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Declaration

I Eric Rwasamanzi, declare that this is my original work. It has never been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University. I am Submitting it for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Signed……

On the 27th day of August, 2009

Dedication

To

The Almighty God,

My mother,

My brothers and sisters

My Fiancée (Fotine)

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank a number of people who contributed to the completion of this research report.

I first and foremost direct my special thanks to my lecturer and supervisor, Dr Andrew Van Spuy, who in addition to his multiple commitments, kindly accepted to supervise this work. Without his support, this work would not have been completed.

A special word of gratitude is due to Dr Tommaso M. Milani who generously read and gave feedback on draft chapters. His insightful comments and various suggestions have really been appreciated.

I am greatly indebted to all the lecturers in the department of Linguistics at Wits for having enlightened my intellectual journey and their sustained interest in my research. I also thank all my classmates in Linguistics and various friends at Wits for their inspirational company.

I wish to extend my thanks to PR-ISAE for having funded my training and this research. Without their help this work would not have been possible.

Finally, I wish to express my deep appreciation to all students and lecturers in the Higher Institute of Agriculture of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry who accepted to participate to this research.

To all of you who, directly or indirectly contributed to this work, I say "thank you!"

Eric Rwasamanzi
Wits University – Johannesburg
August 27, 2009

Abstract

The present study on "the use of slang among the students of the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (I.S.A.E)" attempts to examine how and why the students use slang terms to commutate various issues.

The research focuses on slang used by I.S.A.E students because most studies have dealt with Rwandan regional dialect, but in my knowledge none of them has been conducted on the slang terms used by the students of I.S.A.E. In conducting this research, I intended to give my contribution by producing a study on slang in the context of Rwanda and particularly on students' slang.

The research begins with different definitions of slang and the theoretical approach is discussed afterwards.

The present study is empirical. Both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are employed. The data was elicited from I.S.A.E students, staff and five 'outsiders' using diverse methodological tools such as questionnaire forms, focus-group interviews and participants. On one hand, the questionnaire survey was used mainly to gather lists of slang words. On the other hand, focus-groups and participant observations were used to reach a deeper 'ethnographic insight' into the meanings and contexts of usage of the slang.

The current study focuses primarily on the morphological and semantic etymology of the 77 selected slang terms. The study indicated that the slang terms found in the speeches of the students of I.S.A.E are the results of various morphological processes such as coinage, borrowing, clipping, compounding and acronyms.

List of abbreviations and symbols

/ /	Conventional slashes used in phonemic transcription
≅	An accent representing a high tone
ag	agent
Appl.	Applicative
Augm.	Augment
BRALIRWA	Brasserie et Limonaderie du Rwanda (Brewing and soft drinks manufacturing Industry in Rwanda)
Caus.	Causative
CL.	Classifier
FM	Fille mère (single mother)
Form.morp.	Formative morpheme
Form.	Formative
fv	final vowel
G.P	Garde Présidentielle (Presidential guard)
Inf.	Infinitive
I.S.A.E	Institut Supérieur d'Agriculture et d'élevage (Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry)
N	Noun
N.obj.	Nominal object
Neg.	Negation
Pass.	Passive
SOPECYA	Société de Pétrole de Cyangugu (Petroleum company of Cyangugu)
TZ	Tanzania

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Chapter one: General Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This study is a sociolinguistic investigation on the use of slang among the students of the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Institut Supérieur d' Agriculture et d' élevage (I.S.A.E). This institution is located in the North of Rwanda. This chapter provides a brief background, rationale and the aim and objective of the study. It further explains the methodology adopted for the study and concludes with a chapter outline.

1.2. Background of the study

Language plays a great role in every society, offering a means of communication and understanding. Language is of paramount importance since any human being has a vital need to exchange information, ideas and opinions with others. However, it is also a truism that language is not simply a means of communicating information. It is also an important means of establishing and maintaining relationships with other people. As Chaika (1989:11) puts it, language is not only a medium that human beings use to communicate with each other but also the bond that links people together and binds them.

Hudson (1980:3–5) confirms that understanding our humanity means understanding the language that makes us human. This view shows that language and society are intertwined in such a way that it is impossible to understand one without the other. As any human society is composed of an unlimited number of social groups, language cannot be static, that is, language may vary accordingly. Generally, people have a crucial need to exchange information, ideas and opinions with others. Within a society or culture, people who associate with each other because they have some characteristic or interest in common such as belief, occupation, education, etc. may also develop a language variety as their own way of communication.

Slang is regarded as a non-standard variety of language which belongs to a particular culture or subculture. The main function of slang is to identify the users as member of a specific group. Through the use of slang, speech is often used as a method of inclusion and additionally as a means of omission from a social group.

Some studies have been carried out on the use of slang. Among such studies, I will mention *Slang Today and Yesterday* (Partridge, 1935), *Kansas University Slang* (Dundes and Schonhorn, 1963), *A short Study of* Slang *in Zulu and the Role it Plays in the development of the language* by Ndlovu (1963), de Klerk (1991)'s *Study on the slang by youth who are L1 speakers of English in Cape Town*, *College slang revised: Language, culture, and undergraduate life* (Hummon, 1994), Eble's *Study on slang and sociability: In-group language among college students* (1996). Recent studies on *The use of slang among black youth in Gauteng* by Bembe (2003), *A pragmatic analysis of jargon of University of Botswana students* (Wakumelo-Nkola, 2008) and IsiNgqumo – *Introducing a gay Black South African linguistic variety* by Rudwick and Ntuli (2008).

All the above studies give some information on the way different sub-groups use slang, but they do not explore in detail how particular slang terms are forged. Sociolinguists have neglected the study of slang in Rwanda and in institutions of higher learning in particular. This raised my interest and pushed me to conduct a study on slang used by the students of the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Institut Supérieur d' Agriculture et d' élevage (I.S.A.E).

1. 3. Aim and objective of the study

The study seeks to examine whether and to what extent slang is used in I.S.A.E. This research also strives to find out how this slang is created in the above named institution.

I.S.A.E is located in the North of Rwanda and its main objective is to train Agronomists and Veterinary Students. By undertaking to investigate the use

of slang by the students of the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, I want to achieve the following three main objectives:

- ♦ Identify particular slang terms used in I.S.A.E.
- ♦ describe the contexts in which these slang terms are used and their meanings;
- ♦ find out in what way gender and age are related to the use of slang.

On completion, the research will have attempted to answer the following questions:

- ♦ What kinds of slang terms are used within I.S.A.E?
- ♦ What morphological processes are most common in the formation of slang terms?

1.4. Rationale of the study

As pointed out earlier, much work has been done on slang but, to the best of my knowledge, there is no research on slang in Rwandan context. Particularly, I decided to undertake this study on slang in I.S.A.E to give my contribution to the study of slang in this institution. Furthermore, the idea of working on slang used by the students of I.S.A.E resulted from various experiences. The idea to pursue this study came to my mind when I was teaching at the Kigali Health Institute (K.H.I) in 2007 as a part-time assistant lecturer. I listened to some students conversing during break time. They were using particular slang terms that sounded "strange" to me like **Gukanira**, **Icuûsite** and **Uweêra**. When I asked for explanations, I was told that the term **gukanira** (*gusubiramo amasomo* in standard Kinyarwanda) was used to refer to the action of studying with determination in order to succeed. They also explained to me that the term **Icuûsite** (*ikirori* in standard Kinyarwanda) was used to refer to an attractive and charming girl while **Uweêra** (*umuceri* in standard Kinyarwanda) is used to refer to rice served in their restaurant.

After being given explanations on these particular terms, I noticed that some of them could be found at The Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry where I work as a full time assistant lecturer and others not. For

example, the term **Icuûsite** (*ikirori*) used by the students of Kigali Health Institute (KHI) to describe an attractive and charming girl is not used by the students of The Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry. Instead, they use the term **Inyaasito** (*ikirori*). I also found that the students of both institutions share the same term **gukanira** (*gusubiramo amasomo*), which is used to refer to the action of studying with determination in order to succeed. This linguistic phenomenon inspired me to conduct a study of the slang terms used by the students of I.S.A.E in order to verify why and how these terms are created.

Through this study, the particular terms used by the students of the above institution were collected and analysed according to their semantic and connotative meanings. This study will shed light on the purposes for the usage of these slang terms.

1.5. Research methodology

The data was collected by means of a questionnaire survey, participant observation and recorded focus-group interviews conducted with the staff and students at I.S.A.E.

The main reason of using the written questionnaire in this study was to gather data on the demographics of the respondents, on the frequencies of slang usage, the contexts wherein they use slang, as well as lexical items and expressions that they use. My sample population comprised 30 participants chosen at random and involving 13 males and 17 females. The participants were selected from the two faculties, at I.S.A.E. 35 questionnaires were distributed to different students according to their faculties, but 30 questionnaires were completed and returned. Class representatives assisted in the distribution and collection of completed questionnaires (see section 3.4).

As for focus–group interviews, class representatives chose and asked volunteers to partake in an informal discussion with me. Apart from 30 participants selected from students, 5 lecturers were also interviewed to

verify if they understand and are aware of slang used by the students. Apart from the students and lecturers, other 5 people from outside I.S.A.E were also asked their views on the use of slang among the students of I.S.A.E.

After getting an ethics clearance certificate, I first arranged to meet the respondents and asked them to participate in my research stressing that their participation was voluntary and that their answers were going to be kept confidential and anonymous. The second step was the tape-recording of the focus-group interviews with the respondents in a semi-structured interview.

I also engaged in participant observation in order to understand how and in which contexts the students use slang. I tried to observe the students during outclass activities such as sports, eating and other different leisure activities (Refer to Chapter 3 of this study for a detailed exposition of the research methodology).

1.6. Chapter outline

Chapter one introduces the whole work. It presents the aim and scope of the research and motives behind the undertaking of the research. Within this general introduction, a section deals with the methodology that was used to collect the data and the theoretical framework for the analysis of data.

The second chapter explores some theoretical issues or literature review pertaining to slang. This chapter helps give an insight into studies already conducted on slang.

The third chapter expands on the research methodology briefly discussed in the general introduction. It gives more details and characteristics of the research tools that were used to collect the data such as the research site, research participants and data collection procedures. The chapter discusses the advantages and disadvantages of each research method used and how relevant they are to this type of research. At the same time, the chapter describes how the data was organised for analysis. It rounds off by

discussing the ethical issues, which govern any type of research that involves human subjects.

The fourth chapter deals with the description and analysis of the findings. All the slang terms and expressions collected are analysed semantically and morphologically.

Chapter five discusses the findings. The analytical discussion combines the data described in chapter four and different respondents' views are discussed in the present chapter.

Finally, the sixth chapter is a general conclusion and a summary of the major issues raised by the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2. 1. Introduction

The present chapter summarises the existing literature on slang. Above all, this chapter provides some definitions of slang and its relation to other social variables. The results of some scholars who carried out research that is related to this study will also be outlined.

2.2. Definitions of slang

Different scholars at different periods of time have tried to find a definition of slang. Scholars such as Partridge (1935), De Klerk (1991) and Thorne (1998) observe that the etymology of the word *slang* is obscure and the definition of slang is difficult. According to these authors, *Slang* is a natural part of human language. It is difficult to provide a straightforward definition of the term because of the complexity of sociolinguistic factors underlying its formation and use (Eble, 1996*).* Moreover, some definitions of slang describe it in a more positive way, whereas others describe it in a more negative way and it has a negative connotation in public discourse (de Klerk, 1990). According to McKnight (cited in Ndlovu 1963:5), slang can be defined as "a form of colloquial speech created in a spirit of defiance and aiming at freshness and novelty". McKnight (cited in Partridge 1935:2) also defines slang as "language of a highly colloquial type, considered as below the level of standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words or of current words employed in some special sense." Fowler cited in Partridge (1935:2) provides another definition. For Fowler, slang is "the diction that results from the favorite game among the young and lively of playing with words and renaming things and actions; some invent new words, or mutilate or misapply the old, for the pleasure of novelty, and others catch up such words for the pleasure of being in the fashion." Furthermore, Sorning (1981:71) defines slang as "a stigmatized language variety or deviant variant when compared with the codified standard language..." Some scholars such as De Klerk (1995); Thorne (1998) argue that the importance of the user's

intention is frequently neglected in definitions. For Bailey (1985:2), "slang is best described as a register or a variety according to use, a style of language whose distinguishing feature is the intention."

2.3. Distinction between slang and other language varieties

As mentioned earlier, Bailey (1985:2) believes that "slang is best described as register or a variety according to use". For Bailey, slang is in fact a language variety, a way of speaking that consists of word and phrases that may replace the terms used in formal, standard language by other terms with a strong emotional impact. Like slang, a register is a subset of language used for a particular purpose or in a particular social setting. Halliday and Hasan (1976:57) describe register as "the linguistic features which are typically associated with a configuration of situational features- with particular values of the field, mode and tenor…" Unlike slang, whose setting is totally informal, the setting of register may be either formal or informal depending on situation.

Some linguists also make a distinction between slangisms (slang words) and colloquialisms. According to Zuckermann (2003:21), slang refers to informal (and of transient) lexical items used by a specific social group, for instance teenagers, soldiers, prisoners and thieves. For Zuckermann, slang is not the same as colloquial (speech), which is informal, relaxed speech used on occasion by any speaker. A colloquialism is a lexical item used in informal speech; whilst the broadest sense of the term 'colloquialism' might include slangism, its narrow sense does not. As Eble (1996:20) states, slangisms are often used in colloquial speech but not all colloquial expressions are slang.

An expression should be considered 'true slang' if it meets at least two of the following criteria:

- ♦ It lowers, if temporarily, 'the dignity of formal or serious speech or writing; in other words, it is likely to be seen in such contexts as a 'glaring misuse of register.'

♦ Its use implies that the user is familiar with whatever is referred to, or with a group of people that are familiar with it and use the term.

♦ 'It is a taboo term in ordinary discourse with people of a higher social status or greater responsibility.'

♦ It replaces a well know conventional synonym. This is done primarily to avoid the discomfort caused by the conventional item or by further elaboration (Dumas and Lighter 1978:14-15).

2.4. Slang and social variables

Sociolinguistics, as the study of the relationship between language and society, is concerned among other things with the correlation between language variation and social variables, such as gender, socio-economic class, age, and race. According to Milroy and Milroy (1997:50) "in order to demonstrate co–variation between linguistic and social categories, it is desirable to identify one or more speaker's, among these, one should not ignore age of speaker, gender and ethnic group".

2.4.1. Slang and gender

Some scholars such as Coates (1987) and Fasold (1990) argue that the speech of men differs from that of women even though in some cases the differences are quite small and may not be noticed. In relation to the study on language and gender, Coates (1987:12) indicates that two main approaches to gender differences in language reflect the views of women as different from men or as oppressed and marginalized. The first approach is the one that emphasises the idea that women and men belong to separate sub-cultures. The linguistic differences in women and men's speech are interpreted as reflecting these different sub-cultures. The second is the dominant approach that sees women as an oppressed group and interprets linguistic differences in women's and men's speech as a reflection of men's dominance and women's subordination. Fasold (1990:12) supports Coates' view and states that taboos have a powerful influence on the growth of separate gender vocabularies in general. This means that there are some words women are not permitted to use. Instead of using them, women may

use new words or paraphrase them. As Fasold (1990:90) argues, "a woman might use a different form when she is talking to another woman compared with when she is talking to a man".

In relation to the study on slang and gender, various researchers have argued that slang is used more by males than by females. As De Klerk (1995:267) discusses, "linguistic taboos exist in most cultures, tabooed words generally being culture-specific and relating to bodily functions or aspects of a culture which are sacred. Such words are avoided, considered inappropriate, and loaded with affective meaning." De Klerk goes on to argue that women, regarded as aspiring to prestigious 'ladylike' behaviour, have long been seen as upholding such taboos, and avoiding non-standard or 'dirty' words in particular. For de Klerk, higher levels of slang usage by males are attributed to the fact that use of slang often implies a high level of confidence, which is a typically male attribute. De Klerk (1997:145) goes back to this issue arguing that many societies believe that boys require a more extensive, arduous transition to manhood, somehow needing special prompting not to cry, but to compete, be strong, a good sport, and win. However, this pressure on male extends into linguistic domains as well. According to De Klerk (1997:145), many types of slang words, including the taboo and derogatory words are more used by male than female. This male habits contribute to the perception that male are considered to be strong and powerful. De Klerk concludes that there is an increase in the use of slang by females. This increase in the use of slang by females results from the gender equality policy these days. Nowadays, females want to show that they are as powerful as males and that they have the same liberty of speech.

In his preface to the *Dictionary of American Slang*, Flexner (1975: xii) claims that men like to use more slang than women. He quotes:

> In my work on this dictionary I was constantly aware that most
> American slang is created and used by males. Many types of slang words, including the taboo and strongly derogatory ones, those referring to sex, women, work, money, whiskey, politics, transportation, sports and the like-

> refer primarily to male endeavour and interest. The majority of entries in this dictionary could be labelled "primarily masculine use." Men belong to more sub-groups than do women; men create and use occupational can and jargon; in business men have acquaintances that belong to many different sub-groups. Women, on the other hand, still tend to be restricted to family and neighbourhood friends. Women have very little of their own slang. The new words applied to women's clothing, kitchen utensils, and gadgets are usually created by men (1975: xii).

In her research on *the use of slang among black youth in Gauteng*, Bembe (2006:42) has also found that males are more at ease in demonstrating their verbal prowess and boldness as compared to their somewhat reluctant female counterparts. The results of her study show that 83.7% of males say they often/very often/always use slang as opposed to 72.6% of females. Notably, Flexner and Wentworth (1975: xiii) supported this view saying: "most American slang is created and used by males... the majority of entries in this dictionary could be labelled 'primarily masculine use'."

However, despite this pattern of commentary on slang-users, Stanley (1975), Risch (1987) found unexpected similarity in usage of expletives by male and female, and reporting a surprisingly high number of 'dirty' or derogatory words used by female informants to refer to men.

Furthermore, for Grossman and Tucker (1997:1), the idea that slang has traditionally been a male domain perhaps explains the conclusion shared by numerous scholars and researchers that there are more sexual and derogatory expressions describing women than men. Stanley (1977) on the analysis of the English language found 220 expressions for a sexually promiscuous woman compared to merely 22 idioms to describe the male counterpart. Miller and Swift (1976) also agreed that English contains more insulting and sexual words aimed at women than men. As Schulz (1975) argues, interestingly, semantic derogation, the process by which initially positive or neutral words acquire negative (and often sexual) connotations, occurs more frequently for words referring to women than men. As discussed

by Grossman and Tucker (1997), research by de Klerk (1992), involving a sample of English-speaking South African 6th- and 9th-graders, investigated gender differences in slang knowledge and use. De Klerk demonstrated that boys and girls did not significantly differ in the extent of their slang vocabulary. However, both sexes believed that the use of slang was more appropriate for males than females. In follow-up analyses of the same sample, de Klerk focused specifically on gender differences in the knowledge and use of slang terms referring to males and females. Both sexes reported more terms when referring to the opposite sex than their own sex. According to de Klerk, this finding may have been due to the heightened focus of adolescents on the opposite sex, perhaps not reflecting a pattern which would be found in older individuals.

Grossman and Tucker (1997:5) conclude that, although gender differences in the knowledge and use of slang may be narrowing, it remains the case that more sexual and derogatory slang exists to describe women.

2.4.2. Slang and age

Some scholars argue that there are age-graded patterns of speech that are appropriate for young people who decrease and disappear, as they grow older (Holmes, 1992:183; Hudson, 1996:15). Many researchers (Bailey, (1985), De Klerk (1991), Eckert (1997), Thorne (1998), Andersen (2000), Bembe (2006), confirm that adolescent speakers tend to use slang more than adult speakers.

According to Eckert (1997:163), "adolescence is in general seen as the time when linguistic change from below is advance."That is, during the adolescence period people are more creative and active. Bailey (1985:5) confirms this view, saying slang is "used…more by younger people and mere than by men than by women". In their research on slang in relation to gender, age and school borough, Stenström et al. (2002:74) have found that the 17-19 years old use relatively more slang than the other age groups, followed by the 14-16 years old and very closely, the 10-13 years old. From

age 20 onward, there seems to be a gradual decrease in the use of slang. The same results have been found by De Klerk (1990) who investigated the problem of English slang with a group of 160 English-speaking white adolescents, focusing on the independent variables of gender, age (12–14 and 15–17 years of age), and type of school (private vs. public). In fact, the differences attributed to age and types of school were far more interesting, the private school students showing a definite self-assuredness in their knowledge of and attitude to slang. The researcher attributes this finding to the fact that in private schools, peer groups enjoy stronger and closer bonds among their members. In terms of age, the 15 to 17 years old demonstrated an increased knowledge and a more positive attitude toward slang. According to De Klerk (1997), adolescents are known for their attempts to separate themselves from the larger community by various means, one of which is linguistics. This explains the reason why the 15 to 17 years old age category uses more slang than other age categories.

De Klerk's finding was supported by Bembe (2006: 43) in her research on the use of slang among black youth in Gauteng. Her research findings show that 75.7% of the respondents in the age category 14-15, and 78.4% of the respondents in the age category 16-17 use slang often, very often or always.

All the above studies reveal, as Eckert (2000:8) states, that linguistic style is an important part of age-appropriate behaviour and notes that adolescence has been considered as a turning point in the speaker's sociolinguistic competence.

2.5. The functions of slang

Slang has various functions in a speech community and for its users in particular. Partridge (1935:6-7) provides 15 possible reasons for using slang:

1. In sheer high spirits, by the young in heart as well as by the young in years; 'just for the fun of the thing'; in playfulness or waggishness.

2. As an exercise either in wit and ingenuity or in humour. (The motive behind this is usually self-display or snobbishness, emulation or responsiveness, delight in virtuosity).

3. To be 'different', to be novel.

4. To be picturesque (either positively or - as in the wish to avoid insipidity - negatively).

5. To be unmistakably arresting, even startling.

6. To escape from clichés, or to be brief and concise. (Actuated by impatience with existing terms).

7. To enrich the language. (This deliberateness is rare save among the well-educated, Cockneys forming the most notable exception; it is literary rather than spontaneous).

8. To lend an air of solidity, concreteness, to the abstract; of earthiness to the idealistic; of immediacy and appositeness to the remote. (In the cultured the effort is usually premeditated, while in the uncultured it is almost always unconscious when it is not rather subconscious).

9a. To lesson the sting of, or on the other hand to give additional point to, a refusal, a rejection, a recantation;

9b. To reduce, perhaps also to disperse, the solemnity, the pomposity, the excessive seriousness of a conversation (or of a piece of writing);

9c. To soften the tragedy, to lighten or to 'prettify' the inevitability of death or madness, or to mask the ugliness or the pity of profound turpitude (e.g. treachery, ingratitude); and/or thus to enable the speaker or his auditor or both to endure, to 'carry on'.

10. To speak or write down to an inferior, or to amuse a superior public; or merely to be on a colloquial level with either one's audience or one's subject matter.

11. For ease of social intercourse. (Not to be confused or merged with the preceding).

12. To induce either friendliness or intimacy of a deep or a durable kind. (Same remark).

13. To show that one belongs to a certain school, trade, or profession, artistic or intellectual set, or social class; in brief, to be 'in the swim' or to establish contact.

14. Hence, to show or prove that someone is not 'in the swim'.

15. To be secret - not understood by those around one. (Children, students, lovers, members of political secret societies, and criminals in or out of prison, innocent persons in prison, are the chief exponents) (Partridge 1935: 7).

Eble (1996) reiterates some of the above reasons outlined by Partridge and adds to these by referring to the function of slang as means of opposing established authority. Some various functions of slang cited above were used in the focus-group interview (see Appendix IV) of this study as a yardstick to establish whether the students of I.S.A.E use slang for similar reasons.

2.5.1. Slang as a marker of group identity

As Goodfellow (2006) states, history, culture, and language give people means through which to identify as members of a community. For instance, students, religious groups, are characterised by the use of specific slang expressions. This particular language is employed so that one might be perceived not only by outsider as a group member but also by insiders, that is, other members of the group. Furthermore, it is impossible to dissociate language use from identity, since any act of speaking contains some

characteristics, whether they may be related to gender, class, sexuality, or ethnicity.

In discussing the relationship between language and identity from a sociolinguistic point of view, Mesthrie and Tabouret-Keller (2001) point to a great deal of work done by sociolinguists on linguistic variation using variables such as 'regional identity', 'social identity', 'ethnic identity' and 'national identity'. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:238–240) in their classic study of language and identity in the Caribbean, argue that the speakers' use of language is a series of acts of identity in which speakers seek to align themselves with, or distance themselves from certain social groups. According to this argument, membership of particular groups affects our language use. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:2–5) further argue that linguistic choices are "acts of identity" and that "linguistic items are not just attributes of groups or communities, they are themselves the means by which individuals both identify themselves and identify with others: hence the existential locus of homo, be it individuals or groups, is in language itself ". This means that the location of the identity of a person, as an individual or a group is, amongst other identity markers, in language.

As Weedon (1997:82; 93–94) puts it, language consists of a range of discourses, the different versions of which one can use to construct meanings of social relations and how they affect each individual. This is also of interest in my study in determining whether the use of slang among the students of I.S.A.E can reveal their identity as I.A.S.E students.

Eble (1996:11) describes slang as "an ever changing set of colloquial words and phrases that speakers use to establish or reinforce social identity or cohesiveness within a group or with a trend or fashion in society at large". Apart from Eble (1996), De Klerk (1995:267) also believes that slang reinforces of group membership and acts as a marker of social and linguistic identity. Similarly, Ammon, Dittman and Mattherier (2004: 265) believe that slang identifies members of a group- either a clearly delineated group, like truck drivers or college students, or more nebulous group loosely united by

attitude or style. For Ammon, Dittman and Mattherier (2004), slang confirms a sense of belonging. Sharing and keeping up with a constantly changing set of slang expressions aids group solidarity, for a group's slang serves to include or to exclude.

The current study will support David Hummon's conclusion on college slang and identity. Hummon (1994) focuses on the role of slang identities and the informal labels that students used to describe one another. Hummon used data taken from students at Holy Cross College and University of California at Davis. His study has revealed that slang expressions arise as students spend much of their free time conversing with one another informally. Students use slang terms to denote their academic concerns, social competence, unfriendliness, clothing styles, drug use, sexual prowess, ethnic and racial epithets, and gender objectification.

Hummon's results show that a strong majority of slang terms used by students are negative, certainly when referring across social lines. This implies that part of self–identification in college is demonstration what a person is not. Another explanation is offered by Eble (1996:103) who suggests that such derogatory terms function more as terms of endearment. She asserts: "In college student usage, potentially offensive nouns of address such asshole, bitch, butthead are much likely to be endearing than hostile in intent and are used by people on friendly terms with one another. For the most part, they are used only among peers and directed only to a member of the same sex (Eble 1996:103)."

Hummon demonstrates that college slang is shaped by the student's relationship to environment. He further showed that college slang can be regarded as a unique window through which one can see the social structures and daily lives of students.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This chapter describes what the research was about, who was involved, and the tools that were used. As the research was conducted on human participants, the chapter also examines ethical issues. In more detail, the section presents the research site, research participants, research tools, data collection procedures, methods used to describe and analyse the data, and finally, ethical considerations.

3.1. Research site

The research was conducted at the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry [Institut Supérieur d' Agriculture et d' élevage (I.S.A.E)]. This institution is situated in the North of Rwanda. Its main objective is to train students in Agriculture and Veterinary disciplines. The research site was chosen for various reasons. First of all, as a member of I.S.A.E community, it was easy for me to get data from the students. Secondly, as pointed out in section 1.4, there was no other research on slang conducted in I.S.A.E.

3.1.1. An overview of the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I.S.A.E was established in 1989 by the government of Rwanda with the specific mission of imparting education in various branches of agriculture and animal husbandry. The institution has two faculties that are divided into different departments. Faculty of Agriculture has seven departments and faculty of Animal Sciences has two departments. The institute hosts 2060 students, among them 30% are females and 70% are males. French and English are two languages that are used in academic activities.

3.1.2. The linguistic situation in the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry after 1994

The massive repatriation of the Rwandan refugees in 1994 from different countries has affected remarkably the linguistic situation in Rwanda and I.S.A.E in particular. Kinyarwanda, which was frequently spoken language before 1994, competed with other languages spoken by people repatriated from the neighbouring countries of Rwanda. In this case, French and English are currently used in class to facilitate communication between students of different backgrounds and from different countries. Kinyarwanda language, the national and official language, is mostly used outside the class. In this regard, most of the students who came back from foreign countries after 1994 still have difficulties of speaking Kinyarwanda, which explains why the students' conversations and discussions are characterized by code-switching into various languages like French, English, Swahili, Kirundi, Kinyarwanda, Lingala, and other languages depending on the students' linguistic background (Mutwarasibo 2003, Habyarimana 2006).

This mixture of languages characterizing the students of I.S.A.E is subsequently reflected in their slang. In this regard, the students of I.S.A.E, while speaking, often borrow some words from the various languages mentioned above and adapt them to Kinyarwanda. Due to the students' different linguistic backgrounds, their slang terms are sometimes the result of language contact.

3.2. Research participants

In order to conduct the present study, I used the questionnaires which were distributed to the students of I.S.A.E (see section 3.4). I also used the focus-group interviews with students and individual interviews with staff and selected people from outside I.S.A.E. The questionnaires and focus-group interviews were backed up by my personal observations. A big number of students indicated willingness to be part of my study, but for practical

reasons I could not involve all of them. I limited myself to second- and third-year students. Thus, the first-year students were excluded from my research because they are new and not familiar with the institution. The participants were selected according to two faculties, which are in that institution. 35 questionnaires were distributed to chosen students and 30 questionnaires were returned (13males and 17females). This unequal number depended on the questionnaires which had been completed and returned for analysis. As for focus-group interviews, they targeted the respondents who returned their questionnaires to partake an informal discussion with me. Depending on the scope and limitation of the study, only 5 academic staff members were chosen randomly and interviewed to verify if they understand and are aware of the slang used by the students. I also selected 5 outsiders, that is, people who do not belong to the institution. These people were also asked their views on the use of slang terms among the students of I.S.A.E.

As mentioned above, apart from questionnaires, research data was also collected by means of focus-group interviews. Choosing focus-group interviews was dictated by time constraints. In fact, I only had almost two weeks (between June 18th and July 3rd 2008) to collect data before students went on their short holiday. Instead of conducting one to one interviews, I decided to conduct interviews in groups.

To choose participants, I considered variables such as gender and age because I wanted to verify whether both variables could play a significant role in the use of slang. A sample group of 30 students comprised 13 males and 17 females all above 20 years old. For groups of 5 participants (both academic and administrative staff) and 5 participants (from outside the institution), gender and age were not considered. Apart from students, other participants were chosen at random (opportunity sample). By 'opportunity sample' I mean that the sample size was determined by whom I happened to know or had access to and who was willing to participate in my research within two-weeks time frame I was working with.

The charts below show the number of the participants according to gender and age. The charts only concern the participants of the questionnaire.

CHART 1: GENDER

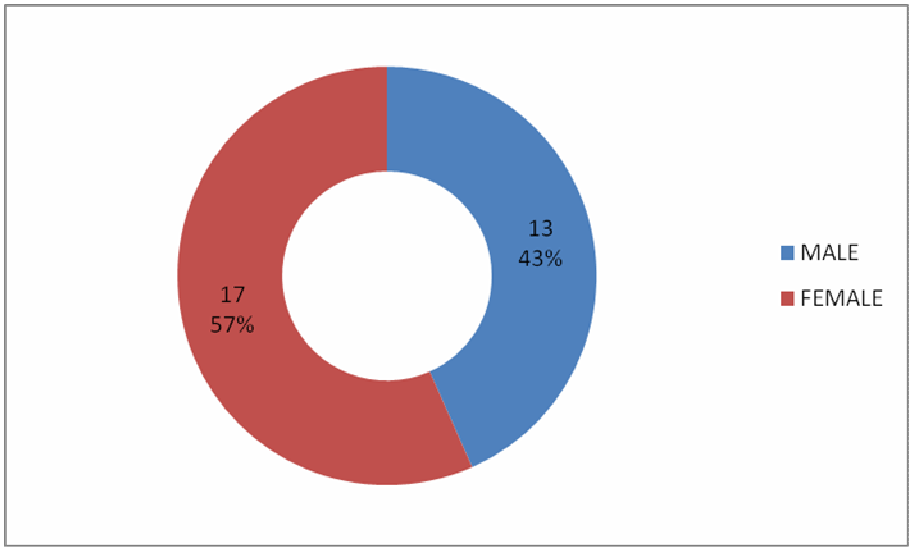
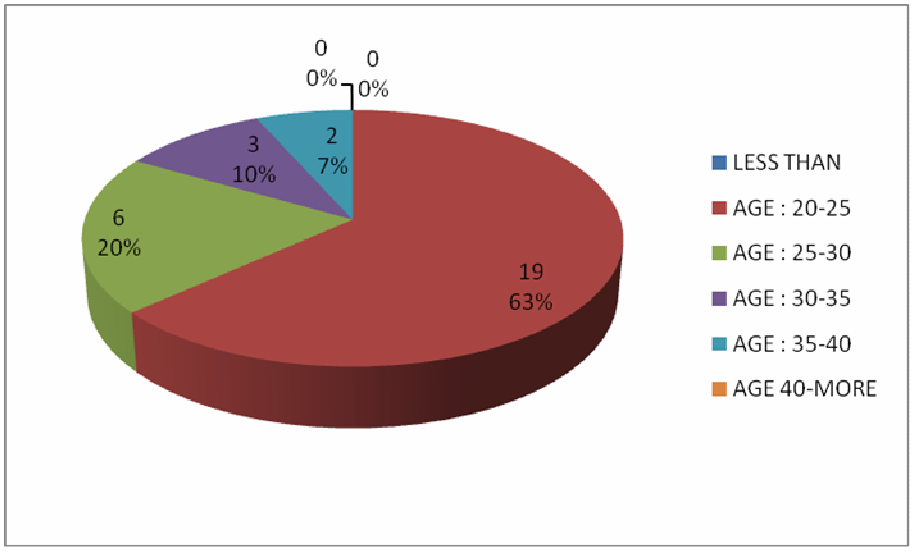


CHART 2: AGE



As can be seen from the charts above, 57% of sample that constituted this study were female respondents, with 43% male respondents. As for age, 63% of respondents are between 20 and 25 years of age.

3.3. Research tools

This dissertation is a "Sociolinguistic study". Depending on the nature of study, several methods can be used to achieve my purpose. Each method has its advantages and its disadvantages. As far as this study is concerned, it made use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative research always takes place in the field, that is, wherever the subjects normally conduct their activities (Dooley 1995). Qualitative approach allowed the researcher to capture in-depth and detailed information. Another reason for the use of the qualitative approach was that this approach is known as the 'interpretative approach', which makes it a more appropriate method to understand human action and not explain human behaviours in terms of universal valid laws and generalizations (Monton et al.1988). According to Best and Kahn (1998), qualitative research methods are characterised by a central role played by the researcher in the elucidation and interpretation of the behaviours observed.

Apart from qualitative method, quantitative method was used in the present study. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), unlike qualitative method, quantitative method does not involve the investigation of process but emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables within a value-free context. As discussed by Stainback and Stainback (1984), the purpose of quantitative research is to evaluate objective data consisting of numbers. They argue that quantitative research focuses more on reliability, that is, consistent and stable measurement of data as well as replicability. In this study quantitative method was adopted to measure the frequency of the use of slang by I.S.A.E students. Many researchers confirm that a balanced and strategic employment of both qualitative and quantitative methods is expected to generate findings with high reliability and validity.

In this study, as pointed out the previous sections, data were collected through three major sources, that is, written questionnaire, with focus-group interviews and direct observations.

Generally, Richterich and Chancerel (1980: 59) define a questionnaire as a structured instrument to collect data and translates research hypothesis into questions. According to Ary, Cheser, Renehart and Razavich (1972), "the direct contact with subjects involved in interviewing is time-consuming and expensive". As compared to interview, the written questionnaire is more efficient and practical. The advantages of a written questionnaire are that standard instructions are given to all participants and the personal appearance, mood, or conduct of the researcher will not influence the result. The fact that the researcher is able to gather large data from the respondents within a short time is one of the advantages of using written questionnaires as a data collection method (Milroy and Gordon 2003:52). Another advantage is that the written questionnaires distributed to the respondents to complete in absence of the researcher, tend to elicit responses that would otherwise not be achieved in the presence of a fieldworker.

Besides its strengths, a written questionnaire technique has some weaknesses. According to Milroy and Gordon 2003:52, "written questionnaires do not allow for in-depth examination of language nor a good insight into intraspeaker". That is, there are language aspects which are not examined such as speaker's reaction, the question asked and how the speaker really uses and manipulates the language in a casual way. Some explanations concerning unclear elements from both researcher and his/her respondents are sometimes not easy to be cleared with a written questionnaire technique.

The slang terms and expressions collected from the written questionnaires needed more explanations from the users. As a result, a qualitative approach was needed in order to experience the actual use of slang.

Apart from the written questionnaire, focus-group interviews were also used in this research. Group interviews draw on a form of synergy between group members (Padgett 1998). As Padgett (1998) argues, focus-group interviewing brings some clear advantages, including savings in time and resources and the elicitation of rich qualitative data from individuals stimulated by a group format. As the site of this research was concerned, it was easier to conduct focus-groups whose members have shared interests. Padgett (1998: 64) asserts, "It is far easier to conduct focus-groups whose members have shared interests than to convince a group of total strangers to attend a group interview". Smith defined group interviewing to be "...limited to those situations where the assembled group is small enough to permit genuine discussion among all its members" [(Smith 1954:59) cited in Stewart & Shamdasani (1990:10)]. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) suggest that interviewing more than one person at a time sometimes proves very useful; some young people need company to be emboldened to talk, and some topics are better discussed by a small group of people who know each other. One of the group interviews' weakness is the influence the participants on each other. That is, during a group discussion, individuals may shift due to the influence of other comments.

Interviews are used "to gather information regarding an individual's experiences and knowledge; his/her opinions, beliefs, and demographic data" (Best and Kahn 1998:255). The key element here is the involvement of people where their disclosures are encouraged in a nurturing environment. It taps into human tendencies where attitudes and perceptions are developed through interaction with other people. Alternately, opinions may be held with certainty. Kreuger suggests that "the purpose is to obtain information of a qualitative nature from a predetermined and limited number of people" (1988:26).

The group interview is essentially a qualitative data gathering technique that finds the interviewer/moderator directing the interaction and inquiry in a very structured or unstructured manner, depending on the interview's purpose (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994:365). Merton et al. (1990:135) suggest that the

focused interview with a group of people "…will yield a more diversified array of responses and afford a more extended basis both for designing systematic research on the situation in hand." I chose this technique rather than a one-to-one interview, students tended to speak more freely in a group of familiar people with whom they interacted on a daily basis. The findings from the focus-group interviews served to complement the data gathered from the questionnaires.

The third technique which was adopted in this study is participant observation. As Bryman (1989:142) says, with participant observation method, the participant observer listens to what people say to each other, engages people in conversations and uses some people as informants about what is going on or to tip him or her off about events that should not be missed. The advantage of this is that the researcher is able to gain a better understanding of the language used within its realistic and somewhat natural occurrence or context. According to Milroy and Gordon (2003:71), participant observation can be an enormously fruitful method for sociolinguistic analysis. For them, this method produces a tremendous supply of high-quality data and crucial insight into community dynamics. Nevertheless, there are some disadvantages associated with this approach; such as time, energy, tact demanding for the researcher and emotional involvement with community members. Participant observation is also employed to overcome the observer's paradox (Milroy and Gordon 2003).

3.4. Data collection procedures

As mentioned earlier, a self-administered questionnaire, focus-group interviews, participant observations were the main techniques of data collection in this study. With focus-group interviews, the researcher dealt with small groups of the students from different faculties, both male and female, and discussed in general the use of slang among I.SA.E students. This technique was used as a way of getting the meanings and the origin of the words and expressions that were judged more difficult, new or unusual. Focus groups also allowed to verify whether there are gender differences and the students' attitudes towards slang terms are used in I.S.A.E. Interviews

were divided into standardised closed and open questions, to mean that the format, the sequence of questions and the exact wording were determined in advance and were put to the interviewees in the same order. Closed questions were particularly characterised by the fact that they were specific in such a way that they restricted the response choices available to respondents. Examples include such questions as:

- ♦Where did you study before you come here?
- ♦How many languages do you speak?

On the contrary, open questions asked for broad or general information, and hence did not require fixed responses. There was no right or wrong answer from the respondents. Instead, respondents were encouraged to answer in their own words, thus providing greater depth to the responses. Examples from the interviews include the following questions:

- ♦Why/when do you use slang?
- ♦ Whom do you use slang with?

With the above questions, the students were given various possibilities of domains wherein they might use slang and asked to indicate the frequency of using slang in each. (These various possibilities adopted from the findings of existing research on slang such as Ndlovu (1963), Eble (1996) and Bembe (2003)). The students were also requested to write down other contexts, besides the ones provided, where/why they use slang (refer to Appendix IV).

From the above short description of interview questions, one can notice that both closed and open questions have advantages and disadvantages. According to Best and Kahn (1998), the advantages of closed questions are that they enable the researcher to easily compare and classify the responses. As a result, data analysis may be simple. Their disadvantages are rooted in the fact that the respondents' experiences and feelings are positioned by the researcher's intentions, leading the interview to be biased. To counter this bias, the use of open questions would be an alternative. These have the merit of providing in-depth qualitative data since they offer an opportunity for clarification which automatically gives rise to more views and more ideas.

Nevertheless, open questions may yield huge and different information which may demand time and energy to organise and analyse.

The interviews were recorded because tape-recording was judged as a good way of keeping explanations and clarifications about complicated words or expressions.

The implications from the benefits and limitations of closed and open questions are twofold. In the first place, it makes sense to include both types of questions in a single interview so that the weaknesses of one type can be countered by the strengths of another. In the second place, it is advantageous to use a standardised interview format because it facilitates the comparability of responses as well as the organisation, analysis and interpretation of data.

The interviews were an important tool for my research because they allowed the collection of data through direct verbal interaction with students, staff and other people whom I interviewed. The benefits of verbal interaction are also highlighted by Best and Kahn (1998:320), asserting, “People are usually more willing to talk than to write.” To support the same idea, Anderson (1990:222) shows that with the interview method, “there are fewer problems with people failing to respond”. It is from this perspective that the method enables me to stimulate the respondents’ insights into their own experiences. Thanks to direct interaction, I was also able to clarify some of the questionnaire’s questions which were not easily understandable to some participants.

As pointed out earlier, most of the data in this work were collected through the questionnaire. The type of questionnaire I used in this study is the closed questionnaire where my informants responded according to my pre-determined domains or areas of using slang terms (see appendix III). The pre-determined areas were chosen according to what I have heard from students or the terms we used when I was a student and from the findings of existing research on slang such as Ndlovu1963, Hummon 1994, Eble 1996

and Bembe 2003). For instance, Hummon (1994:83) has classified different domains that college students use in their everyday life. Those domains include: academics, extracurricular activity, and informal sociability. Slang terms enable the discrimination of classmates in terms of more personal attributes, including aspects of personality, physical demeanour, and values.

I personally distributed the questionnaires to the selected participants. According to Bell (1993:148), "there are distinct advantages in being able to give questionnaires to respondents personally. You can explain the purpose of the study, and in some cases questionnaires can be completed on spot." I always explained and gave any clarification concerning the research and questions before the distribution. The participants were asked to read carefully and fill the questionnaire at home and return it to the class representatives in five days. The questionnaire was filled in without any assistance, which permitted free and fair responses from the respondents. A total number of 35 copies were distributed in both faculties which are at the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry. Then, I collected 30 returned completed questionnaires from the class representatives. Details about questionnaires and interview schedule can be found in the appendices of this work (Appendix III and IV).

As far as direct observation is concerned, it was done in during students' free time: during sports events, at parties or social gatherings. It was not possible to take down notes every time the researcher observed a particular behaviour. The researcher heeded the call by Bailey (1994:259) in which he advises researchers not to "jot conspicuously" as it may cause the subjects to change their behaviour. I thus relied on my memory to compile my notes at home after each observation.

3.5. Data description and analysis

To analyse the data collected through different techniques above mentioned, two main techniques were used: semantic analysis and comparative analysis. Semantic analysis, on the one hand, aimed at finding out the

meaning of different slang terms and expressions through different ways of words formation found in the students' language, such as coinage compounding, acronyms, shifting and borrowing. As mentioned above, the present study has adopted Eble's (1996:48) and Bembe (2003) strategy of studying slang. That is, slang terms are subcategorised in different domains or areas. On the other hand, this technique aimed at finding out the different processes of word-formation that the students used to form their slang words and expressions. After the presentation of the slang terms used among I.S.A.E students, the comparative analysis is also used in order to compare slang terms used by I.S.A.E students and other institutes of higher learning. Slang words used by both male and female are also compared in order to see whether there are similarities or differences.

Furthermore, the particular words and expressions used by the students of the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry were the mixture of various languages such as French, English, Kinyarwanda, Lingala, Swahili, Kiganda, etc. Hence, I had to transcribe the pronunciation of those words and expressions as they were pronounced in Kinyarwanda using the phonemic transcription.

3.6. Ethical considerations

As the research involved human participants, it was imperative to observe some ethical issues. The first step was to apply for clearance from the committee for Research on Human participants at The University of the Witwatersrand. According to Padgett (1998), researchers recruit respondents by identifying themselves and explaining the purpose of the study in general terms, including its potential benefits and risks. In terms of the clearance, respondents were beforehand allowed to know what the research was about and its purpose by means of Subject Information Sheet (see Appendix I) and were assured that all their responses would be treated confidentially and anonymously. The Information Sheet was accompanied by the Interview Form and questionnaire form (see Appendices III, IV and V) which display all the questions to be answered in order that respondents could get prepared.

This helped them to respond confidently and served to build an atmosphere of trust between the researcher and the participants.

As a sign of acceptance to deliver the information, the participants had to sign a consent form (see Appendix II). The purpose of the form was to ascertain that the research participants fully understood the research procedures that had to be used, the demands that were on them, that their participation was voluntary, and that they could withdraw from the research at any time without any penalty.

One remark worth making is that the participants were free to respond in whatever language they felt more comfortable with among those officially used in Rwanda, that is, Kinyarwanda, French and English.

Chapter Four: Data presentation and analysis of findings

This chapter deals with the presentation and the analysis of some of 77 slang terms or expressions collected from students' slang at I.S.A.E. The present study has adopted Hummon's (1994) analysis of slang. The terms investigated are classified in five areas: the academic area, the social area, the physical description, the socio-political area and the sexual area. The terms are classified according to their semantic category. The analysis of the data is based on the semantic relations that deal with the predominant word-formation processes used to form slang. Every word or expression is phonetically transcribed and morphologically presented. Finally, the frequency of each slang term will be summarised in the table.

4.1. Academic area

The words or expressions which are related to academic domain are divided into two parts: student-directed terms and lecturer-directed terms.

4.1.1. Student-directed words and expressions

4.1.1.1. Human being

1. Umumamyi /umumaamji/:

u- mu- mam- yi

augm- N1- defraud ag

'Someone who buys illegal products'

This is a Kinyarwanda noun derived from the verb *kumama* which originally means to buy illegally some products such as coffee at a very low price in order to resell them at a higher price. In other words, this verb means to steal or to do something illegally. From the verb *kumama* 'defraud', the students used the process of derivation and create the noun *umumamyi* 'who defrauds' to refer to someone who goes to work part-time instead of going to class. In other words, *umumamyi* means a student who has some jobs beside his/her academic programs. In standard Kinyarwanda, this person is called *Umunyabiraka*. According to the students' explanations, the action of

kumama is considered as illegal because it is not permitted by the academic regulations of I.S.A.E.

2. Umugara /uuɥuɣará/:

u-	mu-	gará
augm	*N1*	*Place*

'Someone from Bugara region in the North of Rwanda'

This term *umugara* is formed from the name *Bugara* 'the name of the region located in the north of Rwanda (Ruhengeri and Gisenyi provinces)'. It is used by the students to describe a student who works very hard in studying. In standard Kinyarwanda, a student who works hard is called *Umuhanga*. According to the informants, a student so described is comparable to the people who originated from Bugara region and are known for being strong and hard working.

3. Intumwa y'akarere /intuɯwájakareéré/:

i-	n-	tûm-	w-	a	/	y'	a-	ka-	reéré
augm.	*N9.*	*send*	*pass*	*fv/*		*poss.*	*augm.*	*N12*	*Region*

'A district envoy'

This is another expression used by the students of I.S.A.E to characterize a student who studies very hard. According to the participants, such a student is sponsored by the government of Rwanda or other private sponsors, which makes him/her study harder for fear of failing. In this case, the students say that when you are *intumwa y'akarere* 'a district envoy', you have to work very hard because when you fail, a district may suspend your scholarship.

4. Umufantome /umufáantoóme/:

u-	mu-	fáantoóme
augm.	*N1*	*ghost*

'A ghost person'

This word was formed by borrowing the term *fantôme* 'a ghost' from French and by adapting it to Kinyarwanda. This procedure is defined by Hoof (1989:105) as the process of word formation consisting in taking over words from other languages. The students use this word to designate a student who rarely attends classes.

5. Adiventi /adivéentí/:

'Advent'

The term *adiventi* was formed by borrowing *Advent* from English and adapting it to Kinyarwanda. Normally, the term *Advent* means the period in which all Christians are preparing for Christmas celebration. In their language, the students use this term to mean second sitting examinations. In standard Kinyarwanda, supplementary examinations are known as *ibazwa ry'amahirwe ya kabiri.* According to the participants, such examinations were so designated because Advent is an important event taking place in the period of the second session examinations. In this case, the students use the Advent period as a metaphor of what is being redone in that period.

6. Macuwa /matʃuwá/:

'Mature'

Macuwa is a word borrowed from the English language mature and adapted to Kinyarwanda. This word normally means people who are fully grown or developed in mind or body. When it is used in the students' slang, it means a reintegrated student who had suspended his/her university studies for a long time. Such a student is so considered because he/she is also considered as fully grown up or developed people in mind or body. There is no standard Kinyarwanda for this term because the process of reintegrating students who had suspended their studies is a new policy in Rwanda.

4.1.1.2. Action

7. Gukanira /gukanira/:

Ku-	kan-	ir-	a
inf.	*make leather products*	*appl.*	*fv*

'To make various objects in leather'

In the students' slang, the verb *Gukanira* which is derived from the main verb *gukana* 'to make various objects in leather' is used to designate the action of studying hard with determination to succeed. In standard Kinyarwanda to study hard is *Kugira umuhate*. The action of studying hard is indirectly compared to the action of making various objects in leather because both actions require much energy to be performed. Further, this verb is used by extending its meaning from the context of making different articles in leather to the context of studying.

8. Kunononsora /kunóonoonsora/:

ku-	nóonoonsor -	a
inf	*finish up*	*fv*

'To put the finishing touches to something'

The verb *kunononsora* 'to put the finishing touches to something' is used in the students' language to refer to the action of redoing the academic year, which implies that there are some courses that a student has not mastered. In standard Kinyarwanda, to revise courses is *gusubiramo amasomo.* Here, the students euphemise the verb *gusibira* 'to redo the academic year' because it is not an admirable action for a student at I.S.A.E. Hence, instead of using *gusibira* 'to redo the academic year', the students prefer to use *kunononsora* 'to put the finishing touches to something' which erases the action of failing and euphemistically highlight the admirable action of doing few things to make perfect what one has been working on.

9. Kugira rezo /kuɣirarezo/:

ku-	gir-	a-	rezo
inf.	*have*	*fv*	*network*

'To have network'

The key word in this expression is the nominal object *rezo* which is formed by borrowing *réseau* 'a network' from the French language and adapting it to Kinyarwanda. As far as the students' slang is concerned, this expression means collaborating with each other in exam or simply to cheat during an examination. This designation is used when classmates have agreed on collaborating in an exam in such a way that the students sitting in front can collaborate illegally with those sitting at the back through those who are sitting in the middle. It is in this respect that this collaboration distance is designated rezo 'network' as if there is a network that helps them communicate with one another. *Gukopera* is normally the term which is used to refer to cheating during an examination. The procedure used here to create this expression is borrowing. Hence, the word réseau a 'network' is borrowed from French and used in a metaphorical way with a hidden comparison to the network connecting people who are in distant positions.

10. Gutera ipine /ɣutéera ipine/:

ku-	téer-	a	/	i-	ø-	pin
inf.	*throw*	*fv*		*augm.*	*N9*	*tyre*

'To make something move'

The key word in this expression is the nominal object *ipine* 'a tyre'. At I.S.A.E, an exam schedule may sometimes be postponed to a later date because of different reasons. In the students' slang, this expression means to postpone an exam schedule due to the fact that the students have not yet prepared enough for it. According to the participants, this action was so designated because *ipine* 'a tyre' implies the action of moving and that expression also means to make an exam move to another day. 'A tyre' implies the action of moving and, by analogy, it is also taken to indicate the

act of postponing an exam. The action postponing an exam in standard Kinyarwanda is known as *gusubiza inyuma ikizamini.*

4.1.1. 3. Object

11. Ikigugu: /ikjiɣuɣú/:

i-	ki-	gugú
augm.	*N7*	*old*

'Something which has lasted for years'

In the students' slang, the term *ikigugu* means a copy of questions of an exam which has been done previously. The students normally use these questions while preparing the exam expecting that the same questions may be repeated. In the same respect, some students say that *ikigugu* also help them know the way a lecturer sets examination questions so that they can study accordingly. The procedure used to create this slang word is semantic extension where the students extended the meaning of *ikigugu* which comes from the Kinyarwanda verb *Kugugura* 'lasting for years'. There is no single term in standard Kinyarwanda to refer to the students' term ikigugu. They just say *'ikizamina cya kera'*.

4.1.2. Lecturer-directed words and expressions

4.1.2.1. Human being

12. Umwarimu usinziriza /uɯwáarimú usíinziriza/:

u-	mu-	áarimú	/	u-	síinzir-	rir-	y-	a
augm.	*N1*	*lecturer*		*CL1*	*sleep*	*appl.*	*caus*	*fv*

'A lecturer who makes someone sleep'

Usinziriza 'who makes someone sleep' derives from the main verb *gusinzira* 'to sleep'. The students use this expression to describe a lecturer who lacks the mastery of his/her course or who is shy by nature. According to the informants, such a lecturer is so designated because when he/she is teaching, the students get bored and some of them fall asleep. This

expression is used by means of euphemism where the students avoid using strong words like *w'umuswa* 'who does not master his course' and prefer to use *usinziriza* 'who makes someone sleep'.

13.Umurozi /umurozi/:

u-	mu-	rog-	y-	i
			z	
augm.	*N1*	*poison*	*caus.*	*fv*

'A poisoner '

This Kinyarwanda noun was formed from the verb *kuroga* 'to poison' to designate a lecturer who does not master his/her course. The students compare indirectly such a lecturer to *umurozi* 'poisoner' because he/she has a bad influence on their intellectual capacity instead of instructing them.

14. Umwarimu utanga ibinyabumwe /uɯwáarimú utáaŋɣa iβiŋ́aβuɯwe/:

u-	mu-	áarimú	/	u-	táang-	a	/	i-	bi-	nyáabumwe
augm.	*N1.*	*lecturer*		*CL1*	*give*	*fv.*		*augm.*	*N8.*	*Units*

'A lecturer who gives units'

The nominal object *Ibinyabumwe* 'units' is the key word in this expression. In the students' language, this expression means any lecturer who is known for giving low marks. In other words, it means a lecturer who often gives few marks (under ten marks) which are comparable to *ibinyabumwe* 'units'. 'Units' refers to number 0 to 9 out of 20 (0/20 to 9/20).In using this designation, the students exaggerate that such a lecturer always gives fewer than ten marks to all students.

15. Gashuhe /ɣaʃuúɦe/:

'A Kinyarwanda nickname given to any materialistic person'

This is the Kinyarwanda nickname given to someone who is very materialistic or mean. It is used in the students' slang to refer to a lecturer who is known for giving low marks. In the students' language, the name *gashuhe* suggests someone who is not generous in general. *Umunyabugugu* is usually a term which is used to refer to a person who is not generous in standard Kinyarwanda.

16. Yezu /jeézu/:

'Jesus '

In Christianity, this is the name of the man that believers regard as the son of God. *Jesus* is also believed to be the saviour of people that was healing and serving food to the poor. In this regard, a lecturer who is very generous in marking is nicknamed *Yezu* 'Jesus' using analogy, where such a lecturer is compared to Jesus because he/she helps all students, weak and strong, in terms of marks. In standard Kinyarwanda, the term which is used to refer to a generous person is *umunyabuntu.*

4.2. The Social Area

The words and expressions presented and analysed in this section constitute the students' slang reflecting the social situation on Campus. This section includes the designations of different kinds of clothes, food, places, and the sociability between the students.

4.2.1. Human being

1. Umukonari /umukónaari/:

u-	mu-	kónaari
augm.	*N1*	*crazy*

'A crazy person'

This word was formed by borrowing *conard* 'crazy' from French and adapting it to Kinyarwanda. In the students' slang, the term *umukonari* (*umunyakavuyo* in standard Kinyarwanda) is used to describe a student who does not care about his/her way of clothing and speaking. This term is used

by changing its sense and transposing its use to the situation of someone who does not much care about his/her way of clothing and speaking.

2. Idoge: /idoóɣe/:

i-	ø-	doóge
augm.	*N9*	*dog*

'a dog'

The term *Idoge* 'a dog' is used by the students to refer to a male student who is always pleasantly neat and tidy. This term has been used after 1994 because the term which was used before to refer to such a student is the Kinyarwanda term *imbwa* 'a dog', the term usually used to describe a lazy and weak person. Such a student was so nicknamed because he was always smart as if he had no other job to do. In other words, this designation shows that the students disapproved of such a student because he was considered to be an idler. After 1994, due to the influence of English on Kinyarwanda language, the students described such a student using an English translation of the term *imbwa* 'a dog' and since then, they have described him using the designation *idoge*, the term borrowed from the English word dog and adapted to Kinyarwanda (see 3.1.2 for more information on linguistic background).

3. Saperi /sapéeri/:

'A neatly dressed person

This word was originated from the French term *sapeur* 'well-dressed person' and used by adapting it to Kinyarwanda. It was formed by means of derivation from French word *Sapeur*. In this regard, the noun sapeur 'well-dressed person' is formed by adding French suffix *-eur* to the verb *saper* 'to get well-dressed'. This borrowed noun is used in the students' language to refer to someone who always looks smart or who is always neat and tidy. The students borrowed this term from the French language and adapted it to

Kinyarwanda using it in a literal sense. The term *saperi* differs from *idoge* by the fact that *idoge* involves idleness that is not in *saperi*.

4. Tisiyani /tisijaáni/:

'Tissien'

This Kinyarwanda proper name is used by the students to refer to a student who often wears ironed lightweight trousers and shirts. In forming this designation, the students relied on sound association where there is a resemblance in the pronunciation of *itisi*, the term borrowed from French language tissue 'ironed lightweight cloth' and adapted to Kinyarwanda, and the pronunciation of the Kinyarwanda proper name *Tisiyani* 'Tissien'. This resemblance is based on the first two syllables /ti-/ and /-si-/ of the Kinyarwanda proper name "Tisiyani" and the French word tissue 'ironed lightweight cloth' which is pronounced as "itisi" in Kinyarwanda. In creating this word, the students used analogy, the process consisting in naming objects or persons referring to their distinctive features or traits. Hence, with this process, such a student is so designated by referring to his distinctive feature of always wearing ironed lightweight clothes commonly known as *amatisi* in Kinyarwanda.

5. Umusitari /umusítaári/:

u-	mu-	sítaári
augm	*N1 -*	*star*

'a star'

The word *umusitari* 'a star' was formed by borrowing the term *star* from English and adapting it to Kinyarwanda. Normally, a star means someone who is famous in different activities like music, sports, etc. In the students' language, this word is used to refer to a student who is always dressed in a newly fashioned way. Such a student is so designated because he/she is regarded as someone who behaves like those stars in terms of clothing. This designation is used by means of metaphor whereby such a student is

compared to a star. Normally, *kimenywanabose* is the term which is used to refer to a very know or famous person.

6. Makizari /makjizáari/:
'A guerrilla fighter'

Makizari is formed by borrowing the term *maquisard* 'guerrilla fighter' from the French language and adapting it to Kinyarwanda. In the students' figurative language, the term *makizari* or *umucumbitsi* in standard Kinyarwanda means a student who is illegally lodged by his/her colleagues in the dormitory. By means of metaphor, such a student is comparable to a guerrilla fighter who lives in a hidden place where he/she resists, living illegally. In using this designation, the students transposed the sense of the French word *maquisard* who is normally a resistant fighter or a soldier living in hidden places to the sense of a student who is illegally lodged. Hence, the sense of *maquisard* has changed because it no longer means a guerrilla soldier or a fighter but a student.

7. Bosi /boósi/:
'Boss'

In the ordinary language, the term *boss* generally means a manager in a group and the one who makes vital decisions. Using it in their slang, the students borrowed this term from the English language and adapted it to Kinyarwanda to describe a student who is legally assigned accommodation inside institution. By metaphorical use, such a student is, in an implied comparison, considered as the one who has more right of deciding everything than *makizari*, a student who is illegally lodged in a room.

8. Umukonde /umukoónde/:
u- mu- konoóde
augm N1- farm
'Someone who has large farms'

This is a Kinyarwanda word used by the students when they are designating a student who is legally and officially assigned accommodation. It is another term which means the same as 'bosi'. Originally, the word *umukonde* was used by ancient Rwandans to mean someone who was an owner and responsible for large farms. In the students' language, the student who is legally assigned accommodation at I.S.A.E is comparable to *umukonde* because he/she is the responsible for his/her room, and he/she may give accommodation to the person he/she wants (makizari). *Umukonde* is used as the opposite of *makizari* 'a student who is illegally lodged' who is always under-control of *umukonde* 'a student who is legally assigned a room'. Referring to the traditional meaning of *umukonde*, the student who is so designated is comparable to traditional *umukonde* in a hidden comparison.

9. Umutaribani /umutaribaáni/:

u-	mu-	taribaáni
augm	*N1*	*taliban*

'a Taliban'

The term *Umutaribani* was formed by borrowing the word Taliban which defines the name of Islamic fundamentalist movement in Afghanistan. The students use this borrowed term in their language to refer to a student who is mischievous or harmful. According to the participants, this designation is used to compare a mischievous student to Talibans renowned for being very dangerous because they opposed Americans when the latter wanted to overthrow their regime in Afghanistan. In this regard, a mischievous person is substituted for *umutaribani* 'a Taliban' that it suggests. A standard Kinyarwanda term for a harmful person is *umugome*.

10. Mutwarasibo /mutwaarasiβo/:

ø-	mu-	twaar-	a /	sibo
aug-	*N1-*	*command*	*fv*	*crush*

'A Kinyarwanda proper name meaning a commander of a crush'

The name *Mutwarasibo* is composed of two words: *mutwara* derived from the Kinyarwanda verb *gutwara* 'to command or to carry' and *isibo* 'a crush'. The term *isibo* 'a crush' is usually used by the students to refer to the long line that they make when waiting for food in the restaurant. This long queue is considered as a crush or battle field because it requires patience. Hence, in the students' language, the name *Mutwarasibo* 'commander of a crush' is used to refer to a student who often goes to the restaurant too early. In this respect, such a student is comparable to a commander of that *isibo* 'a crush'. This designation was formed by means of compounding. The students further compare a student who goes to the restaurant too early to a commander on a crush or on the front line but in an implied comparison.

11. Nyirarunyonga /ɳiraruŋóonga/:

nyira-	ø-	ru-	nyóonga
form	*augm*	*N11*	*made from hides*

'Someone who has clothes made from hides.'

This proper name is formed through compounding where the formative prefix *nyira-*'who has' and – *runyonga*, from the noun *urunyonga* 'a kind of clothes made from hides that ancient Rwandans used to cover their bodies', are joined to form a single form *nyirarunyonga* 'who has clothes made from hides'. Historically, *Nyirarunyonga* was a mythical Rwandan woman who was characterized by mannish behaviour. It is in this respect that the students use her name to designate the woman who ran the institution restaurant during the academic year 2006 who used to behave like Nyirarunyonga. According to the participants, this woman is so designated because she is always characterized by what they deem as "unsuitable behaviour" for a woman such as quarrelling with the students in the restaurant. A woman who behaves like men is known as *ingare* in standard Kinyarwanda.

12. Umwangirikani /uɯwaaŋjirikaáni/:

u-	mu-	aangirikaáni

augm N1 domage

'someone who is out of control because of alcohol'

The students coined the term *umwangirikani* to refer to someone who is drunk (*Umusinzi* in standard Kinyarwanda). It has been chosen to designate such a person basing on sound association from the Kinyarwanda verb *kwangirika* 'to be damaged'. In the same respect, someone who is drunk is considered as someone who is damaged. It is in this way that the term *umwangirikani* is used in the students' slang to refer to someone who is drunk in the sense that he/she is considered as someone who is damaged because his/her body and consciousness is not working properly.

13. Burarirwa /βurarirwa/:

'The name of a factory making different drinks in Rwanda'

This word was formed by borrowing the acronym BRALIRWA from French and adapting it to Kinyarwanda. BRALIRWA 'Brasserie et Limonaderie du Rwanda' is a factory that makes different drinks in Rwanda. This acronym is used by the students to refer to someone who is often drunk (*Umusinzi* in standard Kinyarwanda). They use this designation in their figurative language to mean that such a person has drunk a lot of beer as if he were the brewery. Hence, there is use of metonymy where a person who is often drunk has been substituted for BRALIRWA which it suggests.

4.2.2. Action

14. Kwitera icyuma /kwíiteera ikjúuma/:

ku-	ii-	teer-	a	/ i-	ki-	úuma
inf.	*reflex.*	*stab*	*fv-*	*augm*	*N7*	*knife*

'To stab oneself'

This expression is composed of the verb *gutera* 'to stab' which is used as a reflexive verb and the name *icyuma* 'a knife'. This expression is used by the

students to refer to the action of preventing oneself from having a breakfast. Normally, a standard Kinyarwanda expression for this action is *kwiyicisha inzara*. This action is done when the students want to save the little money they get from their bursary. This expression is used by means of metaphor comparing the action of bypassing breakfast to the action of stabbing oneself with a knife which implies that one is deliberately committing suicide.

15. Kugina /Kuɣjina/:

ku- gin- a

inf *invite* *fv*

'To invite oneself in a party'

The students use the process of derivation to create the verb *kugina*. In this regard, this verb is formed by substituting a morpheme *-ba-* for a prefix *ku-* which is used to form Kinyarwanda infinitive verbs. As far as the origin is concerned, this verb came into use from the proper name *Bagina*, the student who is known for participating in graduation parties without invitation with the purpose of drinking beer. It is in this way the new verb *kugina* (*kuvumba* in standard Kinyarwanda) was created and used in the students' language to refer to the action of inviting oneself to parties with the purpose of drinking beer.

16. Gufowa /ɣufowa/:

gu- fow- a

inf *die* *fv*

'A forged verb from the proper name Fowé'

The origin of this word is the proper name of the Cameroonian football player *Fowé* who died unexpectedly while playing football. Since then, the students have forged and used the verb *gufowa* to refer to a sudden death while performing a certain action ('*Gupfa amarabira'*, in standard Kinyarwanda). In forming this designation, the students used the process of derivation borrowing the name *Fowé* and added to it an infinitive prefix *gu-* and an infinitive ending *-a* to form the infinitive verb *gufowa.*

4.2.3. Clothes

17. Ntumpiteho mukiza /ntúmpitehómukjiza/

Ntú-	n-	mpit-	e-	hó	/ mu-	kir-	y-	a
neg	*cl1*	*pass by*	*fv*	*Prep*	*N1*	*escape*	*caus.*	*fv*

'Don't pass far away from me saviour' (translation is mine)

This expression is used by the students to designate a long skirt especially put on by some protestant Christian females commonly known as "abarokore" (saved people). *Umukiza* 'the saviour' in this expression refers to Jesus Christ. By analogy, this expression was chosen to designate such a skirt because it is one of the characteristic features of some protestant Christian females (saved people 'abarokore') who never wear short skirts. According to the informants, this skirt was designated using some words from the Bible because the people who like praying wear it. This designation, with time, has been given to all long-skirts worn by women regardless of their church. This long skirt is known as *ikizibaho* in standard Kinyarwanda.

18. Rumbiya /ruumbijá /:

ø-	ø-	ruumbiyá
augm	*N9*	*-skirt*

'Second-rate long skirts usually worn by mothers from rural areas'

In their figurative language, the students use the term *rumbiya* to refer to long-skirts worn by women as the opposite of mini-skirts. The students use this designation by means of metaphor where these long-skirts are indirectly compared to those mediocre skirts worn by mothers from rural areas.

19. Mukondo awuti /mukoondawúti/:

ø-	mu-	koondo /	awúti
augm	*N3*	*navel*	*prep*

'Navel which is out'

This word was formed through compounding where the Kinyarwanda word *umukondo* 'navel' is combined with the English preposition out adapted to

Kinyarwanda to form a single word *mukondawuti* 'navel which is out'. This term is used in the students' language to refer to different kinds of short blouses worn by women in such a way that their navels are visible. It is used in a pejorative sense with the implication that such kinds of clothes are not suitable for a respectable woman.

4.2.4. Food

20. Ibisetsambwa /iβisétsambɣá/:

i-	bi-	sék-	y-	a	/ mbwá
			ts		
augm	*N8*	*laugh*	*caus*	*fv*	*dog*

'What make dogs laugh'

This word is composed of two words: *ibisetsa* derived from the verb *gusetsa* 'to make someone laugh' and *mbwa*, a clipped form of the word *imbwa* 'a dog'. These two words are joined by means of compounding to form the single term *ibisetsambwa* 'what makes dogs laugh'. The term is used in the students' language to refer to cooked potatoes served in the restaurant (*ibirayi* in standard Kinyarwanda). Potatoes are so designated because students do not appreciate them. Originally, this expression came into use when the harvest of potatoes exceeded the demand. Due to overproduction at that time, people used to say that even dogs cannot eat potatoes because they are already fed up with them. The students use this expression in a pejorative sense to show that they are not happy with potatoes because they are not appetizing to them. The use of a dog in the expression introduces an irony in the sense that a dog does not laugh, it backs. But because of the ironical laugh that exists in Kinyarwanda culture, a dog was made to laugh to show that what a dog does not want cannot be taken by a human being.

21. Uwera /uwéera/:

u-	u-	éer-	a
augm-	*N3*	*being white*	*fv*

'A Kinyarwanda proper name/something of white colour'

This is a Kinyarwanda proper name which normally means an honest or trustworthy person. The same word also means something of white colour. The students use this name by means of analogy to refer to rice served in their restaurant. In this case, the augment u- in the term *uwera* 'something of white colour' refers to *umuceri* 'rice'. In other words, *uwera* refers to *umuceri wera* 'white rice' in the students' language. Hence, rice was given this designation because of its white colour. In other words, it was so designated by attributing its colour to its name.

22. Amashereka /amaʃéreka/:

a-	ma-	shéreka
augm-	*N6*	*breast-milk*

'Breast-milk'

The term *amashereka* 'breast-milk' is used in the students' language to refer to tea served in the restaurant at I.S.A.E. The students use such a designation in a pejorative sense to express the idea that this tea is not milky enough. They use an implied comparison between the tea served in their restaurant and the breast-milk in terms of quantity. In other words, they compare the quantity of milk that they consume in their tea to the quantity of breast milk which they think it cannot be found enough if a mother was milked. They use the term *amashereka* "breast milk" ironically to refer to a little milk that is put in their tea. *Icyayi cy'amata* is an expression which is used in standard Kinyarwanda to refer to tea with a lot of milk.

23. Ikinini /ikjiniíni/:

i-	ki-	niíni
augm-	*N7*	tablet

'a tablet'

The students use the term *ikinini* 'a tablet' in their figurative language to refer to *meat* served in the restaurant because it is served in tiny pieces which are comparable to tablets. There is an exaggeration in using this term because, even if the meat served in the restaurant is small, it is not as small as a tablet. Hence, the students use this designation by means of two figures of speech: hyperbole and metaphor which the former deals with the use of exaggeration and the latter with an implied comparison. *Agashitu* or *akamanyu* are two terms which are used in standard Kinyarwanda to refer to a small piece of meat.

4.2.5. Drinks

24. Njyanama /ŋjánáama/:

ø-	n-	gi-	a-	ø-	ø - náama
augm	*N9-*	*exchange*	*fv-*	*augm -*	*N9 - advice*

'A consultative committee in the decentralization policy in Rwanda'

In the students' slang, the word *Njyanama* is used to refer to the *Primus beer*. Normally, with decentralization and good governance policy in Rwanda, the government of Rwanda has adopted the new political and administrative system which helps local people participate in initiating, making, implementing, and monitoring decisions and plans that concern them taking into consideration their local needs from central to local government. In this case, *Njyanama* is a powerful consultative structure which is found in lower levels of administration such as cells, sectors and districts, a structure that is composed of different people who have the power of controlling the executive committee. According to the participants, Primus beer was so designated because it is most frequently consumed by the members of this consultative committee. The reason behind this is that primus is cheaper and hence affordable to almost all administrative committee members. Therefore, this designation is used with a pejorative sense that Primus beer is for people of lower and middle class like the members of *Njyanama* 'consultative committee'.

25. Nyobozi /ɳobozi/:

ø-	n-	yobor-	y-	i
augm	*N 9*	*lead*	caus.	*fv*

'An executive committee in the decentralization policy in Rwanda'

In contrast to *Njyanama* 'a consultative committee', the designation of Primus beer, *Nyobozi* is used in the students' slang to designate Mützig beer. With the same decentralisation and good governance policy in Rwanda, *Nyobozi* 'an executive committee' is another administrative structure in lower levels composed of few people who are in charge of daily administration of all political entities at low levels. These people are somehow more intellectual than the members of *Njyanama* 'consultative committee'. According to the students' explanations, *Mützig beer* was so designated because, by comparing the members of both committees, it is most frequently consumed by the members Nyobozi 'an executive committee'. The reason is that *Mützig* is more expensive than Primus in such a way that the members of this consultative committee cannot easily afford it with their small salary. In designating this beer, the students used the name of the beer to mean its consumers with the intention of showing how they prefer a given beer to another according to how they are on different levels in terms of income.

26. Imbyimbya /imbjiimbja/:

i-	n-	byiimb-	y-	a
augm	*N9*	*Swell*	*caus*	*fv*

'What makes something swell'

Imbyimbya 'what makes something swell' is the term used by the students to refer to all kinds of soft drinks such as soda and juice. To form this term, the students leave out the object of that verb because the whole expression is imbyimbya nda 'what makes abdomen swell'. These soft drinks are so designated with a pejorative sense because some students, especially those who drink beer, depreciate soft drinks saying that they make one's abdomen

blow up. Umutobe is usually a standard Kinyarwanda term which refers to soft drinks.

4.3. The political Area

The slang words and expressions in this section are concerned with some designations given to different people according to the countries they originate from, especially people who came back to Rwanda from the neighbouring countries after 1994.

4.3.1. Human being

1. Abajepe /aβaʒepe/:

a-	ba-	jepe
augm	*N2*	*G.P.*

'Presidential guard'

The root of this designation was borrowed from a French acronym *G.P* and adapted to Kinyarwanda as a name. Usually, the acronym *G.P.* means Garde Présidentielle 'presidential guard'. In the students' slang, the name abajepe is used to refer to people who came from Burundi after 1994. According to the participants, this word was created referring to bad actions done by the so-called *abajepe* 'presidential guards' during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Some of GPs killed innocent people during that period. After the genocide, girls from Burundi were compared to these killers because they were said to have bad habits, and some of them were suspected to have HIV. Gradually, this designation has been extended to all the people who came back to Rwanda from Burundi after the 1994 genocide and war in general. The term 'abajepe' has been common in Kinyarwanda.

2. Abasope /aβasoópe/:

a-	ba-	soópe
augm	*N2*	*SOPE*

This is a term used by the students to refer to the people who were living in Rwanda before and during the war of the 1994 genocide. The word *abasope cya* originated from the French acronym SOPECYA 'Société de Pétrole de Cyangugu'. During the genocide of 1994, SOPECYA was the only petroleum company delivering oil in the whole city of Kigali. In that period, the girls who were living in Rwanda were said to be sexually exploited and raped. Hence, they were said to 'offer' sex as that company which was serving oil in Kigali city. With time, this designation was given to all Rwandans who were in Rwanda during that period of genocide. The word *abasopecya* underwent the process of clipping (Calteaux 1996), that is, it was shortened and gave the word *abasope*. Like 'abajepe', the term 'abasope' seems to be common in Kianyarwanda.

3. Abasajya /aβasaɣjá/:

a-	ba-	sajyá
aug	*N2*	*man*

'Men'

This is the designation given to all the people who came back to Rwanda from our neighbouring country of Uganda after 1994. The root *–sâjya* is borrowed from Kiganda language and adapted to Kinyarwanda. According to the participants, people from Uganda were so designated because in their daily language they often use the term *umusajya* 'a man'.

4. Abadubayi /aβadubaáji/:

a-	ba-	dubaáyi
augm	*N2*	*Dubai*

'People living in or from Dubai'

Normally, *Dubai* is one of the seven emirates and the most populous city of the United Arab Emirates (UAE). It is known for being the city of commercial activities in such a way that all people living or going in that city are considered as traders. The name of this city is used by the students to

designate all people who came back to Rwanda from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) after 1994. According to the participants, the people who came back to Rwanda from DRC were so designated because commerce was the predominant activity of many people of Congolese descent. The students designated such people using analogy since they were designated referring to their distinctive features or traits.

5. Abatizedi /aβatízedi/:

a-	ba-	tzíedi
augm	*N2*	*T.Z*

'people from Tanzania'

In the students' slang, *abatizedi* is the designation of the people who came back to Rwanda from Tanzania after 1994. It was formed from the initials letters TZ meaning 'Tanzania' which are found on the plate number of vehicles registered in the Republic of Tanzania. In this case, the students used a country to mean citizens.

6. Abarashi /aβaráʃi/:

a-	ba-	rás-	h-	i
augm	*N2*	*shoot*	*caus*	*ag*

'shooters'

Originally, Abarashi is the name of Rwandese people from the clan of Abarashi. This name was derived from a Kinyarwanda verb kurasa 'to shoot'. Hence, the name abarashi means people who are good at shooting. As far as its meaning is concerned, abarashi 'shooters' is used to mean the students from the Rwandan Army (ingabo z'u Rwanda) studying at I.S.A.E. According to the participants, these students were so designated because soldiers are said to be good at shooting. The students formed this word using the process of derivation where the name abarashi 'shooters' is derived from the verb kurasa 'to shoot'. The same designation is further used by means of metaphor, the figure of style based on implied comparison

4.4. Physical Description

The following are the few words or expressions often used when the students are describing one another.

4.4.1. Human being

1. Fuso /fuso/:
'One of the marks of lorries carrying goods'

In Rwanda, *Fuso* is known as lorry carrying sacks of charcoal from countryside to town for sale. This name is used in the students' language to refer to a stocky person. In this regard, such a person is compared to this huge vehicle which is used to transport goods by road.

2. Nzovu /nzovu/:

ø-	n-	zovu
augm	*N9*	*elephant*

'an elephant'

The term *nzovu* was formed by reducing an augment morpheme i- to the name *inzovu* 'an elephant' to characterize a too slim person. In describing such a person, the students used irony which is, according to Dubois et al (1995:258) the figure of style that consists of saying the opposite of what one really means in order to mock. In this respect, a slim person (*akanyafu* in standard Kinyarwanda) is ironically referred to as a very large and strong animal which shows that the students designated such a person using a designation implying something quite different from what they mean.

4.4.2. Parts of Human body

3. Amasogisi /amasóɣisí/:

a-	ma-	sógisí
augm	*N6*	*sock*

'socks'

Amasogisi 'socks' is the term used by the students to refer to long and thin breasts. In their language, the students described long and thin breasts comparing their small size and length to the size of a sock. These kinds of breasts are sometimes called *imishumi,* in standard Kinyarwanda.

4. Gishwati /ɣiʃkwaati/:

'The name of the natural forest and the dairy in the North of Rwanda'

The name *Gishwati* is used in the students' language to mean big breasts ('*ibicuma'* in standard Kinyarwanda). According to their explanations, big breasts are compared to *Gishwati* dairy because big breasts are supposed to produce much breast-milk. In this respect, there is use of an implied comparison and an exaggeration because there are no breasts that can produce the same quantity of breast-milk as a dairy.

5. Nyabisindu /ɳaβisiíndu/:

'The name of a dairy in the South of Rwanda'

Nyabisindu dairy has its headquarters in the South of Rwanda. The students use this term to refer to big breasts. According to the participants, big breasts are compared to *Nyabisindu* dairy because big breasts are supposed to produce as big quantity of breast-milk as the quantity of milk produced by this factory. This is another term used similarly as *Gishwati*.

6. Teveya /teveja/:

'Value Added Tax'

In forming this term, the students borrowed the French acronym TVA 'Taxe sur la Valeur Ajouté' and adapted it to Kinyarwanda to refer to big buttocks ('amabuno' in standard Kinyarwanda). According to the participants, big buttocks are considered as other values added to human body. In the same way, *teveya* is used to mean that there are ordinary buttocks and other values added to these buttocks to form extraordinary ones. The term *Teveya* 'Value added Tax' is used in the students' slang by extending its meaning.

7. Kirida /kiríida/**:**
'Toothpick'

The term *kirida* 'toothpick' was originated from the French word cure-dent 'toothpick' and adapted to Kinyarwanda. This French word normally means a small stick used when cleaning teeth after eating some meat. In the students' slang, it is used to describe small legs (*utuguru*).

4.5. Sexual Area

The words or expressions discussed in this area are related to the students' slang reflecting realities in the domain of sexuality.

4.5.1. Human being

1. Inyasito /iɳaasito/:

i-	n-	nyaasito
augm	*N9*	*cute*

'a cute girl'

This term was formed by the students using the process of coinage. Hence, *inyasito* is the new term invented by the students with an unknown origin to designate an attractive or charming woman. A woman who is so designated is the one who shows some sexy features, looks very nice and is attractive in a delicate way. Normally, in standard Kinyarwanda the term *'mudashirirora'* is used to refer to an attractive girl.

2. Efemu /efέemu/:

'F.M.'

This word was formed by borrowing the French expression *Fille-mère* 'un-married mother'/'single mother' and adapting its initial letters to Kinyarwanda to form an acronym F.M 'fille-mère'. This acronym is used by the students as a name to refer to an unmarried mother or a girl who gets pregnant and gives birth to a child without being married.

3. Muswati /muskwaati/:

'The proper name of the King of Swaziland'

The proper name of this king has been currently used in the students' slang when he was paying a seven-day visit to Rwanda at the beginning of June 2005. King *Muswati* is polygamous with many wives. As polygamy is not allowed in Rwanda, this king was taken as an example of someone who has a large number of wives and for that, the students use his name to refer to any person who has many sexual partners.

4. Inayifu /inajiífu/:

i-	n-	nayiífu
augm	*N9*	*naïve*

'a naïve person'

The root *-nayifu* was borrowed from the French language *naïf* 'naïve' and adapted to Kinyarwanda. The French word naïf 'naïve' usually means someone who lacks experience and expects things to be easy. It is used by the students to mean any male student who is not good at wooing girls. The standard Kinyarwanda term is *ikigwari*.

5. Padiri /páadíri/:

'A priest'

In the students' language, the term *padiri* 'a priest' is used to mean a male student who is not good at dealing with girls or who is shy in front of girls. According to the students' explanations, they preferred to use this term to designate such a boy referring to the priest's behaviour. Normally, a Catholic priest is not allowed to marry or woo any girl, which consequently makes him inexperienced in this domain. The term *padiri* is the same as *inayifu* and it is known as *ikigwari* in standard Kinyarwanda.

6. Umuswitsi /umuskwiitsi/:

u-	mu-	swiik-	y-	i
aug-.	*N1*	*have sex*	*caus.suff.*	*ag*

The noun *umuswitsi* was created through derivation from the verb *guswika.* By means of coinage, the students created and introduced this verb in their slang by sound association with a taboo word *guswera* 'to have sex'. They took the sound /skw/ and created a word which makes a euphemism in Kinyarwanda. Hence, the noun *umuswitsi* is used by the students to refer to someone who is a skirt-runner or who often deals with girls for sexual relationship.

7. Rutahizamu /rutahizaámu/:

Ru –	tah -	izaámu
N11	*go into*	*a goal*

'A striker'

The term *Rutahizamu* 'striker' is used for the most highly regarded footballer who scores a lot of goals. If a team does not have good strikers they cannot win a match. The students use the term *Rutahizamu* to refer to a womaniser, that is, a male student who often has sex with a lot of women.

8. Shagi /ʃaɣi/:

'Shaggy'

This is the proper name of a famous American musician who is said to be a skirt-runner. It is in this respect that the students borrowed his name and used it in their slang to refer to all persons who are skirt-runners.

9. Gurupe o /ɣuruúpe ó /:

'Group o'

This term is usually used in the ABO blood group system. In the blood transfusion system, the group O is a universal donor and hence, people used to say that all people of that group are naturally very generous. It is in this respect that the students borrowed the term *gurupe o* and used it in their language to refer to an easy-going woman or a woman who is easy to handle in terms of sex. According to the informants, such a woman is so designated because, as it has been mentioned above, persons of *group O* are considered to be generous and someone who is generous has always willingness to give something. In creating this term, the students borrowed it from French and used it transposing its sense and context from the context of blood groups system to the sexual context.

4.5.2. Action

10. Guhinga /ɣuhíiŋɣa/:

ku-	híing-	a
inf.	*cultivate*	*fv*

'To cultivate'

The students use the verb *guhinga* 'to cultivate' in their language to refer to the action of wooing a girl ('*gutereta*' in standard Kinyarwanda). According to the participants, such an action was so referred to because it is tiring as cultivating which usually means preparing land and growing crops on it. In using this verb, the students extended its usual meaning and indirectly compared the action of wooing a girl to the action of cultivating.

11. Gusirikira /ɣusirikira/:

gu-	sirikir-	a
inf.	*walk around*	*fv*

'to walk around'

The verb *gusirikira* was formed by borrowing the term 'circuler' 'to walk around' from French and adapting it to Kinyarwanda. This slang term means to give time to one's roommate so that he/she could have a particular conversation with his/her opposite sex partner in a room. According to the participants, this term was chosen to designate such an action because when a student gives time to his/her roommate, he/she is meanwhile moving around waiting for the room to be free. The expression which is used in every day Kinyarwanda to refer to the same action is '*gutanga akanya*'.

12.Gushyira mu mago /ɣuʃˇíra mu maɣó/:

ku-	shyír-	a	/	(mu)	ø-	ma-	gó
inf.	*put*	*fv*	/	*prep.*	*augm-*	*N6*	*household*

'to take home'

In the students' slang, this expression means to get married. In this expression, the term *amago* is used to refer to a home or family. Hence, the whole expression simply means to take a wife home. There is use of ellipsis because the full expression should be *gushyira umugore mu mago* 'to bring a wife home' but, in the students' language, *gushyira mu mago* 'to take home' itself implies the action of marrying. The action of getting married is known as *kurongora* for men or *kurongorwa* for women.

13. Gutera akadobo /ɣutéera akadoβó/:

gu-	téer-	a	/	a-	ka-	dobó
inf.	*throw*	*fv*	/	*augm -*	*N12*	*bucket*

'To throw a small buck at someone'

This expression is composed of two words: *gutera* 'to throw' and *akadobo* 'a small bucket'. It is used by the students to refer to the action of breaking up

in a relationship with someone (kubenga in standard Kinyarwanda). The expression *gutera akadobo* is especially used on campus when a boy and a girl friend have parted due to different reasons, for example, when one of them has another partner.

14. Kwica /kwíitʃa/:

ku-	í ic-	a
inf.	*kill*	*fv*

'To kill'

The students use the term *kwica* 'to kill' in their language to mean to have sex with a woman (*kurongora* in standard Kinyarwanda). Here, the action of killing is comparable to the action of having sex with someone. During the time of sexual intercourse, sometimes, a woman screams as if she is calling for help. Students who hear that screaming say that a person is killing another, the reason why they take a male as a killer and a female as someone who is being killed.

15. Gukaya /ɣukaaja/:

ku-	kaay-	a
inf.	*muscle*	*fv*

'To use muscles'

This verb derived from the noun *umukaya* 'muscle'. At I.S.A.E, the term is used to mean that a man is in action having sex with a woman. According to the participants, a man who is having sex uses much energy that develops muscles and the action requires him to use his muscles in all necessary movements to please his partner. The students used euphemism for the avoidance of some other sexual taboo words used for that action in Kinyarwanda.

16. Kwimyoza /kwíiɯjooza/:

ku-	í -	imyooz-	a
Inf	*- reflex.*	*- slam one's tongue against upper gum*	*-fv*

'To slam one's tongue against the upper gum to express discontent or regret'

The students of I.S.A.E use this verb to designate the action of giving a "dry kiss" to somebody for greeting or showing affection (*gusoma* in standard Kinyarwanda). According to the participants, this action was so designated because when somebody gives a dry kiss to somebody else, it sounds like *kwimyoza* 'to slam one's tongue against the upper gum to express discontent or regret'.

4.5.3. Object

17. Amaturo /amatúuro/:

a-	ma-	túuro
augm-	*N6*	*– offer*

'Presents'

The term *amaturo* 'gifts' ('*urwibutso*' in standard Kinyarwanda) generally means different gifts offered to someone on a given occasion. In the students' slang, *amaturo* 'gifts' are different things, especially bought in supermarket that a boy carries to his girl friend in her room or vice versa.

18. Ingemu /iŋɣjemú/:

i-	n-	gemú
augm-	*N9*	*- food*

'Food or drinks taken to someone in a hospital or in prison'

This term is used by the students to refer to the gifts that a boy brings to his girl friend in her room or vice versa. According to the informants, these presents are considered as *ingemu* 'food for a patient or prisoner' due to the fact that a boy or a girl takes them from his/her room to his/her lover. It is in this respect that such gifts are so referred to departing from the movement from one room to another, which is comparable to the one done from home to a hospital or prison.

19. Urugo /uruɣó/:

u- ru- gó

augm- N11 - household
'a household'

The students use the term *urugo* 'household' to refer to an unmarried couple. According to the students, this couple is so designated because it is composed of singles, that is, a boy and his girl friend who are engaged to each other, which makes the couple look like a household composed of a wife and a husband.

20. Agatekerezo /aɣatéekerezo/:

a- ka- téekerezo

augm- N12 idea
'A little idea'

The students use the term *agatekerezo* 'a little idea' to refer to a pornographic movie (*sinema y'abakuru* in standard Kinyarwanda). According to the students, it is advisable for the so-called *inayifu* 'naïve person' to watch pornographic films because they may give them a hint in that domain. Hence, when a student of such a kind manages to find a partner, his/her colleagues say that he/she has an idea or *yagize agatekerezo*.

21. Igishegu /iɣjiʃeéɣu/:

i- gi- sheégu

augm- N7 mongoose's tail

'A mongoose's tail '

The term *igishegu* 'mongoose's tail' was originally used by ancient Rwandans when practising their ancestral rite commonly known as *kubandwa* 'traditional baptism'. In the students' language, the term *igishegu* 'mongoose's tail' is used to refer to all Kinyarwanda taboo words relating to sex ('*ibishitani*' in standard Kinyarwanda). Hence, *kuvuga igishegu* means 'to say sexual taboo words' in the students' slang. Here, the students use

euphemism in order to soften the expression, which is avoiding using direct sexual taboo words.

22. umugati /umuɣaati/:

u – mu- gaati

a*ugm* *N3* *bread*

'a bread'

The slang term *umugati* "bread" is normally used by female students. Female students use term *umugati* 'bread' in their language to refer to 'pads' women use when they have a menstrual period. Pads are given this designation because of their softness. Female students use this term when male students are present. They know that male students cannot guess what they are talking about.

4.6. Summary

As summary to the above presentation, one can assume that the students of I.S.A.E are linguistically creative. Gerrig and Gibbs (1988:7) argue that many innovations arise because speakers engage in different kinds of language games, each fulfilling its communicative purpose. This kind of linguistic creativity (such as, playful interchanges, puns, jokes, etc.) may be used to reinforce intimacy between group members, or to exclude non-group members. Their linguistic creativity makes use of different word-formation processes used in creating their slang terms. Based on Eble's argument, slang exploits existing forms and their current meanings in various ways (1996:26).

The present study has revealed that some of the slang terms are created from both existing standard and non-standard words. By way of an example, the students may use some terms which are totally new in a language by means of **coinage**. On this point, glowing examples are: *umuswitsi* /umuskwiitsi/, the term used in the area of sexuality to refer to someone who is a skirt-runner, and the term *Inyasito* /iɲaasito/ which is used to

describe an attractive and charming girl. These two terms show the characteristic of newness in the Kinyarwanda language and unknown origin.

In the same way, the students introduce new terms in their language variety, or borrow some words from other languages and adapt them to Kinyarwanda. It is in this case where some words like *umufantome*, *umutegaji*, *umusajya*, are formed by means of **lexical borrowing**, the word-formation process consisting of taking over the words from other languages. In this regard, the term *umufantome* 'a ghost person' was borrowed from the French language *fantôme* and adapted to Kinyarwanda to refer to a student who attends classes rarely. The same person is also called "umutegaji" which is borrowed from Swahili. As far as the term *umusajya* 'a man' is concerned, it is borrowed from Luganda and is used to designate someone who came back to Rwanda from Uganda after 1994. The fact of forming terms by means of borrowing confirms that some terms constituting the students' slang are the mixture of various languages.

Apart from coinage and borrowing, other words or expressions are created by means of compounding, where the students join two separate words to produce a single form. On this point, the example may be *Nyirarunyonga* /ɲiraruɲôoŋga/, the name used to refer to the owner of the restaurant at I.S.A.E. This proper name is formed through **compounding** where the formative prefix *nyira*-'who has' and – *runyonga*, from the noun *urunyonga* 'a kind of clothes made from hides that ancient Rwandans used to cover their bodies', are joined to form a single form *nyirarunyonga* 'who has clothes made from hides'. Another example is the term *Mutwarasibo* /mutwaarasiβo/, which refers to a student who goes to the restaurant earlier. The name *Mutwarasibo* is composed of two words: *mutwara* derived from the Kinyarwanda verb *gutwara* 'to command or to carry' and *isibo* 'a crush'.

In addition, the students also create different terms by means of derivation which is the word-formation process consisting in adding some affixes to

words to produce others of different category. This may be supported by the designation *kugina* 'to invite oneself in a given ceremony or to go to parties without an invitation' which was created by adding an infinitive prefix to the proper name *Bagina* to form a verb.

Another process frequently used in creating different slang terms is the use of **acronyms**, which consists of formation of words from the initial letters of a set of other words. An example is *efemu* /efêemu/ (F.M) which is created from the initial letters of the French expression *fille-mère* to refer to an unmarried mother. 'F.M' as an acronym is read *efemu* in Kinyarwanda.

Another process of word formation that the students use is the process of **shifting**. This is a process whereby standard words have shifted denotations. The students often use a shifting process for fun and humour. As Partridge (1935:36) reminds, "much of the best wit, the most delectable humour is couched in slang." A word such as *fuso (One* of the marks of truck carrying goods) is humorous. Similarly to call a slim person Nzovu (elephant) is humorous because it relates things that apparently are not related.

4.7. Frequency of the students' listing of slang words from the questionnaire

The first part of this chapter presents slang terms and their meanings. The second part focuses on the correlation between the respondents' frequency of slang use and gender. Slang terms collected from I.S.A.E and other students' slang from different institutes of higher education are also compared.

The table bellow shows the list of the slang terms both listed in the questionnaire and the slang terms which had been added by the students during focus – group interviews.

Table 1: Frequency of Slang listed by students

Slang Term	Number of occurrences			Percentage of occurrences
	Male	Female	Total	
Academic Area				
Umumamyi	13	17	30	100
Umugara	12	15	27	90
Intumwa y'akarere	11	13	24	80
Umufantome	13	17	30	100
Adiventi	12	12	24	80
Macuwa	13	17	30	100
Gukanira	12	16	28	93
Kunononsora	11	10	21	70
Kugira rezo	10	13	23	76
Gutera ipine	13	17	30	100
Ikigugu	13	17	30	100
Umwarimu usinziriza	11	10	21	70
Umurozi	12	16	28	93
Umwarimu utanga ibinyabumwe	11	14	25	83
Gashuhe	13	17	30	100
Yezu	12	15	27	100
The Social Area				
Umukonari	13	17	30	100
Idoge	13	17	30	100
Saperi	12	9	21	70
Tisiyani	10	15	25	83
Umusitari	12	14	26	86.5
Makizari	13	17	30	100
Bosi	12	11	23	76.5

Umukonde	9	13	22	73
Umutaribani	11	12	23	76
Mutwarasibo	12	11	23	76
Nyirarunyonga	13	17	30	100
Umwangirikani	12	14	26	86.5
Burarirwa	13	9	21	70
Kwitera icyuma	13	17	30	100
Kugina	13	17	30	100
Gufowa	12	12	24	24
Ntumpiteho mukiza	11	7	18	60
Rumbiya	9	11	20	66.5
Mukondo awuti	13	15	28	93
Ibisetsambwa	12	14	26	86.5
Uwera	13	17	30	100
Amashereka	12	13	25	83
Ikinini	11	12	23	76.5
Njyanama	12	7	19	63
Nyobozi	10	8	18	60
Imbyimbya	12	6	18	60
The Socio-political Area				
Abajepe	13	17	30	100
Abasope	13	17	30	100
Abasajya	13	17	30	100
Abadubayi	13	17	30	
Abatizedi	12	15	27	90
Abarashi	11	12	23	76.5
Physical Description				
Fuso	12	13	25	83
Nzovu	11	10	21	70
Amasogisi	12	12	24	80

Gishwati	13	13	26	86.5
Nyabisindu	11	9	20	66.5
Teveya	12	10	22	73
Kirida				
Sexual Area				
Inyasito	12	7	19	63
Efemu	11	10	21	70
Muswati	13	12	25	83
Inayifu	12	11	23	76.5
Padiri	11	13	24	80
Umuswitsi	12	9	21	70
Rutahizamu	11	12	23	76.5
Shagi	10	7	17	56.5
Gurupe o	12	8	20	66.5
Guhinga	13	16	28	93
Gusirikira	13	17	30	100
Gushyira mu mago	11	16	27	90
Gutera akadobo	13	17	30	100
Kwica	12	6	18	60
Gukaya	10	7	17	56.5
Kwimyoza	11	8	19	63
Amaturo	12	15	27	90
Ingemu	10	12	22	73
Urugo	9	14	23	76.5
Agatekerezo	12	12	24	80
Igishegu	11	9	20	66.5
Umugati	0	16	16	53

As the above table shows, many slang terms related to the sexual area are more listed by male students than female students. An interesting observation, when looking at the lexical items provided by each gender with reference to members of the opposite sex, is that males seem to have numerous words (particular taboo ones) as compared to females. The males are more at ease in demonstrating their verbal prowess and boldness as compared to their somewhat reluctant females counterparts. When questioned about this observation, some of the female students participants argued that they still have to grapple with the idea of being "blunt" and "too direct" in using certain words, which are generally taboo, and particularly offensive to members of the opposite sex. The table also shows that some slang terms are very common to all the students. The last slang term "umugati" (bread) to refer to pads, is only used by female students. According to the female respondents, the term *umugati* is used by female students when male students are present. They know that male students cannot understand what they are talking about.

4.8. Comparison between slang terms collected from I.S.A.E and other students slang from different universities or colleges

There have been a few studies on students' slang. Among such studies, one can mention Dundes and Schonhorn (1963), (Hummon 1994), and (Wakumelo- Nkolola 2008). Hummon (1994) collected a sample of slang identities from two different sites: Holy Cross College and University of California at Davis (U.C). Hummon found that students from both sites spend a considerable portion of their day talking informally and hanging out with their peers, devoting as much of their day to such " friendly fun" and " verbal banter" as to academic pursuits (Hummon 1994:79). Much of this talk is sprinkled with slang terms, including slang identities for academic life, extracurricular life, social life, social groups, physical demeanour, and social activity.

4. 8.1. Comparison between slang used by I.S.A.E students and U.C students

Table 2 shows some examples of how both I.S.A.E students and U.C students have something in common in their use of slang.

Academic Area

What is designated	**Designation used by the students of I.S.A.E**	**Designation used by the students of U.C (Hummon 1994: 83-90)**
A hard working student in terms of studying	Umugara 'a person from Bugara', Intumwa y'akarere 'A district envoy'	a book fag, a book worm, computer heads, gunner, study hound, blade
A student who attends class rarely	Umufantome 'a ghost', Umutegaji ' Someone who does not regularly assume his/her duty'	a flunk, a pluck, a blow- off artist, a pseudo student
To cheat in an exam	Kugira rezo ' having network'	Cribbing, riding a pony, giving a hand out
A lecturer who does not master his/her course	Umurozi ' poisoner'	An empty attic, an empty plate, a dub, a hot blast
Approval of a lecturer	Yezu ' Jesus'	a keen, pretty hot

Physical description domain

What is designated	Designation used by the students of I.S.A.E	Designation used by the students of U.C (Hummon 1994:92-93)
A beautiful girl	Inyasito ' beautiful	Sweet meat, doll face,

	girl'	burger supreme, snapper, rocket
A fat woman	Fuso ' Fuso truck'	F.I.C.N.A.B (Fat Irish-Catholic No-Action Broad F.U.B.(Fat Ugly Bitch), fa chick, cow
Long breasts	Amasogisi 'socks'	Large breasted bra-less woman

Social Area

What is designated	**Designation used by the students of I.S.A.E**	**Designation used by the students of U.C(1994:90-91)**
A student who does not care much about his/her way of clothing	Umukonari 'crazy person'	airhead, bonehead,
A student who is always neat and tidy	Idoge ' a dog'	brain, god, smack
A long dress or skirt	Ntumpiteho mukiza 'Don't pass far away from me saviour'	a sack
A person who is stingy	Gashuhe 'mean'	Jew, leech, mooch, sponge
Someone who is often drunk	Umwangirikani 'an Anglican', Burarirwa (BRALIRWA) 'Rwanda	beerchugger, headbanger, hammered

	Brewery'	
To invite yourself in many ceremonies without invitation with the purpose of drinking beer	Kugina ' invite one's self'	crash the gate, crack the party

Sexual Area

What is designated	**Designation used by the students of I.S.A.E**	**Designation used by the students of U.C (Hummon 1994:91-93)**
Unmarried couple	Urugo 'Family'	Appendages, husband-wife team, pre-we, wuss, spoon, lupe dobe
An attractive and charming lady	Inyasito ' attractive woman'	Snapper, wheeler blond, goddess, hot chick
To have sex with someone	Kwica ' kill'	Score
Someone who is a skirt-runner	Umuswitsi, Shagi ' Shaggy', Rutahizamu 'striker'	a heavy-cake, a tea hound

Table 2: comparison between slang used by I.S.A.E students and U.C students

Wakumelo-Nkolola' s (2008) paper on "A Pragmatic Analysis of the Jargon of University of Botswana Students" has revealed that they talk about issues of sex, sexuality, reproductive health and HIV and AIDS among themselves using the jargon they have developed. The jargon of University of Botswana (U.B) students is mainly developed from Setswana and English words,

phrases and expressions (Wakumelo-Nkolola 2008:3). Here are some examples:

The terms students use to refer to sexual intercourse are *go ja* 'to eat', *'to score'* used for impregnating a girl and 'striker' for a student who impregnates a girl. A very beautiful girl is called *Shambole* 'irresistable'. A girl with big hips is called *mongwato*. The term *mongwato* derives from the fact that most women with big hips in Botswana are Bangwatos (Wakumelo-Nkololo 2008:9).

4.8.2. Comparison between slang terms used by I.S.A.E students and U.B students

The table below shows some examples of how both I.S.A.E students and U.B students have something in common in their use of slang in sexual domain.

What is designated	**Designation used by the students of ISAE**	**Designation used by the students of U.B (Wakumelo-Nkolola 2008:11-13)**
To get a female's acceptance of one's proposal	Guhinga ' to cultivate'	Go senya 'to inset', To attack
An attractive and charming lady	Inyasito ' beautiful girl'	Shambole ' irresistable'
Impregnating a girl	-	To score
A student who impregnates a girl	-	a striker
Someone who is not good at wooing girls	Inayifu (naïf) ' naïve person', padiri 'priest'	Sekopa ' a foolish person'
To give time to a roommate in order to have a particular conversation	Gusirikira 'walk around'	Being in exile

with his/her partner		
To be rejected/refused by a woman one has proposed	Guterwa akadobo 'to be thrown a bucket'	Itaya mabôta ' to hit against a wall'
To have sex with someone	Kwica ' to kill'	Go ja ' to eat'
Someone who is a skirt-runner	Umuswitsi ' someone who inserts something', Shagi (Shaggy), Rutahizamu 'striker'	a striker
To watch pornographic movies	Gatekerezo 'to have an idea'	Go ipaya mo Seemong 'to put yourself in fantasy'
An easy-going woman	Gurupe o (Groupe O) 'Group o'	Semausu ' tuckshop', o latlhisitse ' loose pant'
A woman with big breasts	Gishwati dairy, Nyabisindu dairy	Dairy

Table 3: Comparison between the terms used at I.S.A.E and U.B

The above studies show some similarities in the use of student language. Students' language is the expressive medium of students' life. Students show originality in creating and applying new terms.

This chapter was a presentation of the data gathered from questionnaires, group discussions and personal observations. The next chapter deals with the discussion of the findings and general people's attitudes towards the use of slang among I.S.A.E students. That is, what people inside and outside I.S.A.E think about the use of slang among the students of I.S.A.E.

Chapter five: Discussion of findings

The slang words and expressions used in the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry generally testify how the students of that institution deal with language in their communities. The students of I.S.A.E use their slang as a medium through which they express their views, preoccupations and their way of living in general. Furthermore, slang terms are used as a way of transmitting messages among students themselves, hiding their secrets to the outsiders.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, many studies on the use of slang have revealed that people, most of the time, use slang for fun, humour, secrets, creativity or innovation, group identity and solidarity. Other people chose slang because it is easier to use especially when they want to protest against something wrong or show deviations from the norms set by the society.

The following chart shows the answers on the question about why the students in the present study generally use slang (see Appendix IV).

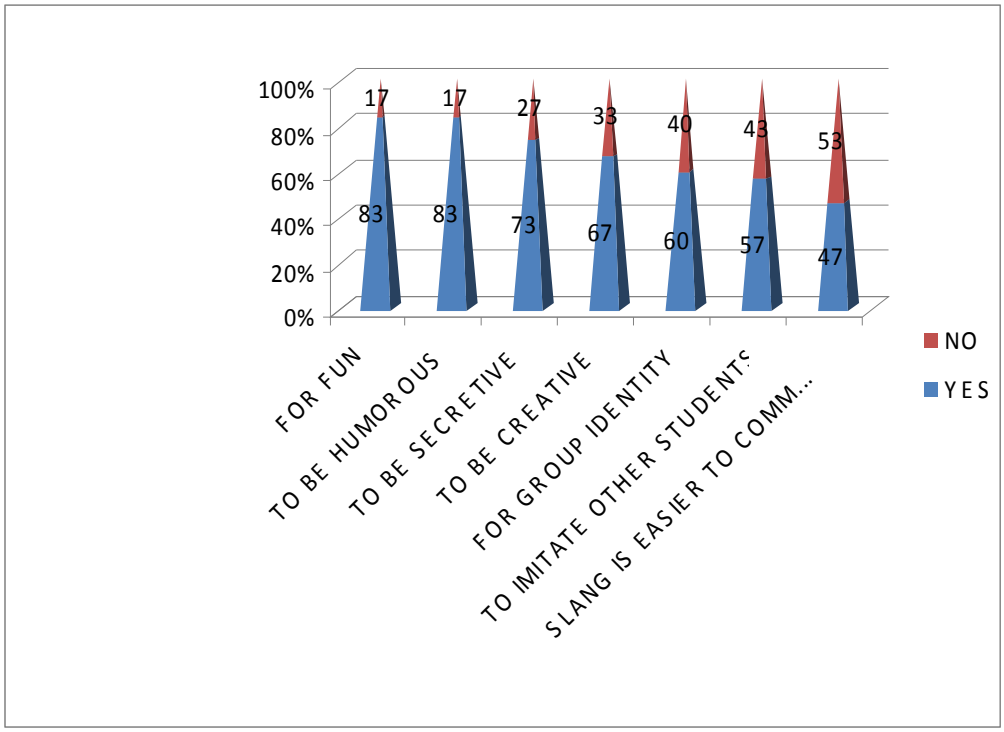


Chart 3: Reasons for using slang

Like previous studies on slang, the present study also shows that the students of I.S.A.E mainly use slang for fun, humour, group solidarity or identity; or because they want to be creative and secretive. The current study shows that I.S.A.E students sometimes use slang terms because this plays an important role to keep their identity and linguistic solidarity in their daily life. Chart number 3 shows that the most frequently mentioned reasons for the students of I.S.A.E to use slang are fun (83%), humour (83%) and secret (73%).

For the last reason for instance, the students of I.S.A.E have developed their own language (slang) to communicate some issues of shared interest among themselves to the exclusion of outsiders. During focus-group interviews, a male student answered the question about why I.S.A.E students use slang in their conversation in the following words: "We use these slang terms to keep secrets among us. If you are a stranger you cannot find out what we are talking about". His peers in the group (4 males and 3 females) supported his argument that their use of slang creates a sense of solidarity among them. They also argued that when they use slang, they are creating a sort of in-group communication. Another female student argued that they sometimes use the slang terms to make their conversation new and entertaining, excluding lecturers and other I.S.A.E staff members.

5.1. Attitudes to the use of slang among I.S.A.E students

The results of this study also reveal that I.S.A.E staff members such as academic and administrative staff are aware of the use of slang among I.S.A.E students. One interviewed lecturer said, "We know that students always create new vocabulary which cannot be understood by everybody. When the students do not want us to hear what they are talking, they use slang". Another lecturer said: "I'm happy when the students use their forged language, even though I don't understand their slang. It shows a kind creativity".

I also had some discussions with people who do not have any connection with the institution. One parent who has a daughter at I.S.A.E did not really give her attitude to the use of slang, but she confirmed the use of slang terms by her daughter. She said: "During holidays, my daughter's classmates sometimes come to visit her. They most of time use vocabulary and expressions which are new for me". This parent's assertion support the sociolinguists' assumption that language varies not only according to the social characteristics of the speaker (such as his/her social class, ethnic group, age, and sex) but also according to the social context in which he/she finds himself/herself. That is, the same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations and for different purposes.

5.2. Slang and situations/contexts of use

The table below shows the answers on the question related to how the students use slang depending on context and situation (see Appendix IV).

Frequency	**Context/ situation**	**Percentage**
Frequently (Always)	None(-)	0%
Often	-at school with fellow students	36.7%
	-at social gatherings (Informal situation) such as pubs, parties, sports and clubs	36.7%
	-With boys and girls alike	33.3%
Sometimes	- with people of the same category of age	40%
	- home with relatives such as brothers and	53.3%

	sisters)	
Never	- at home with parents - at school with lecturers - at formal situations	70% 86.7% 93.3%

Table4: slang and domains of use

As the above table shows, the respondents often use slang at school with fellow students, at social gatherings (Informal situation) such as pubs, parties, sports and clubs and with boys and girls alike. They sometimes use slang with people of the same category of age and home with relatives such as brothers and sisters). The above statistics also show that the students never use slang in formal situations, at home with their parents and at school with their lecturers. During group discussion, the students pointed out they do not converse with strangers using slang because some slang terms are sometimes taboo or new for outsiders.

During focus-group interview, a male participant argued that the way they use slang depends on the relationships between them and the addressee. During my personal observation, I noticed that there are some slang terms which have become common to both students and I.S.A.E staff members. For instance, the term *macuwa* ' mature' to mean a reintegrated student who had suspended his/her university studies for a long time for different reasons. The term *macuwa* is also used in formal speaking and writing at E.S.A.E.

5.3. Slang used at I.S.A.E by students in relation to gender and age.

As pointed out in the second chapter, some researchers such as Risch (1987), Romaine (1994) and Bembe (2006) revealed that men use more slang

than women. Men have also been found to report using more derogatory words for both male and female than women. As the table below shows, the male students in this study use more slang words than female students.

Cross tabulation of the Slang use Frequency according to Gender

			Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Frequently	Total
Gender	**Male**	**Count**	0	3	4	6	13
		Percentage	0%	23.1%	30.7%	46.2%	100%
	Female	**Count**	0	7	5	5	17
		Percentage	0%	41.2%	29.4	29.4%	100%
Total		**Count**	0	10	9	11	30
		Percentage	%	33.3%	30%	36.7%	100%

Table 5: Gender and frequency of using slang at I.S.A.E

The above table indicates that even if the majority of respondents were female (17), results show that 76.9% of males say they sometimes/frequently use slang as opposed to 58.8 % of females. The statistics above shows that the number of male students who report that they use slang is bigger than females'. Data gathering from the written questionnaires and personal observation has revealed that male use more derogatory words than females. The present study also shows that there are more slang terms to describe women than men. Furthermore, males and females alike listed more slang terms for 'woman' than 'man' , and often equated 'woman' than 'man' with a sexual object (see table 1). This could be interpreted as an example of the fact that there is gender inequality among the students. For instance, the term such as *kwica* "to kill' means to have sex with a girl. A boy is considered as a killer and a girl as someone who is being killed. Most terms referring to physical appearances are for females. From this, one can presume that male promiscuity could be acceptable among the students. Apart from gender, the current study shows the age differences in the use of slang among I.S.A.E students.

Cross tabulation of the Slang use Frequency according to Age

Age			Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Frequently	Total
	20-25	Count	0	3	6	10	19
		Percentage	0%	15.8%	31.6%	52.6%	100%
	25-30	Count	0	3	2	1	6
		Percentage	0%	50%	33.3%	16.7%	100%
	30-35	Count	0	2	1	0	3
		Percentage	0%	66.7	33.3	0	100%
	35-40	Count	0	2	0	0	2
		Percentage	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Total		Count	0	10	9	11	30
		Percentage	0%	33.3	30	36.7	100%

Table 6: Age and frequency of using slang

The above table shows that 52.6% of the respondents in the age category 20-25 report that frequently use slang. The data gathering from the questionnaire also indicates that the 20-25 age group category listed more slang terms than any other age group. Table 6 also shows that as the age increases, the frequency of the use of slang decreases. That is, from age 25 onward, there seems to be a gradual decrease in the use of slang. This finding supports the one by de Klerk (1991:68-82) and Bembe (2006:43) who argue that it is expected for slang to be used more particularly by young people than adults. Adults have regularly been shown to be more conservative in their use of variables than younger age groups (Eckert 1997:164).

As a conclusion, this chapter analysed the data collected from questionnaires, direct observations, focus–group discussions and interviews. It focused on the correlation between the respondents' self-report, gender and age. It also dealt with the reasons for using slang words, how they are created and the contexts wherein they are most used by the students of I.S.A.E. The next chapter, also the last, focuses on conclusions drawn based on the aims and results of the research.

Chapter six: General conclusion

Throughout this research report, my major concern has been the use of slang among the students of The Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (I.S.A.E). The main objective of this study was to identify particular slang terms used in that institute, describe the contexts in which these slang terms are used and find out the reasons and explanations for them.

Considering the results provided by this study, it was noticed that some of the slang terms originate from the languages used in neighbouring. It is in this respect that some slang terms are created on the basis of several languages such as Kinyarwanda, English, Kiganda, French and Swahili. This linguistic phenomenon is mainly due to different linguistic backgrounds of the students in the institution since some students were repatriated from the neighbouring countries to Rwanda after 1994.

Based on the results from the empirical research, the present study concludes that male students listed more derogatory slang terms than female students, and many slang terms were listed by groups between 20–25 age categories. The research findings of this work also indicate that there are more slang terms to describe women than men.

The functions of slang as employed by the students of the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (I.S.A.E) are mainly twofold: On the one hand the students use slang terms for fun, humour and secrecy. On the other hand, the students sometimes appropriate slang, through the use of certain lexicon, as a manifestation of their identity as I.S.A.E students. Choice of certain lexical items identifies the users as belonging to the above specific institution (I.S.A.E).

Apart from the purposes of using slang terms, this study also reveals that the students of I.S.A.E use slang in informal situations such as parties,

sport activities, restaurant, etc. They frequently use slang with peers, do not often use slang with their parents and stranger people. The students never use slang in the classrooms with their lecturers.

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