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Ndayishimiye, Ruth; Sous la direction de : Dr Grégoire Njejimana

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UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTEMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOME KIRUNDI PROVERBS RELATED TO THE THEME OF GREEDINESS

By

Ruth NDAYISHIMIYE

SUPERVISOR :

Dr. Grégoire NJEJIMANA

A thesis submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement of the degree of **"LICENCE EN LANGUE ET LITTERATURE ANGLAISES"**

Bujumbura, October 2001

DEDICACE

To my God for his love and protection

To my parents for their effort

To my husband for his support and comprehension

To my children champion Orlando and Teddy Trésor

To my sisters and brothers

To my friends and relatives

I dedicate these pages.

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The completion of this work would not have been achieved without the contribution and support of many people whom I wish to express my deepest gratitude. I can not mention all of them but some deserve a particular attention.

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NDAYISHIMIYE Ruth.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

S : Speaker

H : Hearer

I.e. : That is

T : Translation

CHAPTER I. THE PROBLEM AND THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.0 . Introduction.

Every society bases its importance on languages spoken in it. Through language, man communicates and expresses his needs. Also to exchange with other people, to share knowledge or to cooperate in various activities, man uses language.

Indeed language fulfils many functions that one can not venture to list them. In summary as Leibniz year cited in NTAHOMVUKIYE (1981:3) says, Language is the mirror of the human spirit.

In fact, this research will be carried out on Kirundi language, especially on a pragmatic analysis of Kirundi proverbs through the theme of greediness. The subject under study calls for a research in a very complex area i.e proverbs since we know that they depict culture and society.

Then, this topics has room for investigation since it tackles this negative attitude of greediness which is the main source of conflict in many societies. Therefore, no one could deny that many crises in the world originated in the behaviour of some people who make their belly the center of interest and do not care about their nation.

As already pointed out, a good understanding of proverbs requires a full knowledge of culture and society together with history. Consequently, proverbs will be interpreted depending on the context and situation in which they occur.

1.1. What is a proverb?

In many societies of oral literature like in Africa, proverbs are very important. The field of study of proverbs has attracted many researchers. Even though a great deal has been written on the definition of a proverb, it is still difficult to decide on a satisfactory definition. As HARERIMANA (1998:30) mentions it:

> *"Proverbs are like a very deep and dark forest, as you progress in it, the darkness goes and things to discover increase".*

It is probably for the reason that nobody has succeeded in defining a proverb accurately by giving an account of the realities and emphasis about the proverb in a single definition.

On the same line, Finnegan, R. (1970:393) argues that the exact definition of a proverb is not an easy matter. According to her :

> *" A proverb is a saying in more or less fixed form marked by shortness sense and salt, and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tensely expressed in it".*

In addition, Finnegan (1970:393) asserts that even though it may seem impossible to give an exact definition, there are some general agreements as to what constitutes a proverb.

As the Introduction of English Dictionary defines it :

> *"Proverbs are the pith, the properties, the proofs, the purities, the elegancies as the commonest, so the commendable phrase of a language".*

In the Oxford Dictionary of English proverbs, a proverb is defined as a popular short saying with word of advice or warning. In the same dictionary, it is mentioned that wise men make proverbs and fools repeat them. From the quotation, I notice that proverbs originate from our ancestors. They have been used by the eldest generations since many years before, so that they have become the fruit of experience and carry much wisdom.

In sum, from these above definitions, I conclude that in oral literature, when the speaker wants to tell something to the listener and intends to convince him, he strengthens his arguments in evoking a proverb. Proverbs are thus a means of communication which people use to transmit messages, ideas, thoughts and the tradition by educating young people.

Therefore, proverbs embody precision and warning. Old people may use proverbs such as proverbs related to greediness to transmit some realities of the traditional Burundi. More precisely they use those proverbs in order to invite greedy people to model or to change their behaviour.

Concerning their context of utterance, it would be misleading to give a context of utterance of proverbs, because unlike tales, proverbs do not have one special occasion for utterance. They can be said whenever people are conversing : in ordinary language, at school, in the family, in court, in the road, in church, at the market and elsewhere.

On this Finnegan R. (1970:418) observes :

> *"We can then sum up the various ways in which proverbs are used in Africa by saying that they really occur on all occasions when language is used for communication, either as art or as tool that is on every sort of occasion imaginable".*

Beside this, proverbial utterance occupies an important place in communication. As NTAHOMVUKIYE (1981:3) says it,

"les proverbes sont parmi les textes qui transmettent

plus clairement l'histoire et le passé d'un homme ».

« Proverbs are among the texts that transmit

most faithfully the history and the past experience of a people."

From this, he is convinced that nothing better than proverb could reveal that. According to him, the proverb in Burundi reflects the Burundian himself. Also GASHIKANYI (1986:88) asserts that proverb occupies a substantial place in discourse in Burundian society. Their occurrence in ordinary speech is quite appreciable. According to him, the prominence of proverbs depends on two aspects, the one is the inner feature and the other is the outer. The characteristics directly contained in the proverb are the artistic form, whereas the wisdom it portrays only has meaning when referring to tradition.

Therefore, Barundi people manifest the need for eloquence, for sophisticated language not only in proverbs but also in ordinary verbal communication. It is with such a conviction that Albert (1964:35) writes on Burundian society that :

" Speech is explicitly recognized as an important instrument of social life, eloquence is one of the central values of cultural world-view and the way of life affords frequent opportunity for its exercise.
.....Argument, debate and negotiation, as well as elaborate literary forms are built into the organisation of society as means of gaining one's end, as social status, symbols, and as skills enjoyable in themselves ".

In fact, a society which greatly cares about style would obviously reserve a valuable place for the highly organised type of language that proverb makes use of it.

The same observation is made by Zuure (1932:127):

> *" Les proverbes font le charme dans la conversation, ce sont les fleurs du beau langage, le vrai miroir de l'âme du Murundi »*
>
> *« Proverbs make a delightful conversation, they are flowers of a good discourse, the true mirror for Burundian's mind".*

We can then say that skilfulness in using proverbs appropriately brings honour to the user. Any adult person who can not apply proverb at the required moment is not regarded as wise. He can not be sought by the members of the younger generation for advice, nor can he be entrusted with such vital duties as adjudicating cases or going to ask for bride for a young man.

In brief, we can then sum up by saying that proverbs form premises leading the logical conclusions and constitute an integral part of the culture.

In my research, proverbs related to greediness are to be subject to a pragmatic analysis.

1.2. Statement of the problem.

As pointed out earlier, our ancestors used to utter proverbs on purpose, i.e they had an intention, a message they want to convey to the listener. For example this proverb : "Nta wugira umukunzi ku mukunzi w'inda". (We can not make friends with a greedy person), says more as one may think. While uttering this proverb, our ancestors want to criticize this bad behaviour of eating and drinking too much and to ignore others.

Meanwhile, the crucial problem I have noticed is that the use of Kirundi proverbs seems to be forgotten or neglected by most Burundians. Even when they are produced, they do not fit the context.

In my research, the study of those Kirundi proverbs related to greediness on a pragmatic view, will enlighten this problem.

1.3. Motivation of the study.

If I intend to deal with a pragmatic analysis on Kirundi proverbs related to greediness, I have two major reasons :

First and foremost, I am interested in socio-linguistic field and incidentally as I am a native speaker of Kirundi, I find it as a necessity to explore the Burundian culture through the pragmatic study of those proverbs.

As NDARO (1977:1) puts it :

> *"Language and behaviour develop parallely, that is why our culture often brings us to produce some precise behaviour patterns and to ignore others".*

From the above quotation, I notice that language and culture are inseparable. We can not pretend to preserve our culture while we neglect our mother tongue.

Therefore, from many observations made at school, on campus, in cities, I have realized that our native language Kirundi is neglected. As a consequence the use of Kirundi proverbs in general, and Kirundi proverbs related to greediness in particular runs the risk of disappearing if no effort is made to give them value.

Second, I wish to deal with this topic because I am interested in exploring fields which have not been explored so far. And particularly no one among the researchers who graduate before, has shown an interest in the pragmatic study of Kirundi proverbs related to greediness.

1.4. Aims of the study.

This work aims at investing the extent to which Burundians conform to the pragmatic principles while uttering proverbs. Therefore, the work also aims at studying the implicature of these proverbs in the society.

Thus, this study is a mere contribution to the nation, since the message that my proverbs vehicle will be a piece of advice to some people who are greedy and who constitute a handicap to the developing process of their nation.

1.5. Scope and delimitation of the study.

This research is mainly concerned with proverbs related to greediness; that is proverbs whose main features are the everlasting desire to eat or drink too much and alone.

To show it as clearly as possible, I have provided different contexts in which greediness is likely to appear. These contexts are analysed and commented on the basis of Sealer's theory of speech act and Grice's theory of implicatures.

In brief, I have studied them in order to show the consequences of greediness in the society.

1.6. Structure of the study

The work comprises four chapters : chapter one presents the background of the topic, the motivation to the choice of the subject, the aim of the study and its scope and delimitation.

Chapter two comprises the literature review. In other words, it defines the key terms of the topic that is Pragmatics, greediness, and other aspects of the topic concerned in the present work in general. In addition, the section focuses on previous studies and aspects developed on Kirundi proverbs.

Chapter three is "Methodology". It states the way I have proceeded in collecting and analysing the data.

Chapter four is the pillar of this study. It consists of the pragmatic analysis and interpretation of some Kirundi proverbs related to greediness with respect to the speech act theory. The work ends with a conclusion which gives an account of the whole work.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW.

Carrying out this study demands much pragmatic knowledge, which will be combined with cultural knowledge. To do so, it is important to make an investigation of the pragmatic theories.

In this chapter, some key terms have to be explained, these are "Pragmatic Analysis" and "greediness".

2.1. Definitions.

It is not easy to provide a satisfactory definition of Pragmatics. Because it is a vast domain which is still seeking its boundaries. In this section, I am going to analyse some definitions given by some authors.

According to Levinson (1935:5-35), Pragmatics is the study of all those aspects of meaning not captured in a semantic theory.
This is an incomplete definition since we know for sure that in a given utterance, there are some aspects of meaning that can not be accounted for within a semantic framework.
It is not sufficient to consider only the literal meaning of words and sentences. We need also to depict the speaker's communicative intention.

On this Levinson (1983:16) stresses that communication is a complex kind of intention that is achieved or satisfied by being recognized. He emphasizes the importance of mutual knowledge in the process of communication. He says : "In the process of communication, the sender's communicative intention becomes mutual knowledge to sender **S** and receiver **H**; that is **S** knows that **H** knows (and so and infinitum) that **S** has this particular intention. Attaining this state of mutual knowledge of a communicative intention is to have successfully communicated".

Similarly, Bruce Fraser (1983:136), points out that "*Pragmatics is the theory of communication". He adds that "linguistic communication succeeds only when the speaker has an attitude which he intends to convey to the hearer in using language and the hearer recognizes this attitude".*

Let me turn to another definition presented by Levinson (1988:21):

> "*Pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding*".

On the same line. Brown and Yule (1983:36) view Pragmatics as concerned with that people using language are doing and account for linguistic feature in the discourse as means employed in what they are going to do.

The above definitions put a special emphasis on the context. Indeed as pragmatic interpretation is concerned, language understanding involves more than the meaning of words and the grammatical relations between them. It involves also the making of inferences in order to connect what is said to what is assumed or what has been said before. This can not be without considering the context in which language is used.

All the definitions given above have shortcomings in that they fail to provide what Pragmatics must account for. Then we must find out a definition that shows the phenomena covered by Pragmatics.

Such a definition runs as follows:

> *"Pragmatics is the study of deixis, at least (in part)*
>
> *implicature, presuppositions, speech acts and aspects*
>
> *of discourse definition" (see Levinson (1983:27).*

This definition does not contradict the preceding ones; rather it completes them in the sense that it specifies the important points relevant to the understanding of language in context.

2.2. Pragmatics Vs semantics.

Before we come to the difference between Pragmatics and Semantics, let me clarify the notion of sentence and utterance as the point of beginning.

According to Levinson (1983:8) a sentence is an abstract theoretical entity defined within a theory of grammar. While an utterance is the issuance of a sentence, in an actual context.

Similarly, Hurtford and Heasley (1983) claim that an utterance is any stretch of talk by one person and after which there is silence on the part of that person.

In defining a sentence, Hurtford and Heasley (1983) assert that: *"A sentence is neither a physical object, it is conceived abstractly, as a string of words put together by the grammatical rules of language".*

In practice the problem of distinguishing Semantics and Pragmatics has been a subject of study for most linguists. According to Levinson (1983:19), semantics is the study of sentence - meaning while pragmatics is the meaning theory.

But we find that, it is difficult to make a clear difference between the two fields, since it seems to be vague, unsubstantial and elusive to come to any clear concrete conclusion about it.

Leech (1983:6) handles the matter as follows:

> *"Semantics traditionally deals with meanings as a dyadic relation. This corresponds to the question: "What does x mean?»*

Here meaning is defined as a property of expression in abstraction from particular situations, speaker or hearer. As for Pragmatics, it deals with meaning as a triadic relation. The question, which corresponds, is *"what did you mean by x?"* The meaning is defined in relation to the speaker or user of the language.

For Recanati (1987:2), the subject of Pragmatics is what takes place on the speaker-hearer axis, that is, verbal exchange taken as an intersubjective activity or social practice. In other words, pragmatics studies what speakers do with words, whereas semantics studies what words mean, what speakers use words to talk about.

The second term referred to greediness has got some definitions :

In the compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, greediness is defined as the quality or state of being greedy that is an extreme or excessive desire for food or drink.

In the Webster's New World Dictionary, greediness is defined as the state of wanting or taking all that one can get with no thought of what others need.

2.3. Context

As John Lyons (1981:219) stresses, there is no simple answer to the question : *"What is context?"*.
However some authors have made an attempt to provide an explanation of the term *"context"*

Brown and Yule (1983:25) agree that context refers to the circumstances in which language is used.
Hymes (see Brown an Yule (1983:37) sees context in terms of its role. Then he says:

"The use of a linguistic form identities a range of meaning. A context can support a range of meanings: when a form is used in a context, it eliminates the meanings possible to the context other than those the form can signal: the context eliminates from consideration the meanings possible to the form other than those the context can support".

From this, he says that context helps remove the multiple ambiguities that utterances would have if they were taken in isolation. Context has features which are relevant to the disambiguation of an utterance (the interpretation of utterances).

The context is operated by the persons satisfying the two functions : a speaking function and a hearing function. Those persons are called participants.

2.3.1. Participants.

The knowledge of the participants ('the speaker and the hearer) is very important in Pragmatics. Indeed the knowledge of their individual status and their social relationships give the analyst information about the appropriateness of their respective utterances, given the topic and the setting of the discourse.

As a matter of fact, the way a superior addresses to his or her inferior is different from the way the latter addresses to the former. Also the way a man talks to a woman is different from the way he talks to a man like him.

2.3.2. Physical setting

Hymes (see Brown and Yule (1983:40) uses the term to mean the time and place of communicative event and also the physical relations of participants with respect to posture and facial expression.

Wardhaugh (1985:102) points out that an utterance can make references to the external world, in the way it names objects and participants and indicates places, positions and times.

He adds that speakers and hearer share the knowledge of the world and have some ideas of what is common knowledge, and observe convention about what can properly be said, to whom and on what occasion. Thus they narrow the . possibilities of misunderstanding.

2.3.3. Message form

The knowledge of the message form is good information for the analyst. In fact, the information about the form of the message whether it is a chat, debate, sermon, fairly tale, love-letter or proverbs, etc... is already a step toward the success of the analysis because none of these genres requires an identical behaviour and speech event as another one.

Therefore, the more knowledge the analyst has on the speech event, the easier the analysis will be and the more easiness the analyst will have.

2.4. Presupposition.

Cooper (1974) assimilates the notion of presupposition to the necessary conditions for an assertion's state of affairs to be accepted or believed by the participants.

But there is a corollary presupposition that appears in all and any assertion, that is the existential presupposition; the existence of what is referred to by the assertion (things, animals, persons etc...) in the context that is the actual world of the utterance.

In other words, to be accepted, a proverb must be well stated. For the structure of proverbs to remain fixed, their images must always be the same. And this is simply to mean that proverbs presuppose the guarantee for the correctness of the stereotypical structure of an utterance. What is presupposed or the ontological condition for proverbs is an image whose referent is traced by matching it with the actual world of the utterance, that is, by transposing the significance of syntactic elements of the statement to the world of the utterance or context.

But let me consider why it is a priority to know what is presupposed. From what is said above, presupposition is a necessary condition for referent to be identified. On the other hand, the referent could not be identified unless the proverb is regular in respect to its traditional structure.
The presupposition is a guarantee that the referent is there in the context, because uttering the proverb is said to be stereotypical and correct.

Therefore, in order to find the referents for proverbs, the hearer or the analyst must identify, among other things, the presupposition of what must necessarily be observed for the utterance to be recognized as a proverb (or uttered as a proverb), namely images.
In the same way, finding referents is a necessary condition to understand proverbs. Therefore, presuppositions identification is a necessary condition to understand proverbs.

At last, we may attempt a definition of presupposition as follows:

Given a proverb K, the presupposition in K is Q if and only if K can not be correct unless Q is met.

In other words:

Unless Q is observed, K is inappropriate or even unrecognisable

As an illustration, the hearer could not believe or recognize the proverb K unless the image Q is recognized as such by a popular tacit convention. So the image must not change, It is a stereotypical element in proverb which must be met for proverb to be recognized and understood.

From what has been said about the meaning of proverbs, we can not assign any function and any true meaning to a proverb, unless we put it in a context. Sometimes, speaker can imply, suggest or mean something different from what they literally say. Also the same proverb is susceptible of many interpretations, sometimes contradictory according to place, the individual, the pronunciation or the accent. In this case the knowledge of the culture is also required.

In addition, the context should be supported by what Grice (1975) calls *"implicature"*.

Let me examine what is cultural implicature of proverbs and the conversational implicature particularly with the cooperative principles.

2.4.1. Cultural implicature of proverbs.

The cultural implicature of proverb is specified particularly by Dalfovo (1984) he states that proverbs show and transmit some aspects of the world-view of the people and their culture. This function of proverbs has led to the consideration of proverbs as a reflection of the philosophy of a people.

In the same vein, Dzobo (1973), studying the Ewe proverbs, sees the Ewe language and culture to be at the depth of the proverbs whose proper understanding leads to the soul of the Ewe, to their philosophy and to their principles, that serve partly to integrate the personality of an individual.

In addition, he assumes that an understanding of them reveals some of the fundamental determinants of moral behaviour and that their reader will gain some insights into the philosophy and the collective character of the Ewe. The allegorical nature of proverbs makes a direct understanding of the meaning difficult to grasp, especially by those who are not familiar with the original cultural context.

2.5. Conversational implicature.

A conversation is a social activity involving at least two people willing to communicate orally. The task undertaken is supposed to be mutually satisfactory and beneficial to the participants. Thus, conversation is a cooperative enterprise. The silence during the conversation is often embarrassing for both parties.

To maintain the cooperativeness, speakers generally avoid using unpleasant words. As far as Kirundi language is concerned, they prefer to use proverbs (metaphor) or use euphemism.

However, we do not consider only the literal meaning of an utterance because very often the reciter wants to mean more than what he says.

The notion of implicature provides more explicit account of the matter. Indeed, implicature is a kind of reasonable inference related to the method by which hearers understand the indirect illocutions of utterances.

Hutford and Heasley (1983:288) assume that implicature exists by reason or general social conventions, of which the principle of cooperativeness between speakers is the most important.

Grice's cooperative principle.

Grice's theory of implicature is a theory about how people use language. Grice identifies as guidelines four basic maxims of conversation and general principles underlying the efficient cooperative use of language. They express a general cooperative principle.

These principle are expressed as follows:

1. The cooperative principle.

Make your contribution as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

2. The maxim of quality.

Try to make your contribution one that is true, specifically :

i) do not say what you believe to be false

ii) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

3. Maxim of quantity

Make your contribution as informative as it is required for the current purpose of the exchange. Also do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

4. The maxim of relevance.

Make your contribution relevant. Be perspicuous and specifically:

i) avoid obscurity

ii) avoid ambiguity

iii) be brief

iv) be orderly

These maxims specify what participants have to do so as to converse in a maximally cooperative way : they should speak sincerely relevantly and clearly while providing sufficient information.

However, speakers may seem not to follow the maxims above and thus be uncooperative. The problem is solved by the making of inference. It is this kind of inference that Grice (1975) names an implicature or more properly a conversational implicature.

The reason for the linguist interest in the maxims is that they generate inferences (implicatures) beyond the semantic content of the sentences uttered.

Conversation implicature can be related to the notion of intended meaning in so far as the former account for the speaker's meaning beyond the literal one. Sometimes , the intended meaning and the conveyed meaning may be equivalent but in some other they fail to overlap. The notion of the speech act will tell us more about the intended meaning.

2.6. The notion of speech acts.

A more general approach has been worked out by linguist and philosophers especially John Searle and J.L. Austin.

Searle (1969:6) builds upon Austin (1962:20) to develop the notion of speech acts that is action which the utterance of text intentionally or conventionally performs.
Austin distinguishes three kinds of speech acts performed at one and the same time by saying something or when uttering a particular utterance:

- The locutionary act : is the act of uttering a sentence with a certain meaning. In other words, it is the saying of something that is meaningful and that can be understood i.e. having a clear sense and reference.
- The illocutionary act: is the act of intending an utterance to constitute an act of praise, criticism, agreement,... In other words, it is an act of using a sentence in order to perform a function.
- The perlocutionary act : is the act of uttering a sentence to achieve a certain consequent response from the hearer. For example to frighten him, to amuse him, to get him to do something. In other words, it is the result or effect that is produced by meaning of saying something.

According to Searle (1969:64) a speaker performs speech acts, utterances when talking. In this connection he distinguishes three types of acts:

- Utterance acts: which are acts of producing various sounds, words and sentences.
- Prepositional acts: which, are acts of referring and predicating:

  * referential act that is relating one individual to another

  *prepositional acts by which speakers describe a property to individual identified by a referential act.

- Illocutionary acts: which are acts that specify the purpose of the speaker in the discourse; for example, asking, promising, warning, and threatening.

Searle and Austin's classifications are not contradictory; they are rather complementary. Combining the two views, I get four types of acts:

- The locutionary utterance act as a form of activity or a mere performance of speech sound.
- The prepositional acts as the act of uttering something meaningful
- The illocutionary acts as a performance of a certain function
- The perlocutionary act as a reaction to the illocutionary one.

In real life conversation, those four acts appear almost simultaneously. When conveying a message, the speaker must utter sounds (utterance acts), which are recognized as being meaningful (prepositional act) in order to achieve his intention (illocutionary act) by producing certain effects on the addressee (perlocutionary act).

For Searle there is in any utterance "a locution" which is associated with a certain force i.e. a way in which an utterance is to be taken. Therefore each speech act is interpreted according to the locution, to its proposition and its context.

However, the interpretation of a speech act by an analyst may differs from the one intended by the speaker. And that is the point on which Austin and Searle do not agree.

For Austin, to one illocutionary act corresponds necessarily one illocutionary force , and that is the illocutionary force intended by the speaker. Austin (1962:148-164) distinguishes five very general classes of speech act according to their illocutionary force namely:

1. **Verdictives**: typified by the giving of a verdict, estimate, reckoning or appraisal, giving a finding.

2. **exercitives** : the exercising of powers, rights or influence, exemplified by voting, ordering, advising, warning, etc.

3. **commissives** : typified by promising to do something, or otherwise undertaking. Example : They commit you to do something but include also declarations or announcements of intention, which are vague things which we might call espousals; as for example, siding with.

4. **Behavitives** : which have to do with social behaviour and attitudes, for example : apologizing, congratulating, commending, condoling, cursing and challenging.

5. **Expositives** : which make it clear how our utterance fit into the course of an argument or conversation, how we are using words. In a way these might be classified as metalinguistic, as part of the language we are using about language. Example : I reply, I argue, I concede, I illustrate, I assume, I postulate.

Nevertheless, he recognizes that his classifications may give some confusion. He thinks (1962:152) that behavitives are troublesome because they seem too miscellaneous altogether; and expositive, because they are enormous and important and seem both to be included in the other classes and at the same time to be unique in a way that I have not succeeded in making clear myself.

On this point, Searle's taxonomy seems less confusing. He also distinguishes five categories : Searle (1962:19-45).

1. **Representatives** : They commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to do something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition. In other words, they relate to a speech act which describes states or events in the world, such as an assertion, a claim, a report etc.

2. **directives** : The are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. In this class, can be included commands, requests, suggestions, advise and prescribing, since they ultimately aim at getting the hearer to behave in a certain way.

3. **Commisives** : They commit the speaker to some future action

4. **Expressives** : they express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs in the prepositional content.

5. **Declaratives** : They are utterances, the performances of which brings about the correspondence between the prepositional content and reality.

The area of speech acts is too broad to be clarified here. I will limit only to the notion of illocutionary force that will be useful in the analysis of my data.

I then agree that in Kirundi language in general, and in Kirundi proverbs related to greediness in particular, for one illocutionary act, I may have many illocutionary forces. This is evidenced by the context of utterance.

2.7. Review of related studies.

So far, I have been examining the different attempts to define proverbs in various areas and times and through different aspects and characteristics of proverbs. Then as far as Kirundi proverbs are concerned, one realizes that studies on Kirundi proverbs before 1989 are mostly limited to the description of proverbs, giving the main characteristics and explanation of their meaning out of any context.

Such researchers have attempted to give the function or themes the proverbs are related to, as if a proverb has a fixed function or theme to which it is attached. Rarely have they tried to analyse proverbs in their context of use.
In this category I can give as an example Rodegem (1961) Nkongori (1957) (for the Rwanda proverbs which are closely related to Rundi proverbs in fact) and BEPES (1984).

All and each of them have merely given a french translation of Kirundi or Kinyarwanda proverbs and an explanation of the meaning out of any context.

BEPES (1984) has given in addition the function or themes they are attached to. Rodegem (1961) restricts his studies only to compiling Rundi proverbs in alphabetical order and giving explanation and / or the corresponding proverb in French where it is possible. He particularly chooses the following stylistic characteristics for a proverb to be authentic : It is a popular sentence, a vivid truth, concise, sometimes rhymed, which often contains alliterations, holds sometimes as well as talented words combinations, it is rythmed and generally expressed metaphorically.

He proceeds by noting that uttering of proverbs, makes remember dramatic or humorous circumstances and makes allusion to fables ; always rich of implicatures.

Fair studies have recognized the role of context and the speaker's goal to determine the actual meaning of a proverb and its function. Among them, I have listed MUREKAMBAZE (1989), NDIKURYAYO (1989), GASHIKANYI (1986) SINDAYIKENGERA (1997), NIKOBAMYE (1997), HARERIMANA (1998).

In their analysis, the emphasis is put on the relevance of the proverbs and the appropriateness to a contextual situation.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY.

3.0. Introduction.

To be efficient, any scientific study must have a methodology and be able to show the different steps followed to prove a hypothesis.

Thus, this chapter presents the sources of my data, how they have been collected, the difficulties met in collection of data and in translation.
It shows also the data analysis procedure and the methodology to be used in the analysis.

3.1. Data collection procedure.

While collecting the data, I have realized that there have been no written material on Kirundi proverbs in general and Kirundi proverbs related to greediness in particular till recently. The reason for this lack of Kirundi written material is two folds : the first reason is that Burundi like other African countries possess unwritten traditions like proverbs, riddles, songs ... but neglect them or deal with them superficially. The second reason is that writing which is the main means used in education and for knowledge as well as the preservation of culture was unknown in traditional Burundi. Even now, the written tradition is still in the developing process.

Therefore it is quite obvious to observe that my sources are limited to the only written materials from Rodegem and some books written by BEPES (Bureau d'Etude des Programmes pour l'Enseignement Secondaire)

Moreover, in addition to those primary sources, I have added other sources collected from my informants. My sample is of seventeen proverbs.

3.2. Encountered difficulties.

3.2.a. Difficulties related to data collection.

William Labov (1971:152) holds that sufficient good data on speech are provided by tape-recorder interviews. For my case, I have not been able to use a tape-recorder or any sophisticated instrument. Indeed, it would seem to be like a radio interview, which would be interpreted as a suspicious research because of the prevailing political situation. In addition to this, the tape-recorder would bring my subject not to think and speak in natural setting. Consequently, this difficulty leads to the leaving out of many linguistic and non linguistic variables because of memory limitation.

Another difficulty we have encountered is the non-immediate use of note books to avoid speaker's conditioning. The problem here is that we can not keep everything in memory and get it down accurately in the absence of the speaker. However, despite the use of the tape-recorder and note books, I have tried to listen carefully to speech of my informants and keep the information in memory, in order to write it down soon afterwards in notebooks in the absence of the speakers.

3.2.b. Difficulties related to translation.

Translation is not an easy task, especially when it operates on two languages of different origins and cultures such as Kirundi and English. The first belongs to the group of Bantu languages whereas the second is from the Indo - European languages. In fact it is difficult to make clear the ideas of the original text, since the two different languages are formulated on their background of experience, their history, way of living.

Therefore translating word for word is misleading. It is even sometimes impossible because the translator can not always find the equivalent words in language he is dealing with, especially when the word is cultural specific. The only thing I can do is to find the appropriate equivalent meaning in paraphrasing.

But, I did my best to keep close to the original meaning by relying on the context of utterance. According to P. Newmark

(1982:113) "*context is the overriding factor in all translation and is primary over any rule (...)*"

3.3. Data analysis procedure.

The analysis of my data will be based on Ronald Wardhough (1985). As he considered the text as a sequence of speech acts, this will allow me to focus on the illocutionary forces as used by Austin and Searle. While analysing my data, I will examine the situation in which Kirundi proverbs related to greediness appear and see how the speaker wants the expression to be considered.

In other words, the analysis will be directed towards the speaker's intention and the illocutionary forces of the proverbs themselves. To reach my goal, I have provided the context illustrating greediness features among the most focussed by my informants. Thus, I have studied that context so as to see clearly the conversational implicatures which reconcile as much as possible with the conversational maxims.

In general, my methodology is inspired by Sealer's theory of speech acts and Grice's theory of implicatures, and this will be done in respect to the pragmatic interpretation of the proverbs rather than anything else.

CHAPTER IV. FINDINGS.

This study is concerned with Kirundi proverbs of greediness. The analysis of this theme shows that it incarnates many defects such as improvidence, insatiability, cheating, irresponsibility, violence, laziness, selfishness, sadism, lack of self-respect.

Moreover, the analysis was based on the context of proverbs illustrating the most recurring functions, according to the informants. So the proverbs analysed in this chapter have been put under the title of their respective functions. However, I chose only the most convenient proverbs to adapt them to contextual situation, since a function may be fulfilled by many proverbs.

All the definitions given to the greediness defects are drawn from the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English

4. Forms of greediness collected from the data

4.1. Improvidence.

Improvidence is defined as the state of not caring for future needs. In others words improvidence is characterised by a wasteful behaviour. This behaviour pursues someone to spend all what he possesses without thinking about the future.

The following situation illustrates how improvidence is the consequence of greediness.

"Incabacabanya y'umugabo ihanwa n'ukurya ntiraze"

T : An improvident man regrets after he gets problems.

SITUATION.

Hari umugabo yama aja mukirabo, amahera yose agahereza mw'icupa. Haheze iminsi, umwana wiwe aragwara, aca arabura amahera yo kumuvuza, aca arapfa.
Niho umugore wiwe yarira amubwira ati : "Sinari naraguhanuye ko woba urya ukongera ukaziganya" Nti wari uzi yuko incabacabanya y'umugabo ihanwa n'ukurya ntiraze?

T: There was a man who used to spend all the money on beer. After some days, his child got ill and he did not have money to take him to hospital and the child died. His wife, while weeping reminded him that she had advised him to save money, telling him that an improvident man regrets after he gets problems.

Normally, a wise man is the one who plans for the future. Therefore he must work in order to earn his living ; particularly he must think of tomorrow's needs. However this can not be for the case of a greedy person. Remember that what characterised him is the intention of fulfilling his belly without thinking about the future.

In the situation above, the man spent all his money on beer without thinking about his children's needs. In consequence one of his children died because he missed money to take him to hospital. I can say that this is a very heavy consequence. In fact, if I analyse the importance that the Burundians allocate to children, I can say for sure that to loose a child is a very worst event in the family.

Note that the Burundian society relies very closely on the fact of having many children. It was a sign of prestige and prosperity. As evidence, in their everyday speech, each Murundi wishes to his friend to have many children. They express their wishes in the following terms : "Urakagira ibibondo" (May you have children).

Also, when they want to hurt their enemies, they utter the following words: "Uragapfa utavyaye ikibondo" (May you die without giving birth).

From this, we can say that the consequence of the behaviour of improvidence of the man has been very hard to bear. Then, the illocutionary force of this proverb is to remind people to avoid improvidence. This second situation illustrates a case where an improvident man is teased about the future.

"Incacanya y'ukurya ihanwa n'ukumara"

T : Improvidence brings negative consequences.

SITUATION

Misago yabwiye se ngo amurage, amuhe umugabane wiwe. Se aravyemera, hanyuma Misago aca yigira kuba ahandi, amahera yose arasesagura gushika aho amuherana. Yiyumvira kugaruka kwa se kuko yari abuze ingene abaho. Mugabo se aramwirukana ati mviraho nakare ngo incacanya y'ukurya ihanwa n'ukumara.

T : Misago asked his father to give him his heritage. So he left his house family and went to live in another city. He spent all the money on luxuries and adventures. After he has finished all, he got many problems of living. Then he decided to come back home. Unfortunately, his father sent him away telling him that improvidence brings negative consequences.

In Burundian tradition, a father shares his fortune among his children when he is still alive. But this does not imply that every child begins to be responsible of his fortune and to use it freely. They wait until no one among the parents is still alive. It is also supposed that they use that heritage in a useful manner.

However, if I analyse this context, I see that Misago deviates from the rules of Burundian society. He prefers to spend his heritage while his parents are still alive. In addition, he neglects his house family and prefers to go to live in another city where he supposes to be free and to live in adventures. Misago does not think about the future. He wastes his entire heritage on unnecessary things. After finishing it, he gets many problems.
That is why he decides to come back home and ask pardon. This is a very bad consequence of improvidence because Misago comes back where he has neglected. This behaviour of wanting to finish his entire heritage without caring about the future brings him bad consequences.
While uttering this proverb, his father wants to remind him that improvidence leads to bad consequences.

So, the illocutionary force of this proverb is to advise people to avoid improvidence.

4.2. Insatiability.

Insatiability is defined as the state of being insatiable; that is constantly wanting more. An insatiable man is never satisfied or appeased. This behaviour is a consequence of greediness.

The following situation illustrates a case where a parent wants to discourage the behaviour of insatiability of his son.

"Umukunzi w'inda wa cane ahasha umusyi"

T: A greedy man discourages his supplier.

SITUATION.

Mariko yiga kuri Lycée Bukeye. Iminsi yose hageze gusubira kw'ishure, yama agomba kugunga abandi bana bavukana mu gusaba amahera y'umurengera. Umunsi uri izina, se wiwe afata ingingo yo kumuha makeyi kubera iyo nyifato yiwe yo kudashirwa na rimwe. Aca amubwira ati fata akira nayo nakare ngo umukunzi w'inda wa cane ahasha umusyi.

T : Mark studies at Lycée Bukeye. When it is time to go back to school, he always wants to ask more money than his brothers. One day, his father decides to give him less money because of his behaviour of insatiability. The father throws him money arguing that he is never satisfied. He reminds him that a greedy man discourages his supplier.

In Burundi like in other societies, parents are the ones who take care of their children's needs. This is the reason why parents must work hard in order to get what is necessary for their children. In particular, parents have the task of educating their children, so they must send them to school. This is a very tiring activity since we know that most of the time, parents have to work hard in this activity. As a matter of fact, children have to recognize their parent's efforts, unless they are discouraged.

In this context, Mark is never satisfied with his parent's effort. It is evident that his parents become discouraged. In consequence his parent reduces his effort and Mark get less money. By uttering this proverb, he wants to show to his son that he is an insatiable man who has to correct himself.

So the illocutionary force of this proverb is to advise people to avoid the behaviour of insatiability.

The second example shows how an insatiable child becomes more demanding.

"Ngaye agaya umwengo"

T : An insatiable man becomes more demanding.

SITUATION

Mariya n'umugore w'ikigongwe, yaratoye umwana aja Kumutunga. Arageraageza kumwitaho muri vyose.Mugabo uwo umwana ni intahaga. Ntanarimwe yigera ashirwa. Yama abona ko Mariya harico amuryanye. Ntiyigera abona ko amukunda kubera atari nyina. Mariya we abona ko amwigorera muri vyose, ko ico akwiye cose akimuha. Iyo nyifato y'uyo mwana yatumye Mariya ashavura, yicuza ico yamuzaniye. Aca avuga anti abakurambere ntibabeshe bo bavuze ko
"ngaye agaya umwengo".

T : Mary is a pitiful mother, she is a foster mother of a child who is not hers. She takes care of him but the latter is never satisfied. He always thinks that Mary does not love him, thinks that Mary does not offer him enough. That child thinks that Mary does not love him, knowing that she is not his mother. On her part, Mary finds that what is given to that child is enough and he has no right to feel unsatisfied. Finally, Mary becomes angry and discouraged, he begins to regret why she has chosen to assist that child. She concludes by saying that our ancestors were right saying that an insatiable man becomes more demanding.

In Burundian culture, the term *"Umwengo"* means a pot of beer. The verb *"Ngaye"* means to feel unsatisfied. So the whole proverb *"Ngaye" agaya umwengo"* means that an insatiable man is never satisfied and discourages his donor. Even if he is offered a pot of beer he is not satisfied.

Traditionally, beer entertains relations between people. It gathers people in various events that is : in ceremonies of joy or pain. Therefore when someone is offered a pot of beer, it is a sign of respect and friendship that one has to be thankful of.

Being a defect of greediness, the insatiability pursues someone to be more demanding and to discourage the supplier. If we analyse the above context, we notice that Mary has not any obligation to assist that child. She does it on her own but this child is not thankful. In consequence Mary becomes discouraged about that demanding behaviour brought by insatiability. The illocutionary force of that proverb uttered by Mary, is to warn that child to change her behaviour of insatiability.

In a general sense, the insatiability is a very bad behaviour which our ancestors used to discourage.
When people are around beer, for example in parties or at any other ceremony, the one who offers beer, must warn people or his guests to avoid insatiability. He explains his idea in the following terms:

> *"Aka kagwa muragaha umutima, ntimugahe inda kuko inda ni imanga"*
>
> *"Give this beer to your heart and not to the belly because the belly is a chasm"*

The term *"imanga"* which is compared to the belly is defined as a deep crack in the earth's surface. In Burundian culture, the term *"imanga"* (chasm) refers to any dangerous situation. It suggests something or someone that one has to be afraid of, someone or something that is frightening.

From this, we notice that our ancestors give negative connotation to the belly which is not controlled. As Barinakandi (1979:36) says:

> *"if the belly is not controlled, it can break the personality of someone".*

So every human being must model his behaviour in order to avoid insatiability.

4.3. Cheating.

Cheating is defined as an act of dishonest way to win an advantage or profit. When someone cheats, he wants to get something by dishonesty or disappointment.

As far as my work is concerned, cheating is the consequence of greediness, in the sense that the motto of a greedy person is that : *"All means are good if they satisfy his belly".*

A greedy person can even use cruelty or any other bad manner in order to fill his belly.

This function is specified by the proverb:

"Bwenge murya hasigaye ubundi haruguru"

T: Cunning man must know that others can see what he does.

SITUATION.

Mathilda n'umugore w'umusoda aba mu Cibitoke. Iyo umugabo amurungikiye amahera yo kugura impuzu; aca ayarya, ayandi akabika. Rero yama aja gutiza umpuzu ababanyi biwe. Ariko baratevye baramuhinyura ko yanka kwigurira impuzu kandi afise uburyo. Baca bamucira uyu mugani bati "Bwenge murya hasigaye ubundi haruguru".

T : Mathilde is a soldier's wife. She lives in Cibitoke. When her husband sends her money to buy clothes she spends some and keeps another amount. She prefers to borrow clothes from her friends. After some time, they discover her behaviour of cheating and refuse to lend her clothes anymore. They tell her that cunning man must remember that others can see what he does.

In traditional Burundi, discretion was a very valuable quality, since Burundians were very reserved. For women's behaviour, discretion, honesty, safety, were their most distinctive qualities.

In fact, a well-raised woman should avoid expressing her emotions loudly for it is a sign of bad will. The society condemns some wives who, instead of working to produce for the household, care for what is not necessary. Indeed, the best quality of Burundian women is to endure difficulties, however hard they may be. A wife who complains about any problem she faces is due to fail her mission. The society established norms and such a woman might be punished by being sent to her parents, that is a divorce.

When analysing this context, we notice that Mathilde does not fulfil the qualities assigned to Burundian women. Indeed, she complains about the fact that she has no clothes and goes to borrow them from her neighbours.

This behaviour of cheating breaks her self-control in the sense that, after being discovered by her neighbours, she becomes despised and they refuse to lend her clothes anymore.

In addition, we can say that cheating reveals a negative wisdom. Someone who cheats in order to reach an objective ends badly his life, and he can never be assigned the quality of *Umushingantahe* (wise man), since *Umushingantahe* is a person who is honest, responsible and serious.

It is clear to notice that this behaviour of Mathilde has to be avoided in the society. The illocutionary force of this proverb is to advise people to be honest.

4.4. **Humiliation**.

Humiliation is defined as the state of causing to feel ashamed. Therefore humiliation puts lower the dignity or self-respect of someone. Thus, humiliation implies no more respect, nor honour, nor dignity. The following situation illustrates how humiliation is the consequence of greediness.

"Urya nk'inka ugapfa nk'imbwa"

T: He who eats too much ends in misery.

SITUATION

Petero n'umugabo yama aja kwiba imirima
ya barundi. Kuko wamengo ivyiwe
ntibimubumba. Baruhiye kumufata,
arakubitwa, atako arafungwa. Niho umunsi
umwe amarewe nabi mugasho yatangura
kwicuza ati 'emwe raba ayo mbonye
niho bavuze ko urya nk'inka, ugapfa nk'imbwa".

T: Peter is a man who usually goes to steal other's crops
It seems that his crops do not satisfy him. The neighbours finally catch him, beat him and take him to prison.
One day, while he is suffering in prison, begins to regret saying that the elders are right saying that when you eat too much you end sadly your life.

Unless one possesses much knowledge of Burundian culture, one can not interpret this proverbs accurately. In fact, it is important to know the cultural background of a "cow" and a "dog" in order to come to an accurate interpretation of this proverb.

In Burundi tradition, a cow has a positive connotation. It abides many qualities like to entertain relationships between people. For this reason, having many cows is a sign of prestige. On the contrary, a dog has a negative connotation; if someone is compared to a dog, he is humiliated and despised.

As far as the proverb is concerned, we may say that beside the qualities assigned to the cow, we have to know that a cow eats too much and it can not get easily satisfied, it gets only tired of eating. So eating like a cow is not good for a human being.

Then to adapt the proverb to the situation, that greedy person stands for that cow who is never satisfied while eating; and to die like a dog stands for ending in misery.

To explain this second comparison, it is important to know that our custom is to bury human being with more respect. But this is not the case for a dog. The death or disappearance of a dog is not noticed, to say that there is not any ceremony to bury a dog. It is evident that to die like a dog for human being implies humiliation.

In this context, Peter is regretting in prison, since we know that prisoners have to suffer from many degradations. Peter is humiliated and life in jail is degrading.

Throughout this proverb, he wants to warn other people to avoid greediness in order not to be humiliated like him.

The illocutionary force of the proverb is a warning to avoid humiliation brought by a greediness behaviour.
This function is also fulfilled by this proverb :

"Nkunde kurya yariye igifyera kimumena itama".

T : He who eats too much and clumsily gets problems in his life.

SITUATION.

Mahanga yariye imyenda y'abantu benshi. Uko baje kumwishuza, yaca yinyegeza. Vyakabaye kera, umugore aramufatisha, ati kumbura unyeguruke urihe ivyo wariye; nakare ngo nkunde kurya yariye igifyera kimumena itama.

T : Mahanga borrowed money from many people. When they come to ask for their money, Mahanga hid himself. One day his wife obliged him to come out from his hiding place so as to pay the debt. She told him that if you liked to eat too much and clumsily, you finally got problems at the end.

In order to live, each person must find the way of living. The right way is the only one which gives success. On the contrary, if someone chooses the wrong way, he is to be punished by the society.

When analysing the prevailing financial situation, it is quite impossible for many people to join the two months. It is for this reason that the act of borrowing money is observed. Nevertheless, one borrows money in the purpose of giving it back. On the contrary, if some one borrows money with the intention of not giving back, he is taken as a thief. Thus, the Burundian society has to punish him severely.

In analysing the context, the wife of Mahanga is in front of a man who instead of giving back what he has borrowed, he prefers to hide himself. Unfortunately his wife does not agree with him and reacts against this behaviour and obliges him to come out where he hides. To strengthen her disapproval, she uses this proverb of greediness saying that he who eats too much and clumsily, gets problems in his life.

If we analyse the proverb out of context, we can deny the truth value of the proverb. In fact, the proverb is an exaggeration itself. It is unreasonable to say that "one can eat a mollusc". In Burundian culture, a mollusc is not eaten by human beings. Also there is an exaggeration while saying that "a mollusc can break the cheek of someone".

But, in order to understand the proverb, we have to refer to the context. Then, to eat a mollusc means to eat clumsily without distinction. To break the cheek stands for the fact of getting problems. So the whole proverb *"Nkunde kurya yariye igifyera kimumena itama"*, means that he who eats everything without distinction, ends sadly his life.

In brief, the behaviour of Mahanga in borrowing money from everywhere, brings him humiliation. The illocutionary force of the proverb is to warn people to avoid humiliation caused by greediness.

4.5. Irresponsibility.

Irresponsibility is defined as the state of being irresponsible. Indeed, to be irresponsible is defined as doing things without a proper sense of responsibility. It is important to note that being responsible is defined as being legally or morally obliged.

This can be illustrated by the following situation where a greedy person forgets his responsibilities.

"Turasosa ntasukura"

T : "He who can not restrain from what he likes, can not carry out his duties properly".

SITUATION.

Gahungu n'umugabo akora muri OTRACO. Mugabo rero n'umuntu akunda inzoga, maze zaramaze kumwigarurira. Ari ku kazi yama atoroka kuzirondera. Ivyo rero bigatuma atarangura akazi bamushinze.
Umukoresha arateba aramwirukana ati va mukazi Nakare ngo "Turasosa ntasukura".

T : Gahungu is a man who works in OTRACO company. He is fond of beer. He goes out without permission for the sake of finding it. This causes him to fail at his job. So his employer sends him away, telling him that he can not carry out his duties properly if he can not restrain from things he likes.

Irresponsibility is a bad behaviour which brings bad consequences.
An irresponsible man has no place in the society. On the contrary, responsibility is the quality of a great man, it has to be observed everywhere.
Normally if someone is admitted to a given work, he makes a promise to respect the rules and norms of the company. He takes this as a duty.
But if, I analyse the situation above, I notice that Gahungu fails to accomplish duties assigned to him. He does not restrain from beer which he likes very much. He goes on searching for it during working hours.
In consequence, his employer is deceived by this behaviour and sends him away. He tells him that who can not restrains from beer can not be reliable.

The meaning of this proverb is captured after having explained these key terms : *"Turasosa"* refers to a greedy person who can not restrain from things which he is dying for : *"Ntasukura"* refers to a greedy person who can not carry out his duty, so the whole proverb *"Turasosa ntasukura"* means that he who can not restrains from things he likes very much, can not be efficient in his work.

As being the consequence of greediness, irresponsibility has been a handicap for Gahungu to accomplish his job.

The illocutionary force of the proverb is an invitation to any conscious human being to be responsible.

4.6. Laziness.

Laziness is defined as the state of being unwilling to work. Laziness stands for a bad behaviour of not wanting to work and to live on other's efforts. Laziness is very linked to greediness since a greedy person does not want to work, his mission is to fill his stomach without getting tired.

The following situation illustrates how a greedy woman goes to bar and forgets her children's needs.

"Intura ntava ku nama"

T : A lazy person forgets all his duties.

SITUATION.

Alice n'umugore atitwaririka ivyo muhira. Ntakunda gukora, n'iyo agiye gusumira abana, aca aja mu kirabo. Akahateba, akibagigwa natwa twana twiwe. Rero atashe asanga turiko turarira dushonje. nyinabukwe avyumvise aramukankamira ati uricishije abana inzara, wa ntura ntava ku nama we.

T : Alice is a lazy woman. When she goes to the market to buy food for the children, she goes to a bar and spends a good moment there.
When she arrives at home, she finds her children weeping of hunger. Then her mother-in-law shouts to her that she is a lazy woman who can not care for her children's needs.

In Burundian tradition, a woman is expected to be someone who does not neglect anything, who knows what is needed and useful for the family. It is worth noting that the mother is the central figure in the education of children, a task which is more challenging than the delivery itself.

In fact, despite the high value assigned to the mother as a child bearer and a child deliverer, there are tasks which women are expected to perform. In the household, a woman being the provider of food, she has to work hard all the year along.

In addition, a woman may not give much importance to beer, otherwise she may be taken as shameless. Traditionally, she has no right to go to a pub, this is special only for men.

But if we analyse the meaning of this proverb, it is not easy to grasp it before we explain these cultural terms. Therefore *"Intura"* means the one who brings and removes a pot of beer. *"ku nama"* symbolizes the court where people used to be gathered around beer. It is important to bear in mind that the court is seen as a place full of joy and happiness. The reason is that many people come to the court for singing, reciting, praising, eating, drinking, and also dancing.

In order to match the proverb with the situation, the lazy woman is compared to that person who removes a pot of beer and who forgets to return back home, because he expects to get what to eat and drink at the court. In this context, Alice does not fulfil the qualities and duties assigned to her or to any Burundian woman. Once in a pub, she forgets all duties of educating and feeding her children.

Then this bad behaviour of laziness of Alice brings her mother-in-law to be very angry. She shouts to Alice by uttering this proverb that a lazy person forgets all his duties.

The illocutionary force of this proverb is to advise people to avoid laziness and to work hard.

Laziness is also specified by the following proverb :

"Umukunzi w'inda agira ngo ngwaye inyonko ya kwega imitemere".

T : A greedy man always tries to trick people.

SITUATION.

Muri iyi minsi hariho abantu b'igito b'ibinebwe, Bashaka guhaza inda zabo batazi kuzironderera. Niho rero babesha ngo ni ba ntahonikora kugira baronke imfashanyo ya Leta. Bimaze kumenyekana, abajejwe gutanga imfashanyo barabahanuye ngo bahebe iyo nyifato kuko ibatukisha. Umwe muri bo aca abacira uyu mugani ati "Umukunzi w'inda agira ngo ngwaye inyonko ya kwega imitemere".

T : Nowadays, there are lazy people who want to fill their stomach without working. They don't know how to look for things which can help them to live. Therefore they pretend to be miserable so as to get help. When this attitude is discovered, people in charge of giving this assistance advise them to drop this habit, because it downgrades them. One of them tells them that a greedy man always finds tricks to get what s/he needs.

One of the consequences of the Burundian crisis has been the migration of population in order to find a peaceful place to live in.

Therefore these people who are forced to leave their lands and pastures get many problems of living. So they live in hard conditions since they do not cultivate.

Remember that before the war of 1993,90% of the Burundian population were cultivators. But nowadays, that average has decreased because of that migration of people who do not have anywhere to cultivate.

As a matter of fact, these people are settled in refugee camps. It is evident that they can not get a good life there. They must live on government's assistance. Unfortunately there is another category of lazy people who want to benefit from this assistance even though they are not refugees. These people do not want to work.

We all know that to cultivate requires a certain physical effort. What is needed is hard working and here laziness has no room. In this activity, only hard workers succeed. Sometimes there is too much sun and some people feel tired as soon as they arrive on the field.

In Burundian culture, the ancestors have always discouraged the behaviour of laziness. At an early age, a young Burundian was initiated to hard working. They teach to the young generations that if one works hard, one gets a hope of success in his life.

If I analyse the situation above, I notice that these lazy people fail to live on hard work. That is why they pretend to be miserable in order to get assistance from the government. But this behaviour is discovered, and the people in charge of giving this assistance advise them to drop that bad habit of laziness.

The illocutionary force of this proverb is an invitation to hard working and to avoid laziness.

4.7. Violence.

Violence is defined as a harmful or unlawful use of strength. From this definition, we can say that violence brings negative consequences, since it is used to destroy or to harm.

The following example shows how a governor uses his authority in taking the population's lands away from them.

"Igishegu rukemwa ni rukombantango"

T : A daring person does unbearable things.

SITUATION.

Buramatari yihaye amatongo ku nguvu mu ntara atwara. Abanyagihugu birabashavuza, ariko barabura uko bagira. Niho rero bavuga bati reka atunyage, ba sokuru barayamaze bo bavuze ko Igishegu rukemwa ari rukombantango.

T : The governor takes pieces of land by force. This makes all people angry but they can not know what to do. They simply say that the ancestors were right when they say that a daring person does unbearable things.

In order to understand this proverb, we must explain these key terms that is "igishegu", *"gukema"* and *"gukomba intango"*. In fact, the word *igishegu* (initiated) is linked to the tradition of *"ukubandwa"* the most characteristic of *"igishegu"* is a shameless behaviour and a shameless language.

In the initiation of "ukubandwa" (ritual initiation) the "ibishegu" (initiated) were called children of God. By their social reputation, they caused fear in the population. The latter was forced to give whatever was ordered by them. In addition to this, as they were shameless persons, they ate in disorder and asked to add on more food.

That *'igishegu"* is compared to a greedy person. The verb *"gukema"* pictures the idea of causing fear. In other words that initiated person is feared by many people. The act of *"gukomba intango"* stands for the idea of finishing all and not be satisfied, the act stands for the character of a greedy person. Then the whole proverb "igishegu rukemwa ni rukombantango" stands for that greedy person who can even use violence in order to fill his stomach.

If I analyse this context, the governor did not respect any law in getting pieces of land of his people. He uses only his position and takes by force what he is not supposed to take. Consequently, the villagers get angry and use this proverb of greediness in order to denounce the governor.

The illocutionary force of the proverb is to advise all greedy people to model their behaviour and avoid to be violent.

4.8. Selfishness.

To be selfish is defined as chiefly thinking and interested in one's own needs and welfare without caring about others.

Indeed, selfishness is the consequence of greediness since the characteristic of a greedy person is the desire to eat and drink too much and alone.

It is evident that a greedy person has no friends, since friendship implies giving and receiving.
In everyday life of each person, friendship is an aspect of social life which holds a great importance. There are many ways and circumstances from which friendship materializes.
But for the case of a greedy person, friendship has no room. For him, only to receive is of great value.

The following situation illustrates a case where a greedy man kicks out the child of his wife.

"Ukunda amirire, ntukunda abiriwe"

T : A greedy person does not care about others.

SITUATION

Umugabo yitwa Rwimo yarafise amatungo menshi cane. Ibintu vyiza vyose vyabarizwa iwe; eka ntaco umuntu yokwifuje ngo abure. Maze hageze ko yubaka urwiwe ashimana n'umwigeme amaze kuvyara akana k'agahungu. Haciye iminsi baravyara gushika kuri bane. Budakeye na kabiri, wa mugabo atangura kwidogera uwo mugore ngo yirukane wa mwana w"umuzanano, ngo kubera babuze ivyo barya kubera uwo mwana. Erega biruhira kugenda gutyo. Wa mugore niho yahenga ku mugoroba bariko barayaga atangura kuryagumba wa mugabo ati ugira ukenyere unyirukanire umwana, ati ni ho bavuze ko „ ukunda amirire, ntukunda abiriwe.

T : A man named Rwimo was very rich. All the nice things could be found in his household. Nothing of one's wish could be missed there. When it was time to marry, he fell in love with a girl having already a small boy. After some days, they gave birth to 4 children. Very soon the man started to ask his wife to chase away the child she came with, pretending that there was lack of food and it finally happened like that. While they were chatting in the evening, the wife began to quarrel with her husband telling him that a greedy person does not care about others.

Normally, if a man accepts to marry a girl who has already a child, the former accepts to treat this child as his. And after marriage, there must not be any distinction between children because they are brothers and sisters.

In this context, as being too selfish, Rwimo is afraid of sharing his wealth with the child of his wife. And he finally sends away that child. This makes his wife very angry. She complains by uttering that proverb that a greedy person does not care about others.

By this proverb, Rwimo's wife wants to denounce the behaviour of greediness of her husband even though the latter pretends that there is lack of food because of that child.

The illocutionary force of this proverb is to avoid to be selfish because it brings bad consequences.

The idea of selfishness can also be proved through this proverb :

"Ntawuronderera umukunzi ku mukunzi w'inda".

T : You can not make friends with a greedy person

Karibwami yagiye gusaba ishure y'umwana umugabo w'umugenzi wiwe yitwa Nijimbere. Mugabo rero arayimwima kubera yabuze igiturire co kumuhera. Niho yavyiyumvira ingene umwana wiwe agumye muhira ati : « Bari barambariye ko Nijimbere utamuhereye ataco akumarira, nta bugenzi bwiwe nakare ngo « Nta wuronderera umukunzi ku mukunzi w'inda.

T : Karibwami went to ask a place for his son at a school where his friend Nijimbere is a headmaster. The latter refused because Karibwami did not have money to bribe him. The son stayed at home. He remembered that people have told him that when you did no bribe Nijimbere, he could not offer you any help. Karibwami concludes by saying that there is no friendship of him because you can not make friends with a greedy man.

Normally, all Burundian children have the right to education. Nevertheless there is a bad behaviour of asking bribes to parents who are looking for schools for their children. In the situation above, Nijimbere does not care about his friend's needs. He asks for bribes in order to give him the place for his son. Nijimbere is too selfish, he does not care about his friendship with Karibwami. In consequence the Karibwami's son stayed at home. After that, Karibwami states, that there is no friendship with a greedy person.

The illocutionary force of this proverb is to advise people to avoid greedy persons in the society.

4.9. Lack of self-respect.

Self-respect is defined as the feeling that one is behaving and thinking in ways that will not cause one to be ashamed of oneself. It is characteristic of serious and wise people and in accordance with the Burundian culture, self-respect is among the items thanks to which an individual is valued. Therefore anyone who lacks this quality is despised and avoided, as can be illustrated through the following proverb :

" Inshirasoni s'iyiroga n'iyirya abandi babona".

T : Self-respect does not go with greediness.

SITUATION.

Umutama yitwa Ntibitugoye yaba mw'itongo rimera. Yarubatse biragenda neza. abana barakura mbere barasohoka. Nabonyene baratera imbere baravyara, wa mutama aronka abuzukuru batari bake. Umunsi uri izina ba bana biwe bashaka kumunezereza, bamurungikira abuzukuru ngo baze kumuramutsa. Basanga yatumiye ababanyi ngo baze kumufasha kunezerwa kwakira ivyo bibondo. Bahejeje gutegura neza ibitufungurwa vyo kubazimana, wa mutama kuko yari umukunzi w'inda aca abikorokerako arabifungura, ntiyibuka gusangira na ba buzukuru icibagiwe n'ababanyi. Mwenawabo niho yaduka ati emwe niho bavuze ko inshirasoni atari iyiroga gusa ahubwo ari iyirya abandi babona.

T : Ntibitugoye lived on a fertile land. He got married and got children whom he married. His children progressed and gave birth to many children and the man got many grand-children. One day his children sent him his grand-children so as to please him. He had invited neighbours to help him welcome his guests. When the food was ready, Ntibitugoye, a greedy person, ate everything without sharing even with his grand-children. All of, sudden his brother exclaimed : "oh that is why they said self-respect can not go with greediness"

As it can be seen in the above situation, Burundian despise someone whose self-respect is not sufficient or totally absent. To correct him or provide a moral education to children they often do it by means of proverbs which are related to situations. Here, the person whose name is Ntibitugoye does not care about his personality. His self-respect is lost. The fact is that in Burundi, if someone sees his grand-children, he is likely to offer them all what he possesses ; situation which is quite different for Ntibitugoye who does eat everything without sharing with them. Then Ntibitugoye will be despised by everybody and forever. His brother is too much eloquent in illustrating the extent to which greediness can lead to a bad consequence.

The illocutionary force of this proverb is an advice to people to be self-respectful.

Still in the line of trying to provide a more moral lesson to someone who lacks self-respect, Burundians can utter the following proverb :

"Uburyarya burisha ibikoba".

T : Lack of self-restrain leads to a great aftermath.

SITUATION

Umugabo yitwa Yohani n'umuntu w'umukunzi w'inda. Yamenyereye kwama yujuje inda, yama aborerwa. Ikindi gihe arakena, aca atangura gutwara abana b'iwe b'abakobwa mu bazungu kugira aronke ama dollari. Niho umwe mu bagenzi biwe yaca amubwira ati : niho bavuze ko uburyarya burisha ibikoba, aho urakenyeye udandaze abana bawe, ntuzi ko boshobora kwandura SIDA ?

T : A greedy man called John used to eat too much and drinking to the extent of being drunk. When he became poor, he started to bring his daughters to white men provided that they gave him dollars. Then, his friend said to him that the ancestors were right saying that lack of self-restrain leads to a great aftermath. Asking him why he dared sell his children and ignored that they could catch AIDS.

In the above situation, this man has totally lost self-respect. Normally in traditional Burundi, a father does not need to know anything in relation to the sexual behavior of his daughter. He never gets involved not even in a conversation with them in such a topic as it is included in what Burundians refer to as imiziro (taboos).

Thus, this man who dared talk with his daughters about sexual matters, who has even gone further to the extent of selling them due to his greediness, can be judged as immoral and devalued and then without self-respect.

When Burundians utter such a proverb, they compare the fact of eating "ibikoba" (skins) characteristic of dogs, to the fact of selling one's daughters and then constitutes an invitation to abandoning such a bad behaviour.

4.10. Sadism.

Sadism is another behaviour which is expressed through proverbs by Burundians. It is defined as any morbid enjoyment in being cruel.

Actually, proverbs expressing such a behaviour illustrate how people feel when they see a bad consequence that someone who is greedy is undergoing. This behaviour is analysed in the following 2 proverbs :

"Inda nini ntiba impamba"

T : Eating too much does not mean saving

SITUATION.

Umukecuru yari yarigorewe, yari yarapfakaye, abana bose bari barasohotse ariko bari ibigaba kuko ataco bari bakimufasha. Umuntu w'umugiraneza babana atangura kuja aramufasha, eka akamuha ibishoboka vyose. Umunsi uri izina yari yateguye ivyo kurya biryoshe, birunze neza, ka gakecuru kabibonye karabirya n'uguhokereza karahokereza. Erega bikarwa nabi kuzura inda, karuhira kuvurirwa kwa muganga. Wa mugiraneza abonye gakize niho yitwengera akabarira ati mbe aho warya ibikwica wagira ngo inda nini iraba impamba ?

T : A lonely poor old woman whose husband was dead and his children were no longer in help as they were in their respective families. A well intended person living nearby accepted to take care of her by clothing and feeding her. One day, he had prepared delicious food and the old woman ate beyond the limit to the extent that she was taken to the hospital for a treatment.

After she was cured, the well intended person laughing at her, asked her if she thought that eating too much was synonymous with saving.

" Wuzuza isaho ikakuniga".

T: Eating too much leads to failure.

SITUATION

Baragasika ni umutama w'umukunzi w'inda aba mu bateshejwe izabo kw'ibubu. Umunsi umwe abagiraneza baje kubagarukirako babazaniye ivyobafasha mu kurindira ko amahoro yogaruka kugira basubire mu vyabo, araheza ajana n'abuzukuru biwe gutora ivyo bintu. Kubera inzo mfashanyo zari zigizwe hanini n'ivyo kurya akunda (ibigori n'ubwishaza, n'inyama zo mu magopo) yicura ko abuzukuru bohava bihako, aca abipakira mu mufuko wiwe gusa, aca awurema umutwe. Kubera vyari biremereye nawe ashaje ntiyashobora kuvyikorera niho bagenzi we babimukorera. Bugingo agize intambwe zibiri ca gifuko kimuca kw'izosi kimutura hasi aca avuna ukuboko. Ba buzukuru batwengera rimwe bati awa, wari wibagiye ko wuzuza isaho ikakuniga.

T: Baragasika is a greedy old man living in the refugee camp of Kwibubu. One day members of the H.C.R. (High Commission for Refugees) came to assist them while still waiting to go back home after peace restoration.

He went to benefit from their assistance with his grandchildren. As what he received was made of food he liked too much (corn, peanut and tins) he packed them in one container so as avoid his grand-children to take some of the food and carry it himself. Unfortunately after his friend succeeded to help him put it on his head, he fell down and broke one of his arm. His grandchildren laughing at once with a funny tone that eating too much leads to failure.

In the above 2 situations, these old people have adopted a marginal behaviour of greediness. Normally in Burundian culture, old people would not give much importance to food; otherwise they would be taken as greedy. These 2 old people have adopted a behaviour, which is despised by other people. Indeed during their sufferings, people laughed at them.

The illocutionary force of these 2 proverbs is to make fun of greedy people.

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

Throughout this work, I have tried to deal with a pragmatic analysis of Kirundi proverbs related to greediness. Proverbs analysed here show all the consequences of greediness in the life of the Burundian people. Then I have analysed their uses in conversation by using the pragmatic theories namely speech act theory. Let me summarize briefly the major points of this work.

In the first chapter I have introduced the problem and some preliminaries to my study, i.e. motivation, aims, scope and delimitation of the study.

The second chapter deals with literature review. In this chapter I have focused first on one branch of linguistics, which has been chosen as a framework of my study: Pragmatics. I have tried to define pragmatics and kept close to Levinson (1983) in order to avoid many definitions.

The more general definition I have chosen is that of Levinson (1983: 27) who specifies the important points relevant to the understanding of language in context in defining Pragmatics as the study of deixis, at least (in part) implicature, presupposition, speech act and aspects of discourse definition.

I have talked about the relationship between pragmatics and semantics. I have seen that Pragmatics can be considered as the study of utterance meaning while semantics is the study of sentence meaning.

After having analyzed the relationship between a sentence and an utterance, I have seen that there must be an interaction between the two branches of linguistics.

It is important to note that in the collection of my data, I have considered the role of the context. Considering that in social conversation, the intended meaning is not always easy to grasp. I have reviewed conversational implicature, and particularly Grice's cooperative principles and the presupposition condition. In addition, I have made use of the notions of speech acts from Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). A focus has been the illocutionary acts.

In the third chapter, which is the methodology, I have described the different ways I have used in collecting, and analyzing data and the difficulties I encountered.

In the fourth chapter, I have analyzed some Kirundi proverbs related to greediness at the pragmatic level. In this analysis, I have tried to find some appropriate situations in which to put proverbs. Considering their meanings, they refer to negative values i.e. consequences of greediness such as improvidence, insatiability, cheating, irresponsibility, violence, laziness, selfishness, sadism, lack of self-respect.

In fact, this analysis of proverbs related to greediness allowed me to realize that in Burundian culture, greediness is considered as an execrable vice. It increasingly prevents the human being from being someone with good human bound and social values. In other words, a greedy person always lives with a certain degree of unsatisfaction he is always disbalanced, looking for something to calm down his gluttonous desires or appetites. Consequently, he becomes selfish, improvident, trickster, humiliated, lazy, irresponsible, violent, without self-respect and people use sadism in order to make fun of him.

In my analysis, each proverb has its illocutionary force, which is the act of intending these proverbs to perform an act for example advice, warning etc.

However, I can not expect to have exhausted the subject. The constraint of time limitation did not allow me to push the study further. If I had means and more time, I would like to enlarge the analysis on a large number of situations in order to be more informed.

A further research could be on other aspects of the subject such as the syntactic and stylistic one, to name but a few.

APPENDIX.

1. Incabacabanya y'umugabo ihanwa n'ukurya ntiraze
T : An improvident man regrets after he gets problems
2. Incacanya y'ukurya ihanwa n'ukumara
T: Improvidence brings bad consequences
3. Umukunzi w'inda wa cane ahasha umusyi
T : A greedy man discourages his supplier
4. Ngaye agaya umwengo
T : An insatiable man becomes more demanding
5. Bwenge murya hasigaye ubundi haruguru
T: Cunning man must know that others can see what he does
6. Urya nk'inka ugapfa nk'imbwa
T : He who eats too much ends in misery
7. Nkunde kurya yariye igifyera kimumena itama
T : He who eats too much and clumsily gets problems in his life
8. Turasosa ntasukura
T: He who can not restrain from what he likes, can not carry out properly his duties
9. Intura ntava ku nama
T : A lazy person forgets all his duties
10. Umukunzi w'inda agira ngo ngwaye inyonko ya kwega imitemere
T: A greedy person always tries to trick people
11. Igishegu rukemwa ni rukombantango
T: A daring person does not care about others
12. Ukunda amirire ntukunda abiriwe
T: A greedy person does not care about others
13. Ntawuronderera umukunzi ku mukunzi w'inda
T : You can not make friends, with a greedy person
14. Inshirasoni s'iyiroga ni iyirya abandi babona
T : Self-respect does not go with greediness

15. Uburyarya burisha ibikoba
T : Lack of self-restrain leads to a great aftermath
16. Inda nini ntiba impamba
T : Eating too much does not mean saving
17. Wuzuza isaho ikakuniga
T: Eating too much leads to failure.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. Uwu mugani nciye haraho woba umaze kuwumva ?
T: Have your ever heard someone uttering this proverb I have uttered.
2. Bawuca ryari ?
T: On which occasion do we utter this proverb?
3. Mbarira ingaruka mbi z'ubukunzi bw'inda ?
T: Give me some of the consequences of greediness.
4. None uwo mugani bawuca bashaka kuvuga iki ?
T: What is the message conveyed through this proverb.
5. Mfasha unsigurire aya majambo ari muri uyu mugani
T : Help me and explain the meaning of the following terms used in this proverb

List of informants.

1. Kabwa Antoine (60 years)
2. Bigega Paul (76 years)
3. Nyandwi Simon (67 years)
4. Nyamushirwa Lydwine (56 years)
5. Matemere (90 years)
6. Majambere (50 years).

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