UNIVERSITÉ DU BURUNDI
GRENIER DU SAVOIR DU BURUNDI
Dépôt institutionnel officiel
https://repository.ub.edu.bi

A pragmatic analysis of speeches performed during dowry ceremonies : case study of communes of Mbuye and Nyakabiga

Ngendakumana, Benoit; Supervisor : Mr. Julius Ayancho, Lecturer, University of Burundi

2013
UB
https://repository.ub.edu.bi/handle/123456789/531

Document téléchargé depuis le **Grenier du Savoir du Burundi** — https://repository.ub.edu.bi

UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES PERFORMED DURING DOWRY CEREMONIES: CASE STUDY OF COMMUNES OF MBUYE AND NYAKABIGA

By

Benoît Ngendakumana

Supervisor:

Mr. Julius Ayancho,
Lecturer, University of Burundi

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree **"Licence en Langue et Litterature Anglaises"**

Bujumbura, May 2013

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

My parents;

My brothers and sisters; and

The Almighty God to whom I owe everything.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To determine whom to thank or not is a total dilemma. Huge or small, the truth is that without the contribution of heartfelt people, this work would not attain this phase of completion.

Above all, special thanks go to Mr. Julius Ayancho, lecturer at the University of Burundi, who despite his numerous preoccupations, accepted to guide my work from its start to completion. Particular thanks go to the staff of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, especially that of the Department of English Language and Literature for the training and education I got from them.

Special thanks go to Mr. Kwitonda, lecturer at Makerere University, for his useful suggestions and social integration during my training. Special gratitude goes to my father, Kiramirana Joseph, who despite his old age permanently contributed financially and morally whenever I was in need. Sincere thanks go to the following families: Bitegamaso Gratien, Ciza Déo, Nsavyimana Gaston and Kivurugu Gaspard for their moral and financial support.

Finally, may my brothers and sisters, friends and relatives as well as colleagues find the testimony of my gratitude. To all I say may my success be their pride. I owe profound gratitude to all lecturers at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, particularly those of the Department of English Language and Literature.

ABBREVIATIONS

Adrsee	: Addressee
Adrser	: Addresser
CP	: Cooperative Principles
H	: Hearer
In	: Intervener
MC	: Master of Ceremonies
PP	: Politeness Principles
S	: Speaker
SP	: Speech
ER	: English Rendition

ABSTRACT

The aim of this work was, first of all, to investigate how speeches are perceived, particularly those performed during dowry ceremonies. In the same vein, this study threw light on the techniques used by speakers while holding a conversation with respect to dowry occasions. With reference to our findings, we found out that people listening to dowry speeches misunderstand or do not understand at all particularly young people. During our research it was also discovered that dowry speeches are a reflection of Burundi culture.

The pragmatic analysis made to those speeches has shown some links; the link between the speaker and his social status, age, and setting. It has been noticed that the level of education is what accentuates the dowry. It was asserted by most of our informants that dowry ceremonies as a key to marriage ceremony constitute an obstacle to those who wish to get married. The result is that some are giving altered cheque, or bounce that is without money on their account as dowry. Suggestions from informants were that dowry ceremonies should be the reflection of the culture and be taken as symbolic otherwise the dowry would be taken as cost and the bride as merchandise.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION.. ..... **i**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **ii**

ABBREVIATIONS ..... **iii**

ABSTRACT..... ..... **iv**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **v**

CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION **1**

I.0. Introduction 1

I.1. Background to the study 3

I.2. Statement of the problem 5

I.3. Motivation 6

I.4. Research questions 8

I.5. Hypotheses 8

I.6. Aim of the study 9

I.7. Importance of the study 9

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW **12**

II.1. Introduction 12

II.2. Key to pragmatics 14

II.2.1. Definitions of key terms 15

II.2.2. Logic of conversation 18

II.2.3. Pragmatics and its surroundings 23

1. Pragmatics vs. semantics 24

2. Pragmatics vs. sociolinguistics 25

3. Pragmatics & psycholinguistics 27

II.3. Language aspects and functions 30

II.3.1. Language aspect 31

II.3.2. Grice's theory 31

1. Cooperative principles (CP) 32

2. Politeness principles (PP) 33

II.3.3. Language function 35
1. Speech acts 36
2. Issue of presupposition and implicature 38
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY 41
III.1.Introduction 41
III.1. Data Collection Procedures 41
a. Recorded Interviews 41
b. Questionnaire 42
III.1.1.Area of the Study 42
III.1.2.Research Population 43
III.1.3.Sampling Techniques 43
III.2. Data analysis procedures 44
III.3.Limitations 45
CHAPTER IV: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS 46
IV.1. Data Presentation 46
IV.1.1. Interpretation of the recorded speeches 49
IV.1.2. Discussion of the strategies 49
1. Presentation 49
2. Digression 50
3. Expressives 50
a. Referential Aspect 50
b. Request 52
4. Request 53
5. Promise 55
a. Self-depreciation 55
b. Commitment 55

IV.2. Data Analysis 56
IV.2.1. Variation in speech utterance 60
1. Setting 61
2. Age 62
IV.2.2. Speech functions 62
IV.2.2.0. Introduction 62
IV.2.2.1. Illocutionary speech act 62
1. Assertives 65
2. Directives 66
3. Commissives 66
IV.3. Findings 67
IV.3.1. Results from Questionnaire and Interview 68

CHAPTER V: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 70
V.1. General Conclusion 70
V.2. Recommendations 72
V.2.1. Recommendations 72
V.2.2. Suggestions 74
BIBLIOGRAPHY 75
APPENDICES 79

CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I.0. Introduction

Each society has its own language. Language is one of the characteristics of the society. Wherever there is a society there should be language to maintain relations. This relation is held on communication; hence language is the main tool without which communication would not succeed. To express one's feeling, thought, opinion, ideas, language holds the first position. Besides, the most important aim of language is communication. It is a social activity requiring the coordinate efforts of two or more individuals.

In fact when two or more people are interacting, it becomes a conversation. The language used in the conversation may be specific depending upon one's intention and purpose. In English as in any other language of the world there should be social convention governing the use of that language in order to fulfill one's goal or target. Leibniz in Ntahomvukiye (1981:3) puts "language is the mirror of the human spirit".

The true picture of the human being is discovered through his sayings. The more the conversation proceeds the more his thoughts and opinions are shown. A French speaker says=dis-moi qui tu hantes je te dirai qui tu es=Tell me who you are acquainted with I will tell you what you wonder. Conversation is a key to the discovering of one's intention. When two persons are interacting they do not only discuss but also exchange unwillingly their beliefs, arts and social institutions of a particular group. While exchanging or holding a conversation the issue of language becomes sophisticated and challenging. This is due to the fact that while interacting,

they do not share the same social group or institution. Listening to conversation calls upon prerequisites in the field of linguistics.

Malinowsky (19:307) states:

> *Exactly as in the reality of spoken or written language a word without linguistic context is a mere figment and stands for nothing by itself. So in the reality of spoken living tongue the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation.*

Any conversation must have an orientation to avoid vagueness, otherwise it would be talking in the air. That orientation must be given buy linguists so that the analysis should not be strange. Relying on linguistic theories, as it has been stated earlier, some functions of language such as speaking, greeting, requesting, delivering a speech, the later will be our much attention since our topic is pragmatic analysis of speeches performed during dowry ceremonies, its analysis will be a paramount task in this work with reference to theories of speech act and language function. Here Halliday (1973:25) who emphasizes language function distinguishes three types of language:

1. The interpersonal function which embodies all uses of language to express social and personal relations including all forms of the speaker's intrusion into the speech situation and the speech act that language helps people to interact with one another, control their behavior and also express their own attitudes and feelings.

2. The second type is the ideational function. It is about language and how it is used to convey information.

3. The last function of language is the textual function. It fills the requirement that distinguishes a living message from a mere entry in

grammar or a dictionary. It is about the organization of discourse as relevant to the situation. In other words, it is concerned with language in context. The main concern will be the contextualization of the language and it must be appropriate to the speaker using it.

The same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations and different purposes.

I.1. Background to the study

Linguists, anthropologists and sociolinguists have tried to define language in relation to different genres of language. All over the world language is taken as a tool of communication. It is an instrument whereby people express thoughts, wishes, ideas, feelings and opinions. Moreover language is used in many spheres of life such as language spoken at office, at school; at church, while applying for a job, and delivering a speech. All those spheres evoked above in which language is used, are made clear through the context and situation. Language must be adapted to the situation and consequently the context.

It is assumed that the speaker and the hearer are expected to master the culture of a given society to avoid digression. Focusing on the language used while delivering a speech particularly during dowry ceremonies, speakers are involved in a challenging interaction.This is is due to strategies used by both to decode the ,message addressed to the,

Therefore, if you are not a born Burundian or if you are not a native speaker of Kirundi, it is difficult even impossible to catch the meaning. Any conversation has an opening, middle as well as an end. "Participants are observed as human beings who make a move and often seem to follow

certain rules as the dialogue progresses. They are physically and psychologically involved" (Crystal 1907:116)

From the quotation above, It is clear that delivering a speech is a challenging task. However, the surprise is that nowadays, speeches are delivered where the people expected to listen are physically present but psychologically somewhere else. This may be due to many factors; for instance, the audience may not understand the situation and the context in which the speech is uttered are strange to them. For example, if it happens to an Indian to listen or take part in dowry ceremonies in Burundi, he/she will be surprised because in Burundi the dowry is paid by a man whereas in India it is paid by the bride.

Furthermore, the consideration and image given to dowry is divergently interpreted through time and space. In ancient Burundi, the dowry was a common agreement between two families without consulting the bridegroom. The couple had no right on the decision made by the parents. It was the father who took responsibilities and brought the bride to his son. Since it was a negotiation between families, the dowry was determined and fixed by the two families depending upon the wealth estate.

In fact, the dowry had never been considered as a cost or a price otherwise the girl would be taken as merchandise. Nevertheless, some families are denying the amount of money given as a dowry saying that it is not sufficient. One can ask himself how much dowry is whereas some are calling it a gift. Is there any fixed price for a gift? Is to pay a lot of money as a dowry a good reflection of the culture? Anyway, as some people consider it, as symbol others as gift and should not constitute an impediment to a couple that really wish to get married.

I.2. Statement of the problem

The dowry in Burundian culture may constitute a string to a couple who want to be wife and husband in the near future. On the contrary, the reality that is prevailing in some Burundi beliefs expresses the paradox with a pragmatic analysis of speeches performed during dowry ceremonies.

However, there have been a number of people complaining about bride price whether before or after dowry ceremonies. Indeed, the complaining is not open due to cultural constraints. Married or not, one would wonder why the bride price is taking a high rate in Burundi society since there is price for human being

Therefore, Burundi culture denies calling dowry a cost or price but rather a gift or a symbol. Surprisingly, some families take the dowry as an income without which the bride would not leave the house. However some couples decide to go beyond their families demands. It is in this light that dowry speeches require an analysis to help involved listeners to grasp the meaning. This issue is to establish the effect of dowry in Burundi culture and Burundi psyche.

Moreover, we are lucky that the speeches performed during dowry ceremonies demonstrate that the dowry is the symbol of unity between the two families. What is questionable is that in some cases it can be a total equivalent. This work is an attempt to provide a tentative solution to the dowry that is becoming questionable in one way or another. The pragmatic analysis performed during dowry ceremonies as it is our topic will serve to demystify those who misinterpret the dowry. For instance, why is the dowry a challenging case in town rather than in the countryside? Why are well-off families more demanding in terms of dowry than modest ones? The diversity

of regions within one country makes people interpret speeches differently though the ceremony is the same.

I.3. Motivation

Generally, to carry out a research, one needs to be motivated or inspired. The motivation may be self or outside influence. Indeed, one can speak well if his/her tongue can deliver the message of his/her heart. To carry out a research, one needs to be self convinced and try to convince others with collected data. In other words, it is difficult to transmit what your heart is against.

Thus, my motivation is a reflection and a fulfillment of my dream. First and foremost, I am a Burundian who is fond of promoting Burundi culture through writings. From this perspective, an idea to bring my little contribution to the promotion of the culture came in my mind. I also decided to write on the dowry as one of the mirrors through which the Burundi culture can be seen. In fact, I have particularly been involved in speeches performed during dowry ceremonies for the only reason that I was born with four sisters and fully participated at their dowry ceremonies when I was young.

Unfortunately, I did not understand the parallelisms, symbols, and metaphors embodied in their speech. Hence, the idea stayed in my mind as I grew up with a hope that one day I would have a little to say about it. Moreover, after notions from Pragmatics, Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistics, I became warmly interested in those speeches and intended to analyze them pragmatically. Though the father of the bridegroom comes with money, cows or any other property, he has to kneel down as someone who does not have the right of getting it. That is why those properties are not

taken as equivalent, cost or price but rather as a gift. The father of the bridegroom says: nje kugusaba inka=I come to ask a cow. With reference to the culture, a cow has a great role to play in Burundi society. That is why it is compared to the bride.

Rodegem (1986:20) "la vache est le symbole de toute félicité, elle octroie à son propriétaire prestige et sécurité deux valeurs stables et des plus estimées au Burundi". *Translation*: The cow is the symbol of felicity; it gives prestige and security to its owner, two stable values of the highest esteem in Burundi.

The speech performed that day is accompanied by rituals. What Austen 1962 calls *felicity conditions*. The later applies particularly to those performatives associated with rituals or very formal events. Those conditions are as follows:

i. There must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect;
ii. The circumstances and persons must be appropriate;
iii. The procedure must be executed;
    a. correctly
    b. completely
iv. The person must have prerequisites, thoughts, feelings and intentions.
v. If the subsequent is specified, then the relevant or concerned parties must do it.

From that point, we understand that language is used not only to make statements but also to do things and this helps to illustrate that language and society are identical twins. It reflects the society and it is spoken within it. Though cultures may be different or may vary, the issue of the

interconnection between language and culture is always present. Thus, the need to illustrate and relate language to culture is of great importance.

I.4. Research questions

Research questions are questions used by the researcher to throw light on the study plan systematically by addressing specific issues of the research problem. Research questions are expected to be general; they are superficial without going into details. Details are given in the questionnaire. The following research questions guide our work:

1. Do symbols evoked in Kirundi speeches during dowry ceremonies mean exactly what they literally express?
2. Is linguistic competence self sufficient to interpret Kirundi speeches uttered during dowry ceremonies?
3. To what extent is the dowry symbolic?

I.5. Hypotheses

Hypotheses are the tentative answers that the researcher gives before gathering the data. They are known as basic assumptions. Hypotheses are always in the declarative form. What is needed is to relate them specifically to the statement. Since these answers are pre-answers, definitive ones will be provided after data analysis. Hypotheses are tentative answers to the research questions, and they are as follows:

1. Symbols evoked in Kirundi speeches are far different from the literal meaning.
2. Linguistic competence may be self sufficient to interpret Kirundi speeches uttered during dowry ceremonies with regard to the culture.

3. It is assumed that the dowry is symbolic to the extent that it is not considered as a cost but rather as social unification.

I.6. Aim of the study

A lot of works have been made on the use of politeness and verbal interaction in many languages like Brown and Levinson's work (1987): "Politeness some universals in language use, which deals with the analysis of politeness in some language such as English, many of them were interested in sociolinguistic analysis. That is the language and the culture interpersed with the analysis of the former. I find interesting to direct my paper towards the analysis of the pragmatic issue where we are obliged to go beyond the speaker's intention and contextualize the situation. I want to provide some illustration of the ways in which Kirundi speakers while delivering dowry speeches meet the interactional demands that contextualization sets forth. This paper will also deal with the way speakers in dowry ceremonies play a hide and sick game and end in agreeing. It is shown also that strategies used are the reflection of the culture itself.

I.7. Importance of the study

At first glance, it might seem obvious that dowry speeches are a well understood concept in human interaction. Hence the task of interested researchers is relatively straight forward. While the existence of the pragmatic analysis is a key to the understanding of the concept and how to account for it, is certainly problematic.

The usefulness of this study lies in that I believe that, patterns of message construction or ways of putting things; like ways of making request in request ceremony, are among the main elements of the quality of the social relationships. Besides, the misunderstanding of the interested listeners will benefit from this paper. In other words, dimension by which individuals manage to relate to others in particular ways is the basis of a good human social life and interaction within the community.

This paper will also help students of linguistics in the understanding of pragmatics and its theories. Beyond, it will show how those theories can be well applied to speeches in general and dowry speeches in particular.

This chapter gives a glance to the pragmatic issue. It introduces the topic and orientates it in space. It traces the lightening points that will govern the work. It gives the reader's picture of what is pregnant in the whole work. It gives also the reader's impression and perception of the work. It encourages the reader to continue reading till the end.

1.8. Scope and Delimitation

This study is limited to pragmatic analysis of dowry speeches and strategies that are embodied in it. Attention was drown on the way those speeches were executed. Since pragmatics is a branch of language in interaction and the effects the use of that language has on the other participants in the act of communication. I limit myself on these effects on speaker and hearer because working beyond it the study would be broad and confusing.

In addition, the work was limited to ladies and gentlemen concerned with those speeches divided into three main categories:

1. Ready to get married registered in their communes (from December, 2012 to march 2013)
2. Recently married registered in their communes (from 2010 to 2013)
3. Very married registered in their communes (from 25 years ago and beyond)

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1. Introduction

Researchers have been undertaken their research on various domains. Some have worked on linguistics and its branches, others on literature depending upon their inspiration and motivation. Similarly, works of linguistics in general and those of pragmatics in particular have helped us to carry out our investigation.

It is easy to follow when there are guidelines. Convinced that a work without reference is not far different from a tree without roots that may be taken by the wind at any time, normally books are written with other books and differ from one another in the style and message to convey. In the light of supporting and sustaining our work, an idea to convince the audience with relevant books has emerged in our mind and intends to refer to published and unpublished books.

Furthermore, the purpose of writing or saying things with reference is to communicate efficiently and surely with the intention to be trusted by your audience. While expressing one's idea or opinion many ways may be used depending upon the circumstances or the context and time available to him. One may choose to communicate with proverbs, expressions or through speeches. From the message encoded in those ways it is up to the hearer to decode the message by using analysis.

Therefore, the analysis to be used varies from individual to individual depending upon the context in which the speaker(s) and hearer(s) are and what is their objective. It may be pragmatic, semantic, sociocultural,

psycholinguistics and many other that can hold the objective of the hearer. It is assumed that when someone is delivering a speech, or while uttering a sentence, the audience keeps on listening and paying particular attention to him/her. Fishman (1970:765) has this to say:

> *People's reaction to language variety can reveal their perception of the speakers. The speaker may reflect the wishes of less articulate or visible group members and that they may galvanize latent desires. Leaders are always minor after all.*

Besides, after hearing, the listener is expected to react to what is said. There may be clapping, gossiping and others keep listening. This may be due to the fact that the audience may not have understood or it is not an interesting matter or the speaker is not well placed to say it. Pride, JB (1975:18) says that being polite is being cooperative. Speaking to others is a social activity and like other social activities (example: dancing, playing in orchestra, playing cards or football). It can only take place if the people involved "S" and "H" mutually recognize certain conventions that govern their actions and utterances of the person they are speaking with. While listening, the hearer, (H), tries to figure out the context and discover the suitable analysis. Hence, analysis side by side can follow to facilitate the understanding.

In fact as the topic is pragmatic analysis of speeches, our main concern in this work is to center on pragmatics and its principles. It is commonly alleged that the truth or relevance of a given work is assessed by the references. Our first task is to define pragmatics and relate it to other fields of linguistics: psycholinguistics, semantics, and sociolinguistics.

II.2. Key to pragmatics

As it has been said earlier, pragmatics is the main concern of most of the linguistic area. As Leech puts it (1983:1) "we cannot really understand the nature of language unless we understand pragmatics: how language is used in communication". Though this quotation is helpful while dealing with pragmatics, it is obvious to start with semantic skills whereby pragmatics is understood. Without the prerequisites of semantics it is more demanding to deal with pragmatics, since pragmatics attempts to solve problems of abstract meaning, contextual meaning and intentional meaning.

The first is the meaning concerned with what a word or a sentence could mean, for example, the dictionary meaning. The second is the meaning that may arise from various interpretations, for example, *Yohani n'inka n'imirima = John is cow and farms*. Depending on the context this sentence means that "John is a kind person". The third meaning refers to the force, that is, the speaker's intention. For example, a student who was absent yesterday, comes the next day and the teacher asks him a question and he fails to respond properly, and the teacher says "Were you here yesterday?" The student replies, "Yes". The teacher proceeds, "Sure!" As the face of the student is being threatened he/she will finish by telling the truth. The question addressed by the teacher is not a simple question as such but rather a checking question. The objective of these elements is to check the veracity or truthful of the hearer. The following definitions show the link between the speaker and the hearer and the message that they convey.

II.2.1. Definitions of key terms

Meaning and context are of paramount importance in the understanding of language. As Hymes (1972) quoted in Brown Yule (1983:37) "the context helps to overcome the difficulties created by vagueness and ambiguity".

Contextualization plays a major role while dealing with a challenging task as such. Hickey (1989:158) in his essay on language says: "language is the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral, auditory, and arbitrary symbols." There is a close connection between language and speech, in so far as speech comes from the verb to speak and speaking involves using language. One cannot speak without the help of language no matter what language it could be. Actually linguists or anyone else can deduce the importance of pragmatics as far as language intelligibility is concerned. Pragmatics answers to the question on how language works in communication. While communicating, many ways are expected to be used; one may choose sentences, proverbs, or expressions, and the choice depends on the kind of information one wants to pass through. In fact, all those ways are complementary because in a speech there should be sentences linked together to convey a message. Even in proverbs, sentences are there to enhance the meaning. This is what Searl (1969:43) says in that respect:

> *In speaking I attempt to communicate things to my hearer by getting him to recognize my intention to communicate just those things I have the intended effect on the hearer by getting him to recognize my intention to achieve that and as soon as the hearer recognizes what is my intention, to achieve it is in*

general achieved. He understands what I am saying as soon as he recognizes my intention in uttering what I utter as an intention to say that thing.

With Recanatti (1987:27) who claims that language is not simply a means of communicating information about the weather or any other subject; it is also a very important means of establishing and maintaining relationships with other people. As far as speeches in dowry ceremonies are concerned, dowry implies request ceremony. One can ask himself that it is called request ceremony whereas the father of the bridegroom goes to the bride's family with the bride wealth on the day this is due to cultural conventions. *Ahubona nakwisunze kuko umutima wakundangiye (SP8). =You see I have leaned on you for my heart commended you. Uhagarara hejuru ukansumba wahagarara hepfo kukaba kwakundi=Stand above, you are tall as well as below.*

In fact the hand of the receiver is always under the hand of the giver. The hearer, the listener while listening must be careful and get the right understanding of the message from his interlocutor. To this end he must listen very carefully and retain the major ideas developed in the speech and the basis for the reply.

The hearer's reply may not fit the speaker's question but the culture obliges him to pursue. Bernstein (1965:15) in his book entitled, *Language in Culture and Class*, states "language is a set of rules to which all speech codes must comply, but which speech codes are generated in function of the system of social relations." Hasabana abasanganywe=gift lies where people know each other. In fact, there is inside the speech a colloquial speech and the higher style reserved to ceremonial and other occasions. The bride's father infers a course of action and answers in those words: Mugenzi icifuzo cawe

ndacumvise ariko inka wansavye ntayomfise= "I understand your wish but I don't have a cow even the little I have is still too small". The bride is being compared to a cow during dowry ceremonies for the reason why the Burundi society is attached to the cow and dowry as a whole. Traditionally, a cow was used as dowry particularly in well-of families. Hence, the parallelism with bride and cow as gift in dowry ceremonies. Geertz (1983:254) states that "the linguistic result is a slow delivery long word and elaborate phrases a kind of stately prompt conversation seem like a great ceremony". Comparing a bride to a cow is to focus on its importance. In Ntahokaja (1978:62) "ufisinka abatunze vyinshi. Inka ni maze vyose urayirya ukayambara ukayinywa ukayituma utwukeneye twose vyongeye ikanagusabisha" =The one who owns a cow in Burundi possess a lot of things: the cow is "I all accomplish" you eat it , you wear it, you drink it and you get whatever you want from it.

In addition it consolidates social relationships. All those attributes to the cow constitute the traditional legacy, even to appreciate the beauty of a lady in Burundi culture, people say maso nkinyana= eyes as calf. To mean that Burundian compliment, cow, as well as girl. Thus a bride is expected to replace a cow in accomplishment. Bigirumwami (1979:177) puts:

> *La vache, animal noble par excellence, la vache est un élément de richesse, intrinsèque et de prestige social, la vache intervient pour sceller les grandes alliances. Elle est donnée comme objet de contrat de clientèle « ubugabire » et comme dot « inkwano » dans la conclusion d'un marriage*= Noble animal by excellence, the cow is an element of intrinsic wealth and social prestige (...) the cow intervenes to seal the great alliances. It is given as an object of patronage contract " ubugabire" and as dowry "inkwano".

II.2.2. Logic of conversation

As we know in conversation as well as in communication, two persons are at least expected to interact. From this perspective Spradley (1979:191) tells us a little bit:

> *In communication situation, there are at least two persons: one an actual agent, another, a possible agent, that is, speaker and hearer or addresser and addressee respectively. One belongs to at least one speech community, that is, a group of persons with the same language and related conventions for interaction.*

It is obvious to mention that in conversation it is pragmatics itself that helps either the speaker or hearer to overcome the ambiguities contained in the utterances that are being uttered. Those utterances are provided with reference to particular principles so that the interactants should not be lost. Grice has emphasized more forceful than any other recent philosopher and also longer than any of his colleagues the importance of taking into account the nature of the whole discourse in which a speaker is engaged and not just the particular proposition he or she is making. Curiously both the speaker and hearer seem to play hide and seek in their conversation. The speaker tries to flatter the hearer and the hearer pretends not to feel the soft words. The beginning is bitter and harmful to hear but little by little the dialogue proceeds smoothly.

Lucas (1983:86) says: the audience is neither influenced by the vitality of the topic nor the personality of the speaker but the audience is interested and influenced by an attractive introduction. *nje ndi ntura sinje ndi ndemeka,*

unteriteka riterwa abasavyi niwangomwa uzongabire= I come with, I' m not coming to take off, I plead as requester.

To the speaker or the groom's father, the bride's wealth is being minimized. In the eyes of the hearer, he infers the course of action and will not consider the bride's wealth or dowry as the cost but rather as a gift. That is why while responding he will say "I see that you come with baskets on heads" = ndabona ko waje wikoreye. The conversation is going on smoothly. From the beginning, the bride is compared to a cow and little by little the speaker is explaining what kind of cow he wants: a cow that will go to fetch water, fetch firewood an accomplished cow and a cow that consolidates social relationships. Meanwhile the symbolism that occurs in these speeches has the intention to embellish the style and to match with the culture. The way of expressing ideas, opinions and wish towards Burundi culture is not to speak automatically but to turn around the idea by using metaphors and symbolism. This is due to the cultural barriers as some proverbs prove it: Ushaka inka aryama habi= the one who wants a cow should have patience. As the task for selecting the right bride, the rite of UGUSABA = giving dowry has customarily been an exercise requiring an experienced perception and shrewd bargaining especially when it comes to fixing the amount of the bride price.

Still unknown is whether or not the dowry has constituted a string to the marriage event and the girl recourses to elopement (*ugucikira*), a procedure consisting in the girl's running away in secret as a mode of affecting the marriage especially when the bride thinks that this demand might jeopardize the prospects of her marriage. To proceed, this practice has characterized Burundi culture and is still occurring in another form of it. Questionable is to

know whether or not this practice is due to the lack of bride price or the girl may lack an opportunity and prefers to elope herself.

Whether the bride price is given or not, one would wonder if the consideration will be similar to the groom who paid the dowry and the one who did not. Though things look alike, the amount and actual items comprising the dowry varies with the specific requirements set by the bride's family on the one hand in agreement with and in accordance with the wealth of the suitor's family as estimated by the bride's family on the basis of their private investigation and on the other hand with the assessment of the suitor's family in the payment. The new couple will be entitled to receive back some offspring. This is the reason why the bride wealth should not be a burden to the groom and not be paid with livestock.

Since the house is strengthened by its foundation, what if the new family was to rise from nothing because of the expensiveness of the dowry. NKURIKIYE (1994:23) gives the three main functions of dowry:

1. Legitimize marriage
2. Family compensation
3. formalize affinal relations

If legitimize falls in the right of legalize, one would wonder how much is legalization and what are the possible conditions. It is true that dowry is perceived in terms of compensation but since there is no tagged price on a person's value, there shall always be a bargain in terms of dowry giving and receiving. Tambiah (1968:85) paraphrases dowry in referring to the transfer of valuable goods and sometimes cash from the kin of the groom's family to that of the bride. Sometimes it is referred to as bride price, a term that raises

some controversies as it incorrectly implies the idea of a price to buy a bride or wife.

For him to talk about bride price is to abuse, if there is a bride price there should also be a groom price as well as bride wealth=groom wealth. This is what Hymes (1972:106) says:

> *Any kind of oral literature offers delight and so relieves us of various pressures and tensions both physically and mentally. He says that under physical conditions of work, oral literature mostly (....) helps to keep up the spirit and relieves the worker of the boredom.*

His idea challenges the reader in so far that oral literature is transmitted from generation to generation, mountain to mountain, and from country to country. The issue of originality may be distorted since it is not written. Okpewho (1992:106) proceeds: "one of the most acknowledged literature is recording the historical experience of a people".

Analysts, linguists and pragmaticists help us with their views to overcome those speech controversies. A speech is an independent identity but may vary from many factors such as context and circumstances. Brown and Yule (1983:27) state: "Analysts have to take into account the context in which a piece of discourse occurs." He claims that the simplest view to assume in spoken text is that a tape recording of communication will preserve the text. Whether spoken or not, any spoken language must have rules that govern it to avoid interference. Otherwise, language interference would always occur.

Kopins quoted by Ndihokubwayo (1979:9-14) claims that: "languages are a system of symbols, almost wholly based on pure or arbitrary conventions."

However, all linguists do not argue on the same stand, but it matters a little or does not matter at all because diversity is necessary to harmony. This is in the reader's interest since the former will be granted with enough critics that lead to the awareness of the vivid knowledge. Wardaugh (1986; 12-15) and Chomsky (1986:26) may help to decode the meaning encoded before Brown perceives1983:18 language as a system of arbitrary local symbols by means of which a social group cooperates.

By local symbols, culture and context are intertwined in the first round. Face to the sociological approach, we are products of our own society. What we are doing today is the result of what we have been living many years ago. It is inferable that the analysis of the verbal behavior in speech events will reflect a significant part of culture in the society. In fact, what is red is red because of the local convention and with agreement to the culture. In Kirundi, speech is *ijambo*, dowry is *inkwano*; in luganda it is *omutwaro*, speech is *omwogezi*. Though the message is identical, the way of speaking is somehow different due to the linguistic variation, local conventions and symbols.

Williams (1921:8) puts "Language is a purely human and non instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols". Human interaction is the main stand of our work. To express one's wishes and desires, there should be inner motivation that pushes the speaker and directs the speech straightforward to his expected answers. The hearer may digress willingly but the speaker (S) is called upon to insist though the addressee is expressing refusal, as it is a dialogue between known people (hasabana abasanganywe). The speaker knows the reason why the hearer is refusing and digressing. It is up to the speaker (S) to convince with pertinent arguments and expresses the necessity of his request.

If the addressee says sinokwicira kurutendeko= I wouldn't want to give you promises, and ukire uruzuba=I would not like you to endure the sun hit, there is need to test the speaker's patience and diligence, as an American proverb *no sweet without sweat* =ntawurya akatamugoye.

Nkurikiye (1994:36) gives details on the attitude of both the speaker and the hearer towards the perception of speech. Speaker:

- Regardless of the reality acts as if the addressee is superior.
- Tries to make the addressee feel flattered.
- In the position of the requester acts infer.
- Does not impose, uses suggestions, not commands.
- Makes a literal or if appropriate an idiomatic interpretation of the proposition context: nje kugusaba inka= I'm requesting a cow (we ask someone something). While listening, the addressee thinks about the way of responding with respect to the cooperative principles, not to threaten the speaker's face. Here is his way of answering.

Get the right understanding of the message and secure a sense of sharing a common ground with his interlocutor. To this end we must listen very carefully, retain the major ideas developed in the speech and use them as the basis for his reply.

II.2.3. Pragmatics and its surroundings

Recanatti1969:21Although pragmatics stands as a branch of linguistics that carries a vital role in the understanding of a given text or speech, it does not work alone to convey a suitable analysis. Psycholinguistics, semantics and sociolinguistics are the main linguistic fields that help pragmatics to adapt the text to the hearer (audience).

1. Pragmatics vs. semantics

Williams (1974:34) Though they are not identical twins, a string that ties them together is not to neglect. To say that they are related is not enough but they are complementary to one another.

Lyons (1981:28-30) Semantics is generally defined as the study of meaning in language. In the field of logic, semantics is considered as the study of linguistic reference and truth conditions in languages. The term meaning is of course much more familiar to us all, but dictionary meaning is a key to all attempts of definitions. Normally, the meaning of a sentence can be predicted from the meaning of the words it contains or from these lexemes and the grammatical features. Finally, language is often deeply concerned with a variety of social relations. We can be right but the decisions to make may depend upon the social relationship with the persons to whom we are talking.

Chomsky (1964:14) argues that: languages are infinitely extendable and modifiable according to the changing needs and conditions of the speakers.) While awakening the speaker, we are no longer being interested in semantics but rather pragmatics. Lyons (1990:20) claims that any semantic presupposition expressed in a given context with a pragmatic presupposition of the people in that context, but converse clearly does not hold).

Though some linguists state that in terms of presupposition there is no conflict between the two concepts because explanations are differing in ideas. Semantics is the end whereby pragmatics starts its job. Pragmatic meaning comes to extend the semantic meaning. Lucas (1938:6) shows that pragmatics and semantics are respectively relations of signs to interpret and relate signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable. This definition

leads us to claim that both semantics and pragmatics belong to semiotics which refers to the study of signs.

The understanding of a text or speech cannot be entirely of what a speaker means by an utterance. The utterance has both the speaker and the hearer; hence, pragmatics studies behavior that is motivated in terms of conversation goals. Searle (1969:6) states that pragmatics is concerned with utterance meaning whereas semantics is concerned with literal meaning. A linguistic reality is pragmatics and other linguistic fields share a common theme which is meaning. This conversation that takes place on the hearer's, speaker's is verbal exchange taken as an inter subject activity or social practice. In other words, pragmatics studies what speakers do with words whereas semantics studies what words mean and what use words to talk about.

2. Pragmatics vs. sociolinguistics

Language and human behavior are the paramount elements of sociolinguistics. Lucas(1938:21-22) declares "a genre of literature whether presented in spoken way as is now our custom in writing, consists of beautiful or otherwise notable utterances". What we normally think of as a literature in our own culture is a particular manifestation of something that is found in all cultures. Sociolinguistics implies language and society, to mean that language is not spoken in the forest but in a society. It is argued that cultural differences add an additional deep-seated layer of complexity to the influence of age, sex and social class variation in communication, especially since these intergroup variables are marked. Language is shaped by the society. Besides, society is also shaped by culture. This is because we are free to speak whatever we want with the devices that we are born with, but provided that we do not violate the rules and norms of the society. Cultural

constraints are there as the supreme control of our language. From this perspective, Williams (1976:79) Puts: "Nothing is more undermined than culture and nothing is more deceptive than its application to all nations and periods". It is somehow surprising to hear people from the same culture and the same society fail to agree on the same issue. The question of "why" is always present and tentative answers may be provided by scholars. Geertz (1960:14) states the social three divisions:

> *the peasants speak mainly on the lowest level, towns men on the second when talking to close friends and aristocrats on the highest when talking to men intimate, equals and that the linguistic result is a slow delude long words and elaborate phrases a kind of stately prompt which can make the simplest conversation seem like a great ceremony.*

Hasabana abasanganwe (1) Gifts are commonly given to friendly people; Hayaga abangana = Conversation is smooth between equal people.

Generally, pragmatics is divided into two branches, pragmalinguistics and socio-pragmatics. The former refers to grammar while the latter refers to sociology. Levinson (1953:28) is attempting to show the difference that exists between sociolinguistics and pragmatics by giving the examples of the first element that the differences may show; he claims that pragmatics deals with honorifics whereas sociolinguistics deals with detailed recipes for such items. In short, it is important to note that language switching and shifting are not solely determined by the social situation. Speakers are not sociolinguistic automata; they can use switching for their own purpose to influence or define the situation as they wish and to convey nuances of

meaning and personal intention. Language choice, on the other hand, can also be employed to indicate particular moods and intentions.

According to Peter Trudgill (1983:57) sociolinguists have looked at the way in which language can be used for manipulating relationships and achieving particular goals. They have also looked at rules for the conducting and interpreting of conversation and at the way these may differ from society to society.

3. Pragmatics & psycholinguistics

Peter Trudgill (1974:24) it is very difficult to separate something from the mind that knows it. As we know, pragmatics is contrasted with semantics which deals with meaning without reference to the users and communicative functions of sentences. In other words, semantics is independent and autonomous in its analysis. It does not care about the speaker or the hearer, the performer or the audience.

However, pragmatics has to look at the speaker's intention and if need be what really motivates the individual to say so. While looking at the motivation of the speaker, we have already broken the frontiers of pragmatics and we are dealing with the mind itself that controls our language. The three stages of pragmatics may help us to relate it to psycholinguistics: Leech: (1983:19).

a. How the interpretation and use of utterances depend on the knowledge of the real world.
b. How speakers use and understand speech acts.
c. How the structure of sentences is influenced by the relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

Fishman (1988:177) Adds: "Languages are the instruments which enable human beings to achieve a rational comprehension of the world in which they live." Fortes (1962:67) in his critics asserts that colloquial speech and the higher styles are reserved for ceremonies and other occasions, meanwhile, the speaker as well as the hearer whether willing or not have to fetch in his/her custodian of tradition so as to speak or to answer. Through a skillful monitoring of the speech, the language and the mind are co-operating with one another, which lead to the manipulation and selection of what to say and what not to say.

Aristotle (1977:19):

> *The thought of the personage is shown in everything to be effected by their language. An effort to prove or disagree to arouse emotion (...), whenever they wish to arouse pity, horror, or have a look of importance or probability. The only difference is that with the act, the impression has to be made without explanation, whereas with the spoken word it has to be produced by the speaker and result from his language. (...) Written words are signs of spoken words, the latter are primarily signs, or the reflection of impression or affection.*

Indeed, our words have wings but they do not fly where we would. The speaker may use soft words with the purpose to be well heard. Besides, the speaker is expressing what is prevailing in his mind. Briefly, his psychology is discovered through his talk. This is what Lucas (1938:74) says in this respect:

> *Techniques such as those utilized by a good and other collaborators make greater objectivity possible in that the describer; instead of asking himself asks a representative sample of speech community and treats the degree of agreement between answers as a significant and measurable variable, in order to keep answers from varying too wildly and to make them suitable for quantitative analysis. The technique prescribes that the subjects make a multiple choice from among preselected set of possible answers. The resulting quasi semantic description is then condensed further by means of statistical manipulation.*

Indeed, what someone speaks means in this context what selections he makes from his repertoire of ways of speaking with speech that is more consciously adapted to the immediate circumstances, especially the speaker's perception of relation to the hearer. Psycholinguistics deals with the mental process that a person uses in producing and understanding languages, and between how humans learn languages, speech perception, the role of memory, concepts and other processes in language use and how social and psychological factors affect the use of language. The stage of conceptualization has much to do with psychological issue; the use of figures of speech is due to the fact that the speaker wants to safe basic attitude and mental processes. Our concern puts much attention on the metaphor since it is the main figure of speech in delivering a speech. Normally, in metaphor no function words such as "like" or "as" are used but something is described by stating another thing which can be compared to. I request a cow with two legs who can fetch water and firewood= Nje kugusaba Inka, inka y'amaguru abiri izosenya ikavoma.

II.3. Language aspects and functions

Though scholars and researchers have contributed to the understanding and analysis of language, it is obviously important to mention which analysis we are dealing with. Harvey Sacks (1983:52) says:

> *(...) understood deep compassion that we are fate to live in a world of talk. We are successively exalted or bored, enrapted, embarrassed, made anxious largely by organized conversation. A conversation where seduction, threats pour out are expected to happen.*

To overcome those ambiguities in communication, analysts and linguists suggested a detailed analysis by showing and demonstrating how language works in the eyes of the hearer and the speaker; in other words, addresser and addressee. In practice, the problem of distinguishing langue and language use has centered on the boundary dispute between pragmatics and semantics. Nevertheless, both are concerned with meaning.

What does X mean? What do you mean by X? Since the speech always implies an establishment system and an evolution at the very moment, it is an existing institution and product of the past. Grice's cooperative principles to account for the way the conversational implicature operates argues that on the whole, people observe certain irregularities in interaction. It is only when these irregularities are not observed that one has to look for another alternative for interpretation.

II.3.1. Language aspect

Language is the main characteristic that human beings have; that differentiate mankind from other animals. Human beings switch from one language to another whenever the need arises but for animals it is not the case. Keen attention is paid to conversation wherein the human being in whatever he says is in search for keeping his face.

II.3.2. Grice's theory

Raymond (1983:46) puts that it is in conversation, interaction that people encounter, experience and learn the principles, institutions and deal with what characterizes their culture and society). Within a given community when we talk, we operate according to a set of assumptions. There will be times when we may suspend our assumptions that our interlocutor is operating according to the same conversational norms as we are.

Grice (1975:45-46) introduces two principles namely the cooperative principle (CP) and the politeness principles (PP). These principles consist of four maxims each: maxims of quantity, maxims of quality, maxims of relation and maxims of manner.

1. Cooperative principles (CP)

Grice): (1975:46-47)

i. Maxims of quantity: make your contribution as informative as is required. Do not go beyond your contribution as required. By this maxim, the addresser is reminded to provide the right amount of information and avoid giving excessive information. In other words, he is expected to be straight informative. Example: a student to his mate: Where is my syllabus Paul? It is on the cupboard. Paul could say I don't remember but he is being informative as required.

ii. Maxims of quality: 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 of whatever comes from the speaker's mouth. E.g. A asking B: Have you met Mr. Ken? Yes I have, we even shared a glass of beer whereas he saw him only. B is violating the maxim of quality.

iii. Maxims of relation: Be relevant. The speaker is asked to be relevant, that is, relating his speech to the situation or event involved: the hearer or the addressee is expected not to digress to the continuous thread. E.g.: A is welcoming B: Kaze murisanze= welcome as at home. Can I give you a drink? Oya ntitwari tuje ngaho= we are not visiting you. The answer provided by B is not relevant to the situation.

iv. Maxims of manner: Be perspicuous, brief and orderly. Avoid both obscurity and ambiguity. The speaker is required to be clear, precise and concise enough. The addresser is not expected to challenge the addressee by introducing ideas that do not flow smoothly.

E.g. Nje kugusaba inka, inka izosenya ikavoma, inka Atari bihembe, inka muntu izongendera ikakugendera= I am coming to request a cow, a cow that is not horned, a personed cow, a cow that fetches firewood and water, a cow that will visit you and me. The above description is a good example of a

speaker who is well mannered in speaking; there is no confusion about the person described.

2. Politeness principles (PP)

Poperer (1972:106) distinguishes three worlds:

1. The world of physical objects and physical states.
2. The world of states of consciousness or mental states, or perhaps behavioral disposition to act.
3. The world of objective contents of thoughts, especially of scientific and poetic thoughts and works of arts.

When holding a conversation, there is no way you can speak in the air. Language and brain are working together. We code-switch when we are talking to elders. We raise our voice when we are teaching. We speak slowly when we are wooing and so on. Politeness principles are here to help the speaker and the hearer not to dispute with one another because of misinterpretation. Not breaking one's face is the primarily goal the speaker is trying to keep out in the conversation. Example:SP8 *Jeho namye ndi umusavyi nawe wamye uri databuja.* The speaker is minimizing the praise of self and maximizing the praise of the other. The maxims that we are going to deal with are at four levels as follows: tact, generosity, approbation and modesty.

i. Tact: This refers to the refinement of the speaker's intention; in other words, speakers should be sure that their speeches are sufficiently published:
   a. minimize cost to other
   b. maximize benefit to other

ii. Generosity maxims: any speaker should do his/her best to avoid selfishness while expressing ideas.

a. minimize benefit to self

b. maximize cost to self

e.g *Nje ndintura sinje ndi ndemeka*: I bring a basket; I am not coming to take off. The addresser is kneeling down to show the addressee the sign of respect he owes to him by softening the language. The interest of self is kept down whereas the interest of the other is kept up. There is no threat on both sides.

iii. Approbation maxim: this maxim is seen as a mirror through which the addresser and the addressee discover praisal and dispraisal. The way it is described illustrates the guideline to follow to maintain harmony in conversational act. It is stated with the following characteristics:

a. minimize dispraise of other : speaking in the polite way.

b. maximize praise of other: respect your audience and the position he is holding and adapt your language to the context.

e.g *Banyakubahwa bashitsi mwatugendeye*="distinguished guests" the person may be one but he is being addressed in plural to flatter him to feel considered. In short, any speaker's first duty is to search for warrant from his interlocutors and be authorized to deliver his speech. The speech is not sudden, it is prepared.

iv. Modesty maxim: This maxim is putting particular accent on a human's way of speaking. There should be no room for boasting or telling lies to win the sympathy of the addressee. As it is indicated:

a. Minimize praise of self. The speaker accepts his face to be threatened.

b. Maximize praise of other. e.g: SP8:*uhagarara hejuru ukansumba wahagarara hepfo kukaba kwakundi*=standing up or at the bottom you are always taller than me.

II.3.3. Language function

No matter what language we are using, we can identify the functions that connect language to society and vice versa. In fact, language and language use are the norm of all other manifestations of a speech. Besides, speech involves the speaker and hearer and there arises communication. Speech always implies both an establishment system and an evolution at the very moment (adequate); it is an existing institution and a product of the past. For Ferdinand de Saussure (1983:9):

> *Language is not to be confused with human speech (language) of which it is not only a definite point, though certainly an essential one. It is both a social product of the faculty of speech and collection of necessary conventions that have been adopted by a social body to permit individuals to exercise that faculty.*

Taken as whole, speech is of many sides and heterogeneous, straddling several areas simultaneously, physical, physiological and psychological. It belongs both to the individual and to the society. We cannot put into any category of human facts for we cannot discover its unity.

Brown and Yule (1983:27) describe language functions in other terms which are called the "transactional" and "interactional functions". Translated from French, they are clear.

Brown and Yule (1983:27):

> *Mais il existe bien d'autre. La littérature anglo-saxonne distingue souvent deux fonctions majeures: transactionnelle qui correspond à l'expression de contenu et interactionnelle ou interpersonnelle « impliquée dans l'expression de relations sociales et d'attitude personnelle »*
>
> *But there are ,many others. The North American Literature distinguishes two main functions : Transactional that corresponds the expression and its content and interactional;interpersonal involved in social relations expression and personal attitude*

The first refers to language expressing "context" and the second refers to language expressing "social relationships and personal attitude".

1. Speech acts

Poperer (1972:106) deals with four main functions of language:

a) Argumentative function: using language to present and evaluate argument and explanation.
b) Descriptive function: using language to describe things in the external world.
c) Signaling function: using language to communicate information about internal state to other individuals.
d) Expressing function: using language expressing the internal state of the individual.

Normally, language is life in progress and while progressing, one may meet a threat and other difficulties that may be threats or leisure. The case is in speaking; your interlocutor may agree or disagree, and it is up to you to know how to keep on your conversation. Though Fortes suggested his stand about language function, Searle (1969:67) is emphasizing by giving three main steps: locutionary, an act that refers to the performance during an utterance of a sentence. In the example "write these sentences" the hearer understands because the speaker is pointing to the sentences. The second is illocutionary act: which means that uttering a sentence means that the speaker intends to communicate something to the hearer. In the example "be quiet", the speaker is giving an order. Nevertheless, the example "it is hot in here" implies that there is a need to open the windows. It is a matter of warning indirectly. Thus, illocutionary acts refer to the value that the speaker gives to the utterance. The third speech act, that is pregnant with the idea of force; in other words, to have an effect on the hearer without breaking barriers. The latter may feel flattered, amused or warned. This is the utterance meaning. The hearer in turn is called upon to reply after a course of action.

Geoffrey Leech (1983:24) is clear in terms of utterance since he is detailing types of utterances and what they assert. As we are dealing with the addresser and the addressee or hearer and the speaker, he stresses the following main points:

- context of utterance
- goal of utterance
- utterance as a form of an act or activity : speech act
- utterance as a product of verbal act

i. Context of utterance: relevant aspects of the physical or social setting of an utterance. Any background knowledge assumed to be shared by speaker and hearer and which contributes to hearer's interpretation of what speaker means by a given utterance.
ii. The goal of an utterance: its intended meaning or speaker's intention in uttering it.
iii. Utterance as a form of an act or activity: speech act A: In this respect pragmatics deals with language at a more concrete level than grammar.
iv. The utterance as a product of verbal act: an utterance can be an instance or sentence-taken but it cannot be a sentence.

The meaning of an utterance in this sense can be called its illocutionary force. By the definition of utterance as suggested by Horris(1983-287) "an utterance is amount of speech put forth by a single person before and after which there is a maximum silence."

This sentence is for the speaker S and hearer H to think about what is next in the conversation. Lyons(1981:30) adds more by saying that it is a meaningful unit of speech and self sufficient unit of spoken language; any stretch of speech by a person preceded and followed by the silence of that person.

2. Issue of presupposition and implicature

It is crucial to ask ourselves why speeches generally in Africa and in Burundi in particular are uttered occasionally whereas today we are facing talkative events. The reason is awardly critical and thus the best way to convince, to accentuate and warn and awaken our mind is to deliver a speech. In Burundian society, when someone says: *tugiramahoro*= let's have peace, everyone around is expected to keep quiet and listen to what is going to

happen. "Let's have peace" is an invitation but not a recommendation. By implication, it is beneficial on both sides, to the speaker and hearer.

Besides "let's have peace" may be looked at as a call of total order, silence and attention on the part of listeners. In pragmatics, the speech act theory is helpful and effective in the analysis of speeches and in deducing their force on the addressee/hearer. Implicature is defined by Leech (1983:10) as the extra meaning that we infer. Implicature stands as the gap between overt and pragmatic meaning.

Levinson (1983) states that Austin (1962:24) isolates three kinds of acts that are simultaneously performed. They are:

i. locutionary act which is the semantic aspect; that is, the utterance of a sentence with determined sense and reference.
ii. Illocutionary act is the force or intention of the speaker; that is, the attempt to accomplish some communicative purpose such as promising, warning, threatening, and informing.
iii. Perlocutionary act is that effect brought about, what the utterance makes influences what the hearer does.

Such effects are particular to the circumstances of the utterance. Levinson (1983:35) proceeds by stating that speech act analysis refers to the study of utterance effect on the behavior of the speaker and receiver/hearer. With Austin's theory, we can assume that speech act refers to the communicative act, speaker's utterances' result and hearer's effect.

To sum up, the above theories are the way whereby speeches are understood in their deep truth. In Kirundi they say *Ijambo ry'umukuru urishima umukura*; "the speech of the chief holder is recognized later on". The speaker while performing may not be heard, but they follow critics and discussions

on what have been said: *mbega bavuze ngwiki?*=what did they say? If the listener fails to guess the meaning, he may guess through the force that the speaker has used.

To close this section, it is crucial to note that the understanding of speech performance requires a deep mastery of cultural beliefs, context, customs of the speaker and its background because the words that are used to imply a hidden meaning is different from lexical meaning. The use of symbols and images is the ideal style. Analysts and linguists agreed on the fact that the main concern of the preceding assertions is the interaction role among the speaker, the hearer, as well as the context. The following chapter deals with the strategies used to carry out this study, that is, the methodology adopted in this research.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

III.1.Introduction

This chapter on methodology deals with the procedures and techniques used to collect data. This chapter is mainly concerned with the description of various sources of data used and the methodology procedures that are used in their collection as well as their analysis.

This section also deals with difficulties of two kinds. These are respectively the collection and translation of data. In brief, the chapter is based on the following subheadings :

1. Data collection procedures
   a. Area of the study
   b. Research population
   c. Sampling techniques

2. Data analysis procedures
3. Limitations

III.1. Data Collection Procedures

This subchapter is very useful to the research as far as it discusses different strategies and procedures that were brought in use all along the collection of data. It also describes the source from which the data were got. Those sources are mainly interviews and questionnaire

a. Recorded Interviews

An interview is a conversation which the researcher tries to get the information from the interviewee. Actually, people are very busy with their jobs. To get them to be interviewed is not an easy task. Hence, I decided to be working on 20

informants for the interview, that is, 10 informants from Mbuye and 10 from Nyakabiga.

In both communes, informaints were divided into three groups :

1. Ready to get married registered in their communes (from december, 2012 to march 2013)
2. Recently married registered in their communes (from 2010 to 2013)
3. Very married registered in their communes (from 25 years ago and beyond)

b. Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a written list of questions that are answered by a number of people so that information can be collected from the answers. In this light, 40 Questionnaires were distributed in both communes : 20 in Nyakabiga and 20 in Mbuye. Both informants were also categorised in three groups mentionned above. The questionnaire was reserved to scattered people with whom interview would be difficult.

The selection was restricted to two variables : Age and setting for the only reason that in age there are all sizes of people.

III.1.1.Area of the Study

Since the work is concerned with the analysi of speeches, important is to record them. Due to cultural constraints, it is forbidden to record the speeches in ceremonies unless you are suggested to do so. Thus, the necessity to carry out my research in areas where I am well known. Nyakabiga was chosen because there are people coming from different corners of the country. Since it is a place where I stay, it was easy to familiarise with them and get information easily.

Mbuye was chosen because it is my native commune and people could not suspect me while carrying out my research.

III.1.2.Research Population

Since the work deals with dowry speeches, the research population was chosen relying on persons involved in dowry ceremonies. Apart from those involved in it, there have been particular groups visualised :

1. Ready to get married registered in their communes (from december, 2012 to march 2013)
2. Recently married registered in their communes (from 2010 to 2013)
3. Very married registered in their communes (from 25 years ago and beyond)

The target population visualised was 60 in total :40 for the questionnaire and 20 for the interviews.

III.1.3.Sampling Techniques

Dowry speeches are central in my work. In dowry ceremonies while delivering a speech, there are rules that the speaker must follow. The speeches are regarded as social appearance of the ceremony. The following variables were taken into consideration : age and setting. In both variables, ladies and gentlemen, married and unmarried were included. The techniques used differ from categories :

1. Ready to get married registered in their communes (from December, 2012 to march 2013) in Nyakabiga commune. They were 100 couples and the technique used was a systematic list sampling in which I subdivided the total number of subjects (100) by 15, the number of questionnaires and got 6, so I took all its divisible numbers. Those questionnaires were

therefore distributed to 15 couples, 7 couples from Nyakabiga and 8 couples from Mbuye.

2. Recently married registered in their communes (from 2010 to 2013). Here, the sampling method used was a purposive where people were selected according to their ability. 8 couples were chosen in Mbuye and 7 from Nyakabiga.
3. Very married registered in their communes (from 25 years ago and beyond). The sampling method used was also purposive. Five couples were chosen from Mbuye and five from Nyakabiga.

Data Analysis procedures (cfr page40)

III.2. Data analysis procedures

After collecting those speeches, we tried to analyze them with due regard to the aim of the study. Indeed, the data collected had to be fitted into a general theoretical framework dealing with politeness in relation to individuals and above all to the Burundian society. We based our analysis on pragmatic theorists such as Austin and Searle's as well as Geoffrey Lee with his four steps of utterances. Grice's maxims were used to analyze and check the authenticity of the speeches that we used.

Convinced that the task of analyzing and interpreting the data requires the knowledge of the surrounding world, we were obliged to go beyond the utterance. Moreover, since the intention in most of the cases was hidden in the speaker's mind, we were careful to distinguish the literal meaning from the intended meaning. Our interpretation was based on social factors that could modify people's speech by being polite or adopting another behaviour.

This was done thanks to the view of Ricanatti (1983:3) who argues that no utterance can be fully understood simply in terms of its linguistic meaning because a contextual inference is always required.

In fact, whenever people say things, there is an implied meaning. To decode a meaning, you must understand the circumstances in which the utterance is being uttered. The social and psychological contexts are to take for granted. The entirely meaning of an utterance is derived from its context and the lexical items it contains. To overcome this ambiguity before the analysis, we provided a literal translation of the speeches to allow English speakers understand what they mean and, thus, comprehend the identified pragmalinguistics embodied in them. Therefore, for a communication to be successful, the context for the interpretation of an utterance must be restricted to the beliefs and assumptions shared by both the speaker and the hearer.

III.3. Limitations

This work would be vivid if it covered the whole country. However, the financial means and the time ascribed to it could not allow the accomplishment of a task of such magnitude. As I mentioned earlier, two difficulties hampered my work such as getting people scattered for the interview as well as collecting data and translating them into English were among the shortcomings of the work.

Briefly, it is due to the above difficulties that I was obliged to consult some already made speeches by Bigirumwami and Ntahokaja for the completion of my work.

CHAPTER IV: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

IV.1.Data Presentation

This data presentation part is concerned with presenting the data as they are provided by the informants. To be more clear to the readers, the main speech in the appendices collected from Mbuye was divided into three main parts: Introduction and greetings, sharing of beers and lastly the conclusion. The first group is made of 14 parts, the second is made of 4 and the last is made of 2. To all those parts, an English rendition was given. Parts of the main speech were listed from SP1 to SP20 in the appendices, Those presented along the book are just to illustrate stategies that govern the speech. They are listed from one to 12. Nol all parts were copied, but some key sentences were drown from each part :

Speech	English rendition	Strategies
SP1: Uno musi twaronse abashitsi nagire nsabe nyene urgo ababaze ab'ari bo....	Today, I realised that we have got guests. I would like to invite the head of the family to ask them introduce themselves....	Asking for presentation (P)
SP2 : Hari akana karonse urupapuro rw'umutsindo ngira nirwo rubanza mwitavye.....	Today, there is an opportunity of diploma celebration. Maybe this was the opportunity for visiting us.....	Digression from the point (D)
SP3:Muri make nariko ndatembera mbona inyana zirisha	I was wondering and saw heiphers pasturing on a grassy place and coming	Expressing a wish not directly (E)

kumuvumba zitaha hano nanje nca ntumbera rino rembo.....	in here and I decided to face the place.....	
SP4 : Izo nyana uvuga aha ntaziriho. N'akoba kari ho karaconka. Sinzi rero ikibagenza.....	The heiphers you are talking about, we do not have any, I still do not know the purpose of your visit.....	Polite refusal of the request (D)
SP5 : Tugenzwa n'urukundo, tuje kuri rya sango kugira duheraheze iryo twayaze.....	Our ai mis relationship, we come to conclude our talks.....	Expressing aim (E)
SP6 : Ubu ndabamenye ariko buri mwaka kuri iri sango twama twiginana tukanaronka abashitsi. Iryo twayaze ni iri ko mudufasha guterama.....	Now I recognise you but we are accustomed every year on this date, we have celebration of our family. We often have honorable guests. Our talks were about this that you join us in the celebration.....	Digression towards the requestee
SP7 : Abantu barakundangiye ndakugomwa. Ndi umusavyi, uri data buja, uhagarara hejuru ukansumba, wahagarara hepfo bikaba kwakundi.	People told me about you and I appreciated you. I ma your servant, you are taller in every regards. I need a promisse.....	Flattering the requestee

Nagomba unshire mu muhango……		
SP8 :Uti ugenzwa n'ijambo ryo gusaba…..ahubwo ko uri umushitsi icara ndakuzimane hanyuma ivyo kugabana tuzobironkera akanya…..	You said that you are asking for a gift. Since you are a guest, sit down and let me offer you some drinks……. About the gift, we will get another time for it……	Taking astray the requester
SP9 : Nje kugusaba inka, inka atari Bihembe, inka atari Binono, inka atari Bwoya……	I am coming to ask for a cow, a cow which is not horned,hoofless,……..	The description of the gift expressed
SP10 : Ko waje ungana ukaba wifuza kugabana erekana ko uri umusavyi untume ku bamureze…..	Since you came to me and you need a gift, show that you are really a servant. Send me to the parents who took her welfare……..	Expressing a polite request of dowry
SP11 : Wavuze uti uomba ko ndagutuma, nhikirira abandi bavyeyi uti ngako agashimwe …… ibikorwa vy'umusavyi ndabizi, nzosenya, nzovoma…….	You said that you want me to send you, go to the other parents, tell them : this is the acknowledgement for you, I recognise my duties as a servant. I will collect wood and fetch	• Expressing commitment and dutifulness • Giving bride wealth and presenting bridegroom

	water……..	
SP12 : Mushingantahe uhejeje kutugabira,nagire ndagusabe ubwire umwungere wayo ayishikane hano maze abo twagenbdanye bashire amazinda……	Gentleman who gave me the gift, I'd like to ask you to tell the herdsman to brin git here so that my relatives may see it face to face and notice that it has not been changed……	Asking premise for the presentation of bride girl

IV.1.1.Interpretation of the recorded speeches

Speech acts	Number of extracts	%
Presentation	1	8.3
Digression	4	33.5
Promisse	1	8.3
Expressives	5	41.6
Flattering	1	8.3

In the selected data, dowry speeches have been investigated and classified. Among 12 extracts analysed 8% were presentation, 33% as digression,8,3% as promise,41.6% were epressives and 8.3% were for flatterring as shown by the table

IV.1.2. Discussion of the strategies

1. Presentation

In this light, the requester via to the master of the ceremony asks the requester to present himself, though the requester already knows him. This is in Burundi

culture, when one wsnts yo express his wish the presentation is key to all demands.

SP1 ;Nagira nsabe nyenurugo ababaze abaribo

I would like to invite the head of the family to ask them to present themselves

2. Digression

The refusal to express one's intention bluntly is embodied in Burundi culture and this is achieved by the way of using a strategy that digresses from the truth. One of the roles played by digression is to take temporarily the strain of addressee's concentration off. The act being performed is to lighten the communicative ambiance. This is illustrated by the selection of words as cited above. To unveil the speaker's hidden intention, the addressee is escaping by using digression.

- *SP4:yo nka muntu uvuze ntayo mfise*: The cow you are talking about, I don't have it.
- *SP4:Nayo ahandi muhire ukire izuba*: Otherwise sir, be safe from the sun.
- *SP4:Yonahabaye ntirakura, yokugora kurera*: Even if it were available, it has not grown yet. It would be difficult to care for it.

In short, digression does not only play the role of taking the strain of the requestee, but also to check the requester's persistence.

3. Expressives

a. Referential Aspect

The metaphorical use of both the requester and the requestee is enhanced by the fact that Burundi is built on cultural constraints that forbid the speaker not to go straightforward and turn around a point. To achieve this, the speakers have some

strategies that consist of speaking in a symbolical way. Since no one is strange to the language barriers, they disambiguate the utterance by drawing from the tradition. To identify a referent is to identify what the speaker pretends to be referring to. The interactants have recourse to metaphors and other figurative representation of the meaning. The bride being sought for marriage is referred to as oneness (*ubumwe*), seeds (*imbuto*) and cow (*inka*) and finally bride (*umugeni*).

Icanzanye ngaha n'ubumwe. Nje gusaba imbuto y'amasaka, nje gusaba inka.

E.R.:SP5

What brought me here is seeking oneness; I come to request seeds of sorghum, I come to request a cow.

The sequence of referents such us: oneness (*ubumwe*), seeds (*imbuto*) and cow (*inka*) is of paramount importance because they bring along the requestee to infer the course of action about what is going to happen and be prepared in advance. If the requestee seems not to understand, the requester proceeds with the description of the cow he is requesting.

Inka atari bihembe,

Inka atari bwoya,

Inka atari binono,

Inka izosenya ikavoma.

E.R SP.10:

A cow that is not horned,

A cow that is not haired,

A cow that is hoofless,

A cow that will fetch firewood and water.

The disambiguating of those metaphors is done because of not only the sharing of background but also the referents that the requestee is referring to.

b. Request

The requester after keeping lots of promises and commitment, the requestee is expecting in his return to reply with specific actions to be performed in the requester's profit.

- *SP9Ungabire unganze: You grant me and take control of me.*
- *Untunge umburane: You acknowledge me and plead me.*

Since the requester is afraid of being refused the proposal, he encodes his words in a suitable, flattering and seductive manner and finally the requestee ends up accepting.

SP10:Nzogusabisha nteko ndakugabire: I will be obedient to your request.

As it has been shown all along this work, the requester's primary intention is to get the requestee to fulfill the request. Both the requestee and requester have strong motivation and good intention of engaging in a marriage verbal exchange. The metaphorical way of talking demonstrated that neither linguistic competence nor symbols are self-sufficient in decoding the implied meaning hidden in dowry speeches. After knowledge about elopement, we deduced that dowry is taking a high rate and goes beyond its symbolic nature.

As it has been argued, dowry speeches in their broad sense are executed to reinforce and create relationships between social stratification. The polite denial expressed in those speeches is more cultural than linguistic. We can deduce that one of three hypotheses was confirmed, that is, the one which states that symbols are far different from the literal meaning.

Those not confirmed are the one that dowry is symbol to the extent that it is not considered as a cost but rather a social unification. The next is that the linguistic competence may be self sufficient to interpret Kirundi speeches uttered during dowry ceremonies.

All along this chapter, rules of pragmatics have been applied to collected data. Speeches gathered have been analyzed and categorized. Important parts are tackled. Participants in the ceremony are described. Speaker/hearer attitude was of paramount role. Hypotheses stated in the general introduction are discussed. However, the room for personal stand, recommendations and suggestions are reserved for the concluding chapter.

4. Request

The requester after keeping lots of promises and commitment, the requestee is expecting in his return to reply with specific actions to be performed in the requester's profit.

- *SP9: Ungabire unganze: You grant me and take control of me.*
- *Untunge umburane: You acknowledge me and plead me.*

Since the requester is afraid of being refused the proposal, he encodes his words in a suitable, flattering and seductive manner and finally the requestee ends up accepting.

SP10:Nzogusabisha nteko ndakugabire: I will be obedient to your request.

As it has been shown all along this work, the requester's primary intention is to get the requestee to fulfill the request. Both the requestee and requester have strong motivation and good intention of engaging in a marriage verbal exchange. The metaphorical way of talking demonstrated that neither linguistic competence nor symbols are self-sufficient in decoding the implied meaning hidden in dowry speeches. After knowledge about elopement, we deduced that dowry is taking a high rate and goes beyond its symbolic nature.

As it has been argued, dowry speeches in their broad sense are executed to reinforce and create relationships between social stratification. The polite denial expressed in those speeches is more cultural than linguistic. We can deduce that one of three hypotheses was confirmed, that is, the one which states that symbols are far different from the literal meaning.
Those not confirmed are the one that dowry is symbol to the extent that it is not considered as a cost but rather a social unification. The next is that the linguistic competence may be self sufficient to interpret Kirundi speeches uttered during dowry ceremonies.

All along this chapter, rules of pragmatics have been applied to collected data. Speeches gathered have been analyzed and categorized. Important parts are tackled. Participants in the ceremony are described. Speaker/hearer attitude was of paramount role. Hypotheses stated in the general introduction are discussed. However, the room for personal stand, recommendations and suggestions are reserved for the concluding chapter.

5. Promise

a. Self-depreciation

The speaker's acknowledges good deeds and thereby establishes and expresses a relationship of indebtedness. It is believed that if someone lends you money or credits you a service, you become under his control and even rules over you and consequently you become his servant. The requester in humbling himself hopes to prompt benevolence from the requestee and empathy from the audience.

> *SP8:Ariko weho wamye uri databuja*: You've always been my master

That compliment paid to the requestee serves to bypass the potential negative response to the requester with the hope that the requestee will focus his attention more on the positive traits he was ascribed to.

b. Commitment

The requester in all his moves tries to commune with the requestee by way of keeping promises or showing recognition of the relationship that is going to be born in the near future. Besides, the requestee admits a general feeling of anticipated indebtedness to the requestee. Even if the requestee expresses his rejection in one way or another, it is not a rejection as such but rather to draw out the requester's level of commitment. The requester sends a token of close affective ties to stimulate the addressee's interests.

> *SP12:Uzontuma iyo ushaka*: You will send me wherever you want

The speaker wants to establish a mental relationship with the requestee.

IV.2. Data Analysis

Though sincerity plays an important role in dowry speeches, they question truth, that is correspondence betwéen reality and the expected content are less relevant in this particular case. The speaker is escaping from the linguistic components as well as the socio-cultural of the events. Since the speech itself could not provide the symbols and comparisons embodied in it I decided to use questionnaire and interview to enhance the the reliability of the work. Questions were discussed in the tables

Question1 What is dowry ?

Transration :Inkwano ishobora kuba :

Table1

	QUESTIONNAIRE				INTERVIEW			
Area	**price**	**cost**	**cultural**	**gift**	**price**	**cost**	**cultural**	**gift**
Mbuye	3	7	4	6	1	4	2	3
Nyakabiga	5	8	2	5	3	4	1	2
Total	8	15	6	11	4	8	3	5
Percentage	20%	37%	15%	27.5%	20%	40%	15%	25%

From the table below it is shown that people from Mbuye are strongly attached to culture than those in nyakakabiga.But they all agree on the fact that dowry is seen as cost due to the percentage expressed.

Question2 :What are the contents of the speeches executed during dowry ceremonies ?

Translation : *Amajambo yo gukwa ashikiriza iciyumviro ikihe ?*

Table2

Questionnaire

	QUESTIONNAIRE			INTERVIEW		
Area	**Request**	**Tradition**	**Unity**	**Request**	**Tradition**	**unity**
Mbuye	8	10	2	3	4	3
Nyakabiga	7	9	4	4	4	2
Total	15	19	6	7	8	5
Percentage	37.5%	47.5%	15%	35%	40%	25%

From the previous data tradition took the high rate on both communes thoughj the one is rural and the other urban this may mean that even if dowry speeches express the intention of request it is traditional request because of words used.

Question3 :Do speeches rflects reality ?

Translation :Ayo majambo yoba ajana ningiro ?

Table3

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
Area	**YES**	**NO**	**YES**	**NO**
Mbuye	6	14	3	7
Nyakabiga	8	12	4	6
Total	14	26	7	13
%	35	65	35	65

Forom this table the high percentage proves that dowry speeches digresses from the truth: We may say that it is uttered in sophisticated way.

Question 4: Is dowry identical in all corners of the country?

Translation : Inkwano yoba ari imwe mu mpande zose z'igihugu?

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
Area	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Mbuye	8	12	3	7
Nyakabiga	6	14	4	6
Total	14	26	7	13
%	35	65	35	65

The above table certifies that dowry varies from region to region and consequently interpreted differently.

Question 5: If one fails to pay the dowry, what happens ?

Iyo umusore abuze inkwano bigenda gute ?

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
Area	**Elopement**	**Negociation**	**Elopement**	**Negociation**
Mbuye	10	10	4	6
Nyakabiga	14	6	7	3
Total	24	16	11	9
%	60	40	55	45

Question 6: The speeches performed during dowry ceremonies encourage the payment of dowry ?

Translation : Amajambo y'ugukwa yoba ahimiriz gutanga inkwano?

Table 6

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
Area	**YES**	**NO**	**YES**	**NO**
Mbuye	8	12	4	6
Nyakabiga	11	9	5	5
Total	19	21	9	11
Percentage	47.5%	52.5%	45%	55%

Dowry speeches is seen differently in both communes. Moreover the percentages are very close may be due to the fact they perceive it similarly.

Question 7: In some dowry ceremonies, a bride is referred to as a cow. What is the reason behind ?

Translation : Mu manza zimwe zimwe zo gukwa, umwigeme bamugereranya n'inka. Vyoba biva kuki ?

Table7

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
Area	**Cultural**	**Valuable animal**	**Cultural**	**Valuable animal**
Mbuye	13	7	4	6
Nyakabiga	14	6	8	2
Total	27	13	12	8
%	67.5	32.5	60	40

Question 8: Who are those expected to deliver dowry speeches ?

Translation : Amajambo y' ugukwa avugwa na ban de ?

Table8

	QUESTIONNAIRE				**INTERVIEW**			
Area	**Old**	**Educated**	**Young**	**Anybody**	**Old**	**Educated**	**Young**	**Anybody**
Mbuye	15	2	0	3	7	2	0	1
Nyakabiga	6	10	1	3	2	6	0	2
Total	21	12	1	6	9	8	0	3
%	52.5	30	2.5	15	45	40	0	15

Question 9: What is the role of dowry speeches ?

Translation: Ni ikihe gikorwa amajambo yo gukwa afise mu mico y'ikirundi ?

Table9

	QUESTIONNAIRE				INTERVIEW			
Area	Abuse	Warn	Entertain	Socialise	Abuse	Warn	Entertain	Socialise
Mbuye	0	3	7	10	0	1	4	5
Nyakabiga	1	2	4	13	2	3	3	4
Total	1	5	11	23	2	4	7	9
%	2.5	5	27.5	37.5	0	20	35	45

IV.2.1. Variation in speech utterance

Language known as social interaction phenomenon between speakers and hearers needs to be examined with keen attention to determine the basic components of the talk and the way their patternings are sequenced. While identifying the forms, many things vary depending upon some factors: setting, age and context.

However, our concern is particularly concentrated on the first three: setting and age. This is due to the fact that on the ground it has been assumed that according to the environment and location of the individual, the speech may vary not only in the accent, but also the way and expressions used.

e.g.: For old rural people when delivering a speech they use transitional words as nuko jambo *ritungane*" that is a proposition whereas those not old make a simple pause

The issue of age is of great importance since it brings a big difference in the right that all people are not accustomed to expressing themselves bluntly whereas the youth is always automatic in his expressions.

1. Setting

Environment, surroundings and moment where something happens are factors of setting. Face to the situation prevailing in a given period, the speech of welcoming guests varies from one place to another. For instance, where people celebrate birthdays particularly in Bujumbura, they introduce by saying:

> *SP2:Twari turamutse dukeza umwana yakwije imyaka itanu y'amavuka. Ngira ni rwo rubanza mwitavye.*

E.R.:

> *Today there is an opportunity of birthday of our daughter. I wonder if this may be the reason for you to enjoin us.*

In the countryside, since the celebrations of birthdays are not often, they may use the end of year celebration or baptism.

2. Age

It has been assumed that, it is interesting to listen to dowry speeches because they enhance the listener's ability to be able to perform later and discover the culture embodied in them through the symbols and figures of speech used in them. They stand as a mirror in which Burundi culture is seen. To be clear, the speeches of the youth are always short and do not last whereas those of the old take long time because of the proverbs and other cultural symbols that he uses. He calls the hearer to unveil the hidden intention.

IV2.2. Speech functions

IV.2.2.0. Introduction

Normally, speech as it is understood in its global sense is a spoken language rather than a written one, That is why spoken language in our work has taken a high rate. When we speak, we do not speak for the sake of speaking. We speak to communicate, to be heard and consequently expect an answer from your interlocutor. Then you become the locutor and your interactant becomes your interlocutor and then conversation arises. At this moment, the speech perceives its sign and its aspects embodied in it. When we speak, we may want to convince and switch one's tongue by using a given strategy and that strategy is discovered through illocutionary speech act.

IV.2.2.1. Illocutionary speech act

In reaction to logical positivism, which does not accept meaning outside the realm of what can be treated for its truth or falsity performative, we make recourse to illocutionary speech act. Dealing with illocutionary speech act is the

only way for coping with language as a form of action. When one is speaking, the intention is to order, to warn, to promise as the three main objectives of illocution. In everyday life, a formally organized talk given to an audience is known as speech. Along the dimension of illocution, some clarifications need to be provided as such:

i) In which circumstances do those illocutions intervene?

ii) What are the characteristics of illocutions?

iii) How are they contextualized?

The answers to these questions will contribute significantly to the enlightening of the message embodied in illocution. The dimension in which we are working is the dimension of felicity under which the following aspects must be tackled: propositional condition, preparatory condition, sincerity condition, and essential condition.

- **Propositional condition**: specification of a natural state of affairs: e.g. the early bird catches the worm; all dogs run after meat; before one goes to a given place to look or ask his wants he must first of all be informed about the availability of the thing he is in search for. As far as dowry speeches are concerned, before the speaker utters even one word, he must be informed about the state of affairs.
  - *SP8:Narabajije umutima unshimira wewe*: *My heart settled on you.*
  - *Barakundangiye nanje ndakugomwa*: *I felt attracted to you when I heard of you.*

The requester while saying the above assures the requestee that he is not improvising but has fairly been informed about the availability of what he needs and, thus, relies on the kindness and willingness of the requestee.

- **Preparatory condition**: the speaker has adequate information to form a valid opinion about the future state of affair. The speaker with reference to collected information on the addressee, tries to flatter him by using the following words:
  - *SP8:Abatunzi b'inka bari benshi*: There were many cow owners,
  - *Ariko nahisemwo wewe*: But I chose you.
  - *Unshire mu muhango*: May you make the pledge to me.
  - *Aho nacanye ishishiro ndahacane inka*: The way I came with the bower may I walk it back with a cow.
  - *Umusozi nuriranye umubindi*: The mountain I climbed with a ground,
  - *Ndawururukane ingabirano*: May I walk down with present.

  The speaker is speaking as if the requestee has already accepted to give the cow he is asking. Apparently he is in position of receiving.

- **Sincerity condition**: the speaker believes that the future state of affairs will indeed be ascribed.

  The speaker is relying on performatives where to say, equals to do, to promise equals to accomplish. The effect of performative is the accomplishment.

  e.g.: 2015 will be a year of propaganda of political parties.

  In a constatative way, the speaker as well as the hearer are sure and certain of what they are saying.

Requestee: -SP13: *Ugende ube uraca icarire*: you go and prepare the hay now.

- *Nzogusąbisha nteko ndakugabire*: I will be obedient to your request
- *Uzoyigabana*: I will give it to you

Requester: - *Nzovoma, nzosenya*: I'll fetch water and firewood.

The requester is expressing gratitude, thereby making some promises susceptible to the benefit of the addressee.

- **Essential condition**: The utterance counts as an act committing the speaker/writer to the likelihood of the future state of affairs to be ascribed.

These are the conditions sine qua non without which the given event would not take place. e.g.:

a) A class is existent because of the teachers, students, room and the activity of teaching.

b) President says 2013 will be a year of prosperity and peace; to be felicitous he must avail all the felicity conditions for its veracity or truth such as the budget ascribed to agriculture increased, activity of commerce eased and ensure security. In communicating the ideas provided above some aspects are gathered as: assertive, directive, and commissive.

1. Assertives

This is a way of expressing opinions or desires strongly and with confidence so that the audience take notice. The requester in the situation of need expresses

beliefs, making words fit the world adapting the speech, making commitment of what he is asserting. All those back handed words are for prompting benevolence of the requestee and the empathy of the audience.

2. Directives

Directives are working as a way of keeping the requestee speaking straightforward and not digress. The speaker also is expressing a wish and tries to make the world fit the words and counting as an attempt to get the hearer to do something. The requestee could fall out if the requester would not have guided him in the speech.

- *SP8:Ungabire unganze*: Grant me and rule over me.
- *Umbere amasabo nkubere umusavyi*: You are my master and I am your servant.

At the end of the day, the requestee sues for agreement on the demand.

3. Commissives

In one way or another, the speaker is trying to adapt his speech to the world and therefore contextualizing it. He expresses an intention, counting as a commitment for the speaker to engage in a future course of action. The words and speech executed there constitute a form of contract between interactants and witnessed by the audience. As a result, there arises a relationship between the equester and thre requestee, that is, commitment, care and dutifulness.

IV.3. Findings

This section deals with the interpretation of the collected and analysed data through steps described in methodology chapter. The results were got through three sources: first, there are speeches collected from Mbuye commune which were presented as data. They were segmented into 20 parts to see some strategies used by speakers. The second source is questionnaire which was a way of finding evidences to the hypotheses proposed. Thirdly, there is interview which was designed to complete the questionnaire for the only reason that those who failed to fill the questionnaire were interviewed.

The hypotheses proposed were the following:

1) Symbols evoked in dowry speeches are far different from the literal meaning.
2) Linguistic competence may be self sufficient to interpretdowry speeches.
3) It is assumed that dowry is symbolic to extent that it is not considered as a cost, but rather a gift.

Some of the evidences to those hypotheses are given in the following section which talks about strategies of speakers and the outcome of questionnaire and interview. The presentation of the speeches certifies the existence of those strategies. However, the reason behind this was discovered through responses from questionnaire. Moreover, the content of dowry speeches shows that it has 20 parts but only 12 were presented as samples and 5 strategies were discovered. Among them : presentation, digression, promisse, expressives and flattering.

The strategy which got the high frequency is expressives with 41.6%. We can deduce that this strategy mainly characterise dowry speeches. The second is digression with 33%. The third, the fourth and the fifth got the same rate of frequency with 8.3%. This allows ua to deduce that digression and expressives are dominantly used in dowry speeches. Besides, strategies drown from dowry

speeches, the results from the questionnaire contributed to verify hypotheses. Though 16 questions were proposed in the appendices, only 9 were selected as coherent to the research questions. They were listed from 1 to 9 in tables.

IV.3.1. Results from Questionnaire and Interview

The questionnaire proposed was related to the research questions so that the answers to it help to enhance the truthfulness of the results.

The first hypothesis which states that symbols evoked in dowry speeches are far different from the literal meaning. Apparently, the dowry speeches appear as speeches of request because it is a talk between the requester and the requestee about the bride wealth. On 40 informants who were given questionnaire, 47.5% say that those symbols reflect a tradition. 40% in 20 persons who were interviewed gave the same idea (cfr table 6) whereas 30% in 40 persons given questionnaire and 35% in interview say that those speeches are about request (cfr table 2). The divergence in answers leads us to deduce that those symbols are far different from the literal meaning.

The second hypothesis which consists of verifying if linguistic competence may be self sufficient to interpret dowry speeches was verified by answers given in table 7 where informants were asked why the bride girl is compared to a cow during dowry speeches. In questionnaire, 67.5% say that it is cultural and 32% support that it is because the cow is a valuable animal in Burundian society. In interview, 60% support that to compare a cow with a bride girl is Burundian culture and 40% support the idea that the cow is a valuable animal in Burundi.

The third and last hypothesis stating that it is assumed that it is symbolic to the extent that it is not considered as a cost but rather as a social unification.

The question (1) in questionnaire asking the meaning of dowry, answers proposed proved that 37.5% consider dowry as a cost as well as 40% in interview. 27.5% in questionnaire and 25% in interview considers dowry as a

gift. 15% in questionnaire and 15% in interview asserted their idea of culture (table 1). Surprisingly, question 5 where informants were asked what happens when one fails to pay dowry, 60% and 55% respondents in questionnaire and interview respectively say that there is elopement. The remaining 40% in questionnaire and 45% in interview say that there should be a negotiation.

It is in this light that we asked ourselves how can one negotiate something which is symbolic. Thus, I concluded that dowry is going beyond its symbolic nature.

Lastly, to ensure the veracity of hypotheses, research questions were reserved to a face-to-face interview for frank answers. On the first research question which asked the understanding of symbols in dowry speeches, 65% say that dowry speeches are far different from the literal meaning.

The second research question intending to know whether linguistic competence may be self sufficient to interpret dowry speeches. 65% say that it is true but they proposed that depending upon the setting the linguistic competence can fail. This is due to the fact that in some regions, the symbols may vary on one hand. On the other hand, the age may shape the content due to the fact that the speech delivered by old people contains many symbols and metaphors. From the answers given concluded that setting and age should be discussed as variables to this hypothesis.

The third research question which supports dowry is symbolic. 70% interviewed denied this assertion and baptize dowry as a cost.

CHAPTER V: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

V.1. General Conclusion

This work sets out to examine the constraints, or strings that hinder some Burundians to understand the meaning encoded in dowry speeches. All along this study, particular attention is put on the pragmatic analysis of speeches performed during dowry ceremonies; speech acts and illocutionary forces were of paramount importance in our analysis.

This study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic, tackling it as a problem that needs an urgent solution from where a research was carried out. The target visualized at the end of the work and what really motivated the study are foundations of this section.

The second chapter is an attempt of the previous studies in pragmatics particularly a pragmatic account of speech acts and illocutionary forces which have been used as the fundamental roots of the work. An outline of the pragmatic theory and some related issues such as the notion of speeches and the force they create are also treated. Moreover, the deep meaning of an utterance has been our emphasis. In addition to this, it has been demonstrated that the utterance meaning is not only determined by its context of use, but also the force.

The third chapter handles the methodology used in the study. Notions to be used in the analysis of the data play a key role in this part. It consists in a naturalistic observation which for the present study somewhat adequate and efficient. Indeed, a tape-recorder was used to be sure that not data is omitted. Apart from

this, a questionnaire was given to let informants to bring their own views. We also indicated the challenges encountered in collecting data and the provision of the English rendition made the endeavour more difficult. Furthermore, the procedure that we used to analyze the data is also indicated. Beside the analysis itself, the pragmatic notions outlined in the second part are applied to the selected data.

The fourth chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of data. It also treats the results from the analysis and gives the findings. In fact, this chapter provides answers to the research questions. It has led to the analysis of speeches executed during the dowry ceremonies.

The last were promise and commitment where both the requester and the requestee are engaged in a course of a born relationship that keeps them in debt, promise and commitment to draw a conclusion of agreement. At this point, our readers may wonder about the truth of what is said. Some may think that Burundians are liars and egoistic but it was verified that is the reflection of the culture. That is why this myth was demystified. Here, Burundians have in mind that they should always be polite and cooperative by trying to put the best possible gloss on what they have to say.

The fifth chapter concludes the work. Particular attention is put on challenges encountered within the work. The solutions to overcome those challenges are proposed via pragmatic principles. The observation and particular problems that both the speaker and the hearer encountered were also the preoccupation of this chapter. However, we would not put an end to this paper without thinking about what should be done and to whom it may concern. That is suggestions and recommendations.

V.2. Recommendations

V.2.1. Recommendations

As it has been asserted along this work, speeches in Burundi culture are full of inferences. Hence, the implicature has taken the floor while achieving a speech. As far as implicature is concerned, it is the way of findings hidden message that is not directly reflected through the words that are used in utterance or sentence. As the implicature may be due to many factors, such as, context, culture and situation, recommendations are addressed to persons who have a say in dowry ceremonies, that is, parents, youth, couples, and to future researchers.

a) To parents

The both parents of the bride and the groom are to be sensitized. There is no price for the human being. That the parents of the bride be aware that gifts one has brought, a prescribed number of ports of banana wine are serving as due to the purpose of the visit are less important than the admiration and respect that the groom's father is attributing to the bride's family. That both parents be reminded that gifts given at dowry ceremonies are just an introduction to the continuous relation that is going to be born.

b) To youth

Ceremonies are always alike. Good times never last, that they should not consider the ceremony as a closing one. There will be many other challenging problems that need a single minded determination to overcome them. That dowry ceremony is just a key to the numerous parties that the couple is going to face. Think about the future. We all agree that according to the Burundi culture, a well brought up "Murundi" would stiffer going do

shame in presence of naked truth and would hasten to provide the esthetic coverings called for by the cultural value system, but youth is called up to plack up the courage to measure the expensiveness at the ceremony. It is not the amount of money that gives value to the party but deep and meaningful the speech is.

c) To churches

They should sensitize, their followers, awaken them about the life there are going to face. It is seen that today people are seducing problems but fail to marry them. Discourage the mentality that bride is neither cost nor price but symbolic. That the groom is looking for someone not as good but someone who will fill the empty space and play reciprocity relation. Educate the couple to not exaggerate in expenses. Extrapolate the content of the speech so that it may be understood easily and whereby the couple can draw from the moral lesson since speech is explicitly recognized as an important instrument of social life.

d) To couples

Marriage is neither a target to achieve nor a deadline of life. It is true that nothing ventured, nothing gained. To please the hosts and participants during a party is everyone's goal. Truth is that not all the hosts are financially involved in a given party or ceremonies. Hence, the king of the ceremonies should think twice about his income and not go beyond his expenses. Dowry is a key to marriage and the former is the beginning of challenges of all kinds. All eyes of both families are on the new family. In short, instead of asking alone in given bank to pay dowry the both families should rather

gather means that will sustain the new family. The couples should monitor their expenses with reference to the challenging life that their going to face.

V.2.2. Suggestions

After recommendations, it is obvious to give my personal stand. Our work was conducted in searching for pragmatic analysis that it is why I would suggest to future researchers to carry out a comparative study between dowry in rural and in urban.

In addition, we found differences in the way speeches are executed. We would suggest to other researchers to make a comparative study of the way speeches are executed according to the factors enhancing speaker's attitude. This would contribute to give a guide book of the way speeches can be executed in accordance to the situation and circumstances.

Beside the comparative study an analysis of the participants can be significant to readers. This would be done simultaneously with the assessment of the speakers to help in the understanding of the particularity of the ceremony and would help in the training of good speakers in the future. A glance to families who are giving dowry and those receiving it to update dowry with the purchase power of today's life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Published works

Austin, J.L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Calderon Press.

Beauvoir, S. (1920). *The second sex*. New York: Random House

Brown and Yule, G. (1983). *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of Language: its nature, origin and use*. London: Praeger.

Cicourel, A.V. (1980): Three models of discourse analysis: The role of social structure. *Discourse Processes*. New York: Academic Press.

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, J. (1971). *Language, society and identity*. Oxford: Basic Blackwell.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1965). *The Position of Women in Primitive Society*. London: Faber.

Fishman, J.A. (1968). *Reading in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Montion.

Fortes, Meyer (1962): Introduction. In Meyer Fortes (ed.). *Marriage in Tribal Societies*. Cambridge Papers in social anthropology, n°3, Cambridge University Press.

Geertz, C. (1983). *Local Knowledge*. New York: Basic Books.

Goody, J.R. (1973): *Bridewealth and Dowry in Africa and Eurasia.* In Goody and Tambiah (eds.). *Bridewealth and Dowry.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grice, H.P. (1975): *Logic and conversation.* In Cole, P. and Morgan, J. (eds.). *Syntax and semantics*, 3: *Speech Acts.* New York: Academic Press.

Grimperz, J. (1982). *Sociocultural Knowledge in Conversational Language and social identity.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hassan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English.* London: Longman.

Hatungimana, B. (2007). "*A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Speech Behavior in University of Burundi. Burundi: case of the dowry ceremony*". B.A. Dissertation,

Hickey, L. (1989). *Pragmatics of style.* London: Routledge.

Hymes, Dell (1972): *Models of the interaction of language and social life. In Grimperz, J. and Hymes Dell (eds.). Directions in sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication.* New York: Holt Rinchart and Wiston.

Labov, W. (1970). *The study of language in its social context.* London: Longman.

Leech, G.N. (1983). *Pragmatics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinson, S. 1983. *Pragmatics, Cambrige* University Press.

Lucas, S.E. (1980). *The art of public speakers.* 2nd Ed. New York: Random House Inc.

Lyons, J. (1981). *Language, Meaning and Context*. London: Montana Paperbacks.

Malinowsky, B. (1961). *The dynamics of culture change. An inquiry into race relations in Africa*. New York: Yale University Press.

Malinowsky, B. (1962). *Marriage in Sex, Culture and Myth*. New York: Harcourt.

Nkurikiye, S. 1991. *The Pragmatic of Kirundi Marriage Discourse: Speech Acts and Strategies*. Phd. Thesis: Muncie : State University.

Pride, JB. and Holmes (1975). *Women, men and politeness*. New York: Longman

Recanatti, F. (1987). *Meaning and Force*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J.K. 1965. Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics. London : Longman.

Rodegem, F.M. 1963. Patrimoine Culturel Rundi : Tome 12, Centre de Langues.

Searle, J.R. (1969): Speech Acts: *An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Spradley, J. (1979). *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt Rinchart and Wiston.

Tambiah, S.J. (1968). Dowry and Bridewealth, and the property rights of women in South Asia. In Goody, J.R. and Tambiah, S.J. (eds.). *Cambridge Papers in social anthropology: Bridewealth and Dowry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *Sociolinguistics*, Harmondsworth, Middless: Penguin.

Trudgill, P. (1983). *Applied sociolinguistics*. Harmonds Worth: Penguin Books.

Wardhaugh, R. (1986). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. New York: Basil Black well.

Williams, F. (1974). *The idenfication of linguistics attitude. In international journal of the sociology of language*. 3: 12-32/appeal.

II. Unpublished works

Bigirumwami, J. 1979. *Quelques Toponymes de la Commune Muyange, Gashoho: Approche linguistique et thématique.* Bujumbura: Université du Burundi.

Hatungimana, B. (2007). *"A sociolinguistic analysis of speech behavior in Burundi: case of the dowry ceremony"*. B.A. Dissertation, University of Burundi.

Mutoni, E. (2011). *Marriage and woman's self-expression in Kate Chopin's The awakening*. Dissertation, University of Burundi.

Ndihokubwayo, A. (1999). *A pragmatic study of speeches in the post-wedding day ceremony UGUTWIKURURA*. Dissertation, University of Burundi.

Ntabona, A. 1985. *Le Concept d'Ubushingantahe et ses Implication sur l'Education de la Jeunesse d'Aujourd'hui au Burundi. « In Au Cœur de l'Afrique »* Volume 15. Bujumbura : Presse Lavigerie

Ntahokaja, J.B. 1978. *Imigenzo y'ikirundi*. Bujumbura : Université du Burundi.

APPENDICES

Appendix B: Questionnaire in Kirundi

Benoît Ngendakumana

Kaminuza y'Uburundi

Igisata c'icongereza

Nyakwubahwa,

Ndi n'iteka ryo kubandikira ndabasaba intererano yanyu mu gikorwa canje kirangiza amashure ya kaminuza, igikorwa kijanye n'uguhinyanyura amajambo ashikirizwa mu rubanza rwo gukwa.

Intererano yanyu ifise uruhara ntangere mu gufasha gutahura ayo majambo, narirya hari abayatahura uko atavuzwe.

Twobizeza ko inyishu muzotanga zizoba akabanga, mbere zibikwe ahadata.

Tubaye turashima ku mwete n'ubwira muzorangurana iki gikorwa.

Murakoze.

Benoît NGENDAKUMANA

IBIBAZO

Itegereze neza

Murasome mwitonze ibi bibazo, hama mwishure uku gukurikira:

1° Muruzuza aho hari utuburungu.

2° Mu gihe ari ibibazo vyo guhitamwo, nimukoreshe aka kamenyetso (✓) imbere y'inyishu muhisemwo.

Menya neza: Ntihagire aho mwandika izina ryanyu kuri izi mpapuro.

Ibibazo nyezina

1. Inkwano ishobora kuba:
   a. Igiciro☐
   b. Ikiguzi☐
   c. Ikimenyetso☐
   d. Agashimwe☐
2. Amajambo yo gukwa ashikiriza iciyumviro ikihe?
   Sigura.....
   .....
   .....
   .....
   .....
3. Amajambo yo gukwa iyo avuzwe yoba ajana n'ingiro?
   Ego ☐ Oya ☐
   Sigura.....
   .....
   .....

.....

.....

4. Mbega inkwano yoba ari imwe mu mpande zose z'Uburundi?

   Ego ☐ Oya ☐

   Sigura.....

   .....

   .....

   .....

   .....

5. Inkwano irashibora kuba intambamyi kubupfuza kwubakana?

   Tanga uturorero:

   .....

   .....

   .....

6. Iyo umusore abuze inkwano bigenda gute?

   a. Umukobwa aracikira? ☐

   b. Haba umwumvikano? ☐

   c. Izindi mvo (zivuge)

      .....

      .....

      .....

      .....

7. Mbega amajambo avugwa mu gukwa yoba ahimiriza canke aca intege abatanga inkwano?

   Ego ☐ Oya ☐

Sigura.....

.....

.....

.....

8. Mu manza zimwe zimwe, umugeni bamugereranya n'inka. Vyoba biva kuki?

.....

.....

9. Amajambo y'imanza akunze kuvugwa naba nde?
   a. Abasaza ☐
   b. Abize ☐
   c. Abakirb ☐

10. Amajambo yo gukwa afise igikorwa ikihe?
   a. Gusuzugura
   b. Kugabisha
   c. Kwinezereza
   d. Kuryosha ikiyago
   e. Izindi mvo
      (zivuge):.....
      .....
   f. **UMWIDONDORO**

Igitsina: umugabo ☐ umugore ☐

Eta sivil : Sinubatse ☐ Ndubatse

Appendix: Collected Speeches

Speech I: Introduction and greetings

(At the beginning of the ceremony)

Speech of MC

SP1:Bashingantahe, bapfasoni na mwe rwaruka mukoraniye ngaha, tugire amahoro, sangwa amahoro n'ubumwe mu miryango yacu. Uno munsi mbona twaronse abashitsi, none nagira nsabe umushingantahe nyene urugo avyaguruke abaze abo bashitsi abo ari bo n'ikibagenza.
Tumwumvirize.

Ladies, gentlemen and you youth gathered here, let's have peace; let's have peace and unity in our families. Today I see that we have got guests; so I would like to invite the head of the family to stand up and ask to the guests who they are and what the purpose of their visit is. Let's listen to him.

Speech of Addressee

SP2:Uno munsi twari twazindukanye urubanza. Hariho akana kabatirijwe, ngira ni rwo rubanza mwoba mwitavye. Tugire amahoro.

Today there is an opportunity of a baptism celebration of our child; I wonder if this may be the reason of your visit. Let's have peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, let's have peace! I'm thanking the head of the family for giving me the opportunity

Answer of Addresser

SP3:Bashingantahe, bapfasoni, tugire amahoro! Ndashimiye umushingantahe nyene urugo ampaye ijambo. Muri make rero nariko ndatembera mbona inyana zirisha ku muvumba zitaha hano, nanje nca ntumbera rino rembo.

Reply of Addressee

SP4:Mushingantahe, eka n'ubu sindamenya ikibagenza kuko izo nyana uvuga aha ntaziriho; n'akoba kariho karaconka, ntawogakura kuri nyina; ariko ari izo ku mubanyi, urantuma ndagamburuka. Sinzi rero ikibagenza muri vyose.

to utter my speech. In few words, I was wandering and I saw heiphers pasturing on a grassy place and coming in here and I decided to come here too.

Gentleman I still don't know the purpose of your visit because those heiphers you are talking about, we don't have any; even the least we have is still being suckled and it can't be separated from her mother; however, if it is my neighbour's, send me to him I will be kind. But until now I still don't know the purpose of your visit.

Answer of addresser

SP5:Tugenzwa n'amahoro, urukundo n'ubumwe bwamose mu miryango yacu. Tuje kuri rya sango kugira ngo duheraheze iryo twayaze. Icatuzanye ngaha nta kindi atari urukundo n'ubumwe mu miryango yacu.

Our aim is peace, relationship and oneness. We are coming to the appointment so that we can conclude our talks. Nothing dropped us here rather than love and unity in our families.

Speech of addressee

SP6:Ubu ndabamenye, ndamenye n'ikibagenza. Ariko nkuko tubimenyereye, buri mwaka kw'iri genekerezo mu muryango twama twiginana, mbere tukaronka n'abashitsi b'iteka baza kubidufasha. None kubona muri ngaha ntibintangaza, niko vyamye na mbere hose. Iryo twayaze naryo ni iri: ko mudufasha guterama.
Murakoze.

Now I know you and your visit's purpose. But as we are accustomed, each year on this date, we have celebration in our family and we often have honourable guests to join us. So, I'm not astonished to see you here, it has been alike ever since. Our talks were about this: that you join us in the celebration.

Answer of Addresser

SP7:Aha ndi mu kibanza ca se yitavye Imana.

Abantu barakundangiye nanje ndagushima nje ndi umusavyi, nje kugusaba, uri databuja. Uhagarara hejuru ukandata, wahagarara hasi kukaba kwa kundi.

Nagomba ungabire, unshire mu muhango. Nakare ngo uwutaronse umuhango ntagabana. Ungabire, ndote ngabana urote ungabira; ungabire unganze.

I'm here replacing his dead father. People told me about you and I liked you. I'm your servant and I come to beseech you. Placed on a high place you are taller than me, placed on a lower place you are taller than me too. I need your gift, that you give me a promise. By all account one who does not get a promise does not get a gift. Give me and be my master. I will spread your gratitude all over the world.

Reply from Addressee

SP8:Uvuze uti ugenzwa n'ijambo ry'ugusaba; kandi uti ugomba kugenda ugabanye. Ahubwo ko witavye akamo, ukaba uri umushitsi, icara ndakuzimane hama ivyo kugabana navyo tuzobironderera akaryo.

You said that you are coming for a message; that you are asking for a gift and that you want absolutely to go with it. Since you have located the place, and as you are a guest, sit down and let me offer you some drinks. According to the gift, we will search another time for it.

Insistence of Addresser

SP9:Nje kugusaba inka. Inka atari bihembe, inka atari bwoya, inka muntu, inka isenya ikavoma, inka izongendera ikongera ikakugendera.

I'm coming to ask you a cow; a cow which is not horned, which is not haired; a personed cow. A cow which fetches wood and water, a cow which will visit me and visit you.

Reply of Addressee

SP10:Ko waje ungana, ukaba wipfuza kugabana; urazi ko umwana atari uw'umwe, umwana ni uw'umuryango. Erekana koko ko uri umusavyi. Erekana ko iryo twayaze ritabaye amasigaracicaro; untume ku bavyeyi bamureze neza.

Since you came to me, and you need a gift. You know that the child is not for one person, but for the family. Show that you are really a servant. Show that what we talked about has not been neglected; that you send me to the parents who took her welfare.

Request from Addresser

SP11:Wavuze uti ugomba ko ngutuma! Genda unshikirire abandi bavyeyi uti ngako agashimwe; uti ntimugaya. Nayo ahanje, ibikorwa vy'umusavyi ndabizi: nzosenya, nzovoma nayo uyu mwana wanje nawe, agiye kuba rwawe. Inzu niyava niwe azoyihoma; urugo niwe azorusobanya kandi azokugamburukira. Urakoze.

You said that you want me to send you! Go and tell to the other parents: that is the acknowledgement! They will not be disappointed. For me, I know the duties of a servant: I will fetch wood and water; regarding my child, he is going to be your child too. Whenever the roof of your house is damaged, he will repair it, if your fancy is damaged he will repair it too and he will be kind to you.
Thank you.

Reply of Addressee

SP12:Waje uri umusavyi, unsaba inka; ndaguhaye umuhango. Utahanye umuhango ariko umusi wo gukomoza ingabire tuzowuvugana, uzoba uwo hanyuma.

You came as a servant, asking for a cow. I give you a promise but we will make an appointment to which you will get your gift. It will be next time.

Request from Addresser

SP13: Mushingantahe uhejeje kutugabira, abo twagendanye bambwiye ko bakengurutse cane; ariko kandi bambwiye ko ikigumbagumba kibishe, ngo bashaka kwibonera iyo nyana bahejeje kugabana. None rero mushingantahe, nagira ndagusabe ndakugora ubarire umwungere wayo ayishikane hano, maze abo twagendanye bashire amazinda, bayirabire amaso mu yandi; cane cane babone ko batabagurije.
Murakoze.

Gentleman who gave me the gift, the relatives who escorted me are telling me that they are satisfied. In fact, they tell me that they need to see that heipher they have been given. Thus, gentleman, I'd like to ask you to tell to the herdsman to bring it here so that my relatives may see it face to face and notice that it has not been changed.
Thank you.

Speech of In

*SP14:T*ugire amahoro! Uyo mushikanje mutwaye niwe yari mukuru, niwe yamfasha vyose. None jewe nashaka gusaba icuma ca musazawe kuko ngiye gusigara hano ndi umwe.
Murakoze.

Let's have peace! That was my only elder sister, she was the only one who used to help me in everything. So, I would like to ask for her brother's acknowledgement because I'm going to stay at home alone.
Thank you.

Speech II: The sharing of beer

(The second part of the ceremony)

Speech of Addressee

SP15: Mushingantahe wangendeye, tukaba twayaze neza, nkakugomwa, nkakugabira, ko warenganye ahandi hose ugashima hano, ukaramutsa, ukadushimira inyana, kunda rero uze dusome kun tango imwe, dusangire amasaka y'amashirahamwe, tugaragaze ubumwe.

Gentleman who visited me, with whom I talked nicely and who I liked and gave; since everywhere you passed you have been attracted by nothing and you came here; since you greeted us and liked our heipher; be kind and let's drink to the same pot so that we share the same sorghum beer.

Speech of In

SP16: Tugire amahoro! Jewe mpagurutse kugira ngo ngaragaze umunezero ku birori duhejeje kubona hano muri runo rugo. Ikinezereye uno musi n'uko aba bashingantahe bahejeje guhana urukundo bayaze neza. Ahasigaye nkagira nti nidusome, tuvyine, dutambe hama turyoherwe.
Tugire amahoro.

Let's have peace! I stand to manifest my happiness about the ceremonies we have seen in this compound. What makes me happy today is that these gentlemen who gave one another love talked nicely. In this connection, I say: let's drink, let's sing, let's dance and let's be happy.
Let's have peace.

Support from Addresser

SP17: Abatamvyi ba neza barakurikirana. Mushingantahe nyene urugo wangabiye, ndasubiye kugushimira. Ariko rero bagira bati uwutongeje aba yagaye; raba nyabuna mu bigega mutwongere, nirwakutsa agatere, dukutse agahunda. Murakoze.

Good dancers follow one another. Gentleman head of the family who gave me, once again I thank you. However, in Kirundi people say that one who does not ask more has not appreciated; look instead in the stores and give us some more drinks, if it ends up, we will leave. Thank you.

Speech of Addressee

SP18:N'uko mukunzi muhire, ko waramutse uza kunsaba, nkaba nakugomwe nkakugabira, n'uko mukunzi muhire; n'ubu nyene nkundira wicare gato ndaguterekere, ndaguhe akuki kuka inka, usome usubire; unywere mu nzu ugendere mu nzira. N'uko iyo ngingo igatungana; mugende murishongora muti tuvuye kwa Mutama.

That is my respected friend, since you came to beseech me, and I appreciated and gave you, that is my respected friend, even now do me a favour and sit down a little bit so that I supply drinks to you, i.e. my respected friend, that I give you the best wine for our sellars. Drink and drink again. Drink safely and get no huddle on your way, i.e. my respected friend; please manifest your happiness all along your way pretending that you are coming from your master.

Speech III: The conclusion

(The last part of the ceremony)

Speech of Addresser

SP19:Mushingantahe nyene urugo, turakengurutse icicaro. Uwutogishima nuko yoba ari ingaya. Tuzobayaga uko muri; maze reka tugende turitsitaza; muturabire amagaba tugende hakibona nayo ijoro ni ribi, dukuranyeko amaso ntidukuranyeko umutima. Aho nshikira i muhira nshikirize inkuru nziza ko duhawe umuhango. Tugire amahoro.

Gentleman head of the family we thank the welcoming. One who does not appreciate is not thankful. We will spread your gratitude, let's go pretending drunk; give us our spears so that we go as earlier as possible because darkness is dangerous, we are separating our eyes bout not our hearts. When I will join home, I will tell the good message that we have got a promise. Let's have peace.

Answer of Addressee

SP20:Nagira mbanze nshimire abaryango n'ababanyi bamfashije gutegura runo rubanza. Mutama waje urongoye ingabo, ukahakura ingabire, ubwije bugira nabi; twogumye tuyaga, dutamba turyohewe. N'ubu, bikenewe,

I'd like first of all to express my gratitude to the family and the neighbours for their help. Wise man who is the head of the delegation and got a promise; darkness is bad; we could keep talking, dancing happily.

ingo duterame iwacu ni hanini, turabasasira muryame. Ariko kubashaka gutaha, irembo riruguruye, amagaba muyasanga kw'irembo; mugire urugendo rwiza, mushikane inkuru nziza. Tugire amahoro.

Even now, if it is necessary, let's continue enjoying ourselves, our place is huge, we will make beds for you to sleep. But for those who wish to go, your spears are at the entrance. Have a nice trip, bring a good message. Let's have peace!

QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions

Please kindly read this questionnaire, before answering do the following:

1° Fill in the blanks with the correct information.

2° Where alternative are given, indicate your choice with a tick (✓) in the box provided.

Note: Do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire.

Questions

1. What is dowry?

   a. Price ☐
   b. Cost ☐
   c. Cultural ☐
   d. Gift ☐

2. What are the contents of the speeches executed during dowry ceremonies?

   Explain.....

   .....

   .....

   .....

   .....

3. Do these speeches reflect reality?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4. Is dowry identical in all parts of Burundi?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

5. What is the impact of dowry on the youths' desire in marriage?

Give examples:

.....

.....

.....

.....

6. If one fails to pay the dowry, what happens?

a. Elopement ☐

b. Negotiation ☐

c. Other

(Explain).....

.....

.....

.....

.....

7. Do the speeches performed during dowry ceremonies encourage the payement of the dowry?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

   Explain.....

   .....

   .....

   .....

   .....

8. In some ceremonies, a bride girl is referred to as a cow. What is the reason behind? .....

   .....

   .....

9. What are those expected to deliver speeches?

   a. The old

   b. The educated

   c.Young

   d.Anybody

   .....

   .....

   .....

10. What is the role of dowry speeches in Burundi culture?

    a. To abuse ☐

    b. To warn ☐

c. To entertain ☐

d. To socialize ☐

e. Other ☐

(Explain).....

IDENTIFICATION

Sex: male ☐ female ☐

Marital status: married ☐ Single ☐

.....

.....