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A lexical study of the church language in Burundi : case of catholic and protestant congregations

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2003
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UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

A LEXICAL STUDY OF THE CHURCH LANGUAGE IN BURUNDI : CASE OF CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CONGREGATIONS

by

Prosper NDUMURARO

Supervisor :
Mr Mike LUKUNDO

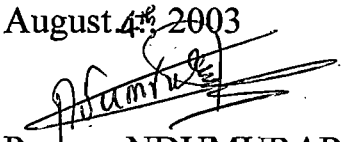
A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree "**LICENCE EN LANGUE ET LITTERATURE ANGLAISES**".

August 2003

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the present dissertation is entirely my own work and has never been submitted to any University or Institution of higher learning for an award of a degree.

August 4th, 2003



Prosper NDUMURARO

DEDICATION

To my late father,
whose paternal security
I did not have enough time to enjoy;
To my late mother,
who struggled a lot for the education of her children
after the death of my father;

I modestly dedicate these lines.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The realization of the present work is a result of joined efforts. A lot of people contributed in a way or another to the completion of this thesis. And although I can not name all of them, I feel I would be ungrateful not to mention some of them.

I am mostly indebted to Mr. Mike LUKUNDO, supervisor of this work, for his valuable guidance and his permanent availability in spite of his other responsibilities. He provided me with enough fruitful comments, and I take this occasion to declare that I am the only person responsible for any imperfections that might be exhibited by this work.

My gratitudes are also expressed to all the lecturers of the English Department at the University of Burundi, who did all they could to get me profit from their precious knowledge.

I would also like to acknowledge the great help I got from Pastors from the Pentecostal Church of Ntahangwa and Priests from the Archdiocese of Gitega. I sincerely send them my gratitudes as well.

Other people I would not like to forget are all my relatives and friends who, morally or financially, contributed a lot to my education and to the existence of this work. I think particularly of my sisters and brothers, Aimé T. GIRUKWISHAKA, and the families Fernand KAKANA, Célestin NDAYAMBAJE and Franco BOSTICCO.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all my classmates for their helpful encouragements during the four years I spent at the University of Burundi. I assure them of an ever-lasting fraternity.

THESIS ABSTRACT

This analysis is made of four chapters. First is the introductory chapter where the background and the problem of the study are dealt with. In addition, the aims, the hypotheses guiding the research, the scope, the justification and significance of the study, together with the definition of key terms are part of this chapter.

The review of related literature and the theoretical framework make up the second chapter. Relevant works of researchers are considered, especially with the notions of congregationalism and the language of religion in the section of religion, and those of register, dialect, linguistic etiquette and style in the lexico-semantics section. Theories about language and identity, and the social values of language are presented and discussed in the section of theoretical framework.

The third chapter is concerned with the methodology used in carrying out this research. The cities of Gitega and Bujumbura were the places considered, with a population of leaders and followers of three different churches. The participant observation research method and the interview schedule research tool helped to collect the data, and categorization, tabulation and theories discussed in chapter two were the basis of the data analysis.

Next is chapter four where the findings of this analysis are discussed. Four different groups came out of the semantic categorization of words and expressions fitting the scope of the study. Also, their occurrence rate surfaced to make an important distinctive feature for the two congregations. Moreover, the views of church leaders and the attitudes of

their followers proved that the difference in the use of the congregation-specific expressions serves the religious identification. This chapter is concluded by a test to hypotheses which guided this study.

Last is a general conclusion in which a review of the analysis is done, pointing out what was achieved and what failed to be done. A few suggestions are then made as recommendations.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Religion is one of the most important institutions of society. When we analyse the life of man, religion appears in almost every aspect : in politics, in trade, in arts, and in social interactions. In a similar view, J. M. Yinger[1] writes :

> ... *the student of society must be a student of religion. Wherever one looks – in a preliterate village, in a commercial town, in a modern metropolis he finds religion woven into the fabric of social life. Beliefs, rituals, group structures are enormously various, but no society lacks them. To neglect the study of religion is to miss one of the most fruitful ways of studying the life of man.*

A similar situation in which the question of religion raises questions in society was illustrated by M. Arnold[2] when he described the situation in Ireland where Catholics were fighting for getting a Catholic University for the education of their children. In fact, there were only Anglican Universities and the government of the United Kingdom could not allow the creation of a Catholic college in Ireland despite the fact that the majority of the people there were Catholics.

If we come to look at our own society, Burundi, we find many sectarian formations that we can categorize into three main religions or congregations, namely Catholicism, Protestantism and Islam. These religions do have their

---

[1] Yinger, J.M. (1957) Religion, Society and the Individual. , Preface.

[2] Arnold, M. (1880) Mixed Essays.

influence on the life of man in Burundi. Indeed, if we consider what happens in trade, in social interactions like weddings and other ceremonies, and even in political activities, we notice that religion plays a very important role. A case to cite, when one becomes a Muslim, there exist a sponsorship mechanism of assigning them a rich person (a Muslim of course) who becomes somehow their god-father and looks after their wealth.

Likewise, considering job assignments, we sometimes notice that there is a tendency of giving the job to the one sharing the same Religious beliefs when there are many applicants. This can be illustrated by some job advertisements where they sometimes add sentences like 'being a Christian would be an advantage' or else 'being a Christian NGO, the applicant should have compatible moral values'.[1] By these statements, we simply understand that the applicant should share the same religious beliefs with the bosses, or at least should seem to.

Another thing to point out here is the cases in which political events like memorial anniversaries of some political figures or investitures begin with religious ceremonies, most of the time with a mass in the cathedral of Regina Mundi.[2]

Lastly, this situation can find illustrations in social interactions like weddings where rare are the cases in which people belonging to different religions get married.

---

[1] Advertisements broadcasted on radios in Burundi : RTNB, 2nd channel, World Vision's call for application, May 22nd,2003.

[2] A Catholic church cathedral in Bujumbura.

Besides all these illustrations of religion in society in general, and in Burundi in particular, there is a fact which is very striking and which was the basis of this study : the relationship between Kirundi language and religions, especially Catholic and Protestant congregations.

It happened to me one day to listen to a discussion between two of my classmates (I was then in the third year at the University of Burundi). The discussion was about religious matters. One of the interlocutors belonged to the Roman Catholic Church and the other to the Pentecostal Church of Burundi. They held a conversation which led me to deep thinking. Taking (1) for the catholic classmate and (2) for the protestant one, the conversation was the following :

(1) *'Yezu' we nyene yarakoze umuvinyu!*

('Yezu' himself made wine !)

(2) *Uyo 'Yezu' uvuga jewe ntawe nzi, jewe nzi 'Yesu'!*

(This 'Yezu' you are talking about, I do not know him, I only know 'Yesu' !)

(1)*Ewe 'mwenedata' uragoye!*

(You 'mwenedata', you are complicated !)

(2)*Wewe ntushobora kunyita 'mwenedata' kuko nturi 'mwenedata'!*

(You cannot call me 'mwenedata' because you are not 'mwenedata' !)

Note: The words 'Yezu' and 'Yesu' refer to 'Jesus', and 'mwenedata' means 'brethren'.

For a linguist, this conversation has many implications and I could not help asking myself many questions, some of them being the following :

- Is it really true that (2) does not know 'yezu' or are there any other reasons behind that ?

- Does(1) call (2) 'mwenedata' because he really feels he is his brethren or does he do it ironically ?
- Does (2) mean that (1) has no right to pronounce the word 'mwenedata' or does he mean that (1) is not his brethren ?
- What is the reason behind this refusal of (2) to be called 'mwenedata' by (1) ? May it be religious difference ?
- Is this attitude towards the usage of these words common for all the members of the Pentecostal Church (and other Protestants) or is it specified to (2) only ?
- Are there any other words or expressions which are to be used specifically according to congregations (or religions) ?

Further investigation permitted to realise that there were other words and expressions related to religious phenomena which are specific to Catholicism and Protestantism. Such words and expressions are for instance 'mpwemu yera', the Protestant expression meaning 'the holy spirit', and its equivalent in Catholicism is 'mutima mweranda'. To abandon sins is expressed also differently ; it is 'kwihana' for Protestants and 'kwigarura' for Catholics. There are even words which at first sight do not carry any religious meaning but which are characteristic to these congregations. These words are for instance 'kw'isi' and 'mw'isi' which mean 'in the world' and which are respectively used by Catholics and Protestants.

From this situation of Kirundi language in relation with Catholic and Protestant congregations, there surfaced to be many sociolinguistic phenomena which needed an analysis, hence the current study, which is

a comparative study of Kirundi words and expressions characteristic of the mentioned congregations.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Different Kirundi words and expressions characterise different congregations (Catholicism and Protestantism), and this difference could lead to identification with one's congregation. Therefore, the characteristics of these words and expressions, together with the way they are used by members of the congregations were studied.

1.3. AIMS

The first aim of this study was to show that some Kirundi words and expressions are specific to the Catholic congregation and others to the Protestant congregation.

The second aim was to analyse these words and expressions in a comparative procedure, and study their occurrence and their semantic value.

The final target was to prove that the linguistic difference serves the religious identification.

1.4. HYPOTHESES

This study was guided by the following hypotheses :

1. Catholics and Protestants use different words and expressions characteristic of their respective congregations.
2. These words and expressions are used differently according to each congregation.
3. These words and expressions contribute to religious identification.

1.5. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study focused on the lexical level of the church language in Burundi. It was concerned with words and expressions in Kirundi, their semantic and social values, together with their occurrence rate, in accordance with a specific congregation. The congregations considered were the Catholics and the Protestants, and the Pentecostal church and the African Revival Ministry church were the ones considered in the Protestant congregation.

It is important to note that the suprasegmental elements like intonation and pitch, together with the origin of these expressions are not part of this study, though they are referred to sometimes in a brief way.

1.6. JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Religion is a very important aspect of society as seen earlier in the Background to the Problem. Therefore, any study involving it should be conceived as necessary.

This study is also of importance since it shows the lexical differences due to religious differences . It is worth being done now because, given the power of language, some could use it to manipulate others and achieve their goals without true religious objectives.

Besides, no study about the interaction between Catholic and Protestant religions and Kirundi language has been done till now and this offers an opportunity to do it.

By the research findings, I prove that the difference in religious terminology and language use between Catholics and Protestants is a purely linguistic phenomenon and should not bring any misconception of each other's congregation members.

The study findings are undoubtedly an addition to the body of the existing knowledge and a baseline for future researchers, especially those interested in researching on institutions of society in relation with language.

Lastly, this topic is very important to me because, having lived in a very pious place called MUGERA (it was the second place to receive the first Catholic missionaries in Burundi after MUYAGA in Cankuzo province), and having attended my Secondary School studies in a seminary located in the same area, I got interested in religious matters and I always seek to understand anything related to religion.

1.7. DEFINITION OF TERMS

The terms defined in this section are: Catholics, Protestants, Practical, Impractical, Register, Dialect, Etiquette, Speech styles, and Lexicology.

Catholics are people faithful to the Roman Catholic Church, practically or impractically.

Protestants are people belonging to any protestant churches, born so or converted later in life and who are practical.

For this study, the churches concerned are the African Revival Ministry and the Pentecostal church.

Practical: people who attend at least once a week religious activities, that is the mass or other prayers.

The term **Impractical** is used to refer to people who recognise their belongingness to one of the religious sects but who do not care about attending religious activities or not.

The term **Register** [1] in Sociolinguistics refers to a speech variety used by a particular group of people, usually sharing the same occupation (doctors and lawyers for example) or the same interests (stamp collectors, baseball fans).

[1] Definition from the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985), page 242

A **Dialect** [1] is a variety of language spoken in one part of a country (regional dialect), or by people belonging to a particular social class (social dialect or sociolect), which is different in some words, grammar and/or pronunciation from other varieties of the same language.

Etiquette[2] is a set of rules for behaving correctly in social situations.

Speech styles[3] are alternative ways of speaking within a community, often ranging from the more colloquial to more formal.

Lexicology [4] is the study of the vocabulary items (lexemes) of a language, including their meanings and relations, and changes in their form and meaning through time.

[1] Ibid, page 80
[2] Definition from the Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (2002), page 470
[3] Op. cit., page 268
[4] Op. cit., page 165

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. INTRODUCTION

A number of studies in the field of religion and sociolinguistics have been done and important conclusions and theories have been drawn. Most of the works dealing with religion in the current literature review treat it at the sociological and historical level, and we are yet to come across a sociolinguistic study conducted in Burundi taking religion as a variable. However , this fact does not prevent these works from being relevant to the current study since they highlight the importance of the institution in any society. This chapter is then concerned with works in sociolinguistics on religion plus some others dealing with lexico-semantics. The section of religion covers elements like congregationalism, the language of religion and a short historical background. In the section of sociolinguistics are found patterns like register, dialect, linguistic etiquette and style. Lastly, we have a section of lexico-semantic and then the theoretical framework where some of the theories which guide this work are presented.

2.1. RELIGION

J.M Yinger[1] gives a long and detailed study of religion in general, in relation with society and the individual. He acknowledges that if anything comes to be associated with religion in society, it is worth being given

attention. This is the current situation of Kirundi with the Catholic and Protestant Congregations. Religion is identified as a human activity and, as it was said by P. Tillich quoted in Yinger (1957), religion is that which concerns us ultimately. Joachim Wach, quoted by the same author propounds that all religions, despite their wide variations, are characterised by three universal expressions: the theoretical (or a system of beliefs); the practical (a system of worship) and the sociological (a system of social relationships). These universal expressions are also found in Burundi particularly among Catholics and Protestants who are the focus of this study. Actually, they have their theories, that is their respective beliefs (some converging and others diverging), respective practice of worship, and their ways of social relationships.

2.1.1 Congregationalism

Rev. A. Peel, through the work of A.S Peake and R.G. Parsons[2], gives the story of congregationalism. According to him, congregationalism is far much older than its name, just as its polity is far more widespread - the Baptists, the

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[1] Op. cit.

[2] Peake, A.S. (No year of publication!) An Outline of Christianity :the Story of Civilization.
Parsons, R.G. Volume three: *The Rise of the Modern Churches.*

Unitarians (in America), the Plymouth Brethren, and the Disciples of Christ, and in a measure, some of the Lutheran and Methodist Churches, have the congregational form of government. He maintains that there were Congregationalists long before Cromwell and long before R. Browne ; and that they find their charter in the words, 'where two or three are gathered in my name there am I in the midst of them'.[1]

The fundamental idea of congregationalism is its conception of the church. A church is composed of those who, believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, join together for worship, fellowship, and service. Rev. A. Peel notes that the story of congregationalism began as soon as such groups were formed, that is, so Congregationalists maintain, as soon as the Gospel began to win converts, and 'those who were being saved' gathéred themselves together in the 'communion of saints'.

In Burundi, members of each congregation believe that they are the ones in the right and diverge in the worship systems, preachings and terminologies.

2.1.2. Historical Background

Religion is dealt with in history and it manifests itself, especially in the history of colonisation. In Burundi, Catholicism was introduced before other religions like Islam and Protestantism that came some years later. In all cases, the relationship between these religions has not always been friendly and this spirit of rivalry and distance is still felt among members of different

[1] Words of Jesus: The New Testament. Matthew18: 19-20

congregations. In addition, rivalry is portrayed in the language used by the respective preachers and their followers. J. Perraudin[1] talks about problems encountered by Catholic missionaries when they wanted to establish themselves in places where there were already Muslims and Protestants.

He says :

Anglais et Hollandais Protestants, maîtres de l'Afrique du Sud, ne témoignaient point aux fidèles de l'Eglise Romaine la large tolérance dont ils s'honoreront un jour.

(The English and Dutch Protestants, masters of South Africa, were not tolerant to the Roman Catholic Church followers, a tolerance that will characterise these latter in the future.)

Therefore, the Kirundi words and expressions characteristic to different congregations might exhibit such distance and spirit of rivalry.

2.1.3. The Language of Religion

J.I Campbell[2] investigated the area of the language of religion and identified some categories used to classify statements related to religion. These categories are:

Historical: Christian believers hold, as a matter of historical record, that certain events took place in connection with the birth, life, and death of Christ. These historical assertions, such as *Jesus was condemned to death by Pontius Pilate* are, it is claimed, not subject to criticism by verificationist techniques.

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[1] Perraudin, J. (1963). Naissance d'une Eglise. Histoire du Burundi Chrétien, page 12
[2] Campbell, J.I. (1971). The Language of Religion, page 67

Definitional: Though they might appear otherwise, some statements such as *God is omnipotent*, are really definitions. Only if a being were omnipotent would the Christian call him *God*, from which it follows that to say *God is omnipotent* is, at least in some of its uses, to explicate one's understanding of the term God rather than to describe the divine nature.

Emotive: Positivism drew attention to this function of religious statements, but mistakenly held that all religious assertions belong to this category. Some religious assertions, however, such as *I feel at peace with God*, are used to describe the feelings and sentiments of the believer.

Prescriptive: Some religious statements assert policies of action or behaviour which the believers follow or ought to follow : *If a man hits your right cheek, turn the other one to him as well.* (Matthew 5: 39-40)

Invocative: Such language is most often associated with prayer, when the individual is not speaking *about* God but *to* Him and desires to avail himself of his God-relationship : *O God, you know we are your people ...*

Accusatory: These serve to call the individual's attention to his sinful state and need of salvation: ... *all men from Jews to Greeks are under the condemnation of sin* (Roman 3 : 9).

Recollective: Statements in this category function by reminding the believer that he owes his first allegiance to God and must seek the means to maintain it : *set your heart on his kingdom and his goodness, and all these things will come to you as a matter of course.*
(Matthew 6 :33).

Persuasive: These are used to develop and foster the religious attitude in another *No one approaches the father except through me.*
(John 14 :6)

Invitational: These serve to invite the individual to enter into a God-relationship. ... *I did not come to invite the righteous but the sinners* (Matthew 9 :13).

Descriptive: These are used to speak of God's nature and his ways to man *God loves all Men as his children.*

Campbell's[1] discussion of the categories of the language of religion is mainly based on the words from the Bible. However some of these categories are very relevant as far as the discussion of Catholic and Protestant expressions is concerned, as well as the relationship between members.

2.2. SOCIOLINGUISTICS

About this field, The Linguistic Encyclopaedia[2] says that many sociolinguistic studies are concerned with the way in which language varies according to the social context in which it is used and according to the social group to which a user belongs. It aims at describing this variation and show how it reflects social structure. Those linguistic units which vary fairly systematically in relation to social variables such as the user's region, class, ethnic group, age and gender are called sociolinguistic variables, and their different forms are called variants.

[1] Ibid.
[2] Malmkjaer, K. (1991). The Linguistic Encyclopedia, page 415

According to the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics[1], linguists differ as to what they include under sociolinguistics. Many would include the detailed study of interpersonal communication, sometimes called micro-sociolinguistics (including speech acts, speech events and sequencing of utterances), and also those investigations which relate to variation in the language used by a group of people for social reasons. Such areas as the study of language choice in bilingual or multilingual communities, language planning, and attitudes towards language may be included under Sociolinguistics, or they are considered as being part of the sociology of language or the social psychology of language.

This study falling in the same field of Linguistics, religion is the social variable taken into consideration, words and expressions in Kirundi used by Catholic and Protestant congregations being the sociolinguistic variables, and the specificities of each congregation consisting of the variants.

In addition, a number of comprehensive works in the field have been conducted by scholars especially during the period after 1960, a date until which the field was not much investigated . Many names appear and among them W. Labov[2], P. Trudgill[3] and J. Holmes[4] can be cited.

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[1] Op.cit.
[2] Labov, W (1966). The Social Stratification of English in New York City.
[3] Trudgill, P. (1980). Sociolinguistics :An Introduction to Language and Society.
[4] Holmes, J. (1992), An Introduction to Sociolinguistics

By their various works, these scholars have contributed much to the promotion of the study of language in relation with society.

Many areas and topics have been investigated (and are still being investigated) not only by scholars from abroad like those cited above, but also by Burundian researchers as well . Some of those topics and areas are :

2.2.1. Register

A particular register often distinguishes itself from other registers by having a number of distinctive words, or phrases which are employed in a particular way, and sometimes by special grammatical constructions.
I. NTAVYOHANYUMA[1] conducted a study on the language used in courts in Burundi whereby she aimed at showing that this language is a register. J.B. NDIKUMASABO[2] dealt with street children in his study. He considered the speech of these children in two Bujumbura Rehabilitation Centres with the objective of showing that they had a particular jargon.

These works above analyse language in relation to social facts. The court language proved to make up a different register after an analysis whereby it was compared to the everyday language. As far as the Street Children are concerned, it was found that they create a particular jargon due to their situation.

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[1] Ntavyohanyuma, I. (1992). "A Lexical Study of the Language Used in Courts in Burundi".
[2] Ndikumasabo, J.B. (2001). "A Sociolinguistic Study of the Jargon Spoken by Street Children in Two Bujumbura Rehabilitation Centers."

Considering the characteristics of register, they find their place in the current study since the church language in Burundi shows differences in words and expressions, phrases, and the way they are used.

2.2.2.Dialect

E. MUGISHA[1] did a research in this area and dealt with the generational difference in Kirundi language used in Bujumbura. In this study, she found that the two different generations she considered (adults and adolescents) had different sociolects. Another researcher in the area is HATUNGIMANA , C[2] who dealt with the sociolect of the University of Burundi students during the 1993-1994 academic year, finding out that they had a dialect different from those of the previous Academic Years, as well as other sociolects.

This study is also linked to these ones pointed out above since the church language is a variety used by people belonging to a particular social group and could thus consist of a different sociolect.

2.2.3. Linguistic Etiquette

The study on the linguistic etiquette of C.Geertz[3] as it is found in Pride & Holmes[4] traces many conclusions, one of them maintaining that the entire etiquette system is perhaps best summed up and symbolised in the way

---

[1] Mugisha, E. (2000). "The Generational Difference in Kirundi Language Use in Bujumbura."
[2] Hatungimana, C. (1996) "A Sociological Study of the Sociolect Spoken by University of Burundi Students During the 1993-1994 Academic Year."
[3] Geertz, C. (1960). The Religion of Java.
[4] Pride, J.B. & Holmes, J. (1972) Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings, page 167

Javanese[1] use their language. In Javanese it is nearly impossible to say anything without indicating the social relationship between the speaker and the listener in terms of status and familiarity. The status is determined, Geertz goes on saying, by many things - wealth, descent, education, occupation, age, kinship, and nationality, among others, but the important point is that the choice of linguistic forms as well as speech style is in every case partly determined by the relative status (or familiarity) of the conversers. To illustrate his point, Geertz gives an example from Javanese. This scholar found out that the difference is not minor. To greet a person lower than oneself (or someone with whom one is intimate) one says *'Apa pada slamet'*, but one greets a superior (or someone one knows only slightly) with *'Menapa sami sugeng'* - both meaning 'Are you well?' In addition, both *'Pandjenengan saking tindak pundi?'* and *'Kowé seka endi?'* mean 'Where are you coming from?', but the first is addressed to a superior whereas the second is addressed to an inferior. Clearly, a particular obsession is at work here, concludes Geertz.

Likewise, Catholics and Protestants tend to select words and expressions to use among 'themselves', and avoid some with 'the others.' By "others", I mean Christians of the other sect different from one's own.

[1] Javanese: people from Java.

2.2.4 Style

The notion of style brings in that of speech styles. Usually, the range of styles available to a person varies according to his or her own background and the type of speech community. The choice of a particular style has social implications. For example, choosing a formal style in a casual context may sound funny and using a very colloquial style in a formal context such as a sermon at a funeral service, may be offensive. Generally, a native speaker knows when a certain speech style is or is not appropriate.

E.M. Albert (1964), quoted by J.B Pride[1] says that in Burundi the manipulation of emotions by aesthetic devices is the principal business of speech behaviour; he puts forward the view that these are highly stylised forms of speaking.

I. NIZIGIYIMANA[2] undertook a stylistic study of some Kirundi homilies in the Catholic Church during which he investigated the different techniques used by priests in their homilies during the mass.
This study found out that the style used by Catholic priests is full of various linguistic techniques which have as a target to convince followers, thus to gain more members.

Though it is not a stylistic study, the current study is highly linked to this notion in the fact that it analyses the changes in the language use in order to achieve something, therefore changes in style.

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[1] Pride, J.B. (1971). The Social Meaning of Language.
[2] Nizigiyimana, I. (2001). "A Stylistic Study of Some Kirundi Homilies in Catholic Church."

2.3. LEXICO-SEMANTICS

Lexicology in itself includes the semantics of words (that is their meaning). However, Semantics needs to be emphasized since it includes the notions of denotative and connotative meanings, notions that are very important to this study. It ought to be noted that not only lexemes are studied (as would require lexicology) but also phrases and sentences. N. MUVIRA[1] undertook a related research in the area of lexicology and semantics. The aim of her study was to collect expressions that are grouped under the theme of beauty and analyse them at a lexico-semantic level; these expressions were then to be classified historically and then show that their understanding requires the linguistic and sociolinguistic competence. Robins (1989), quoted in MUVIRA, says that meaning in a language is not a simple relation or a single sort of relation, but involves a set of multiple and various relations holding between the utterance and its parts and the relevant features and components of the environment, both cultural and physical, and forming part of the more extensive system of interpersonal relations involved in the existence of human societies. This shows that, apart from the linguistic meaning, semantics is a set of studies of the use of language in relation with other aspects, linguistic and non-linguistic, including the appropriateness of the use of the language in accordance with the situation and the interlocutor.

The relevance of this to the current study finds itself in the fact that the meaning of words and expressions specific to the congregation is not the only

[1] Muvira, N. (2001). "A Lexico-semantic Study of Some Kirundi Expressions Related to Beauty."

one which is important to members, but many other aspects including who use them, where, with whom, and in which context.

2.4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Man is constantly using language - spoken language and written language, and man is constantly linked to others via shared norms of behaviour. Scholars have conducted many studies in sociolinguistics and come up with many theories. Some of them are presented in the following lines and they guided the present study.

2.4.1. Language and Identity

P. Trudgill (1983), as found in the work of H.B. Allen & M.D. Linn,[1] studied the social identity and linguistic sex differentiation. He concluded that geographical, ethnic group and social class varieties are, at least partly, the result of social **distance**, while sex varieties are the result of social difference. He says that different social attributes, and different behaviour, is expected from men and women, and sex differences are a symbol of this fact. He argues that using a female linguistic variety is as much a case of identification of oneself as female, and of behaving as a woman should, as is for instance, wearing a skirt.

[1] Allen, H.B. & Linn, M.D. (1986) Dialect and Language Variation, page 395

The theory of Trudgill about sex differentiation and identification through linguistic varieties could be applicable to other variables, and it is actually applicable to the variable of religion and lexical varieties in Kirundi.

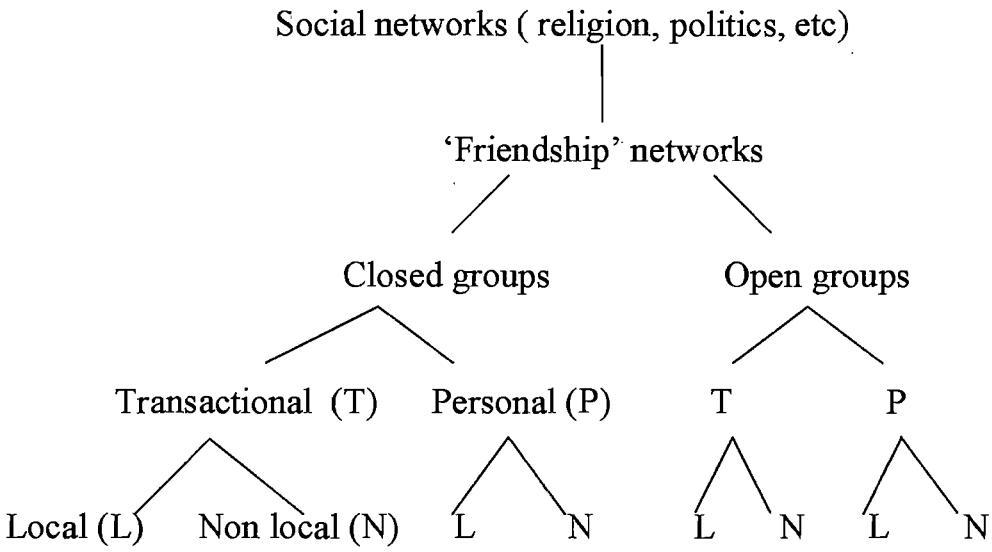
This situation creates then a certain consideration of members of one congregation towards the other, a consideration which does not necessarily consist of exclusion, but of a certain value assigned to one's variety and its users

2.4.2 Social values of Language

J.B. Pride (1971)[1] gives a theory from J.J. Gumperz (1966) on the social values of language, whereby social variables are referred to as

'social networks' and sociolinguistic variables are discussed in terms of the distinction between 'closed' and 'open' friendship groups, between 'personal' and 'transactional' settings, and between 'local' and 'non-local' topics. He gives the following taxonomy in relation to social values of language:

[1] Op cit.



Likewise, religion in Burundi constitutes a social network (or a friendship network) besides others like politics, gender and generation, and closed groups and open ones are found in it. In the present work, Catholic and Protestant congregations make up closed groups among themselves and consider each other as open groups (not as enemies). The activities of these groups are twofold, the transactional activities and the personal activities, which respectively refer to the formal religious activities like the mass and prayers, and the informal activities in the everyday life. These different activities take place in different settings. The speech subjects are also twofold, the local subjects and the non-local subjects, referring respectively to religious related subjects, and the non-religious related subjects. In this social network, the language used plays an important role and it is evident at all stages.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. AREA AND POPULATION

The places of research were delimited following the importance of the religious institutions found there. Consequently, the cities of Bujumbura and Gitega were selected. In the city of Gitega, we find the headquarters of the Catholic Church of Burundi and it is thus called 'the Archdiocese of Gitega'. Similarly, the headquarters of the majority of the Protestant churches in Burundi are found in the city of Bujumbura and it is also in this city where Catholics and Protestants actively interact everyday. So, the city of Gitega was chosen to get information from Catholic leaders and Bujumbura was used to get information from the Protestant leaders, plus their respective congregation members.

Besides the cities of research, the congregations were also selected following their importance in Burundi. It is worth noting here that this selection concerned only the Protestant congregations since the Catholic one is unique and united in Burundi. In this case, two churches were selected: the Pentecostal Church of Burundi and the African Revival Ministry Church of Burundi. These churches were selected because of their notable difference in their ways of worship and behaviour, the former being more restricted and conformist, and the latter being rather liberal. Yet, the Pentecostal church is the one that was most focused because of its status. In fact, this church has its communities all over the country (it has members in all the communes according to the pastors met at Ntahangwa Pentecostal Church in Bujumbura, and in some communes, there are even more than one church building).

Besides, this church was introduced in Burundi long before the African Revival Ministry Church. It was introduced in 1935, whereas the African Revival Ministry Church of Burundi has not yet celebrated its tenth anniversary, hence the pastors to be interviewed were selected in this church. It is worth noting here that the African Revival Ministry Church is also very influential especially on the youth in the city of Bujumbura, and an important movement of conversion to this congregation from Catholicism is observed these days.

With the assumption that all the priests agree with each other on the Catholic doctrine, and that all the Pentecostal Church pastors agree with each other on their church doctrine, the choice of the church leaders to be interviewed followed no other criteria apart from that of being a recognized priest or pastor.

For the congregation members, they were to be of an age beyond twelve years and were also to be practical. This age limit was considered because this research found them mature enough to understand the fundamental practices of the church. The fact of being practical helped to avoid easy answers from informants.

A total of eight church leaders – four priests and four pastors were interviewed, and twenty-four church members – eight from each congregation, were contacted in this research. A point to be added is that for the members, six were chosen among my acquaintances from the three churches, and eighteen others from among the people attending Sunday services.

3.2. SAMPLING

The sampling method that was used during this study is the random sampling. For the church leaders, they were randomly approached and those who were willing were interviewed. To choose the six acquaintances from the three churches, small pieces of paper on which I had written names were put in three boxes, each box containing ten names and representing one of the churches. I then asked a friend to pick two pieces from each box. For the other members, they were approached randomly after the church service bearing in mind not to reconsider the same persons at the following occasion.

3.3. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

To collect the data, the main method of research that was used is the participant observation. I had also recourse to a tool of research, namely the interview schedule (see appendix I). I then proceeded following three stages. The first and most important stage was the participation in religious activities, the second was to organize interviews with church leaders, and the third one was to organize interviews with the different congregation members.

In the first stage, three churches were visited three times each. I went to the Pentecostal Church of Ntahangwa, at the cathedral of Regina Mundi, and at the African Revival Ministry Church of Jabe. All these churches were visited during the Sunday church activities and everywhere, listening and recording preachings, songs and prayers were my tasks. The results were then taken for

the analysis of differences and similarities of words and expressions, together with their frequency of use and their occurrence rate.

In the second stage, three weeks were spent in Gitega during which four priests were interviewed. Two of them, including the priest in charge of the pastoral duties in the Archdiocese of Gitega, accepted to be recorded; the others found it unnecessary. After that, I came back to Bujumbura and had interviews with four pastors from the Pentecostal Church of Burundi. They all answered clearly to the questions but were not very positive about being recorded. They considered recording as a journalistic practice and they asked me to simply take notes. However, one of them asked to be given the list of questions and he answered them as a whole, dictating me all the responses.

In the third stage, two steps were followed. In the first step, six acquaintances (two from each of the three congregations) were approached and asked for advice. In fact, I approached them and told them that I was having a feeling of converting myself into a Protestant and then that I wanted them to help me about questions which were troubling me. I would then ask them as many questions as I liked, making sure that I spent most of the time on the issue of terminology and its impact. With Protestants, I included the problem of choosing a congregation (between The Pentecostal Church and the African Revival Ministry Church), to get views on what they think about each other.

At the end of the consultation, I would thank them and tell them I was going to make a decision from their pieces of advice. After some days, I would tell them that I had found it better to stay a Catholic.

As a second step, I held informal conversations with six members of each congregation in which religious topics like the existence of heaven and hell, and the obligation of going to church on Sundays were introduced. Then, the words 'Yesu' and 'Mwenedata', respective Protestant words for 'Jesus' and 'Brethren' were cautiously used with Catholics and then their replies and attitudes observed. This was also done with Protestants, cautiously using the Catholic versions of the expressions given above, that is 'Yezu' and 'Muvukanyi muri Kristu', respective Catholic words for 'Jesus' and 'Brethren'. All these conversations were held after Sunday religious ctivities, that is right after the church service.

As a conclusion, the methodology was successful and fruitful though it took relatively much time to gather the necessary data.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The data was analysed in two main parts. The first and most essential part concerns the presentation and discussion of the data, that is the identification of the words and expressions that fit the scope of the study and the classification of the selected data following their semantic values, together with tabulation to code the occurrence rate of these words and expressions. The second part concerns the description of the social identification value of the data according to the lexical and semantic theories discussed earlier.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The lexical analysis of the church language in Burundi, the case of Catholic and Protestant congregations, led to the findings discussed in the current chapter. The different words and expressions fitting the scope of the study are classified in four categories according to each congregation (for a complete list, see appendixII). Then, the social role of the occurrence of these words and expressions turned out to be of great importance especially in social identification. Therefore, this chapter is concerned with the outcome of the analysis of the semantic classes of words and expressions that fall under the category of the church language in Burundi, together with their social role in religious identification.

4.1 CATEGORIZATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

This section analyses the semantic categories of the words and expressions, and their occurrence rate. We have different words and expressions with same meaning, same words and expressions with different meanings, words and expressions more frequently used in one congregation than in the other, and words and expressions which do not have equivalents in the other congregation.

4.1.1 Different words and expressions with same meaning

In this category are found similar religious beliefs and other realities related to faith which are expressed in different terms according to each congregation, and their meanings are discussed by comparing the world entities that they refer to and their religious connotations with respect to the community.

As an example, *mutima mweranda* and *mpwemu yera* are respective Catholic and Protestant expressions for 'the Holy Spirit'. However, if we analyse these expressions and try to see how these congregations view the world in expressing religious realities, the first expression use the noun *umutima* (heart or spirit) and the adjective *–eranda* (with no mistake). So, in Kirundi, Catholics describe the Holy Spirit as a heart or a spirit with no mistake.

On the other hand, the noun *impwemu* (air or breath) and the adjective *–era* (white) are used to name also the Holy Spirit. So, Protestants describe the Holy Spirit as white breath or air in Kirundi.

In both expressions, they use things with very close characteristics. As a matter of fact, 'spirit' and 'air' are untouchable things and they can not be seen either. Also, the adjectives *–eranda* and *–era* are very closed in meaning: a person with no mistake can be described as being 'white' in Kirundi. Nevertheless, these expressions are strictly used differently according to the congregation in spite of these similarities.

Another example I can give is *isengero* and *urusengero*, respective Catholic and Protestant words to refer to the church building. These nouns generate from the same verb, *gusenga* (to pray), and they are differentiated by the prefixes they are used with. The Catholic word is used with the prefix **i-** which assigns the noun a neutral meaning, suggesting 'a place used for prayers' without any other specificities. However, in the Protestant congregation, the prefix **uru-** is used with the noun, assigning it two possible meanings: it may refer to a big church building or to an ugly one. For the present case, the idea of 'a very important building' might be at work by bringing in the idea of bigness. Yet, in the mind of Protestants, the meaning is as neutral as it is for the Catholic one, and it is used in the same circumstances. These words are also used specifically to their religious communities.

Other expressions found in this category are names of people and places. They do not differ in the connotations used to describe them, but they differ in their spellings. These are for instance *Yezu* and *Yesu*, which are words for "Jesus", the cornerstone of Christianity, respectively for Catholics and Protestants. We have also *Misiri* and *Egiputa*, respective Catholic and Protestant words to refer to Egypt, the country where Jews (the people of God) were kept in slavery, and many others. Notably, Catholics preferred to keep the ancient version of the name of this country, while Protestants chose the modern one.

4.1.2 Same words and expressions with different meanings.

This category deals with similar expressions which refer to different beliefs or other realities related to faith, or which have different connotations according to the congregation. For example, the expression *kumenya Imana* means basically 'to know God' in both congregations. However, it surfaced to have another very strong connotation. During the data collection, I called Pastor Edmond KIVUYE of the African Revival Ministry Church on the telephone to ask him if he could allow me an interview, but I was answered by somebody else. When I explained to them my intention, they asked me the following question: *None nawe waramenye Imana?* (have you also known God?) I gave an affirmative answer and they asked me where I go for prayers. I told them that I go to Regina Mundi Cathedral (a Catholic church) and after a short pause, they asked me this question: *Uracari hariya?* (Are you still there?) Thus, their question was pregnant with some connotations: they meant that I had not yet known God, which actually meant that I had not yet converted to Protestantism (considered as a more righteous sect).

Such situations are very common in Protestant churches, the followers refer to each other as *abamenye Imana* (people who have known God), to mean that they belong to the same congregation, that is the Protestant congregation. It is important to note that many Protestants classify Catholics in the group of *abataramenya Imana* (those who have not yet submitted to God completely, which requires to become a Protestant). So, *kumenya Imana* means for many Protestants, to be converted into Protestantism, but for Catholics it means just to believe in God.

Another example that can be given is the word *ishengero.* In the Protestant congregation, this word means 'congregation' or 'church' in the sense of congregation. We have for instance the expressions *abakuru b'ishengero* (the leaders of the church), *ishengero katolika* (Catholic congregation); which are very common with the Protestant congregation.
Yet, this word has a different meaning in the Catholic congregation, it refers to the crowd of followers gathered for church services.
For example, priests often begin their sermons with the sentence: *shengero ry'Imana mukoraniye ngaha,...* (people of God gathered here,...).

Then, these expressions are used in both congregations (Catholic and Protestant), but with different meanings and contexts.

4.1.3 Words and expressions more frequent in one congregation than in the other.

In this part, we find different words and expressions according to the congregation, but which can be used in the other congregation with the same meaning but at a lower frequency.

There are also same words and expressions that are more frequent in one congregation than in the other. To illustrate this, let us take the example of the words *igicumuro* and *icaha* which both mean 'sin' regardless of the congregation. However, their use assigns them a certain meaning (in terms of belongingness): *igicumuro* is more frequent in the Catholic congregation, and *icaha* more frequent in the Protestant congregation. Therefore, these words

are considered as specific to respectively Catholic and Protestant congregations, though they are also used in the other congregation.

Another example is that of the words *umukiza* and *umwami*, which are used to describe Jesus Christ, the first meaning 'saviour' and being more frequent in the Catholic congregation, and the second meaning 'king' and being more frequent in the Protestant congregation. Yet, these words can be met in both congregations.

The frequency specificity of these words was decided after the results of a comparison done between the three churches considered in this study. The number of times each word came back at different churches was counted and the results were the following, after three participation in church activities at each church:

Expression	C.C	P.C	A.R.M.C
Igicumuro	48	0	2
Icaha	3	52	43
Umukiza	32	4	1
Umwami	8	68	73

Note: C.C stands for Catholic church, P.C for Pentecostal church and A.R.M.C for African Revival Ministry church.

The chart shows how many times each word was repeated at different churches. A thing to be added is that if someone uses one of these terms instead of the other, they can be suspected to belong to the congregation in which it is more frequent, though they can not be as sure as for words in other categories (as it is for instance for *yezu* and *yesu*).

4.1.4 Words and expressions which do not have equivalents in the other congregation.

In this category are found words from the Protestant congregation which describe religious beliefs and realities, but which do not have equivalents in the Catholic congregation terminology. It is important to note that this does not mean that there are no words in the Catholic congregation which do not have equivalents in the Protestant congregation, the fact is that these words were not met during all the research time. In addition, these words and expressions are not as numerous as those in the other categories, but they are still important for the differentiation of the two congregations.

An example that can be given is *isi yanduye*. This expression is very common in the Protestant congregation and it means 'the world of sinners'. This suggests that there is another world different from this one and that there is a clear-cut boundary between the two: a world of sinners and a world of saved people. Actually, it was found out that the so-called saved people are the 'born again', that is Protestants, and those who belong to the world of sinners are all the remaining kinds of religious communities, including Catholics. However, there is no expression in the Catholic congregation to refer to two different worlds, they simply talk about '*isi yuzuye ibicumuro*' (a world full of sins), to mean the world as a whole, themselves included.

4.1.5 Interpretation

If the different categories are analysed in terms of percentages, we have the following results:

- The number of different expressions with the same meaning is 20 out of a total of 36; which makes 55.5%.
- The number of same expressions with different meaning is 7 out of 36; which makes 19.4%.
- The number of expressions more frequent in one congregation than in the other is 6 out of 36; which makes 17%.
- The number of expressions with no equivalents in the other congregation is 3 out of 36; which makes 8.3%.

Whatever category we consider, the aspect of difference is always there and no perfect sameness is found in any of the four categories.
This situation proves that there is much difference in the terminology used by Catholics and Protestants, and the semantic features of these words and expressions, especially their denotative and connotative meanings contribute much in their congregational difference.

However, these differences are purely linguistic because what they refer to is mainly the same in the doctrines of Catholicism and Protestantism. On the contrary, Protestant terminology is full of expressions from the Kinyarwanda. As a result, there is a possibility to think that the translators of the Protestant Bible (which was translated in Kinyarwanda before Kirundi according to pastors from the Pentecostal Church) did not replace expressions from

Kinyarwanda with those from Kirundi for the sake of identity in the language used (so that it is different from the one Catholics, who had established themselves long before, were using).

Furthermore, the language used by Protestants carries features pregnant with intentions to convince potential followers to turn over to their church. The overtones carried by many of their words and expressions show that they consider other Christian denominations as less godly. In brief, they consider others, especially the Catholic Church, as rivals from whom they should win followers over to their own church, that is "saving" them or helping them to "know God better" than they would if they stayed in their former churches.

Another important aspect of these words and expressions is their occurrence rate during religious activities in accordance with the congregation.

4.1.6 Occurrence Rate According to Congregation.

The data would seem rather few at first sight given the fact that religious activities take quite a long time (an average of two religious activities each Sunday, each activity lasting about two hours) and that much is said during these activities (including preachings, collective prayers and songs). That is why the aspect of the occurrence rate of these expressions proved to be of great importance. Indeed, some of these words are highly repeated in any religious activity.

There are words and expressions that were classified as *occasional* and others classified as *permanent.* Occasional words and expressions are the ones, specific to the congregation, which are focused and thus much repeated in a religious activity due to the topic of the day. Permanent words and expressions are the ones, specific to the congregation, which are always focused on and which help the preacher and the followers to express their feelings and prayers, thus which are highly repeated in religious activities, regardless of the topic of the day. The words classified as permanent proved to be more interesting since they were always present during the data collection and their occurrence rate could be compared at different church services, hence they are the ones analysed here.

Six pairs of words and expressions (each pair including a Catholic and a Protestant term) were identified and they are the following (the first term is Catholic and the second one is Protestant):

Ubuzima/Ubugingo ; Kwemera/kwizera ; Kwigarura/Kwihana
Ikigongwe/Ubuntu ; Bavukanyi/Benedata ; Imana ininahazwe/Imana ishimwe (cane)*
*The emphasis marker 'cane' is almost always added to the expression 'Imana ishimwe' every time it is used in the Protestant Church.

These expressions respectively mean 'life', 'to believe in God', 'to come back from the sin ', 'forgiveness', 'brethren' and 'God be praised'.

After attending religious activities three different times at each church, the results were the following:

- At the Catholic church:

Expression	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Total
Ubuzima	31	29	26	86
Kwemera	42	38	43	123
Kwigarura	19	16	20	55
Ikigongwe	20	22	24	66
Bavukanyi	10	14	9	33
Imana ininahazwe	26	29	22	77
Ubugingo	0	1	0	1
Kwizera	5	3	1	9
Kwihana	0	0	0	0
Ubuntu	2	0	5	7
Benedata	0	0	0	0
Imana Ishimwe	0	0	0	0

- At the Protestant congregations:

	African Revival Ministry church				Pentecostal church			
Expression	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Total	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Total
Ubuzima	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kwemera	3	0	0	3	0	3	2	5
Kwigarura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ikigongwe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bavukanyi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Imana ininahazwe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ubugingo	49	41	48	138	55	50	53	148
Kwizera	53	47	54	154	71	69	66	206
Kwihana	30	27	29	86	34	32	40	106
Ubuntu	32	35	37	104	44	39	47	130
Benedata	28	30	30	88	31	23	35	89
Imana ishimwe	45	40	49	134	31	39	47	117

The charts show how many times the words and expressions were repeated during the different religious activities attended at different churches. As said above, these words were selected because they proved to be always relatively highly repeated regardless of the topic of the day. However, it is important to note that expressions classified as occasional can have a higher score. An instance is when at the Pentecostal church they were dealing with the topic of the Holy Spirit : the expression 'mpwemu yera' (Protestant expression to refer to the Holy Spirit) was repeated 94 times. In addition, among these words classified as permanent, there are some that seem to have a rate of repetition higher than others, but the difference is not very important and this is true since for the occasional expressions, they can almost totally be absent until a topic involving them is dealt with. There are also words that seem to be present in one congregation, whereas they are classified as specific to the other congregation. These are *ubuntu* and *kwizera* for the Catholic congregation, and *kwemera* for the Protestant congregation. It is important to note that when these words occurred, they did not have the meanings considered here. In fact, this can be proved by these sentences which were used by church leaders:

- *Ubuntu bwanyu mwarabutaye!*

  T: You have lost your humanity!
- *Turizeye ko tuzoja mw'ijuru.*

  T: We hope that we will go to Heaven.
- *Emera ubatizwe mu mazi menshi niho uzorokoka!*

  T: Accept to be baptized into much water in order to be saved!

By this it is clear that *ubuntu*, *kwizera* and *Kwemera* were not meaning respectively 'forgiveness', 'to believe in God' and 'to believe in God'; but 'humanity', 'to hope' and 'to accept'. Besides, a fact that most interestingly comes out of this analysis is that the repetition rate is higher in the Protestant congregation than in the Catholic one. In the current study, the rate in the Protestant congregation was about 50% higher than the Catholic rate, which is not a percentage to be neglected. It is very important to add that Protestant preachers practice this repetition technique with an extraordinarily high tone.

To conclude, the occurrence rate of words and expressions in Catholic and Protestant congregations is among the differences characteristic of these congregations about the language use.

We can then say that Catholics and Protestants use differently words and expressions characteristic of their congregations.

4.2 SOCIAL VALUE OF THE WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

Besides the semantic and occurrence rate values of the words and expressions specific to the Catholic and Protestant congregations, they play an important role in the everyday life of believers and in their interactions. In this section, interviews with the church leaders and then with followers are going to be analysed and see how they are affected by this difference in the church terminologies.

4.2.1 The views of church leaders

The questions put to the church leaders, that is priests from the Archdiocese of Gitega and pastors from the Pentecostal Church of Ntahangwa, Bujumbura, were centred on three main ideas :

- if they acknowledged the difference in the terms they use;
- what they think is the cause of the difference;
- and if this difference has any impact on the everyday life of followers.

The first comment to be made is that all the priests converged in their answers and all the pastors converged in theirs.
About the first idea, priests and pastors all acknowledged that the difference in their terms does exist.

About the second idea, Catholics said that if we take the example of the name 'Jesus', it is found in the New Testament, and the first language in which this book was written is Greek. This language was used in Eastern Europe, and in Western Europe was found the New Testament written in Latin. The word 'Jesus' is pronounced /jɛsus/ in Greek and /jɛzus/ in Latin. So, when Martin Luther from Germany (who lived in Western Europe and who was a Roman Catholic) started Protestantism, he rejected Latin Scriptures and preferred the first language, that is Greek, and translated them into German. Therefore, when Protestants came to Burundi, they might have done like Luther and translated from Greek to Kirundi, while the Catholics remained with the translations from Latin. In addition, the priests said that this situation is applicable to other terms and maintain that if one analyses them well, they

find that Protestants did a literal translation and Catholics tried to adapt the Latin terms to the realities of Kirundi language. According to Protestant pastors, their version of the Bible was translated from Greek in Gitega. They maintain that they adopted the language of the Holy Scriptures - which is "the language of the Holy Spirit", as it is. In addition, they said that without criticizing them, Catholics used human wisdom in translating the Bible, but they worked without the help of the Holy Spirit.

About the third idea, Catholics said that some understand that these different expressions have the same objectives and understand each other, but many others part from the reality by mocking at each other and even exclude them in some way. However, they added that it makes them more comfortable to speak with those they share the same views. For Protestants, their terminology is considered as their characteristic since it is a language of the Holy Spirit. It is different from the language based on the human wisdom that Catholics use. In addition, they say that even political parties have their own specific terminologies, so why not use 'benedata' (brethren) which is prescribed in the language of the Holy Spirit.

To conclude, church leaders respect each other's terminology and try to understand that the difference is mainly a product of translation and habit. However, a certain rivalry is strongly felt and they can sometimes even avoid to pronounce certain words (like names) when they contain parts specific to the other congregation. Evidence for this was observed when, at the African Revival Ministry church, the pastor , while blessing a wedding, preferred to pronounce the name of the young man as 'NDUWAYESU' whereas he

actually was called 'NDUWAYEZU' since he had been converted from Catholicism to Protestantism later in life.

4.2.2 The attitudes of followers

This part is twofold: first there are reactions of six acquaintances (two from each of the three churches) when I approached them for advice; and secondly there are reactions of eighteen followers (six from each of the three churches) when I randomly held informal conversations with them. Initially, I began with two of my Catholic classmates. The sentence I told them was the same: 'Jewe numva nshaka kwibera uwa Yesu' (I want to be for Yesu). Having used the Protestant term for 'Jesus', the first asked me if everything was right in my head and the second told me that I need not inform him, that it was none of his business. Nevertheless, they both understood what I meant and they also showed signs of strong surprise. When I pronounced the same sentence to the Protestants, all four (two from each of the two Protestant churches considered) almost hugged me and welcomed me warmly; they had also understood what I meant. However, when I told them that I had problems of changing the language and asked them if there were any problems if I did not change it, reactions were negative. The two from the Pentecostal church took immediate distance considering that I was playing fun with them. However, the two from the African Revival Ministry church did not seem upset. One of them told me clearly that I should make an effort and the other one asked me to attend prayers regularly so that I may adopt their language over time.

In the second step I tried to observe the reactions of eighteen people (six from each church) about some expressions used with them. It was two sentences

specific to the Protestant congregation that I used with Catholics, and their Catholic equivalents used with Protestants; and observed their response. These expressions were 'Yesu ashimwe' (praise the Lord Jesus) and 'Mwenedata' (brethren) with Catholics; and 'Imana ininahazwe' (praise the Lord Almighty) and 'Muvukanyi muri kristu' (brethren) with Protestants.

The results were the following:

a) With Catholics

- Reactions to the exclamation 'Yesu ashimwe':
- two clearly "corrected" me and told me that I should say 'Yezu ashimwe' or 'Imana ininahazwe';
- three looked at me with astonishment and said nothing;
- one remained unaffected by the exclamation.

- Reactions to the calling out 'Mwenedata' :
- four looked surprised and acted as if I were not addressing them;
- one asked me if I was a 'mukizwa' (a saved person or a born again Christian) ;
- one responded calmly without any sign of emotion.

b) With Protestants from the Pentecostal church

- Reactions to the exclamation 'Imana Ininahazwe' :
- two answered with the Protestant version to sort of correct me and show me what I should say;
- three stared at me without saying anything;
- one laughed before saying :'it is true'.

- Reactions to the calling out 'Muvukanyi muri kristu':
- five looked at me really disappointed;
- one told me : 'I thought you were a saved person!'

c) With the Protestants from the African Revival Ministry church

- Reactions to the exclamation 'Imana ininahazwe!':
- two said 'Amen!', the answer usually given to religious exclamations in Protestantism;
- two stared at me and said nothing;
- two asked me for how long I had been saved.

- Reactions to the calling out 'Muvukanyi muri kristu':
- four asked me whether I was saved or not;
- one looked at me and said nothing;
- one answered with the Protestant version saying 'ego mwenedata!' (yes brethren!).

The attitudes of followers showed that Catholics and Protestants know very well each other's expressions' meanings, but they choose to avoid them on purpose. On the contrary, the majority of them do not know much about the causes (origin) of these differences, they most of the time avoid the question by saying that the important thing is faith. In addition, the psychological processing of these congregation-specific terms is very important. This finds its evidence in the fact that many Catholics make extra effort to change their religious language when they convert themselves into Protestantism, after they had been using it for a long time. The same process is observed when Protestants convert themselves into Catholicism.

In conclusion, these words and expressions which differ according to congregation play a very important role in religious identification, and many times, people will recognize someone's congregation by the way they speak and the words and expressions used in their speech. The reactions of these church followers make sound evidence of this assertion and, though their reactions were varied, it is clear that all of them had recognised to which sect the words and expressions belonged. Also, taking as a basis all the facts discussed above, religion in Burundi (especially the congregations dealt with in this study) has been found making up a social network fitting the theory of J.J. Gumperz (1966) as it has been discussed in chapter two.

Indeed, Protestants and Catholics make up a friendship network rooted on Christianity; they make up close friendships and open ones, respectively when they belong to the same congregation and when not; they also differentiate between transactional and personal activities which mean respectively the formal religious activities and the everyday life activities which take place in different settings. All these specificities have proved to be in close relationship with the language used in these different congregations, since it is a key tool of identification of who is a closer friend and who is not.

4.3 HYPOTHESIS TESTING

This study was guided by hypotheses centred on the following ideas:

Firstly, it was assumed that Catholics and Protestants use different words and expressions characteristic of their respective congregations.

Secondly, the idea that these words and expressions are used differently according to the congregation was put forward.

Lastly, these words and expressions were suspected to contribute to a religious identification.

For the first hypothesis, it was found out that there are words and expressions specific to the congregations, these words and expressions classified into four different categories and no category exhibited perfect sameness between them: the two congregations use different words and expressions.

For the second hypothesis, the occurrence rate of these words and expressions proved to be different. There were some classified as occasional and others classified as permanent. In addition, the repetition technique surfaced to be more practiced by Protestants than by Catholics: these words and expressions are used differently according to the congregation.

For the last hypothesis, the interviews with some of the church leaders came to the affirmation that the terms help to the identification with one's congregation (just like terminologies of political parties). Also, attitudes of church followers to an exclamation and a calling out specific to a congregation and used with members of the other congregation were mainly of four sorts: clear correction of the expression used in the 'wrong' setting, strong surprise, avoidance and lack of reaction. However, the last attitude was rare and even there, it was suspicious. Therefore, this shows that a certain identification of what I was saying (and thus who I was) was at work: these words and expressions contribute to a religious identification.

In short, the hypotheses of the current study were proved.

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The lexical analysis of the church language in Burundi, taking the case of Catholic and Protestant congregations is a sociolinguistic study that dealt with the different words and expressions specific to these two congregations, their semantic characteristics, their occurrence properties and their social values.

Concerning the semantic characteristics of these words and expressions, they were classified into four main categories: the different words and expressions which have the same meaning, the same words and expressions with different meanings, the words and expressions more frequent in one congregation than in the other, and the words and expressions which do not have equivalents in the other congregation. The analysis of this part showed that these words and expressions present more differences than similarities.

As far as the occurrence rate is concerned, the Protestant-specific words and expressions were found to be more repeated than Catholic-specific ones, the fact being then another distinguishing feature in the language use.

Lastly, the social value of these words and expressions surfaced to be of capital importance since all the differences in the language use that were identified proved to strongly play a role of identification. Indeed, the adoption of any language feature specific to one of the congregation implies identifying oneself to it, regardless of the situation or setting in which one is. As a consequence of this aspect of identification, these congregations make up a friendship network where we find closed groups (those belonging to the same congregation) and open ones (those belonging to the other congregation).

There is need for further research. I can not claim to have exhausted the list of words and expressions specific to the two congregations, nor all their linguistic distinctive features. So, if any student of sociolinguistics would be interested in the area, there still is room for research.

I can give two of these linguistic features that I would have liked to investigate if I had had enough time:

- The suprasegmental features like the intonation and the pitch
- The historical background of the differences found in the church language.

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APPENDICES

I. Interview schedule

To all the church leaders, the questions asked were in Kirundi and I took care about using respectively catholic and protestant versions with Catholics and Protestants.
The questions are the following:

1. Nyakubahwa patiri/pasitori, turabona amajambo menshi adahuye biturutse ku madini ngaha mu Burundi cane cane muri Katolika hamwe no mu ba Protestanti. Nk'akarorero twotanga ni izina rya Yezu/Yesu ariwe nkingi y'ukwemera/kwizera kwacu. Bamwe bamwita 'Yezu' (aba Katolika) abandi bamwita 'Yesu'(aba Protestanti). Utundi turorero twovuga ni nka 'mutima mweranda' na 'mpwemu yera', 'kw'isi' no 'm"w'isi', n'ibindi. Mwoba mumaze kubona ivyo bintu yuko biriho mu majambo dukoresha haba mu gusenga canke mu kuganira ibintu vy'imana?

T: Father/Reverend pastor, a lot of difference in words and expressions used by Catholics and Protestants in their prayers and conversations about religious matters in Burundi is observed. An example that can be given is the name of Jesus, the basis of our faith. Catholics call him 'Yezu', and Protestants call him 'Yesu'.
Other examples are the Holy Spirit Who is referred to as 'Mutima mweranda' by Catholics and 'Mpwemu yera' by Protestants; 'Kw'isi' for Catholics and 'Mw'isi' for Protestants, meaning 'in the world'; and many others. Have you already noticed these differences?

2. None mwibaza yuko ubwo budasa bw'ayo majambo bwoba butumwa n'iki?

T: What is the cause of these differences according to you?

3. Hari uruhara bwoba bufise mu migenderanire y'aba Katolika n'aba Protestanti, ndetse no mu mibano yabo mu buzima bwa misi yose?

T: Do these differences have any impact on the life and interactions between Catholics and Protestants in our society?

4. Mu misi iheze hari umuntu i Bujumbura yaguze imodokari asanga yanditse ko ngo 'Yesu ni inyishu'.
   Ayishikanye i muhira aca arahindura ijambo rimwe aca yandika ati 'Yezu ni inyishu'.
   Mwebwe mwibaza yuko yabitumwe n'iki?

T: Recently in Bujumbura, someone bought a car on which it was written the words "Yesu ni inyishu" (Jesus is the answer). Arrived at home, this person changed one of the words and then wrote, "Yezu ni inyishu" (Jesus is the answer).
What can you say about it?

II. Words and expressions analysed.

a) Different words and expressions with same meaning

Catholic	Protestant	English equivalent
1. Yezu Kristu	Yesu Kristo	Jesus Christ
2. Mutima mweranda	Mpwemu yera	Holy Spirit
3. Abanyisirayeri	Abisirayeri	Israelis
4. Muvukanyi muri Kristu	Mwenedata	Brethren
5. Kw'isi	Mw'isi	In the world
6. Kuninahaza Imana	Gushima Imana	To praise God
7. Umumenyeshamana	Umukozi w'Imana	Preacher
8. Abatumwa	Intumwa	Apostles

9. Ikigongwe	Ubuntu	Forgiveness
10. Shetani	Satani	Satan/Devil
11. Isengero	Urusengero	Church building
12. Kwemera	Kwizera	To have faith in God
13. Ekeleziya	Ishengero	Congregation
14. Misiri	Egiputa	Egypt
15. Igihugu c'Imana	Ihanga ry'Imana	Population of God
16. Umuvinyu	Vino	Wine
17. Ibatisimu	Umubatizo	Baptism
18. Amabwirizwa	Ivyagezwe	Commandments
19. Kubonekerwa	Kwerekwa	To have a vision
20. Amashemezo	Amashimwe	Praises

b) Same words and expressions with different meanings.

Expression	Catholic meaning	Protestant meaning
1. Kumenya Imana:	To know God	To be a Protestant
2. Gukizwa:	(no meaning)	To be born again (to be converted into Protestantism)
3. Intumwa:	Messenger	Apostles

4. Kwizera:	To hope	To have faith in God
5. Kwemera:	To have faith in God	To accept
6. Ishengero:	A crowd of followers	Congregation
7. Ubugingo:	Righteousness	Life

a) Words and expressions more frequent in one congregation than in the other.

In Catholicism	In Protestantism	Meaning
1. Igicumuro	Icaha	Sin
2. Kwigarura	kwihana	To come back from the sin
3. Umukiza	Umwami	Saviour/King
4. Inguvu	Inkomezi	Stregth
5.	Gushinga intahe	To relate one's religious experiences
6. Abapagani		Pagans

a) Words and expressions which do not have equivalents in the other congregation, but which have explanations.

Expressions	Meaning
1. Isi yanduye:	The world of sinners
2. Kwakira agakiza:	To be converted into Protestantism
3. Abanyamahanga:	Foreigners to the congregation