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Socio-pragmatic analysis of some selected kirundi proverbs and expressions depicting female discrimination and gender imbalance

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



SOCIO-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOME SELECTED
KIRUNDI PROVERBS AND EXPRESSIONS DEPICTING
FEMALE DISCRIMINATION AND GENDER IMBALANCE.

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Bujumbura, December 2009

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father, my mother and my siblings.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is the result of contributions of so many people in various ways. Therefore, it is a great pleasure to take time to address my sincere thanks to all those people for their useful contribution towards the realisation of this work.

First of all, I owe more than I could express to my supervisor, Mr. Ajayi Owolabi Badmus, Lecturer at the University of Burundi who supervised this work. His availability and useful suggestions of any time, as the situation required, contributed immensely to the success of this work, may he find here my heartfelt gratitude for it.

Second, my sincere thanks go to all the teachers who taught me from primary school to university level, especially those of the Department of English Language and Literature, University of Burundi for the knowledge they gave me.

Last, but not least, I would not forget to thank all my informants for having accepted to give the necessary information for the success of this research.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to find out the effects of some Kirundi proverbs and expressions on beliefs and practices which materialize discrimination and prejudices against women in Burundi. This study is based on two assumptions: The first assumption is that the selected Kirundi proverbs and expressions embody, reveal, disseminate and perpetuate a speech community's beliefs and views in relation to gender -related imbalance and female discrimination. The second assumption is that the researcher investigates the people's awareness of the language use and their reactions to deeper implications of female discrimination and gender imbalance related to Kirundi proverbs and expressions depend on the sex, educational and social background. In this research, some selected Kirundi proverbs and expressions or sayings which reveal the secret meaning undermining female gender and discriminate against women, are selected as sample, and pragmatically analysed according to the Speech act theories. The meaning implications of those proverbs are pointed out. The result of this study will contribute towards the formulation of the appropriate policies and solutions to gender issue, especially the gender equality in community. Much contribution is successfully made because the findings of the study show the role of language, namely proverbs and sayings in revealing, disseminating and perpetuating a speech community's beliefs, views and attitudes in relation to female discrimination and gender imbalance. Therefore, this socio-pragmatic study creates more awareness in the readers and seeks to provide some information that could be used by other researchers in order to liberate women from male bondage. Then, the study challenges scholars of linguistics and gender studies or other social sciences to explore more contemporary theories and apply them to specify modern problems related to the cultural obstacles to the emancipation of women. The findings will hopefully attract both popular and scholarly attention, and facilitate the formulation of appropriate and effective policies and solutions in dealing with the gender issue.

ABREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS AND CODES USED.

UNIFEM: United Nations Funds for women development.

ADDF: Association pour la défense des Droits de la femme
Association DUSHIREHAMWE

CAFOB: Collectif des Associations féministes et ONGs féminines au Burundi

CEDAC: Centre d'Encadrement et de Développement des Anciens
Combattants/Volet pour programme femme ex-combattantes.

AFJB: Association des Femmes Juristes du Burundi (Association of Burundian
female Lawyers.)

APFB: Association pour la promotion de la fille Burundaise

DRR : Demobilisation, Reintegration and reinsertion

Key Codes used while analysing the percentages of responses under observations of both male and female respondents

Y_0	=	percentages under male
Y_1	=	percentages under female
N_0	=	Number of observations under male
N_1	=	Number of observations under female
N	=	Total number of observations under male and female

Kirundi Proverbs

Codes

1. Positive locutionary Force Positive illocutionary Force	For men PPP [M] For women PPP [W]
2. Negative locutionary Force Positive illocutionary Force	For men NPP/N [M] For women NPP/N [W]
3. Negative locutionary Force Negative illocutionary Force	For men NNN [M] For women NNN [W]

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CHAPTER ONE

I. 0.GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This study is a sociopragmatic analysis of some selected Kirundi proverbs and expressions depicting the gender imbalance in order to identify their implications and possible effects, in relation to society's views towards female discrimination and denigration apart from cultural impositions on women by the tradition. And consequently, this may prevent women from achieving their effective emancipation.

Here, the main subject is to talk about the sociopragmatics which concerns only the language use in accordance with the culture-specific and the social context. This study focuses on Kirundi proverbs and expressions, and it involves a sample of native speakers of different sexes, various experiences in life and educational background, but it puts more focus on women's life conditions with regards to their way of development regarding the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) because this will not be achieved without investing and investigating in women. The study explores the life of all women in general from all generations (single and married women) including the female former combatants. This is in reference to the way a Burundian woman may move through various steps towards her effective development unless forgetting some cultural obstacle on that long and hard path.

Kirundi is the language spoken by all Burundian citizens born and grown up in Burundi. This country covers an area of 27.834 square miles, divided into 17 provinces. As for as the ethnic distribution is concerned, Burundians are believed to have three ethnic groups such as Hutu, Tutsi and batwa recognised by the 2004 constitution of the Republic of Burundi, and each of them has been given some places of representativity in leading political institutions as stipulated in the Arusha peace agreements. The three ethnic groups speak one language, Kirundi; and therefore they understand each other even if they are living different regions and despite some regional variations in accent and vocabulary.

The spearhead of social conflicts in Burundi is believed to be based on ethnic differences and segregation, and this has caused political imbalance for decades in that country. In addition to that, there has been also a gender imbalance due to women discrimination, marginalization and denigration based on cultural beliefs and imposed by tradition, customs and myths. This is why some groups of people felt as victims of marginalization and discrimination joined the war to fight for change; and women have also been trying to emancipate themselves despite the cultural obstacles.

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Proverbs are normally taken to be pointers to peoples' philosophical outlook. Schipper, M (1991: 67) emphasises this point in the following observation:

" No great deeds, works of Literature or books of history reveal so much about a culture and so briefly and memorably (...) as proverbs"

In recent years, there has been much concern and activities related to gender imbalance, both at national and international levels. Various attempts have been made to sensitise people in order to reduce female discrimination, denigration, oppression and gender imbalance; and various solutions have been suggested. It will be noticed that gender refers to natural biological sex of a person that is, male or female; and it is a natural phenomenon.

However gender-specific discrimination towards female sex and which sometimes result into gender imbalances or prejudices refers to the stereotyping role of people according to their sex, in accordance with people's traditional customs or social background. The popular view is that women have been disadvantaged and subjugated by men and this view is often reflected in various channels including literary works, the mass media, Non government Organisations' activities, political policies, etc. In relation to the literary works, Eagleton, M[ed] (1990:4) observes that it is the male-dominated tradition which is taken as the reference point for women's writings. Among the national and International NGOs set up in Burundi to support and liberate women are the following:

UNIFEM: United Nations Funds for women development.

ADDÉ : Association pour la défense des Droits de la femme

CAFOB: Collectif des Associations féministes et ONGs féminines au Burundi

CEDAC: Centre d'Encadrement et de Développement des Anciens

Combattants/Volet pour le programme femme ex-combattantes.

APFB : Association pour la promotion de la fille Burundaise

AFJB : Association des Femmes Juristes du Burundi (Association of Burundian Female Lawyers.)

Association DUSHIREHAMWE

Association Mukenyezi Menya.

Etc....

Various women's and mother's Unions with a religious bias such as "Mother's union in partnership with the Anglican church", have been in existence in Burundi for decades, and work to restore the women's rights and dignity in churches, family and society at large.

It will however, be noted that Burundian men's or fathers' unions are a rare innovation and not a common phenomenon. Today, there is an Association called "Coalition des Hommes=Men's Coalition" that is working in fighting against Gender based Violence including domestic violence.

The Burundian political structures also reflect attempts to remove or reduce gender imbalances. For examples, a Ministry of Human rights and Gender was established in 2005. The (2004) constitution of the Republic of Burundi has specific articles concerned with gender balance. For instance in the Section 1 of Title II: Des droits fondamentaux de l'individu et du citoyen :

Article 22 of that section state: " Tous les citoyens sont égaux devant la loi qui leur assure une protection égale. Nul ne peut être l'objet de discrimination du fait notamment de son origine, de sa race, de son ethnie, de son sexe, de sa situation sociale, de ses convictions religieuses, philosophiques ou politiques ou du fait d'un handicap physique ou mentale, ou du fait d'être porteur du VIH/SIDA ou toute autre maladie incurable."

Literal Translation into English as follows:

Section 1, title II: Fundamental rights of individuals and citizens:

Article 22, "All Citizens are equal before the Law which ensures equal protection. No person shall be discriminated against on the ground of sex, race, ethnic groups, origin , creed or religious beliefs or social situation, philosophical standing or political beliefs, a physical and mental handicap, or because of being a HIV/AIDS positive or any other incurable disease. "

In addition to the above article, the 2004 constitution of the Republic of Burundi also empowers women with several privileges in the local Government structure. It has specific places for women whereby the number of women is not supposed to go below 30% of the total number of positions in Government, Local council members and parliament.

In the above observations, It has been remarked that there is no longer reason that the laws, cultures, customs or traditions should be a cause of discrimination against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their social status as it is prohibited by this constitution. Then, all the above stated instances serve as the background to the present study.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Despite the national and international concern, the various activities and initiatives aimed at sensitising the society about gender prejudices, female discrimination, and fight against the Gender Based Violence, and the different proposed solutions, the problem of prejudices in the male-female relationships has not yet been reduced noticeably. Cameron (1992:69) emphasizes the above observation when she says:

"Even the most moderate liberal feminist, who has as her main goal, the free entry of women to traditionally male domains, will sometimes express doubt as to whether our current values and yardsticks of success are really ideal for anyone, male or female"

In a number of cases, the woman is disadvantaged, even if there are cases where men are also negatively affected. There are cases where the efforts to remove gender imbalances and discrimination are resisted by the very people who are supposed to benefit from such efforts. For instance, it

has been observed that according to cultural impositions and influences, some Burundian women seem to tolerate and accept the gender biases and abuses consciously or unconsciously in families and domestic affairs.

Ojambo, S.P (1997:15) mentions a certain Ms Taylor who was reported in the press to be traversing the whole expanse of Britain denouncing the concept of equality as advocated by women and men of the feminist movement. Taylor was said to be criticising a feminism as the source of the increasing antagonistic gender relations.

In addition to the point of view of Taylor, the former Burundian combatant women were disadvantaged and discriminated against in the benefits they would share with the men during the demobilisation, socio-economic reintegration and reinsertion process after the war since 2004. The gender imbalance was explained by the use of language.

The above observations indicate that there is still a need to ascertain the gender biased beliefs, views and attitudes of the community and establish how they have been, and are still being perpetuated.

In this study, the researcher concentrates more on women in general to see to what extent, some Kirundi proverbs and expressions related to gender discrimination often affect their lives in the social integration and development as it would be a way to emancipation.

This study approaches the problem from a linguistic point of view because language analysis is one of the most important ways of discovering people's beliefs, views and attitudes, of which the proverbial lore and expressions of language is a very significant vehicle.

1.3. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Various approaches were used to analyse the proverbs, some of which were philosophical or sociological and socio-historical. Bukenya, A.S.L (1994), observes that a socio-historical investigation attempts to show how proverbs came into being or started, but this is beyond the scope of this study which concentrates on the pragmatic and socio-linguistic aspects of proverbs and some other language expressions.

Subsequently, 40 Kirundi proverbs and expressions, both depicting female discrimination and dealing with the gender imbalance, are compiled into an organized classification and translated into English from Kirundi, both literally and idiomatically; and finally interpreted, discussed and analysed according to their locutionary Force(meaning),illocutionary force(intention) and perlocutionary Force(effects) produced on the targeted person that the speaker talk about while using them in speech community. A detailed sociopragmatic analysis of each proverb or expression is done in order to identify what the proverb or any expression says about women and does in relation to society's views about discrimination against women and gender prejudices.

I.4. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to find out the effects of the selected Kirundi proverbs and expressions on beliefs and practices which materialize discrimination and prejudices against women in Burundi. The detailed objectives of the study are given below:

- a) To compile a variety of Kirundi proverbs and words depicting discrimination against female and showing gender imbalance from both local communities and available documents.
- b) To translate the collected proverbs and expressions into English by using two versions that is a literal version and an idiomatic one.
- c) To discover whether and how Kirundi proverbs and expressions may reveal, disseminate and perpetuate female discrimination, oppression and gender imbalance with related prejudices as revealed by community's views through such proverbs.
- d) To identify the relevant speech community's awareness and views about the existence of gender discrimination- related Kirundi proverbs and expressions.
- e) To carry out a sociopragmatic analysis of the collected Kirundi proverbs and expressions using the Speech Act Theory.
- f) To find out whether people's awareness and views in relation to female discrimination and gender prejudices depend on their sex.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Proverbs are as old as the languages which use them, and they have been of great interest to various scholars who attempted to compile or analyse them from different points of views. Gender relationships make an important and popular topic among both the public and the scholarly point of view. The justification for this study is that it is intended to show how pragmatic theory can reveal the relationship between proverbs and gender specific imbalance and female discrimination, with a view to contributing towards the knowledge of socio-linguistic awareness.

1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It is hoped that the findings of this study will show the role of gender-related proverbs and words in revealing, disseminating and perpetuating female gender -related prejudices. The result of this study will also contribute towards the formulation of appropriate policies and solutions to gender issue, especially the gender equality in community. The following contributions will be made:

- a) The findings of the study will show the role of language, namely proverbs and expressions, in revealing, disseminating and perpetuating a speech community's beliefs, views and attitudes in relation to female discrimination and gender imbalance.
- b) The sociopragmatic analysis of Kirundi proverbs depicting gender relationships can reveal society's views, beliefs and attitudes in relation to gender discrimination and marginalisation. Thus, it will create more awareness in the reader.
- c) The findings of the study will helpfully attract both popular and scholarly attention and facilitate the formulation of appropriate and effective policies or solutions in dealing with gender issue.
- d) The study also challenges scholars of linguistics and gender studies or social sciences to explore more contemporary theories and apply them to specify modern problems related to the cultural obstacle to the emancipation of women.

1.7. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

While starting this study, the researcher has to advance the following hypotheses:

First assumption

The selected Kirundi proverbs and expressions embody, reveal, disseminate and perpetuate a speech community's beliefs and views in relation, inter alia, to gender-related imbalance and female discrimination.

Second assumption

People's awareness of the language use and their reactions to the deeper implications of gender discrimination and imbalance-related to Kirundi proverbs and expressions depend on sex, educational and social background.

1.8. DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The key terms of the study were defined contextually below according to the way they were used in this study. In *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, the term "gender" is defined as a sex that is a character of being male or female. And the term "discrimination" refers to the report between the strength-force and weakness of individuals that is expressed in sharing some interests. The supposed powerful person can use force to discriminate against the weak one in sharing of common benefices. In *Macmillan English Dictionary*, the term "gender discrimination" refers to the natural biological sex of people and the roles assigned to people according to their sex, depending on the community customs and tradition. In the meaning of term "discrimination", there is the implication of sense of brutality. The *Macmillan English Dictionary* defines the "force" as the influence or powerful effect that someone has or something, or someone that has a powerful influence on what happens or does. If someone is more powerful than the other, he may do whatever he wants, even he goes further over the law.

The male's dominance over female expresses the injustice of man towards the woman easily in the society due to the use of power while discriminating against women. So in this study, the men's mind considerer the women as weak sex and the man is considered as strong one.

In *Chambers universal Learners' Dictionary (1980)*, the term "implication" refers to something which is suggested indirectly but not clearly stated. Therefore the following terms are serving in this study as key terms as defined below:

a) Gender may mean sex, that is, the character of being male or female. However, while the sex is biological, gender reflects the social assignment of roles to people according to their sex.

b) Gender discrimination involves the denigration, marginalisation and stigmatization based on gender issue by looking at the natural biological sex of male or female and the roles assigned to people according to their sex, in accordance with people's traditional customs.

c) Sexism is unfair treatment of people because of their sex, or the attitudes that causes this.

d) Feminism is belief in the principle that women should have the rights and opportunities to their emancipation as the men.

e) Proverb is a short, well-known sentence or phrase that states a general truth about life or gives advice. It can also be used in ironical way in order to warn or educate through the advice or a suggestion. It is a habitual general saying for all people/with all sexes and ages, such as the English proverb "*don't put all your eggs in one basket*" cf. *Hornby (1995) in Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*.

f) Expression can be explained as a well-known word which can have a meaning according to custom or culture cf *American Heritage Dictionary (1982)*.

g) In *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, the term "Views" means personal opinions or attitudes, thoughts or comments on something.

h) Sociopragmatic has various possible definitions but generally deals with the analysis of language expressions or meaning in social context. Its definition is more or less summarized by Traugott, E.C and Pratt, M.L (1980:226) who state that the Sociopragmatic is that part of sociolinguistics that deals with the language use, which is with the knowledge that enables speakers to produce and understand utterances in relation to specific communicative purposes and specific speech contexts.

i) Speech Act Theory involves the idea of doing things or effecting a change with words. Traugott, E.C and Pratt, M (1980:229) states that Speech Act Theory, as developed by Austin J.L et al is among the different pragmatic frameworks proposed for describing language use in social context and it

treats an utterance as an act performed by a speaker in a context with respect to an addressee.

J) A Field linguistics is a way of observing linguistic phenomena. It can be carried out anywhere and not only in the field as its name implies. Cf Samarin, W.J (1967).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

II.0. INTRODUCTION

Many researches were done in the domain of linguistics. Some deal with semantic studies, others focus on speeches uttered in every day life, and still others investigated in pragmatic studies. In the present work, the study is a sociopragmatic analysis based on selected proverbs and other sayings.

In this field of sociopragmatics, very few researchers have worked on Kirundi proverbs and expressions depicting female discrimination and gender imbalance whereas the Gender based violence is a current issue in today's society. In his three books, Rodegem (1961, 1970, and 1983) talks about proverbs. He did a translation of those proverbs into French.

In general, Rodegem's works are interesting because he classified all Kirundi proverbs and expressions according to their domains. This helped me to find the appropriate proverbs for the domain at hand. Since Kirundi proverbs are used to embellish the speech community during conversations or while communicating ideas, people search how to reveal the secret meaning through the proverbs and language's expressions. In addition to Rodegem, and after him, the Kirundi gained written materials from well-known people such NTAHOKAJA (1979) and some other written materials from BEPES (1984). But most of the collected proverbs are from Rudegem (1961) and are consistent because the fact of being a non native speaker facilitates research. As Harerimana (1998) says, Rudegem had the advantages of being non-native and therefore, his study ran less risky of talking things as minor and evident. He further goes on showing what may happen to a Burundian studying Kirundi because certain things may be minimised or taken for granted. He says that native speaker may even draw his own conclusion or let his cultural bias creep in his investigation contrary to Rodegem (1983), who studied all the details of the culture through Kirundi proverbs. He finally says that Rodegem presented proverbs as a culture store, a true looking glass in which every Burundian can see his or her own image.

II.1 FEMALE DISCRIMINATION AS DEPICTED THROUGH THE LANGUAGE USE.

Female discrimination can be traced to culture and tradition imposition, especially to the fact that the Burundian society is strongly patriarchal system, that is a discriminator system of gender where those discriminations are deeply enrooted into mentalities and ancient beliefs characterised by the male dominance over the female. This is because they were transmitted from generation to generation through the traditional family education founded more particularly on proverbs, cultural myths and legends. It can also be traced to various stories, idioms, proverbs and documents about the origins of mankind. It will be noticed that gender or sex is a natural phenomenon, but the way gender imbalance is treated or manipulated is the issue. This manipulation is expressed both verbally in linguistic expressions, and practically through the assignment of stereotyping role to people according to their sex. The assignment of roles according to people's sex can be identified in Burundian tradition and in teachings of different modern religions such as Christianity and Islam in which Burundians participate. These religions have had an influence on Kirundi speakers.

According to the Christian tradition, as illustrated by the book of Genesis chapter 3:16-18, Eve-the wife of the first man- Adam ate the forbidden fruit and also made Adam eat it. This act of disobedience resulted into punishment from God, making the woman subordinate to man and the man being expected to be strong and thus, protector of the woman. This is one of the beliefs around which a man can feel unconsciously or consciously superior to woman.

According to Islam, as illustrated by Abdullah, Y.A (1938:34), men are the protectors and maintainers of women because God has given the former more strength than the latter and because the women need male support. The righteous women are those who are devoutly obedient and guards of what they have in the family when the husband is way. Genesis chapter 3:20 equally gives the Christian image of a woman as a mother in these words:

"The name which Adam gave his wife was Eve- life because she is the mother of all living men "

In the New Testament, Mathew chapter I: 20–23 depicts Mary as the mother of the Saviour of mankind and Joseph still plays the male role as the protector of the mother and the child Jesus.

The above observations show that Burundian tradition, Christianity as well as Islam depict women as a weak sex and then subordinate to men, and men as a stronger sex, and as superior to women. This finally leads to gender imbalance.

The two traditions mentioned above, however, also have another common image of a woman as the mother of mankind, to be loved, respected and protected. In the Burundian tradition, there are sayings, proverbs and expressions which illustrate this image of woman as a mother, pillar of peace in family.

The Islamic's image of a woman as a mother is also illustrated by Abdullah, Y.A (1938:177) in the following statement:

"All mankind are one, and mutual rights must be respected: the sexes must honour each other; sacred are family relationships that rise through marriage and women bearing children".

Despite the qualification of motherhood expressed through the various rundi proverbs and expressions, there is also behind those sayings some kind of woman's discrimination and gender imbalance that makes a barrier between men and women especially in the stereotyping role assigned to each member of family. Consequently, men take the advantage of that and discriminate against women and perpetuate male dominance over females. The above views as well as other negative and positive views about gender relationships are often expressed in various components of language such as proverbs and expressions, etc. For instance, Schulz, M.R (1990:75) observes that an analysis of the language used by men to discuss and describe women reveals something about male attitudes, fears and prejudices concerning the female sex.

The above observation of Schulz (1990) conducts me to affirm that the stereotypes of speech community about women are plentiful and they seem to have an extremely long history. For example in Burundian tradition, the

woman is often designed by different Kirundi expressions that reveal a given image both in the women's mind and the whole community. Some of them that are more used, are the following:

1. "Umunyakigo" as an expression used for all women, which literally means a householder who always must be at home and being every time busy in doing house chores.
2. "Umuzewanzu" is another expression which has a similar meaning as that first one, but this latter is applied on young girls
3. "Inamahoro" is another Kirundi expression that is used for all women to mean in semantic sense a "Human being who has the internal peace".

Comparatively to what Schulz said, this also pushes me to contend that the long history of Kirundi reflects popular images of women perpetuated through proverbs and idioms. Therefore, the above three linguistic locutions of Kirundi language summarise the gender issue that based on the social female identity in Kirundi history.

II.2 SEMANTIC FEATURES AND MEANING OF WORDS IN RELATION TO LANGUAGE USE AND ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT.

Many researches were done in the domain of semantic studies. To review this, is that the study of meaning and intentionality of words is of paramount importance in the present study.

Ogden and Richards (1923:101) observes that:

"Words mean nothing by themselves although the beliefs that they did, was once equally universal. It is only when a thinker makes use of them that they stand for any thing or in one sense have a meaning."

Wittgenstein (1953:152) shares a similar view when he contends that the meaning of language units can only be understood through the way the language is used by its owners. He argues that:

"If we want to understand the meanings which various people attach to various terms, we must directly get involved into the way the people speak because terms which are taken out of context are bound to be misconceived. There is nothing besides the people to give meanings to terms".

The above observation by Wittgenstein (1953) leads us to affirm that in order to draw a meaning or even more than one meaning held in an utterance of words said in given context/situation, the addressee must know that language; and it is not wise to analyse only one word, rather the whole sense given by the combination of all words/expressions making that utterance, and analysing the way the speaker used such words/terms have to be taken into consideration.

Condon (1975:65) attempts to give the relationship between Communication and the meaning when he talks about words/expressions and what they may or may not communicate depending on the culture of the person. He says:

"...it is impossible to fully distinguish language from culture in which it appears. Nor can one speak of culture without speaking of its underlying values. And without some understanding of cultural values, one cannot appreciate the meaning of words as they are used in that culture."

This above observation makes us understanding that language and culture are inseparable while we are trying to draw the meaning of uttered words/sounds and which intention one has and the effects that are going to be produced. The word or expression of language has meaning according to the socio-cultural context in which it has been created or uttered for the first time. Therefore a word alone is used in reference to a culture in which it has been in relation to speech community.

Palmer (1981:123) observes that:

"...Semantics is not a single well-integrated discipline. It is not a clearly defined level of linguistics, not even comparable to phonology or grammar. Rather it is a set of studies of the use of language in relation to many different aspects of experience, to linguistics and non linguistic context, to participants in discourse to their knowledge and experience to the conditions under which a particular bit of language is appropriate."

Palmer, like Condon, only supplements earlier arguments that meaning mainly lies in the context of language use. All these works appreciate the

central position of language in a cultural totality. They also contend that the true meaning of words lies in the way a people use their language.

However, this socio-pragmatic study of some selected Kirundi proverbs and words depicting gender imbalance and female discrimination restricts and brings us to focus on the meaning of words and proverbs according to the social context and cultural change in relation to what people believe. This is to move from primitive and traditional life towards emancipation, civilization and development, by avoiding the artificial barrier created by the cultural and traditional impositions.

II.3. MEANING AND INTENTIONALITY

In this work, the study of meaning and intentionality is of paramount importance. Many researchers made researches on this field of meaning and intentionality. To begin with the field of meaning, Searle (1969:42) illustrates that the illocutionary force has something with meaning. He argues that “illocutionary acts are characteristically perfumed in the utterance of sound or the making of sound”.

In differentiating the meaning and intentionality, Searle (1969:43) gives a typical example by saying that:

characteristically, when one speaks, one means something by what one says; and what one says, the string of sounds that one omits is characteristically said to have meaning”. So “meaning and intentionality are of paramount importance in the understanding of proverbs. But Meaning is more than a matter of intention. Sometimes it may be considered as matter of convention, that is people who share the same society or culture must have and understand things which they conceive in the same way due to the common background.

The above observation leads us to affirm that in every uttered sound /words or expressions; there must be one or more meaning behind it. Therefore, none can utter an utterance without any meaning held in it or hidden behind it. And if any one is not a member of community and culture in which a given

proverbs or utterance is used, it could be difficult to draw the exact meaning or intention held in that saying.

II.4 DEFINITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PROVERBS.

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

They add that a person observes a situation in real life and wants to assess it or pass judgement on it, but instead of discussing it directly, in plain terms, he compares it indirectly to a conventional or custom-established situation.

The above quotation expresses the importance and relevance of proverbs and words in revealing people's views on given issues.

Okpewho, I. (1992:226) considers a proverb as "a piece of folk wisdom expressed with terseness and charm." He goes ahead to explain each of the key terms in his definition as follows: the "terseness" implies economy in the choice of words and sharpness of focus while "charm" conveys the touch of literary or poetic beauty in the expression. "Folk wisdom" refers to the fact that every proverb must have started its life as the product of genius of an individual oral artist. But it becomes appropriated by the people at large (folk) because it contains a truth about life, accepted by them and appealing to their imagination.

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

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

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

Finnegan R. (1970:391) also points out that proverbs frequently occur in general conversation to embellish, conceal or hint. If one does not want to be direct in passing a message, one can easily apply a proverb and the intended recipient quickly registers the message which may remain concealed from the others in the same situation.

Finnegan R. (1970:411) further observes that proverbs use figurative language which is based on various figures of speech such as similes, metaphor, hyperbole, irony, sarcasm, paradox, comparison of people with animals and other objects, etc.. as a way of 'getting at someone'.

Schipper M. (1991:7) observes that African proverbs can be roughly divided into:

- a) Clear, direct statement, that is, moral sayings or mottoes
- b) Proverbs in metaphorical forms

She adds that it is impossible to provide a completely satisfactory classification of proverbs as they tend to overlap in a number of ways.

As Finnegan R. (1970:402) rightly observes, a real affirmation is that the Kirundi proverbs often consist of two forms: the full and the abbreviated. The Kirundi proverbs also have two parts named as "proposition and completion". And sometimes, a Kirundi proverb is cut down and merely presented in one or two words. The Kirundi speakers often prefer to leave proverbs to be completed by the hearer. For example, one may simply say "Akatagurutse or Akanyoni katagurutse..." in meaning "a bird which does not fly..", and the hearer is expected to get the rest of the proverb and register the meaning. The complete proverb in this case, runs as follows: "Akatagurutse or Akanyoni katagurutse: ntikamenya iyo bweze" to mean that "a bird which does not fly, cannot know where the grains are ripe".

Similarly, the above Kirundi proverb has meaning and style which are related to a Luganda proverb "Atannayitaayita: y'atenda nnyina okufumbo" which means "the person who does not travel; praises his mother's cooking".

It implies that if one does not travel, one tends to consider her/his mother as the best cooker. This proverb criticizes the narrow-mindedness of

people who does not travel and encourages them to travel and get new ideas or learn from others away from their own homes.

II. 5. THE IMPORTANCE OF PROVERBS AS VEHICLES AND PREVERVERS OF PEOPLE'S BELIEFS AND VIEWS IN RELATION TO GENDER

Schipper, M (1991:4) describes the role of a proverb in society when she observes that the definitions of proverbs generally emphasize three characteristics:

- a) Its concise fixed artistic form;
- b) Its evaluative and conservative function in society;
- c) Its authoritative validity;

Finnegan R (1970:410 – 412) says that proverbs are used to advise rebuke or shame another person into complaisance; comment or persuade, add colour to every conversation, etc. She observes that proverbs may be particularly suitable tools of communication in situations and relationships of potential or latent conflict.

To emphasize Finnegan's observation, one could take the following proverbs:

“Rome was not built in day”

The above proverb is an English proverb similar to the Kirundi one which says:

“ Buke buke bukomeza igihonyi” meaning “A fragile banana matures slowly”.

There is another proverb from Ivory Coast which says:

“One does not force a pregnant woman to give birth” Baule, Ivory Coast), Schipper (1991:67).

The above three proverbs are used to advise a person to preserve or to continue working patiently until the desired result is achieved. These proverbs can be used to shape people's habits, attitudes and beliefs regarding the gender imbalance in accordance with the cultural imposition.

Although, some women still tolerate or accept consciously or unconsciously the oppression and denigration; this only continues to ascertain the gender biases and with the coalition of men and women of

feminist movement in favour of gender balance, the desired result must be achieved one day.

Muranga, M.K (1996:118) emphasises the power and role of proverbs in society by quoting an English proverb which states:

"Though the old proverb may be given up, it is none the less true"

The above proverb suggests that even when a proverb appears to have gone out of fashion and probably been abandoned the truth of its content will remain. This emphasizes the need of collecting proverbs of all times and cultures because they are repositories of old truths that future generations may have recourse to. He also notes that France even goes as far as attributing divine qualities to the voice of the people, which the proverbial genre is believed to be.

"La voix du peuple est la voix de Dieu"

The above French proverb means that the people's voice is God's voice and it is based on the Latin proverb which says:

"Vox populi, Vox Dei"

The following Kirundi proverbs also emphasize the importance and role of proverbs both in communication and in the education of the young people. They say:

"Umugani ntuva Ku giti uva k'umuntu"

Translated as: *"a proverb does not originate from a tree, but from a person"*

"Ntawuca umugani umwana asinziriye"

Translated as: *"No one tells a proverb while a child is sleeping"*

The above proverbs point at the fact that in Kirundi tradition, the old are supposed to be knowledgeable and skilful in the use of proverbs and one who says that particular proverb exposes his /her own ignorance or incapacity to use proverbs.

Schipper, M (1991:4) observes that in relation to content, in spite of different cultural and geographical origins, a number of similar traits are attributed to women in proverbs. However, one could rightly add that similar traits are also attributed to men in proverbs.

The proverbs quoted below illustrate the above point about common traits being depicted in proverbs of different languages.

“Omukazi talema kulimba: azze enjuba ewanze, ng’agamba “nkedde bukeezi ”

This Luganda proverb can literally translated as

“A woman cannot help telling lies: she comes when the sun has already risen and says “ I started off very early ”

So, the related Sri Lanka Proverb says “He who listens to the advice of a woman is fool”, then, the Luganda proverb like that Sri Lankan one depicts the women as one not to be trusted because she is liable to telling lies.

Similarly, this is like a Kirundi saying used frequently by men and which says:

“Nta jambo ry’umugore”/ umugore nta jambo or Nta jambo ry’umukecuru
Literally translated in English as following “A woman has no say”.

And the proverbial meaning implication is that there is not good speech or advice given by a woman. It is a case of stigmatization and denigration against women in society.

In both cases, men are advised not to trust women and this is a kind of denigration and discrimination towards women. There is a Kirundi proverb which says:

“Inkokazi ntibika isake iriho”, literally translated as
“A hen does not sing in the presence of a cock”.

A proverbial meaning implication is that the woman cannot be allowed to speak when a man is there.

There is also an American proverb depicting the woman as a stubborn being that requires some rough treatment from men in order to control them. That American proverb says: “The best way to keep a woman is barefoot in the winter and pregnant in the summer.”

There is also a related proverb from Luganda language which says:

“Omukazi birenge bya ddiba: bw’otobikunya tebigonda”

It means that a woman is like the ends/legs of a hide: if you do not squeeze or crumple them, they will not become soft or yielding.

These similarities between the traits depicted by proverbs of different languages are worth studying at international and intercultural levels because they help us to appreciate the reasons why feminism is a world wide movement. An appropriate linguistic theory such as the pragmatic speech Act Theory helps to systematically analyse and disambiguate the explicit and implicit meanings of such gender-sensitive proverbs.

II.6. SOCIOPRAGMATICS AS A SUB-DISCIPLINE OF LINGUISTICS

The modern usage of the term "pragmatics" is attributed to the Philosopher Charles Morris who was concerned with the science of signs, that is with semiotics.

Levinson, S.C (1983:5) and Charles Morris (1938:6) distinguished three branches of inquiry which actually illustrate the difference between syntax, semantics and programatics, and the sociopragmatics involves the pragmatic study in accordance with the social context. The illustration of those different linguistic branches is the following:

- I) Syntax is described as the study of formal relation of signs to one another.
- II) Semantics is the study of relation of signs to objects to which the signs are applicable that is their designate.
- III) Pragmatics in which sociopragmatics is deducted because of the social context is described as a study of relation of signs to interpreters.

According to Levinson (1983:5), pragmatics is concerned with the disambiguation of sentences or utterance by the context in which they were uttered while the sociopragmatics is concerned with the issue of utterance disambiguation by the social context within the society. The notion of context is cornerstone of pragmatics and it refers to all that is around the utterance that we need to interpret it. This includes settings, co-text or previous talks, social situation or identity of participants, common background knowledge, medium, gesture, etc.

This sociopragmatic study applies one of the pragmatic theory components, named Speech Act Theory in order to make the systematic analysis of the selected Kirundi proverbs and words revealing their hidden or implied

meanings and possible effects in relation to female gender – specific discrimination, denigration and oppression.

II.7. SPEECH ACT THEORY

According to Traugott, E.C AND Pratt, M (1980:229), the Speech Act Theory is among the different pragmatic frameworks proposed for describing the language in a social context. They also state that the Speech Act Theory was developed in the 1960s by a group of British language philosophers, most importantly Austin, J.L, but the theory has been recently adopted by many linguists. It treats an utterance as an Act performed by the speaker in context with the respect of the addressee.

Levinson (1983:263–4) state that Austin isolates three kinds of Acts that are simultaneously performed. These are:

- I) LOCUTIONARY ASPECT/ACT which is the semantic aspect that is the utterance of a sentence with the determinate sense and reference.
- II) ILLOCUTIONARY ASPECT/ACT is the force or intention of the speaker that is the attempt to accomplish some communicative purpose such as promising, warning, threatening, abusing, denigrating, stigmatizing, advising, criticising, informing, etc.
- III) PERLOCUTIONARY ASPECT /ACT is the effect brought about, what the utterance makes the hearer do. Such as effects are special to the circumstances of the utterance.

As Levinson (1983:263–4) states, some speech Acts have direct Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDS) while other speech Acts are indirectly implied. For example, the speech act of advising may be performed by using a Direct IFID which may be the verb to advise, but the speech act may be just implied.

The next chapter is going to describe the methodology adopted by the researcher to collect, analyse and interpret the data for this work.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

III.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The major aim of this study is to find out whether proverbs and words embody, reveal, disseminate and perpetuate a speech community's beliefs and views in relation to specific discrimination, oppression against women and gender imbalance. This chapter is dedicated to the methods used by the researcher to collect the data for this study.

III.2. AREA OF THE STUDY

A number of the selected Kirundi proverbs and expressions in this study were gathered from the collection of Rudegem (1961) that covered the entire proverb lore and expression of the language "Kirundi" spoken in Burundi. Beside the Rodegem's collection, some other Kirundi proverbs and sayings were collected from the informants in the community of Bujumbura City, more particularly the elders. However, for the empirical part of the investigations, the interviews were conducted in the 13 communes of Bujumbura city as well as in the various offices of the institutions working in promoting the gender issue, woman's rights and development (International NGOs, local NGOs, UN Agencies, Governmental Institutions, Various services of DDR (Demobilisation, Desarmement et Reintegration)).

Bujumbura city is the most popular town that is located in the north-western part of Burundi. It is composed of 13 communes, with population which largely comes from the 16 other provinces of Burundi for various purposes such as job opportunities and other businesses, and they are the native speakers of Kirundi. Therefore, this area of Bujumbura city was properly chosen by the researcher as a sampling area of the study for the whole country since the Kirundi is a common language for all Burundians. In addition, it is also an area in which the various offices of the Government and Non Government institutions for different purposes of work, including that of defending gender and woman rights are found.

III.3 SUBJECTS INVOLVED IN THIS STUDY.

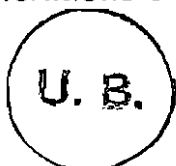
Forty nine native speakers of Kirundi were randomly selected and interviewed in order to gather some information about female gender discrimination related proverbs and expression of Kirundi language.

In addition to the above forty nine, the researcher consulted one person who is an expert working specifically on gender specific issue in institution of Non Government Organisation, and that one is just totalised fifty informants.

Then, out of the total number of 50 informants involved in the study, 25 were females while 25 were then males. Among those 50 informants include the former female combatants because of their vivid life experience as victims of gender discrimination at the end of the war during the demobilization and social reintegration process. This distribution of the rate of informants according to gender and life experience is aiming at coming out with balanced findings of the research. In relation to age groups of the respondents, 20 subjects among 50 were between 15–20 years old, and 20 others were between 20–35 while the remaining 10 were above 35 years of age.

The sample included subjects with basic education, primary education, secondary school education, post secondary school education or tertiary education level. This study involved also the members of various institutions and organizations either non governmental or Governmental, religious affiliations such as Anglicans, Roman Catholic, Pentecostals, (Born again Christians) and Muslims, etc. They were chosen for their role in the mission of preaching the religious morality, integrity, related to human dignity, fraternity, brotherhood or sisterhood and equality according to God's law.

The 10 subjects above 35 years of age were mainly consulted on the basis of their wide experience, knowledge, and authority in Burundian culture and language in general and proverbs and language's expression in particular. Those 10 contributed to the gathering of reliable interpretations, classification and translations of the proverbs and words in the study. The other 40 subjects were chosen to reveal the status of female gender- related Kirundi proverbs and expressions among the members of different generations of the local community of the Burundian society.



III.4. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Kirundi proverbs themselves in general are reminders of tradition and customs; and their main objective is to teach, educate, give moral lessons and prevent undesirable trends. The present work intends to investigate about people's awareness of existence of female discrimination and gender imbalance-related proverbs; and to see how these Kirundi proverbs reveal, disseminate and perpetuate the people's beliefs and speech community's views and attitudes in relation to female discrimination and gender prejudices. Beside the written materials, especially that of Rodegem, which provided me with a large number of Kirundi proverbs and expressions depicting female discrimination and gender imbalance, i have collected other Kirundi proverbs and some insights from informants in Bujumbura city (13 communes) in which people from various provinces are living. Some other proverbs are got from the elderly of up country, and it has been our duty to try to combine the information with the knowledge we have in our mother tongue (Kirundi).

The available literature and documents related to different proverbs and words in reference to the themes of this study were reviewed for the purpose of obtaining more background information. The required instruments were designed, that is normally the questionnaire, groups discussions and interview schedule items with taking notes of given responses and views. The instruments were tested for validity and reliability on small sample of subjects. The proper letters to the respondents were used on fields of research. The individuals and groups chosen to be involved in the study were visited two times for the purpose of familiarisation, interviewing, gathering and cross-checking the required data, which include the following: Forty (40) selected Kirundi proverbs and expressions depicting female discrimination and gender imbalance, the various possible interpretations, implications and effects of the gathered Kirundi proverbs or words, the respondents' beliefs and views in relation to the female discrimination and marginalization that are depicted by proverbs or any other words through them. The obtained proverbs and expressions were translated into English and classified pragmatically according to the gender imbalance, female oppression, marginalisation and discrimination. Each of the proverbs or word's expressions involved in the study was analysed according to the

Pragmatic Speech Act Theory to identify the following: Its Locutionary Force Act, Its Illocutionary Force Act, Its Perlocutionary Force Act.

III.5 INSTRUMENTS

The instruments used during the research and interviews for data collection were notebooks and observations, a proper letter to the respondents, questionnaire with the structured questions, group discussions and interviews schedule containing open-end questions. The Available collections of Kirundi proverbs and sayings such as the three books of Rudegem (1961, 1970, and 1983) were also primarily used while selecting the targeted proverbs related to the domain at hand.

III.6 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

To get the required information from the local community in the 13 communes of Bujumbura city, some problems had been encountered by the researcher, but he had been able to manage them as well as the situation required him. The related problems are stated below:

1. Some subjects could only spare a few minutes at a time so that it was necessary to meet them more than once in order to get enough information from them. It was a time – consuming exercise.
2. Some subjects, due to various reasons could not turn up again after the first meeting.
3. Some subjects did not want to disclose their names. This may be because of the fear of being misquoted anywhere. However, the researcher was able to convince and ensure them to a large extent that the information got would be used purely for the academic purpose.
4. Some subjects were suspicious with the aims of this research and thus did not accept to co-operate easily. To solve this, convincing explanations were given before the interviews and group discussions took place.
5. Another problem was that some respondents expected payment from the researcher as they believed that he was carrying out the research in order to make money.

Although these problems were encountered during the field research, the researcher managed to deal with each of them as the situation required, and all research tasks were carried out successfully.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND FINDINGS.

This chapter is subdivided into two main parts. The first part is concerned with the classification of the proverbs according to the age, sex and social status of the targeted person they talk about them, and the possible interpretation of the findings of that research. The second part is about the discussion and analysis of the findings on the basis of observations under percentages of responses and views given by both male and female respondents.

IV. A) CLASSIFICATION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The proverbs presented below were thematically and pragmatically classified according to the type of people they talk about, what they say in relation to female discrimination, oppression, marginalisation and gender imbalance. Considering the types of people they talked about, the following categories were identified:

1. Proverbs which specifically talk about the pride and superiority of men over women.
 2. Proverbs which specifically talk about the position of the woman in general within the Burundian society.
 - a) Proverbs about girls or spinsters
 - b) Proverbs about married women in general
 - c) Proverbs about lazy women
 - d) Proverbs about the women in polygamous marriages (co-wives)
 - e) Proverbs about the barren women
 3. Proverbs which talk about the parents and children (parental relationships.) with a direct or indirect reference to female stigmatisation.
- In order to identify what gender-related Kirundi proverbs and prejudices say and do in relation to female discrimination, oppression, marginalisation and gender imbalance, the pragmatic speech Act theory was applied to each of the proverbs in the study to show:

- (i) Its Locutionary Force, that is literal meaning of the proverb as translated in English.
- (ii) Its Illocutionary force that is the intention expressed by the proverb.
- (iii) Its Perlocutionary force that is the possible effects of the application of the proverb.

In accordance with the above classification of the proverbs in the study, this chapter consists of three major sections:

1. Proverbs about the pride and superiority of men over women.
2. Proverbs which specifically talk about the position of women in general within the Burundian society.
3. Proverbs which talk about the parents and children (parental relationships.) with a direct or indirect reference to female stigmatisation.

For the purposes of easy reference to any of the Kirundi proverbs in this study, they were numbered. It will also be noted that against each of the proverbs, a code was indicated to show the respondents' reaction concerning its deeper Implications.

Some proverbs were considered to be totally positive (PPP), others totally negative (NNN) for either women (W) or men (M). Some proverbs were said to have negative Locutionary Force, but with a positive illocutionary force (intention) and those may have either positive or negative Perlocutionary Force (effects), depending on the social context in which they are used NPP/N (M) or NPP/N (W).

A.1. Proverbs which specifically talk about the pride and superiority of men over women.

1. *PPP [M] Amazi abaye make aheberwa impfizi.*

NPP/N (W): when water becomes little, it is given to the bull.

In traditional Burundian culture, the husband in a household or the father of the family was always the first served and most well served. If he was not at home at meal time, the wife would keep his share, put it into the cooking pot and keep it warm on the cooking places/stones. No one was

expected to complain that the cooking pot would get spoilt / broken because of keeping the husband's food on fire.

(i) a) this proverb can be applied to warn or advise a wife in cooking to keep the food for the master of the house warm on the fireplace in order to avoid conflicts because it is expected and imposed on women by customs and culture.

b) This proverb can also be used to reassure a husband away from home that even if he arrives late at home after meal time, he is sure to find his food kept warm at home by his wife/cook. Similarly, even in the event of hunger, a selfish husband believed that the little foods the family had, was to be given to him.

(ii) By emphasizing that custom of keeping the husband's food warm when he came after meal time, this proverb makes men feel confident, proud and superior in their homes. Some husbands even develop bad behaviours, habits of coming home after meal time and harassing their wives if they did not keep their food warm.

2. PPP [M] *Urugo rutagira umugabo runywa amazi*
 NNN [W] *A family without a head drinks water*

3. PPP [M] *Urugo rutagira umugabo ntakitarukengera / ntakitarugera umutwe*
 NPP/N[W] *A household which does not have a head /husband is not respected/anyone can attack it.*

(i) The second proverb (2) above, means that the family without a head/husband cannot be well nourished. The absence of man in family affects its economy negatively. This implies that a widow is not able to satisfy the needs of the family.

(ii) The above third Kirundi proverb (3) performs the same speech acts of criticising, stigmatising and denigrating against woman. These proverbs express the weakness and the inferior position of woman in family comparatively to the position and strengthen of a man in accordance with the responsibility or the role they play.

- (iii) These proverbs are expressing clearly the gender imbalance according to the society's views, and people beliefs.

4. *NNN [M] .Ukozivugijwe niko zitambwa*

NNN [W] The dance follows the rhythm of Drum beating.

This Kirundi proverb is expressing the fact that subordinates do as the chief wishes. It is not specific only to woman, but it is related to the study because in the family, the husband is considered as the chief.

5. *PPP [M] Ntabagwanira umuzigo ari babiri*

NNN [W] Two people do not fight over one burden

6. *PPP [M] Abagabo babiri ntibasangira inzu (Rudegem nr 6-p 26) nr1187*

NNN [W] Two men do not share the same house

These two above proverbs are used when a wife wants to make a point that contradicts her husband's.

(i) The speech act performed in these 2 Kirundi proverbs is criticising made against the woman. The woman through this proverb is discriminated against her right to have freedom of expression and opinion. She is refused to speak in place of her husband in their shared home.

7. *PPP [M] a) Inkoko iva mu magi akabora (Rudegem 1961-p133,nr 1147)*

NNN [W] Once, a hen abandons its eggs, they get rotten immediately.

PPP [M] b) Inkoko iboze n'amagi nayo aca abora.

NNN [W] If a hen dies, its eggs are then spoilt.

The proverbial meaning is that when the chief of a family dies, his wife—a widow is nothing and the rest of the family is no longer respected. The family members suffer from poverty and hunger.

There are two speech acts performed that are criticising and stigmatising women.

(i) The implication of the above Kirundi proverbs is that the Burundian society stigmatises the women as people are not able to do anything in the absence of their husbands.

(ii) The speech act of criticising women is to express the gender imbalance, to mean that the female gender is inferior to the male one in achieving their roles of responsibility in family.

8. PPP [M]. *Urugo n'umugabo*

NNN [W]. *A householder depends on a man /husband.*

(i) The proverbial implication of this saying is that in the absence of man, the family cannot survive.

(ii) Also, when a man/husband in a family is misbehaving, his family has no future. Everyone is to behave according to the education and model he/she inherits from the father of that family.

(iii) This Kirundi proverb sustains that if there is no good head/husband in a family, the wife cannot save it. Therefore, this proverb is somehow denigrating the women in families as they are living as incapable individuals who are irresponsible.

(iv) This Kirundi saying has also been uttered to mean that a family is build and protected by a husband.

9. PPP [M]. *Umugabo n'igikingi c'irembo.*

PPP [W]. *A man is a pillar of the gate.*

Here, the word irembo is comparable to a family while the expression of igikingi (a pillar) is comparable to a father/husband in a family. The speech act performed is that of praising of man.

(i) This Kirundi proverb is empowering a man as powerful human being a protector of his wife and children.

10. PPP [M]. *Impfizi ntiyimigwa*

NNN [W]. *A bull cannot be limited.*

This Kirundi proverb was used in the traditional Burundian community when the right of movement was not equal for both males and females. But this proverb had been used to empower the man, and enhance polygamy.

In traditional Burundian Society, especially during the reign of King, the polygamy was allowed. Then, the husband in addition to his first wife, had the freedom of loving and getting married with other women. It was also used to justify or encourage infidelity (for men).

(i) The speech act performed in this Kirundi proverb is praising and empowering the man.

(ii) Whereas the man was not limited in whatever he did, the woman was strictly limited.

A.2. Proverbs which specifically talk about the position of women in general within the Burundian society

This category of proverbs includes those which talk about women in general: married women, barren women, lazy women, women in polygamous marriages (co-wives) and the girls/spinsters. This study has established that there are many sub-categories of proverbs which talk about women.

A.2.a) Proverbs about girls/spinsters

The following proverbs talk about unmarried girls and elderly unmarried women. The former stay with their parents or relatives while the latter may be staying alone in their own house depending on the conditions in which they are living. The Kirundi proverbs about this category of women (still be again girls) perform two main Speech Acts: Criticising and Warning. For example,

*1.PPP[M]. Inkumi ntigorobeza iba igomba gucikira/Rudegem1961-137nr 1183
NPP/N [W]. A girl does not go for an evening walk, if she does not intend to
have an illegal marriage.*

(i) As said above, through this proverb, there are two meanings and main Speech Acts:

a) Warning: here the warning is that girls are prevented themselves from the exposure to dangerous boys who could court or force them to marriage by raping them.

Therefore, they have to stay at home at night. Otherwise, they may be kidnapped and forced to live with their kidnappers (guterura).

b) Criticising is also the second Speech Act expressed in this proverb. Regardless of the cause of her being out at night, a girl is understood according to this proverb, to be exposing herself to a rapist so that she can, at last “get married”.

2. PPP [M] "Umugore mwiza n'umusangira / Umugore mwiza n'uw' igihugu / Umugore mwiza ntawumwisangiza."

NNN [W] "A beautiful woman is the sister of many"

(i) The Speech Act is a Criticising. The proverbial meaning implication is that if a woman is very beautiful, many men wish to claim a romantic relationship with her in order to receive favours from possible suitors.

(ii) This proverb criticises people who claim to have a close relationship with a beautiful women, rich or famous people out of the need either to show off, can use a beautiful woman to win favours from others by using her beauty.

(iii) This proverb makes the listeners more critical about people who claim to have close relation- ship with the beautiful women or popular people even if they are not really the appropriate educated people.

Below, is another Kirundi proverb which enhances the above idea of criticising the men who choose the beautiful woman whatever conditions, rather than the clever and faithful one whatever beauty she has.

3. PPP (M) "Inkundwakazi y'ijisho irutwa n'iy'Imana" (Rudegem nr 1186)

NPP/ N (W) The beloved woman according to one's appreciation is less beloved than the one preferred by God

4. PPP [M]). Umukobwa w'ikijuju yirata impfizi ya se.

NPP/N [W] A stupid girl boast of her father's bull.

(i) The meaning of the above Kirundi proverb is criticising a lazy girl for being proud of the wealth of her father (her family). The social situation and context in which, this Kirundi proverb is used in direct reference to the Burundian tradition and culture based on patriarchal system through which the boys and girls did not inherit the same wealth from their family. This

proverb considers that only the boy is the appropriate owner of his family's fortune, while the people's beliefs considers the girl to belong to the family of her husband; and finally inherited more wealth from the father of her husband.

(ii) This proverb metaphorically separates a girl from her father to deny her the right to inherit her as her brothers. It implies the empowerment of boys while discriminating the girls from their family in relation to the sharing of the family's wealth.

(iii) It implies that it is easier for boys to be rich because of his father's wealth whereas it is not the case for a girl because, if she misbehaves, she can easily become poor in the family in which she is married. It is then criticising the girl who has misbehaved and warns her to work for her best future.

5. PPP [M] *Umurondo aronda nyina*

NPP/N [W] *A girl inherits her mother's character*

(i) This Kirundi saying is often used by men to compare the girl's character with the way her mother behaves. Its meaning is that the behaviour of a girl is a fruit of education she got from her mother. It implies that the girls of a mother who misbehaves can easier be influenced by her mother, and behave like her.

(ii) It criticises the women by asserting that they can be blamed for their girls' lack of good education as if the mother is the only parent who is supposed to be responsible of children's education.

6. PPP [M] *Umukobwa ntarya umuceri, yohava acikira Imbo*

NPP/N[W] *A girl who eats rice, runs the risk of having an illegal marriage in the Imbo region.*

Idiomatically, in this Kirundi proverb as said above, there are two performed Speech Acts: Warning and abusing

The social context, in which this proverb is used, is originated from the two key words "rice" and "Imbo". These two key words symbolise two perfect and valuable things. The former is a good and suitable meal that is a sort of cereal and which in traditional Burundian society, was often eaten only in the

ceremonies of happy Christmas day and New Year or in some holidays by the Burundians living the up countryside of rural milieu. People of the low lands eat it regularly because they grew it.

(i) The meaning and speech acts perfumed in this proverb are: warning and abusing as said above. The girl is warned against eating the rice because once she eats it, she will likely like so much that she will be ready to accept an illegal marriage with an inappropriate suitor, simply because he comes from region where rice is grown.

(ii) The abusing is that it is also aiming at preventing the girls from eating rice, moreover ,the proverbs seems to affirm that young men from Imbo region are not serious : they do not have legal marriage.

Similarly, the above Kirundi proverb has the same speech Act as this proverb below:

7. PPP [M] *Umukobwa ntarya indagara, abagomba guta indagano.*

NPP/N [W] *A girl who eats fish becomes unfaithful*

i) The socio-economic context is much expressed in this proverb because the Ndagala is a kind of fish from Tanganyika Lake, and it is very suitable meal. So this proverb is used to criticise the girls, that once they eat fish, even an engaged girl may easily disappoint her former lover and love another young man from the Region surrounding the lake. This is to mean that she directly wishes to be married by a husband who could be able to provide the fish (suitable and valuable meal).

(ii) The other proverbial meaning implication is male egoism. The proverb prevents and is aiming at discriminating against girls from having the right to eat such a suitable meal. The proverbial meaning implication is that this proverb is expressing the limitation of opportunities for girls.

8. NNN [M] *Umukobwa nta mwana*

NNN [W] *A girl is not a child.*

This Kirundi saying or utterance is very often used by the parents to differentiate the value of male and female children in relation to extension of

the members' family. As the Burundian society is patriarchal, the girl is expected to belong to the family where she is married. In traditional Burundi, very often, the parents segregated the girls from boys in terms of scholarship they paid for their study. The boys were expected to do long studies, if possibly up to the high education, but for the girls the parents would consider that it is not necessary for them to study because they will be useful to the families in which they will be married.

(i) According to today's laws, this Kirundi saying has a speech act of denigrating against female gender; and it has totally negative illocutionary and perlocutionary Force in community. It may also still be the cause for which the girls were not allowed to inherit like their brothers from the wealth of their parents.

9. PPP [M]. *Umukobwa ntaba umugwany*
 NNN [W] *A woman cannot be a combatant*

The meaning of this proverb is that the war is an exclusive privilege of men. According to a former combatant woman who was interviewed about the above saying during the field research, she responded that "people, especially the men believe that a woman cannot be a combatant since she can be pregnant, and becomes weaker and weaker than on battlefield. This saying sustains that the monopoly of violence is exclusive privilege of man.

And the interviewed girl further said that this was said while they were in the process of demobilisation when the leaders and political decision makers of the DRR (Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration programme were identifying and selecting those who were real combatants".

- (i) The Speech act performed in this above saying is discriminating against women in the army institution. This saying is expressing that since a woman is weak and vulnerable while she is pregnant, therefore she cannot serve in war; which is not really true.
- (ii) This Kirundi saying was uttered to express the gender imbalance in accordance with the role people are assigned in relation to their sex.

A.2. b) Proverbs about married women in general

10. PPP [M]. *Inkokokazi ntibika isake iriho. Rudegem 1961-p133 nr 1151*
 NPP/N[W]. *A hen does not sing in the presence of a cock.*

This above rundi proverb is based on the fact that, most African societies including the Burundian one are a patriarchal. They enforce the male dominance over female counterparts. This causes a woman to be a second – class citizen. This Kirundi proverb perfumes the speech acts of criticizing, blaming, stigmatizing, and discriminating against the freedom of expression towards the women.

(i) It stigmatizes the married women, by excluding them from speech opportunities

(ii) It discriminates the woman in family against having the freedom of expressing her opinion as equal right while she claims for participating in decision making as the men.

(iii) It preventing and warning the women not to stir up conflicts with her husband.

10. PPP [M]. *Nta jambo ry'umukecuru (umugore)*
 NNN [W]. *No speech/say for an old woman (i.e. simply for a woman)*

The expression umukecuru means literally as an old woman, but it has a performed speech act to abuse a woman as human being with out a value in terms of consciousness.

Below, there is another saying as the above one which has the same speech act:

11. PPP [M]. *Umugore nta jambo*
 NNN [W]. *A Woman has no say.*

The implication of the Kirundi proverbs nr 10 and 11 is that they are stigmatising against the women, making the men and society in general despise them as if they cannot give a good advice.

12. PPP [M]. *Abagore ntabwenge murenga n'ubwo burabarengeye.*
 NNN [W]. *Women have no cleverness, just keep the little you have which is more than you can handle*

The situation of this Kirundi proverb was due to a quarrel between husband and his wife about the management of every thing in family. And the woman was unhappy while trying to revendicate her equal rights to her husband. Arrived to talk about the control on banana wine, the wife accused her husband that she is not allowed to have a say when the banana wine is well alcoholised. She said:

"Uratarura nga taramuka, wagwitera ukiteragura gwagushika, ukanshora inkoni".

Translated in English as following ("When you collect the wine, you send me out, once you drink it you feel happy and when it makes you drunkard, you start beating me")

The below Kirundi proverbs nr13 and 14 come to enhance the above situation:

13.PPP [M]. Umugore ntaganza ugwagwa, abashaka inzira ija iwabo (Rudegem2812).

NPP/N [W]. The woman does not have control over banana wine if she doesn't want to rejoin her parents.

Proverbial meaning is that a wife in home cannot reclaim to have the right on valuable things unless she wants to be repudiated.

This Kirundi proverb reflects the discrimination against the behaviour of women who go beyond their social status and want to be involved in decision making organ with equal right to her husband.

Contrarily to the Law and authority of the woman, it is not taken into consideration because the culture does not permit wives to control over family affairs in presence of a man. The speech Act performed is marginalizing and discriminating against female gender.

*14. PPP [M]. Umugore aganza inkono yo kw'iziko
NNN [W]. A wife controls a pot on fire.*

This Kirundi proverb means that a woman has nothing in family, she has right to nothing, even what she produces, is not for her, but for her husband. Traditionally, the Burundian society believes men to be owner of everything.

And the speech act performed is a stigmatizing and discriminating against woman in having rights on valuable things.

15.PPP [M]. Umugore musangira amata ntimusangira amazi.

NNN [W]. You may share milk with a woman, but you don't share water with her.

The proverbial meaning is the woman search easy life and comfort. The speech act performed in this proverb is a criticising and stigmatising as if every woman is lazy human being who could not serve as useful actor and producer in life.

16: NPP/N [W]. Genda mwana niko zubakwa

My child, just go, that is the way family life is.

This Kirundi saying is concerning young married woman. It is expressing an oppression of the young woman by her mother for having not a right to reclaim the divorce if it happens that she misunderstands with her husband. Two speech Acts are performed:

(i) This saying has first as an advice of a mother to her girl, but who is still young married.

(ii) Second, it is traditional oppressing educations which prevent the women from her right to emancipation.

A.2. c) Proverbs about lazy women.

17..PPP [M]. Imburamaboko y'umugore ibagara umushatsi.

NPP/N [W].A lazy woman spends her whole time taking care of her hair.

The speech Act performed is: criticizing, warning and insulting.

(i) This Kirundi proverb criticises the lazy woman, who instead of working, believes that she could make herself more beautiful and attract the suitors, or waits for her husband to bring the daily food.

(ii) It intends to warn some women about their laziness because they try to exchange their beauty against the rotten money in the society they live. This

proverb is to appeal them for work instead of losing their time because as they grow old, their beauty becomes less and less appealing.

A.2.d) Proverbs about the women in polygamous marriages (co-wives)

In Burundian society, a man was, traditionally free to marry more than one wife, and below, there is a selected proverb about co-wives. Such type of proverbs generally perform the Speech Acts of Criticising or abusing, and warning against the rivalry between co-wives. For instance,

18. NPP/N [M]. Ingo zibiri ntizubakika. Rudegem 1961-p130 nr1114
NPP/N [W]. Two households cannot be sustained by one man.

This proverb metaphorically compares two households with two wives. From this Kirundi proverb, the implication is that to satisfy a wife with her house's needs requires a lot of efforts, especially in terms of money. Also, it is clear that the first woman is strongly discouraged when she sees her concubine because those two wives start to fight over the sharing of the advantages that they get from their common husband. This Kirundi proverb reveals the disadvantages of polygamy, and it implies that a husband who marries two wives, he faces tough challenges (two main problems, i.e. one wife, one problem for a man).

In addition to the problems that he faces because of misunderstanding and cohabitation of his two wives:

(i) A man with two wives in two different homes may die of hunger.

(ii) it is implied as a warning to a man with two wives in different homes because he is likely to miss his meals when each of the two wives thinks that he has eaten at other wife's home.

(iii) This proverb scares men of having two wives in two different homes, and makes them feel safe with one wife. In a way, it discourages the polygamy, but it also gives a woman an image of a human being who is difficult to manage in family's life (compared with a problem).

A.2. e) Proverbs about the barren women

19. PPP [M]. *Imbūrabana y'umugore yugumbira irekwe*
 NNN [W]. *A barren woman is boastful of her fecundity period.*

As with the proverbs on lazy women, the speech act performed by this Kirundi proverb about barren women are generally biases towards criticising, despising or insulting as in the below proverbs:

20. PPP [M]. *Imburamaboko y'umugore ibagara umushatsi.*
 NPP/N [W]. *A lazy woman spends her whole time taking care of her hair.*

This Kirundi proverb on lazy women is criticising or insulting women who waste all their time making themselves very beautiful by thinking that they could attract suitor men and get money from them without tired by work.

The above two Kirundi proverbs are stigmatizing barren and lazy women making men and society in general despise them. Therefore the dowry paid for such women is considered as double loss.

21. PPP [M]. *Ingumba isyera/iseru ihaha*
 NNN [W]. *A barren woman prepares cassava bread while she is cooking an animal's hung.*

This is to mean that a barren woman may eat every meat. Ihaha (hung) is a shameful meat that is forbidden to be eaten by children. So that a barren woman can prepare cassava bread while she has no meat other than a hung because it does not matter for her since she has not children.

The speech Act performed in this Kirundi proverb is an insulting and blaming women who cannot have children.

A.3. Proverbs which talk about the parents and children (Parental relationships with direct reference to female Stigmatisation expressed in mothers

1. PPP [M]. *Umwana arya inkware, Nyina akayiruka amoya*
 NPP/N [W]. *A child eats a wild hen, his mother vomits its feathers.*

2. PPP [M]. *Indero y'umwana itukwa nyina.*

NPP/N [W]. *A child's misbehaviour is an insult to his mother.*

These two above proverbs have the same Speech Acts: warning and Blaming.

(i) The meaning implication of these proverbs is first a warning to the mother that if their children misbehave, the mothers are blamed more than the fathers. These proverbs depict the mother as a victim. This is a sign of gender imbalance expressed into Kirundi proverbs.

(iii) It emphasizes the mother's role in shaping a child's behaviour or character; and thus justifies the father's non involvement.

3. PPP [M]. *Umugabo avyara abakobwa gusa, ngo ndahonye*

NNN [W]. *A husband, who has only female children, says: I am endangered.*

The Speech Acts Performed by this proverb are criticising, despising or insulting and denigrating the women as if it is their fault of making only such births of female children.

(i) It stigmatises the women, making the men and society in general despise them. The dowry paid for such women is considered as a big loss.

(ii) It also encourages some men who have no sons to consider in polygamy as a way out because this can bring them male children.

4. PPP [M]. *Urugo rutavyaye abahungu ntiruba ari urugo.*

NNN [W]. *A Family which does not have male children is not a family.*

The meaning of this proverb is that there is no future for a family which does not have male children. It is not a sustainable and lasting family. In this proverb, we find the speech Act of criticising, abusing, stigmatising and insulting which is expressed through the gender imbalance about the importance given to children.

- (ii) It implies even the origin and reason for which in Burundian society, the girls do not inherit their family's wealth as their brothers do.

Other expressions used to talk about parents and children (parental relationship in Burundian society)

5. PPP [M]. *Umwana n'uwa sé*
 NNN[W]. *A child belongs to his father.*

(i) The proverbial meaning is that this Kirundi saying is based on the fact that Burundian society is a patriarchal system in which a child belongs to the clan of his father and not of his mother. From the family of your maternal uncle or your mother; there cannot come one of your generations.

(ii) It reveals the speech community's culture and tradition, that children belong more to their fathers rather than to their mothers.

(iii) In any way, it alienates children from their mother's family and clan. Therefore, this is expressing a speech Act of blaming made by the culture towards the women and expressed through the proverbs.

The above Kirundi saying is not still true relevant because a man is called father not because he has male children only. No man can have a child in the absence of a wife. It would therefore be better to say as following:

"Umwana n'uw'abavyeyi "

Translated as: a child belongs to their parents.

Even if the goal of proverbs is sometimes to convey cultural values, to instruct and to correct people's behaviour as Sindayikengera (1997:31) and Okpewho (1992:23) assume, it would be better for the purpose of the proverbs to consider the weakness and failures of achieving the best and relevant meaning of proverbs; so that people should make some modifications according to the time and space in accordance with Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

In this respect, the speech act performed is that the above Kirundi proverb is denying the right for woman to consider the child as her own.

Although, there are some proverbs expressing the imbalance in the way the child is thought to belong to one parent (parental relationship), the below Kirundi proverb shows the equality between both fathers and mothers in terms of their rights over their children when they grow old.

6. PPP [M] *Urukwavu rurakura, rukonka Umwana*

NNN [W] *An old hare gets sucked by its own children/breast feeds on its children.*

(i) This above Kirundi proverb is based on society's view that old hares get sucked by their own female offspring.

(ii) It is used to warn and advise children about what is expected of them namely that children must take care of their parents.

(iii) It reveals society's views and their expectations of both parents with equal rights when they grow old, those children are obliged to look after them.

7. PPP [M] *Umugore asa n'umwana*

NNN [W] *A wife behaves like a child.*

As the child is a human being less equipped in terms of cleverness, that he does still need to be trained and educated, the above Kirundi proverb performed two speech acts: Criticising and denigrating against woman.

(i) Through the use of this Kirundi saying, the woman in Burundian society was compared to a child in terms of intelligence according to the ways she behaves.

8. NNN [M]. *Urwanko niyo nkwan*

NNN [W] *Hatred is itself a dowry.*

This above Kirundi proverb is based on Burundian custom which requires a man to pay dowry to the parents of girl before marrying her.

The proverb refers to the dowry as buying a woman, but not in term of cost, rather in terms of gift to the girl's parents and which in turn honouring the man-the son-in-law.

The implication of this Kirundi proverb has been used when a man who did not pay a dowry, has been dishonoured in the family of his wife or ill-welcomed during his stay in that party, and after returning home, he started beating her wife as revenge. So the wife was crying by saying that "*Urwanko niyo inkwano = the-hatred is itself a dowry*", to mean that the cause of the conflict between her and her husband is due to the fact that her husband was dishonoured at his parents'-in-law by the cause of unpaid dowry.

IV. 2.DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

One of the purposes of this study was to find out the Kirundi proverbs depicting female discrimination, denigration, oppression, marginalisation and stigmatisation contained, revealed, disseminated and perpetuated in the speech community. This study also attempted to find out whether people's awareness of gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs against women, and their views about the implications of these Kirundi proverbs depended on their age and sex.

During the course of this study, the questionnaire and interviews were applied to assess the general awareness of the members of the speech community about the female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs, their views about applicability or outdatedness/no longer relevance of such proverbs and the reasons advanced for considering any of the proverbs to be outdated. The study also inquired about the respondent's views in relation to the contexts in which the proverbs were frequently used.

The respondents were also interviewed for their views about possible illocutionary Force (intention) and Perlocutionary force (effects) of the female gender discrimination-related proverbs in the study. The findings of the study were analysed and presented in the following tables.

The table 1 shows a summary of the responses about the familiar, applicable and outdated female discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs according to the sex of the respondents between 21 and 35 years old.

The table 2 contains a summary of the responses about the familiar, applicable and outdated female discrimination - related kirundi proverbs according to the sex of the respondents between 15 and 20 years old.

The table 3 and 4 show the responses and comments about gender discrimination related Kirundi proverbs about women which were considered to be outdated.

The table 5 shows the responses about the contexts in which the proverbs were frequently used.

The tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 respectively show the responses about the illocutionary force (intention) and perlocutionary (effects) of 22 proverbs about discrimination against women, 10 proverbs about the pride and superiority of men over women, 8 proverbs about parental relationship and all the 40 female discrimination - related kirundi proverbs and expressions in the study put together.

B.1. RESPONSES ABOUT THE FAMILIAR, APPLICABLE OR OUTDATED FEMALE GENDER DISCRIMINATION-RELATED KIRUNDI PROVERBS ACCORDING TO THE SEX OF THE RESPONDENTS BETWEEN 20 AND 35 YEARS OLD.

Key Codes used while analysing the percentages of responses under observations of both male and female respondents.

Y ₀	=	percentages under male
Y ₁	=	percentages under female
N ₀	=	Number of observations under male
N ₁	=	Number of observations under female.
N	=	Total number of observations under male and female

Familiar Kirundi proverbs		Applicable and still relevant Kirundi proverbs		Outdated Kirundi proverbs	
M	F	M	F	M	F
Y ₀	Y ₁	Y ₀	Y ₁	Y ₀	Y ₁
%	%	%	%	%	%
73	84	100	100	11	
69			99	9	
	61		98	8	
59	60		98	7	
	58	96			7
57			96		7
53		96		6	
	51	96			5
49			95		5
	48		95	5	
46		95			5
	45		95	4	
	43	94			4
33		93		4	
	30		93	4	
28			93		2
	24	92			2
14		91			1
		89		0	
					0

$$\sum Y_0 = 481 \quad \sum Y_1 = 504 \quad \sum Y_0 = 942 \quad \sum Y_1 = 962 \quad \sum Y_0 = 58 \quad \sum Y_1 = 38$$

$$\sum N_0 = 10 \quad \sum N_1 = 10 \quad \sum N_0 = 10 \quad \sum N_1 = 10 \quad \sum N_0 = 10 \quad \sum N_1 = 10$$

$$\text{The Mean } X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{985}{20} = 49\%$$

$$\text{The Mean } X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{1904}{20} = 95\%$$

$$\text{The Mean } X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{58 + 38}{20} = 4.8\%$$

FOR TABLE 1

The mean X of percentages of familiar proverbs under male observation is

$$\text{The Mean } X = \frac{\sum Y_1}{\sum N_1} = \frac{481}{10} = 48.5\%$$

The mean X of percentages of familiar proverbs under female observations is:

$$\text{The Mean } X = \frac{\sum Y_1}{\sum N_1} = \frac{504}{10} = 50\%$$

The means X of percentages of applicable proverbs under male observations is:

$$\text{The Mean } X = \frac{\sum Y_0}{\sum N_0} = \frac{942}{10} = 94\%$$

The mean X of percentages of applicable proverbs under female observations is:

$$\text{The Mean X} = \frac{\sum Y_1}{\sum N_1} = \frac{962}{10} = 96\%$$

The means X of percentages of outdated proverbs under male observations is:

$$\text{The Mean X} = \frac{\sum Y_0}{\sum N_0} = \frac{58}{10} = 6\%$$

The means X of percentages of outdated proverbs under female observations is:

$$\text{The Mean X} = \frac{\sum Y_1}{\sum N_1} = \frac{38}{10} = 4\%$$

› The mean of percentages of familiar proverbs under all the observations for both male and female between 21–35 years old are:

$$\text{The Mean X} = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{481 + 504}{20} = \frac{985}{20} = 49\%$$

› The mean of the percentages of applicable proverbs under all the observations both male and female between 21–35 years is:

$$\text{The Mean X} = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{942 + 962}{20} = \frac{1904}{20} = 95\%$$

› The mean of the percentages of outdated under all the observations for both male and female between 21–35 years is:

$$\text{The Mean X} = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{942 + 962}{20} = \frac{96}{20} = 5\%$$

The above statistically summarised the findings from the 21–35 years of group indicate that the proverb lore was neglected and dying out, but the implications embedded in the proverbs were considered to be still 95 % true and applicable in the speech community.

**B.2. RESPONSES ABOUT FAMILIAR, APPLICABLE OR OUTDATED FEMALE
GENDER-RELATED KIRUNDI PROVERBS ACCORDING TO THE SEX OF THE
RESPONDENTS BETWEEN 15 AND 20 YEARS**

Key Codes used while analysing the percentages of responses under observations of both male and female respondents.

Y ₀	=	percentages under male
Y ₁	=	percentages under female
N ₀	=	Number of observations under male
N ₁	=	Number of observations under female
N	=	Total number of observations under male and female

Familiar Kirundi proverbs		Applicable and still relevant Kirundi proverbs		Outdated Kirundi proverbs	
M	F	M	F	M	F
Y ₀	Y ₁	Y ₀	Y ₁	Y ₀	Y ₁
%	%	%	%	%	%
51			100	21	
44			99		14
	41		99	7	
41			99		5
40		99			4
38		99		4	
37		99			3
33			98	3	
32			98	3	
27		98		3	
	26		97		2
	23	97			2
	22	97		2	
	21	97			1
	21		96		1
	14	96			1
	11		95	1	
	11	93		1	
	9		86	1	
		79			0

$$\begin{aligned} \sum Y_0 &= 351 & \sum Y_1 &= 199 & \sum Y_0 &= 954 & \sum Y_1 &= 967 & \sum Y_0 &= 46 & \sum Y_1 &= 33 \\ \sum N_0 &= 10 & \sum N_1 &= 10 & \sum N_0 &= 10 & \sum N_1 &= 10 & \sum N_0 &= 10 & \sum N_1 &= 10 \end{aligned}$$

The Mean $X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{550}{20} = 28\%$

The Mean $X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{954 + 967}{20} = 96\%$

The Mean $X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{46 + 33}{20} = 3.95\% = 4\%$

The mean X of percentages of familiar proverbs under male observations is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_0}{\sum N_0} = \frac{351}{10} = 35\%$$

The mean X of percentages of familiar proverbs under female observations is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_1}{\sum N_1} = \frac{199}{10} = 20\%$$

The mean X of percentages of applicable proverbs under male observation is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_0}{\sum N_0} = \frac{954}{10} = 95\%$$

The mean X of percentages of applicable proverbs under female observation is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_1}{\sum N_1} = \frac{967}{10} = 97\%$$

The mean X of percentage of outdated proverbs under male observations is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_0}{\sum N_0} = \frac{46}{10} = 5\%$$

The mean X of percentage outdated under female observation is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_1}{\sum N_1} = \frac{33}{10} = 3\%$$

▸ The mean X of percentage of familiar proverbs under all the observations for both male and female between 15–20 years old is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{351 + 199}{20} = \frac{550}{20} = 28\%$$

▸ The mean of the percentages of applicable proverbs under all the observation both male and female between 15–20 years is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{954 + 964}{20} = \frac{1921}{20} = 3.95 = 96\%$$

▸ The mean of the percentages of applicable proverbs under all the observation both male and female between 15–20 years is:

$$X = \frac{\sum Y_0 + \sum Y_1}{N} = \frac{46 + 33}{20} = \frac{79}{20} = 3.95 = 4\%$$

The above findings from the 15–20 years age group display even less awareness of the gender discrimination –related proverbs against women than the 21 – 35 years age group. This indicates that the young generations are less exposed to the proverbs lore.

However above the unfamiliar proverbs in the study were explained to the responders, they expressed the view that deeper implication of gender discrimination–related Kirundi proverbs against women were still 95 % true and applicable in their community. The statistical analysis above, therefore, proves that the gender discrimination – related Kirundi proverbs against women, contain, reveal, disseminate and perpetuate a speech community's beliefs and view about female discrimination and gender prejudices.

**B.3 RESPONSES AND COMMENTS RELATED TO SO-CALLED OUTDATED
KIRUNDI PROVERBS ABOUT WOMEN'S STIGMATISATION AND DENIGRATION**

Number of proverb	No of Responses out of 40 Respondents	Reasons given
1	12	Now, the girls are travelling during the night. They may go to enjoy dancing in night club. They should not accept whatever they hear from their parents and brothers.
4	3	-The girl may inherit her father's richness because the law allows them to claim the heritage as her brothers. (Ubu amategeko arerukurira abakobwa gutorana co kimwe n'abahungu kuvya ba sé,eka mbere n'uwuvutse k'umugore batubakanye mu mategeko (concubine) . -The deeper meaning is still applicable, but the image used is outdated because a girl from a rich family can be easily rich even if she is married to a poor boy.
5	4	No reason given
6	2	Now, the girls eat rice.
7	3	Now, the girls eat any kind of fish.
8	1	Christian religious' morality recognises both male and female children as equal. And the family who had no male children, its fortunate is to be owned in the family where the girls were going to be married, but not in the relatives of her husband.
9	1	In the recent war crisis, there is participation of women soldiers and they were violent as men in fighting. Some of them were integrated in army and police institutions of Burundi post conflict.
10	2	In well organized family, now there is a dialogue between husband and his wife about the decisions. A wife can forbid a husband to sell a cow or house without mutual consentment and understanding even in rural milieu.
11	2	No reason.
12	2	-Christian religion allows only one wife -But the rich men don't want old women any more. -Government does not allow polygamous marriages now.
13	2	In today's society,divorce is not easy,a woman is somehow sustained by the laws which protect her against injustice.
14	2	-The same reasons as for in proverbs or saying13. - The woman can rule the government as the case of 1993 Burundian government.
15	2	-No reason given
17	1	- No reason given
Total	14=55%	

The above table shows that out of the 22 gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs about women's stigmatisation, denigration and discrimination, 14 proverbs that is 55 % were considered to be outdated.

Out of 14 proverbs named as outdated, only one proverb had 12 observations (out of 40 respondents= 55 %), one had 4 observations 10 %, 2 proverbs had 3 observations that 8 %, 7 proverbs had (5%) observations each while 2 proverbs had one (3 %) observations each.

The table shows also that from the 14 proverbs, 5 (59 %) had advanced for being considered to be outdated, the rest 9 (41 %) had no supporting views. Out of the 9 supported proverbs, 1 was described as having applicable deeper meaning but outdated images used in their locutionary force.

It was also observed that all the 8 (100 %) gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs about parental relationships were considered to be still applicable.

According to the above findings, 70% of the gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs about women's stigmatisation and denigration, and 100 % of those about parental relationships were considered to still be true and applicable in the speech community.

Those findings statistically support what was stated earlier, namely in the comment under IV.B, and in the first assumption that the female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs contain the speech community's beliefs and view about gender -specific prejudices. Accordingly, the use such proverbs reveals, disseminates and perpetuates those beliefs and views in the community.

**B.4 TABLE 4: RESPONSES AND COMMENTS RELATED TO THE SO CALLED
OUTDATED KIRUNDI PROVERBS ABOUT THE PROUD AND
SUPERIORITY OF MEN TO WOMEN**

Number of proverb	No of Responses out of 40 Respondents	Reason givens
1	3	Today's society, both parents –father and mother understand to satisfy their children rather than themselves. When the food is little, especially in event of hunger, little food they got is reserved first to children, rather than to father.
2	3	–Some women in the present Burundian society also help themselves without waiting for men.
5	1	No reason given
7		<p>–The same reasons for proverb nr 2.</p> <p>–After the father's death in family, the life of wife and children may go on as well, it depends on how that wife is organized herself or how that family was before in terms of finance.</p> <p>–the image used is outdated, but the deeper meaning is still true and applicable. The most of widows were often living difficultly, without even respect or some may misconduct themselves.</p>
8	12	No reason given
9		<p>–Some respondents argued that in the present Burundian society, both man and woman runs for money to live their family.</p> <p>–many families, especially those of educated people have house girls who do the work when the wife is away for other business or job.</p>
Total =	6=60 %	

The table above shows that out of 10 gender imbalance –related proverbs about the pride and superiority tendency of men over women, 6 proverbs that is 60 % were considered to be outdated.

The table also shows that out of the 6 proverbs named as outdated, one proverb, (10 %) had observations (13%) (Out of 40 respondents) one proverb (12 %) had 4 observations (10 %).

It will be noted from the above table that out of 6 proverbs, 4 that is 60%, had reasons to support the view that they were outdated. The other 2 (40%) had no supporting views for categorising them as outdated. One 12% of the 6 proverbs was regarded as outdated only in the image used while the deeper meaning was still applicable.

The above responses in connection with female gender discrimination–related proverbs about the proud and superiority of men to women show that 67% of them were considered to still be true and applicable in the speech community. The percentage is slightly lower than 70% of the proverbs about women, but the findings still indicate that the gender discrimination –related Kirundi proverbs contain and reveal a speech community's beliefs and views about female gender–specific discrimination. It is also revealed that the women are more affected than the men as far as gender biases are concerned.

B.5. TABLE 5: RESPONSES ABOUT THE CONTEXTS IN WHICH THE KIRUNDI PROVERBS ARE FREQUENTLY USED

CONTEXTS	NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS FROM 40 RESPONDENTS
A) Cultural ceremonies:	
i) Marriage engagement introduction	20=50%
ii) Last funeral rites	7=18%
iii) Twins ceremonies	5=13%
iv) dowry parties	5=13%
v) Traditional initiation ceremonies	3=8%
B) Public speeches:	
i) political rallies/speeches	11=28%
ii) Religious gatherings	7=18%
iii) graduations ceremonies	2=5%
C) In homes (family exchange and dialogue)	6=15%
D) Schools and institutions (Lesson of Kirundi named AMAYAGWA Y'IKIRUNDI)	13=8%
E) In the media and radio programmes	3=8%
F) During friend's conversations	3=8%

The responses about the contexts in which proverbs are frequently used or heard, are topped by cultural ceremonies, marriage engagement introductions, gutwikurura, kurongoza, rated at 50%. The other cultural ceremonies mentioned include the last funeral rites (18%), the birth ceremonies of twins (13%), dowry parties (gukosha) (13%) and initiation ceremonies of kwatira (Guhabwa intahe y'Abashingantahe) (8%).

The next context is of public speeches, namely at religious gatherings (28%), political rallies (18%) and graduations ceremonies (5%). The other contexts mentioned by the respondents were: Homes (15%), schools/institutions especially during the Kirundi lessons (8%), Media, News papers and Radio programmes (8%) and ordinary or friendly conversations (8%).

The respondents about Representatives contexts in which proverbs were particularly used revealed that proverbs are mostly used in cultural ceremonies and public speeches where elders, preachers and politicians take leading positions. The Kirundi proverbs are rarely used in homes and schools where young people should receive complete education. Mass media such as radio programmes and news papers use proverbs a little. The above findings are indicators that there is need to find regular and effective ways of exposing other members of the community to this powerful tool of communication, thereby widening the range of contexts for the use of proverbs. Whenever arguments, particularly those which have philosophical

tendency are being communicated, the proverb lends itself to the communicator and enriches his /her speech.

B.6. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEWS ITEMS ABOUT THE ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE (INTENTION) AND THE PERLOCUTIONARY FORCE (EFFECTS) OF FEMALE GENDER DISCRIMINATION-RELATED KIRUNDI PROVERBS AND EXPRESSIONS IN THE STUDY

According to the Speech Act Theory, the meaning, intention and effect of an utterance are best interpreted in authentic social contexts. However, the female gender discrimination –related Kirundi proverbs are mostly used in private talk rather than in public communication and it would have taken the researcher a very long time to document real-life situations of the proverbs usage in the social community. An alternative approach was used in order to involve a reasonable sample of the relevant gender Kirundi proverbs. It was discursive interpretive interaction between the researcher and respondents with the purpose of establishing the respondents' practical knowledge and interpretation of female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs. The respondents were randomly selected representatives of the speech community and their responses and reactions were observed and noted. The responses to the questionnaire and interview items about the possible illocutionary force (intention) and Perlocutionary effects of female gender discrimination related Kirundi proverbs in the study were categorised as follows:

<u>Kirundi Proverbs</u>	<u>Codes</u>
1. Positive locutionary Force Positive illocutionary Force	For men PPP (M) For women PPP (W)
2. Negative locutionary Force Positive illocutionary Force	For men NPP/N (M) For women NPP/N (W)
3. Negative locutionary Force Negative illocutionary Force	For men NNN(M) For women NNN (W)

The responses in connection with the above categories were observed and noted against each of the Kirundi proverbs in the study by means of the codes shown above. A summary of the findings related to these categories are presented in the tables below.

TABLE 7: RESPONSES ABOUT THE ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE AND PERLOCUTIONARY FORCE OF 22 KIRUNDI PROVERBS ABOUT SOCIAL STIGMATIZATION AND DENIGRATION AGAINST WOMEN

PPP [M].	PPP [W].	NPP/N [M].	NPP/N[W].	NNN [M].	NNN [W].
19	0	1	12	0	9
86%	0%	4.5%	55%	0%	40%

The table shows that out of the 22 Kirundi proverbs about social stigmatisation and denigration against women;

- 86% were positive for men [PPP(M)]
- 0% were positive for women [PPP(W)]
- 4.5% had negative locutionary force but were used for positive intentions and would probably produce either positive or negative effects for men [NPP/N (M)] depending on the context.
- 55% had negative locutionary force but were used for positive intentions and would probably produce either positive or negative effects for the women (NPP/N (W) depending on the context.
- None (0%) was negative for men [NNN(M)]
- 40% Were negative for women [NNN (W)]

TABLE 8: RESPONSES ABOUT THE ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE AND PERLOCUTIONARY FORCE OF 10 KIRUNDI PROVERBS ABOUT PRIDE AND SUPERORORITY OF MEN OVER WOMEN

PPP [M].	PPP [W].	NPP/N[M].	NPP/N[W].	NNN[M].	NNN[W].
9	0	0	2	1	8
90%	0%	0%	20%	10%	80%

The above table shows that out of 10 proverbs about so-called pride and superiority of men over women (gender imbalance);

- 90% were positive for men (PPP (M))
- None (0%) was positive for women (PPP (W/M))
- None (0 %) had negative locutionary force on men.
- 20% had negative locutionary force but were used for positive intentions and would produce either positive or negative effects for women (NPP/N (W) depending on the context.
- 10% were negative for men (NNN (M))
- 80% were negative for women (NNN (W))

TABLE 9. RESPONSES ABOUT THE ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE AND PERLOCUTIONARY FORCE OF 8 KIRUNDI PROVERBS ABOUT PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP WITH DIRECT REFERENCE TO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

PPP [M].	PPP [W].	NPP/N[M].	NPP/N[W].	NNN [M].	NNN [W].
7	0	0	2	1	5
90%	0%	0%	28%	10%	70%

The above table shows that out of 8 Kirundi proverbs about parental relationship (parents and children-both girls and boys);

- 90% was positive for the men PPP(M)
- None (0%) were positive for women PPP(W)
- None (0%) had negative locutionary force for the men in the context.
- 28% had negative locutionary force, but were used for positive intentions and would produce either positive or negative effects for the women NNP/N (W) depending on the context.
- 10% were negative for men
- 70% were negative for women

TABLE 10: A SUMMARY OF THE RESPONSES ABOUT THE ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE OF EACH OF THE 40 GENDER DISCRIMINATION -RELATED KIRUNDI PROVERBS AGAINST WOMEN IN THIS STUDY.

TABLES	PPP[M]	PPP[W].	NPP/N[M].	NPP/N[W]	NNN[M]	NNN[W]
6	19	0	1	12	0	9
7	9	0	0	3	1	8
8	7	0	0	2	1	5
TOTAL	35	0	1	17	2	22
%	87.5 %	0%	2.5%	42.5%	5%	55%

The above table shows that out of 40 gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs against women in the study;

- 87.5% were totally positive for men (PPP[M])
- None(0%) was positive totally for women(PPP[W])
- 2.5% had negative Locutionary force, but were used for positive intentions and would probably produce either positive or negative effects for men NPP/N (M) depending on the context.
- 42.5% had negative Locutionary force, but were used for positive intentions and would probably produce either positive or negative effects for women NPP/N (W) depending on the context.
- 5% were negative for men(NNN(M))
- 55% were negative for women(NNN(W))

It was noted that one and the same Kirundi proverb could perform positive speech acts for male sex, but negatives ones for the female sex. Such proverbs therefore have two types of responses or categories interviewed against each. That is why the percentages or rates recorded and observed in the above 4 tables to do not tally with the exact total number of the proverbs involved in the study.

The findings of this study which are statistically presented in the above 4 tables (6,7, 8 and 9) show that a few of female gender -related Kirundi proverbs were considered to be positive while most were negative in accordance with the context of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as stipulated by United Nations' policies in favour human rights and equal opportunities for inclusive development . Some had negative locutionary

force (meaning), but with positive illocutionary force (intention); and therefore, produced either positive or negative perlocutionary force (effects) within society depending on the context in which the given proverbs would be used.

Some of the proverbs provoked and made immediate or direct effects while others were received by the targeted person (addressee) and meditated upon for sometime. The embedded implications of some proverbs would produce long-term effects especially where the speech act was to advise, correct or prevent from undesirable behaviour and promote desirable trends.

The responses from the interviews confirmed the views advanced by the speech act theory that utterances, such as in proverbs, are acts performed by the speaker in a context with respect to an addressee.

The data classified and presented in sub-chapter IV.B.1; discussed and analysed in sub-chapter IV.B.2 – both interpreted and analysed in chapter IV lead to the conclusions and recommendations that follow in chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

V.1. INTRODUCTION

This study aimed at finding out whether Kirundi proverbs embody, reveal, disseminate and perpetuate a speech community's beliefs and views in relation to female discrimination and gender prejudices. The study also attempted to assess whether people's awareness of and their reactions to the deep Implications of the female gender discrimination -related Kirundi proverbs depend on their age and sex. The speech act theory was used to analyse the relevant Kirundi proverbs to this study.

In view of the findings of the study, the followings conclusions and recommendations were made.

V.2 CONCLUSIONS

A) Relationship between people's age and their awareness of existence of female discrimination -related proverbs in Kirundi language.

During the field interview, it was revealed that the respondent's awareness of female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs was generally low. This was shown by the fact that they could mention very few female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs on their own. In addition to that, when a number of proverbs were reading to them, the respondents between 21 and 35 years of age identified 49% of those Kirundi proverbs to be familiar while those of between 15-20 years of age registered 28 %.

As the sampled respondents were taken to be representative of their speech community and age group, the above findings could be regarded as proof that the degree of awareness of female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs corresponds with a person's age and the older the more aware one, becomes of gender issues as expressed in Kirundi proverbs.

B) The Relationship between people's sex and their awareness of gender imbalance and female discrimination –related Kirundi proverbs.

The findings showed that the respondents' degree of awareness of gender imbalance, prejudices and existence of female gender discrimination–related Kirundi proverbs did not differ much between male and female members of 21 to 35 years of age group who were from the same speech community. This conclusion is based on the fact that during the interviews, the male respondents between 21 and 35 years of age exhibited 48% of awareness while the female respondents were at 50 %.

However, there was a slightly bigger difference between the male–female respondents between 15 and 20 years old. The male showed 35% of awareness while the female members were at only 20% of awareness. This could be explained by the fact that social pressures and influences during teenage seem to affect male more than female members. The male members in this speech community are expected to display a manly character in teenage while the female are culturally more restricted and tend to be shy about sex issues. Perhaps, it could be also the reason why in Burundian community, the women seem to tolerate or accept consciously or unconsciously some cases of oppression made by the man/husband because of cultural impositions according to the tradition.

C) The Relationship between the people's reactions to deeper implication of gender imbalance and female discrimination –related Kirundi proverbs and their age–sex.

According to the findings of the study, people's reactions to the deeper implications of female gender discrimination–relate Kirundi proverbs do not differ much between male and female members of the speech community. This conclusion is based on the fact that all respondents involved in the study, regardless of their age and sex, indicated that 95% of female gender discrimination–related Kirundi proverbs were still true and applicable in their speech community.

D) Kirundi proverbs and People's beliefs and views about female gender discrimination–specific gender imbalance.

According to the findings of the study, the female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs embody, reveal, disseminate and perpetuate a speech community's beliefs and views in relation to gender imbalance and prejudices.

Despite the fact that the respondent's awareness of female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs was generally low, when a number of proverbs were read and explained to them, all the respondents considered 95% of those proverbs to still be true and applicable. Both male and female respondents considered the views expressed by some of the female gender-related Kirundi to be unpleasant, but they also agreed that most of the apparently derogatory proverbs had a positive side of either correcting or preventing undesirable trends in society. This point out that although the majority female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs may be used to damage the image of woman, some of those gender proverbs have a positive role to play in promoting desirable trends in Burundian society.

The views expressed by the use of Kirundi proverb will spread within society in proportion to the popularity of that proverb, and the beliefs and views embedded in the proverb will be disseminated and perpetuated whenever that Kirundi proverb is used in the community.

E) The effects of the deeper implication of Gender issue-related Kirundi proverbs on both men and women.

The common view, both nationally and internationally is that women were subjugated by men, and the study showed that while the women were more affected and become more and more the victims of gender based violence, some men are still proud of being superior to women, more particular in term of emancipation in relation to certain advantages in field of socio-political and economical issue. This is particularly indicated by the Kirundi proverbs which are often used to criticise and despise the female children as being considered as inferior to the male ones in matter of equal

right in their family and in parental relationship. The male children are to be belonged to the father while discriminating against the mother and denying her right on her child. This type of Kirundi proverbs and sayings are the source by which the Burundian girls, more particularly those of rural milieu to still be facing a problem of equal right as their brother in terms of heritage within their family.

Out of 40 female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs, 90 % were considered to be positive (PPP [M]) for men and 10% were positive for (PPP[w]) for women. Out of 8 Kirundi proverbs about the parental relationship, 100% was positive (PPP [M]) for men, while 25 %) was positive (PPP[w]) for women. The proverbs about parents and their children generally favour the male parents.

The above findings point out the fact that those involved in establishing gender balance and reducing the negative gender biases and gender based violence should consider both men and women. Both men and women should combine the efforts and strength in order to fight effectively against Gender based violence and prejudices in all life sectors at familial, social, political and economical level because without the domestic violence, the peace starts in family, widespread in local community before attaining the national ,regional and international level through mutual cooperation in world wide.

V.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the findings of the research in this work and the above conclusions, the following recommendations were suggested.

- 1) Since African proverbs as well as Kirundi ones are one of the major sources of references on norms of accepted individual and social thoughts and behaviour, it is essential that the most commonly used ones should be subjected to well balanced analysis and interpretations in order to avoid unhealthy influence.
- 2) To cater for the community's generally low awareness of female gender discrimination-related Kirundi proverbs, and also make it possible for various members of the community to be exposed to and use this powerful tool of communication, there is need to provide a variety of effective contexts in which proverbs may be used. Education through

proverbs could be involved in the school curricula at different levels of education.

For example, the role and use of proverbial language in society could be part of the content of courses like teaching of language, literature, social and gender studies and communication skills. This would promote the use of this powerful tool of communication and the positive cultural values expressed in proverbs. This suggestion is supported by the fact that during the interviews, the respondents appreciated the knowledge they gained about female gender-specific discrimination proverbs and prejudices.

- 3) Members of community, particularly the young ones should be encouraged to participate in positive cultural ceremonies such marriage ceremonies, birth ceremonies and last funeral rites where cultural values are displayed practically and expressed verbally through the use of proverbs.
- 4) Language use and proverbs in particular, are among the major means of expressing and revealing a speech community's views, beliefs and attitudes or opinions about female gender-specific discrimination and prejudices. The use and analysis of the proverbs could be a very powerful tool for people who deal with gender issues and for the linguists interested in investigating and knowing more about the power and effects of the language use in society. The findings of this study may serve as point of reference for the people concerned about gender issues, Gender Based violence or gender balance, and reveal why some members of community, especially men in the absence of consciousness of women on that gender issue, resists the efforts aimed at establishing gender equality and fighting against all forms of Gender based violence.
- 5) This study applied a combination of speech act theory and discursive interpretive interaction between the researcher and the respondents in order to illuminate the semantic and pragmatic values of proverbs and do justice to the great quality of this importance linguistic and cultural resource. In this respect for further researchers, the study may act as a basis into the possibility and effectiveness of using this and all other possible combinations. Furthermore, the researchers should investigate in proverbs talking about both gender differences in order to find out

whether the language use may also affect negatively the male gender according to the society's views in the present modern society.

V.3.b. Proposal questions for further researchers

Would men do and support consciously or unconsciously the use of language to discriminate against women? If so, would there be the existence of any Kirundi proverbs and saying which denigrate the male's behaviour and thus, achieving to favour at least the female side in today's society?

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APPENDICES

Appendix I. a) A Proper letter to the Respondents.

Mushingantahe/Mupfasoni/Muyabaga,

Je ndi umunyeshure wa Kaminuza, nkaba nahisemwo gukora ku vyigwa vy'imigani n'amajambo y'ikirundi, rero ndiko nkora ico cigwa muntumbero yo kumenya no gushira ahabona vyinshi mu bijanywe n'imigani yoba ikoreshwa mugusumbanisha igitsina gabo n'igitsina gore; ari navyo kumbure dusanga bitera intege aba n'abandi bakavyitwaza mu gukumira abakenyezi mu bikorwa bimwe bimwe canke mu migambi ijanye n'iterambere ryanone.

Munsi y'irikete, hari urutonde gw'ibibazo bijanye n'ik'icigwa kw'ikoreshwa ry'ururimi gw'ikirundi. Aha rero mwahiswe mwo mu bandi ngo mufashe kwishura utubazo tumwe tumwe dukeneye inyishu zofasha gushika ku ntumbero nziza y'iki gikorwa. Mboneyeho kandi kubamenyeshya ko inyishu muzagutanga tuzozigumwa mw'ibanga kandi zizokoresha gusa kuneza y'iterambere ry'indero mu mashure.

Intererano yanyu mw'irangurwa ry'ik'icigwa izogira nantaryo akamaro kanini kuko muzoba mugize uruhara ntangere mugufasha muruganda rw'ukwiyamiriza n'uguhagarika amabi akorerwa abakenyezi mu bibano iwanyu, n'ukutanganisha ibitsina, eka mbere n'ihinyanyuro mwikoresha ryayo majambo n'imigani y'ikirundi.

Murakoze kuntererano yanyu.

NIHORIMBERE Pascal, Umunyeshure arik'akwirikirana ico cigwa.

Translated in English as below:

Dear Sir/madam,

I am university student who have been fascinated to deal with Gender issue and would like to investigate and learn more about female discrimination and gender prejudices depicted into Kirundi proverbs and expressions.

Here in annex, is a list of research questions and the study is conducted in field of linguistics. And you have been randomly selected, and are therefore kindly requested to extent your assistance by answering these questions as annexed on this letter.

Your personal responses will be kept and purely used for academic purpose. And your contribution towards the success of this study will be highly appreciated as you will be played an important role in campaign against female gender discrimination and prejudices.

Thank you for your warmest cooperation.

Pascal Nihorimbere, Undergraduate University Researcher

Appendix II.

b) Research questionnaire translated From Kirundi into English language

I. Uzuza canke uhemwo inyishu ibereye kuri bibi bibazo bikwirikira

Fill or choose the best options for the following questions:

*Akanyegezabanga: andika 1 mukibanza c'izina k'umugabo nay'umugore
andika 2*

Indicator signs: for a man, 1, as for a woman is 2 in the place of your name.

1. a) Izina

Names:

b) Akazi ujejwe

Function:

2. Marital status, gender, Age, your mother tongue, Non Governmental organization, Governmental Institution or religious leader:

a) Urubatse (), umuyabaga ()

Married (), Single ()

b) Igitsina: umugabo (), Umugore ()

Sex: male (), female ()

c) Imyaka ()

Age ()

d) Ururimi kavukire gwawe: ()

Your mother tongue: ()

e) Urwego wegukira mu kazi kawe kaminsi yose:

Juridical status of your institution:

1. Woba uri umutware munzego z'igihugu

Government institutional Leader ()

2. Uri mu ndongozi z'amashirahamwe adaharanira inyungu za politique ()

Non Government Institutional Leader ()

f) Ishengero rya:

1. Papa wawe ()

2. Mama wawe ()

3. wewe nyene ()

Religion affiliation for:

1. Your father ()

2. Your mother ()

3. Yourself ()

Akarorero ku kibazo (f), ishengero kavukire: abakatolika, abapoloti canke aba pentegoti, aba isilamu n'abandi ..., urashobora kwandika kwandika hagati y'utuzitizo uwuri nka patiri, umubikira, pastori canke mwarimu, umufurero canke umukorezi.

Translated as

For example in question (f), traditional religious, protestant, Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Islam, or Any others.. You may say between parenthesis: Clergy man, Religious man or woman, religious Monk/brother, etc...

3. Aho uvuka:

Your place of origin:

- a) Igisagara ()
Town ()
- b) Intara ()
Province ()
- c) Ikomine, ikigwati n'agacimbiri canke umutumba ()
Commune, villages, or quartier ()

4. Urugero gwawe gw'amashure ?

What is your level of education?

- a) Indero kavukire yo mu muryango gusa
Traditional or home education ()
- b) Indero y'ishure ry'umwimenyerezo, umutwenzi canke yaga mukama
Nursery or Sunday school education
- c) Indero y'amashure y'intango.
Primary education ()
- d) Indero y'amashure yisumbuye
Senior secondary school education:
1. Impamwa bushubuzi y'intango.
O level ()
2. Urugore rw'amashure abayabaye
level A ()
- e) Indero y'amashure ya kaminuza:
Post secondary education:
1. Igisata wahejeje:
Professional institute:
2. Inyigisho wagize muri kaminuza

University education: ()

- Urupapuro rw'umutsindo gw'igice cambere A1 ou B+4 muri kaminuza ()

First degree ()

- Urupapuro rw'umutsindo gw'igice cakabiri muri kaminuza ()

Master degree ()

- Urupapuro rw'umutsindo gw'igice cagatu ca kaminuza ()

Doctorate degree ()

5. Ukora akazi kawe kaminsi yose akahe?

What is your regular job /profession?

6. Woba ukunda kwumviriza aho abantu bayaga baca imigani canke hakoresha?

Do you appreciate or enjoying Listening to a talk or conversation in which Kirundi proverbs or mother tongue idioms are used by the speakers?

a) Ego ()

Yes ()

b) Oya ()

No ()

c) Rimwe na rimwe

Sometimes ()

d) Sindabizi neza ()

I am not sure ()

7. Iyo uriko uraganira n'abandi woba ushima gukoresha imigani()

i) Are you interested in using Kirundi proverbs when you are conversing or talking?

a) Ego ()

Yes ()

b) Oya ()

No ()

c) Rimwe na rimwe

Sometimes ()

d) kenshi kenshi ()

Very often ()

ii) Urakoresha imigani iyo uriko uraganira?

Do you use proverbs when talking?

Ego () ,Yes () Oya () No ()

(iii) Hamwe woba uyikoresha, niryari canke uba ushaka gushika kuki?

If yes, when or what for?

a)Gushimanga= to abuse () b) Guhanura=to advise ()

c) kugabisha=to warn () d)Gushimagiza= to praise() e) n'ibindi=other ()

8.i)–Woba usanzwe uzi canke umenyereye nk’ikirundi ijanye no kutanganisha ibitsina canke ivuga ibikorwa abantu bakora ufatiye kubitsina vyabo?.

– Are you aware of existence of any proverbs in Kirundi, which have direct or indirect reference to female gender discrimination and oppression or role of people according to their sex?

a) Ego

Yes ()

b) Oya ()

No ()

c) sindabizi neza ()

I am not sure ()

ii) –Nimba arivyo haba ari mugihe icahe bishika abantu bakayikoresha?

– If yes, in what sort of situation do you hear people use them?

a) Muhira ()

At home ()

b) Kwisoko ()

At market ()

c) Mu manza z’ubugeni ()

At marriage engagement ceremonies ()

d) mw’ishengero canke mu musigiti ()

At church or Mosque ()

e) ahandi ()

Others ()

iii) Ni urwahe runganwe rw’abantu bakunda gukoresha imigani?

What category of people mostly use proverbs?

a) Abakuze binararibonye ()

Old people ()

b) Abize amashure ()

Educated people ()

c) Abakiri bato ()

Young People ()

d) N’abandi ()

Other ()

9. Tanga umugani umuntu yoshobora gukoresha agomba gukora ibi bikwirikira

Give a proverb which one uses for any of the followings purposes:

a) Kuvuga umugore= to describe a woman ()

- b) Gukosora canke gukebura umugore= to correct a woman ()
- c) Kunebagura umugore= to abuse a woman ()
- d) Kugabisha canke guhanura umugore= to warn or advise woman ()
- e) Gushimagiza canke guhayagiza umugabo= to praise or uplift a man ()

10. Iyo migani yoba igamiye gushika kuki ku bagabo n'abagore bose?

What are the implications of the above proverbs to both men and women?

e.g. Intumbero y'insiguro y'imigani imwe imwe irashobora

The implication of certain proverbs may make

- i) gutuma umugore yumva atutswe, ashizwe hasi canke ababajwe n'ibigizwe n'abagabo.

Women feel exploited or insulted by men.

- ii) Abagabo bumva ubwibone kandi bari hejuru yabagore.

Men feel proud or superior to women.

Etc.

11. Muriyo migani n'iyahe wibaza ko:

Which of those proverbs do you think:

- i) igikorehwa canke ikibereye gukoreshwa mu mibano?
Is still being used and is still relevant in society?
- ii) Itagifise agaciro kandi itakibereye gukoreshwa mu gihe ca none?
Is already outdated and no longer relevant in society?

12. Tanga icyumviro cawe kungene ubone ikumirwa ry'umukenyi canke ubutangana bufatiye ku bitsina.

- a) K'uruhande mu mibano iwabo iwanyu.
- b) K'uruhande rw'abagore aho mu mibano iwanyu.

12. Give your personal views and suggestions about gender discrimination and imbalance.

-Tanga icyumviro cawe bijanye n'ikumigwa ry'umukenyi.

- a) K'uruhande bakenyezi mu mibano.
On the side of female members of community.
- b) K'uruhande gw'abagobo mu mibano.
On the side of male members of community

13. Soma canke umviriza aho iyi myibutsa ikurikira yatorokanijwe mu bitabo vy'imigani.

- Read /listen to the following proverbs, and say:

- a) N'iyahe Uzi ?
Which one you know?
- b) N'iyahe muriyo nk'itanu woba uzi ?
What do at least five of them mean?

c) N'iyaha woba wibaza ko itagifise insiguro muri kino gihe canke woba ukibereye gukoreshwa ?

Which ones do you think are out dated, and which ones are still relevant in your community?

d) Gute nk'itanu muriyo yoba ihohotera ubuzima bw'umukenyenzi ?

How do at least five of them affect women's lives?

1. Inkumi ntigorobeza iba igomba gucikira
2. Umukobwa w'ikijuju yirata impfizi ya Se.
3. Nta jambo ry'umukecuru (umugore)
4. Inkokazi ntibika isake iriho
5. Umugabo avya abakobwa gusa ngo ndahonye
6. Urugo rutagira umugabo runywa amazi
7. Ntabugabo bwigira, umugore agirwa n'umugabo
8. Urugo rutagira umugabo ntakitarukengera/ntakitarugera umutwe
9. Umurondo aronda nyina
10. Umukobwa ntarya umuceri, yohava acikira imbo
11. Umugore aganza, inkono yokw'iziko
12. Umugore musangira amata ntimusangira amazi
13. Umugore nta jambo
14. Nta jambo ry'umugore
15. Umugore ntaganza ugwagwa, abagana inzira ija iwabo
16. Ingo zibiri ntizubakika
17. Ukozivugijwe niko zitambwa
18. Kenda mwana niko zubakwa
19. Ntabagwanira umuzigo ari babiri
20. Abagabo babiri ntibasangira inzu
21. Inkoko iva mu magi akabora
22. Umukobwa ntarya indagara, abagomba guta indagano
23. Indero y'Umwana itukwa nyina

OTHER USED EXPRESSIONS IN BURUNDIAN SOCIETY

1. Umwana n'uwa sé
2. Urugo n'umugabo
3. Umukobwa nta mwana
4. Umukobwa ntaba umugwanyu
5. Umugore asa n'umwana
6. Urugo rutavyaye abahungu ntiruba ari urugo
7. Umuzezwanzu
8. Umunyakigo

9. Inamahoro

N.B: Usabwe gutandukanya impapuro, ugakoresha n'urundi igihe bikenewe.
You may please use a separate sheet if necessary.

Appendix III.

Corpus of selected kirundi proverbs and expressions depicting female discrimination and gender imbalance.

a) Literal meaning of proverbs.

1. Inkumi ntigorobeza iba igomba gucikira

A girl doesn't go for an evening walk, if she doesn't intend to have an illegal marriage.

2. Umukobwa w'ikijuju yirata impfizi ya Se.

A stupid girl boasts of her father's bull

3. Nta jambo ry'umukecuru (umugore)

No speech/say for an old woman (i.e. simply for a woman)

4. Inkokazi ntibika isake iriho

A hen does not sing in the presence of a cock.

5. Umugabo avya abakobwa gusa ngo ndahonye

A husband who has only the female children, says that his family is endangered

6. Urugo rutagira umugabo runywa amazi

A family without a head drinks water

7. Ntabugabo bwigira, umugore agirwa n'umugabo

No man can satisfy himself, a wife is enhanced by a man

8. Urugo rutagira umugabo ntakitarukengera/ntakitarugera umutwe

An enclosure which doesn't have a head /husband, is not respected /can be attacked just.

9. Umurondo aronda nyina

A girl inherits her mother's character

10. Umukobwa ntarya umuceri, yohava acikira imbo
A girl who eats rice, risks having an illegal marriage in the Imbo region.
11. Umugore aganza, inkono yokw'iziko
A wife controls a pot on fire
12. Umugore musangira amata ntimusangira amazi
You may share milk with a woman, but you don't share water with her.
13. Umugore nta jambo
A Woman has no say
14. Nta jambo ry'umugore
A Woman 's speech is meaningless say.
15. Umugore ntaganza ugwagwa, abagana inzira ija iwabo
The woman does not have control over banana wine if she doesn't want to go back to her parents
16. Ingo zibiri ntizubakika
Two households cannot be built by one man.
17. Ukozivugijwe niko zitambwa
Drums can be danced according to their rhythm
18. Genda mwana niko zubakwa
My child, just go, that is the way family life is.
19. Ntabagwanira umuzigo ari babiri
Two people do not fight over one burden
20. Abagabo babiri ntibasangira inzu
Two people do not share the same house
21. Inkoko iva mu magi akabora
Once, a hen abandons its eggs, they get immediately spoilt or rotten
22. Umukobwa ntarya indagara, abagomba guta indagano
A girl disappoints people if she eats fish,

23. Indero y'Umwana itukwa nyina
A mother is to be blamed for the child's lack of education
24. Amazi abaye make aheberwa impfizi.
When water becomes little, it is given to the bull.
25. Urwanko niyo nkwano.
Hatred is itself that dowry.
26. Imburamaboko y'umugore yugumbira irekwe
A barren woman boasts of signs of mere conception
27. Ingumba isyera ihaha.
A barren woman prepares cassava bread while she is cooking an animal's hung
28. Urukwavu rurakura rukonka umwana
An old hare gets suckled by its own children/ breast feeds on its children
29. Imburamaboko y'umugore ibagara umushatsi
A lazy woman spends her whole time taking care of her hairs.
30. Umugore mwiza n'umusangira/Umugore mwiza n'uw'igihugu
Umugore mwiza ntawumwisangiza
– A Beautiful woman is a sister of many.

Literal meaning of other kirundi sayings and expressions used in Burundian society.

1. Umwana n'uwa sé
A child belongs to his father
2. Urugo n'umugabo
An enclosure or household lies on the husband/man
3. Umukobwa nta mwana
A girl is not a child in the family
4. Umukobwa ntaba umugwanyu
A woman cannot be a warrior/fighter.
5. Umugore asa n'umwana
A wife behaves like a child

6. Urugo rutavyaye abahungu ntiruba ari urugo
A Family which does not have male children, is not a family
7. Abagore nta bwenge murenga n'ubwo burabarengeye
Women have no cleverness; just keep the little you have which is more than you, can handle.
8. Umunyakigo canke abikare is an expression used for all women which literally means a householder, and always must still be at home and being every time busy in doing house chores.
9. Umuzezwanzu is another expression which has similar meaning as the former, but this latter is applied on young girls
10. Inamahoro is another kirundi expression that is used for all women to mean in semantic sense a human being who has the internal peace.