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

A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOME KIRUNDI PROVERBS RELATED TO SUCCESS AND COMFORT

By

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DEDICATION

To the Almighty,

To my late parents,

To my late grand mother,

To my grand father,

To my brothers and sisters,

To my uncles, aunts, cousins, nephew, and nieces,

To all persons dear to me,

For your assistance, love, patience, and

Sacrifice,

God bless you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All thanks and praises be to God Almighty who by his grace and mercy and through the assistance of the following persons and others not mentioned here enabled me to accomplish this piece of work.

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Special thanks go to my uncle Albin NDAYAHUNDWA for his moral and financial support during my studies. I owe more than I can express to him for he has been more than a parent. May my success be his pride.

My grateful thanks go to Albin NDAYAHUNDWA's family, Epiphane GIRUKWIGOMBA's, Anselme NDAYISABA's and Joseph SUKURI's for their generosity, encouragement, and advice.

Finally my deepest gratitude is addressed to all my friends, relatives, and classmates who made my conditions of work enjoyable. To all people who wish me success, I send my heartfelt gratitude.

Joselyne NZOBONWANAYO

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION.....i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....iii

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....1

1.1 Background to the Problem.....1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....2
1.3 Motivation.....2
1.4 Aims of the Study.....3
1.5 Delimitation of the study.....3
1.6 Research Questions.....4
1.7 Definition of Key Terms.....4
1.7.1 Pragmatics.....4
1.7.2 Proverbs.....6

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....9

2.1 Introduction.....9
2.2 Studies Related to Tales and Riddles. 9
2.3 Studies on Proverbs. 11
2.4 Pragmatics versus Semantics. 12
2.4.1 Introduction. 12
2.4.2 Language and Meaning. 14
2.4.3 Context. 16
2.5 Theoretical Framework. 19

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....23

3.1 Introduction.....23
3.2 Data Collection Procedures.....23
3.3 Data Analysis Procedures.....23
3.4 Problems Encountered.....24

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS.....25

4.1 Introduction.....25
4.2 Success and Fecundity.....26
4.3 Success and Partnership.....29
4.3.1 Success and Good Husband.....30
4.3.2 Success and Good Wife.....33
4.4 Success and Good Health.....41
4.5 Success and Material Possessions.....44
4.6 Success and Personality.....47

CONCLUSION.....52

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....55

APPENDIX: CORPUS.....60

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Problem

The Burundian society has been characterized by oral literature. In fact, as in any society, people were and are still able to transmit knowledge related to the way they live. This is done through language, which is linked to culture. As Wardhaugh (1986: 212) states:

> *The culture of a people finds reflection in the language they employ: because they value certain things and do them in a certain way they come to use their language in ways that reflect what they value and what they do.*

Indeed, people keep and transmit cultural knowledge through language. From the oral literature of a particular people we may be able to learn many things about that people. So, we can notice what people culturally like and what they do not like.

Among other aspects of language, I am interested in proverbs. They occur in everyday conversation unlike other literary genres such as riddles and tales which are especially used in the evening. For messages or conversations to be well-transmitted, Burundians prefer to use proverbs. During conversations, the choice of a proverb goes with the choice of images denoting the culture of the interlocutors. Indeed, proverbs are always means of wisdom. They are constructed on images. In fact, society has an influence on language and so does its culture. So, through language we are informed about society, especially what makes it differ from other societies.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Language determines the way people think. The construction of proverbs reveals what people like and how the world around them should be. As Dzobo (1973:18) claims, proverbs "are statements about all aspects of life, its success and failures and its sufferings." My interest is centered on the successful side of life for Burundians as reflected in selected proverbs.

In fact, success and comfort are not provided in the same way in different societies and can vary from time to time. In this study, I wish to tackle different aspects of success as far as Burundian culture is concerned.

1.3 Motivation

Many reasons pushed me to choose this topic. First of all, although many studies have been conducted in the domain of proverbs, not all proverbs have been studied. To complete previous studies, the theme of success and comfort in a socio-cultural context is an interesting one. I can also mention my great interest in proverbs among other literary genres that constitute the oral literature. I am attracted by proverbs because they occur on any occasion and they constitute a good didactic informative medium by saying much in few words. In addition, there is a difference in the philosophy of various and varying societies depending on the environment they live in and the way of life they lead. Indeed, being a Kirundi native speaker, I feel that I can contribute in the study of my mother tongue.

1.4 Aims of the study

The present work is an attempt to make a contribution in providing evidence for the cultural message got through language. The aim of my study is to collect some kirundi proverbs used in relation to success and comfort and portray and depict the appropriate contexts in which each may be used. On the basis of their literal meaning, this work aims at studying the idiomatic meaning of the selected proverbs by interpreting the images contained in those proverbs in order to facilitate their understanding.

By so doing, I make clear what the different aspects of success and comfort are as far as Burundian culture is concerned.

1.5 Delimitation of the study

A desire to gather information about proverbs in the Burundian socio-cultural context directs this research to the pragmatic domain. However, this area cannot be exhausted through this work. This is why I limited myself to a relatively restricted area which is concerned with success and comfort. Therefore, thirty one proverbs have been selected to be studied. The functions and the meanings embedded by the proverbs depend upon their respective situations. The analysis is made in respect of the Pragmatic Speech Act Theory. In this perspective, the speaker's intention is focussed on. To achieve this goal, all the selected proverbs are put in contexts illustrating success and comfort.

1.6 Research Questions

A number of research questions helped me to carry out this study and they are formulated as follows:

- What are different aspects of life for which a Burundian aspires for satisfaction in Burundian Culture?
- How do they make one feel satisfied?
- What should people do to search for the comfort they need?
- When can we say that someone is living comfortably as far as Burundian culture is concerned?

1.7 Definition of Key Terms

1.7.1 Pragmatics

This study is to be carried out from a pragmatic point of view. The term pragmatics has been defined by many authors. According to Labov (1990:3), pragmatics "is concerned with the way in which meanings are constructed or calculated within particular contexts of interaction, the simple meaning in context view". Another definition is provided by Levinson (1983:21) stating that "pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding."

In terms of meaning, Searle (1969:17) argues that the literal meaning of a sentence is distinguished from what the speaker may mean by the sentence. He says that in uttering a sentence a speaker may mean something different from what the sentence literally means. However, sometimes what the sentence means and what the speaker means may be exactly the same.

In addition, Levinson (1983:5) defines "pragmatics as the study of language usage". He goes on saying that "pragmatics is the study of all those aspects of meaning not captured in semantic theory". So, it is not sufficient to consider only the literal meaning of words and sentences, we need also to capture the speaker's communicative intention. Therefore, it is important to distinguish two disciplines related to the study of meaning. These are semantics and pragmatics. For many scholars, the two are interrelated since they share the same subject of study meaning. As far as Leech (1983:6) is concerned,

> *both fields are concerned with meaning but the difference between them can be traced to two different uses of the verb "to mean". Thus meaning in pragmatics is defined relative to a speaker or user of the language whereas meaning in semantics is defined purely as a property of expression in a given language in abstraction from particular situations, speakers or hearers.*

On their part, Hurtford and Heasley (1983:232) claim that semantics is the study of meaning in language and pragmatics is the study of meaning in context.

Concerning Lyons (1981:11), he attempts to differentiate pragmatics and semantics on the basis of utterance meaning and sentence meaning. Pragmatics is the study of utterance meaning whereas semantics is the study of sentence meaning.

Therefore, pragmatics deals with the analysis of language or meaning in context. It is that part of linguistics that deals with language use, that is, with

the knowledge that enables speakers to produce or understand utterances in relation to specific communicative purposes and specific speech contexts.

1.7.2 Proverbs

It is not easy to define what a proverb is and different people have given different definitions. Nandua et al. (1997:48) say that a proverb is "a brief, clearly expressed figurative comment on a situation."

They add that a person observes a situation in real life and wants to assess it or pass judgement on it, but instead of discussing it directly in plain terms, he compares it indirectly to a conventional or custom established situation. The above quotation expresses the importance and relevance of proverbs in revealing people's views on given issues.

Okpewho (1992:226) considers a proverb as "a piece of folk wisdom expressed with terseness and charm." He goes ahead to explain each of the key terms in his definition as follows: "terseness" implies economy in the choice of words and sharpness of focus while "charm" conveys the touch of literary or poetic beauty in the expression.

. "Folk wisdom" refers to the fact that every proverb must have started its life as the product of the genius of an individual oral artist. But it becomes appropriated by the people at large because it contains a truth about life, accepted by them and appealing to their imagination.

Finnegan (1970:393) points out that there are some general characteristics of a proverb and, in a way, she sums up the above definitions of a proverb in the following quotation:

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

The above quotation emphasizes the fact that even if not taken as current, nevertheless the truth of proverbs remains popularly accepted. Proverbs therefore reveal a speech community's views on given issues, including people's aspirations.

Finnegan (1970:391) also says that proverbs frequently occur in general conversation to embellish, conceal or hint. If one does not want to be direct in passing on a message, one can easily apply a proverb and the intended recipient quickly registers the message which may remain concealed from the others in the situation. As far as The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (1975) is concerned, "a proverb is a popular short saying with words of advice or warning." From these definitions, the important characteristics of a proverb are its conciseness and shortness.

In addition, in the introduction of the same dictionary, it is said that "proverbs are the pith, the properties, the proofs – the purities, the elegance, as the commonest. So, the commandablest phrases of a language." The uncommon elegance found in proverbs helps driving the message more quickly and is a good way to make the point more convincing.

Rodegem (1983:7) says that the proverb is characterized by rhythm, the norm and images. The proverbs provide evidence for knowledge telling and is a language exercise.

Finnegan (1970:404) further observes that proverbs include every aspect of the human condition: death, conflicts inherent in marriage, love, laziness, self-importance, etc.

So, a proverb is a saying which tackles on all aspects of life. It says much in few words. It is closely linked to the tradition so that it is difficult to abstract their utterance from culture, history, and way of living of a given people.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews studies in relation to oral literature in general and those related to proverbs in particular. Surveying what has been written about oral literature, I found that many works emphasize on the fact that this literature was and is still used as means of education. Among the literary genres found in Burundian context, riddles, tales, proverbs are the mostly used. Riddles and tales are viewed as frequently occurring in the evening. Concerning proverbs, they are present on all occasions, including everyday conversations. Since I am interested in proverbs, I put more emphasis on this particular literary genre as a specificity of the present thesis.

2.2 Studies Related to Tales and Riddles

Tales and riddles constitute a means of education especially in non-literate societies. Indeed, the traditional education of Burundians had recourse to literary genres like riddles and tales. This informal education used to take place first of all in the family to convey the morals and values of the society. The institution of the family unit was basic for the education of its members, especially younger ones. Indeed, the mother and other members of the family played their own part in educating the children. The education of girls was usually left to the mother, who taught them how to cook and perform domestic chores. In addition, the father or the eldest brother taught the younger ones how to herd cattle. The family was an important organ in the education of its members.

In the same respect, in Burundian society, informal activities to educate and entertain children were different ways children learned about society. Furthermore, in the evening, children were taught stories, songs and riddles which conveyed the moral and values of their society. Through such informal institutionalised procedures, children learned about nature and society. The learning process was a cultural activity that enabled society to pass down its store of accumulated knowledge from generation to generation. It could be both formal and informal. As far as the tale is concerned, Nizigiyimana (1987) emphasizes on the didactic function of the tale. She stipulates that the tales contain hidden knowledge or moral lessons provided for children in order to modify or guide their behaviour. The narrator gives implicit or explicit information using elements of the environment or symbolic images to express his/her thought. Indeed, tales focus on the community from which they are proliferated and the evening was a privileged occasion for tales.

In addition in his work "The Place of Riddles, Jokes, Crosswords and Analogies in English Language Teaching in Burundi Secondary Schools", Nzokirantevye (1985) stresses also the importance of riddles in teaching. Riddles help students to enlarge their vocabulary. Being an amusing and interesting device, riddles make an interesting tool that encourage students in following the lesson. Riddles are conversations involving a question and an answer thereby setting up a very short but essential context. Therefore, they provide an environment in which a specific word is used.

Riddles and tales are frequently to occur in the evening when people have much time. Being long stories, it is not possible to narrate tales everywhere and at any time. Besides, riddles are more appropriate in the evening since people are tired and need some kind of amusement and entertainment after the works of the whole day. Also, at this particular time, people are still waiting for the meal to be available.

For the case of the proverbs which are the concern of my study, they constitute an important didactic genre and they consist of short sayings and are structured so as to facilitate memorization as revealed through previous studies.

2.3 Studies on Proverbs

Proverbs constitute a vast domain in which some studies have been conducted. Some researchers adopted a general point of view of proverbs while other have specified the theme under study. Concerning Murekambaze (1989) whose work is entitled "A Pragmatic Analysis of some Kirundi Proverbs", she came up with different kinds of meanings provided by proverbs. The proverbs analysed by Murekambanze (1989) suggest people to be faithful. Another researcher in the same field is Sindayikengera (1997) whose concern was "A Pragmatic Analysis of some Kirundi Proverbs related to Negative Wisdom." He provided different elements denoting negative wisdom as far Burundian culture is concerned. As far as Gashikanyi (1986) is concerned, with his work "A Comparative Study of some English and Kirundi Proverbs through the Theme of Friendship," he managed to provide literary expressions of philosophy and ideas denoting friendship through language. In addition in some works such as "The Image of Woman in some Kirundi Proverbs" by Gatimantangere (2001), Nahimana's (2000) "A Pragmatic Analysis of some Kirundi Proverbs Related to Hatred" and Nkeshimana's (2001) "A Pragmatic Analysis of some Proverbs Related to Jealousy," the themes such as woman, hatred and jealousy are dealt with. Indeed, Gatimantangere (2001) attempted to demonstrate different aspects in which Burundian women are negatively portrayed. Concerning Nahimana (2000), she managed to show different degrees of hatred. Nkeshimana (2001) tackled different aspects of jealousy and its implications. The two researchers came up with the meanings of hatred and jealousy and how they are vices to avoid

in society. Another important work in the domain of my interest is "A Pragmatic Analysis of some Cow Praising Poems in Burundian Society Cultural Context" by Kwizera and Niyintunze (2003). They tried to explain what the speaker means by uttering a set of cow culture related poems within their respective contexts. The hidden meanings vehicled in those cow praising poems were provided.

As far as this work is concerned, the interest lies in the field of pragmatics but using a theme which has not yet been dealt with. This study is about success and comfort in Burundian socio-cultural context. My main concern is to support and enrich some ideas provided by various authors. But, I will conclude by my own stand about this literary genre and the particular theme selected. This will help me to contribute and complete other works which have already been carried out in the field of pragmatics and especially dealing with proverbs. So, this study will attempt to show in which way Burundians express success and comfort. As Dalfovo (1984:21) points out, proverbs reflect the philosophy of a people and its culture; then through language, one may be aware of what people aspire to as a source of happiness. As Levinson (1983:21) states, pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding.

2.4 Pragmatics versus Semantics

2.4.1 Introduction

As I am concerned with a pragmatic study, which is somehow related to semantic, I need to distinguish pragmatics from semantics.

According to The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistic (1985:15) "pragmatics is the study of the use of language in communication particularly

the relationship between sentences and the contexts and situations in which they are used." Thus, pragmatics deals with meaning in contexts and situations. Concerning Recanati (1987:2), he states that :

> *Unlike semantics, which is the study of sentence meaning understood as representational content, pragmatics is concerned with the use of sentences by speakers and hearers. Pragmatics studies what speakers do with words, whereas semantics studies what words mean, what speakers use words to talk about.*

While making the distinction between semantics and pragmatics, Yule (1985:11) says that semantics and pragmatics are concerned with aspects of meaning in language. He distinguishes semantics and pragmatics as follows: "generally, work in semantics deals with the description of word and sentence meaning, and pragmatics with the characterization of speaker's meaning." From the above, semantics and pragmatics are both related to the study of meaning. Although both deal with meaning, semantics deals with meaning without reference to the users and communicative functions of sentences, which concern pragmatics.

Levinson (1983:19) differentiating pragmatics and semantics, stipulates that semantics is concerned with sentence meaning and pragmatics with utterance meaning. In addition, Lyons (1981:12) differentiates the two on the basic of sentence meaning and utterance meaning. Sentences and utterances are distinguished in the sense that sentences are abstract entities, which are context independent, whereas utterances are context dependent. As Searle (1969:17) argues, the literal meaning of a sentence is distinguished from what the speaker means by the sentence. In uttering a sentence a speaker may mean something different from what the sentence means. However,

sometimes what the sentence means and what the speaker means may be exactly the same. If pragmatics studies all aspects of meaning not captured in semantic theory as stated already, it is obvious that the two fields of linguistics are complementary.

Therefore, in addition to the literal meaning of words and sentences, there is a need to know the communicative intention. The meaning of an utterance is richer than the meaning of the sentence from which it is derived. As Hurtford and Heasley argue, "semantics is the study of meaning in language and pragmatics is the study of meaning in context." Meaning is the central point in the study of both semantics and pragmatics.

So, in order to accomplish a complete study of language meaning, I need to capture both the sentence meaning and the speaker's meaning or intention. The utterance of the sentence by a speaker in a particular context conveys an additional meaning that varies according to the circumstances of the utterance act. I realize that in pragmatics which is my concern, the importance of context is stressed. As stated by Brown and Jule (1983:26), "any analytic approach in linguistics which involves contextual considerations necessarily belongs to that area of language study called pragmatics." When I consider the authors cited earlier in defining pragmatics, there are terms which are encountered many times such as language and context. Therefore, I feel that they need to be tackled a little bit.

2.4.2 Language and Meaning

There is a need to study language from where and how it is used. Language differ from society to society since the terms used in a given language or aspects of language are based upon cultural considerations. As Nida (1978:283) states, "rien ne peut remplacer le bain culturel. Chaque

langue est une partie intégrante du contexte culturel », meaning that nothing can replace the cultural stock. Each language is an integral part of the cultural context.

Thus, language and culture are linked so that studying an aspect of language involves studying the context of culture. It is very hard to separate language and culture because culture includes language and language is the vehicle through which cultures are transmitted. In Condon's (1975:41) view point, it is impossible to fully distinguish language from the culture in which it appears. Nor can one speak of culture without speaking of its underlying value. And without some understanding of cultural values one cannot appreciate the meaning of words as they are used in that culture. The meaning of language units can only be understood through the way language is used by its own people. Studying the link between language and culture, Nida (1963) came up with the view point that any aspect of language should be based on culture. This implies that the understanding of language or culture, plays an important role in the understanding of the other.

Rundi Proverbs are part of Rundi culture. In this case, Burundians and their culture must be taken into consideration in order to understand the meanings Burundian people attach to proverbs. Burundians constitute a part of context in the sense that, when taken out of the Burundian society, the terms used in proverbs are bound to be misconceived. According to Edwards (1976:35), "context of culture denotes the environment for the total set of linguistic options available, the sum of all that is feasible and formally correct." It is from the environment in which language is used that words and their meanings are drawn and then are said to be correct. Language is then central in the cultural totality of a people and its environment. The true meaning of words or expressions lies in the way people use their language. In Burundian environment, one can utter the proverb *Uwutákŭzi ntakurúsha inká* (someone who does not know you cannot have more cows than you).

This implies that a Burundian was respected according to the amount of cows he/she had. This is understandable and correct in the sense that cows are accorded a great importance in Burundi. But in other countries or cultures where cows are not known or are not important, this proverb cannot be uttered and appreciated. Besides, a word like "wife" has an ordinary meaning of female spouse, however, in the Kirundi proverb related to success and comfort *umuhúshatûnga ahusha umugoré* (someone who misses a wife, misses wealth). The term "*umugoré*" meaning wife is used to refer to a good wife for the family understanding and harmony. In other words, the words or expressions are meaningless unless we define them within a given context and among a certain people. Therefore, language is a matter of convention of each society and through language we may learn many things about that society.

2.4.3 Context

Context is one important fact of a full understanding of utterances. The way meaning varies is determined by the variation of context. The context of situation helps to determine the meaning of utterances produced by the speakers and received by the hearers.

As stated by Dijk (1977:191),

> *We have an infinite set of possible contexts, of which one will have a specific status, viz the actual context. The actual context is defined by the period of time and the place where the common activities of speaker and hearer are realized, and which satisfy the properties of 'here' and 'now' logically, physically, and cognitively.*

In any communicative situation the participants must consider the circumstances of the moment in sending and receiving the message. According to The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985), "context is the broader social situation in which a linguistic item is used." Any linguistic item embodies a contextual orientation since a speech event never occurs in isolation. There is a social context which becomes responsible for the determination of meaning. It is obvious that meaning is a result of the situation and the context in which language is used. According to Leech (1983:12), context is any background knowledge assumed to be shared by the speaker and the hearer and which contributes to the hearer's interpretation of what the speaker means by a given utterance. In the same line of ideas, Sperber and Wilson (1986:18) define context as a set of premises used to interpret an utterance. It is a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world. According to Wardhaugh (1985:94), context is defined in the same way as Leech(1983).

Indeed, any speech act occurs in a context and the speaker and hearer sharing common knowledge participate in the communication process to reach the intended meaning. Context refers to the socio-cultural background knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer about the world. It creates possibilities for interpretation and helps to remove the multiple ambiguities that utterance would have if they occur in isolation. So, considering the Burundians socio-cultural background, the receiver of a message embodied in the proverbs has to take into account both Burundians' behaviour and the circumstances in which the proverbs are uttered. Being aware of the fact that Burundians are rarely straight to the point, the receiver has to decode the message accordingly. Burundians prefer to be indirect when using language to give advice, to warn, to give orders and so on. And this indirectness is a matter of cultural values characterizing Burundian society. So, the message

conveyed through a given proverb results from the social situation of the participants in conversation and the context of the utterance.

Apart from contextual consideration, Grice's (1975:44) theory of implicature (mainly conversational implicature) is helpful in the process of decoding the intended meaning of an utterance. The term implicature is used by Grice (1975) to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest or mean, as distinct from what the speaker literally says. It is clear that in uttering a sentence, the speaker can mean more than what he/she says. For a conversation to be effective, it should be associated with the conversational principle called the Cooperative Principle. Conversationalists try to cooperate with one another in order to communicate accurately and efficiently. The Cooperative Principle is also stressed in Hurtford and Heasley (1983:288) when they state: "The implicature exists by reason or general social conversations of which the principle of cooperativeness between speakers is the most important." In observing the Cooperative Principle, Grice advocates four components called maxims :

Quantity : *This component is related to the amount of information and is made of two maxims.*

1) *Make your contribution as informative as required.*
2) *Do not make your contribution more informative than required.*

Quality : *Try to make your contribution one that is true.*

1) *Do not say what you believe to be false.*
2) *Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.*

Relation : *The speaker's contribution has to be appropriate to the immediate situation of interaction.*

Manner : *This component is related to perspicuousness, clarity of presentation. For this one, four maxims are to be observed:*

- *avoid obscurity of expression;*
- *avoid ambiguity;*
- *be brief;*
- *be orderly.*

So, speakers try to be informative, truthful, relevant and clear as Leech (1983:9) says, the maxims form a necessary part of the description of linguistic meaning in that they explain how it is that speakers mean more than they say. This implies what Grice(1975) calls pragmatic implications or conversational implicatures.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

In this study, speech act theory is to be applied. It is one of the pragmatic theory components. This theory can help us in revealing the hidden or implied meanings of our proverbs and possible effects in relation to success and comfort in Burundian society.

Speech act theory is one of the frameworks proposed for describing language in context. It treats an utterance as an act performed by a speaker in a context with respect to an addressee. Speech act theory has been introduced by the language philosopher Austin(1962). This area has also interested other scholars including Searle (1969). Austin (1962:94) distinguished three kinds of acts that are simultaneously performed by an utterance :

1. *Locutionary act which is the semantic aspect, i.e. the utterance of a sentence with determinate sense and reference.*

2. *Illocutionary act which is the force or intention of the speaker, i.e., the attempt to accomplish some communicative purpose such as promising, warning, threatening, informing, etc.*

3. *Perlocutionary act which is the effect brought about by the utterance on the hearer, what the hearer does or feels like.*

In addition, Searle (1969:29) distinguishes three types of acts :

- *utterance acts, which are acts of producing various sounds, words and sentences;*
- *propositional acts, which are acts of referring and predicating. Referential acts relate one individual to another. Predicational acts are those through which speakers ascribe properties to individual identified by the referential acts;*
- *illocutionary acts, which are acts that specify the purpose of the speaker in the discourse, for example asking, promising, warning, etc.*

Widdowson (1982:131) focuses on speech act as follows :

When people produce a proposition in the course of normal communicative activity, they do two things at the same time, they express a proposition of one kind or another and at the same time in expressing that proposition, they perform some kind of speech act.

From the above, the concept of speech act is concerned with the acts one performs through speaking. When emphasizing the meaningful fact of an utterance, Richards et al.(1985:265) argue that a locutionary act embodies a propositional meaning which is the basic literal meaning of the utterance that is conveyed by its particular constituent words and structures. This implies that when a speaker utters a given meaningful sentence, he performs a locutionary act. Then the message conveyed to the hearer has a particular force or intention called illocutionary act. And the perlocutionary act is the consequential response of the hearer to the speaker's intention. Richards et al. (1985:266) state it clearly: "A perlocutionary act is the results or effects that are produced by means of saying something."

Since the notion of speech act theory is complex to be tackled as a whole, my concern will be that of relating the proverbs related to success and comfort to this speech act. As an illustration, let us use the following proverb: *Umuhúshatûnga ahusha umogoré.*

Situation

> Peter was telling his father about John's family. He was emphasizing how John's wife is a good caretaker of his children and how there is a good understanding between her and her husband. He said that John is satisfied with his family and enjoys it. Peter's father utters the proverb: "*Umuhúshatûnga ahusha umugoré*" (someone who misses a wife misses wealth). This implies that someone who misses a good partner, also misses a good life in his future family.

So, Peter's father invites his son to choose a good wife which implies one with qualities required in order to obtain happiness in his family. The illocutionary force is an advice of members of society to choose a good partner because he/she is the source of happiness.

Therefore, speech act theory is an important tool to be used in analysing proverbs and revealing the meaning, intention and possible effects embedded in the language of proverbs. This theory emphasizes the interpretation of utterances, proverbs in this case, in situations of use. In this analysis, the notion of meaning and intention are to be more employed. As stipulated by Grice (1975:97), the two notions are very close and when speaking a language, one wants to communicate things to his/her interlocutor(s) by means of getting them recognize his/her intention to produce the desired effect. So, my main task is to know how to produce a meaningful proverb in a given situation of use which has a certain force in order to push the hearer to react.

To interpret the proverbs mentioned above, the conversational implicature is important since it is very helpful. In fact, the proverb *Umuhúshatûnga ahusha umugoré* in the situation of use implied more than what is said. It means that what is said is one part of what a speaker communicates. Even if it is said that someone who misses a wife misses wealth, it is indirectly said that a good partner is source of happiness and comfort. In the situation in which the proverb above is uttered, it is obvious that the success and comfort in the family is related to the qualities of the partner required to fulfil his/her duties. The success and comfort of any person depends upon the choice he/she has made. It is clear that what is implied, suggested, or meant is distinct from what is said. What is implied is that one needs to get a good partner in order to live happily in his family.

So through this context, the proverb above means that a good wife may be a source of happiness. When it is uttered, the intention of the speaker is to advise the hearer to be careful in choosing a mate.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of two main sections: data collection and data analysis procedures. These sections show how I carried out the research. They contain certain materials which have been used and steps I followed in order to achieve my objectives.

3.2 Data Collection Procedures

In collecting data, there are many ways among which one has to choose the appropriate method. For Kirundi, there are many proverbs, but I collected only thirty one among them and I based my choice on proverbs whose analysis reflects success and comfort of Burundians. These proverbs were gathered from the following books: Rodegem and Bapfutwabo(1961) and Zuure (1932).

The selection of these proverbs was based on the moral values they express in the Burundian socio-cultural context and which are frequently used in daily communication. In fact I chose to rely on the above mentioned anthropologists because they are the ones who deeply studied the Kirundi language in general and Kirundi proverbs in particular.

3.3 Data Analysis Procedures

After the collection of data, I translated the proverbs and then analysed them. In analysing them, I tried to give a context which is appropriate to each

proverb. I categorised proverbs according to different subthemes such as fecundity, partnership, good health, material possessions and personality.

Then I analysed the data using Austin's(1962) theory of speech acts. I focused on the speaker's intention and the illocutionary force of utterances.

3.4 Problems Encountered

Since some of the anthropologists were not native speakers of the kirundi language, they did not write correctly kirundi proverbs. So, I had to correct some errors. In addition, for I have to use a language different from kirundi as a metalanguage, I needed to translate the proverbs from kirundi to English. Indeed, I faced the problems related to translation. Kirundi and English are two different languages from different origins and cultures. As language is part of culture, it is not an easy task to make clear the ideas of the original language when one is translating.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present and analyse the data collected. Proverbs related to success are to be classified according to various themes such as fecundity, partnership, good health, material possessions and personality.

In data analysis, context should play an important role. As I am working in the field of pragmatics, I have to refer to Levinson (1983:5) when stating that pragmatics is concerned with the disambiguation of sentences or utterances by the context in which they are uttered. The notion of context is the cornerstone of pragmatics and it refers to all that is around the utterance that needs to be interpreted. This includes settings, previous talk, social situations or identity of participants, common background knowledge, etc.

Indeed, those proverbs are to be put in situations in order to come up with the message of success which is indirectly conveyed. I can then determine the nature of speech act through the context. In Kirundi, like in other languages, nothing is said without purpose. In proverbial utterances, any proverb is uttered with a message to be transmitted to the hearer. This implies that *umugani ugana akariho* "a proverb talks about reality."

Indeed, using some proverbs related to success and comfort, I wish to show some elements valuable for Burundians in their way of living. Being things or qualities that bring success and comfort, those elements provide happiness and I also have to see in which way by using Austin's(1962) theory of speech act.

4.2 Success and Fecundity

The desire to have children was and is still so deep-rooted in the hearts of Burundians that the procreation of children for a couple is regarded as their first and most sacred duty.

In fact, a childless marriage is said to be a failure for children bring joy and comfort not only to parents but also to the whole community. It was a general belief that the fact of having children was a blessing from God and sterility was conceived as a curse. In traditional Burundi, when one died unmarried, he/she was buried with a dry charcoal (*gutânwa ikára*), in order to imply that his or her life had been useless to the community. The charcoal was a symbol of the failure to fulfil the function of bearing children in one's life time. It was said that one was dead and forgotten since one had no descendant to perpetuate his name. Burundians also stress this idea in the saying *udasizé umwâna asiga umuganí*, "someone who does not leave a child, leaves a proverb." Therefore, the fact of bearing children for Burundians is a success in one's life. The family with a great number of children was respected. This is so because Burundi is an agro-pastoral country. Children constitute the manpower in some economic and social activities such as agriculture, cattle raising, fighting when attacked, etc.

Childbirth was a great event so that people came to congratulate the family whenever there was a new born. The joy was shared by the parents and the whole society. It is said that a child does not belong to its parents only (*Umwâna ntâbá uwŭmwe*). The following situation illustrates to what extent fecundity procures success since it is regarded as the first step in one's achievements.

Situation

George got a job as soon as he got his diploma. Jackson came to congratulate him few days after he finished his studies. On the road Jackson met Johanna who was George's former classmate. Johanna was searching for a job since he wanted to abandon school.
However, he did not get it. Jackson advised Johanna to continue studies in order to get a diploma like his friend. He told him not to be in hurry and said: *Urônse umwâna ntaburá ingovyi.* The implication is that as someone who gets a child can always find a baby carriage, someone who gets a diploma can also get a job easily.

Children are so important that it is a kind of success when someone delivers. When it happens, people come to assist the mother since children are loved and respected by Burundians.

In this case, George has succeeded in receiving his diploma and it was a requirement to get a job. In this condition like a mother after delivery, other people can help him. As stated by Fraser (1984:35), when we use language, we intend what we say to have a specific force. Indeed, the illocutionary force of the proverb above is warning. Jackson wants to explain to Johanna that he has no reason to abandon studies.

The basis of success is children. The latter stands for source of happiness. Through the above situation, I realize that children are source of any other kind of success. In this case diploma and children are considered at the same level.

Another situation is illustrative of the comfort one may gain after having done something appreciable.

Situation

Jacky was complaining about her financial situation. She told Mary that she would face the problem of getting money to celebrate the end of her studies. Mary tried to encourage her friend Jacky. She told Jacky that she failed in the second year of her university studies. Her cousin, who used to help her, refused her money to buy papers. But, she continued her studies. She succeeded the next two years. As soon as she finished, she got a job of teaching at a private school. Thereafter, she finished her thesis. During the preparation of ceremonies related to her diploma, all her cousins and relatives volunteered to pay for the reception, others to buy new clothes, etc. Many people seemed to be more concerned by the ceremonies. She uttered: *Umuvyêyi yavyāyé ntaburá indéshi:* "someone who has delivered always receives maternity gifts."

After delivery, a mother is very happy. Many friends, relatives, and neighbours come with gifts as a sign of recognition of what happens which is deserving congratulations. It is an important event since some mothers would die during the delivery or others would not get children at all. And it was comforting to get such an opportunity. Even if you do not have anything else, the fact of being *umuvyêyi* is enough to procure other kinds of success including material things.

In this situation, *umuvyêyi* implies or stands for those who have reached a certain level of success in life. The interlocutor is going to understand the image since it is culturally chosen. So, the context and the common knowledge of the world help the speakers and interlocutors to understand the images used in a speech situation and then the message conveyed is perceived.

After presenting the above situation, the utterer in concluding on the whole speech event used *umuvyêyi* to imply success. The illocutionary force of the proverb is to encourage people in searching for success. It is an advice of perseverance in order to be satisfied. This proverb is used to tell people that they should continue working patiently until the desired end is achieved.

4.3 Success and Partnership

Partnership is used in the sense of marriage when two people have some activities to carry out for the well-being of the family.

Within marriage, men and women have social, economic and power relationships with each other. Certain roles are seen as properly belonging to the husband or the wife; others are shared between them. Roles, activities or decisions are carried out by the conjugal couple.

Indeed, to succeed in their life, a husband and a wife have to be in good terms with each other. They are valued according to the way they behave in accomplishing different duties assigned to them. Positive views about each of them can be expressed in various components of language such as songs, tales, idioms, proverbs, to name but a few.

Among other things, a couple wishes to have children, a woman a good husband and a man a good wife. One may ask what the qualities of a good partner are. As any human being, a husband and a wife have defects and qualities. A man or a woman is said to be good when he or she has more qualities than defects. A man has some responsibilities towards the family since he is considered as the head of the family. A woman is also concerned by important activities, especially those related to household.

Generally speaking, a woman and a man are two people who are important in the family and who should complete each other. As is said in Kirundi, *Urugó ní babiri* "The enclosure is made of two people." Although some people accorded great importance to a husband we are going to learn that both the husband and the wife are equally important in the family.

4.3.1 Success and Good Husband

The main aspiration of a married woman is to get a good partner. The importance and role played by a husband are illustrated by his behaviour. A good husband is one who tries to hold his personality and as a head and protector of the family struggles for the well-being of his family. As Burundians say, *Umugabo ni umwūgariro*, "a man is a barrier which serves to close the entrance of an enclosure", a husband is valuable for what he does to keep the family away from any kind of problem.

Let us consider the following situation to be aware of what a good husband is with the proverb *Urugó rurímwo umugabo runywa amatá*, "An enclosure where there is a responsible man gets everything."

Situation

Richard and his wife are talking about Ciza's family. Richard is appreciating Ciza's wife and children cleanness. They are always well dressed and get new clothes at the end of each year. His wife replies that Ciza is responsible and works hard for the well being of the whole family. She utters the kirundi proverb *Urugó rurímwo umugabo runywa amatá*. She implies that a family where there is a responsible husband gets everything.

In this situation, amatá "milk" stands for important things. It is a sign of happiness since children used to drink milk in order to grow up in good conditions. Milk symbolizes everything necessary to life. Indeed, the family whose father is responsible is successful in the sense that the father provides everything needed for the well being of the family. Although the concept *umugabo* "husband" has many aspects as presented in Nsabimana (1993:43), my concern is the moral side not the physical one. So *umugabo* is not used to refer to any male partner, but to the one who is able to fulfil his duties. However, the one who is irresponsible is illustrated in the proverb *Urugó rutagirá umugabo rugira umugayo* "An enclosure where there is an irresponsible man is not respected."

Situation

David and Charles are John's neighbours. David is wondering why John's children are unable to pay school fees on time. They are always sent home before paying. But their father is considered as a rich man since he has many cows and also does some commerce. Charles explains to David that John is a drunk and forgets to respond to his family's needs. Many people are astonished by his family situation although he is rich. He then continues in these words: *Urugó rutagirá umugabo rugira umugayo* "An enclosure where there is an irresponsible man is not respected."

At first sight, one can wonder if the husband died. But the illocutionary force of that proverb is to encourage husbands to deserve their name and preserve their personality. We learn from the above situation that a good husband is a great desire for Burundians since he is the foundation of the family reputation. Then one who happens to get a good husband is said to have succeeded.

In order to stress the father's role in the task of educating his children, Burundians use the proverb *Impfîzi y'íntāma itēndera nka sé* "Children behaviour depends upon their father's behaviour."

Situation

James asks Ruth why his son likes to work. He realises that he seldom goes to the bar like the other boys in the neighbourhood. Ruth replies that his son follows his father. The latter is a family man who spends his time in working or in teaching his children. Ruth adds that she is satisfied by her husband's behaviour and consequently her children's behaviour. She then utters this proverb: *Impfîzi y'íntāma itēndera nka sé* "A Child reflects the character of his father."

Normally, in Burundian culture as well as in many other cultures, one's behaviour is the result of the way one has been brought up by one's family. The family's impact counts more than anything else in the way one behaves. The way one behaves reflects the example one got from one's parents. The illocutionary force of this proverb is to instruct fathers in particular, and parents in general, that they should be good examples for their children.

4.3.2 Success and Good Wife

In former times, in many societies like in Burundi, women were so occupied with housework that they had little or no time to accumulate wealth outside the domestic domain. They were therefore influential in the home and less so outside.

In this respect, in the Burundian society, women were important in their home. They were the first persons concerned with home duties. So, women were looked upon with high esteem if they tried to accomplish their duties according to what they were required to do culturally.

Among their responsibilities, women were supposed to look after children, to feed them, to respond to all their immediate needs. This was so because the woman as a mother was always with her children. In addition, she was concerned with other works in the home such as cleaning the house, preparing food, conserving things, etc.

Indeed, women are influential and powerful in the domestic sphere because the household depends on them for their daily bread, women are expert foragers and collectors of food. So, women can lower or higher their family's reputation. It is then due to these reasons that Burundians used to, and can even now, utter the proverb *Umuhúshatûnga ahusha umugoré*. This implies that if someone mischooses his wife, he looses the opportunity of succeeding in his future life. This means that a wife can constitute a kind of future wealth.

Even today, the importance of women is still recognizable. In addition to home duties, a woman can participate in other activities for her family development or for the country's development. In some societies, such as the Burundian one, a man is concerned mainly with the accumulation of wealth which enables him to satisfy the family's needs. The woman depends on her husband financially, so are their children. The husband as the head of the family and as father has to provide clothes, medicines, and so on to the family. The wife must be helpful in the good management of the family resources. Although some people used to lower women, I realize that in some Kirundi proverbs, the latter are supposed to fulfil some important functions so that they can be a source of success in the family. In spite of all the problems we face in society, if all goes well within the family, then life is worth living.

Therefore, success begins in the family understanding and complementarity in the family building and entertainment. By so doing, the couple manages to increase their wealth, friends, and acquaintances. The following situation shows to what extent a woman can provide joy for the family in particular and the whole community in general.

Situation

Peter who was about to get married was talking with his father. Peter was telling his father about John's family. He was emphasizing how John's wife is a good caretaker of his children and how there is a good understanding between her and her husband. He said that John is satisfied with his family and enjoys it. Peter's father then utters the proverb *Umuhúshatûnga ahusha umugoré* "Someone who mischooses a wife, looses the opportunity of getting wealth."

This proverb implies more than what is said. What is said is one part of what a speaker communicates. It is indirectly said that someone who does not have a good partner, does not enjoy a good life in his family. A good partner is considered as a source of happiness and comfort.

Through the situation above, the message which is indirectly conveyed is that a wife is someone important for her husband. If a man mischooses a wife, he will never be happy. But if he chooses a good one, he is likely to be happy in his life. Indeed, a wife is someone who can comfort his husband, children, relatives, friends, neighbours, and so on. She is an adviser for her husband and helps him in taking some decisions. In addition, the husband is at ease when he is sure that his wife is responsible and can fulfil her duties if the husband is not at home.

Furthermore, to provide love and happiness in her family and neighbouring environment, a wife should participate actively in the well being of the family. As is said in Kirundi, *Umugoré ntiyāmbíkwa arîyambíka* "A wife's good reputation is provided by herself." As well dressed people are admired and attractive, a well behaving woman is admirable. A woman should participate in her family and in her country development. She is expected to help her husband, not to wait until all is done by her husband.

So, a woman is valued according to her contribution to the family building. That is why sometimes it is said that *Urugó ní úmugoré* "It is the wife who makes the home." As stated by Ngoyagoye (1969:18), « au Burundi comme dans les autres pays, l'éducation est une tâche des mères » "in Burundi, as in other countries, education is the task properly belonging to the mother." It is the female partner who is more concerned with children's education. In Burundian culture, the wife spends much time at home unlike

her husband who takes much time outside his family. He can be at his job and then in a bar. It is obvious that the person who stays at home is able to know every problem faced by the children. It is also easy for her to notice what are the needs for the children in particular or for the whole family in general. Thus, a good wife is a pillar for the well-being of the family and the neighbours.

Concerning neighbourhood, it is through the relations between a family and its neighbours that one can realise its friendship, that is, if they are in good or bad understanding. In this respect, the wife and the husband are both concerned. Since the wife is constantly with her family, she has to welcome people, talk to them, pay a visit to her neighbours or other relatives. Thus, if she is a good wife the relations are also good. If not, that family is to get few friends, and relatives hardly come in that family.

Therefore, we can notice that Peter invites his son to choose a good wife, one with qualities required in order to obtain happiness in his family. The illocutionary force is an advice of members of the society to be careful in choosing one's partner. It is important to choose a good partner since the latter is likely to provide success and comfort in one's family.

To emphasize the role of a wife in one's family, Nkundwanabake (1987:48) expresses this in these words: "It is true that both spouses are inevitably involved in the education of their children. However major responsibility is relegated to wife." Indeed, the latter has not only to nurse and feed her children but also to take care of their health. The following situation is an illustration:

Situation

Kathy was comparing Yves' wife and Joseph's wife. She told Mary that Yves' children are charming and are good looking. They are always clean so that it seems they are ointed the whole night. To complete her, Mary said that it is obvious that their mother is responsible. If one enters her home, her house is always clean and things in the house are well arranged so that it seems that there is no child at all. Kathy continued saying that Joseph's wife is the opposite. She is always in bars. Therefore, her children are always dirty since Joseph spends the whole day at his job. Kathy said: *Umwâna ní nyina* "A child is his/her mother." She added *Ntāwurúrūmvya umugoré ngo yīmbúre abâna* "No one can expect well behaving children from a misbehaving wife."

The meanings of the above proverbs are learned by making reference to the context in which they are uttered. In the circumstances in which the first proverb is uttered, we notice that children's behaviour reflects their mother's behaviour. There is a close relationship between children and their mother so that the latter is influential in their behaviour. The illocutionary force of this proverb is to invite parents to provide good examples for their children.

The children's first needs are fulfilled by their mothers. Indeed, if it happens that there is a good wife in one's compound, there must also be good children; well-educated and well-brought up. A woman's responsibility or irresponsibility is reflected in her children's appearance and welfare.

In addition, the mother plays a great and desired role so that her absence affects negatively her children. The proverb *Inkokókazi irapfá amagí akabora* "The separation of a mother from her children negatively affects their life" is meaningful:

Situation

Misunderstanding between Alexis and his wife is at the origin of their divorce. Clement is complaining that his cousins are in bad conditions since their mother is not in the family. He tells his wife that his uncle's children are always wandering in the road and some of them want to abandon schools. But his father has everything they may need. His wife replies that even if they get everything, they feel the absence of their mother and utters *Inkokókazi irapfá amagí akabora* " A hen dies and its eggs rot."

Children always need their mother even if their father is there. Indeed, the mother is a person who is important in a family to complete a husband. The mother is a condition for a successful life in a given family, when she is absent, many problems occur. Mothers are for children what hens are for eggs. Normally, eggs cannot be productive when the hens died. Coming back to the above situation, the proverb implies that the loss of a mother equals the loss of her children. Although the father remains, people in the family are still affected by the absence of the mother. The father cannot replace his wife. He always needs a complementary person. Both the husband and the wife are needed for the entire welfare of the family. In this case, the emphasis is put on the female partner. The latter should be responsible of what she is.

Being responsible is being able to fulfil and honour one's engagement and commitment. A responsible parent is the one who is able to take care of

things he/she is in charge of. He/she must think about her/his future family and avoid spoiling her/his family's belonging. Among some qualities related to women, gentleness is helpful in achieving some objectives. The proverb *Umugoré arakáma intáre* " A wife can milk a lioness" is an illustration.

Situation

> Elvis' daughter called Kelly used to take drugs and was a prostitute. Elvis has tried to advise her but he failed. But his wife has been able to change her daughter's bad behaviour in a good one. Thomas asked his friend Elvis how he managed to change his daughter's behaviour. He explained to him that it is a task accomplished by his wife. As far as Elvis is concerned, he could not approach her. If he did, she began to insult him and his reaction was to beat her. But he has a resourceful wife. He said that his wife deserved to be thanked since she has been courageous and finally reached her objective. His daughter abandoned drugs and became a responsible girl. As a conclusion, he uttered *Umugoré arakáma intáre* " A woman can milk a lioness."

Indeed, a lion is a dangerous animal that everyone is afraid of. It is difficult even to approach it. In Burundian culture when someone is dangerous, people say : *Nāká ní igikôkó* "So and so is an animal." It is an indirect way of saying that that person is as dangerous as an animal. So, it is not easy to talk to him/her. Therefore few people are able to approach that kind of person. In the above situation, it is not possible for every person to milk a lioness which is among the most dangerous animals. We realise that the husband is unable to advise his daughter who is compared to a dangerous animal.

Although the man was supposed to be strong naturally and respected in his family, he failed to change his daughter's behaviour. It is only his wife who saved that child. In Burundi, women use tender and sweet words whereas men use a rough and sharp style as the situation requires.

Therefore, the illocutionary force is to inform the interlocutor that women have some talents which are helpful to face some difficulties. Indeed, those who exploit them achieve a given objective easily. Therefore it is comfortable to have such a wife who is talented enough and who can exploit her talents for the satisfaction of the whole family.

To sum up, from the proverbs in this section on partnership, it is noticeable that harmony in the family depends on a clear understanding of the conception of complementarity and partnership between a husband and a wife. They have to bear in mind that no one is superior or inferior to the other. They are complementary beings since they share everything including family responsibilities. It is not the husband only who has and perform the main duties of the family and plan all the concern of the family future. But both husband and wife have to help and complete each other. They both work for the well being and good reputation of all the members of their family. The idea of complemetarity through children raising is expressed in the following proverbs: *Impfízi y'íntāma itēndera nka sé* "A boy behaves like his father" and *Umurŏndo arōnda nyina* "A girl behaves like her mother."

It is obvious that children's behaviour strongly depends on their parents behaviour. It is assumed that a son is supposed to take on the attributes of the father while the daughter takes on those of the mother. But, when it is a bad behaviour, both father and mother are blamed. And when it is a good

behaviour, they are both praised. It is then a success for all the members of a given family to have a virtuous mother and a virtuous father.

4.4 Success and Good Health

Healthy people are those who are in a good condition physically. Although wealth is a great desire for many people including Burundians, healthy life is more desired than anything else. Health is important since it affects the productive ability of the workforce. Illness may affect production by lowering productivity. However, if someone is in a good condition, he/she can even progress economically. This means that health is the source of other things which can bring success in life.

A healthy person is physically strong and not likely to become ill. So, he can work as he/she wants in order to get other sources of richness. So, Burundian wisdom puts good health at the first rank for it is the source and foundation of happiness.

Situation

> Betty was ill but was getting better. But she was confused about a work she had to do. The latter could procure much money in few days. She was wondering if she should try or accept to miss such an opportunity. Mary, her sister, told her that she had to wait until she got better. She advised her not to be in hurry since she could get an other opportunity and uttered: *Amagará aruta amajana* "Having a healthy life is more important than having a lot of money."

Although it is now aspired by many people, money was not considered in traditional Burundi. People used to prefer to be physically strong than getting material possessions such as cows, money, and so on.

In insisting on the priority of a healthy life, the proverb above is appropriate with reference to the same situation. The illocutionary force embodied in that proverb is that people should think about their health more than anything else.

Referring to the same situation, Mary continued and said: *Uwĭmbuye ikigega c'ámagará ntaburá ic'ámasaká* "Someone who is healthy, can also get much sorghum in the season of harvest", implying that a healthy person is likely to become wealthy. This proverb implies that a healthy person can easily become a wealthy one. This is to mean that healthy is a sine qua non condition for a wealthy life. Traditionally, *amasaká* sorghum was a symbol of wealth, since it was used in important ceremonies. Like cows, sorghum was to be used in order to get a bride. During marriage ceremonies, as in other social ceremonies, sorghum beer was to be provided. It was important since people had and even nowadays have to sit around a big pot of beer to deliver any kind of speech.

Going back to the previous proverb: *Amagará aruta amajana*, it is obvious that health and much money are compared and health appears to be more desirable than money. In fact, money is highly valued by many societies including the Burundian one. This is understandable in the sense that it is the source of all other kinds of possessions contributing in wealthy life. With money one can get anything she/he wants. One can buy many things with money. However, it is impossible to buy a healthy life. Things such as food, clothes, cars, houses, can be obtained thanks to money. In addition, a hard

worker can cultivate or do other business to get all these things when he/she is healthy.

Therefore, money can bring happiness all over the world since many things can be obtained thanks to money. Any function can be fulfilled by the latter. Nevertheless, as far as the Burundian society is concerned, people have been and are still aspiring to something more important, which is their health. In traditional Burundi, before the introduction of money, Burundians have been living happily and could get anything by exchanging things, that is, in the form of barter. In this way, people, especially the healthy ones, were able to progress economically and socially. In this respect, healthy people were those who could live happily in comfort.

After the introduction of money, Burundians envy it but still value their health and always continue to use the saying *Amagará aruta amajana*. If there is something which is harming their lives but can also bring money, a great number of people prefer life over money.

However, in other countries, especially Arab countries, people afford death courageously and overtly. Killers are numerous and prefer to die after eliminating their adversaries. In Burundi, even people in conflict hardly approach one another. The killers try to be hidden in order not to be pursued. This implies that before thinking about money or other profit one may get from the fact of eliminating another which puts his life in danger, he/she thinks twice about the preservation of one's life.

Burundians believe in the saying *Amagará ni âmâzi asēséka ntibáyōre* "Health is like water which, when it spills, cannot be picked up." Water is necessary for life so that it is needed every day. It should be kept in a

container in order to get it whenever needed. In the proverb above, water is associated with healthy life, which one can lose at once. In fact, when a water container falls and is broken, the water is lost. It is not possible to get the same water. It is like a person who dies, he/she loses his/her life once for all.

In the previous situation, Betty advises her sister not to look for money until she recovers from her illness. Although she is getting better, she is advised to wait until she becomes totally cured.

In addition, in emphasizing on the priority of a healthy life, she continues and says *Uwĭmbuye ikigega c'ámagará ntaburá ic'ámasaká.* Everyone needs to get much production when it is the season of harvest. Sorghum is used to refer to everything you can get as means of living. The implication of the proverb is that a healthy person is likely to get anything else.

4.5 Success and Material Possessions

Apart from a healthy life, Burundians also aspire satisfaction in their possessions. In assuming that material possessions for everyone is a prerequisite for happiness, they say *Umūntu ni ûtwîwé* "A person is what he/she has."

Situation

Jean Claude was telling Prosper how Joseph had an accident and was saved because of what he possessed. He got an accident in the bathroom. He was severely wounded. Fortunately, he had bought a mobile phone two days before and he phoned his son who was at his job. Then he was rescued but if his son had not come fast, Joseph would have died. Jean Claude told Prosper that he should equip his house with essential things such as a telephone. And Prosper responded that his neighbours had everything necessary and they were in good terms. He argued that he cannot be refused anything from his neighbourhood. Jean Claude insisted on the case of Joseph whom he had also advised to buy his own mobile phone and refused since his son had one. He was considering his son's phone as his own phone. So, Jean Claude utters the proverb *Umūntu ni ûtwîwé* and continues saying *Akímuhana kāza imvúra ihíse* "Something from neighbours comes when the rain is over."

This means that something which is not yours cannot help you at the right time. So, a human being is what he possesses. If you do not have valuable things, you are not considered in the society and, consequently, you are not satisfied.

Among the sources of wealth in traditional Burundi, cows came in the first position. Cows were highly valued so that the more cows a Burundian had, the more esteemed he became and the more consideration he got.

In this respect, cows play important roles so that their possessor lives happily. Indeed, cows create and maintain some social relations. Traditionally, people who did not have cows could ask some from cow

owners. If one received a cow as a gift, he was supposed to respect his master. The receiver became somehow his master's servant so that he could come to help him in some activities in counterpart.

In addition, cows were and are still used as payment of the bride price. However, if someone is poor, it is a kind of curse or insult. It is said in Kirundi that *Utágirá inká ntagirá igabo* "He who does not have cows lacks manhood." He who does not have material possessions is lowered to the extent of being denied the quality of human being.

So, in order to show that they occupy a high level, Burundians affirm themselves on the basis of the number of cows they have. The proverb *Uwutákŭzi ntakurushá inká* "Someone who does not know you cannot be wealthier than you" is explained by the following situation.

Situation

Mathew was asking Peter why his fiancée Ruth accepted him since she had abandoned his former boy friend because he was not rich. Peter answered that he had tried to put himself on the level of rich people. He used to use his brother's car and told Ruth that it was his own car. And he showed her his uncle's new house pretending that it was his house. Therefore, Ruth accepted to get married to him. Peter concluded by saying *Uwutákŭzi ntakurushá inká* "Someone who does not know you cannot be wealthier than you."

This implies that in order to reach a given objective, it may be necessary to pretend that you are rich. Then the success may be related to what you possess. In the situation above, cows replace any kind of richness one may have. Thus, possessions are liable to bring success.

The illocutionary force of the proverb used in the previous situation is to inform that people are attracted by material possessions. Nevertheless, they should pay attention in order to know to what extent someone is rich.

However, it is not enough to have material possessions. Burundians value people also on the basis of moral qualities. These are implied by the notion of *umutíma* "heart". The "heart" overpasses material possessions, as illustrated in the proverb *Umutíma mwīzá uruta inká* "A good heart is superior to cows," implying that valuable qualities are those related to behaviour. Therefore, in addition to wealth, health, moral qualities constitute one's source of happiness.

4.6 Success and Personality

According to The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1978), personality is defined as someone's character, especially the way he behaves towards other people. It refers to the qualities that make someone interesting, friendly and enjoyable to be with.

Generally speaking, no human being in the world can appreciate to be called unsocial. People are always in search for a good appearance before others. Many people, especially Burundians, are very susceptible and think that others are looking at them. So, they try to be careful in almost everything they do and say. To achieve this kind of success, the best way is to have good manners and consideration for other people.

For our case, being in good understanding with neighbours, friends and relatives are to be focused on. Every member of the society's respect and honour are conferred by his/her way of behaving.

As stated by Harakandi and Minani(1972:299), when talking about *umutíma*, the traditional Burundian thinks about the supreme value. It is the

heart which is the center of personality. Doing good, that is, behaving in a just way, is the main way of exhibiting *Umutíma mwīzá* "Good heart". People with such a heart are always praised in society. They live in harmony and peace with other members of the society. They are characterized by good deeds and are able to overcome obstacles which may appear. Therefore, in spite of physical beauty, Burundians are attracted by one's good behaviour. The following situation shows that people should consider one's way of conduct and reject the physical appearance, as it is said in Kirundi *Umutíma uruta umutŭmba* "The heart is superior to stature."

Situation

Bella is confused by the choice of her fiancé. Marc and Smith are two men who want to marry her. Marc is a short man but he is very kind with everyone and with Bella. He always comes to call on her and also participates in her family ceremonies, whether bad or good ones. Smith is a taller man. He is a big handsome man. However, he is a byword in the neighbouring families to the extent that he is always in conflict with others. He seldom stays at home because he spends about the whole week in bars and comes home drunk. That is why he sometimes fights with the family members. Nevertheless, Bella is attracted by him. Her mother realises that her daughter wants to get married to him even if this man has a bad reputation. She tells Bella to be careful before getting married: *Umutíma uruta umutŭmba.*

A good heart is more precious than physical appearance. When it is time to choose a mate, people should take into account one's behaviour rather than one's physical beauty. Good heart is preferable and admirable to stature.

The illocutionary force is a warning not to be attracted by unimportant things, but people are advised to go deep and consider what can bring success in their life.

Indeed, physical appearance can change by age, accident, illness or other kinds of problems. So, what is important is in one's inside; what may be called personality. People also say *Ubwîzá buri ku mutíma* or *Ubwîzá bugukǔnze buja ku mushahá*, to insinuate that a great desired beauty lies in one's behaviour because it is a source of good deeds. In traditional Burundi, people admired well-behaved people.

Coming back to the above situation, Marc does not have attractive appearance but he is highly valued since he is described as someone who is in good relations with others. However, the other pretender Smith is regarded as unsocial. Thus, he is rejected by the proverb *Umutíma uruta umutǔmba.* Marc succeeds in his enterprise to show that people of good behaviour are valued. One's success depends on one's personality. In addition, the proverb *Akǎmi kā mūntu ni úmutima wîwé* also stresses that one's source of respect and wealth is his conduct. The illustrative situation is the following:

Situation

Maggy is a woman who struggles for the well-being of orphans. She sustains them and takes care of them. That lady is well known. She even receives some offerings from foreign countries in order to help her in her good enterprise. She sometimes gets gifts and the illustrative one is the Nobel Prize she has obtained. Then a man called Freddy is discussing with John about her situation. John asks Freddy why Maggy is loved and helped by many people including foreigners. Freddy explains to him that she is liable to be supported because of her deeds and says *Akǎmi kā mūntu ni úmutima wîwé* "The royalty of someone is his heart."

Indeed, well-intended people are lucky since they are loved by everyone. So, good heart refers to good behaviour and is considered as the source and foundation of any other kind of wealth.

The illocutionary force of the proverb above is to advice people to search for good manners in order to be happy. In the situation above, Maggy is satisfied for her good and lovable deeds towards other people. So, in counterpart, she received many gifts from everywhere. Thus, one's heart is the precious thing in what may be called richness. It functions as a place where good and bad deeds come from. But the bad deeds are not the characteristics of a person of heart (*umūntu w'úmutíma*).
"A person of heart "is a virtuous human being who deserves to be praised.

In addition to *umutíma* "heart", other concepts referring to good heart such as *ubūntu, ibānga*, and so on, are of a paramount importance for Burundians. When one says *Ubūntu burîhābwa* "Personality is self acquired" or *Ibānga riraheberwa* "Everything is done to hold one's personality," the utterer is somehow advocating the virtues of personality. Let us look at the following situation.

Situation

Jeanne lives in his aunt's family. She always comes late at night. Her friend Josephine realises that kind of misconduct. When she is advising her, Jeanne replies that Josephine is not her aunt and it is not her duty to control her friend. But Josephine continues advising her not to frustrate her aunt since she owes much to her. She tells Jeanne that she should recognize her social situation for she is an orphan and should control her conduct. Then, Josephine utters this proverb *Ubūntu burîhābwa* "Personality is self acquired."

The illocutionary force of that proverb is to advise people to seek for honour and respect. So, a well behaving person is called *Umūntu w'úbūntu*, *Umūntu w'úmutíma*, *Umūntu w'íbānga*. These are different implications of *Umutíma mwīzá* "good heart," or "personality" for Burundians. It is necessary and appreciable for everyone to get honour and respect by being virtuous. *Umutíma* then symbolizes human qualities such as kindness, politeness, sociability, reliability, to name but a few. Hence, if one succeeds to be virtuous, he succeeds in his/her life. Personality is to be preserved at all cost. We need neighbours, relatives, friends, people we meet socially. They add a lot to the living in bringing happiness.

CONCLUSION

This work provided us with different elements through which successful side of life is revealed; being things or qualities required in Burundian society for good life and general welfare. To achieve my aims a four step process was involved.

In the first chapter, we have the general introduction. It provides an account of the background information to the study. It also states the problem, motivations, aims, delimitation and the research questions. Finally, it defines some key terms.

The second chapter deals with literature review. It consists of what other researchers have come up with in the same area. In addition, this chapter contains the theory that guided this study.

The third part of this study is the methodology which describes the different ways used in collecting and analysing data.

The fourth chapter which is data presentation and analysis, consists of analysing the selected proverbs at the pragmatic level.

In fact, Burundians possess unwritten tradition like songs, riddles, tales, proverbs, and so on. Most of the time, these forms are neglected because of many reasons among which oral literature is not easy to record and to present to the reader.

Indeed, it is difficult to understand and appreciate its linguistic qualities. However, oral literature is needed to be learnt since it is linked to the way of life of a giving people. Therefore, in studying proverbs or other

forms of oral literature, we may learn many things about that people. This work was concerned with different aspects of success for Burundians. Through a pragmatic analysis, speech act theory has been a useful and effective tool in analysing proverbs and revealing the meaning, intention, and possible effects embedded in the subtle language of proverbs. This theory emphasizes the interpretation of utterances in authentic real life situation in which proverbs are used.

Thus, the analysis of proverbs under study has provided us with different elements through which successful side of life is revealed. These are related to fecundity, good partnership, good health, material possessions and personality. These are the primary stressed expressions through which success is highlighted and which can contribute to the welfare of Burundians. In fact, it was a blessing from God to have children since they are likely to bring success in the family. Good partnership by a responsible husband and a responsible wife is a source of a good family where all its members, neighbours and relatives can enjoy to be. In addition, a healthy life is to to be preserved for being able to seek for other things such as material possessions or money in order to get a wealthy life. Above all, people should hold their personality in order to live in harmony with others. Virtuous persons are likely to live happily since they are praised in society.

Nevertheless, in this changing world people have also been changing as far as their way of behaving is concerned. Although changes may occur, a given people's culture is of paramount importance. It is necessary to preserve some elements of culture which do not have negative impacts on the society. The changing or forgetting of positive norms are at the origin of today's troubles.

Therefore, in this work I wish that the new generation look behind them and then realise what was culturally the source of happiness and comfort.

Moreover this study illustrates how language is used as a channel of communication and transmission of cultural values.

However, this study is not exhaustive and the work to be done is still enormous. Further researchers could extend to larger samples of proverbs. And alternative or complementary methods to speech act theory may be tried by other researchers. Also, other issues in proverbs may be raised by other researchers.

Since proverbs are one of the major sources of references on norms of accepted individuals and social thought and behaviour, it is essential that they should be studied a lot. The role and use of proverbs in society could be part of the content of courses at various levels, like the teaching of languages, literature and communication skills. People are encouraged to use them in cultural ceremonies such as marriage ceremonies, funeral rites, etc where cultural values are displayed practically and expressed verbally through the use of proverbs. Then youth are also encouraged to participate in such cultural ceremonies.

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APPENDIX : CORPUS

PROVERBS RELATED TO SUCCESS AND COMFORT, THEIR LITERAL TRANSLATION (L.T) AND THEIR PRAGMATIC MEANINGS (P.M)

1. Umuganí ugana akarího.

L.T: A proverb talks about what exists.

P.M: A proverb talks about reality.

2. Urônse umwâna ntaburá ingovyi.

L.T: Someone who gets a child can always find a baby carriage.

P.M: A child is a source of other important things for the family.

3. Údasizé umwâna asiga umuganí

L.T: Someone who does not leave a child leaves a proverb.

P.M: Someone should do something important in order to perpetuate his name.

4. Umuvyêyi yavyāyé ntaburá indéshi.

L.T: A mother who has delivered always receives maternity gifts.

P.M: Someone who has reached certain level of success in life is likely to progress.

5. Umwâna ntâbá uwŭmwe.

L.T: A child is not for one person.

P.M: A child is considered as belonging to all Burundians.

6. Urugó ní babiri.

L.T The enclosure is made of two people.

P.M: A family's success is made by two people (a husband and a wife).

7. Umugabo ni umwūgariro.

L.T A man is a barrier which serves to close the entrance of an enclosure.

P.M: A husband is expected to be the protector of his family.

8. Urugó rurímwo umugabo runywa amatá.

L.T: An enclosure where there is a man drinks milk.

P.M: In a family where there is a responsible husband may get precious things.

9. *Urugó rutagirá umugabo rugira umugayo.*

L.T: An enclosure which does not have a man is belittled by everyone.

P.M: The family where there is an irresponsible husband is not respected.

10. Impfízi y'íntāma itēndera nka sé.

L.T: A male sheep behaves like its father.

P.M: Children's behaviour depends upon their father's behaviour.

11. Umuhúshatûnga ahusha umugoré.

L.T: Someone who mischooses a partner, looses the opportunity of getting wealth.

P.M: Someone who does not have a good partner does not enjoy a good life in his family.

12. Umugoré ntíyāmbíkwa arîyambíka.

L.T: A woman is not dressed, but she dresses herself.

P.M: A woman's good reputation is provided by herself.

13. Urugó ni úmugoré.

L.T: It is the wife who makes the home.

P.M: A good wife implies a good family.

14. Umwâna ní nyina.

L.T: A child is his mother.

P.M: A child's education is provided by his mother.

15. Umurŏndo arōnda nyina.

L.T: A girl behaves like her mother.

P.M: A mother should provide good example for her daughter.

16. Ntāwurúrūmvya umugoré ngo yīmbúre abâna.

L.T: No one can expect well behaving children from a misbehaving wife.

P.M: Children's behaviour strongly depends upon their mother's behaviour.

17. Inkokókazi irapfá amagí akabora.

L.T: A hen dies and its eggs rot.

P.M: The separation of a mother from her children negatively affects them.

18. Umugoré arakáma intáre.

L.T: A wife can milk a lioness.

P.M: A wife (woman) is able to fulfil important functions.

19. ***Amagará aruta amajana.***

L.T: Health is superior to much money.

P.M: A healthy life is valuable than wealth.

20. ***Uwĭmbuye ikigega c'ámagará ntaburá ic'ámasaká.***

L.T: Someone who is healthy, can also get much sorghum in the season of harvest.

P.M: Healthy life should be preserved for it is source of happiness.

21. Amagará ni âmâzi asēséka ntibayōre.

L.T: Health is like water which, when it spills, cannot be picked up.

P.M: A healthy life should be preserved since it can be lost at once.

22. Umūntu ni âtwîwé.

L.T: A person is what he/she has.

P.M: A human being is valued according to what he/she possesses.

23. Akímuhana kāza imvúra ihíse.

L.T: Something from neighbours comes when the rain is over.

P.M: Something from outside cannot satisfactory be helpful.

24. Utágirá inká ntagirá igabo.

L.T: He who does not have cows lacks manhood.

P.M: One's material possessions can confer him prestige and respect.

25. Uwutákŭzi ntakurushá inká.

L.T: He who does not know you, does not have more cows than you.

P.M: He who does not know you, cannot pretend to be wealthier than you.

26. Umutíma mwīzá uruta inká.

L.T: Good heart is superior to cows.

P.M: Good behaviour is more appreciable than material possessions.

27. Umutíma uruta umutŭmba.

L.T: A heart is superior to stature.

P.M: Someone's good way of behaving is admired than his/her physical appearance.

28. Akămi kā mūntu ni úmutíma wîwé.

L.T: The royalty of someone is his heart.

P.M: One's good behaviour is a foundation of everything successful.

29. Ubūntu burîhābwa.

L.T: Personality is self acquired.

P.M: Virtuous people are able to provide happiness by themselves.

30. Ibānga riraheberwa.

L.T: Everything is done to hold one's personality.

P.M: Personality is to be preserved at all cost.

31. Ubwîzá buri ku mutíma.

Ubwîzá bugukŭnze buja ku mushahá.

L.T: One's beauty lies in his/her heart.

P.M: One's good behaviour is highly valued than any kind of beauty.