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Nkunzimana, Eliane; Sous la direction de : Dr. Firmard Sabimana

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

A SOCIO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF SOME KIRUNDI SONGS RELATED TO THE BRIDEGROOM'S RICHNESS IN BURUNDI

By Eliane NKUNZIMANA

Supervisor

Dr. Firmard SABIMANA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree " Licence en Langue et Littérature Anglaises"

Bujumbura, Novembre 2001

Dedication

To my late father and mother

For their numberless sacrifices

To my brothers and sisters

For their care

To my dear husband Valentin

For his patience

To my two sons Yvan-Novick and Andy-Dellard

With sincere thanks

I warmly dedicate this work

Acknowledgements

The completion of this work is the result of a joint effort. Many people have contributed in one way or another. Therefore, I would like to express my gratitude to them. Unfortunately, I cannot name all of them here, but I feel I would be indebted not to mention some of them.

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I also owe gratitude to my friends who made my student life more enjoyable.

Last but not least, I warmly owe sincere thanks and much more love than I can express to my parents for what they have done for me till the end of their life.

Eliane NKUNZIMANA

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CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

All over the world, culture is of paramount importance. Each society has its own culture and tries to preserve it even though changes are inevitable. These changes are due to travels during which people learn many things which are different from the elements of their own culture. Media, on the other hand, especially television, display different elements from different cultures. These new elements are sometimes appreciated by people and consequently they begin to imitate them. In this way, changes take place in any culture

One may wonder what these things are which change in a culture But first, what is culture? Let`s look at the definition given by Crowther (1995:285). He defines culture as the "art, literature, music and other intellectual expressions of a particular society or time" According to him, it is also "the customs, arts, social institutions etc. of a particular group or nation".

Taking into account this definition, I can say that people from one group or society may imitate the behavior of people from another society One example is provided by the way people try to imitate dressing models from abroad For instance, in Burundi, girls and women used to put on only long dresses, but nowadays they can wear long dresses as well as short ones Trousers and shorts, which were only for men, are also worn by girls nowadays. Traditional music and dance are being slowly dominated by modern ones which are the result of imitation. People can also imitate art and literature. Thus, changes may take place in any aspect of culture, including the cohabitation of people, especially couples.

Whether with changes or not, culture is transmitted from generation to generation through language. This implies that language is very important while talking about culture. This has been showed by Barber (1964:1) in his definition of language: "Language, in fact, is the great machine tool which makes human culture possible"

The language of a given society is an aspect of the culture of that society. It makes culture possible since it is used in cultural activities such as art, music, literature, etc. and in the transmission of the culture to following generations.

In Burundi, culture is expressed through language in the form of discourse, praise poetry, songs, proverbs, riddles... In former times, Burundian culture was transmitted orally, from mouth to ear. It is only at the end of the 19th century that writing was introduced in Burundi by the first missionaries. Before this, orality was, and still is, important. The only problem with orality is conservation, since old people who detain more information about culture pass away and take with them that knowledge we need.

There is a famous formula found in Ngorwanubusa (1990 : 22) uttered by Amadou Hampaté Bâ in 1962 at UNESCO, which is related to this situation: "Chaque fois qu'un vieillard meurt en Afrique, c'est une bibliothèque inexplorée qui brûle".

Translation : "Every time an old person dies in Africa,
it is an unexplored library which burns".

In the quotation above, old people are compared to a library, and when they die, it is as if the library burns. Beside the problem of death, there is the problem of memory. It is not easy for all people to remember what they have seen or heard after a certain time.

Written language is secondary and derivative. If we take into account the history of each person, speech is learned before writing. This may be justified by the fact that there are primitive communities that have speech without writing, but there is no community which has a written language without a corresponding spoken one. Some people may think that the case of the sign language of the deaf people is an exception, but it is not. Even though they cannot speak, their language, i. e their systems of signs, derives from the spoken language of the community around them. In few words, a language cannot be written when it is not spoken.

In this work, I am going to deal with songs. We know songs are different according to their aims. Their purposes are such as recreation, communication, praising, greeting, lamenting, conveying a special message, etc. Here, the emphasis will be put on the songs related to the wealth of a bridegroom in Burundi, especially in former times. The analysis will show the importance that Burundian people give to the wealth of someone before they accept to give him their daughter as his wife. It will also show some cultural elements revealed in those songs.

In short, songs are very important. They are one of the means of conveying messages, especially in terms of culture. They are also means for maintaining the culture since, the more people sing, the more they remember the realities which constitute their culture. From this, we can say that culture and language are intimately linked.

I.1. Background to the problem

In any society, language is a tool which helps to express people's ideas, opinions, wishes, greetings, thanks, orders, compliments, laments, etc. It is a means of communication. The latter is achieved in different forms, be they poems, songs, conversations, discussions or speeches.

This work is based on Kirundi songs. Burundian people like to sing. They sing in different circumstances such as during wedding and unveiling ceremonies, during prayer and cultural ceremonies like the initiation of young people, the birth of twins and so on. Burundians sometimes sing when they are happy in order to express their joy. But they often sing when they want to express a specific message related to the circumstances of the moment. This is the case of my study.

In former times, when Burundian parents had a daughter who was about to get married, they used to choose a person, called "UMUGENDEREZI" in Kirundi, whose task was to check if their

daughter's fiancé was rich. That is, if he had a big piece of land, many cows or/and if he worked hard. They wanted to know if he would be able to take care of their daughter. So, on the wedding day, especially on the unveiling day, people expressed what they thought about the groom's situation and what they expected from him, i.e., what he would give to his wife such as nice shoes, nice clothes, etc. This also happens nowadays.

To sum up, songs are one of the means Burundian people used to convey messages. They are also one aspect of language. The language is influenced either by the society in which it is spoken or by the culture of that society. So, a deep study of these Kirundi songs is necessary, but for this, a good knowledge of Burundian society and culture is of great importance.

I.2 Statement of the problem

Most of the time, we find ourselves listening to Kirundi songs without paying attention to the message they contain. This lack of attention is due to the fact that we bear in mind that we know the meaning of all words used in those songs, but we forget to relate that meaning to our culture in order to understand better the message. We are sometimes attracted by the melody which pleases our ears while we are not able to explain the song.

In other cases, we can pay attention to what is said in a song and give it a wrong interpretation, or we may ignore what the song focuses on. For example, in the songs I am going to deal with, I want to show how, in former times, Burudians (parents, relatives, even neighbours) had to verify if really a bridegroom was rich in order to accept him as a son-in-law. Their aim was to see if he was able to take care of his new family, that is, to feed them, to give them clothes, or other necessary things. It was on the wedding day that people used to sing songs related to the groom's situation, what they thought about him, what they expected from him and what they asked him to do for the bride.

But this is not the case nowadays since no one intervenes while choosing a wife or a husband. Only two persons are engaged, i.e., the bride and the groom. And in this way, one can marry a poor or a rich person. Then, it is likely that many people do not understand the sense of some songs, such as those I am going to deal with.

As most scientists agree, without a problem, there would be no research. For this research, the first problem is that many people are most attracted by the melody of songs rather than the words. The second problem is that even those who can understand the words do not comprehend the message conveyed through them with regard to the culture.

I.3. Motivation

I have been interested in undertaking a research on the language best known to me, i.e. Kirundi, which is my mother tongue. My wish to have something to contribute to the study of Kirundi has been one of the reasons for choosing this topic.

Another reason stems from my experience. I used to listen to Kirundi songs without paying much attention to what was being said. It is only recently that I have realized that their content is culturally rich. Thinking that there are other people to whom this happens, I would like to invite them to listen carefully to the message delivered through songs. In this way, they will recognize the importance of our culture and they may feel the need to preserve it. This preservation would avoid the acculturation which is nowadays frightening to people who are against it. It is in this context that I have chosen this topic to help the young people, who are victims of acculturation, by showing them the need to go back to their culture and to discover their identity.

I.4. Aims of the study and research questions

The socio-cultural analysis of some Kirundi songs related to the bridegroom's richness aims at demonstrating that these songs contain a message which reveals some realities of Burundian culture. This

message is important for the addressee as well as for the listeners, because every one becomes aware of what he/she should do or what he/she should not. For instance, while listening to these songs, one should understand that he should avoid laziness, that he should be a hard worker in order to be respected. To achieve this aim, I will have to answer the following question: Is there any culturally based message that is reflected through these songs?

This study also aims at pointing out the sense and the importance given to the wealth of a Burundian bridegroom. As I have said, there are many changes in many domains nowadays. Within the marriage system also, what people used to take into account in former times is not the same today. This is the reason why some people seem to forget the old system. So, I have to remind them about it and inform the ones who do not know what happens in the Burundian culture. To this end, answering the following question will be helpful: What is the sense given to the wealth of the bridegroom and how important is it?

CHAPTER II : LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1. Introduction

As this work is based on a socio-cultural approach, it would be better to go through other studies in order to know what other researchers think about society and culture. The two terms are familiar to us but they are not easy to define. However, a number of researchers have attempted to define them.

II.2 Definition of key terms

II.2.1. Definition of society

Among the researchers who have defined the word society, I can mention Guralnik (1961:661) who defines it as "people living together as a group, or forming a group, with the same way of life".

From this definition, we have an idea of living together and in the same way. Those people who live together form a group. But the problem is to know how big that group should be. Should it be formed by two persons? Thirty? Four hundred? One thousand? We do not know. It is not clear in this definition. But, let us assume that there is a group of people living together in the same way. Crowther (1995:1128) defines society as "a community of people living in a particular country or region and having shared customs, laws, organization etc".

The idea of living together also occurs in Crowther's definition. But the precise number of those people living together is not given. However, the words "particular country or region" help us to have an idea of how big that group is. No one can deny that a country or a region shelters many people. And people living together have things in common. The organization pointed out in this definition is an important aspect which shows how a society can look like since societies are differently organized.

The Britanica World Language Dictionary (1959 :1192) gives the following definition:

> "Society is the system of community life, in which individuals, ordinarily in a territorial establishment, form a continuous and regulatory association for their mutual benefit and protection"

Beside the ideas given in the first two definitions, the Britanica World Language Dictionary (1959) adds something important in its definition of society. It is said that individuals form a continuous and regulatory association, which is comparable to organization in Crowther's definition, for their mutual benefit and protection. This interdependence among people living together is very important. Whatever a member of a society does in terms of production makes profit to other members of that society and vice-versa.

The above definitions, taken together, give an idea of what a society is. We cannot say that one definition is sufficient on its own. These definitions are incomplete and complete one another. They also give an image of the society we are going to take into account in this work. Burundian people live together, that is, in the country called Burundi. They have a certain organization, they share the same customs, laws, values, etc. I can say that they live in the same way. So, this is what I can call Burundian society.

II.2.2. Definition of culture

The word culture is very complex. This complexity comes from the fact that culture combines many domains such as social, economic, intellectual, religious and so on. In spite of this complexity, some researchers have tried to define it. Smith (1978:103) in Hill (1978) says that:

> "A culture or culture in general is the sum total of the learned, shared and transmitted, patterned and systematized ways man goes about meeting the problems raised by his environment".

A culture can thus be thought of as the total way of life of a group or society of people who are seen to be bound together by common experiences and expectancies. Guralnik (1961:1975) on his side defines culture as "the ideas, skills, arts, tools and way of life of a certain people in a certain time, civilization".

In this definition, Guralnik includes the notion of time. This is very important because there are many changes that may take place in any culture through time. The Britanica World Language Dictionary (1959:314) defines culture as:

> "the sum total of the attainments and activities of any specific period, race, or people, including their implement, handicrafts, agriculture, economics, music, art, religious beliefs, traditions, language and story".

I can say that this definition is more explicit. It shows the domains on which a culture lies. The notion of time also occurs in this definition. As I have said above, time is an important element to be mentioned because what was the culture of a society in former times is not necessarily the culture of that society today and will not be the same as the culture of tomorrow. This does not mean that culture changes completely. There are only some changes which take place, i.e. there are new elements which are introduced to the existing culture, and old elements which are given up.

Goodenough (1964:36) quoted in Hymes (1964) says the following about culture:

> "A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves".

According to this definition, a member of a society has to imitate, act and behave like other members of that society. In this case, culture is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and interpreting them.

Therefore, I can say that, even though an exact definition is difficult to find, culture is to be seen as an organization of people living together including their knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits they acquire as members of society. It is all of the man's attitudes, assumptions, beliefs, and values - the products of his head and heart as well as of his hands.

II.2. 3. What does a socio-cultural analysis imply?

Taking into account all those definitions, it becomes easy to understand what a socio-cultural analysis may imply.

First, we know that this work is about a socio-cultural analysis of songs, the latter being a way of communication. When people sing, they communicate orally. So, when there is communication, there is inevitably a language which is used.

Second, while communicating, especially through songs, people take into account the whole complex system which constitutes a kind of guide to their way of life. This system is what we call culture.

Finally, since we already have language on the one hand which is the tool for singing, and on the other hand culture which is taken into account while singing, the question is to know who uses that language and who establishes that system which is culture. The conclusion is that there must be a group of people who live together, communicate and follow conventional laws. This group of people forms a society.

In short, I have to say that while analyzing these songs, I have to pay attention to what people say, i.e. the message conveyed

In short, I have to say that while analyzing these songs, I have to pay attention to what people say, i.e. the message conveyed through songs, then relate it to the cultural context. This cultural context depends upon the society considered. As Burundian society is concerned in this work, the Burundian culture becomes the concern of my analysis. Then it is obvious that society and culture are the basis of my study. This is the reason why I say that it is a socio-cultural analysis.

II.2.4. Some studies on Kirundi songs

Some researchers have worked on Kirundi songs, especially wedding songs, also called epithalamiums. Some other kinds of songs which are dealt with are political songs, lullabies, lamentations...

Among these researchers, I can mention KURURU (1987) who has dealt with sixty-four Kirundi songs. These songs are epithalamiums and are divided into seven groups. KURURU has divided them into seven groups because she has taken into account the seven steps of the wedding procession. She classifies them according to the message conveyed in songs and the corresponding moment since the wedding procession begins from the bride's home to the groom's one.

While analyzing these songs translated in French, KURURU provides the meaning of difficult words and expressions of each text. She also explains the texts in few words, i.e. the titles and some key words, in order to help the readers understand the texts easily. In addition to the meaning of these epithalamiums, their structure and form are provided by this researcher.

NTAHOMVUKIYE (1990-1991) has also worked on Kirundi songs. These songs are called "imvyino" in Kirundi. This is also the kind of songs which will be dealt within this work. The difference is that this work is about a socio-cultural analysis of one kind of songs, i.e. those related to the richness of the Burundian bridegroom, whereas NTAHOMVUKIYE tackles songs of different kinds as one of the recreative discourse genres.

According to him, songs are the genre which includes almost all the genres. In order to show this, he classifies the songs according to the kind of discourse found in each song. For example, he groups lullabies together and songs related to blessings together. He does the same for those related to proverbs, tales, greetings and so on.

Therefore, I notice that any kind of message can be conveyed through songs, which is the reason why they include other genres.

HAKIZIMANA (1994) undertook a semantic study of some Kirundi songs. Her corpus is made of six Kirundi epithalamiums. These six traditional wedding songs talk about and are addressed to the bride. These songs are richer than others in repeated items, synonyms, antonyms and hyponyms. This is the reason of the choice. In this study, some lexical items of these songs are semantically analyzed. This analysis helps people understand the songs as a whole. To interpret these songs, she uses three semantic theories namely Reiteration, Meaning Relations and Componential Analysis.

Reiteration is expressed by the repetition of the same lexical items. Here many lexical items such as "umukobwa"(girl), "kugenda" (to go) etc. are repeated in almost all the songs. On the other hand, it is expressed by the occurrence of a synonym. Absolute or complete synonyms are very few, and many cases are those of near-synonyms like " umukobwa" (girl) and "umurondo" (lady). Reiteration is also expressed through the use of superordinate (the more general term) or the use of hyponyms (the specific terms). This kind of Meaning Relation prevents misunderstandings which may due to ambiguity. As these songs convey a certain message, the lexical items used may be polysemous. This is the reason why it is better to specify what people are talking about in order to help the readers understand the texts without any problem.

In short, the semantic theories used in this study helps HAKIZIMANA analyze the six epithalamiums in such a way that the interpretation of the latter becomes easy for everyone who reads her work.

GATUNGANE (1994) is also among people who have worked on Kirundi songs. The latter are political songs sung during the 1993 electoral campaign. While analyzing these songs, she follows two steps. She analyses them, first structurally and second semantically. In the structural organization, she deals with two structures which are frequent in the concerned songs namely; repetition and alliteration. As far as semantic organization is concerned, it has been seen through metaphor and implicature (used to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest or mean, as distinct from what he literally says.).

SINDAYIHEBURA (1998) has dealt with a pragmatic analysis of lamentations in Kirundi. First of all, he divides his work in two steps, the first one being that of pointing out the structure and the function of lamenting songs, the second one being concerned with investigating stylistic features. The core of his work is, on the one hand, the description of lamenting as an act, of course in the framework of speech acts. On the other hand, he provides different expressions with meaning taking into account their context of occurrence.

All these people cited above have worked on Kirundi songs. There are also other researchers not mentioned here who have dealt with Kirundi songs. This is a good sign. It means that Burundian culture is becoming interesting and day after day, there are people who undertake research on it. In the case of songs, they deal with them from different perspectives. However, no one of those researchers had thought about dealing with the bridegroom's richness, the reason why I decided to do it. These different studies reveal how these songs are culturally rich even though it is not directly obvious.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

III. 0. Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I have given a critical evaluation of already existing literature in this area of research. In the present one I describe and justify the procedures according to which the data has been collected and analyzed.

III. 1. Data collection procedures

There is a widely held belief that every method is totally dependent on the aims of the study in question. With regard to this, the procedures devised for this study aimed at getting the texts of the songs to be analyzed. As my study is an attempt to analyze social message conveyed through the songs related to the bridegroom, the collection has taken place in order to get such songs.

To collect these songs, I first thought of getting them in their area of performance. But, as I was obliged to do it in my environment, i.e. in Bujumbura, I found that they are affected by modernity. Then, I decided to use existing materials. The book AGAHOGO K'ABARUNDI, which is a collection of songs compiled by a group of researchers, has been of a paramount importance for me. In fact, this book embodies eight kinds of songs illustrating socio-cultural phenomena in Burundi. These are:

- songs praising one's nation
- songs praising one's "boss"
- cattle songs
- epithalamiums or wedding songs
- lullabies
- songs related to Kiranga's rites
- humorous and ironical songs
- lamenting songs

Among all these kinds of songs, we are only concerned with the epithalamiums. Among them, I have selected those in which they talk about a bridegroom. These were about ten, among which I have chosen only six to be analysed since I thought that the results got through the analysis of these songs can be generalized and can be considered to hold true as far as Burundian socio-cultural realities, in relation to the bridegroom, are concerned.

III.2. Data analysis procedures

Having collected the songs, I have tried to analyze them with regard to the aims of my study. As the latter aimed at demonstrating that these songs contain a message which reveals some elements of Burundian culture and pointing out the sense and the importance given to the wealth of a Burundian bridegroom, I have described the contextual meaning of such songs which has allowed me to point out the socio-cultural realities they reflect. This was done taking into account the circumstances around which they were sung.

Moreover, before the analysis itself, I have provided a literary translation of the songs to allow my English readers understand what they mean and thus comprehend the identified socio-cultural realities embedded in them. The literal translation was also provided when needed.

III.3. Limitations

Saying that this work has been carried out without getting any problem would be pretentious. The first problem was that, when I thought of this topic, I expected to get the songs from their area of performance because, as argued by most researchers, any research pertaining to orality should take it into account; if not, it would be a mutilation of the text and why not a way of voiding it of its substantial backbone (NTABONA, 1985:240).

However, this has not been the case for the present study. The fact is that nowadays people have in a way or another altered the socio-cultural realities. That is why I preferred to collect songs already existing in books. The latter are thought to be genuine and hold the realities characteristic of Burundians. Another solution would be to go up-country in rural areas where one can still think that the culture is not affected by modernity. However, I have not resorted to this, as it would be too costly. Second, in the songs analyzed, there are words which have been difficult for me to understand and I had to ask some old people to provide me with explanation.

Last, I have faced the problem of translation, as there are words which are culturally bound and whose equivalents in the two unrelated languages - Kirundi and English - are non-existent. In this line Mounin (1983: 225) states that translating an oral text in a western language is one of the most difficult tasks. The fact is that truthfulness and accuracy are aimed at when translating in a rigorous way, something which is almost impossible to achieve.

CHAPTER IV: DATA PRESENTATION AND FINDINGS

IV.0. Introduction

The preceding chapter was concerned with describing and justifying the methodology devised as far as this study is concerned. The present one sets out to look at the extent to which the hypotheses formulated at the beginning of this work are evidenced by the findings.

IV. 1. Data presentation

As said earlier, all along this work, I have been analyzing songs in relation to the importance of the bridegroom's richness in Burundi. The latter were collected from already existing materials, in a book. That book provided me with many songs from which I have selected six for analysis.

These songs do not necessarily contain the same elements. In this line, results from the analysis reveal that a number of elements are found in these songs. But there are elements which are more focused on in one song rather than in the other and mixed elements can be found in one song.

In general, what is reflected in these songs is culture linked and portrays the richness of the bridegroom. In other words, a number of cultural elements such as the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships, the new couple's expected behaviour, the bride/parents-in-law relationships are reflected through these songs. The importance associated with the bridegroom's richness is also reflected. The following sections are going to present a detailed picture of what is embedded in these songs.

IV.2. Findings

IV.2.1 Revealed Burundian cultural elements through the analyzed songs

IV.2.1.1 Mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships

Among the cultural elements reflected in the analysis, mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships are included. In fact, in Burundi, as in any other society, people establish social relationships around which their activities are centered.

More than anything else, marriage, which is considered as the source of any human life, has a place of choice in such relationships. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that in these kinds of songs, the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships, are portrayed by Burundians. In other words, in their cultural norms, though not written, there is a behaviour, expected of the daughter-in-law vis-à-vis her mother-in-law and vice-versa.

Indeed, Burundians expect good behaviour and mutual understanding between the two individuals. However, the intriguing thing is that, such a behaviour is not what is really found.

e.g. song IV stanza 6 and 7

6. Yewe ga murondo	Young lady
Ni waja gukubura	When you go to clean
Munzu kwa nyokobukwe	In your mother-in-law's house
Uramuhitana aho ari	Take her where she'll be
Uti mpa umukubuzo	Tell her to give you the broom
Muheze mujane	And go together
Ntagire ngo uramwivye	So that she doesn't think you have stolen her belongings

7. Yewe ga murondo	Young lady
Niwaja kwa nyokobukwe	When you go to your mother-in-law
Kumutira inkoko	To borrow a basket
Ugakoma isahani	And you touch a dish
Isafuriya igatemba	And a pan falls down
Azoca akoma induru	She will wail saying
Igipfu c'umukazana	The naughty daughter-in-law,
Ehe ng'uyu arabiriye	Look, she has eaten the food.

In the above examples, it is clear that the expected behaviour is not found. To begin with the first example, there is suspicion between the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law. In fact, there should be a climate of trust between them, but as it appears in these verses there is not. Consequently, the girl is invited to be careful, and when it is her turn to clean her mother-in-law's house, it would be better to be with her to avoid to be considered as a thief.

Likewise, the second example shows that there is mistrusting climate. The ideal should be that the girl could enter her mother-in-law's house without fearing anything. Nonetheless, she is invited to fear as, when she goes to take a basket, not being together with her mother-in-law, the latter can suspect her to have eaten the food, if she is unlucky to touch a dish and a pan falls down.

In short, from these examples it can be.concluded that through these songs, Burundians reveal what the relationships between the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law are like and what they should be. In fact, these relationships are not good, at least from what is reflected in these songs and, culturally speaking, Burundians fear this and thus invite the girl to be prudent and careful enough for these relationships to be what they should be, i.e. good. Not only the daughter-in-law / mother-in-law relationships are portrayed through these songs, but also the relationships between the bride and her new neighbours are.

IV.2.1.2 The neighbourhood relationships

After marriage, the girl settles in a new environment where she meets new people. Obligatorily there are relationships that are set up between them, and this is also revealed in these songs.

The ideal is that these relationships should be good because any individual needs other's help in his life. Nevertheless, what is reflected in these songs shows that the girl should be careful because the neighbours are not always helpful.

As a matter of fact, they most of the time intrude into other's business and thus can tell something which they do not know, something they never saw, with the objective of separating the new couple. The following examples can well illustrate this:

Song V. stanzas 9 and 10

9. Bazokubwira ngo	They will tell you that
Uteka nabi	You prepare bad food
Atawabiriye	Without having eaten it
10. Bazokubwira ngo	They will tell you that
Usasa nabi	You badly make the bed
Atawaharaye	Without having slept there

In these verses, what is noticeable is that there is jealousy in neighbours that is directed to the new couple. Therefore, they tell everyone that the bride neither knows how to cook nor how to make the bed. Their expectation is that, when her husband hears about this, he will kick her out of the house and their aim will have been achieved. Here, the cultural aspect that is shown is that Burundians are against others' prospects.

Following this, the girl's friends provide with pieces of advice so that she gets married being aware of this and thus adopts an appropriate behaviour.
e.g. Song I. stanza 13

13. Uragenda witunge mu nka	Go and bring up yourself
Ugende wiyubare mu nka	Please, don't be brutal
Mu ntara utabaye mu nka	In an area you didn't live
Uburundi ni ingare mu nka	Burundi is difficult
Bugona buri maso mu nka	It dreams awake

In the above verses, the bride is invited to behave herself in the new environment where she has no friends. This means that Burundians are sometimes dangerous. In fact, they pretend to sleep when it is not the case; they even pretend to dream when they are awake with the objective of misleading the bride, still with the intention of separating the new couple.

In addition to telling her what Burundians are like, the bride's friends suggest to her the kind of behaviour she should show so as to succeed in her plans. This can be seen through the verses of stanza 14 of the same song and song IV, stanza 5, where they invite the girl to be careful in what she says and be quick in what she does, respectively.

14. Uravuga ako hino	Tell what is superficial
Ako hirya ukabike munda	Keep what is deep for you
Kabe inderetsi yawe munka	It will be your eye witness

Song IV, stanza 5

5. Niwaja gusenya	When you go to fetch wood
Urasenya utebuke	Fetch it and be quick
Abakeba ntibagutwenge	So as not to be laughed at by adversaries

Not only counsels are given to the wife, but also to husband because life in a family requires the contribution of both partners.

Eg. Song I, stanza 15

15. Nawe wa musore yewe	And you young man
Uwo mwana w'abandi yewe	That child of others
Uramufata neza yewe	Take care of her
Ibana riragora yewe	Living together is demanding.

Here, the husband is invited to respect his wife, because she is a child of someone else, and to take care of her in accordance with the norms of a common life. This is also the case in stanza 16 in the same song, where the husband is invited not to show hatred, not to slap her as she is not accustomed to it. In short, they invite them to safeguard the honour characterizing Burundians.

16. Uramurinda urwanko yewe	Keep her out of hatred
Uramurinda ikofe yewe	Never give her a slap, please
Nta kofe yarazi yewe	She doesn't know a slap, please
Nakare riraryana yemwe	It is even harmful, please
Murahorana iteka nka mbere	Keep the honour as usual

The new couple is subject to bad relationships, as neighbours are not always happy with their prospects. Thus, because of the awareness of this, Burundian cultural norms are such that they provide the wife and her husband with counsels to be taken into account in order to succeed in their life.

IV.2.1.3 The feelings of the parents about marriage

In Burundian culture, there is an age around which people expect someone to get married. When this happens, people have different feelings in relation to it.

As far as parents are concerned, we distinguish between the bridegroom's and the bride's parents. On the one hand, the bridegroom`s parents who are lucky to welcome their daughter-in-law and to see their son growing towards self-reliance are very happy. In

addition, through their son's marriage, they see that their name will not die out, which makes them much happier.

On the other hand, the bride's parents are happy to see their daughter getting mature as she is going to be responsible in the new household. Moreover, their happiness stems from the fact that, when a girl gets married, she brings honour to the family. Marriage is a sign that she has received a good education from her parents and this is the reason why she has been chosen.

Another thing that makes them feel happy is that when they become parents-in-law they become well respected. The fact is that not all the parents are lucky to deserve such a honour. A striking example to illustrate this is when a girl gives birth when not officially married. Her parents are laughed at by everybody.

However, though the bride's parents, especially the mother, feel happy about their daughter's marriage, they are not totally happy. As the girl takes care of many things in the households ("umuzenzwanzu" - she who takes care of the house) problems are likely to arise, following her departure. This is to say that all the things she has been in charge of are going to be held by her mother alone. This can be illustrated by stanza 11, song V, through which the mother expresses the loneliness she feels after her daughter's marriage.

Song V, stanza 11

11. Baramujanye	They took her
Ariwe twayaga	Though she was the one to chat with

If not this, the mother is going to train her other daughters for a probable replacement. It is thus these challenges which bring about her unhappiness.

In addition, the mother may feel unhappy about her daughter's marriage because she fears the treatment her daughter is going to be subjected to. In fact, as described in the above sections, even it is not always the case, the girl is unlikely to be happy in the new family, for example because of the bad relationship between her and her mother-in-law. Furthermore, the neighbourhood relationships may not be good either. The above can be illustrated in the following verses:

Eg. Song I, stanza 5

5. Nyina w'umuhungu mu nka	The boy's mother
Arara aratwenga yemwe	Spends the night laughing
Nyina w'umukobwa aragowe	The girl's mother is ill at ease

In these verses, what is revealed is that the parents, especially the mothers have different feelings about the marriage. In the first two verses it is said that the boy's mother is happy and thus keeps on laughing. In contrast, through the last verse, it is said that the girl's mother is ill at ease because her daughter has left.

In short, one can say that parents have feelings about their children's marriage. Both the bridegroom's parents and the bride's parents are happy about this union. However, the former are much more happier than the latter. This is accounted for by the consequences following the girl's departure: What she used to do, on the one hand, and the treatment she might face, on the other.

IV.2.1.4. The bride's feelings about marriage

As girls have to leave their respective families when they get married, they have their way of viewing it.

First, the bride is unhappy to leave her family. In fact, leaving one's family is something that can create emotions. One is emotional about leaving the members of her family and leaving there what she

owns, especially clothes. Culturally speaking, in Burundi, it is forbidden for the girl to take her clothes to the new household. She must leave them there and take new ones, which brings about her unhappiness.

Eg. Song V, stanza 13

13. Ikikuriza ngo rukajana	What makes you weep so much
Ni ca gitenge	Is the loincloth
Ugiye utambaye	That you've never put on
Uzoronka ikindi	You'll get another one
Gitanguye umwaka	That begins a year

Through these verses, it is revealed that the bride is not happy and is weeping; and what makes her weep is the loincloth she left home having never put it on. Her friends are consoling her, telling her that she will get other clothes as a start of the new life. Here, we have to know that it is not only the loincloth which makes her weeping, but it represents every thing she leaves at her home.

Second, the bride is unhappy to leave her family because she fears what she is likely to face in the new household. But as cultural norms are such that one must get married, she accepts it despite the consequences.

Eg song IV, stanza 8

8. Yamara ni agasaga	It's good bye
Tuzoba tubonana	We'll meet again
Ninapfa bazota	They'll bury me when I die
Nta si idahamba	There is no place where they don't bury

Through the above verses the girl is willingly seeing off her family. Though she is presumably going to die because of the bad relationships she might face, she accepts it hoping that she will be buried there as any place can achieve such a duty.

The bride has a bad feeling about marriage. The fact is that she is going to leave her family and what she owns, but as it is a cultural obligation, she accepts it. The bad feeling is caused by fear, otherwise, she is happy. Who cannot be happy when thinking about good events which are likely to happen to him? Who can be unhappy to have children? No one.

IV. 2.1.5. Marriage partners'behaviour before marriage

Marriage is a very important socio-cultural phenomenon. Thus those involved in it prepare themselves some time before it takes place. The fact is that there is a choice that is made and it is not randomly done. There are factors to be taken into account. The latter are intimately linked with culture.

In fact, in Burundian culture, it is not up to the girl to make the choice. Rather it is the other way around. Thus, before saying anything, the boy usually visits the girl's family. In the first days, he does not say much; he just asks for fire to light a cigarette. This aims at observing the girl as well as her family and when he admires her, he is going to ask for her hand. While being observed, the girl also observes the boy and thus has to behave well so as to be attractive. The following verses can illustrate this:

Eg. Song I, stanza 9

9. Mbega wa mukobwa mu nka	Do you know, girl?
Aho wa musore yaza mu nka	When the boy came,
Akaguha yambu ukamuha yambu	He shook your hand and you shook his
Akakwaka umucanwa mu nka	He asked you some fire,
Ukawumuha mu nkoko yera	You gave it in a white basket
Yashaka umuriro w'itabi	He wanted fire to light his cigarette
Agashaka n'ijambo iruhande	He wanted a word in addition

From the above verses, it can be said that the boy goes to the girl's family and asks for fire to light a cigarette. But he wants something else other than the fire, the girl's hand. The girl, who presumably guesses about the boy's visit, gives the fire on a nice white basket. Obviously, this is going to attract the boy and the girl, though not allowed to ask the boy's hand, has her own way of attracting him.

Moreover, before accepting the boy's suggestion, the girl has to ask about his family, about how serious they are and about how they take care of wives. Her queries can be directed to her aunt, her sisters-in-law or brothers-in-law.

Eg1 song I, stanza 8

8 Akayago nayaze na senge	The chat with my paternal aunt
Turi hamwe kunama iwacu	At our kraal's entrance
Ni ko katumye nicwa n'inkumbu	It's it which caused me to die of nostalgia

Eg2 song III, stanzas 8,9,10

8. Muramwanje niwe yambwiye	It's my brother-in-law who told me
Ngo sinzoje kwa Miburo	Not to go to Miburo's
Umwe yaburanije imiryango	The one who brought relatives to justice
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows
9. Ngo sinzoje kwa Matebu	Not to go to Matebu
Umwe yatetereza abagenzi	The one who caused the shame to friends
Mugutatira mw'itongo	By quarreling in the land
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.

10. Ngo sinzoje kwa Mirare	Not to go to Mirare
Umwe yararanije ikiyago	The one who didn't give a chat
Ngo sinzoje kwa Birori	Not to go to Birori
Yaraharirije imiryango	He challenged the relatives
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.

In the verses of example 1, it is noticeable that the aunt is consulted before the girl takes her decision. And when she is already married and thinks about her aunt's pieces of advice, she is filled with nostalgia.

As far as the verses of the second example are concerned, the girl`s wonders are directed to her brother-in-law. The latter provides her with vital suggestions by bringing to her knowledge the kind of people she should not marry. These are people who are not as serious as they should, and who are the shame of the family. Through the criticisms and suggestions the girl is provided with, she can be misled. This is the case in the following verses:

Eg Song III, stanzas 4,5, 6 and 7.

4. Nari nararahiye ndarengwa	I had sworn
Ko ntazogera mu Mugamba	That I will never go to Mugamba
Umwe wegamiye Mukike	That leans against Mukike
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.
5. Mu rugo ruzira urwarwa	Inside the kraal with no banana wine
Nayo icibagiwe n'ihonda	Not to mention sorghum
Hari inzara n`inyota	There is hunger and thirst
Muri ya mbeho n'igipfungu	In coldness and clouds
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.

6. Je nasanze narihenze	I found that I was mistaken
Nasanze narihuse	I found that I was impatient
Je nasanze navuze nabi	I found that I said the wrong thing
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.

In the above verses, the girl starts by refusing to go to Mugamba where nothing grows and where people suffer from hunger and from cold. However, as she finds that her sister as well as her aunt went there, she finally acknowledges that she was wrong and accepts to go there. This shows that, culturally speaking, clan ties are very important and are taken into account when making a choice. The fact is that they are going to help the bride and initiate her in the new environment.

It can be said that the behaviour of the marriage partners before the marriage takes place is reflected in the analyzed songs. These partners are the bridegroom and the bride whose behaviour is related to the choice. And there are people to be consulted, especially by the girl, so as to operate a nice choice. Moreover, clan ties are very important factors that can influence the bride's decision. If this is the case, what is the role of the girl's relatives?

IV. 2.1.6. The responsibility of the girl's relatives in decisions concerning marriage

As far as marriage is concerned, the bridegroom and the bride are not the only ones to decide. Rather, relatives, especially those of the bride, play a vital role. At least from the songs analyzed, the parents, the brothers and the brothers-in-law are mostly involved in these matters.

In fact, without the consent of the parents - her father and mother - the girl cannot go anywhere. The first thing the latter look at in order to let their daughter get married is the bride-price. This is

to say that the bridegroom who does not bring the bride-price is not welcome.

Then when singing, the girls are right to tell the unhappy bride that it is the responsibility of her father and mother who have chosen to let her go because they got a bride-price.

Eg1. song V. stanzas 2,3 and 4

2. Mbega mukobwa ko urira undaba	Oh, girl, why do you weep looking at me
Sije nkuriye, wariwe nande?	I'm not responsible for your misery. Who is?
Na so na nyoko, babonye inyana	Your father and mother, who saw a veal
Inyananyana, baheba umwana	Walking and abandoned the child
Genda mukobwa tuzovyara abandi	Saying go girl, we will bear another one
3. Babonye ishashi	They saw a heifer
Ishikira kwima	Ready to conceive
Baheba umwana	They abandoned the child
Ngo ca ngaha ugende	Saying: come and go.
4. Mbega mukobwa ko urira undaba	Oh, girl, why do you weep looking at me?
Undabaraba	Looking and looking at me
Si je nkuriye, wariwe nande?	I am not responsible for your misery. Who is?
Na so na nyoko babonye inoti	Your father and mother, who saw a note
Inoti imwe ya bitanu	A note of five thousand
Hako mpeba inoti noheba umwana	And said: We'd rather abandon the child than the note

In the verses of the second and third stanzas, the singer who sees the bride weeping apologises, telling her that he/she is not responsible at any rate. Rather, the parents, who have seen a heifer about to conceive and who have decided to let her go, are responsible. According to the singer, they prefer the heifer to their daughter as they are likely to give birth to other girls. In the fourth stanza, it is revealed that the parents prefer the money to their daughter.

Not only the parents are responsible, but also the girl's brothers or brothers-in-law, the latter's responsibility being limited to counsels (see eg.2, previous section).

5. Wariwe nande? Na basazawe	Who is responsible? Your brothers
Babonye inoti, ikanura amaso	They saw a note opening eyes
Bakanura ayandi, genda murondo	They open theirs and said: go young lady
Usabe abandi	And serve others

Through these verses, the singer tells the bride that she was sold by her brothers who became greedy to take the money and obliged her to leave and live total submission to another family.

I can say that the relatives mostly concerned with marriage decision are parents, brothers and brothers-in-law. The latter's responsibility lies in providing counsels while the former's is based on the bride-price, whose importance is the concern of the next section.

IV.2.1.7. The cultural importance associated with bride-price

In Burundi, the bride-price is highly valued. In other words, the cultural behaviour of Burundians in relation to bride-price is that the one who is capable of paying it is the one who is important; on the other hand, the one who is unable to pay it is nothing.

This accounts for the fact that parents let their daughter go when they get the bride-price. The latter is the important condition for parents to let their daughter get married. They let her go and think of giving birth to other children when old (see the first example, previous section).

In previous sections (especially section 2.1.3), the parents' feelings about marriage have been identified. One of them relates to the girl's mother. In addition to the feeling of happiness about her daughter's marriage, she feels lonely.

However, this does not matter, at least according to the mother's friends. Indeed, when she complains about the loneliness she is subject to after her daughter's departure, they console her by reminding her that the place formerly occupied by the girl is now occupied by the money given as the bride-price.

Eg Song I, stanza 6

6. Bati hora ihorere mu nka — They say stop weeping
Ikiryamo yaryama mu nka — The bed she slept on
Kiryamyemwo ibihumbi yakowe — Sleeps the bride-price.

Moreover, the cultural importance of the bride-price is shown by the way bridegrooms are received. As a matter of fact, the bridegroom who has paid the bride-price is well received whereas the one who did not pay it is illtreated.

Eg. Song IV, stanzas 2 and 3.

2. Umukwe yakoye	A bridegroom who paid dowry
Agiye kwa Sebukwe	When he visits his father-in-law
Bamusasira indava	They prepare his place with a nice mat
Umubindi w'ubuki	A pot of honey
Ngo n'usome usubire	And tell him drink and drink once more
Ni we watanze inkwano	It is you who paid the dowry
3. Nayo umukwe atakoye	The bridegroom who did not pay dowry
Agiye kwa Sebukwe	When he visits his father-in-law
Bamusasira urwiri	They prepare his place with rough grass
Hejuru ibihunda	On which there is hay
Umubindi w'amazi	A pot of water
Ngo n'usome usubire	Drink and drink once more
Ni we wakenye inkwano	It is you who did not have the dowry

Through these two stanzas, we are shown an opposition between the bridegroom capable of paying the bride-price and the one who is not. Indeed, the bridegroom who has paid the bride-price is subject to praise. Thus, he is welcomed in a neatly arranged place on visit to his father-in-law and is given a pot of honey and wished to enjoy it (stanza 2).

On the other hand, the bridegroom who is not able to pay the bride-price is subject to illtreatment. He then deserves to be welcomed in a dirty place and be given a pot of water, which he is wished to enjoy (stanza 3).

As described above, the bride-price in Burundi is very important. Consequently, the one who pays it can get the hand of the girl and is the object of praise. On the other hand, the one who does not give it is not likely to have the girl but even when he gets her, he is subjected to illtreatment.

2.1.8. What is expected from boys?

For a boy to be chosen, there are factors that are taken into account. This implies that girls look at these factors and if they are fulfilled, the boy is chosen. They are mainly built around two elements, i.e. to be young or to be rich.

Eg.1 Song I, stanza 4

4. Mukobwa ukigenda mu nka	Girl who is about to get married
Ntukaje ku mutama mu nka	Do not marry an old person
Umutama aragora mu nka	An old person is hard to live with
Ahengera rigiye mu nka	In the middle of the night
Ngo genda unkwegere akiri	He says: Go and bring me the hay
Urwanje ruravyutse yewe	Mine is waking up.

Eg 2 Song I, stanza 2

2. Mukobwa ukigenda mu nka	Girl who is about to get married
Ntukaje ku musore munka	Don't marry a bachelor
Umusore w'umushumba mu nka	A menial bachelor
Uraja k'umutama mu nka	Marry an old person
Muvyarana gatanu mu nka	You give birth to five children
Afise urugo rw'iwe mu nka	If he has his own kraal
Agashaka agahwera mu nka	He can die
Bwaca ukaruketa ukarumara	And then you will eat it and finish it

In the verses of the first example, the girls are advised not to marry an old man. They do not like such a person because he is too demanding as he can wake up his wife, asking her to light fire to warm himself. Then from this, the conclusion is that girls prefer young men because they do not require much care.

In the second example, girls seem to contradict themselves. In the preceding example, they prefer young men, but through these verses they prefer old ones. Here, their choice is based on richness as an old rich man is preferred to a young but menial bachelor.

Through the above discussion, my feeling is that girls, though not allowed to search for boys in Burundian culture, have factors they take into account to make their choice. These factors are essentially based on how young and rich the bridegroom is. If there are conditions the bridegroom has to fulfil, what conditions does he require his partner to possess?

IV.2.1.9. What is expected from girls?

Before marriage takes place, there is a choice that is operated. As far as Burundians are concerned, boys are lucky to make such a choice. There are factors on the basis of which the latter is made. Above all, the girl's courage and work count much.

Eg. 1 Song V, stanza 6

6. Baramujanye mwana wa mama	They took the child of my mother
Bamujanye cuzurarembo	They took her, the filler of the kraal's entrance
Bamujanye kimararungu	They took her the entertainer
Nka yabirimba	As ya Birimba

Eg. 2 Song V, stanza 8

8. Ni we yasenya	She was the one who fetched wood
Ni we yavoma	She was the one who fetched water
Nzobigirante	How will I cope with it?

In the first example, the singer lets us know that the girl taken in marriage is serious at work. Her deeds are greatly admired. This leads to comparing her to the gate of the fence which makes the protection of the family. Moreover, she is compared to ya Birimba-the calf of Birimba-which, according to Burundians, makes someone feel supported. Therefore, he does not feel lonely when the cow is there. This shows that cattle are admired for their usefulness and so is a girl who is serious at work.

Through the second example, the deeds of the girl are shown. She is the one who fetches wood and water, and the members of the family are wondering about who is going to replace her. She has an irreplaceable role, which is the *raison d'être* of this admiration.

Among other things, the deeds of girls in their family make them admired by both members of the family and neighbours. As neighbours have a vital role through the process of "Kuranga" (to let know) the boys refer to this to make their choice.

IV.2.2 The bridegroom's richness: sense and importance

In a previous section (2.1.8), it has been observed that, in addition to the youth of the bridegroom, richness matters are important as far as the girl's choice is concerned. Through the analysis I have made, this richness centers essentially around land, cows, belongings and beauty.

IV.2.2.1 Richness associated with land

Land is among the factors on the basis of which Burundians determine one's richness. Indeed, in Burundian culture, the one who has a big land is rich. The fact is that all the activities ensuring one's life are carried out on it.

First, when one wants a house, the latter is built on land. In addition, what is eaten is also cultivated on land. The bigger the land is, the greater crops production is, what makes one's life a bit happier.

This also holds true for the one who possesses enough cattle in the sense that the cattle are provided with grazing space, and the wider it is, the more beautiful the cattle will grow.

Thus, richness in relation to land is an important element the brides take into account when operating their choice. It is not surprising to find that there are songs wondering about the bridegroom's land.

Eg1 Song II, stanza 7

II.7. Ya mirima myiza	The nice fields
bamye bahaya	they often talk about
Je ngize ndaraba	When I looked at them,
nsanga ari inyovu	I find that they were
	uncultivated .

Eg 2 Song III, stanza 1

III.1 Iyo babiteye inzego	Where they provided beams for their support
Batabiriye inzara	Where they did not nail them on
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.

In these two examples, we are shown the importance associated with land. In both examples, it is clear that the bridegroom mostly admired is the one whose land produces enough crops.

In the first example, the singer is wondering about the nice fields they spoke of. This shows that the bridegroom was chosen because the girl has heard of these nice fields he is in possession of. Unfortunately, what she had heard did not correspond to reality and this made the singer as well as the bride feel disappointed. This led them to illtreat the bridegroom because he was compared to the ones who fulfilled this condition.

As far as the second example is concerned, it implicates the bridegroom likely to be chosen. In fact, it is the one whose land produces enough crops to the extent of filling up food stores and supporting them with beams. This implies that he has a big land or a fertile one and therefore the food stores are filled beyond the limit, which is the reason why they provided them with beams for support to prevent them from collapsing.

On the basis of the above discussion, my feeling is that the land is of paramount importance in Burundi and is the basic foundation of one's richness. Thus, it is taken into account before any decision about marriage is taken. This means that the bridegroom in possession of land is likely to be chosen in the sense that it allows him to feed his family, thanks to the crops it produces.

IV.2.2.2. Richness associated with cows

In Burundi, there is no richness without cows. This is to say that cows are greatly admired and the more one owns, the richer he is. This is accounted for by the degree to which the cows are useful in Burundi. They provide people with milk, fertilisers, meat, to name but a few.

With regard to their usefulness, they constitute another important factor that is taken into account by the brides in operating their choice. This implies that he who owns many cows is supposed to be richer than others, and therefore is likely to be chosen.

Therefore, after marriage or even sometimes before, friends and relatives of the bride are interested in having an idea of how many cows the bridegroom owns. If he has many cows, he will obviously be admired and praised whereas he will be illtreated if this is not the case. Then, when singing in praise of the new couple at the unveiling ceremonies, cow based verses are found. They either praise or illtreat the bridegroom depending on how rich he is, still in connection with cows.

Eg 1: song III. Stanza 2

III.2 Nti je nzoja kwa mugwiza	I will go to Mugwiza
Bagwijije inka n'ibibondo	Where they have many cows and children
Hamwe mu rugo rw'intangaro	Where there is a big kraal
Ruri hejuru y'akabande	Which is at the top of a hillside
Baracanira bagahaza	They warm the cows and milk them
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.

Eg 2: song II, stanza 8

II.8. Ya mararo y'inka bamye bahaya	The cattle they praised
Mbega none zoba zagishe	Have they gone on transhumance?

Through these verses, it can be seen that the message given is cow centered. In the first example, the singer identifies himself/herself to the bride before marriage, and let us know the kind of husband she will choose. Indeed, he is the one matching with the qualities embedded in these verses. He must be someone living in a nice compound with many cows filling up the kraal, and having enough crops, essentially bananas and sorghum.

As far as the second example is concerned, it is said that the singer had been informed about the large cattle possessed by the bridegroom but unfortunately he/she did not find any cow and thus wondered if they had left for transhumance or not. Here the bridegroom is subjected to illtreatment which is done in an ironical way.

In brief, I can say that cows are important in Burundi. Their importance lies in how useful they are and this accounts for the degree to which they are considered by the brides when operating their choice. Thus, the bridegroom possessing them is admired and praised. On the contrary, the one who does not, is unlikely to be chosen and is subjected to depression even when chosen.

IV.2.2.3. Richness associated with the groom's belongings

As already mentioned earlier, richness is much considered by the bride before making her choice. She thus makes a kind of investigation about the things owned by the bridegroom and this is done in a secret way. In addition to land and cows, clothes among other things are stressed.

In fact, in the mind of the bride, if the bridegroom is well dressed, it implies that he is rich and thus can also buy nice and enough clothes for her. In traditional Burundi, if a wife was unlucky and did not give birth to any child or gave birth only to girls, she was likely to be subjected to illtreatment. Then, her husband could beat her very often, and could even refuse to buy her nice clothes.

Therefore, to be well dressed for a woman means that her husband is rich and that there is a good relationship between them and this is a source of honour for the woman. Then, at the unveiling ceremony, the bride's friends express their feelings through songs.

As a matter of fact, if they find that the bridegroom is not well-dressed, he is subjected to illtreatment.

Eg. Song II, stanza 5

5. Ehe izo mpuzu ziwe ni ibishambara	Oh, his clothes are tatters
Ni ibishambara bisiga sekuru	They are tatters from his grandfather

Through the above verses, it can be seen that the singer is illtreating the bridegroom because the latter does not have nice clothes. If one makes a deep analysis of these verses what is conveyed is not an illtreatment as such. Rather, it is a warning directed to the bridegroom and an invitation to buying clothes for himself and for his wife.

Still in the sense of inviting the bridegroom to be serious and buy nice clothes to his wife, they show that the bride was wrong to accept such a husband. According to them, a bridegroom who cannot provide nice clothes to his wife deserves to be cast away and never be chosen.

Eg. Song VI, stanzas 3,4

3. Kirato bavuga	The shoes they spoke of
Oya mama, nticoba ico	No please, it is not that
4. Mushanana bavuga	The white gown they spoke of
Oya mama, ntiwoba uwo	No, please, it is not that.

From the above examples, my feeling is that the bride is being shown that she was mistaken to choose such a bridegroom. According to the singers, it was expected that the bride would get nice shoes and a nice dress. However, they are disappointed as this is not the case. They seem to be ironical vis-à-vis the bride about her wrong choice.

As the bridegrooms are informed that things owned are taken into account by brides when they make their choice, they sometimes lie about their richness. Then, they will tell the girl that they are rich whereas they are not. The girl can accept and it is only when she is already married that she is going to discover the lies. Then this can be expressed through songs.

Eg song II, stanza 9

9. Ya matungo yose bari bavuze The wealth they often praised
   Mbega yemwe ga yoba yimutse Have they settled away?

In the above examples, the bride's friends show that they have discovered about the bridegroom's lies. Here they seem to illtreat him but they are inviting him to be serious and try to search for the richness he has spoken of.

The girl can be afraid that she will not get enough clothes and her friends provide her with counsel in relation to this.
Eg, song V, stanza 13.

13. Ikikuriza ngo rukajana What makes you weep so much
    Ni ca gitenge Is the loincloth
    Ugiye utambaye That you have never put on
    Uzoronka ikindi You will get another one
    Gitangura umwaka At the beginning of the year

Through these examples, the analysis reveals that the bride is not happy to leave her family. While weeping, her friends do not believe that she is weeping because she is about to leave. Rather, they accuse her of regretting about what she leaves home, especially the clothes. But, her friends console her by telling her that she will get other clothes from her husband and perhaps much nicer.

As shortly described above, the brides also take into account things (especially clothes) owned by the bridegroom before making their choice. This is motivated by the importance associated with women's clothes and the importance for the women themselves to own the clothes, as not every woman deserves nice clothes.

IV.2.2.4 The bridegroom's beauty as richness

The richness of the bridegroom not only lies in land, cows and clothes, but also in his beauty. Then, every girl would like to get married to a handsome man. Indeed, even if determining one's beauty depends upon every individual's preference, there are common criteria on the basis of which it is determined. There are such features as daring eyes, light face, nice nose, being tall enough, etc. These are taken into account by the brides before choosing their partners.

However, as brides do not go to check about their partners' beauty themselves, they sometimes find that they were deceived and this is expressed through songs at the unveiling ceremonies.

Eg.1 Song II, stanza 4

4. Maso y'inyana bamye bavuga	The glaring eyes they often talked of
None ndabira asa n'ubwije ejo	Look, they resemble a dark night

In the above example, it is revealed that the bridegroom was expected to have glaring eyes, but the opposite is the case. Then, the bride as well as her friends express their regret about it.

Eg .2 Song II stanza 2 and 3

2. Bari bavuze y'uko ari inzobe	They said that he had light skin
Ihibambewe baramubeshera	No, they lied about him
3. Ka kazuru k'iwe batuyagira	His nose they praised
Ehe raba none imvubu yohita	But look, a hippopotamus can pass through.

Through an analysis of these verses, it is clear that to have a light face/skin, a small and pointed nose makes someone handsome and is thus taken into account by brides. Then, as what is found sometimes differs significantly from what they were told, they regret it and are not afraid to express it through singing.

Still in line with expressing what they think of the bridegroom's beauty, height is important as well. This is to say that every girl would like to get married to a tall man. Again, when she finds that she is married to a short man, this constitutes a subject of regret.

Eg. Song II, stanza 10

10. Akiza kuresha yari muremure	When he came to ask the hand of the girl he was tall
Ageze kurongora areha n'ishiga	When it was time to get married he was as short as the fire stone
Areha n`ishiga muvyara w'ikara	He is equal to the fire stone, cousin of embers

Through this example, the singer regrets about how short the bridegroom is. What makes him/her regret is that the bridegroom was seemingly tall when he came to ask for the hand of the girl, which is not the case. He/she is disappointed to the extent of comparing him to the fire stone.

It is clear that there are features that are taken into account for the choice to take place. These are features contributing to the beauty of the bridegroom and as the latter is likely to be chosen thanks to them, they constitute his richness. Once they are not found, they regret it and it is expressed through songs.

CONCLUSION

Through the pages of this work, I have been dealing with the socio-cultural analysis of some Kirundi songs related to the bridegroom's richness in Burundi. I have divided this work in four chapters which are presented as follows.

The first chapter is a general introduction in which I state the aims to be pursued in this study and the problem. In addition, I describe the background to the problem.

The second chapter is an account of existing literature in this area of research. At this stage, writings about culture, society and Kirundi songs are mentioned.

The third chapter deals with the methodology, i.e. the procedures according to which the data has been collected and analysed.

The fourth chapter provides the analysis of the data and presents the findings. In fact, I analyse these songs taking into account the aims I had from the beginning of this work. These were:

1. to demonstrate that these songs contain a message which reveals some realities of Burundian culture.
2. to point out the sense and the importance given to the wealth of Burundian bridegrooms.

To cope with the first aim, I tried to describe the realities we find in Burundian culture in relation to marriage, especially the relationships between the bride and the members of her new family and her new neighbours.

Normally, these relationships are expected to be good but this is not always the case as this is revealed in the analysis. Through the analysis of songs, it has been found that the bride and people of her

new environment do not trust each other. The bride's friends invite her to pay attention in whatever she does and wherever she is. In addition to these relationships, what the bride, the groom and the two families feel about this union has been described in this work.

As far as the second aim is concerned, I tried to find the kind of man that was considered as rich and how it was important to be wealthy in order to get married.

In fact, a rich bridegroom in former times was the one who had a big land, many cows and other things such as nice clothes. Concerning clothes, it is supposed that a groom who is able to buy nice clothes for himself is also able to buy nice clothes for his wife. Nowadays, the groom's wealth is also important in Burundian society. Brides take into account their fiancés' wealth in order to accept them as husbands. The difference is that today the richness resides in money, cars and houses. Moreover, the groom's beauty is also considered as richness since it is among the conditions that the groom must fulfil in order to be accepted as a husband as it is revealed in the songs analysed. No girl would like to have an ugly husband.

In few words, the groom's wealth is his respect. When the groom is rich, he is respected by everybody, especially his parents-in-law who accept to marry off their daughter to him. He is expected to be able to do everything necessary for his wife. Then, the groom's richness is very important in Burundian society.

In the end I cannot pretend to have exhausted this area of research. As a matter of fact, results from the analysis reveal that the analysed songs hold much information in relation to the cultural elements and the bridegroom's richness in general. However, I did not try to check if what I found is applicable to both urban and rural areas. Thus, further research is needed to compare songs from these different areas in order to see the differences and similarities between them.

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Appendix

Amahoro meza mu nka	**Nice peace among cows**
1. Agakoko najishiye iwacu	The basket I weaved when I was at home
Nagateye amabara munani	I coloured it with eight different colours
Iry'icenda narisize iwacu	I left the nineth home
Nagahaye musaza arakanka	I gave it to an old person who refused it
Nagahaye umusaza wa mama	I gave it to maternal uncle
2. Mukobwa ukigenda mu nka	Girl who is about to get married
Ntukaje ku musore mu nka	Don't marry a bachelor
Umusore w'umushumba mu nka	A menial bachelor
Uraja k'umutama mu nka	Marry an old person
Muvyarana gatanu mu nka	You give birth to five children
Afise urugo rw'iwe mu nka	If he has his own kraal
Agashaka agahwera mu nka	He can die
Bwaca ukaruketa ukarumara	And then you will eat it and finish it.
3. Ivy'isi biragora yemwe	Worldly things are difficult,
Impanuro zikaba kwinshi	Counsels are of different kinds
Nimwumve irigona abandi	Listen to what others dream of
4. Mukobwa ukigenda mu nka	Girl who is about to get married
Ntukaje ku mutama munka	Don't marry an old person
Umutama aragora mu nka	An old person is hard to live with
Ahengera rigiye mu nka	In the middle of the night
Ngo genda unkwegere akiri	He says: Go and bring me the hay
Urwanje ruravyutse yewe	Mine is waking up.

5. Nyina w'umuhungu mu nka	The boy's mother
Arara aratwenga yemwe	Spends the night laughing
Nyina w'umukobwa aragowe	The girl's mother is ill at ease
6. Bati hora ihorere mu nka	They say stop weeping
Ikiryamo yaryama mu nka	The bed she slept on
Kiryamyemwo ibihumbi yakowe	Sleeps the bride-price.
7. Nawe wa mukobwa yewe	And young girl
Si je ndakuriye yewe	I'm not responsible, for your misery
Uyo ni nyoko wawe mama	It's your mother
Yiboneye inkwano mu nka	Who saw the bride-price
Ati ca ngaha ugende mama	And say: " Come and leave".
8. Akayago nayaze na senge	The chat with my paternal aunt
Turi hamwe kunama iwacu	At our kraal's entrance
Ni ko katumye nicwa n'inkumbu	It's it which caused me die of homesickness
9. Mbega wa mukobwa mu nka	Do you know, young lady?
Aho wa musore yaza mu nka	When the boy came
Akaguha yambu ukamuha yambu	He shook your hand and you shook his
Akakwaka umucanwa mu nka	He asked you some fire
Ukawumuha mu nkoko yera	You gave it in a white basket
Yashaka umucanwa w'itabi	He wanted fire to light his cigarette
Agashaka n'ijambo iruhande	He wanted a word in addition
10. Erega mukobwa yewe	Oh, girl
Ugiye kwa murundi yewe	You get married
Ntukiraba so wawe yewe	You no longer look at your father
Ntukiraba na nyoko yewe	Neither you look at your mother

Urabura kw'itunga mu nka	Be self-reliant
Urugo ruragora mwiza	The kraal is difficult
11. Ni waja gusenya mu nka	When you go to fetch wood
Urasenya utebuke mu nka	Fetch and be quick
Ntusenye ubuyabu mu nka	Don't fetch hay
Mu maso y'abakeba mu nka	In the eyes of adversaries
12. Genda wubake neza mu nka	Go and build well
Genda ugumane ibanga	Go and keep a secret
Ni iteka ry'ababana mu nka	It's the honour of the ones who live together
13. Uragenda witunge mu nka	Go and bring up yourself
Ugende wiyubare mu nka	Please, go and be humble
Mu ntara utabaye mu nka	In an area you didn't live
Uburundi ni ingare mu nka	Burundi is difficult
Bugona buri maso mu nka	It dreams awake
14. Uravuga ako hino	Tell what is superficial
Ako hirya ukabike mu nda	Keep what is deep for you
Kabe inderetsi yawe mu nka	It will be your eye witness
15. Nawe wa musore yewe	And you young man
Uwo mwana w'abandi yewe	That child of others
Uramufata neza yewe	Take care of her
Ibana riragora yewe	Living together is too demanding
16. Uramurinda urwanko yewe	Keep her out of hatred
Uramurinda ikofe yewe	Never give her a slap
Nta kofe yarazi yewe	She doesn't know a slap
Nakare riraryana yemwe	It is even harmful
Murahorana iteka nka mbere	Keep the honour as usual

II. Umve rero ma niwe bahaya	**Then listen, he is the praised**
1. Ni we bahaya bahayagiza	He is the one who is praised and praised
Ni we bahaya bahayagiza	He is the one who is praised and praised
2. Bari bavuze y'uko ari inzobe	They said that he had light skin
Ihibambewe baramubeshera	No, they lied about him
3. Ka kazuru kiwe batuyagira	His nose they praised
Ehe raba none imvubu yohita	But look, a hippopotamus can pass through.
4. Maso y'inyana bamye bavuga	The glaring eyes they praised
None ndabira asa n`ubwije ejo	Look, they resemble a dark night
5. Ehe izo mpuzu ziwe ni ibishambara	Oh, his clothes are tatters
Ni ibishambara bisiga sekuru	They are tatters from his grandfather
6. Ya nzu nziza bari batuyagiye	The nice house they praised
None raba yemwe ako karuri ntu	But, look, it is a hut
7. Ya mirima myiza bamye bahaya	The nice fields they praised
Je ngize ndaraba nsanga ari inyovu	I find that it is uncultivated
8. Ya mararo y'inka bamye bahaya	The cattle they praised
Mbega none zoba zagishe	Have they gone on transhumance?
9. Ya matungo yose bari bavuze	The wealth they praised
Mbega yemwe ga yoba yimutse	Have they settled away?

10. Akiza kuresha yari muremure	When he came to ask the hand of the girl he was tall
Ageze kurongora areha n'ishiga	When it was time to get married he was as short as the fire stone
Areha n'ishiga muvyara w'ikara	He is equal to the fire stone, cousin of embers

III. Iyo manzi iraba indege iyo babiteye inzego	**The dance that looks a plane where they provided beams for their support**
1 Iyo babiteye inzego	Where they provided beams for their support
Batabiriye inzara	Where they didn't nail them on
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.
2. Nti je nzoja kwa mugwiza	I will go to Mugwiza
Bagwijije inka níbibondo	Where they have many cows and children
Hamwe mu rugo rw'intangaro	Where there is a big kraal
Ruri hejuru y'akabande	Which is at the top of a hillside
Baracanira bagahaza	They warm the cows and milk them
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.
3. Hamwe hejuru mw'itaba	There up in the flat
Urugo rwuzuye ubusho bw'inka	A kraal full of cattle
Rumwe rwiseguye ibitoke	That has bananas as a pillow
Rugakikirwa n`amahonda	And surrounded by sorghum
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows
4. Nari nararahiye ndarengwa	I had sworn
Ko ntazogera mu Mugamba	That I will never go to Mugamba

Umwe wegamiye Mukike	That leans against Mukike
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.
5. Mu rugo ruzira urwarwa	Inside the kraal with no banana wine
Nayo icibagiwe n'ihonda	Not to mention sorghum
Hari inzara n'inyota	There is hunger and thirst
Muri ya mbeho n'igipfungu	In coldness and clouds
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.
6. Je nasanze narihenze	I found that I was mistaken
Nasanze narihuse	I found that I was impatient
Je nasanze navuze nabi	I found that I said the wrong thing
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows
7. Mwenewacu niho yagiye	My sister went there
Ngo nasenge niho yagiye	Even my paternal aunt went there
Je sinzoheba uwo muryango	I will not abandon that family
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows
8. Muramwanje niwe yambwiye	It's my brother-in-law who told me
Ngo sinzoje kwa Miburo	Not to go to Miburo's
Umwe yaburanije imiryango	The one who brought relatives to justice
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows
9. Ngo sinzoje kwa Matebu	Not to go to Matebu
Umwe yatetereza abagenzi	The one who caused the shame of friends
Mugutatira mw'itongo	By quarreling in the land
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.
10. Ngo sinzoje kwa Mirare	They say: do not go to Mirare
Umwe yararanije ikiyago	The one who didn't give a chat

Ngo sinzoje kwa Birori	Do not go to Birori
Yarahariririje imiryango	He challenged the relatives
Gwira Mugamba w'inka	Multiply yourself, you Mugamba fitting cows.

IV. Eee nterirenga yamara ni agasaga **Bye bye you sun setting**

1. Erega si agasaga	It is not goodbye
Ariko ni agahwane	It is a meeting
Tuzoba tubonana	We will meet again
2. Umukwe yakoye	A bridegroom who paid dowry
Agiye kwa Sebukwe	When he visits his father-in-law
Bamusasira indava	They prepare his place with a nice mat
Umubindi w'ubuki	A pot of honey
Ngo nusome usubire	And tell him drink and drink once more
Ni we watanze inkwano	It's you who paid the dowry
3. Nayo umukwe atakoye	Whereas the bridegroom who didn't pay dowry
Agiye kwa Sebukwe	When he visits his father-in-law
Bamusasira urwiri	They prepare his place with rough grass
Hejuru ibihunda	On which there is hay
Umubindi w'amazi	A pot of water
Ngo nusome usubire	Drink and drink once more
Ni we wakenye inkwano	It's you who didn't get the dowry
4. Niwaja kuvoma	When you go to fetch water
Uravoma utebuke	Fetch and be quick
Burundi buragora	Burundi is difficult
5. Niwaja gusenya	When you go to fetch wood
Urasenya utebuke	Fetch it and be quick

Abakeba ntibagutwenge	So as not to be laughed at by adversaries
6. Yewe ga murondo	Young lady
Ni waja gukubura	When you go to clean
Munzu kwa nyokobukwe	In your mother-in-law's house
Uramuhitana aho ari	Take her where she'll be
Uti mpa umukubuzo	Tell her to give you the broom
Muheze mujane	And go together
Ntagire ngo uramwivye	So that she doesn't think you have stolen her belongings
7. Yewe ga murondo	You young lady
Niwaja kwa nyokobukwe	When you go to your mother-in-law
Kumutira inkoko	To borrow a basket
Ugakoma isahani	And you touch a dish
Isafuriya igatemba	And a pan falls down
Azoca akoma induru	She will wail, saying
Igipfu c'umukazana	The naughty daughter-in-law,
Ehe ng'uyu arabiriye	Look, she has eaten the food.
8. Yamara ni agasaga	It is goodbye
Tuzoba tubonana	We will meet again
Ninapfa bazota	They will bury me when I die
Nta si idahamba	There is no place where they do not bury

V. Ihorere mama baramujanye Keep quiet, they took her

1. Baramujanye	They took her
Gikubikubi c'umugoroba	Hurriedly in the evening
Baramujanye iyo bamukoye	They took her where they paid dowry
2. Mbega mukobwa ko urira undaba	Oh, girl, why do you weep looking at me
Si je nkuriye, wariwe na nde?	I'm not responsible for your misery. Who is?
Ni so na nyoko, babonye inyana	Your father and mother, who saw a calf
Inyananyana, baheba umwana	It walking and abandoned the child

Genda mukobwa tuzovyara uwundi	Saying go girl, we'll bear another one
3. Babonye ishashi	They saw a heifer
Ishikira kwima	Ready to conceive
Baheba umwana	They abandoned the child
Ngo ca ngaha ugende	Saying: come and go.
4. Mbega mukobwa ko urira undaba	Oh, girl, why do you weep looking at me?
Undabaraba	Looking and looking at me
Si je nkuriye, wariwe nande?	I am not responsible for your misery. Who is?
Na so na nyoko babonye inoti	Your father and mother, who saw a bank note
Inoti imwe ya bitanu	A note of five thousand
Hako mpeba inoti noheba umwana	And said: We'd rather abandon the child than the note.
5. Wariwe na nde? Na basazawe	Who is responsible? Your brothers
Babonye inoti, ikanura amaso	They saw a note opening eyes
Bakanura ayandi, genda murondo	They open theirs and said: go young lady
Usabe barundi	And serve others
6. Bamujanye umwana wa mama	They took her the child of my mother
Bamujanye cuzurarembo	They took her, the filler of the kraal's entrance
Bamujanye kimararungu	They took her the entertainer
Nka ya Birimba	As ya Birimba
7. Baramujanye	They took her
Ni bene Imana si bene imari	They are of God not wealth

8. Ni we yasenya	She was the one who fetched wood
Ni we yavoma	She is the one who fetched water
Nzobigira nte?	How will I cope with it?
9. Bazokubwira ngo	They will tell you that
Uteka nabi	You prepare bad food
Atawabiriye	Without having eaten it
10. Bazokubwira ngo	They will tell you that
Usasa nabi	You badly make the bed
Atawaharaye	Without having slept there
11. Baramujanye	They took her
Ariwe twayaga	Though she was the one to chat with
12. Aho mwahura ku Mburamazi	When you met at Mburamazi
Umwe agatwenga	One laughed
Uwundi agatwenga	Another laughed
Ntube waranka?	Why didn't you refuse?
13. Ikikuriza ngo rukajana	What makes you weep so much
Ni ca gitenge	Is the piece of cloth
Ugiye utambaye	That you've never put on
Uzoronka ikindi	You'll get another one
Gitanguye umwaka	At the beginning of the year

VI. Ndabe ga ma **Let me see**

1. Ndabe	Let me see
Ndabe ga mwenema	Let me see my sister
2. Ndabe ico wiguze	Let me see at what you sold yourself for
Ndabe ico wahabiye	Let me see at what made you greedy

3. Kirato bavuga	The shoes they praised
Oya mama, nticoba ico	No please, it can't be that
4. Mushanana bavuga	The white gown they praised
Oya mama, ntiwoba uwo	No, please, it can't be that.
5. Ndabe	Let me see
Imvutano bavuga	The cloth they praised
Oya mama ntizoba izo	No, please, it is not that
6. Ndabe	Let me see
Ndabe ga mwenema	Let me see my sister
7. Ndabe ico wiguze	Let me see at what you sold yourself for
Ndabe ico wahabiye	Let me see what made you so greedy
8. Usanga ari umushanana	If it is the white gown
Shira ku meza wirorere	Put it on the table and observe
9. Niwaba ari umuzige	If it is the black gown
Shira mu ziko niyotere	Put it on fire so that I warm myself
10. Ndabe	Let me see
Ndabe ga mwenema	Let me see my sister
Ndabe ga Roza we	Roza, let me see
11. Igitenge wiguze	The loincloth you sold yourself for
Oya mama nticoba ico	No, please, it can't be that
Amashati wiguze	The shirts you sold yourself for
Oya mama ntiyoba ayo	No, please, they can't be those
12. Ndabe	Let me see
Ndabe ga mwenema	Let me see my sister