SWAHILI FORUM 26 (2019): 205-239
SPECIAL ISSUE: Variation in Swahili, ed. by Daisuke Shinagawa & Nico Nassenstein

ON THE VARIABILITY OF KISWAHILI IN BUJUMBURA (BURUNDI)

NICO NASSENSTEIN

The variety of Kiswahili spoken in Bujumbura (Burundi) is central to the present sociolinguistic and structural analysis. Swahili in Burundi looks back upon a long history: first having been introduced by the German colonial administration, it has turned into a trade language along both the naval and non-naval trade routes between Uvira (DR Congo), Kigoma (Tanzania) and Bujumbura. Initially stigmatized as a language of ruthless urban rioters in the post-conflict era, it has increasingly gained popularity in Bujumbura, and is nowadays considered as one of the languages of Burundi, alongside Kirundi, French and English. Especially in the lively neighborhoods of the biggest city, where there is a pulsating nightlife, Kiswahili can be heard in many interactions, and often reveals influence from Kirundi, French, English and sometimes even Lingala. Structurally, the Swahili of Bujumbura combines elements from East Coast Swahili (ECS) as spoken in Tanzania and from Congo Swahili regiolects such as Kivu Swahili, and reveals a high degree of variability, depending upon interlocutors, contexts of interaction and communicative purpose. In this contribution, apart from summarizing the sociohistorical background and suggesting sociolinguistic approaches to grasping the high degree of variability in Kiswahili in Burundi, I discuss the most salient phonological and morphosyntactic patterns of variation and explain their situational distribution.

1. *“On a toujours eu le Swahili…”*: Swahili in Burundi[1]

Kiswahili, a Bantu language of group G40, represents the most widespread macrocontinuum of mutually intelligible languages and varieties across East Africa, with a long tradition of documentation from the early 19th century on. Studies with an interest in the standardized varieties from Kenya and Tanzania (Ashton 1944, Polomé 1967, Schadeberg 1992) have rarely included the Kiswahili from the adjoining areas, which are often classified as non-standard(ized) varieties (see also the introduction to this volume for a discussion of related

[1] The present paper is based on research on “peripheral” Kiswahili varieties as diffused in DR Congo, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi between 2010 and 2016. Field research was carried out in Bujumbura in February 2014, and the main data corpus was collected with Burundian speakers in Kampala, Uganda, shortly after their arrival in 2016-2017. Warm thanks go to my friend Eloi Niragira for his help, for sharing his knowledge with me and for the fruitful and inspiring fieldwork sessions. I also thank his friends and relatives. A preliminary draft of this paper was presented at the Institute for African Studies & Egyptology, University of Cologne, in December 2016. I am indebted to my colleague Daisuke Shinagawa for his interest and for his cooperation in this work, as well as for his outstanding kindness. Two reviewers are thanked for their many detailed comments on an earlier version of this paper. Moreover, I warmly thank Mary Chambers for improving my English. Frederik Weck is thanked for formatting this paper. All remaining mistakes are my own. The French title of Section 1 reads ‘we have always had Swahili...’, which was uttered as the initial statement of a speaker I interviewed on the long historical presence of Swahili in Burundi. The varieties in DR Congo are referred to as ‘Congo Swahili’, ‘Western Swahili’ or, when denoting the variety spoken across the border in the Kivu Provinces, ‘Kivu Swahili’. They are at times used interchangeably in this contribution.

works for Western Swahili). Recent accounts have focused on the peripheries of the Swahili-speaking world, and some studies have highlighted the form and modalities of use of Kiswahili as spoken in parts of eastern DR Congo (Ferrari *et al.* 2014, Nassenstein 2015, Nassenstein & Bose 2016, Nassenstein & Dimmendaal 2020), northern Mozambique (Schadeberg 1995, 1997), southern Somalia (Abasheikh 1978, Kisseberth & Abasheikh 2004, Henderson 2010, Mumin & Dimmendaal this volume) and also Uganda (Pawliková-Vilhanová 1996, Myers-Scotton 1979, Miner 2002, Lorenz this volume).

The study of Kiswahili[2] in Burundi has hitherto been restricted to a few recent works: a sociolinguistic study by Karangwa (1995), a brief sociohistorical overview by Belt (2010), and a discussion of the most salient morphosyntactic patterns by Der-Houssikian (2009); it is also considered to some extent in studies on the Kirundi-based youth language practice Kirundi Slang (Tacke-Köster 2016, Nassenstein 2017). Apart from these sociolinguistic and variationist studies, there are sources that deal with the use of Kiswahili in colonial times in Burundi, such as Kitumboy (1960, 1961), Pugach (2012) and Nassenstein (2019), as well as historical documents related to the German colonial administration of Ruanda-Urundi. Historically, the language had been in use along the shores of Lake Tanganyika since the second half of the 19th century, due to trade networks from the East African coast into the interior. However, Kiswahili was first introduced on a large scale by the German colonial authorities, who, having promoted the spread of Kiswahili in Tanganyika, the center of German East Africa, especially in the early 20th century, instrumentalized the language as a counterforce against the spread of English.

> But after the Maji Maji war and Carl Meinhof's prescription to de-Islamize Kiswahili, the German colonial administration virtually doubled its efforts to promote the language in various domains of its dominion. Kiswahili was thus found to be an adequate medium to cater for the interests of missionaries, administrators, and German civilization at large. (Mazrui & Mazrui 1995: 51)

The diffusion and teaching of Kiswahili in the German colony (e.g., in the German school of Gitega) also becomes obvious when taking a look at a dispute that took place in 1902 at the *Reichskolonialamt*. The dispute concerned the funding of a Kirundi dictionary, as suggested by the Catholic missionary van der Burgt – a proposal which was rejected by the German governor Graf von Götzen, who recommended the use of the more widespread language Kiswahili (Pugach 2012: 68). In general, during colonial times, Kiswahili was seen as a bulwark against English, the major colonial language, and Germans "became so enamored with Kiswahili that they even envisioned transplanting it to Cameroon" (*ibid.*: 69). In

[2] Kiswahili and the shortened label Swahili are both used in the present paper and designate the same language. While Kiswahili is employed as general language label, Swahili is used in names of specific varieties.

Burundi, Kiswahili never achieved the broad implementation (nor diffusion) that it did during the German reign over Tanganyika.

In 1909, the German *Residentur* founded the first school in Usumbura (today's Bujumbura), which adopted Kiswahili as the language of instruction since it constituted the only official language in Ruanda-Urundi. This then led to the fact that "[the] Swahili language, supplemented by the defining characteristics of the Swahili culture, was instituted in Bujumbura and all its inhabitants spoke the language as a lingua franca" (Belt 2010: 78).

While Kiswahili has remained present as a language practice in Bujumbura, its prestige and status have changed over time. The language was not only used by different groups but also associated with different language ideologies and inherent attitudes, as underlined by Belt (*ibid.:* 76), who points out that "[i]nitially it used to be the language that united people from different backgrounds but it later changed into the language of strangers, Muslims and 'uncivilized' people". Over time, Swahili having served as an ideological instrument under German rule, the Belgian authorities forced Kiswahili speakers into marginalization, due to their association with Islam. New boundaries were drawn between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, and between urban and rural ones, serving as clear policy of strategic stratification. The division of neighborhoods was intended to drive the Muslim and Swahili communities out of the city, while the Kirundi-speaking majority was clearly favored. Kiswahili-speaking individuals had to pay higher taxes, and from 1927 onwards, Kirundi became the only medium of instruction in schools (see Belt 2010: 79). During the continuous stigmatization and ostracism of Kiswahili speakers under Belgian colonial rule, excluded speakers from different areas of the Kiswahili-speaking world (British East Africa, eastern Belgian Congo, etc.) began to group themselves as one mixed community of practice:

> As a reaction to this, the Swahilis increasingly formed a real community in which they regrouped individual nationalities and different ethnicities: Congolese, Ugandans, Rwandans, Rundi, people from Tanganyika and Arab-Swahilis. Four elements created a sense of unity among them: Occupation, religion, language and residence. Swahili became not only a means of communication but also a means of identification towards other people who did not speak the language. (Belt 2010: 80)

Interestingly, this ostracism of a group that had never constituted a tight-knit community at all actually shaped a community due to the external categorizations of non-speakers, regardless of Kiswahili speakers' actual origins, provenance or ethnic background. Despite the social marginalization they were confronted with, the commercial success of Kiswahili speakers often led to envy and jealousy. Moreover, since late colonial days, Kiswahili was considered as a language of criminals and thieves, and also as the language of those without formal education. According to Belt (2010: 80), these speakers were seen as not having had "a 'social education', like the children in the rural areas". Again, on the contrary, Kiswahili speakers were perceived as urban speakers and thus associated with the negative side effects

of urban population, i.e. bad manners, modernity, superficial behavior, a focus on business and economic profit. Karangwa (1995: 165) states that, in general, the public use of Kiswahili in Burundi toward the end of colonial times, and also in postcolonial times, provoked mistrust and disdain, and Kiswahili thus "ended up at the bottom of the linguistic pyramid" (Belt 2010; for a different view of the recent situation, see Nassenstein 2017).

Since the school year 2005/2006, both Kiswahili and English have been taught in Burundian primary schools, also as a strategy of intensifying political bonds with other countries of the East African Union. Nowadays, Kiswahili is implemented as a widespread but not official language in Burundi, this status only being attributed to French, Kirundi and English (since 2014). A speaker who grew up in the 1990s, when the prestige of Kiswahili in Bujumbura was slowly beginning to change, summarized this development as follows:

> *Nakumbuka iyo wakati niko mdogo, ukiongea Swahili kama ukienda sehemu za kitajiri watu walikuwa wanakuona kama weye ni mpuuzi, we ni mkosa adabu, mtu akulelewa vizuri. Lakini sasa hivi watu wanaanza kuona maana ya Swahili, ya kujua Swahili.* (Bryan M., interview excerpt, 2016) [t2s21]
>
> [I remember that time when I was young, if you spoke Swahili when you went to rich places, people considered you a fool, a person without good manners, somebody who was not brought up well. But nowadays people begin to see the meaning of Swahili, [and] of knowing Swahili.]

Following this sociohistorical introduction, my paper addresses a theoretical sociolinguistic perspective (Section 2), followed by matters of variability in phonology and morphosyntax across speakers (Section 3). Why do certain Kiswahili speakers rather use Kivu Swahili (Congo Swahili), while others tend to employ Tanzanian Swahili (ECS-like[3] varieties)? What are speakers' motivations and the interactional triggers that let them change between these two 'ways of speaking', and what role does Bujumbura as an urban space play in these processes? In my conclusion, I compare the Burundian case to other contact-induced settings that are prone to high degrees of variability between speakers, e.g. the cases of Kisangani Swahili (DR Congo), Bunia Swahili/Ituri Swahili (northeastern DR Congo), and West Nile Swahili (Uganda).

The data collected, on which the present contribution is based, includes a corpus of five recorded and transcribed texts and a word list with 1,600 entries plus approximately 2,000 equivalent free sentences that were provided by the speakers, as well as several hours of

[3] The usage of the abbreviation ECS (East Coast Swahili; denoting what is often labelled Standard Swahili or Kiswahili Sanifu) follows a convention in Swahili dialectology when contrasting inland varieties with a continuum of more standardized and coastal varieties; see for instance Polomé (1971), among others. I am grateful to one reviewer who encouraged me to clarify the use of this abbreviation.

recorded interviews on (socio)linguistic variation.[4] Because these data already allow for a general lexical, phonological and morphosyntactic overview, the analytical focus will be expanded to pragmatic research foci in the future.

2. Explaining variation in Burundi: Sociolinguistic approaches to variability

In the study of patterns of variation among speakers of Bujumbura Swahili, their language repertoires, linguistic choices and contexts of (socio)linguistic variation have to be taken into account. Different theoretical strands can be applied to the underlying social motivations of adapting one's phonology and morphosyntax according to the communicative and social needs of a speaker.

2.1 Varieties and speakers' repertoires and choices

As theoretical concepts, speakers' urban repertoires have to be analyzed when describing variationist patterns in language. We witness a high degree of structural deviation from ECS, to some extent due to speakers' broad multilingual repertoires (Swahili, Kirundi, French, sometimes also English) in the city of Bujumbura. Repertoires are to be understood as the "totality of linguistic resources [...] available to members of particular communities" (Gumperz 1972: 20-21), whereby there are "mechanisms by which the socio-economic changes affect the verbal repertoire of speakers" (Gumperz 1982: 44). Matras (2009: 4) states that "elements of the repertoire […] gradually become associated, through a process of linguistic socialization, with a range of social activities, including factors such as sets of interlocutors, topics, and institutional settings." In a more recent approach to Africans' repertoires and linguistic choices, Lüpke & Storch (2013: 349) point out that a repertoire "connects language with the social and the cultural, and at the same time with the individual", suggesting that the common term 'language' no longer suffices when speakers' whole encoded language biographies are referred to indexically, exposed and used in an utterance. Bujumbura Swahili speakers' repertoires are marked by multilingualism and the early acquisition of three languages (French, Kirundi, Swahili), plus the acquisition of English in educational contexts. Younger speakers also use youth language practices and often acquire some bits of Lingala, a Bantu language from neighboring DR Congo, due to the high number of Congolese traders and refugees in Bujumbura. This is the same reason why speakers are also exposed to different varieties of Swahili from an early age, too.

As described elsewhere (Nassenstein 2017), Bujumbura functions as an economic corridor between Tanzania, DR Congo and Rwanda (toward Uganda and Kenya), and divergent varieties of Swahili are therefore in direct contact with each other; speakers either tend to use

[4] Language data are marked throughout this paper based on the corpus metadata and follow a system of coherent annotation (s: sentence, c: from conversation, t: text excerpt).

a realization closer to Kivu Swahili (as the most dominant variety from the Congo in this area) or Tanzanian Swahili (ECS), dependent upon their communities of practice. In fieldwork sessions, when speakers were asked which realization was "more correct", anticipating that they would always opt for ECS as the standardized variety, they surprisingly replied that both would be fine, but that the context of their use would determine which one would be more practical; they thus viewed alternating phonemes, forms and structures as meaningful variation in situational language use[5] (Eloi N., Bryan M., interview excerpt 2017).

This makes it clear that the alternation between different realizations of Kiswahili in Bujumbura depends upon speakers' linguistic choices. As summarized by Lüpke & Storch (2013: 2), "choices depending on domains, contexts, addressees and many other factors have a large role to play in determining which register and repertoire will be used". They also argue that linguists have to critically revise their approach toward speakers and come up with "an actor-oriented perspective that acknowledges speakers' choices and experiences" (*ibid*.: 350). This also raises questions of 'knowledge': a speaker's 'means of speaking' (or heteroglossic repertoire) can be understood here as the speaker's ground of knowledge and set of ideologies that determine his/her linguistic choices. It is the single speaker who decides what (s)he uses and produces, how (s)he does it and why (s)he does it. This knowledge is performed as a fluid practice, described as "part of a complex and densely woven fabric, with holes in it and changing colours and embroidery" by Lüpke & Storch (2013: 346). Among Burundian Kiswahili speakers, this 'woven fabric' represents the divergent realizations that either sound more like Congolese Swahili or more like Tanzanian Swahili, yet with inconsistencies and not without exceptions and flaws. As could be observed, speakers have a constant tendency to correct themselves in interaction, and at times even offer both divergent and competing forms. And of course the former colonial languages still leave their traces in speakers' interactions: while Tanzanians, when speaking Kiswahili, have a tendency to borrow words from English (alongside the Arabic, Persian and other loanwords that are fully established in ECS) and Congolese from French (replacing Arabic loanwords with French words, too), Burundians may either borrow from French (as first choice), or from Kirundi (second choice), or even from English (as third choice).

In Bujumbura Swahili, the knowledge of different variants (and varieties of Kiswahili) refers not only to speakers' multilingual repertoires and the different languages at their disposal but also to competing lexical choices, and may lead to ambiguity or misunderstandings. In ECS, speakers use the verb *-nunua* in order to express 'to buy', while Congolese usually use the verb *-uza* for 'to buy', which in ECS means 'to sell'. If Congolese express 'to sell', they add a causative suffix, so the form then becomes *-uzisha*/*ujisha*. This

[5] I am grateful to one reviewer who suggested to understand this modality of multilingual communication and awareness – recurrent in many African settings – as a kind of "convivial multilingualism".

may not only cause confusion when the addressee is not quite sure whether his/her conversational partner currently makes use of the ECS or Congo Swahili lexeme, but may also require clarification. In the recorded texts and conversations, whenever words were ambiguous, the speaker would often repeat the word in Kirundi, or borrow from Kirundi right away in cases when (s)he anticipated any confusion. In some cases, speakers' choices depended upon similarities between the different languages, with a clear preference for the Kiswahili equivalent that was closest to Kirundi. One example may help to illustrate this: while ECS uses *shule* for 'school' (a lexical borrowing from German *Schule*), Congolese Swahili uses *masomo* (which would be understood as either 'studies' or 'subjects' in ECS); in Kirundi, *ishúri* (from Kiswahili, too) is commonly used – speakers therefore mostly opted for *shule*, rather than *masomo*. This, of course, does not always happen consciously, but is often triggered unconsciously, also due to linguistic accommodation, i.e. one's adaption toward the interlocutors' speech (see the following sections).

Moreover, the identification of urban youths with Kiswahili – and the increasing number of predominantly young speakers – can be understood as a form of enregisterment, "[t]he process by which a linguistic repertoire comes to be associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices" (Agha 2003: 232). Kiswahili is renowned as a language of urbanity, "modernity" and social progress (at least since Burundi joined the East African Community), whereas Kirundi is seen as the language of all fellow Burundians. This reputation of Kiswahili as the fashionable language used in music, video clips and soap operas from Tanzania, popular culture, etc., is in alignment with Agha's (2007: 81) concept of enregisterment, "whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population". Adolescent inhabitants of Bujumbura, and also of the capital Gitega and other towns, speak Kiswahili because it is known as a language of urban and creative minds, who, however, are often considered as liminal actors on the margins of society, such as barkeepers, street vendors, musicians, dancers and students. In its historical depth, Kiswahili is thus considered to be a disputed language; choosing to speak Kiswahili marks somebody therefore as potentially a member of one of the aforementioned communities of practice.[6] Moreover, it becomes evident that the processes of enregisterment around Kiswahili are bound to the urban spaces in which most Kiswahili speakers can be found. There are considerably fewer Kiswahili speakers in rural areas of Burundi.

[6] Interestingly, this perception of Kiswahili as a "modern" yet debated language (in terms of language attitudes) is not the case in other similar settings, such as Kisangani (DR Congo) or Arua (West Nile, Uganda). In Kisangani, Lingala is perceived as the language of fashion, music and urbanity, while Kiswahili is instead seen as a backward language and as the language of "tradition" and so forth, while in West Nile, Luganda is seen as the language of the capital and of the music business, while Kiswahili is historically associated with the time of Idi Amin and attracts less attention from younger speakers (see also the conclusion).

2.2 Language ideologies and linguistic accommodation

In Bujumbura, speakers' free choices are based on language ideologies that oscillate between different realizations of Kiswahili: Ideologies can be understood as means of linguistic differentiation (Irvine & Gal 2000) and as "underlying patterns of meaning, frames of interpretation, world views, or forms of everyday thinking and explanation" (Verschueren 2012: 7). Speakers' underlying ideologies are "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine & Gal 2000: 35). Ideologies as representations of self-localization and self-revelation trigger linguistic choices in specific pragmatic and social contexts. Bujumbura Swahili speakers' ideologies determine choices in relation to predefined degrees of normativity, whether they choose a realization that is rooted in a more standardized or acrolectal variety (ECS), a realization that is prone to interference from Kirundi, or a realization with salient Congo Swahili influence, especially in the nightlife of vibrant neighborhoods such as Buyenzi, Cibitoke, Bwiza etc., frequented by numerous Congolese partygoers. These different realizations mainly have to do with images of normativity (ECS) vs. deliberate norm-breaking (Congo Swahili, youth language). This is also addressed by Verschueren (2012: 8), who states that "ideology – and hence its discursive manifestation – balances description and prescription (both of which can be explicit and implicit to varying degrees)", involving "theories of how things are in combination with theories of how things should be". While Swahili is generally perceived as the language of lower strata within society – as can be explained sociohistorically (see Section 1) – the different realizations of Swahili are again based on divergent language ideologies bound to more or less standardized ways of speaking.

Thus, speakers' ideologies are based on different motivations. One speaker might aspire to sound like somebody "from the coast", thus aiming at a very standard-like and acrolectal realization of Swahili, maybe due to reasons of prestige in conversation, as a potential mirror of his/her higher education, or due to religious or personal beliefs. Another speaker may intend to sound like somebody who can speak and favors language as used in urban contexts in eastern DR Congo, thus using a more basilectal realization, for reasons of accommodation, for the purposes of business talk with vendors or sellers at the local market, or in order to impress somebody else by indexing local knowledge of a specific variety. A speaker's indexicality as someone fluent in different varieties of Swahili can thus be a versatile tool, especially in the context of violent conflict in contemporary Burundi (as of 2019/2020). Other speakers may use Swahili intentionally in order to break social rules and portray themselves as either impolite, rude, as social outcasts or as urban speakers. This may equally have to do with someone's search for identity or be due to his/her group affiliation.

Linguistic accommodation, a speaker's adaption toward his/her interlocutors, subsumes complex processes that are often summarized as "CAT" (communication accommodation theory), explained as follows (by Giles 2016: 1-2):

> CAT, initially known as speech accommodation theory (SAT), was first developed by Giles in 1971 to explain how we manage certain facets of interpersonal communication, particularly our choice of languages, accents, and dialects. (...) CAT proposes that speakers come to any interaction with an initial orientation, which is informed by past interpersonal and intergroup experiences, as well as the prevailing sociohistorical context. When socially connecting with others, speakers, writers, and texters adjust their communicative behavior based on evaluations of their fellow interactants' communicative characteristics, their own desires to conjure up or maintain a positive personal or social identity, and sometimes with a need to forge a particular affective tone. Each speaker and writer evaluates and makes attributions about the interaction, as well as about the other person, on the basis of their perceptions of that other's, as well as their own, communicative practices.

Giles differentiates here between specific 'accommodative moves' that include (1) convergence, (2) changing one's language due to inter- vs. intra-group affiliation, (3) accommodation to beliefs about where others are (from) and how others communicate, (4) accommodation to how others apparently expect/desire a speaker to be and how (s)he should speak, called speech complementarity, or, if things go wrong, (5) over-accommodation to someone else's speech. These non-accommodative moves include speech maintenance, divergence and under-accommodation (see Giles 2016: 2-4). Whereas the latter does not occur very often in Bujumbura, speakers reveal(ed) numerous accommodative moves, both in phonology and morphosyntax. These include pragmatic strategies (sales or purchase of goods) but also ideological ones: a Burundian speaker of Swahili may opt to use more standardized forms of Swahili once (s)he notices that the interlocutor in question uses less standardized forms, e.g. implying a higher degree of education, representing a higher social stratum and so forth. And, alongside any ideology, frequency plays a role: if in certain settings and domains a specific lexeme, form or structure is more commonly used (e.g. ECS habitual constructions in academic discourse held in Kiswahili at the University of Bujumbura) or less commonly used (ECS relative constructions at the central market, where one expects more "colloquial" or basilectal forms, e.g. Congo Swahili relativizing strategies), a speaker is most probably adapting his/her speech to this surrounding, also in response to frequency and the sociospatial surrounding.

2.3 Playing with language in the urban space: Metrolingualism

In today's Burundi, Kiswahili is a language that is associated with urbanity, youth culture and a modern lifestyle. Especially in the lively and densely populated neighborhoods of Cibitoke, Bwiza and Kamenge, Kiswahili is used by street vendors and youths in the street but also in the numerous *kabaré,* the local bars and night clubs. The language is no longer necessarily

seen as an in-group language of Muslim communities, as was the case for a long time. Instead, it can be understood as being interwoven with other language practices and linguistic forms that have given birth to a new creative bricolage, composed of languages including French, Kirundi-based slang, Lingala, Sheng and English. The phrase *Acha, sha… tulipiga dose trop, bro!* ('Just leave it, man… we got so wasted, brother!', [c1B8]) illustrates the use of Kiswahili as a metrolingual practice that also draws on multiple other resources, such as the Kirundi term of address *sha*, the relexified French *dose* and *trop* as well as the colloquial English term of address *bro*. The mix of numerous languages and their creative usage when speaking Swahili marks what Otsuji & Pennycook (2015: 2-3) describe as 'metrolingualism', summarized as "(...) metrolingual multitasking, a term we use to capture the ways in which linguistic resources, everyday tasks and social space are intertwined". In regard to the city as an urban playground, they (*ibid.*) state that

> this focus brings together metrolingual practices and the city, it is about getting things done, everyday language use and local language practices in relation to urban space (...). The focus on metrolingualism is part of our attempt to understand linguistic resources in relation to the city, to show how everyday multilingualism operates in markets, cafés, streets, shops and other social city scapes (...) metrolingualism describes the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language.

Tacke-Köster (2016: 49), in his analysis of Kirundi Slang, also observes – based on his research in Bujumbura – that "there is a wide range of linguistic repertoires to pick from. This range is a reflection of the metrolingual realities in Bujumbura, where Kiswahili, French and English meet and borders between these languages are constantly being crossed". In the Swahili of Bujumbura, a fluid continuum of realizations between Congo Swahili and Tanzanian Swahili, with additional influences from youth language practices (Kirundi Slang), these languages cannot be fully separated from each other, and the repertoires of most youths in Bujumbura (and potentially also the capital city of Gitega) constitute interwoven language practices, marking urban identity. Urbanity here is a key factor for a high degree of free variation.

A range of musicians, such as R Flow, T Max and Big Fizzo, compose and perform most of their songs in Kiswahili, too, and contribute to the increasing spread of Kiswahili among the younger generation. However, whenever Kiswahili is used by Burundian artists, its realization resembles much more standardized patterns of language use, i.e., ECS, than the Kiswahili actually used by other inhabitants of Bujumbura in daily interactions. This mainly has to do with status and linguistic prestige, due to the fact the usage of ECS is often associated with a higher educational background, and is linked to the successful Tanzanian Bongo Fleva movement, thus also reaching out to a Tanzanian market. Musicians therefore target audiences from Tanzania and Kenya rather than the Congolese audiences just across the border when using Kiswahili lyrics.

3. Phonological and morphosyntactic variation in Bujumbura

It is not only the sociolinguistic context of the variety of Kiswahili described that deviates from other related Kiswahili dialects, but also the phonological and morphological realization of the language, which has features that stem from both Tanzanian and Congolese Swahili, and has also adopted specific substrate features from Kirundi, the most widespread language in Burundi. Furthermore, there is a range of free variation, allowing speakers to choose one form/structure over another, depending upon the social context of interaction. While most of the available sources only touch upon sociolinguistic matters of language use in Burundi, Der-Houssikian (2009) also summarizes what he considers to stand out as the most salient features of the Burundi variety of Kiswahili. However, some of the morphosyntactic peculiarities actually stem from Congo Swahili varieties. This means that a more fine-grained analysis is necessary here, which differentiates between Tanzanian and Congolese features and looks at the patterns of their diffusion from a variationist angle.

3.1 Phonological features

The phoneme inventory reveals several free variations that do not exist in ECS and that correlate with the phoneme inventory of Congo Swahili varieties in areas adjacent to Burundi. This includes, specifically, the following variants:

(1)	*moja*	'one'	/mo**ɟ**a/	[ɟ] ~ [j] ~ [ʤ]
	hatari	'danger'	/hata**r**i/	[r] ~ [ɾ] ~ [l]
	kuishi	'to live'	/ku**h**iʃi/	Ø ~ [h]
	chupa	'bottle'	/**ʧ**upa/	[c] ~ [ʧ]
	lugha	'language'	/lu**ɣ**a/	[ɣ] ~ [ɠ] ~ [g]
	benye	'the ones who'	/**b**eɲe/	[ɓ] ~ [β] ~ [b]

While the substitution of the voiceless palatal stop [ɟ] with a glide [j], or less commonly with an affricate [ʤ], is a common process in neighboring varieties from the Congo (especially in Kivu Swahili, Lubumbashi Swahili etc.; see Nassenstein & Bose 2016, Ferrari *et al*. 2014) and is therefore a contact feature that occurs in free variation, even idiolectally in utterances of the same speaker, other variants can be explained as hypercorrection through analogy with other phonological processes.

Due to the fact that the consonant inventory of ECS includes both the trill /r/ and the lateral /l/, while Kirundi has no lateral /l/ except in few toponyms, speakers may at times use /l/ in cases where /r/ is expected, due to hypercorrection (and as phonological analogy). This means that /hatari/ is then realized as /hatali/ 'danger'. In analogy, speakers often replace <r> with <l> when writing, as for instance in *yiko na roho nzuli* [nzuːri] '(s)he has a good heart' [s82].

In Congo Swahili varieties, the word-initial or syllable-initial glottal fricative is often omitted (*harufu* is then realized as [ʔarufu] 'smell, scent'). While this may also occur in Burundian Swahili among those speakers who tend to realize Kiswahili in a more 'Congolese way', speakers more commonly do the opposite: a prothesis or epenthesis of the glottal fricative /h/ occurs, also due to hypercorrection; speakers thus assume that in word-initial or stem-initial position before a vowel, /h/ is common, as is the case in syllable onsets in Kirundi. This leads to realizations such as [kuhiʃi] instead of ECS [kuiʃi] 'to live'. Both, however, are perceived as correct among Burundians. This, among other phonological processes, can be understood as speakers' reaction to processes known from Congo Swahili (the omission of the glottal fricative in initial position), and as their strategy to replicate strategies from Kirundi, which is in many cases the first language a speaker learns.

Probably also as a contact feature from Kirundi, the free variation of the palatal stop /c/ and the palatal affricate /ʧ/ often occurs in recorded speech, as in *chenye* [ceɲe] and its variant [ʧeɲe] (relativizer of noun class 7). This, however, has no emblematic value for speakers, as qualitative interviews revealed.

The free variants of the fricative /ɣ/ and the stop /g/ are based on a regular despirantization in contact varieties (Congo, Uganda, etc.), changing /luɣa/ to /luga/, or in some parts of DR Congo even to /luka/,[7] whereas both are considered to be free variants in Burundi. Speakers associate the realization of /ɣ/ with ECS and consider it to be part of the inventory of a Swahili acrolect, while they commonly see /g/ [g ~ ɠ] as a typical Congo Swahili realization. In contrast, the spirantization of /b/, especially in word-initial position, realized as [β], is a contact feature from Kirundi, where the bilabial fricative is frequently found.

Moreover, certain phonological processes known from Kirundi are replicated in Swahili by multilingual speakers and are common in Bujumbura Swahili. Dahl's Law, a widespread sound rule in some Bantu languages, especially from areas JD and JE, is recurrent in Burundian Swahili (unlike ECS). This dissimilation process, copied from Kirundi, affects the quality of voiced or voiceless stem-initial consonants and their impact on other affixes of the word, changing *kusonga* to *gusonga* 'to move forward' (2a). The same applies to noun class prefixes 7 *gi-/ki-* and 12 *ga-/ka-*, and often also to variation in the realization of the second singular object prefix *gu-/ku-* (2b). While this occurs frequently, it has to be noted that not all speakers realize this dissimilation process in all contexts.

[7] In analogy with this process, the fricative /ð/, also found in ECS, is realized as the stop /d/ or, less often, as the fricative /z/.

(2) a. *vérité ya kwenda mbele, ya gusonga mbele* [mbeɾe]

ø-vérité	i-a	ku-enda	mbele,	i-a	ku-songa	mbele
NP9-truth	PP9-CON	INF-go	forth	PP9-CON	INF-move	forth

'the truth of/about going forth, moving forth (progressing)' [t1s2]

(2) b. *ukiongeza, ndagupiga boxe*

u-ki-ongez-a	n(i)-ta-ku-pig-a	boxe
SP2SG-COND-add-FV	SP1SG-FUT-OP2SG-hit-FV	boxing.match

'If you add to that/continue like this, I will box you.' [s233b]

Apart from Dahl's Law, the Swahili spoken in Bujumbura reveals processes that are also found in Congo Swahili varieties and occur more often, such as the epenthesis of laterals, often combined with epenthetic vowels, changing the syllable structure of a word. ECS *kuamka* 'to awaken' becomes *kulamuka*, ECS *kukaa* 'to sit down, to live' becomes *kuikala*, and ECS *taa* 'lamp' becomes *tala*. While the morphology of the language reveals numerous free variations whose realization depends upon a speaker's choices in interaction (ECS vs. Congo Swahili), epenthetic laterals are realized with the majority of speakers. However, interestingly, when this is realized as in neighboring Congo Swahili, the subject marker also has to be realized as in Congo Swahili (SP2 *ba-* instead *wa-*, see ex. [3] with both realizations).

(3) *balilamuka avant* vs. *waliamka avant*

ba-li-lamuk-a	avant
SP2-PST-awaken-FV	before

'they woke up early (/earlier)' [s345]

Another feature that is characteristic of the speech of younger people is the deletion of the final vowel *-a*, especially in clause-final constituents, leading to closed syllables, which are uncommon in many Bantu languages (4). A similar process can also be found in Lingala, the most widespread language in DR Congo, and in the Swahili spoken in Kisangani. The discursive function of this phonological process has not yet been investigated in more detail.

(4) *Ah, ndugu, nikakos(a)!* [nikakós]

ah	N-dugu	ni-ka-kos-a
INTERJEC	NP9-sibling	SP1SG-CONS-miss-FV

'Ah, buddy, I missed (out on that)!' [c1B2]

While ECS has neither lexical nor grammatical tone, Bujumbura Swahili replicates prosodic features of Kirundi in some contexts. In Rwanda-Rundi (JD.60), past tense is marked with a prefix *-a-* that precedes the verb stem and differs in its prosodic quality LT *-a-* vs. HT *-á-* according to the distinction between near past (LT) and remote past (HT). As it seems, some speakers tend to realize the Swahili past tense prefix *li-* or the (rare realization of) perfect aspect *lisha-* at a higher pitch, which is then realized as [ɾí] or [ɾíʃa] when marking pluperfect

or referring to events that occurred before more recent events (5). Similar patterns of transfer from local languages into Kiswahili are also reported by Kaji (this volume).

(5) *balishabiomba* [βaɾíʃaβjomba] *mu gouvernement ya Burundi*
ba-lisha-bi-omb-a mu ø-gouvernement i-a Burundi
SP2-PRF-OP8-ask.for-FV LOC18 NP9-government PP9-CON B.
'they had already demanded them [the things] in/from the Burundian government' [t1s10]

3.2 Morphosyntactic features

The Kiswahili spoken in Bujumbura is marked by several features in its nominal (noun classes, pronominal forms etc.) and verbal morphology (subject and object marking, tense and aspect), which will be briefly discussed in the following paragraphs. However, no exhaustive analysis can be provided at this point due to the limited scope of this overview paper.

3.2.1 The noun phrase

As the most striking feature of Burundian Swahili, the noun class system reveals numerous variant forms (see Table 1) in the realization of class prefixes, depending upon the conversational context, which will be discussed in the following. In the column that contains the nominal prefixes of Bujumbura Swahili (in the table BjS), the prefix listed first denotes the more acrolectal, or more Tanzanian-sounding, form, while the second one represents the more basilectal or Congolese-sounding form (due to the fact that they also occur in those varieties).

Table 1: The noun class system of Bujumbura Swahili

NC	NP BjS		Example	ECS
1	*m-*	*mu-*	*mtoto* vs. *mutoto* 'child' [s148]	*m-*
2	*wa-*	*ba-*	*watoto* vs. *batoto* 'children' [s900]	*wa-*
3	*m-*	*mu-*	*mti* vs. *muti* 'tree' [s713a-b]	*m-*
4	*mi-*		*miti* 'trees'	*mi-*
5	*ø/ji-*	*li-/ri-*	*yayi* vs. *liyayi* 'egg' [s1066, s1068]	*ø/ji-*
6	*ma-*		*mayayi* 'eggs' [s974b]; *mafuta* 'oil, fat'	*ma-*
7	*ki-/gi-*		*kitu* 'thing'; *kijiwe* 'large rock' [s1272]	*ki-*
8	*vi-*	*bi-*	*vitu* vs. *bitu* 'things'; *bijiwe* 'large rocks' [s1272]	*vi-*
9	*ø/N*		*safari* 'trip'; *nguruwe* 'pig'; *nguo* 'cloth' [s1245]	*ø/N*
10	*ø/N*		*nguruwe* 'pigs' [s987a-b]; *nguo* 'clothes' [s426] **or** PL in noun class 6: *manguo* 'clothes' [s1009]	*ø/N*
11	*u-*		*uwanja* 'courtyard' [s675]	*u-*
12	*ka-/ga-*		*kadudu* 'tiny insect' [s1121]; *kademu* 'small girl' [c2B4]; *katabouret* 'small stool' [s694]	---
13	*tu-*		*tudemu* 'ugly girls' [c2B5]	---
14	*u-*	*bu-*	*uchafu* [s1121] vs. *buchafu* 'dirt'; *ukweli* 'truth'; *butabouret* 'small stools' [s694]	*u-*

15	*ku-*	*kulia* 'crying' [s272]	*ku-*
16	---	---	*pa*
17	*ku*	*kwetu* '(at) our home' [s1006b]	*ku*
18	*mu*	*mu nyumba* 'at home' [s122]	*mu*

These include, in the singular classes 1 and 3, two variants with and without vowel syncopation (*mu-* → *m-*), the prefix *mu-* being one of the most emblematic features of Congo Swahili varieties, in contrast to ECS. Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993: 554) state that this process "is most complete in Swahili, Mwani and Southern Mijikenda", classifying this as "being a recent phenomenon throughout Sabaki", without listing any exceptions for Kiswahili. In Congo Swahili, the current use of *mu-* as nominal prefix in all varieties can be understood as being the effect of a 'reintroduction', in analogy with surrounding Bantu languages (see Gibson *et al*., this volume), rather than a retention, due to the fact that Kiunguja had already undergone *mu-syncopation when it spread throughout the Congo basin. The free variants of noun class 1 are exemplified below, with (6a) representing the realization oriented toward ECS, and (6b) toward Congo Swahili.

(6) a. *ule mtu ni kipofu*
u-le m-tu ni ki-pofu
PP1-DEM3 NP1-person COP NP7-blind
'that man is blind' [s191a]

b. *mutoto wako amenyamba mu nyumba*
mu-toto u-ako a-me-nyamb-a mu N-yumba
NP1-child PP1-POSS2SG SP1-PRF-defecate-FV LOC18 NP9-house
'your child has defecated inside of the house' [s122]

Noun class 2 reveals the emblematic variants *wa-* ~ *ba-* (7), as used in the ECS and Congo Swahili regiolects, respectively. As will be explained in more detail with regard to their subject prefixes (Section 3.2.2), each form is highly indexical of a specific lect, and thus becomes meaningful in interaction (see also Bose, this volume, for the use of these variants in Kivu Swahili). As demonstrated in the example, speakers often correct themselves, mostly when adapting NP2 *ba-* toward a more acrolectal NP2 *wa-* (including nominal modifiers).

(7) *banamuziki, wanamuziki wa Burundi wako na tatizo nyingi sana*
ba-anamuziki, wa-anamuziki u-a Burundi wa-ko na ø-tatizo
NP2-musician NP2-musician PP2-CON B. SP2-COP COM NP10-problem
N-ingi sana
PP9/10-QUANT very
'Musicians ... from Burundi have many problems' [t1s1]

Apart from the above-mentioned variations, the noun class system also reveals variation in noun class 5. First of all, speakers differentiate between a more acrolectal realization with the

null prefix (ø-) or *ji-* (corresponding with the ECS form) and an analogous prefixation of *li-* (also where null would be used in ECS), as in (8). At times *li-* is only prefixed to the adjective, though, as in *uko na pua likubwa* 'you have a large nose' [s11], though. The regular prefix *li-* is recurrent in neighboring Kivu Swahili, too, while *li-* and *ri-* occur as free variants (as in Lubumbashi; see Ferrari *et al*. 2014).[8]

(8) *uko na lisikio likubwa*
u-ko na li-sikio li-kubwa
SP2SG-COP COM NP5-ear AP5-big
'you have a large (swollen) ear' [s13]

Besides its common semantic grouping of tools, concrete objects, languages and types of behavior, noun class 7 serves to form augmentatives (see example 9), a characteristic strategy of evaluative morphology that is copied from neighboring Kivu Swahili (see Nassenstein & Bose 2016: 8). Shepardson (1982: 56) states that ECS speakers use "ø-/ji-/ma- and m-/mi-prefixes that mark augmentation", thus class pairs 5/6 and 3/4, respectively. Noun class 8 further reveals the free variants *vi-* ~ *bi-*, whereof the latter is the more widely used one but equally the less prestigious realization, due to its association with Congo Swahili.

(9) *Uliona kile kijiwe?*
u-li-on-a ki-le ki-jiwe
SP2SG-PST-see-FV PP7-DEM3 NP7-stone
'Did you see that large/huge rock over there?' [s1272]

Unlike in ECS, where no diminutive class is operational but where it is "the ki-/vi- prefixes which mark diminution" (Shepardson 1982: 56), most Congo Swahili varieties mark diminutives in the singular in noun class 12 with the prefix/clitic *ka*= (examples 10a-b), in the plural in class 13 with the prefix/clitic *tu*=, or in class 14 with the prefix/clitic *bu*=, which is not uncommon in Bantu (Gibson *et al.* 2017). This distinction between 13 and 14 is semantically motivated: plural nouns in class 13 take on a pejorative reading (see ex. 11), while plural marking in class 14[9] commonly only has a diminutive connotation (ex. 12). This fine-grained

[8] This also has an impact on the realization of the past tense prefix *li-*, which is often realized as *ri-*.

[9] Unlike in ECS, the noun classes 11 (*u-*) and 14 (*u-/bu-*), reconstructed for Proto-Bantu as *du and *bu, do not reveal identical/merged prefixes – historically explained by Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993: 553) as "following loss of *l and *w" in all varieties of Swahili except Mwiini – due to the different functions assigned to class 14, which serves both as singulative class for abstract nouns (*ukweli* 'truth') and as a plural class for diminutives (as explained). In most Congo Swahili dialects, the opposition of class 11 and 14 is even more visible in the reintroduced prefixes *lu-* (class 11) vs. *bu-* (class 14) from the surrounding Bantu languages. In Bujumbura Swahili, *bu-* as diminutive plural can be considered a contact feature from Congo Swahili. While 11/10 is a common singular-plural class pair in Bujumbura Swahili, 14/6 is not (cf. de Wolf 1971: 44).

distinction is adopted by most Burundian Kiswahili speakers[10], due to the fact that it allows more precision than the ECS system, where diminutives can either be expressed with a class shift to classes 7/8 (Gibson *et al.* 2017: 352), or with the help of qualitative adjectives. Moreover, morphological diminutives are also used in Kirundi, functioning with the same noun classes (12-13/12-14). In this case, therefore, the indexical difference between a more Congolese-sounding realization of Kiswahili vs. a more Tanzanian-sounding kind of Kiswahili vanishes – or is limited to slight patterns of variation as in example (12c) – most likely due to the fact that the use of diminutives/pejoratives allows a subtler semantic specification. Abstract concepts in noun class 14 (*ulozi* 'witchcraft' etc.) that have no morphological plural, however, retain their prefix *u-* (example 12b; see also Figure 1).

(10) a. *kale katabouret kako kwa*[11] *Edgar*
ka-le ka=tabouret ka-ko ka-a Edgar
PP12-DEM3 NP12=stool SP12-COP PP12-CON E.
'that small stool is Edgar's' [s694]

b. *kakiki kalinichekesha sana*
ka=kiki ka-li-ni-chek-esh-a sana
NP12=monkey SP12-PST-OP1SG-laugh-CAUS-FV very
'the small monkey really made me laugh' [s1001a]

(11) *alikutana na tule tudemu*
a-li-kutan-a na tu-le tu=demu
SP1-PST-meet-FV COM PP13-DEM3 NP13=girl
'he met those ugly girls' [c2B5]

(12) a. *Leta bule butabouret!*
let-a bu-le bu=tabouret
bring-IMP:FV PP14-DEM3 NP14=stool
'Bring those small/tiny stools!' [s694]

[10] While this distinction (and the splitting of plurals into two semantically dichotomous classes with the functions pejorative vs. diminutive) can be commonly observed, in alignment with Kivu Swahili and to some extent also Rwanda-Rundi varieties (but unlike ECS), some speakers would not make this distinction clearly. According to their judgment, both classes could have a potential diminutive *and* pejorative reading, as is also the case in the youth language practice Kirundi Slang: *"Entre* bu- *et* tu- *il n'y a pas nécessairement une différence parce que tous les deux sont pour désigner le mépris ou la petitesse… aussi, ça existe en slang kirundi, par exemple* turya tudemu turi powa*, ou* burya budemu buri powa*"* [between *bu-* and *tu-*, there is not necessarily a difference because both denote depreciation or smallness… this also exists in Kirundi slang, for example *turya tudemu turi powa* 'those thin/short girls are alright', or *burya budemu buri powa* 'those thin/short girls are alright']. (Eloi N., interview excerpt, April 2016). This discrepancy again shows the high number of free variants in Bujumbura Swahili.

[11] It can be assumed that the speaker erroneously produced the wrong connective *kwa* where *ka* would be expected. I used the correct form in the interlinearization. If *kwa* is intended, the translation should be 'for Edgar'.

b. *uchawi haiwezi kusaidia kitu hata kidogo*
u-chawi ha-i-wez-i ku-saidia ki-tu hata ki-dogo
NP14-black.magic NEG-SPX-can-NEG:FV INF-help NP7-thing even AP7-small
'black magic cannot even help a little bit' [s924b]

c. *juu ya uchafu* [s1141] ~ *juu ya buchafu* [s1121]
juu i-a u-chafu juu i-a bu-chafu
due.to PP9-CON NP14-dirt due.to PP9-CON NP14-dirt
'due to dirt'

As another characteristic feature of the noun class system of Bujumbura Swahili, the locative classes (16-18) need to be mentioned. While they are functional in terms of agreement in ECS (with demonstratives, possessives, locative possessives etc.), Burundian Swahili only reveals two locative markers that precede the head noun, in agreement with classes 17 (*ku*) and 18 (*mu*) (see ex. 13a-b), with class 16 only occurring in demonstratives *hapa, hapo* and *pale* 'right here, (over) here, there'. This is a characteristic feature of neighboring Kivu Swahili. In Bujumbura, these locatives are considered free variants of the ECS post-final locative *-ni* (13c) and the locative marker *katika* ('in') ([13d]; yet with a temporal notion in the example), which, however, are less frequently used. Since speakers tend to use all four locative markers, according to the recorded data, the use of *ku/mu* therefore does not necessarily index lower prestige, nor a speech style associated with Congo Swahili.

(13) a. *sina nguvu za kwenda ku masomo*
si-na N-guvu zi-a ku-enda ku ma-somo
SP1SG:NEG-have NP10-strength PP10-CON NP15-go LOC17 NP6-lesson
'I do not have the strength (emphatic) to go to the lessons/to school' [s1579]

b. *ule mtu yiko na chawa mingi mu kichwa*
u-le m-tu i-ko na ø-chawa mingi mu ki-chwa
PP1-DEM3 NP1-person SPX-COP COM NP9-louse QUANT LOC NP7-head
'that man has many lice on his head' [s1119]

c. *twende kitandani nasikia usingizi*
tu-end-e ki-tanda-ni na-siki-a u-singizi
SP1PL-go-SBJV NP7-bed-LOC SP1SG:PRS-feel-FV NP11-sleep
'let's go to bed, I feel sleepy' [s696]

d. *sumu yake inauwa katika dakika tano*
ø-sumu i-ake i-na-uw-a katika ø-dakika tano
NP9-poison PP9-POSS1 SP9-PRS-kill-FV in NP9-minute NUM
'its poison kills within five minutes' [s1111b]

In a few cases, *ku* and *mu* are replaced with *kwa* and *mwa* (14a-b), allomorphs that are not attested for ECS and that are formed with a locative and connective *-a*, not to be confused with

ECS *kwa* 'to, toward, for' (for *mwa*, see also example 18a). Hypothetically, these are cases of analogical application from Rwanda-Rundi, where "*o-* of reference" (Ashton 1944) with a pronominal prefix *byo, wo* etc., can be followed by locative markers and then expresses a general locative belonging (as in *ibitábo byo kw'ishúri* 'books belonging to/from the school'; see Bose & Nassenstein 2016: 10).

(14) a. *ule kijana aliiba kwa boutique yako*

u-le	ki-jana	a-li-ib-a	ku-a	ø-boutique	i-ako
PP1-DEM3	NP7-young.man	SP1-PST-steal-FV	LOC-CON	NP9-shop	PP9-POSS2SG

'that young man stole from your shop' [338]

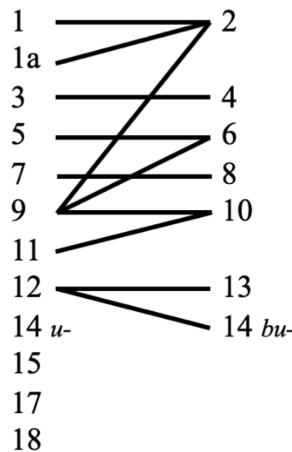
b. *nimeona kiboko kwa bahari Tanganyika*

ni-me-on-a	ki-boko	ku-a	ø-bahari	Tanganyika
SP1SG-PRF-see-FV	NP7-hippopotamus	LOC-CON	NP9-ocean	T.

'I have seen a hippopotamus in (the specific part of) Lake Tanganyika' [s996a]

Noun class pairing in Burundian Swahili is illustrated in Figure 1; it becomes evident that most class pairs function in analogy with ECS, with some slight differences, as discussed below.

Figure 1: NC pairing in Bujumbura Swahili



NP9 can at times form its plural in noun class 6 (see also Table 1), which has to be considered a general pattern of linguistic change in Kiswahili, and not only in Burundi. In these cases, however, PP and agreement of noun class 10 are retained, despite the use of NP9 *ma-*. Example (15a) shows the regular pattern, while (15b) shows the deviating plural marking strategy. Hypothetically it can be assumed that NP6 *ma-* develops into a general plural marker, as can be observed in several Kiswahili varieties.

(15) a. *zile nguo zinafanana sana*
zi-le N-guo zi-na-fanan-a sana
PP$_{10}$-DEM3 NP$_{10}$-cloth SP$_{10}$-PRS-resemble-FV very
'those clothes look very similar'[s426]

b. *panya imekula manguo zangu zote*
ø-panya i-me-kul-a ma-N-guo zi-angu zi-ote
NP$_{9}$-mouse SP$_{9}$-PRF-eat-FV NP$_{X:PL}$-NP$_{9}$-cloth PP$_{10}$-POSS$_{1SG}$ PP$_{10}$-QUANT
'a rat ate all my clothes' [s1009]

Apart from most kinship terms, terms for human social relationships such as *rafiki* 'friend'/ *adui* 'enemy' etc. are morphologically allocated to noun class 9 but usually take noun class 1 agreement, as in ECS. Contini-Morava (2008: 166) states that they take noun class 6 prefixes in the plural, as for these cases "the kinship pattern has also been extended more broadly" and they "are being treated grammatically in a way that is analogous with other kinship terms". However, in Bujumbura Swahili, they often form their plural in noun class 2, with the prefix *ba-* (never with its variant *wa-* or the noun class 6 plural *ma-*), as is common in DR Congo. This levelling process treats the lexemes that usually reveal "breaks in class agreement" (Schadeberg 1992: 21)[12], as in PL *ma-rafiki, ndugu* (with noun class 10 agreement on possessives and quantifiers) etc. like regular nouns of classes 1a/2 (ex. 16).[13]

(16) *Muache kugombana bandugu/barafiki!*
mu-ach-e ku-gomb-ana ba-N-dugu/ ba-ø-rafiki
SP$_{2PL}$-leave-SBJV INF-quarrel-RECP NP$_{2}$-NP$_{9}$-sibling NP$_{2}$-NP$_{9}$-friend
'Stop fighting each other, brothers/buddies!' [s465a]

With regard to nominal modifiers that reflect either patterns of deviation from neighboring varieties or the internal variation between a more Congo-oriented vs. a more Tanzania-oriented realization of Kiswahili, demonstratives and quantifiers have to be (briefly) mentioned.[14] Pronominal forms are prone to a high degree of variability, following the same opposition between more standardized and less standardized realizations. While Schadeberg

[12] Amidu (1997: 50) refers to these as "paradoxes in Kiswahili class systems" while Heine (1982: 194-195) makes the well-known distinction between mechanic vs. semantic agreement. Contini-Morava (2008: 128) states that "human relationship terms are associated with a bewildering array of agreement patterns when they are modified by an adjacent pronominal possessive".

[13] Marten (2000) further clarifies the complexity of agreement in Swahili, especially with regard to 'conjoined noun phrases', divided into 'morphological agreement', 'anaphoric agreement' and 'syntactic agreement'.

[14] Interestingly, the fossilized qualitative adjectives (without *mu-syncopation) found in Congo Swahili, where agreement has to be carried by the connective (*-a muzuri* 'good', *-a mubaya* 'bad', *-a murefu* 'long, tall', *-a kabambi* 'big, large', etc.), do not occur very frequently in Burundian Swahili. In most cases, adjectives take class agreement as in ECS.

(1992: 18) mentions the free variants *mimi* ~ *mie*[15] etc. for ECS as well, Congo Swahili has only retained the latter form. In Bujumbura, the difference then becomes at times meaningful (being reminiscent of ECS vs. Congo Swahili; see footnote 15). For substitutives (of noun classes 3-15), demonstratives are used in Burundian Swahili.

Demonstratives in Bujumbura Swahili follow the general threefold distinction made in ECS (see Okoth Okombo & Habwe [2007], Schadeberg [1992: 18], separated in the latter into proximal hV-Cd [*hizi*], referential hV-Cd-o [*hizo*] and non-proximal Cd-le [*zile*]). However, in Bujumbura Swahili, the order of modifiers is not flexible and the demonstrative always has to precede the head (17a-c), which is the case in Kiswahili as spoken in the neighboring Kivu provinces, too. There is no variation (ECS vs. Congo Swahili) to this rule.

(17)	a. *hii mbwa*	'this dog (over here)'	DEM1	[s991]
	b. *iyo kuku*	'this chicken (over there)'	DEM2	[s974a]
	c. *ile ngombe*	'that cow (far away)'	DEM3	[s958]

Possessive determiners follow the ECS system, which means that "when the possessor is [-animate] there is only one form for all classes [...] parasitic on class 1", namely *-ake* (Schadeberg 2001: 12), whereas impersonal possessors in Kirundi and neighboring Kivu Swahili require forms that incorporate the connective and substitutive (*-a* + *-o*), e.g. *mizizi zazo* 'their roots [possessor: trees]' in Kivu Swahili (Nassenstein & Bose 2016: 22) vs. *mizizi yake* in ECS. Following the ECS system here can be seen as the more intuitive (Kiswahili) pattern.

The universal quantifier (*-ote*) reveals no deviant patterns from ECS apart from a simplification in agreement (co-referring *yote* for noun classes 5, 9 but also noun class 2, etc.), while *kila* is practically absent. Using *kila*, as explained by speakers in interviews, would be a clear feature of ECS and would thus be considered as an acrolectal realization. The expression of 'many/much', however, reveals free variants which either follow the Congolese model and lack agreement (using *batu mingi* 'many people'), or the ECS pattern with functioning agreement (*watu wengi*). In contrast with neighboring Kivu Swahili speakers, Burundians do not make use of a strategy that marks agreement on the connective (*batu ba mingi, bitu bya mingi* 'many things' etc.). Marking agreement on *-ingi* is seen as an acrolectal realization (18a-b; see also example 7), for instance when interacting with Tanzanians or with those who have spent a long time in Tanzania, while the invariable *mingi,* as explained by speakers, triggers associations with Congo Swahili and is often used by a speaker when the interlocutor is thought to originate from across the border (18c-d).

[15] Compare for instance the variants of emphatic personal pronouns (absolute pronouns) in Bujumbura Swahili:

1st person	SG *mimi ~ miye / mi*	PL *sisi ~ siye*
2nd person	SG *wewe ~ weye / we*	PL *nyinyi ~ nyiye*
3rd person	SG *ye(ye)*	PL *wao ~ bao*

(18) a. *kuna magugu mengi mwa hii shamba lako*
ku-na ma-gugu ma-ingi mu-a hi-i ø-shamba li-ako
LOC17-have NP6-weed AP6-QUANT LOC-CON DEM1-PP9 NP5-field PP5-POSS2SG
'there are many weeds on this field of yours' [s1176]

b. *Kibira yetu yiko na wanyama wengi*
Kibira i-etu i-ko na wa-nyama wa-ingi
K. PP9-POSS1PL SP9-COP COM NP2-animal AP2-QUANT
'our [forest] Kibira has many animals' [s1258]

c. *avocats ziko mingi sana sokoni*
ø-avocat(-s) zi-ko ø-mingi sana ø-soko-ni
NP10-avocado-PL SP10-COP APX-QUANT very NP9-market-LOC
'there are very many avocados in the market' [s1634a]

d. *nataka maji mingi*
na-tak-a ma-aji ø-mingi
SP1SG:PRS-want-FV NP6-water APX-QUANT
'I want a lot of water!'[s1639b]

3.2.2 The verb phrase

While most object and object prefixes do not reveal any salient differences from ECS, there are a few deviations which will be discussed in the following. Among the most obvious free variants are the subject markers of noun class 2, *wa-* ~ *ba-* (19a-b), in analogy with the variation found among the forms of noun prefixes. Here, as already noted, the lexeme – whether this is a variant from Congo or from Tanzania – decides on the subject concord: if speakers employ the verb *kuuza* (see Section 2.1) with the meaning of 'to buy, to purchase' (as done in Congo, in contrast to ECS where it has the meaning 'to sell'), then the inflected verb will take more Congolese-sounding subject concords, i.e. *mu-* and *ba-* but not *m-* and *wa-*. In all other cases, speakers are free and usually orient their speech toward i) their interlocutor, ii) their intuition about what would sound "more appropriate" in the interaction in question; or they would base it on iii) their knowledge of distinctions of Congo Swahili and ECS. This then leads to variation in the speech of a single speaker, as in *Ndio mana hivi* ***wa****tu* ***we****ngi* ***wa****mekimbiya,* ***we****ngine* ***wa****kauwawa juu ya nini?* ('Thus, this is why many people were running/fleeing, what were others killed for?' [t1s10]), or, when more oriented toward Congo Swahili, (...) ***ba****tu* ***ba*** *mingi* ***ba****mekimbiya,* ***be****ngine* ***ba****kauwawa* (...). This adaptation has to do with speakers' knowledge of and about different Kiswahili varieties and their indexical value (e.g., a more acrolectal variety with higher prestige vs. a more basilectal variety as triggering more sociability with "peripheral" speakers from DR Congo etc.).

(19) a. *sijui kama wanakula escargot*
si-ju-i kama wa-na-kul-a ø-escargot
NEG:SP1SG-know-NEG:FV if SP2-PRS-eat-FV NP10-snail
'I don't know if they (usually) eat snails' [s1094]

b. *alakini mpaka hivi, habajapata solution*
alakini mpaka hi-vi ha-ba-ja-pat-a ø-solution
but until DEM1-PP8 NEG-SP2-PRF:NEG-get-FV NP9-solution
'but so far, they have not found a solution' [t1s10]

Subject prefixes of class 9[16] appear as the variants *i-* and *yi-* (20a-b), whereby *yi-* occurs more often with the copula[17] and *i-* on full verbs; this pattern of variation is neither found in Congo Swahili varieties nor in ECS. These forms also occur as free variants in object position, with a slightly higher frequency of *yi-* over *i-*, as could be ascertained from the corpus (most probably due to the intervocalic environment) (21a-b).

(20) a. *ile pusi inawinda panya*
i-le ø-pusi i-na-wind-a ø-panya
PP9-DEM3 NP9-cat SP9-PRS-hunt-FV NP10-mouse
'that cat (over there) chases mice' [s993]

b. *utachora mtoto yiko anacheza mpira*
u-ta-chor-a m-toto i-ko a-na-chez-a m-pira
SP2SG-FUT-draw-FV NP1-child SP1-COP SP1-PRS-play-FV NP3-ball
'you will draw a child that is playing (foot)ball' [s897]

(21) a. *Tortue yiko pale, una(y)iona?*
ø-tortue i-ko pale u-na-i-on-a
NP9-turtle SP9-COP over.there SP2SG-PRS-OP9-see-FV
'The turtle is over there, do you see it?' [s1108]

[16] A phenomenon that will not be discussed in more detail in the present paper is the increasing use of co-referring and non-agreeing subject prefixes, substituting subject concords of classes 3 (*u-*), 7 (*ki-*), 5 (*li-*) and 11/14 (*u-*) with the prefix of noun class 9 (*i-/yi-*), understood as simplified agreement. With regard to noun classes 11/14, this does not come unexpectedly, as "[c]lass 11 does not control any agreement of its own" (Schadeberg 1992: 21), and class 14 likewise, taking noun class three agreement in ECS, and class 9 agreement in many simplified varieties. The same change applies to the plural prefix of noun class 10 (*zi-*), which tends to replace more and more subject concords of other plural classes. Whenever co-referring and invariable affixes occur in the data discussed, they are marked as SPX, PPX etc. in the interlinearization. This is a tendency known to occur in urban settings and youth registers in Swahili (see Shinagawa 2007, Nassenstein & Bose in press).

[17] Here, the form that occurs in example (20b) marks a (periphrastic) progressive, whose formation will be explained in the paragraphs below on tense and aspect.

b. *nguruwe, nameshayikula sana*
N-guruwe na-mesha-i-kul-a sana
NP9-pig SP1SG-PRF-OP9-eat-FV very
'I have already eaten/tried a lot of pork (many times)' [s987]

Interestingly, animals as animate referents trigger varying subject prefixes on the verb, as can be seen in examples (22a) and (22b). While Ashton (1944: 82) states for ECS that "most animals take the Concordial Prefixes of the M- WA- Classes", Kivu Swahili treats animals as regular concepts of class pair 9/6, i.e. they require noun class 9 agreement in the singular, in alignment with numerous other Bantu languages where animate concord is not common and concord patterns are "strictly determined by the class of the noun 'without regard to lexical semantics' (Maho 1999: 129)" (Contini-Morava 2008: 162). Agreement of animals with noun class 9 can thus be seen as a more Congolese way of speaking (in Kivu Swahili) or may actually be a contact feature from Kirundi (Meeussen 1959: 61), while agreement with noun class 1 is influenced by ECS. Both forms occur in Burundians' realizations of Kiswahili.

(22) a. *Piga hii mbwa isikule mtu!*
pig-a hi-i N-bwa i-si-kul-e m-tu
beat.IMP:FV DEM1-PP9 NP9-dog SP9-NEG-eat-SBJV NP1-person
'Beat this dog so that it won't bite anyone!' [s991]

b. *mbwa akifoka ujue kuna kitu karibu*
N-bwa a-ki-fok-a u-ju-e ku-na ki-tu karibu
NP9-dog SP1-COND-bark-FV SP2SG-know-SBJV LOC17-have NP7-thing near
'when a dog barks, you know there is something nearby' [s1036a]

Another characteristic feature is the subject prefix *a-* that marks agreement with nouns of class 6, as shown in (23a-b). This is a regular feature which is not prone to variation, and can be seen as replication from Kirundi (Meeussen 1959: 61), occurring throughout Rwanda-Rundi (JD.60), with nouns of class 6 also triggering the concord *a-* on verbs.

(23) a. *mazishi ya leo alikuwa marefu*
ma-zishi i-a leo a-li-kuw-a ma-refu
NP6-burial PP6-CON today SP1-PST-be-FV AP6-long
'today's funeral was long' [s949]

b. *maisha anakuwa mabaya ukikosa chakula*
ma-isha a-na-kuw-a ma-baya u-ki-kos-a ki-kula
NP6-life SP6-PRS-be-FV AP6-bad SP2SG-COND-lack-FV NP7-food
'life is bad if you lack food' [s238b]

Apart from deviations in subject and object marking in the verb phrase, reflexive markers, too, do not always correspond with ECS *ji-* (reconstructed to Proto-Bantu as *i-). Very often,

speakers replace the Kiswahili reflexive with the Kirundi prefix *i-*, due to interference, which then results in vowel gliding of the infinitive prefix *ku-* → *kw-*. This is then perceived by speakers as a regular phonological process, subsequently leading to lengthening of the reflexive [iː]. In example (24), the speaker notices that he has uttered *kwifunza* instead of the expected *kujifunza* (ECS), pauses for a second and continues with another reflexive *i-* in *kwiweka* 'to put oneself'. This contact-induced feature reveals no further variation in terms of salient ECS or Congo Swahili speech styles.

(24) *ata wakaanza kwifunza* (...) *kwiweka ndani ya masomo sasa*

ata	wa-ka-anz-a	ku-i-funza	ku-i-weka	ndani	i-a
even	SP2-CONS-begin-FV	INF-REFL-teach	INF-REFL-put	inside	PP9-CON

ma-somo	sasa
NP6-lesson	now

'they even teach themselves ... put themselves into classes now' [t2s121]

The forms of the copula show a merged form of the existential copula (25a) and locative copula (25b) for 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural (*-ko*) and classes 3-18, while only the existential copula for animate referents (third singular/plural; noun classes 1 and 2) can take the form *ni.* This is a common development in numerous contact varieties in the Kiswahili-speaking world, and especially in Congo Swahili regiolects. The third person [+animate] therefore marks the crucial difference as to whether one sounds more like other speakers from DR Congo, or more like those from Tanzania (25c). All forms of 'to have' also make use of -*ko* and the comitative *na*, while only the negated forms are used as in ECS (*sina, huna,* etc.).

(25) a. *mpanga wake hauko makali*

m-panga	u-ake	ha-u-ko	makali
NP3-machette	PP3-POSS1	NEG-SP3-COP	sharp

'his machette is not sharp' [s871b]

b. *Mkuki wangu uko wapi?*

m-kuki	u-angu	u-ko	wapi
NP3-spear	PP3-POSS1SG	SP3-COP	ITRG

'Where is my spear?' [s785]

c. *yiko baridi* vs. *ni nyeupe*
'(s)he is cold' [s1553b] 'it [the animal] is white' [s1556]

Temporal and aspectual categories in Bujumbura Swahili differ from ECS due to specific patterns that are retained, or rather 'reintroduced' (see Marten & Gibson 2015) from Congo Swahili varieties. In the domain of tense and aspect, too, speakers' language use reveals several free variants that are either reminiscent of Kivu Swahili (DR Congo) or of Tanzanian Swahili. Only a few basic differences will be summarized here.

The present tense is commonly formed with the prefix *na-* (15c), which (commonly) expresses progressive aspect in ECS, while it has taken over the function of general present in Kivu Swahili. *Na*-forms can, however, also express habitual aspect (19a), or at times progressive aspect (13c). The first person singular reveals a merged form *na-* instead of **ni-na-*. This tense formation is commonly applied by most Burundians, and is closer to the Congo Swahili realization. The general present with the prefix *a-*, also rare in ECS[18], is not used in Burundi.

Progressive aspect either remains unmarked (formed with the same prefix *na-* as the present tense), which indexically refers to the acrolect, or the more commonly used periphrastic formation with the copula *-ko* followed by a fully inflected verb in the present tense (26a). At times this can be shortened, omitting the subject prefix on the second verb, which is in alignment with the progressives used in Congo Swahili. If speakers therefore intend to sound more like Congolese Swahili speakers (for various reasons), and due to the fact that most Burundians employ the periphrastic progressive with *-ko*, they will then drop the subject marker on the second (full) verb as in *niko (ni-)nazunguka, uko (u-)nazunguka* 'I am/you are wandering' etc. (26b); those who do not are at times associated with a more acrolectal realization (according to speakers). Furthermore, the clipped form occurs in fast speech.

(26) a. *wako wanajenga*[19] *daraja lipya*

wa-ko	wa-na-jeng-a	ø-daraja	li-pya
SP2-COP	SP2-PRS-build-FV	NP5-bridge	AP5-new

'they are building a new bridge' [1298]

b. *niko na-zunguka mtaani tu*

ni-ko	na-zunguk-a	m-taa-ni	tu
SP1SG-COP	PRS-wander-FV	NP9-neighborhood-LOC	only

'I am just wandering around in the neighborhood' [s845]

The past tense, both with reference to near events (recent past) as well as when referring to events that happened long ago (remote past),[20] is realized as {SP-li-V-FV}. In Congolese Swahili, a shift – or functional split – in remoteness occurred: ECS remote past *li-* became recent past in the Congo (see also Kaji, this volume). In Congo Swahili, the distinction between recent (*li-*) and remote past is expressed with the suffixed pre-final *ak-*, which then operates as a circumfix together with past tense *li-* referring to events that happened long ago. In Bujumbura Swahili, *li-* also refers to both recent and remote past (27a), and is mostly not further modified (no suffixation of *-ak*). However, when speakers either intend to stress the remoteness of

[18] As pointed out by one reviewer, along the coast this is mainly used in TV broadcasts and newspapers.

[19] While the construction type is the same in Congo Swahili as in (26a), the form for noun class 2 referents is realized as *biko* (ba+iko) *na-jenga*. This is an exception.

[20] The narrative/consecutive tense *ka-* does not reveal any differences from its use in both DR Congo and Tanzania, despite the application of Dahl's Law in specific cases (*agafika* '[s]he then reached' [s53]).

an event that occurred in the past, express its imperfectivity or copy a Congolese-sounding way of speaking, they do use the pre-final -*ak*. This is, however, a rare feature.

(27) a. *mlozi aliuwa watu wengi hapa kwetu*
m-lozi a-li-uw-a wa-tu wa-ingi hapa ku-etu
NP1-witchdoctor SP1-PST-kill-FV NP2-person AP2-QUANT here LOC17-POSS1PL
'the witchdoctor killed many people here at our place (recently/long ago)' [s411]

b. *Eloi alipataka pesa ngapi?*
Eloi a-li-pat-ak-a ø-pesa n-gapi
E. SP1-PST-get-IPFV-FV NP9-money AP9-ITRG
'How much money did Eloi take (that time long ago)?' [s817b]

The perfect aspect can either be formed with the common prefix *me*- (28a) or can occur as *mesha*- or *lisha*-, with *mesha*- being the most frequently used form, presented abstractly as {SP-me(sha)/lisha-FV}. However, all these variants are derived from a verb *-mala (see Furumoto, this volume), while grammaticalization can be attested for the variants *mesha*- and *lisha*-, as also for *sha*- in other varieties (developing a functional category from the verb -*kwisha* 'to finish'; see Marten 1998). In the Congo, the most commonly used form is *lisha*- in the Kivu provinces and Kisangani, and a shortened prefix *sha*- in the Kiswahili variety from Bunia/Ituri (Nassenstein & Dimmendaal 2020). The realization of *lisha*- instead of *mesha*- in the Congo can be explained with the functional split of the past tense *li*- into recent past and remote past (adding the imperfective suffix -*ak*), abolishing ECS *me*-. The differences between these variants in Bujumbura Swahili are thus subtle: those speakers who tend to realize – or adapt to – a more Congolese speech style will more often make use of *lisha*- as the marked form, while the unmarked form is *me(sha)*-, as in example (6) *balishabiomba* 'they had already demanded them', which then also triggers the Congolese-sounding SP2 *ba*- over *wa*-.

Moreover, the perfect aspect can also have an experiential sense (as in 'Have you ever...?) 28b-c), in some cases alternating with a completive reading. Again, it becomes obvious that the prefix *me*- can – in a few contexts – also refer to recent past events (without any traceable resultative or completive reading) (28d).

(28) a. *nimeona gisanya kwa kitanda chako*
ni-me-on-a gi-sanya ku-a ki-tanda ki-ako
SP1SG-PRF-see-FV NP7-bedbug LOC17-CON NP7-bed PP7-POSS2SG
'I have seen (/found) a bedbug in your bed' [s1120]

b. *Nani ameshakula mnyama ya kondoo?*
nani a-mesha-kul-a m-nyama i-a ø-kondoo
ITRG SP1-PRF-eat-FV NP1-animal PPX-CON NP9-sheep
'Who has ever tried [a] mutton?' [s969]

c. *Umeshaona punda kwa macho?*
u-mesha-on-a ø-punda kwa ma-acho
SP2SG-PRF-see-FV NP9-donkey by NP6-eye
'Have you ever seen a donkey with your own eyes?' [s986]

d. *Umekula nini jana usiku?*
u-me-kul-a nini jana u-siku
SP2SG-PRF-eat-FV ITRG yesterday NP11-night
'What did you eat last night?' [s140]

Burundian speakers reveal slight variations in the first person singular subject prefix with verbs in the future tense, using *n+ta-* (29) and *n+da-*, which is a contact feature from Kivu Swahili (*ndasoma* 'I will study'), and stands in clear opposition to more standard-like forms, such as *nitasoma* {SP-ta-V-FV}.

(29) *ntarudia kesho jioni*
ni-ta-rud-i-a kesho ø-jioni
SP1SG-FUT-return-APPL-FV tomorrow NP9-jioni
'I will return tomorrow night' [s153a]

Habitual aspect, marked with an invariable prefix *hu-* in ECS, reveals two different patterns of formation in Burundi: {SP-na-V-FV} and {SP-na-V-ak-FV}. Speakers who are oriented toward Tanzania, or aim at reproducing more acrolectal speech in interaction, will make use of the present tense prefix *na-* with a null-marked habitual (30a-b). Those whose speech incorporates more elements from neighboring Congolese dialects, tend to use – even though this is scarce in the corpus – a circumfix consisting of present tense *na-* and the pre-final imperfective *-ak* (30c); this form is common in numerous Bantu languages, and has been reintroduced in Congo Swahili (from Lingala or other Bantu languages) (see Nurse [2008], Abe [2009] for its functions, and Nassenstein & Bose [in press] for its widespread occurrence in Kiswahili). The absence of a morphological habitual prefix shows the simplification of Bujumbura Swahili; the use of the present tense prefix *na-* is therefore expanded and also covers habitual states and iterative events.

(30) a. *naogopa kukula bata sana*
na-ogop-a ku-kula ø-bata sana
SP1SG:PRS-fear-FV INF-eat NP9-duck very
'I (generally) fear eating duckmeat a lot' [s980]

b. *Kawaida munavuna mwezi gani?*
kawaida mu-na-vun-a mu-ezi gani
usually SP2PL-PRS-harvest.maize-FV NP3-month ITRG
'In which month do you usually harvest maize? [s757a]

c. *ile ndege inarukaka mbali sana*
i-le N-dege i-na-ruk-ak-a mbali sana
PP9-DEM3 NP9-bird SP9-PRS-fly-IPFV-FV far very
'that bird flies very far (all the time/continously)' [s1071]

3.2.3 Syntactic variation: Relative clauses

The only syntactic feature that will be mentioned here is relative constructions, as they have attracted interest in understudied Kiswahili varieties and sociolects in recent times, due to the increasing use of a relativizer *-enye* (see Shinagawa, this volume). In Burundi, speakers employ three strategies, which can be sorted hierarchically on the basis of frequency (rates of occurrence in the corpus): (1) *-enye*, (2) a null form (ø), and less often, the strategy (3) {SP-TAM-RC-V-FV}. Only the latter is discussed by Schadeberg (1989: 33) in his overview of ECS (besides {SP-V-RC} and the *amba-* form). Speakers who make clear reference to Congo Swahili, even though they may vary between SP2 *wa-* vs. *ba-* (*wenye* vs. *benye* [t1s5]), thus tend to use the (more colloquial) *-enye* construction (31a-b) or a null form (31c), while those whose realization of Kiswahili is closer to ECS make use of the third strategy with the prefixed *o-* (31d-e).

(31) a. *Chakua ile mbuzi mbio yenye tutakula kesho!*
chagu-a i-le m-buzi mbio i-enye tu-ta-kul-a kesho
choose-IMP PP9-DEM3 NP9-goat fast PP9-RC SP1PL-FUT-eat-FV tomorrow
'Choose the goat well that we are going to eat tomorrow!' [s965]

b. *hakuna chenye tunaita droit d'auteur*
ha-ku-na ki-enye tu-na-it-a droit d'auteur
NEG-LOC17-have PP7-RC SP1PL-PRS-call-FV copyright
'there is nothing like what we call copyright' [t1s6]

c. *vers ni kadudu kanakuja juu ya uchafu*
ø-vers ni ka-dudu ø ka-na-kuj-a juu i-a u-chafu
NP9-worm COP NP12-insect RC SP12-PRS-come-FV due PP9-CON NP14-dirt
'a worm is a small insect that comes due to dirt' [s1121]

d. *nimeshasahau yote uliyonambia*
ni-mesha-sahau i-ote u-li-yo-ni-ambia-a
SP1SG-PRF-forget PP9-QUANT SP2SG-PST-RC9-OP1SG-tell-FV
'I have forgotten everything you told me' [s266a]

e. *nitafata chochote utachosema*
ni-ta-fat-a chochote u-ta-cho-sem-a
SP1SG-FUT-follow-FV PP7.anything SP2SG-FUT-RC7-say-FV
'I will follow/do anything you will tell me' [s504]

4. Outlook: Toward a study of Kiswahili in contexts of high variability

The preliminary overview of the main sociohistorical and linguistic features of the Burundian variety of Kiswahili has revealed patterns of high variability, ranging from a context-dependent realization closer to ECS to realizations with features from Kivu Swahili. While speakers are commonly well aware of the striking differences between the two varieties, known as Standard Swahili (or, subsumed under ECS) and Congo Swahili, in Burundi the boundaries are not clear at all and constitute a fluid continuum used by speakers (which is characteristic of the urban space of Bujumbura). In interaction, speakers often accommodate their speech style to their interlocutor, depending on whether this person originates from DR Congo or Tanzania. In elicited sentences, ECS is more often realized, as might be expected, while in free speech, both varieties are used interchangeably. Describing the Kiswahili of Bujumbura therefore means taking speakers' accommodation practices into consideration, and studying their social motivations, too.

In Bujumbura, the (fluid) use of a Kiswahili that is prone to idiolectal and situational variation can be understood as the expression of an urban identity and of an indexical practice, referring to different youth cultures (especially of Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Goma/Bukavu), or to more acrolectal speech styles associated with language use in coastal areas of Tanzania. Moreover, the increasing use of Kiswahili in the city expresses urban inhabitants' wish for integration within the East African Community. Kiswahili as used by young Burundians reveals numerous free variations on the lexical and phonological level, as well as several retained forms from ECS and recent innovations from Congo Swahili (especially as used in the neighboring Kivus), particularly with regard to nominal morphology and verbal inflectional categories.

Altogether, the fluid continuum of Kiswahili realizations in Bujumbura resembles the situation in other Kiswahili-speaking areas in Africa that are affected by language contact scenarios. In Kisangani Swahili (DR Congo), speakers' orientation plays a major role in terms of their morphosyntactic realization, i.e. whether their idiolectal realizations are more oriented toward Lingala or Kiswahili, depending upon the context of their language use and their interlocutors as well as their language ideologies. In Bunia Swahili (DR Congo), language use is highly emblematic with regard to ethnicity: differences between a basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal realization of this variety of Kiswahili mark a speaker's positionality in interaction. In the West Nile region (Uganda), different realizations of Kiswahili compete as well: while the unmarked choice would be a simplified (see Miner 2002) 'military Swahili', speakers of Nilo-Saharan languages such as Kakwa, Lugbara, etc. often replicate specific features of these non-Bantu languages when using Kiswahili. All these settings, including Bujumbura, are contact corridors where Bantu and non-Bantu languages (Nilo-Saharan, Indo-European, Ubangian) are spoken and where differences between ways of speaking Kiswahili either become emblematic or represent substitutive choices.

Forthcoming in-depth studies (or a grammatical sketch, despite the difficulty inherent in compiling such an overview because of the degree of variation found in the Kiswahili from Bujumbura) have to focus more profoundly on lexical and grammatical variation as well as on the pragmatics of language use in Burundian Swahili.

Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
ø	null prefix
1	agreeing with noun class 1
1/2/3PL	first person plural etc.
1/2/3SG	first person singular etc.
AP	adjectival prefix
BjS	Bujumbura Swahili
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
CON	connective
COND	conditional
CONS	consecutive/narrative
COP	copula
DEM1/2/3	demonstrative (proximal etc.)
DR Congo	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECS	East Coast Swahili
FUT	future tense
FV	final vowel
HT	high tone
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INTERJEC	interjection
IPFV	imperfective aspect
ITRG	interrogative
JD/JE	Bantu subclassifications
LOC	locative
LT	low tone
NC	noun class
NEG	negation
NP	nominal prefix
NUM	numeral
OP	object prefix
POSS	possessive
PL	plural
PP	pronominal prefix
PRF	perfect
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
QUANT	quantifier
RC	relative concord
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SP	subject prefix
SBJV	subjunctive
V	verb
X	non-agreeing/co-referring

References

Abasheikh, Mohammad I. 1978. The Grammar of Chimwini Causatives. PhD thesis, University of Illinois.

Abe, Yuko. 2009. The use of -ag- in colloquial Swahili in Tanzania: Report of a preliminary survey conducted in 2008. *Corpus Analysis and Variation in Linguistics*, ed. by Yuji

Kawaguchi, Makoto Minegishi & Jacques Durand. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp. 299-313.

Agha, Asif. 2003. The social life of a cultural value. *Language and Communication* 23: 231-273.

Agha, Asif. 2007. *Language and Social Relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Amidu, Assibi A. 1997. *Classes in Kiswahili: A Study of their Forms and Implications*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Ashton, Ethel O. 1944. *Swahili Grammar (Including Intonation)*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Belt, Lianne. 2010. How linguistic features and social arrangements can interrelate: The position of Swahili and its speakers in Bujumbura. *Researching Africa: Explorations of Everyday African Encounters*, ed. by Mirjam de Bruijn & Daniela Merolla. Leiden: African Studies Centre. pp. 76-88.

Bose, Paulin Baraka & Nico Nassenstein. 2016. Morphosyntactic core features of Kivu Swahili: A synopsis. Afrikanistik & Ägyptologie Online (AAeO) 2016. [https://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de] (last accessed on 27-02-2020).

Contini-Morava, Ellen. 2008. Human relationship terms, discourse prominence, and asymmetrical animacy in Swahili. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 29: 127-171.

Der-Houssikian, Haig. 2009. Innovations on the fringes of the Swahili-speaking world: Observations from Bujumbura. *The Languages of Urban Africa*, ed. by Fiona McLaughlin. London/New York: Continuum. pp. 178-190.

de Wolf, Paul. 1971. *The Noun Class System of Proto-Benue-Congo.* Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Ferrari, Aurélia, Marcel Kalunga & Georges Mulumbwa. 2014. *Le Swahili de Lubumbashi. Grammaire, textes, lexique*. Paris: Karthala.

Gibson, Hannah, Rozenn Guérois & Lutz Marten. 2017. Patterns and developments in the marking of diminutives in Bantu. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 26(4): 344-383.

Giles, Howard. 2016. Communication accommodation theory. *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy*, online version. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118766804.wbiect056 (accessed on 20-02-2020)

Gumperz, John J. 1972. Introduction. *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, ed. by John Gumperz & Dell Hymes. Oxford/New York: Blackwell. pp. 1-25.

Gumperz, John J. (ed.) 1982. *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd. 1982. African noun class systems. *Apprehension: Das sprachliche Erfassen von Gegenständen*, ed. by Hansjakob Seiler & Christian Lehmann. Tübingen: Gunter Narr. pp. 189-216.

Henderson, Brent. 2010. Chimwiini: Endangered status and syntactic distinctiveness. *Journal of West African* Languages 37(1): 75-91.

Irvine, Judith & Susan Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities and Identities*, ed. by Paul Kroskrity. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press. pp. 35-83.

Karangwa, Jean de Dieu. 1995. Le Kiswahili dans l'Afrique des Grands Lacs. Contribution Sociolinguistique. PhD thesis, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales Paris.

Kisseberth, Charles & M. I. Abasheikh. 2004. *The Chimwiini Lexicon Exemplified.* Tokyo: ILCAA.

Kitumboy, L.W. Hamis. 1960. Kiswahili usages in Congo Belge & Ruanda Urundi. *Swahili* 31: 227–230.

Kitumboy, L.W. Hamis. 1961. Swahili in Ruanda Urundi and Congo Republic. *Swahili* 32: 65-66.

Lüpke, Friederike & Anne Storch. 2013. *Repertoires and Choices in African Languages.* Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Marten, Lutz. 1998. Swahili *-kwisha*: sketching the path of grammaticalization. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguitics and Phonetics* 8: 141-163.

Marten, Lutz. 2000. Agreement with conjoined phrases in Swahili. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 64: 75-96.

Marten, Lutz & Hannah Gibson. 2015. Morphosyntactic retention and change: Insights from African youth languages. Paper presented at the 2nd Conference on African Urban Youth Languages, Kenyatta University, 11–13 December 2015.

Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mazrui, Ali A. & Alamin M. Mazrui. 1995. *Swahili State and Society. The Political Economy of an African Language.* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Meeussen, Achille Emile 1959. *Essai de grammaire Kirundi*. Tervuren: Musée Royal du Congo Belge.

Miner, Edward A. 2002. Discursive constructions of KiSwahili speakers in Ugandan popular media. Political Independence with Linguistic Servitude: The Politics about Languages in the Developing World, ed. by Samuel Gyasi Obeng & Beverly Hartford. New York: Nova Science Publishers. pp. 53-73.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1979. The context is the message: morphological, syntactic and semantic reduction and deletion in Nairobi and Kampala varieties of Swahili. *Readings in Creole Studies*, ed. by Ian F. Hancock, Edgar Charles Polomé, Morris F. Goodman & Bernd Heine. Ghent: E. Story-Scientia. pp. 111-127.

Nassenstein, Nico. 2015. *Kisangani Swahili. Choices and Variation in a Multilingual Urban Space.* Munich: LINCOM.

Nassenstein, Nico. 2017. Kirundi Slang – Youth identity and linguistic manipulations. *Sociolinguistics in African Contexts: Perspectives and Challenges*, ed. by Augustin Emmanuel Ebongue & Ellen Hurst. New York: Springer. pp. 247-267.

Nassenstein, Nico. 2019. Kinyarwanda and Kirundi: On colonial divisions, discourses of national belonging, and language boundaries. *Modern Africa: Politics, History and Society* 7(1): 11-40.

Nassenstein, Nico & Paulin Baraka Bose. 2016. *Kivu Swahili Texts and Grammar Notes.* Munich: LINCOM.

Nassenstein, Nico & Gerrit J. Dimmendaal. 2020. Bunia Swahili and emblematic language use. *Journal of Language Contact* 12: 823-855.

Nassenstein, Nico & Paulin Baraka Bose. in press. Morphological features in Kiswahili youth language(s): Evidence from Dar es Salaam, Goma, Lubumbashi and Nairobi. *Linguistics Vanguard* 2020.

Nurse, Derek. 2008. *Tense and Aspect in Bantu.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nurse, Derek & Thomas J. Hinnebusch. 1993. *Swahili and Sabaki: A Linguistic History*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Okoth-Okombo, Duncan & John Hamu Habwe. 2007. Pragmatic strategies in the use of Kiswahili demonstratives. *Swahili Forum* 14: 81-88.

Otsuji. Emi & Alastair Pennycook. 2015. *Metrolingualism. Language in the City*. New York: Routledge.

Pawliková-Vilhanová, Viera. 1996. Swahili and the dilemma of Ugandan language policy. *Asian and African Studies* 5(2): 158-170.

Polomé, Edgar C. 1967. *Swahili Language Handbook*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Polomé, Edgar. C. 1971. The Katanga (Lubumbashi) Swahili creole. *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. by Dell Hymes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 57-61.

Pugach, Sara E. B. 2012. *Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond*, 1814–1945. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 1989. The three relative constructions in Swahili (Sanifu). *Le Swahili et ses limites*, ed. by Marie-Françoise Rombi. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations. pp. 33-40.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 1992. *A Sketch of Swahili Morphology*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 1995. Swahili und die Sprachen von Mosambik. *ABP (Afrika-Asien-Brasilien-Portugal)* 1: 30-39.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 1997. *De Swahili-talen van Mozambique.* Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 2001. Number in Swahili grammar. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 68/*Swahili Forum* VIII: 7-16.

Shepardson, Kenneth N. 1982. An integrated analysis of Swahili augmentative-diminutives. *Studies in African Linguistics* 13(1): 53-76.

Shinagawa, Daisuke. 2007. Notes on the morphosyntactic bias of verbal constituents in Sheng texts. *HERSETEC: Journal of Hermeneutic Study and Education of Textual Configuration* 1(1). 153–171.

Tacke-Köster, Alexander. 2016. Kirundi Slang – Linguistic Practices in Bujumbura. MA thesis, University of Cologne.

Verschueren, Jef. 2012. *Ideology in Language Use. Pragmatic Guidelines for Empirical Research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.