

Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words and their significance in Rwandan culture

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Dedication

If the dead could speak

I would dedicate this work

To my dad and mum,

To my brothers Mathias and Pigeon,

To my sisters Madeleine and Noella,

To father Denis Mishyiguri, the pillar of the Mishyiguris,

Unfortunately, they don't.

Thus I dedicate it

To the Mishyiguris still alive,

And to my beloved husband, and my beloved children.

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My deepest gratitude to my husband's boss for having released him and let him join the children some months after my coming to South Africa.

Statement

I declare that **Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words and their significance in Rwandan culture** is my work, that it has not previously been submitted for any degree in any other university, and that all sources quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

July 8th, 2004.

Ndimurugero Ngirabakunzi

Signed.....

Abstract

This study investigates Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words and their meaning in Rwandan culture to enable the youth to improve their communication and the values of Rwandan culture. It explores whether the use of Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words is a good way to communicate with one another or is a transgression of Rwandan culture. Besides, its intent is to see the value that Rwandans assign to verbal taboos, particularly sexuality taboo words, to see how these taboos regulate Rwandans' lives, to see the attitudes Rwandans hold towards them, and to find out the link there might be between sexuality taboo words, the information dissemination on HIV/AIDS and the spread of AIDS.

On the basis of face-to-face and pen-and-paper interviews, and an observational and descriptive ethnography, data was collected and then processed in such a way to establish typologies. Findings show that ten major themes, some of which have sub-themes, have been identified. They show that all Rwandans, regardless of their age, sex, and different cultural backgrounds, lack knowledge of the origin of Kinyarwaanda words, but that they regard them as a cultural instrument and also trace them back to social attitudes like social relationships, ethnic epithets, sexuality, and totem. Rwandans trace the suppression of sexuality taboo words to white priests who combated against some preexisting cultural practices that they considered as sins. However, findings show that their suppression gave rise to an artificial society, and that it favoured hypocrisy and prostitution thus contributing to the spread of AIDS.

As mentioned in the aforesaid passage, sexuality taboo words are regarded as a cultural instrument. Findings show that they shape the behaviour of Rwandans, help them to keep secrets, and even to maintain their cultural identity. Their role is so great that people who dare to use them publicly are regarded as outlaws by the society. Therefore, findings show that the majority of informants rejected their use in public and proposed a kind of symbiosis between culture and probable social changes to deal with current problems like the scourge of AIDS. In other words, findings show that Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words should be suppressed in public and that they should be used under certain circumstances for specific purposes, and this seems to be the continuation of the preexisting culture rather than an introduction of a new linguistic and social behaviour.

This investigation has come up with a number of recommendations, the main of which are the sensitisation of Rwandan masses to fight against AIDS through varied strategies among which the revival of certain traditional practices, like the *gukuna* (lengthening the labia) and the spirit of brotherhood.

Key words

Sexuality

Taboo words

Language

Culture

Behaviour

Attitudes

Communicative competence

Ethnography of communication

Euphemism

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter deals with the statement of the problem, the aims and objectives of the study, the general background about Rwanda and its people, and the background on Kinyarwaanda language and culture including taboos.

1. 1. General background about Rwanda and its people

Rwanda is a small country in east-central Africa. It is bordered on the north by Uganda, on the east by Tanzania, on the south by Burundi, and on the west by Lake Kivu and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Its indigenous people consists of three ethnic groups namely the Twa, the Hutus and the Tutsis, and these groups are believed to have settled in Rwanda respectively in this order. The Twa, about 1% of the total population of Rwanda, were the original inhabitants of Rwanda. They were then followed by the Hutus, who comprise the majority of the population with an estimation that varies between 80 and 90% and who are traditionally farmers of Bantu origin (http://www.encyclopedia.com/html/section/Rwanda_history.asp).

According to folklore, the Tutsis (14%), a pastoral people who are cattle keepers, arrived in Rwanda from the Horn of Africa between the 14 and 16th century. Since then until 1959, they subjugated the Hutus, and established a monarchy ruled by a *mwami* (king) and a feudal system based on cattle holding. However, Vansina (as cited in Arnaut and Vanhee, 2001) does not share the view that bases the settlement of the Rwandan groups in the order given above. He argues that Rwandan ethnic groups did not arrive in Rwanda in different waves and that the differences between them essentially developed on site (Arnaut and Vanhee, 2001: 2). He further argues that until some time after 1900, there was no general concept of Rwanda, and that Rwanda, as a concept, referred to a central place with a surrounding area. In other words, Rwanda by itself was not considered as an ethnonym and required an additional concept to become an ethnonym (Arnaut and Vanhee, 2001:3). Therefore we could talk about the rwanza of Nyinginya (the Nyinginya is one of the 18 Rwandan clans that were shared by the three Rwandan ethnic groups), the rwanza of Burundi, the rwanza of other places [Cape Town, Lesotho, etc], and it was only with the colonial period that the inhabitants of Rwanda became aware of their Rwandan citizenship (Arnaut and Vanhee, 2001: 2).

Regarding the relationship between the Hutus and the Tutsis, it is commonly believed that the latter have exercised power over their fellow Hutus for centuries. But who were Hutus and who were Tutsis?

According to Vansina (as cited in Arnaut and Vanhee, 2001), the terms *Hutus* and *Tutsis* date much earlier than Rwanda. Some people used a place name to indicate their ethnic identity and did not refer to themselves as Hutus. For example, somebody from Gisenyi could refer to themselves as Abagoyi (from Bugoyi) whereas a person from Butare would call himself/herself Umunyenduga (from Nduga). This indicates again that the differences between the Hutus and the Tutsis were not so much ethnic than occupational (Arnaut and Vanhee, 2001:3). The term *Hutu* originally meant *servant*, and it is still used with this meaning in Rwanda. This shows how a person may be of a high-ranking Tutsi origin and be called a Hutu because he is a servant of a Hutu. The traces of the concept *Hutu* can be found in Angola and lower Congo where it also stands for someone who is poor or a servant (Arnaut and Vanhee, 2001:3).

As for the term *Tutsi*, Ndori, the first king of Rwanda was a Hima, not a Tutsi, and most of the cattle breeders considered themselves to be Hima. Only a very few people called themselves Tutsis, but as the term *Tutsi* seemed more prestigious, the members of the royal family chose to be referred to as Tutsis, a generation after Ndori (Arnaut and Vanhee, 2001:3). However, the etymology of the word Tutsi cannot be traced back, and the terms *Hutu* and *Tutsi* began to exclude one another only after 1800.

Stock (1995) also points out that Rwandans were classified as Hutus or Tutsis on the basis of cattle ownership, and that whoever Rwandan had less than ten cows [a poor man] was deemed to be Hutu. Therefore the system was more of class rather than ethnicity (Stock, 1995: 47). This implies that two brothers were differently classified according to the number of cows they owned.

Obviously, Vansina's and Stock's view is that there were no clear-cut boundaries between the Hutus and the Tutsis as distinct groups, which explains why their social structure lasted long and impressed both Germans and Belgians, including the missionaries.

Regarding the Germans and the Belgians, they respectively settled in Rwanda in 1894 and 1915. In 1894, the German Count Von Goethe was the first European to visit mwami Rwabugiri of Rwanda, who submitted himself to Germans without resistance in 1899. The settlement of the German count in Rwanda corresponded somehow to the end of ancient Rwanda in that it predicted immediate

changes. White missionaries, especially white fathers introduced Christianity in Rwanda (Musabyimana, 1999: 9).

In 1915, Belgian troops from the Congo chased out the Germans and took control of the country. After World War I, the League of Nations passed both Rwanda and Burundi to Belgium as the territory of Rwanda-Rundi, which became a UN Trust Territory with Belgium as the administrative authority after World War II. Belgians divided people in order to rule (Ministry of Tourism, 2004: 1). They first favoured Tutsis both on political and educational grounds at the expense of the Hutus. They introduced a system of ethnic identity cards differentiating between Hutus and Tutsis (Keane and Destexhe, 2004: 1).

In the 1950s, with the help of Belgians and the Catholic Church, the Hutus turned against their compatriots, sparked a revolt in November 1959 that put an end to the Tutsis' monarchy. At that time they massacred about 100,000 Tutsis, and more than 160,000 fled to neighbouring countries. The Tutsis who remained in Rwanda were excluded from both the political and educational spheres (Stock, 1995: 47-48).

In 1960, Gregoire Kayibanda was the first Hutu to become president of Rwanda. In 1961-1962, Rwanda and Burundi became two separate nations, and Belgians declared Rwanda independent. Thereafter, in 1964 and 1973, the Hutus killed many Tutsis. In 1973, around 600,000 Tutsis fled to Uganda and other neighbouring countries. On July 5th 1973, there was a military coup and Maj. Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana was installed president. Around the 1990s, about 500,000 Tutsi refugees living in the diaspora along with some exiled Hutu politicians felt the need to rejoin their motherland, asked the late Habyarimana to let them enter the country peacefully, but the latter believed that there was no space for them.

On October 1st 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded Rwanda (Villa-Vicencio and Savage, 2001: 36). After the Arusha agreements on July 12th 1992, a cease-fire took place on July 31st. Despite this cease-fire, between 1990 and 1994, thousands of Tutsis were killed in separate massacres around the country while the opposition and the newspapers were oppressed (Villa-Vicencio and Savage, 2001: 37).

On April 6th 1994, a plane carrying president Habyarimana was shot down near Kanombe airport, probably by Hutu extremists who suspected that he was going to implement the Arusha Peace Accords (Keane and Destexhe, 2004: 3). Habyarimana's death led to the killing of more than 800,000 people, the majority of whom were Tutsis, the rest being political moderates regardless of

their ethnic origin, and this in less than 100 days. Only a few Tutsis succeeded to run to neighbouring countries before the RPF intervened to save people's lives since the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) and the *interahamwe* (those who stand together) had set up roadblocks everywhere (Villa-Vicencio and Savage, 2001: 39). Since April 8th until July 4th 1994 the RPF fought against the FAR and the *interahamwe* militia, and succeeded to stop further massacres.

The RPF set up an interim government of national unity with Pasteur Bizimungu as president. The Hutu governors and millions of Hutu civilians fled the country.

In October 1996, due to the Banyamulenge's uprising in Eastern Congo, over 600,000 Hutu refugees went back to Rwanda, and in December 1996 another wave of about 500,000 left their camps in Tanzania and returned to their country. Until recently, Hutu refugees continue to join Rwanda, and less than 100,000 are still abroad.

In 2000, President Bizimungu resigned and Kagame was appointed president, but in 2003 he was democratically elected. (<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/destinations/africa/rwanda/history.html>).

As can be seen, Rwanda is a small country whose background is full of complex events. It has been characterised by a series of conflicts that originate from the colonial era and have developed until recently. The different Hutus' attempts to wipe out the Tutsis have altered the relationship between both ethnic groups, and might have influenced Rwandan culture. They have also resulted in continuous displacements whose impacts on Rwandan culture have been and are still great in that many people who were born and brought up outside the country know little or nothing at all about their culture. Likewise the descendents of today's refugees await the same fate.

1. 2. Background on Rwandan culture and language

1. 2. 1. Culture

Culture is defined as what is common in the minds of a given group of people; it refers to a community of society (Vansina, 1997:124). Before the arrival of colonisers in Rwanda, all Rwandans lived in harmony within a well-organized social structure. They shared and still share the same language and several cultural traits like traditional practices and taboos, some of which were shared by people from different areas while others were regionally specific. For example, all Rwandans cherished oral traditions of proverbs, songs and chants, and much of Rwanda's cultural heritage centred around dances, praise songs, and dynastic poems. Moreover, Rwandans produced a wide range of traditional handcrafts like ceramics, basketry, woodcarvings, etc.

Concerning taboos, some are related to social relationships, others to animals and objects. Organs related to natural bodily functions and sexuality are the privileged taboo domain in Rwandan culture (Kagabo, 1992: 249). In Rwanda, like in many other cultures, sexuality has been a taboo topic for ages. Yet ancient Rwandans practised clandestine sexual relations (Musabyimana, 1999: 8). Not only were sexual practices considered to be taboos, but reference to sexuality also was, except on particular occasions like *ukubandwa* (to invoke Lyangombe's spirits), *igitaramo* (a gathering of people), rites of initiation etc.

Each Rwandan should be *imfura* (a respectful person) both through his/her behaviour and way of speaking, and this for the sake of decency. Therefore, somebody who hears Rwandans uttering words related to sexuality must have knowledge of the relations between participants, means or code, the kind of message and other social factors that determine the language to be used before judging them. This shows the close link between language, society and culture.

1894 marked the end of ancient Rwanda through the visit of the German Count Goetzen. This also was the point for immediate changes particularly from a cultural point of view. Missionaries noticeably modified Rwandan customs that they considered as pagan practices (Musabyimana, 1999: 9).

1. 2. 2. Language

Kinyarwaanda is the national language of Rwanda. It is a Bantu language, has five vowels and it is classified as an agglutinative or affixing language. According to the classification of Guthrie (1948) and to the Lolemi Programme, it respectively belongs to the sub-group D61 of the zone D under the name of Kinyaruanda (Coupez and Kamanzi, 1962: 11) and to the sub-group J61 of the Zone J covering interlacustrine languages that include Kirundi, Kivira, Kifulero, Mashi, Kihavu, Kitembo, Kihunde, Kinande, and Kikonzo (Nkiko, 1980: 319). Van Bluck (1949), and Coupez and Kamanzi (1962) also classify Kinyarwaanda in the subgroup J 208 where it is known as Rwanda (Coupez and Kamanzi, 1962:11) while Dalby (1977) locates it in the E1 zone in the linguistic block made by the Rwanda, Rundi, and Ha languages.

Kinyarwaanda is widely spoken in Rwanda and in some neighbouring countries like Burundi, Tanzania, Congo and Uganda partly thanks to the former Rwandan conquests, and partly due to the different political riots that pushed some Rwandans to flee their country. However, according to Makoni, Smitherman, Ball and Speaker (2003), in spite of its commonness to all Rwandans, Kinyarwaanda has not been a guarantee of national unity (Makoni, et al, 2003: 96).

According to specialists of the history of Rwanda, in the early 17th century, the Kingdom of Rwanda conquered the southern region of Uganda and the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (Igiraneza, 2002: 4) and since then Rwandans imposed Kinyarwaanda on the new colonies. In 1885 the Berlin conference divided African countries without taking account of their people's linguistic affinities, and then gave them to different European colonies. Rwanda lost some regions where, since this division until recently, Kinyarwaanda is used in Rutshuru and Masisi in Congo and in Bufumbira and Ndorwa in Uganda (Lacger, 1959: 113-114 as cited in Igiraneza, 2002: 4-5).

Unlike in Congo and Uganda, in Tanzania Kinyarwaanda is spoken by refugees who fled the country between 1959 and 1973 because of the ethnic conflicts that resulted in massacres, and by refugees of the 1994 war and genocide.

In Burundi, it is difficult to make a clear-cut division between the speakers of Kinyarwaanda and Kiruundi since the two languages are mutually intelligible and have much more in common. Research has shown that they are varieties of the same language whose appellation is not precise (Igiraneza, 2002: 4). However, each of them is spoken in a specific country, either Rwanda or Burundi, and their speakers consider them to be two different languages (Chambers and Trudgill, 1993: 5).

Many people can speak Kinyarwaanda, but not all of them master it. Besides, some refugees who were scattered in other countries around the world may never have had the influence of both Rwandan culture and Kinyarwaanda language, and might therefore not know the rules governing the Rwandan society. In the same range of ideas, children who are being born outside Rwanda today may experience the same fate.

1. 3. Aims of research

The purpose of this study is to examine, analyse, and discuss certain Kinyarwaanda taboo words in relation to their meaning in Rwandan culture. This is intended to increase the awareness around taboo words about sexuality so that the youth are sensitized in order to improve communication and the values of the Rwandan culture. In this respect, Rwandan youngsters need enough information about cultural values surrounding taboos, either for their use or avoidance in everyday interaction. Besides, there are specific objectives and/or questions to this study. They are an investigation of:

How Rwandans perceive taboo words on sexuality.

The extent to which taboo words influence and/or regulate Rwandans in their daily lives

The impact of taboo words on sexuality on information dissemination on HIV/AIDS.

The comparison of attitudes that Rwandans who were in Rwanda before the 1994 genocide have towards sexuality taboo words to those held by Rwandans who were outside the country at that time.

1. 4. Rationale/background

The significance of the topic on taboo words and their significance in Rwandan culture is twofold:

Firstly, there is a taboo on the father-in-law's name. For example, in July 1995, I was shocked when an uncle of mine blamed me for having told him the name of my father-in-law to be. My attitude was nothing but an innocent response to his question to know the name of my then fiancé's father. In fact, his question intended to test whether I knew the Rwandan culture or not, and once he realized that I was uprooted, he told me that, like other Rwandan women, I was not allowed to say my parents-in-law's names. His remark reminded me of my late mother whom I had never heard saying my grandfather's name and made me aware that she had always referred to *amashyiga* and *Goma* as *amabuye* and *Kivo* because *shyi* and *goma* were part of *Misyiguguri* and *Vuningoma*, respectively my grandfather's and his brother's names. Therefore I thought of carrying out research on taboo words as soon as I was offered an opportunity to do so.

Secondly, since 1995 I have been observing the Rwandan youth carefully, and have noticed that they do not take cognizance of Kinyarwaanda verbal taboos. The reason for this attitude-lack of respect for certain cultural norms-might be the fact that many of them were born and grew up outside Rwanda. This enabled them to behave similar to their hosts. So, they had little or no chance to be told about these norms. Similarly children whose parents ran away from Rwanda in 1994, and who live in foreign countries today experience the same shortfall. They probably have no opportunities to be told about verbal taboos in Kinyarwaanda, and even other important values they need in order not to be alienated.

As Justice and Justice (1979) explain, a taboo in any society is meant to regulate the behaviour of people so that the social system works and stays in balance (Justice and Justice, 1979: 260). As far as Rwanda is concerned, there is a great need for research on certain verbal taboos in Rwandan culture to help Rwandans in general, and the youth in particular to have notions about their culture. Apart from cultural awareness, there is also a need to show Rwandans that avoiding discussing

certain taboo topics could be detrimental to society. For example, not discussing AIDS could be detrimental to society in that people would be denied information on the disease. Such research will also make people other than Rwandans have an idea of the verbal don'ts in Rwandan culture and understand Rwandans' behaviour.

1. 5. Research problem/ research hypothesis

Today Rwandan youngsters seem not to know their culture and tend to violate the verbal taboos which were not referred to in the past and which adults do not utter until now. Due to this lack of knowledge, this work attempts to study the significance of taboo words about sexuality and their relevance in the Rwandan community. As a matter of fact, my research will revolve around the following research question: are taboo words about sexuality valuable in Rwandan culture? If so, do they have an impact on the behaviour of the present Rwandan youth?

The above was a brief survey of the general background on Rwanda, its people, its language and culture, the statement of the problem and the aims and objectives of the research. The next chapter will be concerned with the literature review in which the definitions of language and culture, the correlation between the two variables, taboos in general and verbal taboos in particular, and euphemisms will be discussed. It will also depict the theoretical and analytical framework.

Chapter 2

Literature review, theoretical and analytical framework

2. 1. Literature review

This research will draw on the hypothesis and theoretical framework which posit that social structure may influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behaviour as well as linguistic structure and/or behavior may influence or determine social structure (Hymes, 1966, 1971, Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1968, 1970; Labov; 1970). Hymes (1962) developed the theory of ethnography of speaking to account for the language behaviour of a particular society (Hymes, 1962 as cited in Candlin, Roberts, Davies and Jupp, 1992: 55), but later this theory was extended to mean the detailed study of a given group/ society by using language as evidence of patterns of behaviour. Hymes (1971) and Gumperz and Hymes, 1972) broadened linguistic competence in such a way to embody the theory of communicative competence that Saville-Troike (1982) applied to show the relationship between communicative competence, and the social and cultural knowledge. Communicative competence deals with the social and cultural knowledge that speakers are presumed to have to enable them to use and interpret linguistic forms (Saville-Troike, 1982: 21). However, in the current study, it will focus on sexuality taboo words in relation to their meaning in Rwandan culture.

2.1.1. Language and culture

The origin of language has been uncertain until recently, and nobody knows whether it originates in one location or many. The only thing known about it is that it exists (Kobe: Association of the Study of Humanities, 1995: 3).

Language has been assigned many different definitions, yet only few of them will be given below.

Language is referred to as a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols [which symbols represent learned rather than instinctual bases] for communication (Sapir, 1921: 7 as cited in Vetter, 1971: 17). In other words, language is specific to mankind and it is not an innate but a learned means to communicate. Sapir differentiates human from infrahuman species' modes of communication.

According to Brown (1958), ... “language...is nothing less than an inventory of all ideas, interests, and occupations that take up the attention of the society” (Brown, 1958: 156 as cited in Vetter, 1971: 17).

Language is referred to as the instrument of communication used by a speech community, a commonly accepted system of association between arbitrary forms and their meaning (Labov, 1995: 1). It is also referred to as a system of arbitrary, vocal symbols which permit people in a given culture, or other people who have learned the system of that culture, to communicate or interact (Finocchiaro, 1964: 8). Finocchiaro’s idea can be complemented by Yalman’s (1967) argument that outsiders who do not know or comprehend the social structure of a given people can neither give it the same value nor communicate and behave in an appropriate manner the way this people does (Yalman, 1967: 4). Here Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003) say, for example, that a foreign swear-word is practically inoffensive unless somebody has learned it in life and knows its social limits (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 476). Sharing a language enables people to participate in a culture (Calhoun, Light, and Keller, 1997: 102). Kilfoil and van der Walt (1997) argue that the language of a specific group is one of the manifestations of its culture and that when a person learns a language different from his/hers, he/she inevitably learns something about the culture of the owners of that language (Kilfoil and van der Walt, 1997: 2). Gudykunst (1998) points out the uniqueness of communication within each culture, and this is why the understanding of communication in any culture highly depends on the knowledge of both general and culture specific information (Gudykunst, 1998: 45).

Kloff (1995) defines language as a specialised, productive system capable of displacement and composed of rapidly fading, arbitrary, culturally transmitted symbols (Kloff, 1995: 162). Besides, Thompson (2003) considers it as a set of systems which interlink with a range of social and psychological factors (Thompson, 2003: 37).

Sociolinguists view language as a sociocultural construct that they define as a way of behaving, a way of belonging, a way of creating social identities and relationships (Makoni, et al, 2003: 24).

These definitions show the correlation between language and culture, culture having been defined as what is common in the minds of a given group of people (Vansina, 1997: 124). Culture can also be referred to as the integrated pattern of thinking, evaluating, and communicating that makes up a people’s way of life with language as the most notable shared resource of thinking and acting (Calhoun, et al, 1997: 10). Besides, Kloff (1995) refers to culture as the deposit of knowledge,

experience, attitudes, beliefs, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notion of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions a group acquires in the course of generations through individual and group striving (Kloff, 1995: 26). From an anthropological point of view, culture is any aspect of the ideas, communications, or behaviors of a group of people which gives them a distinctive identity and which is used to organise their internal sense of cohesion and membership (Thompson, 2003: 20).

Fishman (1976) defines language as a form of social behaviour (Fishman, 1976: 152). Both Hill (1958) and he argue that a human being cut off from contact with a speech community can never talk the way that the community does. They also argue that people raised in isolation, that is, people cut off from all speech communities do not use language (Fishman, 1976: 152 & Hill, 1958: 3). Labov (1978) also shares the same view and even indicates that language is used by human beings, communicating their needs, ideas, and emotions to one another (Labov, 1978: 183).

Both Fishman (1976) and Hill (1958) show that an individual's speech highly depends on the existence of a speech community, and for Hill, the sounds of speech and their connections are passed to all members of any community by older members of that community (Hill, 1958: 3). Andersson and Trudgill (1992) also hold the view that to acquire their native language, children must be in contact with other people and that to become good members of their societies and not to be condemned to life at the latter's periphery, people have to learn their native languages (Andersson and Trudgill, 1992: 43). In the same range of ideas, Saviile-Troike (1982: 21) argues that a child may be said not to have acquired certain rules for social conduct in the use of language after he has caused embarrassment by uttering a taboo expression publicly.

When a child causes embarrassment, there might be a need for a purification ritual in order to mitigate the effects of the transgression and to prevent the child from uttering an oath again as can be seen below:

The child utters an oath. The middle-class American parent responds with an admonition, 'go and wash your mouth with soap' (Kobe: Association for the Study of Humanities, 1995: 3).

This example shows the existence of a close link between linguistic and social behaviour. Because a linguistic taboo has been broken, the child needs purifying.

According to Hymes (1966) people whose cultures differ from one another do to some extent experience distinct communicative systems, not merely the same natural communicative condition

with different customs affixed. He goes on to say that cultural values and benefits are in part constitutive of linguistic relativity (Hymes, 1966: 116).

Saville-Troike (1982) argues that the correlation between language and the beliefs, values and the needs present in the culture of its speakers is undoubted (Saville-Troike, 1982: 32).

According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, language not only mirrors culture, but is instrumental in shaping culture (Vetter, 1971: 173). It is in the same line that Vetter (1971) argues that society moulds language, which moulds society in turn, and that the beginning and end process is ambiguous (Vetter, 1971: 174). This means that language and culture are so interrelated that it would be difficult to know exactly when they influence one another. Labov (1970 and 1978) says that linguistic and social structure are by no means coextensive (Labov, 1970: 199 and 1978: 251). Likewise, Kang'Ethe Iraki considers language and culture like the two sides of a coin in that language serves as an expression of culture without being synonymous to it though. He goes on to say that the death of a culture will certainly imply that of the language associated to it (Kang'Ethe Iraki, nd: 1-11).

Saville-Troike, (1982) argues that, even though the role of language is not the same in all societies, it often includes the identification or marking of social categories, the maintenance and manipulation of individual social relationships and networks, and various means of affecting social control (Saville-Troike, 1982: 35). She goes on to say that language can be used to perpetuate as well as to eliminate social inequalities and that major changes in social structure, as in social revolutions, usually entail change in communicative patterns as well (Saville-Troike, 1982: 36). For example, with World War I came a partial and short-lived return to plain speaking in Western countries, without the mid-Victorian taboos (Vetter, 1971: 170).

Hymes (1971) and Gumperz and Hymes (1972) propose that linguistic competence be extended so as to include language use as well as sentence creation, to integrate a theory of communicative competence and culture (Hymes, 1971:284-286 and Gumperz and Hymes, 1972: 390). By language use, we understand how language functions in a given society. For example, as has been said earlier, a child can utter an oath because he/she does not know the rules governing his/her society. Therefore, understanding and manipulating taboos is one of the functions of communicative competence.

2. 1. 2. Verbal taboos.

The word *tabu* (taboo) is a Tongan adjective [Tongan is a Polynesian language] introduced into English by Captain Cook in 1784. Not only did Captain Cook introduce it in English, but he also made it a noun referring to the prohibition itself and a verb whose meaning is *to make someone or something taboo* (Frederick, nd: 1). However, even before its introduction into the English language, there were prohibitions in English (Hughes, 1991: 8) in that the earlier suggestion to suppress words related to sexuality, for example, can be found in the Bible (Vetter, 1971: 170).

Vetter (1971) argues that Moses and the Law of the Hebrew influenced taboo words even up to the present time with one of the Ten Commandments, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord God in vain* (Vetter, 1971: 170). According to the same writer, the word taboo has enjoyed the broadest application to gestures, actions, objects and spoken or written language (Vetter, 1971: 169).

With regard to tabooed people, in the Moslem world, the word *haram* meaning both the sacred and taboo is applied to women (Bates and Rassam, 1983: 213). In the Judeo-Christian tradition, a menstruating woman was considered impure for seven days and anyone who touched her or anything she had sat on became unclean till evening, time when the person who had touched her had to wash his clothes and bathe with water (Allan and Burrige, 1991: 63). A man who lay with her was unclean for seven days too and had to purify himself after the seven days. In Sri Lanka, marriage between a low-caste man and a high-caste woman is forbidden. Therefore, a high-caste woman who transgresses the law and gets married to such a man is strongly punished by society. Her encounter with him is identified with blood pollution that requires excommunication or drowning in order not to contaminate her natal group with the polluted blood. If she has an infant from her husband, the child is also taboo (Yalman, 1967: 179). Marriage between a high-caste man and a low-class woman however is not taboo.

The fact that some relations between people are tabooed indicates that taboo concepts operate in relations to self and the society due to the rules governing it (Leach, 1966: 53). Leach mentions the case of incest taboo that operates between an individual and his/her sibling but which is less strong between self and cousin (Leach, 1966: 53). Likewise, in Sri Lanka, marriage between blood relatives is forbidden, but not in the aristocracy where they advance the theory that kinship is created by mixing the blood and that the male cross cousin has *le urumaya* (blood claim) on his female cross-cousins whose hand he can demand.

Taboo words are those that are considered as in bad taste by some people or [which] are better to be avoided because they mention realities that are stark or vulgar (Molina I Diez, nd: 1). Margaret Mead (as cited in Justice and Justice, 1979: 260) refers to them as “deep and intense prohibitions against unthinkable behaviour”. In the mind of most people the word taboo refers to forbidden or to be avoided behaviours both verbal and non-verbal.

According to Fromkin (2003), when an act is taboo, reference to this act may also become taboo. In other words, he argues that first you [people] are forbidden to do something, and then you are forbidden to talk about it (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 476). However, Leach (1966) argues that the association between deed and word is not so simple as might appear and that verbal taboos are not necessarily related to behavioural taboos. For him, sometimes words may be taboo in themselves for linguistic (phonemic) reasons, and the causal link, if any, is then reversed (Leach, 1966: 24-25). This simply implies that a verbal taboo may be prior to a behavioural one. Saville-Troike (1982: 239) refers to such taboo words as interlingual taboos and acknowledges their existence among the Thai speakers. As can be seen taboos can be classified as behavioural or linguistic, but both categories are controlled by culture and have different types of sanctions dictated by the society (Vetter, 1971:181)

Andersson and Trudgill (1992) recorded a number of purely linguistic taboos among the Tiwi of Australia, their neighbours, and among the Thai-speakers in an English environment. For example, the proper name of a dead person is taboo among the Tiwi, and all words that sound like it also are for linguistic reasons. The Thai speakers did not mention certain Thai words such as *fag* (to hatch) simply because they sounded like some English obscene words, neither did they use normal English words like *yet* because it sounded too close to Thai *jed* (to have sexual intercourse) (Anderson and Trudgill, 1992: 57- 58). Likewise, Rwandans who lived in Congo avoided names like *la Katuba* zone, Kaswera (a Nande name), etc. because they sound like kinyarwaanda words meaning *vagina* and *fuck*. They called the former *la gapfasoni* (something that deserves respect) zone.

A taboo is an expression of disapproved behaviour in a society (Chu, 2000: 1) and taboos have often been called magic words because they are used in a world of terror, and dangers, real or imagined (Hughes, 1991). But in today’s sociolinguistics, the word taboo denotes any prohibition on the use of particular lexical items (O’ Grady, et al, 1996: 554).

Taboos are part of every language and corresponding cultural system's behavioural and speech constraints. For example, early Polynesians did not use taboo words because they were afraid of the reprisal from their gods for uttering them. So, in former times, man considered natural disaster as a failure to observe appropriate ritual or as a consequence upon the violation of a taboo, but even today some people still have the same belief. In the United States, some few people regard the scourge of AIDS as a divine and awful retribution for an epoch of excesses and impiety and refer to it by the acronym *WOGS*, which stands for the Wrath of God Syndrom (Allan and BurrIDGE, 1991: 189) while Japanese consider the Kobe earthquake as the result of industrial society that carelessly disturbed the spirit of Gaia or some such putative earth force (Kobe: Association for the Study of Humanities, 1995: 5).

Allan and BurrIDGE (1991) state that people believe that, with AIDS, the world is facing an epidemic as terrifying as leprosy and syphilis formerly were (Allan and BurrIDGE, 1991: 189). Likewise, the word cancer has come to be equated with malignancy, corruption and is generally referred to as growths and tumours even though the latter are more dangerous (Allan and BurrIDGE, 1991: 4). In Rwanda, illnesses like *iseru* (measles) and *mburugu* (syphilis) were referred to as *akaateeye* (the thing that has become epidemic) and *umwaatsi* (grass) (Kagabo, 1992: 249).

In many religions, such as Brahmanism, Judaism, and Islam, direct mention of the name of God is taboo (Hughes, 1991: 8). Some Christians find it a sin to mention the name of God in vain, and as has been mentioned earlier, this dates from Moses and the Law of God. In parts of Africa the word for snake is never mentioned, but instead phrases like *the stick we saw this morning* are creatively employed. In Rwanda, people do not mention the word for leopard at night because they are afraid of its nocturnal attack. They refer to it as *umugabo*, that is, a man.

Vetter divides verbal taboos in three major categories (1) words related to sex and excretion, (2) blasphemy and profanity; (3) animal abuse (Vetter, 1971: 170), the first category being probably universal.

Concerning animal abuse, Leach (1966) indicates that some animals are sacred when others are regarded as unclean. Thus using terms like *pork*, the *Brahma bull* is taboo in the societies where they are referred to in such a way (Leach, 1966: 33). One case is that of calling a person by the name of an animal like *bitch* and *cow* (Andersson and Trudgill, 1992: 15). In Kinyarwaanda, people are referred to as *imbwa* (dogs) to mean incapable, traitor, and the like, and *ingurube* (pig) meaning dirty or somebody who eats the dirt.

As for taboo words about excretion and sex, Rwandans do not refer to them. For example, sex is referred to as *igitsina*, a word related to the root of any plant or tree. With regard to this, Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003) state that some languages do not have native words to mean *sexual intercourse* but do borrow them from neighbouring people while others have a good deal of them most of which are taboo because of the embarrassment or horror they cause (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams, 2003: 478). The Manus of New Guinea, for instance, have been characterised by an anti-sex theme in their culture where there is total absence of purely social dances, love songs and where there is no single word for *love* (Saville-Troike, 1982: 33)

Another example of name avoidance is the linguistic custom of respect that was strong in many cultures around the world. Mesthrie (1995) mentions the case of the Nguni and the Southern Sotho. The Nguni and the Sotho are respectively characterised by the *ukuhlonipha* (literally to respect) and the *ho hlonepha* customs, the term *hlonepha* describing a custom between relations-in-law and being generally but not exclusively applied to the female sex. Since marriage until they probably had their own sons married, women were not allowed to pronounce words whose principal syllable contains parts of a syllable of their chiefs or their husbands' relations such as their fathers and mothers-in-law, their in-law's brothers and wives as well as their sisters-in-law. Yet this practice is on the decline among the Nguni (Mesthrie, 1995, 140-153).

Among the Nguni, especially among the Xhosa, the custom of respect is an ongoing process, and at each stage of development respect for one's seniors is taught as an ultimate code to which a particular naming procedure is adhered (Finlayson, 1983 as cited in Mesthrie, 1995: 140-153). For example, girls aged between nine and ten were taught the rules of avoiding syllables occurring in the family names of their boyfriends in order for them to behave accordingly once married (Mesthrie, 1995: 140-153)

In Australia, an aboriginal guugu Yimidhirr man uses a specialised vocabulary with his brother-in-law, and a Navajo man traditionally can neither speak to his mother-in-law directly nor be in her presence, the total absence being still observed in some other communities. Above all, he cannot refer to her using the usual third person pronoun form, but indicates deference and respect towards her by employing a more remote fourth person pronoun form instead. The avoidance of personal names is still observed in Indian villages where women do not mention their husbands' names (Saville-Troike, 1982: 92).

In the former Bangalam upper Congo, people avoided to mention names of men when they were fishing. They, Ethiopians as well as Ukrainians, did not mention names of certain animals in order to avoid to be driven away or to be attracted to a place where the animal might them cause harm (Saville-Troike, 1982: 216).

In Kwao (an Austronesian language spoken in Malaita) and many other languages, the name of a person is associated with the essence of that person, that is, the name is an inseparable part of the body, an inalienable possession. Thus saying a tabooed name in Austronesian languages is assaulting its owner and requires punishment, and sometimes breaking a taboo can lead the offender to death by murder or suicide because of shame (Allan and Burridge, 1991: 33).

In North-West India, names of senior women are hardly ever known in the society because of the taboo of hailing any senior person by name (Sharma, 1980: 189).

As can be seen, in every language there are certain unmentionables- words with such strong affective connotation that they cannot be used in polite discourse (Chu, 2000: 2). Every culture and or society, even the most modern, has some form of oath, as it has some form of verbal taboo (Hughes, 1991: 5). Taboo words exist in every culture but the form they take and the use they are put to may differ since there is no cross-cultural pattern of symbols (Kobe: Association for the Study of Humanities, 1995: 4). However, a taboo in any society is meant to regulate the behaviour of people so that the social system works and stays in balance (Justice and Justice, 1979: 260). In the same range of ideas, Wardhaugh (1992 as cited in Chu, 2000: 1) states that taboo words are established in a society to avoid harmful consequences to their people either because the non-verbal or verbal behaviour violates a code based on supernatural beliefs or it violates the moral code of the society.

Unfortunately, Saville-Troike (1982) recognises the fact that, in many cases, foreign people realize the existence of the rules associated with taboos only after they have violated them while these rules should be observed in order not to face serious results like total embarrassment, or be accused of immorality Saville-Troike (1982: 240). For example, a foreign woman whose husband is Rwandan may cause embarrassment by mentioning her in-law's names. However, instead of considering her as an immoral personal, Rwandans will understand her behaviour.

However, Leach (1966) states that taboos are not restricted to subjects harshly sanctioned by society. He gives the example of puns that constitute a category of linguistic taboo and which are usually looked upon as a talent. Sibomana (1988: 1) also assigns insults, a category of taboo words,

an important role in that they teach children what their parents do not dare to tell them especially regarding sexual organs and how they function. It is argued that swear words can function as exclamations of annoyance, insults, expression of unconcern, violent refusals, to name but a few. Andersson and Trudgill (1992), and Sibomana (1988) respectively argue that swear words and insults in a particular language are an indicator of the values and beliefs of speakers of that language (Andersson and Trudgill, 1992: 15; Sibomana, 1988: 1).

Allan and Burridge (1991) argue that not only are insults dysphemistic, but that they are also tabooed because they destroy social harmony. They go on to say that the use of taboo terms be they insults, expletives, to name but a few, often insults the hearer especially when he does not have the same social status as his offender (Allan and Burridge, 1991: 117).

Some taboo words in American culture, are subgroup specific and mark social solidarity within a given subgroup of society. Yet they are considered to be deeply offensive when they are used by a non-member of that subgroup (Kobe: Association for the Study of Humanities, 1995: 2).

According to Montegu (1973: 8 as cited in Hughes, 1991: 9), the word taboo has power of its own. "It is a means of bringing things about.... Language in its primitive function is regarded as a mode of action rather than a countersign of thought, and sacral notions of language tend to be very powerful at the primitive stages of the society" (Hughes, 1991: 5). This means that in the early stages of culture, verbal taboos are greatly intensified, and also very complicated, largely because language in that social setting is highly charged.

Thody (1997 as cited in Chu, 2000) argues that, in early contexts, the word taboo was primarily used to evoke a break of good manners, and that today the word evokes either attitudes that are outdated and irrational or topics that were deemed unmentionable in the past but are now being discussed (Thody, 1997 as cited Chu, 2000: 1). According to Harelimana (1997: 142-143), Rwandan children are not allowed to call parents by their names, but because of the introduction of western religion to Rwanda, "it is now tolerated to call somebody by their Christian name". There is even a saying that *kiriziya yakuye kirazira*, which is Christendom [Kiriziya means church] has abolished taboos.

Like Thody (1997 as cited in Chu, 2000), Pelo (1998-2002) sustains the idea that taboo words should be discussed. He argues that culture is created by language and that there is no culture where and when language is banned. This argument matches that of Philip Wyle who argued that when

the stars and clouds respectively start forming a huge *F* [for forbidden] and a series of forbidden words, his culture will die (Philip Wyle as cited in Vetter, 1971: 170).

For Pelo, a culture is understood as one that allows free expression, “everything a creative mind may come up with...that leads to communication” and a taboo that represents a mere non-dit will not preserve culture but destroy it in that the tabooed behaviour cannot be comprehended as long as it is not coded by language. So not only are taboos that prohibit language impeding communication, but they are also destroying culture by developing a society of hypocrisy. They are against democracy since democracy implies free speech.

Hypocrisy might be due to the fact that taboo words are the ones to come first in our mind before they are substituted by other words. Bloomfield (1933 as cited in Vetter) suggested that obscenity has a strong emotional force that recalls taboo words easier than their synonyms that lack such an emotional aspect, which might be the reason why they last longer than the latter (Bloomfield, 1933 as cited in Vetter, 1971: 97). Secrecy is one case of hypocrisy among others. It is part of modesty and it hides the sexual activities of different people under the same roof. Parents do not talk about sexuality to their children, and the reverse is also true, which engenders lies and dissimulations (Morenon and Morenon, 1971: 10).

Like Thody, Vetter (1971) argues that taboo words as well as prudish attitudes towards them can have detrimental effects on the society. He illustrates this by the resistance of American and English officials to print or speak the words *syphilis* and *venereal disease* which hampered the effort to reduce the great number of people afflicted by this disease. He also gives the example of parents who often fail to provide instruction for their children in matters of sex and excretion (Vetter, 1971, 173-174). Similarly, Morenon and Morenon (1971) say that in the eastern world people may be contaminated with the pandemia of AIDS because of the complete absence of verbal expression and of erotic communication between partners (Morenon and Morenon, 1971: 4). It is in this line that Justice and Justice (1979) stipulate that though the word incest has been kept as a forbidden subject that cannot be referred to in discussion, this attitude has not prevented family sex. On the contrary, it has prevented the recognition of the problem since people cannot report it. In Rwanda, a lot of small girls aged between one and six are raped today, but only few parents dare to accuse the culprits. They are appalled to mention taboo words about sex in case of rape, for example, in order to help the government solve problems related to sexual abuse.

All these people's attitudes might be due to the fact that they are afraid of cultural sanctions that limit them and may push them, for instance, to enunciate taboo words using foreign tongues so as to diminish their vulgarity (Kang'Ethe Iraki, nd: 10)

With regard to sexuality, Gans (2000) states that the language of sexuality differs from others in that it is considered quasi-sacred and in that it is believed that by merely hearing or seeing sexual words one is already drawn into impure sexual excitation (Gans, 2000: 4). Besides, in American society, it is forbidden to talk about menstruation. Girls cannot discuss this topic with adults or boys (Frederick, nd: 5).

Morenon and Morenon (1993) argue that, unlike animals that go straight to the point, human beings hardly translate sexual matters into language even though the desire is there. They state that men fail to express their thoughts into words and that their attitudes result in linguistic distortions, inhibitions, and inversions thus removing a lot from the language. They illustrate this by the fact that, in sexual matters, men say no to mean yes, and therefore recommend that a lot of things be said in the domain of sexuality since the language of science has greatly improved along with science itself (Morenon and Morenon, 1993: 1).

Through the Prophet Iman-al- Ghazzali's claim that no single man is allowed to throw himself on his wife like beasts do and that there should be a messenger, that is kisses and words, prior to coitus [sexual intercourse], Bates and Rassam (1983) manifest a view similar to that of the Morenons' (Bates and Rassam, 1983: 216)

The Morenons find the failure to talk about sexuality a real linguistic taboo and condemn the western recourse to scientific language like pornography and the eastern family silence. They argue that it does not suffice to provide children with books on sex education since they only acquaint them with a mere scientific and abstract discourse and leave the world of pleasure and feelings completely undiscussed.

Frederick (nd) argues that in the eighteenth century and the beginning of the 1950s, mothers and/or sisters, female relatives and neighbours discussed about menstrual taboos and pregnancy with female adolescents, but regrets the fact that this was not the case in the Victorian age in western societies. In the Victorian age the mere knowledge of menstruation was seen as a loss of innocence and mothers protected their daughters from such shameful and tragic knowledge. He further says that today's female adolescents are only instructed by developmental and hygiene programmes in schools when clinical studies have already proven that, due to such programmes, girls in the United

States regard menstruation as a hygienic crisis rather than a menstrual event. This false image of menstruation leads the young girls to create a false body, which somehow implies the loss of confidence in both their bodies and themselves. He therefore recommends that educational programmes focus on the menstrual crisis rather than on the hygienic crisis and that mothers be the primary source of information for their daughters (Frederick, nd: 1- 14).

However, Lucy (1974) and Frederick himself mention cases where menstruations are given value. They all evoke the existence of the *elima* ceremony among the *Mbuti* at the occasion to show that their daughter has reached another stage in their lives. Frederick also gives the example of a Navajo girl with the *kinaalda* ceremony and of a Chirachua Apache girl whose father prepares a large feast to signify her menarche (Frederick, nd: 4). Some menarcheal ceremonies such as the Jewish and eastern Europeans' slapping a menarcheal girl as a protection against disgrace are not good though (Frederick, p. 6). In the Middle-east, the onset of girls' menses which is a mark of puberty is considered shameful and is therefore kept secret (Bates and Rassam, 1983: 222).

According to the American Academy of Pediatrics, children have an inborn curiosity and an inquisitive spirit. They are always eager to discover new things and will probably ask their parents many questions some of which are related to sexuality. Parents should be ready to answer them as soon as they begin to view, listen and sense the world around them. Talking about sexuality will offer them an opportunity to share their beliefs and values with their children and teachable moments can happen everywhere. For example, it would be more effective to talk about the body parts while washing the child as one may tell a child where babies are from when one is pregnant (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2001: 1-3).

Morenon and Morenon (1971) argue that jokes can liberate speech when modesty creates an obstacle, and that it can make it possible to discuss sex even within the family. In fact, they say that when transmitted in a ludic manner, information on sexuality will reach all teenagers but those who do not want to understand. And giving a child information about sexuality should be an ongoing process from its birth onward.

(http://www.maine.familyplanning.org/docs/parents_teachers/taboo.php, p.2). However, Cameron (1998) indicates that, in many cultures, women are strongly forbidden to tell jokes and that obscene jokes are rarely spoken from the perspective of femininity (Cameron, 1998: 63), which may render it impossible for mothers to give their children sexual education through jokes.

While some researchers think that people should have freedom of speech, others show an alternative. Taboo words can be replaced by euphemisms as was the case in England. According to Ullman (1953: 76 as cited in Hughes, 1991: 8), “word-magic namely linguistic superstitions and prohibitions have left their imprint on many sectors of [the English] vocabulary, and euphemistic presumably pacifying, circumlocutions have been resorted to in the early ages of the culture in order to avoid direct mention of creatures that exercised a totemic force...” Likewise, Wilson (1993: 1) explains a taboo as a socially enforced prohibition that, in a language, forces the substitution by another word for one that is taboo. As for O’Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1996: 554), taboo and euphemisms are like the two faces of the same coin.

2. 1. 3. Euphemisms.

Oh perish the use of the four-letter words
Whose meanings are never obscure;
The Angles and Saxons, those bawdy old birds,
Were vulgar, obscene, and impure.
But cherish the use of the weaseling phrase
That never says quite what you mean.
You had better be known for your hypocrite ways
Than vulgar, impure, and obscene

Psychiatric Quarterly, Jan. 1947 (as cited in Vetter, 1971: 169)

The poem above reveals the existence of vulgar, impure and obscene words, and that of euphemisms that make up nice language.

According to Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003), the existence of taboo words stimulates the creation of euphemisms that she defines as words or phrases that replace taboo words or serve to avoid frightening or unpleasant subjects (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 479). Similarly, Allan and Burridge (1991) describe them as expressions that seek to avoid being offensive. They argue that euphemisms are characterized by avoidance language and evasive expression, that is, a speaker uses words as a protective shield against the anger or disapproval of natural or supernatural beings (Allan & Burridge, 1991: 3).

Kagabo (1992) distinguishes features that motivated Rwandans to use euphemisms. These are fear, respect and *bienseance* (Kagabo, 1992: 248). Similarly Portridge (1934) mentions fear, kindness and delicacy as the three reasons for which euphemisms are applied (Portridge, 1934 as cited in Vetter, 1971: 171) while Allan and Burridge (1991) find fear and or distaste, supernatural forces and powerful persons as the main causes of euphemistic expressions (Allan and Burridge,

1991:226). These three components might correspond to a wide range of expressions that replace the so-called obscene words. For example, *the miraculous pitcher, that holds water with the mouth downwards* is a figurative expression that stands for *vagina* (Allan and Burridge, 1991: 15) while *sugar, basket, cripes* or *crumbs* are respectively remodellings for *shit, bastard, and Christ* (Allan and Burridge, 1991: 15).

Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003) argue that such expressions date from antiquity since it is reported that the Greek historian Plutarch wrote that the ancient Athenians used to cover up the ugliness of words like *harlots, taxes* and *prison* with auspicious and kindly terms such as *companions, contributions* and *chamber*. In other words, euphemisms make harsh reality appear natural, and this is the reason why politicians use them to manipulate people and skilfully influence their thoughts in such a tacit manner to make the latter esteem them. One case is that of *nuclear weapons* that are referred to as *nuclear shields, nuclear deterrents, and nuclear umbrella* that are used this way to divert people and show them that they are important (Aitchison, 1999: 110). People often hear terms like *neutralize* for *kill, murder* (Molina I Diez, nd: 1). In the case of Rwanda, the *abanyururu* (prisoners) are called *abagororwa* (people being reeducated).

Allan and Burridge (1991) give the word euphemism a definition that embodies all this variety of expressions. They refer to it as an alternative to the dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or, through giving offence, that of the audience or of some third party (Allan and Burridge, 1991: 11).

Like Allan and Burridge, Frederick points out the existence of harmful euphemisms referred to as dysphemistic euphemisms. A dysphemistic euphemism is a euphemism used with euphemistic intent, that is, a term that is derogatory toward its referent. He illustrates this by the euphemistic language about menstruation used by young American girls to divert adults and boys from the actual topic of their conversation. In fact, these girls identify menstruation with a nuisance, something to fear or be ashamed of (Frederick, nd: 7).

Allan and Burridge (1991) claim that euphemisms may mislead people and that they may hinder them from understanding issues like the transmission of AIDS. They give the example of the use of *exchange of bodily fluids* to describe what happens during sexual intercourse. People understood it to include saliva and sweat and implied that the two kinds of fluids are also means through which one can be contaminated when they do not apparently transmit AIDS (Allan and Burridge, 1991:

53). Therefore specific terms like *amasohoro* (sperm) should be used during campaigns against AIDS, sexual education both at home and at school in order to help people have a better understanding of the issue.

Another thing is that euphemisms change in several ways. They can remain the same but acquire some more meaning as can be seen through the example of the American English term *tramp* that originally meant a female prostitute but whose meaning has developed to become a disapproving name for any promiscuous or slovenly woman (<http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/SFL/EngluVgl.SW/page%2003.htm>, p.7).

Andersson and Trudgill (1992) define euphemisms as nicer words and refer to them as a category of complaints about the misuse of words along with innovations and malapropisms (Andersson and Trudgill, 1992: 17). An example of malapropism is the use of *condescension* in *there's lots of condescension on the windows* instead of *there's lots of condensation on the windows* (Andersson and Trudgill, 1992: 18).

A short survey of language and culture, verbal taboos and euphemisms has been given. As far as taboo words are concerned, they have been defined in many different ways, yet all the definitions converge and center around vulgar language that is culture specific and that must be either forbidden or avoided. As for the role they play in society, not all researchers share the same view. Some regard them as an impediment to linguistic democracy and argue that they be broken in order not to build a society of hypocrite people while others argue that they serve as a means to regulate the behaviour of the people and that they must be replaced by euphemisms. In Rwanda, the investigation of sexual taboos will reveal to us the role Rwandans assign to them.

2. 2. Theoretical and analytical framework

Before dealing with the theoretical and analytical framework, it would be necessary to point out that this work is partly an ethnographic study.

The term ethnography also referred to as social anthropology, cultural anthropology, or ethnology by some researchers (Sarantakos, 1988: 195) has been assigned several definitions. Sarantakos defines it as the science of 'ethnos', that is, nations, people or cultures (Sarantakos, 1988: 195), and Saville-Troike (1982) refers to it as a field of study whose primary concern is the description and analysis of culture (Saville-Troike, 1982: 1). Like Saville-Troike, Creswell (1998) defines ethnography as the study of an intact cultural or social group or of (an) individual(s) within that

group based primarily on observations over a long period of time spent by the researcher in the field (Creswell, 1998: 246 as cited in As de Vos, et al, 2002: 274). Ball (1992) considers an ethnographic qualitative study as one which routinely involves the systematic use of senses, namely the sense of sight or observation, and reflection on their varying role of materials gathered and analysed (Ball, 1992: 1).

According to Hymes (1962) the focus of the ethnography of speaking is the patterning of communicative behaviour as it constitutes one of the systems of culture, as it functions within the holistic context of culture, [and] as it relates to patterns of other component systems (Hymes, 1962 as cited in Saville- Troike, 1982: 1).

Saville-Troike (1982) assigns the ethnography of speaking two foci, the first of which is particularist and the second generalizing. She notes that not only does it describe and understand communicative behaviour, but that it also formulates concepts and theories upon which to build a global metatheory (explores how other theories must be formed to be successful) of human communication (Saville-Troike, 1982: 2). The first focus of ethnography as defined by Saville-Troike matches with Herodotus' definition that ethnography is the science of the particular (Silverman, 1997: 11). Silverman (1997) states that an ethnographic study is grounded in a specific context be it cultural, historical, etc, and according to Ricoeur (1983), it is embedded in a field that is limited in time and space (Ricoeur, 1983 as cited in Silverman, 1997: 11). As would be evident in due course, it is the communicative behaviour as put forward by Hymes and Saville-Troike which will form the theoretical and analytical frame of this study.

Despite all these definitions that favour ethnography as a method of data collection and analysis, Mark (1996) warns that ethnography is characterised by the researcher's point of view, biases, methods and experiences (Mark, 1996 as cited in As de Vos, et al, 2002: 274). However, Hymes (1964: 26) and Saville-Troike (1982) offer a possibility on how an ethnographer can overcome assumptions towards what a given speech community considers to be language, or who or what might speak it in case one is conducting research in a culture different from one's own. Saville-Troike notes that field work is necessary (Saville-Troike, 1982: 4). In case a researcher is conducting an investigation in his/her own culture, for example, he/she can compare and contrast different people's ways of speaking in order for him/her to acquire a sense of cultural relativism (Saville-Troike, 1982: 4).

The above views imply that ethnographic research is observational and descriptive, and in accordance with this, Saville-Troike (1982) notes that the aim of ethnography is to guide the collection and analysis of descriptive data on how social meaning is conveyed (Saville-Troike, 1982: 2). Besides Silverman (1997) states that, in an ethnographic study, social facts should be observed rather than deduced (Silverman, 1997: 9). In the same sense, Creswell (1998) says that the role of the ethnographer is to examine a given group's observable and learned patterns of behaviour, customs, and ways of life, to listen to and record the voices of the informants so as to come up with descriptive and holistic cultural portrait of the group (Creswell, 1998 as cited in As de Vos, et al, 2002: 344). However, in the current study, informants' responses were jotted down for lack of a tape-recorder. This may not affect its outcome, though. In fact, the researcher did her best to take note of all the informants' arguments and in most cases, she read the text aloud to the informant to check whether she had given credit to his/her text.

It seems difficult to separate data collection from data analysis, yet what happens during the latter is that the researcher identifies and classifies the most striking themes, the recurring ideas or language, and the patterns of belief that link people and setting together (As de Vos, et al, 2002: 344). To avoid entangling himself/herself into details the researcher reduces the general identified themes into a small, manageable set of themes (Sarantakos, 1988: 317). He/she then seeks to identify grounded categories of meanings held by the informants, critiques and interprets the different categories and patterns between them, looks for plausible explanations for the data, and then demonstrates how and why these explanations are reliable (As de Vos, et al, 2002: 344). This reflects exactly what will be done in the fourth chapter of the current study where cultural themes will be identified, classified, described, and interpreted. By cultural themes, we understand the interrelation of patterns in various aspects of culture (Saville-Troike, 1982: 33). Saville-Troike (1982) illustrates them with themes like the directness or the indirectness of a people, an anti-sex theme that characterises the Manus of New Guinea, etc. She made ethnographic descriptions of many African tribal groups' verbal and non-verbal means of communication (Saville-Troike, 1982: 3).

However, the focus of this study is on Hymes's and Saville-Troike's communicative competence theory as it applies to the use of taboos. Therefore, it is necessary to point out that the intent of communicative competence is to "show the ways in which the systemically possible, the feasible, and the appropriate are linked to produce and interpret actually occurring cultural behaviour" (Hymes: 1971: 286). Thus, it will be shown that taboos are part of Rwandan culture, Kinyarwaanda

language use and heritage, i.e, they are cultural specific. Thus knowing to whom, when, where, etc to use taboo words is a manifestation of the knowledge of the linguistic and cultural behaviour of a people since culture and language are interwoven. The use (or non-use) of taboo words is a form of social behaviour and whoever uses them appropriately in Rwandan society, for example, is said to have communicative competence.

While this chapter gives an overview of the literature review, the theoretical and analytical framework, the next chapter will deal with the research design and methodology.

Chapter 3

Research design and methodology

This chapter is about the specification of the research design and the methods of data collection for the present work.

This study aims at examining, analysing, and discussing certain Kinyarwaanda taboo words in relation to their meaning in order to help the youth improve communication and the value of Rwandan culture.

3. 1. Sampling.

As has been said in the introduction, the current Rwanda population consists of a people whose backgrounds are different due to subsequent displacements that took place in the country between 1959 and 1994. After the 1994 war and genocide, former Rwandan refugees, who were scattered in the diaspora around the world, went back to Rwanda where they found their countrymen who had never fled to other countries and with whom they are living together. Both categories of Rwandans have much in common, yet there may be cultural mismatches between them. Given this, the population that provided the sample was chosen on the basis of the different backgrounds to avoid biases. Their choice also depended on age. Thus a total number of twenty-five people were chosen. The majority of them were the youth who are probably the more concerned with cultural problems and whose understanding of sexuality taboos and their impact on the Rwandan society might be different from that of older people. The old people's view is also necessary to help see whether there is a gap between their ideas and those of the youth.

3. 2. Methods of data collection

3. 2. 1. Data collection

Interviews were conducted with the aforesaid people, and the collection of information on Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words was a result of these interviews, each of which lasted an hour. However, some interviews went for more than an hour. In addition, available documents in the main library at the national university of Rwanda also provided me with information. I read and consulted documents on Rwandan culture paying much more attention to sexuality taboo words. I also printed and made photocopies of the most striking documents relevant to the current study.

3. 2. 2. Qualitative methods

Research methods are normally divided in two main types namely the quantitative and qualitative research. The proponents of this distinction argue that quantitative research relies on statistics, measures facts and focuses on variables that are independent from actual research (Nunan: 1992: 3 and Neuman, 2000:16) whereas qualitative research does not use numbers and is subjective (Nunan, 1992: 3). This implies that quantitative research is neutral. However, it is criticized for being reductionist, probably with an incomplete description of social reality (Johnson, 1992: 34)

According to Neuman (2000), both methods approach social life differently, and use different techniques in collecting data appropriate to their purposes, yet they may also complement one another (Neuman, 2000: 122). Similarly, Reichardt and Cook consider the distinction between the two methods simplistic and argue that they overlap (Reichardt and Cook as cited in Nunan, 1992: 3).

Irrespective of the different views above and despite what might be the limits of qualitative research, the present study focuses much more on the qualitative method of research, which was utilized to collect the data for a number of reasons. Sarantakos (1988) notes that qualitative research employs non-quantitative methods of data collection and analysis, and that qualitative research aims towards exploration of social relations, and describes reality as experienced by the respondents (Sarantakos, 1988: 6). It also tries to capture reality in interaction (Sarankatos, 1988: 46). His argument matches with Neuman' s (2000) that qualitative research takes account of social reality and cultural meaning, interactive processes and events, value judgments and the involvement of researchers in interpreting data (Neuman, 2000: 16). In the same respect, Neuman (2000) notes that qualitative research does a detailed investigation of issues that arise in the natural flow of social life (Neuman: 2000: 122). Futhermore, Bryman (1988) argues that qualitative research aims at viewing events, norms, actions, values, etc from the perspective of the people under study (Bryman, 1988: 61). As can be seen, without pretending that qualitative research is better than quantitative research, the former allows the researcher to gain insights from the research field. In the case of the current study, interviews have been conducted as a method of data collection to get such insights.

3. 2. 3. Interviews

Interviewing is referred to as a form of questioning that uses verbal questioning as the main technique of data collection (Sarankatos, 1988: 246), and interviews yield rich insights into

people's experiences, opinions, aspirations, attitudes and feelings (May, 1997: 109). Silverman (1997) considers interviewing as a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives (Silverman, 1997:113). As de Vos, et al considers them as a useful tool to generate in-depth large amounts of data quickly (As de Vos, et al, 2002: 305). Bergum sees a qualitative interview as conversation rather than an interview since it is two-sided (Bergum as cited in Morse, 1991: 61), and Kvale defines qualitative interviews as attempts to understand the world from the participants' view point, to unfold meaning of people's experiences and to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations (Kvale as cited in As de Vos, et al, 2002: 292). However, interviews, especially one-to-one interviews, are limited in that participants may be unwilling to share (As de Vos, et al, 2002:305).

According to Nunan (1992), interviews can be referred to in terms of their degree of formality, and can be placed on a continuum ranging from unstructured through semi-structured to structured (Nunan, 1992: 149). Sarankatos (1998) points out that they can also be classified depending on how standard the informants' answers are (Sarankatos, 1988: 247), yet he argues that they are employed in most research design regardless of the underlying methodology (Sarankatos, 1988: 247). Silverman (1997) also recognizes the diversity of interviews, but he says that they all are special forms of conversation and that all of them are interactional (Silverman, 1997: 113).

Considering structured and semi-structured interviews, Nunan (1992: 121) and May (2001) regard the former as a formal oral interview whose agenda is completely predetermined since the researcher has a list of predetermined questions which are asked following their respective order (Nunan, 1992: 149 and May, 2001: 123). As for the semi-structured interview, Nunan (1992) says that the researcher does not possess a list of predetermined questions, but just has a general idea of the interview's outcome (Nunan, 1992: 149). Nunan's view of interviews implies that whoever enters an interview with a list of questions utilizes a structured interview as an approach to research.

Unlike Nunan (1992), May (2001) argues that a researcher enters a semi-structured interview with well-specified questions but that he or she has the latitude to probe beyond the answers (May, 2001: 123). In the same sense, As De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, and Delpont (2002) note that all the questions need not answering, that the interview may move from the question on the schedule, but that the researcher must decide how much the deviation is acceptable (As de Vos, Strydom, Fouche, and Delpont, 2002: 303). Yet the same As de Vos, et al claims that interviews, particularly

one-to one interviews, have limitations in that participants might refuse to cooperate (As de Vos, et al, 2002: 305).

Considering the different views, there is a need to specify which kind of interview was conducted to collect the data for the current work, and to give an overview of how the interview was conducted. In order to gather the information that gives evidence of social life through rich interactions, a semi-structured face-to-face, and pen-and paper interview was conducted with individuals. Twenty-three people, young as well as old, were interviewed, and each of them was expected to cover an hour interview. But as already said some interviews went for more than an hour, which sounds normal because semi-structured interviews last for a considerable amount of time and may be interesting depending on the topic which is being discussed (As de Vos, et al, 2002: 303) and even on the personal interest of the interviewee. All the interviewees were asked twenty-three direct and open-ended questions, but in case there was a need for clarification, other questions were asked, and from time to time both the interviewees and I were engaged in small talk that diverted them and prevented them from being bored.

With the majority of the interviewees, the interview took place in Kinyarwaanda, Rwanda's home and national language through which they felt comfortable to express themselves. Few informants preferred the interview to be conducted in English rather than Kinyarwaanda because they had mastered the former better. Meanwhile, in both cases, some interviewees could shift from Kinyarwaanda to French and vice-versa or from English to Kinyarwaanda and in the latter case the reverse was also true. The shift from a language to another was either due to the lack of appropriate vocabulary, or to the fact that it was easy for some informants to use taboo words in foreign languages. A list of fourteen questions guided the interviews and these questions can be found in the appendix.

3. 3. Location

All the interviews took place in Butare town, particularly at the National University of Rwanda. All the youth interviewed are E.P.L.M (Ecole Pratique des Langues Modernes or School of Modern Languages) students because their teachers, who are colleagues of mine, facilitated me the contact. Moreover, as E.P.L.M is not far from my home, I walked and thus saved money.

The majority of the old people were lecturers at the National University because they have a better understanding of research than other Rwandans. The few people from outside the University, with whom I attempted to conduct my research, were not cooperative. Some found my topic strange and

therefore showed no interest in it. But surprisingly, an old informant who is in charge of research in a Rwandan research institution also had the same attitude. He was disgusted after he had heard what my research topic was about, left me alone in his office for more than an hour, and only came back to tell me that, in the history of Rwanda, I was the first and only person to talk about taboo words. He denied their existence in Kinyarwaanda language, but recognised that of euphemisms. To get rid of me, he said that he did not know any taboo words and asked me to leave his office. Others demanded some kind of payment which I could not fulfil. Briefly, Butare was chosen to facilitate the research, minimize financial problems, and prevent the research from being interrupted.

After describing the methods of data collection, the concern of the next chapter will be the presentation, discussion and analysis of the data collected.

Chapter 4

Results, discussion and analysis

This chapter deals with the presentation of the data gathered through the use of pen-and-paper interviews, the discussion and the analysis of the data. Interviews were conducted with twenty-three people, fifteen of which were young people between 18 and 23, and eight were old people between 55 and a hundred. All twenty-three were asked fourteen similar questions that were sometimes followed by others that emerged from the interviewees' responses whenever they required clarification. In the following, I attempt to give a thematic presentation and analysis of the informants' answers.

4.1 Origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words.

This variable deals with understanding the origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words amongst the Rwandans interviewed. A remarkable number of them lacked knowledge of the origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words and this could be seen when they were required to tell the reason why sexuality taboo words are considered as taboo. For example, one informant said that Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words should not be uttered and that it is just like that, and his explanation complies with Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams' s (2003) view that people do not know why certain words are considered taboo, but only know they are (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 478). In the same manner a great deal of informants considered them as part of the cultural heritage and traced their origin to Rwandans' forefathers while others associated them with sources like priesthood. The following can be presented as the sources of taboo words in Kinyarwaanda:

4.1.1. Cultural instrument

Many informants thought that they emanate from their forefathers who transmitted them from generation to generation because of the respect they had towards one another and in order to make Rwandans namely the youth know Rwandan culture, avoid saying shameful and dirty things, behave themselves and act well, and be respectful and disciplined. These Rwandans assumed that Kinyarwaanda taboo words were meant to regulate their lives. Their view looks like that of Herbert (1992) who argues that, in Northern Sotho, *diila* are common conventional deterrent formulas used to encourage minds to conform to the norms of the society they live in (Herbert, 1992: 331). To illustrate this, one informant gave the example of women who were not allowed to mention their in-laws' names in order to show them respect. He said that this kind of taboo and the incest taboo are

purely grounded in Rwandan culture. However, one informant stated that it is difficult to trace the cultural origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words, and that only their linguistic origin can probably be traced. Two other informants denied their existence and only took cognizance of *gutsiinda*, euphemisms or words expressing respect and politeness.

One informant said that taboo words were meant to establish harmony in Rwandan society. According to him, as Rwandans had different backgrounds, the successors of the first Rwandan king tried to identify customs that were common to all Rwandans and then appealed to them all to observe them. When answering the question to know the reason why sexuality taboo words are taboos, one informant said that their use would be an exaggeration since one cannot mention them publicly with one's own mouth and another said that the suppression of sexuality taboo words was intended to teach children beautiful language through the use of euphemisms that sound polite and respectful. In short, taboo words were used as a tool for cultural harmony and societal continuity.

4.1.2. Priesthood-religion.

As has been mentioned above, some Kinyarwaanda taboo words like those expressing the relationship between a woman and her in-laws are grounded in Rwandan culture. Yet some other taboo words like sexuality taboo words originate from the colonial period as three aged informants said. They shared the same view that, before colonization, even though there were things to be said and others not to be said, Rwandans were free to use all words, dirty words included especially during the *immandwa* (*immandwa* are divinities) ceremony, that is, a cult to calm down a god named Lyangombe whose blood was drunk by the Rwandan land and overcome a great epidemic that was killing Rwandans due to this (Kagame, 1972: 117). Lucy (1974) points out that the spirits of Lyangombe called *immandwa* speak in their voices to people who consulted them about sickness or other misfortune (Lucy, 1974, 175-176).

During this ceremony, people violated sexuality taboo words and indulged in illegal sexual relations freely. However, missionaries were so much against these traditions that they eventually banned them. One of these informants said nuns even replaced the word *amabere* (breasts) by *igituza* (chest). His argument is similar to that of Allan and Burridge (1991) that a woman's breasts and nipples are subject to sex-fear and are therefore not freely mentionable (Allan and Burridge, 1991: 55). Another informant argued that priests suppressed Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words that they considered as *ibishitani* (devils), and therefore defined them as instructions given to people by the religion. It is in this line that we refer to Sagarin, who argues that obscene language was used at death-wailing ceremonies in several primitive, ritual groups, at weddings in earlier

Roman times, in the sacred rain-making ceremony of a South African tribe, to cite but a few (Sagarin, 1962 as cited in Vetter, 1971: 172-173). He also argues that it is difficult to determine when exactly these words were suppressed and assumes that they might have been considered as obscene by the early European travellers with their own moral judgments (Vetter, 1971: 172). In the Rwandan context, an informant said that the suppression of sexuality taboo words has given rise to a quasi-artificial society.

4. 1. 3. Superstitions and cultural beliefs

Some informants associated Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words with superstitions. For example, they said that a woman who mentioned her father-in-law's name publicly could cause misfortune to the family and that a person who uttered such words felt bad. With regard to this, Kagabo (1992: 248) argues that Rwandans were afraid of transgressing euphemisms because of the cultural belief in *umwaaku* or bad luck. This might still be the case today as reflected through one female informant's exclamation: "My God! How dirty these words are! *Ndagira umwaaku!* (I will have bad luck)". Yet, the belief in misfortune will be dealt with later when presenting social epithets.

Apart from the three components above, there seems to be a correlation between the origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words and some attitudes in Rwandan culture, and as Wilson (1993) argues, in a language, taboos may be inexplicable as well as they may be traced to specific social attitudes (Wilson, 1993: 1).

4. 2. Taboo words and attitudes.

Here the focus is on whether taboo words in Kinyarwaanda have any form of relationship with ethnic epithets, sexuality, and the general social relations. Findings indicate that all the informants except one were able to trace them to either of the Rwandan's attitudes listed above.

4. 2.1. Social relationships

Almost all the interviewees' answers revolved around deference and/or respect, and social distance as shown below. One respondent gave Kinyarwaanda taboo words great value and found them advantageous in that they express respect. She assumed that people should know and respect them by using them both at the right place and time. She established social distance between street children and villagers on the one hand, and educated people on the other hand. She believed that when the first category of people uses Kinyarwaanda taboo words, educated people who hear them are shocked even though the words are there [in the Kinyarwaanda language].

Another respondent would feel uncomfortable to explain to a small child the expression *imibonano mpuzabitsina* (*imibonano* is from the verb *kubonana* that means to see each other or to meet, *mpuza* derives from *guhuza*, that is, to cause to encounter or meet; *imibonano mpuzabitsina* is the encounter of sexes, i.e, sexual relations) as required because clarifying such a concept is revealing one's sacred secret. Many other informants also assigned taboo words the role of respect in that women do not dare to mention their fathers-in law's names. One informant gave the example of a man whose name is *Segore* and whose daughter-in-law is constrained not to utter all the words containing the root *gor* all her life. This is paradoxical to the fact that certain men practised prohibited sexual relations with their daughters-in-law, i.e, *gukazanura* (Musabyimana, 1999: 128) or with their mothers-in-law as can be seen through the proverb *iyi nyokobukwe akunze ukurura ihururu* ('when your mother-in-law yields, you pull her cloth/you undress her and have sex with her') (Musabyimana, 1999: 160).

Apart from women's respect towards their fathers-in-law, some informants said that they also owed respect to their mothers-in-law. An informant said that a woman must call her mother-in-law *mukaka*, that is, grandmother. This is also true for some other societies.

For example, Schladt (1998) states that personal name avoidance is common in certain native cultures of Austronesia, Australia, parts of Africa and among certain native American groups (Schladt, 1998: 421). Therefore Rwanda is one of the African countries where name avoidance expresses respect. Schladt further states that, even though personal name taboo does not exist in !Xoo (a Khoisan language), there is certainly a type of euphemism involving 'deferential language' whereby the individual observes verbal decorum or expresses the social respect a young person must show his/her elders (my father/mother for an older man/woman, my father-in law for someone who gives generously, X's father/mother instead of a personal name) (Schladt, 1998: 424).

Likewise, Rwandan children do not call parents by their names, instead, they refer to them as *dad* or *mom* and this respect applies to every adult (Harelimana, 1997: 142-143). Harelimana's view complies with that of two informants who said that children are not allowed to mention adults' names because they owe them respect and that some adults avoid mentioning other adults' names thanks to the respect they owe them. However, according to Halerimana (1997) the introduction of the western religion to Rwanda enabled people to call elders by their Christian names (Halerimana. 1997: 143).

Besides, to show respect to kings, people could refer to their death and corpse saying *umwami yatanze*, and *umugogo w' umwami* instead of the common expressions *umwami yapfuye* (the king has died), and *intumbi y' umwami* (the king's body). According to Saville-Troike (1982), taboos associated with respect forms include avoidance of a ruler (Saville-Troike, 1982: 218)

4. 2. 2. Ethnic epithets

Epithets are people's attitudes towards one another and their use reveals something about their users (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 481). The question here is to show whether there exists a correlation between taboo words and ethnic epithets in Rwanda.

According to Kagame (1972), King Yuhi III constrained his descendants not to marry *abacyaabakazi*, that is, women from a clan called *abacyaaba* (Kagame, 1972: 10). Kagabo (1992: 249) cites the *Ababaanda* whose name should not be mentioned, and as Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams argue, when an act is taboo reference to it may also become taboo (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 476). However, none of the informants considers the concept *abacyaaba* to be taboo. Three informants said that people do not dare to mention names of given clans early in the morning to avoid misfortune the rest of the day. An informant evoked the case of *abashingwe* who may be given nicknames by people who belong to the same social network and would not like to call them by their real names in order not to have bad luck. With regard to this, Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003) note that the use of any kind of epithets tells people something about the users of those words (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 481). Therefore, the Rwandan society must have been characterized by stereotypes.

On the other hand, one informant regarded verbal taboos related to ethnic epithets as a traditional belief that is still observed only by old people when the young have already stopped to segregate people. In the same line, one informant mentioned the fact that old people are not scared of uttering the concepts *hutus* and *tutsis* when the young have been considering them as tribal taboo names since the end of the 1994 genocide. Young people avoid mentioning these words in order not to shock their companions of either tribe. This attitude is extremely different from that held by people in former Rwanda where the term *Hutu* and *Tutsi* respectively meant a poor person or servant and a rich person as one of the informant stated through the proverbs below:

a. *umuhutu umukiza ikimyira akakigusiga*, an *umuhutu* meaning a poor person in former Rwandan society. He explained this proverb as follows: when you help a poor person become rich, he remains ungrateful and shows himself superior to you.

b. *umututsi umucumbikira mu ikirambi akagutanga ku uburiri* means that when you do a Tutsi a favour, he tries his best to disempower you and take profit of all your fortune.

Through these proverbs, it is noticed again that Rwandans somehow had bad attitudes towards one another. However, as can be seen, the terms *Hutu* and *Tutsi* have gradually acquired different connotations until they became taboo after the 1994 genocide, which is not surprising since there is widespread belief that major changes in the social structure, for example in social revolutions and war, entail change in communication too (Saville-Troike, 1982: 36).

4. 2. 3. Sexuality and euphemisms.

Sexuality is referred to as the sexual nature of somebody (Crowther, 1995: 1078) and generally, words related to sexuality make up a set of taboo words in many cultures (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 478) and are therefore replaced by euphemisms. A euphemism is a word or phrase that replaces a taboo word or serves to avoid frightening or unpleasant subjects (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 479). The question here is to know whether this applies to Rwandan culture.

Findings show that half of the informants lacked knowledge of the link between taboo words and sexuality whereas one informant found it a betrayal and a source of misfortune to reveal the name of a girl one has had a sexual encounter with since no man will marry her. Six other respondents' view was that people cannot just utter words related to sexuality, and another one said that even the *évolués* and in mass media people do not use them. Instead they use the expression *imibonano mpuzabitsina* (euphemism for the word meaning sexual relations) to convey to Rwandans a given message.

Similarly, an informant said that an adult needs not to be specific in order to make a child understand something. He said that when a child is either naked or badly seated and when an adult tells him/her *hisha ubwo busa bwawe* meaning *hide your nothing*, the child immediately knows what he/she is required to do. Another informant stated that somebody may intend to have illegal sexual relations with a young girl, but fails to express his need openly and uses gestures or other means. Gestures are part of devices used for lexical avoidance in !Xoo. Simons (1982) gives the example of pointing at something rather than saying its name (Simons, 1982 as cited in Schladt, 1998: 427). However, some informants mentioned cases in which sexuality taboo words are transgressed.

4. 2. 4. Violation of taboos.

As can be seen in the passage above, there are instances when Rwandans violated sexuality taboo words. One informant said that at occasions such as *immandwa* (or *imandwa* in some books), a woman could tell her father-in-law *wancometse* meaning *cannot you have sexual relations with me* [*gucomeka* is to introduce, to penetrate, to plug in something etc]. Likewise, another informant gave the example of *igitaramo* (a gathering of people) where people who were the same age used to violate some taboo words. In the same manner, Sagarin (1962) cites Pritchard, an anthropologist, who felt that obscene language used by tribes or groups was probably accepted in ceremonies, but tabooed in all other contexts (Sagarin, 1962 as cited in Vetter, 1971: 173). Yet the *igitaramo* is considered to be too formal by an informant who argued that taboo words cannot be used in such circumstances in order not to make other people feel uncomfortable.

Another point is that, in the United States, in some circles, especially in male groups such as armed forces and adolescent peer groups, obscene words are very much used and the more a member of the group uses them in conversation, the more peers judge him on such qualities as ribaldry, masculinity, and sophistication (Vetter, 1971: 173). In the case of Rwanda, few informants said that social factors like age, sex, setting and audience determine the kind of language to be used in a given society. However, one of them said that even though people who are the same age easily use sexuality taboo words, some can never utter them because of the way they have been brought up and that in this last category respondents prefer to use languages other than Kinyarwaanda to convey the intended message.

Other contexts in which taboo words, especially those on sexuality, are used are insults, swear words as well as jokes. For example, an informant who believed words on sexuality are not tabooed but words expressing politeness supported his argument by giving the case of people in Ruhengeri, who easily swear *ndagaswera mama* (that I fuck my mother). "Insults are intended to make other people angry", an informant said. An informant gave the example of *uragaswera nyoko* (fuck your mother) and *uragaca igituba cya nyoko* (cut your mother's vagina). Seemingly, swear words and insults containing sexuality taboo words are directed at females while Allan and Burrige (1991) argue that taboo words as insults affront the target's face and destroy social harmony (Allan and Burrige, 1991: 117). This probably means that an individual loses his face more when his mother's sexual organs are used to insult him.

4. 2. 5. Totem

One informant said that every Rwandan clan has a totem which cannot be killed by its members and whose name they cannot mention. He gave the example of *inyamanza* (a kind of bird) for the *Abagesera* clan. The avoidance of names of a certain insect, or animal, or thing is obvious in Rwandan society. It is believed that the use of their names can either cause misfortune or provoke their sudden presence (Kagabo, 1992: 248). This is not peculiar to Rwandan culture. Saville-Troike notes that animal name avoidance is included among taboos related to religion or magic, and that in many speech communities people believe that animals or their spirits understand human language and that they may cause them discomfort in a way or another (Saville-Troike, 1982: 215-216).

4. 3. Relevance of Kinyarwaanda taboo words in Rwandan culture.

This variable will show what the relevance and value of Kinyarwaanda taboo words, especially those on sexuality, are in Rwandan culture. On the one hand, findings indicate that some informants gave little if any value to these words due to some factors. They said that many parents consider them to be out-dated, that only old people and some Christian young people consider those who use them to be amoral, that their origin is unknown, and that they urge people to misbehave clandestinely. On the other hand, an informant said that old women who hear people uttering such words treat them as prostitutes or culturally uprooted people. These women's attitude complies with what research has proven until recently. In fact, research has shown that women use fewer stigmatized forms than men (Labov, 1970: 288), that women in all countries are shy of mentioning some parts of the human body directly, and that they create innocent, more decent and euphemistic paraphrases (Cameron, 1998: 210).

A number of informants said that taboo words cause the loss of Kinyarwaanda words and their replacement by borrowed words, and impede the understanding of certain issues like diseases in the case of doctors failing to tell their patients what it is they are exactly suffering from. Meanwhile many informants assigned Kinyarwaanda taboo words an important role in the society as will be seen below.

4.3.1 Taboo words and behaviour

At the very beginning of this chapter, it was said that Rwandans thought taboos helped people, particularly the youth, to behave well. Many informants said that taboo words on sexuality are still valuable in Rwandan culture in that they teach people to respect sex and behave accordingly thus reducing prostitution, unwanted pregnancies, and sexually transmitted diseases.

An informant said that the use of Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words reminds children of their existence and function, and that children associate them with the pornographic materials like movies they watch on western television and then become rude. In other words sexuality taboo words prevent children from becoming rude, and many informants put emphasis on their role as a tool to teach children respect of selves and others, respect of human value and other people's rights, politeness, etiquette and modesty. Taboo words are said to be a sign of good upbringing and are compared to law, regulations or barriers that must be respected to prevent Rwandans from neglecting their culture.

Another informant stated that in African societies, taboos are meant to teach Africans the proper norms of the society. This view is in accordance with that of the Justices (1979) who argued that in any society, a taboo is meant to regulate the behaviour of the people and then make the social system work and stay in balance (Justice and Justice, 1979: 260). Yet another informant believed that even though there was no fatality, a person who violated a taboo was automatically punished and that Rwandans looked for means to establish equilibrium. However he did not understand how Rwandans dared to call *abeswere* [a dirty word as will be seen later] the Hutu clan that was in charge of culture, picking and harvesting, and regretted the fact that Christianity put an end to the Rwandan organization. Besides, taboo words are assigned some more value in Rwanda culture.

4. 3. 2. Taboo words and secrecy

According to an informant, words on sexuality are considered as taboo words because they refer to secret things that are secretly done by two partners, and that should not be uttered publicly unless one behaves like an animal. He regarded them as a gift from God, which should be respected. The only instance where these words could be used was at the *gukuna* ceremony which was secretly done and where women were allowed to use them to teach young girls how to lengthen their clitoris. Another informant said that sexuality taboo words cannot be used since they are names of sexual organs while another completed this idea saying that even the place where God created sexual organs is hidden. He further said that sexual organs deserve respect and that people wear clothes to hide their nakedness to be different from animals. With regard to this, many informants said that sexuality taboo words teach people how to keep sexual matters a secret.

4. 3. 3. Taboo words and identity

Not only did many informants believe that taboo words help Rwandans strengthen, deepen, spread and preserve culture that is transmitted from generation to generation, but also that they help

respect both this culture and Rwandans' values. In addition, an informant said that taboo words on sexuality distinguish Rwandan culture from other cultures. As an illustration, he said that a Rwandan who uses them publicly is called *umushi* (a person who belongs to the Shi tribe, a people in South Kivu in the Democratic Republic of Congo) because Congolese do not find it a problem to mention the names of sexual organs. He shared this view with another informant who said that things that are considered as taboo in Rwanda are not regarded so in Uganda. Their view can be sustained by Fromkin and Rodman's (1993) that forbidden words reflect the peculiar customs and views of a given society (Fromkin and Rodman, 1993: 303) and that language plays an important role in maintaining cultural identity as well as cultural diversity (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 101).

However, even though findings have already shown that taboos vary from one area to another, from family to family, I would like to say that I cannot commit myself and confirm that the *Bashi* freely utter sexual organs. The only thing I know is that Swahili-speaking Congolese easily say *Kutomba* (to fuck), and a Lingala speaker can easily tell someone *nakosiba yo* (I will fuck you).

The suppression of sexuality taboo words in a family gives it specific features that can be referred to as family identity as one informant said. He stated that Kinyarwaanda taboo words help people maintain the equilibrium in their families and impose other families to respect them, thanks to their behaviour. He went on to say that they help their children to have a nice future in that all people trust them and compete to get *abageni* (brides) among them. In the same way, an informant said that the suppression of taboo words in a family reflects politeness and discipline. He went on to say that when a child uses them, people blame his parents and refer to him/her as X' s child who always utters rude and meaningless words.

4. 4. Impact of taboo words.

This section deals with the impact sexuality taboo words have on people who hear or read them, and on those who use them.

4. 4. 1. On hearers and readers

Findings show that sexuality taboo words may have both a negative and positive impact. Some informants said that their impact on people depends on criteria such as the message they convey, individuals using them, and so forth.

4. 4. 1. 1. Lack of impact.

One informant referred back to the former Rwandan society to show how the use of sexuality taboo words has no impact as such on people. He said that the Rwandan society was not as impervious to the use of taboo words as people think, that boys as well as girls had the freedom of speech during their conversation, and that they felt free to use sexuality taboo words and even to have sexual relations.

Other informants said that they did not mind hearing or reading sexuality taboo words. They said that when one knows their meaning, one has to just ignore and pretend not to have heard them either because of their being uttered by an irresponsible, or disrespectful, or stupid person. One informant explained herself saying that she used to be a teacher and that she could sometimes use these words to help students avoid the contamination of AIDS while another one said that people who are already aware of such words can neither be surprised nor do anything wrong. Some informants also said that taboo words on sexuality should have no effect on people who hear people of the same age using them, and on those who like hearing them.

According to an informant, sexuality taboo words have no impact on their readers in that the majority of people who read them are mature and are already informed about sexuality. However, he thought that there should not be too many books on sexuality since even the term *gusambana* tends to disappear and is replaced by *imibonano mpuzabitsina* which seems nicer and softer. *Gusambana* is losing its role as a euphemism and is being absorbed into the class of Kinyarwaanda taboo words because of the ephemeral nature of euphemisms (Vetter, 1971:171).

4. 4. 1. 2. Negative impact:

The informant who recognized the permissiveness of traditional Rwanda said that the suppression of sexuality taboo words gave birth to both the *défoulement* (exhibition) and *refoulement* (inhibition), which matches Lenneberg's definition of taboo as an expression which is inhibited (Lenneberg, 1966 as cited Vetter, 1971: 171), and that these words are related to insults today. Similarly, an informant said that it is rare to hear them since only a few people use them and that when a child insults another using expressions such as *gaswere nyoko* (fuck your mother), his parents beat him. Therefore, this punishment can be regarded as a negative effect on the child even though Vetter (1971) notes that the early parents' chastisement of children who utter social verbal taboos helps the latter to establish an emotional reaction to them and be afraid of immoral behaviour like having unauthorised sexual relations (Vetter, 1971: 175).

The majority of the informants thought that sexuality taboo words have a negative impact on people, especially the youth, who hear or read them in that they incite them to practise illegal sexual relations. One of them said that they corrupt an individual, push him to practise sexual relations, become a prostitute and use dirty words that make him undisciplined, while another compares them to pornographic materials whose importance is to destroy people's souls. Another said that many illegal children are born as a result of hearing or reading sexuality taboo words. It is in this respect that some informants mentioned books entitled *Umpangare Nguhangare* and *Iwawe n' Uwawe* which they said are misleading. In the latter, it seems that the author explains how men and women have sexual intercourse and shows pictures of varieties of sex positions that are captive.

Besides, a female informant said that a child who hears adults using taboo words on sexuality or sees them reading them has his/her mind spoiled, which he said is against Rwandan culture. She furthermore said that old people are against the government policy to inform children about sex through mass media in that mentioning sexuality taboo words leads them to discover more because of their wide inquisitive mind. For her, in former times children could not do anything wrong since they had never heard about sexuality.

Unlike what has been said above, an informant said that even people who are the same age whose conversation on sexuality taboo words lasts long, feel like enjoying sexual relations and think of having sex.

According to some informants, sexuality taboo words make some people either ashamed, or very astonished, or disgusted. For one of these informants, the reason is that Rwandans have not been allowed to use such words yet. One also said that some people become greatly ashamed and leave those who use them while another said that sexuality taboo words may change either one's behaviour or way of thinking. He thought that a person may become angry with the one who tells him such words and that they both may quarrel. According to Wilson (1993), psycholinguistic studies have already shown that profanity and other taboo words produce physical effects like elevated heart rate on people who read or hear them (Wilson, 1993: 2). Likewise, an informant thought that sexuality taboo words sound badly producing a shock to the ears of the person who hears them. Allan and Burrige (1991) give the example of somebody who read the draft version of their book *Euphemisms and Dysphemisms* and who felt upset by their occasional use of words like *cunt*. They argue that such a reader felt insulted because both writers had not observed appropriate politeness conventions for the kind of text they were writing (Allan and Burrige, 1991: 118).

4. 4. 1. 3. Positive impact:

Most of the informants who argued that sexuality taboo words have a positive impact make a distinction between their hearers and readers. They attributed hearing a negative role and their view has been considered above.

As far as reading is concerned, they did not find it a problem to read books on sexuality taboo words, which is paradoxical to what has been said by two informants who even gave examples of the sort of books that may mislead people. The same paradox was noticed when an informant regarded one of these books as an instructive one. In addition, two informants assumed that through reading, people discover and become aware of things they did not know.

Yet another informant assumed that, after reading, they should keep such things a secret since they are too bad to be used randomly. For another, a person who reads is alone, and as the reading takes place secretly, it is likely not to discomfort anybody. However, there is an informant who said that a person who reads sexuality taboo words is astonished and hardly believes how somebody can dare to write such things. This informant advised such a reader to try to find out the reason why the book was written before judging its writer. Another informant thought that when taboo words are intended to edify people, they make them understand better and get a precise meaning. He said that people who hear them gain much more than their counterparts who learn through the use of euphemisms. Another informant said that only people who are engaged benefit from either hearing or reading words on sexuality.

4. 4. 2. Impact of taboo words on their users

This is intended to show what Rwandans think of their fellowmen who dare to use sexuality taboo words. According to findings, some informants said taboo words have a positive impact on their users only when the latter have a fruitful goal to achieve. They thus encouraged people like writers who do not intend to mislead their readers but who would like either to perpetuate the culture or explain taboo words to ignorant people to write books or articles on them. They also found it normal to use sexuality taboo words during a lecture, or as a joke.

However, an informant said that the society has set up rules that make users of taboo words on sexuality look nasty, vulgar and flippant, free and easy in the eyes of their community. According to him, even on the radio people use euphemisms or poetic language like *gupfundura agaseke igihe kitageze* ('to uncover a small basket before due time', that is, to deflower/deflorate a girl before she

gets married) rather than sexuality taboo words. He differentiated between the language of the vulgar and the language of the intellectuals, and said that some words are so shocking to some people that before somebody uses them they have to apologise in order not to make their companions feel uncomfortable. In the end, he said that parents did not tell their children sexuality taboo words in order for the latter not to divulge their secret, and then asked himself the question whether Rwandans have the cultural right to subject their culture to white people when they latter do not reveal us theirs.

Two informants disapproved even of the use of euphemisms like *gusambana*, and *agakingirizo* (condom, *gukingiriza* meaning to protect) which they said may induce children to practise sexual relations clandestinely. One of them preferred innocent expressions like *SIDA iravugiriza* ('AIDS whistles' which means it is an alarming disease since it kills many people).

Through the different responses, findings show that almost all the informants recognized the existence of the language of the vulgar. They said that the society generally refers to users of sexuality taboo words with descriptives such as shameless, disrespectful, irresponsible, unserious, hopeless, delinquent; without modesty and self-respect, without personality, without good upbringing, not trustworthy; outlaws, hooligans, street children, prostitutes, fools, and the like.

The most reoccurring words are 'shameless' and 'disrespectful'. Furthermore, most of these informants, regardless of their age, said that the society refers to users of sexuality taboo words as people who have lost their culture, value and personality and who are therefore degraded, looked down upon, laughed at, avoided by others, and who may even be banned from the society.

According to Allan and Burrige, a certain Bonnie accuses a person named Hayduke of being a verbal cripple who uses obscenities for a crutch (Allan and Burrige, 1991: 119) because his frequent use of obscene words as filled pauses impede her understanding of the rest of what he is saying. Meanwhile, even though she does not judge him for the language as such, her judgement towards him is not good.

Some informants also said that the violation of sexuality taboo words can be compared to the violation of a taboo itself. Yet an informant said that despite all these qualifications, the society does not punish the users of Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words, which means that these words are a mere non-dit.

4. 5. Attitudes towards sexuality taboo words.

This is meant to see if all Rwandans give taboo words the same value. Findings show that only one informant thought that they all do since they all share the same culture, and very few said that all Rwandans do regard them the same way. The rest of the informants differentiated between Rwandans' attitudes taking into account factors such as beliefs, origins/milieu, age, level of education, social classes, upbringing, and likes/dislikes, which sound normal since findings have already shown that terms that are considered as taboo by some people are not necessarily regarded likewise by others (Molina I Diez, nd : 1). The difference between Rwandans who were in Rwanda before genocide and those from outside can be seen through the following statement from an informant:

“All Rwandans but those from outside, wherever they are from, have the same attitudes. Even educated people do not dare to use them despite their knowledge. They use other means to teach their children issues related to sexuality”.

However, an informant stated that illiterate people observe sexuality taboo words when intellectuals do not. However, he stated that these words are not taboo, and that one may simply fail to use them because of an inappropriate setting.

Concerning the age, an informant said that the youth think sexuality taboo words should not be used while trainers use them to sensitize others about AIDS and find them a big and important issue. Another said the old people sometimes use them when they are conversing with some outgoing young boys. Yet another informant thought that the youth are the ones who transgress sexuality taboo words. And a young informant said that old people use them shamelessly when they are among themselves.

As for the upbringing, an informant said that respectful people do not say whatever occurs in their mind and that disrespectful ones say whatever they want even in their daughters' presence the way pygmies and shepherds do. He went on to say that disrespectful people contribute to the death of Rwandan culture. Yet, he did not find it a problem to use sexuality taboo words with friends. What is shameful is using them when one is with a respectful person like one's father-in-law.

With regard to religion and beliefs, an informant sarcastically pushed forward the argument that some Rwandans, particularly those who have received Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour, find sexuality taboo words dirty and do not dare to use them when they normally practise illegal sexual

relations. He went on to say that not only people differ in their ways of eating, but that they also conceive things differently. Likewise, one informant said that some Rwandans find it a sacrilege to use sexuality taboo words while another informant divided Rwandans in three categories: conservatives, moderates and people who express their feelings and emotions freely. While the first group of people thinks that nothing about sexuality should be talked about, the second think that taboo words should be used in some contexts, and for the last, people are free to say whatever they want.

To come back to differences due to milieu, some informants also established a parallelism between villagers and urbanites, and people from Ruhengeri and the rest of Rwandans. He said that people in Ruhengeri are not rigid concerning taboos, and that only some of them respect taboo words.

4. 5. 1. Attitudes of people who were in Rwanda before 1994

Findings indicate that almost half of the informants said that these people still have the culture they used to have in ancient times and that they are still attached to it despite their 1994 bestiality because of a number of reasons. In fact, these informants believed that people who used to live in Rwanda before the 1994 war and genocide are aware of their then bad behaviour and indiscipline and of their lack of openness. Besides they believed that they understand sexuality taboo words better than people from outside do. For example, an informant said that they violated the taboo by raping Tutsi women openly. He established a cultural difference between the Hutus and the Tutsis. He said that despite the former's violation of the taboo and apart from the prisoners' current language he ignored, Rwandans still use euphemisms.

Paradoxically, few informants thought that people who used to stay in Rwanda before the 1994 genocide have a bad image of sexuality because of the evils such as dirty insults and rape that took place openly even when children were around. They said that because of the bad situations they experienced during war they are no longer surprised and/or curious when they hear sexuality taboo words, and that they use them openly even though this is not part of Rwandan culture. It is not surprising that some said that they found the suppression of taboo words an exaggeration.

Findings show that almost another half of the informants assumed that these Rwandans have undergone changes over time due to the plague of AIDS and the counseling policy, the contact with foreigners, and the mixture of peoples and cultures after the 1994 genocide. An informant stated that Rwandans no longer have culture in that people who knew the value of respect have died and that this value has died out too. For him, today's Rwandan culture is nothing but a mess. Similarly,

another informant regretted the fact that the old, those from outside included, are dying and that this value is dying out along with them, that orphans know nothing about culture and that the church has put an end to taboos.

4. 5. 2. Attitudes of Rwandans from outside Rwanda

According to an informant, this group of Rwandans is trying to learn sexuality taboo words through government policy. Someone else said that he does not know what their attitudes are like since he cannot walk anymore and see how they behave, yet he put emphasis on the fact that the culture of white people has deepened its roots in Rwanda.

Less than half of the informants thought that Rwandans from outside Rwanda give little value to sexuality taboo words whose meaning they probably ignore. Their assumptions also relied on the fact that Rwandans from outside repeat taboo words loudly after they have heard somebody uttering them and on that some of them have adopted foreign cultures and languages they mostly speak. These imported languages serve them as jargons and enable them to utter sexuality taboo words shamelessly as they know that other Rwandans whose network is different from theirs will not understand what they mean. They are also believed to make it easier for people to use sexuality taboo words even though one cannot explain the reason why. Seemingly, an informant confirmed that people from outside use sexuality taboo words when speaking foreign languages.

Informants who assumed that only some Rwandans from outside violate sexuality taboo words contrasted shepherds and intellectuals, old people and the youth, and people according to their different backgrounds and the different cultures they have acquired. For example, an informant said that old people give sexuality taboo words the same value as Rwandans who used to be in Rwanda, but that the youth are nothing but prostitutes who use them publicly. Another considered that people who were born in 1959, and those who fled Rwanda at that time and became refugees when they were between 20 and 30, still have respect for Rwandan culture in that their language has not changed. Similarly, an informant thought that people from outside still avoid sexuality taboo words thanks to their settlement in refugee camps where they brought up their children as if they still were in Rwanda.

An informant said that because of the foreign languages they have acquired, Rwandans from outside do not mind using them while another informant said that they do not even understand the reason why sexuality taboo words cannot be used to deal with certain issues. Moreover, an informant said that Rwandans from outside use sexuality taboo words more than they did when

they were still in the diaspora because of their use on the radio and internet, and because of the contact of people with different backgrounds. On the contrary, another assumed that the majority of people from outside, especially those from Uganda, still keep Rwandan culture.

As can be seen, only a few people said that all Rwandans be they from Rwanda or the diaspora have the same attitudes towards sexuality taboo words and understand their compatriots who use them when the great majority mutually judged one another. The table below shows an inventory of the taboo words used by informants during the interviews.

4. 6. Table 1: inventory of taboo words

Words\informants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
igituba	X	X	X			X			X	X	X		X		X	X			X	X			X	
imboro	X	X	X			X			X	X	X		X				X		X	X			X	
*gusambana	X				X						X	X				X								X
inungu	X																							
rugozi	X																							
gukuna		X										X				X		X	X				X	
intsitsi			X																					
amabya			X									X	X		X	X								
imisundi			X										X											
rugongo			X			X														X				
guswera				X	X	X		X				X								X			X	X
*kwenda				X																				
kunyaza								X						X						X				
kwikinisha								X																
kwikuna										X														
gusohora										X														
*kwendena											X													
insya											X		X				X							
kunyara											X													
*kurongora													X	X										
imishino																	X			X				
amanyare																				X				
umushino																					X			
umusundi																					X			
intini																					X			
*igitsina																						X		
*yarongoye											X													
Agashino ka nyoko															X									
Uragaswera nyoko		X																						
Uragaca igituba cya nyoko		X																						

This table results from a question which required the informants to give at least five Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words each. It indicates that they gave a total number of twenty-seven words and three insults, that only two informants listed more than five words, and that some did not mention even a single word. Two of the latter cite two French words each: *vagin* and *penis*, and *vagin* and *petites levres* that respectively mean vagina, penis and labium minoris. A female informant said she knew Kinyarwaanda sexuality words because she studied them in Kiruundi, but she could not dare to utter them since she was ashamed whenever her teacher used them. It goes without saying that even though Kiruundi and Kinyarwaanda are considered as two different languages because they are spoken in two different countries, they are mutually intelligible, which might be the reason why the young lady felt ashamed. Another reason might be the fact that women are allergic to rude expressions and denominations (Coates, 1993: 55).

Two informants purposefully and respectively gave the words *igitsina*, *kwendana* and *gusambana*, the first being a euphemism for both the male and female sexual organs while the last two bear the same meaning and stand for the term *guswera* (to fuck) which is regarded as dirty and unsavoury. The concept *igitsina* is defined as everything another thing is supported by, and all trees and plants have *ibitsina*. Similarly, an informant preferred to lend me a book so that I could read it and record sexuality taboo words myself, and one third of the informants chose to jot down the words for me rather than utter them.

As the table indicates, the names of sexual organs, the terms *guswera*, *gusambana* and *gukuna* occur the most for many different reasons. Many informants assumed that all Rwandans know names for sexual organs. For this reason some asked me whether I did not personally know them. The same goes with the word *fuck* which is used in most men's everyday language through insults and swearings. As for *gusambana*, it probably occurs a lot because informants who mentioned it did not feel guilty of transgressing verbal taboos since it is a euphemism. However, according to some informants, it tends to become taboo. *Gukuna* is a symbolic and valuable practice in Rwandan culture, which can be proven by some informants' wish to revive it in modern Rwanda as a way to combat sexual disorder. During this practice, female adolescents learn sexuality taboo words, and the effect illegitimate sexual intercourse has on their lives. They also learn that, once married, they will enjoy sexual relations more than men do thanks to the labia they lengthen.

After commenting on the list of sexuality taboo words, there is a need to draw a table that shows their meanings.

4. 7. Table 2. Meaning of taboo words

Words/insults	Meaning	euphemisms
igituba	Vagina or female sexual organ	Imyanya ndangabitsina, igitsina gore, akanyoni
imboro	Penis or male sexual organ	Imyanya ndangabitsina, igitsina gabo, akanyoni
*gusambana	Making illegal sexual relations, doing an unnecessary thing/cheating	
inungu	Penis	
rugozi	Long penis	
gukuna	Lengthen young girls' clitoris	Guca imyeyo
intsitsi	Male sexual organs	
amabya	Testicles or male reproductive parts, manliness	
imisundi	Minoris	
rugongo	Clitoris	
Guswera	Have/make sex(ual) relations, have sexual intercourse	Gusambana, kwenda, kugira imibonano mpuzabitsina
*kwenda	Make sex	
kunyaza	Make a woman produce surnatural water during sexual relations before penetrating her sex	
kwikinisha	Masturbate	
kwikuna	Lengthen one's clitoris	
gusohora	Ejaculate	
kwendana	Make illegal sexual relations	
insya	Pubic hair, secret for adults	
kunyara	Pie (literal meaning)	
*kurongora	Marry [sic]	
imishino	-	
amanyare	-	
umushino	Clitoris	
umusundi	Clitoris	
intini	-	
*igitsina	-	
*yarongoye	-	
Agashino ka nyoko	-	
Uragaswera nyoko	To practise sexual relations with one's mother (to fuck)	
Uragaca igituba cya nyoko	To cut off the external part of one's mother's sexual organ-	

As the table indicates, the explanation of almost all the words has been provided, and some words seem to be synonymous. For example, the words *rugongo* and *imisundi/imishino* are all referred to as *clitoris*. However, Musabyimana (1999) distinguishes them by referring to *rugongo* as the clitoris, and to the last two as *labium minoris* (Musabyimana, 1999: 108). *Agashino* is a (too) small *labium minoris*. It has a pejorative meaning and *agashino ka nyoko* is an elliptical expression that means (eat) your mother's small *labium minoris*.

The table also shows that some of the words have not been explained, yet the word *umushino*, for example, is the singular of *imishino* since in Kinyarwaanda, which is an agglutinating language, the prefixes *u* and *i* are augments that respectively express the singular and the plural. *Yarongoye* is from the verb *kurongoro* which has been referred to as to marry or have a wedding ceremony. However, an informant defined it as the fact of having sex with a girl for the first time probably meaning to deflower her. Likewise, *kunyaza* (literally meaning to cause to urinate) and *Kunyara* (to urinate), *kwenda* (fuck) and *kwendana* (fuck one another) are related. *Kunyara* is said for a woman and it is the equivalent of to ejaculate (Musabyimana, 1999: 97). *Amanyare* literally means urine, but in this context, it is the whitish liquid a woman secretes and produces at the very moment she has an orgasm during sexual relations. This series of words shows that once a word has become taboo, it generates some other taboo words (Vetter, 1971: 172).

Musabyimana (1999) refers to *intini* as a rude word that means penis (Musabyimana, 1999: 227) and *rugozi* as a long penis that can be compared to a cord (Musabyimana, 1999: 230) and that frightens women a lot (Sibomana, 1988: index 1).

Even though the different informants attempted to give examples of taboo words on sexuality and to explain them, it was clear that they considered them as shameful and unsayable.

4. 8. Taboo words as shameful and unsayable words.

The words listed in the tables above and all other sexuality taboo words are regarded shameful and unsayable as can be seen through an informant's opinion,

"They are considered as taboo words because you cannot use them publicly. People should not use them publicly because there are proper words to replace them. Most of these words sound awkward. Then people use more convenient words. It is just like that".

This passage summarizes almost all the informants' views which revolve around things that are forbidden by the society, things a person is not free to say because others can laugh at him/her, and things a person feels shy and uncomfortable to say and prefers to use either euphemisms or foreign languages like French and English. Some informants assumed that these words are to be avoided because they have bad effects on the elders who also have sexual organs and would not like to hear people mentioning them. As far as sexual organs are concerned, an informant said,

"They are names of sexual organs. We are not allowed to use them. Nobody can dare to use them. They call them igitsina gabo/gore. Even the term gusambana cannot be used except during classes. Children should learn to respect themselves and others. They should grow using nice language that shows politeness and Rwandan culture".

Taboo words are so shameful that people should use euphemisms which are considered to be more polite. This could explain why an informant said that even parents avoid telling their children where babies are from, and the kind of body changes they undergo. Such an attitude may have bad effects on people, particularly on children, in many different ways. Another informant added the fact that nobody dares either to tell their children that they have just fucked their mother, tell the wife to come and be fucked, or to tell the in-laws the reason why people get divorced in case the divorce is due to sexual discomfort or other sexually-related matters.

Apart from Rwanda, there are other parts of the world where sexuality taboo words, particularly names of genital organs are considered shameful because the latter are private parts. Allan and Burrige (1991) note that sexual organs are respectively referred to as *schaamdelen* (shameful parts), *kemaluan* (shame, embarrassment), and *pudendum* (that of which one ought to be ashamed) in Dutch, Indonesian and Italian (Allan and Burrige, 1991: 54-55).

4. 9. Taboo words and AIDS.

Findings show that nearly half of the informants thought that the restrictions on the use of language as a result of taboos prevent people from catching AIDS in that somebody who knows nothing about sexuality cannot indulge themselves in sexual relations. As has been seen earlier, they said it is difficult to overcome one's feelings after one has heard dirty words, but when one does not hear such words, one cannot feel the need to have sex. However, some of them argued that there should be a selection of sexuality taboo words only to be used to teach, and sensitise people about AIDS.

A small group of informants found no close link between taboo words and AIDS. An informant found the spread of AIDS a practical rather than verbal fact. He said that, because of pornographic movies, drugs, alcoholism and idleness, young people become sexually active and practise sexual relations without protecting themselves against HIV/AIDS. In other words, this informant meant that young Rwandans indulge themselves in careless sexual relations and are therefore more likely to be infected by HIV/AIDS. They are the most vulnerable people in Rwanda.

Another informant said that the more Rwandans fight against AIDS, the more it is likely to kill them. He referred to one of the South African president's speeches that AIDS is mainly due to poverty. His conviction was that considering AIDS as a cultural factor only is minimizing it when prostitution is widespread in Rwanda. He advised the government to take account of biological, physiological and psychological effects, and to reduce white people's taboos (like not to straddle, not to lengthen labia) in order to prevent young ladies from indulging themselves in sexual relations. He also advised the government to promote the use of sexuality taboo words to explain to people sexuality as clearly as possible. He said that, for example, before white people fought against the *immandwa*¹ ceremony, Rwandan culture was very rich and people had freedom of speech. Despite this freedom, he said there were regulations that helped people to live long unlike today. He said that, recently, Rwandans are not afraid of AIDS and that they often say *hapfa uwavutse* or *ntawupfa kabiri* respectively meaning that only a person who was born can die and that nobody dies twice. An informant said that they do not even differentiate AIDS from malaria or any other diseases. For him, only God will rescue his beloved and chosen people.

Similarly, some informants said that using sexuality taboo words to inform children about sex or avoiding them is all the same. One of them went on to say that only very few children are willing to listen to their elders' counsel today and that, as a consequence, many young people are infected by HIV/AIDS because of their stubbornness. His view was that children who are informed about strong taboos, but violate them should undergo obvious consequences. He concluded by saying that priests forbade people to use sexuality taboo words, which increased prostitution especially among chiefs who openly practised sexual relations and in churches where Christians used to have sex during night masses thus forcing priests to suppress the latter.

The arguments above make one infer that prostitution and all its consequences are partly a result of the priests' suppression of Kinyarwaanda sexuality words. With regard to this, one informant said that we should not go on obeying them. He said that they were the first to suppress sexuality taboo

¹ Immandwa are divinities, Lyangombe's spirits.

words and that today they claim their use on radio because of the problem of AIDS when our children do not need to listen to them.

Some other informants said the restrictions on the use of language contribute to people's ignorance regarding sexual matters and favour hypocrisy, and prostitution which, in turn, enhances the diffusion of sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS. For some of them, taboo words mislead children who are informed about sex by ill-disposed people who initiate them into the practice of clandestine sexual relations. An informant also said that children of opposite sexes may practise sexual relations as a means to explain to one another sexuality taboo words their parents have failed to tell them.

As a matter of fact these informants thought that Rwandans must explain sexuality as clearly as possible to make people understand the scourge of AIDS if they want to stop its spread. One said that not only should trainers or lecturers show their audience pictures of sexual organs, but that they should also mention their names while teaching.

A male informant thought that the everyday use of Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words would help Rwandans be up-to-date regarding sexuality since AIDS is topical. He also thought that it could help reduce prostitution. However, another informant proposed that only parents use sexuality taboo words to inform adolescents about sexual matters because their suppression in public has no impact on the spread of AIDS.

According to another informant, a person may be infected by a sexually transmitted disease like blennorrhagia, syphilis, and AIDS and be afraid of revealing to a doctor what he/she is exactly suffering from thus worsening his/her state of health, and probably contaminating other people. This was the case in America and England where officials refused to use the word *syphilis* and whose refusal to communicate made it difficult to reduce the number of people suffering from it (Fryer, 1964 as cited Vetter, 1971: 173- 174).

Fortunately, an informant stated that, through sensitization, AIDS organizations like PNRS and solidarity camps, the Rwandan government attempts to reconcile culture and some current and topical issues. He said that it brings together all taboo words to consolidate the youth and make it aware of the existence of Rwandan culture as well as it teaches norms to stop AIDS.

4. 10. Maintenance of Kinyarwaanda taboo words/topics on sexuality

The question here was whether Rwandans would like to continue suppressing Kinyarwaanda taboo words on sexuality, whether their use is not a violation of Rwandan culture.

According to one informant, words on sexuality have been avoided not because people were afraid of them or because they found them dirty, but rather because they prevented them from having sexual relations clandestinely. He said that they were regulations that helped Rwandans in their children's upbringing. As proof on how they were not taboo, he said that people of the same age could use them and only stay silent when a person whose age was different from theirs joined them. However, this is not different from what research has shown up to now.

Few informants sustained the maintenance of sexuality taboo words and thought that their use would be a violation of culture. Two informants said that it is culture and that people should preserve it even to a large extent and prevent it from dying, whereas another two said that people should use euphemisms whose meaning is explicit enough to make people grasp the intended message. Another believed that things God himself gave respect deserve respect on the part of men. As sexual organs are hidden and covered by nature, their names should be uttered neither loudly nor randomly. He found it dirty to utter them loudly. Likewise, another informant said that Rwandans should continue to avoid Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words in public, but that they should use them at certain ceremonies like *immandwa*.

The quasi-majority of the informants thought that Kinyarwaanda taboo words should be kept for many reasons that have been evoked throughout the whole presentation, but that they should at the same time be used only under certain circumstances like at the clinic/hospital, during *kubandwa*, while teaching and campaigning against AIDS and so forth, in order not to violate culture. At the clinic, for instance, an informant said that Rwandans should not be ashamed but be proud to use their own words, that if a French man can call *vulve* (vulva) *vulve*, a Rwandan should also call it *igituba*. Another informant said that if we can call an eye *eye* we should also mention the rest of the parts of the body. Some informants believed that their use will help strengthen strategies against AIDS. For example, they said that they will help children become aware of its seriousness and protect themselves against it. One of them even believed that some people face problems because they were not informed about sexuality taboo words. This complies with the argument that taboos that prohibit language impede communication. For example, some informants found it the parents' duty to teach their children sexual education through the use of taboo words.

Further arguments against the maintenance of sexuality taboo words were pushed forward. For example, some informants said that words as such are not shameful and that only their meaning is. They said that these words are used for purposes like joking, insulting others, getting other people angry, showing oneself up; that they enhance hypocrisy, and that they are power tools that help people to discuss issues like sexually transmitted diseases.

With regard to purposes and hypocrisy, Vetter (1971) and Coates (1993) respectively argue that forbidden words function to insult, emphasize the importance and most especially to vent frustration (Vetter, 1971: 171), and that the avoidance of taboo words does not necessarily prevent people from doing the act the former are related to (Coates, 1993:21). The latter recounts the story of a young girl and a gentleman who both faint not stand obscene language, but who enjoy sex together.

In short, the majority of the informants thought that, when used, sexuality taboo words will help Rwandans to find strategies against AIDS. Meanwhile all, except one, shared the same view that their use will depend either on the purpose, or setting, or the like. For them, sexuality taboo words should not be used at random in order to preserve Rwandan culture. It was felt that people should be left free to choose their own words, and that a culture that forbids people to use their language freely is not culture. Thus, like Pelo (1998-2002) it was generally felt that there is no culture where and when language is banned.

4. 11. Conclusion

As a conclusion, this chapter dealt with the main themes around which the different respondents' answers to the varied research questions have been organised. Roughly speaking, the majority of the respondents, regardless of their origin, sex and age, assigned Kinyarwanda sexuality taboo words an important role in Rwandan society for many reasons that have been suggested earlier throughout the whole chapter. This will be highlighted again in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and recommendations

5. 1. Introduction

This chapter highlights the different findings. It also gives a set of recommendations on certain issues that may help Rwandans not only to safeguard their culture, but also to adapt to current situations like the prevailing problem of AIDS.

5. 2. General conclusion

My research was based on Hymes' ethnography of communication and communicative competence, and on the hypothesis that social structure and linguistic structure may determine or influence one another. Findings have shown that events such as the Rwandans' contact with White people and the 1994 war and genocide have resulted in restrictions on people's language, and how they use it.

In chapter one, an assumption was made that Rwandan youngsters who have been raised in foreign countries and those who are being born and raised in the diaspora today may not be acquainted with knowledge about Rwandan culture and that they needed information about sexuality taboo words in order for them to acquire linguistic competence, of course in terms of Hymes (1971) and Gumperz and Hymes (1972).

Hymes (1971) has extended linguistic theory to include communicative competence and knowledge of social structure. He argued that any one speech community is homogeneous (Hymes, 1971: 269-293). Likewise Thompson (2003) stated that there is a huge diversity within what is labelled as single language (Thompson, 2003: 39). Linguistic competence is then the knowledge people have about which forms of language are the most appropriate in particular situation, that is, what speakers know about their language. Thus the intent of this work was to make Rwanda youngsters acquire such knowledge through awareness around sexuality taboo words which are part of communicative competence. Indeed, communicative competence embodies everything that is involved in the use of language and other communicative dimensions in particular social settings (Saville- Troike, 1982: 21).

Research has proven my assumption invalid in that all the young informants were already informed about Rwandan culture, especially about sexuality taboo words, their use and non-use thanks to their living in solidarity camps where life was not far different from that of their parents

in Rwanda. Besides, it has been found that the Rwandan government tries its best to use sexuality taboo words to sensitize the youth to prevent themselves from catching AIDS without destroying the pre-existing social norms. Findings have indicated that the youth use sexuality taboo words when they are among themselves but not because they ignore the social norms according to which they have to behave.

Thanks to the government's efforts, even young Rwandans who do not master Kinyarwaanda at least knew that they were not allowed to use sexuality taboo words in public. However neither the young informants nor the elder ones knew the exact origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words. They all, except one young male informant, traced them back to things like Rwandans' forefathers, superstitions, and certain social attitudes such as ethnic epithets, social relationships, etc. The young male informant claimed not to know much about Rwandan culture since the latter is different from the culture in which he was brought up. Two old informants denied the existence of certain Kinyarwaanda words as linguistic taboos. They only took cognizance of euphemisms which are nothing but words expressing respect. However, until recently research has shown that "to say that a certain area of life is taboo is not to say that it is altogether forbidden, but that it is regulated by conscious or unconscious rules" (Andersson and Trudgill, 1992, 55-56). In accordance with this, Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003) state that it suffices for a word to be avoided in polite company to be referred to as taboo (Fromkin, et al, 2003: 476) while O'Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba define the word *taboo* as any prohibition on the use of a given word, and, as has been mentioned earlier, consider taboo and euphemisms as two faces of the coin (O'Grady, et al, 1996: 554). This confirms how the word taboo has acquired a more or less technical sense.

Concerning taboos in general, findings have shown that some phenomena like name avoidance and incest are grounded in Rwandan culture while others such as sexuality taboo words are the result of Rwandans' contact with white people. Name avoidance and incest can be referred to as permanent taboos because they are based in Rwandan culture and in the psychological disposition of Rwandans (Kobe: Association for the Study of Humanities, 1995: 7).

With regard to sexuality taboo words, it has also been shown that they are temporary taboos which adjust to changes like the current problem of AIDS (Kobe: Association for the Study of Humanities, 1995: 7). It was also clear that they used to be uttered in former Rwanda, and that they were suppressed by priests who considered them as *ibishitani* (devils), and that their suppression gave birth to an artificial society. However, the majority of the informants assigned them an important role in Rwandan culture today. They regarded them as a cultural instrument that enables

Rwandans to keep their society in balance, and this for a number of reasons. They said that sexuality taboo words help Rwandans, especially the youth, behave well regarding sexual matters, keep sexual matters a secret, safeguard culture and maintain the Rwandan cultural identity. However, some informants, especially the youth, said that sexuality taboo words favour hypocrisy and that they impede information dissemination on HIV/AIDS.

Because of the role sexuality taboo words play in Rwandan culture, some old people and two young girls were strict as to their use and proposed the use of euphemisms instead. The remaining informants, except a young girl who denied the value of Kinyarwaanda taboo words and considered them as a pagan taboo which is not worth keeping, held an ambivalent attitude which showed that they were at the same time for and against the use of these words. They proposed that they be suppressed in public, but that they be used under certain circumstances to prevent them from having a negative impact on Rwandan society. They appealed to Rwandan parents to give sexual education to their offspring. They also proposed that sexuality taboo words be used during campaigns against AIDS, and at school. Some informants thought of the revival of certain traditional customs like *kubandwa* and *gukuna*. These informants' wishes are nothing but a continuation of traditional Rwanda's practices since even though the society was permissive, there existed norms that governed the society. In other words, findings have indicated that the majority of the informants did not support the use of sexuality taboo words in Rwandans' everyday life.

Concerning the attitudes of Rwandans towards sexuality taboo words, findings have shown that all Rwandans, irrespective of the different countries they are from, their age and sex, shared the same beliefs. Even those who pretended to be free of embarrassment in naming sexuality taboo words and those who claimed their use in public were indeed embarrassed while responding to the researcher's questions. However, many of the informants' responses revealed that Rwandans have been and are still characterised by stereotypes towards one another.

It goes without saying that findings have shown that sexuality taboo words have an impact on their hearers and readers as well as on their users, but the latter are the most marginalised because they somehow become taboo in their own community.

5. 3. Recommendations

This study has been limited both in time and space. However it has raised a number of issues that require either recognition in the Rwandan society or further research. Therefore I would like to recommend to the Rwandan government the following:

As discussed in chapter one, Rwanda has experienced a series of wars and massacres that have resulted in displacements of its people thus detaching them from their culture and leaving them sceptical towards one another. Moreover, findings have shown that Rwandans stereotype one another. It is in this respect that I recommend to the Rwandan government to make use of the national programme of reconciliation and unity to sensitize its citizens and make them understand that they are one people and that it is through brotherhood that they can effectively build their country. Rwandans should cease to consider themselves as Hutus or Tutsis on an ethnic basis since this is the result of a distorted image of traditional Rwanda, and since this distortion of the history of our country has led them to the worse genocide that has ever taken place in the world.

In order to promote Rwandan culture and at the same time deal with issues like sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS, Rwandan parents should discuss sexuality with their children. Traditional practices like *gukuna* that have proven efficient tools in sexual education should be revived and even legalized. Moreover, the Rwandan government should train people and acquaint them with skills that will enable them to handle issues related to HIV/AIDS adequately.

The Rwandan government should increase anti-AIDS programmes and sensitise its citizens to participate in such programmes, and look for other strategies to fight against AIDS. Thus I would recommend it to revise all language teaching programmes by introducing the participatory approach to language teaching. Indeed this approach to language will enable teachers to draw on school curricula and deal with different issues like AIDS which are related to social life. School is an arena where thousands of people spend more than 10 years and where these people can be empowered so as to contribute to changes that take place in their country and solve varied problems they encounter or may encounter in their lives.

As for further studies, part of my assumption was that the Rwandan children who are being born outside Rwanda today may become alienated because of the lack of knowledge of Rwandan culture. Therefore research needs to be conducted to find out whether these children, especially those who are in refugee camps are being taught Rwandan norms and beliefs like the appropriate use of Kinyarwanda language.

Further research on sexuality taboo words should also be carried out in other provinces of Rwanda in order to check whether all Rwandans exactly share the same beliefs and draw some more general conclusions.

I also recommend to other Rwandans who would like to specialize in sociolinguistics to conduct investigations into the Rwandan woman and insults to find out why almost all the insults contain names of female sexual organs rather than male ones.

It would be necessary to do a comparative study on Kinyarwaanda and Kiruundi verbal taboos to find out whether both linguistic structures and their corresponding social structures are the same or different. Indeed, as has been said, even though Kinyarwaanda and Kiruundi have been classified as different languages because they are spoken in different countries, they are mutually intelligible. And two varieties are mutually intelligible when their speakers understand one another. Coupez and Kamanzi (1962) argue that Kinyarwaanda and Kiruundi are so close that they can be considered as dialects of the same language (Coupez and Kamanzi, 1962: 11). As language is a manifestation of a people's culture and the vehicle that carries culture, Rwandan and Burindian culture might have common cultural traits which might be worth studying.

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Appendix 1

Ibibazo

Amazina (ni k'ubushake):

Imyaka y'ubukuru (ni k'ubushake):

Aho ubarizwa (adresse):

1. Waba uzi inkomoko y' amagambo y' imiziro y' Ikinyarwaanda?
2. Ese yashobora kwigaragaza mu mibereho y'abanyarwanda: mu moko, mu mibonano mpuzabitsina, mu gusabana no muzindi nzira?
3. Utekereza iki ku magambo y'imiziro ku byerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina?
4. Vuga nibura amagambo atanu y'imiziro y' ikinyarwaanda ku byerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina. Asobanura iki? Kuki utekereza ko amagambo watanze afatwa nk' imiziro?
5. Ni akamaro ki amagambo y' imiziro y' Ikinyarwaanda afitiye umuryango nyarwanda? Ni ku ruhe rwego amagambo y' imiziro ayobora ubuzima bw'abanyarwanda?
6. Ni ku ruhe rwego amagambo y'imiziro ayobora abanyarwanda mu buzima bwabo bwa buri munsu?
7. Ni ruhare ki utekereza ko amagambo y'imiziro y' Ikinyarwaanda, cyane cyane ayerekeye imyororokere afite mu muco nyarwanda? Kuyakoresha kwaba se ari ukwototera uwo muco cyangwa yaba ari inzira nziza yo gushyikirana n'abandi? Sobanura igisubizo cyawe.
8. Ni uruhe ruhare amagambo y' imiziro ku byerekeye imyororokere agira ku bantu bayasoma cyangwa bayumva? Ni izihe ngaruka agira ku bantu bayakoresha?
9. Uraheka ko imiziririzo mu mikoreshereze y' invugo biturutse mu magambo y' imiziro hari icyo byongera mu gukwirakwiza SIDA mu Rwanda?
10. Ni uruhe ruhare utekereza ko amagambo y'imiziro ku byerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina agira mu gukwirakwiza amakuru ku byerekeye SIDA?
11. Ni uruhe ruhare amagambo y'imiziro ku byerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina agira mu biganiriro by' abanyarwanda ku cyorezo cya SIDA.
12. Utekereza ko abanyarwaanda bose bafite imyifatire imwe ku byerekeye amagambo y' imiziro yerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina?
13. Ni iyihe myifatire abantu bari mu Rwanda mbere ya 1994 bafite ku byerekeye amagambo y' imiziro ajyanye n' imibonano mpuzabitsina? Ni iyihe myifatire abantu bavuye hanze y' u Rwanda bagira kuri ayo magambo?

14. Abanyarwanda bakwiriye gukomeza kwirinda amagambo y' imiziro y' Ikinyarwaanda cyangwa ibiganiro ku mibonano mpuza bitsina?

Murakoze.

Ibisubizo (answers: as some respondents used the English language to answer the different questions, their answers will be found in appendix 2 where the English version is given).

Ikibazo cya mbere: waba uzi inkomoko y' amagambo y'imiziro y' Ikinyarwaanda?

Umuntu wa gatatu (shifted from English to Kinyarwaanda and vice-versa): (see English version).

Umuntu wa kane: Instructions y' idini cyane cyane abapadiri bazanye kirazira ariko hari hasanzwe kirazira nko gutsinda ba sebukwe, kutaryamana na sebukwe/ umwishwa etc. Amagambo sexuels yavanyweho n' abapadiri.

Umuntu wa gatanu: Byaturutse ku bakurambere bacu.

Umuntu wa gatandatu: Oya

Umuntu wa karindwi: Abasekuru bacu.

Umuntu wa munani: Oya

Umuntu wa cyenda: Ibiteye isoni. Babonye atari ibintu byo kuvugira mu ruhame.

Umuntu wa cumi: Byaba byaturutse ku mucu.

Umuntu wa cumi n'umwe: Oya. Ni ibintu abantu bishyizemo. Twakuze tubisanga bityo.

Umuntu wa cumi na kabiri: see English version.

Umuntu wa cumi na gatatu: Mu mucu nyarwanda hari amagambo ateye isoni kuvuga. Ayo magambo yitwa imvugo nyandagazi (ajyanye n'ibitsina n'andi ndetse ntagira aho ahuruye nabyo).

Umuntu wa cumi na kane: Oya usibye ko umuntu arebye uko bayakoresha abona bashaka nko kugaragaza umucu nyarwanda aricyo kinyabupfura.

Umuntu wa cumi na gatanu: see English version

Umuntu wa cumi ba gatandatu: see English version.

Umuntu wa cumi na karindwi: Oya.

Umuntu wa cumi n'umunani: Urwanda rutangira, akademi y' ikinyarwaanda yashyizeho amagambo atagomba kuvugirwa mu gitaramo no kuvugirwa mu ruhame. Ariko biterwa naho umuntu yarerewe. Kuyavuga mu gitaramo (igiteranse cy' abantu bibumbiye hamwe mu kiganiro ou séance des hauts faits) kwabaga ari ukumena ibanga. Igitararamo cyabaga ari icy' intwari gusa. Iyo mutigana cyangwa mutaziranye kirazira kuvuga ibishegu. Igitararamo cyaberaga i bwami, i butware cyangwa k' umuntu wiyubashye.

Umuntu wa cumi n' icyenda: ni culture yatangwaga de generation a generation kandi ibyo abasekuru bacu batavugaga ntibigomba kuvungwa n' abana babo n' abuzukuru babo.

Umuntu wa makumyabiri: umuntu ashobora kutavuga ibintu kuko biteye isoni akaba ariyo nkomoko. hari ibintu bikorwa mu mabanga abantu biherereye atari mu ruhame rw' abantu. Ni ibintu by' umuco muri kamere y'abantu bose. Ni umuco muri make. Burya ibihugu byose ntibiziriza ibintu kimwe. Ibyo abanyarwanda batinya kuvuga, abagande barabivuga babyatuye. Kutavuga amagambo y'imiziro ni umuco nyarwaanda.

Umuntu wa makumyabiri n' umwe: uretse amagambo aturutse hanze, inkomoko yayo sinyizi. Origine culturelle yayo magabo ntizwi ariko wenda ahari origine linguistique yayo yaboneka. Abantu bavugaga amagambo y' ibishegu surtout mu mandwa (les imandwa sont des genies, des divinites). Defoulement yari ihari cyane. Dire que la societe rwandaise n'etait pas permissive serait archifaux. Barivugiraga. Mu mvugo barisanzuraga cyane, umugore akigana role y' umugabo. Societe yari ifite une certaine liberte ariko hari le dire et le non dire). Abamisioneri barwanyije ibi bintu cyane babivanaho

Umuntu wa makumyabiri na kabiri: byavaga kucyubahiro cya kera kitagomba kuvaho. Ni umuco gihanga (imana) ntiwawuvaho nta n'ubwo wakwigisha abanyarwanda ngo bawuvaneho bagukundire. Umugore ntagomba kwihandagaza imbere ya sebukwe ngo amuvuge mw' izina. Ni ugushira isoni. Ni umugore w'inkunguzi. icyubahiro cyose kiva ku muco.

Umuntu wa makumyabiri na gatatu: ayo magambo yarasemaga. Uyavuze yamererwaga nabi. Cyaraziraga. Kuyavuga kwari ukwica umuco.

Ikibazo cya kabiri: Ese yashobora kwigaragaza mu mibereho y' abanyarwanda: mu moko, mu mibonano mpuzabitsina, mu gusabana no mu zindi nzira?
(for the sake of quickness, I will only number the different informants).

1. See English version.
2. See English version.
3. See English version.
4. Yego biriho cyane ariko bitangiye kugabanyuka. Au point de vue relations sociales, niho bigabanyuka cyane. Par exemple kuvuga, ntawugitinya ubwoko runaka (on ne tient plus au clanisme).
5. Yego. Umugore ntiyemerewe kuvuga sebukwe mw' izina.
6. Agaragara cyane mu byaro. Mu mijyi batangiye kuyavuga ariko ajyanye n'ibitsina ntibayavuga.

7. Birahari. Abantu ntibashobora gupfa kuvuga amagambo ajyanye n' imibonano mpuzabitsina. Mu moko byarahindutse.
8. Birigaragaza. Gusabana: ntakuvuga nyokorome/sobukwe mu izina. Amoko: kwirinda kuvuga ubwoko runaka mu gitondo kugira ngo udahura n' umwaaku uwo muni.
9. Birigaragaza.
10. irigaragaza cyane. Par exemple, abagore batsinda ba sebukwe.
11. Byariho ku ngoma ya cyami ariko ubu n' ababizi ntibabisobanukiwe. Birigaragaza. Ntawuvuga umushingwe mw'izina mu gitondo kugira ngo atirirwana umwaaku. Uretse abantu barenze imiziro hari byinshi tutemerewe kuvuga. Umwana ashobora kukubaza ngo imibonano mpuzabitsina ni iki, bakakumbwira ngo musobanurire ariko kuri njye biraremereye biteye isoni. Tubwira abana ngo umwana aturuka mu mukondo kubera bidutera isoni kumusobanurira ariko kuko ari itegeko kuko abyiga ku ishuli, haba igihe umubyeyi yasobanura ariko ntamusobanurire neza. Nko gusobanurira umwana imibonano mpuzabitsina ni ukumena ibanga. Ntugomba kubikora.
12. See English version.
13. Birigaragaza. Par exemple, au point de vue relations sociales, abana ntibashobora kuvuga amazina y' abantu bakuru kuko bagomba kubaha icyubahiro. Rimwe na rimwe hari n' abantu bakuru batavuga abandi bakuru kubera icyubahiro babagomba. Au point de vue sexualite, bitewe na societe umuntu arimo, abantu bari mu rwego rumwe arigaragaza. Urugero, iyo abakobwa bu rwego rumwe barihamwe, amagambo nyandagazi arigaragaza. Abantu bayatsinda iyo batari mu rwego rumwe ariko hari n' abayatsinda kandi bari kumwe n' abandi b'urwego rwabo kubera uburere bahawe bakaba barinda basaza batayavuze. Bahitamo gukoresha urundi rurimi kugira ngo bayavuge. Mu moko, nyuma ya genocide, abantu birinda kuvuga amoko cyane cyane iyo umuntu ari kumwe n' uwo badahuje ubwoko. Ariko abasaza ntibabitinye.
14. Arigaragaza. Umugore ufite sebukwe witwa Segore ntashobora kuvuga ikintu kirimo gore mu buzima bwe kugira ngo atsinde sebukwe. Akoresha umuhete au lieu y' umugore, umuhete au lieu y' urugori kuko ayo magambo afitanye isano n' izina rya sebukwe. Umuhete uva ku verbe guheta bivuga gushumbusha, kugabira, guhabwa). Kubijyanye na sexualite, imyanya ndangabitsina ntishobora kwaturwa mu izina ryayo. Par exemple, umwana wambaye ubusa cyangwa wicaye nabi, baramubwira, 'hisha ubwo busa bwawe.' Ntibamubwira clairement ariko yumva icyo bashatse kumubwira.
15. See English version.
16. See English version.
17. Birigaragaza. Hari amagambo batavuga. Par exemple, mu mibonano mpuzabitsina, umuntu ashobora kwifuzako mubikora, ntabyature ahubwo agakoresha gestes cyangwa ubundi buryo.

18. Biterwa nabo muganira abo aribo. Concernant les mots d'ordre sexuel, hali amagambo atavugirwa muruhame. Au point de vue relations sociales, ni amagambo aboneye akoreshwa muri classe sociale iyo ariyo yose. Kirazira kuvuga sobukwe cyangwa nyokobukwe. Bavuga mukaka. Kuvuga amazina yabo ni ukubasuzugura.

19. Birigaragaza. Kugeza na n'ubu ntawuvuga aya magambo ajyanye na sexe. Ariko mu kubandwa, barengaga kuri uwo muco. Par exemple, muri iyo ceremonie, umukazana yabwiraga sebukwe ngo amucomeke (avoir les rapports sexuels avec elle) ariko meme les evolues ntibatinyuka kuvuga aya magambo. No kuri radio bavuga imibonano mpuzabitsina aho kuyavuga beruye nka bazungu.

20. Birigaragaza. Kuko ari ibintu bubahiriza turabitazira (gukoresha andi mazina cyangwa amagambo muburyo bwumvikana). Barabitsinda.

21. Kutavuga izina rya sebukwe. Ni icyubahiro ariko ubu ntibikiriho. Ibintu byarahindutse. Ababikira barakabije bita amabere igituza kandi kera amabere yaravugwaga. Baratsindaga ariko hakaba akanya ko kuvuga mu bitaramo, entre urungano.

22. Birigaragaza. Ntibishobora kuvaho. Ijambo igitsina rituruka ku Imana.

23. Ntibyigaragaza cyane nka kera. Abantu batsindaga kugira ngo bagaragaze esprit de politesse et non kubera imiziro. Uwayavugaga byitwaga ko nta burere afite. Na n'ubu aya magambo ntavugwa kubera uburere et non imiziro.

Ikibazo cya gatatu: Utekereza iki ku magambo y'imiziro ku byerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina?

1. See English version.
2. See English version.
3. See English version
4. Yakagombye kuvugwa. Niba ari ikinyarwanda kuki atavugwa ngo abana bayamenye? Par exemple gusambana biravugwa ariko l'acte en soi ntivugwa, kuki? Gusa kuyavuga biragoye kuko c'est toute une education.
5. Ntidukwiye kubivuga kugira ngo tudatambikira umucyo.
6. Batabyise imiziro bimwe byavugwa kubera ibibazo bitwugarije nka SIDA. Abana bakwiye kumenya amazina yabyo kugira ngo bamenye imyifatire. Urugero: gusobanurira umwana neza aho abana badaturuka mu mukondo ahubwo akamenya neza aho bava n'uburyo yakwifata. Ntidukwiye gufata ayo magambo nk'imiziro cyanwa ibishitani.

7. Ku ruhande rumwe n'ibyiza kuko bituma umuntu agira icyubhiro. Ku rundi ruhande bagombye kubivuga kugira ngo abana babimenye ntibazahure nabyo hanze batabizi ngo bibabere imbogamizi.
8. Afasha umuntu kwirinda gukora ibibi kuko ntacyo abiziho nkuko bituma abantu baguma mu bujiji. Par exemple, un adolescent cherche a tout découvrir et s'il n'est pas averti, il cherche toutes les voies et moyens pour le découvrir. Une fois découvert, il fait les rapports sexuels en desordre comparativement a ses homologues qui ont entendu parler de la sexualité avant.
9. Ubwayo ni amagambo adateye isoni. Ni inyuguti nkizindi ariko iyo utekereje cyane icyo avuga wumva giteye isoni. Abantu bayavuga bafite imigambi itandukanye: gusetsa, kurakaza abandi, kwiyerurutsa, etc.
10. Ni ibintu bidafite ishingiro, biriho gusa kuko twabisigiwe n' abakurambere.
11. Ubona imiziro barayirenze ntakizira. Urugero: umwana muto arahabwa prudence kandi wenda n'ababyeyi be batayizi. Kera umwana yabwirwaga aya magambo na sewabo, nyinawabocyangwa nyirasenge igihe kigeze cyo kurongorwa ari nko kumuhanura ariko ubu umwana abibwirwa akiri muto bigatuma akora ibidakwiye.
12. See English version.
13. Numva byaterwa n' urwego uri kubivugamo. Urugero: urikwigisha ntacyo wahisha. Ariko ntitugomba guta wa muco. Biterwa naho uri, icyo uricyo, aho uri n' icyo ugamije.
14. Bituma abanyarwanda biyubaha ariko default bibonekaho n' uko abana bakura badasobanukiwe neza amazina y'ibitsina byabo. Ababyeyi babigira ibanga. Nicyo umuntu amenya akimenyera mu ishuri.
15. See English version.
16. See English version.
17. Ayo magambo y' imiziro ntiyagombye kubaho kuko kubaho byongera SIDA. Ndibaza ko abantu bayakoresheje basobanukirwa bagatorera hamwe umuti wa SIDA. Hari abatwara inda zindaro kubera ubujiji kuko batabwiwe mu buryo buhagije kuko ababyeyi babo babibabwiye muri rusange badakoresheje ayo magambo.
18. Umwana yigishwa ibyo azavuga n' ibyo atavugaga. Abashumba n' abo bayakoreshaga bayavugiraga mu gasozi bagera imuhira ntibayakoreshe. Yari amagambo yo kwiherera. N' ubu niko bimeze: gutsinda, kubaha.
19. Kubera culture na pudeur, ntibigomba kwaturwa. Bigomba kubahwa kuko bijyanye na pudeur na politesse. C'est a maintenir kuko bashobora kuyatsinda kandi bakayumva. Singombwa kuyatura.
20. Kubivuga babitazira kuko babizi n' ibyiza, bitwigisha kubyirinda. Iyo babivuga babitazira bavugako ari bibi, umuntu wese ndetse n' umwana arabyumva kandi akabyirinda.

21. Niba urenze imiziro ubishaka cyangwa utabishaka, baraguhanga automatiquement. Byabuzaga kubyaragura. Hari za interdits zafashaga zifite une vision positive, zigamije l'equilibre d'une societe ou d'un groupe (par exemple kutarongora umucabakazi). Kurongora c'est faire les relations sexuelles avec une fille pour la premiere fois. ce qui est different d'epouser). Il n'y avait pas de fatalite. Il y avait toujours une voie de sortie. Curieusement hari inzu y' abega (lignage) yitwaga abaswere bari charger de la culture, gusurura no gutegura imbuto za mbere z'amasaka n' uburo, etc.

22. Tubivuze cyangwa tubikoze kumugaragaro, twaba duhaye abana bacu urugero rubi. Ikintu cyose cyubahwa kivugwa mu cyubahiro.

23. Kubivuga nta politesse irimo. kugira ngo ugaragaze uburere urabimenya ariko ntubivuge mu bantu. Si umuziro. Nko mu Ruhengeri barayatura bakanarahira ngo ndakagira gurya na gurya mama (ndagawera mama). Abandi bakoresha andi magambo yoroheje.

Ikibazo cya kane: Vuga nibura amagambo atanu y'imiziro y' Ikinyarwaanda ku byerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina. Asobanura iki? Kuki utekereza ko amagambo watanze afatwa nk'imiziro?

1. See English version.

2. See English version.

3. Intsitsi (male sexual organ), imboro (male sexual organ), igituba (female sexual organ), amabya (testicles), imisundi (petites levres), rugongo (clitoris). Impamvu: avugitse nabi mu Kinyarwaanda ariko iyo uyakoresheje muzindi ndimi wumva ntakibazo ariko impamvu sinyizi.

4. Guswera/kwenda (avoir des rapports sexuels): yombi avuga bimwe ariko kwenda rivugitse neza kuruta guswera. Ntayandi nzi. Ariko se wowe ushobora kuvuga ko ntayo uzi n'ibura amazina y'ibitsina? Ni idini ryayagize kirazira. Ubundi abantu bose barayavugaga. Abapadiri bayita ibishitani.

5. Guswera (avoir des relations sexuelles), ubundi baritsinda bakoresheje gusambana.

6. Imboro (penis), igituba (vagin). Ntabwo uzi icyo bivuga? Rugongo (clitoris), guswera (kugira imibonano mpuzabitsina). Sinzi impamvu afatwa nk'imiziro. Navutse ari imiziro ariko biterwa n'akarere.

7. Le vagin, les petites levres. Nabyize mu Kirundi nkaba narakorwaga n'isoni igihe cyose mwarimu yayavugaga. bifatwa nk'imiziro kubera uburere abantu bahawe kuva kera.

8. Birabujijwe kuvuga les organs sexuels que ce soit mal ou feminine. abana ntibabivuga ariko abasaza babivuga mu ndahiro. Kandi nzi neza ko ubizi. Exemples: vagin et penis.

9. Igituba (sexe y' abagore), imboro (sexe y' abagabo). Aya magambo yombi bayatsinda bavuga akanyoni ku abana, igitsina gore/gabo ku bantu bakuru.. Guswera (kugira imibonano mpuzabitsina), kunyaza, kwikinisha (se masturber).afatwa nk'imiziho kuko ari ibintu biteye isoni bibujijwe muri societe. Kubyoroshya bakoresha ururimi rw' amahanga cyangwa bagakoresha amagambo yoroheje y' amanyarwanda bitewe n' imyaka y' umuntu. Abantu bari mu rwego rumwe babivuga mu mazina yabyo.

10. Igituba (igitsina cy' umugore), imboro (igitsina cy' umugabo), kwikuna (umukobwa yikurura clitoris), gusohora (ni ukuzana amasohoro k'umugabo cyangwa ejaculer (mugifaransa)).

11. Gusambana (gukora ikintu kitari ngombwa, kwiba, utagenewe, igihe kitageze). Ari ushatse bavuga ngo yarongoye. Kwendana (gusambana). Igituba (igitsina gore), imboro (igitsina gabo), kuvuga iyi myanya ndangabitsina ni ukurengera. Uyavuze uba uri ikigoryi. Insyu, kunyara (kwituma byoroshye, kwihagarika). Kuvuga aya magambo ni ugushira isoni. Ijambo igitsina ryakoreshejwe kugira ngo bivugike neza kibe ikintu cyumvikanye.

12. See English version.

13. Ahari amazina y'ikintu ariko hari n'amazina akoreshwa mu buryo bwiubashye. Umuntu atsinda ayo mazina.par exemple nko kuvuga sexe hakoreswa andi magambo. Imboro (penis, igitsina gabo), igituba (vagin, igitsina gore), amabya (testicules), insya (poils du pubis), imisundi (levres). Niko umuntu aba yarabisanze. Ni umuco kandi n' umuntu uyakoresheje bahita bumva ko nta kinyabupfura afite ko ari n'umusambanyi.

14. Kurongora (gushyingirwa), kunyaza (gutuma umugore azana amazi mugihe cya rapports sexuels mbere yo kugira ngo umugabo apenetrer) Ntayandi nzi. Ni amazina y'ibitsina ntitwemerewe kuyavuga. Ntawabitinyuka. Babyita igitsina gore/gabo. No gusambana ntibivugwa uretse mu nyigisho. Baba bagira ngo abana badashira isoni, kugira ngo biyubahe bubahe n'abandi, bakure bafite imvugo iboneye igaragaza ikinyabupfura n' umuco nyarwanda. Umubyeyi w'umunyarwandakazi akumvise ubivuga ntiwamukira.

15. See English version.

16. See English version.

17. Ntazonzi. Gukuna (guca imyeyo). Ni ugukurura levres. Nta mpamvu nzi.

18. Guswera (kwenda est plus atténue), gukuna (gukurura levres), kunyaza (gukinisha clitoris ukoresha imboro kugeza igihe umugore azana amanyare surnaturelles, ibintu byeruruka bisohoka kuburyo umugore anezerwa ndetse akarusha umugabo). L' home et la femme sont tous deux assis avec les jambes entrelacées. Imishino (levres), imboro (machin, les vieux appellent ça machin meme le vagin), amabya, amanyare (kunyara ni ukwihagarika nicyo kinyabupfura). Ntitwemerewe

kuvuga amagambo ajyanye n' imyanya ndangabitsina. Abantu bayavuga biherereye. Akoreshwa nk' ibitutsi. Ntavugwa kuko asobanura ibintu secretes bikorwa mw' ibanga n' uwo mubikorana. Ni ibintu Imana yashyize mu bantu byo kwiyubaha. Abagore bigisha abana b' abakobwa gukuna ngo bazacapter abagabo, mu nyigisho barabivugaga kuko babaga biherereye.

19. Tous les mots relatifs aux deux sexes: igituba (vagin), imboro (verge) urabizi madame, intini (penis), umushino/umusundi (clitoris). Ni amagambo secrets atagomba kwaturwa. N' abaganga ntibabyatura aribo bagombye kubyatura.

20. Igitsina (ni iritazirano). Igitsina kivuga iki? Igitsina ni ikintu cyose gishingiyeho. Ibityo byose n' imyaka bifite ibitsina. Kuvuga amagambo yerekeye imyanya ndangabitsina si byiza. Sinshobora kuyavuga. Ntabwo wambwira amwe? Reka, reka. Kuyavuga mu imvugo ni umuco utatwemerewe, tuy bivugaga tubitazira.

21. –

22. Igituba n' imboro. Ni ibanga ritavugwa ku gasozi. Guswera, ese wahamagara umugabo wawe ngo ngwino unswere. Ubibajije banaguca mu muryango. Gukuna.

23. Gusambana (guswera mais ne se dit pas) ni imvugo iboneye niyo ikoreshwa. Les organes ntizivugwa mu ruhamu mu kinyarwaanda. Bahindura amagambo kugira ngo bagire ikinyabupfura.

Ikibazo cya gatanu: Ni akamaro ki amagambo y' imiziro y' Ikinyarwaanda afitiye umuryango nyarwaanda? Ni ku ruhe rwego amagambo y' imiziro ayobora ubuzima bw' abanyarwanda?

1. See English version.

2. See English version.

3. a) Bituma abana batayakoresha nk' imikino. Uko ababyeyi bayatinyisha abana babo niko abana babona ko atari imikino gukora rapports sexuels.

b) Kutayavuga ni bibi. Tugomba kuyakoresha ku gihe nyacyo. Par exemple, ntakuyavuga kuli television abana bumva kuko bayaririmba bakadutesha agaciro. Bigomba guhera mu ngo ababyeyi babibwira abana babo progressivement.

4. a) Uburere.

b) Kwigenza neza, kwirinda, imyifatire myiza, kubahana. En general, uburere.

5. a) Bituma umuco ushingira imizi, ugakomera, uburere hagati mu abana buriyongera.

b) Avuzwe abaganisha nabi ajyana abanyarwanda mu makosa. Ntakamaro ko kuyavuga. Aramutse avuzwe, ntabumenyi yongera uretse devalorisation ya culture rwandaise.

6. a) Ntakamaro afite kuko kutabivuga bituma abantu babyiga nabi kandi bihishe. Ariko nk' abakecuru babumvise babona ko mwataye umuco. Ariko hari abantu batabivuga kandi bakora ibibi.

b) Niba ntakamaro karekare k' imiziro, ntanurahare afite mu kuyobora ubuzima bw' abanyarwanda. Mukuri kuri njye kutabivuga ni ukuba umupagani. C'est se baser trop sur la coutume.

7. a) Ni byiza ko haba ikizira. Abantu ntibagomba kwivugira ibintu byose kuko n' ahantu Imana yabiremye hihishe. Si mu maso ntihaboneka.

b) Conduite, education nziza. Tugira ibyo twubaha, ibyo tutavuga.

8. a) Afasha kubaka ingo. Iyo batayavuga, urugo rugira umuco nyarwanda. Iyo babivuga, indi miryango irabasuzugura. Bituma abana bagira avenir nziza. Bituma abantu babagiraho ishusho nziza bakabashakiramo abageni.

b) Bituma haba conduite nziza.

9. a) Iyo avuzwe adufasha kumva icyo umuntu avuze. Atavuzwe ntacyo bimariye umuryango nyarwanda. Par exemple, umuganga avura umuntu, agomba kumubwira ikibazo uko kimeze.

b) Umuntu ayavuze cyane afatwa nk' umuntu wataye umurongo (un indiscipline), umuntu uvuga ibintu bidakwiye. Kwirinda kuyavuga bigaragaza uburere bw' umuntu. Ariko nabwo kutayavuga kandi ari ngombwa ko avugwa si byiza.

10. a) Atuma tugumana umuco nyarwanda, tukubaha n'ubumuntu.

b) Aratuyobora cyane. Par exemple, umwana ukuze bamubuza kuvuga ikintu, bituma akura atinya icyo kintu. Uretse ko ashobora gukura agira amatsiko yo kumenya icyo kintu bamubuza. Muri icyo gihe azabaza bagenzi be bimuviremo ingaruka mbi.

11. a) Arabahugura(icyo umuntu atazi arakimenya) iyo abwiwe ugomba kuyabwirwa. Urugero, kubwira umwana w' umukobwa wagiye mu mugongo ko akoze ibibi yafatwa bimufasha gusobanukirwa. Kuyavuga ni byiza ariko abwiwe ugomba kuyumva. Guhugura umwana kuberekeye gusambana ni ngomwa kuyakoresha. Abantu bakuru bayavuga iyo bari hagati yabo ariko apana mu abana. Kutayavuga ni ukubaha nkuko umuntu yubaha itegeko.

b) Kubaha, kugaragaza uburere no kwitonda. Ikintu kiza cya mbere ni ikinyabupfura, kubaha. Kuyavuga nk' abashumba sibyiza.

12. See English version.

13. a) Iyo atavuzwe ni byiza kuko ababyeyi benshi batifuza ko abana babo bayamenya bikaba uburere. Ababyeyi bifuzaga ko biba ibanga. Bituma abana batayakoresha bakagira ikinyabupfura cyabo. Ariko bakomeje kutabimenya, barivumburira, ikintu batari bazi bakagikoresha nabi. Iyo akoreshejwe afasha umuntu kwimwanya kuko kudasobanurira umwana uko ateye byatuma

atamenya uko akoresha umubiri we. Aya magambo yarakwiye kubaho bitewe n' ikigero umwana arimo ariko yagera mukindi kigero bakayamuhishurira bakamubwira ibijyanye n' umubiri we.

b) Kutayakoresha bifasha abanyarwanda mu kinyabupfura cyabo ariko bikabagirira ingaruka mu myifatire mibi.

14. a) Bitandukanya umuco nyarwanda n'umuco wo mu mahanga. Par exemple, abakongomani bavuga imyanya ndangabitsina batitangiriye. Umunyarwanda ubivuze bamwita umushi. Bituma abana batinya ntibishore mu bintu bya sexe prematurement kuko baba bazi ko ababyeyi babibabujije ari icyaha.

b) Ni mu buryo bwo bubahiriza umuco no kurinda abana b' abanyarwanda risques bashobora guhura nazo muri relations sexuelles, no kumvisha abana

b' abanyarwanda ko toute verite n'est pas bonne a dire ko ahubwo bagomba gushaka ubundi buryo bwo kubivuga. Byigisha abana kwidepasa no kwisurpasa. Bituma abana biyubaha bakubaha n'abandi bakumva ko n' abandi batabahangara ngo bababwire ibigambo bidafututse.

15. See English version.

16. See English version.

17. a) Bituma abantu bagira ikinyabupfura bakiyubaha. Iyo umuntu yivugira byose muri societe, bavuga ko atarezwe, ko nta n' ikinyabupfura afite.

b) D' une part birabayobya kuko haba ibintu bagombye kuvuga ariko kubera umuco nyarwanda ntibabivuge. D'une autre part umuntu warezwe, ufite politesse, ntagomba kuvuga ibintu byose. Ayo magambo ayobora abanyarwanda akabigisha ikinyabupfura.

18. a) Twambara kugira ngo duhishe ibitsina, sinon ntaho twaba dutandukaniye n' ibisimba. Nicyo gituma bigomba icyubahiro.

b) Atuyobora mu rwego socio-culturel. Ubivuze baramwiharerana bakamubwira ko yongeye kuyavuga bazamuca mu muryango nyarwanda.

19. a) Ikinyabupfura n'umuco wabo.

b) Renforcement y' umuco, politesse, delicatessen na pudeur.

20. a) Umuntu uwari we wese arabimenya bayamubwira babitaziriye, n' umwana wabimubwira muri famille ubitaziriye akabyumva akabyirinda. Ako ni akamaro.

b) Aratuyobora nko ku rwego rw' ukuntu byaturinda indwara zituruka mu mibonano mpuzabitsina iyo adakoreshejwe.

21. a) Eviter de parler de choses considérées comme secretes. Hari ibintu bibera mw' ibanga kandi tutagomba kuvuga. Cacher les noms des choses qui se font en secret.

b) sauvegarder la culture.

22. a) Kubika umuco.

b) icyubahiro. Urwego ni ugufata ibanga ryabyo.

23. a) Amagambo si mabi ni ikinyarwaanda ariko kuko ari ibintu bikorwa mw' ibanga, ntitugomba kuyatura mu ruhamwe. Kuyamenya ni byiza ariko kuyavuga si byiza.

b) Politesse envers les autres.

Ikibazo cya gatandatu: Ni kuruhe rwego amagambo y'imiziro ayobora abanyarwanda mu buzima bwabo bwa buri muni?

1. See English version.
2. See English version.
3. Iyo avuzwe adufasha kumenya aho ubuzima bugeze. Kubera ikibazo cya SIDA atuma umuntu afata ingamba. Par example, nk' umukobwa w'igikundiro unakunda kuryamana n' abagabo, aya magambo amufasha gufata ingamba akagabanya ubusamanyi bwe.
4. Afite agaciro kanini mu mibereho y' abanyarwanda kandi ku nzego zose (abato, abakuze). Afasha muri conduite yabo.
5. Iyo avuzwe ashya abanyarwanda mu nzira mbi.
6. Ntabwo ayobora abanyarwanda.
7. Atuma umuntu atavuga ibintu uko abonye kose.
8. See question 5.
9. Aduha umurongo, discipline. Iyo tutayavuze buri gihe n' igihe bitari ngombwa byerekana uburere.
10. –
11. Kubaha no kwitonda.
12. See English version.
13. Mu ruhande rumwe aratuyobora mu muco mwiza n' ikinyabupfura. Kurundi ruhande adushora mu bujiji kubyerekeye imikoreshereze y' imyanya ndangabitsina akaba yakongera ubusambanyi cyangwa akongera indwara zandura mu mibonano mpuzabitsina. Par exemple, umuntu ashobora kurwara imitezi agatinya kubivuga kwa muganga.
14. Bituma dukoresha invugo iboneye, uwo abwiwe, cyangwa abamwumvise ntibibatera isoni cyangwa ikibazo. Bituma umuntu amenya izina rya sexe akuze azi n' akamaro kabyo, abikeneye.
15. See English version.
16. See English version.
17. Atwigisha ikinyabupfura.

18. Atwibutsa umuryango wacu. Ni nko kubyuka ukiyuhagira mu maso. Tugomba kuhuhorana k' umutima kugira ngo n' abana bacu uzabagere ho.

19. Muri vie communautaire na culture.

20. Atuma ubuzima bwacu bukomeza ntibusubire inyuma. Atuma umuntu akura azi ibiteye isoni akirinda kubivuga kubera umuco nyarwanda. Ntakuvuga amagambo ateye isoni mu muco nyarwanda.

21. –

22. –

23. Ntayobora ubuzima bwacu bwa buri muni. Ajoua role social gusa.

Ikibazo cya karindwi: Ni uruhare ki utekereza ko amagambo y' imiziro y' ikinyarwanda, cyane cyane ayerekeye imyororokere afite mu muco nyarwanda? Kuyakoresha kwaba se ari ukwototera uwo muco cyangwa yaba ari inzira nziza yo gushyikirana n'bandi? Sobanura igisubizo cyawe.

1. See English version.

2. See English version.

3. a) Adufasha kugabanya ubusambanyi n'imyitwarire mibi muri societe. Adufasha gutanga urugero kubo umuntu akuriye.

b) Ni uburyo bwiza bwo kuganira kuko niba ushaka gusobanura ikintu ruhaka aragufasha. Afasha gusobanura uburyo SIDA yandura, uburyo bwo kuyirinda, etc.

4. a) Batinyaga kubivuga kugira ngo badakeka ko babikora ndetse no kugira ngo batabona ko babikora ariko barabikora ntibabivuge mu magambo yabyo. Ntagaciro bifite muli culture Rwandaise.

b) Biraruta akavugwa bikanatuma birinda bakanamenya ko hari ibindi biyakomokaho bibi nka SIDA bakabyirinda.

5. a) Iyo adakoreshejwe biteza imbere umuco n' imyifatire.

b) Biterwa n'abayakoresha.

6. a) Hamwe na hamwe kuko hari umuntu utatinyuka kubera milieu arimo bikagira icyo bimufashaho.

b) Ni uburyo bwiza bwo gushyikirana nko mu nyigisho, mu madini no mu mashuri. Ntabwo ari uburyo bwo kwandavuzwa umuco.

7. a) Atuma hataba ubusambanyi bwinshi. Ntagomba kuvugwa kuko ateye ubwoba.

b) Mukuyavuga dushobora gusabana n'abandi ariko bituma haba ubusambanyi bwinshi.

8. a) Yatakaje valeur yayo kuko abantu bose , abana n’ abakuru no kuri radio barabimenya kandi barabivuga.

b) Sibyiza kuyavuga kuko ari ukototera umuco nyarwanda. Ababyeyi ntibakwiye kubwira abana kugira ngo abana batabishyira mu bikorwa.

9. a) - Kuyakoresha ni byiza kugira ngo duconserver ururimi rwacu ariwo muco nyarwanda. Ntitugomba kuyasimbuza ayandi y’ indimi z’amahanga ngo ni uko ateye isoni.

- Umunyarwanda ni umuntu utavuga ibintu biteye isoni. Uwirinda kuvuga aya magambo agaragaza uburere/ umuco.

b) Kuyakoresha si ukwangiriza umuco nyarwanda kuko hari abandi banyarwanda bazi umuco kandi batazi indimi z’ amahanga bagomba kuyakoresha.abantu bagomba kuyakoresha igihe ari ngombwa apana kuyatura ahantu hose.

10. a) Afite agaciro kanini kuko adufasha kugumana umuco nyarwanda qui se transmet de generation a generation et tout celui qui n’ y consent pas est considere comme un marginal.

b) Kuyakoresha ni ukwototera umuco kuko bya suscita ibindi bintu cyane mu bana bato.Akoresha n’abasinzi ahantu habi. Abana bayumvise bagira amatsiko yo kugira imibonano mpuzabitsina. Byakabaye byiza asimujwe n’andi uretse ko aya nayo aba adafututse cyane. Hagati aho sinzi icyakorwa.

11. a) Agaciro kayo ni ako kubaha no kwitonda nkuko twasanze abakuru bayafata batayavuga uko bishakiye. Iyo umwana ayatuye bavuga ko umwana wo kwa naka avuga ibishenzi.

b) Kuyakoresha ni ugusabana ariko si byiza ku bana siwo muco nyarwanda. Ni ukubyubaha no kubitinya kuko ariwo muco. Nko mu kabare hagati y’inshuti byavugwa nkibikino ariko ntakurengera.

12. See English version.

13. a) Afite uruhare runini, ikinyabupfura.

b) Kuyavuga mu ruhame ni ukwica umuco nyarwanda iyo avugiwe ahantu ahariho hose. Ariko mu bitaramo abantu bari mu rwego rumwe barayakoreshaga batera urwenya.

14. a) Atuma abanyarwanda batibagirwa umuco wabo kuko bafite limite. Ni nka barriere, amategeko atuma batibagirwa umuco nyarwanda.

b) Kubera abanyarwanda ubwabo bahuriye ku magambo bakoresha kandi bagasobanukirwa, gukoresha aya ma taboos kwaba ari ukototera umuco nyarwanda. Yakoresha nko mu ishuri no muyandi ma formations, muri famille byaba ari ukwototera umuco.

15. See English version.

16. See English version.

17. a) Iyo zitavuzwe zifite agaciro gato mu muco nyarwanda. Agaciro kazo ni ikinyabupfura gusa.

b) Ntabwo ari ukwototera umuco n' ubwo abantu ba kera bagikomeye kuri uwo muco. Ariko aho bigeze twagombye kuyakoresha.

18. a) Bijyanye n' umuco wo gusigira abana kugira ngo bamenye umuco mwiza ntibavuge ibigambo byose mu ruhame. Bitera harmonie.

b) Kuyakoresha ni ukuba sauvage abantu bakagucikaho. Le sens social ishingiyeye cyane ku by' imibonano. Niho ifata source kandi ni itegeko ry' imana.

19. a) Ni runini cyane.

b) Yego. Ni ukwototera umuco. Ntabwo ari inzira nziza yo gushyikirana n' abandi. Umuntu Atari umunyarwanda niho wa transgressa iyo taboo uvugana nawe kuko ntakundi byagenda.

20. a) Yigisha kutavuga imvuga italic nziza mu muco nyarwanda.

b) Abantu bangana nk' umugore n' umugabo ntibatinyana biganirira ukwabo ari babiri. abantu bangana batera blague bakabyatura. Ubibwiye umuntu mukuru waba umututse et vice-versa.

21. a) Respect ariko nubwo bitavugwa si ukuvuga ko bitabaho.

b) Ni bibi cyane cote chretien birabujitwe. Saint Paul yari puriste avuga ko ayo magambo atagomba no kuvugwa mu rungano. Kubivuga ni icyaha.

22. a) Uruhare rwayo ni urw' imana. N' ibanga ryayo na bene kubikora. Ntashobora kuvugirwa mu ruhame.

b) Ni ukwototera umuco, ni amagambo aremereye cyane.

23. a) Kubuza abanyarwanda kujya muri iyo mico. Iyo batubujije kuvuga ikintu ntitunatinyuka kugikora. Et poutant curieusement abantu batambaraga. Kwari kugira ngo babitinye ntibanabikora.

b) Kuyavuga sibizya kubwo uburere bw' abana bacu na vie social.

Ikibazo cya munani: Ni uruhe ruhare amagambo y' imiziro kubyerekeye imyororokere agira ku bantu bayasoma cyangwa bayumva? Ni izihe ngaruka agira ku bantu bayakoresha?

1. See English version.

2. See English version

3. a) Kuko tutaragira uburenganzira bwo kuyakoresha cyane mu muco nyarwanda, uyasomye cyangwa akayumva aramutangaza cyane.

b) Abayakoresha bagaragara nabi bafatwa nk' abasambanyi, indaya, etc.

4. a) Bituruka kuri buri muntu. Hari abakunda kuyasoma no kuyumva, hari a' abatabikunda kuko bumva ko biteye isoni.

b) Babonwa nk' aberuzi batagira pudeur, batiyubaha.

5. a) Bishobora gutuma umuntu ahindura imyifatire cyangwa se imitekerereze. par exemple, umuntu ashobora kurakarira umubwiye icyo kijambo bakaba banatongana.

- b) Agusha nyiri ukuyavuga, amushyira mu murongo mubi.
6. a) Kuri nje si ibintu bitavugwa ariko abandi bagira amasoni soni cyangwa bagahunga bakigendera.
- b) Ashobora kuba nk'igicibwa cyangwa se agira reputation mbi n'ingeso mbi.
7. a) biteye iseseme, degout.
- b) baba batagifite isoni cyangwa se icyo bubaha. Ni aba marginaux.
8. a) Agira tendance sexuelle nyinshi. Bituma havuka abana benshi mu buryo butemewe n'amategeko.
- b) Bituma batakaza personalite yabo, societe ikabafata nk'aba voyou.
9. a) Abayasoma cyangwa bakayumva cyane cyane les jeunes arabasembura cyane bigatuma bifuza kugukora ibyo basomye cyangwa bumvise. Par exemple, hari udutabo tw' Ikinyarwaanda nka *Iwawe n' Uwawe* basobanura mu umugore n'umugabo bihuza, bakerekana sexes zitandukanye, bisembura abana b' abasore cyane.
- b) Ingaruka ni nyinshi. Abantu babakuraho ikizere.
10. a) Bituma umuntu aba corrompue akabishyira mu bikorwa, par exemple akaba umusambanyi, akavuga ibigambo bimutesha agaciro, etc.
- b) Umuntu ashobora guhabwa akato, abantu bamubona bakavugaga ngo kiraje. We bishobora kuba ntacyo bimutwaye ariko ntibimuha icyubahiro.
11. a) Ni isomo umuntu aba afashe, ibyo atazi akabimenya mu mutima we ariko ntagende abivugaga kuko atari byiza.
- b) Ingaruka ni ubushizi bw'isoni. Societe imugayisha ijisho bakamufata nk' umusazi gusa nta gihano bamuha. Umuntu ubivugaga atabitinye nawe uramutinye ukirinda kumubwira ijamba iryo ariryo ryose.
12. See English version.
13. a) Biterwa na message aya magambo afite. Iyo yerekeranye ni inyigisho umuntu uyasomye yunguka byinshi. Iyo umuntu yigisha atsinda nta precision bituma abiga batiga neza.
- b) Afatwa nkaho nta kinyabupfura agira.
14. a) Iyo utari warigeze ubimenya atuma ugira curiosite. Akugira ho effet. Nkushaka kurongora byamugirira akamaro, bandi yatuma bifuza kubimenya le plus vite possible, hari abafunga abitabo bakigendera. Les gens reagissent differement devant une meme situation.
- b) Ntibubaha sexe byashora abana mu ngeso mbi kuko baba batarasobanukirwa ibyo barimo. Societe ibafata nk'abashizi b' isoni abantu bataye umuco nyarwanda cyane iyo bayakoresha nko mu biganiro bisanzwe. Abize babifata nk'ibintu biriho, nk' isomo iyo bikoreshejwe avec utilite. Ariko iyo umuntu apfuye kubivugaga mu ruhamwe bamufata nk'umuntu wataye umuco.

15. See English version.

16. See English version.

17. a) Bimushora kugira imibonano mpuzabitsina. Ni nko kureba films pornographiques, ntakamaro bimugirira ahubwo bidetrusa ame ye.

b) Barasuzugurika. Ntushobora kubaha abantu nkabo kandi nibo baroga ababisoma batuma bishora mu busambanyi.

18. a) Ibitabo nk' *Iwawe n'Uwawe* birimo ibi bigambo birajijura, ibyo umuntu atari azi akabimenya. Hari ababa bashaka kubyiyumvira gusa bagacokoza ubivuga kugira ngo akomeze abivuge.

b) uyakoresheje arasekwa. Nta muntu wiyubashye ushobora kwatura ibyo bigambo.

19. a) Kuyasoma ntacyo kuko iyo uyasoma uba uri wenyine. Iyo uyumva ashocka meme les oreilles.

b) Societe imufata nka delinquent, un hors la loi.

20. a) Ntibigira ingaruka ku muntu ubyumva kuko arihitira gusa agaya ababivuze akabita abashenzi ariko, ari nk'abantu bangana babivuze ntakibazo. Par exemple, umuntu mukuru usanze abana b'abakobwa babivuga nta kibazo abibona mo. Ubisomye atangazwa n'ababyanditse ariko umuntu abanza kureba icyatumye babyandika. Ariko, hari ubisoma bikamwibutsa kubikora. N'abangana bakabivuga cyane mu buryo burambuye bibatera appetite yo kubikora.

b) Hari abantu bumva ko ibyo bidakwiye kuvugwa batabashima bakabita abapagani.

21. a) Kera la societe n' etait pas aussi fermee qu'on le croyait. Ari abakobwa ari n'abahungu bari epanouis bakivugira bimazeyo bakanendana. Aho interdits ziziye byatumye haba consequences za defoulement na refoulement.

b) Ntabayavuga. Ubu bakoresha za langages detournes, language poetique nko gupfundura agaseke igihe kitageze kubera radio yumvwa na bese. uyakoresheje bamufata nk' umugome. La societe érige des barrieres zituma umuntu agwa muri vulgarité/langage cavalier (parler n'importe comment). Hari ururimi rw' abize hari n'imvugo. Amagambo amwe ashobora gushoka les uns. Muri icyo gihe umuntu arisegura mbere yo kuyakoresha. Umuntu ntashobora kujya kuri radio ngo ayature. Il faut savoir a qui s'adresser. Ahubwo se dufite uburenganzira culturelle bwo kwiyanika imbere y'abazungu kandi bo batavuga ibyabo? Ababyeyi banga no kubwira abana babo ibigambo bibi kugira ngo nabo batabibwira abandi.

22. a) Kubisoma bituma umuntu abicishamo ijisho akamenya ibyaribyo. kubyumva si benshi babikoresha. Ni igitutsi gaswere...umwana yaragikoreshaga bakamukubita. Bifite icyubahiro gikomeye, kiremereye.

b) Baba bashaka gusobanurira abatabizi, kwigisha umuco karande. Kubyandika si urugomo ahubwo ni ukujijura abatabizi. Societe yita ababivuga abasazi. Ni urukoza soni.

23. a) Kuyasoma ntacyo kuko abamaze kumenya kuyasoma baba bafite deja za instructions. Ariko kuyashyira henshi mu bitabo sibyiza. No gusambana bari kurivanaho bakavuga imibonano mpuzabitsina kiri plus attenuant. Ababivuga bibashora mu busambanyi.

b) Ni bibi.. Ni uku excita abantu. Wabyandika ufite impamvu. Abayakoresha nta burere bafite.

Ikibazo cya cyenda: Urakeka ko imiziririzo mu mikoreshreze y'imvugo biturutse mu magambo y' imiziro hari icyo byongera mu gukwirakwiza SIDA mu Rwanda.

1. See English version.

2. See English version.

3. Hari icyo byongera. Plus on n'en parle pas, plus les jeunes pensent que ce doit se faire en cachette, et plus ils ignorent comment se protéger et plus le SIDA se propage.

4. Bifite uruhare.dushaka ko indwara itandura tugomba gusobanura amagambo mu buryo bunononsoye. Batinya kubivuga ariko bakabikora. Ce qui n'a pas de sens. Iyo bigisha non seulement bagomba kwerekana les appareils genitaux mais aussi bagomba no kuzivuga.

5. Gukwirakwira kwa SIDA ntaho bihuriye nayo magambo y'imiziro. Kuyavuga no kutayavuga rero nicyo kimwe.

6. Plus babiceceka, plus bikorwa bwihishwa. N'aho abana babimenyeye babimenya nabi babyigishijwe n'ababashuka kuburyo bashobora no gukora ibibi bakandura SIDA.

7. Ubu ntitugomba kubifata nk' imiziro kubera ikibazo cya SIDA. Tugomba kumenya uko ifata aho ifatira n'uburyo bwo kuyirinda.

8. Ntacyo byongera kuko umuntu akura muri ignorance.

9. Ntacyo byongera ahubwo bidufasha kugabanya SIDA. Ni ngobwa gusobanura SIDA, ahifata nuko ifata ariko si ngombwa gukoresha aya magambo kuko niyo uganiye n'abantu ba kera bakubwira ko ibishegu bya excitaga cyane.

10. Ukurikije realite, umwana ashobora gukura atumva iwabo bahingutsa na rimwe ayo magambo, akayumvira mu bagenzi be, akabishyira en pratique bikaba byamuviramo SIDA.

11. Ntacyo byongera ahubwo kubivuga nibyo byongera SIDA. Iyo umuntu aje akugana akubwira amagambo ajyanye n'imibonano mpuzabitsina ahita ahindura ibitekerezo byawe agatuma ukora ibibi. Urugero,gukorakora umukobwa umubwira ibyo bigambo bimushora mu busambanyi. Umuntu uhita werekera kuri ibyo bintu iyo ubyumvise niyo atagukozeho. Hari umuntu ubikora atabigambiriye kubera kubyumva. Iyo ubivuze mu magambo uba wabikoze byarangiyeye.

12. See English version.

13. Kuyavuga sicyo gituma SIDA yiyongera ahubwo yakwiyongera iyo ababyeyi batabwiye abana babo ibijyanye n' imibonano mpuzabitsina iyo bageze muri adolescence. Naho kuyatsinda hanze ntangaruka mbi bifite.

14. Ntacyo ahubwo irabigabanya. Par exemple iyo umusore wo mu giturage abwiye umukobwa ngo aramurongora ahita amutinya kubera ibigambo bye agahita yigendera, akamuhunga.

15. See English version.

16. See English version.

17. Yongeraho ikintu. Le fait yo kutabivuga cyane n'iyo mpamvu batabisobanukiwe cyane bakabyishoramo bigatuma SIDA yiyongera.

18. Oya ariko kuvuga ibyo bigambo n'ingaruka byagiriye abantu bituma SIDA idakwirakwira. Ikibi ni ukubivugira nko mw'isoko.

19. –

20. Ntacyo byongera rwose kubivuga n'ibyo bibi kuko bituma abantu bifuzza kubikora.

21. Uko barwanya SIDA niko izarushaho kumara abanyarwanda. Hari effets biologiques, physiologiques na psychologique. Par exemple, il faut kugarura ibyo gukuna kugira ngo batifuza kudecouvra. Ni ibintu byangombye kumvikana aho kubeshya. Iyo abazungu batarwanya kubandwa, culture yari tres riche kandi abantu bivugiraga ibyo bishakiraga. Abazungu barwanyije cyane no gukuna muri cours yitwaga diaconal. Babuzaga position a califourchon kandi bakabyigisha mu kilatini. Aba missionnaires bazanye interdits zikabije. Aujourd'hui, l'Europe yasabye ko aya magambo avugwa, none basigaye bayavuga no kuri radio kandi bayabwira n'abana bato batayakeneye. SIDA ni cyane cyane ikibazo cy'ubukene comme le president Sud Africain l'a dit. Pauvrete itera SIDA. Kwita SIDA facteur culturel yonyine ni ukuyisimplifia kandi ubusambanyi ari bwinshi mu Rwanda. baravugaga ngo ntawupfa kabiri, hapfa uwavutse. Kera hari za barriere sociales kugira ngo Societe rwandaise ikomeze kubaho.

22. Hari imiziro bakubwira iremereye cyane wayirengaho ikakugaragaraho. Gusa kutavugaga aya magambo no kuyavugaga nicyo kimwe kuko ushobora kubwira umwana uti dore naka apfuye urupfu rubi yishwe na SIDA, ejo uwo mwana akayandura nawe. Kwandura SIDA bituruka ku bushake bw'umuntu. Abapadiri bavanyeho aya magambo bitera ubusambanyi cyane cyane mu batware basambanaga beruye nk'inka. No muri misa ya n'ijoro abantu barasambanye kugeza igihe nayo bayivanaho.

23. Bayakoresheje byongera acte gutyo SIDA igakwirakwira. Kutayakoresha bituma batishora mu busambanyi. La prevue en est que il y a beaucoup de choses que je ne peux pas te reveler.

Ikibazo cya cumi: Ni uruhe ruhare utekereza ko amagambo y'imiziro ku byerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina agira mu gukwirakwiza amakuru ku byerekeye SIDA?

1. See English version.
2. See English version.
3. Abantu baramutse bubahutse gukoresha ayo magambo, SIDA yabonerwa umuti kubera abantu bajya muri meetings bakabwira uruburako uburyo bwo gukoresha prudence bakirinda SIDA.
4. Uruhare ni ruke kuko batinya kuvuga ayo magambo. Bituma batisha uburyo bakwiye kwirinda.
5. Iyo avuzwe ashobora gushora abana mu busambanyi nkuko yabafasha kwirinda SIDA.
6. Ayo magambo yaherwaho mu gusobanura ubwandu bwa SIDA, mu kubwira abantu ko abana b' abanyarwanda bahohotewe bakandura SIDA kuko bagiye babahisha ayo magambo.
7. Atuma abantu bataba a l'aise bavuga uko ikibazo cya SIDA giteye kandi bayakoresheje byafasha imyumvire ya SIDA koroha.
8. Iyo akoreshejwe mu nzira nziza bituma amakuru kubyerekeye SIDA agera ku bantu benshi. Par exemple, publicite kuri SIDA (par exemple SIDA iravugiriza) non seulement ifasha kuyiranda mais aussi kwifata nk' umukristo. Ariko hari izindi publicites (gukoresha agakingirizo) zigaragaza ko gusambana ari normal.
9. Ijambo ryose ribereyeho kumvisha abantu. Nta kuntu wasobanurira umuntu cyangwa se uruhame rw' abantu SIDA udakoresheje ariya magambo. Ugomba kubasobanurira bakumva.
10. Akoreshejwe byatuma SIDA imenyekana, abantu bakamenya ko iriho. Adakoreshejwe naho byatuma abantu batishora mu busambanyi.
11. Iyo uyavuze bigutera ubushyuhe utari ufite ukabishaka. Kuyakoresha no kutayakoresha ni kimwe, byarangiye byarenze kamere. Abantu basigaye bafata SIDA nka malaria cyangwa izindi ndwara. N' umwana w'umwaka wa mbere primaire bamwereka prudence. Imana izikorera abo yishakiye. Tekereza umwana wa primaire ukubaza ngo papa imibonano mpuzabitsina ni iki? Mbega ishyano! Byarangiye ntacyo tugitabara.
12. See English version.
13. Aya magambo akoreshejwe niho abantu bamenya amakuru kubijyanye na SIDA. Bakomeje kuyatsinda abantu ntibasobanukirwa. Par exemple, ababyeyi babwiye umwana ngo SIDA yandurira mu mibonano mpuzabitsina gusa, umwana ntiyasobanukirwa ibyo bashatse kuvuga. Bisaba rero ko bakoresha ayo magambo kugira ngo bamwumvishe.
14. Bivuzwe mu mvugo iboneye, abana basanzwe mu Rwanda babyumva neza bitewe nuko babibwiwe. Bakoresheje imvugo nyandagazi kugira ngo n' abavuye hanze babyumve byaba byiza

kuruta ariko bagasobanura ko ayo magambo adakwiye gukoreshwa ahantu hose mu kavuyo. Dans les formations oui.

15. See English version.

16. See English version.

17. Ntacyo kuko uko bayahisha niko bahisha n'ibijyanye na SIDA. Baramutse bayakoresheje byafasha mu myumvire y'uko SIDA ifata n'uko iteye.

18. Biterwa n'ibiganiro baba bashyizeho. Iyo babinegura bituma abandi bagira ubwoba kubera hari danger.

19 Ntiberura ngo bavuge ayo magambo no muri za emissions sur le SIDA.

20 Ubyatuye ntacyo byafasha nta n' akamaro byagira kuko ahubwo byakwirakwiza SIDA. Mu mucu ntitugomba kwatura ayo magambo tugomba kuyatazira kuko abantu bumva amatazirano bigatuma bamenya uko SIDA iteye. Par exemple, abantu bose bumva icyo ijamba ibitsina rivuga.

21. ee question 9.

22. Ayo magambo yavugwa n'abasazi. Tuzakomeza gukoresha amatazirano.

23. N'ubwo wayakoresha mu buryo bwo kurwanya SIDA, abantu bose ntibafite imyumvire imwe. Kuyatura bituma abantu bifuzwa kubikora. Washaka andi magambo abisimbura mu kwigisha ibinyanye na SIDA.

Ikibazo cya cumi na kimwe: Ni uruhe ruhare amagambo y'imiziro ku byerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina agira mu biganiro by'abanyarwanda ku cyorezo cya SIDA?

1. See English version.

2. See English version.

3. Byatuma abantu bakanguka bityo bigafasha umunyarwanda/kazi uko abyifatamo akaba yanafasha abo akuriye.

4. Ni ruto cyane kuko n'ababyeyi batatinyuka kubivuga mu bana babo kandi niyo batabivuze ntibibuza abana gusambana.

5. Ababyeyi babuza abana kuyavuga ngo badatambikira umuco ariko bashobora kubasobanurira bababwira ububi bw'ibyo bintu kugira ngo batishora mu nzira mbi.

6. See 10.

7. Kubera gutinya ayo magambo usanga abantu batavugaga deeply ibijyanye na SIDA.

8. Iyo ayo magambo avuzwe n'abakuru ashobora kugira ingaruka nziza ariko yavugwa n'abana akagira ingaruka mbi. Iyo ababyeyi babwira umwana wabo ni byiza cyane cyane iyo umwana abafitiye confidence ariko abana babyigiye ku bandi ni bibi.

9. Iyo akoreshejwe afasha abanyarwanda kumva ikibazo cya SIDA. Par exemple, gusobanurira umuntu utazi français cyangwa urundi rurimi rw'amahanga dukoresha cyane tuvuga aya magambo, ni ngombwa kumusobanurira tuyakoresha.
10. Iyo bashoboye kuyakoresha bituma bibuka ko SIDA iriho.
11. Gusobanurira abana bigira ingaruka mbi. Ntacyo tukiziririza nicyo gituma tubwira abana ko baramutse bagize imibonano mpuzabitsina bapfa nka runaka wishwe na SIDA.
12. See English version.
13. Niyo abasha kumvikanisha neza ibijyanye na SIDA.
14. Baba barayakubwiye nk'umuziro noneho iyo umuntu akubwiye ngo ubikore bituma utinya. Hazamo umuziro. Ayo magambo ni obstacle muri za discussions kuko atamenyerewe. Abantu ntibayavuga librement kuko bazi ko hari interdit aba ari mu mutwe.
15. See English version.
16. See English version.
17. Bayatuye bakabivuga abantu barushaho gusobanukirwa.
18. Bikurikira sujet abantu bagize. Iyo bavuga abagiye bandura byatuma abantu bifata.
19. Kubera ariya magambo adakoreshwa bagakoresha amagambo plus habilles, birafasha bigatuma abantu birinda ntibabe barwara SIDA.
20. Iyo bayaganiriye bakanavuga n'uburyo SIDA yandura, aho yandura, uburyo ifata, uburyo yica, uburyo ugiye gupfa aba yabaye, bituma bagira ubwoba bakayirinda kandi abantu batarinze kubyatura. Kubiganira si bibi. Ikibi umuntu arakiganira kugira abantu bakirinde. Ariko muri iki gihe hakoreshwa amagambo adateye isoni nk'ijambo gusambana ritari ribi nk'ayandi. Amatazirano atuma abantu bumva kandi ntawe ateye isoni.
21. See question 10.
22. See question 10.
23. Kera babuzaga ayo magambo kugira ngo abana batishora mu busambanyi. Kuvuga ayo magambo mu nyigisho sibizwa du tout. Apres tout abantu bazi ko iyo acte ibaho, singombwa kubyatura.

Ikibazo cya cumi na kabiri: Utekereza ko abanyarwanda bose bafite imyifatire imwe kubyerekeye amagambo y'imiziro yerekeye imibonano mpuzabitsina?

1. See English version.
2. See English version.

3. Oya. Hari abumva ko ari amahano umuntu avuze ayo magambo. Hari abandi batabibonamo ikibazo.
4. Oya. Hari abatinyuka kubivuga hari n'abatabitinyuka. Les derniers nibo benshi.
5. Bose bafite imyumvire imwe kuko umuco ari umwe.
6. Bamwe baracyabifata nk'imiziro hari n' abatabyemera batazi iyo biva. Kuri jye ntacyo mbona bimariye abanyarwanda.
7. Oya. Hari abayavuga nta bwoba hari n'abadashaka kumva abayavuga kuko babafata nk'abataye umurongo.
8. Oya bitewe naho bagiye baturuka. Ababaye i Rwanda bafite uwabo mucu kubijyanye na sexualite. Abavuye hanze nabo bafite iyabo mico.
9. Oya. Biterwa na categorie na societe n' imyaka umuntu arimo. Par exemple hagati yabo basaza ntibatinya kuyavuga bayabwira ndetse n'abasore bajijutse.
10. Aho abanyarwanda bava bakagera bafite imico imwe uretse wenda abavuye hanze. N'abize ntibabitinyuka malgre leurs connaissances. Bafite ubundi buryo bigisha abana babo ibijyanye na relations sexuelles.
11. Oya. Hari abantu bafite ikinyabupfura badashobora kwivugira icyo bashatse. Hari abandi bameze nk' abatwa bavuga icyo bashatse ndetse n'imbere y'abana babo b' abakobwa. Ni gutyo umuco nyarwanda wagiye ucika. Iyo uri kumwe n'umuntu mungana wumva ari blague nk'ibindi bisanzwe ariko iyo uri kumwe n'umuntu wiyubashye nka papa wawe, musaza wawe wumva biteye isoni cyane kubyumva.
12. See English version.
13. Oya. Biterwa na classe abantu barimo. Par exemple, abashumba n'abantu batarezwe bayakoresha ariko n'abantu bo mu rwego rumwe bayakoresha nta soni abateye ariko si bese. Hari abifata ntibayakoreshe.
14. Oya. Hari itandukaniro hagati y' abize n'abatarize. Abantu batuye mu mijyi n'abakunze kugenda mu bihugu byo hanze bagera aho bibagirwa taboos. N'abize ni uko ariko si bese.
15. See English version.
16. See English version.
17. Oya. Abize ntibabiha agaciro cyane ariko abatarize barabigaha cyane. Gusa abantu bareka kuyavuga kubera umwanya wayo apana kubera ari imiziro.
18. Oya. Biranyuranye. Hari abadashaka kubyumva n'abo ntacyo bibwiye.
19. La majorite reste reserve. Seuls les marginaux les utilisent.
20. Oya.hari abatinya kubivuga hari n'ababyatura. Uko abato babivuga siko abakuru babyubahuka.

21. Oya. Hari ababona ko ari ibishitani. Nk' abarokore barabikora ariko ntibabivuga. No kurya cyangwa se kureba abantu bose ntibabikora kimwe. Imyumvire nayo iratandukanye.
22. Hari ababyandarika n'abatabivuga.
23. Twese dusa n'abafite imihango imwe ahubwo hari aho bitabujijwe cyane.

Ikibazo cya cumi na gatatu: Ni iyihe myifatire abantu bari mu Rwanda mbere ya 1994 bafite kubyerekeye amagambo y'imiziro ajyanye ni imibonano mpuzabitsina? Ni iyihe myifatire abantu bavuye hanze y'u Rwanda abagira kuri ayo magambo?

1. See English version.
2. See English version.
3. a) Hari ibice bibiri kubera counselling policy. Abagitinya kuyakoresha nibo benshi. Hari n'abayakoresha kubera bashinzwe guhugura abantu kubyerekeye SIDA.
 - b) Abavuye hanze nabo ntibaratinuka kuyakoresha ariko ugereraniye n'abasanze i Rwanda bo barahangara gato.
4. a) Ntabwo nigeze nitegereza ariko c'est toujours umuco nyarwanda.
 - b) Barabyubaha ariko si bese.
5. a) Baracyakomeye ku magambo y'imiziro kuko batigeze bahindura ururimi rwabo n'umuco.
 - b) Bamwe na bamwe bafashe umuco waho bari, ahanini bikoreshereza ururimi rwahongaho. Abandi bashobora kumva umuntu wari asanzwe i Rwanda akoresheje iryo jambo bakarisubiramo kuko batazi inkomoko yayo.
6. a) Hari itandukaniro mu myifatire mbere y'intambara na nyuma yayo kuko abantu baravangavanze. Gahoro gahoro cyane mu mujiyi basigaye batinyuka kuvuga ayo magambo.
 - b) Ntacyo bibatwaye cyane. Barabivuga nta n'ubwo bumva (cyane cyane abato babo) kuki tuta precisa.
7. a) Bo bari attaches kuri culture rwandaise. Ntibabona ko ari ibintu bisanzwe kuvuga ariya magambo. Ils ne sont pas ouverts.
 - b) N'ubwo abanyarwanda bese ari bamwe, bo bagerageza kuyakoresha.
8. a) Bafite image mbi ya sexualite kubera ibibi byinshi entre autres viols bahuye nabyo mu ntambara. Ntibikanga ntibanagira na curiosite iyo bumvise amagambo ajyanye n'imibonano mpuzabitsina kuko babizi.
 - b) Ubu babivuga cyane kuruta uko babivugaga bakiri hanze kubera radios zibivuga cyangwa se n' abandi bantu (contact y'abantu bafite imico itandukanye) n'ubumenyi nabwo (kuri internet, TV, etc). Babifata nka modernisme (kujijuka).

9. a) Ntibakunda kuyakoresha. Bali disciplines.

b) Abaje batazi ikinyarwaanda biraborohera kuyavuga mu ndimi z'amahanga kuko zumvwa na bake. Bivugira ibyo bashatse.

10. a) Hari ibigenda bihinduka. Hari ibyo basigaye batinyuka kuvuga kubera ikibazo cya SIDA. Taboos zimwe zirata cyangwa se zikagabanya agaciro. Par exemple, kera uwavugaga gusambana yabaga akoze sacrilege ariko ubu biravugwa kubera icyorezo cya SIDA.

b) Bari more open. Kuribo aya magambo nta agaciro afite cyane. Nabo ntibayatura mu ruhame ariko ntafite imbaraga cyane nko mu banyarwanda bari basanzwe i Rwanda.

11. a) Habaye uruvube kubera abantu bavuye i Burundi, i Bugande, Congo. Nta muco tugifite. Abantu bari bazi ikinyabupfura barapfuye. Nta kintu wasobanura ubu, ni uruvange.

12. See English version.

13. a) Ntibayatinya.

b) Abaturutse hanze cyane ababaye mu inka n'abatarize barayakoresha. Abize ntibayakoresha.

14. a) Mbere y'intambara byaziraga cyane kuvuga aya magambo. Bari bicaye kuri wa muco nyarwanda cyane. Benshi ntibari barize nta na relations exterieures bari bafite, gurya bakaranda k'umuco. Kubera abantu benshi bavuye hanze n'abasaza bari i Rwanda bakaba bapfa amagambo taboos asa nari gucika burundu. Impfubyi nazo ntizigira uzigisha ikinyabupfura. Kiriziya nayo ngo yakuye kirazira.

b) Hari abatashye bakibanda kuri culture Rwandaise. Hari n'abatahanye umuco w'ibihugu babagamo kuburyo kuvuga ibijyanye na sexe ntacyo bibabwiye.

15. See English version.

16. See English version.

17. a) Nibo babikabya cyane,

b) Barayatinyuka bakayavuga uretse ko benshi batanayazi. Ariko jye nshobora kureka kuyakoresha kubera ikinyapfura cyanjye ngomba abandi.

18. a) Barabivuga ariko si bese.

b) ntibabivuga cyane.

19. a) Ni nk'abandi bese.

b) Bavuga langage imwe nk'abagenzi babo bari ino mbere ya 1994.

20. a) Babivuga basa n'ababyeruye cyane abaturage babo barabyatura. Muri genocide babaye amashitani, bavuga ibitutsi bibi imbere y'abana babo, banakorera ibibi mu maso yabo. Nicyo gituma babyatura, ariko si umuco.

b) Baracyafite umuco wo kubaha ibintu nk'ibyo ku batabiciyemo ntibana byumve. Umuco wo gutsinda twavanye mu Rwanda kera niwo twagarukanye nyuma y'intambara.

21. a) Baraziruye bumva bagomba gusambanya umututsikazi. Hari differences culturelles entre umuhutu n'umututsi, ariko abazungu barabikabirije. Hanze ntibayakoreshaga, muri prison ho sinzi langage bakoresha. Gutsinda kuracyariho, ariko maladroitement.

b) Abagiye muri 1959 bafite entre 20 et 30 ans ndetse n'abavutse muri 1959 bakomeje imvugo bari bafite i Rwanda.

22. a) Ntibayavuga.

b) Sinzi kuko ntakigenda ngo ndebe imyifatire yabo, ariko umuco wa kizungu washinze imizi mu Rwanda.

23. a) Ntibahindutse baracyayirinda malgre la bestialite de 1994 kuko bazi ko les actes poses zari mbi.

b) N'abahunze bari mu nkambi bonyine, umuco wabagumyemo.education ntiyahindutse.

Ikibazo cya cumi na kane: Abanyarwanda bakwiye gukomeza kwirinda amagambo y' imiziro y'Ikinyarwaanda cyangwa ibiganiro ku mibonano mpuzabitsina?

1. See English version.

2. See English version.

3. Barakwiye kuyubahuka bakayabwira abana babo bijyanye n'igihe turimo bityo bigafasha gufatira SIDA ingamba.

4. Barakwiye kubivuga kuko ari ikinyarwaanda. Ntamuco wo kutavuga ururimi rwawe.

5. Bagomba gukomeza kwirinda amagambo y'imiziro kugirango batayobya abana.

6. Ntacyo byabamarira gukomeza kutayavuga gusa bamenye ahantu hiyubashye bayavugira (mu inyigisho, etc et non ku karubanda).

7. Ntabwo bakwiye gukomeza kuyafata nka tabous, bakwiye gufunguka gato kugira ngo tubimenye sans toutefois gutakaza culture yacu. Yakoreshwa muri za circonstances zimwe na zimwe (exemple, parents-enfants a la maison. Kubwira abana bakabigisha ibijyanye na SIDA n'inda zindaro ntibabyigire hanze).

8. Yego kubera ariwo muco bagomba kuwubwira.

9. Bakwiye kwirinda kuyavuga ariko aho bari ngombwa kuyirinda. Bakwiye kuyavuga aho bikenewe nko mu buvuzi, inyigisho za SIDA, etc.

10. Abanyarwanda bakwiye kwirinda kuyavuga iyo ari nta mpamvu igaragara yo kuyakoresha ariko kurundi ruhande arakenewe kugira ngo education sexuelle igere ku bana no mu nyigisho kuri SIDA.

11. Ukuntu twabivuga ni ukubwira abana ngo ibi bintu ni bibi bifite ingaruka mbi, ariko nk'ibiganiro bisanzwe ntabiganiro birimo kuko iyo umuntu yabivuze aba yabikoze biba byarangiye. Iyo ubivuga niyo umutima uba uri.
12. See English version.
13. Nk' abanyarwanda mbona bigoye ko tuyakoresha ariko abo mu rwego rumwe bo bashobora gukomeza kuyakoresha. Muri rusange ntibizashoboka ko tuyakoresha kuko ateye isoni. Ariko iyo miziro yaba imiziro mu gihe runaka. Biterwa nabo muri kubivugana. Mugeze kuri sujet y'imibonano mpuzabitsina mwayakoresha kugira ngo urikubyigisha abo yigisha basobanukirwe neza.
14. Kubera ikibazo cya SIDA ntidukwiye gukomeza kubigira ibanga kugira ngo umwana akure asobanukiwe amenye ukuntu ya kwirinda ntabe yagwa mu cyago cyayo kubera kutamenya.
15. See English version.
16. See English version.
17. Ntakamaro ko gukomeza kuyafata nk' imiziro. Umuntu ku giti cye niwe wagombye kumenya amagambo yavuga nayo adashobora kuvuga.
18. Kirazira kuvuga ibitsina. Ibintu byose ni ukugereranya.
19. Oui, kuko bafite uko babivuga kandi message igahita. Mu ibiganiro bakoresha amagambo pudique no kuri radio kandi message igahita parfaitement.
20. Dukwiye gukomeza kuyirinda kuko ibyo tuvuga abantu babyumva tutabanje kwatura ayo magambo.
21. Tugomba gukomeza kuyatsinda hanze, ntakuyatura ku mugaragaro. Ariko muri ceremonie y'imandwa barayavugaga. Kwa muganga niba umufaransa avuga vulve, kuki umunyarwanda atavuga igituba. C'est question d'etre au meme diapason. Abatarebwa na interdits za societe ni abasazi.
22. icyo Imana yahaye icyubahiro kigomba gukomeza guhabwa icyubahiro. Biteye isoni, bigenda mu gaseke birapfundikiye.
23. Ntibaretse kubera kuyatinya cyangwa se kubera ari mabi ahubwo ni uburere. Ni ukubuza za actes gukorwa. Kuyatsinda ni garde fous. Kera urungano rwarayavugaga haza abantu b'urundi rungano bagaceceka.

Appendix 2

Research Questionnaire

Your name/age (optional):

Your address:

Questions

1. Do you know the origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words?
2. Can they be traced to specific Rwandan attitudes like ethnic epithets, sexuality, social relations, or the like?
3. What do you think about taboo words on sexuality?
4. Name at least five Kinyarwaanda taboo words on sexuality. What do they mean? Why do you think these words you have given (named) are considered to be taboo words?
5. What is the relevance of Kinyarwaanda taboo words in Rwandan community? To what extent do taboo words still regulate Rwandans' life?
6. To what extent do they influence Rwandans in their daily lives?
7. Do you think that Kinyarwaanda taboo words, especially those about sexuality, are valuable in Rwandan culture? Is their use a violation of that culture or a good way to communicate with each other? Justify your answer.
8. What impact do sexuality taboo words produce on people who read or hear them? What is their effect on people who use them?
9. Do you think restrictions on use of language as a result of taboo words have an impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS in Rwanda?
10. What do you think is the impact of sexuality taboo words on information dissemination on HIV/AIDS?
11. What impact do taboo words on sexuality have on Rwandans' discussions on the topic of HIV/AIDS?
12. Do you think all Rwandans have the same attitudes towards sexuality taboo words?

13. What attitudes do people who used to live in Rwanda before 1994 have towards sexuality taboo words? What is the attitude of people who were outside Rwanda at that time?

14. Should Rwandans continue to avoid Kinyarwaanda taboo words or topics on sexuality?

Informants' responses to the questionnaire

Question 1: Do you know the origin of Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words?

Informant 1: I do not know much about Rwandan culture because I grew up in a different culture.

Informant 2: I do not exactly know their origin but I think that they originate from ancient times when our forefathers forbade their children to do or say all things that had happened to them. Taboo words result from former Rwandans' beliefs.

Informant 3: Ancient Rwandans thought of taboo words because of the respect they had towards one another.

Informant 4: Sexuality taboo words are instructions given to people by religion. Priests brought about too many don'ts in *Kiriziya* (church). They suppressed words related to sexuality, but the fact that it was forbidden to have sexual relations with one's niece or daughter-in-law, and the fact that women were not allowed to mention their fathers-in-law's names are purely Rwandan. The last two originate in Rwandan tradition. Thus there existed *Kirazira* (the forbidden) even before the settlement of White people in Rwanda.

Informant 5: They originate from our forefathers.

Informant 6: No

Informant 7: They originate from our forefathers.

Informant 8: No

Informant 9: *Ibiteyisiboni* (shameful words). They noticed that they were not to be said publicly.

Informant 10: They might have originated in *umuco* (culture).

Informant 11: No. Yet they are superstitions and when we grew up we found that they were taboo.

Informant 12: Former Rwandans thought of taboo words to make young Rwandans be disciplined because taboo words help the youth to act well. They regulate their behaviour. In former Gasabo, where the king lived, his successors looked for customs shared by all Rwandans and according to which they could behave. This was done because Rwandans were from different African places. Some were from Northern Africa and others from the Western part of the African continent. According to History, Hamitic Tutsi came to Rwanda with their cattle. The Batwa used to live in Rwanda while the Hutu were from West Africa.

Informant 13: In Rwandan culture, some words were considered to be shameful and they were referred to as *invugo nyandagazi* (vulgar language). They are related to sexuality, but some of them have nothing to do with it at all.

Informant 14: No. However, the suppression of sexuality taboo words was meant to make people know Rwandan culture whose main characteristic is politeness.

Informant 15: Before colonisation, there were no schools. Therefore, people used to assemble 10 young children and tell them which words were good to utter, and which ones were not. After being informed about the existence of “vulgar” words, these children were not allowed to use them at random for the sake of politeness. This is the reason why they used euphemisms instead.

Informant 16: No

Informant 17: No

Informant 18: At the very beginning, the Rwandan academy established words that were not to be said in *gitaramo* (a gathering of people who met in order to exchange ideas and talk about their deeds/exploits). Using taboo words at such an instance that was intended for heroes was revealing one’s secrets and putting other people ill-at-ease. People who do not know one another or do not study together cannot say *ibishegu* (shameful words) when they are conversing.

Informant 19: Culture. For example, incest is both a cultural and moral taboo which is transmitted from generation to generation for modesty. Besides, what our forefathers could not say cannot be said by their children or grandchildren.

Informant 20: A person may not say things because they are shameful, and this might be the origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words. Some things were secretly done, and this is part of our culture. However, not all countries share the same taboos. What Rwandans do not dare to say publicly, Ugandans do. The suppression of Kinyarwaanda taboo words is part of Rwandan culture.

Informant 21: Apart from borrowed words, I do not know the origin of Kinyarwaanda taboo words. It is difficult to trace back their cultural origin, but their linguistic origin may be traced back. In ancient Rwanda, people used to say *amagambo y’ ibishegu* (shameful words) very much, especially during *urumandwa* ceremony where a woman could imitate a man’s behaviour and play the latter’s role. It would be wrong to say that the Rwandan society was not permissive. Rwandans used to have the freedom of speech even though there were words they were not allowed to utter. They even used to have sex freely, but missionaries fought against Rwandans’ traditions very much until they abolished them.

Informant 22: From respect. A woman cannot dare to stand in front of her father-in-law’s name and mention his name. If she does so, she can be referred to as *umugore w’ inkunguzi* (a woman who wishes the occurrence of misfortune in the family) and as an impolite woman. Taboo words

originate from politeness and they should remain taboo so as to safeguard Rwandan culture. Even if you ask Rwandans to abolish them, they cannot agree with you.

Informant 23: Those words are against culture and whoever uttered them felt bad.

Question 2: Can Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words be traced to specific Rwandan attitudes like ethnic epithets, sexuality, social relations, and the like?

Informant 1: I do not know much about Rwandan culture because I grew up in Ugandan culture.

Informant 2: There existed totems for different clans, and the *Abagesera* could not kill an *inyamanza* (type of birds), for instance. For sexual relations, a man is not allowed to mention the name of a girl with whom he has had sexual encounter in order not to betray her and make her lose the chance to be married by somebody else. Concerning social relationships, a woman is not allowed to mention her parents' -in-law's name.

Informant 3: They can. In a social network, a group of people who know one another very well, people can give an *Umushingwe* a nickname that they use when referring to him/her to avoid misfortune

Informant 4: Yes. These things very much exist. Kinyarwaanda taboo words can be traced back to specific attitudes, yet these attitudes are decreasing, especially in social life. Today nobody is afraid of mentioning a given clan pretending that its members can cause misfortune.

Informant 5: Yes, they can. For example, a woman is not allowed to mention her father-in-law's name.

Informant 6: Yes, especially in rural milieus. People in urban areas have started to utter them except those related to sexuality.

Informant 7: Yes. People cannot just utter words related to sexuality. Concerning ethnic groups, things have changed.

Informant 8: Yes. Concerning social relations, you can mention neither your uncle's nor your father-in-law's name. Concerning ethnic groups, you avoid mentioning a given clan's name early in the morning in order to avoid misfortune the rest of the day.

Informant 9: Yes.

Informant 10: Yes. A woman cannot mention her father-in-law's name, for example.

Informant 11: They existed during the *mwami's* reign, but today people do not grasp them well. Nobody is allowed to mention an *Umushingwe's* name in the morning in order not to have misfortune the rest of the day. And even though people violate taboos, there are things we are not allowed to talk about openly. For example, if a child asks you to explain to him/her *imibonano*

mpuzabitsina, you should not tell him/her what it means because explaining to him/her such a thing is revealing him/her your secret. I personally find it difficult to explain to a child such a shameful thing, and prefer to tell him/her that babies are from their mother's navels. But as children study sexuality at school, we are sometimes obliged to explain to them some issues about it but not as required.

Informant 12: Yes. From some proverbs we notice that there are prejudices that do not favour some Rwandans:

Umuhutu umukiza ikimwira akakigusiga (literally if you wipe a Hutu's nose, he will purposefully make you dirty with his mucuous). In former times, an *Umuhutu* meant a poor person. This proverb means that when you help a poor to become rich, he will not be grateful to you. On the contrary, he will tend to show himself superior to you.

Umututsi umucumbikira mukirambi akagutanga kuburiri (when you do a Tutsi a favour, he confiscates all your property/belongings).

It is forbidden to name people who belong to clans that are believed to cause misfortune in the morning. Some elders still respect this verbal taboo.

Informant 13: Yes. Children cannot mention names of adults because they owe them respect. From time to time, even some grown up people do not mention other adults' names because they must respect them. For example, instead of saying *umwami yapfuye*, people say *umwami yatanze*; *umugogo w' umwami* instead of *intumbi y'umwami*.

Concerning sexuality, people who belong to the same group (age, colleagues, and so on) can use vulgar language when they are among themselves. Yet they stop using them when a person who does not belong to their group joins them. It is also worth noting that some people do not dare to use vulgar language even when they are among people of their age thanks to their upbringing. These people can die without having ever uttered a single taboo word on sexuality. They prefer to use other languages to express themselves. Concerning ethnic groups, after genocide, people avoid mentioning names such as Hutu especially when they are with their countrymen who belong to an ethnic group different from theirs. Yet old people are not afraid of talking about them.

Informant 14: Yes. For example, a woman whose father-in-law's name is Segore cannot mention all the words containing the root *gore*. She uses words like *umuhete* instead of *umugore* (a woman) in order to avoid her father-in-law's name. She also calls *urugori uruhete* because the former looks like her in-law's name. (*guheta* means to offer something as a gift to somebody).

Concerning sexuality, it is impossible to mention names of sexual organs in public. For example, when a child is naked, adults tell him/her to hide his/her *ubusa* (nothing). They do not clearly tell him/her what they would like him/her to do, but the child grasps the message conveyed to him/her.

Informant 15: Yes. Kinyarwaanda taboo words are both advantageous and disadvantageous. People should know them, but use them appropriately. One should know when and where to use them. When street children and villagers use them at random, educated people who hear them become shocked but the words are there.

Informant 16: Yes. For example, a lady is supposed not to be mentioning her in-law's name. It is a kind of respect. Besides, in ancient times, Rwandans were not allowed to mention names of certain clans and those of people who belonged to them but today it tends to be normal to mention them. We cannot mention names of sexual organs in public either. Besides, when a child undergoes some body changes, parents do not clearly tell him/her what those changes exactly are.

Informant 17: Yes, they can. Some words cannot be said. For example, a man may intend to have sexual relations with you, but fail to express his desire openly. He may then recourse to the use of gestures or other means instead to make himself understood.

Informant 18: It depends on the people you are conversing with. Concerning sexuality taboo words, there are words that cannot be said publicly. As for social relationships, in every class, people use beautiful words. It is forbidden to mention your father's or mother-in-law's name. People say *mukaka* (grandma). Mentioning their names is a lack of respect.

Informant 19: Up to now, they can. Nobody can utter words related to sexual organs. However, during the *kubandwa* ceremony, they transgressed them. A woman could ask her father-in-law to have sex with her. However, even civilized people and journalists do not dare to utter these words. They say *imibonano mpuzabitsina* instead of using the appropriate word the way white people do.

Informant 20: They can because they are things we respect. People avoid their use, and use other understandable names or words that are called euphemisms.

Informant 21: Nuns say chest instead of breasts when people used to refer to them as breasts before, and I find the suppression of this concept an exaggeration. Not mentioning an in-law's name was a sign of respect, but today it is not the case. Things are in disorder. People used euphemisms but there are instances, like *igitaramo* and a meeting of people who are the same age, where they could utter Kinyarwaanda taboo words.

Informant 22: Yes, the word *igitsina* is from God. White people tried to put an end to our culture, but they did not completely succeed to make it disappear.

Informant 23: People do not use euphemisms as they did in former times to show how polite they were. It was not in terms of taboos that people avoided certain Kinyarwaanda words but people who avoided them were said to have been well brought up. Even today, the suppression of these words shows politeness rather than their characteristics as taboo words.

Question 3: what do you think about taboo words on sexuality?

Informant 1: In African societies, taboos are meant to teach Africans the proper norms of the society. Taboo words try to teach people, especially the youth, how to behave themselves sexually. However, I would like to know the reason why I am forbidden to say words related to sexuality.

Informant 2: Due to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, people should not be constrained not to use sexuality taboo words. Parents should tell their children (adolescents) what is essential and leave out what is not (and that may bring about more problems) in order to prevent the latter from practising premature sexual relations and catching such diseases.

Informant 3: No words should be considered as taboos any more because their non-use favours hypocrisy. Parents should talk about sexuality to their children to prevent them from having clandestine sexual relations because when the topic is discussed, children know how to avoid sexual relations. Sexuality taboo words should be used like any other Kinyarwaanda words.

Informant 4: If they are Kinyarwaanda words, they should be used to make children become aware of their existence in Kinyarwaanda language. For example, I do not understand why people use the term *gusambana* instead of the real word meaning sexual relations. Meanwhile, it is difficult to utter them because they are products of a whole education.

Informant 5: We should not use them in order not to violate culture.

Informant 6: I wish people could stop calling some of them taboo and begin using them because of problems like AIDS that we are facing. Children should know their names in order for them to know how to behave. For example, we should tell them where babies are from to help them behave well. We should not consider these words as *ibishitani* (devils).

Informant 7: On the one hand, it is good not to mention those words because their avoidance helps people to have respect. On the other hand, people should use them for the children to know them instead of letting them get information from outside their families. The lack of knowledge from home can constitute a barrier for them.

Informant 8: When used, sexuality taboo words help people become aware of their existence and behave well. For example, an adolescent is eager to discover everything. If his/her parents do not inform him/her about sexuality, he/she will use all possible means to know the truth and once discovered, he/she will sexually misbehave compared to other children who have already heard people talking about sexuality in their families.

Informant 9: Taboo words by themselves are not shameful. Only their meaning is. Yet, people use them for different purposes: to joke or make other people laugh, to make people angry through insults, to show oneself up etc.

Informant 10: They have neither an origin nor an importance. They only exist because we inherited them from our forefathers.

Informant 11: People do not respect taboos any more and nothing is considered as taboo today. For example, a young child is given a condom when his/her parents do not probably know it. In former times, only children who were ready to get married were told about sexuality by their aunts or uncles to advise them, but today, a child is told about it when he/she is still young, which urges him/her to do wrong things.

Informant 12: They were important in ancient times because people were mature enough to manage them. Listening to such words was a scandal, and, in villages, people still have such an attitude but this is not the case in towns where people assume that they should not hide what must be known and that they should try to be more open. For example, while teaching a girl about sexuality, it is necessary to tell her the whole truth openly.

Informant 13: It depends on the context in which you are using them, the setting, on who you are and on the message you intend to convey. While teaching, you cannot hide anything, but we should not lose our culture.

Informant 14: They help Rwandans respect themselves, but their children grow without knowing names of their sexual organs well until they start school where they learn sexuality in the classroom.

Informant 15: They are at the same time good and bad. We should know which words are in our language. For example, a child should be told about sexuality by his/her parents in order not for him/her to learn them from outside. Yet he should be told not to use them at random.

Informant 16: It is not good to mention them. We should use nice words like *agapipi*, *agasusu*.

Informant 17: Those words should not exist because their existence increases the spread of AIDS. I think that if people use them they can understand sexuality better and together find a remedy for AIDS. Some young girls become pregnant because they have never been well informed about sexuality by their parents.

Informant 18: A child is taught which words he/she will utter and which ones he/she will not. Even shepherds used sexuality taboo words in the bush rather than at home. Sexuality taboo words were to be said secretly, and they still are. People should use euphemisms and be respectful. A person who uses dirty words can either pay a fine or be banned from the society.

Informant 19: Because of culture, politeness and modesty, people should not utter them publicly. They should use euphemisms since they are clear enough to make us understand sexuality.

Informant 20: All Rwandans have knowledge of sexuality taboo words. So even if they use euphemisms to teach us how to avoid premature sexual relations, we will all understand the message conveyed to us and behave accordingly.

Informant 21: We have our own words to describe sexuality and white people have theirs. In case you violated a taboo whether willingly or unwillingly, you were punished but there was no fatality. There was always a solution to a given problem. But curiously there existed a clan of Hutus called *abaswere*, who were in charge of culture, harvesting etc. Some taboos (eg. Not to marry an *umucabakazi*) were meant to maintain the equilibrium of the Rwandan society. Thus, only few children were illegally born.

Informant 22: Everything that deserves respect should be talked about respectfully. Using these words or having sex openly is showing our children a bad example.

Informant 23: Mentioning such words is not polite. You may know them but avoid their use in public in order to show that you have been brought up well. Their avoidance is not a matter of taboo. For example, people in Ruhengeri use them loudly and they even swear using them in a way or another. They, for instance, say *Ndagaswera mama* (that I fuck my mother).

Question 4: Name at least five Kinyarwaanda taboo words on sexuality. What do they mean? Why do you think the words you have given (named) are considered to be taboo words?

N.B. Many informants preferred to write down sexuality taboo words for me instead of uttering them.

Informant 1: Some of the words that are always referred to as taboos are *gusambana* (have sex), *igituba* (vagina or female sexual organ), *imboro* (a penis or male sexual organ), *inungu* (a penis), and *rugozu* (a long penis). They are considered as taboo because you cannot use them publicly. People should not use them publicly because there are proper words to replace them. Most of these words sound awkward. Then people use more convenient words to replace them. It is just like that.

Informant 2: *Gukuna* (to lengthen young girls clitoris), *imboro* (male sexual organ), *igituba* (female sexual organ). *Igituba* and *imboro* are both referred to as *imyanya ndangabitsina* which is a euphemism for sexual organs that people are not allowed to mention publicly. These words are used as insults, but a person who uses them to insult others (for example telling somebody *uragaswera nyoko*: fuck your mother or *uragaca igituba cya nyoko*: cut off your mother's sexual organ) is regarded as an outlaw by the society. Almost all sexuality taboo words should not be said openly due to culture. People should avoid their bad effect on our elders who also have sexual

organs and would not like people to mention them, but respect them instead. For example, when children ask the question to know where babies are from, their mothers tell them that they are from women's navels. The latter do not mention the secret place where babies are from.

Informant 3: *Intsitsi* or *imboru* (male sexual organs) whose euphemisms are *akanyoni* (bird) for young children, *igituba* (female sexual organ), *amabya* (testicles), *imisundi* (petites levres, i.e, minoris labia), *rugongo* (clitoris). These words do not sound well in Kinyarwaanda but people do not find it a problem to use their equivalents in other languages. However, I do not know why it is easier to mention names of genital organs using foreign languages.

Informant 4: *Guswera/kwenda* (have sexual relations). Both terms have the same meaning but *kwenda* is more appropriate than *guswera*. I do not know other Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words. It is up to you to list some more because you cannot pretend not to know any, at least, names of sexual organs.

All Rwandans used to mention sexuality taboo words before the introduction of religion in Rwanda. As soon as religion was brought to them, priests called these words *ibishitani* and suppressed them.

Informant 5: *Guswera* (have sexual relations) whose euphemism is *gusambana*.

Informant 6: *Imboru* (male sexual organ), *igituba* (female sexual organs), *rugongo* (clitoris), and *guswera* (fuck). Don't you know their meaning, Madam?

I do not know the reason why they are considered as taboo. When I was born, these words were already taboo, yet they are tabooed in some areas only.

Informant 7: *Le vagin, les levres interieures*. I studied them in Kirundi and I was always ashamed whenever my teacher used them. They are considered as taboo because of the way people have been brought up since ancient times.

Informant 8: *Vagin, penis*. It is forbidden to mention names of sexual organs either male or female. Children cannot mention them, but old people use them when they are swearing. I am sure you know these things, Madam.

Informant 9: *Igituba* (female sexual organ), *imboru* (male sexual organ). Their euphemism is *akanyoni* for children. *Guswera* (have sex), *kunyaza, kwikinisha* (to masturbate). These words are considered as taboo because they are shameful things that are forbidden by the society. To soften them, people use either euphemisms or foreign languages: for adults we say *igitsina gore/igitsina gabo*. Yet in the same social network people can mention these organs using their names.

Informant 10: *Igituba* (female sexual organ) or *igitsina cy' umugore, imboru* (male sexual organs or *igitsina cy' umugabo, kwikuna* (lengthen one's clitoris), *gusohora* (ejaculate).

Informant 11: *Gusambana* (*gukora ikintu kitari ngombwa, kwiba utagenewe igihe kitageze*: to cheat, to have sex before the right moment, to do something useless...). When somebody gets married they say *yarongoye*. *Kwendana* (is the synonym of *gusambana*). It is forbidden to say it publicly or when you are with children. Uttering sexual organs is an abomination, and only stupid people utter them loudly. *Igituba* (*igitsina gore*), *imboro* (*igitsina gabo*). The word *igitsina* has been used in order to make these things sound well and be understandable. *Insyu*, *kunyara* (*kwituma byoroshe, kwihagarika*: to urinate). Using these words is to be impolite.

Informant 12: In former times, the word *Gusambana* (have sex illegally) was not used in public, but nowadays it is. This change is due to the fact that people are getting more open. *Guswera* (bad word in Kinyarwaanda: having sexual intercourse). A person who uses this word is abnormal, with bad behaviour, but the word can be used as an insult with the purpose to harm somebody. Such a person is considered as an outlaw (whose behaviour is considered inhuman by the society). *Gukuna* (euphemism is *guca imyeyo*). *Amabya* (testicles) are also called *ubugabo* or *virilite* in French (manliness). These words are still taboo.

Informant 13: Something may have a specific name and more polite word to replace it. Thus, a person does not mention such a word. For example, people use euphemisms to refer to sexual organs.

Imboro (*igitsina gabo* meaning penis), *igituba* (*igitsina gore* meaning vagina), *amabya* (testicles), *insya* (*poils du pubis* or pubic hair), *imisundi* (*levres* are minoris labia).

This is the way we found things. It is culture due to which a person who uses taboo words is said to be impolite.

Informant 14: *Kurongora* (*gushingirwa*= to marry or to get married)), *kunyaza* which is to make a woman produce water during sexual relations before the man penetrates her).

I do not know more words. They are names of sexual organs. We are not allowed to mention them. Nobody can dare to say them. They call them *igitsina gore/gabo*. Even *gusambana* is not sayable except during classes. Children should learn to respect themselves and others. They should grow up using nice language that shows politeness and Rwandan culture.

If a female parent hears you uttering sexuality taboo words, you will have serious problems with her.

Informant 15: It is hard to say these words because they are dirty but as I am dealing with science, let me try. Somebody who does not study science cannot dare to utter them.

Gusambana (have sex), *agashino ka nyoko*, *agashino* meaning vagina and *agashino ka nyoko* (an insult from street children when you refuse to help them with money and from disrespectful people especially shepherds), *igituba* (vagina), *amabya* (male reproductive parts, testicles), and *kurongora*.

These words are bad. My God! *Nshobora kugira umwaaku!* When you use the word *kurongora* publicly, people laugh at you. People prefer to utter these words in French or English. I was taught these words in biology, but even our teacher used to write them on the blackboard. He could not utter them.

Informant 16: *Imboro* (penis), *igituba* (vagina), *insya* (pubic hair), *amabya* (testicles), *imishino*. It is not good to mention these words with your own mouth in public.

Informant 17: I do not know them.

Gukuna (*guca imyeyo*) is to lengthen the clitoris.

I do not know the reason why sexuality taboo words are considered to be taboo.

Informant 18: *Guswera* (*kwenda* is not as strong as *guswera*). *Gukuna* is to lengthen the labia. It was like a law and it gave value to women. *Kunyaza* (to play with the clitoris using the penis until the woman produces supernatural whitish stuff called *amanyare*, which stuff makes her feel more pleasure than her partner. Both the man and the woman are seated and their legs are crossed. *Rugongo* (clitoris), *imishino* (labia), *imboro/igituba* (*machins*), *amabya*, *amanyare*.

We are not allowed to say sexuality taboo words in public. People talk about them when they are not supposed to be heard. These words are not to be said because they mean secret things that are done secretly between one's partner and oneself. A person who utters them is not different from an animal. They are a gift from God that must be respected. When women were teaching young girls how to lengthen their clitoris, they were allowed to use them because this practice was secretly done. This was done to attract men.

Informant 19: All words related to sexual organs. *Umushino/umusundi* (clitoris), *intini* (penis), *igituba* (vagina), *imboro* (penis), the last two are names of sexual organs and I am quite sure you know them too. They are secret words that are not said aloud. In fact they should not be uttered loudly. Even doctors who are supposed to utter them loudly do not.

Informant 20: *Igitsina* (it is a euphemism). What does it mean? It means everything that a thing is supported by. All plants and trees have *ibitsina*.

It is not good to say these words. I cannot utter them. Can't you give me an example? No, no, even culture does not allow us to use them during conversations. We use euphemisms.

Informant 21 lent me a book containing sexuality taboo words instead of giving me examples.

Informant 22: *Igituba n'imboro* cannot be said publicly. *Guswera* (is it possible to call your husband and tell him to come and fuck you?). If you say such a thing, you can be banned from the society. *Gukuna*.

Informant 23: *Gusambana* means *guswera* but the latter is not sayable. *Guswera* is a vulgar word whereas *gusambana* is not. Besides, all the names of sexual organs are not publicly mentioned in Kinyarwaanda. People use euphemisms to sound more polite.

Question 5: What is the relevance of Kinyarwaanda taboo words in the Rwandan community? To what extent do taboo words still regulate Rwandans' life?

Informant 1: a) Teach the youth how to behave in the society regarding sexual matters.

b) They help to a great extent. They tend to make the youth fear to say them publicly as they know they are forbidden words. I hope they also still play a great role in the up-bringing of the youth.

Informant 2: a) Teach people how to keep a secret. They help people to spread Rwandan culture in the community, and to transmit it from generation to generation.

b) Children should not know the truth until they become adults because everything revolves around sexual secrets.

Informant 3: a) They prevent children from considering them as jokes.

b). We should use them at the right moment rather than at random. For example, people should not use them on TV when they know that children who are watching it may shout them as a song after they have heard them. Instead, parents should help us preserve our culture by progressively discussing sexuality with their children and telling them how to preserve Rwandan culture..

Informant 4: a) Upbringing and mutual respect.

b) They help to behave well and prevent people from having sexual relations.

Informant 5: a) They help Rwandan culture to deepen its roots and be strong. They also help Rwandan parents to bring up their children well.

b) Their use is nothing but the degradation of Rwandan culture.

Informant 6: a) They have no importance because their non-use makes people learn them badly and even practise sexual relations clandestinely. However, when old women hear you utter these words, they think that you are culturally uprooted.

b) If they play no role, they therefore do not regulate Rwandans' life. Frankly speaking, on my point of view, not using these words is being a pagan, that is, being too much attached to culture.

Informant 7: a) It is fine to have taboos. People should not say all things because even the place where God created sex is hidden.

b) Behaviour, good upbringing. There are things we respect and that we do not say publicly.

Informant 8: a) They help people to maintain the equilibrium in their families, be trustworthy, and respect Rwandan culture. They also help children to have a nice future since people compete to get brides from such families. On the contrary, families that use sexuality taboo words in their everyday conversation are despised by others.

b) They help people behave well.

Informant 9: a) When they are used they help us to understand what somebody says. Their non-use does not serve the Rwandan society at all. For example, a doctor must tell patients what their problems are.

b) Somebody who uses them is considered as indisciplined, somebody who talks about nonsense matters. Their avoidance shows one's good upbringing, still they are necessary.

Informant 10: a) They help us respect and keep Rwandan culture. They also help us respect *ubumuntu*.

b) They guide us a lot in that they prevent children from misbehaving. Meanwhile, as a child grows up, he/she can be curious to discover what adults have always forbidden him/her to do, seek for information from peers. He/she may then indulge him/herself in premature sexual relations which may have bad consequences on him/her.

Informant 11: a) These words should be used with people who can understand them to make them grasp better things they did not know before. For example, it is fine to tell a female adolescent who has her first menstruation that she may get pregnant if she indulges herself in sexual relations. As for adults, they use them when they are among themselves. However, their non-use is not different from respect of a given law.

b) They show respect and good upbringing, and the best thing that has ever existed is respect. Using them like shepherds is not good.

Informant 12: a) Using these words openly has an impact on Rwandans' psychology, namely on the psychology of the youth in that they remind them of the existence of sexual organs and make them worry about how they function. When the young listen to Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words, they immediately associate them with what they watch on TV and become rude. Some words should not be said openly and should be replaced by euphemisms while some others are necessary especially when informing people about sexuality.

b) Not a great one. Some parents consider taboos as outdated things.

Informant 13: a) It is not good to use them since many parents do not want their children to know them. They are part of the upbringing, and parents want them to be a secret. Children do not use them, which helps them to be polite. But when children remain ignorant, they can discover them by themselves and use them randomly.

b) When they are used they help children to know the names and function of their sexual organs. They thus prevent them from misusing their bodies. Taboo words should exist, but at a given age, adults should reveal them to children.

Informant 14: a) They distinguish Rwandan culture from other cultures. For example, Congolese do not find it a problem to utter names of sexual organs, but a Rwandan who utters them is called *Umushi*. They also prevent children from practicing acts related to the taboo words they have been forbidden to utter.

b) Their non-use is a means of respect for culture. It prevents children from risks related to sexual relations; makes them aware of the existence of euphemisms, teach them to overcome temptations and respect both elders and themselves.

Informant 15: a) The non-use of sexuality taboo words has neither a negative impact nor a specific role in the Rwandan society. It has no specific role in that it will contribute to the loss of these words and to the use of borrowed words.

Mature people rather than children can be allowed to use them openly. It will look funny to hear ten-year-old children using these words which do not show respect at all.

b) Their non-use prevents the youth from involving themselves in premature sexual relations. In fact, as children are required to avoid their use, they find the act related to them taboo too and thus behave well. For example, when I hear my young sister uttering sexuality taboo words, I ask her not to say them any more because they are not nice. Therefore, if a person uses taboo words to mislead her, she tells him/her that the topic is taboo. This is the reason why mothers should explain sexuality taboo words to their children to make them aware of the danger awaiting them.

Informant 16: a) Respect for our culture. Mentioning them will be destroying our culture when we are supposed to maintain it.

b) They are very helpful because we are not supposed to be using them up to now.

Informant 17: a) They help people to respect others and themselves. They also teach them how to be polite. A person who says all things openly in the society is said not to have been well brought up, and to be disrespectful.

b) On the one hand, they mislead people because there are things they must say but do not because of Rwandan culture.

Informant 18: a) We wear clothes in order to hide our sexual organs. Otherwise we won't be different from animals. This is the reason why sexual organs deserve respect.

b) They regulate Rwandans' lives on cultural grounds. People who often utter them are told not to use them any more in order not to undergo consequences like being banned from the Rwandan society.

Informant 19: a) Respect and politeness, delicacy and modesty.

b) Reinforcement of culture, politeness and modesty.

Informant 20: a) All Rwandans know that these words exist even though they are told to use euphemisms.

b) The non-use of these words helps Rwandans prevent themselves from sexually transmitted diseases.

Informant 21: a) They prevent us from saying secret things. There are things that are secretly done and that should not be said publicly.

b) Safeguard culture.

Informant 22: a) Sexuality taboo words are like other Kinyarwaanda words. They are not by themselves bad, but they should not be used in public since they mean things which are secretly done. So people should know them but avoid their use in public.

b) Politeness towards others.

Informant 23: a) Keep culture

b) Politeness. They help people to keep sexual matters a secret.

Question 6: To which extent do they influence Rwandans in their daily lives?

Informant 1: The avoidance of sexuality taboo words makes the youth be disciplined and scared of premature sexual relations. Yet some young people respect taboos while some others do not. Because of pornographic movies they watch, drugs, alcoholism and idleness, the Rwandan youth are the most likely to be infected by AIDS.

Informant 2: Teach them to keep to a secret of traditional religion, beliefs and taboos.

Informant 3: Their use helps us to be up-to-date regarding the problem of AIDS, and to make important decisions. For example, it may help a lovely young girl who likes having sexual relations with different partners to reduce her prostitution

Informant 4: They play a great role in all Rwandans' lives. For example, they help the youth behave well.

Informant 5: Their use misleads people

Informant 6: They do not influence Rwandans' lives.

Informant 7: They help somebody not to say all things the way they want and whenever they see them.

Informant 8: See question 5.

Informant 9: Their non-use makes us be disciplined, and shows our good upbringing.

Informant 10: I have no answer to this question

Informant 11: Their non-use influences people's politeness.

Informant 12: They have little influence on our daily lives in that people who use them are considered amoral only by old people and some young people especially Christians.

Informant 13: On the one hand, they influence us in that we have good behaviour and respect. On the other hand, they make us ignorant regarding the use of sexual organs. They may favour the increase of prostitution or sexually transmitted diseases. For example, a person may be infected by diseases like blennorrhagia, syphilis and AIDS and be afraid of saying it once at the doctor's. This may worsen his state of health.

Informant 14: They help us use nice language. However, they have no impact on people who hear others using them since they make them aware of both the names of sexual organs and their importance.

Informant 15: Culture is an inheritance from old people, but it is advantageous for young children. By informing their children about sexuality taboo words, parents provide them with means to avoid premature sexual relations and unwanted pregnancies, and to protect themselves against sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS. For example, if a man asks a young female adolescent to have sexual relations with, she will recall what her parents have told her and protect herself.

Informant 16: They play an important role in that they help us to promote, strengthen and maintain our culture. Nothing is removed from it.

Informant 17: They teach us respect.

Informant 18: They help us not to forget our family. It is like rinsing our faces every morning. They are part of our culture, which should be kept jealously to be later on transmitted to our children.

Informant 19: They help the Rwandan community know its culture.

Informant 20: They help us grow without uttering shameful/ dirty words.

Informant 21: See question 5

Informant 22: See question 5.

Informant 23: They do not regulate our everyday life. They only play a social role

Question 7: Do you think that Kinyarwaanda taboo words, especially those about sexuality, are valuable in Rwandan culture? Is their use a violation of that culture or a good way to communicate with each other? Justify your answer.

Informant 1: a) I think that even the government is still working hard to teach the youth these taboo words and culture in general because it is aware that many of them grew up outside the country.

Which means does the government use?

They teach them through sensitization, AIDS organisations like PNRS, solidarity camps, etc.

Isn't there a contradiction between what the program on the radio and what the government actually teaches the youth?

No, this program teaches norms to stop AIDS, brings together taboo words to consolidate the youth, and this is positive on the part of the government. Taboos are a way of teaching culture.

b) Their use is not a violation of Rwandan culture. In the first place, our forefathers used them when telling stories. However, they are not exactly a good way to communicate with each other because there are words to replace them. If you use taboo words you destroy the language. They are dirty.

Informant 2: a) If taboo words are not used, a child can attempt to practise sexual relations. If they are used we can have both a negative and a positive impact. For negative impact, when children hear people talking about the use of condoms, they think that they are allowed to have sexual relations provided that they use condoms to protect themselves. For positive impact, prostitutes who hear about the use of condoms and prevent themselves from catching AIDS/from being contaminated. Besides prevention from sexually transmitted diseases, girls avoid unwanted pregnancies.

Informant 3: a) They help us to decrease prostitution and bad behaviour in the society, and help adults serve as models to their juniors.

b) They are a good way to communicate with each other in that they help you, for example, explain the problem of AIDS and how to protect oneself against it.

Informant 4: a) People did not use sexuality taboo words to keep sexual matters a secret. But today taboo words favour hypocrisy. People practice clandestine sexual relations, but do not dare to utter words related to these practices. So, taboo words have no value in Rwandan culture.

b) People should use them to take care of themselves (protect themselves) and to know that AIDS exists as a consequence of sexual relations.

Informant 5: a) The non-use of taboo words helps us to maintain culture and have good behaviour.

b) It depends on their users.

Informant 6: a) They are somehow valuable in that a person may be afraid of using them and of practising sexual relations.

b) Their use is a good way to communicate with each other, not a violation of culture at all. For example, these words should be used in churches and in other types of teaching.

Informant 7: a) Reduce prostitution and should therefore not be used.

b) Their use may be a good way to communicate. However, this can favour prostitution.

Informant 8: a) They have lost their value because all people, children included, know these words and use them. Even journalists see them on radio.

b) Their use is a violation of Rwandan culture. For example, parents should not inform children about sexuality taboo words in order not to push them to practise what they hear.

Informant 9: a) Their use is necessary in order to maintain our language which stands for our culture. We should not replace them by other words borrowed from foreign languages only because we regard them as dirty words. A Rwandan is somebody who does not use dirty words. A person who does not use sexuality taboo words shows that he/she has been well brought up and that he/she respects Rwandan culture.

b) Using sexuality taboo words is not violating Rwandan culture because some Rwandans who know it very well do not know languages other than Kinyarwanda. These people should not be penalised due to the use of foreign languages. So let them use the so-called taboo words. However, Rwandans should use them when necessary, not all the time and everywhere.

Informant 10: a) They have great value in that they help Rwandans maintain their culture by transmitting it from generation to generation. Whoever does not respect them is considered as an outlaw.

b) Using them is violating Rwandan culture. Their use can urge children to do bad things like practicing clandestine sexual relations. These words are used by drunkards in bad places. It would be better to replace them by euphemisms even though the latter are not explicit enough. So I do not know what should exactly be done.

Informant 11: a) They are valuable in that they are an inheritance from our forefathers who considered them as taboos and did not use them at random. Their value is politeness and discipline. When a child uses them, people blame his parents and refer to that child as X's child who always uses vulgar words.

b) Using them is a good way to communicate, but their use is not good for children since this is not part of our culture. These words should be respected and afraid of, which is our culture. Friends can use them in a pub, but they should not exaggerate.

Informant 12: a) They are valuable because villagers and Christians consider them as a powerful tool that helps them to bring up their children well. Yet, this is not strong in cities.

b) It is not good to reject taboo words completely. We can use euphemisms, yet taboo words can be used for important purposes like teaching the youth about sexuality. They should not be used on roads in order not to make people namely the youth think about bad acts.

Informant 13: a) They have great value, that is, respect.

b) Their use in public is a violation of Rwandan culture. Yet, they can be used for jokes by people who are the same age.

Informant 14: a) They remind Rwandans of the existence of their culture and that of things they cannot go beyond. They are like regulations, barriers that help them not to forget culture.

b) Using taboo words is a violation of Rwandan culture since all Rwandans share the same knowledge of euphemisms and understand one another when they use them. These words may be used in classrooms or other kinds of training, not at home. Using them at home is violating Rwandan culture.

Informant 15: a) They are valuable in that they are Kinyarwaanda words, words in our languages that should be used to teach children how to behave regarding sexual matters.

b) By now, it is not a good way to communicate because people will laugh at the person who uses them, but if the mass media use them to encourage Rwandans to know their language, step by step, we will find it normal to use them. Why should we go on admiring foreign languages? If I can call an eye *eye*, why can we not mention the rest of the parts of the body?

Informant 16: a) They help Rwandans maintain their culture because they still cannot use them publicly. A person who uses them is said to have transgressed a taboo.

b) It is a violation of Rwandan culture because there is no respect. We are supposed to maintain our culture on a bigger extent.

Informant 17: a) The little value they have is respect.

b) Their use is not a violation of Rwandan culture even though old people still give them great value. It is high time that they be used because of the current scourge of AIDS.

Informant 18: a) They are related to our culture that we must transmit to our children to help them to use nice language. The words give a society harmony.

b) A person who uses them is considered to be savage and people do not want to make him/her a friend because they believe that social life is especially rooted in sexuality and sexuality is God's law that should not be talked about at random.

Informant 19: a) They have great value.

b) Using them is violating Rwandan culture rather than a good way to communicate with each other. Yet if you are conversing with a foreigner you use them because you have no other choice.

Informant 20: a) They help us to avoid bad conversations that do not reflect Rwandan culture.

b) People who are the same age as well as a man and his wife can use them since they are not afraid of one another. Men and their wives can talk about such things secretly. People who are the same age can use them to joke. However a person who dares to use them when addressing some one who is older or younger than him/her insults the latter.

Informant 21: a) Respect but the fact that people do not use them does not mean that they do not misbehave.

b) It is very bad. Christianity forbids us to use them. Saint Paul who was a purist did not even want people who were the same age to use them. Using them is a sin.

Informant 22: a) Taboo words emanate from God. They are God's secret and that of married people, who are allowed to practice sexual relations. They should therefore not be said publicly.

b) It is violating culture. They are too taboo to utter.

Informant 23: a) They prevent Rwandans from having illegal sexual relations. When they forbid us to say something, we do not dare to do it either. However, one hardly understands how former Rwandans, who were naked, could neither utter sexuality taboo words publicly nor practise clandestine sexual relations.

b) It is not good for our children's upbringing and for harmony in the society.

Question 8: What impact do taboo words about sexuality produce on people who read or hear them? What is their effect on people who use them?

Informant 1: a) A person who knows their meaning just ignores them because they have been written or uttered by an irresponsible or disrespectful person. Yet a person may get ashamed when hearing or reading them.

b) People who use them are considered as irresponsible, street children, etc. They are degraded, not respected.

Informant 2: a) I do not mind reading or hearing such words. I used to be a teacher and was therefore obliged to utter sexuality taboo words openly to help my students to avoid the contamination of AIDS.

b) If there is a motive behind like teaching children how to avoid premature sexual relations, the impact is positive. If these words are used for the sake of being used, their user is said not to have had good upbringing and to be an outlaw.

Informant 3: a) As we have not been allowed to use them yet, a person who reads or hears them is very astonished.

b) People who use them are disrespected, and considered to be prostitutes.

Informant 4: a) It depends on people. Some like either reading or hearing them and some others do not because they find them dirty.

b) They are considered to be shameless, without modesty, and without self-respect.

Informant 5: a) They may change one's behaviour or way of thinking. For example, a person may get angry with the one who tells him/her such words and they both may quarrel.

b) They make their user lose value in the society and be considered as evil.

Informant 6: a) I do not personally find it a problem to hear such words. For me, they are not unsayable. Yet some people feel greatly ashamed and can't stand discussing with those who normally use taboo words.

b) He may be banned from the society as well as he may have bad reputation.

Informant 7: a) these words are disgusting.

b) They are shameless and disrespectful. They are outlaws.

Informant 8: a) They feel the need to have sexual relations. These words increase sexual desire, and as a consequence a lot of natural children may be born.

b) They lose their personality, and the society considers them as hooligans.

Informant 9: a) they incite people, especially the youth, to practise what they have read or heard, that is, to have sexual relations. For example, there are books like *Iwawe n'Uwawe* in they explain how a man and a woman have sexual intercourse and in which they show pictures of different positions. This incites very much young people to practise what they see and read.

b) There are many effects. For example, people do not trust them any more.

Informant 10: a) They corrupt an individual and push him/her to practise sexual relations, become a prostitute, and use dirty words that make him/her undisciplined.

b) People may avoid him/her and get annoyed when they see him/her joining them. He/she may personally find it normal to use such words, but the society disregards him/her.

Informant 11: a) Reading makes you aware of things you did not know before, but you should keep them a secret. Do not shout them everywhere because they are not nice words. Hearing them is different. You learn bad behaviour and can even think of practising sexual relations.

b) A person is said to be foolish, shameless, and not trustworthy. The society disregards him/her, and people avoid making such a person a friend. Yet there is no fatality.

Informant 12: a) There are different kinds of people. For the conservative and Christians, taboo words should not be used. For emancipated people, those words can be used regardless of the reactions of the society. The latter misunderstood civilization and copied everything from white people, which is not good.

b) The more they use them, the more they want to experience what they say. These people are considered as outlaws by the society.

Informant 13: a) It depends on the message these words convey. When they edify people and teach them something good, those who read them to get informed about what they have to teach gain a lot. When a person teaches using euphemisms, his audience does not understand well the message conveyed. However, a person who hears them as they are explained in *Umpangare Nguhangare* gets involved in sexual relations.

b) Their user is considered as disrespectful.

Informant 14: a) the impact of such words on a person who reads them for the first time is three-fold:

- a person may immediately feel the need to practise sexual relations.
- a person may feel the need to have sexual relations and then overcome his/her feelings.
- a person who is about to be married may get instructed and find books on sexuality interesting.

This shows us how people react differently to the same situation.

b) The society considers people who use them in their everyday conversation to be culturally-uprooted and disrespectful. However, it is normal to use them during a lecture.

Informant 15: a) People have different biological reactions. Some people can indulge themselves into unnecessary sexual relationships instead of asking for more information from other people. Somebody who is aware of everything will neither be surprised nor misbehave. For example, the use of sexuality taboo words in a family has a positive effect on the children's future life in that the latter Children will be surprised when they hear or read them. However, these words have a negative effect on uneducated people who use them. Young boys and girls who keep cattle or house-girls do not know the impact taboo words have on them. They practise what they say and may then face the problem of AIDS.

b) Sometimes people take it as a joke, but generally the society considers people who use them to be disrespectful.

Informant 16: a) They do have a bad effect. For example a child who hears adults using such words or finds them reading them becomes spoiled, and this is not good for our culture. Only grown-up children can hear such things. Old people are even against the use of these words in mass media since their mentioning pushes the kids to know too much about sexuality. This is a violation of Rwandan culture. In former times children did not indulge themselves into unnecessary sexual relations because they had never heard people talking about sexuality taboo words. Children have a wider inquisitive spirit, i.e, they want to discover more.

b) They spoil their reasoning capacity in the sense that they do not maintain their culture. The society considers them as hopeless, disrespectful people.

Informant 17: a) They make a person feel the need to make sexual relations. It is like watching pornographic movies. They have no importance for him/her. On the contrary they destroy his/her soul.

b) They are not respected because they make life difficult for those who read them. They urge the latter to experience sexual relations.

Informant 18: a) Books on sexuality like *Iwawe n' Uwawe* instruct people. They make them become aware of things they did not know before. As for listening, there are people who find it a pleasure to listen to such words and who even tease their users so as they can continue to utter them.

b) He/she is laughed at. A respectful person cannot say such dirty words publicly.

Informant 19: a) There is nothing wrong in reading them because when a person is reading, he/she is alone. Yet, taboo words sound badly producing a shock to their hearers' ears.

b) The society considers him/her as a delinquent, an outlaw.

Informant 20: a) They have no impact on people who hear them. You just continue on your way and pretend not to have heard anything. You despise their users and consider them as stupid people. However, there is no problem to hear people who are the same age use such words among themselves. A person who reads taboo words is astonished. He/she cannot understand how people dare to write such bad things. However, it would be better to know the reason why an author dares to write books on sexuality before judging him even though a person may read them and feel the need to have sexual relations. Even people who are the same age and whose conversation on sexuality taboo words lasts long feel like enjoying sex and think of having sexual relations.

Informant 21: a) Taboos are related to insults today. In former times, the Rwandan society was not as impervious to the use of taboo words as people thought. Both boys and girls had freedom of

speech while conversing. They felt free to use sexuality taboo words and even to practise sexual relations. When these words were suppressed, their suppression gave rise to both exhibition and inhibition.

b) People no longer use these words. They replace them by euphemisms, particularly, poetic language like *Gupfundura agaseke igihe kitageze* (to deflower a girl before marriage), since the radio is listened to by all Rwandans. A person who dares to use them is considered to be evil, nasty, etc. The society has set up regulations that make him/her vulgar and flippant, that is, free and easy.

There is the language of intellectuals and there are words that are shocking to some people. In case such words may make these people feel uncomfortable, an individual has to apologise before using them. Besides, a person should know his/her audience before using such words on the radio. Yet I ask myself the question whether we have the cultural right to subject our culture to white people when they do not say anything about their own culture.

Informant 22: a) Reading them helps the reader to know what they mean and what they are about. It is rare to hear them because very few people use them. A child who dares to insult another saying *uragawera nyoko* is beaten because sexuality is something respectful that deserves great respect. Sexuality words must not be used at random.

b) We must draw a difference between people who write them and those who use them in their conversation. People who write them are not ill-disposed. They intend to explain them to others who lack knowledge of sexuality and to perpetuate culture. On the other hand, the society regards those who utter them as foolish and shameless people. This is the reason why nobody has ever heard a man tell his children that he has just fucked their mother, or tell his in-laws that he is divorced due to their daughter's sexual imperfection.

Informant 23: a) They have no impact on people who read them because, most of the time, they are read by adults who are already informed about sexuality. However, it is not good to write them in too many books since even the term *gusambana* is being considered as taboo. Now people are using *imibonano mpuzabitsina* which seems softer. People who use sexuality taboo words in their conversation become prostitutes.

b) It is bad. It is to incite people to practise sexual relations. If you want to write them for specific purposes, you can. Otherwise, you have not been well brought up.

Question 9: Do you think restrictions on use of language as a result of taboo words have an impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS in Rwanda?

Informant 1: They have no big impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS in Rwanda because HIV/AIDS is more likely to be practical, not verbal. The youth do not know exactly what to do because their parents do not use these words to help them. They learn them from their peers, which is sometimes bad and has an influence on the spread of AIDS.

Informant 2: Children of different sex may practise sexual relations as a way to explain to one another the meaning of sexuality taboo words. Restrictions mislead children. Parents refuse to explain to their own children sexuality taboo words but ill-disposed people of the opposite sex seize the opportunity to mislead them by showing them how to do things instead of giving them explanations. So restrictions develop hypocrisy.

Informant 3: They increase the spread of AIDS because the more parents are ashamed of explaining these words to their children, the more the children think that sexual relations should be practised secretly; and the more they ignore how to prevent themselves from catching AIDS, the more AIDS spreads.

Informant 4: They have an impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS, and if we do not want it to spread, we must explain words related to sexuality as clearly as possible. People are afraid of using them, but still they secretly practise sexual relations, which is nonsense. While teaching, not only should they show pictures of sexual organs, but they should also mention their names.

Informant 5: There is no link between the spread of AIDS and the restrictions on the use of taboo words. Therefore using or not using them is all the same.

Informant 6: The more they do not talk about them, the more sexuality is practised secretly. Most of the time, children learn them badly from people who lie to them, want to get the better of them, and thus initiate them to bad practices. The poor children can then catch AIDS.

Informant 7: Nowadays we should stop considering words related to sexuality as taboos because of the problem of AIDS. We should know how people get contaminated, which parts of the body are involved, and how to avoid being infected.

Informant 8: They have no impact on the spread of AIDS because a person who has never heard about sexuality cannot sexually misbehave.

Informant 9: they have no impact on the spread of AIDS. On the contrary they help decrease it. It is good to explain to children how people get contaminated and the parts involved, but explanations can be given through the use of euphemisms to avoid temptation since even old people tell us that the use of dirty words evokes a great sexual desire.

Informant 10: Actually, a child who has never heard his relatives tackling topics on sexuality and who is informed by his/her friends can practise what he/she is told, and may then become infected by AIDS.

Informant 11: They have no impact. On the contrary their use increases the spread of AIDS since when a person comes to you uttering them, your thoughts immediately change and you may be pushed to have sexual relations when you did not intend to. For example, when a man talks about sexuality taboo words to a young girl and at the same time caresses her, he makes her go wild and indulge herself in sexual matters. Even if he does not caress her, his dirty words will make her think of having sex. When you dare to use them, be sure that you cannot overcome your feelings and that you will inevitably have sexual relations.

Informant 12: They have no impact on the spread of AIDS, yet some words should be selected and be used to inform the youth about sexuality to make sure that they are not exposed to AIDS. Sexuality taboo words should not be used at random.

Informant 13: The spread of AIDS is due to the fact that parents fail to inform young adolescents about sexuality rather than to restrictions on language use. The non-use of taboo words in public has no bad effect at all.

Informant 14: They have no impact on the spread of AIDS. They decrease it instead. For example, in rural milieus, when a young guy tells a lady that he would like to have sex with her, the lady gets afraid of him and runs away from him.

Informant 15: On the one hand, people who do not use sexuality taboo words cannot indulge themselves in sexual relations and in this case, AIDS will not spread. On the other hand, a person who has never been informed about sexuality taboo words and who discovers them by him/herself through reading will try to experience what he has just read, which may contribute to the spread of AIDS.

Informant 16: They do not facilitate the spread of AIDS because when a person knows nothing about sexuality, he/she cannot indulge themselves in sexual relations. On the contrary, when sexuality taboo words are used, people tend to experience sexual relations, and this may favour the spread of AIDS.

Informant 17: They increase the spread of AIDS because when people do not use them, they do not understand anything about sexuality, get themselves involved in sexual matters randomly, and may then be infected by HIV/ AIDS.

Informant 18: They do not favour the spread of AIDS. However, the use of such dirty words decreases its spread. What is bad is using them at the market-place.

Informant 19 did not answer the question.

Informant 20: They add nothing at all to the spread of AIDS. What is bad is using them because they make people feel the need to have sexual relations.

Informant 21: The more people fight against it, the more likely it is to kill many of them. There exist biological, physiological and psychological effects. For instance, Rwandans should restore the *gukuna* practice in order to prevent young girls from feeling the need to have sexual relations.

Sexuality should be well explained and understood by Rwandans instead of lying to them. Before the struggle of white people against *kubandwa*, Rwandan culture was very rich and people were free to say whatever they wanted. The White also fought against *gukuna*, especially during a course entitled *diaconal*. They also forbade people to straddle (*position a califourchon*) and their lectures took place in Latin. Missionaries brought many taboo with them. They exaggerated. Today we produce a quasi-artificial society. Europeans ordered us to stop using sexuality taboo words and we obeyed. Now, because of the problem of AIDS, they are asking us to use them even on the radio when our children do not need them.

As the South African president has said, AIDS is mainly due to poverty which contributes. Saying that it is a cultural fact only is minimizing the problem when prostitution is widespread in Rwanda. Today people say that nobody dies twice and that people who die are those who were born, but in former times, there were regulations that helped the society live long.

Informant 22: When one is informed about the existence of strong taboos and one violates them, he has to undergo obvious consequences. Yet using Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words and avoiding them is all the same. Today you may warn children about the problem of AIDS, but the same children will get contaminated. So catching AIDS depends on one's will.

Priests suppressed night masses because people used to have sexual relations in churches. They forbade people to use Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words, which increased prostitution especially among chiefs who behaved like cows.

Informant 23: The use of sexuality taboo words increases both prostitution and the spread of AIDS while restrictions on the use of language prevent people from having sexual relations. The proof is that I cannot reveal you many things.

Question 10: What do you think is the impact of sexuality taboo words on information dissemination on HIV/AIDS?

Informant 1: The government has selected skilled people to inform Rwandans about HIV/AIDS and make them understand how dangerous it is by using sexuality taboo words.

Informant 2: They have a negative impact. Children practise clandestine sexual relations and become infected by HIV/AIDS.

Informant 3: If people dare to use them, they can find a solution to the problem of AIDS especially because the youth attend meetings where they can be told to use condoms to prevent themselves from being contaminated by AIDS.

Informant 4: They have a negative impact since they prevent people from teaching appropriately how to avoid AIDS.

Informant 5: Their use may push children to experience sexual relations as well as they may help them to avoid AIDS.

Informant 6: They can be a starting point to explain the contamination of AIDS. People should be told that some Rwandan have been infected because they had never been told anything about sexuality due to the fact that words related to it were tabooed.

Informant 7: People feel uncomfortable to use them when they are explaining the problem of AIDS. Yet, if they dare to use them, their audience can easily understand how dangerous it is.

Informant 8: Their use may make all people be informed about AIDS. For example, the publicity about AIDS helps people to protect themselves against it by behaving like Christians. However, the publicity about the use of condoms makes prostitution be considered to be normal. The role of these words depends on the way they are selected. For example, there is nothing wrong to tell people that *SIDA iravugiriza* (AIDS whistles). A person, even a prostitute, who reads such a word, immediately decides to put an end to his/her bad behaviour.

Informant 9: All Kinyarwaanda words should be used. There is no way you can explain the problem of AIDS to somebody or a group of people without using sexuality taboo words to make them understand.

Informant 10: Their use can make people know that AIDS exists. Yet, their non-use prevents people from getting involved in sexual matters.

Informant 11: Using or not using them is all the same. There is nothing to save. It is beyond our understanding. People do not differentiate AIDS from malaria or any other diseases. They show condoms even to a first-form primary school child. Only God will save the people he likes. Think of how shameful it is to hear that child asking you to explain to him/her *imibonano mpuzabitsina*. The society is dead, there is nothing to save.

Informant 12: Their use makes the youth realize that AIDS is a serious disease. To give these words more value, the society should avoid using them at random and should only keep them to inform the youth about sexuality. Otherwise, the latter will not consider them as serious words.

Informant 13: Their use will help people get informed about AIDS. If they continue regarding them as taboos, people will never understand things related to AIDS. For example, if parents merely tell their children that people catch AIDS through sexual relations, the latter do not grasp anything. So, parents are required to use them in order to make their children understand better.

Informant 14: It would be better to use nice language to make children who were born and grew up in Rwanda understand issues like AIDS. But if they also want those from outside to understand, they can use sexuality taboo words. However they should tell them that such words are not used at random. I only agree that such words can be used to train people.

Informant 15: Taboo words are used to explain to people the scourge of AIDS. As all Rwandans do not know foreign languages, trainers are obliged to use taboo words on sexuality. Otherwise the audience will not grasp the information well.

Informant 16: My opinion is that we should teach AIDS as a disease without mentioning Kinyarwaanda sexuality taboo words.

Informant 17: The more they make them taboo, the more they hide issues related to AIDS. The use of sexuality taboo words can help people understand how they can be infected by AIDS and how AIDS is a serious disease.

Informant 18: It depends on the topic held. When people are criticising sexual relations, other people get afraid of AIDS because they become aware of the danger awaiting them.

Informant 19: Even in news broadcast on AIDS, journalists do not openly use these words.

Informant 20: Using them openly does not help. On the contrary, their use facilitates the spread of AIDS. According to culture, we should replace them by euphemisms which are explicit enough to make people understand issues related to AIDS. For example, all Rwandans know the meaning of *imibonano mpuzabitsina*.

Informant 21: See question 9

Informant 22: Such words are only used by foolish people. Let's continue to use euphemisms.

Informant 23: You may use them to fight against AIDS, but not all the people understand things the same way. Using them openly urges people to feel the need to have sex and this may result in their catching AIDS. You may use euphemisms to teach issues related to AIDS.

Question 11: What impact do taboo words on sexuality have on Rwandans' discussions on the topic of HIV/AIDS?

Informant 1: They have a positive impact in that they are used to campaign against HIV/AIDS.

Informant 2: When used, they have a positive impact. They, for example, help parents explain to their children certain words and issues (like AIDS) related to sex clearly.

Informant 3: In case they are used, they may help Rwandans to become aware of the problem of AIDS and behave accordingly.

Informant 4: They have very little impact on Rwandans' discussions on the topic of HIV/AIDS because even parents do not dare to use them with their children, and even when they do not use them, children still practise sexual relation.

Informant 5: Parents forbid their children to use taboo words in order not to violate culture, but they can explain them how AIDS is a disastrous disease to prevent them from practising bad things.

Informant 6: See question 10

Informant 7: People do not deeply discuss the problem of AIDS because they are afraid of uttering sexuality taboo words.

Informant 8: They can have a positive impact if they are used by adults, but not by children. It is good for parents to explain these words to their children, especially when the latter trust them. They should not let children learn them outside their home.

Informant 9: Their use, especially with people who do not know other languages than Kinyarwaanda, helps Rwandans to understand the problem of AIDS.

Informant 10: Their use reminds people of the existence of AIDS.

Informant 11: Explain to children that sexual relations have bad consequences, but Rwandans no longer have taboos. This is why they talk about *imibonano mpuzabitsina* to their children warning them that when they practise sexual relations they will die of AIDS.

Informant 12: Generally, people do not dare to utter these words, but once they do they understand the extent to which AIDS is a serious disease.

Informant 13: These words are the only ones that can make people understand well issues related to AIDS.

Informant 14: When you have been told that these words are taboos and a person proposes you to have sexual relations with him/her, you recall what you have been told and become afraid of having tabooed sexual relations. On the other hand, they impede discussions on AIDS because people always consider their use as a violation of taboos.

Informant 15: A person feels uncomfortable to use them because others take it as a joke and laugh at him/her and disrupt the discussions.

Informant 16: They do not allow them to talk freely. AIDS can be talked about as a disease without necessarily mentioning taboo words on sexuality.

Informant 17: If they dare to use them, the problem of AIDS can be better understood.

Informant 18: It depends on the topic under discussion. If they use them to give examples of people who have died of AIDS, one can abstain.

Informant 19: The use of euphemisms rather than taboo words on sexuality prevents people from getting contaminated by AIDS.

Informant 20: Sexuality taboo words should not be used in discussions on AIDS. Instead, euphemisms should be used because all Rwandans know them. For example, when you use the euphemism *gusambana* to tell people that when a man has sexual relations he may catch AIDS, they understand that AIDS is dangerous. *Gusambana* is not as dirty as the other words.

Informant 21: See question 10.

Informant 22: See question 10.

Informant 23: In ancient times, it was forbidden to use sexuality taboo words in order not to push children to have sexual relations. Thus it is not good to use them in discussions on AIDS. After all, people are aware of the existence of that sexual relations. So it is not necessary to use those words to them understand.

Question 12: Do you think all Rwandans have the same attitudes towards sexuality taboo words?

Informant 1: I think that all Rwandans have the same attitudes.

Informant 2: Some think that they should be used, but some others are strict as to their use.

Informant 3: No. They do not have the same attitudes. Some find their use a sacrilege, but some others do not find it a problem.

Informant 4: No. very few dare to use them, but the majority does not.

Informant 5: They all have the same attitudes since they all share the same culture.

Informant 6: No. Some still consider them as taboos while some others who ignore their origin do not. As for me, they have no importance for Rwandans.

Informant 7: No. Some are not afraid of using them at all while some others are. The latter do not even want to hear people uttering them, and consider their users as outlaws.

Informant 8: No, they have different attitudes because they are from different places. Those who were in Rwanda before 1994 have their culture regarding sexuality, and those from the diaspora have their own attitudes.

Informant 9: No. Their attitudes depend on the type of society a person lives in and the age he/she is. For example, old people are not afraid of using them and they sometimes use them with the youth who are capable to grasp them.

Informant 10: All Rwandans, except those from outside, whatever province they are from, have the same attitudes. Even educated people do not dare to use them despite their knowledge. They use other means to teach their children issues related to sexuality.

Informant 11: No. Some people are respectful and cannot say everything that occurs in their mind. Others behave like Pygmies since they say whatever they want even before their daughters. This is how Rwandan culture is dying out. There is no problem to use these words when you are with friends, but it is shameful to use them when you are with a respectful person like your father or a brother of yours.

Informant 12: No. There are three categories of people: those who think that we are free to say whatever we want, the conservative who think that nothing about sexuality must be said, and the moderate for whom there must be fields where sexuality taboo words can be used.

Informant 13: No. It depends on people's social classes. For example, shepherds use them because have not been well brought up. People of the same age also use them shamelessly when they are among themselves. Yet some of them do not and prefer not to say anything.

Informant 14: No. There is a difference between educated people and the illiterate. Yet it may happen that some intellectuals, people who live in town or those go abroad forget taboos.

Informant 15: No. The majority of the youth do not find it normal to use them, but people who use them to teach others about AIDS find them a very important tool.

Informant 16: No. For example, people in Ruhengeri mention them. Only some groups consider them as taboo.

Informant 17: No. Some people like the illiterate do give them great value, but educated people do not put much emphasis on them. People may not use sexuality taboo words because the setting they are in does not allow them to do so, but not because these words are taboo.

Informant 18: No. There must be a distinction between people who do not want to hear them and those who do not mind their being used.

Informant 19: All Rwandans, but hooligans and outlaws, have the same values. They do not use sexuality taboo words.

Informant 20: No. Some people are afraid of using them, but some others use them publicly. Unlike the old, the youth dare to use them.

Informant 21: No. Some people, like those who have received Jesus as their Lord and Saviour, find them dirty. But still they practise sexual relations clandestinely. Briefly, people conceive things around them differently.

Informant 22: Some people use them publicly while some others do not.

Informant 23: We all seem to have the same practices. However, in some places, people are not too strict as to the use of sexuality taboo words.

Question 13: What attitude do people who used to live in Rwanda before 1994 have towards sexuality taboo words? What is the attitude of the people who were outside Rwanda at that time?

Informant 1: a) They consider them important and understand them better than people who were outside before 1994.

b) They are trying to learn them through the government policy.

Informant 2: a) Before 1994, it was strictly forbidden to use sexuality taboo words Today, some people still keep culture and some others have changed their way of considering things. The latter think that the use of these words may have a positive impact in Rwandan society.

b) When speaking Kinyarwaanda, they do not utter taboo words on sexuality, but they use them when they talking foreign languages that they inherited from their former hosts. These languages serve them as an umbrella since many people do not understand them.

Informant 3: a) We distinguish two groups because of the counselling policy. Only people who are in charge of counselling the population about AIDS use them.

b) They do not dare to use them either, but compared to those who used to be in Rwanda, they dare to use them.

Informant 4: a) I have never paid attention but still I think that all Rwandans have the same culture.

b) Some do respect them.

Informant 5: a) They are still very much attached to sexuality taboo words since they have neither changed their language nor their culture.

b) Some have adopted the culture of their former hosts whose language they very often use. Some others can repeat a taboo word on sexuality when they hear somebody who used to live in Rwanda uttering it because they do not know its meaning.

Informant 6: a) The attitude they had before 1994 is different from the one they have today because, after 1994, Rwandans were settled without taking account of their different backgrounds. Step by step, people, especially those who live in towns dare to use them.

b) They do not find their use a great problem. Their youth do not even understand why Rwandans do not use precise words to explain certain issues.

Informant 7: a) These people are attached to Rwandan culture and do not find it normal to use sexuality taboo words. They are not open-minded.

b) Even though all Rwandans are the same people, those from outside try to use sexuality taboo words.

Informant 8: a) They have a very bad image of sexuality because of the evils such as rape that they encountered during war. They are neither surprised nor curious when they hear people uttering taboo words on sexuality.

b) Today they use them more than they did when they were still outside the country because they listen to them on the radio and find them on the internet. There has been contact between people whose cultural backgrounds are different, and people from outside consider the use of sexuality taboo words as modernization.

Informant 9: a) They are disciplined and do not like to use them.

b) There are two categories among people from outside: those who did not know Kinyarwaanda at all when they entered Rwanda find it easy to utter sexuality taboo words using foreign languages which are only understood by few people.

Informant 10: a) Things have changed over time. There are things they dare to say because of the problem of AIDS. Some taboos either lose their value, or this value diminishes.

b) They are more open. For them, these words have no value even though they do not use them publicly.

Informant 11: a) We do no longer have culture because of people from Burundi, Uganda and Congo. There has been a mixture of things. People who knew the value of respect have died, and this value has died out as well.

b) Old people still give value to sexuality taboo words, but young people are nothing but prostitutes who use them publicly.

Informant 12: a) Villagers are conservative while city-dwellers are moderate.

b) Most of them are moderate, the rest think they are free to say whatever they want.

Informant 13: a) They are not afraid of them.

b) People from the diaspora, especially shepherds and the illiterate, use them. However, intellectuals don't.

Informant 14: a) Before genocide, it was strictly forbidden to use sexuality taboo words. Culture regulated Rwandans, especially due to the fact that the quasi-majority was illiterate and had never been into contact with foreigners. As for old people, both those who were in Rwanda before genocide and the ones from outside are dying, and taboo words are dying out along with them at

such a degree that they will have completely disappeared in ten years. Orphans know nothing about respect since nobody takes care of them. Besides, the church has abolished taboos (*kiriziya yakuye kirazira*).

b) Some are still attached to Rwandan culture, but some others have acquired foreign cultures and therefore do not mind using sexuality taboo words.

Informant 15: a) Some people like those in Cyangugu and Byumba speak poor Kinyarwaanda.

b) They generally have different attitudes from those who were in Rwanda. As they do not know what these words mean, they do not give them value. For example, they easily repeat them when they hear those who used to be in Rwanda uttering them.

Informant 16: a) Some people like the inhabitants of Ruhengeri and Kigali mention them in their daily lives. Only people in *urukari* in Nyanza and those in Mutara and Kibungo do not mention them.

b) It depends on individuals and on where they are from. We have different cultures even though we all are Africans. People from Congo differ from people from Uganda who also differ from those from Tanzania. The majority of people from outside, namely those from Uganda keep the culture.

Informant 17: a) They are the ones to exaggerate. They give taboo words too much value.

b) The majority does not utter them, but some of them dare to use them publicly. Yet I cannot personally use them due to the respect I owe to other people.

Informant 18: a) Some use them.

b) They do not use them very much.

Informant 19: a) They are like other Rwandans.

b) They use the same language as their brothers who used to live in Rwanda.

Informant 20: a) They all seem to use them openly. During genocide they became evil and used dirty insults. Besides they had sexual relations in public even when their children were watching them. This is the reason why they use them, but it is not culture.

b) They still have respect because they neither heard people insulting others nor saw them having sex relations publicly. We still keep the culture we had before we fled the country.

Informant 21: a) They violated the taboo. They found it necessary to have sexual relations with Tutsi women. There is a slight cultural difference between the Hutus and the Tutsis, but white people made it bigger than it really is. Meanwhile, Rwandans who were in Rwanda before 1994 still respect taboo words, but I know nothing about the language used by prisoners. People still use euphemisms but awkwardly.

b) Those who fled the country when they were between 20 and 30, even those who were born in 1959 still respect Rwandan culture. Their language is the same. They respect taboo words.

Informant 22: a) They do not use them.

b) I do not know since I cannot walk any more to see how they behave. Yet the culture of the white has deepened its roots in Rwandan culture.

Informant 23: a) Nothing has changed. They still avoid these words despite their 1994 bestiality because they are aware that they behaved badly during the genocide.

b) They kept Rwandan culture thanks to their lives in refugee camps. They did not change the way to bring up their children.

Question 14: Should Rwandans continue to avoid Kinyarwaanda taboo words or topics on sexuality?

Informant 1: They should be used to campaign against AIDS.

Informant 2: Nowadays people should not have such an attitude to be cautious and avoid their negative impact on their lives. *Kiriziya yakuye kirazira*, so there is no reason to rely on taboos.

Informant 3: They should brave them and tell their children topical things to help them fight and get strategies against AIDS.

Informant 4: They should use them because they are Kinyarwaanda words. A culture that forbids people to use their language freely is not culture.

Informant 5: They should use euphemisms.

Informant 6: They do not profit anything from their non-use. They should only know the setting where to use them. For example, they can use them during trainings, but not in public.

Informant 7: They should stop considering them as taboos and be a bit open-minded to let us know them without necessarily losing our culture. Sexuality taboo words can be used under certain circumstances. For example, it is the parents' duty to give their children sexual education (tell them things related to AIDS and unwanted pregnancies). They should not let children learn these things from outside.

Informant 8: It is culture and people should prevent it from dying.

Informant 9: They should avoid using them at random. However, there are instances that require their use (at hospital, during campaigns against AIDS, etc).

Informant 10: On the one hand, Rwandans should avoid using them if they have no specific purpose to reach. On the other hand, these words are useful in order to achieve sexual education or succeed in campaigning against AIDS.

Informant 11: They should be used to inform our children about illegal sexual relations and the consequences they engender. Yet we should not use them in everyday conversations because their use makes people always think of having sexual relations.

Informant 12: We should stop considering them as taboos, but this under certain circumstances.

Informant 13: Rwandans we should use those words under certain circumstances. For example, people who are the same age can continue to use them. During campaigns against AIDS, trainers also should use them to make their audience understand because euphemisms are not explicit. But in public, people should continue to consider these words as taboos.

Informant 14: Due to the problem of AIDS, we should stop considering these words as taboos, and use them to be as explicit as we can to make our children aware of the problem of AIDS and of how they can protect themselves against it. Our children should not be victims of AIDS because of ignorance.

Informant 15: No. Some people face problems because they have not been informed about these words. It would be better to use them since they are in our language, and we need them to inform people, but, at least, we should use them with respect (not using them at random, that is, using them among friends, etc). Children owe respect to adults.

Informant 16: We should not use them because we still do need to maintain our culture even to a bigger extent.

Informant 17: It is not worth continuing to consider them as taboos. It is up to individuals to choose what to say and what not to say.

Informant 18: It is forbidden to mention names of sexual organs. Weigh your words.

Informant 19: Yes, they should because they have other ways to talk about them, and people get the message. On radios and in conversations, people use modest words and we perfectly grasp the message.

Informant 20: Yes, because people know the meaning of euphemisms.

Informant 21: Yes and no. We should avoid them in public, but use them in ceremonies like imandwa. If a French person says *vulve* when he/she is at hospital, why can't we say igituba? We should not be ashamed but be proud to use our words.

Informant 22: Something that God himself gave respect deserves respect on the part of man. Sexual organs are hidden and covered by nature and should therefore not be mentioned aloud. It is dirty to mention them loudly.

Informant 23: People did not avoid them because of fear or because they found them dirty, but rather because of the way they had been brought up. It was in order to prevent them from premature sexual relations. Taboo words were and still are regulations. In former times people who were the same age used them, but when a person whose age was different from theirs joined them, they kept quiet.