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A discourse analysis of speeches uttered during the initiation ceremony of wisemen : case of Rutana commune

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

A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES UTTERED DURING THE INITIATION CEREMONY OF WISEMEN: CASE OF RUTANA COMMUNE

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Bujumbura, June 2012

DEDICATION

To my beloved parents,

To my elder sisters and younger brothers,

I warmly dedicate this work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The achievement of this work would not be possible without the contribution of a number of people. Unfortunately, this piece of paper is too small to write all their names on it for expressing my gratitude towards them; but I feel the great necessity to mention some of them.

First and foremost, I would like to express special thanks to Dr Ildéphonse Horicubonye, senior lecturer at the University of Burundi and Head of the Department of English Language and Literature, who kindly accepted to supervise this work from the early draft to the last script. His criticism, suggestions and corrections has been useful for the completion of the present work. May he find my sincere gratitude here.

Second, I indeptedly owe my heartfelt thanks to all my teachers from the primary school up to the University, all my colleagues and classmates. My success is the result of their advice, help and support.

Next, it would be ungrateful if I forgot the staff and lecturers of the faculty of Arts, Makerere University, especially to the Head of the English Department, he willingly put a comment on my topic.

Last but not least, I am mostly indepted to my parents, they have done their best; to Vyubusa Zosim's family, they replaced our parents in Bujumbura, to Ngendakuriyo Pontien's family for their moral and material support. May they find the fruit of their effort in the result of this work and may God bless all of them.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

i.e.	: Id est (latin): that is, it means.
etc.	: et cetera (latin) : and the like, and others.
L1	: First Language or mother tongue.
Tr.	: Translation.
L.Tr.	: Literal Translation.
Id. Tr.	: Idiomatic Translation.
S	: Speech or Speaker.
***	: Pause.

ABSTRACT

The present work deals with a discourse analysis of speeches uttered during the initiation ceremony of wisemen. It is concerned with analysing speeches of wisemen not in an isolated manner of words or sentences, but in the whole analysis of larger texts delivered at the day of ceremony. As a matter of fact, the objective of this work is to find out if speeches of wisemen are helpful in the society where they live i.e. if the language of wisemen can help in constructing a welfare society, a society based on some cultural concepts. At the end, we came out with the idea that the Burundian culture is more specific in the understanding of the language of wisemen; that language requires the recognition of the linguistic performance besides the linguistic competence; hence it is difficult for foreigners to perform well the language of wisemen. Through some illocutionary acts, we noticed that a wiseman is committing to being helpful in his society. We closed our work by recommending the future researchers to bring out a critical study of today's social behavior of wisemen, to deal with the discourse analysis of other speeches, to see if other ceremonial speeches are related or not to wisemen's speeches.

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CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

From the creation till today, people use language to communicate. Man can not live without using the language. In our everyday life, we talk to one another in order to express our needs, our feelings and emotions. We do this through language and in a given society. Ralph Fasold (1984:147) is not far away from our ideas. He says:

> "Societies are composed of individuals; whatever
> people do with language in society happens
> when somebody talks to someone else"

This means that the society becomes what people want it to be because, according to the above assertion, language plays a vital role in each society.

To talk about language implies to talk about speeches. In fact, speeches in the Burundian society are of great importance. There are a number of speeches such as speeches uttered during joyful ceremonies, those uttered during mourning ceremonies and speeches uttered by a President or a Minister according to a given circumstances, to name but a few.

This work then seeks to analyse one of those speeches that is speeches uttered during the initiation ceremony of wisemen which is the joyful one. Generally, those speeches have a verbal aspect contrary to non-verbal aspect; hence they are uttered in front of a crowd of people. Therefore, the outcome of those speeches must contribute to the construction of the whole society.

AsWilliam DOWNES (1998:276) points out"The verbal aspect has certain basic properties which mirror the structure of social events in general".
Thus, a well organised society or a badly organised one exists depending on some social events such as wisemen's initiation event.

1.1. Background to the Problem

The term Discourse Analysis was first employed in 1952 by Zellig Harris as the name for a method for the analysis of connected speech(or writing) that is, for continuing descriptive linguistics beyond the limits of a single sentence at a time,and for correlating culture and language(K.Malmkjaer 1969:100)

From this view, Discourse Analysis involves the analysis of speeches; and "a speech" can not stand alone without being connected to a language. At this issue Saussure (2005:37) says that the two objects (language and speech) are closely connected and interdependent, yet are two absolutely distinct things. He adds: "speaking is necessary for the establishment of language, and historically, its actuality always comes first". Thus, speeches presuppose the language and both of them take place in any society since only human beings (people) have to communicate for living together(in a society),that is to say, people can talk to one another, animals can not.

Language and society, as major components of human life, have always preoccupied the mind of many researches: a number of anthropologists,linguists and for the high range sociologists had taken enough time to study language and society. Mostly, they come together on some similarities even if dissimilarities can also be well observed.
Joshua A. Fishman (1972:57) distinguishes between language and social structure; and social behaviour and language behaviour. He says:

> "Linguists make a clear distinction between language structure (rules competence); and language behaviour (speech performance); sociologists distinguish between social structure and social behaviour or interaction, the distinction clarity is less clear. One reason for the lesser clarity in the case of social structure not only includes norms, but also incorporates the realities of differential distribution of power..."

Yet, the question of language and society is still the challenging one. Despite the net distinction between social structure and social behaviour, Wardhaugh diverges in Fishman's idea. He states the following:

> " one is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic and/or behaviour (...) A second possible relationship is directly opposed to the first linguistic structure and/or behaviour may either influence or determine social structure(...). A third is that the influence is bi-directional: language and society may influence each other (...). A fourth and last possibility is to assume that there is no relationship between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of the other(...) (Wardhaugh1986:10).

Seeing those wardhaugh's views, we realise that he converges with Fishman in the fourth and last point by showing that linguistic structure and social structure are independent. Therefore, our work is concerned with continuing the linguists views on language and society because the analysis of

speeches is done through Kirundi language and in the Burundian's society. People can reflect differently the influence of language (the performance of it) and behaviour on society. In uttering their speeches, they successfully perform their speech production when referring to their competence. Hence, language and society are closely related to each other.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Burundian People are accustomed to organizing ceremonies. To achieve an important goal, they deliver a specific speech in which they are going to express their feelings, needs or beliefs. Among speeches uttered on a particular opportunity, we can name speeches such as those related to wedding ceremonies, those of thanksgiving, those of initiating a wiseman, to name but a few.

The understanding of all those speeches needs the background knowledge of Kirundi culture because no one can decode their meaning unless he/she is accustomed to the figurative meaning contained in that culture. To know the figurative meaning of a language, one has to be familiar with that language as if it is his/her mother tongue.

Since the initiation ceremony of wisemen is full of many cultural meanings, it is then understandable that speeches uttered at that ceremony are well interpreted by only people who have Kirundi language as their mother tongue and others only give to those speeches the literal sense which becomes meaningless. Thus, those speeches are not to be uttered anyhow since they are not the simple thoughts of an individual. They have been transmitted from generation to generation and this since many years ago. Hence, people who have to utter them must follow certain rules related to their form and content.

Nevertheless, one can think that a non born Burundian may have difficulty in understanding or interpreting the content of those speeches. The reality of the message conveyed in these utterances can only be understood if one knows deeply the Burundian society.

Thus, the main task is to find out how the outcome of wisemen's speeches contributes to the construction of society where people live in other words, is the society of wisemen different from the society of ordinary men?

1.3. Purpose of the Study

The Burundian culture is just now needed to be discovered. Being among aspects of Kirundi culture, the initiation ceremony of wisemen is one of great guidance in the knowledge of that culture. In fact, the speeches uttered during this ceremony give on overview of social realities. Indeed a society becomes what people want it to be.

Thus, our purpose is to show clearly the role played by wisemen in their respective communities since their investiture seems to be neglected today. Moreover, our work aims at helping people especially the new generations to analyse how speeches are uttered and put into action with regard to the notion of discourse analysis.

This study also seeks to explore the way in which speeches are made and interpreted in the society. Hymes(1964:27) defines speech as" the totality of speaking activities within human social groups". Since those speeches are uttered by people who live in a certain society and who communicate with one another using a language, our work finds explanation here because talking about people implies talking about language and society.

1. 4. Research Questions

To carry out any study, there must be some questions that a researcher may ask himself /herself. Concerning our study, here are some:

1. Can people who are not accustomed to the Burundian culture understand the language of wisemen?
2. Is the role of the linguistic competence alone essential to decode the meaning of wisemen's speeches?
3. What is the role played by the language of wisemen in a society where they live?

1.5. Motivation for the Study

Burundian people are accustomed to ceremonies. We chose this topic to analyse speeches delivered during those ceremonies. A speech has some acts it plays on someone who produces it. This one must be careful of the cultural meaning that those speeches contain. So, we are more interested in finding out the culture and language used.

Since our study is related only to the Burundian culture, we are also motivated to see how our culture helps in constructing our society. This will perhaps help the younger generation to continue in the same way. Last, we have no sufficient researchers who had worked on a similar topic till today, this is the reason why we take it as of great importance when studying it.

1. 6. Scope and Delimitation of the Study

Our work operates in the area of discourse analysis, part of Linguistics. Discourse analysis aims at analysing larger units of speeches more than a simple sentence. As said above, speeches presuppose the language and that language becomes a social phenomenon among other phenomena reflecting people's life.

Our focus is also made on the distinction between discourse and linguistic perspective of the language. Sometimes these two items cooperate since they both treat the language as a system of human communication; elsewhere, they can be separated because the linguistic perspective deals mainly with written forms (texts) and the discourse perspective can analyse spoken forms (oral speeches).The former is referred to as TEXT LINGUISTICS and the latter to as CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE.

Discourse analysis is then a branch of Linguistics. We are going to limit ourselves to linguistics and to the wisemen's community. As far as the linguistic aspect is concerned, we will focus on semantic sense in relation to cultural one, the contextual meaning, its effect on the society's life will also be another point of our concern.

As we can not find wisemen in all the categories of communities, we have limited ourselves to one commune in which we got a great chance of having informants.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2. 0. Introduction

Many works are written in the linguistic domain. Generally, they either treat speeches in their whole understanding or speeches uttered at particular ceremonies. Those works are organised according to the way in which people live.

Our work is then concerned with Discourse Analysis, the sub-discipline of linguistics which deals with the relation between the speaker to the process of phrasal production(enunciation) or between the discourse to the social group to which it intends to belong to(Sociolinguistics).As the analysis of discourse upsets here a new item "Sociolinguistics" ,whatever will be talked about in this work is conducted in a given society since sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society.

Simply speaking, discourse analysis is a term which is not easy to make a study on. For this reason, in the first lines of this chapter; we are going to refer ourselves to other researchers' definitions. Besides this, the relationship between Discourse Analysis and other fields such as Pragmatics, Semantics and Sociolinguistics will be well shown.

Considering the different views of different researchers on discourse analysis, one can not keep silent without making a comment on it. This will be also our concern in this chapter.

2. 1. An attempt to Discourse aAnalysis

Even if discourse analysis is not easy to define as aforementioned; many researchers have made an attempt on it. This will be a key to our work. According to Jean Dubois et al (1973:32) "on appelle analyse du discours la partie de la linguistique qui détermine les règles commandant la production des suite de phrases structurées. »Tr. "Discourse analysis is the branch of linguistics which determines rules that guide the production of structured coherent phrases ».This Dubois's definition contributes to our analysis of speeches in that we can not talk a well formed speech without having good coherent phrases.

Mario Pei (1966:47) supports Dubois by saying that discourse analysis is the structural analysis of texts larger than one sentence .So a set of sentences coherently constructed together with a common purpose brings up at the best form of speeches. To understand those speeches ,not only the grammatical rules prevail a lot, but also the cultural highlights,reason why the contextual meaning of speeches is also of high importance.

2.2. What is Discourse Analysis?

To know what Discourse Analysis is, one has to know before what is 'discourse'. Discourse enters in the linguistic domain .As a matter of fact; linguists define it as being the language in use that is language which has been produced as the result of an act of communication. At this level, discourse is different from a simple grammar of sentences because, it "refers to larger units of a language such as paragraphs, conversations and interviews" (Richards et al 1985:83-84).Thus our study is concerned with the second unit of language that is 'conversation' because, as a

conversation requires at least the presence of two people, also do speeches (addresser, addressor).

To what extent is then Discourse Analysis defined?

"The analysis of discourse is necessarily the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which those forms are designated to serve in human affairs"(Brown and Yule 1981:1).Brown and Yule come to the general definition of discourse: language in use. In fact, discourse analysis is concerned with what people using a language are doing and accounting for the linguistic features in the discourse as the means employed in what they are doing. These linguistic features include the study of sound production such as phonetics and phonology. Besides doing discourse of speeches involves doing their semantic and syntactic (knowledge of the sentence) analysis.

Talking here about phonetics, phonology and syntax, one can not ignore that they are fields of linguistics; and linguistics, according to LONGMAN DICTIONARY OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS is the study of language as a system of human communication. Then, the linguistic concern contributes mores to the best form of speeches of wisemen.

Hymes (1964:67) clarifies this linguistic concern also when he says:

> "what we need more accurately determined
> by the linguistic categories for the principal
> types of sentences and of usage we employ
> in our various social roles."

According to him, linguistics becomes the first need for everyone who begins his new life (for example an initiated talking child) whereas the societal need follows just the linguistic one, and this is viewed when Hymes continues his idea:

> "throughout the period of growth, we are
> progressively incorporated into our social
> Organization, and the chief condition and means
> of that incorporated is learning to say what the other
> fellows expect us to say under the given circumstances".

In short, speeches must be well linguistically constructed before being sociologically uttered.

Although linguists and discourses analysts both put much attention on the study of language, they don't share the same point of view: while some linguists may concentrate on determining the formal properties of a language, the discourse analyst is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for i.e. language usage. Gumperz and Hymes (1972:VI) in their preface pages define language usage as "what is said on a particular occasion, how it is phrased and how it is coordinated with non-verbal signs". This definition is adequate to our study in that studying speeches involves studying their language. As it is already known, speeches are uttered at a particular occasion. Then, they must follow a grammatical rule (their phrasal form), they contain also many non-verbal signs (for example when a candidate wiseman hits his stick on the ground to show his agreement to the commitment of WISEMAN, we judge this act as a non-verbal sign).The understanding of those speeches also requires some pragmatic rules, hence their context and cultural knowledge are also of a paramount importance. (This pragmatic efficiency will be treated later in this part).

Besides the linguists'concern which is that of determining its formal properties, 'their interests have also extended to language as a social behaviour' (John T.Platt and Heidi K.Platt:1971:1).If we try to relate this linguists'interests to the view of Brown and Yule on discourse analysis (it serves in human

affairs),we found out that they came together on a social idea(one cannot ignore issues of the society when treated some human affairs).So, we conclude that there is much connection between discourse analysis and sociolinguistics.

In defining sociolinguistics, Richard et al have make a distinction between micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics as being respectively the detailed study of interpersonal communication such as speech acts, speech events, sequencing of utterances and being part of the sociology of language such as BILINGUAL, MULTILINGUAL, COMMUNITIES, LANGUAGE PLANING ,LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, etc.

Considering the aim of our topic, we are going to limit ourselves to micro-sociolinguistics because it treats something related to communication and people communicate through speeches and utterances. Joshua A Fishman in his introductory pages (1972:iv) sustains in that:

> "Sociolinguistics may be confirmed to
> micro-sociolinguistics though some references
> to larger social phenomena are unavoidable.
> Sociolinguistics in this context will include
> studies of the components of face-to-face interaction
> as they bear on or are affected by the formal
> structure of speech"

Those components of face-to-face interaction according to Fishman are: The personnel, the situation, the function of the interaction, the topic and the message.

a. The Personnel

Whenever people meet together, they need to communicate. This is also the view of David. K. Berlo (1960:133) when he said:

> "Man is not a self-sufficient animal. He must
> communicate with others to affect in ways that
> fit his purposes".

In any act of communication, there must be more than two persons: a "sender" and one or more "receivers" called together "interlocutors". Analysing the personnel that we have in the initiation ceremony, we have as a sender the elder wiseman and as a receiver the candidate wiseman. The supervisor is among the audience because this one is not the primary addressee of the message.

b. The situation

For A. fishman, "a situation like a status is a cultural unit, so that ethno logical study is necessary to determine classes of situation". In a given society, a wisemen community is to be taken as a situation as a class is for a given university. The criteria for this situation to exist are the presence of people which constitute the personnel as seen in the above part.

c. The Function of the interaction

To identify the function of the interaction implies identifying the function of speech. Whenever people interact, they do it through speeches. Firth(1964:56) points out the functions of speech:

1. Phatic communion

People who take communion together are living a total solidarity. If they are determined to achieve a certain goal by uttering speeches in a given circumstances, they must be guided by this kind of solidarity. In fact, a candidate wiseman accepts to have solidarity with the already initiated men:

S "Muncire umugani ndawumve, tunywane, dufatane mu nda"

Tr: " Tell me a story, and I understand it, May we befriend one another, and love one another.

Moreover, he is asked to sacrifice himself for people living in bad situation such as widows , orphans , poor people and others who are in need:

S: "Uze urwanire intano, abapfakazi, ukiranire abakene.

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

It is good then seeing every one living peacefully, thanks to the role played by wisemen, and consequently the whole community or society is sharing the way of living.

2. Pragmatic efficiency

Before knowing how this pragmatic efficiency is a function of speech, one has to know what is pragmatics. According to Longman Dictionary cited above,

> "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".

Its efficiency then relies in accompanying those uttered sentences or speeches with work , in the particular context or situation i.e what someone

utters equals that he is doing it: "To utter is to perform an activity, it is an activity, it is a constituent of an event".(Downes1998:276)

Then, this pragmatic efficiency is seen as the real outcome of what had been said or the real use of gestures or paralinguistic features at the moment of speech.

3. Speech as a commitment

In uttering a given speech, someone commits himself to achieve something: The candidate wiseman who before was seen as a simple man is now promised to reach the high title (the quality) of wisemen by the simple utterance of the senior wiseman.

S" Urabaye umugabo wa sebagabo
Urabaye umushingantahe mubandi
Tr "You become a great leader
You become a wisemen among others"

So, he is committed to this quality of wisemen. This kind of promise must satisfy at the same time the sender (or the speaker), the receiver and the audience,otherwise, this speech is qualified as being the failed act.

All those speech functions play the role of social values in any act (or event) and this is their great importance.

d. Speech Acts, topic and Message

Speech acts in English include greetings, invitation, requests etc. The first thing a wiseman must do when people are gathered together during the day of initiation is to great them:

S " Bashingantahe
Bapfasoni
Namwe mwese mukoraniye ngaha
Ni tugire amahoro".
Tr: "Honourable Assembly of wisemen, Ladies,
And all of you gathered here peace be with us"

The candidate wisemen or his supervisor may also invite people to help him in thanking the elder wisemen:

S:" Incuti n'abaryango bari ngaha bankuze ubwatsi
Tr:" In front of family and relatives so that they
may join me in thanking you"

To request is to ask people to do something for you.This speech act is very necessary for the candidate wiseman when asking for being invested. We find it in the following extract:

S:" Muntere rero rya teka,
Sintetegwe"
Tr:" Please, grant me the honour
So that I may not be humiliated"

Before he receives the initiation, the candidate wiseman humbles himself by thinking that he is dishonoured. That is why he asks of being granted the honour in order to escape the act of being humiliated in front of the public assembly. This honour he is asking for is to see himself attaining the title of wisemen he has already awaited for.

Undoubtedly, the speech uttered during the day of initiation contains a specific message which is more informational. All the people gathered there go back home knowing that there is a person who has became a wisemen. This

speech is said to have a topic. The message is what people go back with after the ceremony of initiation.

2. 3. Relationship between discourse analysis and other Fields

2.3.1. Discourse analysis and Semantics

Those two fields are parts of linguistics .Although they are both concerned with the study of language, they are also somehow different: while semantics can study the meaning of an isolated word, discourse analysis deals with the language in use i.e. the language above or beyond one sentence, language as meaning in interaction and language in situational and cultural context. From this differentiation between discourse analysis and semantics, we realise that they are not exclusively different: the semantic meaning contributes to the understanding of larger meaningful units such as paragraphs, conversations, etc... that constitute discourse analysis.

The contribution of semantics to the understanding of discourse analysis is not only concerned with the meaning of different words of a sentence, but it requires having a general sense of the components of the language. Here, semantics can be defined in a detailed way:

The Glossary of Linguistic Terminology of Mario Pei(1966:324) defines semantics as the study of meaning in language, including the relations between language, thoughts and behaviour.One can ask himself/herself if SENSE and MEANING have the same signification. What we know till now is that sense is related to something which is general whereas the meaning of something

describes the specificity or the particularity of that thing. So discourse analysis and semantics are related and their relationship is based on the '**meaning**'.

In sum, the shared relation of semantics and discourse analysis (which is meaning) can be applied to a word, a sentence or a speech.Whereas semantics shows us the direct meaning of those different items, discourse analysis includes the social and/or the cultural meaning. The former is related to linguistic competence but the latter deals with linguistic performance. We are going to tackle this new items in the last part of this chapter.

2. 3. 2. Discourse analysis and Pragmatics

Discourse analysis and pragmatics are viewed as twin fields of linguistics. In fact, they are both concerned with the contextual study of a language. Pragmatics limits itself simply to the contextual meaning of the language i.e. language use; but discourse analysis besides this context adds the role of the social meaning because all discourses (speeches) are directed to people who make the society.

Levinson (1983:9) clears this relation of language use and Pragmatics. He states that the term pragmatics covers both context dependent aspects of language structure and principles of language usage and understanding that have nothing to do with linguistic structure. This language usage stated by Levinson is defined by John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, 1972) in their preface pages as what is said on a particular occasion, how it is phrased and how it is coordinated with non-verbal signs. All these linguists were focussing on the importance of the structure of language and this includes the grammatical necessity (how what is said is phrased).

Broadly speaking, discourse analysis may be defined as the study of language viewed communicatively and/or viewed linguistically. This definition clears that discourse analysis and pragmatics cannot be separated each other. In fact people communicate when they talk to one another that is to say when they make their conversation. Pragmatics is then defined by Richard et al as the study of language in communication particularly the relationship between sentences and the contexts and situation in which they are used. Thus, discourse analysis and pragmatics are both concerned with acts of communication such as speech acts, conversational maxims,... which will be dealt in the fifth chapter of this work.

2.3.3. Discourse analysis and Sociolinguistics

Brown and Yule had discussed the distinction between sociolinguistics and discourse analysis seeing the work of linguists, philosophers and psycholinguists on one hand, and that of sociolinguists and sociologists on the other hand. They said:

> "Whereas linguists, philosophers of
> language and psycholinguists have
> in general paid particular attention to
> the use of language for the transmission of
> factual or propositional information,
> sociologists and sociolinguists have been particularly
> concerned with the use of language to establish and
> maintain social relationships(Brown and Yule 1983:2).

From this distinction made by Brown and Yule, the common of these two groups of people is how the language is used but what differs is only the result of that language. The linguists have been more interested in the transmission of the message or information and this is done through a particular

circumstance such as a discourse. This can be defined as a language which has been produced as the result of an act of communication. It refers to larger units of language such as paragraphs, conversations and interviews hence it is called Discourse Analysis (Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics).Through this definition, we find that we are concerned with more than one sentence; with communicating than writing hence the analysis of speeches-the main task of our topic- is closely related to this discourse.

The sociolinguistic analysis is then related to discourse analysis of those speeches in that it helps to see how their language (the spoken form) extends and helps in constructing a welfare society. By extension of language, we mean that what is uttered during the day of ceremony can not take an end at this same day. Its future application shows us either the success or the failure of the already initiated men; considering their respective behaviour.

2. 4 . Linguistic competence VS Linguistic Performance

Rudolf P.Botha(1989:91) distinguishes between competence and Performance. He says:

> "Whereas competence represents knowledge of
> language, performance is the use of knowledge of
> language or actual use of language in concrete situations".

The clarity from this distinction is that the speaker and/or the hearer who is going to limit himself/herself to competence are concerned only with some rules of the language. There is a lack of a consequent action of what has been uttered. But, the performance taken as people's behaviour i.e the outcome of the use of the language is to be applied to the study of our work (The analysis of speeches).

In reality, to utter a speech equals to perform it. So, speeches uttered by wisemen during their initiation predict their behaviours in their respective societies. As Chomsky (1965:3, 1980:225) cited in Botha noted the factors that contribute to performance; then, those wisemen have to be guided by those factors. They are: The speaker hearer's memory structure, his mode of organising experience, his perceptual mechanisms,...

According to those factors, the linguistic performance and linguistic competence are interrelated. One can not perform something for which he ignores the rules. Therefore, a future wisemen must have well internalised rules guiding the speeches of wisemen. This will help him not to be afraid when pronouncing those speeches and know what will be his commitment.

2.5. Defining some basic concepts of the initiation ceremony

2. 5.1. Intahe "A Stick" (a powerful stick)

It is a kind of tree, a small but powerful tree, like the one used by an old man while walking: As the old man (or woman) feels to be supported with his/her stick so that he/she cannot fall down, also does a wiseman with his '**intahe**' when dealing with any social problem. Those two sticks give power, the ability to stand on what one is doing. Then, that tree is not a simple tree as one could think; it comes from a Burundian cultural tree (UMUGUMYA or UMURINZI) which has no equivalence in English. This kind of tree is used during the initiation ceremony only or when judges are settling cases. It gives to its users a total power (for example it gives to wisemen a social power to settle conflicts among people), that is why a person who gets it feels that he receives a high title of WISEMAN.

Although this Kirundi word "Intahe" (stick) misses its English equivalence, it is meaningful because some Burundian writers had given it more than one meaning. In "IBANGA RY'ABASHINGANTAHE MU BURUNDI" of A Adrien NTABONA(cited in Philippe NTAHOMBAYE), we have two meanings: first of all, it is said: "Iyo nkoni rero bayita "Intahe" kuko ari yo ituma ibintu bitaha aho bibwirizwa gutaha hakurikijwe ubutungane". Trying to give the sense to this sentence, we can say: "This tree is called "intahe"(from the Kirundi verb:"Gutaha": To go back home) because it is upon to it that things take their respective ways (or home) according to justice". Here, we have the sense of justice. If someone is studying a judgement or is resolving a conflict or a problem, he must do it according to the law because of the stick (Intahe) he had received. Also, it is said that : "Bayikubita hasi kugira ngo bibuke ko aho turi hari abandi baturaze imigenzo myiza n'ibanga dukeneye gukomeza ". And the meaning is:

"They beat it on earth for remembering that we are living an area lived by others who had given us good customs and secret that we have to perpetuate". When doing this action, it is just to make a sign or a recall to our ancestors who had been buried under the earth, confirming them that we are following their legacy as they have left it.

Second, it is given to this symbolical tree (Intahe) the following sense: "Intahe ni ingingo ishinzwe n'abashingantahe, ni ukuri bemeje, haba mu vyoroshe, eka haba aho ariho hose, mu ngiro canke mu ngendo, bigaca bivyara n'ubugororotsi bw'umutima ku muntu yayemeye" (NTABONA, op, cit).

Tr: "This stick is a wisemen's common saying, it is their truth either in little things or else where in doings or in facts and this gives the purity of heart for anyone who had accepted to be invested of this power".

Wisemen can sit together and share ideas. They have to tell only the truth. What comes out of their ideas as a conclusion should be respected by every one

and this makes that a person who has become a wiseman feels proud and is in a good heart.

2. 5. 2. Umushîngantăhe "A Wise man".

According to the Dictionnaire Rundi-Français of F.M RODEGEM, Umushingantăhe (Wise man) is defined in at least Six words: "Magistrat, notable, conseiller, arbitre, assesseur, juge" Which are respectively translated into English as "magistrate, eminent or distinguished person, adviser, adjudicator, assessor and judge". Analysing all these six qualities attributed to wise man, the second "eminent or distinguished person" is the most related to our study.

In fact, in the Burundian's mentality, a wise man is a person of high class, who occupies the best place, who always tells the truth, a person who is different from others. In one word, he is eminent in whatever he does.

Furthermore, this word "Umushingantahe" is made up of other two distinct words: Gushinga (to implant) and intahe (a stick).Indeed, what had been implanted, can not fall down without giving the fruit from its seeds. Similarly, what had been uttered by a society of wise man must consequently be put into action. A wise man then is a considerable person, an important man in his own society or else where because he is believed by anyone.

2. 5. 3. Kwatira: To initiate or to invest

This term "Kwatira" had been existed from the former time in the Burundian's society. It is a process made by people mainly the elder ones because according to NZEYIMANA Frédéric in "Ijambo ry'inararibonye ou la parole vue ","l' on investissait pas un enfant ' –'People do never invest a child '.

The initiation or investiture is done to the man who is twenty five years old or more and he must have the quality of a good judge. This is also the conception of Frédéric when he says: " Umushingantahe ni umugabo yahawe intahe yo guca Imanza. Aba ari umugabo akuze, afise imyaka mirongo ibiri n'itanu n'irenga.
Tr: A wiseman is a man who had received the ability of settling conflicts (a judge). He is an old man who has at least twenty five years old.

At this maturity condition, Philippe NTAHOMBAYE et al. in 'IBANGA RY'ABASHINGANTAHE MU BURUNDI' adds that "Umushingantahe ni umuntu w'intungane adashobora kubesha canke atemera ko ibintu bimwononekarana ari ho ari, vyaba rwiwe, vyaba ivy'abandi canke ivy'igihugu".
Tr.A wiseman is a pure person who cannot lie or who cannot accept to see things done in a bad way, either they are his own, those which belong to other people or to the country.

It is then invested a mature person who responds to those qualities,who cares of his things, those of his neighbours and those of the country.He always awares of the welfare of the society.

Traditionally, Kwatira is a concept which is very important in the Burundian culture. It consists of initiating men considered as having a certain authority in their everyday life, the ability of rendering justice and helping people in conflict resolution.

This authority and ability are conferred by an elder man chosen in a family because it is said that "Umuryango niwo wabatira "and" Umugabo niwe agira uwundi "translated respectively as: "it is the family which gives the

initiation" and "it is a wisemen who initiates other men ". At this level, the man who receives the initiation must change his behaviour and behaves himself as the already initiated men.

Last, the new wisemen is obliged to give a lot of pots of beer to all the public assembly present at the ceremony of "kwatira". It is a social requirement because according to Burundian customs, whenever people meet for a recognizable purpose such as a ceremony, they share something together and deliver speeches after. So, the candidate wisemen has to prepare himself in advance for having all the wisemen exigencies in order to satisfy them. Being satisfied, they invest him.

2. 6. Historical background of the ceremony

Burundian's society had existed thanks to the role of wisemen. Their institution began from the reign of the first Burundian's king (NTARE RUSHATSI) as it said in" the Bashingantahe institution in Burundi" of Phillipe NTAHOMBAYE, Et.al: " the Bashingantahe institution is as old as the Burundian monarchy" (op.cit. 1999,23). Then, the wisemen's institution was observed since the monarchy period. During that period, people who were given the role of wisemen were chosen among the Bahutu and the Batutsi the two main components of the population. The role of those chosen men was mainly to become witnesses, to keep secret and to counsel as respectively depicted by different tales of Samandari who accused the King of eating his vegetable; the woman who has been unable of keeping secret by telling that the king is bearing corners on his head; and the tale related to the fact that one day the king killed all old men but the rescaped one had advised him how he could put off the animal's cloth which make them feel awkward.

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During the colonial period, the king destituted the power already given to those two components. This power was handled to people of "Ganwa" or princely origin for the simple fact that they were so intelligent. Thus, the monarchical required condition and qualities had been replaced by the simple quality of being intelligent. Moreover, the coming of missionaries had also reduced the power of wisemen. For example, wisemen were not allowed to tackle matters of Christian families but only missionaries can settle them hence they have somehow replaced wisemen.

Long after, Burundi got the independence in 1962.Under the first Republic, there was an official claim that the traditional values must be safe guarded and among them the values of investing wisemen through ceremonies. It is also said that during that period the material wealth was a condition to lead to the title of wisemen.

Under the second Republic, the practices of wisemen's investiture was abandoned hence, the Burundian society began to live a bad situation of crises.

Fortunately, things have been falling apart. In 1991, it had been conducted a multidisciplinary study on the rehabilitation of the Bashingantahe institution by a team of scholars of the university of Burundi (Philippe NTAHOMBAYE, op. cit:1999: 1) They came up with the idea that there is a great necessity of rehabilitating the institution of wisemen as it had always been the case.

In 2002, the representatives of wisemen in the whole country had gathered together in order to review the laws that regulated the institution of wisemen. They have arrived to a book entitled "INGINGO NGENDERWAKO Z'URWEGO RW'ABASHINGANTAHE" "Rules that guide wisemen's institution", Which contains in total 75articles that summarize the old form

(oral speeches used during the initiation ceremony) of qualities, conditions and ways related to the investiture of wisemen. Today, whatever is done during the ceremony of investiture is done thanks to what is written in that book.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

3. 0. Introduction

Any scientific research has to follow an adequate methodology in order to be successfully carried out. There are a number of steps that guide the research along its whole process. Among them, we have focussed on the data collection procedures, the sampling techniques and the data analysis procedures. Furthermore, informants and some specific means of collecting data have been the key to our research. Finally, during the analysis of the collected data, we have bumped into difficulties of translation because we are dealing with speeches of Kirundi language. This language is not easy to translate since it is based on some cultural concepts which seem to be nonsense in English language. Besides this, all our informants do not know English language; this is the reason why we were obliged to make a translation of all their responses.

3.1. Reasearch area

In delimitating the area of our work, we based on Rutana Province located in the South East part of the country. As we cannot cover the whole province, we chose one commune, Rutana commune in which we decided to select three hills among thirty nine which make up that commune by using the random sampling. We wrote names of all those hills on similar pieces of paper, fold them, put them in a basket and we asked another person to pick up three papers for us. She read what was written on them and we heard names of hills such as BIRONGOZI, KARINDO and MIKURIRA.Those three hills constituted the group basis.

3. 2. Research population

We talk of speeches when there are people who utter them. Moreover, each Burundian area is lived by people, either children, women or men. So, we would have wished to use all the categories of people but, as we were unable to cover all of them because of, first the time limitation and, second, the lack of financial means; we have limited ourselves to one commune and to adult people only. As far as our work is concerned,we are not interested in children but in adults because, as it is already said, the initiation ceremony is performed to adults, not to children (25 years old and more).

Have we been able to meet all the old people living in that commune at the moment of our research? Undoubtedly not .We have taken three hills of one up country commune in which we have gained the opportunity of attending to the ceremony itself. Arriving at those hills, we selected some people to whom we gave our questionnaire and those people are called our informants. The criteria for selection will be described under the section on sampling techniques.

3.2. Sampling techniques

The main adequate source of information was the ceremony itself. Unfortunately, as the ceremony of the initiation of wisemen is organised rarely, we waited long enough till the ceremony takes place. So, we were welcomed by Wisemen and we recorded and analysed their speeches for the purpose of our inquiry.

In addition, informants have been our good guiders when making our research .To choose them, we have based ourselves on some criteria such as those related to age, sex, the way of living. As it is said in the previous chapters

that a child can not be initiated, age is then so important to achieve the wisemen's title. It is in this light that HATUNGIMANA (2007: 30) says:

> "The older you are, the wiser you are;
> the wiser you are the more people consider you
> as a good speaker".

The wiseman then must be someone who is mature enough (25 years old and more) because people will take note of whatever he will tell them.

In former time, it was said that the initiation was only given to men. But things have changed. Today, Women including widows are invested as it is done for men. We have gotten this information concerning the initiation of women thanks to respective responses of our informants to the question: Abagore boba batirwa ngaha iwanyu? "Are the women being initiated in your region?" And "Ku bapfakazi hoho bigenda gute?"."How about widows?" All of them had revealed to us that women and widows are both given the title of wisemen. They said:'Iyo umugabo yatiwe n'umugore aba yatiwe kuko hatirwa urugo: 'If a husband is invested, his wife is also invested because they invest a couple not an individual'. They added: "N'umupfakazi arahabwa iryo banga ry'ukwatirwa iyo yavyisabiye hanyuma bakabona ko afise imigenzo myiza" "Also a widow is given this title of wisemen when she had asked for it and if they judge her as having good behaviour". Then, sex is not a criterion to initiation. Any person who has old age which is required can be considered as an important person in a society where he/she lives.

The way of living is not today a handicap for people to get the initiation. It is always said that the one who wants to be invested must prepare a good number of jugs of beer. In reality, on the day of ceremony, there must be some drinks; to have them in great quantity or not depends on the means of the candidate. No one can be refused to get the initiation for the simple reason that

he/she does not have a great number of jugs of beer. As it is generally said "Umuntu atanga ico afise". "You give what you can have". So, either you are rich or poor; you have right to the initiation.

Any initiated person would have been our informants but he/she would not because of reasons mentioned above.

To have a total population, we have asked the representative of wisemen on those three hills to give me a complete list of them. That list has responded to 48 wisemen who represent the population of those three hills. We have selected randomly (we have proceeded as above) 20 wisemen among those 48 and they have been our informants. We gave them the questionnaire and they were pleased to answer them because that questionnaire was related to their everyday life. What had been the used instruments which had helped us to arrive to good results? We are going to analyse this in the following section.

3. 4. Instruments

Two techniques are more specific for the fulfilment of our research: the questionnaire and the recording. Indeed, we had no other means of knowing speeches of wisemen unless we record them using cassettes.

First, the recording technique is on the one hand useful because, as we are dealing with speeches of a given circumstance, to record them has helped us to keep them and to use them in case of necessity. Thus, at any wanted time, one can analyse those speeches, and, if the recording had been well taken, each step is heard as it was during the ceremony itself. Then for our case, we have been facilitated to tape back the recorder and to listen to it for the purpose of transcribing the wisemen's speeches.

Second, the use of the questionnaire had helped us to collect data that had been used in the data Analysis.We gave a number of ten questions(all of them are related to our research intention), some of them are open questions whereas others are closed. To these latter questions, the answer was either "yes" or "no". The whole questionnaire is written in Kirundi Language because all our informants are only accustomed to speaking that Language. In fact, to give them the questionnaire and analysing their different responses had provided us with an overview of their different ideas about their social life. This had depicted the beliefs of the whole society hence the recording and the questionnaire had been our best instruments for collecting data and speeches of wisemen.

3. 4. Data Analysis Procedures

It has been stated earlier in this work that any scientific study has to follow certain rules. Among them, the researcher has to care about the adequate analysis of collected data. Webster's Ninth New collegiate Dictionary (1984:84) defines analysis as an examination of a complex, its elements and their relation. In fact, we have collected speeches of wisemen and we have distributed the questionnaire to our informants who, on their turn, have responded us to the given questionnaire.

Then, this work has been guided by the idea that language and society are interrelated when dealing with delivered speeches hence, our study has been analysed following discourse framework. Indeed, the structure of our society is influenced by language behaviour of people living in it. It is for this reason that we have analysed answers provided by our informants who are qualified as respective representative of the society. This analysis has been concerned with the manner in which people utter their speeches and how they are interpreted by

the listeners. This interpretation depicts the way in which the society lives hence our study has been objective.

To sum up, this procedure has followed certain steps that are required to collect, analyse and interpret data. Those steps had aimed at discovering ways in which language of wisemen (the outcome of wisemen's speeches) influence the way of living of the society (i.e. the social behaviour).

CHAPTER IV: DESCRIPTION OF THE INITIATION CEREMONY

4. 0. Introduction

This chapter includes different elements such as the structure of the ceremony, some speeches related to the image as being depicted by our topic, the language used and also the symbolic tools. Indeed, it can be difficult for listeners to understand directly what is said because this can not reveal the exact meaning to listeners due to the fact of cultural understanding. So, this is the main concern of this chapter; i. e this chapter seeks to develop those main elements.

4. 1. Structural characteristics of the ceremony

The ceremony of initiation of wisemen is made up of at least four speeches. First and foremost comes the speech of the elder Wiseman who tries to present the programme of the day to the whole assembly. Second, he gives the turn to the supervisor whose speech is to try to describe the candidate's behaviour; in which he convinces people surrounding him that his child (the candidate) is a man full of good qualities. But, the whole assembly can agree or disagree with him. If they disagree, the initiation can not take place. Third, the candidate wiseman is allowed to take the floor. His speech is similar to a kind of swearing in front of the elder wiseman, his supervisor and people gathered there that he is always going to live up to the laws of wisemen : He says:

S: "Jewe Hantoni, ndabifashijwemwo n'urugo
rwanje rwose n'abandi bashingantahe,
sinzohemuka kw'ibanga ry'abashingantahe"
Tr: "I Antony, with support of my entire family
and other wisemen,I will never transgress
the secret of wisemen.

In this swearing in, this pronoun "I" "jewe" together with this name show that the candidate is making a sort of engagement. He engages himself in the life of other wisemen, hence after his swearing in he is conferred the title of wisemen among others.

Last, the supervisor delivers a speech which is not similar to the first one. This second speech is a speech of acknowledgement. After the proclamation of the title of wisemen to the candidate, this one shares the prepared drinks with the elders and the other already initiated men. At this occasion, the supervisor gives a speech of acknowledgement. In his speech, he acknowledges the older wisemen who have accepted to come to invest the new wisemen despite their other sacred duties. He acknowledges also the other present people who come to support them.

A part from those four speeches let us note that there must be another person who either introduces or comments the following speech. We can call him a moderator because his role is to indicate the person who is going to take the floor. He comes in at any wanted time, i.e. at the beginning, in the middle and also it is him who gives the conluding speech.

All those speeches except the candidate Wiseman's comprises at least three parts: The opening in which the speaker greets the audience and the closing which is somehow to wish peace for everyone who is present there. Between the opening and closing, the speaker must tell the purpose of his speech.

4. 1. 1. The ceremony itself

As said above, the ceremony of investing wisemen existed a long time ago. There are people who always think of keeping the values of the society. It is in this perspective that people especially wisemen sometimes gather together and say that anyone must keep the harmony in a society where he/she lives. Hence, the ceremony of investing wisemen became meaningful. To achieve this sacred goal, anyone must feel that he can be as a good example in his/her society. So, he introduces himself to other already initiated men who on their turn take a time of observing him carefully. After finding him as a good and respectful man, they give him the opportunity of being invested. So, he organises a party.

During the day of ceremony, the older wiseman begins asking to the candidate wiseman a number of questions in order to be convinced that really he is a man of good will. To those questions, the candidate wiseman must reply either: "Yes", I accept it" or "No, I deny it". This leads the elder Wisemen and the whole audience to be convinced that this new Wiseman will be a person who is helpful in the society where they live.

After this series of questions, the chief of the ceremony proceeds to the investiture in which he tries to repeat for the assembly what the candidate had already asked for. The importance of this repetition is to show to anyone present there that it is according to the candidate's will that he is invested. No one can oblige him to be initiated.

At this level, the older wiseman delivers the speech, he uses the plural pronoun "we" which means that it is not only one person who invests but a number of people: "Twebwe abashingantahe turakwatiye izuba riva ..." "We

wisemen invest you in broad daylight". Thus, people who have already been initiated and those who haven't yet contribute to the right of being invested because according to the point of view of our informants, even the surrounding people invest.

In fact, when they judge the future Wiseman as having some bad characters in their society, this one cannot be promised of achieving his goal. Then, the contribution of ordinary men is to be taken into account.

While uttering his speech, the elder wisemen reminds the candidate that he is going to achieve an important goal, that he will always be at the service of the society, that sometimes he will forget about his own duties and deal with his neighbours' problems either it is during the day or during the night. So, he gives him a stick, sign of reaching the wisdom of wisemen. People gathered there clap their hands,a sign that they congratulate the newly invested wiseman. At this moment, he drinks with other wisemen in the same pot,a sign that he has reached the same rank as they have. All the people present there then take their respective seats and all of them begin to drink whatever has been prepared for the occasion of that ceremony. While drinking, the supervisor can take the floor and gives the speech of acknowledgement. The party ends by singing and dancing, a sign of happiness.

4. 1. 2. Participants in the ceremony

The Burundian society is a society which organises ceremonies. Each ceremony has its own participants. This ceremony includes the elder wiseman called IGICOCORO (senior wiseman), the candidate wiseman, the supervisor and the audience i.e. the population. Each participant has a specific role he plays at the moment of the ceremony.

Although all guests have been informed about the objective of that meeting, the elder wiseman stands up, greets them and recalls them about the main aim of that special day. He asks them if the candidate fits to be invested. When they accept, he proceeds immediately to the speech of investiture.
That speech, apart of giving the title of wiseman to the candidate, it informs him about how he must be careful in his future life.

The candidate wiseman utters in front of that whole population what he will accomplish from that day. His speech is not a simple one but it is a kind of oath. He pronounces it on behalf of his wife and their children. The supervisor's role is to have prepared very well the candidate. Also, he has been given all necessary advice in order to have qualities of wisemen and this is also the work of the supervisor. When this supervisor finds that "his son" deserves the initiation, he goes towards the elder wiseman to ask for him a permission. So, they fix the day of ceremony. During that day, the supervisor describes the candidate in order to reveal to anyone that he is a man of good behaviour.

Last, the role of the population is to judge if really what the supervisor has said about the candidate is true. If there is at least one person (but not a jealous person) who accuses the candidate of having a bad behaviour, he can not be initiated. Also, at the end of each speech, people have to applaud.

4. 1. 3. Purpose of the ceremony

Any Burundian speech must contain a purpose, otherwise, it lacks its quality. Thus, the speeches related to the initiation of wisemen are mainly objective. However, the great aim is not observed in all speeches but in the candidate's speech and that of the chief of ceremony (elder wiseman). In fact, the speech of the candidate shows that he has a strong desire of having the title

of wisemen. Whatever he says is a kind of oath and when a person dares to ask something by swearing, we analyse that it is not a joke but a serious thing: "Iryo banga ndaryemeye. Ninarimena riramena agahanga". "I accept the duty.
If I fail to abide by it, let it smash my skull". In reality, the duty that he accepts to accomplish is so important that, instead of breaking it better to see him dying (let it smash my skull).

Concerning the speech of the elder wiseman, it reassures the new invested person that he is no more an ordinary man but a special person. S: "Ubu ntukiri umwana, urabaye umugabo wa Sebagabo".
Tr: "You are no longer a child, but you become a super superman".
By this utterance, the new wiseman feels that he is a GREAT MAN because he comes from receiving the power of other WISEMEN. So, he becomes powerful at the same level as other wisemen.

The role of those two speeches then is of great importance during the ceremony of investing wisemen. They help the apprentice (the candidate) to change his social status: he comes from ordinary men's (ABAKUNGU) status and reaches the status of wisemen (ABASHINGANTAHE), where they will share the sweetness and the bitterness. This is thus the main aim of the ceremony of initiation of wisemen.

4. 1. 4. Rituals done during the ceremony

In the Burundian society, the presence of a given ceremony or social event requires to follow certain rituals. Those rituals are different depending on the kind of ceremony. The ceremony of the initiation of wisemen comprises some rituals which we are going to put a comment on in this part.

First, there must be some beer, especially sorghum beer which is shared at that special day. For a long time, the candidate Wiseman is asked to go to prepare some pots of beer which will contribute also to the achievement of the initiation.Consequently, he has to obey it. In the old form of speeches of investing wisemen, the candidate said:

"None rya sango mwampa ni iri
Urwarwa mwantumye ng'uru
Nimurushikire rero..."
Tr: "Now the appointment you gave me is this
The banana wine you ask for is this
May you then have it..."

This speech is equivalent to the last verse of the 30th article that we find in the new form of investing wisemen: "ivyo birori biheze baca bazimana abaje murubanza ". "After ceremonies, they give what to drink to people who come to participate to this investiture. Ideally, it is a common practice to share drinks just after ceremonies. This is a social fact because whenever people organise ceremonies, they do not put drinks apart. As it is already said "Ubunyegeri buyagira kw'igufa", which is translated as 'ants make their conversations in eating together". Similarly, wisemen deliver their speeches by sharing pots of beer prepared for that day.

Only the couple which is newly invested and the representative of wisemen take straws and drink together in the same pot. This is simply to show to that couple that they really enter in the society of wisemen, henceforth, they will share life and death.

Next, the new wiseman is given a stick, a symbolical stick,(women are given a small covered basket) sign that he/she must keep secret, secret of other

wisemen:"Akira iyi ntahe y'umugumya Uze ugumye ibanga Ibanga ry'abashingantahe".

"Take this stick of (fig) tree. You will keep secret. Secret of wisemen"

Or

"Akira aka gaseke Niwagapfundurura

Uzoba umenye ibanga ry'abashingantahe"

"Take this basket whenever you open it

You will break the secret of wisemen".

Last, we observed that the new couple is lifted in the air (man by men, women by women) by people present there and they make movement towards the couple's house. They do it by singing and dancing in order to express their happiness and to make also that couple much happier. It is also a sign of honouring them as it was done to kings in former time because the couple comes from receiving a high title. To distinguish that day of initiation from other days, the couple is given new dresses: The man's cloth is similar to Burundi's flag colours and he puts it on to the manner of 'ABIYERETSI or INTORE' 'DANCERS' ('IMBEGA' 'GARMENTS SPINNED ON THE SHOULDERS'). The woman's one is purely white; she wears it on her head and she wears it like nuns.

4. 1. 5. Social function of speeches of wisemen

As said in the early pages of our work, speeches of wisemen are of paramount importance in a society where people live. Hymes and Gumperz support this idea when they say: "Speech is explicitly recognized as an important instrument of social life, eloquence is one of the central values of the cultural World-view" (Hymes and gumperz 1972:74). The speaker must be eloquent, he has to avoid confusion, and whatever he utters must be clear. This is relevant to the question 4 of our questionnaire where we have asked if words

used during the initiation ceremony are already known. All our informants have responded that they must be known; some have added that they are even written in books.

A good knowledge then of those speeches helps to avoid obscurity and confusion when uttering them. Do they fulfil the functions of speeches like other kinds?

Gregory and Caroll (1978:123) state that a speech has two main functions: "Ideational and interpersonal function". According to them, an ideational speech refers to the orientation of the message in the speech while interpersonal refers to turn taking. Seeing these two linguists'views, it remains to us to analyse if speeches of wisemen are used in accordance to those functions.

1. Ideational function

Speeches of wisemen deliver some pieces of information. A man who is before known as a simple man is now said to be" A WISEMAN". The surrounding people change their mind from the day of initiation and consider him as a man of high personality. Thus, an initiated man changes his social status thanks first to his good behaviour and next to the elder wiseman's information or proclamation about this new status.

In the proper speech of investing, the chief of ceremonies says:

"Ubu rero MIKAHELI uratiwe izuba riva, bene umurango babona. Kuva ubu uramize akabuye k'abagabo urabaye umugabo wa sebagabo"

L.Tr: "Then now Michael, you are invested in broad day light, before the eyes of everyone. From now you swallow the stone of wisemen, you become a MAN among others."

Id.tr: "now Michael, you are clearly invested, you come from reaching a sacred goal, you become a great man".

The role of this speech is twofold: On one side, it invests that man Michael and on the other hand it gives information to all people, the initiator included that from that time, Michael is changing his social status. One can not then ignore that the elder wiseman's speech contains a message. At this issue, Hymes and Gumperz(1972:17) say:

> " In order to communicate effectively, a speaker must know how to insert his message between ritualized sequences".

When the chief of investiture has followed the required steps of the ceremony the message is what people go back with: " MICHAEL HAS BEEN INITIATED". In fact, that chief can go around and around when uttering his speech (for example by repeating the initiate's behaviour), but he cannot forget to end by the message that the assembly is waiting for: 'ko naka yatirwa' 'that man X may be initiated'. If he remembers to include his message in his speech, that speech is qualified to be well oriented. Thus, speeches of wisemen contain the ideational function.

2. Interpersonal function

As the term "interpersonal" indicates it, this function is made between (inter) at least two people (personal). It is above indicated that this function refers to turn taking, to the conversation between two people where one person starts to speak addressing himself to the second; and this one immediately takes the round of responding. This turn taking can be made in term of question answer. It is observed when the elder wiseman asks a number of questions to the candidate wiseman; where that candidate has to answer immediately with a "yes" or "No" answer followed by either "I accept" or "I refuse" (article 26)

Example :

- Uremeye kugendera ukuri n'ubutungane aho uzoba uri hose?

⇒ Ndavyemeye.

L.Tr: Do you agree to walk through truth and justice wherever you are?

Id.Tr: - Do you accept to live in truth and justice in your everyday life?

⇒ Yes, I do (or I accept).

- Urahakanye kurya ibiturire n'ukuvyaka, kuvumbisha n'ugusegesha intahe?

L.tr: Do you refuse to eat and to give bribes, to use the wisemen's stick and ask for drinks?

Id.Tr: - Do you refuse to ask or to give corruption, to search for drinks and other things pretending that you are a wiseman?

-Ndabihakanye

-Yes, I do (or I refuse).

Moreover, the introducer may also show the existence of this turn-taking when he uses the proverb:

S: "Abatamvyi ba neza barakurikirana".

L.Tr: "Good dancers follow each other".

Id.tr: "Good orators can not be long"

In his speech, he gives the floor to the following speaker by revealing to him that he does not need to waste time, but better to reply immediately to the former speaker. Thus, after the supervisor's speech, the introducer can say:

S: "Nkuko bavuga ngo abatamvyi ba neza barakurikirana, reka ubu naho twumvirize ijambo ry'umushingantahe aserukira abandi".

Tr: As it is always said, good orators are no longer delayed,then now, let us listen to the elder wiseman's speech.

Then, the elder wiseman immediately takes the floor of investing. He begins by referring to what the supervisor has said, hence the interpersonal function is observed in speeches of wisemen.

Example:

S: "Nkuko muvyumvise, umushingantahe Karori ahejeje kuvuga ko yagenzuye Hantoni agasanga arakwiye ibanga ry'ubushingantahe".

Tr: "As you have just heard it, the wiseman Charles observed Antony and found that he deserves the wisdom secret. The use of "Nkuko muvyumvise" shows that the speaker departs from the previous speech and then delivers his own.

CHAPTER V: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.0. Introduction

This part aims at first of all analysing results of the questionnaire gotten from our informants. Second, it studies speeches of wisemen in terms of speech acts and illocutionary forces. Those acts and forces are related to some theories of philosophers hence this study is based on Searle's theory where it describes the five fundamental categories of speech acts called illocutionary acts. Besides, speeches of wisemen have been analysed in relation of Grice's maxims. We concluded this part by revealing what we have observed during the day of ceremony.

5. 1. Data Analysis

The analysis is defined as being the detailed study of something in order to understand more about it. Thus, the analysis of the received data was based on the given questionnaire and the result from the recordings. In fact, we have a number of questions as far as the initiation ceremony is concerned. We gained the opportunity of the academic research and we addressed to some initiated people, asked them some questions after which we made a detailed study of them. This was a data analysis as it is a requirement to any academic work.

5.1.1. Analysis of Data from the Questionnaire

The questionnaire is one among other instruments which are helpful in collecting data. After the collection of the data, the researcher immediately analyses the result from it; and similarly, this was our principal objective all along this study. We gave the questionnaire written in Kirundi Language because

all our respondents have that Language as their mother tongue.Their responses together with the questionnaire were translated into English Language because our work is done through that Language.This questionnaire is composed of ten questions, four of them have sub-questions.We analysed them through tables and in terms of percentage(%) and we added a comment on the found results.

Question 1: a) Is there anything you know about the wisemen's initiation?

b) What do you know about it?

Table 1: Presentation of the data for question 1. a)

Answers	**Frequency**	**%**
Yes	20	100
No	0	0
Total	20	100

In our analysis, we concluded that our informants are all accustomed to wisemen's initiation. This justified that this initiation is not a new item in the Burundian society. It has existed and it exists again since wisemen of little age (35 years old) and those of old age (80 years old) had proved to know something about this initiation.

Table 2: Presentation of the data for question 1. b)

Answers *** To invest or to initiate is:**	**Frequency**	**%**
- our grand father's inheritance	18	90
-a wisemen's duty	11	55
- an honour	15	75
- a strong duty	12	60

From the table above, we have realised that informants have defined the item "initiation" differently. A great number (90%) has emphasized on the idea that to initiate or to invest is related to our grand-father's inheritance. This proved that the ceremony of investing is traditionally recognized. And to talk about tradition implies to talk about culture hence speeches of wisemen are culturally transmitted.

Really speaking, to be initiated is of paramount importance for a person who behaves correctly. In fact, according to 75% of our informants, to receive the initiation is an honour because one who receives it is respected, is honoured by the whole society. Wherever he arrives, he is given a respectful seat. The initiation is then given to someone who respects himself.

Besides these two conceptions, the initiation has also been defined as being a duty. Some have considered it as a wisemen's duty (ibanga ry'abashingantahe : 55%) whereas others considered it to be a bounden duty (Ibanga rihambaye : 60%). According to those two aspects, to be initiated is a duty. Those two aspects turn around the same idea because "a man" in Burundian's society is known as a person who has great power, a person who is strong enough. So, this initiation which is a bounden duty is also given to a person who is strong. To end, let us note that the total of responses was more than twenty people because no one has given only one definition. We realised that one can at least define the initiation in at least two or three ways.

Question 2: Do you practice the wisemen's initiation in your region?

Table 3: Presentation of the data for question 2.

Answers	**Frequency**	**%**
Yes	20	100
No	0	0
Total	20	100

By asking this question, we wanted to know if the practice of initiation exists in all corners of our country. We wished to avoid an overgeneralization of how this practice is done because the first question has been more general. In fact, if our respondents had proved not to know this practice in their respective regions, our work would have recognized difficulties because its great aim is to see the outcome of that practice in a given society.

Nonetheless, we have been successful in that all informants proved to practice wisemen's initiation in their region. Consequently, we have been sustained by their answers and went ahead with our study. We noticed that this practice is still at the benefit of the society since 100% of our respondents agreed to practise it.

Question 3: a) Who performs this initiation?

Table 4: Presentation of the data for question 3. a)

Answers	**Frequency**	**%**
- The senior wiseman (Bicocoro)	16	80
- old wisemen (Inararibonye)	14	70
- Neighbours wisemen	4	20
- The representative of wisemen in that region	16	80
- People who know the initiatee's behaviour	8	40
- The family	2	10

From the results of this table, we realise that a person who gains the right of initiating others must be on his turn a wiseman. The seniority is a required condition for getting this right. We find from that table that a high range of percentage (80%, 70%) insists on the person who had been initiated many years ago. This idea completes our respondents' responses under question 1, b) where they have revealed that the initiation comes from our grand fathers' inheritance. Thus, the right of performing the initiation is given to anyone who is old enough in that secret, in that duty of investiture. To give that right to that person is not a haphazard fact. Indeed, one gives what he owes. That person is then chosen because he is supposed to know all about what is related to wisemen's institution. Besides this, he has to put into action whatever is related to it. That person who is judged to obey the wisemen's initiation from the day of his investiture is said to be the best performer of the initiation.

However, another percentage of our respondents had assigned the right to the performance of the initiation people who live near the candidate's home (20%), those who know the candidate's behaviour (40%) and the family (10%). In fact, it is not only one person who invests. The investiture of the initiation comes from the total agreement of the surrounding people. It is said that even a child invests: when he opposes himself because he had observed a bad behaviour to the new wiseman, the initiation can not take place. Here, they exaggerate. A child contributes but do not give the initiation.

To sum up, a senior wiseman performs the initiation being not alone but he must be helped by the surrounding people i.e. the society.

Question 3: b) Who receives the initiation?

Table 5: Presentation of the data for question 3. b)

Answers	**Frequency**	**%**
- Uwabisavye: Who had asked for it	14	70
- Afise imigenzo myiza: who has good behavior	18	90
- Uwo bagenzuye: The one who had been observed	17	85
- Umunyamutamana: The apprentice to the notable dignity	8	40
- Adashwana n'ababanyi: Who does not make conflicts among neighbours	13	65
- Ashobora guhanura: Who can advise people	10	50
- Ashobora guca imanza: Who can settle cases	10	50
- Ashobora kugumya ibanga: Who can keep secret	11	55
- Uwubishaka: Who wants it	3	15
- Uwubikwiye: Who deserves it	6	30

This table like the previous one is more revealing than the first table. In asking this question, we pretended to have one answer from all respondents, but we didn't. From one respondent, we have gotten more than one answer reason why the total of our responses was more than twenty.

If we compare this question to the previous one (3.a), we notice that they have been worded the same way; they are both formed in a WH-question but their respective answers are so different. The answer to the first question is direct whereas the second answer is indirect. Instead of revealing clearly who is the receiver of the initiation, the majority of respondents have ascribed to him only good qualities of any social person. Ninety percent of the respondents have focussed on a quality which is more general: "To have good behaviour". In reality, this quality encompasses many other qualities in it. Some of them have been provided in this table: not to make conflicts among neighbours (65%), to advice people (50%), to keep secret (55%). Those percentages show that the one who can receive the initiation must first of all have good qualities.

The other high percentages which represent the idea of having been observed (85%), to ask for the right of being initiated (70%), to settle cases (50%) are also meaningful. The requirement of having been observed before is required from any candidate. Through our respondents' information, a period of three years is given to the candidate in order to observe the apprentice's social life. The wisemen especially the supervisor must look at the candidate's behaviour; if they find him to be a person of good will in his everyday activities; they give him the right to the initiation.

Besides, the role of the apprentice is also of great importance. In fact, it is due to the candidate's will that he reaches to the initiation. His first will is realised when he goes towards wisemen and expresses his wish to enter the

community of wisemen. From that time, they begin to observe him. Last, to settle cases is one of wisemen's duty. The receiver of the initiation must be judged to be a good judge. Meanwhile, one could think that this duty is related not to social life but to justice. One does justice when he/she wants to avoid misunderstanding between people in order to allow them to live in total harmony.Besides playing a judiciary action, settling cases also plays a social role.

Finally, some other ideas have been provided by a small percentage of the respondents. The term "apprentice to the notable dignity" (40%) (umunyamutamana) has been given by only wisemen who are 60 years old and more. This justifies that it is a term which had been used from a former time and it seems to be neglected today. The two last terms "uwubishaka" (who wants it) and "uwubikwiye" (who deserves it) postulated by a little number of respondents (respectively 15% and 30%) are not self-sufficient. It is difficult to designate a person who wants to be initiated without asking for it. Also, it is not easy to know the one who deserves to be a receiver of the initiation unless he/she had been observed.So,all those qualities interact hence the receiver of the initiation must respond to all of them.

Question 4: Are the words used during the initiation ceremony already known?

Table 6: Presentation of the data for question 4

Answers	**Frequency**	**%**
Yes	18	90
No	2	10
Total	20	100

What is worth noting here is that few informants said that they do not know words related to the initiation ceremony. Through our conversation, they

proved that they know those words themselves, that those words are on one hand strange to native people who are not yet invested and on the other hand to foreigners. This means that those words sometimes contain meaning which can be decoded only by people who have been taught them. For instance, the meaning of the expression "kumira akabuye k'abagabo" (to swallow the wisemen's stone) is difficult to be decoded by a person who is not accustomed to wisemen's terms, either a foreigner or a native.

To ask this question, we intended to discover if the linguistic competence is sufficient when decoding messages of wisemen's speeches. We found that besides linguistic competence, the linguistic performance prevails a lot.
The cultural knowledge is another element that is needed for the recognition of words and/or speeches of wisemen.

Question 5: When do people say that a given person is initiated?

Table 7: Presentation of the data for question 5

Answers	**Frequency**	**%**
- Igihe ahawe intahe akayikubita hasi: When he is given a stick and beat it on the ground	5	25
- Ahejeje kurahira: After pronouncing his oath	11	55
- Igihe yatiwe izuba riva: When he is invested in broad day light	3	15
- Igihe asangiye ubwahuro n'abandi bashingantahe: When he shares first drinks with other wisemen	1	5
Total	20	100

In this table, we observed that the great majority of respondents (55%) had focussed on the idea that one is said to be initiated immediately after his public oath. To pronounce an oath is to justify that one is engaged in exercising a bounden duty. Without swearing, wisemen would still doubtful about the commitment of the new wisemen. That's why they declare him to be called "A WISEMAN" just after his oath. This declaration is accompanied by the handling of some symbolic instruments, among them the stick.

The stick is a symbolic sign given to anyone who becomes a wiseman. Twenty five of our informants have revealed us that one is said to be initiated when he had been given the stick. According to their views, the stick is so important in the initiation's achievement because it is mainly symbolic. When the senior wisemen utters: "AKIRA IYI NTAHE Y'UMUGUMYA UZE UGUMYE IBANGA" (Take this tree (fig.), may you keep secret), he is not referring to a simple tree, but to a significant tree. After touching it, the new wiseman feels himself reaching the high title of wisemen. Moreover, he beats it on the ground symbol of remembering the already dead wisemen's wisdom.

Furthermore, the ceremony of investing is not a darkness ceremony. Fifteen percent asserted that one is said to be initiated when he had been invested in broad day light. This is not the great characteristic of an initiated person but it contributes in that everyone has the right to be witness to one's initiation.

Last, to share the first drinks with other wisemen (Kunywa ubwahuro) is less meaningful hence it has been provided by a small percentage (5%). To drink together with other wisemen only can not prove that one has been initiated. Indeed, the main purpose of ceremonies is the speeches uttered not drinks. Therefore, the Kirundi proverb "Umugabo ntavumba inzoga avumba ijambo"

L.Tr:Man can not beg for drinks but he begs speeches, Id.Tr: In a social function, a person does not go there to look for drinks, but to listen to message that is given there; becomes meaningful.

Question 6: What are the characteristics of someone who has been initiated?

Table 8: Presentation of the data for question 6

Answers	**Frequency**	**%**	**Answers**	**Frequency**	**%**
* Before the initiation: - Kugira imigenzo myiza: to have good behaviours	18	90	* After the initiation: - Umwizigirwa: A hopeful person	9	45
- Kudashwana: Not to offense others	8	40	- Kubera akarorero keza abandi: Be a model in society	18	90
- Kutaborerwa: Not to be drunkard	7	35	- Guca imanza: To settle cases	5	25
- Kubaha: To respect others	9	45	- Kurwanya akarengenyo: Fight against injustice	11	55
- Kutabesha: Not to tell lies	10	50	- Kuvuga ukuri: To tell the truth	10	50

This table repeats some notions mentioned in table 5. It has been said under this table that informants have defined the candidate to initiation by referring to some characteristics. Results from this above table show us that there is a relationship between table 8 and table 5. For this question, we have asked to distinguish characteristics of a candidate before and after the initiation.

This above chart illustrates it clearly, but here also some notions interact. For example, to have good behaviour and to be a model in society have a close meaning whereas not to tell lies and to tell the truth are always the same.

In fact, when asked this question, our intention was to get from our informants different views about how a wiseman must behave. They have tried to make a list of 10 items denoting good qualities of a wiseman. Those qualities justify the ability for each wiseman to live socially with others. Let's remind that the main aim of our task is to see the social outcome of speeches of wisemen and those mentioned qualities are consequent fruit to the language or speeches of wisemen.

Question 7: What is the role of wisemen in their respective societies?

Table 9: Presentation of data for question 7

Answers	**Frequency**	**%**
-To advise	10	50
-To settle cases	4	20
To help needy people	2	10
-To become peace keepers	2	10
-To treat all things as their own	2	10
Total	20	100

Answer to this question aimed at showing how a wiseman plays an important role in society where he lives. Indeed, a true wiseman must live in the society as he almost lives his home. When given the right to the achievement of investiture to the candidate, one of the criteria to be considered is to see how he organises his home. Having the talents of organising his family, the candidate is also judged to be a good helper of society. The wiseman may not have material

goods to help needy people, but his moral support is almost a necessity. He must be someone who hates conflicts among people hence his great duty is to advise (50%). In case of misunderstanding, he settles cases without favouring only one side.

It is forbidden for him to disturb others, but his always preoccupation is to see people living peacefully. So, this above table summarises all those social duties of a wiseman.

Question 8: Is the wiseman different from an ordinary man?

Table 10: Presentation of data for question 8

Answers	Frequency	%
Yes	20	100
No	0	0
Total	20	100

In asking this question, we wanted to know if it is really important to get the investiture that is to be called "A WISEMAN". Reading from this table, we find that all informants had asserted that the investiture is till today important. According to their views, an already initiated man must pay attention to accomplish his promised commitment. A non-initiated man cares of nothing. Consequently; their social behaviour is totally different. People who have been initiated are guided by wisemen's laws but an ordinary man reacts in his own manner. Also, wisemen are merciful people who must be fast in making social services. Seeing this difference between a wiseman and an ordinary man, we concluded that the initiation's practice is still helpful in our society.

Question 9: Are there any criteria to be accepted as a candidate to initiation?

Table11: Presentation of data for question 9

Answers	Frequency	%
Yes, there are some	5	25
No, there aren't	15	75
Total	20	100

Most of the respondents (75%) proved that there is no segregation with regard to the right to initiation. This means that any person who wishes to reach the title of investiture is allowed to achieve it. Through this issue, we have been assured that any adult person should be one of a high importance in his society. But, it depends upon his will; i.e. there is no obligation to be a candidate to initiation. Anyone who asks for it may receive it depending on his social behaviour.

Continuing in the same light, 25% of respondents have been also reasonable. In fact, they did not accept the segregation to initiation, but their "Yes" answers showed that, to any person, there must be some conditions because if there is no condition, even people of bad behaviour may think of being initiated. They affirmed that those conditions are not related to human's categories (components), but they are concerned with wisemen's laws. Although we noticed that there is no segregation in choosing people to be initiated, one could still be doubtful about women's initiation hence the following question.

Question 10: Are the women initiated in your region?

Table 12: Presentation of data for question 10

Women	Answers	Frequency	%
	Yes	16	80
	No	1	5
	Do not know	3	15
	Total	20	100
Widows	Yes	14	70
	No	4	20
	Do not know	2	10
	Total	20	100

By asking this last question, we wanted to know the social role of women. Results from this double chart illuminate that women, widows included, are invested today. In fact, we handled this question because we did not have any exact knowledge about women's initiation. Fortunately, answers have been more informative. Women like men can be good counsellors, good models in their society. In former time, women were discriminated. Men were exclusively invested, their wives only accompanied them. This was due to the fact that women were socially discriminated. It is said that a woman could not even take a speech in that period. But, today, thanks to literate people, women gain the same rights as men do. It is also indicated that a woman whose husband has died can ask for the initiation provided that she responds to conditions of achievement.

In the table, we observe that some answers have been "No", others "do not know" which is also justified. Obviously, some informants were not yet good participants to the initiation's ceremony because of their work constraints.

Others, especially those of old age (80 years old and more) had revealed us about the practice of their time. They are not informed about the nowadays realities. In reality; we have told that women began to be initiated since these three late years. May they be encouraged to accomplish their social engagement.

Concerning their criteria for selection, it remains similar to that of men, i.e.: Their good behaviour in their respective families and to the great extent in society is the main condition to be accepted. May they enjoy their social status. The answer informants provided to the questions that were asked were sufficient enough for us but our facial observation during the ceremony has been additional information for us.

5.1.2. Analysis of Data from the Recordings

Till here, no one can still doubt that speeches of wisemen are related to oral performance.As a matter of fact; we dealt with those oral texts (speeches of wisemen) through recording_one among other techniques_ which seems to be more specific. Its specificity lies in the fact that just now we can rewind again the tape as much time as we want and listen to sounds of the performance as if it were during the day of ceremony. The tape-recording then has been useful for us when we analysed those speeches. Throughout this tape, we have been facilitated to find out some illocutionary acts contained in them.

5. 1.2.a. Illocutionary acts observed in speeches performed by participants.

According to Searle (1985:215-216), the five fundamental kinds of speech acts are: assertive, commissive, directive, expressive, and declarative. All of them are depicted in the speeches of the ceremony of investing wisemen which

is the topic of our work. The following lines analyse how speeches of wisemen contain an illocutionary force.

1. Assertive

As a definition, an illocutionary force refers to intention of speakers while speaking. So, as the assertive is one of the five Searle's illocutionary acts, the main task here is to observe if participants assert when performing their speeches. In fact, according to Searle quoted in William Downes (op.cit1998:378), assertive are central to language use because they are the means by which 'speakers say how things are'. This speech act refers to claiming; asserting and affirming. Thus, when observing speeches of wisemen especially the one uttered by the supervisor, we find that he claims and asserts that his supervisee can get the investiture:

> "None rero bashingantahe, uyu munyamutamana ndamuzi,naramwihweje nsanga koko arakwiye ubushingantahe. Ndabasavye rero ko mwomwatira"
> "Then wisemen, I know this apprentice, I have observed him and I have found that he deserves wisdom. So, I ask you to invest him".

The supervisor asserts that he is in total recognition of his supervisee and claims for his investiture.

The assertive function is also found in the former type of speeches of wisemen where the candidate wiseman utters what he believes in: "speakers represent their believes" (Searle 1990:201). To represent what he believes, the candidate recalls the wisemen about what they have promised him:

S: Mwebwe baryango	Tr: You family members
Mwaranyihweje	You observed me
Murangomwa…	You liked me…

Munshikira kubankurira ...	And you led me to my elder...
Baca barangomwa	They also liked me
Ko bontera iteka riterwa	That they may grant me the
Abashingantahe	honour, honour done to wisemen
Baca barampa isango	Then, they gave me an appointment
None rya sanga mwampa ni iri.	Now the appointment you gave me is this.

Here, the candidate recalled and claimed about what he had been promised before; that he was given an appointment. So, he is stating clearly and publicly that it is a time of achieving his appointment. His speech is assertive because he says how things are and his intention is to get the title of "WISEMEN".

2. Commissive

The commissive is observed in the series of questions that the apprentice is asked by the elder wiseman before investing him. In fact, the commissive works with the cases of promising, vowing, pledging, and guaranteeing. Concerning our analysis of speeches the promising case in well observed. When a person promises to do something, he/she accepts to accomplish it into the future time not at the present moment. Similarly, the candidate wiseman promises, accepts that he will achieve to many things, he can even add an oath for guaranteeing them that what he is uttering is a reality.

The third question of the 26th article among the 75 that constitute "INGINGO NGENDERWAKO Z'URWEGO RW'ABASHINGANTAHE" "RULES THAT GUIDE WISEMEN'S INSTITUTION" is delivered like this:

- "Uremeye ko usanze mwene wanyu arwana n'uwundi uzobabanguranya utaravye nkunzi?"

- "Ndavyemeye"
- "Do you agree that, when you find people quarrelling you will settle their conflict without segregating anyone?"
- Yes, I agree.

This question and its answer is nearly close to the following extract found in the Bashingantahe institution in Burundi (1999: 77)

> "Ndemeye kuzotatura abatase kuzofasha impfuvyi n'abapfakazi. Ndarahiye ko nzovuga ukuri kumwe guca muziko ntigushe, nkigiza kure inabi",
>
> L.Tr:"I commit myself to reconcile all those who were in conflict, to help the orphans and the widows, to tell the truth that passes through the fire without being burnt, and send away evil"
>
> Id.Tr: " I engage myself to settle conflicts among people,to defend the orphans and to stand for widows' dignity.I accept to always tell the truth, to fight against the worst thing".

From this extract, we find that the candidate wisemen is committed himself to an engagement, he promises many things that he will accomplish later.

In the old form of speeches of wisemen, the supervisor promises also that they will help him in order to prevent him against fear.

S: Natwe kubitwerekeye	Tr: As far as we are concerned
Tuzokwama imbere yawe	We will always be in front of you
Tukwereke umwonga	To show you a bad and
Uhuma n'udahuma	a good valley

The plural pronoun "TU"(WE) used here represents all wisemen. It is used by one person (the supervisor) in order to show to his SON (the supervisee) that he will be supported by the society of wisemen. The utterance "Tuzokwama imbere yawe", "We will always be in front of you" is a kind of promise which

reassures the candidate wiseman that other wisemen will be near him. As an isolated man is always frightened, this will not be the case for this new wiseman because he will be protected by other wisemen. The supervisor continues:

"Tuzokwereka umwonga uhuma n'udahuma"

"We will show you a bad valley and a good one".

This expression reveals to the candidate that every thing will not be good: Some will be (umwonga udahuma), others will not (umwonga uhuma) and the possibility for him is to live the two situations. So, the supervisor is assuring him that wisemen will help him to distinguish the best thing from the worst one. Then, there is no way of being afraid even in case he encounters difficulties.

3. Directive

Directives are speech acts in which the speaker pretends to see the hearer carrying out some future actions. The addressee is asked to achieve at the moment of speech some actions which are beneficial to him and to a great extent to the society. In fact, directive includes some other speech acts such as requesting, commanding, begging and ordering. We can group them in two pairs because each pair expresses almost the same meaning: To request is closed to to beg whereas to command means to order.

a. Requesting

Requesting is a speech act found mainly in the last form (the verbal or oral one) of speeches of wisemen. Before the supervisor's speech, the candidate used to beg in front of wisemen asking them to invest him.

S "Muhave muntera iteka	Tr: Please grant me the honnour
riterwa abashingantahe	Done to wisemen

Incuti n'umuryango bakoranye Relatives and family gathered

In this extract, the candidate wisemen is addressing himself to other wisemen. In fact, he has a strong desire of seeing himself given the title of wisemen. For him, it is better to have the right of being called "A WISEMAN" from the moment of speech. But, as he expects the permission from other wisemen, he hopes to be granted this honour just after a little time hence, he uses this Kirundi verb "MUHAVE" which means. "Do it in as a little time as possible."

The second verse of this extract tells how the candidate wiseman is comparing himself to other wisemen. To be designated as a wiseman is an honour. Thus, the candidate wishes to be granted this honour as it is also done to other wisemen; and his wish is to have it being together with his relatives and family: 'INCUTI N'UMURYANGO BAKORANYE'.

Socially, when a person gets such an honour, he/she always wishes to share this joy with members of his/her family including relatives. Likewise, the candidate wiseman wants to see his/her family and relatives surrounding him during the ceremonies of investing him. Consequently, they respect him and someone who is respected by a little group (his family) is also respected by an extended community. So, the surrounding people at the moment of ceremony are also of great importance.

b. Commanding

Commanding is a speech act which requires orders. It comprises some pieces of advice. We find this force in the elder wiseman's speech. He orders and advises the apprentice for warning him of how he would be successful in his

future life. The speech of the representative of the "Bashingantahe" found in the Bashingantahe institution in Burundi: (Op.cit 1999:30) is full of many orders and advice:

"...If you were used to lying, you have gotten to give it up...Wherever you come across a situation where there is a conflict, you must settle it...you have to strive to defend the honour of Burundi....you will always have to follow the laws that will advance the interests of this country".

Grammatically, when the speaker delivers his speech by using the modals "have to" and "must", he is addressing his hearer asking him to execute an order. The hearer can not escape; he is obliged to follow that order. Concerning the above extract, the elder wiseman gives some orders to the candidate which correspond to different works of a wiseman. After ordering him, he also advises him:

"...Be wise and do not be afraid of saying the truth, should you even lose your life for it. Those who have died for the truth are still praised; their tombs are revered; their blood has become the seed of all the brave people who inhabit Burundi".

The elder wiseman continues by advising the candidate that he must avoid fear when it comes to telling the truth. He warns him that he could even die standing only for justice. Those who have died in that condition still live in Burundians' mind. In order words a good wiseman can not die. People still remembered his good actions hence, the older wiseman recommends the candidate to accept to lose his life in case of necessity in order to gain the honour of WISEMEN.

4. Expressive

Expressive is an illocutionary act in which the speaker expresses some psychological state, feelings or attitudes towards hearers. It comprises a number of cases such as complimenting, deploring praising, complaining, congratulating, thanking, but only the two last ones are depicted in the supervisor's speech. In fact, people thank and/or congratulate when they are completely happy because of the happened event. But, sometimes, it is difficult to find means of expressing their happiness. That is why they can use some joyful words/expressions in order to show that they are really pleased as we observe it in the following sub-sections.

a. Thanking

To thank is to show your addressee that you recognize whatever he/ she has done for you. During the investiture ceremony the person who is thanking is the supervisor. Really, he had been chosen since a long time to be the supervisor of the candidate, hence, he has to thank on the behalf of himself and that of his child (candidate).

In his speech of acknowledgement, he says:

S: Nk' uko bovuga ngo	Tr As they say that
Akuzuye ntikamurikwa	It's not worth checking what is full
Ndabashimiye kw'iri banga	I thank you for this duty
Mushikirije Umwana Wanje	you have just entrusted to my child."

The expression AKUZUYE NTIKAMURIKWA" means that something like a basket is full of many things. This expression is then related to the psychological mind of the supervisor that he is indeed blissful, because wisemen come from investing his trainee as they have promised it for him. There is

nothing else to do then than thanking them. Besides this, he also congratulates the candidate wiseman for having behaved correctly.

b. Congratulating

Congratulations' words are observed in the following extract uttered by the supervisor:

S:- None rero mushingantahe	Tr: - Now then Wiseman
- Ndagukeje cane	- I congratulate you very much
- Kubushingantahe uronse	- For the wisdom you just received
- Kuri uyu munsi izuba riva	- Today in broad day light

On his turn, the new Wiseman might be congratulated as soon as possible ; the supervisor has been designated to observe and follow carefully the future Wiseman. After all, his good behavior would have been the supervisor's praisal. Thus, as the new Wiseman has not disappointed him, it is of great necessity to take a time of congratulating him before the whole assembly. The expression "IZUBA RIVA" " In broad day light" means that something is to be done not in darkness but in total appearance.

Yet, the title of Wiseman must be conferred to him in front of all invited people.

5. Declarative

In this speech act, the speaker brings about some state of affairs by virtue of the utterance itself. The intended person is given the high title of Wiseman by only the power of uttered words. That power brings the candidate to feel that he is going to achieve the already awaited secret. This category of speech act is

related to some declarative verbs such as to nominate, to name, to resign, to declare, to christen, etc...

The speech of the elder wiseman uttered for the occasion of the investiture itself is full of many declarations and somehow it christens the new wiseman:
" Ubu rero Hantoni uratiwe izuba riva, urabaye umugabo wa sebagabo" ("Last part of the 26th article).
Tr: From now Antony, you are invested in broad day light you become a great man among others"

The first verse of this extract declares that really Antony is invested from that time. People cannot be confused, it is announced to them that Antony is an invested man. The elder Wiseman continues to deliver the second verse whose role is to christen Antony. After the investiture, Antony is not on ordinary man as he used to be, but a man of high title: A GREAT MAN (UMUGABO WA SEBAGABO), then a WISEMAN. For the elder Wiseman, the new Wiseman would occupy a high place as that of other Wisemen.

5.1.2. b. Relation of Grice's Maxims and speeches of Wisemen

The Grice's Maxims are combined in what Brown and Yule call the Grice's cooperative principle. According to Leech's view (1983:32), the cooperative principle enables one participant in conversation to communicate on the assumption that the other participants is being cooperative.
This principle is said to be supported by four conversational convention maxims (Jean Claude KWIZERA 2005:24).

1. Maxim of quantity

Make your contribution as informative as required. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required. Here it is reminded to the speaker just to provide the necessary information and not to go beyond the required information.

Seeing the quality of that maxim we can praise the new form (the written form that comprises 75 articles) of investing because the old form (the verbal/or oral form which dates from the traditional Burundi) is full of many repetitions. The use of "N'uko Ijambo ritungane", "N'uko mukunzi muhire" or "Murumva iryo jambo" which are not easy to translate but for which the sense is to give a pause to the speaker in order to go directly to the following idea are repeated endlessly. Even if they invite the hearer to be more attentive, their usual repetition brings the speech to be longer than it is expected at the level for example that a non born Burundian can be discouraged when listening to it. Thus, the quantity maxim is violated in the old form of speeches.

2. Maxim of quality

Try to make your contribution one that is true. Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

This maxim requires the truth and evidence for whatever comes from the mouth of the utterer. In the description of the apprentice, the supervisor can exaggerate when ascribing qualities and behaviour to that apprentice: Uyu Munyamutamana ndamuzi. Ushima ndamuzi dusangira vyose, dusangira akabisi n'agahiye. Ntiyigera ashwana, eka ntakura ururimi mu kanwa. "Abanye neza na bose".

Tr "I know this apprentice". Really, I know him because we share everything, we share sweet as well as bitter things. He is socially well lived with others".

Living on this earth, one cannot be good at one hundred per cent (100%). But, the supervisor describes the candidate as a person who lives in paradise. For instance when he says" NTIYIGERA ASHWANA" (he is never quarelling) he exaggerates because he can at least insult or make conflict with his wife or his children for only not having the same point of view on a particular thing. Also, by saying "NTAKURA URURIMI MU KANWA" (he always keeps silent). One can understand that he is a dumb person whereas his duty is to settle conflicts and to talk for widows and orphans. Again he insists "USHIMA NDAMUZI DUSANGIRA VYOSE"

"Really I know him because we share everything". Indeed, we know that it is even difficult for a wife and a husband to share everything. But, the supervisor who does not live together (they do not have the same compound) with his supervisee dares to say that they share everything. He goes beyond the truth and whatever he says shows us that he really wants to see his child being initiated.

3. Maxim of relation

Be relevant: The speaker is asked to be relevant that is to relate his speech to the situation or event involved. In all forms (old and new) of speeches of wisemen, all speakers' are relevant in that, whatever they deliver as their respective speeches are related to the ceremony of investing. This ceremony is different from other ceremonies when the speaker seems to ignore the purpose of the day. An example here is that of the dowry ceremony where the bride's father says "Today, there is an opportunity of a baptism celebration for our child. I wonder if this might be the reason for your visit"(Bienvenu 2007:40).

For a long time, the bride's father has been informed that there will be a party for the payment of the dowry for his daughter. But, when the day arrives; he tries to ignore it in front of his in-laws. This is not the same case for the investiture's ceremony. It is forbidden to all speakers to hide that they know the purpose of the day. This is due to the fact that Wiseman must always tell the truth. So, from the opening of ceremonies to the closing, they deliver speeches carefully with aim related to that ceremonial day hence the maxim of relevance is well observed.

4. Maxim of Manner

Be perspicuous, brief and orderly. Avoid both obscurity and ambiguity. Here, it is required to the speaker to be clear, precise and concise enough. The new form of investing wisemen responds to this maxim than the old one. The new form contains 75 articles among which some are to be repeated to the candidate during the day of ceremony just before the initiation. It follows a number of questions to the candidate after which the elder Wiseman proceeds to the investiture. This new form somehow summarizes the old one. In the old form, some speakers repeat what is already said. For example, the supervisor's speech retells that of the candidate. The content of their speeches seems to be the same. The older Wiseman on his turn also begins to repeat what the two men have already said and then goes to the idea of investing.

The expression "NKUKO MUHEJEJE KUVYUMVA" (As you come from hearing it) used at the same time by the supervisor and the elder Wiseman shows that something is to be repeated. The brief quality of this maxim is violated.

Even though the two forms are acceptable (according to 93, 38 % of the informers, we should proceed as in the old time: says Barbara in" the

Bashingantahe institution in Burundi 1999:140) we should agree with the new form because it fulfills many maxims, the maxim of manner included.

5.1.3. Observation

This is the before last part of this chapter. It focuses on my view point concerning what has been dealt in the section of Analysis. It is based on common customs observed in speeches related to wisemen's initiation ceremony.

However our first observation has been how the ceremony looks like in the society i.e its social physical appearance. We have found that it is a ceremony which is somehow particular. This particularity lies in that the initiator and the candidate were wearing in a traditional form two long pieces of garments spinned at their both shoulders. Those garments are not as simple as one could think of them, they are coloured in the Burundian's flag style. Besides these dresses, the man is handed a stick "by the all initiated men (each one must touch it) whereas the woman is also given a closed basket to remind her that she has always to keep secret. All these considerations have revealed to us that the ceremony of investing wisemen is just now attached to the traditional culture.

After a moment, the new initiated family is given a honoured seat; where they sit in front and nearly representatives of wisemen. Other wisemen take the remained places, but those who are not yet initiated do not share the same room with them. They sit aside in another room and those two rooms are separated by a long wall.

After occupying their different seats, they begin to share pots of beer already prepared for the occasion of that ceremony. The non-initiated people do never drink with the initiated one. They have their own pot. This is to show

them that there still is a long valley to them before reaching the wisemen's duty. So, the supervisor enjoys that moment of drinking and then delivers a speech of acknowledgement.

Just before the ceremony takes place, we see guests (women and Men) coming towards the home of the newly Wiseman, some carrying gifts others with hands empty. In fact, gifts are brought by only women whose husbands are not yet invested. The invested ones bring nothing because from their day of initiation, they got the right of being present at any wisemen's ceremony and to share whatever prepared thing with them.

It is said that their gifts is the "INTAHE" sign of wisdom (Ubushingantahe) that they accord to the new Wiseman. We notice that other gifts (those of the non initiated people) are goods brought in small baskets (inkoko) by Women, especially friends and relatives of the new invested family. Let's note that this practice is also observed when women or girls think to pay a visit to a friend family. The importance of this practice from the traditional Burundi till today is to fortify the social relationship between people.

Clearly, speeches are to be uttered during the ceremony. They are not as simple or ordinary as one could think of them.

5.2. Findings

This chapter has shown the cultural requirement in the recognition of language of wisemen. We dealt with this issue through the analysis of some extracts of speeches of wisemen.We noticed that they contain many Burundian proverbs hence their meaning is difficult to be decoded by a non-born Burundian.So, one can find that it is more the cultural meaning which prevails in those speeches than the literal meaning. We found out that, besides the cultural knowledge, one must also observe that he/ she possesses the lexical, syntactic

and contextual knowledge in order to be familiar with wisemen's speeches. So, this knowledge helps in the full understanding of speech acts contained in those speeches. Speech acts contribute to the speaker's purpose achievement. Moreover, as far as maxims are concerned, some of them are observed whereas others are violated. But, one maxim can at least be explained in one form(old or new) of speeches of investing wisemen.

How have we come out with our research hypothesis?

To the first question 'can people who are not accustomed to the Burundian culture understand the language of wisemen?', we noticed that culture is the first tool that helps in the knowledge of that language. In fact, responses to the question 'what do you know about the initiation of wisemen'(1,b) have proved that the initiation departed from our grandfathers'inheritance. So, whatever is related to it takes part in the tradition i.e. to Burundian culture hence, one has to understand that culture before he/she understands speeches of wisemen.

The second question 'is the role of the linguistic competence alone essential to decode the meaning of wisemen's speeches?' is somehow in complementary with the first. Indeed, the knowledge of the language goes beyond the recognition of one simple property. Consequently, the linguistic competence is not sufficient to decode the meaning of speeches of wisemen. For instance, a non-born Burundian can be endowed that linguistic competence (he /she can know rules that guide Kirundi language), but fails in understanding speeches of wisemen. An illustration here is when wisemen use some paralinguistic symbols such as a stick (beaten on the earth), or other symbolic tools; a foreign person would find difficulty in interpreting the meaning of those used symbols. Symbols as well as gestures are of great necessity in any kind of speech and their use requires awareness: "one should be careful in the use of gestures because they are culture specific. They can reinforce or deny what one

chooses to say depending on how they are manipulated" (NIBAFASHA 1998:62).Then, a foreigner cannot know to perform the use of the language of wisemen; henceforth, he/she cannot think that wisemen 's symbols talk.Thus, the linguistic competence and performance complete each other to know speeches of wisemen.

The last question, 'what is the role played by the language of wisemen in a society where they live?' is also of valuable necessity seeing how language and society are interrelated(see chapter II).That language has been analysed through the study of speech acts, illocutionary forces and maxims all along this chapter. In the whole analysis, we noticed that the occurrence of many acts helps in understanding speeches of wisemen but two of them are basic to the achievement of their goal: commissive and directive.

Indeed, the commissive act is observed in speeches of wisemen in that the candidate wiseman commits himself to an engagement; the social one. It is due to his promise and guarantee that other wisemen consider him as a man of good will, a man who can help in the society. On their turn, those wisemen also reassure him that they will support him if he encounters difficulties hence, the social solidality is observed. Concerning the directive acts, they play also a great role in speeches of wisemen. It responds to illocutionary forces such as requesting and commanding (ordering). In fact, the candidate wiseman or his supervisor has to recall about the promised favour (he requests). That recall is necessary because, once achieved that favour, he (the candidate) would remember that he is the author of it and consequently accomplish whatever is related to it.Commanding also is not a simple force as far as speeches of wisemen are concerned. Already meant ordering, that force responds to a number of conditions, especially severe ones, that only the candidate has to

fulfill in order to be initiated. As the society has some laws that guide it, likewise anyone who responds to wisemen's orders finds no difficulty in helping that society.

To end, let us note that the grice's maxims are obeyed in both the oral and written form of speeches of wisemen. They enable the speaker to deliver his speeches properly.

In short, this chapter has reminded us that one must have a cultural background of Kirundi language before uttering or understanding speeches of wisemen. Therefore, to enter the society of wisemen requires a total knowledge of L1. The 12th article is clearer to this idea:

"Umuntu asaba kwatirwa, aba ari umurundi, agendera kandi yubahiriza imico Kama y'Uburundi. Aba azi kuvuga neza ikirundi arirwo rurimi rw'amavukiro"

Tr: "It can be invested a Burundian, who follows and respects the Burundi's culture. He must perform well the Kirundi language which is the mother tongue". Consequently, foreigners are not allowed to perform Burundian speeches of wisemen. If they do it, they fail. It has been then the analysis of ceremonial speeches related to wisemen's initiation in Burundian society which has helped us to carry out our study.

CHAPTER VI: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0. Introduction

This is the last chapter of our work. It reminds what the topic of our study is and how this topic is culturally oriented.It shows an overview structure of the other remained chapters. It concludes and gives recommendations.

All along this study, emphasis has been put on the analysis and interpretation of speeches of wisemen in the area of discourse analysis. The attempt has been oriented to culture which is related to ceremonial practice of wisemen's initiation.

This study is made up of five chapters. The introductory chapter describes the problem which has helped us to have an idea on this research.
It states also the main aim and motivation of the study.

The second chapter raises other researchers' points of view on the similar topic. Usually, researchers are assured to be successful with their work when they are supported by some other previous studies. Those studies may bring criticism, similarities or contradictions to the present study. Moreover a comparative study of discourse analysis with other fields of Linguistics has been done. Also, we thought that our readers may have difficulties in knowing the meaning or signification of some terms and/or symbols of the initiation ceremony. So, we defined and explained them and we closed that chapter by coming back to the background knowledge of that ceremony.

The third chapter was concerned with the methodological notions used in the part of data analysis. In this section, the procedures of collecting data have been defined. In fact the recording system has been used to tape and to keep

speeches. Also, we have used the questionnaire to have more information about wisemen's initiation. Furthermore, we indicated the procedures used to analyse the data. Indeed, they have been successful in the proper analysis of those speeches.

The next chapter describes the initiation ceremony. In that chapter, it has been done a detailed description to help readers to have an overview of the ceremony. As that ceremony is based on speeches of wisemen, we ended that part by showing the functions of speech which are ideational and interpersonal. We noticed that those two functions are observed in speeches of wisemen.

The last chapter deals with the proper analysis of data collected. It has been guided by the analysis of the result from the questionnaire, speech acts and maxims found in speeches of wisemen. In this analysis, we came out with the idea that speeches of wisemen help to live in the society especially to improve the peer-solidarity and friendship.Yet, the outcome of those speeches rebuilds the society.

6.1. Conclusion

This analysis helped to tackle different tasks which targeted our study. To them, we found out that the language used at the ceremony of initiating wisemen is a particular one. Beside his linguistic competence, the speaker must be the good performer of L1. It was also observed that Kirundi language is a language full of many cultural meanings through which Burundians should ask or express their needs. From this, we realized that the language of wisemen (the one used to utter their speeches) is different from that used in everyday activities. Consequently, speeches uttered during the ceremony depict some speech function besides illocutionary acts and maxims.

6.2. Recommendations

Although we cannot claim to have arrived to good perfection as far as the discourse analysis of speeches of wisemen is concerned, we prove to have done our best. Therefore, we hope that the outcome of this work has been successful and will be helpful for other further researches on discourse analysis. Thus, it supports other existing works on the analysis of speeches.

Then, I gain this opportunity to make a call to any interested people to carry out a further study in this domain. For instance, other researchers can make a comparative study of the old type and the new form of investing wisemen. A critical study of today's social behaviour of wisemen would be another field under study. Besides, another researcher can deal with the discourse analysis of speeches other than those related to ceremonies (example: conversational speech, trade's speech, speeches held by a President or a Minister, etc...). Last, one can work on how other ceremonial speeches are interrelated or not to the wisemen's speeches in the Burundian society.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: RESEARCH QUETIONNAIRE AND ITS TRANSLATION.

1.a. Is there anything you know about the wisemen's initiation?

Tr: Hari ico uzi kw'ibanga ry'ukwatirwa kw'abashingantahe?

b. What do you know about it?

Tr. Urizi ko iki?

2. Do you practise the wisemen's initiation ceremony in your region?

Tr: Murahabwa ibanga ry'abashingantahe ngaha mu karere I wanyu?

3. a) Who performs this initiation?

Tr: Ninde yatira?

b) Who receives the initiation?

Tr: Ninde yatirwa?

4. Are the words used during the initiation ceremony already known?

Tr: Amajambo bakoresha mu kwatira canke mu kwatirwa aba asanzwe azwi?

5. When do people say that a given person is initiated?

Tr: Ni ryari bavuga ko umuntu kanaka yatiwe?

6. What are the characteristics of someone who has been initiated?

Tr: Ni ibihe bimenyetso vyerekana ko umuntu yatiwe?

a) Before the initiation

Tr: Imbere yuko yatirwa

b) After the initiation

Tr: Yaramaze kwatirwa

7. What is the role of wisemen in their respective societies?

Tr: Abashingantahe bamaze kwatirwa bafise akamaro akahe mu mibano y'abanyagihugu?

8. Is the wiseman different from an ordinary person?

Tr: Mbega umuntu yamaze kwatirwa yoba atandukanye n'uwutaratirwa?

9. Are there any required criteria to be accepted as a candidate to initiation?

Tr: Mbega umuntu wese asavye ko yokwatirwa arabironkera uburenganzira?

10. a) Are the women being initiated in your region?

Tr: Abagore boba batirwa ngaha iwanyu?

b) How about widows?

Tr: Ku bapfakazi hoho bigenda gute?

c) What are the criteria for their selection?

Tr: Ku bagore no ku bapfakazi hisungwa iki mukubaha ubwo burenganzira bwo kubatira?

APPENDIX II: SPEECHES OF WISEMEN UTTERED AT THE DAY OF INITIATION.

A.WRITTEN FORM

a. Kirundi version

Some articles are repeated for the candidate in order to remember him about the duties he has to accomplish:

AMABANGA YEGA ABASHINGANTAHE

Ingingo ya 6:

Ivyo abashingantahe bajejwe ni ibi bikurikira, naho nyene igihugu gishobora kubizigira kikabashinga ibindi:

§1Guhanura, kwuzuriza abatase bitarinze guca mu manza;

§2 Guca imanza z'amatongo, z'umuryango, z'ibisigi, n'izindi zibwirizwa gukurikiza imigenzo n'imico kama ;

§3 Gufasha kuremesha umutekano ;

§4Guhagarikira amasezerano abantu bagiriranira ;

§5 Gufasha uwo wese ari mu kaga ;

§6Gufasha abanyagihugu mu vyo kwijukira amajambere, bafadikanije n'abajejwe intwaro;

§7 Guhanura, kwuzuriza no kunywanisha abategetsi igihe bikenewe canke bisabwe;

§8 Guserukira abanyagihugu igihe hagize ibigora, bikeneye ijambo rya gishingantahe, bafadikanije n'abajejwe intwaro;

§9 Kuba ijisho ry' abanyagihugu n'inkinzo yabo, mu gihe cose c'amakuba, ku mutumba canke mu gihugu.

Ingingo ya 14

Uwubereye ubushingantahe ni umurundi:

§1 Azi kugumya ibanga;

§2 Abanye neza n'umugore wiwe;

§3 Yizewe n'abazimyamuriro bose;

§4 Afise impuhwe

§5 Arwanya amacakubiri n'ibindi vyose biteranya abantu;

§6 Ataraba nkunzi,adakunda inda canke amaronko;

§7 Ataborerwa;

§8 Adashira isoni, adateranya;

§9 Arazwa ishinga n'ugutunganiriza abantu bose;

§10 Afise ubwenge butazindwa n'ubutwari bukwiye, ngo yizigirwe.

§11 N'ibindi.

Ingingo ya 26

Basanze abikwiye, umushingantahe w'igicocoro aca amubaza ibi bibazo; akavyishura kw'izina ry'urugo rwiwe:

Uremeye kugendera ukuri n'ubutungane aho uzoba uri hose?

Ndavyemeye.

Uremeye kwitwararika ibintu vyose uzoba urimwo nk'ivyawe?

Ndavyemeye.

Uremeye ko usanze mwene wanyu arwana n'uwundi uzobabanguranya utaravye nkunzi?

Ndavyemeye.

Urahakanye kugendera ibinyoma mu vy'intwaro, mu vy'imigambwe no mu buzima bwa misi yose?

Ndabihakanye.

Urahakanye kurya ibiturire n'ukuvyaka, kuvumbisha n'ugusegesha intahe?

Ndabihakanye.

Urahakanye guteranya abarundi; kuvangura amoko; kwifadikiza amamuko ngo ukwize amacakubiri?

Ndabihakanye.

Uremeye kurwanya insaku, ibihuha, kugira ngo aho uri hame iteka n'itekane?

Ndavyemeye.

Uremeye guhanura neza intwaro aho uzoba uri hose, ihengamye ugafasha kugira ngo ibigoramye bigororoke?

Ndavyemeye.

Uremeye kuza urakinga hakurorera ko ibara rigwa?

Ndavyemeye.

Ivyo vyose uremeye kubifashanya n'umugore wawe, mukabireresha abana banyu?

Ndavyemeye.

Uwatira agaca avuga ati:

"Ubu rero Hantoni uratiwe izuba riva, bene umurango babona. Kuva ubu, uramize akabuye k'abagabo. Urabaye umugabo wa sebagabo. Uraheba ububegito bwose n'izindi ngeso, zitajanye n'ubushingantahe. Ubu ugiye kuba ijisho ry'uburundi. Iri banga uronse niwarimena rizokumena inda. Uzoba uhemukiye uburundi n'abagabo. Kandi urifashanye n'umugore wawe, murirereshe abana banyu".

Ingingo ya 27:

Umushingantahe w'igicocoro aca ashikiriza intahe nyene kwatirwa, avuga ati: **"Akira iyi ntahe y'umugumya, uze ugumye ibanga. Mwe n'umugore wawe murifashanye, mugiye inama n'abandi bashingantahe".**

Ingingo ya 29:

Serugo kw'izina ry'urugo rwiwe, aca abwira ababanyi, abaryango n'amakungu ati:

Jewe hantoni, tubifashanije n'urugo rwanje rwose n'abandi bashingantahe, sinzohemuka kw'ibanga ry'abashingantahe(agaca akubita intahe hasi). Nzokwama ndinganiriza abanyituye, abakuru n'abato, uwo bizogora aranyitura nzomwitaba ijoro n'umutaga, ntasavye ishimwe, ntaravye mpinga yanje canke inyungu(agaca akubita intahe hasi). Iryo banga nzorirangurana ubuntu n'ubupfasoni, umwete n'ubwira, impuhwe n'ubuvyeyi, ntunganiriza bose(agaca akubita intahe hasi). Nzokwama nkunda igihugu canje, ndagikingira abansi kandi mpagararira impfuvyi,abapfakazi n'abakene(agaca akubita intahe hasi).Ibanga ndaryemeye, ni narimena riramena inda(agaca akubita intahe hasi). Twaravyumvikanye n'umupfasoni wanje kandi tuzobireresha abana bacu(agaca intahe hasi).”

Umupfasoni wiwe nawe nyene aca asubiramwo ayo majambo.

b.English version

Wisemen's duties.

Article6:

Here are wisemen's duties although they may accomplish other country's duties.

§1 To advise, to settle conflicts among people, not as being judges, but social persons;

§2 To settle against lands', families', inheritance's cases and others that follow cultural and social behaviour;

§3 To be a peace keeper;

§4 To stand for people's agreement;

§5To assist any person who gets problem;

§6 To help peasants, together with the government, to work hard for the development;

§7 To counsel, to help chiefs of the government to be united and to understand one another;

§8 To represent peasants in case of problems that need to be resolved through wisemen's speech;

§9To be a model in a society and to protect it in case of problems.

Article 14:

Whoever deserves the wisemen's title is a Burundian who:

§1 Knows to keep secret;

§2 Is living correctly with his wife;

§3Is trusted by his neighbours;

§4 Cares of others;

§5 Fight against segregation and whatever may put people in conflict;

§6 Can not favour anyone, who is not selvish, whose attention is not only to get things;

§7 Is not a drunkard;

§8 Is wise, who can not applaud people quarelling

§9Who is careful about people's needs;

§10 Is intelligent, who live in total heroism, who is a hopeful person.

§11 And other things.

Article 26:

If they find that he (the candidate) deserves the wisemen's title, the senior wiseman follows by asking him the following questions; he responds on his behalf and that of his family.

Do you agree to follow truth and justice wherever you are?

Yes, I agree(or I do).

Do you agree to respect all things like yours?

Yes, I agree.

Do you agree to settle your neighbours'conflicts without favouring anyone?

Yes, I agree.

Do you refuse to be a liar in matters of government, of political parties and in your everyday life?

Yes, I refuse.

Do you refuse to be corrupted and to give bribery, to beg for drinks pretending that you are a wisemen?

Yes, I refuse.

Do you refuse to assist Burundians quarelling, to segregate them,to separate them because of their different native regions?

Yes, I refuse.

Do you agree to fight against gossiping and spies in order to live a total honor?

Yes, I agree.

Do you agree to advise the government wherever you are and to support it in case of failure?

Yes, I agree.

Do you agree to protect people and things instead of putting them in danger?

Yes, I agree.

Do you agree to accomplish all these duties being together with your wife, and to help your children growing in this light?

Yes, I agree.

The representative of wisemen then says:

"Then now Antony,you are invested in broad day light, people gathered in front of you. From now, you swallow the stone of wisemen. You become a great man. May you forget to behave badly and fight against whatever may put you to behave in a bad way because wisemen's title does not accept the

bad behavior. Now, you are going to be a model in the society. Whenever you go beyond this sacred secret, may it smash your skull for the simple purpose of deceiving wisemen and the whole country. May you accomplish it together with your wife , may it light your children's behaviour.

Article 27:

Then, the senior wisemen gives the stick (intahe) to the new wiseman.He says: **"Take this stick (fig.tree).May you keep secret. Be together with your wife, in accordance with other wisemen"**.

Article 29:

The family representative on its behalf and that of his compound tells to the neighbours , family members and foreigners:

"I Antony, together with my compound and other wisemen; I will not deceive the wisemen's secret.(...) I will help those who will come towards me asking for a favour,old person as well as children. I will do it during the day, even during the night, I will do it without asking anything, without segregating anyone (...).I will do it kindly and wisely, without being lazy, I will care of others'interests, I will help them as their own parents can do (...). I will always love the country, I will defend it, I will stand for orphans, widows and needy people (...). I accept to accomplish this duty, if I go beyond it, may it smash my stomach (...). We share ideas of this duty with my wife and we will help our children to grow in the light of them(...).

His wife on her turn repeats after him those above words.

(...) symbolizes the silence where the new wisemen beats the stick on the earth justifying that he will accomplish this duty.

B.ORAL FORM.

(When collecting our data, it has been used that previous form. We got this present form thanks to the collected data of Edmond Mubi).

I.Ijambo ry'uwatirwa(Kirundi version)

1.Bashingantahe
Bapfasoni
Namwe mwese mukoraniye ngaha
Ni mugire amahoro
5 Mwebwe baryango
Mwaranyihweje
Murangomwa
Ni uko iyo ni ingingo
Muca muranja imbere
10 Munshikira kubankurira
Nabo baranyihweza
Nk'uko mwangomwe
Baca barangomwa
Ni uko iryo jambo ritungane
15 Ko bontera iteka riterwa abashingantahe
Baca barampa isango
Ry'aho bazompera umushikiriza
Ni uko bakunzi bahire
None rya sango mwampa ni iri
20Urwarwa mwantumye ng'uru
Murushikire rero
Murunywe neza

I. Speech of the candidate-wiseman(English version)

1.Honourable assembly of
wisemen
Ladies
And the whole audience
May you have peace(+clapping of hands)
5.You family members
You observed me
You liked me
***
And you led me
10.To my elders
They also observed me
As you liked me
They also liked me
***
15That they may grant me honour
done to wisemen
Then they gave me appointment
Of when they would give me a
presenter
***

Muvyuke neza
Urwo rwarwa ni urwo guca ibicaniro
Murumva iryo jambo
Maze rero
Muhave muntera iteka
Riterwa abashingantahe
Incuti n'umuryango bakoranye
Ni mugire amahoro.

Now the appointment you gave me is this
The banana you asked for is this
May you then have it
May you drink it well
May you get up well
This wine is intended to cut the haymow
***
Then after
Please grant me the honour
Done to wisemen
Relatives and family gathered
May you have peace.

II **Ijambo ry'umuhetsi**

Bashingantahe
Bapfasoni
Namwe mwese mukoraniye ngaha
Tugire amahoro

Nk'uko muvyumvise
Uyu mushingantahe mikaheli
abibashikirije
Umuryango waramwihweje
Ubushingantahe n'ubukerebutsi
Uca uramugomwa

II Speech of the supervisor

Honourable assembly of wisemen
Ladies,
and all of you gathered here,
Peace be with us.(+clapping of hands)
This man,Michel, told you
The family has observed him,
His wisdom and cleverness
And then it liked him
It introduced him to wisemen
That the secret fits him

	The secret of wisemen
	***
10 Uca uramushikiriza abashingantahe	Then they gave him myself as a
Ko akwiye ibanga	supervisor wiseman
Ibanga ry'ubushingantahe	15 That I may introduce him to
Ni uko iryo rikaba ijambo	elder wisemen
Muca muramumpa bashingantahe	***
15 Ngo ndamushikirize abashingantahe	They observed him
b'imbere	They liked him
Ni uko iryo rikaba ijambo	They observed that he actually
Baramugenzuye	deserves to have
Baramugomwa	20The secret of wisdom
Babona ko akwiye koko	***
20 Ibanga ry'ubushingantahe.	Then they sent me to him(to tell
Murumva iryo jambo	him)
Baca barantuma	That he may prepare (banana)
ko yotegura urwarwa	wine
Ngo bamushikirize ibanga	That you may give him secret
25 Incuti n'abaryango bari ng'aha	(invest him)
Ngo bamukuze ubwatsi	25 In front of (his)family and
Ni uko iyo nama itungane	relatives
None ga bashingantahe	So that they may join him in
Mumushikirize rya teka	thanking you
30 Mwamwemerera	***
Imvamakungu zikoranye	Then, wisemen,
Bamukuze ubwatsi	Grant him the honour
Tugire amahoro	30 That you promised him
	Before strangers' eyes
	May they join him in thanking you

People be with us.(+ clapping of hands)

III. Ijambo ry'umushingantahe mukuru

1 Bashingantahe
Bapfasoni
Rwaruka
Tugire amahoro
5Ni ukuri turashimye amajambo twumvise
Koko Karori twarakwihweje
Dusanga urakwiye ubushingantahe
Wahora mu mutamana w'abagabo
None turakwatiye izuba riva
10Urumva iryo jambo
Ubu uramize akabuye k'abagabo
Uwamize ntaba agicira
Urabaye umugabo wa se bagabo
Ni uko iyo nama itungane
15 Akira iyi ntahe
Urabaye umushingantahe mu bandi
Ugasanga aho batase
uratatura
Ukaba wahora uteranya,
20 Genda ubihebe.
Ukaba wahora ubesha
Genda ubihebe
Ni uko iryo jambo rigatungana

III.Speech of the senior-wisemen

1 Honourable assembly of wisemen,
Ladies,
Young people,
Peace be with us(+ clapping of hands)
5 Frankly speaking, we praise speeches we heard later.
Indeed, we observed you, Charles.
We found you worthy of becoming a wiseman
You were in men's outer garment
Now we invest you in broad daylight
10 ***
Now you swallow the little stone of men.
He who has swallowed it cannot spit it.
You become a great leader(MAN)
***
15 Have this stick
You become a wisemen among others
If you meet people quarrelling
Please, separate them
If you were accustomed to causing conflicts among people
20 Please stop it.

Ugasanga impene zona
25 Uragarura
Ugasanga inka zirwana
Urabangurukanya
Urumva iryo jambo
Ejo hakagira uwugusindira
30 ntumusubize
Urataka abandi bagabo
Ukabona ubirenzeko
Uzoba ubatukishije
Bazoguca inzoga z'abarengwa
35Ni uko iryo jambo rigatungana
Wemeye ibanga rikomeye
Ubu uratsinze ubuto
Ugiye kuba incabwenge
Uzocisha aho ukuri kuri
40 Ugiye kuba umucamanza
Atari umucangero
Urumva iryo jambo
Ntuze ute ururimi
Ntuze uhandwe ku rurimi
ikirenge kiriho

45Uratsinda ishavu
Uratsinda ubwoba
Ni uko iyo nama igatungana
Bitereyeko
Ntuze uvugire umuvumbi kumuvumba
50 Ntuze urye umunwa

If you were used to telling lies
Please, stop it.
***
If you meet goats devastating fields
25Please, prevent them from doing it.
If you meet cows fighting one
another
Please, separate them.
***
Tomorrow, if someone offends you
30Please, do not retaliate.
instead, call for help of other
wisemen
If you retaliate
You would cover them with shame
They would oblige you to pay a fine
of beer paid by lawbreakers.
35 ***
You accept a strong secret
Now you are mature enough
You are going to have a fine
intelligence
You will be frank
40 You are going to be a good judge
And not a mercenary
***
May you not lose your tongue
May you not be pricked by thorn on
your tongue while you still have a

« Umugabo amira intore
ntamira ijambo »
Ntuze uce urwa ngondagonde
Ni uko iryo jambo rigatungana
Urarwanira intano
55Ukiranire abakene
Urarwanira abapfakazi
Ni uko ijambo ritungane
Ntiriwe ndarandira rero
Kuva ubu mu munwa wawe
hatashe ukuri.
60 Ugiye kuba sebarundi
Tugire amahoro

foot.
45 May you defeat anger
May you defeat fear.
***
Moreover
May you not speak in favour of
the apiarist to beg for honey.
50 May you not eat your mouth
(fear to speak)
"A man swallows lumps of bread,
not a word"
May you not solve a conflict in a
bad way
***
May you fight for orphans
55 May you fight for the poor
May you fight for widows
***
Without delaying you
Since now the truth takes place in
your mouth.
60 Your are going to be father of
Burundians.
May we have peace
(+clapping of hands)

IV ijambo ryo gushima

1Bashingantahe
Bapfasoni
Rwaruka
Tugire amahoro
5 Maze kw'izina ryo gushima
Jewe ndashimye.
Ndashimiye mwebwe
abashingantahe
Mutambukije uyu mwana wanje
Mumuhaye icubahiro
10C'abashingantahe
Ni uko inama igatungana
None rero mushingantahe Karori
Ndagukeje cane
Ku bushingantahe uronse
15Kuri uyu munsi izuba riva
Urabugendera nk'uko babikubwiye
Natwe ku bitwerekeye
Tuzokwama imbere yawe
Tukwereke umwonga uhuma
n'udahuma
Tugire amahoro.

IVSpeech of acknowledgment

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

May we have peace(+clapping of hands).