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A pragmatic analysis of speeches delivered during the ceremony of investing an Umushingantahe (a wiseman)

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UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES DELIVERED DURING THE CEREMONY OF INVESTING AN UMUSHINGANTAHE (A WISEMAN)

by

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A Thesis submitted in
Partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Licence en Langue et Littérature Anglaises.

Bujumbura, September 2000

DEDICATION

To you my beloved parents
for your endless love and care,
To my brother and sisters
only you know for what,
To wisemen, without whom
this work would not have been
possible or necessary,
To all my best friends,

This work is warmly dedicated

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the assistance of several people that I fear to forget some if I attempt to name them all. However, some people deserve a special mention.

First and foremost I wish to express my deepest and heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Grégoire NJEJIMANA, Senior Lecturer at the University of Burundi, who kindly accepted to supervise this work from the very initial draft up to the last script. His criticism, corrections and advice were of great help for the completion of this thesis.

Second, I acknowledge my special indebtedness to the lecturing staff of the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Burundi, who provided me with fruitful moral and intellectual training during my academic studies.

Next, my thanks are due to the staff and lecturers of the Faculty of Arts, MAKERERE University, for their splendid assistance in the completion of this thesis during my training in UGANDA.

I should not fail to express my gratitude to those wisemen who cheerfully permitted me to collect the data.

I owe more than I can express to my family and only they will ever know for what.

Finally, to all my friends who helped me in a way or another for the completion of the work, may they find in its success the reward for their support.

STRUCTURE OF THE WORK

This thesis is a pragmatic analysis of speeches delivered during ceremonies of investing ABASHINGANTAHE (wisemen).

The first chapter states the problem which is the difficulty in speech understanding, difficulty bound to language and cultural specific terms. It also provides the aim of the study and the motivation for the study.

The second chapter deals with the review of the related literature. It approaches Pragmatics as a linguistic theory and gives some pragmatic devices useful for the analysis and interpretation of the data.

The third chapter develops the methodological procedures in collecting and analysing the data. Indeed, the data has been collected through the recording of speeches and has been analysed following theoretical arguments of linguists such as Austin, Searle, Clark, Levinsor, and Brown & Yule.

The fourth chapter is the analysis proper. It shows that a formal speech has some specific components and it stresses on the speech acts in five of their categories. It also stresses on illocutionary forces.

The fifth and last chapter concludes and summarises the findings. It also gives suggestions for further research

KEY TO ABREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

E : Extract

i.e. : That is, it means

T : Text

Tr : Translation

Vs : Versus

* : Pause.

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CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION

In former times, Burundi used to have only unwritten traditions. Nowadays, Burundi possesses both written and unwritten or oral traditions, and the former tend to be well-known nowadays. The unwritten forms, however, are less widely known and appreciated. Among them, riddles, maternity congratulations, proverbs and speeches may be mentioned as illustrations.

This paper then seeks to analyse one of those oral traditions, that is the speech delivered during the ceremony of investing an 'Umushingantahe' (a wiseman).

In fact, the concept of kwâtira (to invest a wiseman) is unfamiliar one to most people especially people brought in environments such as urban milieux which rely on literacy and written traditions. It is then important at the outset to point to the implications of certain definite characteristics of this kind of speech which arise from its oral nature. They need to be understood before we can appreciate the quality of that speech form.

It should be noted that I am not attempting to any more ambitious generalised theory of that Kirundi speech in terms of its characteristics. It is only necessary here to speak of the relatively simple organisation. Moreover, the research is carried out in one commune, and of course that kind of speech uttered by people from that area cannot be generalised to the extent that it can be applied to the whole country.

1.1. Statement of the problem

In Burundian culture, people are used to delivering speeches during many ceremonies. Among those requiring speeches, the most commonly known are ceremonies such as that of someone's birth, ceremony of marriage, ceremony of investing an Umushîngantâhe (a wiseman), to name but a few.

The speech delivered during the ceremony of investing a wiseman is part of Burundi cultural heritage. It is then transmitted orally and from generations to generations. It is hence part of Kirundi oral literature. That speech embodies both cultural specific and language specific terms. That is why it is difficult to understand it if you do not know Kirundi language and Burundian culture. This is because Kirundi and Burundian culture share, as any other language and culture, many processes and properties, among them MEANING. In his preface to *Language in culture and society*, *Hymes* states it as follows:

> *There is however, one kind of content, one body of phenomena, which language and culture indubitably share-and that is meaning. (Hymes 1964: XVII)*

The problem is then the difficulty in speech understanding, difficulty bound to language and culture. For instance, the following utterances can be overlooked and therefore, they can miss their corresponding expressed meanings if one does not know Burundian culture.

(1) Uramize akabuye k'ábagabo

(2) Urabâye umugabo ruménwa.

The above utterances can literally be translated respectively as:

The above utterances can literally be translated respectively as:

- 'you swallow the little stone of men' and
- 'you become a strong man'.

Thus, they have literal meanings when isolated from their context. However, they have cultural meanings when they are considered in their context. In fact, they mean that someone is invested as a wiseman and that he is engaged to keep secret and use valuable communication (1). Moreover, that commitment is done once for all (2).

That difficulty in speech understanding is not only met by foreign readership, but also by some Kirundi native speakers. This is, maybe because the phenomenon of kwâtira (to invest wisemen) has been neglected for some time. Fortunately, it is nowadays being revalued and now Burundians, especially younger generations, will have opportunities to listen to that kind of speech and will try to grasp its meaning in that special context.

Thus, this study, following pragmatic principles, will go beyond the linguistic systems to single out what devices wisemen use to achieve their goals.

1.2. Aims of the Study

To carry out a pragmatic analysis of Kirundi speech, especially the speech delivered during the ceremony of investing wisemen, aims at discovering, from its organisation, how Burundians think and express their feelings.

Since this study is pragmatic in nature, I would like to see how the speaker expresses some meanings and achieves his intentions through that speech.

Moreover, the present study seeks to discover what the different illocutionary forces, bound to utterances from that speech, are in a particular context of use.

Finally, this study aims at contributing to the scientific study of Kirundi speeches because till now, works devoted to pragmatic analysis of Kirundi speeches are still limited in number.

1.3. Motivation for the Study

The impulse behind the choice of the topic is the consideration that Burundian people are used to delivering speeches during ceremonies, therefore, my second motivation comes from the desire to know the language used.

In addition, I am motivated by the interest in exploring my own culture. In fact, speeches delivered during ceremonies are equipped with cultural specific terms. It is then worth carrying out a research so that younger generations may have interest in this type of speech.

Finally, the lack of sufficient publications on the topic led me to consider the issue as an object of research.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

The present chapter deals with the literature review related to Pragmatics. The term 'Pragmatics' will be defined and contrasted with 'Semantics'. The approach to Pragmatics will be based upon some well-known linguists' and philosophers' views; the same linguists and philosophers will provide some pragmatic phenomena which are prototypical types of language use. This chapter also deals with some cultural background information about the ceremony of investing "ABASHINGANTAHE" (wisemen).

2.1. Approach to Pragmatics

Pragmatics is a branch of linguistics which deals especially with the study of language as a communication system. Since Pragmatics is a branch of Linguistics, its main concern is to study the use of language, not as distinct from the language, but complementary to language itself as a formal system.

Pragmatic theory is one of the issues in language theory that has a widespread interest among linguists such as Levinson, S.C. (1983) and Leech, G. (1983), to name but a few. It should be useful to give different definitions provided by these linguists in order to get a general view of what 'Pragmatics' is in the use of language.

2.1.1. Defining Pragmatics

As it has already been said, Pragmatics is a branch of linguistics. But the problem here is that it lacks clear boundaries. This defi-

ciency in boundaries has, as a consequence, a diversity of possible definitions which are less satisfactory. Some of the definitions show Pragmatics as different from Grammar and some others delimit it from Semantics.

Traditionally, Pragmatics is defined as the study of language usage. Modern linguists and philosophers acknowledge the task of defining Pragmatics not to be so easy. This is the case of Levinson (1983: 9) when he says:

> *The term 'Pragmatics' covers both context-dependent aspects of language structure and principles of language usage and understanding that have nothing to do with linguistic structure. It is difficult to forge a definition which happily covers both aspects.*

From the above quotation, one can define 'Pragmatics' in relation to one aspect of language use, but it is difficult to find a definition on which all aspects of language use are kept.

The same linguist considers some potential definitions which are more plausible.

'Pragmatics is considered, on the one hand, as the study of relations between language and context that are grammaticalised or encoded in the structure of a language'. Although 'Grammar' here is emphasised, this definition requires to know the boundaries of Semantics to get the remnant and the delimitation of meaning in its broadest sense. I will focus on this in the section dealing with Pragmatics vs Semantics.

On the other hand, Pragmatics is 'the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding'. Here, it is clearly shown that the context plays a great part in language understanding. This means that the understanding of an utterance involves more than the meaning of words and the grammatical relations between them. In other words, it involves the making of inferences to unite the utterance with what is mutually assumed or what has been already done. The notion of language understanding refers to the speaker's meaning which is connected to context.

Levinson's third definition runs as follows:

> *Pragmatics is the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with the context in which they would be appropriate.*

This definition refers to the notion of appropriateness or felicity which is central to Pragmatics. It seems to be complete and therefore enjoys much support among many linguists and philosophers. But it fails to identify the appropriateness of language use since all the users do not necessarily behave in the same manner. Speakers of a language use it differently and some can even use it inappropriately.

Levinson's last definition provides a list of phenomena which Pragmatics must take into consideration. That is, it states the central topics in Pragmatics. It is given in the following terms:

> *Pragmatics is the study of deixis (at least in part) implicature, pressuposition, speech acts and aspects of discourse structure.*

This definition is also complementary to the preceding ones. Indeed, the topics mentioned facilitate to grasp the meaning conveyed in a given context, and thus contribute to the language understanding.

Another definition is given by Collins Cobuilt Dictionary of English Language. According to it, Pragmatics is the study of the way language is used in particular situations, and is therefore concerned with the functions of words as opposed to their forms. It deals with the intention of the speaker, and the way in which the hearer interprets what is said.
This definition is rather complete in itself and can be the summary of the preceding ones. Still, it is worth saying a word on the choice of a pragmatic analysis instead of a semantic one.

2.1.2. Pragmatics vs Semantics

So far I have been dealing with defining Pragmatics yet, what Pragmatic theory should do is still unclear. In other words, the question here is what pragmatic input and output should be. Katz (1977:19) suggests that the input should be the full grammatical (including semantic) description of a sentence, together with information about the context in which it was uttered; while the output is a set of representations (or propositions) which capture the full meaning of the utterance in the context specified. Since a sentence plus its context of use can be called an utterance, Katz's suggestion amounts to the idea that a pragmatic theory is a function whose domain is the set of utterances and whose range is the set of propositions.

Semantics is simply the study of sense. But sometimes a speaker can mean more than, or something different from what he literally says. We need to penetrate the speaker's mind to know his intention. Here, the mutual knowledge of a communicative intention is very important. Thus, there are some meanings which cannot be studied within Semantics, such as figurative and ironical meanings.

Comparing Pragmatics and Semantics, one can notice that both are studies of meaning. They are two branches of Semiotics. However, they are not identical. To differentiate them, John Lyons (1981: 164) asserts the following:

> *Whereas sentence-meaning falls within the scope of Semantics, the investigation of utterance-meaning is part of Pragmatics.*

From the above quotation, there is a need to make a distinction between utterance and sentence so as to have a better understanding of what Pragmatics and Semantics are all about.

According to the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, an utterance is 'what is said by any person before or after another person begins to speak. It may consist of one word or one sentence'. Such a definition is not complete in itself since it fails to include sentences in monologues. A sentence, on the other hand, is defined, by the same dictionary, as 'the longest unit of grammatical organisation within which parts of speech and grammatical classes are said to function'. An English sentence can be an utterance but all utterances are not sentences. The sentence-meaning may be part of utterance-meaning as a result.

In the same connection, Brown and Yule (1983: 19) establish the difference between sentence and utterance in terms of written language and spoken language. They say:

> *It might seem reasonable to propose that the features of spoken language... should be considered as features of utterance, and those features typical of written language as characteristic of sentences.*

From this quotation, an utterance is spoken and a sentence is written.

Levinson (1983) establishes the difference between sentence-meaning and utterance-meaning. According to him, a sentence is, unlike an utterance, an abstract entity which does not depend on the context, that is, not tied to any particular time and place. It is but a unit of the language it belongs to. The meaning of a sentence depends in part on the meaning of the lexical items it contains, on the one hand, and on the way they are put together grammatically, on the other. An utterance is the insurance of a sentence, a proposition, and the like in an actual context. The utterance-meaning can correspond to the sentence-meaning, that is, when the speaker meant exactly what he said, nothing else. But in other cases, the speaker may use other elements such as deixis, gestures, to make explicit the meaning of the sentence uttered indirectly.

Whereas the meaning of a sentence depends on its literal form, that of an utterance goes beyond it and embraces extra-linguistic elements and gets extra-meanings such as metaphorical or ironical ones. A speaker may use a sentence indirectly to mean something different from what is directly said. This is what J. Lyons calls the uncharacteristic use:

A sentence can be used uncharacteristically to mean something different from, or in addition to what is characteristically used to mean.

So far I have been dealing with the differences between Pragmatics and Semantics. Indeed, the difference between them seems to be that Semantics is concerned with sentence-meaning and Pragmatics with utterance-meaning. However, there is a certain interaction and complementarity between the two fields. It is not valid to separate them from each other. Searle (1969) proposes that a satisfactory explanation is attained when one combines Semantics and Pragmatics.

In short, Semantics is concerned with the meaning out of context, whereas Pragmatics deals with the meaning in context and these two branches are complementary to each other.

2.2. Conversational Structure

The notion of conversation implies a spoken communication between people, especially serious conversation about a particular subject. Speakers talk in order to have some effect on their listeners. They ask them questions to get them to provide information. They request things, they promise, bet, warn, and exclaim to affect them in still other ways.

Sacks (1976) and his followers Jefferson and Schegloff, cited in NDABANEZE, E. (1996), were the first to focus on conversation as the 'simplest instance of a naturally organised activity'. They see conversation as having three main sections namely the opening, the speaker change or the turn-taking, and the closing section.

The opening section comprises a series of "Hellos' followed by an exchange of 'how are yous', each with their paired responses.

The second section is what has been referred to as the turn-taking. If the participants in a conversation are ever to achieve their goal jointly, they must agree on an orderly passing of the conversational ball from one person to the next. For instance, in a two-part conversation, the turns alternate between speaker A and speaker B as in A-B-A-B-A-B-... distribution. But with more people, the turn-taking becomes much more involved. For the turn-taking to be effective, Herbert H. Clark and Eve.V.Clark (1977: 227) give the following major requirements:

- each participant should have a chance to talk
- only one person should talk at a time (so that he or she can be heard)
- the gaps between turns should be brief (for efficiency)
- the order of speakers, and the amount they say, should be fixed ahead of time
- there must be techniques for deciding who should speak when.

After these exchanges of turn-takings comes the closing section. This section implies that there must be a point at which an end must be put to the conversation. The closing section must then be done carefully so that none would be forced to exit while still having something to say. This is why most of the time conversation end is preceded by arrangements for further meetings followed finally be a sequence of 'okays' just prior to a final exchange of 'goodbyes'. These are globally the parts that constitute a conversation. It is not hard to see why one should look to conversation for insight into

pragmatic phenomena, for conversation is clearly the prototypical kind of language use.

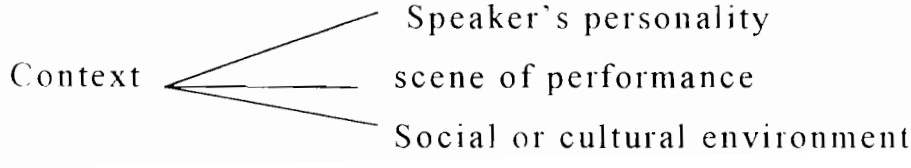
2.3. The Role of Context

The notion of context has been an object of study among linguist such as Lyons (1981), Brown and Yule (1983), Wardhough (1985), and many others. Lyons (1981: 219) underlines that there is no simple answer to the question of knowing what the context is. Brown and Yule (1983: 25) point out that the context refers to the circumstances in which language is used. As for Wardhough (1985: 102), he sees context in terms of its role. He states the following:

> *It is context which creates possibilities for interpretation and helps remove the multiple ambiguities that utterances would have if they occurred in isolation.*

The investigation of the use of language in context is more concerned with the relationship between the speaker and the utterance, on the particular occasion of use, than with the potential relation of one sentence to another regardless of their use.

The issue of context is an important one in the study of oral literature. To help us get a vivid picture of this concept, perhaps we should set down a scheme.



The speaker's personality implies everything that the speaker brings as an individual to the performance of the literature: personal artistic inclinations, family background, and personal experience as well as training received and the circumstances in which the speaker has frequently worked that may be said to have contributed to the formation of a personal style.

'Context' has features which are relevant to the disambiguation in describing what speakers and hearers are doing. Those features include participants, knowledge of the world, reference, presupposition, inference and implicatures.

2.3.1. Participants

Lyons (1977: 36) underlines that the speaker addresses an utterance to another person who is present in the situation. He focusses on the social status of the participants which determines the terms of address if the speaker is to produce appropriate sentences in various situations.

2.3.2. Knowledge of the World

According to Brown and Yule (1983: 233), the interpretation of a discourse is based to a large extent on a simple principle of analogy with that we have experienced in the past.

2.3.3. Reference

Lyons (1968: 404) cited in Brown and Yule (1983) interprets 'reference' as the relationship which holds between words and things. Here, it is the speaker who refers.

2.3.4. Presupposition

According to Stalnaker (1978: 321), cited in Brown and Yule (1983), presupposition is what is taken by the speaker to the common ground of the participants in the conversation. Presupposition is an other kind of pragmatic inference. It seems to be based more closely on the actual linguistic structure of sentences. Such inferences cannot be thought of as semantic in the narrow sense, because they are too sensitive to contextual factors. There is more literature on the topic 'presupposition' than on almost any other topic in Pragmatics except perhaps speech acts.

2.3.5. Inference

Brown and Yule (1983) argue that the hearer, since he has no direct access to a speaker's intended meaning, often has to rely on a process of inference to arrive at an interpretation for utterances or for the connection between utterances.

In communicating, speakers aim at meeting certain general standards and hearers interpret the utterances with these standards in mind. In other words, knowing what the speaker actually said in producing a particular utterance is a matter of, first, knowing what range of possible senses and possible referents could have been intended, and second, knowing which sense and reference were intended on that occasion.

2.3.6. Implicatures

According to Grice (1975), implicatures are what a speaker can imply, suggest, or mean as distinct from what the speaker literally

says. Grice goes on by identifying two kinds of implicatures namely conventional meaning of the words, and conversational implicature determined by the conventional implicature derived from a general principle of conversation plus a number of maxims which a speaker will normally obey.

As far as the topic under study is concerned, conversational implicature will be used in the analysis of the speech under study. I will come back to that theory when dealing with the notion of speech acts.

In short, it is not easy to define the scope of context. Thus, the list of contextual features mentioned above is not exhaustive. Other features include physical setting, topic and others. I have only chosen those which seem to be more important. One thing sure is that context plays a central role in a pragmatic analysis, as Wardhough (1985: 101) says:

> *If we were to attempt to say what any utterance in a conversation meant and, in doing so, ignored its context of use, we would be forced to conclude that its meaning would be vague and ambiguous.*

2.4. The notion of Speech Acts.

The notion of speech acts is one of the issues in language theory that has a widespread interest among many scholars. It has been developed from the works of linguistic philosophers mainly Searle (1969) and Austin (1962). In what follows , I will keep very close to both Searle's formulation of speech acts and the reference to Austin's.

Speech acts theory treats an utterance as an action that is intentionally or conventionally performed by a speaker in a given context and that one or more addressees or hearers react to.

According to Austin (1962), performing a speech act involves three different types of actions caused by the utterance of a sentence and that are simultaneously performed. They are the following:

(i) **Locutionary act.**i.e. an act of producing a sentence, a signal recognisable by the hearer.

(ii) **An illocutionary act**.i.e. a use of an utterance to perform a function, a specific purpose such as promising, warning, commanding or simply informing.

(iii) **A perlocutionary act**.i.e. the results or effects produced by means of saying something. The perlocutionary act is obtained when the illocutionary act has achieved its purpose on the addressee or hearer.

Searle (1969) seems to dissociate himself from Austin's (1962) assumption of speech act theory. Like Austin, Searle also distinguishes three different types of action which are the following:

(i) **The utterance act** which is the bringing forth of certain speech sounds.

(ii) **The propositional act** referring to and predicating some properties of something or someone i.e. the use of a content and reference.

(iii) **The illocutionary act** which is a conventional activity accomplished by discourse such as promising and ordering. In

other words, the illocutionary act is the act of investing the utterance with a communicative force.

Austin and Searle's classification, though distinct, are not contradictory. They are rather complementary. Trying to combine them, one gets four types of acts. They are the following:

(i) **The locutionary/utterance act** roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with certain sense and reference.

(ii) **The propositional act** equivalent to the act of uttering something meaningful.

(iii) **The illocutionary act** referred to as a performance of a certain function in saying something.

(iv) **The perlocutionary act** equivalent to what we bring about by saying something.

One should notice that these four acts are simultaneous in a conversation. In fact, while the speaker is uttering sounds (utterance act), the hearer recognizes the meaning conveyed (propositional act) and thereby, the speaker's intention is achieved (illocutionary act) by the effects produced on the hearer (perlocutionary act).

In general, the notion of speech acts can be understood as an act performed by the speaker towards the person addressed and there are various kinds of acts into which utterances fit.

For speech acts to come off properly, Searle (1965) contributes to the necessary conditions that they have to meet. These are what he calls 'felicity conditions'. They are the following:

(i) **The propositional content rules** which specify restrictions with respect to reference and predication. An example given is a propositional content from what Alan says to Ben: 'I will go home tomorrow'. It must predicate a future act.

(ii) **Preparatory rules** which express the condition without which the act cannot be performed. From the above sentence, Alan must believe that Ben would prefer Alan's going home tomorrow to his not going home tomorrow. And Alan must also believe that it is not obvious to Alan or Ben that Alan would go home tomorrow in the normal course of things.

(iii) **Sincerity rules** which express the psychological state of the speaker.e.g Alan intends to go home tomorrow.

(iv) **Essential rules** which specify the essence of the act.
e.g. by uttering the above sentence, Alan undertakes an obligation to go home tomorrow. If all these rules are not fulfilled, the result is that of an infelicitousness of a speech act.

Searle also distinguishes five major categories of speech acts according to their illocutionary forces. They are the following:

(i) **Representatives** which commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition.
e.g. an assertion such as 'John is at home'.

(ii) **Directives** which are attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something.
e.g. a command such as 'Go home'.

(iii) **Commissives** which commit the speaker to some future course of action.

e.g. a promise such as: 'I promise you I will go home'.

(iv) **Expressives** which express a psychological state.

e.g. an apology such as 'I apologise for going home'.

(v) **Declaratives** which effect or cause immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and which tend to rely on extra-linguistic institution.

e.g. a dismissal such as 'You are fired!'

2.4.1. Conversational Implicature

A conversation is a social activity involving at least two people willing to communicate orally. This communication has to be mutually satisfactory and beneficial to both participants. Thus, conversation is a co-operative enterprise. Speakers try to be informative, truthful and clear ; and listeners interpret what they say on the assumption that they are trying to live up to these ideals.

2.4.2. The Co-operative Principle

Brown and Yule (1983: 31-32) present Grice's co-operative principle as follows:

> *Make your conversational contribution such as required, at the state at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.*

According to Grice, on the co-operative principle, speakers have to satisfy the following conversation conventions.

(i) **Maxim of quantity**:
Make your contribution as informative as required, but not more than it is required.

(ii) **Maxim of quality**:
Try to make your contribution one that is true. That is, do not say anything you believe to be false or lack adequate evidence for.

(iii) **Maxim of relation**:
Make your contribution relevant to the aim of ongoing conversation.

(iv) **Maxim of manner**:
Be clear. Try to avoid obscurity, wordiness, and disorderliness in your use of language.

These maxims are more than a code of conversational etiquette. The violation of one of them can mislead the communication. Speakers therefore have to adhere to these maxims.

Grice's conversational maxims and Searle's felicity conditions discussed later, are constraints on the appropriateness of utterances. Speakers are assumed to follow these rules on the default situation. All of these theories can describe parts of our cultural understanding of discourse-interaction in general and of the speech delivered during the ceremony of investing an 'Umushîngantâhe' in particular.

In short, in planning an utterance, speakers have to decide on its illocutionary content, which refers to the propositional content of the speaker's utterance; on which speech act they intend to make and how. The nature of the speech act should therefore play a central role in the process of speech production. Speakers begin with the intention of affecting their listeners in a particular way, and they select and utter a sentence they believe will bring about just this effect.

The main focus is to make explicit the notion of illocutionary force that will be useful in the analysis of the data. Levinson (1983: 13) holds that the meaning of an utterance, in the sense that it is considered as a goal oriented communication, be it a goal of a speaker to perform in producing the utterance, can be called its perlocutionary force. In other words, perlocutionary force involves the psychological effect of the speech on the hearer. If one can give an explicit performative of an utterance, then this explicit performative of the utterance becomes its illocutionary force. In other words, illocutionary force is what is accomplished by what is said.

The notion of speech acts will be applied in analysing the selected data to get an account of how some apparently unconnected utterances go together in such a conversational discourse to form a coherent sequence.

2.5. Cultural Background Information

This section will focus on cultural concepts used in the present study and which need to be described, explained and defined. These concepts are the concept of kwatira Abashîngantahe 'to invest wisemen' and the concept of Umushîngantahe 'a wiseman'.

2.5.1. Definition of Cultural Concepts

2.5.1.1. Kwâtira 'to invest'

Kwatira is a process whereby people, especially elder ones, are allowed to enter a particular social group, usually by having special ceremonies and teaching them particular secrets and skills, and giving them certain powers. After, they are considered as judges.

The concept of kwâtira is older than anyone could imagine. This is because conflicts among Burundians have always existed. One informant said that 'Abashîngantâhe bâmyého' 'wisemen have always existed'.

Etymologically, Kirundi verb 'kwâtira' can be the equivalent of many English verbs and phrasal verbs such as to gulp down, to drive, to initiate someone to a certain practice or a business, to bestow a status or an authority, to ordain, to invest, etc. With respect to the present study, the appropriate equivalent of kwâtira would be to invest someone. Trying to describe the phenomenon of kwâtira, one has to rely on Burundian culture. Indeed, kwâtira is a Burundian traditional practice which consists of bestowing men, judged as having a certain authority in their constituency, the task of rendering justice and reconciling people in conflict.

The question here is to know who were supposed to give that authority and that task and power. The answer is given by NDAGIJIMANA Côme in Que Vous en Semble. (1971) when he says: 'umuryango niwo watira' and 'umugabo niwe agira uwundi' meaning respectively 'that it is the family which invests' and 'it is a wiseman

who invests other wisemen'. Men chosen to be wisemen have to change their initial social status since the very moment they receive that authority.

There are some social conditions to get at the state of wisemen. The '*mushingantahe*' has to offer first of all a lot of pots of beer to be consumed by the public on the ceremony of kwâtira. Moreover, Ether, M. (1972) provided us with some other cultural requirements. These requirements are linked to the fine rhetorical style applied to all public speaking. Logic is also the correct method for the wiseman, whose goal is to arrive at a sound judgement as a judge presiding in a formal court of law or informally adjudicating a family dispute, offering counsel at the behest of a political superior, or decision-making and problem-solving generally in the conduct of life's serious business.

2.5.1.2. Umushîngantǎhe 'a wiseman'

To define 'umushîngantǎhe', one has to associate his role to the highest ideal of public speaking. Informants of different age, caste, and social roles agree on the criteria and can verbalize them without hesitation: a good judge, intelligent, in complete command of the arts of logic, a fine speaker, i.e. he speaks slowly and with dignity in well-chosen words and figures of speech, he is attentive to all that is said, he has a good memory, enabling him to compare different reports of events, he cannot be bribed.

In the same connection, NKURIKIYE, S. (1991) outlines some criteria assigned to 'umushîngantǎhe'. According to him, *umushîngantǎhe* is an individual with the features (+male; +adult; +honest; +equivalent). He continues to say that *umushîngantǎhe* were, in the Burundian traditional society, distinguished for their sense of integ-

rity, that they were the guardians of the customary law and the guarantors of social harmony and in charge of enforcing moral values in the community. He also says that in a wide sense, the acceptation of the term *umushîngantăhe* came to refer to any male looked up to his moral and social integrity and a host of other qualities.

The concept of *ubushîngantăhe* takes the central place in the value system of Burundian traditional society and its culture. Being invested as *umushîngantăhe* is restricted to men of means who can pay for the costly investiture party and who have demonstrated their ability, usually in a prolonged initiation by attending to cases conducted by those who are reputed to be good judges.

2.6. Empirical Studies on Kirundi Pragmatics

So far studies on Kirundi have been oriented towards morphological, phonological, and syntactic levels, to some extent towards discourse analysis. Albert (1972) is one of the earliest explorations on Kirundi speech behaviour written in English. Till now, there are few studies on Kirundi Pragmatics. These are for instance NKUNDWANABAKE (1987) on maternity congratulations; MUREKAMBANZE (1989) on Kirundi Proverbs; NZORIJANA (1990) on Kirundi Insulting Expressions; BARANDARIYE (1991) on Kirundi Verbs Having a continuative meaning; NKURIKIYE (1991) deals with Kirundi marriage discourse; KIGEME (1992) on Kirundi swearing expressions; NDIKUMAGENGE (1992) on phatic function of some openings, NITEREKA (1992) deals with Kirundi Refusals; KIMONYO (1994) on Kirundi closings; and NIKOBAMYE (1997) on Kirundi Proverbs. This is what has been done on the Pragmatic aspect of Kirundi. Up to now, no study in English has been done on the Pragmatic aspect of Kirundi speech uttered during the ceremony of investing a wiseman.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter contains three main headings:

- Data collection Procedures
- Encountered Difficulties
- Data Analysis Procedures.

The first heading aims at showing how the data has been collected. The second section states the problems encountered in collecting, transcribing and translating the data. The third says briefly the way the data has been analysed.

3.1. Data Collection Procedures

I conducted my research in October 1998, in the commune of Mugongo-Manga, province of Bujumbura. To collect the data, I stayed there a month long and I took part in two ceremonies of investing wisemen.

There are many ways to collect data depending on the topic one is dealing with. As this study has to do with the Pragmatics of speeches, the best way to collect the data is recording. Mainly, there are three methods of recording an oral performance. The first and traditional method is hand-copying, which is in many respects, a very inadequate way of representing the event. The second and most common methods is tape-recording, which ensures that the various sounds (mainly vocal and instrumental) made during the performance are captured as faithfully as possible. The third and far the most ex-

pensive method is filmed recording, a more recent development that has not come into general use; by this method, everything (words, music and movements) is recorded; and we have a total picture of what goes on in a performance.

Among these methods, I chose the second one, the others being, one inadequate, the other expensive. Brown and Yule (1983: 9) also argue in favour of the second method.

> *In general, the discourse analyst works with a tape-recording of an event, from which he then makes a written transcription annotated according to his interest on a particular occasion (...). He has to determine what constitutes the verbal event, and what form he will transcribe it in.*

The data used in this study has then been recorded during two ceremonies of wisemen investiture. Tape-recording was used because of its advantages. In fact, if you are working with a tape-recorder, you are sure that no data is likely to be omitted. Moreover, you can rewind the tape as many times as you like and listen to what you have recorded.

I decided to conduct my research at Mugongo-Manga where I assume I have more acquaintances than elsewhere. Hence, I proceeded directly with the recording without having to spend much time familiarising with the inhabitants. I decided that within Mugongo-Manga, the field work was to be restricted to two hills: KAYOYO and MWURA. One could wonder why I selected only two hills. The reason is merely the facilities I had to move from one hill to the other.

In a word, the data has been collected taking part in two wisemen investiture-related ceremonies where four speeches have been recorded per each ceremony, that is, the speech uttered by the candidate-wiseman, the speech of his supervisor, the proper speech of investing a wiseman uttered by the oldest wiseman present at the ceremony, and finally the speech of acknowledgement uttered again by the supervisor of the candidate-wiseman. I have recorded therefore eight speeches. They seem to be enough because speeches delivered during ceremonies of investing wisemen look alike. Hence, there is no need to record a great number of speeches which are pragmatically almost the same.

3.2. Encountered Difficulties

Difficulties encountered are mainly difficulties related to data collection and difficulties related to data translation.

3.2.1. Difficulties in the Collection of Data

In this research, it could be mentioned that recording in a rural milieu is not easy. The first difficulty encountered is that I was doomed to wait a long time for the ceremonies because it was not up to me to programme them. So, I was obliged to stay long in the commune till I was informed about the date and venue of the ceremonies, so that I could attend them and record the speeches. I was also jobless some days since those ceremonies take place only on week-ends. The last but not least difficulty is that people were hard to convince to be recorded. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, in my case, people seemed to be suspicious of the field worker whose intention is to record them.

Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, the essential of my work has been reached and could help me to carry out reliable study.

3.2.2. Difficulties Related to Translation

Translation is not an easy task especially when it deals with two different and distant languages from different origins and cultures, such as Kirundi and English. Indeed, a word-for-word translation is misleading. It is even sometimes impossible because the translator cannot always find equivalent words in languages he is dealing with. There are no two languages which are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds. What matters is the rendering of ideas expressed in the original. This central problem is in all types. While messages may serve as adequate interpretations of code units or messages, there is ordinarily no full equivalence through translation. Even apparent synonymy does not yield equivalence since each unit contains within itself a set of non-transferable associations and connotations. Let us consider, for instance, the following expressions taken from the data:

- Ntůze uté ururímí.

Literally, this expression can be translated as follows:

'Never throw the tongue'

However, as the expression is used metaphorically, it is only by means of cultural connotations that we can understand it. The Kirundi expression 'gutá ururímí' is used when a speaker spends his time speaking to people who do not want to listen to him or simply who cannot understand. Thus, the expression 'ntuze ute ururimi' will be translated in this way:

- May you not speak too much to those who cannot understand.

Thus, knowing the meaning of words composing an expression is not actually to know the meaning of its expression. Equivalence in translation should then not be approached as a search for sameness, since sameness cannot even exist between two target language versions of the same text, let alone between the source language and the target language version.

Another striking difficulty is the case of untranslatability. Catford (1965) distinguishes two types of untranslatability which he terms linguistic and cultural. On the linguistic level, untranslatability occurs when there is no lexical or a source language item. Let us consider for instance the following expression.

- Akīra uyu mugumya

Here, the word "UMUGUMYA" is untranslatable into English. The Kirundi lexical item "UMUGUMYA" is derived from the verb "KUGUMYA" 'to keep'. "UMUGUMYA" is a noun given to a cultural tree from which the stick INTAHE was taken. It is also used to represent the stick INTAHE itself, which stick is used by wisemen while settling disputes among people. They strike it on the ground so as to stir up the ancestors' wisdom. So, there is no English word that can render the idea of "UMUGUMYA" in the original language since English guardians of law do not have the same tree with the same cultural connotations.

On the other hand, cultural untranslatability occurs as the language is the primary modelling system within a culture. So, cultural untranslatability must be de facto implied in any process of translation. Let us consider the following expression.

- Nshāka kó tunywānā́.

In Burundian culture, 'kunywâna' was generally a process whereby two or more than two people established friendships by sharing beer. Traditionally, it is said that that process was done taking some blood drops of the participants and mixing them with some beer, then they would drink that mixture. By doing so, their friendship was established.

In the case of wisemen's investiture, 'kunywâna' means to establish friendships and share with other wisemen the advantages pertaining to them.

Literally, the Kirundi verb 'kunywâna' can be translated as 'to drink together'. But referring to the description made above, one can notice that the verb 'kunywâna' cannot have its equivalence since it is linked to Burundian culture and not to any other culture.

When such difficulties are encountered by the translator (i.e. lexical and cultural untranslatabilities), the whole issue of the translatability of the text is raised. Alan Duff (1981:11) suggests that the translator should help his readers understand source language terms which no satisfactory equivalence exists in the target language, by embedding an explanation of the source language expression. Therefore, in the translation of the data, I will have recourse to circumlocutions when translating lexical and cultural untranslatabilities. Thus, the above expression 'Nshāka kó tunywānā́' will be translated as 'I'd like to be part of your group' and not as 'I'd like to drink with you'.

The last but not least difficulty related to the translation of the data is to make explicit the pragmatic forces since, according to B. Hatim & Mason (1990: 76) "The illocutionary force of each sentence needs to be treated in isolation in order to achieve equivalence". They go on by saying that "the interrelationship of speech acts within sequences leads to the notion of illocutionary structure of a text, determining its progression and supporting its coherence. In translating, one aims at matching speech act for speech act but rather at achieving equivalence of illocutionary structure". (op. cit. p.77). This difficulty appears in many of the expressions that will be analysed in the last chapter of this work. However, the translation of the data will be done not only by taking into account the lexical equivalence, but also and above all the equivalence of speech acts.

In a word, the translation of the data has been semantic rather than a word-for-word one.

3.3. Transcription of the Data

Transcribing the recorded speech from the tape is equally hard work and has to be taken seriously, not only for the needs of the project, but indeed for the sake of future generations, who may depend on the findings. It involves sitting and listening to the tape for many hours, sometimes with the ear close to the speaker, so as to get the words accurately down on the paper.

Transcribing speeches is not an easy task. Isidore Okpewho (1992:348) suggests how the transcription should be:

> *In the transcription (...) it should be accorded all the integrity and respect it enjoys in the familiar context of its expression.*

From the above quotation, one should notice that the task of transcription can be easy for some languages and difficult for others. This convention may be applicable to European languages and hard to follow, if not impossible, in Kirundi language. This is because Kirundi is different from those languages, therefore, transcription symbols would be difficult to use on it. Since Kirundi language is a tone language, the meaning of a word depends on the tone used when producing it. Let us take for example the Kirundi verb 'Guhora'. If it has no tone-marker, it can be ambiguous. It may mean 'to avenge' (guhōra) or 'to be silent' (guhóra). J.B. NTAHOKAJA, a well-known Burundian linguist, has disambiguated the situations by using the following tone markers:

1° ': indicating a high tone

e.g. umusóre: 'young man'

umugoré: 'woman'.

2° ^: Indicating a rising and falling tone.

e.g. Umwâna: 'child'

Kwânkana: 'hate one another'

3° ˇ: Indicating a falling and rising tone

e.g. Umwǎmi: 'king'

Umuhǔngu: 'boy'.

4° ¯: Indicating a long low tone

e.g. Umūntu: 'person'

umugēnzi: 'friend'

5° ¨: Indicating a long high tone

e.g. höse 'everywhere'

böse: 'altogether'.

These tone markers have been used above to transcribe the data analysed in this work.

Another problem not less important is that of form of transcription. The question I have asked myself is: 'Do we transcribe in prose or in verse?' With songs and chants, there is fairly general agreement that the transcription should be done in verse since these are treated as musical forms of one level or another. With narratives and other speeches, however, the matter is not quite so simple. With reference to the business of transcription and translation, Tedlock (1975: 123) warns his colleagues with the appropriate speech breaks, as far as speech transcription is concerned.

> *If anthropologists, folklorists, linguists and oral historians are interested in the full meaning of the spoken word / then they must stop treating oral narratives as if they were reading prose / when in fact they are listening to dramatic poetry.*

From the above quotation, the most striking element in Tedlock's system is that he transcribes all forms of spoken account in broken verse lines, whether or not these accounts are accompanied by musical instrumentation. The idea may be that when people speak, they normally observe periodic breaks and these breaks are determined not only by breath, but especially by emotional rhythm of what they are saying. Consequently, some speakers are long while others are short; at some points speakers speak fast, at other points slow; at some points they raise their voice high, at other points they bring it down so low it is barely audible. These changes are emotionally determined and we must observe the appropriate differentiation between

them, not only by means of line breaks, but also by the use of appropriate forms of typography. Since speeches of investiture are uttered slowly and with dignity, in well-chosen words and figures of speeches, and above all because they are uttered observing regular periodic breaks, which give them a poetic form to some extent, the transcription of the data has been done in verse lines.

The last but not least striking difficulty in the transcription of the data is the case of paralinguistic elements which could not be produced exactly when writing. The most prominent are elements such as the slip of the tongue, hesitations, voice quality, facial expressions and gestures. These elements were not easy to transcribe even if some of them (hesitations, voice quality) were recorded.

However, linguistic and non-linguistic elements which have been unwillingly left out would have also been useful to the pragmatic interpretation of the data.

3.4. Data Analysis Procedures

The analysis of the data will include two main steps. The first step will be to investigate and analyse the kind of speech acts performed by the participants. Here, speech acts will be used to refer to any acts performed by intentional use of language. The nature of speech acts is obtained taking into account the total meaning of the utterances, which involves more than the verbal devices. The reason behind this approach is that when the speaker is uttering the speech of investiture, the illocutionary forces are not immediately made explicit.

To achieve this goal, the analysis will be based upon Searle's and Austin's views. They consider a text as formed by a sequence of speech acts. This will allow us to examine how Burundians use language to communicate through the speech of investiture, especially how the speakers construct linguistic messages and how hearers interpret them. This step will also allow us to analyse and classify the speech acts. Here Searle's (1965a) model of speech acts classification will serve us as the basis in our present study. According to him, "every speech act falls into one of only five general categories" discussed above in literature review.

The second step will be to investigate and analyse the illocutionary forces as introduced by Austin and Searle.

To sum up, the section called 'Data Analysis Procedures' concerns not more than the pragmatic interpretation of the speech of investiture.

CHAPTER IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.0. Introduction to Data Analysis

This chapter includes two main headings. The first section seeks to show how Kirundi speeches delivered during the ceremony of investing wisemen are structurally organised. The second section seeks to show how the language is used, its principles and the relationships between the abstract systems of language and the language in use. In fact, words can sometimes mean something else than their ordinary referents. Or what is actually said can be understood differently by listeners or simply may go unrecognised by them. This is, in brief, what will be shown in the pages to follow.

4.1. Structural Analysis of the Data

The structure of this speech is given by the participants' organisation of ideas to be conveyed. As in any Burundian ceremony, there must be participants. According to Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, a participant is a person present in a speech event. In addition, a formal speech has within itself speech components such as honorific expressions used to call participants, opening and closing sections serving as attention- getter, transitional devices serving, not only for drawing the listeners' attention, but also for assuring ongoing conversation, and finally the statement of the purpose.

4.1.1. Participants

The ceremony of wisemen investiture is, as any other Burundian ceremony, a social interaction through which rapports between par-

ticipants are established by means of verbal exchanges (speeches). Its exchange involves four speakers at each speech event, who alternate in the following order: first comes the speech of NYENURUGO 'host' of where the ceremony takes place. It should be remembered that the host is at the same time the candidate-wiseman. The goal of his speech is to welcome his guests and to reintroduce his request to be invested as a wiseman. The second speech pertains to the supervisor of the candidate-wiseman whose objective is to request other wisemen to invest the candidate and thereby allow him to enter the club of wisemen and give him certain social powers. The third speech is the proper speech of investiture uttered by an elder wiseman called IGICOCORO 'senior wiseman'. He delivers the speech on his behalf and on that of all other wisemen present at the ceremony. Finally comes the speech of acknowledgement uttered by the supervisor. This is the general order in the speech exchange during the ceremony of wisemen's investiture. This turn-taking allows the speakers to control the floor in their communication. Remaining participants are people who come to observe the investiture. They form an audience which has to applaud when necessary.

4.1.2. Speech Components

In Burundian culture, any speech at any ceremony is made up by speech components organised coherently and with a clear cohesion. As far as the speech related to wisemen's investiture is concerned, it includes components such as honorific expressions, opening and closing greetings, and the statement of the purpose.

4.1.2.1. Honorific Expressions

In Burundian society, every formal speech includes honorific expressions which have an important role to play. In fact, anyone who takes the floor has to call first his listeners (the audience) by using appropriate honorific expressions. Listeners must stop drinking and chatting in order to listen to the current speaker and pay a close attention to what he is going to say. Examples in case are BASHINGANTAHE 'wisemen' or 'honourable assembly of wisemen'; BAPHASONI 'ladies'; and RWARUKA 'young people' or simply 'children'.

Honorific expressions aim at alerting the hearers attention to the ensuring speech acts and to introduce the speech. Moreover, honorific expressions enable the speaker to single out who the speech content is targeted.

4.1.2.2. Opening and Closing Greetings

In every speech event, anyone who is going to take the floor has to greet people present at the ceremony. He greets them as well as at the beginning and at the end of the speech. This greeting is not as simple as the usual greeting BWAKEYE 'good morning' or MWIRIWE 'good evening'. Instead, it is structurally and semantically different. In fact, it is composed by more than one word and it is especially based on what is essential to all Burundians in their everyday life. The formal Kirundi opening and closing greetings are TUGIRE AMAHORO or NIMUGIRE AMAHORO translatable into English as 'may we have peace' and 'may you have peace' respectively, or simply 'peace be with us' and 'peace be with you'.

The function of these two greetings is simply to wish well the audience, but they have a special function, that of attention-getter.

The two greetings TUGIRE AMAHORO 'may we have peace' and NIMUGIRE AMAHORO 'may you have peace' are distinct according to the speaker's intention. The difference lies in the use of the pronouns TU 'we' and MU 'you' which have an identification purpose. Referring to the investiture related-speech, for instance, the candidate-wiseman opens and closes his speech with the greeting NIMUGIRE AMAHORO 'peace be with you'. The use of the personal pronoun MU in Nimugiré amahóro 'peace be with you' shows that he takes a certain distance because he is not yet invested. So, the pronoun MU 'you' is an exclusive device. On the other hand, the pronoun TU 'we in TUGIRE AMAHORO 'may peace be with us' or 'may we have peace' is a device showing that the speaker is included in on-coming statements, therefore his addressees know that he is 'one of theirs'. This is the case for instance, of the speeches uttered by the supervisor of the candidate-wiseman and the senior-wiseman. They open and close their floor by the greeting TUGIRE AMAHORO 'may we have peace' because they are already invested and their targeted addressees are wisemen. The effect to be produced by the inclusive device TU 'we' is the speaker's involvement in the action of kwâtira 'to invest'.

The opening and closing greetings are structurally and semantically the same. They are used to wish well the participants, but the only difference lies in that one is uttered at the beginning and the other at the end of the speech. This facilitates to hand over the floor, from the current speaker to the next, according to the turn-taking system.

4.1.2.3. Transitional Devices

Transitional devices are formulaic speeches which occur frequently in the middle of the Kirundi formal speech. These stereotypical formulas serve as drawing the audience's attention on what has just been said as well as on what is just going to follow. They also assure the hearers that the message is still going on.

In fact, the speaker may use, for that purpose, formulaic speeches such as the following:

- Ni ūko iyo ní ingīngo 'that is a point'
- Ni ūko iyo ní ingīngo igatûngāna 'that is a point, may it be realized'
- Ni ūko iryo rikaba ijāmbo 'that is a word'
- Ni ūko iryo jāmbo rigatûngāna 'that is a word, may it be realized'
- Urūmva iryo jāmbo 'may you hear that word'.
- Murūmva iryo jāmbo 'may you hear that word'

One should notice the difference between Urūmva iryo jāmbo 'may you hear that word' and Murūmva iryo jāmbo 'may you hear that word'. The former is uttered with the second personal pronoun singular U 'you' and is addressed therefore to one person, (in this case the candidate-wiseman) while the latter is uttered with the second personal pronoun plural and therefore addressed to many persons (the audience in this case).

- Ni ūko iyo nâma igatûngāna 'that is it, may it be realized'
- Ni ūko bakûnzi báhĭre 'that is it, dear friends'.

These transitions are more important for the current speaker for they allow him to look back, in a twinkling of an eye, into what he has said, and at the same time to reformulate the following ideas.

Moreover, they enable him to be concise and avoid repeating himself. A case in point may be the following, when the candidate is arranging his speech:

T_1 12. Nk'ûkó mwángomwe 'as you liked me'
13 Baca baráng̃omwa 'they also liked me'
* * *
15 Kó bóntéra itêká ritérwá abashíngantáhe 'that they may grant me honour done to wisemen'.

N.B: * * * : pause

4.1.2.4. Purpose

In any Burundian formal speech, the speaker has to state, in the middle of the speech, the aim of his speech. That is what has been referred to as 'purpose' of the speech.

It is the most important speech element. Any speech which fails to include it lacks communication and therefore may not produce an effect on the listeners, and in that case, it may be viewed as nonsense.

In fact, speakers talk for a variety of purposes such as providing information, requesting things, promising, betting, warning, convincing , to name but a few. Any speaker who fails to state the purpose of his speech may violate the co-operative principles discussed later, and therefore mislead the communication.

As far as the investiture-related speech is concerned, the purpose is the same for the first two speakers, but it is stated differently according to the speakers. The first speaker's speech purpose is a direct request to be invested while the second reintroduces the request. He starts by some introductory statements, stressing that the candidate-wiseman was in a prolonged apprenticeship, appreciating his behaviour during that period, etc.
All of this seems to be irrelevant to the main objective. Finally, he states it as follows:

T_{II} 28. Noné ga bashîngantăhe
29. Mumushikírize ryâ têka′
30. Mwămwēmereye

tr: Then wisemen,
grant him the honour
that you promised him.

The importance of the introductory statements is to delay a little bit the main purpose. The third speaker's speech purpose is the investiture itself. He states it as follows:
TIII. 29 Kurí uyu mŭnsi urí hējuru
30 Abashîngantăhe turakwâtiye
31 izûba ríva.
tr: On this special day
We, wisemen, invest you
In broad day light.

The last purpose is that of acknowledgement.

To sum up, the structure of investiture related-speech is a sequencing of honorific expressions, which are names given to participants according to their social categories and serving as attention-getter; opening greeting to wish well the participants, but also to get their attention; the purpose or the aim and finally the closing greeting functioning as the opening greeting.

4.2. Pragmatic Analysis of the Data

2.0. Introduction

This part focuses directly on identification of speech acts performed by the speakers through their utterances. In fact, a single utterance in a formal and natural speech can serve to perform many types of speech acts, which can be directed to a specific addressee and the audience alike.

A selection of examples from the speeches will be extracted and analysed, and by so doing, speech acts and illocutionary forces will be identified according to their context of use. This will be based on the five major categories of speech acts distinguished by Searle (1976), and discussed later in Literature Review.

2.1. Speech Acts Performed by the Participants.

2.1.1. Representatives

Representing an event is one of the functions of a language which involves that the current speaker in a speech event tries to convey his belief that some proposition is true. Paradigm cases would include asserting and concluding.

Examples:

E1 TI 6. Mwǎranyǐhwēje

7. Murāngomwa

9. Muca murānja imbere

10. Mūnshikira ku bǎnkurira.

Tr. You observed me

You liked me

You led me

To my elders.

The day of the ceremony, the candidate-wiseman, who is at the same time the host, is the first to deliver a speech because the ceremony takes place at his home. He delivers his speech when the time is ripe for the exchange of speeches prepared for the occasion, that is, a moment after the consumption of beer. In uttering his speech, his targeted audience is normally the whole audience but the speech is particularly addressed to those who are already invested, that is, wisemen, the only persons to invest him. That is why he uses the personal pronoun Mu- 'you' as in Mwǎranyǐhwēje 'you observed me', 'you' standing for Abashîngantǎhe 'wisemen'.

The above utterances constitute a reminder, serving to introduce the speech purpose, here, to request to be invested. They also serve to attract the listeners' attention and to recall them that wisemen promised the speaker something. The speaker is conveying his belief that what he asserted is true.

The above interpretation also applies to the following utterance:

E2 T.I. 24. Urwo rwârwá ni urwó gucá ibicâniro

'This banana wine is intended to cut the haymow'.

In Burundian culture, ibicâniro 'haymow' are grasses that are burnt in the morning and in the evening, in the middle of the pen, before milking the cows. The haymow protects cows against flies. In that context, gucá ibicâniro 'to cut the haymow' is used referring to someone who owns cows or at least someone who is going to receive cows. In fact, what the candidate will receive from wisemen (=investiture) is compared to cows. That is why he says that he will cut the haymow to protect his 'newly received cow' against flies. Here, the investiture is given the value of a cow.

Representatives are also found in other examples such as the following ones from the speech of UMUHETSI 'the supervisor' whose goal is to reintroduce the host's request to be invested.

E3. T.II. 17. Bǎramugênzūye
18. Baramugomwa
19. Barabónakó akwīyé
20. Ibānga ry-úbushîngantǎhe.

Tr. They observed him
They liked him
They found that he actually deserves to have the secret of wisdom.

In the above quotation, one should note the use of the personal pronoun Ba- 'they' in (17), (18) and (19). That pronoun stands for ABASHINGANTAHE 'wisemen'.

Contrarily to the first speech, the second one is particularly addressed to the audience in its whole to assure that what has been said by the first speaker is true. The speech act remains the same in both

first speech and second speech, but the second speech adds more force to the first one. As a consequence, wisemen cannot help investing the host because they would lack convincing arguments.

Another instance of representatives is found in the following extract:

E.4. TIII. 38. Iyi ntahe rero ntivumba.

46. Iyi ntahe ntigira akarimbi

tr. This stick then doesn't beg for beer.

This stick doesn't have borders.

Following the orderly speeches in the ceremony of investiture, the third speech is the proper speech of kwatira 'to invest' uttered by a well-known and generally an old mushîngantahe called IGICOCORO 'senior wiseman'. Among what he says, one can find utterances such as those given above (38 and 46). To interpret them, one has to know first what INTǍHE means in Burundian culture. Indeed, the Kirundi word INTǍHE translated into English as 'stick' has two meanings. The first meaning is a kind of stick used by wisemen while settling disputes. They beat it on the ground so as to awake the ancestors' wisdom. The second meaning is that social power wisemen possess to settle conflicts among people.

In the above utterances, the word *intǎhe*, wiseman's stick, is used symbolically. In that context, *intǎhe* represents the social power of wisemen. I*ntǎhe* as a stick is a concrete and familiar object that is used in reference to an abstract idea (social power). So, while investing the candidate-wiseman, the senior wiseman warns him that he may not use his power to ask things in a bad manner or to beg for beer (38) because it may be a shame, not only on him, but also on all other wisemen. Moreover, he reminds him that the power he receives

has no borders (46). As a consequence, he will use it wherever he will go. If the newly invested wisemen happens to comply with those utterances, he would exhibit his sense of maturity.

Let us analyse another extract:

E5. T.IV. 6. 'Akǔzuye ntíkamurírkwa'

Tr. 'it is not worth lighting what is full'

In the ceremony of investiture, the last speech belongs to UMUHĒTSI 'supervisor' of the candidate-wiseman. Its aim is that of acknowledgement. The above utterance is a proverb. As proverbs are short sayings that embody precision and truth, the supervisor uses the above one to appreciate that his 'trainee' is actually invested as a wiseman and therefore one should see in him wisdom itself.

The following is an other case of representatives.

E6. T.VI. 11. Yahora mumutamana

12. Wa mwêbwé abashîngantǎhe.

Tr. He was in outer garment

Of you wisemen (he was in a long apprenticeship)

To interpret the above utterances, one has to know the world of ABASHÎNGANTǍHE 'wisemen' in Burundian culture. Indeed, the expression 'kubá mu mutamana' 'to be in outer garment' is only applied to the world of wisemen. The key word is umutamana 'an outer garment', and the expression 'kuba mu mutamana w'ábashîngantǎhe' actually means something else. Its cultural connotation is to be given a certain period of apprenticeship before being given the status and social function to fulfil, that is, the status of umushîngantǎhe 'hon-

ourable man' and the social power INTAHE 'stick', and the advantages pertaining to them.

The above expression is based on a principle of metaphor where an apprenticeship is described referring to UMUTAMANA 'outer garment'. A possible interpretation of this may be that something which is covered by an outer garment cannot appear as an apprentice wiseman has no right to appear and take part in decision-making with other wisemen. During that period, he has only to learn particular secrets and skills of ABASHINGANTAHE.

The following is an other case of representatives expressed metaphorically.

E7. T.VII. 11. Ubu uramize akabuye k'ábagabo
12. Uwamíze ntâbá agícīra.

Tr. Now you have swallowed the little stone of men
He who has swallowed it cannot spit it.

Here, we are in the full investiture of the candidate-wiseman. The senior-wiseman represents the action by the above assertions.

Actually, there is no stone to swallow. It is only a cultural practice whereby the senior-wiseman means that the investiture is without appeal(11). One becomes a wiseman once for all (12). One cannot go back to one's former social status unless one breaks the current laws. The above utterances show that to invest a wiseman is to give him high responsibilities. Wisemen have to comply with the above utterances to show their reliability.

Representative speech act is also expressed in the following utterance:

E.8. T.VII. 51. "Umugabo amira intoré ntámirá ijāmbo"

Tr. A man swallows lumps of bread and not a word.

This utterance, from the speech of investiture, recalls how a true wiseman should be, especially when solving problems. Indeed, any wiseman should be direct and should not be afraid of telling the truth because UMUGABO AMIRA INTORÉ NTÁMIRÁ IJĀMBO 'a man swllows lumps of bread, not a word'. This is a Burundian proverb and anyone who speaks Kirundi knows its cultural connotation. Here, Ijāmbo (a word) refers to a resolution to a given conflict, and 'to swallow a word' refers to the fact of not telling the truth (true judgement) as far as rendering justice is concerned. Sometimes, true judgement is hidden because someone fears that some bad consequences would happen or simply because he has been bribed. So, any wiseman is advised to always cope with that proverb to develop his sense of justice.

4.2.1.2. Directives

Directives are attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something. They suggest that certain social and role relationships are in force at the time of utterance. Paradigm cases would include wishing, commanding, requesting, begging, ordering and pleading. In the data to be analysed, wishing, pleading, requesting and commanding are mainly found.

1. Wishing

Some examples of wishing are the following:

E.9. T.I. 21. Murushikîre reró

22. Murunywé nêzá

23. Muvyūké nêzá

tr. May you then have it

May you drink it well

May you get up well

The above utterances are uttered by the candidate-wiseman. The targeted addressee is particularly the assembly of wisemen present at the ceremony. Those utterances are equipped with a force of wishing. Because the candidate still has a lower social rank than that of wisemen and because he has some favour to ask for, he wishes them well in offering them beer in order to create a good atmosphere.

Another example of wishing is the following extract.

E.10. T.III. 51. Nawéwé uraba imbonéza

52. y'ábǎndi bashîngantǎhe

53. Ejó ushikáne mwībānga

54. Uru ruhǒngore rurí inyuma yāwe

tr. May you be a good example

of other wisemen

May you lead tomorrow towards the secret

This cattle shed (others) behind you.

The above utterances constitute a good wish. In fact, the senior-wiseman would not end up his speech without advising the new

wiseman to be IMBONEZA (= a good example) of other non invested men (51.). These are referred to as URUHONGORE (= cattle shed) (54). The Kirundi word URUHONGORE means a kind of house in which cows, goats or sheep are kept. These animals cannot get out of it by themselves. They need a person to guide them. This also applies to non-invested persons. Indeed, they cannot lead themselves towards the secret of wisemen if there is no other wisemen to show them the way. We understand, from this interpretation, that a non yet invested person is still considered, to some extent, as stupid as a domestic animal (cow, goat, sheep). In fact, he needs someone else (a wise-man) to lead him towards the word of wisdom, like a group of cows needs someone to lead them towards the pasture.

2. Pleading

Pleading as an illocutionary force is found in the following extract when the candidate asks some favour.

E.11. T.I. 27. Muhavé mūntĕre itêka´
28. Ritērwá abashîngantăhe

tr. Please, grant me the honour
done to wisemen.

By the utterance (27), the candidate is pleading with honourable wisemen to invest him. He pleads with them because he badly wants to be invested and above all because he is not sure that they will do it. That is why he requests to be invested in an intense and emotional way.

In Burundian culture, if someone receives something of great value, and something they have been requesting for a long time, we represent that as GUTERWA ITEKA (= to be granted honour). Thus, to be invested as a wiseman is also a great honour to Burundians.

Another case of pleading is found in the following extract.

E.12. T.V. 25. Mūntěre rerǿ ryâ têka'
26. Sĭntētērwe
28. Mūnkŭrire ibishitsí mūnzira
29. Sĭntsītāre.

Tr. Please, grant me the honour
So that I may not be depressed
please, remove stumps away from my path
So that I may not bump into anything.

In this situation, we have an exciting parallelism where two elements are brought together in a decisive contrast within the same structure of statements. In fact, we have two pairs of sentences where the first move is a request to be invested while the second one shows a drawback if not invested. Here, to invest someone is referred to as to grant them honour (25) and to remove stumps from their path (28). The non investiture of a candidate-wiseman may be depressing (26) and therefore, he would be blind like (29) as he would bump into things like a blind person. Hence, the candidate-wiseman is asking for a favour, in this case, to be invested as a wiseman.

Contrarily to inferring drawbacks of the non investiture of a wiseman, the candidate-wiseman infers some of the advantages of the investiture of wisemen. They are shown in the following extract.

E.13. T.V. 31. Mūnyugúrurire irêmbo
32. Ndyōhérwe
33. Mūncíre umuganí ndawúmve,
34. Tunywāné
35. Dufatáne mūnda

tr. Please, open the door for me,
So that I may be happy
Please, tell me a fable, may I understand it,
May we be friends (one another)
May we love one another.

Once a man is invested as a wiseman, his feeling is of course that of joy and happiness (32). To invest a wiseman is referred to as to open a door for someone (31). A possible interpretation of this may be that once a man is invested as a wiseman, he opens up new horizons as he is going to be in full contact with other wisemen and therefore know many skills and secrets.

The investiture is also referred to as to tell a fable (33). According to Collins Cobuilt English Language Dictionary, a fable is "a story that is intended to teach a moral lesson". Fables often have animals as the main characters. In Burundian culture, parents used to tell fables to their children, in the evening around the fireplace, waiting for supper time, and their children would learn a moral lesson from them.

A possible interpretation of that inference may be that wisemen are, for the candidate, what parents are for their children. Thus, wisemen have some skills to teach other men. Once the latter have already learned those skills, they would become mature and thus become their friends (34 and 35).

3. Requesting

Requesting is an other kind of illocutionary forces among directives. It is found in the following extract.

E.14. T.II. 29. Mumushíkirize ryâ têká
30. Mwǎmwēmereye
31. Invāmakūngu zíkoranye
32. Bamukǔze ubwǎtsi

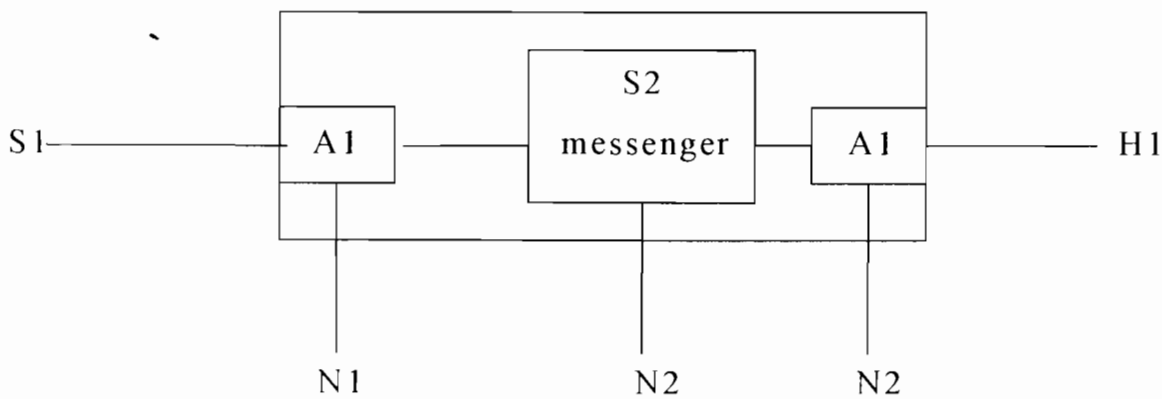
tr. Please, grant him the honour
you promised him
before strangers' eyes
may they join him in thanking you.

The utterances (29) and (32) seem to be orders but actually they are not. The supervisor has no power on other wisemen, therefore, he cannot give them orders since they are considered equal to one another. Instead, the above utterances are requesting expressions used to ask for some favour.

The Kirundi expression GUKURA UBWATSI can literally be translated as 'to pull out grasses'. But most of the times, a literal translation fails to provide an adequate meaning. It acquires an adequate equivalence when it is taken on its cultural level. In fact, the idea embodied in that expression is to thank intensely and emotionally. This is sometimes accompanied with the clapping of one's hands, and people around the one who is to thank, join him in clapping their hands also. This is what has been referred to as GUKUZA UBWATSI (=to join one in thanking).

One should note that the speech acts expressed by the candidate are almost the same as those expressed by the supervisor. Indeed, the former speech acts have been carried out through time and space to

some extent, thereby transcending the normal limitations of human speech. In other words, speech act A1. has been detached from its original situation N1, and has been reintroduced into a new situation N2. In this way, the original speech act has been expanded; it has been transported into another situation by the messenger. Trying to adapt Mick Short's (1988:x) representation of the messenger-institution, this can diagrammatically be represented as follows:



A: Speech act

H: Hearer

N: Situation

S: Speaker.

Note that the role-switching is essential here. In fact, S1 communicates to the audience and among them there is a messenger who will become a speaker S2 at a later point, in a different time but in the same place; in order to recommunicate the same message to the same audience.

Another instance of requesting is found in the following extract:

E.15. T.IV.15. Muramusomēsha

16. Mumuhé icûbahiro kimukwíriye

tr. May you give him your beer

may you give him honour that fits him.

Here, the supervisor attempts to get wisemen to consider the new wiseman, since the day of his investiture, as equal to other wisemen, and therefore let him drink their beer (15) and join them in decision-making (16). It should be remembered that in Burundian culture, non-wisemen cannot share beer with wisemen during ceremony where there is consumption of beer. Moreover, non-wisemen cannot sit together with wisemen and take part in decision-making. They get these advantages if and only if they are already invested.

The last case of requesting is found in the following extract.

E.16. T.VI.16. Mumuhé ikibǎnza gikwīyé

17. Mumwěreke ahó azôhóra yîcara.

Tr. May you give him the right place

May you show him where he will sit down.

Here, the investiture is referred to as "to give a right place" (16) and "to show where to sit down" (17). This is a figurative use of language in which we must go onto the deep rather than the surface level in order to understand the true meaning. In the speeches like the one in hand, literal meaning is not adequate. An act of imagination is required before the intended meaning becomes clear. The sense must be inferred from some natural relevant associations referring to the context of use and knowledge of the world.

In fact, the utterances (17) and (18) have been given a literal translation, therefore, their meaning is not clear. Referring to the world of ABASHÎNGANTǍHE in Burundi, those utterances mean to invest the candidate and thereby allow him to have a place beside other wisemen and take part in decision-making, things he was denied during his apprenticeship.

4. Commanding

The last kind of illocutionary forces found among directives is commanding. It is the most frequent along this analysis. One instance of commanding is found in the following extract:

E.17. T.III. 34. Akīra uyu mugumya
35. Iyi ní intǎhe
36. Urayikizamwó umukúru n'úmutó

tr. Have this (fig) tree
this is a stick
may you save (with it) elderly as well as young people.

Taken literally, the utterance (54) is almost meaningless. Unless we get to the cultural connotation, we cannot understand it. The key word is UMUGUMYA translated into English as 'a fig tree'. In Burundian culture, a tree called UMUGUMYA is the one from which the stick *intahe* was taken. There is also a Kirundi expression UMUGUMYA WÓ KUGUMYA IBĀNGA (a tree serving to keep secret). The word UMUGUMYA is derived from Kirundi verb KUGUMYA (to keep). So, the interpretation of the utterance (34), which is an order, might be that that tree will remind the new wiseman to always keep secret whatsoever. The stick received is the symbol of wisemen's power and authority. That is why the senior-wiseman adds: URAYIKIZAMWÓ UMUTÓ N-ÚMUKÚRU (may you save with it elderly as well as young people). By the above utterance, the senior-wiseman issues a command as to how the new wiseman should use the newly received power in caring for all people. This is, in fact, the principal duty of a wiseman.

The same duty is also found in the following expressions:

E.18. T.III.39. Ejó ukazīndukirwa n'ûwó bigōyé

40. Ntŭrābe ingŏrane zāwe

41. Uragēnda ubakirânure.

Tr. Tomorrow, if someone comes to you with problems
Don't deal first with yours;
Go first to solve his.

The above utterances are extracted from the proper speech of investiture. They are indirect command. The first move is a condition. The second one is a piece of advice, and the third one is a command. In Burundian customs, if someone gets problems, they get up early in the morning in order to try to find solution to them. In the above utterances, the senior-wiseman gives some pieces of advice to the new wiseman; among them, to help people in trouble at any time, and above all, to help them unconditionally. If the new wiseman complies with the above utterances, he will have shown his sense of social reliability.

Another case of commanding is found in the following extract.

E.19. T.III.43. Wahora uryá ibishûshe

44. Ubu gênda uryé ibikányé

tr. You were used to eating warm food
now, be ready to eat cold food.

Taken literally, the above utterances are almost meaningless. They get their social meaning only in the context of wisemen's investiture. In fact, the expression KURYÁ IBISHÛSHE (=to eat warm

food) and KURYÁ IBIKÁNYE (= to eat cold food) refer respectively to doing easy things (warm food) and difficult ones (cold food). The interpretation of them may be based on the fact that a non-invested person may not care about people in trouble whereas any wiseman is socially asked to be a caretaker of all, something which is normally difficult. To comply with the utterance (44) is to prove the sense of reliability, characteristic of wisemen.

The above interpretation may also be applied to the following extract.

E.20. T.III.47. Ukagēnda izíndi ntârá
48. Ugasānga abatâsé
49. Urabatūngānіriza

tr. When you go to other regions,
if you meet people quarrelling,
please, settle their differences.

The senior-wiseman, here, is recalling what a wiseman is asked to do and is also giving some pieces of advice. For the preceding interpretation, the authority and power of wisemen were shown unlimited through time while for the above utterances, they are shown unlimited through space. Thus, the new wiseman is advised to solve problems wherever he meets them.

The following case is an other command given to the new wiseman:

E.21. T.VII.19. Ukaba wáhora utêranya,
20. gēnda ubihébé
21. Ukaba wáhora ubêsha
22. gēnda ubihébé.

Tr. If you were used to causing conflicts among people,
Please, stop it.
If you were used to telling lies,
Please, stop it.

During the ceremony of investing a wiseman, there are some commands that are given to the new wiseman. This is because people are sometimes considered immature when they are not yet invested. Once they are invested, there are some bad practices that wisemen have to give up because they are not worthy of UBUSHÎNGANTǍHE such as causing conflicts among other people (19), and telling lies (20) to name but a few. To give up those bad practices is a sine qua non condition to get the status of UBUSHÎNGANTǍHE. To comply with that condition is to prove one's maturity.

It is in the proper speech of investing that commands abound too much. In what follows, the senior-wiseman stresses on one thing: not to respond to someone's offence.

E.22. T.VII.29. Ejó hakagira uwugúsīndira
30. Ntǔmusubize
31. urataka abǎndi bagabo
32. ukabona ubírēnzékó
33. uzōba ubátukīshije
34. bazōguca inzogá z'ábarěngwa.

tr. Tomorrow, if someone offends you,
please, don't retaliate.
Instead, call for help of other wisemen.
If you retaliate,
You would cover them with shame.

They would oblige you to pay a fine[1] of beer paid by lawbreakers.

In Burundian culture, it is not good to retaliate when you are enough mature. Instead, you call for help of other mature people to avoid endless conflicts. If you do otherwise, you break the customary laws and risk a penalty of paying a fine (beer for the case in hand). So, any wiseman has to comply with that command to prove his feeling of maturity.

An other proof of maturity is expressed in the following utterances:

E.23. T.VII. 44. Ntǔze uhāndwé kururímí ikirēnge kírihó

45. Uratsīnda ishávu

46. Uratsīnda ubwôba.

Tr. May you not be pricked by thorns on your tongue while you still have a foot

May you defeat anger.

May you defeat fear.

The above utterances train wisemen the kind of behaviour they should adopt since their investiture. The first move (44) has literally been translated and therefore its meaning is obstructed. We must go onto the deep structure to get its true meaning. Normally, people are pricked by thorns on their feet and not on their tongues. Moreover, they are pricked by thorns when they are walking on foot with their feet naked. As far as the tongue is concerned, it cannot be pricked by

[1] In the text, wisemen will oblige him to pay a fine of many pots of beer as they normally do for any wiseman who misbehaves.

thorns since it is hidden in one's mouth. So, its true translation, a semantic one, would be: 'may you not say something in a random way'.

The Kirundi expression GŪHANDWA KU RURÍMI is used figuratively. 'To say things in a random way' has been referred to as 'to be pricked by thorns on one's tongue'. The cultural expression GUHĀNDWA KU RURÍMI is used referring to someone who says uncontrolled words. Thus, any wiseman should avoid that (44). Moreover, wisemen should not be guided by fear (45) or anger (46) because they may also say uncontrolled words.

The following is an other case of command expressed also in a figurative language.

E.24. T.VII.49. Ntǔze uvugíre mivǔmbi ku múvūmba.
50. Ntǔze uryé umunwa.

Tr. May you not speak in favour of the apiarist to beg for honey.
May you not eat your mouth (not fear to speak).

As the principal role of wisemen in Burundi is that of rendering justice, any wiseman is required to render justice towards all, because in the matter of law, all persons are equal. Any discrimination whatsoever is to be fought against. The above utterances are illustrative ones. The first one (49) can be interpreted as this: first of all, apiarists in Burundi are not numerous. Thus, their honey wine becomes rare, precious and expensive. As a consequence, apiarists may use it to bribe wisemen. In the above utterance, apiarist may be anyone who possesses precious things, therefore who can bribe wisemen.

In the speech related to wisemen's investiture, wisemen are required not to be bribed because bribery is the shackle to justice.

Moreover, they are required not to fear to speak (50) in order to fulfil well their role of good lawyers. Again, we have here a literal translation. In the real world, a man cannot eat his mouth. The Kirundi expression KURYÁ UMUNWA, literally translated as 'to eat one's mouth' refers to the fact of being afraid to speak, especially when truth is needed. A true wiseman must not fear any dangerous situation whatsoever. Furthermore, he must always tell the truth in his function of a lawyer and can even die for it.

Figurative language is also found in the following command.
E.25.T.VII.52. Ntǔze ucé urwā ngôndégōnde.

Tr. May you not solve a conflict in a bad way.

The Kirundi legal terminology GUCÁ URWĀ NGÔNDÉGŌNDE refers to solving a conflict in a bad way. The key word is KUGŌNDAGŌNDA, a reduplication of the stem GŌNDA meaning to bend. KUGŌNDAGŌNDA becomes therefore to bend many times. We know that something which is bent loses its initial linear form. Thus, there is a relationship between the verb KUGŌNDAGŌNDA 'to bend many times' and to solve a conflict in a bad way in that a conflict solved in a bad way loses its correct sentence as a thing loses its initial form when it is bent or folded. So, to accomplish his role of a lawyer, any wiseman has to be just and correct at any time he is solving conflicts.

Most of the commands given to the new wiseman are based upon the social role that he has to fulfil. The following extract is a case in point:

E.26.T.VII.17.Ugasānga ahó batasé,
18. Urabatātūra.
24. Ugasānga impené zôna,
25. uragarura.
26. Ugasānga inká zírwāna,
27. Urabānguranya.

Tr. If you meet people quarrelling,
Please, separate them.
If you meet goats devastating fields,
Please, prevent them from doing it.
If you meet cows fighting one another,
Please, separate them.

The above utterances are commands. The senior-wiseman is ordering the new wiseman to carry out liable actions during his new life. These actions are basically based upon his role of a protector. Indeed, his liability will appear in caring, not only for human beings, but also for animals and plants. Thus, he will separate people quarrelling (18), he will prevent goats from devastating fields (25), and he will separate cows fighting one another (27).

The last type of command is also based on the social role to be fulfilled.

E.27.T.VII.54. Urarwānira intâno,
55. Urakīranira abakené,
56. Urarwānira abapfâkazi.

Tr. May you fight for orphans,
May you fight for the poor.
May you fight for widows.

The interpretation of these utterances is also based on the social role that a wiseman has to fulfil. In this extract, the senior-wiseman emphasises on a special category of people that is vulnerable and therefore that needs a special help from ABASHINGANTAHE. That category includes orphans (54), poor people (55) and widows (56).

In fact, no one ignores that the living conditions of orphans are bad in that they get little care from other people. This also applies to poor people to whom there is also no help from rich people to improve their living conditions. As far as widows are concerned, they are vulnerable in that they have no more protectors (their husbands died), and therefore could be attacked by anyone at any time. This category of helpless people, thus, has to be protected by wisemen. Wisemen are their only means of help. They are their 'ministering angels' to some extent.

4.2.1.3. Commissives

The category of commissives involves utterances in which the speaker's meaning ascribes a certain commitment to some future course of action. Paradigm cases would be promises, vows, pledges, contracts, guarantees, threats, offerings, and other types of commitments. Extracts for the commissive analysis concern only promises. The first case is the following:

E.28.T.IV.17. Nǎtwe twebwé abavyêyi,
18. duhora imbere.

20. Tuzōmwērēka umwônga,
21. uhūmá n'údahūmá.

tr. And we, parents,
we are always in front of him.
We will show him
A bad valley and a good one.

The above utterances are extracted from the speech of the supervisor. He considers himself as the 'father' of the candidate because his duty in the matter of wisemen's investiture is to watch over the candidate during his apprenticeship. Thus, his duty is compared to that of parents who help their children in their maturation process.

The supervisor says DUHORA IMBERE 'we are always in front of him'. This utterance is a promise. It means that even if the candidate-wiseman is invested, he still needs support from other wisemen. Thus, the supervisor promises him that support. He goes on: TUZŌMWĒREKA UMWÔNGA UHŪMÁ N'ÚDAHŪMÁ 'We will show him a bad valley and a good one'. This expression has been given a literal translation but a literal interpretation of it fails to provide an adequate account of its meaning. The literal meaning of words is not sufficient to grasp the metaphorical force of the expression. In the above expression, the words 'umwônga uhūmá n'údahūmá' are well known by any speaker of Kirundi. Thus, the expression UMWÔNGA UHŪMÁ N'ÚDAHŪMÁ refers to the distinction between a bad thing from a good one. A bad thing as UMWÔNGA UHŪMÁ and a good thing as UMWÔNGA UDAHŪMÁ. So, the intrinsic meaning of an expression like that is provided by the understanding of the metaphorical words it contains. Such under-

standing is given by the knowledge of the cultural connotations involved. Levinson (1983: 150) argues in the same connection:

> *An important part of the force of any metaphor thus seems to involve what might be called the 'connotational penumbra' of the expression involved, the identical rather than the defining characteristics of words, and knowledge of the factual properties of referents and hence knowledge of the word in general.*

In the case of speeches such as the one I am dealing with, it is culture that allows us to interpret them. Without reference to culture, it would be impossible to understand them. Their interpretation is made possible by the knowledge of the cultural connotations around the words they contain. It is within the context of culture that we can understand the meaning of metaphorical expressions.

The following extract is the second and the last case of expressing a promise.

E_{29} T.IV. 27 Máze mūnkŭndire,

28 musubíre mu bibănza vyânyu,

29 tugīye kuja inâma n'ûmwâna wānje

tr Please, do accept,

to go back to your previous seats[2].

my child and I are going to find out.

[2] In Burundian culture, while the time is ready for speeches, people stop drinking and move closer to the current speaker to listen to him, and after, they go back to their previous seats.

The first move (27) is an invitation. The supervisor is inviting the audience to go back to their previous seats (28) where they have to wait for more banana wine promised (29). The third move is an indirect promise. In Burundian culture, a promise is never explicit. A promise is always doubtful. We never know if the promise is kept or not. A possible interpretation of that implicit promise may be the following : regarding that the ceremony is not the supervisor's, this one is not sure that there is some remaining beer. That is why he has to ask first the first concerned (the newly invested wiseman) if there is some, and after, he goes to confirm his promise by giving the participants some more beer.

In Burundian culture, generally there is no direct answer to a given request. People always answer by TUZŌBIRĀBA (We will see) though they may be sure that the requested thing is possible and available

4.2.1.4. Expressives

Expressives are speech acts primarily devoted to expressing the psychological state of the speaker and the attitude of feelings of the speaker towards others. Paradigm cases would include congratulating censuring, apologising, criticising, thanking, welcoming, etc. In this analysis, extracts include thanking and congratulating.

1.Thanking

The first example of thanking is found in the following extract:

E_{30}. TIV. 7 Ndabashīmiye

8 kw'ījāmbo twăvuganye

tr. I thank you

for the word we talked about.

Here, the supervisor is thanking the honourable assembly of wisemen for having invested his "trainee". Indeed, he is very happy and has therefore to express his feeling about the completed action done towards the apprentice wiseman. In thanking them, he does it in a very affectionate manner to show them how deeply he is happy. Would it be possible, it would have been represented on the printed page. This kind of speech is performed by human voice and it benefits greatly from the flexibility of the voice which is not easily represented on the printed page.

The following extract is the last way of thanking wisemen after having invested a wiseman.

E_{31}. T_{III}. 5. Máze kw'ízína ryó gushíma
6. Jéwé ndashímye
7. Ndashímye mwébwé Abashîngantǎhe
8. Mutâmbúkije uyu mwâna wânje,
9. Mumuháye icûbahiro
10. C'Ábashîngantǎhe

tr. In the name of acknowledgememt
I thank
I thank you wisemen
for the promotion of my child
you give him honour
of wisemen

In the above extract, the supervisor is also expressing how good he feels about the investiture of the trainee - wiseman. By the utterance (6), he lets the whole audience know how happy he feels on that

occasion. He reinforces his thanking and precises whom the thanking is specially directed. Thus, the utterance (7) is a thanking utterance directed only to wisemen, though the audience includes many categories of people. Moreover, the supervisor identifies the investiture as a promotion (8). Indeed, to move forwards from a simple person to a honourable one is actually a promotion. This is because in Burundian society, wisemen have a high social rank. Thus, the status of wisemen confers them honour (9).

Thanking in Burundian culture has a phatic function. In fact, it enables people to establish and maintain social contact. Moreover, it is not intended to seek or convey information. We thank people to express gratitude for things they have done.

2. Congratulating

Another expression of feeling found in the speech related to wisemen investiture is congratulating. Congratulating has also a phatic function. We congratulate people to indicate that we are pleased for something special, and above all nice, has happened to them. The investiture of wisemen is something nice and special that deserves congratulation. The following extract is a revealing case :

E_{32}. T_{VIII} 12. Nōné rēró mushîngantǎhe Karǒri
13. Ndagúkēje cāne
14. Ku bushîngantǎhe urōnsé
15. Kurí uyu mǔnsi izûba ríva
tr. Now then gentleman Charles,
I congratulate you very much
for the *Bushingantahe* you have just received
today in broad daylight

In the above extract, the utterance (13) is a congratulation. After expressing his attitude towards wisemen for having invested his trainee, now the supervisor turns to the latter to congratulate him (13). He reinforces his congratulation by using a quantifier CĀNE <very> to mean that it is a great pleasure for him and for the whole club of wisemen to receive a new wiseman.

It should be noted that expressives as speech acts are not many as other types of speech acts. This is due to the fact that those speech acts are only found in the speech of acknowledgement uttered by the supervisor, and it is shorter than other speeches. The psychological state of the speaker is only expressed in the speech of acknowledgement.

4.2.1.5. Declaratives

Declaratives are speech acts in which the speaker's words bring about a new state of affairs. Paradigm cases would include firing from employment, excommunicating, declaring war, christening, etc.

To instance declarations, let us consider the following extract.

E_{33}. T_{III}. 30. Abashîngantâhe turakwâtiye
31. Izûba ríva
32. Bĕne Uburŭndi bákoranye
tr. We, wisemen, invest you
in broad daylight
Burundians gathered together

The utterance (30) is a declaration that the man is no more a trainee, but rather a completed wiseman. That declaration is uttered by the senior - wiseman on his behalf and on that of other wisemen. By that declaration, the new wiseman changes his social status, from lower social status to higher one. He becomes a lawyer to some extent. This new state of affairs is brought about publicly, that is, in front of the whole audience. The above declaration is sometimes followed by the handling over of the magic stick INTÃHE, symbol of wisemen's authority.

The second case of declaratives is the following :

E_{33}. T_{VII}. 36. Wēmeye ibānga rikoméye
37. Ubu uratsînze ubúto
38. Ugīye kubá incâbwênge
39. Uzōcīsha ahó ukurí kúri
40. Ugīye kubá umucâmǎnza
41. Atarí umucāngero

tr. You accept a strong secret
now you are mature enough
you are going to have a fine intelligence
you will be frank
you are going to be a good judge,
not a mercenary

In the above extract, the senior - wiseman recalls some of the characteristics completed by wisemen. The first move (36) is a reinforcement. The speaker (here the senior - wiseman) tells the hearer (the new wiseman) that the investiture is important. As a consequence, the hearer has to change his former behaviour to be more se-

rious and enough mature (37) in order to keep the power received. To achieve his maturity, he has to be characterised by a fine intelligence (38) so that he may be able to solve some more and more complicated conflicts. Moreover, he has to be frank (39), a good judge (40) and not a mercenary (41). Here, a mercenary is paralleled and contrasted with a good judge. Whereas a mercenary cannot be just since his only interest is money, a good judge is advised not to sell his power in exchange for money. A good judge is always influenced by the wish for justice while a mercenary is always influenced by the wish for money. This is what any wiseman should avoid because it does not honour them.

The above utterances are likely to change the newly received wiseman towards an examplary man. He has to comply with them in order to reach the desired state.

The third case of declaratives is the following extract :

E_{35}. T_{VII}. 59. Kuva ubu mu munwa wāwe hatāshe ukúri
60. Ugīye kubá Sêbarŭndi

tr. Since now, the truth takes place in your mouth
You are going to be the father of Burundians

These utterances are prominent examples of declaratives as far as speech acts are concerned. The utterance (59) means that once you are invested as a wiseman, you are supposed to tell no more lies even if it is sometimes difficult for some people. Moreover, a wiseman is declared as a <father> of Burundians (60). It looks almost impossible for one person to become a father of all the population in a country. This use of language is an overstatement. The speaker overstates the

social role of a wiseman to make it sound bigger and more important. In other words, it is a decorative or ornamental way of communicating the message. Thus, to be a <father> of Burundians means to take care of people without discrimination whatsoever.

The fourth case of declaratives is found in the following extract

E_{36}. T_{VII}. 11. Ubu uramize akabuye k'ábagabo
12. Uwamíze ntâbá agícīra
13. Urabâye umugabo wa Sêbagabo

tr. Now you swallow the little stone of men
He who has swallowed it cannot spit it
you become a great leader.

The force of the utterance (11) is great. In fact, to be invested as UMUSHINGANTÂHE <wiseman> is referred to as to swallow a little stone of men. It should be remembered in passing that there is actually no stone to swallow during the ceremony of wisemen's investiture. It is only a symbolic use of language. A possible interpretation of that symbol (stone) might be the following : a stone is normally hard if not impossible to swallow, as the secret of wisemen is hard to keep regarding the many things that wisemen have to deprive themselves.

In the above utterance, a stone is a familiar and concrete object to Burundians. Thus, it has been particularly used to convey an abstract idea (investiture) which is an important truth in the life of Burundians.

The second move (12) is an appreciation that there is no doubt that the message expressed in (11) is without appeal. Indeed, once you are invested as a wiseman, there is no way to go backwards. In other words, none can withdraw your status of wiseman unless you break the laws and refuse to pay a fine paid by other lawbreakers.

As far as the third move (13) is concerned, it is a strong declaration whereby the newly invested wiseman is conferred a very great, superhuman ability and strength.

All of these utterances are likely to bring the new MUSHÎNGANTĂHE a new state of affairs since he ceases to be a simple man and becomes a great leader.

The last case of declaratives is found in the following extract :

E_{37}. T_{VII}. 16. Urabâye Umushîngantăhe mu bănd̆i

tr. You become a wiseman amomg others.

The above declaration is the investiture itself. It confers to the new MUSHÎNGANTĂHE the right to be equal to other wisemen. Thus, he will use the influential power and he will benefit from all the advantages pertaining to it.

4.2.2. Illocutionary Forces

In planning an utterance, speakers have to decide on its illocutionary content, that is, on which speech act they intend to make and how. The explicit performative of an utterance is what has been re-

ferred to as ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE. In other words, illocutionary force is what is accomplished by what is said.

From the previous analysis, it has been shown that the speeches uttered during the ceremony of investing wisemen are used to convey a lot of meanings. The utterances are produced with particular illocutionary forces. In this section, I would like to point down the most important.

1. Reminding

Reminding is a force whereby the speaker tells the hearer what has been done before in order to prepare what is going to follow as an accomplishment of the first action. The following extract is a revealing case.

Mwáranyíhwēje	<You observed me >
Murāngomwa	< You liked me >

2. Warning

Warning is an illocutionary force whereby an utterance is used to tell in advance of something bad that may happen. The following utterances embody that force.

Iyi ntǎhé ntívūmbá	<This stick does not beg for beer >
Iyi ntǎhé ntígirá akarīmbi	< This stick does not have border >

These utterances warn the newly invested wiseman of possible dangers that may happen if he overrides them.

3. Appreciation

The speeches under study also include utterances showing appreciation. One appreciates when one is satisfied with the other person's behaviour or action. For the case in point, the action appreciated is the candidate's investiture. The following utterances from the supervisor's speech are used to appreciate.

Akǔzuye ntíbamuríka < It is not worth lighting what is full>

This utterance is used to appreciate the candidate's investiture.

The following utterances are used to appreciate his future behaviour.

* Appreciating the sense of maturity :
e.g. Ubu uratsînze ubúto < Now you become mature enough>

* Appreciating the sense of intelligence
e.g. Ugīye kubá incâbwênge <You are going to have a fine intelligence>

* Appreciating the sense of truth
e.g. Uzōcīsha ahó ukurí kúri <You will be frank>

* Appreciating the sense of social liability
e.g. Ugīye kubá Sêbarǔndi <You are going to be the father of Burundians>

4. Wishing

The speeches delivered during the ceremony of investing a wiseman includes some other utterances used to express the speaker's wishes towards

the hearers. This is the case for example when the candidate is offering beer to the participants. He says :

Murushikîre <May you have it>
Murunywé nêzá < May you drink it well>
Muvyuké nêzá < May you get up well>

All of the above utterances share the same illocutionary force which is wishing.

5. Pleading

Pleading is an illocutionary force performed by the candidate. He pleads with the wisemen to be invested as a wiseman. The following utterances are used in that perspective.

E.g. Muhavé mūntěre itêká <Please, grant me the honour>
mūnyugúrurire irẽmbo <Please, open the door for me>

6. Asking for a Favour (Requesting)

Some other utterances are equipped with the force of asking for a favour. The following expressions are used in that perspective.

e.g. Mumushikírize rya têká <Please, grant him the honour>
mumuhé ikibǎnza gikwīye <May you give him the rightplace>

The above utterances are a few examples among many others. They share a particular force, which is to ask for a certain favour. In this case, the favour is to be invested as a wiseman.

7. Commanding

When the senior - wiseman is investing the candidate, most of the utterances have a force of commanding. The commands deserve obedience from the newly invested wiseman. Those commands embody sub-illocutionary forces, and the most important ones are the following :

* Command to render justice to all

e.g. Uragēnda ubakirânure <Please, show them the right way>
urabatūngāniriza <Please, make sure that you settle their disputes>

* Command for self-control

e.g. Uratsīnda ishávu <May you control your anger>

* Command to be socially responsible

e.g. Urabānguranya <Please, separate people in dispute>

8. Promising

By a promise, the speaker causes the hearer to expect or hope that something will be done for him. A prime example is the following commitment :

e.g. Tuzōmwēreka umwônga uhūmá n'úwudáhūmá

<We will show him a bad valley and a good one>

9. Thanking

In some particular cases, some utterances are used to thank the assembly of wisemen. This is the case, for instance, of the following utterances :

e.g. Ndabashīmiye <I thank you>

Ndabashīmiye mwēbwé abashíngantáhe

<I thank you wisemen>

These utterances are used to show gratitude. It is shown by the performative verb - shīma <thank> which describes a certain state of affairs.

10. Congratulating

Other utterances are used to congratulate. Thus, the utterance NDAGÚKĒJE CĀNE <I congratulate you very much> is a speech act recognized to express a congratulating force. This illocutionary force is shown by the performative verb - kēza <congratulate>.

4.2.3. Chart of Speech Acts

SPEECH ACTS	ILLOCUTIONARY FORCES	EXTRACT N°	UTTERANCE TYPE
1. Representativess	- Riminding	1,2,3,6	- Bá̌ramugê̌nzūye <They observed him>
	- Warning	4,8	- Iyi ntǎhé ntívūmbá <this stick dos not beg for beer>
	- Appraciating	5,7	- Akǔzuye ntíbamurí̌ka <It is not worth lighting what is full>
2. Directives	- Wishing	9,10	- Muvyūké nêzá <May you get up well>
	- Pleading	11,12,13	- Mūntére rēró rya têká <Please, grant me the honour>
	- Requesting	14,15,16	- Mumuhé ikibǎnza gikwīyé <May you give him the right place>
	- Commanding	17,18,19,20,21, 22,23,24,25,26, 27	- Uratsīnda ubwô̌ba <May you defeat anger> - Ntǔze ucé urwā Ngô̌ndégōnde <May you not solve a conflict in a bad way>
3. Commissives	- Promising	28,29	- Tuzõmwēreka umwô̌nga uhūmá n'úwudáhūmá <We will show him a bad and a good valley
4. Expressives	- Thanking	30,31	- Ndabashīmiye <I thank you >
	- Congratulating	32	- Ndagúkēje cāne <I congratulate you very much>
5. Declaratives	-Investing	33,34,35,36,37	- Urabâye Umushîngantǎhe mu bǎndi < You become a wiseman among others>

4.2.4. Interpretation of the Results

In this chapter, the speech of investiture has been analysed in relation to the Burundian culture. It has been shown that the understandability of an illocutionary act depends very much on lexical and syntactic properties of the indicating devices as well as on related pragmatic, cultural and contextual considerations. I have analysed the illocutionary forces underlying a selection of utterances from the speech of investiture. It has been realised that those forces are varied according to what the speaker intends to achieve. In fact, depending on the context, one utterance can have more than one illocutionary force. This corroborates to Searle's (1969) theory of speech acts and Austin's (1962). Searle's assumption is "whatever can be meant can be said" and he believes that the performance of an illocutionary act is bound to both intentions and semantic conventions ; whereas Austin's assumption is the verb speech correspondence. The two theories have been found to be complementary.

In the selected data, speech acts and illocutionary forces have been investigated and classified. To begin with speech acts, among 37 extracts analysed, 51% were for directives ; 22 % were for representatives ; 5.5% were for commissives ; 8% were for expressives and 13.5% were for declaratives, as shown by the following table :

Speech acts	N° of extracts/37	%
1. Representatives	8	22
2. Declaratives	19	51
3. Commissives	2	5.5
4. Expressives	3	8
5. Declaratives	5	13.5

In analysing the above table, one may notice that there are more occurrences of directives than other categories of speech acts. The reason may be that there are a number of conditions, strict ones, that only a wiseman has to fulfil in order to get invested, therefore utterances used to express them are also numerous.

On the other hand, illocutionary forces have also been summarised. Indeed, some utterances in some extracts are used to convey particular forces : reminding to introduce what is going to follow, warning to tell in advance of something bad that can happen ; appreciating the action completed ; wishing to get some favour ; pleading and requesting, to push the addresses to offer the favour asked for ; commanding to get the addressee carry out some actions; promising to help in keeping the favour received, thanking and congratulating for the favour received.

It should be noted that the turn taking system is obeyed in delivering the speeches of investiture to co-ordinate the talk efficiently. Moreover, Searle's (1965) Felicity conditions are fulfilled. They enable the speaker to utter the speech acts properly.

In short, all along this study, the speech of investiture has been analysed in its two main steps which are speech acts and illocutionary forces. The former deals with speech acts in five of its categories. This corroborates with Searle's claim that there is a rather limited number of basic things we can do with language : we tell people how people are, we try to get them to do things, we commit ourselves to doing things, we express our feelings and attitudes, and we bring about changes through our utterances (Searle's (1978) : pp 22-3). The latter deals with illocutionary forces. This, thus, leads the present study to providing answer to the research purpose.

CHAPTER V : GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

All along this study, focus has been put on a pragmatic analysis of some speeches delivered during ceremonies of investing ABASHINGANTAHE (wisemen), speech acts and illocutionary forces have been tackled.

The first part has introduced the topic in stating the problem, the aim and the motivation of the study.

The second part has put an emphasis on the theoretical notions which are relevant for the analysis of the speeches under study. I have outlined the pragmatic theory and some related issues such as the notion of speech acts and illocutionary forces. Moreover, an emphasis has been put on the meaning of an utterance. Indeed, it has been shown that the meaning of an utterance is determined by its context of use.

The third part has dealt with the methodological notions to be used in the analysis of the data. In this part, I indicated the procedures used to collect the data. Indeed, tape-recording has been used to be sure that no data is omitted. I have also indicated the difficulties encountered in collecting and translating the data. Moreover, I indicated the procedures used to analyse the data. In fact, in the analysis proper, the pragmatic notions outlined in the second chapter have been applied to the selected data.

The last part has dealt with the analysis proper. It has led to the very analysis of the speeches delivered during the ceremonies of investing wisemen .

The first task consisted in showing the structural organisation of those speeches. Indeed, those speeches comprise different com-

ponents. The first one is honorific expression used to alert the hearer's attention and to introduce the speech. The second speech component has been referred to as opening and closing greetings. It has been shown that those greetings have a role of wishing well the audience and getting its attention. The third speech component concerns the transitional devices. We saw that transitional devices are formulaic speeches which occur frequently in the middle of a Kirundi formal speech and that they are used to draw the audience's attention on what has just been said and on what is just going to follow. Moreover, they are used to ensure the hearers that the message is still going on. The last speech component has been referred to as speech purpose. It has been shown that the purpose is the most important component because any speech which lacks that part is nonsense.

The second task was the analysis proper. It consisted in identifying the speech acts performed by the participants and the illocutionary forces produced by utterances.

In short, this study managed to answer the research purpose put forward in the introduction. Indeed, the purpose was to discover the different illocutionary forces bound to utterances from the speeches delivered during the ceremonies of investing wisemen.

However, this study has only tackled the speech acts and illocutionary forces bound to utterances from the Kirundi speeches delivered during the ceremonies of investing wisemen. Therefore, it would be pretentious to claim that it exhausted all aspects pertaining to it. My hope is that it adds valuable insight on existing works in Kirundi pragmatics.

Indeed, a number of studies can be carried out in this broad domain. For instance, the persuasive strategies used in those speeches or the use of figurative language may be a promising field of research.

APPENDIX

Data Collected and their Translation.

FIRST CEREMONY

Ijāmbo ry' úwǎtirwa

1. Bashîngantǎhe
   Bapfâsóni
   Nǎmwe mwëse mukorániye ng'ǎha
   Ni mugiré amahóro

5. Mwēbwé baryâ̄ngo
   Mwǎranyîhwēje
   Murāngomwa
   Ni ūko iyo ní ingīngo
   Muca murānja imbere
10. Mūnshikira kubǎnkurira
    Nabó baranyîhwêza
    Nk'ûkó mwǎngomwe
    Baca barāngomwa
    Ni ūko iryo jāmbo rigatûngāna
15. Kó bōntěra itêká ritērwá abashîngantǎhe
    Baca barǎmpa isāngo
    Ry'âhó bazômpêra umushikíriza
    Ni ūko bakûnzi báhǐre
    Nōné ryâ sāngo mwǎmpa ní iri

Speech of the candidate-wiseman

1. Honourable Assembly of wisemen
   Ladies
   and the whole audience
   May you have peace.

(+clapping of hands)

5. You family members
   You observed me
   You liked me
   * * *
   And you led me
10. To my elders
    they also observed me
    As you liked me
    They also liked me
    * * *
15. That they may grant me honour done to wisemen
    Then they gave me appointment
    of when they would give me a presenter
    * * *
    Now the appointment you gave me is this

20. Urwârwá mwǎntumye ng'ùrú
Murushikîre rēró
Murunywé nêzá
Muvyūké nêzá
Urwo rwârwá ni ūrwó gucá ibîcâniro
25. Murūmva iryo jāmbo
Máze rēró
Muhavé mûnzûra itèká
Ritērwá abashîngantǎhe
Incutí n'úmuryāngo bákoranye
30. Ni mugiré amahóro

20. The banana wine you asked for is this
May you then have it
May you drink it well
May you get up well
This wine is intended to cut the haymow
25. * * *
Then after
Please grant me the honour
Done to wisemen
Relatives and family gathered
30. May you have peace
(+clapping of hands)

T_{II} Ijāmbo ry'úmuhētsi

1. Bashîngantǎhe
Bapfâsóni
Nǎmwe mwēse mukorániye ng'ǎhá
Tugiré amahóro

5. Nk'ûkó muvyúmvīse
Uyu mushîngantǎhe mikāhéli abibáshikirije
Umuryāngo waramwǐhwēje
Ubushîngantǎhe n'úbukérebutsi
Uca uramugomwa

T_{II} Speech of the supervisor

1. Honourable Assembly of wisemen,
Ladies,
And all of you gathered here,
Peace be with us.
(+clapping of hands)
5. As you heard it
This man, Michael, told you
The family has observed him,
His wisdom and cleverness
and then it liked him

10. Uca uramushikiriza abashîngantăhe
kó akwīyé ibānga
Ibānga ry'úbushîngantăhe
Ni ūko iryo rikaba ijāmbo
Muca muramûmpá,Bashîngantăhe
15. Ngo ndamushikírize abashîngantăhe b'ímbere
Ni ūko iryo rikaba ijāmbo
Bărамugênzūye
Baramugomwa
Babona kó akwīyé kókó
20. Ibānga ry'úbushîngantăhe.
Murūmva iryo jāmbo
Baca barăntuma
kó yōtegûra urwârwá
Ngo bamushikírize ibānga
25. Incutí n'ábaryāngo barí ng'ăhá́
Ngo bamukŭze ubwătsi
Ni ūko iyo nâma itūngâne
Nōné́ ga bashîngantăhe
Mumushikírize ryâ têká́
30.Mwămwēmerera
Invāmakūngu zíkoranye
Bamukŭze ubwătsi
Tugiré́ amahóro

10. It introduced him to wisemen
That the secret fits him
The secret of wisemen
* * *
Then you gave him myself as a supervisor wisemen,
15. That I may introduce him to elder wisemen
* * *
They observed him
They liked him
They found that he actually deserves to have
20. The secret of wisdom.
* * *
Then they sent me (to tell him)
That he may prepare (banana) wine that you may give him secret
(invest him)
25. In front of (his) family and relatives
so that they may join him in thanking you
* * *
Then, wisemen,
Grant him the honour
30. That you promised him
before strangers' eyes
May they join him in thanking you
Peace be with us.
(+ clapping of hands)

T_{III} Ijāmbo ry'úmushîngantăhe mukúrú yatumwé n'ábashîngantăhe

1. Bashîngantăhe
Bapfâsóni
Nămwe mukorániye ng'ăhá
Tugiré amahóro
5. Nk'ûkó muvyŭmvīse
Abashîngantăhe báragênzūye
Uyu mushîngantăhe Mikahéli
Ba mushīma ubūntu
n'úbukérebutsi bwîwe
10. Ni ūko iyo nâma igatûngāna
Baca bamushīnga uyu mushîngantăhe
ngo amudúshikirize
Abashîngantăhe mwáramwíhwēje
Musānga kóko
15. Iryo bānga ry'úbushîngantăhe
ararîkwīye
Murūmva iryo jāmbo
Muca muramútuma
kó ajá gutégūra urwârwá
20. Ngo mumutére itêká
Isāngo twăvuganye
ní uyu mŭnsi urí hējuru.
Ni ūko iryo rikaba ijāmbo
Twárakwémereye

T_{III} Speech of an elder wiseman on behalf of other wisemen

1. Honourable Assembly of wisemen
Ladies
And all of you gathered here.
Peace be with us (+ **clapping of hands**)
5. As you heard
wisemen have observed
This gentleman Michael
They praised his good character
And his cleverness
10. * * *
They give him this wiseman as a supervisor
to present him to us
(you) wisemen observed him
you really found that
15. That secret of wisdom,
fits him
* * *
and you sent him
to prepare (banana)wine
20. So that you may grant him honour
The appointment we fixed
is this special day.
* * *
we promised you

Ko túzōzá kumútēra itêká
incutí n'úmuryāngo bákoranye
Ni ūko iyo nâma igatûngāna
Nōné mushîngantâhe Mikaheli
kurí uyu mǔnsi urí hējuru
Abashîngantâhe turakwâtiye
izûba ríva
bĕne uburǔndi bákoranye
urūmva iryo jāmbo
Akīra uyu mugumya

Iyi ní intâhe
urayikizamwó umukurú n'úmúto.
Urūmva iryo jāmbo
Iyi ntâhe rēró ntívūmba
Ejó ukazīndukirwa n'ûwó bigōye,
ntúrābe ingŏrane zāwe
uragēnda ubakirânure
bitereyekó kǎndi
wahora urya ibishûshe
ubu gênda uryé ibikánye
Urūmva iryo jāmbo
Iyi ntâhe ntígirá akarīmbi
ukagēnda izíndi ntârá
ugasānga abatâsé
urabatūngāniriza

25.that we will come to grant him honour.
(his) family and relatives gathered
* * *
Then gentleman, Michael
On this special day

30. We wisemen invest you
in broad day light
Burundians gathered together
* * *
have this (fig) tree

35. This is a stick
may you save (with it) elderly as well as young people
* * *
This stick then does not beg for beer
Tomorrow, if someone comes to you with problems
40. Don't deal first with yours
Go first to solve his
Moreover;
you were used to eating warm food
since now, get ready to eat cold food
45. * * *
This stick does not have borders
when you meet people quarrelling,
please, settle their differences.

50. Bitereyekó kǎndi
na wéwe uraba imbonéza
y'ábǎndi bashîngantǎhe
Ejó ushikáne mwîbānga
uru ruhǒngore rurí inyuma yāwe
55. urūmva iryo jāmbo
Uhavé rēró utwúhīrire urwârwa,
dushiré ahó twāshizé urǔndi
duhavé twīsôze
Tugiré amahóro

50. Moreover,
May you be a good example
of other wisemen
May you, tomorrow, lead towards the secret
this cattleshed (others) behind you
55. * * *
And after, give us some more wine
may we put it where we put the first
thereafter, we will go home
peace be with us
(+clapping of hands)

T_{IV} : Ijámbo ryó gushīma (rivugwá n'úmuhētsi)

T_{IV} : Speech of acknowledgement (uttered by the Supervisor)

1. Bashîngantǎhe
Bapfâsóni
Námwe mukorániye ng'áha
Tugiré amahóro
5. Nk'úkó bavugá ngo
"Akúzuye ntíbamurika"
Ndabashīmiye
kwîjāmbo twǎvuganye
Abashîngantǎhe

1.Honourable Assembly of wisemen,
Ladies,
And all of you gathered here,
Peace be with us **(+ clapping of hands)**
5. As they say that
"It's not worth lighting what is full"
I thank you
For the word we talked about
Wisemen

10. N'ámakūngu murí ng'áha
murabônyeko
uyu mushîngantăhe
amizé akabuye k'ábagabo
Ni ūko iryo jāmbo rigatûngāna
15. Muramusomēsha
Mumuhé icûbahiro kimukwĭye
Nátwe twēbwé abavyêyi
duhora imbere
Ni ūko iryo rikaba ijāmbo
20. Tuzōmwereka umwônga
uhūmá n'údahūma
Murūmva iryo jāmbo
Nawó umwūhīro musavyé
Ntāwŏrōnka urwârwá rw'Ábashîngantăhe
25. Ngo aburé umwūhīro
Murūmva iryo jāmbo
Máze mūnkúndire
Musubíre mubibănza vyânyu
Tugīye kuja inâma n'ûmwâna wānje
30. Tugiré amahóro

10. and strangers that are here
you see that
this gentleman
swallows the little stone of men (is now invested as a wiseman)
* * *
15. May you give him of your beer.
May you give him honour that fits him
and we, parents,
we are always in front of him
* * *
20. We will show him
a bad valley and a good one
* * *
And for the banana wine you asked for
No one would have wine for wisemen
25. and miss more wine to give them.
* * *
Please, do accept
To go back to your previous seats.
My child and I are going to find out
30. May we have peace
(+ clapping of hands)

SECOND CEREMONY

T_V Ijāmbo ry'úwǎtirwa

1. Bashîngantǎhe
Bapfâsóni
Námwe rwáruka
Ni mugiré amahóro
5.Kurí unó mǔnsi urí hējuru
Ni umǔnsi w'ísēzerano
Mwēbwé umuryāngo n'ábashîngantǎhe
Mwántumye urwârwa
Ngo mūngabíre ubucúti
10.Murūmva iryo jāmbo
Ubucutí bushīngíye ku gikórwa
Ubucutí bushīngíye ku bunywânyi
ubucutí bushīngíye kw'ijāmbo ry'úrwéze
Ni ūko iyo nâma itūngâne
15. Nōné rēró bashîngantǎhe
Rwâ rwârwa mwántuma ng'ūru
Ni murushikîre
Murunywé nêza
Muvyūke nêza
20. Muruhé umutíma
Ntimúruhe inda
Inda ní bahomora
Bahomorera mumwônga
Ni ūko bakûnzi báhíre

T_V speech of the candidate-wiseman

1.Honourable Assembly of wisemen,
Ladies,
And (you) young people,
Peace be with you **(+ clapping of hands)**
5. On this special day
It is a day of appointment
You family and wisemen,
You asked me to prepare banana wine
so that you may offer me good relationship
10. * * *
Relationship based on work,
Relationship based on friendship
Relationship based on a word of happiness
* * *
15.Now then wisemen
The (banana) wine you asked me is this
May you have it
May you drink it well
May you get up well (with it)
20. Please, give it to your heart
Not to your stomach
The stomach is a thrower
it throws into the valley

25. mūntĕre rēró rya tĕka
sintētērwe
Mūnyăgire akajāmbo k'úrwĕze
Mūnkúrire ibishitsí mūnzira
Síntsītare
30. Murūmva iryo jāmbo
Mūnyugúrurire irêmbo
Ndyōhérwe
Mūncĭre umugani ndawŭmve
Tunywāne
35.dufatáne mū nda
Ni mugiré amahóro

25. Please, grant me the honour
so that I may not be depressed
please, tell me a word of happiness
please, take stumps away from my path
so that I may not bump into anything
30. * * *
please, open the door for me
so that I may be happy.
Tell me a fable, may I understand it,
May we befriend one another,
35. and love one another
peace be with you **(+ clapping of hands)**

T_{VI}: Ijāmbo ry'úmuhētsi

1. Bashîngantăhe
Bapfâsóni
Rwăruka
Tugiré amahóro
5. Kurí uyu mŭnsi wá nōne
Nk'ûkó mubízi kăndi muhejéje kuvyûmva
Karŏri yarântúmye
ngo ndabashikîre
ndabashikírize ijāmbo musānzwé mûzi

T_{VI} : Speech of the supervisor

1. Honourable assembly of wisemen.
Ladies
Young people,
Peace be with us **(+clapping of hands)**
5. Today
as you know it and you heard it
Charles asked me
To come to you
And give you a message that you already know

10. Ni ūko ijāmbo ritūngâne
yahora mu mutamana
wa mwêbwé Abashîngantǎhe
Murūmva iryo jāmbo
Nōné ní mumutêre itêká
15.ritērwá abǎndi bagabo
mumuhé ikibǎnza gikwīriye
mumwěreke ahó azôhóra yîcara
Ni ūko iyo nâma itūngâne
Mumwǎtire izûba ríva
20. Běne umuryāngo bákoranye
Tugiré amahóro

10. * * *
he was in outer garment
of you wisemen= he was in a prolonged apprenticeship
* * *
Now then, may you grant him the honour
15.done to other men
may you give him the right place
may you show him where he will sit (down)
* * *
may you invest him in broad daylight
20. In front of everybody
may we have peace
(+ clapping of hands)

T_{VII}: Ijāmbo ry'úmushîngantǎhe mukúru

1.Bashîngantǎhe
Bapfâsóni
Rwǎruka
Tugiré amahóro
5. Ni ukuri turashīmye amajāmbo twūmvîse
kóko Karǒri twárakwíhwēje,
dusānga urakwîye ubushîngantǎhe
wahora mumutamana w'ábagabo
Nōné turakwâtiye izûba ríva

T_{VII} : Speech of the senior-wiseman

1. Honourable assembly of wisemen,
Ladies,
Young people,
Peace be with us **(+ clapping of hands)**
5. Frankly speaking, we praise speeches we heard later.
Indeed, we observed you, Charles.
We found you worthy of becoming a wiseman
You were in men's outer garment
Now we invest you in broad daylight

10. Urūmva iryo jāmbo
Ubu uramize akabuye k'ábagabo
uwamíze ntâbá agícira
urabâye umugabo wa sêbagabo
Ni ūko iyo nâma itūngâne
15. Akīra iyi ntăhe
urabâye umushîngantăhe mu băndi
ugasānga ahó batāsé
uratātūra,
ukaba wáhora utêranya,
20. gēnda ubihébe.
Ukaba wáhora ubêsha,
gēnda ubihébe
Ni ūko ijāmbo rigatûngāna.
Ugasānga impené zôná
25. uragarura
ugasānga inká zirwāna
urabāngurukanya
urūmva iryo jāmbo
Ejó hakagira uwugúsīndăra
30. ntŭmusubize,
urataka abăndi bagabo
ukabona ubírēnzeko
uzōba ubátukīshije.
Bazōguca inzogá z'ábarĕngwa

10. * * *
Now you swallow the little stone of men
He who has swallowed it cannot spit it.
You become a great leader.
* * *
15. have this stick
you become a wiseman among others
if you meet people quarrelling,
please, separate them
if you were accustomed to causing conflicts among people
20. please, stop it.
If you were used to telling lies
Please, stop it.
* * *
If you meet goats devastating fields
25. please, prevent them from doing it.
If you meet cows fighting one another,
Please, separate them.
* * *
tomorrow, if someone offends you,
30. please, don't retaliate.
Instead, call for help of other wisemen
If you retaliate.
You would cover them with shame
They would oblige you to pay a fine of beer paid by lawbreakers

35. Ni ūko iryo jāmbo rigatûngāna
wēmeye ibāṅga rikoméye
ubu uratsînze ubúto
Ugīye kubá incâbwênge
uzōcisha ahó ukurí kúri
40. ugīye kubá umucâmǎnza
atarí umucāngero
urūmva iryo jāmbo.
Ntǔze uté ururímí
Ntǔze uhāndwé ku rurímí ikirēnege kíriho

45. uratsînda ishávu
uratsînda ubwôba
Ni ūko iyo nâma igatûngāna
Bitereyeko
Ntǔze uvugíre muvǔmbi ku múvūmba
50. Ntǔze uryé umunwa
"Umugabo amira intóre ntámirá ijāmbo"
Ntǔze ucé urwa ngôndégōnde
Ni ūko iryo jāmbo rigatûngāna.
Urarwānira intâho,
55. ukīranire abakéne
urarwānira abapfâkazi
Ni ūko ijāmbo ritūngâne
Ntúríwe ndarāndīra rēro
kuva ubu mumunwa wāwe hatāshe ukúri.

35. * * *
You accept a strong secret
Now you are mature enough
You are going to have a fine intelligence
You will be frank.

40. you are going to be a good judge
and not a mercenary.
* * *
may you not lose your tongue (may you not speak too
much to those who don't understand)
may you not be pricked by thorn on your tongue while you still have a foot.
45. may you defeat anger
may you defeat fear.
* * *
Moreover
May you not speak in favour of the apiarist to beg for honey.
50. may you not eat your mouth (fear to speak)
"A man swallows lumps of bread, not a word"
may you not solve a conflict in a bad way.
* * *
may you fight for orphans
55. may you fight for the poor
may you fight for widows.
* * *
without delaying you
since now the truth takes place in your mouth.

60. Ugīye kubá sêbarŭndi
Tugiré amahóro

60. You are going to be father of Burundians
may we have peace
(+clapping of hands).

T_{VIII} : Ijāmbo ryó gushīma

1. Bashîngantăhe
Bapfâsóni
Rwăruka
Tugiré amahóro
5. Máze kwīzína ryó gushīma
Jēwé ndashīmye.
Ndashīmiye mwēbwé Abashîngantăhe
Mutāmbúkije uyu mwâna wānje
mu muhāye icûbahiro
10. C'ábashîngantăhe
Ni ūko inâma igatûngāna
Nōné rēró,mushîngantăhe karŏri
Ndagúkēje cāne
ku bushîngantăhe urōnsé
15. Kurí uyu mŭnsi izûba ríva
urabugēndera nk'ūkó bābikúbwīye
Urūmva iryo jāmbo
Nătwe kubitwêrekeye
Tuzōkwāma imbere yāwe
20. Tukwĕreke umwônga uhūmá n'údahūmá
Tugiré amahóro .

T_{VIII} : Speech of acknowledgement

1. Honourable Assembly of wisemen,
Ladies,
Young people,
May we have peace **(+clapping of hands).**
5. In the name of acknowledgement
I thank
I thank you wisemen
for the promotion of my child
you give him honour
10. of wisemen
* * *
Now then wiseman, Charles,
I congratulate you very much
for the wisdom you have just received
15. today in broad day light
May you use it as they told you
* * *
as far as we are concerned,
we will always be in front of you
20. To show you a bad and a good valley.
May we have peace **(+clapping of hands).**

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