Kihangaza (Tanzania) can be spoken by all the inhabitants of those countries. Besides, Kiswahili, the national and official language in Tanzania is spoken by Burundians living at the borders especially for the integrative motivations as regards language acquisition. Assuming that there is no pure language at all, we believe that any language is a result of mixture of many other languages.

Lexical items can, thus, be exchanged from one language to another sometimes unconsciously. We can have the borrowing process occurring between languages which are not neighbours. The example we may give is the influence of Luganda language (Uganda). In fact, there are Luganda words found in G.V lexicon. Such an influence was achieved through the phenomenon of people's mobility. Indeed, mobile people are likely to bring back from elsewhere different words which can be easily adopted in local dialects.

After we have cleared such considerations about the borrowing process, let us come to the G.V and see the influence of neighbouring languages and varieties.

#### IV.3.1.1. Kihangaza influence

This dialect is spoken in neighbouring Tanzania in the district of Ngara, the former region of Bugufi which used to be a part of Burundi. According to C.M DOKE and D.T COLE (1961) especially in Doke's classification of Bantu Languages, Kirundi is classified in Zone 20 and the Gihangaza is said to be a dialect of Kirundi. In fact, the degree of mutual intelligibility is very high. The following are some Kihangaza loan-words used in Giteranyi variety as local words :

<u>G.V/Gihangaza</u>	<u>S.K</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
1. Mwarâye	bwakêye/mwaramutse	Good morning
2. Umusohozi	umushitsi	a visitor
3. Gusohora	gushika	to arrive
4. Jénka	jényene	alone/myself
5. Nyakubeho	Nyakubahwa	Sir, Honourable
6. Ishagama	amaraso	blood
7. Umwaramo	indwi	week
8. Amasânga	amahembe	horns
9. Amahuri	amagi	eggs
10. Nganyira !	mbabarira !	Forgive me !

We have to mention that most of Giteranyi Variety speakers can use these loan-words from Kihangaza as well as their equivalent in Kirundi. We can assume that they are bidialectal at this present linguistic situation.

#### IV.3.1.2. Kiswahili influence

Kiswahili is a Bantu language with widespread usage in East Africa. In fact it is the official and national language of Tanzania and largely used in Kenya and Uganda. It is also spoken elsewhere in Central Africa as a medium of communication. Indeed, it has a regional widespread usage. As regards Giteranyi area, it is obvious that Kiswahili language affects in a way or another the speech of the area. Such a Kiswahili spoken at Giteranyi is very close to the standard one spoken by Tanzanians. We have many words in G.V which are of Kiswahili origin and influence but which are considered as local words in their use:

<u>Kiswahili</u>	<u>G.V.</u>	<u>S.K</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
1. Mgeni	Umugenyi	Umushitsi	a visitor
2. Suruware	isurubare	ikabutura	shorts
3. Mzee	umuzehe	umutama	an old man
4. Mafuta ya taa	amavuta y'itara	ipețerori	lamp oil
5. Viombo	ivyombo	ibikoresho	utensils
6. Kwangu	kwânje	iwanje	at mine (my house)

#### IV.3.1.3. English influence

Being an Indo-European language, English was introduced in Africa by British colonization. In some countries, it has gained the status of a national and official language. Its influence in Giteranyi Variety comes from the fact that it is a national and official language in neighbouring Tanzania. And, thanks to different contacts, Giteranyi people find themselves using English words. From our data, we have noticed that almost technical terms are English words. As a matter of fact, Kirundi is poor in scientific and technical terms. That is why new items and concepts are named after their terms in English or French because there is no such equivalent words in Kirundi.

One can wonder why these terms are English instead of being French insofar as Burundi is a French Speaking Country . The only explanation we can give is that when these new technical items were introduced in the area of our study, it was through Eastern African Countries namely Tanzania and Uganda. Therefore, their names were known in English. The same explanation goes for sports terminology and lexical items related to clothing and medical terms.

In fact, Giteranyi people are used to go to Tanzania for medical cares and purchasing different items in commercial centres. In the cited domains, English is supplied with too many words that even Kiswahili and other languages borrow from it the lexical items to name objects. In fact, there is domination of English in scientific and technical fields to an extent that even French and other international languages adopt the English terminology for some objects and concepts.

These are examples of English words commonly used in Giteranyi Variety. Most of the technical words do not have standard Kirundi counterparts. They have adopted the French terminology. We have to mention that the Gloss corresponds to the English meaning of the words.

<u>G.V</u>	<u>S.K</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
1. Igerasi	ikirahuri	a glass
2. Itayi	ikaruvati (Fr)	a neck-tie
3. Ikabéci	imboga/amashu (Fr)	cabbage
4. Ibasi	ibisi (Fr)	a bus
5. Ibasikeri/igare	ikinga	a bicycle
6. Imadigadi	igaridebu (Fr)	a mud-guard
7. Umunesi	umuforomakazi (Fr)	a nurse
8. Ikirabo/ibara	ubunywero/ibare(Fr)	a club/bar
9. Umudifiri	umuhagarikizi	a referee
10. Umudérevá	umushoferi (Fr)	a driver
11. Amabureki	amafire (Fr)	brakes
12. Itimu	umurwi	a team
13. Ibegi	umufuko/isakoshi (Fr)	a bag
14. Irori	ikamyó (Fr)	a lorry

#### IV.3.1.4. Luganda Influence

Luganda is one of the languages spoken in Uganda. One may ask how such a language, so far from Burundi may have influenced the Giteranyi Variety. According to our informants, this influence of Luganda was achieved through the phenomenon of travelling. As a matter of fact, most of the adult and old people (only men) of our study area, had been in Uganda during the 1950<sup>s</sup> and 1960<sup>s</sup>. At that time, British East African Colonies were wealthy and Burundians, especially those living on eastern frontiers, escaping from the mistreatment of Belgian colonisation, went to East Africa especially in Uganda which was the most prosperous country and where they could earn enough money by working in fields, plantations and factories. During their stay, they learned Luganda for integrative and instrumental needs. When back home, they brought many things from Uganda. Therefore, they were considered as more "civilized" because well dressed, having radio and watch sets, bicycles some furnitures and utensils such as china dishes and tea cups. Above all, they

were proud of speaking Luganda to a certain extent that they constituted a sort of social class, well-considered and thus, whose new language was certainly envied and imitated or used by others. That is why after more than 40 years of such a phenomenon, we still have words from Luganda used in Giteranyi Variety. Even if the young generation tends to use them lesser and lesser, some words have acquired the Kirundi-word status.

Some examples to illustrate such an influence :

<u>Luganda</u>	<u>G.V.</u>	<u>S.K</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
1. Webare	wêbare	Urakoze	Thank you (sing)
2. Mwêbare	mwêbare	murakoze	Thank you (plur)
3. Imwani	Imwanyi	ikawa	Coffee
4. Empare	impare	ikabutura	shorts
5. Kunaaba	kanaba	kwoga/kwoza	to wash the body
6. Kutunda	gutunda	gushora	to sell
7. Kukurika	gukurika	kwakirwa	be welcome
8. Kurikayo !	kurikayo !	kaze	Welcome back !
9. Embaga	Imbaga	Ubugeni	Wedding Ceremony
10. Oba	Oba	Canke	Or

#### IV.3.1.5. Kinyarwanda influence

Ikinyarwanda is the language spoken in Rwanda , the Northern neighbouring country. The degree of intelligibility with Kirundi is very high to such an extent that differences are mainly felt at the level of phonology and some peculiar lexical items due to some variations. Surprisingly enough, we find very few words from Kinyarwanda in the G.V lexicon. The reasons are hard to find even to our informants but the only attempt they made is that there are very few Rwandese living in Giteranyi. Moreover, the contacts especially human ones between Giteranyi and Rwanda in the past were not as frequent as they were between Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda. According to our informants, Rwanda was not attractive to Burundians living on borders.

Economically speaking, Tanzania and Uganda were powerful and for Burundians, Rwanda was not interesting at all, because nothing was attracting them seriously. Besides, the colonial system prevailing in both countries was the same for the reason that the colonial ruler was the same. Burundians couldn't escape and go to Rwanda and vice versa.

We have words such as :

<u>G.V</u>	<u>S.K</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
1. Kureba	Kuraba	to see, to look at
2. Imibari	ibiharuro	arithmetics or mathematics
3. Indorerwamo	icirore	a mirror
4. Indorera	amarori	spectacles

To end this section of foreign languages, we cannot leave it without a word on French influence. It is obvious that, being a language of a French speaking country, it is a second language, and official language after Kirundi. Therefore, its influence in all Kirundi dialects is too evident that there are no peculiar French words to the Giteranyi variety worth mentioning. All French loan-words are common to all dialects spoken in Burundi:

e.g :

<u>G.V</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
- ibiyêri	bière	beer
- Umusenyeri	Monseigneur	bishop
- ikamyo	camion	lorry
- ikaye	cahier	notebook
- ijipo	jupe	skirt
- umushoferi	chauffeur	a driver
- ibiro	bureau	office

As regards other dialects spoken in Burundi, we have to mention that their influence on Gisoni Variety spoken at Giteranyi is felt in a way or another thanks to the phenomenon of borrowing between mutual intelligible languages or varieties.

Therefore we find in G.V words which are also in use in Kimoso dialect. According to Ndarusanze Daniel (1991), we find common words in use in Kimoso dialect and Gisoni Variety spoken at Giteranyi. However, we cannot tell exactly which of these two dialects borrowed from another or influenced it. For example, we have following words in Gisoni Variety spoken at Giteranyi as well as in Kimoso dialect.

<u>G.V/KIMOSO</u>	<u>Standard KIRUNDI</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
. Kwehera	kuyerera	to walk aimlessly
. Urimwo ?	urakomeye ?	How are you ?
. Umuhunguhungu	umuhungu	a boy
. Umugabogabo	umugabo	a man
. Umugoregoré	umugore	a woman
. Umukobwakôbwa	umukobwa	a girl
. Kudûndega	gukomera	to be healthy
. Gusohora	gushika	to arrive

So much said about influences on Gisoni Variety spoken at Giteranyi with regard to the lexicon. Our main objective being a lexical study, we cannot attempt the influence on other linguistic aspects.

#### IV.4. EVALUATION

In this section, we should make an evaluation on the ground of our analysis from the previous section of the chapter.

In fact, in the present study, we have taken the standard language as a reference and, from similarities and differences, we shall see how G.V is different from the standard idiom. Then, we shall look at the distribution of main lexical items in G.V throughout the investigation area. From this distribution, we shall see if we can set boundaries or isoglosses of the Giteranyi Variety.

#### IV.4.1. Differences

In our analysis, we have already noticed that the Giteranyi variety has got many differences vis à vis the standard language, mainly at the lexical aspect. Even if differences are also evident at other aspects, we have come up with a general picture which indicates that the lexical aspect displays great and manifest differences. The lexical study comprises the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic aspects of words, that is why in our analysis, we tried to make a point at each of those aspects.

We cannot, however, say that the variety spoken at Giteranyi is completely different from the standard language. In fact, there is a complete intelligibility between speakers of both idioms. The only remarkable difference is noticed at the lexical level: Main lexical items peculiar to our study area are essentially loan-words from foreign neighbouring languages and dialects.

Besides, to explain morphological and phonological differences in both varieties requires a deep knowledge of Kirundi structure. Nevertheless, we have managed to indicate the phonological differences between human and non-human beings when actions about to occur in a near past tense are expressed. In fact - ri + a - stands for human beings whereas - ri + i - stands for non-human beings. Giteranyi Variety speakers use the second instead of the first.

e.g : - Yariguye instead of Yaraguye : He/She was about to fall  
down

- Yarije " " Yaraje : He/She was about to come
- Yarirushe " " Yararushe : He/She was tired

#### IV.4.2. Heterogeneity in the Giteranyi Variety

The variety of Gisoni spoken at Giteranyi is not homogeneous because of influences from different languages. Besides, localities near the borders are more affected by such influences than those which are at a certain distance away. In addition, we have realized that young people tend to use jargon and slang in their speech as regards lexicon. In some localities such as Kabogo, we have realized that young people used a certain number of items which are not used by adult people.

e.g :

<u>SLANG</u>	<u>G.V/S.K</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
- Kwakura	kugenda	to go, to depart
- guhêreza	gukubita	to beat
- kwûmya	kugumya	to seize firmly
- gusevya	gutsinda/kumenya	to pass an examination
- kunégera	gutsinda/kumenya	to succeed (esp. in scholar tests)

We have to note that these words, when used out of the slang context, they mean something else.

Such a linguistic situation or behaviour has been noted by H.A Gleason, Jr in his Linguistics and Grammar (1965). This is what he says :

Much more striking that most dialect differences are those that are correlated with age. Each stage in the life history of an individual has a set of characteristic behaviour patterns. Among these patterns are many features of speech. The generation differences are usually in basic matters of pronunciation and in grammatical habits of the most basic sort ... They most often affect vocabulary and style, the most changeable elements in language. For example, teenagers use more slang (or slang like consultative vocabulary) than the group either ahead of them or behind them. P. 654-6

Another point worth citing is the geographical and dialectal proximities as sources of linguistic differences. Languages which share same linguistic facts tend to influence each other. This is the case of dialects and languages, neighbours of Kirundi such as Kihangaza and Kinyarwanda. As far as Luganda is concerned, we should evoke the fact of people mobility.

As regards the dialectal proximity, Bernd Heine and Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig (1980) say that it is based on linguistic facts which are shared by two neighbouring idioms. They affirm that such facts are weighed in two aspects : firstly, according to whether the linguistic facts shared are completely identical in form and meaning or only partially identical ; secondly, according to the extent to which a shared feature recurs in the other dialects of the same major area group.

This heterogeneity of the Giteranyi Variety leads us to consider the distribution of some lexical items peculiar to the area of our investigation. We will have a sample of terms and try to see their distribution in the different localities dealt with in our fieldwork.

#### IV.4.3. Distribution of peculiar lexical items

In this distribution, we have considered a set of 50 specific words from Standard Kirundi ; therefore we have tried to find the equivalent words in Giteranyi Variety in the different localities of our survey. We assumed that a word can be considered as commonly used if more than six out of the twelve informants per locality give it as an answer to the questions : "What do you call or name this in here ? ", "What is the equivalent word of ... ?"

Distribution of lexical items

Locality Word (S.K)	GAKONI	GASENYI	GITERANYI	KABOGO	MUGANO	NONWE	RUMANDARI	SHOZA	GLOSS	%
1. Amaraso	ishagama	ishagama	ishagama	ishagama	ishagama	ishagama	ishagama	ishagama	blood	100
2. Amahembe	amasanga	amasanga	amategano	amasanga	amasanga	amasanga	amasanga	amasanga	horns	87,5
3. Ikiraro	igitindo	igitindo	igitindo	igitindo	urutindo	urutindo	igitindo	igitindo	bridge	100
4. Ikiziriko	umuyondo	umuguha	umuyondo	umuguha	umuguha	umuyondo	umuyondo	umuguha	rope (to attach animals)	50
5. Ubwishaza	ubudumbi	ubudumbi	ubudumbi	ubudumbi	ubudumbi	ubudumbi	ubudumbi	ubudumbi	peas	100
6. Amagi	amahuri	amahuri	amahuri/ amagi	amahuri	amahuri	amahuri	amahuri	amahuri	eggs	87,5
7. Ikirahuri	igerasi	igerasi	igerasi/ ikirahuri	igerasi	igerasi	igerasi	igerasi	igerasi	glass	100
8. Ikawa	imwanyi	imwanyi	imwanyi	imwanyi	imwanyi	imwanyi	imwanyi	imwanyi	coffee	100
9. Ipeterori	amavuta y' itara	amazi y' itara	amavuta	amavuta y' itara	amavuta y' itara	amazi y' itara	amavuta y' itara	amavuta y' itara	lamp oil	75
10. Gushora (ikawa)	gutunda	gutunda	gutunda	gutunda	gutunda	gutunda	gutunda	gutunda	to sell (coffee)	100
11. Amashu	imboga	ikabeci	imboga/ amashu	ikabeci	kabeci	kabeci	kabeci	ikabeci	cabbage	75
12. Umurongo	umurongo	umunyiriri	umurongo	umunyiriri	umunyiriri	umunyiriri	umusitari	umunyiriri	line/queue	62,5
13. Mwaramutse !	mwaraye !	mwaraye !	mwaraye !	mwaraye !	mwaraye !	mwaraye !	mwaraye !	mwaraye !	Good morning !	100
14. Amahuba	ibirere	ibirere	ibirere	ibirere	ibirere	ibirere	ibirere	ibirere	banana dry 'barks'	100
15. Igihunda	ikirere	ikirere	ikirere	ikirere	ikirere	ikirere	ikirere	ikirere	banana dry leaves	100
16. Kugonga	gutomera	gutomera	gutomera	gutomera	gutomera	gutomera	gutomera	gutomera	to bump/ Knock	87,5

Distribution of lexical items (continued)

Locality Word (S.K)	GAKONI	GASENYI	GITERANYI	KABOGO	MUGANO	NONWE	RUMANDARI	SHOZA	GLOSS	%
17. Umushitsi	umusohozi	umugenyi	umusohozi	umugenyi	umugenyi	umusohozi	umugenyi	umugenyi	visitor/ guest	62,5
18. Agatasi	urugarye	urugarye	urugarye	urugarye	urugarye	urugarye	urugarye	urugarye	Autumn	100
19. Umutobe	umubisi	umubisi	umubisi	umubisi	umubisi	umubisi	umubisi	umubisi	banana juice	100
20. Umutwa	umuyovu	umuyovu	umuyovu	umuyovu	umuyovu	umuyovu	umuyovu	umuyovu	pygmy	100
21. Urakoze !	wébare !	wébaré !	wébare !	wébare/ urakoze !	wébare !	wébare !	wébare !	wébare !	thank you	100
22. Ikinga	igare	ibasikeri	igare/iba- sikeri	ibasikeri	igare	ibasikeri	ibasikeri	ibasikeri	bicycle	87,5
23. Urubanza (umusi mukuru)	urubara	urubara	urubara	urubara	urubara	urubara	urubara	urubara	urubara	100
24. Igicumbe (igitoke)	umukubite	umukubite	igicumbe	umukubite	umukubite	umukubite	umukubite	umukubite	pounded banana	87,5
25. Indwi	umwaramo	umwaramo	umwaramo	umwaramo	umwaramo	umwaramo	umwaramo	umwaramo	week	100
26. Kuwamungu	kumwaramo	kumwaramo	kumwaramo	kumwaramo	kumwaramo	kumwaramo	kumwaramo	kumwaramo	On Sunday	100
27. Kwoga	kunaba	kwinaba	kunaba	kunaba	kunaba	kwinaba	kwinaba	kunaba	to wash/ bathe	100
28. Ikibuga	igishawe	igishawe	igishawe	igishawe	igishawe	igishawe	igishawe	igishawe	sport ground	87,5
29. Kwamura (ikawa)	kunoga	kunoga	kunoga	kunoga	kunoga	kunoga	kunoga	kunoga	to reap (coffee)	100
30. Ubunywero	ibara	ibare	ibara	ikirabo/ ibawe	ikirabo	ibara	ikirabo	ikirabo	club, bar	50
31. Ipine	umupira	itayiri	umupine	itayiri	itayiri	ipine	itayiri	itayiri	tyre	62,5

Distribution of lexical items (continued)

Locality Word (S.K)	GAKONI	GASENYI	GITERANYI	KABOGO	MUGANO	NONWE	RUMANDARI	SHOZA	GLOSS	%
32. Imatera	umufariso	umufariso	umufariso/ imatara	umufariso/ imatara	umufariso	umufariso	umufariso	umufariso	mattress	100
33. Amabeteri	amabuye	amanda	amabeteri	amanda/ amabuye	amabuye	amanda	amabuye	amanda	batteries	50
34. Umubikira	umubikira	umusesita	umubikira	umusesita	umubikira/ umusesita	umusisita	umusisita	umusisita	a sister	75
35. Urufunguzo	Urushumu- ruzo	urushumu- ruzo	urupfingu- ruzo	urushumu- ruzo	urushumu- ruzo	urushumu- ruzo	urushumu- ruzo	urushumu- ruzo	key	87,5
36. Kuraba	kureba	kureba	kureba	kureba	kureba	kureba	kureba	kureba	to look at (to glance at)	100
37. Kuruhuka	guhumura	guhumura	kuruhuka	guhumura	guhumura	guhumura	guhumura	guhumura	to rest/ pause	87,5
38. Ikabutura	isurubare	isurubare	ikabutura	isurubare	impare	isurubare	isurubare	isurubare	shorts	75
39. Gukina (umupira)	gukina	gutera	gukina	gutera	gutera	gutera	gutera	gutera	to play (football)	75
40. Ibikoresho	Ivyombo	ivyombo	ivyombo	ivyombo	ivyombo	ivyombo	ivyombo	ivyombo	utensils	100
41. Kuriha	gushashura	gushashura	gushashura	gushashura	gushashura	gushashura	gushashura	gushashura	to pay cash	100
42. Umunyu	umushanga	umunyu	umunyu	umushanga	umushanga	umushanga	umushanga	umushanga	salt	75
43. Amavuta (y' ibiyoba)	ubuto	ubuto	ubuto	ubuto	ubuto	ubuto	ubuto	ubuto	vegetable cooking oil	100
44. Iporote- bagaje	ikariya	ikariya	ikariya	ikariya	ikariya	ikariya	ikariya	ikariya	carrier	100

Distribution of lexical items (end)

Locality Word (S.K)	GAKONI	GASENYI	GITERANYI	KABOGO	MUGANO	NONWE	RUMANDARI	SHOZA	GLOSS	%
45. Umutama	umuzehe	umutama/ umuzehe	umutama/ umuzehe	umuzehe	umuzehe	umuzehe	umuzehe	umuzehe	an old man	87,5
46. Igisahira	inyamusha- nga	inyamusha- nga	igisenyi	inyamusha- nga	inyamusha- nga	ikinyamu- senyi	inyamusha- nga	inyamusha- nga	banana, to cook	75
47. Umuzamu (inkino)	umunyego- ra	umugora	umunyezamu	umukeperi	umunyegori	umuzamu	umukeperi	umunyegora	keeper/ Goal - keeper	50
48. Ifire	ibureki	ibureki	ibureki	ibureki	ibureki	ibureki	ibureki	ibureki	brakes	100
49. Amasera	impagi	amasera	amasera	impagi	impagi	impagi	impagi	impagi	spokes	75
50. Igipfunsi	igikonde	ingumu	ingumu	igikonde	igikonde	igicokano	igikonde	igikonde	a punch	62,5
<b>TOTAL</b>								4.337.5/5.000		
<b>AVERAGE</b>								86.75 %		

The elaboration of the columns of lexical distribution was aiming at checking the degree to which extent peculiar lexical items are used in different localities of our study and therefore, to deduce whether such an item is to be considered as commonly used in Giteranyi Variety. To evaluate the word distribution through the 8 localities, we assumed that it was widely used if the percentage of use is 50 % and plus, of the collected answers from different localities. In some instance, we had two words equally used in a same locality using one word and the other half using the other word. According to our informants' opinion, in such cases, it is a matter of option because they may feel like using one word instead of the other but without any special reason.

With regard to the meaning distribution within Giteranyi, we have noticed that the meaning doesn't vary very much. Indeed, words which are used in localities near the borders are almost the same and, in addition, localities which are close to one another use the same terminology. So, the meaning distribution within Giteranyi area is not different except some cases of words which are both known in the different localities but, in some of them, people do favour one word more than the other.

e.g : People from one locality may find themselves using the term "ibasikeri" (bicycle) more than the other equivalent term "igare". In another locality it is the contrary : The same goes for the word : ikiziriko : (a rope especially to attach animals): In some localities, you may find people using the term "Umuguha" while in others they use "Umuyondo".

#### IV.4.3.2. Results

After we have discussed about the distribution of lexical items peculiar to our study area ; we may consider now the rate of distribution i.e how words are used in different localities according to our sample consisting of 50 specific lexical items to be checked. After calculation of different localities' rates

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of lexical distribution, we have come up with an average of 86.75% that is, a total of 4,337.5 out of 5,000. With such a rate, we can conclude that peculiar lexical items of G.V are widely distributed in the different localities of our investigation. We believe that these investigated localities are representative of G.V as regards lexical items in use.

Another thing worth noting is that the meaning doesn't vary from one locality to another. May be it is because of the influence which is great between the different localities. In fact, Giteranyi being a small area, the distance between different localities is reduced and mutual influence is high.

#### IV.4.4. The issue of delimitation lines

Dialectology, being a geographical oriented study as far as dialects are concerned, the previous distribution of lexical items would have led to the limitation of the G.V. Assuming that Giteranyi area is taken as an entity, one would be tempted to deduce immediately that such delimitation lines would coincide with administrative boundaries of Giteranyi commune. In fact, Giteranyi Variety is a sub-dialect of Gisoni dialect which is spoken in a vast area. It is obvious that there is a continuum throughout such an area covered by Gisoni dialect and its varieties, even within other areas covered by neighbouring dialects closely related but displaying some diversity on various levels. Actually, we couldn't find distinct dialect boundaries because the linguistic situation in Giteranyi area is rather that of gradual transition across a given area which is very wider and vaster than the area covered during our study.

In fact, our work, being conducted in a short period, it didn't allow us to undertake a deep and vast investigation to cover the entire area where G.V is used. Such a work would have

taken much time and a lot of means be it human or material. We only made investigation within eight localities which we assumed were representative. However, after the distribution of the main specific lexical items, the results cannot allow us to set easily lines of demarcation of the variety.

In addition, we cannot easily set geographical boundaries of G.V because we cannot find some natural limits such as a river, a mountain which can stand for a clear line beyond which we feel a clearcut between the speeches. We needed to go very far to find such a limit.

Besides, within neighbouring dialects, we assume that there is G.V. influence because the mutual intelligibility is almost 100 %. It is the case of Ikinyabweru (Burundi), Igihangaza (Tanzania) and Ikinyarwanda (Rwanda). Such a fact has hindered us in tracing delimitation because this would have required investigation within areas where the above dialects are spoken to witness the influence of G.V and therefore to conclude about the area where it is limited in usage.

That is why the issue of isoglosses of Giteranyi Variety couldn't be solved and hasn't been dealt with properly in this study. In fact, to set dialectal boundaries in areas where fieldwork hasn't been carried properly would seem rather venturesome.

#### IV.4.5. Summary of the chapter

The chapter has dealt with the data analysis which has focused on the lexical aspects namely phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax. Then, it has tackled the influence of foreign languages even if this is not a matter of dialectology properly speaking. Indeed, G.V has got many loan-words from foreign languages and dialects through the borrowing process. Next, the chapter has dealt with the evaluation of the 2 idioms and an attempt to the distribution of peculiar items to the G.V

lexicon was made. Such a distribution, however, didn't allow us to solve the issue of demarcation of G.V and reasons for such an impossibility were given namely the restrictions, scope delimitation and other constraints encountered during the fieldwork.

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## CHAPTER V : THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

This chapter will deal with the relevance of the study as regards theories related to language variation and the impact that such language varieties can have on practical aspects of the speech community.

### V.1. NATURE AND EXTENT OF VARIATION

The nature of variation cannot be clearly and properly put forward, as far as G.V is concerned, because there are no great or sharp differences between the two idioms. However, the few dissimilarities at morpho-phonemic and lexico-semantic levels are due to the phenomenon of analogy and are motivated by some other factors.

e.g : The use of "mpore !" to comfort a fellow for some misfortune, makes allusion to the kiswahili expression "pole" for a same function. The use of the possessive pronouns :

e.g : "Kwânje" is an analogy to the kiswahili possessive pronoun "Kwangu" : "at mine" instead of "iwânje" (S.K). The same goes for "umugenyi" instead of "umushitsi" (S.K) which makes analogy to "mgeni" in kiswahili : "visitor" ; "Amavuta y'itara" an analogy made to the kiswahili word "Mafuta ya taa" meaning "the lamp oil".

We have to note that the phenomenon of analogy in G.V operates on both phonological and grammatical levels of language structure.

Nevertheless, we have some other factors which make G.V having some peculiarities. We may cite the example of the proto-bantu form - nka which is kept in G.V and which is in use only

in interlacustral area. But the S.K has kept the other proto-bantu form -(n)yene in usage elsewhere, meaning "alone" or "self".

e.g. : - jenyene (S.K) : jenka (G.V) : myself/alone  
 - bonyene (S.K) : bonka (G/V) : themselves

In addition, with the borrowing process, we find so many loan-words from other languages and dialects :

- Amasanga (Kihangaza/G.V) : Amahembe (S.K) : horns (gloss)
- Ikariya (English/G.V) : intebe (S.K) : a carrier  
(y'ikinga)
- Ivyombo (Kiswahili/G.V) : ibikoresho (S.K): utensils
- Wêbare (Luganda/G.V) : Urakoze/Murakoze (S.K) : Thank you!

These above examples attest the evidence of the Universal phenomenon of borrowing in G.V as well as in S.K. The fact that some languages from which G.V borrows different terms are dominant in some fields, is also one of the factors of variation. Indeed, the dominance of a language in a specific field makes its words to be used in other languages : This is the case of English as regards technological and scientific field.

Concerning the extent to which such a variation can be evaluated, we notice that G.V displays morpho-phonological and lexico-semantic differences :

e.g : of morpho-phonological changes :

<u>S.K</u>	<u>G.V</u>	
. i + a → a	i + a → i	
yari aguye → yaraguye	yariguye	He/She was about to fall down
. ti i-a → tya	ti + i → ti	Like this (in G.V there is
gutya	<u>guti</u>	a drop of /a/)

- . /S/ → /ʃ/  
 Numvise → numvishe : I have heard
- . - nyene → - nka  
 wenyéne → wenka : alone/himself-herself

It is hard, nevertheless, to precise exactly which linguistic rule of variation (in languages) is applied in such changes at this level. But, we think that the rule is related to the nature of what is being said about : human or non-human beings. In fact, there is a drop of /i/ in S.K when talking about human beings while the G.V drops /a/ in the same case.

As far as syntax is concerned, the nature, function and combination of different elements is achieved like in S.K. Concerning semantics, we have got words of G.V quite different from their counterparts of S.K.

e.g :

<u>G.V</u>	<u>S.K</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
- ubudumbi	ubwishaza	peas
- igitindo	ikiraro	bridge
- gutomera	kugonga	to bump/to knock
- gutunda	gushora	to sell

At this semantic level, we may notice, however, some motivations behind such variations. The case of Luganda loan-words which were adopted by the fact of imitation of people who were speaking it. In fact, at a certain time, people who were back from Uganda were regarded with a certain social esteem. According to John Lyons (1981), it has become clear that, in general, social factors are far more important in language change. Thus, Luganda loan-words were adopted in respect of these social factor rules.

## V.2. HOMOGENEITY OF GITERANYI VARIETY

It is a truism to say that in general, G.V is homogeneous as regards the speech Community : word-pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary of its speakers are homogeneous. However, when comes the moment to scrutinize isolated or individual cases, such as some localities, a certain category of the population, we find that speech varies according to a number of factors : For example, localities which are close to Tanzania tend to use more and more Kiswahili loan-words than those which are a little bit far away. Besides, in terms of age, in certain localities we came across young generation using a slang-like speech that adult people don't use at all.

We have come up with the observation that variation within a variety of a dialect is evident in the Giteranyi idiom. Indeed, even at the individual level, people do differ from one another according to the way they speak. John Lyons (1981) supports this view when he evokes the idea of idiolect :

We should have to admit that everyone has his own individual dialect ; that he has his own idiolect ; as linguists put it. Every idiolect will differ from every other, certainly in vocabulary and pronunciation and perhaps also, to a smaller degree, in grammar. Furthermore, one's idiolect is not fixed once and for all at the end of what we normally think of as the period of language acquisition : it is subject to modification and extension right through life.

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So, we may speak of homogeneity of G.V in terms of general use of the idiom but some differences based on the ground of some individual facts are manifest. Besides, it is really hard to find a language which is completely homogeneous ; this will constitute a special case. According to J. Lyons (1981), total homogeneity in languages is rather fictional.

A. Martinet (1962) holds the same view when he says that "no community is linguistically homogeneous and no two persons use

a language in exactly the same way. A same situation will elicit different linguistic reactions from different onlookers". For R.A Hall Jr (1964) a language varies not only from one individual to the next but from one subsection of a speech community to another.

### V.3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS OF THE AREA

Giteranyi area is among the fertile parts of the region and its inhabitants live on agricultural production. The only one cash-crop produced in the area is coffee. Very few people are involved in rearing animals exclusively. Actually, they do practice both agriculture and breeding animals. Some of them run commercial business especially during the dry season from June to October, when people sell their production of coffee and other harvests.

This indicates that the socio-economic situation of Giteranyi people is not so bad. However, the number of educated people at the secondary level is very low. In fact, there is no secondary school in the area, and the nearest one is at about 15 km in the neighbouring commune of Bwambarangwe in Kirundo province. As regards agriculture production, people are self-sufficient because they manage to produce for auto-sufficiency and have what to sell in other less productive regions.

With regard to cultural dynamics, we don't have special elements which distinguish Giteranyi people from other neighbouring populations. There may be some cultural traits influenced by neighbouring countries' cultures but not very pronounced. Despite self-efficiency as far as economic situation is concerned, there is no feeling of keeping the G.V as the only one medium of communication. In other words, there is no linguistic conservation. The same is observed for cultural aspects because Giteranyi people do not have specific cultural elements which can make them feeling like jealously keeping their

own speech. On the contrary, with the borrowing mechanism, they tend to enrich the variety especially at the lexical level.

#### V.4. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN THE AREA

In this section, the issue is to know whether Giteranyi people display some linguistic behaviours which can qualify them as conservative with regard to their variety ; therefore, being hostile to the standard variety and other varieties' influences. According to observations made during our fieldwork, we have noticed that in spite of differences at some levels, Giteranyi people tend to be open to other languages. With reference to the loan-words in use in G.V, we realize that there is tendency to adopt easily, items especially lexical ones from elsewhere.

As stated earlier, there is no strong culture which can make them feel proud of their own speech to such an extent that they can disregard S.K and other languages. Besides, they do not consider G.V as a different language from Kirundi, they believe and it is quite true, they are Kirundi speakers in spite of differences in the two speeches. Sometimes, people are not aware of such differences unless they are in touch with standard-Kirundi speakers. The S.K's influence on G.V is strong and manifest because it is the standard language taken as reference when studying the dialects and other sub-varieties.

However G.V speakers do preserve in their speech words from Luganda, borrowed since the 1950<sup>s</sup>. It is as if there were special forces which keep these loan-words in Giteranyi speech especially among adult people but, we find also young people using them insofar as they grew up communicating with adult people from whom they acquire their language that is, Giteranyi Variety.

## V.5. PEDAGOGICAL AND OTHER PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

### V.5.1. Pedagogical implications

The linguistic situation of Giteranyi vis - à - vis the Standard language deserves attention as far as education is concerned. The differences noted at different linguistic levels raise problems and misunderstandings between teachers and pupils especially at the elementary level (primary school) where the medium of education is Standard Kirundi. Indeed, the area of Giteranyi is provided with many primary schools and most of the teachers come from other regions where S.K and/or other Kirundi varieties are spoken. However, wherever they come from, teachers speak S.K because at School, from the elementary to the secondary school, pupils are taught Standard Kirundi. In this section, two cases are worth mentioning as illustrations of linguistic problems in education:

The first is a teacher who was initiating calculation to his small beginners of first year. According to the methodology, he was obliged to use capsules to be more concrete. In the area, the capsule of bottles is called "ingoroji" whereas the same term in S.K means the hole (breach) left on the bottle's top when it is badly opened and broken. For introduction, the teacher showed a capsule and asked pupils to tell its name. The whole class answered in unison : "ingoroji". He couldn't believe his ears and repeated his question, and, the same answer, with more emphasis, was given again. He took his stick and started beating them. The small children wouldn't know exactly what was wrong with their teacher until this latter went to a Giteranyi native colleague in the next classroom who told him that the answer was correct according the area speech. The non-native teacher had to adopt the same terminology for the sake of communication and later on, he taught the standard term "Umufuniko" or "Umufundikizo".

A second case is also related to lexical differences : One day a "non-native" teacher asked his pupils to bring the next day, dry banana leaves to cover the school tree nursery

(breeding-ground). Then, after he had been sure of the term of the area "ibirere", he gave out his message. The following day, some pupils brought aerial dry leaves, some others brought those which cover the banana tree similar to barks. In conveying the message, the teacher meant the first category. Thus, he was angry with those who, according to him, didn't pay attention and punished them. It was just after that he was told that, in the area, the two kinds of banana leaves are designed by a same term, the one who conveys the message has to be more specific to mean one kind or the other.

There are so many examples of such misunderstandings between teachers and pupils in the area, due to language variations. Indeed, both sides are in trouble and we realize that it is a potential problem in education because such situations often raise serious problems in education process. Sometimes, parents are complaining about a teacher who doesn't understand their children and instead, submits them to hard punishments. This constitutes a hindrance to progress of non-standard speakers ; therefore a danger for a whole community. For instance, in some schools of Giteranyi area, pupils used to give up schools because a teacher was too severe towards their speech that he judged rather strange and unintelligible.

There are also some teachers who base their first impressions of pupils on speech form. Thus, there are problems for the child whose speech leads to an unfavourable first impression. R.A. Hudson (1981) points out the problem of teachers' stereotypes towards pupils, as being facts among others of pupils' failure in class. He states it in following terms :

There is also the problem of the self-fulfilling prophecy: if a teacher expects a child to perform poorly, his behaviour towards the child maybe such as to encourage him to do just that (...). It seems likely that negative expectations by the teacher will similiary lead to negative performance by the pupils. P. 209

### V.5.2. Literacy Campaign and Mass Media

The literacy Campaign is not an activity organized throughout the area. Only some localities have been experiencing the phenomenon. However, the beginning was a little bit difficult because it dealt with adult people who are not ready to change easily and quickly their way of speaking. Generally, it is achieved slowly through a kind of mixture of S.K and non-standard G.V and, later on, only standard language is used.

As regards mass media, it is also achieved in Standard language. When official messages are communicated; it is always in Standard Kirundi. This is the case for church and mass activities because, as stated earlier, priests and pastors have been educated and had got used to the standard language which they use during their service. Besides their written material uses standard language. Concerning political and other kinds of meeting, the communication is made in standard speech and Giteranyi people do understand everything and respond properly. In addition, the degree of mutual intelligibility between the two idioms is very high and in such a situation of standard and non-standard speeches, it is easier for a non-standard speaker to understand a standard speaker than the other way round. So, mass media is easily and well caught by Giteranyi Variety speakers be it through newspapers or the radio broadcasts and, actually, there is non problem at this level of communication.

### V.5.3. Integrative status of Giteranyi People

When Giteranyi people move to other areas, they do notice differences between their own speech and the others' and vice versa. This doesn't constitute a very serious problem as far as communication is concerned. In urban areas, normally there is a mixture of languages and people don't care about such differences. However, at a lexical level, there are cases of misunderstanding. In a Bujumbura pub, a barman was asked to serve

2 bottles of beer and was asked to bring glasses. The customers used the Giteranyi variety term "amagerasi" whereas the barman was used to the standard term "ibirahuri". He had to ask for more explanation to discover that he was asked glasses.

Another case that we witnessed is a Giteranyi woman who came to dwell in Bujumbura. She sent her houseboy to purchase some food including peas. Then, she told the houseboy to buy a kilo of "Ubudumbi" the standard word being "Ubwishaza". The houseboy was puzzled and said that he had never seen such a type of food in the market. He was surprised of the very kind of food when we told him the standard word !

Actually, Giteranyi people don't feel strange when they are in other areas as far as their speech is concerned. However, some linguistic differences at morpho-phonemic and lexico-semantic levels make them to be identified as people from rural areas especially when they are in urban areas such as the capital. For some isolated cases, such a situation is frustrating but, in general, they get used quickly to the S.K insofar they do understand it quite well. Besides, as it has been said over and over again, G.V doesn't differ significantly from the Standard Kirundi.

Another alternative which is commonly observed is the strategy of adopting a diglossic linguistic behaviour. In fact, once they are aware of such a situation, Giteranyi people manage to learn all standard vocabularies specific to certain circumstances and situations. Thus, when they are away from Giteranyi, they speak S.K though, sometimes, it doesn't work properly because, for a true Standard language speaker, he always feels the difference, be it in one word. What is observed is that, Giteranyi people do integrate themselves easily into other speech communities because, if we recall what has been said in previous paragraphs, they are not conservative, they are, instead, open towards outside as regards languages.

## CHAPTER VI. : CONCLUSION

The major concern of this part is to present an overview of the results of the study, remarks and suggestions for further research.

### VI.1. ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE STUDY

This study, being the first academic research conducted in Giteranyi area as far as linguistics is concerned, has the merit to have attempted a scientific analysis of the variety of Gisoni dialect spoken there. As a matter of fact, most of people in the area are not aware of such differences between their own speech and the standard Kirundi especially at the morpho-phonemic and lexico-semantic levels. The main differences lie on the lexical aspect and these are due to many factors.

Evident dissimilarities were noticed in following aspects :

#### 1.1. MORPHO-PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

At this level, Gisoni Variety spoken at Giteranyi displays differences vis à vis standard language in the use of different prefixes with some adjectives, adverbs and pronouns. The same is observed in the form of some verbs and the duplication phenomenon.

As a matter of fact, the Gisoni Variety of Giteranyi uses - ri - whereas the standard language uses - ra - when talking about human beings in a recent past tense.

However, both idioms use - ri - when talking about non-human beings in the same tense.

We also noticed that the variety spoken at Giteranyi uses the suffix - ti whereas the standard variety uses -tya in some adverbs of manner as in guti and guyya.

Besides, the adjective "self" or "alone" which is expressed by -nyene in the standard language becomes -nka in the variety of Gisoni dialect spoken at Giteranyi. The latter case is in common use in the eastern part of the interlacustral linguistic area.

Another element to point out is the locative which is connected to the possessive pronouns. In fact, in Gisoni Variety spoken at Giteranyi, there is use of - ku when the standard kirundi uses - i - as in i-wanje and kwanje (ku-anje).

There is also the use of the prefix -ga in Giteranyi area before adverbs of manner : gake, gahoro whereas the standard idiom uses - bu as in : buhoro or buke.

We noticed differences about the verb kwita as far as the two varieties are concerned. In fact, the standard variety uses the suffix - ta as in banyita whereas the Gisoni spoken at Giteranyi uses -twa as in banyitwa.

The phenomenon of duplication is also observed frequently in some items such as Umugabogabo, umugoregore, gakegake, gahorogahoro, umukobwakobwa, umuhunguhungu.

## 1.2. LEXICO-SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES

So many similarities are found in the two varieties. Nevertheless, differences are also evident : different words for a same reality and same words but with different meanings are found in the two idioms. Moreover, findings have showed that Gisoni variety spoken at Giteranyi has got many loan-words borrowed from neighbouring and distant dialects and languages :

Kirundi dialects, Kihangaza, Kiswahili, Kinyarwanda, Luganda and English. Such influences, achieved through the borrowing process between close and distant languages are recognized by R.A. Hall Jr. (1964) who says that external borrowing is not limited to related dialects. Borrowing between mutually unintelligible languages are also frequent. He goes on saying that single words are most easily borrowed ; they are normally adapted to the structure of the borrowing language in sound and in form.

As regards lexicon, he also recognizes that a language's lexicon shows innovation principally by borrowing, retention and obsolescence, as do individual lexical items. Moreover, the ordinary man is fairly ready to adopt new terms from any necessary source. According to the same author, the lexicon of a language is able to adapt itself without difficulty to the exigencies of changing as in modern technological developments.

Another merit is that the study has proved that variation in language, a universal phenomenon, is also evident in Kirundi. It is a normal phenomenon which occurs with different causes. Therefore, there is no language that can claim to be superior to another insofar they all serve to a same purpose : Communication. Thus, Gisoni Variety speakers of Giteranyi area or any variety of a standard language can feel confident and comfortable in their speech, bearing in mind that language difference is something normal and shouldn't be, in any case, a cause of discrimination or injustice. Peter Trudgill (1986) affirms that a scientific study of language has proved that all languages and correspondingly, all dialects are equally "good" as linguistic systems. He goes on saying that it follows that value judgements concerning correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are social rather than linguistic. He ends by saying that there is nothing at all inherent in non-standard varieties which makes them inferior.

The evaluation of data attested that the variety spoken at Giteranyi is not homogeneous, however, particular lexical items

to the area are widely distributed within it. Finally, the issue of isoglosses was unsuccessfully tackled because it was impossible to set boundaries of the variety under study.

Besides, dynamics and linguistic attitudes showed that Giteranyi people are not conservative but open to outside as regards linguistic influences. However, differences between the two speeches are potential sources of educational problems as regards communication between non-native teachers and school children.

Moreover, mass media and literacy campaign are not hindered as far as communication is concerned, from the fact that non-standard speakers understand very well standard language without any problem.

## VI.2. LIMITATIONS OF THE WORK

Truly speaking, we cannot pretend to have exhausted all necessary data and required elements to conduct such a dialect study. In fact, some limiting facts and practical constraints encountered at different levels have been the causes of some shortcomings of the present work :

- We couldn't determine properly the influence of Gisoni dialect from which the variety under study is a sub-variation : In fact, there was no available research about it. And, we haven't been able to conduct an investigation within Bugesera region where the Gisoni dialect is spoken. Such an investigation would have been planned at another level not at such a small portion of study as Giteranyi. That is why we failed even to attempt an analysis to see how deviant is the variety from the Gisoni dialect because we didn't have enough material from the latter.

- Another limiting factor in our study was time. As a matter of fact, we haven't been able to conduct a study in other areas where adjacent dialects are spoken. Therefore, we could have done a comparative study at some levels with the Gisoni dialect. This would have indicated us more evidence on language attitudes of Giteranyi speakers. We have to admit that such a work would have involved not only much time but also enough means because it would have covered a large space in terms of geography.
  
- We have also failed to investigate on the influence of new settlers' dialects. In fact, according to NKURUNZIZA Sosthène (1993), they represent 39% of Giteranyi population. An analysis of their influence in the speech of their new settlement area would have brought in some light on the heterogeneous aspect of the variety spoken at Giteranyi.
  
- After analysis of findings, we tried to make a distribution of Gisoni dialect spoken at Giteranyi and, we had a regard to demarcation lines : being of paramount importance in any dialect study. We couldn't cover the entire space where the variety is spoken. We assumed that it is spoken within and outside of the administrative limits of Giteranyi Commune with evident mutual influences. Besides, the variety as well as Gisoni dialect, being a continuum of language, it was really hard to set limits to a variety whose distribution hasn't been widely tackled with appropriate means. The study would have sounded more complete if it included such a demarcation. That is why the issue of isoglosses of the variety spoken at Giteranyi has remained unsolved in the present study.

### VI.3. FURTHER REMARKS AND SUGGESTIONS

#### VI.3.1. REMARKS

Further remarks to add in the present section are our own observations but they are related to the findings and implications of the study. We would like to give some prediction as regards future of Gisoni spoken at Giteranyi.

Indeed, taking into consideration the fact that Giteranyi people tend to adopt a diglossic linguistic situation for the sake of efficient communication with standard Kirundi speakers, and by the fact that they are open to the outside as regards linguistic change, there is probability or prediction of disappearance of some forms in variety spoken at Giteranyi.

e.g : . Twumvishe → twumwise  
           (G.V)           (S.K)  
 . Yariryamye → yararyamye  
 . Bamwitwa → Bamwita

Besides, another reason to such disappearance is the growth number of educated people in Giteranyi area from the elementary level up to the high school. Throughout their education, people are taught S.K and therefore, tend more and more to speak it wherever they are. It is known that education eliminates non-standard speech if it is not strong enough and its speakers being not very conservative. In doing so (speaking S.K), they are likely to influence other native fellows who can drop, little by little, the Giteranyi Variety, by the simple fact of imitating educated people considered as models and having a certain social esteem in their milieu.

In addition, with literacy campaign effect, people especially adult ones, will be brought to use the standard form insofar they will be reading written material such as newspapers, literary productions such as religious writings and so many others which are transmitted through the standard language.

Indeed, we will assist to the phenomenon of obsolescence in language. In fact, certain forms of the language will become no longer used and therefore considered as old-fashioned as long as language use will be concerned. Such a phenomenon is evoked by R.A Hall Jr. (1964), when he speaks of variation of language in terms of innovation.

#### VI.3.2. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Before we end our study, though not perfect because of certain shortcomings, we would like to put forward a number of suggestions on the ground of our study, with the hope that much attention will be directed to them.

- (i) We would like to invite researchers to investigate more on different dialects spoken in Burundi in general and, in particular, more studies should be done not only on Giteranyi Variety but also on Gisoni dialect spoken elsewhere in Bugesera region. After such studies, it will be possible to make a comparative study of the Gisoni dialect. In addition to the regional variation dealt with in the present study, they should also try to investigate on other aspects such as the social and historical ones. Therefore, it could be possible to set isoglosses of varieties as regards dialect delimitations.
- (ii) Such a deep investigation on dialects would come up with the elaboration of a linguistic atlas or a dictionary of Kirundi dialects to complete the very few and inventory works available on Kirundi dialectology. In such an atlas or dictionary, regional varieties of speech will be mentioned and ; in so doing, every speaker of Kirundi will be provided with different meanings of words according to either regional, social or historical aspects of variation.

(iii) After having witnessed some cases of linguistic misunderstanding between teachers and pupils due to differences of speech, we would like, at the end of this work, to suggest what follows :

- School authorities should manage to appoint native speakers of G.V in the 2 first classes of the primary school to avoid linguistic problems because at this level, small children use the language acquired at home which is the Giteranyi Variety per se. Little by little, they should be taught the standard form without any pressure.
- Linguistic variations can be a source of prejudice in schools, which raises conflicts between teachers and pupils, based on linguistic differences leading to stereotypes from a teacher who would not have been tolerant to dialect differences.  
In fact, if a teacher is careless about such a linguistic situation, he endangers the education system, therefore the whole community. Teachers must avoid to found their first appreciation of pupils upon speech forms. They should, instead, consider other sources of information which might appear to be more relevant and objective.

As a matter of fact, teachers shouldn't stick to the fact of pointing out to children, speaking non-standard dialects or accents, the imperfection of their speech, hoping that they will mend their way. Sometimes, the child will fail to learn the standard speech against which his speech is judged. Let us consider what John Lyons (1986) says about the problem of prejudice and stereotype of teachers :

There is evidence to show that teachers, like most educated members of the community, whatever their own social origins, are prejudiced, in various ways, against non-

standard regional dialects. They (teachers) may even, unwillingly, judge a child to be of lower intelligence simply because his dialect is broader than that of his peers.

... At the very least, therefore, a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between standards and vernaculars can reduce unintentional discrimination and injustice. P. 287

Moreover, teachers have to bear in mind that, in any case a child's language is so closely linked with his sense of identity that he is unlikely to change his speech simply at a teacher's command or threat.

Thus teachers have to be aware of the negative aspects of prejudice as regards language variation and try, as much as they can, to be flexible and tolerant in their attitudes. They should, even, modify their own standard speech at least enough to make themselves understood more easily. Therefore little by little, they will introduce the standard variety without any pressure on the children's mind by signs of imposition at all cost.

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## APPENDIX A

### I. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

#### A. TRAVELLING

1. Hambere haheze mwe mukuze mwaratembereye murashika no mu bihugu vya kure nk'i Bugande. Mbe mwashikayo gute ? Ni kuki ariyo mwaja caane gusumba ahandi ?

→ Few decades ago, you adult people used to travel and even reached countries far away from here such as Uganda.

How did you get there ?

Why did you prefer to go there (i.e Uganda) ?

2. Mushitseyo, mwashikira mu gihugu hagati canke mu bisagara ?

→ When you arrived there, did you stay in rural areas or in urban centers ?

3. Ibikorwa bikuru mwakorayo vyatuma muronka amahera vyari ibihe?

→ What were your main activities to earn some money ?

4. Muvuyeyo, ni ibiki mwashobora kuzana ino bitariho ?

→ What items did you bring back from there which were not common in here ?

5. Hari ivyo mwoba mwarashimye mu migenzo y'abantu bo muri ivyo bihugu mwagendamwo ? Nk'ibihe ?

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  - Few decades ago, you adult people used to travel and even reached countries far away from here such as Uganda. How did you get there ? Why did you prefer to go there (i.e Uganda) ?
  
2. Mushitseyo, mwashikira mu gihugu hagati canke mu bisagara ?
  - When you arrived there, did you stay in rural areas or in urban centers ?
  
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  - What items did you bring back from there which were not common in here ?
  
5. Hari ivyo mwoba mwarashimye mu migenzo y'abantu bo muri ivyo bihugu mwagendamwo ? Nk'ibihe ?

→ As far as customs are concerned, what did you appreciate from those visited countries ? Examples ?

6. Kuvyerekeye kwinezereza, iyo mu mahanga mwagiye vyari vyifashe gute ?

→ What about entertainment in those countries ?

#### B. AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES/CROPS & FOOD

7. Ino ibihe vy'irima bikuru bikuru mu mwaka ni ibihe ? Muraheza mukarima ibiki ?

→ What are the main agricultural seasons and what do you grow/plant in each of them ?

8. None iyo mwimbuye, muraheza mukabishingura vyose ?  
Ni ibihe vyimburwa mwikorako kugirango mwikenure caane caane ubu mu ci ?

→ After harvest, do you stock everything ?  
What are the agricultural products that you sell to have some money especially in the dry season ?

9. Ndabona ko ino hari ibitoke bitari bike, none mubifungura gute ?

→ As I realize it, in this area, there are many banana-trees.  
How do you consume such a kind of food ?

10. Birya navyo bivamwo inzoga, mwombarira ingene muyihingura ?

→ Can you, please, describe the process of making banana wine?

11. None urwarwa muraheza mukarunywera muhira gusa ?

→ As far as banana wine is concerned, do you only drink it at home ?

#### C. TECHNICAL TERMS/DOMAINS

12. Mwigeze kumbwira ko muvuye mu mahanga mwazana ibintu vyinshi harimwo ivyuma : amakinga, amaradiyo n'ibindi. Ko ino bitari bihasanzwe, igihe vyononekaye mwararonka aho mugurira ibindi canke ababibakorera ?

→ You have told me that, back from foreign countries, you came with some items such as bicycles, radio sets etc. How did you manage to have them repaired once damaged insofar there were no mechanics in here ? And what about their spare parts ?

13. Nagomba ko muntondagurira amazina y'ivyuma bimwe bimwe vy'ikinga : " - iKi cuma mucita ngw'iki ?" etc.

→ I would like you to tell me how you name different parts of a bicycle. "How do you name this ?" etc.

14. Mbe ko hiyo i Bugande ko hari hateye imbere cane, ntabashikayo ngo baronke imodoka ? Ntabashobora kuzikoresha ho ?

→ Did anybody manage to earn a car in Uganda insofar there were plenty of them by that time ? Did anybody manage, at least, to be a driver or a conductor ?

D. SPORTS ACTIVITIES

15. Mukwinonora imitsi, urwaruka rw'ino muraheza mugakora iki ?

- For young people, what is your (most) preferred sports activity ?

16. Murafise aho mukinira n'umurwi ubaserukira mu mahiganwa ?

- Do you have any playground and a selected team which represent you in different competitions ?

17. None mu ntango urwo rukino rwaje aho iwanyu gute ? Hari abo mwoba muzi barutanguje ngaha ?

- Do you have any idea of how it (football) was introduced in this area and, probably, who did it ?

18. Ninde yonyiganira ingene, mu rukino rw'umupira w'amaguru, abakinyi babita bakurikije ingene batonda mu kibuga ?

- Who can tell me the different names of football players according to their different positions in the pitch ?

19. None amakosa mu rukino ni nde ayaraba kandi agatako akayahana?

- During the match, who is penalizing players who make foul play ?

E. SOCIAL LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

20. Indamutso mukoresha ino, böse bazi ni iyihe ?

→ What is the common greeting form in use in this area ?

21. Mu gukengurukira uwumugiriye neza (cane cane umwana akengurukira umuvyeyi) bavuga ngw'iki ?

→ How do people express gratitude/thanking ; especially children towards their parents when they get something from them ?

22. Iyo mufise urubanza rw'ubugeni ; murutegura gute kugirango uwo musu mukuru uryohe ?

→ How do you prepare ceremonies related to marriage especially the wedding ones ?

23. Nashaka tunganire ku vy'ubugeni : Abasore n'inkumi mu gushinga urwabo babigenza kwinshi mu ntara zitari zimwe. Mwoshobora kunyiganira ingene ino bigenda kuva mu ntango gushika ku musu w'ubugeni, mbere no hanyuma ?

→ As regards marriage, young people (lady & boy) do proceed in different ways according to regions : As far as your area is concerned, how do young people prepare themselves to such an event, from the beginning to the final point that is, the wedding day ; even after that ?

F. MISCELLANEOUS

24. Hano ko mbona hari amakinga menshi, nta mpanuka ashobora gutera aha mw'ibarabara cane cane ku bana ?

→ There are so many bicycles in here, don't they make casualties especially to children ?

25. Mbega hano iwanyu hari izindi ndimi mushobora gukoresha ?

→ Can people in here, speak other languages than Kirundi ?

26. Ndabona ko "nyakatsi" muyirwanya mwivuye inyuma. None nk'uwutaronse amabati araheza agasakaza iki ?

→ As I notice it, thatched houses are being eradicated in this area : What about people who cannot afford corrugated iron to cover their own houses ; do they use something else ?

27. Hano ko muba hafi ya Tanzaniya, murakunda kuja mu masoko canke amavuriro yaho ?

→ Your area is close to Tanzania. Do you often go there either in markets or health centers ?

Mbega ntibibagora kujayo ? Abaganga baho babita ngw'iki ?  
Amasoko yaho arema ryari ?

→ Is there any difficulty to go there ?  
How do you call the medical staff of there ?  
At which day do markets take place in Tanzania ?

28. Kuvyerekeye isuku caane caane iryo umubiri, ino muryitwararika gute ?

→ How do people care about their health as regards body cleanliness ?

29. Mwombarira ibikoresho mukoresha mu kuvoma amazi ?

→ What are utensils commonly used to fetch water in your area?

30. Ubu rero nashaka mumbwire ayandi majambo mukoresha ino iyo mugomba kuvuga :

→ Now, I want you to tell me what you call in here, the following items/objects :

- |                        |                                       |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| - amaraso/blood        | - amagi : eggs                        |
| - umurongo/line/queue  | - ikiziriko: tying rope (for animals) |
| - ipeterori : lamp oil | - ubwishaza : peas                    |
| - amahembe : horns     | - amashu (imboga z') : cabbage        |
| - ikirahuri : a glass  | - ikiraro : a bridge                  |
| - ikawa : coffee       | - gushora : to sell                   |
|                        | etc.                                  |

## II. LEXICAL ITEMS PECULIAR TO GITERANYI AREA

We would like to make an observation as far as the lexical items' list is concerned. In fact, we find in it, peculiar words in use in Giteranyi area without an equivalent lexical item in Standard Kirundi or the Common language in use. This is due to the fact that such words are loan-words from foreign languages such as Luganda and English. In other cases, we find loan-words with equivalent words in Standard Kirundi, being themselves loan-words from other languages such as French.

e.g :

<u>G.V</u>	<u>"S.K"</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
- itayi	- ikaruvati	- a tie (neck-tie)
- umudereva	- umushoferi	- a driver
- ibegi	- isakoshi	- a bag
- iyadi	-	- a yard

The following list is not exhaustive however, it suggests lexical differences between the standard language and its variety spoken in the area of our study.

<u>Giteranyi Variety</u>	<u>Standard Kirundi</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
1. Mwaraye	mwaranutse !	Good morning !
2. Gutunda	gushora	to sell
3. Gucokora	gucakira	to snatch
4. Kudaga	gucâgura	to choose
5. Urwobo	urugarama	the whole to ripen banana
6. Oba	canke	or
7. Umuyondo	ikiziriko	a rope (to attach domestic animals)
8. Umuguha	"	
9. Umukubite	igicumbe	pounded banana
10. Ikirere	igihundahunda	dry banana leaf
11. Kugendagenda	gutembera	to walk
12. Kugendagera	gutemberera	to pay a visit

<u>Giteranyi Variety</u>	<u>Standard Kirundi</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
13. Umugenyi	umushitsi	a visitor
14. Umusohozi	umushitsi	a visitor .
15. Gusohora	gushika	to arrive .
16. Webare	urakoze	thank you (sing)
17. Nwebare	murakoze	thank you (plur)
18. Sekeni	kombokombo	secondhand cloth
19. Wénka	wényene	alone .
20. Guti	gutya	like this .
21. Bati	batya	like this
22. Igicokano/ igikonde	igipfunsi	a punch
23. Umugoragore	umugoré	a woman
24. Umugabogabo	umugabo	a man
25. Umuhunguhungu	umuhungu	a boy
26. Umukobwakobwa	umukobwa	a girl
27. Gutomera	kugonga/guséka	to bump/ to knock
28. Umunyiriri	umurongo	a line, queue .
29. Imwanyi	ikawa	coffee .
30. Urumwanyimwanyi	igiti c'ikawa	coffee tree .
31. Umubisi	umutobe	banana juice
32. Inkoné (umubisi)		concentrated banana juice
33. Nyakubeho	Nyakubahwa	Sir, Honourable .
34. Ishagama	amaraso	blood .
35. Ikidomora	igikurutu/ikibido	jerrican or water-can
36. Imparé	ipantalo	a pair of trousers
37. Umushweta	umupira (impuzu)	a sweater
38. Isurubare	ikabutura	shorts
39. Igawuni	ikanzu	a dress , robe gown
40. Amasanga	amahembe	horns .
41. Umuyovu	umutwa	a pygmy
42. Uruhogo	ihando	a bunch of banana .
43. Urugarye	agatasi	autumn (season) .

<u>Giteranyi Variety</u>	<u>Standard Kirundi</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
44. Ubudumbi	ubwishaza	peas .
45. Ingoroji	umufuniko/umupfundikizo	a capsule
46. Njewe	jewe	me, I
47. Amahuri	amagi	eggs "
48. Kurôpa	kurega	to denounce .
49. Urubara	urubanzá (umusi mukuru)	a feast, ceremony
50. Kunaba	kwoza	to wash .
51. Kwinaba	kwoga	to wash oneself
52. Kureba	kuraba	to look at, to see
53. Uwamukaga	uwagatandatu	Saturday .
54. Uwamushanju	uwindwi	Sunday .
55. Umwaramo	indwi	a week .
56. Kumwaramo	kuwamungu	on Sunday.
57. Igishawe	ikibuga (c'inkino)	Sports ground
58. Guhenzera	kuzibukira	to dodge
59. Kunoga	kwamura	to reap .,
60. Gukurika	-	to be safe
61. Kurikayo !	Kaze !	Welcome !
62. Kunânkuka	gupfa	to die
63. Igitindo	ikiraro	a bridge .
64. Icôgo	umugezi	a small river
65. Yukuko	yuko	that
66. Numvishije/ numvishe	numvise	I have heard or, I heard
67. Kwanje	iwanje	at mine .
68. Kwawe	iwawe	at yours .
69. Kwiwé	iwiwe	at his/hers .
70. Amâzi y'itara	ipeterori	lamp oil
71. Amavuta y'itara	"	lamp oil
72. Indorera	amarori	spectacles
73. Umunimbo	umukuza	a calabash
74. Ibara	ubunywero	a bar, pub
75. Ikirabo	"	a bar, pub
76. Igerasi	ikirahuri	a glass
77. Ijagi	-	a jug

<u>Giteranyiri Variety</u>	<u>Standard Kirundi</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
78. Itayi	ikaruvati	a tie/necktie
79. Ikabeci	amashu	cabbage
80. Ibogisi	ikarato/akabwate	a box
81. Iyadi	-	a yard (measure unit)
82. Ibasi	ibisi	a bus
83. Itawuro	iswime/igitambara c'amazi	a towel
84. Itimu	umurwi	a team
85. Icaki	ingwa	a piece of chalk
86. Ipureya	-	a discplayer
87. Ikariya	intebe y'ikinga	a carrier
88. Ifuremu	umugano (w'ikinga)	a frame
89. Itayiri	umupine (umupira)	a tyre
90. Impagi	amasera	spokes
91. Iringi	igurudumu	a ring
92. Amandigadi	"amagaridebu"	mudguards
93. Igoropu	irampuru	a bulb
94. Amanda	amabeteri	batteries
95. Iwaya	uru(t)singa	a wire
96. Umufariso	umuségo/amatera igodora	- mattress - cushion
97. Ihoni	"isone"	horn
98. Ibureki	ifire	a brake
99. Isupana	-	a spanner
100. Isipuringi	irasoro	a spring
101. Umukanika	umufundi	a mechanic
102. Umudereva	umushoferi	a driver
103. Umukondagita	umukomvwayeri	a conductor
104. Umudogita	umuganga/umudogiteri	a doctor
105. Umunesi	umuforomakazi	a nurse
106. Umusesita	-	a medical assistant
107. Umusitafunesi	-	a staff nurse
108. Umudifiri	Umuhagarikizi (w'urukino)	a referee
109. Umubeki	umukinyi w'inyuma	a back

<u>Giteranyi Variety</u>	<u>Standard Kirundi</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
110. Umuharufubeki	umukinyi w'inyuma	a half-back
111. Umugorikipa	umunyézamu (inkino)	a goalkeeper
112. Umuwingini	-	a winger or wing-player
113. Vyigiginshi	vyinshi	too much, so many
114. Gucira	guca	to pass by .
115. Gucwîra	gucîra	to spit
116. Kunwa	kunywa	to drink
117. Urushumuruzo	urufunguzo	a key
118. Gutsiba	guhagarara (gufata ifire)	to stop, to brake
119. Gakégake	bukébuke	slowly
120. Gahorogahoro	buhorobuhoro	slowly
121. Gusaka	guca ingero	to work for food
122. Guhumura	kuruhuka	to rest, to pause .
123. Ikirangiti	uburengeti	a blanket
124. Gucakira	kuvyirira (ubwishaza)	to sow peas
125. Uwo bitwa	uwo bita	the one called, or named
126. Gutêra	gukina (umupira)	to play football
127. Kuramba	guteba	to be late
128. Umuzeha	umutama	an old man
129. Isipika	umuzindaro	a loudspeaker
130. Ikidara	ubwugamo	a shelter
131. Ivyombo	ibikoresho	utensils
132. Ubuto	amakaranka/amakoto	vegetable oil
133. Ibiyara	ibiraya	potatoes
134. Gushashura	kuriha	to pay .
135. Kuganyira	kubabarira	to forgive .
136. Namporé !	-	Congratulations !
137. Kinininya	kininiya	(very) big .
138. Gitonya	gitoya	(very) small
139. Dukenya	dukeya	(very) few
140. Kigufinya	kigufiya	(very) short
141. Imeri	imashuwa/ubwâto	a ship
142. Imbaga	ubugeni	wedding ceremony

<u>Giteranyi Variety</u>	<u>Standard Kirundi</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
143. Kugandika	kwicara	to sit
144. Umuryânko	umuryânko	an entrance
145. Umuryoha	umwumbati utarura	sweet cassava
146. Ngunda	yongwe	bitter cassava
147. Umushanga	umunyu	salt
148. Ikinyamushanga	igisahira	banana for cooking
149. Gushumurura	kwugurura	to open with a key
150. Ibasikeri	ikinga	a bicycle
151. Ikwaya	umurwi (w'abaririmvyi)	a choir
152. Ibegi	isakoshi	a bag
153. Ikarayi	.....	a metallic basin
154. Ubusyano	impéke	sorghum beer
155. Isiketi	ijipo	a skirt
156. Kwitangura	kwitaza	.....
157. Gusâsira	kubabarira	to forgive
158. Amanyi	inguvu	strength
159. Umuharuro	ibarabara	a road
160. Amadakika	iminota	minutes
161. Irori	ikamyô	a lorry
162. Gasita	kazima	provided that
163. Akadukuru	ibohero	a prison
164. Impiya	amañera	money

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<u>Giteranyi Variety</u>	<u>Standard Kirundi</u>	<u>Glossary</u>
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## APPENDIX B

### III. ILLUSTRATION OF KIRUNDI VARIETY SPOKEN AT GITERANYI

#### I. Travelling

Q - Hambere aho, mwe mukuze mwaratembereye murashika kure nk'i Bugande n'ahandi. Mbe mwashikayo gute ? Nikuki mwajayo cane gusumba ahandi ?

"Few decades ago, adult people used to travel very far and even reached countries such as Uganda and elsewhere. How did you travel to go there and why did you prefer to go there instead of other countries ? "

A . Bamwenya bo muri twebwe abo bakuze cane nibo bagiye Bugande n'amaguru. Ariko twebwe twagenda n'ibasi abandi tugaca mu meri. Njewe nashitseyo igihe imigambwe ino iwacu yaririko irapikana. P.D.C na IPORONA niyo yarinyaye. Naraye i Bukoba kuri kasitamu ntanga amashiringi mw'irojingi bukeye twurira imeri itujana i Kampala.

"Some of us especially those who are old travelled on foot. For our generation, we travelled by buses and ship. I went there when political parties were competing here in Burundi. The most powerful ones were P.D.C and UPRONA. I spent night at Bukoba's Customs where I paid eight shillings in a lodging. The next morning we took a ship to Kampala".

A . Haniniya, icatuma twirukirayo gusumba ahandi n'uko hari impiya nyinshi, bari batunze caane. Mugabo kandi twahunga akazi n'ikimoko c'ababiligi.

"The main reason to go there was that there was a lot of money. The country was wealthy. Besides, we fled our country because of hard labour and mistreatment of Belgian colonization".

Q - Mushitseyo, mwashikira mu gihugu hagati canke mu bisagara?

"After you arrived, did you dwell in rural area or in towns?"

A . Tuvuye ino twarara mu nzira kabiri tugaca dusohora Kampala umuntu agaca aronka ibasi imushikana kwa ba shebuja mu caro.

"We travelled during two days and then we arrived at Kampala where we took a bus for rural area where our bosses lived".

Q - Ibikorwa bikuru bikuru mwakorayo ni ibihe vyatuma muronka amahera ?

"What were the main occupations you did to earn moyey ?"

A - Hanininya twararima, umuntu bakamushashura ivyo yarimye vyeze. Warimye ipampa, bagushashura ryeze. Ari imwanyi warazinoga, mu nyuma zumye shobuja agatunda hanyuma akaguhemba.

"Cultivating was the main occupation. One was paid his salary when what he had grown was harvested. If you had grown cotton you had to wait for the cotton harvest to be paid. The same went for coffee. You reaped it and when it was dry, the boss sold it and therefore paid you the salary".

Q - Muvuyeyo, n'ibiki mwashobora kuzana ino bitariho ?

"What did you bring back from Uganda which was not found in here ?"

A . Twarazana amagare, amarediyo, amasaha n'ibindi vyinshi. Emwe hariya hariyo iraha ryinshi. Bamwe n'abagore barabakurayo!

"We brought back bicycles, radio, watch sets and many other things. The country was really enjoyable ; some of us even brought back wives !"

Q - Hari ivyo mwoba mwarashimye mu migenzo y'abantu bo muri ivyo bihugu mwagendamwo ? Nk'ibihe ?

"As regards customs, what did you appreciate in the visited country ?"

A. Abagande ni abantu babana neza. Nta wigera adukubita igikonde canke ngo tukimukubite. Ni abantu b'isuku, barinaba, bakamesura impuzu zabo. Baradukunda bakatwakira neza. Nkanje narigeze gutemberana n'abavyinisha ikidongo. Egome, hari n'ibintu vyinshi batubuza kugira. Ubirenzeko bakakwirukana. Carazira kwinabira ku mugezi canke kwica inzoka uyisanze ku mugezi : canke kuvuga ko wazimiye nka burya uvuye kw'ibara waborewe. Warinumira, ukabandanya ntihagire n'uwukwumva !

"Ugandans are, socially speaking, good people. No one of them did beat, or provoke us and neither did we. They are clean : they wash their bodies and clothes. They loved and welcomed us very well. For instance, I used to wander with a group of music players. Of course, there were many things which were forbidden. e.g. to wash oneself at the brook or to kill a snake found there. It was also forbidden to someone who had lost his way during night, for instance,

back from a bar, to say it loudly. One had to keep silent and go away !".

Q - Kuvyerekeye kwinezereza, iyo mumahanga mwagiye vyari vyifashe gute ?

"What about entertainment in those visited countries ? "

A . Vyari vyiza, cane cane iyo habaye imbaga, yoyo iba mw'ijoro rero. Umwe wese yarigurira inzoga. Mu muji naho twaja mu madansi. Naho yoba umugore wa naka, waramukatira itigiti, ntangorane umugabo wiwe ntiyokuravye nabi. Eka umunezero waho wari mwiza.

"It was good especially when there were wedding ceremonies which took part at night. Everyone bought himself drinks. In city, we went to dancing places. One could easily go with someone else's wife without any problems provided that he paid her entrance fees. Indeed, entertainment was good!"

A . Njewe nagiye muri Sukuma (Tanzania). Mu migenzo yabo barya caane ubugari n'imboga batekesha amata mu dukono bitwa "udusaka". Naho woba uri umupagasi ntabagukumira murasangira. Usanze aho batetse urareba ko ari inyama ugaca ugandika ku gikomero ukahava uriye, bobo ntaco babibonamwo. Usohoyeyo, ntuja gusaka indya, urarima, hageze saha sita ukaja kunaba, ukarya ugaca uhûmura. Narapagashiye i Busukuma mugabo naje ata n'isurubare nkuyeyo !

"I went to Sukuma (Tanzania). In their habits, they often eat corn bread with vegetables cooked with milk in small pots called "udusaka". Even if you are a worker, there is no discrimination, you share meals with them. If you find people cooking, you go and have a glance at what is being cooked. If it is meat, you just sit around a big fire made outside and you wait for the meal, after you have eaten,

you just leave, they don't care ! When you arrive there as a worker, you don't need to go to search for your food ; you only cultivate and at noon, you go home wash yourself. After your meal you rest (...) . I worked for money in Sukuma but I didn't bring back even a pair of trousers !"

## II. AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES, CROPS AND FOOD

Q - Ibihe bikuru bikuru vy'irima mu mwaka ni ibihe ?  
Muraheza mukarima ibihe biterwa ?

"What are the main agricultural seasons and what do you grow in each of them ?"

A . Hari urugarye n'impeshi. Turima ibigori igihe imvura itasuye, tukabihirika, tukabiba amasaka, tugateragira ibiharage n'ibitoke. Kuva mu kwa mbere dutangura kurimira impeshi. Mu kwa kabiri ibigori vy'amarere biba vyeze, kandi bose baba bariko barakobeteza bateragira ibiharage gushika mu ntango z'ukwa kane. Aho baba bariko baracakira ivyo bitwa ubudumbi.

"We have the autumn and the dry season. We grow corn on lines when it starts raining. We also grow sorghum, beans and plant banana trees. From January, we start cultivating for the dry season period. In February, the first corns are ripe and during that period, people are working hard to sow beans until the beginning of April. Meanwhile they are growing/sowing peas".

Q - Ivyo mwimbuye muraheza mukabishora vyose ? Ni ibihe vyimburwa mwikorako kugirango mwikenure caane caane nko mu ci ?

"Do you sell the whole production of agriculture ? What are the main products you sell to get money especially during the dry season ? "

A . Nko mu ci turikora ku mwanyi, ibiyobe ; amasaka yoyo tuyengamwo ubusyano, abandi bakayatunda mw'isoko bayapima ku magerasi, aho rero tukaronka uburyo bwo kwifasha ; agahuzu n'ibindi vyogufasha umuryango.

"During the dry season, we sell coffee, ground peanuts. For sorghum, we make beer from it and it is also sold in market using glasses as measure units. Therefore we have means to buy clothes and other needs of the family".

Q - Ndabona ko ino hari ibitoke bitari bike. None mubifungura gute ?

"As I view it, you have got a lot of banana crops. How do you consume them ? "

A . Tubifungura caane bitetse, tukagira umukubite dukoza ikinyige c'ibiyobe. Ahasigaye tukinywera urwarwa.

"We mainly consume them when they are cooked. We make pounded banana we eat with a soup made up of peanuts. For the rest, we drink banana wine/beer".

Q - Biryana navyo bivamwo inzoga, mwombarira ingene muyihingura ?

"Can you tell me how you make beer from that kind of banana which gives it ?"

A . Biri ubwoko bwinshi : inkashi, ingondo n'akayinja. Uratema bikamara gatatu hanyuma ukabishira mu rwobo bigasekurayo imisi ine, ku wa gatanu, ukabizurayo, ugashira mu bwato, umubisi ukaja ngaho, uwushaka inkone akakira. Uwushaka akarwa agafata intango ijamwo ibidomora bibiri canke bitatu, ukarunda mu kuzimu washizemwo amasaka meza. Akarwa karyoshe kamara kabiri canke gatatu, ukanyoye ukumva umerewe neza.

"They are of many sorts. You reap them and after three days you put them in the hole to ripen banana for four days. On the fifth, you take them out. Therefore you squash/queueze them. Then you have banana juice and one who wants can have it. The one who is fond of banana beer takes a big pot that can contain two or three plastic Jellycans and after he has put in a quantity of good sorghum, he places it in a hot place. Good beer spends two or three days, then when you drink it you feel alright".

Q - Mbe urwarwa muraheza mukarunywera muhira gusa ?

"Do you only drink banana beer at home ?"

A . Ehehe, ubu turagenda no ku mabara, n'iyoy tutaruhishije turajayo tukagura.

"Oh, nowadays, we go to bars, when we don't have it at home we go there and buy it".

## II. TECHNICAL TERMS/DOMAINS

Q - Muvuye mu mahanga mwakurayo ibintu vyinshi harimwo n'ivyuma: amagare, iradiyo ... Ko inc bitari bihasanzwe vyononekaye mwararonka aho mugurira ibindi canke ababibakorera ?

"When back from foreign countries, you brought many items among them bicycles, radio sets etc. So far such items were not available in here before, how did you manage to have them repaired or to buy new ones when they were out of use ? "

A . Hariho abakanika babidukorera, canke natwe tukagerageza kuvyikorera. Vyanse tukabiheba bishaje !

"There were mechanics who repaired them for us. Or, we tried to repair them ourselves. In case they were old, we gave them up !"

Q - Nagomba muntondagurire amazina y'ivyuma bimwe bimwe vy'ikinga. "Iki cuma mucita ngw'iki ?"

"Now, I want you to tell me names of different parts of a bicycle. "How do you name this part ?"

A . Ikariya, amandigadi, ifuremu, amahembe, imikono, itayire, impagi, ibureki, iringi.

"... a carrier, mudguards, a frame, bars, forks, a tyre, spokes, a brake, a ring"

Q - Mbega i Bugande, ntabashikayo ngo bakoreshe imiduga ?

"No Burundians, once they arrived in Uganda, managed to be drivers ?"

A . Mu b'ino iwacu ntababaye abadereva mugabo hari bamwe ba shebuja baba bafise amabasi n'amarori bakaba abakondagita bazo.

"Among people from here, none of them managed to become a driver. However, for those who worked for buses and lorries' owners, they could be conductors "

IV. SPORTS ACTIVITIES

Q - Mu kwinonora imitsi, urwaruka rw'ino rukora iki ?

"As regards sports activities, what do young people do ?"

A . Kubisanzwe ino dutera umupira w'amaguru cane. Hari inkino zokwirukanka mugabo caane caane dutera umupira.

"Normally, we play football. Of course we can practise different kinds of races but we mainly play football".

Q - Nurafise aho mukinira n'umurwi ubaserukira nk'iyi abakinyi b'ahandi basavye ko muhura ?

"Do you have any playground where you train yourselves and any team which represents you when teams from elsewhere want to meet you ? "

A. Turafise igishawe c'umupira dukinirako kandi turafise n'itimu iduserukira ni iyo bitwa "Kidima Siporo".

"We have a football ground where we play and a representative team called "Kidima Sport".

Q - None mu ntango, urwo rukino rwaje aha iwanyu gute ? Hari abo muzi boba bararutanguje ngaha ?

"Do you know how football began in here ? Is there anyone you know who initiated it here ? "

A. Abarimu baza kwigisha ino iwacu nibo batanguje umupira. Muri 1954 niho twatanguye gutera umupira w'ibirere. Muri 1955 haje umwarimu yatubwiye ngo dusonde amahera duca tugura umupira munininya. Muri 1961, niho twatera umupira n'abanya Giteranyi,

itimu yacu irabirahira. Ico gihe baduhaye ibidomora bibiri vy'urwarwa n'amaguru abiri y'impene.

"Teachers who came to teach in this area are the ones who initiate football. In 1954, we started by playing balls made of dry banana leaves. Then in 1955 came a teacher who suggested us to collect money and therefore we bought a leather ball. In 1961 we played against the Giteranyi team and we won. We were given as a reward two plastic gellycans of banana wine and goat-meat".

Q - Ni nde yonyiganira ingene abakinyi bitwa ukurikije ingene batonda mu kibuga ?

"Who can tell me how football players are called according to the place they occupy in the play ground ?"

A . Hari abakinyi b'imbere binjiza babitwa abawingini, ab'inyuma nabo ni ababeki bakingira umugorikipa n'abandi bitwa mutembeyapote bakina hose".

"Those football players who are supposed to score are called wingers and those who protect the goalkeeper are called backs. There are others called "Mutembeyapote" (one who moves everywhere) who play everywhere in the playground".

Q - Barya bahagarikira urukino rw'umupira babita ngw'iki ?

"How do you call those who supervise a football match ?"

A . Uwuhagarikira umupira bamwitwa umudifiri, barya bamufasha iruhande tubitwa abaranzimeni.

"The main supervisor is called referee and those who are on sides are called linesmen".

V. SOCIAL LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

Q - Indamutso mukoresha ino bese bazi ni iyihe ?

"What is the common greeting expression used in here ? "

A . Mwaraye, inyishu ni mwaraye nyene .

"Goodmorning and we respond in the same way"

Q - Mu gukengurukira uwuguhaye ikintu canke akugiriye neza  
(muvuga ngw'iki) mukoresha irihe jambo ?

"How do you express thanks or gratitude ?

A. Wêbare canke urakenuye

Thank you"

Q - Iyo mufise imanza z'ubugeni muzitegura gute kugira ngo uwo  
musi mukuru umere neza ?

"How you prepare some social ceremonies such as wedding day  
celebrations so that they can be really enjoyable ?"

A. Hari ibigirwa hose ivyo sinobirambako caane. Iyo urubara  
rwegereje, njewe umusore nca nikora ku basore bagenzanje,  
umuzehe nawe akaja mu bandi bazehe agaterereza. Ku musi  
w'urubara bakanywa umubisi, amafanta, urwarwa n'akayeri  
ndetse ! Aho rero mba narondeye irediyo ijamwo amanda atandatu  
hamwe n'isipika maze rero abantu bakidagadura. Bwaca nkinaba,  
tukaja kw'ikomini kwabirana. Tugarutse n'umugeni dushikira mu  
kidara categuwe maze rero "fundi mitambo" agaca acomeka  
umuziki abantu bagatamba hanyuma umukwe n'umugeni bagaca  
binjira mu nzu.

"I will not focus on what is commonly done everywhere. When  
the wedding day approaches the young man asks help to his

peers and his father addresses the old peers. On the eve of the wedding day, people drink banana juice, soft drinks, banana beer and even Primus beer. Meanwhile the young man has prepared a cassette-player or disc-player and a loudspeaker and therefore people dance. On the wedding day, the bridegroom washes himself and goes to the commune for civil marriage. When back home with the bride, they sit in a shelter built for the occasion and "the sound manager" plays music and people dance again. After, the two married people get in their house.

Q - Mwoshobora kunyiganira ingene bigenda ino iyo umusore n'inkumi bimiriye kwubaka urwabo : ibigirwa guhera mu ntango gushika ku musi w'ubugeni.

"Can you tell me how you prepare marriage for two young people from the beginning to the wedding day ?"

A . Emwe ntibigoye. Umushingantahe araza gusaba ijamba hanyuma tukamusaba agashimwe maze akansaba ko umwana wo kwanje n'uwo kwiwe bazoya kw'ikomini. Turaheza tukamusaba n'inzoga bitwa ibibunabuno. Iyo rero inwa banarugo gusa. Maze ubugeni bwaraye bubaye, njewe se w'umukobwa ndaheza nkarungika umushingantahe, inzoga n'imfungurwa bakaja kurishanya.

"It is easy. A delegate elder comes for a kind of talks and we ask him a kind of pride-price called "agashimwe" (thanks/gift). Therefore he asks that the two young people should go to the Commune for civil marriage. We also ask him some beer called "ibibunabuno" which is drunk by women only. The day after the wedding, the bride's father sends a delegation, food and drinks to pay a visit to his daughter and son-in-law".

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Q - Hano ko hari amakinga menshi, nta mpanuka bishobora gutera aha mw'ibarabara ko hari abana benshi ?

"There are many bicycles in here. Can't they cause accidents so far many children are found in the road ?"

A . Birashika ugasanga utwana twinshi mw'ibarabara mugabo Umuntu aca agerageza gufunga ibureki, akareba neza nayo ahandi ho wobatomera.

"It happens that many children are found in the road but one has to be careful and brakes otherwise he may knock them".

Q - Hano iwanyu hari izindi ndimi mushobora gukoresha ?

"Are there some other languages you can speak in here ?"

A . Agaswahili, agasukuma n'akagande ku bazehe bagiye i Bugande. "Kiswahili, Kisukuma and Luganda for old people who went to Uganda".

Q - Ndabona ko "nyakatsi" muyirwanya mwivuye inyuma. None uwutaronse amabati araheza agasakaza iki ?

"As I view it, people in here are fighting against thatched houses. People who cannot afford corrugated iron. What else do they use to cover their houses ?"

A . Basakaza ubwatsi. Iyo ataronse ubwatsi, araha ibirere agacacura neza agobeka bibiri bibiri hamwe ata ma rishobora gukoroka.

"They cover their houses with grass They can also use dry banana leaves. They manage to use a pair of them when

covering the roof and there isn't any drop of water which can pass through it "

Q - Hano ko ari hafi ya Tanzania, muraja mu masoko canke mu mavuriro yaho ?

"You are living near Tanzania. Do you often go there to markets or hospitals ?"

A . Kujayo nta ngorane uretse ko aho tujabukira ata gitindo kihari, duca mu cogo. Biratugora cane cane kuvyerekeye indimi nko kwa muganga kuko usanga bakoresha cane igiswahiri. Iyo utakizi, uca urondera umugenzi akuvuganira kugira ngo arebe ko wovurwa neza.

"There is no problem to go there except that there is no bridge over the stream we have to cross. What is really a problem is related to the linguistic situation. In fact, Kiswahili is officially used in hospital. Therefore one has to look for someone to help him if he wants to be well-treated".

Q - Abaganga baho babita ngw'iki ? Amasoko yaho arema ryari ?

"How do you call the medical staff in Tanzania ? When do the markets take place ?"

A . Abamama babitwa abanesi, urya muganga mukuru ni umudogita n'abandi bitwa abasitafunesi canke abasesita, ni benshi. Amasoko yaho arema kuwa mukaga.

"Sisters are called nurses and the practionner is called a doctor. Others are called staff nurses or medical assistants. Indeed, they are many. As regards markets, they take place on Saturdays".

Q - Kuvyerekeye isuku cane cane iry'umubiri, muryitwararika gute ino ?

"As far as cleanliness is concerned, how do you manage to take care of yourselves especially your body ?"

A . Twebwe ntawurinda kuritwigisha ni ibintu tumenyereye. Umuntu wese aritwararika kumesura impuzu, tugakubura inzu hanyuma tukinaba, tugafata dushe imisi yöse.

"No one comes to teach us what to do. We always take care of ourselves by washing our bodies, clothes and sweeping our houses every day".

Q - Mwombarira ibikoresho mukoresha mu kuvoma amazi ko mbona ino muyakura kure ?

"Can you tell me which utensils you use for fetching water insofar you fetch it a bit far from here ?"

A . Tuvomesha ikidomora n'indobo bitwa parasitiki. Inkono zo ntazotuvomesha cane. Ubu imigezi ya kijambere yarwiriye dukoresha ivyombo dushobora gupfundikira.

"We use plastic jellycan and plastic buckets. Pots are being less used. Now, we have many ameliorated brooks, we use utensils which can be covered".

Q - Ubu nashaka mumbwire ayandi majambo mukoresha iyo mugomba kuvuga

A . "What terms do you use in here, when you mean :"

<u>Q</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
. Amaraso	= ishagama, idamu	: blood
. Umurongo	=umunyiriri, umusitari	: a line, a queue
. Ipeterori	= Amavuta/amazi y'itara	: lamp oil
. Amahembe	= amasanga	: horns
. Ikirahuri	= igerasi	: a glass
. Ikawa	= imwanyi	: coffee
. Amagi	= amahuri (amayayi)	: eggs
. Ikiziriko	= umuyondo/umuguha	: a rope to tie domestic animals
. Ikiraro	= igitindo	: a bridge
. Amashu/imboga z'amashu	= ikabeci	: cabbage
. Gushora	= gutunda	: to sell
. Ibohero	= akadukuru	: a prison
etc.		

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