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

A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOME COW PRAISING POEMS IN THE BURUNDIAN SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

BY

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of « Licence en Langue et Littérature Anglaises ».

Bujumbura, April 2003

DEDICATION

To you, our dearly loved
Parents, brothers and sisters
Friends and relatives;

We warmly dedicate this work.

Acknowledgements

It would not be an easy task for us to name all the people who kindly contributed in a way or another to the full completion of this work. Above all, our special thanks to Dr Grégoire NJEJIMANA, vice-chancellor of the Light University of Bujumbura and Senior Lecturer at the University of Burundi, for his fatherly and permanent guidance as well as his availability from the very first page of this research till the end. May he find herein our sincere gratitude.

We indebtedly owe our heartfelt thanks to all our teachers from primary school up to the University for their devotion, courage and sacrifice. May our success be their pride.

Our grateful thanks to Mr Ernest Okello Ogwang, Senior Lecturer at MAKERERE University, for his judicious suggestions, comments and criticisms as well as the social integration during our stay in Uganda.

Last but not least, we owe sincere thanks to our dearly loved parents, brothers and sisters, friends and relatives whose direct or indirect moral or financial support has been more meaningful than anything else to us. To all of them we say « Lots of thanks and God bless you ».

Albert NINTUNZE and
Odette KWIZERA

ABBREVIATIONS

Tr.	: translation
e.g.	: example given
i.e.	: that is
A – G	: numbering of analysed versions.
I – XVI	: numbering of stanzas
v.s	: versus
c.p	: co – operative principle
p.p	: politeness principle

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CHAPTER I : THE PROBLEM

1.1. Background to the problem

Language is a man's most important means of communication. It may even be said that language is at the centre of human activity. It is the instrument through which people engage interaction, i.e. communicate their feelings, thoughts, needs, behaviour, actions and keep their tradition alive. People use language at any time they come together as Fromkin and Rodman (1983 : 3) state it :

> *Whatever people can do when they come together – whether they play, fight, make love, or make automobiles – they talk. We live in a world of words (...) and we are the only animals that do this – that talk.*

However, there are some aspects of language that are very difficult to master. This is due to the fact that the understanding of the latter requires some background knowledge of the society and culture of the users of that language. The notion of "culture" and "society" are therefore of a paramount importance when studying a language.

Indeed, for whoever wants to study successfully the culture of a language, his first concern would be studying deeply the indigenous tradition of it's users which is widely shared in accordance with their beliefs, customs, religion etc.

As a case in point, Rundi cow praising poetry is one of numerous aspects of language that are closely related to the culture of the society that created it. Any attempt then to study this genre without having recourse to Rundi culture would lead to an unconditional failure. Like any other literary genre, Rundi cow praising poetry does not only use ordinary language which is naturally used to make assertions and facts. It rather uses symbols that are accompanied with some non linguistic

communication features and which are only decoded by people fully equipped with a background knowledge about Rundi culture and society.

Briefly speaking, when someone is uttering a stretch of cow praising poem, he is communicating his thoughts which are primarily centred on the pride of owning a cattle and on all that this recalls in the Burundian's mind. Then, our contribution in this field of research is to illustrate the extent to which Burundians have a well organized society, with a language through which they express their beliefs, feelings and cultural norms. With the outcome of our research, we will be able to prove wrong the popular western myth stating that Africa is a continent of people who are deprived of literature, mainly characterised by primitivism in all spheres of life.

1.2. Statement of the problem

By the present study, we are to show that the negative image from the Western anthropologists according to whom our entire continent has no literature, either oral or written is erroneous. We do not share the same view with those who still think that Rundi literature is not important and worth studying. This incites Finnegan (1970:28) to argue:

> *All in all, there is still a myth of Africa as a continent devoid of literature until the contact with civilised nations led to written works in European language or possessing crude and uninteresting forms not worthy of systematic study by serious literary or sociological student.*

The claim of this kind has pushed us to work on the following topic: " A Pragmatic Analysis of some Cow Praising Poems in the Burundian Socio-cultural Context". The main purpose being to revive our culture and increase it's value afterwards.

Furthermore, very few works have been published on the subjects of Rundi oral literature in general, and Rundi praising poetry in particular Finnegan (1970:83) shares the same view by stating the following:

> *A considerable amount of work has been published on the subject of oral literature in the last century or so. But the facts are scattered and uneven, often buried in inaccessible journals, and their significance has not been widely appreciated. The popular image of Africa as a land without indigenous literary tradition retains its hold (...)poetry is none, there is no meter, no rhythm, nothing that interests or soothes the feeling, or arrests the passions.*

The statement above comes from a realistic mind of an author who recognises the underdevelopment of the literature of her continent. It is of course a step forward since it is commonly said that " to know the disease is half to cure ". This means that once the low performance of the African literature is noticed, a kind of awakening will be conveyed to all African intellectuals and an effort will be made to improve it.

Hence, the topic under study calls for a research in a very complex area, ie cow praising poetry, especially when we know that it is closely related to the concept of "culture" and " society ".

As a matter of fact, the terms culture and society have got a wide range of associations and bring about tremendous problems of definition. Furthermore, the concept of "cow" has various interpretations, depending on the context of use, and we understand that fact as long as we know that polysemy (when we have words with more than one meaning) is a natural phenomenon in all languages. Henceforth, this could inculcate an idea in our minds that no literary phenomenon such as polysemy should be taken at face value. Looking at how praise poems are structured, one finds

that they are built on symbols and a symbol always refers to something in the real world.

Most of the times, symbols do not give straight forward meanings of things they refer to or stand for. They rather give connotations, sending the hearers to the culture and philosophy of the society that uses them by means of a series of analogies. The danger is that we tend to interpret them literally, forgetting that they refer to the historical background of the society and its culture.

So, to master some references in praise poetry, one must be equipped with a perfect knowledge of culture. It should be misleading for a layman as far as the study of a given culture has to be concerned with what is meant by words and expressions in accordance with the latter. On this socio-culture background knowledge, Gumperz (1982:153) has the following point of view:

> *It is generally agreed that grammatical and lexical knowledge are only two of the several factors in the interpretation process. Aside from physical setting, participants personal background knowledge and their attitudes towards each other, socio-cultural assumptions concerning role and status relationships as well as socio-cultural values associated with various message components also play an important role.*

Briefly speaking, linguistic knowledge or linguistic competence alone cannot help in the interpretation and understanding of cow praising poems; an empirical knowledge of culture and society is required.

1.3. Aims of the study and research questions

Rundi praise poetry in general and the poetry that praises the cow in particular is an expression of Rundi culture and history. Through cow praising poetry, one is provided with clues for an understanding of certain aspects of Rundi social stratification. However, this understanding is only a privilege for people who have a mastery of Rundi socio-cultural facts since it is not an easy task to get a meaning of a speech if you are not well indicated in the language through which it is expressed. In this case of study, symbols have an unprecedented role to play as Gaeng (1971:15) suggests:

> *Symbolism is at the very heart of the language, and because symbols are based on convention and acquire an arbitrary nature, it follows that certain sounds and sequences of sounds have certain meanings only by agreement of a particular speech community and become unintelligible outside the community where they are used.*

In fact, our topic seeks to examine the meaning and interpretation of Rundi cow praising poems, to determine whether they are literally or contextually interpreted. Our aim is then to examine the indirectness or allusions that are found in the utterances within the selected poems. We will also provide evidence for the necessity of socio-cultural prerequisites to understand Rundi cow praising poetry, especially in their connotative aspects insofar as they cannot be separated from each other. We will analyse Rundi cow praising poetry as a symbolic construction to extract and show the socio-cultural concepts behind their meanings. In so doing, we are also attempting to help people to be aware of the great importance and the role played by the background knowledge in a thorough understanding of this genre.

In addition, through this work, we are eager to provide the readership as well as different researchers with evidence that no pragmatic study can be carried out, under

whatever conditions when the context of utterances is put aside as Brown and Yule (1983:26) put it: "*Any analytical approach in linguistics which involves contextual considerations necessarily belongs to that area of language study called pragmatics.*"

Then, in this literary enterprise, a particular attention will be focussed on the word's meaning in the real world. Apart from Rundi praise poetry in general and cow praising poetry in particular, the cow's value and importance can be accounted for in some other spheres of Rundi oral literature such as the blessing expressions, different prohibitions related to cattle, to name but a few. To carry out any research, there must be some wonders to satisfy. The following is a short list of research questions which are to guide the study.

1° Can cow praising poems be understood without any reference to social norms and culture ?

2° Do Rundi cow praising poems have another message to transmit apart from the cow's role and importance in society ?

3° Is the linguistic competence self-sufficient to interpret Rundi cow praising poems or do we need a deep analysis in context ?

4° Do Rundi cow-praising poems exactly mean what they literally express?

1.4. Motivation for the study

The reasons behind the choice of this topic " A Pragmatic Analysis of some Cow Praising Poems in the Burundian Socio-cultural Context" are various. First of all, few works have been carried out so far on Rundi praise poetry, especially on that related to the cattle.

Additionally, we are now living in a rapidly changing world, where civilisation makes us forget much of our culture. For most of the cases, we tend to give up important elements of our custom to assimilate the western fashion or way of life. Hence, we have decided to undertake this study about Rundi cow praising poetry

because it is a literary genre that has much to remind us as far as the socio-cultural values are concerned.

Another reason that incited us to work on such a topic is that we wanted to shed a light on our tradition as far as the cow value and importance are concerned. In the ancient times, the cow was so highly considered that it was appearing, not only as a simple domestic animal, but a whole institution as Bourgeois (1956:266) states it:

> *On ne peut rien comprendre au Rwanda-Urundi si on ne se pénètre pas cette idée que la vache y est moins un animal qu'une institution.*
> ***TR. :*** *We cannot understand anything in Rwanda-Urundi if we do not bear in mind that the cow is there more of an institution than a simple animal.*

In fact, when we talk about cows in Burundi, we not only talk about the rearing of that domestic animal by Burundians but also we want to depict some important facts related to the traditional organisation of our dear society, without forgetting all the practices and behaviours that were typically characteristic of a prototype indigenous Burundian.

To sum up, we hope that such a genre under study will help pupils, students and all the people who are interested in studying and reviving literature that is performed in their mother tongue. As early stated, we have noticed that old people who were considered as the " libraries of oral literature" are passing away, which makes it difficult to keep it alive through time. Then, the suggestion we would like to formulate consists in that this oral literature could be studied from the early age by Burundian youth. Otherwise it is bound to disappear step by step.

1.5. Scope and delimitation of the study

This study focuses on Burundi cow praising poetry. Our research is strictly limited on its pragmatic interpretation, i.e. the recovery of its contextual meaning in Burundi. To achieve this goal, we are to put much focus on the symbolic constructions or indirectness found in utterances or verses of this genre. However, the study presents some shortcomings since some utterances have no hidden meanings and are not therefore concerned with the problem of the indirectness which brings about difficulties inherent to translation and interpretation processes.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

As the title of the chapter indicates, it is exclusively concerned with the collection, discussion and analysis of the views from different authors who have worked, till now, on praise poetry in general and cow praising poetry in particular.

Indeed, the topic under study is " A Pragmatic Analysis of some Cow Praising Poems in the Burundian Socio-cultural Context". Then, since it is commonly alleged that "no man is an island", our main concern is to support, enrich if necessary, why not contradict if need be some ideas provided by various authors, which will be after all concluded by our own stands about this literary genre.

First and foremost, in order to be successful in this work we are required to define some key terms such as " culture" and "society" on one hand, " pragmatics", "semantics" on the other.

2.1.1. On Culture and Society

Most of the anthropologists who have worked on these concepts have stated that there are no clear-cut definitions on the latter even though they appear to be intimately linked. As Nzita, & Niwampa, (1993:iii) suggested:

> *There is no precise definition of culture, but we can say that culture is the total sum of a people's way of life. This includes norms and values of a society; their religion, politics, economics, technology, medicine, marriage rules, songs and dances, law, eating habits, artifacts etc.*

Worth of mention is also that a society without culture is bound to lose its identity and be swallowed by other cultures. According to Tepperman and Curtis (1992:27), it is fair to say that, just as the culture makes society's members, so do members of society make culture they share.

As a matter of fact, we notice that there exists a kind of complementarity between culture and society. Malinowski, (1961:43) supports this idea by saying that there is no society without culture as there is no culture without society. On his part, Nida (1963:29) talks about culture and society, with a kind of distinction of the respective roles or concerns of these terms. He argues:

> *When speaking of life of human groups (from tiny tribes to large nations) we often use the words " culture" and "society" in the same breath. There is no contradiction in terms. The first identifies the patterns of behaviour; the second designates the particular aggregate of individuals who participate in the culture.*

From what is said in the above quotation, it should also be stressed that the word " society" simply designates a group of mutually interacting individuals, regardless the size of the constituency. This means that there is no precise average number of individuals to build up a society. Piddington (1995 : 3) states that a culture of a people may be defined as the sum total of the material and intellectual equipment whereby they satisfy their biological and social needs and adapt themselves to their environment. Ayisi (1979: 4) contributes in the definition of culture as follows:

> *Culture consists of the ways mores and beliefs are transmitted from generation to generation; it may be generally shared by some populations or a group of people – in other words, it should represent the " collective conscience" of a group of people.*

As we have stated it earlier, if there were to be human culture, there should also be human society, which not only expresses this culture, but also transmits it. That is the main reason why we assume that there is no culture apart from society. More serious is the fact that any culture that is not generally accepted by all members of the group, or that does not fit neatly into the normative system of a group, can be considered culture.

2.1.2. What is pragmatics?

It is not an easy task to define pragmatics since its domain is too broad. However, there are some linguists who have attempted to define it among whom are Gazdar (1979:2). As far as he is concerned,

> *Pragmatics has as its topic those aspects of the meaning of utterances that cannot be accounted for by straightforward reference to the truth conditions of the sentences uttered. Put crudely: PRAGMATICS = MEANING – TRUTH CONDITIONS.*

Levinson (1983:21) defines pragmatics as the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding. Pragmatics is a theory that cannot be dealt with apart from context. That is why Levinson (1983:7) mentions that pragmatics is concerned solely with performance principles of language use. A theory of pragmatics would essentially be concerned with the disambiguation of sentences by the context in which they were uttered.

It is even acknowledged that no linguist can assume to have understood the nature of language without understanding fully what pragmatics is about. Leech (1983:1) supports this idea by stating:*" We cannot really understand the nature of language itself unless we understand pragmatics: how language is used in communication".*

Wilson (1975:21) argues that pragmatics is equated with those aspects of meaning that are arrived at by general principles of preferred interpretation.
From these views above, we acknowledge the paramount importance of pragmatics as far as the study of language is concerned. When a given speech is being delivered in the presence of an audience, there may be as many interpretations as there are interpreters.

Some linguists have noticed that the literal meaning alone should be misleading, the reason why Brown and Yule (1983:47) propose ways of interpreting linguistic utterances. They say that in order to interpret any element in a piece of discourse, it is important to know who the speaker and the hearer are, as well as the time of production of the discourse. However, even when these elements are known, the utterance may still be misinterpreted.

It is worth pointing out that when dealing with pragmatics, the very first stage should be that of knowing the speaker's intention while producing a stretch of discourse. Thus, to interpret successfully the meaning of an utterance requires the clear distinction between the intended meaning and the interpreted meaning. We shall elaborate more on this issue in the following subchapter, by matching pragmatics and semantics, as they are both concerned with meaning.

2.2. Pragmatics and some other linguistic fields

2.2.1. Pragmatics and semantics

It is difficult to provide a satisfactory definition of pragmatics as a sientific study of language as it is also difficult to draw a clear distinction and clear boundaries that exist between pragmatics and semantics. For many scholars those two fields of study are interrelated but what is confusing in them is that they cannot be exactly two

in one, regardless the fact that they share the same subject of study: THE STUDY OF MEANING.

Indeed, pragmatics and semantics are both concerned with meaning but they also share some similarities as well as differences. Leech (1983:6) is one of the supporters of this claim. He says the following:

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

On their part, Hurtford and Heasley (1983:1) claim that semantics is the study of meaning in language. They support that pragmatics is the study of meaning in context while semantics is the study of meaning out of context. It is important to realise, however that the view that pragmatics and semantics are distinct, though complementary and interrelated fields of study, is easy to appreciate subjectively, but it is more difficult to justify in an objective way.

So much may be said about the complementarity existing between the two fields of study. According to Leech (1983:7), if we approach meaning entirely from a pragmatic point of view, or entirely from a semantic point of view, these arguments are not met. However, if we approach meaning from a point of view that combines semantics and pragmatics, the result can be a satisfactory explanation in terms of these two criteria.

Whereas Leech was earlier insisting on the abstraction of semantic meaning from particular situations, speakers or hearers, Recanati (1987:2) suggests that both pragmatics and semantics involve the speaker and hearer.

> *The subject of pragmatics is what takes place on the speaker-hearer axis, that is verbal exchange taken as an intersubjective activity or social practice. In other words, pragmatics studies what speakers do with words whereas semantics studies what words mean, what speakers use words to talk about.*

Furthermore, some scholars have found another attempt to differentiate pragmatics and semantics. The latter is concerned with the difference between utterance meaning and sentence meaning. In this perspective, Lyons (1981:40) states that an utterance is any language behaviour or interpretable signal produced by a speaker towards a hearer by means of some channel of communication.

For Richard et al (1985:47), an utterance is whatever said by a person before or after another person begins to talk. Therefore, an utterance simply corresponds to any stretch of talk used on a given occasion. A sentence, on the other hand, is dealt with as an abstract entity or sequence of parts of speech such as nouns, verbs, adjectives to name but a few, tied with grammatical rules of a language.

Briefly speaking, we can say that the utterance meaning is richer than the sentence meaning insofar as the utterance itself is dealt with as the product of the sentence and the context. In addition, an utterance like a sentence represents a state of affairs. The difference being simply that beyond the state of affairs, an utterance also embodies thoughts and feelings both on the part of the speaker and the hearer. In other words, besides the literal meaning of the sentence, the utterance adds the contextual considerations with regards to the language users.

2.2.2. Pragmatics and discourse analysis

Pragmatics stands for the study of ability of language users to pair sentences with the context in which they could be appropriate. Then, in the analysis of any

discourse, the context as well as the appropriateness of language use are to be focused on. For Richard et al (1985:225) pragmatics is a study of the use of the language in communication, particularly the relationships between sentence and situations in which they are used.

To put this otherwise, this study is primarily concerned with what people using language are doing and accounts for linguistic features in the discourse as means employed in what they are doing. The linguistic elements that are brought in use have to take into consideration the speaker and the hearer, time and space of discourse production. That is what Brown and Yule summarise in their book *Discourse Analysis* (1983:27) by saying that the discourse analyst has to take into account the context in which a piece of discourse occurs.

2.3. The role of context

It should be argued that the term " context" refers to the socio-cultural background knowledge shared by both the speaker and the hearer about the world. This knowledge contributes to the hearer's appropriate interpretation of the message sent by the speaker, i.e., the cow praising poet in our case.

According to Sperber and Wilson (1986:15), the context is a set of premises used to interpret an utterance. It is a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world. In the same flow of ideas, De Beaugrande & Dressler (1981:30) quoted in Brown and Yule (1986) argue:*" The question of how people know what is going on in a text is a special case of the question of how people know what is going on in the world at all".*

On his part, Berlo (1960:208) acknowledges the importance of context in the following terms:

> *One must always consider meaning from context. It is a highly useful device in introducing new or "hard" words. It might even be the best way to help define words that are new to the receiver, but that the source feels he must use in communicating about a given subject matter.*

Indeed, we could not expect to exhaust the list of scholars who have worked on and appreciated the role of context in people's daily interaction.

Moreover, the context of utterance is assumed to be the very means or tool of putting limitations to the possible interpretations and also helps to disambiguate some items. On this point, Wardhaugh (1985:101) suggests that if we were to say what an utterance in a conversation meant and, in doing so, ignore the context of use, we would be forced to conclude that its meaning would be vague and ambiguous.

In other words, by the above stand, the author argues that it is the context that creates the possibilities for interpretations and helps avoid any ambiguities that the utterances would have if they occurred in isolation.

Briefly, we are to conclude that in any interaction, both participants (speaker and hearer) share " a common knowledge" of the physical and social environment and they are able to select what can be said to whom on a given occasion. Therefore, it is through the context that the discourse analyst or hearer should identify the different interpretations of a given utterance.

Besides, to analyse a stretch of discourse, one should bear in mind that if a person X does something, there is a time, a place and a manner in which he/she does it. However, even though the context is primarily used in the analysis of cow praising poetry, some other linguistic aspects such as inference and implicature can be taken into account in order to get and understand thoroughly the speaker's intended meaning.

2.3.1. Inference

Inference is a linguistic process that is used to arrive at any interpretation for utterances or for the connections between utterances; since the discourse analyst has no direct access to the speaker's intended meaning.

In fact, it is not easy for the hearer to decode the meaning intended by the speaker in a smooth and continuous speech. That is the reason why the prior knowledge, ie the knowledge of the world has a greatest importance. According to Richard et al (1985: 139), inference is the process of arriving at a hypothesis, idea or judgement on the basis of some other prior knowledge, ideas or judgements.

Henceforth, we assume that any people's interaction presupposes the existence of a where and a when in order to locate the speech in time and space. This reflects the highest value given to the context of situation.

As previously stated, any communicative situation fulfils two functions which are respectively the speaking function and the hearing function. These two participants are to share the cultural knowledge that helps them to understand each other.

As far as the cow praising poetry is concerned, it directly reflects Rundi culture and society. Its reciter must have some store of socio-cultural realities closely related to cattle.

Indeed, adult people, more than younger ones, are equipped with substantial amount of background knowledge. Likewise, it will be observed that whereas children happen to interact in the simple pleasure of talking, adult main duty is to mean what they say and to say what they mean. In so doing, they fetch words in their tradition and they make themselves understood thanks to the knowledge of the world around them. On this argument, Brown and Yule (1983:233) express their stand as follows:

> *We might say that the knowledge we possess as users of a language concerning social interaction via language is just one part of our general socio-cultural knowledge. This general knowledge about the world underpins our interpretation not only of discourse, but virtually every aspect of our experience.*

In the same line of thought, Fromkin and Rodman (1993:507) argue that inference is the derivation of additional knowledge from facts already known. Moreover, the interpretation of utterances based on inference as a process may search for more than only a speaker's meaning. As a matter of fact, there are some occasions where the hearer is bound to relate the discourse to some events of history. Making some conclusions even about the unknown and predicting what is going to happen next. Berlo (1960:296) has a word to say on this:

> *Many of our affecting intentions go beyond reporting and judgmental sentence types. Man desires to do more than translate the physical world as he sees it. He wants to interpret events, to talk about the implications of one event for another event, to reach conclusions about the unknown, to make generalisations about events and predictions about the future.*

From this quotation, it is noticed that for the case of our topic, when someone is reciting cow praising poems, it is not an easy task for the hearer to get directly the meaning. Rather, he must be aware of for example the fact that in our tradition, the cow was considered not only as a simple domestic animal but also as the whole institution. Some concepts such as " **ubugabire**"-the fact of lending or giving either a cow or a portion of land under some conditions-, " **inkwano**"-dowry-, prohibitions related to cattle, to name but a few, are of a great value.

To conclude, we firmly support the idea that inference is a very useful aspect to account for the speaker's meaning intended or sent to the hearer. However, it is not a self-sufficient means of understanding the speech as Sperber and Wilson (1986:71) state it by saying that the process of inference is non demonstrative because communication may fail. If we put it otherwise, it means that the hearer can neither decode nor deduce the speaker's communicative intentions.

2.3.2. Implicatures

The term " implicature" is commonly used to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest or mean, as distinct from what a speaker literally says. So far, there are two types of implicature that have been set up: the conventional implicature and the conversational implicature.

In fact, conventional implicatures are according to Grice (1975:44) the conventional meaning of the words used. The conversational implicatures on their part are derived from a general principle of conversation plus a number of maxims that speakers will obey while performing a speech.

Grice's theory of implicature

In the pragmatic study of discourses, Grice (1975:45-46) introduces two principles namely the co-operative principle (CP) and the politeness principle (PP). These principles consist of four maxims each.

a. Co-operative principle (CP)

This principle comprises four categories of maxims that are kinds of guidelines followed by any speaker while performing speech "X" during situation "Y". The four maxims are respectively quantity, quality, relation and manner.

i) **Maxim of quantity:** Make your contribution as informative as is required. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required. This maxim reminds the speaker that he has to give the right amount of information. Besides, the speaker's contribution has to avoid giving excessive information.

ii) **Maxim of quality:** Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. This maxim requires the truth and evidence for whatever comes from the speaker's mouth.

iii) **Maxim of relation:** Be relevant. It reminds the speaker that he has to be relevant in any speech he performs.

iv) **Maxim of manner:** Be perspicuous, brief and orderly. Avoid both obscurity and ambiguity. This maxim requires effective clarity of speech.

b. Politeness principle (P.P)

The present principle, on its part, has four maxims respectively the tact, generosity, approbation and modesty maxims.

i) **Tact maxim**: It refers to the refinement of the speaker's speech. To put this otherwise, speakers should be sure that their speeches are sufficiently polished.

ii) **Generosity maxim**: Any speaker should do his best to avoid selfishness while expressing his ideas.

iii) **Approbation maxim**: Once in front of an audience or in any other situation, the speaker's first duty is to search for warranty from his interlocutors and he first of all has to be authorised to utter the very first word of his speech.

iv) **Modesty maxim:** moderation and unpretention are speaker's required qualities to deliver successfully his speech.

It is noticed that for the performance of any speech, there are many conditions that are required. In other words, the speech performance that is randomised, i.e. that does not follow these conditions must end up in failure.

Worth pointing should be also that implicature, as a linguistic aspect of context in interpretation does not reflect directly the relations of deduction and entailment. Rather, it is in a way or another a problem-solving strategy that is used to account for utterance meaning. Besides, we have mentioned that conversational implicatures are built upon general maxims of truthfulness, informativeness, relevance and clarity that speakers are assumed to observe. However, this is not always the case since on some occasions, speakers are bound to violate them as a strategy chosen to mean more than what they literally say.

More interesting is that, even though we have made a distinction between conventional and conversational implicatures, the analysis of our topic does not include a conversational aspect. In fact, the cow praising poetry is normally a genre that is performed in solo, as a monologue. The performer may either be challenging his cattle or praising someone for the gift of a cow he has received from him. That is why we have such Rundi concepts as **amazina y'inka-cow related poems-**, **gutazira umuhanyi w'inka-praising the cow grantor-**, and so on and so forth.

To conclude, it is however natural that any discourse that lacks clarity, relevance and informativeness is in no way a discourse. Then, implicature is the crucial means of meaning processing in cow praising poetry; although it requires much attention for the avoidance of some clumsy and confusing assumptions at the end of analysis of a given discourse.

2.4. The notion of speech acts

When a speaker 'X' is delivering a speech 'Y', any uttered vocal sound should be taken for granted. In other words, the discourse analysts have to pay a particular attention on whatever comes out of the speaker's mouth. This because the successful analysis of a set of discourse has to presuppose that meaning and understanding are correlative since they both involve intentionality. The sender, also known as the

speaker has his intentions. So, it is the receiver's turn to recognise the sender's communicative intention in order to understand thoroughly the message conveyed.

Austin's distinction of speech act types

In this development of the theory of speech acts, Austin (1962:94) drew a threefold distinction between locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts as follows:

(i) **A locutionary act is an act of saying:** the production of a meaningful utterance (the utterance of certain noises, the utterance of certain words in a certain construction, and the utterance of these with a certain "meaning" in the favourite philosophical sense of those words), i.e., with a certain sense and reference.

(ii) **An illocutionary act is an act performed in saying something:** making a statement or promise, issuing a command or request, asking a question, christening a ship, etc.

(iii) **A perlocutionary act is an act performed by means of saying something:** getting someone to believe that something is so, persuading someone to do something, moving someone to anger, consoling someone in his distress, etc.

If we interpret the above definitions, we acknowledge that the speech understanding involves a number of steps. On this view, Austin (1962:101) provides the eventual analysts of discourses with gradual examples:

Act (A) or locution:

He said to me 'shoot her'!

Act (B) or illocution:

He urged (or advised, ordered, ...) me to shoot her.

Act (C/a) or perlocution:

He persuaded me to shoot her

Act (C/b) or perlocution:

He got me to (or made me) shoot her.

Indeed, the analysts are likely to discover by these examples that the locutionary act corresponds to the saying of something by uttering vocal sounds that build up meaningful words and expressions.
The illocutionary act corresponds to the acoustic effects that the words coming from the speaker's mouth have on his interlocutor. Finally, the perlocutionary act corresponds to the consequence of these effects on the part of the hearer. It stands for a response or result of a reaction that is brought about by what was said by the speaker.

So far, we have been discussing an important issue of speech acts. Giglioli (1972: 17) briefly introduces speech understanding devices, stressing his concern on illocutionary acts as follows:

> *To perform illocutionary acts is to engage in a rule-governed form of behaviour. The production of the sentence taken under certain conditions is the illocutionary act, and the illocutionary act is the minimal unit of linguistic communication*

The author, being aware of the fact that if there is no problem there is no point of doing research, he decidedly wanted to know what is meant by an illocutionary act, the reason why he suggested a list of verbs and verb phrases that introduce the illocutionary acts.

> *Some of the English verbs and verb phrases associated with illocutionary acts are: state, assert, describe, warn, remark, comment, command, order, request, criticise, apologise, censure, approve, welcome, promise, express approval and regret.*

As indicated, the above list of verbs is not exhaustive but we notice that the illocutionary act is the most used in the meaning processing of a discourse even though it does not exclude the occurrence of the other two types of speech acts, namely the locutionary and perlocutionary ones.

To conclude this subchapter, the notion of speech acts could not be put aside for scholars or analysts whose main concern is to get meaning of discourses. However, coming back to our topic which is related to the "cow praising poems", and knowing in advance that the performer of this genre most of the times does this in solo, the main interlocutor is supposed to be his cattle.

As a matter of fact, the use of speech acts in this type of analysis requires a particular attention since there is no direct hearer who is to respond with an exchange of words, to mean that it is an awkward process to bring in use as far as our topic is concerned. Although, worth of mention is the different reactions standing for responses by cows that are mostly expressed in gestures.

2.5. Past studies on cow praising poetry in Burundi

Very little has been achieved so far with regard to the study of cow praising poetry in Burundi. Even for the limited number of works, we have noticed that most of them are either performed orally or written in Kirundi and French languages. Besides, another impression was that none of these works has dealt with this genre pragmatically.

Most of the people who worked on this kind of poems have come up with the same conclusion according to which the genre could be classified in the category of oral literature.

Nkurunziza (1986:20) shares the same view. He states:

> *Rundi tradition possesses almost exclusively unwritten forms and praise poetry falls in this category of oral literature. So, one may have a question of knowing what really makes it an oral genre. There are three main features that characterise an oral text: its composition, its mode of transmission and its performance.*

Rodegem (1973:20) on his part focuses on the great socio-cultural value of the cow in Rundi tradition.

> *L'objectif principal de tout homme bien né étant de posséder le plus grand nombre possible de têtes de bétail, il est normal que la vache soit au centre des préoccupations. La vache est le symbole de toute félicité. Elle octroie à son possesseur prestige et sécurité, deux valeurs stables et des plus estimées au Burundi.*

> ***Tr.:*** *The main objective of every well born man being that of possessing the greatest number of heads of cows, it is normal that a cow be at the centre of preoccupations. The cow is the symbol of all felicity. It grants prestige and security to its owner. Two stable values and of the most estimated ones in Burundi.*

From this statement, we understand that the cow is also important at the political level. When for instance someone has got it from his superior, he was likely to benefit from some protection, either social or political, why not both!

A portion of land could be given to him and the social status was consequently enhanced thanks to these good relationships. Strouwbost(1962: 23-24) elaborates more about these relationships between a superior and his client.

> *Le roi et les chefs distribuaient les terres pour les mêmes raisons qu'ils distribuaient les vaches. Le but était aussi le même, à savoir se créer un cercle de favoris et de clients.*

> ***Tr.:*** *The king and the chief distributed the lands for the same reasons they distributed cows. The purpose was also the same, namely to create a circle of favourite and clients.*

It has been said earlier that the cow was a highly valued domestic animal in our tradition. It is still for some people the very source of poetic inspiration. Its great importance brought it to be compared to the Queen as Rodegem (1973:21) suggests:

> *La vache est source d'inspiration poétique. Au vrai, elle envahit tous les genres (...). La vache en un mot, conditionne toutes les activités des pasteurs. La vache est "reine".*

> ***Tr.:*** *The cow is the source of poetic inspiration. Frankly, it invades all the genres (...). The cow, in one word, determines all the shepherds' activities. The cow is "Queen".*

Ntahokaja (1978:62), not only highly considers the cow, but he also idealises it in the following terms:

> *Ufise inka mu Burundi aba atunze vyinshi. Inka ni maze yose: urayirya, ukayambara, ukayinywa, ukayituma utwo ukenye twose, vyongeye ikagusanisha.*

> ***Tr.:*** *The one who owns a cow in Burundi possesses a lot of things. The cow is " I all accomplish"! You eat it, you wear it,you drink it, you get whatever you need from it. In addition, it consolidates social relationships.*

In few words, the cow has been and still is the most important domestic animal in Burundi. The poems that are performed to praise it could not fail to attract our attention in so far as we were brought up in an environment where cows were very many. It is a bit unfortunate, however that nowadays, there are few experimented performers of the genre which brings about its step by step disappearance.

2.6. Cow praising poetry Vs culture

Since the kingdom regime till now, a cow has always occupied a central place in almost all the spheres of Burundians' life. The raising of a cow was more prestigious than any other animal husbandry. The cow has been and is standing for the shepherd's wealth, health and power as Rozier (1973:169) supports it by saying that cows are more than simple animals. He goes on assuming that they are but social beings since they present unprecedented importance in all spheres of life as stated earlier.

Indeed, they appear to be the main tool of social cohesion and they were and still are used as a bride price to conclude the marriage contracts. The cow is the foundation of everything related to authentic values, contracts and alliances. Bigirumwami (1979:177) has expressed his ideas about the cow's importance as follows:

> *Animal noble par excellence, la vache est un élément de richesse intrinsèque et de prestige social (...). La vache intervient pour sceller les grandes alliances. Elle est donnée comme objet de contrat de clientèle, "ubugabire", et comme dot, " inkwano" dans la conclusion d'un marriage.*

> ***Tr:*** *Noble animal by excellence, the cow is an element of intrinsic wealth and social prestige (...). The cow intervenes to seal the great alliances. It is given as an object of patronage contract,* ***"ubugabire"*** *and as dowry,* ***"inkwano"*** *to unite one family with another by marriage.*

As a matter of fact, the cow was very important both on the economic as well as the social-cultural level and was consequently worth praising. The gift of a cow was and is the best way of establishing long lasting relations between the grantor and the receiver, the main cases being the bride wealth transactions and the relations of **"ubugabire".**

To sum up, it is assumed that a country without a culture remains also with no future. And then, since Rundi culture was primarily based on the cow as the whole institution, praise poetry that is built up around this outstanding creature should be given much importance and studied deeply in order to be widespread all over the world.

2.7. The place of cow in today's Rundi society.

It is a pity for any Burundian to notice that many things are changing about the cow and the literary genre that is related to it. The very fact is that nowadays, this animal is no longer praised as it was in ancient times. The main reason being that heads of cattle are getting fewer through times in some regions.

We also have a serious problem due to the progressive disappearance of aged persons who were good performers of the genre. That is what Rodegem (1963:9) was worried about some decades ago:

> *L'extraordinaire richesse de la tradition orale risque fort de sombrer définitivement dans l'oubli. Les vieux conteurs*

> *s'éteignent, les jeunes générations se détournent de tout ce qui est ancien, gênées par la pénétration européenne et le besoin d'accueillir les nouveautés.*
>
> ***Tr.:*** *The extraordinary wealth of the oral tradition risks to definitely sink in forgetfulness. Old performers are passing away, the young generations are turning away from whatever ancient, embarrassed by the european penetration and the need of welcoming novelties.*

All in all, we still hope that the best is yet to come, provided that each and all the members of the young generations feel directly implicated in carrying researches on oral literature in general and cow praising poetry in particular so that the genre remains alive for ages and ages.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

To be effective, any scientific study must follow an appropriate methodology that shows the different steps adopted in the collections and analysis of the data. This chapter is mainly concerned with the description of various sources of data used and the methodological procedures that are used in their collection as well as their analysis.

This section also deals with difficulties of two kinds. These are respectively the difficulties inherent to the collection and analysis of data as well as those inherent to data translation.

3.2. Data collection procedures

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

3.2.1. Data collection

The collection of data requires one or a combination of more than one of the following procedures: the written material gathered from books, tape-recorded interviews, the questionnaire, to name but a few.

In this research, we have not been able to use a tape-recorder or any other sophisticated instrument. Even though William Labov (1970: 152) holds that sufficient good data on speech are provided by tape-recorder interviews, it would be fallacious for us to use this procedure since nowadays, skilful performers of cow praising poetry are no longer available as they were in ancient times. Likewise, it was quite impossible

to go from one place to another, tape-recorder in hand and force people to recite cow-praising poems while most of them were deprived of a single cow in their enclosures.

Indeed, the collection of data was three-fold: the first source was the Radio-Television of Burundi for the good tapes that were found ready made. These have been very helpful insofar they have safeguarded for a long time the fresh voice of the reciter, which enabled us to account for some linguistic features that are not easily remarkable in written materials.

The second source of data has been an oral performance by a person who kindly accepted to give us the manuscript of his poems afterwards. This has been an advantage for us since we have been able to observe with our eyes some paralinguistic features of communication such as gestures, facial expressions, mimicry and many others.

The third source of data was the written materials. We have been urged to complete our data collection with information gathered from different books that were found in the main library of the University of Burundi.

Worth pointing out is that the main purpose of our research was to find adequate answers to different questions since it is commonly believed that if there is no problem, there is no point of doing research. In other words, we have been guided by the research questions to account for such facts as the fitness between literal meaning and pragmatic meaning, via the semantic one. The indirectness or hidden meaning was also worth of being reviewed in order to achieve successfully our research. Another need that was to be fulfilled was that of being informed about the intentions or objectives targeted by cow praising poems.

3.2.2. Description of the resources

Apart from the ready made tapes got from Radio-Television of Burundi, written material were among the most used sources and we got them from Rodegem's Anthologie Rundi (1973) and Patrimoine Culturel Rundi, Tome III, (1963), Ntahokaja's Imigenzo y'Ikirundi (1978), Sinarinzi's Analyse Formelle du Genre "Ukuvumereza", Mémoire, U.B (1986) and a manuscript of poems that were performed naturally by Kwizera (a university student, in African languages and literature 4th year).

In all cases, we have selected the cow praising poems that embody ideas about what is directly said on one hand and what is not directly said; i.e. hidden meaning on the other. As a matter of fact, we have noticed through the analysis that Burundians are discret. They do not want people that are not concerned by their message to get what they mean. To state this differently, these people want their message to be understood by a person or a restricted group to whom it is addressed. Usually, this category of people is expected to know much about Rundi culture and society. They also have to be mature enough since the language that is used in such a speech is not easier to decode. Besides, it has been noticed that the performers often decorate their speeches with some literary figures among which are metaphor and imagery.

3.3. Data analysis procedures

To carry out the analysis of the selected poems, we have focused our attention on utterances that present symbolic constructions or other kinds of indirectness. We have afterwards analysed their meaning within the socio-cultural context, basing our study on the literal or semantic meaning of the latter.

In this perspective, our analysis has also accounted for the different illocutionary forces bound to directives and expressives contained in the poems. The greater part of the analysis was based on Searle's classification of utterances in order

to know in which category a given utterance or expression belongs. We expect to achieve the goal of our research by the time it will be assumed that all the indirect as well as hidden meanings have been fully explained.

3.4. Difficulties encountered

While carrying out a scientific research, a number of problems can constitute a handicap to the fast data collection, analysis and successful findings or results. Then, two types of difficulties are worth mentioning: these are respectively the difficulties inherent to the collection and analysis of data as well as the difficulties inherent to data translation.

3.4.1. Difficulties inherent to the collection and analysis of data

We have mentioned earlier that it has been quite impossible for us to use a tape-recorder and this was a serious shortcoming as far as the collection of data was concerned.

In fact, the absence of this procedure has brought about the leaving out of many linguistic and non-linguistic variables. We also have not used the questionnaire because apart from the manuscript of poems performed by Emile Kwizera, a University student, all the other poems that have been analysed within this study were found in books. This was however an advantage for us since it is becoming a common fact in Burundi that cows are disappearing step by step and more serious has been the insecurity that has been prevailing in our country since 1993. Cows were shot together with their owners or taken away by the criminals. Likewise, it is nowadays noticed that asking someone about the customs related to cattle was another way of teasing him. Briefly, it is due to this shortcoming that we have been obliged to analyse some ready made poems without handing in some copies of the questionnaire.

3.4.2. Difficulties inherent to data translation

Translation is not an easy task especially when it operates on two languages of different origins and cultures such as Kirundi and English. Indeed, it is difficult to make clear the ideas in the original text. In connection with this view, Barzun and Graff (1977:270) state the following:

> *Let us suppose that the scholar, reporter or technician has learned in one or more foreign tongues all the words in his special vocabulary, he is still far from being fully equipped. For " what the original means" is not the same as "knowing the meaning of every word". It is not words together that create meaning and give statement its peculiar tone and clear implications.*

As the above quotation suggests, a word for word translation is misleading. It is even sometimes impossible because the translator cannot always find equivalent words in the languages he is dealing with. What matters the most is the rendering of the idea expressed in the original.

CHAPTER IV : A PRAGMATIC INTERPRETATION OF THE SELECTED RUNDI COW PRAISING POEMS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the analysis and interpretation of the selected cow praising poems. To carry out this analysis, we are to explain what the speaker means by uttering a set of cow culture related poems within their respective context of use. For the successful achievement of this work, important notions such as implicature, speech acts, background knowledge as well as the extraction of the hidden meaning will not be put aside. We also looked into the directives and expresives vehicled within cow praising poems, taking into account their illocutionary forces. Then, the very first stage of the analysis was the description of the structural characteristics of the genre under study.

4.1. Structural characteristics of the genre

While reciting a cow-praising poem, the poet does not use the ordinary tone. On the contrary, he uses a high pitch and speaks fast and louder. There must be noticed also the use of rhythm and meter which are, anyway, characteristics of an oral text. In so doing, the poet succeeds to capture much attention of the audience – if he happens to have any – by creating a kind of shared emotional excitement. Once in action, the reciter does not stand still. He moves from place to place, some times with an appropriate uniform and a spear or a long stick in his hand. This makes the poem more lively and therefore, more interesting.

It should be unfair for us not to mention that when speaking of "audience", we are more concerned with nowadays' performance. The latter have, in fact, lost its original context and nature, shifting to become a kind of public showing of one's speaking skills or talents in front of an audience. Traditionally, a stretch of Rundi cow

praising poem was recited whenever the shepherd felt the need to do so and in a natural environment. When feeling lonely for instance or keeping his cattle on a huge mountain, a shepherd could improvise a kind of song like poetry, with the audience completely inexistent. That is what is commonly known as "Ibicuba" in Kirundi.

It should be reminded that, although the context of performance has now changed, all the cow-praising poems are still structured in the same way. This is to mean that the original context is always taken into account even in very recent compositions.

To state this in a different way, the above notice is what essentially makes our topic " A Pragmatic Analysis of some Cow Praising Poems in the Burundian Socio-cultural Context" worth studying.

The last but not least structural characteristic of cow praising poetry lies in the way the poet cares more about the "beautiful" than the "meaningful", which brings about some kind of ambiguity in the hearer's mind.

4.2. Typology of Rundi cow praising poems

It is very important to mention that in our research, what is mostly required is a clear distinction of different types of poems that are performed in particular circumstances. Assuming that the poems that were performed to praise the cow since the remote past till now were not alike, we have chosen to categorise them in four subgenres which are: Ukubonekesha, i.e. poems performed while cows are drinking water; ukwiyamiriza, i.e. poems performed while cows are either heading for the pastures, trough or coming back home; ibicuba, i.e. category of poems performed with the main purpose of glorifying one's cows regardless where they are. They can also be performed heroically during a cattle-breeding feast. The fourth and last type is ukuvumereza, i.e. poem performed when the cow is about to be milked.

4.2.1. Poems performed while cows are drinking water (ukubonekesha)

This Kirundi verb "kubonekesha" is an extension of the verb " kubona" which means "to see". There is another verb" kuboneka" which means, "to be seen". Then, the verb "kubonekesha" which interests our research means, "to make something or someone seen". So, coming back to our topic, this subgenre indicates to what extent the pastor was so proud of his cattle that he wanted it to be seen from all sides.

E.g : Boneka (x 4)

Bonekera amashinga yose nk'ukwezi

Tr.: Be seen (x 4)

Be seen from all sides as the moon

In addition, when the cows are gulping water during a dry season or any sunny moment, the pastor feels extremely happy that he doesn't want his cattle to stop drinking.

E.g: Vomera mu gisabo

Kamya ngomere ni meza aritoye

Tr.: Pour in the churn

Empty the trough, water is clean and I find you an additional quantity.

Departing from the Rundi proverb **"Inka ikamwa ico yariye"** which means the cow produces just what it has eaten. The poems that were performed while cows were drinking water do support firmly this stand insofar as the shepherd was also sure that a cow which has drunk much water was consequently giving much milk, unless it was unsatisfied with green grass.

E.g. D:6. Gwira ba nyakugwira

7. Sagamba
8. Vyara muvyibushe
9. Sabwa amata n'amasaka
10. Ubuntu busabwa iyo busigaye

Tr.: 6. Increase in number and may you be blessed to do so.

7. Fill the world

8. Give birth to fat calves

9. May you be asked for milk and sorghum

10. Honour is requested where it belongs

It should be stressed, however, that through this subgenre, the shepherd seems to direct some commands or requests to his cows as if they were human beings. Moreover, he expresses the very heartfelt ideas or wishes about his cows. He even happens to call down some curses against whoever hates them.

E.g A: 19. Kamagira kamagira!

20. Ukwanka aragacana injishi yenyegeze igisabo

Tr.: 19. Drink as much water as you can!

20. May your enemy burn his cows'hobbles and push his churn splinters in fire.

As said above, this subgenre is very interesting due to the directives as well as expressives it contains. Such terms as **"gwira"**, meaning, **" increase in number"**, **"boneka"** meaning, **"be seen", "kamagira"** meaning, **" drink much water"** and **"kamya"**, meaning **" empty the trough"** are directives. Expressives on their part are embodied in expressions like:

E.g.A:16. Ukwanka aragahamba imfura mu mfuruka,

17. Ubuheta mu ziko

18. Nayo umuhererezi mu bwicaro

Tr.: 16. May your enemy bury his eldest son in his hut's corner,

17. His second child under the fire place,

18. And the youngest in the seating room.

These utterances correspond to what the shepherd is feeling in his innersole. It should be mentioned to end up this discussion that such a category of poems was for most of the cases, not sung but performed with a rhythmic voice.

4.2.2. Poems performed while cows are either heading for pastures, or coming back home (Ukwiyamiriza).

This subgenre is performed while cows are, in all cases, making movement. As the title indicates, it corresponds to the moment when the shepherd is leading his cattle to the pastures, or coming back home either from transhumance at a very far distance or simply from pastures.

In most of the times, such poems are introduced and ended by some shepherd's melodious whistling to encourage the cattle to move fast forward.

E.g. B: 11. Yoho yoho yoho !
12. Vyuzuzu we vyuzura n'inka
13. Uratera ico witegereje
14. Umwungere w'inka asa n'umuyonga
15. Nawe umukamyi asa n'igisabo
16. Inyana y'inka isa n'indonyi
17. Wi wi wi !

Tr.: 11. Yoho yoho yoho !
12. You, Vyuzuzu who loves cows so much.
13. Do throw your spear to what you have carefully observed
14. The pastor resembles the growing green grass
15. Whereas the milker resembles the churn
16. And the calf resembles the cob
17. Wi wi wi !

It could be acknowledged, even supported that the full satisfaction of cows with green grass and water could also entail the great happiness in the shepherd's mind. There could be no surprise for any body to hear him performing some stretches of poems when back from pastures with his cattle.

E.g. B: 20. Sagarara nka Rukiga wa Muganza
21. Terwa impundu yatewe karyenda
22. Vyara ibikura dukurire umwami
23. Vyarira guhweza
24. Nawe umwansi avyarira guhamba
25. Vyarira kwa Inankoni
26. Niho hatagira abansi n'abarozi.

Tr.: 20. Be as widespread as Rukiga son of Muganza
21. May people applaud you as they do for Karyenda
22. Give birth to healthy calves to be offered to the King
23. May all your calves grow up
24. While your enemy's children are all dying
25. Give birth while being at Inankoni's
26. That is the place devoid of enemies and maleficients

It may also be worth pointing out that such cases of happiness could be exhibited when the cows were going for or coming from transhumance. This term denotes a well-organised journey by a great number of cows, mainly because of lack of green grass during the dry season. That happiness was mostly exhibited when cow were back from transhumance insofar as many cows were moving with their new born calves, providing shepherds with great quantities of milk.

<u>E.g B: a) When cows were going for transhumance</u>

6. Nzobajana mu bigera vya Gahondo.
7. Bigera umwaka bigahungabana iremba

Tr.: 6. I will take you to the swamps of Gahondo
7. Where, once a year, leaves grow greener and greener.

b) When cows were coming back from transhumance

8. Mwaranjanye kwaka mungarukana kweya
9. Ndaheza nsanga Umwami,
10. Yaganuye amahonda i Muramvya

Tr.: 8. You have kept me awake till daybreak
9. And when back, I found that the King,
10. Was celebrating the sowing feast at Muramvya

Definitely, it could be important to notice that the example above reflects too much the Burundian culture consisting in that the owner of the cattle could move with it from an almost deserted area to a wet one in order to find grass. This was done around July-August and the returning date was fixed around November-December when time was ripe for the sowing feast commonly known as "**umuganuro**", to be celebrated by the King.

4.2.3Poems performed to glorify cows or heroically during a cattle breeding feast (Ibicuba)

These poems were performed with a loud and singing voice. When the cows were very busy with green grass in pastures, the shepherd could utter some verses of **"ibicuba"** with the main objective of avoiding loneliness. This type of cow praising poems depicts the deeds of cows that are so highly valued that they are compared to human beings.

E.g C. XII : 1. Erega mu gutega

2. Yarateguje

3. Igororotse mu mirundi

4. Yo kwinjira ihagaze mu ngoro kwa Perezida

Tr.: 1. The way its horns are raised

2. Has been carefully prepared

3. It is straight on its legs

4. It can enter straightfully in the presidential palace.

It could be recalled that the poems corresponding to "ibicuba" could not be performed when cows were dying of hunger; when there was a generalised lack of green grass. On contrary, the happiness due to which the poems were performed was both shared by the cow herder and his cattle. Likewise, there was a kind of mutual understanding between the two participants above. For, the cow's reply to these melodious poems was a smooth lowing, apparently full of tenderness. Moreover, some body movements were also made by the cow toward its owner, including some jumps around and around (what is known in Kirundi as **"ukwikina"**).

Hm hm hm hm !

E.g C I: 1. Erega ngizo zarahembuje ndahembuka

2. Ba mahembe nk'imigano

3. Ba bizuru nk'imivuba

4. Iyo nka bizuru bizunga urugomero

5. Niyo bitonde bitonyanga umuyonga

6. Sinzoyibaga nzoyibangurira

7. Nzoyijana mu Bigera vya Banga

8. Bibona imvyeyi

9. Bikarara birahungabana umuyonga

Yoho hm hm hm hm hm...

Tr.: Hm hm hm hm !

1. Here they are, the cows that saved me from hunger
2. Cows with long horns as bamboo shoots
3. Cows with nostrils resembling to the forging bellows
4. That cow with big nostril surrounding the trough
5. A cow that is good at grazing the green grass
6. I will not slaughter it, I will bring it a bull
7. I will take it to the watery plateaus of Banga
8. Which, once they see a dairy cow,
9. Grow green grass all along the night.

Yoho hm hm hm hm...

4.2.4. Poems performed when the cow is about to be milked (Ukuvumereza)

This category of poems is particularly used to prepare a cow to be sucked by its calf and be milked afterwards. As far as the Burundian culture was concerned, the term **" ukuvumera"** meaning **" to low smoothly"** was not only done by a cow. It could also apply for an authority on throne while delivering a speech, a drum that is resounding (see the king's drum Karyenda), the intermediary between God and Burundians known as Kiranga during the divine worship known as "**ukubandwa"**, a bow (umuheto) when the rope was turning back in its initial position after the departure of an arrow. It was finally done by a cither (inanga), a musical instrument that was very popular at the royal court.

As far as the cow was concerned, such poems were performed when cows were in their compound and the characteristic word to introduce them is "Ingo" or " Ngo" meaning "come here". The cow owner could utter the poem for many criteria reasons:

- **He could remember to thank someone who has given him a cow.**

E.g G III: 8. Ingo musaya

9. Usa n'isenga
10. Ugasa n'uwakumpaye

Tr.: 8. Come Musaya
9. Resembling the incense
10. And also the one who has granted you to me as a gift.

- **He could express his pride for the great quantity of milk got from his cow.**

Eg G IV: 11. Ngo Bwami
12.Wamiye hafi
13. Ukamuzwa abiri

Tr.: 11. Come Bwami
12.Carrying tasty fruits at an early age.
13. And those fruits are harvested with two strong arms.

- **He could congratulate his cow for its appetite.**

E.g. XV: 46. Ngo Bibandana
47. Ubanda umunyu
48. Amasugi ntahumane

Tr.: 46. Come Bibandana
47. Bent on licking salt
48. To avoid barrenness of virgin heifers.

All in all, we acknwoldge that through this subgenre, there are deepest feelings that are expressed and these are made clear by some literary elements that we have talked about since the beginning of the chapter. These are the directives and expressives.

E.g G. V: 14. Ingo Gitare
15. C'amata menshi

16. Nzokubungabunga

Tr.: 14. Come Gitare
15. With abundant milk
16. I will take care of you

E.g E: 1. Ngo Bigabo
Ngo bigabo bitambuka nk'abagabo
Wangarukiye ngeze kure mu mwaka wa nzobigirante.

Tr.: 1. Come Bigabo
Come Bigabo walking like men
You have saved me when I was totally confused

The directives correspond to the underlined words Ingo and Ngo meaning " come" or "come here". They are taken as directives insofar as they embody some kind of command or request. The expressives correspond to such verses as Nzokubungabunga and Wangarukiye ngeze kure mu mwaka wa nzobigirante ; meaning respectively " I will take care of you" and " you have saved me when I was totally confused". They are called so because they express the shepherd's deepest feeelings toward his cows.

4.3. The main themes in some Rundi cow praising poems

In this type of analysis, the context is of a paramount importance. However, this could not be known without being able to defferenciate between themes that are based on while carrying out this analysis. These are the following: the cow's beauty; the cow's usefulness and pastor's wealth. The cow's origin and fecundity and the pastor's prestige and safety.

4.3.1 Praise poems related to the cow's beauty

The notion of beauty cannot miss in praise poetry unless the poet has misused his literary materials. Before tackling any other aspect, the performer begins by speaking of the physical beauty or appearance of his cows. For most of the cases, he brings his cows closer to human beings as far as their physical building is concerned.

E.g E: 1. Ngo Bigabo
Ngo Bigabo bitambuka nk'abagabo

Tr.: Come Bigabo
Come Bigabo walking like men

E.g C II: 18. Mbe Gitare
19. Senya murongo
20. Ni uko uryama nk'impogazi
21. Ukavyuka nk'ubukombe.

Tr. : 18. Oh, cow with white coat
19. You who are always ahead of other cows
20. It's because you sleep as a big cow
21. To wake up in good health like a bull.

We could not exhaust the examples related to the cow's beauty. What was evident since the remote past was that a cow could be taken as the most beautiful of the domestic animals. The above examples portray the cows physical beauty and elegance. When one finds a person whose name is **"Kabanyana"** i.e with calflike beauty or **"Musaninka",** i.e who resembles the cow, there could be no surprise because people and cows have been living side by side.

4.3.2 Praise poems related to cow's usefulness and pastor's wealth

Apart from the cow's external beauty, the performer of cow praising poems also mentions the cow's internal beauty, i.e its usefulness in burundian society. By usefulness of the cow, we mean the fact that it could help in strengthening social relationships either between two individuals or two distinct families. We could not ignore that a cow was paid as a dowry standing for a reward to the parents for their daughter.

Furthermore, a cow could be granted by one person to another as a link between their longlasting friendships. It could make its owner very rich thanks to its meat, milk, butter why not its skin. In short, it could help its owner in some hard situations, without forgetting that it could save its owner from hunger and thirst as the examples below illustrate it.

C.II: 4. Mirire akiriri
5. Iyo wiriwe ntarungu
6. Uwakubonye mu gatondo
7. Ku mugoroba aragutasha

Tr.: 4. Mirire with a good nose cartilage
5.Where you passed the day is seldom loneliness
6. Whoever saw you in the morning
7.Greets you in evening

E.1. Wangarukiye ngeze kure mu mwaka wa nzobigirante !

Tr.: You have saved me when I was totally confused !

It was believed for example that any Burundian who was owning many heads of cows was consequently highly considered. He was even admitted in a social rank of

wise people known as "Abashigantahe". He was also earning some kind of higher esteem within his environment. The conversation that follows illustrates the extent to which the cow was important in Burundi. It is between Manwa and Busigo:

Manwa: Umuhungu wa Bukuru vyacitse ! asigaye afise umuduga !
Busigo: Mbega umeze gute ! Inyana y'inka yo ntiyoyigura, nkaswe umuduga?

Tr.: Manwa: Bukuru's son has become rich ! He now owns a car !
Busigo: What's wrong with you ! Is there any surprise for him to buy a car ? Can't he even buy a heifer ? (more expensive than a car, according to him).

From these above examples, we can come up with a common assumption according to which in burundian tradition, the cow was highly valued. It was almost as important as a human being.

4.3.3 Praise poems related to the cow's origin and fecundity

By cow's origin we refer to ancient belief according to which a cow was taken as the source of whatever could be owned by an individual. That is why people were blessing one another saying **" urakagira inka n'ibibondo"** meaning **" may tou have cows and children".** There was another Kirundi proverb saying **"Nyamwanka iyo biva yanse umuhanyi w'inka"** meaning **" He who hates the very origin of things hates the cow grantor"**.

It could not also be forgotten that a cow was a sign of fucundity insofar as even during the sowing feast **"umuganuro"** at the court, there were some healthiest bulls like **Semasaka**, **Rutenderi** and others, whose role was not least at all.

Most of the cases, the grantor of cows must be a good hearted person. That is the main reason why the cow related poems frequently reflect people who have given cows to their fellows.

- **Examples reflcting the cow's origin:**

E.g B. 25. Vyarira kwa Inankoni

26. Niho hatagira abansi n'abarozi

Tr.: 25. Give birth while being at Inankoni's

26. That is a place devoid of enemies and maleficients.

E.g G.XI. 34. Ingo Ngoma

35. Narakugomwe

36. Naguhawe n'umugenzi

Tr.: 34. Come Ngoma

35. I have appreciated you a lot

36. You have been granted to me by my best friend.

- **Examples reflecting the fecundity of a cow:**

A. 2. Gwira gwira

3. Inka ziragwira, ni ba nyamwimanyi

Tr.: 2. Increase in number; increase in number

3. Cows do increase in number, they are prolific .

A.14. Vyara nk'igitoke kivyara kitagira umugabo

15. Kikavyara urudasiba

Tr.: 14. Be as prolific as a banana boat without husband

15. But always surrounded by new plants

C.IX. 12. Iraheza iramvyarira Ngingo

13. Niyo Ngingo ya Mirire

14. Iyo mbagirangingo ya Rugira
15. Uwabigiriwe n'Imana
16. Agirango niwe yavyigiriye.

Tr.: 12. And it gave birth to Ngingo
13. Ngigo heifer of Mirire
14. The one which can give with top descretion,
pieces of advice. Oh ! God's daughter !
15. For one who benefits favours from God,
16. Thinks of the outcome of his own efforts.

To sum up the discussion about this theme, we could say that the cow's origin and fecundity are accounted for with a retrospective view of our tradition and custom. It has been concluded that a cow was and still is very important and its achievements are met in all spheres of life.

4.3.4 Praise poems related to the pastor's prestige and safety

By safety and prestige, any grown up person could understand the most estimated values that were considered to be admitted in the group of elites known as **"Abashingantahe"**. As stated earlier, the access in this group was not taken for granted. For, there were some convincing criteria such as being rich (traditionally, the wealth was based on a great number of cows), being in good terms with your neighbours, being able to solve some social problems, to name but a few.

In fact, the owner of many cows could earn prestige because they could ensure him a kind of protection. By protection, we mean that a cow stands for a proof of the most varied contracts and the charter (convention) of many political and private relations. By cow rearing, a person could surround himself with devoted clients. In this case, he was also safe since there were some signed conventions between the client and his boss (cow owner or grantor). In addition, safety could also exist when

someone gets a cow from his superior, a King or any other high authority. The cow receiver could also get social and political support during hard situations.

Eg A. 4. Gwira gwira sagamba

5. Vyara ibikura dukurire Umwami.

Tr.: 4. Be prolific and fill the whole world

5.Give birth to heifers to be given to the King.

Here, one should immediately think about the notion of social subordination known in Kirundi as **"Amasabo"**. When someone gets a cow or any gift from the king, it was considered as a supernatural event. Generally, it was a great pleasure for the people to get any service from the king, which has originated from a Kirundi proverb **" ukugirayo nk'uwenzwe n'Umwami",** i.e **" To be as obssessed as the one who has had sexual intercourse with the King"**. The pastor prestige could also result in the fact that he could get without any problem what was lacking in other families. For instance,it is known that nowadays, milk and butter are found in very few families. Consequently, the one who still possesses these is compared to another possessing gold or anything very rare and expensive. The example below can fit the above discussion:

F. 2. Gwira (x 4)

Inka ziragwira tugwize abagenzi

Vyara ibikura dukurire abakunzi

Sasagara tugwize abasavyi

Dusazane amasaka n'amasabo

Aho !

Tr. : Increase in number (x 4)

Increase so that we get more friends

Give birth to heifers that will be given to relatives

Be prolific and we get new clients

And we get older with sorghum and other things to offer

That's it !

In few words, it would be essential for any Burundian to be socially safe and prestigeous since there is nothing more comfortable than having what to share with your neighbours and what to keep for your family. The blessings like **"uragasazana amasaka n'amasabo"** and **" urakagira ivyo utanga n'ivyo usigarana"** respectively meaning **" May you get older with sorghum and other things to offer"** and **"May you have what to offer and what to remain with"** are still valid.

Chart 1: Metaphorical names given to cows in accordance with the themes discussed.

Main themes tackled	Metaphorical names both in source and target languages		Pragmatic interpretation
1. Praise related to the cow's beauty.	Kirundi vesion a) Bigabo bitambuka nk'abagabo. b) Impagarika mitari za Sebirezi.	English version → Bigabo walking like men → Sebirezi's cows with long horns.	a) Because of admiration by people, the cows' walking style was compared to that of wise men. b) Traditionally, the pure bred-cows were characterised by long horns, i.e **inyambo**; Sebirezi means " the owner of milk pots"
2. Praise related to the cow's usefulness and pastor's wealth.	a) Gitare c'amata menshi b) Bwami bwamiye hafi c) Mbabazi z'ukumbabara	→ Gitare producing much milk → Bwami carrying tasty fruits at an early age. → Mbabazi that cares about me.	a) Cows with white coat used to give much milk b) There were some races of cows which were more easily milked than others. When talking about fruits, the poet refers to milk. c) It was believed that a cow could care about his owner

			by saving him from hunger and thirst.
3. Praise related to the cow's origin and fecundity.	a) Vyarira kwa Inankoni b) Bitavyarira amashashi amashuri. c) Bikiza inka uburambu.	→ Give birth while being at Inankoni's. → The one that never engender bull calves on young heifers. → Bull that protects cows from abortion.	a) **Inankoni** is not a name of a cow but, as we are talking about their origin, the name refers to the one who was very good at taking care of cows. So, the cows are said to originate from such persons. b) It was believed that a bull that could not produce heifers was likely to slaughtered. c) It was very dangerous when cows were to abort every time, it could decrease the number of cows.
4. Praise related to the pastor's prestige and safety.	a) Imbohora b) Za nsumarwanko ngo buce mu gitondo zikarurinda.	→ An admirable heifer → Those able of bringing about hatred but with enough strength to resist against it on	a) The owner of such a beautiful cow could also earn protection from the latter. He could give it as a refine and remain safe.

		the following day.	b) This was the case when people were to complain about their destroyed fields. Anger were sometimes removed when the same people were to get milk for their sick and needy children.

4.4 Wishes through some Kirundi cow praising poems

To convey a wish to someone is to reveal him or her your deeply heartfelt feelings. In other words, it is a way of saying to someone that you want something to happen to him or her. We distinguish between two types of wishes: there are positive wishes that have been referred to as blessings and negative wishes that have been referred to as curses.

In fact, we have noticed that thare are many cases of wishes within Kirundi cow praising poems that have been selected for analysis. On one hand, the poet is likely to convey good wihes to his cattle as well as to everybody who takes care of cows. On the other hand, the poet does not forget to call down curses on anybody who does not like cows or simply who does not take care of them.

4.4.1. Blessing through some Kirundi cow related poems

A blessing can be accounted for as a positive wish, a prayer for God's help and protection toward someone or something. In the selected poems, the performer either addresses directly the cows or the grantor of his cows while conveying those good

wishes. Well then, in this analysis, we have distinguished three main kinds of blessings:blessings related to cow procreation and proliferation, blessings related to wealth, good and long life and blessings related to social relationships.

4.4.1.1. Blessings related to cow procreation and proliferation

When uttering a set of cow praising poems, the performer often wishes his cows to increase the number as fast as possible.These are, in fact, the blessings that are very popular in Burundian society.

Procreation is so highly valued in Burundi that a man or a woman is socially considered when he or she has got married and particularly when he or she has given birth to many children. The latter represents the family's wealth, respect and hope for the best future. When conveying congratulations to someone for the new born baby, Burundians say **" Uravyara benshi uzumpe kamwe"** meaning **" Give birth to many children so that you give me one in the future"**.

From the wish above, we could remember that in our society, a barren (married woman but without children) could not deserve a place among other mothers. Being called " barren" was not only an insult but a sin.

So, we have stated earlier that cows were almost taken at the same level as human beings as far as procreation and proliferation were concerned. Throughout our analysis, it has been noticed that some blessings addressed to cows can also be addressed to people.

E.g:

1. Vyara nk'igitoke kivyara kitagira umugabo
2. Kikavyara urudasiba
3. Sagarara nka Rugira wa Muganza

Tr.: 1. Be as productive as a banana boat without a husband
2. But always surrounded by new plants
3. Be as widespread as Rukiga son of Muganza.

The above verses stand for expressives as far as their meanings are concerned because they clearly show the speaker's psychological thought process about his cows and what he expresses is nothing else but the feelings. This could also be the case as we said it earlier when mothers are enjoying congratulations from their relatives about the newborn babies.

4.4.1.2. Blessings related to wealth, good and long life.

While uttering a cow praising poem, the one who speaks conveys best wishes to his cows as well as to his friends, especially those who have given him cows. By the moment the performer wishes his cows to give much milk, be seen from all sides, live forever, he is expressing his innermost feelings that reveal also his state of mind.

E.g: 1. Bonekera amashinga yose nk'ukwezi.
2. Terwa impundu yatewe karyenda.
3. Sabwa ico mufise mugitange banyagutabaruka
4. Kira vyare ba nyakwibaruka.

Tr.: 1. Be seen from all sides as the moon.
2. May people applaud you as they do for Karyenda.
3. May you be asked for what you have and give it willingly.
4. Give birth without any difficulty.

Up to this point, it is possible to assume that the cow in Burundian tradition has been the most cherished of all domestic animals. To support this issue, the example should be the way the poet suggest people to owe an unconditional respect for the cow as they do for "Karyenda".

As a matter of fact, it could be reminded for those who do not know who is "Karyenda" in our history that it was a drum exclusively found at the King's court. The latter was played when it was time to celebrate the sowing feast **"umaganuro"** and this took place in December. Moreover, as we were taught in history, "Karyenda" was very far reaching for other persons apart from those called **"abanyamabanga"** whose role was to organise the sowing feast at the court. In other words, it was sacred and when the performer compares his cows with "Karyenda", he means that cows could be as sacred as the royal drum.

When in a given family the number of cows was increasing, it was said that the same family was getting wealthier and wealthier. Likewise, if there was a chance for these cows to give much milk, the children were to grow healthier and consequently this good nutrition could lengthen their lifetime. That is why the performer was proud of his cows and was totally against their enemies.

E.g F. 4. Boneka (x 4)
Tabaruka ntambane inkoni n'inkuyo
Umwana atambane inkongoro
Tabaruka harateze uwahagutegeye arakahagwa
Hwi ! hwi ! hwi ! hwi !

Tr.: Be seen (x 4)
Be prolific and I dance with a stick and a cow brush
And my child dances with a milk pot in hand
Be safe, the soil is flat and may any who have trapped you
dies right here and right now !
Hwi ! hwi ! hwi! hwi!

In short, when someone is addressing someone else or an animal as this case in point, it is his mind that is taking the floor. As far as blessings are concerned, they

embody positive wishes as previously suggested. We acknowledge also that their meanings depend upon what the speaker wants to happen to the listener or any addressee.

4.4.1.3. Blessings related to social relationships

In Burundian tradition, it was believed that a cow was an important linking element between families and clans. As Ntahokaja has stated it: **" Inka ni Nsanisha, ni maze yose"**, i.e **" The cow is the very source of brotherhood, it accomplishes everything**". An assumption has been made throughout our analysis that many blessings in cow praising poems are related to social relationships between neighbours.

It has been observed in our society that cows are able to bring about jealousy or hatred between families especially when it happened for them to destroy fields belonging to another family. That is what Congera says in verses below:

2. Ngizo za nsumarwanko
3. Ngo buce mu gatondo zikarurinda

Tr.:2. Here they are, those which are able to bring about hatred;
3. Being able to resist against it on the following day.

It should be noticed that the above example has nothing to do with blessing but it depicts a reality as far as social relationships are concerned. Indeed, cows were able to repair or mend all that they could have damaged. The fact was that their milk could stand for medicine to cure many children's illness. That is why there was a common habit between neighbours of giving a small quantity of milk to a sick child. This was mostly the case when the child's parents were deprived of a simple cow. This was commonly known as **" guhana umwerera"**, i.e **"giving each other milk as a curative medicine"**.

In their way of socializing, our forefathers were very skilled in strenghthening their relationships. Then, there is no surprise at all when we happen to read through a poem by which the performer requests his cows to give birth to many calves so that he gets some to offer his friends. In the same perspective, he reminds his cattle that he would like the number of clients to increase; and he would like to get older while still having heifers to offer and others to keep for himself.

E.g F. 2. Gwira (x 4)
Inka ziragwira gwira tugwize abagenzi
Vyara ibikura dukurire abakunzi
Sagarara tugwize abasavyi
Dusazane amasaka n'amasabo.

Tr.: Increase in number (x 4)
Increase so that we get more friends
Give birth to heifers that will be given to relatives
Be prolific and we get new clients
And we get older with sorgum and many other things to offer.

By deep analysis of this example, we get an idea about the fact that a cattle, due to its good deeds, could contribute to a full integration of its owner in society. A cow was able to accomplish all that was required for its owner to be in excellent social relationships within his native environment.

4.4.2. Cursing through some Kirundi cow related poems.

While praising his cattle, the pastor blesses it but on the contrary, he does not forget to call down curses on whoever would pretend to be his cows' enemy. He wishes him to always carry a heavy weight of all kinds of misfortune. In other words, he wants the cows enemy to be exposed to all kinds of unfortunate situations whether morally, socially or physically. That is the main reason why whenever a poet is

performing that heroic recitation for his cows, there must be somewhere in his speech a parallelism between the blessing of his cows and the cursing of their enemies.

To carry out a good analysis of curses contained in selected cow praising poems, we have chosen to divide them in three main categories, i.e, curses reflecting moral misfortune, curses reflecting the physical misfortune and finally the curses reflecting the social misfortune.

4.4.2.1. Kirundi curses reflecting the moral misfortune.

By moral misfortune, what is meant is that bad luck always following the cows' enemy. As already stated in the introduction, the performer respects most of the times the parallelism between positive wishes for the cows and negative ones for their enemies.

E.g B. 23. Vyarira guhweza
24. Nawe umwansi avyarire guhamba

Tr.: 23. May all your calves grow up
24. While all your enemy's children are dying.

Through this example, the performer conveys a curse to the enemy of his cows. He is calling upon him a moral shock caused by the disastrous death of his children. Things were also more serious for the case when the cows' owner could ask God or pray so that his cows' enemy leaves this world (dies) in order to keep his cattle safe.

E.g A. 5. Vyara ibikura dukurire umwami
6. Umwansi umwe yapfuye !
7. Uwundi yarinjijwe.

Tr.: 5. Give birth to heifers to be given to the king

6. One of your enemies has died !
7. Another injured.

There are some other times when the cows owner is so cynical that he does not want his cows enemy to die but to suffer forever on this earth.

E.g A. 10. Ukwanka ntakavyare,
11. Niyavyara ntagafume,
12. Niyafuma arakawurya.

Tr.: 10. May anybody who hates you be barren,
11. If ever productive, may he suffer from incurable diarrhoea,
12. Once recovered, may he eat his faeces.

In conclusion, it is noticed that the performer has nothing sacred as far as insults are concerned. He simply wants all the miseries of the earth to be gathered on his cows enemy's head.

4.4.2.2. Kirundi curses reflecting the physical misfortune.

The poems performed in this category convey curses that are to affect physically the enemy of cows. There are some situations of accidents that often cause troubles on someone physically. This becomes more serious when the agent or the one that is victimized has some part of responsibility.

E.g E. 5. Tabaruka harateze,
Uwahagutegeye arakahagwa.

Tr.: 5. Be safe the soil is flat,
May whoever has trapped you die right here and right now.

The example above potrays the enemy of cows as a very stupid person. Indeed, he has planned that only the cows were to fall into his trap but according to the cows owner, he wishes that the same criminal could be damaged by the trap he has planned himself. By this, our mind could immediately be sent to Burundian culture since there have been some proverbs whose main objective was to discourage those maleficients in the society. The proverb is the following: **" umwansi agucira icobo Imana ikagucira icanzo"**, i.e **" Your enemy may wish you death while God is willing to keep you safe"**.

Moreover, the cows owner could also wish his cows' enemy to be laughed at by other people for his stupid actions. As a matter of fact, it is commonly known that in any society there are unusual habits which, once adopted by someone, the outsiders will consider him as a fool or a mentally disordered man.

In the following example, the poet takes the enemy of cows as someone who does not find any importance in cattle rearing. He also ignores completely the importance of the milkpot as mentioned below.

E.g.B. 29. Vomera mu gisabo;
30. Kitagira umurando;
31. Nawe umwansi;
32. Avomere mu gisangaza;
33. Bigende biramuvira.

Tr.: 29. Fetch in the churn;
30. That has never been damaged;
31. But may your enemy;
32. Fetch in an unconvered basket;
33. And water strickles on him.

We could acknowledge in general that cows rearing in Burundi was as difficult as bringing up a child. Children who grow up in good conditions could be compared to beautiful heifers. In addition, no one could ignore the fact that a great number of children could cause jealousy for barren women. Then, we have noticed also that the same jealousy could raise in the mind of the one who was deprived of a single cow while others were expressing their pride of owning hundreds and hundreds of cows.

4.4.2.3. Kirundi curses reflecting the social misfortune.

By " social misfortune", what is meant is the bad luck that affects someone during his lifetime as a member of a given society. Most of the time, when it happens for someone to be in such a situation, what immediately follows next is to lose his esteem within his environment. After all, It has been observed that beside this generalised social woe, there is also a total loss of his possessions as the Kirundi expression **" gusigara wifumbereje"**, i.e, **"to remain ruined"** portrays it.

E.g.A.

16. Ukwanka aragahamba imfura mu mfuruka;
17. Ubuheta mu ziko;
18. Nayo umuhererezi mu bwicaro.
19. Kamagira kamagira;
20. Ukwanka aragacana injishi yenyegeze igisabo.

Tr.:

16. May your enemy bury his eldest son in his hut's corner;
17. His second child under the fire place;
18. And his youngest in the sitting-room.
19. Drink as much as you can;
20. May your enemy burn his cows' hobbles and push his churn splinters in fire.

To sum up, we could not end this subchapter without a warning for anybody who does not believe in bad effects of curses within society. Our suggesttion for every

human being could be that of being always blessed for good things one has done rather than being cursed.

4.5. Grammatical structure rules of blessings and curses embodied in some Kirundi cow praising poems.

We have distinguished three forms of grammatical structure in blessings and curses contained in the selected cow praising poems; i.e, the optative form, the imperative and the subjunctive form.

4.5.1. The optative form.

The optative form is a mode of wishing that is indicated by the morpheme – **raka** – meaning **" ...may..."**. This morpheme has however been divided by Sabimana (1986:4) in two morphemes – **ra** – and – **ka** - ; the first being a focus marker and the second being an optative morpheme. As far as the selected poems are concerned, this optative form – raka- appears or is directly found in curses rather than in blessings. It is somehow omitted or used indirectly as indicated in the examples below:

E.g$_1$ A. 1.Bona, bona, bona
Murakabona ! (x3) (so, although – raka – is used in blessing, it does not appear directly as a separate morpheme).

Tr.: See, see, see !
May you see ! (x3)

E.g$_2$ .A. 5. Vyara ibikura dukurire umwami.
Murakavyara ibikura dukurire umwami.

For curses, we have some clearcut examples such as:

E.g A. 10. Ukwanka ntakavyare.

16. Ukwanka aragahamba imfura mu mfuruka.

20. Ukwanka aragacana injishi yenyegeze igisabo.

Tr.: 10. May anybody who hates you be barren.

16.May your enemy bury his eldest son in his hut's corner

20.May your enemy burn his cows' hobbles and push his churn splinters in fire.

The underlined words above can be split into the following morphemes:

1. Ntakavyare / nti-a-ka-vyar-e /
   Nti-: negative marker
   -a-: subject morpheme
   -ka-: optative morpheme
   -vyar-: root
   -e: aspectual marker
2. aragahamba / a-ra-ka-hamb-a /
   a-: subject morpheme
   -ra-: focus marker
   -ka-: optative morpheme
   -hamb-: root
   -a: aspectual marker.
3. aragacana / a-ra-ka-can-a /
   a-: subject morpheme
   -ra-: focus marker
   -ka-: optative morpheme
   -can-: root
   -a : aspectual marker.

4.5.2. The imperative form.

Apart from the optative form, we have also noticed much use of the imperative form in this genre. This form can be used both in curses and blessings although we have found it only in blessings contained in the selected data.

E.g. 1. Boneka !
2. Gwira gwira sagamba !
3. Terwa impundu yatewe karyenda.
4. Vyara ibikura dukurire umwami.

Tr.: 1. Be seen !
2. Be prolific and fill the whole world !
3. May people applaud you as they do for Karyenda.
4. Give birth to heifers to be given to the King.

The underlined words are pronounced with an imperative tone. Once taken in isolation, the imperative entails the notion of command or request with a particular emphasis. When one says:

Boneka ! / Be seen
Gwira ! / Be prolific
Terwa impundu ! / Be praised
Vyara ! / Give birth;

This shows that the imperative form is built on ideas expressed with a certain insistence. That is why we can argue in saying that imperatives are directives since they are addressed to a cow as simple wishes but with a requesting intonation. The structures of these examples are the following:

1. Boneka / bon- ik- a /
   Be seen root extension marker aspectual marker

2. Terwa impundu / ter -u- a /
   Be praised root extension marker aspectual marker

3. Vyara / vyar – a /
   Give birth root aspectual marker

4. Gwira / gwir – a /
   Be prolific root aspectual marker

4.5.3. The subjunctive form.

The subjunctive form is a particular structure which according to our analytical view, was worth mentioning. This form stands for a good expression of one's desire or will. When the poet happens to use this form, he seems to reveal his cows the project that could be achieved if things were all going well. He also seems to provide his cows with hints so as to disappoint or prove wrong their enemy.

E.g. 1. Vyarira mu gisabo
Umwansi avyarire mu gisangaza.

Tr.: Give us calves and butter
While your enemy is casting.

Tr.: 2. Vyara ibikura dukurire abakunzi.
Give birth to heifers that will be given to relatives.

3. Vomera mu gisabo;
Kitagira umurando;
Nawe umwansi;

Avomere mu gisangaza;

Bigende biramuvira;

Tr.: Fetch in the churn;

That has never been damaged;

But may your enemy;

Fetch in an uncovered basket;

And water strickles on him.

N.B: The following are their grammatical structures:

1. Avyarire / a – vyar – ir – e /

subject morpheme — root — extension marker — aspectual marker

2. Dukurire / tu – kur – ir – e /

subject morpheme — root — extension marker — aspectual marker

3. Avomere / a – vom – ir – e /

subject morpheme — root — extension marker — aspectual marker

It has been observed that the verbs used in a sujunctive form end in – e , and have generally four parts as mentioned above.

Chart 2: A summary of wishing expressions and their grammatical structures.

Distinguished forms	Blessing	Cursing
1. Optative	-	(Nti -) negative marker + subject morpheme + focus marker – ra - + optative morpheme – ka - + root + aspectual marker.
2. Imperative	Root + (extension marker) + aspectual marker.	-
3. Subjunctive	Subject morpheme + root + extension marker + aspectual marker – e.	Subjective morpheme + root + extension marker + aspectual marker – e.

As pointed out at the beginning of this subchapter, the optative form is indicated by the morpheme – raka - . It has been noticed that this morpheme appears in cursing. We do not deny that in the selected poems there are no blessing expressions but there is no use of – raka – by the poet to bless his cows. As far as the imperative form is concerned, the poet usually uses the form to bless the cattle but nowhere in the data was found an expression used imperatively to curse the cows' enemy. The subjunctive form is both used in cursing and blessing with the same grammatical structure.

4.6. Illocutionary forces of directives and expressives contained in the selected cow praising poems.

This section is concerned with the deep extraction of the meaning of some melodious words and expressions that are uttered by the cow praising poet. Indeed, it

could be suggested that when the poet is in front of the audience or praising another person, no word coming from his mouth should be taken for granted or neglected.

In this connection, coming back to the cow praising poet, all that he says has a certain amount of importance. In other words, he may be requesting his cattle to do whatever can make him happy; he may be advising the cows or shepherds not to be involved in such kinds of bad things. He may be thanking them for what they have done so far. He may be blessing them or cursing whoever does not take care of them; or inviting them to do something so as to keep their good deeds up forever; why not promising them something if they do not misbehave toward him. Eventhough, we would like to remind our readers that to carry out this analysis, we have taken the poet as a speaker and a cow as the "listener", surely with some kind of personification for the latter.

4.6.1. Requesting

In most of the cases, the cows owner should request them to do their best to please him, but all depending on the activity that was to be achieved. In the selected poems, we have an example corresponding to some utterances that were uttered to get cows move faster or leave the enclosure very rapidly. Very often, the shepherd was requesting his cattle to be on time for transhumance activity.

E.g: Erega gira ningoga izindi ziragusize !

Tr.: Hey ! hurry up ! Others are leaving you behind !

In addition, when cows were drinking water, the shepherd could feel extremely happy and utter such an utterance as:

Kamya ngomere ni meza aritoye

Tr.: Empty the trough ! water is clean and I find you an additional quantity.

It can be acknowledged that when the cows were either moving or walking away, being milked or drinking water, it was rare for the shepherd to remain wordless. On the contrary, it was the very moment for him to bless them or request them to do whatever could increase his happiness.

4.6.2. Advising

This illocutionary force is frenquently used in this genre. The main reason being the fact that a cow was traditionally considered as a very sacred and awkward animal that could bring about trouble in a family whenever harassed.

E.g: C.XV. 1. Mbe we Bitera
2. Uratera ico witegereje
3. Ntunterere umwungere w'inka
4. Ugirango ni agashitsi
5. Kahiriye mu muyonga

Tr.: 1. Look ! you who is ready to shoot
2. Do attack what you have carefully observed
3. Do not throw a spear on the herdsman
4. Do not confuse him with a stump
5. That was burnt within the grass.

4.6.3. Thanking

We have plenty of thanking expressions in the selected poems. All of them are addressed to cows as if they were deserving some qualities of human being.

E.g B. 1. Yoho yoho yoho !
2. Mwarambujije gusenya n'ukuvoma

3. Mwampagarikamitari za sebirezi

Tr.: 1.Yoho yoho yoho !
2. You have prevented me from gleaning firewood and fetching water
3. Ô Sebirezi's cows with long horns.

It could be quite impossible to jot down all the utterances corresponding to thanking as an illocutionary act since they are so many.

4.6.4. Blessing and cursing

It should be too much time consuming for us to come back to the numerous examples of these above illocutionary acts. As a matter of fact, we surely assume that there has been a fully lengthened discussion on them. Nonetheless, we shall remind people what they talk about by the example below:

B. 23. Vyarira guhweza
24. Nawe umwansi avyarire guhamba.

Tr.: 23. May all your calves grow up
24. While your enemy's children are all dying.

By these utterances, it is obvious that the performer is blessing the cows and cursing their enemies in the meantime.

4.6.5. Promising

By this illocutionary force, the performer promises the cows to do whatever he will be able to, in order to please them.

E.g C.II. 10. Eka sinzoyibaga nzoyibangurira
11. Nzoyijana mu Rubirizi i Nyamibagwa
12. Rurara ruraba ihiro ry'imiyonga
13. Iyindi misozi bakaramba inkonge.

Tr.: 10. I will not slaughter it, I will bring it a bull
11. I will take it to Rubirizi at Nyamibagwa
12. Where the green grass grows up all along the night
13. While other mountains are burning.

From the above utterances, one should think that as a reward to what the cows have done, their owner will take them to a very beautiful place and like that, they will be on vacation for some time !

4.6.6. Inviting

In the selected poems, the above illocutionary act is frequently used in a subgenre commonly known in Kirundi as " ukuvumereza" which corresponds to those incantations uttered when a cow is about to be milked. The characteristic expressions of this genre is " ingo" or " ngo" meaning "come here". The performer addresses the cow to call its attention so that it lows smoothly while welcoming its calf.

E.g: 1. Ingo ngoma
Narakugomwe
Naguhawe n'umugenzi.

Tr.: Come Ngoma
I have appreciated you a lot
You have been granted to me by my best friend.

2. Ngo Mbabazi
Z'ukumbabara.

Tr.: Come Mbabazi
That cares about me.

By these examples, it is clear that the speaker is very grateful for his cows since he says that he has good relatioships with other people thanks to them. In addition, he argues that his cows care to much about him, which is very good as far as the human being's health is concerned.

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study « A Pragmatic Analysis of some Cow Praising Poems in the Burundian Socio-cultural Context » has been an attempt to analyse and interpret pragmatically the colleted poems about the culture that is intimately linked to the cow breeding.

To carry out this analysis, we have acknowledged that we could not move even one tep forward without taking into account the context within which these poems were performed. This analysis was greatly based on the illocutionary forces vehicled by such poems as well as the expressives and directives that could stand for the main tools indicating thoroughly the context of use of cow related poems. This work comprises four chapters.

The first one is an introductory chapter, the second one concerns a review of related literature, the third one corresponds to the methodology applied to carry out the study and the last one concerns the outcome or results of the study.

The introductory chapter attempts to describe the problem that pushed our mind to think about and carry out the present research. It also shows the aims of the study as well as its scope and delimitation.

The second chapter is sample of what other linguists and theorists think about the same topic. This chapter has a vital role because whenever someone is doing a research on a given topic, he could always bear in mind that its success will depend upon the awareness of the other people's view points about it. This correspond to criticisms, supportive ideas, why not contradictions !

The third chapter gives the methodology or procedures followed to collect first and analyse the data afterwards. It also aims at describing the sources from which the data were got. In all cases, the researcher gets an opportunity to point out some difficulties that were encountered all along the analysis.

The fourth and last chapter deals with the interpretation of the findings or results of our research. Throughout this chapter, we have succeeded in making the situational description of our topic, corresponding to what we have called "structural characteristics". We proceded with drawing a kind of typology of cow praising poems and this was done to prove wrong the ancient belief that all the poems related to cows were commonly known as **"ibicuba".** It has been concluded that there can be different types of cow praising poems in accordance with the different circumstances of performance.

Moreover, we have shown that a wish can be expressed differently in such a way that there exist positive wishes i.e, **"blessing"** as well as negative wishes, i.e, **"curses"**. The present analysis has also provided us with an idea that there must be more than one way of expressing one's thought as far as our study was concerned. That is why we have been dealing with both the optative, imperative and subjonctive forms embodied in the poems under study. The last but not least point of our findings discusses the illocutionary forces of directives and expressives that were found in the selected poems.

All in all, we have acknowledged that the language used by the cow praising poets was quite different from our daily conversations. There were plenty of metaphorical expressions mixed with much personification and imagery which makes the genre interesting and worth studying.

However, it could be unfair for us not to mention difficulties encountered during the research. The main shortcoming was related to data translation insofar as there were no exact equivalents of some kirundi words in English language. For example we did not find an equivalent to the word **" Umutanga"** denoting **that rampant plant mostly found in the forest**. The performer was wishing his cattle to be as rampant as "umutanga" in order to be widespread and fill the whole country. An other word was **" uruhimbi**" denoting **that artificial table on which churns and other milk pots were put**. We have also the word **" Inutsi"** denoting **a wild animal**

resembling a snake, which could bite cows while they were grazing the grass on the mountain. Another serious problem for us was that we did not get the very occasion to make some tape recorded interviews with informants and this because of some socio-political and security reasons.

As a matter of fact, one can understand that it has been somehow unfortunate for us not to assist to a natural perfomance of these poems so as to account for some extralinguistic features like facial expressions, body movements, mimicry, etc. We are convinced that if we have had this opportunity, the analysis could have been more vivid than it was.

Well then, even though we cannot assume to have completely tackled this study, we hope that it has been successful and helpful as far as the pragmatic of kirundi speeches is concerned. We are still optimistic that the best is yet to come and we take this opportunity to invite every Burundian to go farther and support our research. We wish that this cherished domestic animal, i.e, the " cow" could not be definitely erased from Burundian's culture which, above all ,stands for our personal identification.

APPENDIX: COLLECTED POEMS.

A. KUBONEKESHA INKA: Poem performed while cows are drinking Water

1. Bona, bona, bona !	1.See, see, see !
2. Gwira gwira!	2.Increase in number ! (x 2)
3. Inka ziragwira ni ba nyamwimanyi	3.Cows do increase in number, they are prolific
4. Gwira gwira sagamba,	4.Be prolific and fill the whole world,
5. Vyara ibikura dukurire Umwami	5.Give birth to heifers to be given to the King
6. Umwansi umwe yapfuye,	6.One of your enemies has died,
7. Uwundi yarinjijwe.	7.Another injured.
8. Gwira vyarira mu gisabo,	8.Grow up, give us calves and butter
9. Umwansi avyarire mu gisangaza.	9.While your enemy is casting.
10. Ukwanka ntakavyare,	10.May anybody who hates you be barren,
11. Niyavyara ntagafume,	11.If ever productive, may he suffer from incurable diarrhoea
12. Niyafuma arakawurya.	12.Once recovered, may he eat his faeces.
13. Bona bona !	13.See see !
14. Vyara nk'igitoke kivyara kitagira umugabo,	14. Be as productive as a banana boat without a husband,
15. Kikavyara urudasiba.	15. But always surrounded by new plants.
16. Ukwanka aragahamba imfura mu mfuruka,	16.May your enemy bury his eldest son in his hut's corner,
17. Ubuheta mu ziko,	17.His second child under the fire place,
18. Nayo umuhererezi mu bwicaro.	18.And his youngest in his sitting-room.
19. Kamagira kamagira !	19.Drink as much water as you can !
20. Ukwanka aragacana injishi yenyegeze igisabo.	20.May your enemy burn his cows' hobbles and push his churn splinters in fire.

B.UKWIYAMIRIZA INKA: Poems performed while cows are either heading for the pastures, trough, or coming back home

1.Yoho yoho yoho !
2. Mwarambujije gusenya n'ukuvoma

3. Mwampagarika mitari za sebirezi.
4. Mwa bahumbira batikorera

5. Mwandisha muyonga mushaka umuvumba
6. Nzobajana mu bigera vya gahombo

7. Bigera umwaka bigahungabana iremba

8. Mwaranjanye kwaka mungarukana kweya
9. Ndaheza nsanga Umwami
10. Yaganuye amahonda i Muramvya.

11. Yoho yoho yoho !
12. Vyuzuzu we vyuzura n'inka,

13. Uratera ico witegereje.

14. Umwungere w'inka asa n'umuyonga

15. Nawe umukamyi asa n'igisabo

16. Inyana y'inka isa n'indoyi
17. Wi wi wi !
18. Boneka boneka !
19. Bonekera amashinga yose nk'ukwezi
20. Sagarara nka Rukiga wa Muganza

21. Terwa impundu yatewe Karyenda

22. Vyara ibikura dukurire Umwami;

23. Vyarire guhweza;
24. Nawe umwansi avyarire guhamba.

1. Yoho yoho yoho !
2. You have prevented me from gleaning fire wood and fetching water.
3. Ô Sebirezi's cows with long horns.
4. Ô you who search for materials without carrying them.
5. Ô you who graze green grass while heading for the savannah.
6. I will take you to the swamps of Gahondo
7. Where once a year, leaves grow greener and greener
8. You have kept me awake till daybreak
9. And when back, I found that the King
10. Has celebrated the sowing feast at Muramvya
11. Yoho yoho yoho !
12. You, Vyuzuzu who loves cows so much,
13. Do throw your spear to what you have carefully observed.
14. The pastor resembles the growing green grass
15. Whereas the milker resembles the churn
16. And the calf resembles the cob
17. Wi wi wi !
18. Be seen ! (x 2)
19. Be seen from all sides as the moon
20. Be as widespread as Rukiga son of Muganza
21. May people applaud you as they did for Karyenda.
22. Give birth to healthy calves to be offered to the King;
23. May all of your calves grow up;
24. While your enemy's children are all dying .

25. Give birth while being at Inankoni's.

25. Vyarira kwa Inankoni.
26. Niho hatagira abansi n'abarozi.

27. Gwira !
28. Inka ziragwira !
29. Vomera mu gisabo;
30. Kitagira umurando;
31. Nawe umwansi;
32. Avomere mu gisangaza;
33. Bigende biramuvira.

26. That is a place devoid of enemies and maleficients.
27. Increase in number !
28. Cows do increase in number !
29. Fetch in the churn;
30. That has never been damaged ;
31. But may your enemy ;
32. Fetch in an uncovered basket ;
33. And water strickles on him.

C. IBICUBA: A category of poems performed with the main purpose of glorifying one's cows or heroically during a cattle breeding feast.

Hm hm hm !
I.1. Erega ngizo zarahembuje Ndahembuka
2. Ba mahembe nk'imigano

3. Ba bizuru nk'imivuba
4. Iyo nka bizuru bizunga urugomero
5. Niyo bitonde bitonyanga umuyonga.

6. Sinzoyibaga nzoyibangurira

7. Nzoyijana mu bigera vya banga,

8. Bibona imvyeyi,
9. Bikarara birahungabana umuyonga.
Yoho hm Eh Eh hm…

II.1. Ngo gira n'ingoga
2. Izindi ziragusize
3. Mu bwashanyanga bwa kivyibusha bwayevye.
4. Mirire akiriri
5. Iyo wiriwe nta rungu.

6. Uwakubonye mu gatondo,
7. Ni kera aragutasha.
8. Iyo nka bishiba bishishikaye kuvumera

Hm hm hm !
I.1. Here they are, the cows that saved me from hunger
2. Cows with long horns as bamboo shoots
3. Cows with nostrils resembling the forging belows
4. That cow with big nostril surrounding the trough
5. A cow that is very good at grazing the green grass.
6. I will not slaughter it, I will bring it a bull
7. I will take it to the watery plateaus of Banga,
8. Which, once thay see a dairy cow,
9. Grow green grass all along the night.

Yoho hm Eh Eh hm …

II.1. Come and be quick
2. Other cows are leaving you behind
3. Where cows can easily forget about their calves because of grass taste.
4. Mirire with a good nose cartilage
5. Where you passed the day is seldom loneliness.
6. whoever saw you in the morning,
7. Greets you in the evening.
8. That cow Bishiba, lowing continuously

9. Nayo abatarufata bashishikaye kurogota.

10. Eka sinzoyibaga nzoyibangurira.
11. Nzoyijana mu Rubirizi I nyamibagwa,
12. Rurara ruraba ihiro ry'imiyonga;

13. Iyindi misozi bakaramba inkonge.
14. Erega ntake ntakambe,
15. Ntakire abakondo ba nkoni,
16. Erega nabo nyene,
17. Bontanga bontakira.

18. Mbe gitare,
19. Senya murongo,
20. Ni uko uryama nk'impogazi,
21. Ukavyuka nk'ubukombe.
Hm hm hm…
Hm hm hm …

III.1. Yoho hm yoho;
2. Ngizo za nsumarwanko,

3. Ngo buce mu gitondo zikarurinda.
4. Erega ngizo zarantumye,

5. Zarantumagije,
6. Zantumyeko amagambure,
7. Ngo akanyana k'inka kashonje
Hm hm hm !

IV. 1. Ngo hano vyuzuzu,
2. Vyuzura n'inka mwana wa Barahwahura,
3. Izo nka mubona ni imburabwenge;
4. Ntizimenya uwashaje n'uwashangaye nkabambura.

Hm hm hm !
V.1. Ese kano kavori vori,
2. Kavoma bagabo,
3. Ko kwa Mivumbi na Minyaga,

4. Haraho;
5. Zajana inkumi,

9. While wordy persons keep on telling lies.

10. I won't slaughter it, I will bring it a bull.
11. I will take it to Rubirizi at Nyamibagwa,
12. Where the green grass grows up all along the night;
13. While other mountains are burning.
14. Let me ask and request,
15. Implore the cows,
16. Themselves in fact,
17. If they were to arrive before me, they could implore for me.
18. Oh, cow with white coat,
19. You who are always ahead of other cows,
20. It's because you sleep as a big cow,
21. To wake up in good health like a bull.
Hm hm hm...
Hm hm hm...

III.1. Yoho hm yoho;
2. Here they are, those able of bringing about hatred,
3. To resist against it on the following day.
4. They have sent me to search for green grass,
5. They have sent me many times,
6.They forcefully sent me messages telling,
7. That the young calf is dying of hunger
Hm hm hm !

IV.1. Come here Vyuzuzu,
2. Barahwahura's son who is in good terms with cows,
3. Those cows are really stupid;
4. They do not realize that their owner is getting older and poorer, may I undress you all.
Hm hm hm !
V.1. Hey, look at this sheer place,
2. Where only men can fetch water,
3. A place belonging to Mivumbi and Minyaga,
4. There was a moment;
5. When the cows took a marriageable lady away,

6. Ngo buce mu gitondo,
7. Bakabeshera imiyaga.
8. Ingo hano ga Nyamugura,
9. Nyamugura wa Bukombe,
10. Ntugure ishashi y'inka kirazira.

11. Erega nivovote,
12. Mugamba ikaremba,

13. Ko mbona ryanka kurenga,
14. Nanje nkanka gutaha,
15. Inka z'abahinga,
16. Zirahinganira kubanza.

17. Inka y'umugabo,
18. N'iyumwana,
19. Ziravugira mu rwimiriro rw'amakombe.

V'.1. Ingo hano Bitambara,
2. Birambuka nk'abagabo,
3. Ngo hano bitavumeza igicuri, igicugu giciye nkabambura.

4. Joho nzogenda kwabitibagira kuvumera,
5. Iyo zirumanga inturire,

6. Zikarungigwa ibitumba;
7. Kwa nyamanza ya Bukiriye.
8. Ngo hano ba Nyamugogo,
9. Nzoheba ngende kwa bitambara Bitambara umunaga,
10. Icibagiwe ni Mukobwa ndagowe.

VI.1. Ngo hano Mudidiye,
2. Mwana wa Baradiganya.
3. Ni uko wazimanye inka ibijumbu,

4. Ngo buce mu gitondo,
5. Ukazizinduza ibihonyi.

6. Ese kano gakecuru Inaruhenda,
7. Niko kazihenze umuyonga,

6. And in the morning of the following day,
7. Maleficient spirit were blamed for that.
8. Come here you Nyamugura,
9. Who wants to buy a big bull,
10. Do not buy a young heifer, it is against costoms.
11. Let the rain rains,
12. So that Mugamba quickly finds a refreshing drink,
13. As the sun refuses to set down,
14. I will also refuse to go back home
15. And the professionals' cows,
16. Are rushing competitively to drink water.
17. The wise man's cow,
18. Together with that of a child,
19. Are grazing in pastures booked for big bulls.

V'.1. Come here Bitambara,
2. Walking as wise men do
3. Come, oh bull that cannot dare covering an unpure bred cow at daybreak, may I undress you all.
4. Iwill go to see the cow that never forget to low,
5. Where their main food is but beer and honey,
6. Mixed with the traditional salt for cows;
7. To Bakiriye's wagtail.
8. Come here wise men with pewters,
9. I will go to Bitambara's, the one who never put on rusty jewels,
10. And who can never be compared to a plaintive lady.

VI.1. Come here Mudidiye,
2. Son of Baradiganya.
3. You who have fed your cows only with sweet potatoes,
4. And in the morning of the following day,
5. You have given them bitter and inedible bananas.
6. Look at this old lady Inaruhenda,
7. Who disappointed cows for not giving them green grass,

8. Ngo buce mu gitondo zikagahenda umuhondo.

Yoho yoho hm hm …

VII.1. Erega impundu y'inka ingana ingoma;
2. Mwaka indaramanga,
3. Ngo hano mwaka indaramanga.

VIII.1. Erega ndakuziririze,
2. Kwa kuzimu kwambaye intama,
3. Yoguhubira wohuma;

4. Nayo yogusoma wohumana.

5. Ni binyo bihejeje ubwicaro,
6. Bitugu bitakwirwa n'umutamana,

7. Bondo ridakwirwa n'isoro.

8. N'ikimenyamenya,
9. Yogucira mu mbibe ,
10. Womenga haciye isezo.
Yoho yoho yoho !

IX.1. Watumiwe ku nkanda,
2. Ngo uze gutona mu bikinga.

3. Ni watona urantonera,

4. Ni wagabana urangabira,
5. Bizingana amazina imbango.

X.1. Riraheza ryanka kurenga,
2. Nanje nanka gusiba,
3. Karya gahinga,
4. Zirahinganira kubanza.

XI.1. Erega iraryama kigatega,
2. Ngo ivyuke kigahongoroka,
3.Yaranyungutse umukamo,

4. Nanje ndayunguka amazina.

8. The morning of the following day, cows disappointed her by refusing her yellow milk (umuhondo).
Yoho yoho hm hm …

VII.1. The cow's tender lowing sounds like drum's noise;
2. Mwaka walking elegantly,
3. Come here mwaka walking elegantly.

VIII.1. I will closely protect you,
2. From that gulf dressed in sheep skin,
3. Were he to drink your milk, you could immediately become blind;
4. Were he to kiss you, you could be defaced.
5. His buttocks fill all the seating place,
6. His shoulders cannot be covered by the loincloth,
7. Stomack that can never be satisfied by butter.
8. As a proof,
9. If he passes in your sowed fields,
10. You would think of a raged bull.
Yoho yoho yoho !

IX1. You have been invited at Nkanda,
2. In order to be favourite at the King's court Bikinga.
3. If you become a favourite do think about me,
4. If you receive cows, do give me one,
5. You whose beauty goes beyond that of empure bred cows.

X.1. The sun has refused to set down,
2. And I refused to stay there,
3. That inhabited place,
4. Where cows are willing to begin grazing.

XI.1. It sleeps and the torrent stops,
2. When it wakes up the torrent runs fast,
3. It has gratified me with abundant milking,
4. While I have gratified it with praise poems.

5. Ndayita bishiba bishishikaye kuvumera	5. I called it Bishiba which continues to low
6. Iraheza iramvyarira Muyuvyi,	6. And it gave birth to Muyuvyi,
7. Urya muyuvyi wa mirire.	7. That Muvyi daughter of Mirire.
8. Ni uko yayubije ubukombe,	8. It's because it has offered itself to a big bull,
9. Igaheza ikamvyarira imbohora.	9. And it has given me a very beautiful heifer.
10.Nca ndayijana ikiragira abagabo,	10. I brought it to the place where only wisemen could look after cows,
11. Nayo abana bananiwe.	11. While their children were unable of that.
12. Iraheza iramvyarira Ngingo,	12. And it gave birth to Ngingo,
13. Niyo Ngingo ya Mirire,	13. Ngingo daughter of Mirire,
14. Iyo mbangirangingo ya Rugira,	14. The one that can give with top discretion pieces of advice, Oh ! God's daughter,
15. Uwubigiriwe n'Imana,	15. For one who benefits favours from God,
16. Agira ngo niwe yavyigiriye.	16. Thinks of the outcome of his efforts.
XII.1. Erega mugutega,	XII.1. The way his horns are raised,
2. Yarateguje,	2. Has been carefully prepared,
3. Igororotse mu mirundi,	3. It is straight on its legs,
4. Yokwinjira ihagaze mu ngoro kwa Perezida. Hm hm hm…	4. It can enter straightfully in the presidential palace. Hm hm hm …
XIII.1. Iraheza iramvyarira impfizi,	XIII.1. And it gave birth to healthy bull,
2. Ndaheza ndayita «bikiza inka uburambu»,	2. That I baptized « bull which protects cows from abortion »,
3. Ariyo bitaha vyongorera,	3. It also enters the enclosure whispering,
4. Bikabwiriza inkiriri kurinda.	4. Obliging by this the young heifers to be covered.
5. Ariyo bitavumeza igicuri, Igicugu giciye nkabambura.	5. It is also a bull that cannot dare to cover a cow at midnight, may I undress you all .
6. Ariyo biteza iry'iburyo,	6. It fights with its right horn,
7. Nayo iry'ibubamfu ryononda.	7. The left one could not win the fight.
8. Kandi ariyo bitavyarira amashashi amashuri.	8. It is also the one which never engender bull calves on young heifers.
XIV.1. Ese rino buye,	XIV.1. Oh, this stone,
2. Rya rwibungu ribona imvubu rikavuma,	2. Rwibungu's stone that once it sees the hyppopotamus, moans ferociouly,
3. Ryabona imvyeyi rikavumera.	3. And once it sees a dairy cow, lows gracefully.
4. Nzoheba ngende,	4. I will end up by going,
5. Bitambara bitambara umunaga.	

6. Iyo nka bitambara,
7. Bitambikije ku bwato,

8. Nayo inyaruguru zikikumira.
9. Eka sinzoyibaga nzoyibangurira,

10. Araheza akayitega indemesha.
11. Erega ngizo ziriko zirarisha ikibuye,
12. Ziseguye Muyama.

XV.1. Mbe we bitera,
2. Uratera ico witegereje,

3. Ntunterere umwungere w'inka,
4. Ugira ngo ni agashitsi,
5. Kahiriye mu muyonga.
Hm hm hm…

XVI.1. Yoho yoho,
2. Yoho nzogenda,
3. Kwa ntibagira kuvumera.

4. Erega ngizo zirarisha Karembera,
5. Zishaka gushoka Mubarazi.

5. Bitambara that never put on rusty jewels .
6. That cow Bitambara,
7. Which spreads her legs around the trough,
8. While cows of impure-bred move aside.
9. No, I will not slaughter it, I will bring it a bull,
10. And he welcomes it with a bull.
11. Here they are grazing at Kibuye,
12. While heading for Muyama.

XV.1. Look you who is ready to shoot,
2. Do attack what you have carefully observed,
3. Do not throw a spear on the herdsman,
4. Do not confuse him to a stump,
5. Which burnt within the grass.
Hm hm hm…

XVI.1. Yoho yoho,
2. Yoho I will go,
3. To that cow which never forget to low smoothly.
4. Here they are grazing on Karembera ,
5. While willing to water themselves at Mubarazi.

D. UKUBONEKESHA INKA (2): From Imigenzo y'Ikirundi

1. Tabaruka ntambe	1. Be prolific and I dance
2. Nta mwansi w'akaryoshe	2. No enemy of tasty thing (milk)
3. Hweza inkwerere	3. Bring up growing heifers
4. Vyara ibikura dukurire Umwami	4. Give birth to healthy heifers that are to be given to the King
5. Sagarara nka Rukiga na Muganza	5. Be a widespread as Rukiga and Muganza
6. Gwira ba nyakugwira.	6. Increase in number and may you be blessed to do so.
7. Sagamba	7. Fill the world
8. Vyara muvyibushe	8. Give birth to fat calves
9. Sabwa amata n'amasaka	9. May you be asked for milk and sorghum
10. Ubuntu busabwa iyo busigaye	10. Honour is asked where it belongs
11. Tabaruka ntambe	11. Be prolific and I dance
12. Terwa imigambi	12. Be the main source of projects
13. Sabwa ico mufise mugitange ba nyagutabaruka	13. May you be asked for what you have and give it willingly
14. Boneka hangara, voma igisabo cuzure	14. Be seen and quiet down, drink as much water as you can
15. Vuza imivuba, amazuru agira inutsi	15. Moo by your nostril, noses are those of « inutsi »
16. Kira vyare ba nyakwibaruka.	16. Give birth without any difficulty.

E.UKUVUMEREZA INKA(1): Performed when a cow is about to be milked

1. Ngo Bigabo Ngo Bigabo bitambuka nk'abagabo Wangarukiye ngeze kure mu mwaka wa nzobigirante !	1. Come Bigabo Come Bigabo walking like men You have saved me when I was totally confused !
2. Ngo Bigeni (Bigeni iti mbaaaa) Ngo bigeni bigera ipfupfu n'impfizi.	2. Come Bigeni (and Bigeni lows like " mbaaa") Come Bigeni matching its wither with that of a bull.
3.Ngo Bitamo, ngo Bitamo Bitamiza amazi inkoro n'umukondo, Mukondo ukubura inama.	3.Come Bitamo, come Bitamo Swallowing water with its chest and navel, Navel that sweeps the court.

4. Ngo Bishaza
Ngo Bishaza bishibuza icarire icakunze
Icakirizo kiri ku ruhimbi.

4. Come Bishaza
Come Bishaza, scattering the litter with the milk pot
While another big pot is on the shelf.

F.KUBONEKESHA INKA (3)

1. Boneka (x 4)
Bonekera amashinga yose nk'ukwezi
Randarara nk'umutanga
Saga sagamba nka Rukiga na Remera.
Hwi ! hwi ! hwi !hwi !

1. Be seen (x 4)
Be seen from all sides as the moon
Be widespread by creeping like "umutanga"
Be as widespread as Rukiga and Remera.
Hwi ! hwi ! hwi ! hwi !

2. Gwira (x 4)
Inka ziragwira gwira tugwize abagenzi
Vyara ibikura dukurire abakunzi
Sagarara tugwize abasavyi
Dusazane amasaka n'amasabo.
Aho !

2. Increase in number (x 4)
Increase so that we get more friends.
Give birth to heifers that will be given to relatives
Be prolific and we get new clients
And we get older with sorghum and many other things to offer.
That's it !

3. Boneka (x 4)
Tabaruka ntambe
Tera imbere nk'umuzinga
Duterere icuzuye.
Hwi ! hwi ! hwi ! hwi !

3. Be seen (x 4)
Be prolific and I dance
Move forward as the bee hive
So that we churn a full milk pot.
Hwi ! hwi !hwi !hwi !

4. Boneka (x 4)
Tabaruka ntambane inkoni n'inkuyo
Umwana atambane inkongoro
Tabaruka harateze uwahagutegeye arakahagwa.

4. Be seen (x 4)
Be prolific and I dance with a stick and cow brush
And my child dances with a milk pot in hand
Be safe, the soil is flat and may whoever has trapped you dies right here right now.

5. Gwira (x 4)
Boneka (x 4)
Kamya ngomere ni meza aritoye,
Boneka (x 4).

5. Increase in number (x 4)
Be seen (x 4)
Empty the trough, water is clean and I
Find you an additional quantity,
Be seen(x4).

G.UKUVUMEREZA INKA (x 2)

I.1. Ngo Mbabazi
2. Z'ukumbabara
3.Rubomboranya mitari

4. Ishamba ryahiye umuyonga.

I.1. Come Mbabazi
2. That cares about me
3. Tapping your horns against each other.
4. While the forest is growing new green grass.

II.5. Ngo Birenzi
6. Irenza urwamo imbango
7. Wa ntamba ya Ntamahinda.

II.5. Come Birenzi
6. Whose voice rises above all those impure bred cows
7. You tern of a careless person.

III.8. Ngo musaya
9. Usa n'isenga
10. Ugasa n'uwakumpaye.

III.8. Come Musaya
9. Resembling the incense
10. And also one who has granted you to me as a gift.

IV.11. Ingo Bwami
12. Bwamiye hafi
13. Bukamuzwa abiri.

IV.11. Come Bwami
12. Carrying tasty fruits at an early age
13. And whose fruits are harvested with two strong arms.

V.14. Ingo Gitare
15. C'amata menshi
16. Nzokubungabunga.

V.14. Come Gitare
15. With abundant milk
16. I will take care of you.

VI.17. Ngo Gicu c'imyezi

18. Weza amamerano
19. Mu kwezi kw'igitarambo.

VI.17. Come Gicu shedding the moonlight
18. Waving horns
19. During the last month of the rainy season.

VII.20. NgoTaba
21. Ritavye mu mukinya
22. Utamagura umwungere
23. Agataha ari intere

24. Nawe ugataha uri interane.

VII.20. Come Taba
21. With a flat back
22. Tiring out the herder
23. To such an extent that he goes back home almost dying (of tiredness)
24. While you are fully sated with grass.

VIII.25. Ngo Bishiba
26. Bishishikaye kuvumera
27. Intarufata zishishikaye kurogota.

VIII.25.Come Bishiba
26.That keeps on lowing softly
27.While wordy people keep on telling lies.

IX28. Ngo ngendo za Birenzi
29. Binyoganyoga binyoye
30. Mu mvura ikivoga.

X.31. Ngo Birimba
32. Urimbanije
33. Uwugukama arakuvumagiza.

XI.34. Ingo Ngoma
35.Narakugomwe
36.Naguhawe n'umugenzi.

XII.37 Ingo Mbunga
38.Ubungira umuyonga
39.Ikinyoma kibungira ikindi.

XIII.40. Ngo Canya
41.Ingo Ruyange
42.Runyagirwa ntirutunde
43.Rwakirwa ntiruturagare.

XIV.44. Ingo Biteremana n'ubukombe
45.Itiro ritwaye inkangara.

XV.46.Ngo Bibandana
47.Ubanda umunyu
48.Amasugi ntahumana.

IX.28. Come Ngendo, heifer of Birenzi
29.Waddling when back from watering place
30. Under the rain at Kivoga.

X.31. Come Birimba
32. Whose height is well proportioned
33.Milking you is pressing rapidly your udders.

XI.34.Come Ngoma
35.I have appreciated you a lot
36.You have been granted to me by my best friend.

XII.37. Come Mbunga
38. Searching for green grass
39. While a lie is searching for another.

XIII.40.Come Canya
41.Come Ruyange
42.That never get wet under a heavy rain
43.That never get dry under an overpowering sun.

XIV.44. Come you who keeps awake with bulls
45.While the sleep is weakening young heifers.

XV.46. Come Bibandana
47.Bent on licking salt
48.To avoid barreness of virgin heifers.

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