

A Sociolinguistic Study of Words and Expressions in the Domain of Blacksmiths

Julius Suh Ayancho

Abstract: This paper seeks to discuss the jargon of blacksmiths. Blacksmiths exercise their duties in the domain of the forge which used to play and still plays an important role in the society. This is a sociolinguistic study which investigates fifty five words and expressions drawn from the blacksmith domain in two prominent communes, Burambi and Rumonge, in Burundi. In spite of the fact that this study was motivated by my observation of the prominence of the blacksmiths' jargon in the two communes under study, illustrations are made with reference to other countries and other continents. This is to show that a jargon is not only localized but it is global. My main objective among others is to ensure that the art of blacksmithing which has existed for a long time should not be forgotten especially by the young generation which is supposed to take the relay baton from the old generation. From West Africa, blacksmithing spread to most, if not all the continents of the world and it paved the way for modern technological advancement which has facilitated life in various domains of human life. Jargon falls in the domain of language, which is an integral part of human life. Wherever people reside, language exists because they need to interact. A speech community uses language whereas people in any given profession use a code which is a jargon. This paper goes a step further to highlight the impact that the means of communication of blacksmiths has on language use at the local, national and international levels. The paper rounds off with the recommendation that the domain of blacksmithing should not be ignored but should be paid attention since it provided the foundation for the technology which the people of today rely on for sustenance.

Keywords: Discuss the jargon of blacksmiths, Study of Words and Expressions.

This paper focuses on the forge, that is, blacksmithing, which saw the light of day as part of the solution to people's daily activities that were carried out with the help of wooden implements. Here I posit the fact that the domain of blacksmiths had its origin from West Africa in a period referred to by Ross (2002) as "The Age of Iron in West Africa". It should, however, be noted that blacksmithing is not limited to West Africa but also to other parts of the world amongst which is the Philippines (Gerra 2013). Since every human activity is always accompanied by language which has as constituents words, this paper dwells on lexemes in the field of forge. These lexical items are those that blacksmiths of Burundi use in the execution of their professional tasks. Lexemes constitute the basis of any language; thus, this paper seeks to build a foundation for sociolects and jargons which form an integral part of sociolinguistic studies (Ammon, 2004). Also, I can say that a sociolinguistic study like this is within the sphere of variation in language and language use (Putz et al, 2013).

Modern technology has brought about advances and changes in various domains among which is the sphere of forge. When we talk of forge we are in the scope of blacksmithing. The domain of blacksmithing was vital and is still very essential in the lives and daily activities of people. Blacksmithing refers to the transformation of iron materials from one form to another. That is to say, a blacksmith can transform a formless metal into a pot or any kitchen utensil with the use of bellows. Forge falls within the ranks of technology which is traditional, rather than modern. From the perspective of etymology it is stated thus:

Blacksmiths emerged in Western Africa around 1500 BC. They are feared in some societies for their skill in metalworking, which is considered a form of magic, but universally revered by for their technological pioneering. While common people fear the power of the blacksmith, they are highly admired and hold high social status.

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blacksmiths_of_Western_Africa)

I can, thus, say that the domain of forge has existed from time immemorial in spite of the fact that it is not very popular today for reasons which will be discussed later. It is important to note that any human activity is accompanied by a means of communication, thus, the sphere of blacksmiths is not an exception. It is for this reason that I will discuss some lexical items from the blacksmith domain in Burundi, that is, specifically in Burambi and Rumonge communes. These two communes are special in Burundi because they constitute the habitats of a large number of blacksmiths. The following are examples of lexemes related to the forge in the above-mentioned communes in Burundi: **amakara**, **icokezo**, **ikimano**, **inyundo**, **umotozo**, and **umuvuba** which stand for **charcoal**, **hearth**, **tongs**, **a hammer**, **a drill**, and **bellows** respectively in English. More of such words are discussed later on in this paper. This paper handles forge words in Burundi as a microcosm of the world at large. Since no country is an island in itself, what obtains in one country is a reflection of what goes on in other areas. The forge domain is quite spectacular in Burundi. The picture below throws light on the focus of this paper.



Source: A Research Student, Niyungeku Augustine, under my supervision

Picture1: A Burundian Blacksmith at his workplace

According to <https://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/forging.html>, forging is the “manufacturing process in which a piece of (usually hot) metal is formed into the desired shape by hammering, pressing, rolling, squeezing, and other such operations in one or more forging equipment”. This definition stresses the fact that forging involves the heating of a metal in order to transform it from one form into another. It also concerns the process of straightening or smoothening a metal object or container. One should not confuse the definition of forging in the context of use in this paper with the act of making or producing an illegal copy of something so that it looks genuine, usually for financial gain. Forging in the scope of this paper handles the technical process of heating metals to produce attractive and useful objects and implements.

The rationale for choosing this topic was that I observed how the traditional forge is gradually going out of focus in the technical domain. This is occasioned by the fact that modern technology has hypnotized everyone, both the young and the poor. The reasons are many among which I can cite ease, speed, comfort, and attraction. As a basis for this study, I investigated the jargon of Blacksmiths in two communes of Burundi: Burambi and Rumonge, and came up with an inventory of fifty five words and expressions (Cf. corpus in the appendix section at the end of this paper).

Any domain as well as the activities involved is accompanied by a code of communication. This code of communication is language, which is technically referred to as a jargon. It is in this light that this paper focuses on the words and expressions in the domain of blacksmiths, and specifically those of Burundi. Though this activity of blacksmith started in Western Africa (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blacksmiths_of_Western_Africa [op.cit]), it had spread to other parts of Africa (Burundi included) before experiencing its downward trend. It has also extended its tentacles to the Asian Continent, specifically in the Philippines (Gerra, 2013).

As far as the components of this topic are concerned we have the following words and expressions: sociolinguistic study, words and expressions, and blacksmith. If we examine the expression, “sociolinguistic study”, we will realize that the two components, “sociolinguistic” and “study” are very topical. The word, “sociolinguistic”, is the adjectival form of the vocabulary item, “sociolinguistics”. By analyzing the word, “sociolinguistics”, two principal parts come to the limelight: society and linguistics. Society can be defined as a group of people who live together. They are not brought together haphazardly. They live as a community because they share a number of issues and qualities. Some of the things that people of the same society can share include language, culture, dressing habits, food, drinks, and music. Society is defined as “The community of people living in a particular country or region and having shared customs, laws, and organizations” (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/society>). This component of the topic relates to the modern world in that people irrespective of the era live in societies. People from time immemorial lived in societies and those in the modern world also live in societies.

The other part of the word, “sociolinguistics”, is “linguistics”. Linguistics is the scientific or systematic study of language. That is to say, linguistics is the study of language with a sense of focus. It is a study of language based on the observation of phenomena, investigation, and analysis of data to come up with a theory. Linguistics has as focal point, language. According to Plag (2009: 210) linguistics is “a general understanding about how language works, i.e. what kinds of structural entities language consists of and how these entities interact with each other to create that highly complex system we call language”. Linguistics, thus, studies language from a scientific perspective which allows us to view the internal organization of the language or the group of languages concerned.

Sociolinguistics can be described from a global perspective as one of “three different fields of linguistics, namely historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics”(Plag, op. cit.:227). Sociolinguistics is that branch of linguistics which is easily experienced in the society. This is because it deals with language as it is used in the society. In this case the knowledge of the language alone does not suffice; the language user needs to be conversant with the context of the language use. Since sociolinguistics handles the examination of language as it is used in the society, then, it relates to modern world. This relation is seen in the fact that the modern world is dominated by language. People of the modern world constitute themselves in various groups: professions, religions, politics, races, and ages. Each profession has its jargon which is peculiar to its needs in the execution of their daily tasks. The blacksmiths of Burundi also have their jargon which is analyzed in this study.

As far as the component of study is concerned, I can say that it has to do with work that is the result of research or an investigation. The study in this context is based on sociolinguistics; the means of expression of a professional group of people whose role in the society, though dwindling, cannot be ignored. This professional group of blacksmiths produces products which are solid and, thus, serve as durable substitutes of wooden and clay products. Every worthy study requires

profound groundwork so that its results can be useful to the specific population it targets and the society at large. Study is also defined as “Systematic research, examination, identification, and understanding of the aspects or factors associated with an activity, event or phenomenon”(http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/study.html). This study investigates the words and expressions that blacksmiths use while executing respective tasks. The component, study, is commonplace in the modern world. This is explained by the fact that studies are carried out in various domains of modern life, be they in medicine, engineering, agriculture, or social studies.

The other component of this topic is made up of “words” and “expressions”. The jargon of blacksmiths in Burundi, like the language of any other group of people, is comprised of words and expressions. The following are examples: **uruzino**, **ikaburimbo**, **kugabanya intimba z’icuma**, and **gucuma inyundo** which are English renditions of “**water for quenching hot metals**”, “**tar**”, “**to reduce the thickness of a metal**”, and “**to shape the head of a hammer**”(cf. appendix for more). This component of “words” and “expressions” is related to the modern world. This relation is seen in the fact that every human activity is accompanied by language and each language is composed of words and expressions.

With respect to the component of “blacksmith”, I can state that even though the blacksmithing domain originated from Western Africa (Ross, 2002); it is neither limited to Western Africa nor to the African Continent. The blacksmithing activity is also operational in the American and European continents (http://www.stormthecastle.com/blacksmithing/blacks-mithing-throughout-the-ages.htm /http://www.anvilfire.com/FAQs/apprenticeships.htm). With its relation to modern world, it can be said that blacksmithing paved the way for the technology which is influencing the world of today (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blacksmiths_of_Western_Africa).

In terms of additional relevant details about this topic I can say that the blacksmiths under study use their jargon to sing while working. When this is done the burden of their task is lightened especially as the duty of blacksmiths is very demanding physically. The advent of blacksmithing led to the production of tools like knives, machetes, and axes. This laid the foundation for the advanced technology which is conquering the world today. This implies that blacksmithing provided solutions to problems which wooden and clay materials could not. My focus in this topic is “the words and expressions” that the blacksmiths either use while working or give to their tools and products. These words and expressions serve many purposes among which are “means of communication”, “source of unity”, “means of providing shelter for their secrets”. As a means of communication, blacksmiths use their jargon to transmit what is in their minds from one person to another in their profession. This ties in with this definition which states, “Jargon usually means the specialized language used by people in the same work or profession” (http://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/jargon). As a source of unity, blacksmiths use their language for in-group identification. That is to say, when blacksmith use their jargon, they consider themselves as brothers and sisters. With respect to the use of jargon as a means of providing shelter for their secrets, blacksmiths use some of these words and expressions in the presence of outsiders, with the non-professionals being unable to comprehend their discussion. This is normal because any profession has its secrets; blacksmithing is not an exception. The following are pictures of some of the blacksmith tools and products under study:



Picture 2: Uruganda rw’iciriro = A forge



Picture 3: Icuma c'icuriro = An anvil



Picture 4: Ishoka = An axe



Picture 5: Umotoboza = Drills

It is worthy to indicate here that Pictures 2 and 3 above are blacksmith equipment whereas Pictures 4 and 5 are blacksmith products. The fifty five words and expressions which I have come up with after my investigation fall in three main categories: forge equipment (tools) and forging products as exemplified above. The third category constitutes words and expressions that are generally related to the blacksmithing activity.

The blacksmithing words and expressions can be summarized in the three main groups as follows: Group one is made up of words and expressions of forge equipment: **icokezo** = hearth, **ikimano** = tongs, **inyundo** = a hammer, **ityazo** = a whetstone, **umotoboza** = a drill, **umuvuba** = bellows, **amakara** = charcoal, **uruganda rw'icuriro** = a forge, **ikaburimbo** = tar, **icuma c'icuriro** = an anvil, **umusenyi** = sand, **ibumba** = clay, **isinz**o = a chisel, and **impuzu z'icuriro** = clothes worn by blacksmiths. Group two constitutes words and expressions of forge products: **inzogera** = a bell, **ishoka** = an axe, **umuhoro** = a billhook, **uruhindu** = a kind of needle, **umwampi** = an arrow, **inyerere** = bracelet, and **imbugita** = a knife. Group three comprises words and expressions which are related to the forge activity in general: **gukubita inyundo** = to strike a hammer, **kudidira icuma** = to harden a metal, **gukarisha** = to sharpen a forge product, **kotsa icuma** = to heat a metal, **kugabanya intimba z'icuma** = to reduce the thickness of a metal, **gucuma inyundo** = to shape the head of a hammer, **gucuma icuma** = to shape a hot metal, **korohereza icuma** = to smoothen a forge product, **gusha** = to reach the normal forging temperature, **kongera ubukomezi icuma** = to increase the temperature of a metal, **gufatanya ivyuma** = to join together metal parts, **kuvuguta umuvuba** = to blow bellows, **kugonda icuma** = to bend a metal, **guhimbura icuma** = to cut a metal, **inkamba** = impurities from hot metals, **umukubisi** = an assistant blacksmith, and **gushora** = to sell forging products.

The topic under study applies to reality in a number of ways. This topic, "A Sociolinguistic Study of Words and Expressions in the Domain of Blacksmiths", is related to real life. A study which is sociolinguistic handles an aspect of language as it is used in the society. When language is used in any society it is thanks to the fact that people live in that society. We talk of a society when people come together for specific reasons. When people come together they need to communicate. This communication is made possible with the help of language. Any group of people in the society needs language to communicate (Ostman et al, 2010). The words and expressions that this study examines are those that constitute the means of interaction of a group of people who have come together because they possess a common skill. This common skill is that of producing implements (forge products) that serve the needs of some people in the society. These words and expressions of the blacksmiths are a product of the mind. They are later on linked to the society as they are used in the execution of their daily activities. This view ties in with that of Searle (2008) who discusses the philosophy of the mind, language, and society in the real world.

This topic handles the domain of the blacksmiths which used to be very popular in 1500 BC when it emerged (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blacksmiths_of_Western_Africa). Despite the dominance of advanced technology in the society of today, the activities of blacksmiths (though reduced) are still present in real life situations. With the existence of blacksmiths and their activities, their jargon is bound to survive. In most homes, especially those of people who are not quite rich, we find utensils which are products of the forge. Examples are knives, spoons, forks, pots, cups, and dishes. In the domain of agriculture we have farming implements which are still being used. Examples include hoes, machetes, picks and spades. What is interesting with products of blacksmiths is that they are affordable.

It is also important to note that most if not all people in the world, irrespective of the country or continent, make use of blacksmith implements either directly or indirectly. Examples of people who use the services of blacksmiths directly are hunters, fishermen, farmers and domestic servants. Hunters use spears, traps and cutlasses of blacksmith made. Fishermen use forge products like fishhooks of different types. Farmers, on their part, use blacksmith products like hoes, spades, machete, and picks (<http://shieldsethridgefarminc.com/education/blacksmith-shop>). Domestic servants in some homes use forge implements like spoons, plates, dishes, pots, and forks.

Indirectly, people use the services of blacksmiths in a number of ways. Let us analyze this situation of a blacksmith who produces a gun. This arm is used to kill a lion in an African country. This lion is in turn sold to an American tourist. In such a circumstance, I can say that the American tourist has indirectly made use of the services of a blacksmith. Also, I can say that a person who eats food that is prepared using utensils of blacksmith production is indirectly making use of the services of blacksmiths. A blacksmith, who sells his products and educates his child to become a medical doctor, has provided his services to the patients who consult his medical son.

This topic under study has pros and cons on the local, national, and international levels. On the local level this topic has pros and cons. In terms of pros I can say that the activities of blacksmiths are very prominent in the communes of Burambi and Rumonge in Burundi. In these communes most products of blacksmith are in use and this is accompanied by words and expressions that are related to this domain. The blacksmith domain is playing a key role in the daily activities of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned communes. From the perspective of cons I can say that the topic handles a domain which is almost dying out within the cycles of the youth and the rich. Some of the youths of Burambi and Rumonge communes are not conversant with the activities of blacksmiths in their environments of resident. This is because this population does not regularly come in contact with blacksmith implements. This lack of regular contact is occasioned by the fact that some of the products of blacksmiths are facing stiff competition with modern products of advanced technology. As an illustration I can say that tractors, which are products of modern technology, are now performing most of the duties that were hitherto executed with the help of blacksmith products.

On the national level I can discuss the pros and cons of the topic under study in relation to Cameroon and Burundi. My choice of these two African nations is not accidental: First, Cameroon is my nation of origin. Second, I have been living in Burundi for the past five years. For these two main reasons I have a solid background that puts me in a good position to talk about blacksmithing in Cameroon and Burundi. As far as the pros of this topic are concerned I can discuss the following with respect to Cameroon. In Cameroon the forge domain is very prominent as it forms an integral part of culture. Blacksmiths in Cameroon display their prowess in various aspects of people's lives. This skill ranges from funeral services, music, divination, magic, medicine, and pottery to forging iron ore and casting brass (<https://openaccess.leidenuni.nl/bitstream/handle/>). Furthermore, the blacksmiths are considered as specialists who have their own organization, which partly depends upon their choice occupation. This organization of blacksmiths in Cameroon is also partly influenced by the social structure of the village in which the blacksmiths operate. This implies that blacksmiths in Cameroon operate in different ways depending on the part of the country where each specific organ exists. This is explained by the fact that Cameroon is a country that is made up of different cultures and this is also reflected in the manner in which blacksmiths operate. According to some analysts "The culture of Cameroon is very interesting and unique in many ways. The culture of Cameroon has over 130 ethnic groups." (http://www.east-buc.k12.ia.us/00_01/AF/cam/cam_cul.htm).

This topic also has disadvantages on the national level of Cameroon. The fact that Cameroon has a multiplicity of cultures poses a problem to the domain of blacksmiths. The main problem is that of the lack of uniformity in forge products. The means of communication of blacksmiths in Cameroon differs from one ethnic group to another and this poses a serious problem of intelligibility. As a result, when blacksmiths hold forums at the national level, they communicate either in French or English instead of using a language which is common to their professional group as is the case of blacksmiths in Burundi. In this case the unity of blacksmiths in Cameroon is shaky as they cannot discuss some sacred aspects of their occupation without the knowledge of outsiders, that is, those who are not blacksmiths.

As far as the topic under study on the national level in Burundi is concerned, I can say that it has pros and cons. In terms of the advantages of this topic in Burundi, I can say that they are observable in various sectors. In the agricultural sector many farm implements are of blacksmith fabrication. These implements include hoes, spades, picks, and cutlasses. In many shops in markets like Jabe, Kamenge, and Ruvumera, we can find diverse articles that are produced by Burundian national blacksmiths. More on the blacksmith domain in Burundi can be got on <https://www.facebook.com/imagineburunditerembere>. In terms of disadvantages of the topic, I can say that the topic discusses a domain, blacksmithing, which used to be popular in the era of kingdoms but which is gradually going into oblivion nowadays. The dwindling popularity of the forge sphere can be accounted for by the remarkable supply of Chinese products on the Burundi markets. Chinese products of metallic made flourish the Burundian economy. They are not only available but also cheap to both local and international populations. This is the result of intense cooperation between Burundian and Chinese authorities (<http://www.org.cn/english/features/focac/183578.htm>). With the presence of Chinese products of all sorts (including metallic ones) on the Burundian markets, forge products are gradually going out of the market. Consequently, the population, especially the youths would not find it interesting to talk about words and expressions that are related to the domain of blacksmithing which they know nothing or little about.

On the international level this topic has its pros and cons. In terms of the advantages of this topic, "A Sociolinguistic Study of Words and Expressions in the Domain of Blacksmiths", they are discernable. In spite of the fact that the blacksmith domain is old and of African origin, it has developed tentacles to other continents. The domain of forge is

facing stiff competition with Chinese, European, and American products but it cannot be completely effaced from the world arena. Some analysts may be surprised to hear that the American Continent is currently making giant strides to revive the domain of blacksmithing. This revival of the blacksmithing domain is done under the auspices of ABANA, that is, the Artist Blacksmiths' Association of North America. This is a preeminent blacksmith organization in the world with thousands of members. ABANA encourages and facilitates the training of blacksmiths; disseminates information about sources of material and equipment; exposes the art of blacksmithing to the public; serves as a center of information about blacksmithing for the general public, architects, interior designers, and other interested parties (<https://www.abana.org/resources/schools.shtml>). The topic under study is, thus, in line with the objectives of ABANA in the propaganda of information about the existence and activities of blacksmiths.

The topic under study is also relevant to the European continent because blacksmithing activities are available on this continent. Blacksmiths are very active in Europe in the Scandinavian region. The activities include the construction of workshops that deal in iron ore processing (https://www.academia.edu/4447884/iron_and_processes_in_scandinavian_blacksmithing_workshops).

On the international level the topic under study also has disadvantages. This is explained by the fact that the blacksmithing domain is not very popular worldwide nowadays. The forge sphere used to be very prominent in the past but with the advent of modern technology it started experiencing a downward trend. It is for this reason among others that the Artist Blacksmiths' Association of North America is putting hands together to ensure that the blacksmithing domain should not completely die out. Since many people nowadays are not aware of this sector, they would not be interested in a topic that handles words and expressions in such a domain. Thus, a topic which handles an aspect in a branch that is not well known like blacksmithing would not attract much readership. The use of a jargon like that of blacksmiths cannot have a significant impact linguistically speaking at the international level.

As recommendations I can suggest the following: The blacksmith domain should not be ignored because it was the pioneer in technology. It is said that, "They (the blacksmiths) are feared in some societies for their skill in metalworking, which is considered a form of magic, but universally revered by for their technological pioneering" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blacksmiths_of_Western_Africa). We all agree that technology has advanced considerably in the 21st Century but this is no justification for the complete eradication of the forge domain. The blacksmith sphere should rather be encouraged so that it works hand in glove with other domains in the resolution of human beings' increasing daily needs. How can this be done? All groups of people: the old, the young, the rich, and the poor should motivate blacksmiths by buying their products. The blacksmiths can only continue in their activities if they are provided with incentives by purchasing their products. Trade fairs on blacksmith products should be regularly organized so that prizes are awarded to encourage hard work and excellence. Advanced technology, instead of looking at blacksmithing with scorn, should rather provide them with more adapted modern equipment that would enhance production and efficiency in the forge area.

The example of the American continent in the encouragement of blacksmiths should be emulated. I mean that other continents should create similar organizations like the Artist Blacksmiths' Association of North America. If this is done, it will serve as a booster to the blacksmiths who are still interested in their trade but lack financial and moral support to move forward.

Even though a jargon is understood only by a small professional group, its importance in the linguistic landscape cannot be minimized. A jargon like that of blacksmiths can contribute in enriching the linguistic arena of Africa in particular and that of the entire world at large. Thus, the jargon of blacksmiths like that of any other professional group of people should be considered seriously and encouraged by various stakeholders in the linguistic sector. Let us take the case of world languages. There are so many languages in the world. To be specific, there are 6703 living languages in the world (http://www.ling.uppen.edu/courses/Fall_2011/

[ling.001/world_languages.html](http://www.ling.uppen.edu/courses/Fall_2011/ling.001/world_languages.html)), yet each of them is important in its own way. None is ignored for this or that reason. If no language can be neglected so long as it has speakers, then, no jargon can be rejected as inconsequential. Thus, this topic on the words and expressions of blacksmiths should be attached importance as this would encourage other researches in related linguistic aspects.

Blacksmiths and those who are interested in the domain of blacksmithing should not give up in their activities. They should constitute themselves into cooperatives and generate capital that would enable them improve on the forge trade. If

they do this, they will ameliorate the quality of their products. If they produce good quality products, they will match with the products of modern technology on the market. This will also make the blacksmith trade to be popular within the ranks of both the young and old generations. If the forge products are made popular, the words and expressions that are related to this trade will also be influential in the linguistic landscape.

Blacksmiths and workers in the domain of advanced metal technology should collaborate so as to work hand in glove and satisfy the needs of the general public. This collaboration is necessary because the forge domain played a vital role in the coming into existence of metal technology. It is for this reason that the domain of blacksmithing is referred to as pioneer in technological development (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blacksmiths_of_Western_Africa). Thus, what is instrumental in your creation should not be ignored. That is to say, since blacksmithing provided the impetus for the development of modern metal technology, it is but normal that they should work together to ensure the survival of both domains.

There is lack of harmony in the jargons of blacksmiths in different regions. Though of the same profession, differences in linguistic contents exist due to the countries, regions and continents in which the jargon operates. That is to say, the jargon of blacksmiths in Cameroon is different from that of those in Burundi. Similarly, the words and expressions of the jargon of blacksmiths in any country of Africa cannot be the same as those of blacksmiths in any part of Europe or America. There should be an international harmonization of the jargons of various professions irrespective of the country, region or continent.

As conclusion I can state what follows by providing a new perspective. The world is the habitat of many people and these people constitute diverse occupational groups. Each of these groups of people has a means of communication which can be a language, a dialect, or a jargon. The jargon of blacksmiths is among those of other professions. Jargon is a means of communication within an in-group but it poses intelligibility problems with out-groups (<http://www.mantex.co.uk/2011/12/15/how-to-avoid-jargon/>).

It may seem paradoxical if we say that a jargon is a means of communication as well as a means of avoiding communication. When we say that jargon is a tool of communication we are referring to a specialized language that is used by people of a particular profession, for example, the jargon of the blacksmiths of Burundi. The blacksmiths of Burundi have the following words and expressions among others: **amasase**, **inzogera**, **gucuma inyundo**, and **korohereza icuma** which mean “small pieces of charcoal”, “a bell”, “to shape the head of a hammer”, and “to smoothen a forging product” respectively in English. If the above words and expressions are used, a person who is an outsider in the domain of blacksmiths in Burundi will not understand. When a jargon is used it enhances communication among the people of the profession concerned; but at the same time this jargon avoids communication amongst those who are not part of the profession concerned. That is to say that the users of a jargon do so to prevent outsiders from understanding what concerns only members of their profession.

It is on the basis of using jargon only for in-group transmission of ideas within members of a professional group that some analysts tend to discourage the use of jargon for public communication. It is in the same vein that Crescenzo (2012) talks of the erasing of jargon from communication. This means that no jargon can be used for wider public communication as it is limited to a professional group in a restricted spatial domain. When language is restricted, it poses communication problems at levels which are above local levels. Such a language does not have any influence at the international level. The English language is very influential at the international level because it is spoken and understood by people in all the five continents of the world. The strength of a means of communication is measured in terms of the number of speakers and geographical spread. It is in this same line of thought that Sharifian (2009) says this; “The ownership of English cannot be restricted to a geographically bound location”. No one holds the monopoly of English today. This is thanks to the fact that English has spread to every nook and cranny of the world.

The topic, a sociolinguistic study of words and expressions in the domain of blacksmiths, falls in the scope of communication. Communication is the key aspect in any sphere where people come together to interact. In business, politics or education, people need a language to interact and push ahead their activities. One's business can only flourish if they publicize their products using a medium that is understood by as many people as possible. It is for this reason that some scholars are of the view that jargon should be erased from the business landscape. That is why Crescenzo (2012) states this, “Erase jargon from your communication”. Any good business person is one who ensures that the greatest number of customers is attracted to his or her products. This is only made possible through advertisement. Advertisement is realized with the help of a means of communication which can be a language or jargon. People of a particular

profession, let us say, blacksmiths, can use a jargon amongst themselves when producing. However, when it comes to the marketing of their products they have to use a language for wider communication. This can be illustrated by the fact some goods which are produced in non-English speaking countries are attached leaflets (on how to use the products) in English. For example, the majority of goods produced in China contain instructions in English on their use.

A jargon can attain a higher status. This can depend on the profession which uses the jargon concerned. It can also depend on the environment in which the jargon is used. With regards to the profession, I can say that a very popular and important profession would also have a jargon which is influential. Let us take, for example, the medical profession. This is a profession that deals with people's lives and saves them from avoidable death. Medical terminology is widespread and as proof I can say that a physician who practices in Asia and speaks English would use the same jargon as another one in the African continent. Another profession which also has a strong jargon is the legal profession. A lawyer in Senegal would communicate with ease using the legal jargon with his counterpart in France. It is in this light that I am proposing that blacksmiths in different parts of the world can collaborate and come up with a jargon that would be comprehensible to all of them irrespective of where they find themselves. I am aware of the fact that this will not be easy but when there is the will there is a way.

It is unfortunate that many people, especially non-linguists, are not aware of the existence of the jargon. Even those who know about jargon do not seem to attach a lot of importance to it as they do to language. I do not expect that people should attach the same importance to jargon as they do to language. I rather feel that if much attention is paid to the jargon, this can go a long way in the creation of more languages. This is because a jargon which has become very popular can be transformed into a fully-fledged language. In some cases when the jargon does not develop into a language, some of its words and expressions can creep into the language of the linguistic environment in which the jargon operates. This is the view shared by Keats (2010) when he talks of the words of the jargon of science and technology being used as loans by the English language. The topic under study handles a linguistic aspect that is essential in enhancing the relationship between people in various professions in diverse regions of the world.

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APPENDIX

An Inventory of Words and Expressions in the Domain of Blacksmiths in Burundi

	Jargon	English Version
1)	Akanzura	A pile of glass
2)	Amakara	Charcoal
3)	Amasase	Small pieces of charcoal
4)	Guhimbura	To cut a metal
5)	Gucuma inyundo	To shape the head of a hammer
6)	Gufatanya ivyuma	To join together metal parts
7)	Gukubita inyundo	To strike a hammer
8)	Gukarisha	To sharpen a forging product
9)	Gusha	To reach the normal forging temperature

10)	Gushonga	Melt
11)	Gushora	To sell forging products
12)	Gucuma icuma	To shape a hot metal
13)	Icokezo	Hearth
14)	Ikimano	Tongs
15)	Inyundo	A hammer
16)	Ikompa	A compass
17)	Ikaburimbo	Tar
18)	Inzogera	A bell
19)	Icuma c'icuriro	An anvil
20)	Ishoka	An axe
21)	Ityazo	A whetstone
22)	Ibumba	Clay
23)	Inkamba	Impurities from hot metals
24)	Inindi	Sticks
25)	Isinzo	A kind of chisel
26)	Inyerere	Bracelet
27)	Imonyi	Stone powder
28)	Imbugita	A knife
29)	Icuba ry'umuvuba ...	Part of the bellows which takes air to the fire
30)	Impuzu z'icuriro	Clothes worn by blacksmiths
31)	Inda y'icuma c'icuriro..	Flat part of an anvil
32)	Kudidira icuma	To harden a metal
33)	Kotsa icuma	To heat a metal
34)	Kugabanya intimba z'icuma..	To reduce the thickness of a metal
35)	Korohereza icuma	To smoothen a forging product
36)	Kongera ubukomezi icuma	To increase the temperature of a metal
37)	Kuvuguta umuvuba	To blow bellows
38)	Kugonda icuma	To bend a metal
39)	Umotoboza	A drill
40)	Umuvuba	Bellows
41)	Uruzino	Water for quenching hot metals
42)	Uruganda rw'icuriro	A forge
43)	Umuhini	Shaft
44)	Urwevu	Clinker
45)	Umusenyi	Sand
46)	Ubugi	The edge of a forging product
47)	Umujabu	A stone used as an anvil
48)	Umuhoro	A billhook
49)	Umutengo w'umuvuba	The rope which holds the skin or the pieces of cloth on the bellows
50)	Uruhindu	A kind of needle
51)	Umwampi	An arrow
52)	Urujo	A piece of broken pot
53)	Umukubisi	An assistant blacksmith
54)	Umuvubavuba	The skin on bellows
55)	Umutwe	The edge of a tool