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Gendering through songs : an analysis of gender discourse and performativity in selected rundi wedding songs

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UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCIES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

GENDERING THROUGH SONGS: AN ANALYSIS OF GENDER DISCOURSE AND PERFORMATIVITY IN SELECTED RUNDI WEDDING SONGS

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree in "Licence en Langue et Literature Anglaises"

Bujumbura, August 2017

DEDICATION

To the Almighty God,

To my beloved husband and child,

To my parents,

To my brothers and sisters,

I warmly dedicate this work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed to the achievement of this work and they deserve special thanks.

First and foremost, my sincere thanks go to my supervisor Dr. Marie Therèse Toyi for accepting to supervise this work. She accepted to go through many drafts from the beginning to the end.

I am deeply thankful to my beloved husband who supported me financially and morally and also to my child.

My sincere gratitude also goes to my teachers who taught me from primary school to the University.

Last but not least, my thanks go to my friends and classmates for their contribution. May God bless them.

ABSTRACT

This work aims at examining the gender based message conveyed through Rundi wedding songs by showing the influence of what people sing on people. Through Rundi wedding songs, people assign roles to members of the family and this is done basing on gender. This assignment of roles to members of the family basing on gender affects members of the family and society both positively and negatively. We find that women are given more responsibilities than men and these roles are one of the causes for women to live a dependent life. Therefore, Rundi wedding songs as a form of Burundians oral literature help in transmitting Burundians values, norms and beliefs from generation to generation. As our study is a field study where we had to meet people and talk to them, qualitative research method has been used so as to get information from our informants. The study was carried out based on the assumption that Rundi wedding songs are gender based and reflect Burundians culture. This study therefore assumes that the gender discourse and performativity in Rundi wedding songs teach people about marital life. Furthermore, through wedding songs, people assign roles to both wife and husband basing on gender.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii
ABSTRACT iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS iv
GENERAL INTRODUCTION 1
Background to the Study 1
Statement of the Problem 2
Motivation 2
Research Questions 3
Aim of the Study 3
Hypothesis 3
Scope and Delimitation 4
Significance of the Study 4
Literature of Review 4
Methodology 7
Sampling Techniques 7
Data Collection Techniques 7
Data Collection and Interpretation 8
Definition of Key Words 14
Structure of the Work 16
CHAPTER ONE :MARRIAGE AND GENDER SOCIALIZATION IN BURUNDI 18
1. Introduction 18
2. Marriage Procedure 18
CHAPTER TWO :MARRIAGE AND MALE ROLE IN BURUNDI 30
CHAPTER THREE :MARRIAGE AND FEMALE ROLE IN BURUNDI 43
GENERAL CONCLUSION 58
WORKS CITED 61
APPENDICES 63

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Literature, whether written or oral, is a mirror of the society that produces it. Literature is created in a given society where the author tries to criticize or to satirize people from the society concerned. Literature reflects people's life, their beliefs, their behavior, their relationship, etc. In any work of literature, the form and content play an important role in the understanding of the message of that work. In this perspective, it is up to the author to choose the style to be used in her/his work so that her/his message can be well understood by the audience or the readers.

Each country has its own culture though there may be some similarities between cultures of different countries. It helps people to live in harmony. It also teaches members of the society the norms and values of the society from generation to generation. In culture, we find marriage institution and it is in all societies of the world though there may be some differences on how it is celebrated.

Marriage as an institution is much respected in Burundian culture. It consists of the union between two people of different sex. In Burundian culture, marriage is a very important stage of life whereby a young man unites with a young woman and live together. Traditionally, marriage takes a long process and parents are the one who play an important role in it. In Burundi tradition, a young man who is at the age of getting married is not the one who chooses the girl to marry. Instead, this is done by his parents and some other elder members of the family. It was the duty of the father to find a wife for his son. Today, it is still a common practice for the parents of the young man to meet with the bride's parents to agree with on the issue of the dowry. The dowry is paid by the groom's family to the bride's family. Traditionally, the dowry consists of cattle, goats, hoes, etc, but today it includes money and furniture. For a boy or a girl to be loved and chosen as one's wife or husband, there are some qualities that people look at. Some of those qualities are working hard, good behavior, etc.

According to my informant, children from their young age are given different works to do in their families. Those works were distributed to them according to their gender whereby works given to girls were cooking, cleaning, farming, take care of children, etc while for boys, their works were hunting, involving in political matters, etc. This was taken into account when it was time to choose a wife or a husband. This kind of gender differences in distributing works to children from their young

age goes on until adult age as Burundians believe that there are works which are for men and others for women.
During wedding ceremony, women and girls sing different songs. When one listens carefully to those songs, one realizes that their message is gender based. While singing and dancing, singers express the qualities of a good husband as well as those of a good wife. They express the responsibilities of a husband and those of a wife in their marital life and one realizes that those responsibilities are not the same.

From what we have seen in the above explanation, we understand that gender issues began a long time ago and its practice may be believed to be as old as the existence of human beings. They remain among the most debated issues throughout the world today and this is what we are going to focus on in this study.

Statement of the Problem

In any society, there are some elements of culture which can oppress some people or a group of people because of the roles and obligations that culture assigns to them and the lifestyle that the culture wants these people to live. When we analyze Burundian songs especially wedding songs, we realize that singers do not consider men and women in the same way in terms of roles that they have in families and society. Gender issues are expressed in these songs whereby we see that women are given many roles and responsibilities than men. This affect women socially and economically and led them to a dependent life. We have to know that in wedding songs, singers give much power to men than women which sometime cause men to oppress women and deprive them some of their rights. This work therefore sets out the effects of gender on both men and women in families in particular and society in general.

Motivation

When we listen to Rundi songs in general and to wedding songs in particular, we understand that these songs are very rich in norms and moral values of Burundian culture. During wedding ceremony, songs that are sung contain a strong message given to the wife and husband who begin a new life. If we try to analyze this message, we understand that a wife and a husband have different roles in their family. Through these songs, singers show how a wife will be treated by her husband and other members of her husband's family. They also show how a wife will have to treat her husband and other members of his family. Due to this message contained in wedding songs, I have been interested in undertaking a research on these songs which show gender differences in order to make people aware of how they can live

together in their gender differences. Moreover, I was interested in undertaking a research on these wedding songs in order to see what can be preserved as elements of Burundian culture so as to avoid acculturation and what can be changed so as to go with today's lifestyle as some of those elements are no longer of a great importance today.

Research Questions

1. What are some of the causes for Burundians to express gender issues in wedding songs?
2. How does the message given in wedding songs affect the relationship between family members and society?
3. How should nuptial songs be refashioned to convey gender equality?

Aim of the Study

This study aims at demonstrating how wedding songs are gender based and reveal some realities of Burundian culture. We are going to examin the impact that these songs have on people. We are also going to examine how through these songs people assign roles to wife and husband as they believe that there are roles which are only for men and those which are only for women. It also aims at pointing out the sense and importance given to gender when assigning roles to people and see how this can affect both positively and negatively life in families and society. It also aims at pointing out some of the gender beliefs that we can maintain and those that we can change or avoid.

Hypothesis

This work evolves on the hypothetical contention that Rundi wedding songs convey gender discriminatory messages and reflect Burundians culture. This study therefore assumes that the gender discourse and performativity in Rundi wedding songs teach people about marital life. Furthermore, through wedding songs, people assign roles to both wife and husband basing on gender.

Scope and Delimitation

In order to deal effectively and efficiently with this study, we are going to make it precise and narrow it downy so as to avoid vagueness. As we know, there are many Rundi songs that are sung during wedding ceremonies. As a matter of facts, our study did not deal with all Rundi wedding songs, but selected songs related to gender as the study is concerned. Also, this study was not conducted on the whole territory of Burundi, but in selected provinces which are Cankuzo, Makamba, Gitega, Ngozi and Bubanza so as to represent all Burundi regions.

Significance of the Study

When one does research, there are some profits that he/she wants people to benefit from his/her work, the same is with our study. This study is very important for Burundians first as it deals with some of the elements of Burundian culture. It is also important for non Burundians who are interested in Burundian culture. This study will help Burundians both married and unmarried to know how to live together in harmony regardless their gender differences.

Literature of Review

By doing our research, we considered what other researchers have done on oral literature in general and on Rundi wedding songs in particular and we also considered any other related literature which provided us with different ideas for a better understanding of Rundi wedding songs. Concerning the wedding songs that we are dealing with, we should know that Burundian wedding songs as a part of Burundian oral literature are as old as Burundian forefathers themselves. Therefore, many researchers have dealt with Rundi wedding songs and we are going to deal with some of them.

Félicien, Harerimana. "Socio-cultural Prerequisites for Understanding Proverbs Related to the Concept of Family" studies Kirundi proverbs linked to members of the family, that is, the father, the mother together with the children, their relationship in the household, their responsibilities, strength and weaknesses in Burundian cultural context.

Jacqueline, Segahungu. "L'échec de Mariage: une analyse du sort tragique à traver *Une si Longue Lettre de Mariama Bâ"* highlights and treats themes related to the tragic fate of an African woman, the theme of marriage being central in her analysis.

She goes on clearing themes linked to social issues such as polygamy, the failure of a woman in marital life, the condition of a wife, her social being, religion, etc.

Kururu has dealt with sixty-four Rundi songs. These songs are epithalamium and she classifies them according to the message that they convey and the corresponding moment since the wedding procession begins from the bride's home to the groom's home. While analyzing these songs translated in French, Kururu provides the meanings of difficult words and expressions of each text. She also explains the texts in few words, that is, the titles and some key words in order to help the readers understand the texts easily. In addition to the meaning of these wedding songs, their structure and form are provided by this researcher.

Floride, Ndayishimiye in *"Gender Politics and Aesthetic of Rundi Proverbs"* puts to light Burundian patriarchal society and its political system in which Burundian women are not concerned for their major task is in the home and farm. She concludes by saying that some Burundian proverbs which demean the female nature should be abolished so as to help the Burundians to get out of the yoke of patriarchy.

Jérome, Niyonzima. In his work *"Kazinduzi Y'amajambo Y'ikirundi Yerekeye Ubugeni"*, he makes a survey of several Kirundi words related to marriage celebration and practices. Some of these words are the following: ubugeni (wedding), (umuigeni) the bide, (umukwe) the bridegroom, (gukwa) to pay the dowry, (kwahukana) to divorce, to name but a few. He analyzes those words in their poly-semantic view by studying their various meaning in Burundian cultural contexts. He finds out that these words have different meanings depending on the context in which they are used. So, in order to know the real meaning of these words, one has to see the context in which they are used and also relate them to Burundian culture.

Eliane, Nkunzimana in "A Socio-cultural Analysis o Some Kirundi Songs Related to the Bridegroom's Richness in Burundi" deals with the pointing out of the sense and the importance given to the wealth of a Burundian bridegroom. She demonstrated that Rund wedding songs contain a message which reveal some realities of Burundian culture. In her work, she highlights how songs are very importante, that is, they are one of the means of conveying to people the message of maintaining the Burundian culture. They are also the means of educating people in terms of social life since the more people sing, the more they remember the realities constituting their tradition.

Eugenie, Katihabwa. *"A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Gender Differences Reflected in Linguistic Differences: Case of Kirundi"*. In this work, she shows how Kirundi language usage treats women and men differently as it is reflected in words and expressions used to describe them. He also tries to show the possible causes to such differences due to gender. Laetitia, Gatimantangere in *"The Image of Women in Kirundi Proverbs"* intends to identify the qualities and flaws of women as depicted in proverbs. Through some selected proverbs, she clarifies the side where women are considered as perfect and where they are considered as having failed.

Désiré, Niyungeko in *"A Pragmatic Analysis of the Selected Kirundi Songs Used by the Dancing Sociocultural Clubs: case of Umuhanga Dance Club"* tried to show that Kirundi songs have a special and indirect language of delivering a message. He works out the pragmatic interpretation of the selected Kirundi songs in order to illustrate that they are culturally meaningful. He goes on checking whether or not the interpretation of utterances such as directive and expressive contained in the song varies according to the context. He also checks whether or not the songs have interesting results on the Burundian society while they vehicle various message.

Esperance, Kwizera in *"Nuptial Songs as a Form of Social Control: Case of Bututsi, Mugamba and Kirimiro Natural Regions"* analyses Burundians nuptial songs, behavioral and living patterns in the guise of affecting positive change. She examines the image of the Burundian woman as reflected in the songs and shows how the songs help to educate and warn young ladies about the duties to fulfill in marital life. She shows how nuptial songs in Burundi portray the beauty of the institution of marriage while at the same time satirizing the wanton attitude of those who are married.

Our work differs from the above mentioned works in that it sets out to work on *"Gendering through Songs: An Analysis of Gender Discourse and Performativity in Selected Rundi Wedding Songs"* and demonstrates that these songs contain a message which reveals some realities of Burundian culture. As a matter of fact, this work analyses the message conveyed in Burundian wedding songs which raises gender issues where we see that in these songs, there is assignment of roles to members of the family basing on gender. We are going to see that there are some roles which are believed to be for men and some other roles which are believed to be for women. This work shows how these gender base differences may affect positively or negatively life in families.

Methodology

When doing any research it is very important to choose the methodology to be used so as to get enough information or data. The choice of the methodology to be used depends upon the study that you want to conduct. As the work under study deals with wedding songs related to gender issues in Burundi, it is a field work whereby we met different people on the field who gave us the information that we needed. We participated in different wedding ceremonies so as to listen and record the songs that they sing and see the way they are performed. As this work is a field work where we need to meet different people from different regions of our country and talk to them, we decided to use the qualitative research method.

Sampling Techniques

In social research method that we are using in this study, sampling is the process of selecting units (for example, people, organizations) from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize our results back to the population from which they were chosen. As our study is conducted in five provinces, we could not meet all population from those five provinces. Instead, we selected few people from each province. To select the sample population for our analysis, different criteria were taken into consideration. Those criteria were: to be Burundian, to have an age of 20 and more so as to get information from people of different categories of age, to be able to speak Kirundi as the interview was in Kirundi.

Data Collection Techniques

As we have used qualitative method in this study, we have collected data by direct interaction with the individuals that were involved in our research. As qualitative research data collection method is time consuming, data were collected from a small sample of people and provinces since we could not interact with all people from all the provinces of Burundi, as we have already mentioned it. The main method that we used in collecting data is individual interviews and observation. The interview was conducted in person. During the interview, open questions were asked to our informants in order to give them time to express themselves. In this research, we also gathered materials from books and other sources. We also recorded songs in different wedding ceremonies. The interview was in Kirundi as it is my native language and also the native language of my informants. After collecting data, what followed was the translation of data from Kirundi to English. This translation was not easy because these two languages are of different origins and refer to different

cultures. Thus, it was not easy to translate songs and other data from Kirundi to English as the two languages belong to two different language families, that is, Bantu family language for Kirundi and Indo-European family language for English.

Data Collection and Interpretation

As it is previously mentioned, this work under study is a field work where we met people and made an interview with them so as to get the information that we need in order to reach our goals. The following are people I met and the information that they gave me:

Muco Sophia is a woman of 63years that we met in a wedding ceremony in Cankuzo province. Concerning why Burundians express gender issues in wedding songs, she answered that (erega ni nk'akaryo ko kwigisha abantu ingene bakwiye kubana mu rugo umwe wese akamenya ivyo ajejwe) to mean that it is an occasion of teaching people how they can live together in their families while each one knows his/her responsibilities. Concerning how gender issues expressed in wedding songs help people about the relationship between family members and society, she said that (bituma mwubahana kandi umwe wese amenya amabanga ajejwe mu rugo ndetse umwe wese akamenya ivyo arekuriwe gukora ni'vyo atarekuriwe) to mean that it helps members of family to respect one another, to know each one's responsibilities and also what is allowed to do and what is not allowed. Concerning the solutions to avoid problems in families resulted from gender differences, she said that (biragoye kuko nivyo kuva kera. Vyamye gutyo nyene umuntu rero araheza akabimenyera akabibamwo ukwonyene) to mean that it is not easy. It started from long time ago. One has to be used to such a life and accept to live in such conditions.

Minani Claudette is another woman of 37 years that we met in the ceremony. Concerning the question to know what push Burundians to express gender issues in wedding songs, she answered that (baba bashaka nyene batwereke ko abagore tuzoguma tuganzwa) to mean that it is to show women that they will remain under the power and authority of men. Concerning what we can do to stop family conflicts resulted from gender differences, she said that (ahubwo nimudufashe mudushikire imbere mutuvugire abagore turafashwe nabi n'abagabo bacu) which means that help us to reach our lamentations to people concerned because we are mistreated by our husbands. Concerning what this help about relationship between members of families, she said that (bifasha abagabo kwiberaho neza nayo abagore ntaco bidufasha) to mean that it helps men to live better life but nothing it helps women.

Ncuti Yvan is a 60 years old man that I interviewed. I met him with his friend Niyonkuru Deo herding their cattle. Concerning the reasons why Burundians express gender issues in wedding songs, He says that (ni kugirango abagore bamenye ko bategerezwa guca bugufi imbere yabagabo babo) to mean that it is to let women know that they must be submissive to their husbands. Concerning what this help in family members' relationship, he said that (kubavyumva birabafasha kubana neza) to mean that for those who follow the instructions in wedding songs, it helps them to live in harmony in their families. For what can be done to bring stability in families, he said that (abagore nukwemera bagaca bugufi bakamenyako abagabo tubasumba naho bashatseko tungana aho ingorane zizokwamaho) to mean that women have to accept to submit to men and accept that men are superior to them otherwise if they want to be equal to men, problems will not end.

Another informant that I interviewed is Niyonkuru Deo a man of 30 years old. He was herding cows. He did not say much about my questions but he was for the answers given by Ncuti and he added that (mu migenzo y'ikirundi umugabo ni umutwe w'urugo umugore nawe ni inarugo. Mu gihe rero umwe wese yogumana ico kibanza vyotuma haba amahoro mu miryango) to mean that Burundian culture accepts a man as head of the family and a wife as the caretaker of the household. So, to maintain these positions is very helpful in maintaining peace in families.

After this, I interviewed Irishura Clement and Toyi Bella. Irishura is 40 years old and Toyi 38 years old. Concerning the reason why Burundians express gender issues in wedding songs, Irishura said that (nibwo buryo bakoresha mukwigisha abantu kubijanye n'ubuzima bwo mu rugo) which means that it is their way of teaching people about marital life. Concerning what can be done to stop family conflicts based on gender, he said that (abubakanye bakwiye gufashanya muri vyose kandi birashoboka) to mean that a husband and a wife should help each other in everything they do and they are able to do so. When I asked this question to TOYI, she said that (ndashima ukuntu dufashanya n'umugabo mu bikogwa vy'urugo) which means that she appreciates the way they help each other with her husband in doing family works. Concerning the question of what can be done to avoid family conflicts resulted from gender, her answer was (abantu bakwiye kubanda nya bigishwa ibijanye n'ubuzima bwo mu rugo) to mean that people should continue being taught about marital life.

Kariwabo Longin is a university student and he is 27 years old. He lives with his parents and his young brother and sisters. For this young man, gender issues expressed in wedding songs do not have an important role in today's life in families.

He said (birya biherera mu mvyino nyene. Ubu ibintu vyarahindutse ntakulimita umuntu muvyo akora abonako yokora bikamuteza imbere haba ku bagabo canke ku bagore).which means that those are just songs. Life has changed and there should be no limits in which activities a person has to do. For him, wedding songs do not help much in bringing good relationship between family members as we see that people still fight in their families.

Rukundo Pauline is a young woman of 22 years old. She is also a university student. Concerning how helpful are gender issues expressed in wedding songs in the relationship between family members and society, she said that (ivyonyene nivyo abagabo bitwaza mu gucinyiza abagore babo mu rugo) to mean that men use this message to oppress their wives in their families. Concerning what can be done to avoid conflicts in families resulted from gender differences, she said that there should be some changes so as to copy with today's lifestyle. For why Burundians express gender issues in wedding songs, she said that (babivuga kugirango nyene umuntu amenyeko ategerezwa kubaho murubwo buzima) to mean that it is to let people know the reality of life and accept to live such a life.

Nizigama Valerie and Manirakiza Diane are two women we met at Makamba province selling tomatoes. We introduced one another and accepted an interview with me. Concerning the gender issues expressed in wedding songs, she said that (erega ivyobavuga munvino ubu vyishi ntibigikurikizwa bivanye n'ingene ubuzima bugoye) to mean that people do not follow all what is said in wedding songs because life is so hard today. About what can be done to stop conflicts in families based on gender differences, she said that (jewe mbona hoza haraba inyigisho ku bantu bubakanye bakamenya ingene bakwiye kubana neza), to mean that married people should be taught how to live together peacefully.

For Manirakiza, she is a widow who has experienced hard life since her husband passed away. For her, gender issues expressed in wedding songs are to help people know how they are going to live in their families and the responsibilities that they have as she said that (birigisha umuntu ingene agiye kubaho mu rugo n'amabanga ajejwe). Concerning what those songs help in relationship between family members, she said that (iyo mutabaye ibigaba birafasha kweri mukabana mwumvikana) to mean that it brings cooperation between family members if they are flexible. For her, only love between a wife and a husband can end family conflicts resulted from gender differences.

Sibimana Martin is a man who is 45 years old. For this man, what they say in wedding songs is to help people to build their families. He said that (erega imiryango yubakiye ku mico y'ikirundi nayo bayivuga muri izo mvyino z'ubugeni) to mean that families are built on Burundi norms expressed in wedding songs. Concerning what can be done so as to avoid conflicts based on gender in families, he said that (umaze kumenya ico uri mu rugo ntangorane bitera, jewe ngumanziko ndi umutwe w'urugo umugore nawe akamenya kwari umugore hama rero tugakorera hamwe kuneza yumuryango) to mean that when you know what you are in your family there are no conflicts.

Bizimana Grace is one of ten women I met at Gitega working together in a farm. She is 40 years old. Concerning why Burundians express gender issues in wedding songs, she said that (baba bashaka abantu bubake bazi ingene ubuzima bw'urugo bumeze) to mean that they do so to make people aware of marital life when they want to marry. Concerning the relationship in families, she said that (bituma nyene tubaho tuziko umugore aruwo kwirigwa ararima nokuraba abana), which means that the massage of those songs makes us to live while being aware that we have to work hard farming activities the whole day and looking after children. Concerning what can be done, she said that (jewe ntakindi mbona atari ukugarukira agateka kacu) to mean that I do not see anything else rather than respecting our rights.

Manirambona Prisca is a woman of 25 years old. She said that (none ko twebwe tutize twogira gute? Abagore bize nibo bahiriwe nayo twebwe nukwirigwa kw'isuka nyene ntakindi) to mean that as we are not educated nothing else we can do rather than farming. For her, lucky are educated women. Concerning what can be done to avoid family conflicts resulted from gender differences, she said that (nibatureke natwe tuze turarondera amahera dushobore kuza turigurira ivyo dukeneye kuko kubaho witezeko ikintu ukironka ukiguriwe n'uwundi biragoye) which means that they should let us do business to get money for our needs because it is not easy to live while depending everything on someone else.

Nimbona Belyse is another woman of 55 years old. For this woman, Rundi wedding songs have a very important role in building families. For her, gender issues said in wedding songs are of a great importance. For her, what is problem is people who interpret it in the way that they want. The message itself is not bad. She said that (imvyino zirahanura nta kabi kazo. Ingorane ziri ku bantu baca baziha insiguro zitarizo kugirango biyorohereze mu gucinyiza abandi). She suggested that in order to avoid family conflicts, a husband should love her wife and the wife should respect her husband.

After the interview with these women, I met an aged man Ruviwabo Didace of 59yaers. For him, gender issues expressed in wedding songs are of a great importance in Burundian culture. He said that most of the problems that people have in their families result from civilization that Burundians undergo. For him, women have lost their identity. They want to be like western women. They want to be equal to men while it is not possible. Concerning what can be done to avoid family conflicts resulted from gender differences, he said that (umugoabo nagume ari umutw w'umugore kandi asumba umugore nkuko vyamye kuva kera narindi murabeko haringorane bitera) to mean that let men remain head of family and superior to woman as it was from the beginning and see if there will be any problem. Ciza Pie is a young man of 22 years who have not yet married. Concerning the question to know why Burundians express gender issues in wedding songs, he said that (nibazako babigira kugirango bigishe abantu ingene bakwiye kubana mu miryango yabo), to mean that I think that they do so in order to teach people how to live together in their families. Concerning their contribution on the relationship between family members, he said that (kubabikurikije birafasha kubana neza gusa biragoye harimwo ivyo usanga bigoye gukurikiza) which means that it is helpful in living together in peace for those who follow that advice but there are some norms which are not easy to accept. Concerning what can be done to eradicate family conflicts resulted from gender differences, he said that (nibazako igikuru hobaho ukwubahana mu rugo) to mean that I suggest that members of the family should respect one another.

Ndayizeye Zephilin is a man I met at Kinama in Bujumbura. Concerning the question of why Burundians express gender issues in wedding songs, he said that (babigira kugirango abagore bumve ko bataje kwiganza mu rugo ahubwo ko bakwiye kwicisha bugufi imbere y'abagabo babo), to mean that it is to let women know that when they are married, they have to be submissive and humble in the presence of their husbands. Concerning what can be done to avoid family conflict based on gender differences he said that (abagore nukubasubirako bakamenya ko bari musi y'abagabo hama bakabubaha ntakindi) which means that women should be reminded that they are inferior to men and that they have to respect their husbands and be humble nothing else. Concerning what these songs help in family members relationship, he said that (vyafasha kera hataraza ibi vyuko abagore bashaka kungana n'abagabo) to mean that this was helpful in former time before the coming of the ideas that women are equal to men.

Citegetse Therance is a man of 36 years old. For him, Burundians express gender issues in wedding songs so as to warn people on how they can live together in families and society. Concerning what can be done to stop family conflicts based on gender differences, he said that (ubu biragoye kubera abarundi basa nabariko barahindura imico yabo gusa inyigisho zobandanya gutangwa vyofasha) to mean that it is not easy today because Burundians are changing theirculture. But, it will be helpful if people continue to be taught about it.

Simbizi Ingride is a woman of 32 years old. Concerning the causes for Burundians to express gender issues in wedding songs, she said that (babivuga kugirango bifashe abubakanye kubera nivyo shingiro ry'urugo) to mean that they do so as to help married people as it is foundation on which families are built. Concerning what it helps about the relationship between family and society members, she said that (jewe mbona ataco bihindura kinini kubera ntikibuza ko bishika mukabana nabi n'umugabo ngo nuko mu mvyino babibuza), to mean that for me, I see that it is not so helpful because you can be in bad relationship with your husband or wife even if they say it in those songs. Concerning what can be done to avoid those conflicts, she said that (biragoye mugenzi ku bagabo b'ubu) to mean that it is difficult for men of today, my friend.

By analyzing the above data, we deduce that Burundians still believe that wedding songs are helpful in bringing order in families and also in maintaining Burundian culture. But, they say that there are some gender issues expressed in those songs which are no longer useful in today's life and they need to be changed. Women need something to be done so as to get their rights which can change their lives which are very hard for some women especially those who are not educated. Some people have forgotten their responsibilities in their families especially some men who give many responsibilities to their wives while for them they spend most of their time drinking alcohol with their friends. Some men claim that emancipation of women is one of the sources of today's family conflicts as they say that some women have lost the values of Burundian women in a way that they want to be equal to men something that cannot be possible according to some men.

In our analysis, we also deduced that people from the provinces we selected do not have the same views on how women should be treated and the works that they should do in their families. For example, for people from Makamba, wives are not to stay at home, instead, they have to do small business or other activities in order to help their husbands to get the needs of their families. This is not the same case with people from Gitega who say that wives are to work farming activities as much time

as they can and also look after children. People from Bubanza emphasize on remarrying to other wives whenever the first wife misbehaves. They say that to bring a co-wife to the first wife is a kind of punishment or warning to the first wife so that she can change her bad behavior. In all provinces in which we conducted our study, people agree that wedding songs play an important role in shaping people in families and in societies.

Definition of Key Words

In order to make a good understanding of this work under study which is Gendering through Songs: An Analysis of Gender Discourse and Performativity in Selected Rundi Wedding Songs, we are going to define key words found in the above mentioned topic. These are: gender, gendering, song, wedding, gender discourse and performativity.

1. In his *Gender ond Biodiversity*, Aguilar, L. defines 'gender' as refers to the social roles that men and women play and the power relations between them, which usually have a profound effect on the use and management of natural resources. Gender is not based on sex, or the biological differences between men and women. Gender is shaped by culture, social relations, and natural environment. Thus, depending on values, norms customs and laws men and women in different parts of the world have evolved different gender roles. (16/12/017)

   The UNESCO's *Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework* defines 'gender' as refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in our families, our societies and our cultures. The concept of gender also includes the expectations held about the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviours of both women and men (feminity and masculinity).Gender roles and expectations are learned. They can change over time and they vary within and between cultures. We are going to consider the definition of gender by Aguilar as the working definition. (January 2, 2018).

2. The English Oxford Living Dictionaries define the term 'gendering' as the assigning or attributing of a gender to someone or something; division, classification, or differenciation according to gender.

3. **Song**: This term is defined by the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* as a short piece of music with words that you sing or music for singing. As our

study focuses much on songs, this word plays an important role and it can be said to be as a tool which helps to transmit cultural values of a given society from generation to generation.

In the Review of Allan Moore, *Songs Means*: *Analysing and Interpreting Recorded Popular Song* (Ashgate, 2012), Christopher Endrinal says that the explicit definition of 'song' and its differentiation from performance and track is one of the book's key theoretical takeaways. Based on Moore's criteria, 'song' takes on a much broader meaning: it becomes a general conceptual framework of musical ideas involving a singer and lyrics instead of merely a specific collection of notes and words in a particular context. He goes on saying that this definition of song generalizes it by taking out considerations of performer, genre, and style. This provides a less specific analytical starting point, which thereby affords the listener a better opportunity to focus on process of listening instead of only the eventual interpretive outcome. This is the working definition in this work.

4. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* defines the word *wedding* as the action of marrying; marriage, espousal. It is the performance of the marriage rite, the ceremony of a marriage with its attendant festivities.The *Wikipedia* defines 'wedding' as a ceremony where two people or a couple are united in marriage. It goes on saying that wedding traditions and customs vary greatly between cultures, ethnic groups, religions, countries, and social classes. Here, the working definition is that of the *Wikipedia* as it relates to this study.

5. In his Study of Discourse, Teun A. Van Dijk says that the term *discourse* may be defined in different ways and its meaning will vary according to the context where it is used.Van Dijk (1997) mentions that discourse is usually identified as a form of spoken language, what is said in public speeches for example, or it could also refer to the ideas of certain schools of thoughts, for instance the discourse of contemporary philosophies. However, Van Dijk (1989) comments that for discourse studies, the term discourse is understood as a particular form of language use, as well as a form of social interaction that can be defined as a communicative event in a social situation.

In *Semantics and Discourse Analysis*: the Wikipedia says that *discourse* is a conceptual generalization of conversation within each modality and context of communication. It is the totality of codified language used in a given field of intellectual enquirs ond of social practice, such as legal discourse, medical

discourse, religious discourse, etc. Here, the working definition is the one given by Teun A. Van Dijk as it is related to this work.

6. In her *Performativity, Precarity and Sexual Politics*, Judith Butler looks at performativity as a process that implies being acted on in ways we do not always fully understand, and of acting, in politically consequential ways. She adds that performativity has everything to do with "who" can become produced as a recognizable subject, a subject who is living, whose life is worth sheltering and whose life, when lost, would be worthy of mourning.

   In the *Performativity of Networks,* Kieran Healy contends that MacKenzie [2006, 18-19] distinguishes three kinds of performativity: "generic," "effective" and "Barnesian" (together with the latter's negative complement, "counterperformativity"). Generic performativity means the active use of some bit of theory not just by economists but also by economic agents, policy makers and the like. Effective performativity requires that the use of theory not just be window-dressing: it must "make a difference" in practice. Barnesian performativity [named for Barnes 1983, 1988] requires that the use of economics actively alters processes "in ways that bear on their conformity to the aspect of economics in question." That is, the model or theory must bring participants into line with its picture. We choose the definition given by Butler as the working definition.

Structure of the Work

This work under study is made up of a General Introduction, three main chapters and a General Conclusion. The General Introduction as a theoretical structure of the work includes the background to the study in which we find the geographical features, the hypothesis of this study, as well as the aim of the study. It also embodies the scope and delimitation of the study, the statement of the problem, the literature review, the structure of the work, definition of key words and the methodology.

Chapter one is entitled Marriage and Gender Socialization in Burundi. This chapter treats the issues related to gender in relation with marriage institution in Burundi. In other words, this chapter studies how marriage is celebrated in Burundi and what are the expectations and attitudes associated with one's sex.

Chapter two is entitled Marriage and Male Role in Burundi. In this chapter, we examine through wedding songs different roles assigned to husband in marital life in order to bring up his family. We also examine how these roles can affect in one way or another life of members of the family.

The chapter three is entitled Marriage and Female Role in Burundi. This chapter accounts for the duties and responsibilities of a wife in her marital life. It focuses on the message embedded in wedding songs on what a wife should do and how she should behave in her family. It also examines how these roles and duties affect members of family.

The General Conclusion recapitulates the main issues that are raised in the body of this work under study, a summary of findings and recommendations for further researches on oral literature in Burundi in general and on gendering through Burundian wedding songs in particular.

CHAPTER ONE

MARRIAGE AND GENDER SOCIALIZATION IN BURUNDI

1. Introduction

This chapter is going to examin different steps that Burundians follow when they celebrate marriage. It is also going to demonstrate the place that marriage institution has in Burundi society and how people are prepared for that institution from their young age. It is also going to demonstrate how traditional education was gender based.

2. Marriage Procedure

In all societies of the world, there is marriage institution although there may be some differences in the way it is organised. These differences result from the level of civilization of a given society or from the culture. In any society in order to be stable, there are some regulations which guide members of that society. These regulations help people who share the same culture to live in harmony, respect each other, as well as the values and norms of that society. In Africa, marriage institution is respected. In most cases, marriage is conducted between two individuals of different sexes although there may be same exceptions in some countries where they accept marriage between two individuals of the same sex.

In Burundi, marriage institution is as old as Burundians themselves. From long time ago till now, Burundi laws accept marriage between two people of different sex, that is, between male and female. In order to marry or to be married, the Burundi law says that a girl should have at least eighteen years and twenty one years for a boy although there may be some people who marry or get married before that age. In traditional Burundi, marriage takes a long process. What we have to know is that in traditional Burundi, the choice of a wife or a husband to marry is not done by individuals but by families. Both boys and girls from their young age are trained to the life in marriage where by a girl is taught to clean the house, to prepare food, to take care of children, farming activities, not to speak loudly, etc. This can be supported by Jean Baptiste NTAHOKAJA in his book *Imigenzo y' Ikirundi* (Burundi costoms) where he says:

> "Umwigeme kuva akivyiruka batangura kumwigisha utwomunzu twose akamawi ingene ivyo mu rugo bikorwa kugirango niyubaka ntawe ayoberwe ingene zubakwa" (25).

> Which means that "at a young age, parents start to teach their daughter all home activities in order to let her be aware of how home works are done so that she may not fail in her marriage when she gets married".

For boys, they were taught to hunt, to mow, political matters and things that demand the use of much energy. These works that they are taught are almost the same works that they have in their marital life and people consider those works as the qualities when choosing a wife or a husband.

A groom and a bride should be mature and well educated because once they marry one another, they have a big task to bring up children that they will get in a good way according to norms of the society so as to protect children and avoid them to become immoral. This is clearly said by Anshen Nanda Ruth when she writes:

> The failure of society is reflected in the failure of parenthood, for it is within the family that the seeds of anxiety, fear and delinquency are sown,... parents bestow upon their children material goods but not spiritual and moral certainty, a heritage of the importance for dignity, pleasure for joy, accumulation of facts for knowledge... (16).

From Anshen's view, we deduce that parents should be a good model to their children so as to lead them to their development. Traditionally, when it is time for a young man to marry, the choice of a girl to marry is not his work. This can be supported by Ntahokaja in his work Imigenwo y'Ikirundi (Burundu customs) where he says: "Haresha se w'umuhungu. Yashima umugeni agashima n'itunga" (26}. Which means the father is the one who finds his son's wife. He appreciates the bride and her family wealth".

The same is for a girl, she does not marry a man of her choice instead, this is the duty of parents of the boy and those of the girl. The choice of a husband for one's daughter was not done accidentally. Different criteria were taken into consideration. Some of those criteria were: the clan in which he belongs, the richness of his family, the status of his family, etc. For a girl to be chosen, the moral qualities (behavior) were mostly considered. So, when it is time for young man to marry his father takes the responsibilities. The father appreciates a lady in a well know family, wealthy and also a lady who has good behavior, who is a model in the family and the society.

When a father appreciates a lady in a given family, he would not go immediately to her parents and ask them to have their daughter as his daughter-in-law instead, he would have to send some people especially people from closed family such as aunt

to go to the lady's family secretly in order to see the situation of that family in general and of the lady in particular. This person was called (umuranzi).The duty of this person was to analyze the richness of this family, the land that they have if it is large and fertile or not, the cows that they have, but what was much important was the behavior of the lady.After this, this person would go back and give report to the young man's father of what she/he has seen .If the father appreciates, the following step was to inform the lady's parents that they need their daughter as a daughter-in-law.

In the same light, the lady's parents would not refuse or accept immediately. Instead, they would send someone from closed family in a secret way to see how that family lives, to see if they have a vast and fertile land, cows, the clan to which they belong, if they have no hereditary diseases, etc. What we have to know is that the most important quality of a boy was to belong to a wealth family while for a girl was to have a good behavior. After this, the person would give report to the lady's parents and if they appreciate, they accept and invite the boy's family.

After this, what followed was the boy's parents to pay the dowry. This dowry was very important in the traditional Burundi. It was the payment of the dowry which would allow the two young people to marry each other. The dowry plays a significant role since it brings honor first to the bride and her family, then to the groom and his family. A man who pays the bride price before he marries was respected by his wife, his in-laws and other members of the community. But, when it happens that he marries without paying the dowry, he was not respected and the children who were born in this couple were said to belong to their mother's clan, not to their father's. This shows how important was the dowry in the traditional Burundi society. There was no fixed dowry. It depended on the level of richness of the groom's family. What we have to know is that in traditional Burundi, the dowry was paid by the groom's father, what is not the same case today where we see that most of young men pay the dowry themselves. For rich families, they would pay more than one cow depending on the level of their wealthy. Other families would pay one or two cows and poor families would pay goat, hoes, etc. The groom's family richness was much considered because most Burundians depend on farming and breeding, the reason why the bride's parents would make sure that their daughter gets married in a family where they have cattle and fertile land otherwise it would be ridiculous for them to sacrifice their daughter's life for a poor husband. But, we have to know that even poor people would marry their equals.

On the day of paying the dowry, the two families prepare themselves. The bride's family prepares banana wine, food, etc. They invite their neighbors to participate in the ceremony and ask them to contribute food and drinks for the party. The whole compound was well cleaned. As we know in Burundi culture, a bridegroom is respected by his in-laws especially if he has paid a dowry. He is given much honor. The groom's family also would prepare food and drinks that they will bring to their in-laws. During this ceremony, people celebrate with joy. The bride's family and their neighbors welcome the guests and give them sits and then after they give them food and drinks. After this, different speeches are derived from both sides, that is, the bride's side and the groom's. After the dowry was paid, the groom's family would go back home joyfully, happy, singing and dancing because their dowry has been accepted and they have been well welcomed.

As we have already mentioned it, the dowry which people consider as a gift to the bride's parents has a very significant meaning in Burundi society as well as in other societies in Africa.The dowry strengthen the relationship between the two families whereby frequent visits are paid to the bride's family by the bridegroom's family and vice-versa after the dowry is paid. Marriage gifts are symbol of bond as Jonh Mbiti claims it in his work entitled *Introductions to African Religion* when he says.

> ....Marriage gifts are the outwards symbols of serious undertaking by a family concerned .The bind the man and wife together in the sight of their families. They are the symbols of the marriage bond or covenant. They seal up sacred relationship which will be worked out over a long period of time. (107)

From the above quotation we deduce that marriage gifts are very significant in marriage institution. They authorize the husband and the wife to live together and make their own family .We have to know that all people do not pay the same dowry .The dowry is made up of different things depending on culture of a given society. In our culture, the dowry is made up cows, goats, sleeps, money, tools, utensils, etc. These were the gifts given as dowry in traditional Burundi but some of them are no longer used today. The mostly used today are money and cattle. Concerning the dowry, we have to understand that it is a big issue today whereby some people say that it has to be avoided since most of young people do not have means to pay the dowry. Others say that dowry should remain there and people should preserve this because it is one of Burundian element of culture and still have an important role in marriage.

In wedding songs, there are some songs which are sang to praise the bridegroom who marries legally , that is who marries after he has paid a dowry. There are other songs which praise the bride who gets married after the dowry is paid for her. Some of these songs are (iyo nkware) to mean that quail. In this song, there is a deep meaning which is conveyed as far as dowry paying is concerned. It depicts the important place of the dowry in traditional Burundi society. In the song entitled (cinkware) to mean quail, we see how that quail (inkware) asks many questions to cinkware (the bride) so as to get informed about her marriage. In this song, we see that Cinkware is already blessed in the church as the dowry is paid. From verse 13 to 20 there is an issue of dowry paying. From the verse 13 to 16, singers talk of a man, a bridegroom who has paid the dowry, the place that he has in family and in society, how he deserves great honor. The verse 17, 18, 19 and 20 shows how a man who marries while he does not pay the dowry is treated.

In the song (yengayenga mugeni) which means walk elegantly bride illustrates a dignified bride who is being accompanied to her husband. All along this song, we notice that singers and the bride's clansmen are very happy, they accompany the bride on her wedding since she has brought honor and happiness to her family members. Thus, in the first three verses, we see that the bride is praised for having a dignified family. Singers wish her to be happy in the new family that she belongs, that is, the in laws family. Verses number five and six, show that the bride's father and father-in-law are happy, how they show their dignity in marrying their children according the social norms regulating of marriage institution in Burundi. The last verse is directed to the bride, they see in her honored person as she is respect by her in-laws, and even her husband and other members of the community respect her food and drinks. After this, there would be a strong relationship between the two families.

When the date of wedding ceremony is fixed, there were enough preparation on both families, we mean the bride's family and the groom's family. On the side of the bride, her mother reduces the works to her. She feeds her very well and gives her some drinks. For those who were rich, they would give her meats, milk, sorghum and other delicious foods; everything was done for her. All these were done in order to get married while she is healthy, looking smart, not tired. On the side of bridegroom, his father has the duty to do everything for his son. He has to prepare beer and food for the ceremony, the clothes for both the bride and the bridegroom, a piece of land for farming. In addition to these, the father had to give a cow to his son which added to the one he has paid for dowry (for those who had cows). He would also invite friends, member of the family, neighbors, etc to join the on the weeding day and these people would come with some food and drinks for the contributions.

On the side of the bride, few days before marriage, the bride's aunt spends much time with that bride giving her advice, telling her some secrets of marital life, etc. Her mother would also call some of the bride's friends and age mates who would pass most of their time with her giving her company what we have to know is that in traditional Burundi, It was forbidden for the fiancée to see or talk to each other until when they get married.

In traditional Burundi society, wedding ceremonies were held in the evening time. People, young and adults would assemble at the bride's parent home, being ready to accompany her to her husband. These people were in large number, sing all along the way. Most of these singers are women who sing what they now about marital life. On the way to the groom's home, they would sometimes stop and dance. When they are near to arrive at the bridegroom's home, the singers would sing loudly so that they may be heard by the in-laws. They would sing songs like (Pfunya urugendo ndahaye ndahabona) which means reduce the speed for we are about to arrive. They say:

Ndahaye ndahabona	I begin to perceive the area
Ngahariya je ndahaye ndahabona	Look! It is over there
Murivya bivumuvumu	The environment full of traditional trees
Bimwe bivuga umuyaga	Where only the wind blows
Ngahariya	It is over there

So, when they arrive, they sing different songs describing all what they see at the groom's home. If they have a small land, they say it if it is not fertile, they say it, if the compound is not well cleaned, they also say it. For example, if the environment at home is dirty, they would sing (ishamba rirantega) to means the bush blocks my way. They would also sing praising the bride saying that she is beautiful, well educated, etc. To praise the bride they would sing (cane murabe ni agasanamu) to mean look at her, she is beautiful. They would not enter immediately but they would wait until the in-laws bring what is called (inka y'irembo) accompanied by a calabash of beer. In some areas, they bring two children, a boy and a girl. They give the boy to the groom and the girl to the bride. After this, the brides with those who accompany her enter the in-laws home. The groom's relatives welcome the guests, give them drinks and food. If the bridegroom family has no enough food and drinks to give to the gusts, those who accompany the bride ridicule the groom's family through songs which contain insults such as (sonera murundi ntaho yabikura) which means he is poor, he cannot afford to feed the bride's. When the groom's father lacks food and drinks for the in-laws and other guests, they would say that he never brings banana wine to his neighbors when they have ceremonies, otherwise they

would have come with food and drinks to this special party to support him. They say that a person who is relational cannot lack food and drinks on wedding ceremony. So, they sing saying that where do you want him to get food and drinks? He never participates in parties, he never contribute in festivals, what a poor creature?

On the other hand, in Burundian culture, in ceremonies like wedding and other ceremonies, people never say that they are satisfied even if there are much food and drinks. They still ask for additional beer. This is justified by a Kirundi proverb which says (uwutongeje aba yagaye) to mean, if you do not ask for additional beer, it means that you are not thankful. The bride's relatives go on singing there is no beer that has been given to them. We can also see this in the song (Nyongera amagwa) whiwh means give me more drinks so that I give it to my people. Singers say:

Nyongera amagwa	Give me more drinks
Nihere ingabo	So that I give it to my people
Iz'iwawe zirahaze	Your people are drunk and satisfied
Iz'iwanje zirashonje sindayisoma	While my people are thirsty
	I have not yet even tasted it

They deny it and insist asking for more beer. They sing saying that they are not going to leave unless additional beer is offered to them which is commonly known as (umwuhiro). If the beer is not good, they sing saying that (yabaye amazi masa) to mean that it is pure water and not beer. If the beer is good, they say (kabaye insongo) to mean that it is pure beer without water. So, they sing asking for more beer so as to continue enjoying the festival. Different speeches are derived from both sides, that is, the bride's side and the groom's. On the side of the groom, the family representative derives a speech welcoming the guests. After, the bride's family representative takes the floor saying that they have brought the cow (which means the bride in Burundian culture) that the groom's father has asked for. He asks the in-laws to take care of her, not to mistreat her. In return, the groom's family representative takes the floor giving thanks for the bride they have received and promises to take care of her.

One day after marriage, the new wife would not speak to her father and mother-in-law until they offer her some gifts. This practice is known in Burundi culture as (guhorora). In Burundian custom, it was a taboo for a new wife to greet and speak to her father and mother-in-law without being offered some gifts. A new wife who dares to eat or speak without being offered gifts by her in-laws was subjected to mockery. We have to know that the wedding festivals would end with the party

called (gutwikurura) to mean unveiling ceremony. When the bride's relatives come to that festival, they would come with much food in baskets and many pots of beer depending on the wealthy of the bride's family. When they arrive near the in-laws' home, they sing loudly informing them that they have arrived. They sing the song like (uraba wumva ndaje) to mean, have heard that I am coming? The bride's relatives sing this song while carrying the pots of beer and baskets of cooked and raw food By singing this song, they call upon their in-laws to prepare themselves and come to welcome them and receive the pots of beer and the baskets of food that they bring. When they arrive at the entry of the groom's home, they sing (inkangara) to mean the baskets.

While singing this song, the bride's relatives name all the things that they are carrying in their pots and baskets. This is to show that their daughter comes from a wealthy family who has enough food and drinks to feed her. They also show that they really love their daughter. By doing so, they entail that the bride's in-laws have to feed her well as were doing her parents. They wish her not to suffer in that new family, wish her to have a good marital life. We have to know that after this ceremony, the bridal ceremonies are ended. The new wife starts a normal life. She is no longer a guest, but a husband's family member. We have to remember that in order to be fully integrated in this new family, she has to give birth to her first child especially to a male child.

In traditional Burundi, it is assumed that woman's social role and status depends on the number of children that she has. In many societies especially in Africa, people marry having the purpose of having children. This can be supported by Mbiti when she say:

> The supreme purpose of marriage according to African people is to bear children, to build a family, to extend life, and to hand down the living torch of human existence. For that reason, a marriage becomes fully so only when one or more children have been born. It is a very tragic thing when no children come out of a marriage. Then people do not consider it to be truly a marriage, and other arrangements are made to obtain children in the family (109).

For this reason, women cannot have peace in their marital life unless they prove their womanhood. In the case that a woman fails to have any child, she is chased away from her household or she has to live a polygamy life. To give birth to children is not enough for a woman to live peacefully in her family, but, she has to give birth to sons rather than to girls. This is because in many societies including Burundi, boys

are given an important place rather than girls and people prefer to have male children rather than females. A woman who gives birth to male children is respected and loved. She is honored and she feels success in the family and the whole community. Anna Gathaiga in Notes on Flora Nwapa's *Efuru* states what she understands of her society marriage by saying that:

> Igbo marriage like any other African marriage is not just partnership. It has to be productive. Without children, it is incomplete. It is a problem that affects married couples as much as it affects their neighbors. Failures to have children may suggest that the girl is morally lax or that she is cursed. So everybody is happy when a child is born (25).

From the above Gathaiga's view, we understand that a childless woman suffers much in her life. Efuru experienced such hard life in her marital life. For her, she is still hopeful and faithful that one day she will get a child as she trusts in God. She is afraid of barrenness and then says: "I am still young, surely God cannot deny me the joy of motherhood". In Burundi like in some other societies, when there is sterility in a couple, the problem is that the husband accuses her wife of being the source of that problem of failure to have children. Not only her husband, but also her in-laws, neighbors and relatives blame the wife for her barrenness and laugh at her. For example, in the *Joys of Motherhood*, we see Nnu Ego's husband who is planning to abandon her and marry another wife who is not barren like Nnu Ego. He said:

> I am a busy man. I have no time to waste my precious male seed on a woman who is infertile. I have to raise children for my line. If you really want to know, you don't appeal to me anymore. You are so dry and jumpy. When a man comes to a woman-he wants to be cooled, not scratched by a nervy female who is all bones. [...] But now if you can't produce sons, at least you can help harvest yams (32).

From the above claim given by Nnu Ego's husband, we notice that when a wife has no children is useless. Her husband insults her though you may find that the problem of not having children is not hers. In couples with no child, wives are accused of being barren and not men. This shows how wives in general and Burundian wives in particular suffer in their marital life when they fail to have children with their husbands. According to my informant, traditional Burundians believe that only a woman can be barren. Whenever it happens that a couple fails to have children, the wife was the one to blame. They would say that a man cannot be barren. A barren wife was harassed not only by her husband, but also her in-laws, neighbors and whole society. Nowadays, things are changing. With the growth of technology, the traditional belief that only a wife can be barren has changed. Doctors under the help

of laboratory instruments can see the one who is barren among the two, that is, the wife and the husband. Nowadays, we realize that to some extent, people believe that even men can be barren. We can see a couple with no any child but who still live together what was not the can in traditional Burundi society. We see women who give birth to girls only but still live with their husbands, which is different from the case in former time.

When we talk of gender, we cannot exclude Burundi As a patriarchal society, Burundi like other societies experiences gender issues since its existence. Gender differences are seen from the birth of a child in the way that she/he is received in the family. According to my informant, when a male child was born, there was much joy in the family rather than when the new born was a girl. When a male child born, he was given a bow in his hands. This bow symbolizes the role that he will have in his family in particular and his society in general. This role was to defend his family and society that is to fight against enemies for the honor of his family and his community. When the new born is a female, she was given a broom in her hands to symbolize some of the activities that she will have to do in the family that is, cleaning. From this example, we deduce that in Burundian culture, gender differences begin from people's birth and go in their whole life. The fact of giving a broom to a girl when she is born shows that cleanings are most of her works at her parents' home and at her own home when she gets married. The same is for the boy who will have to protect his father's family and his own family when he marries. The bow given to boys also shows that they have to do hunting activities since traditional Burundians were living also on hunting activity. Concerning education, it was believed in former time that education is only for male children and not for females. Boys were given right to go to school while girls were denied this right. Burundians in former time would say (nta mashure y'umukobwa) to mean no education for girls. But, today, we see that things have changed. Both girls and boy go to school though there are some parents who still prevent their daughter from the right to education.

There is a Burundi law which says that all people have equal rights. But we see that it is not the case in the same domains of life. Take an example of women and girls in Burundi, they have no right to inherit lands from their parents like boys. As consequences same windows are chased away from their husbands, families and since they cannot go back to their fathers land with their children, they live a miserable life, homeless and landless life and live a nomadic lifestyle. This is the same case with a woman who is abandoned by her husband and who is obliged to go back to her father's home. As she has no land there, she is not well received by her

parents and her brothers and there arise conflicts since she has no land where she can live with her children.

In traditional Burundi, women have no right to go in public place and speak in the presence of men. They cannot take any decision in their families and the society. Burundians would say (inkokokazi ntibika isake iriho) to mean that no female can speak in the presence of males. But nowadays we can say that things are changing at a given level. As we have girls and women who are educated, they participate in different meeting or conferences and they take the floor, speak and given their point of view on the issue debated on. Women are ministers, lecturers, administrators, heads of banks and big companies, etc. They take decisions in different domains of country life.

As we have already seen it, in Burundi as a patriarchal society, the difference between men and women starts from the early age of people. As a child is born, he /she grow up with this separation of roles according to the gender and it goes on until in marital life where we see that roles are also separated. We realize that in most cases, women are overloaded with many roles that they have fulfilled apart from taking care of their children. These roles play an important role in Burundian tradition when choosing a wife or a husband .They is taken into considerations. For example for girls, they see if she is good at doing domestic activities, if she is submissive, etc. while for boys they see is he wealthy, courageous, able to protect his family, etc.

Moreover, gender issue is also seen in languages used by people language as a tool of communication is of a paramount importance since it facilitates interrelations among human beings. It is through language that people express their thoughts, feelings, ideas plans, emotions, etc. In languages we realize that there are some differences between expressions and words used by men and those used by women when we listen to their conversation. Kirundi language is among many other languages where we see the differences. The fact of men and women being considered differently is highlighted and Trudgill in his work *An Introduction to Language and Society* advocates the causes of that differentiation when he says:

> Linguistic sex varieties arise because, as we have already seen, language as a social phenomenon is closely related to social attitudes. Men and women are socially different in that society lays down different social roles for them and expect different behavior patterns from them. Language simply reflects this social fact (88).

From the above view, we deduce that in language there are some differences which are based on gender because of the different roles that people have in the society which most of the time are also gender based. This is also seen in Kirundi language where we find words and expressions which denote tasks for women and those for men. For example word like (Serugo, Senaka) which means chief of the family or chief of the household respectively are used to depict a man as a person who is basis of the family, the controller of the family. However, words and expressions related to female individuals show how women and girls should behave, what they have to do, etc. Some of those words are (Umuzezwanzu), (Umunyakigo), etc, which means respectively the one who takes care of the house, the one who should remain at home.

Conclusion

From all that we have seen in this chapter, we deduce that marriage institution in traditional Burundi has different steps that it follows and it is legalized by the payment of the dowry by the bridegroom's family which brings honor to both families. We also realized that gender issues are not issues of one country or another but of many countries including Burundi and we have seen that it occurs in many different domains of life. In the following chapter, we are going to see same of the roles that Burundian tradition and culture assign to men in marital life as it is portrayed in some of the selected wedding songs that we are going to analyze.

CHAPTER TWO

MARRIAGE AND MALE ROLE IN BURUNDI

In this chapter, we are going to analyze how patriarchal system gives more power to men than to women. We are also going to make an analysis of how roles are assigned to members of the family and where this emanates from. We are going to see how in patriarchal societies men are considered, the place that they have in families as well as their roles. As we are dealing with Rundi wedding songs, we are going to analyze selected Rundi wedding songs to see how Burundi tradition assigns roles to men, the roles that are assigned to men, and the impacts that those roles have on the rest of family members.

In fact, what we have to remember about marriage is that in some countries especially Western countries, there is also a union between two individuals of the same sex and this kind of union is legalized by the law. But, in Burundian culture, the union between two people of the same sex is forbidden and the law does not accept this, to mean that this union is illegal. To marry is not a joke, this is the reason why Burundi tradition says that a groom and a bride should be mature in order to bear the problems that they may encounter in their life in marriage. We have to know that in Burundian culture, people do not accept marriage between two individuals of close family relationship. For example, there is no marriage between brother and sister, a father and his daughter, etc. This pushes parents to choose wives for their sons in another clan or family with no close family relationship.

There is a strong relationship between a husband and a wife who join together through marriage as it is believed that through marriage, a husband and a wife become one. This can be explained by *The New International Holy Bible* which says: "For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh" (Ephesians, chapter 5 verse 31). This shows how marriage relationship is so strong. In addition to this, Ruth Nauda Anshen states that:

> Marriage consists in a substantial bond, and life involved in it is life in its totality. Here the natural sexual-union-a union purely implicit and for that very reason existent as purely-is transformed into a union of the mind, into self-conscious love. Man and woman are then imbued with the secret knowledge that, though seemingly two, they are fundamentally one (515).

From Anshen's view, we purely understand that the union between a husband and a wife is a strong relation that people should take seriously. Two different individuals become one because of that union. As most Burundians are believers, they accept this union and believe that the two individuals become one because of marriage. This is the reason why in wedding ceremonies, people tell the new couple (murabane akaramata) to mean live together forever.

Many societies including Burundi are heavily administered through patriarchal notions and some women's rights are not respected. Some justifications like economic factors, religion and biological differences are used by men in order to enforce the patriarchal ideologies on women. For example, in traditional Burundi, women and girls have no right to own a land inherited from their parents. This affects much women economically since they cannot cultivate for their own hence they live a dependent life in terms of economy. It also affects them socially especially those who fail in their marriage and they are sent away. For these people, life is not easy since they have no their own lands where they can stay and start their own life. At least today there is a government law which allows women and girls to inherit land and other properties from their parents though it has not yet been well put into practice. The concept of patriarchal has been used to refer to that system of government through which societies are ruled by men through their position that they have as the heads of the household. In the societies with a patriarchal system, laws and activities are dictated by its patriarchal principles which give a superior position to men while it gives low position to women. In patriarchal system, men have got many strategic actions that they have taken so as to maintain the status of inferiority of women. This is achieved by convincing women to accept that they are inferior and that they need to be under the control of men. On this issue, Sawin explains:

> A patriarchal system survives by keeping women under control, requiring them to subordinate their will and their desires to goals set by and for the advantages of men. Ideally, this is achieved hegemonically by persuading women that they are inferior and do require male guidance and by requiring women to internalize their own surveillance (62).

From the above view, we understand that in patriarchal system, men have many strategies that they use in order to make women accept to be ruled by men and accept their inferior position.

In many societies, the assignment of roles to people according to gender is not an issue of today, but, it started from the beginning of human beings. This originates

from the norms of the society, religious beliefs, etc. For example, from religious belief, a man is said to be the head of her wife. *The New International Holy Bible* says: "For the husband is head of the wife, as also Christ is head of the church; and He is the Savior of the body" (Ephesians, chapter5 verse23). From this biblical verse, we realize that a man is given a higher position of being the head of his wife. But, when we analyze what takes place in our society, some men misinterpret it and make themselves masters and they make women to be like slaves to men.

From their early age, males are expected to participate in different activities which develop men's qualities like physical strength and endurance. These are mostly built and evaluated. Some of male activities done from early age include doing labor, intensive farming activities with elder men, playing soccer with peers, political activities and administration, etc. Such activities are said to be for men. On the other side, females are also trained from their young age for the activities which are mostly done at home like cooking, looking after children, cleaning, etc. This shows that gender differences between females and males start from their early age.

In patriarchal societies, men tend to control women in all domains of life so as to keep them subordinate and submissive. One of the ways used by men in patriarchal societies is to keep women in the hedging of virginity which is done almost in all societies. The cultural and religious beliefs emphasize the importance of women keeping their virginity. This practice is said to be very important for the bride's family as it brings honor to them. By analyzing this practice, we understand that this is a way of controlling females in terms of their sexuality since it is done only for females and not males. This goes with a Burundian traditional practice which consists of killing a girl who gets pregnant before her marriage. According to my informant, this practice is unfair because only the girl is punished while the boy who impregnated her is not punished. The boy is let free as if he did nothing. This kind of punishment shows how patriarchal system in one way or another is oppressive to females. Today, virginity for females has no longer the same value as in tradition. A girl may have sex before getting married and there are no consequences when she gets married. Many people today do not consider virginity for girls when they want to marry what was not the case in former time.

There are some beliefs that a wife respects her husband and submits to him when he is severe to her. This is a belief which is in the minds of some Burundian men who think that in order to maintain their superior position in their families, they have to be severe to their wives. Taking an example in traditional Burundi, according to my informant, there was a practice called (gushinga amashiga) which consisted of

beating a wife on her wedding day in order to show her that now she is under the control of her husband who has all power on her and that she has to respect, obey and submit to him. According to my informant, this practice makes the bride aware that now she is under the control of her husband, a man who is different from her father, a man who has power on her and that she has to obey and respect. We can see the sufferings of a wife caused by her husband in the song (Iyengenge mugeni) which means go slowly bride, be careful where we see that a wife has complitely changed, all her beauty has disappeared because of the hard life that she lives, we have:

Ugiye baguharaye mugeni	You go there praised now
Uzoza baguharuye mugeni	You will come back your skin Covered with weeds
Ugiye uri ikirahuri mugeni	You get married looking like a glass you
Uzoza uru ikirahuzo	will come back ressemblinng
Ugiye uri muyabaga mugeni	You go being a teenager bride
Uzoza uri muhe nyina mugeni	You will come back being accepted only by your mother

In this song, singers are telling the bride the life that she will live in her new family. It will be a hard life which will change all her life.

In most societies, gender stereotyping is a common phenomenon whereby most activities are gender centered. This goes with the denying of one's rights to participate in one or another activity because of one's gender. This practice is commonly used in patriarchal societies. Women are sometimes said to be unable to do some works. But, it is not really that they are unable to do such works but because they were not given the opportunity to develop the skills of doing such works. This is supported by Helen Haste who observes:

> What is believed about gender tends to become real. For example, the belief that women are incapable of making decisions may become true in the society where girls are not given the opportunity to develop such skills. The belief that males are unable to sew becomes true when the culture makes sure that no boy ever gets his hands on a needle. So something which is socially constructed within the culture's theory of gender may become reality (23).

From this view, we understand that gender beliefs have shaped life of people to the extent that a group of people may believe that something cannot be done or realized unless the other group involves in it. The superiority of man affects life of woman in

many domains of life. For example, in our society, it was traditionally believed that a girl or a woman cannot stand and speak in front of men. This was true because they were not given the opportunity of being in public places as we know that they would spend most of their time at home and they were not educated. But today as girls go to school and in many other public places, they are able to deliver a speech in public places in front of men and women. This is because nowadays, they are given opportunity to develop this skill at school and elsewhere.

The patriarchal system has shaped life in societies. Because of this, women have internalized that they cannot do anything in the absence of men. Sometimes, even if it happens that a woman does important works, she attributes them to her husband. This can be seen in *Joys of Motherhood* through the character Nnu Ego who sells firewood in order to get money to pay the school fees for his son when she says: "Nnaife is the head of our family. He owns me, just like God in the sky own us. So even though I pay fees, yet he owns me. So in other words he pays" (217).

From this passage, we understand that this kind of family structure where women are convinced to believe their husbands as the sole providers of all the family necessities has shaped the mind of women and keep them subordinate to their husbands when they actually run the family. This kind of belief makes women accept that they cannot do things on their own unless the husband has a hand in it. This can also be seen in *Joys of Motherhood* through the character Adaku who says that: "I want to be a dignified single woman. I shall work to educate ma daughters, though I shall not do so without male companionship. She laughed again. They do have their uses" (170-171). Through this passage, we realize that women give to men an important place in all they do. They believe that it is the presence of men that can make them do well all their activities in their life. In patriarchal societies, people do not believe women as able to do important things, instead, they view women's role as only limited to procreation. For example, Farah Nuruddin's *The Sweet and Soul Milk* through the character Keynaan states that "Women are necessary for sleeping with, for giving birth to and bringing up children, they are not good for any other thing. They are not to be trusted with secrets. They can serve the purpose for them originally and no more" (85).

In this passage, Keynaan's view represents many other stereotyped views on women expressed in the patriarchal controlled societies. The same case is in Burundi where we see that women in rural areas give birth to many children and they have to take care of them and still have to do other works. Women know how to do many things, the only problem that they have is that they are not given the opportunities to do

other activities rather than those of giving birth and bringing up children. These stereotypes as well as some traditional values constitute a kind of obstacle to women's growth and development.

As this chapter looks at the male role in marital life, one can mention some of the factors which influence the assignment of roles to family members basing on one's gender. This starts from the existence of human beings whereby we see that all societies tend to assign roles to members of the family taking into account gender differences. One of these factors is religious beliefs which give to men roles that they have to fulfill in their families and women theirs. We have to know that the religion has much influence on the believers which make people accept this assignment of roles with no resist. Another factor that we can say is the culture. This has a very important place in any societies since it is believed that all societies are built on their own culture. So it helps much in the assignment of role to the society and family members basing on gender. We can also say the norms of the society which also influence much the assignment of roles to people.

Traditional Burundians know the roles that a man has in the society and in his family. So on the wedding day, singers when they sing and perform different songs they tell the groom the responsibilities that he is going to have in his family as a husband. As we analyze the role that a husband has in his family, some song containing a message of what a husband has to do in his family, the behavior that he should have, what he should have, etc are going to be dealt with. As we have already mentioned it, wedding songs have a strong message that is addressed to the couple and to other people in society in order to know or remember one's role or responsibilities in her/his family in particular and in society in general. Once a male person marries, it is believed that he becomes the head of the family. This position of being the head of the family does not come from nowhere .The norms of different societies place the husband above all other members of the family and all what make a home. This also originates from religious beliefs that during the creation, God created first the man that is Adam then after he made the wife that is Eva. Being a head of the family goes with other characteristics like being physically strong and courageous. A man who has no these characteristics is not love and people criticize him and blame a bride who accepts such a man as we see it in the song (Seruka ndabe) whiwh means show yourself:

Busaya bwarotse	You man with bony cheeks
Umengo ni sokuru	Like those of an old man
UYo niwe bahaya?	Is it you whom people praised?

Bahaya bahayagiza	The one they extolled everywhere?
Bwiso bwarotse	You with pale eyes
Umengo ni nyukuru	Like those of a grandmother
Uwo niwe wiguze?	Is this the one you sacrificed your life for?
Bwinyo bwaheze	Teethless man
Umengo ni nyokuru	Like an old woman
Uwo niwe bahaya?	Is this the one people praised?

In this song, singers are disappointed. The groom has no the qualities that he should have as a man who is going to be head and controller of the family.

As many Burundians believe in God, they also believe in what is written in the bible and it helps them in one way or another to live in harmony in their families. As the bible says, "For the husband is head of wife, as also Christ is head of the church, and he is the savior of the body" (Holy Bible, The New International Version, Ephesians 5.23). This writings make people believe that husbands occupy the highest position in their families. Unfortunately, some husbands misuse this position that they have in the way that they mistreat their wives. They become like masters and they oppress their wives pretending that they have been given the authority and power on them. Instead, God as the head of the church does not behave like a master, but like a servant who serves his people. The position occupied by a husband in the family gives him power to control all other members of his family, that is, the wife and children. He also controls all activities that are done by the family members. He is there to bring order in the family by making a kind of hierarchy between all members of his family, the father being at the head.

Traditional Burundian culture and norms accept the position of a husband in his family and there are some Kirundi names given to a husband to show the high position that he occupies in his family, according to my informant. Those names are such as (serugo) which means the father of the family, (umutware) which means the chief of the family, etc. Men in their families do all they can in order to maintain that position of being the head or the father of the family. In some patriarchal societies, some parents prevent their daughters from going to school pretending that an educated woman does not respect her husband, that she wants to be like a man in the family and wants to occupy the same position like her husband's. This is one of the mechanisms used by some men in order to keep women under their authority.
As the head of a family, a husband has many roles that he has to fulfill so as to support his family. A man in his family is a provider to the rest of his family members. In traditional Burundi, it is believed that a husband is the provider of all

the necessities that his family members need to live. This role can be said to be tough since it makes a man to work very hard in order to get the basic needs of his family members in order to survive. To be a provider is one of the qualities that a man should have and when it is time for a girl to be married, her parents consider this quality when they choose a man for their daughter. A man should have things to provide to his wife in order to be considered as a real man. In traditional Burundi, when a bridegroom goes to ask for a bride to marry, they ask him to give the bride, to her mother and her brother some gifts so as to see if he is qualified to be a man who is able to provide to his family all they need.

In Rundi wedding songs, singers as most of the time are women who have experience in marital life are aware of these roles that a husband has in his family, the reason why they tell the bridegroom to prove that he is able of that. In the song entitled (Eeeh honga ndore) which means give a gift/reward and I see, singers are telling the bridegroom who wants to marry their daughter different gifts that he has to give to the bride, to her mother and, her brother so as to prove that he is qualified to be a man who can marry their daughter. In traditional Burundi, there are some gifts that the bridegroom has to give to the bride and to some of her family members and they are very important in order to make good relationship with the in-laws. These gifts are called (icuma) as we see it in this song in verse 11 where they say (Honga icuma ca musaza wa muntu) to mean give the gift to the bride's brother. According to my informant, these gifts were very important for the bridegroom to be accepted and loved by his in-laws as a true man who is not poor, who is not selfish and who will be able to take care of their daughter, feed her and give her all she needs. They say:

Honga ndore ndabeko uri umugabo	Give a reward to show your manhood
Ko uri umugabo canke ko uri akagabo	To prove that you are really a man
Honga inyana jewe ndakugabire	Give a heifer so thst I offer you a bride
Honga inyana imwe ya Bigeni	Give the heifer that of Bigeni

This fact of considering the husband as being the only provider of the family needs has affected women and girls in one way or another in the sense that it makes them to live an economically dependent life where we see that in most cases women and girl depend much on their husbands, boys friends, brothers or any other male relatives. This life of dependence affects many women when it happens that their husbands pass away. On one hand, women have internalized that men are the ones to provide all things that the family members need to live. On the other hand, in many societies including our society, women from their early age were not given the

opportunity to be trained to works that can provide them with an income and then contribute to get the family needs .So, when it happens that a husband in the family passes away or becomes unable to work because of diseases or an accident it becomes very difficult for the widow to take the responsibilities of being a provider to her children and herself because she is not used to that.

In traditional Burundi, a man is said to be rich when he has a large and fertile land and cows. This is what the bride's parent's look at when they are choosing a man for their daughter. Traditionally speaking, a husband as a chief of the family needs to have a land which is fertile and cows (for some) so as to bring up his own family in better living conditions. As more than 90% of Burundians are farmers, they need to have enough land and cows in order to get manure to fertilize the land. So, a man should have the land where he can build a shelter for his family and cultivate so as to get what to eat. Traditionally, a bridegroom should marry when he has all these things. This is the reason why the bride's relatives would go to the groom's family to see if they have such a fertile land in order to accept him to marry their daughter.
In wedding songs, singers want to see the wealthy of the man that is, land, cattle, etc. We can see this in the song entitled (ndabe ga ma) which means let me see, mum. In this song, singers are asking the bride named Roza to show them the wealth of her husband which pushed her to accept such a man as her husband. They say:

Rya tunga bavuga	The richness they were saying about
Rwa rugo bahaya	The wealthy household they praised
Rya tongo bahaya	The land they praised
Za nka bavuga	The cattle they talk about

In this song, singers show us the fundamental things that a man should have in order to make a strong household. But, they are disappointed when they arrived at the groom's family. All the richness that they were saying that he has are not there. They were saying that they have land, cattle, wealth, but it was no true. They ask the bride Roza to show them what rally pushed her to accept such a man who has no the basic needs to make a family.

In traditional Burundi, land has a very important place in human life. This is because apart from being the place for farming activities, it is also the first thing that children inherit from their father. For families who have cattle, children also inherit them. This is why singers insist much on having land and cows so as to make a strong household. Today, people need to know that this is not the same case as it is used to be in the past. A man can marry without having any piece of land or just having a

small land where he can only build a house. Parents no longer have large lands to give to their children as heritage but people still marry and have their families though some problems related to the lack of land may occur. What is much needed today is to be highly educated which can provide people with a good job which can help them to live without depending much on lands.

As religious beliefs play an important role in the assignment of roles to members of the family basing on gender, a husband is to love his wife as he loves himself, according to the bible. It is said that: Nevertheless let each one of you in particular love his own wife as himself (Ephesians chapter5 verse33). For a husband, to love his wife is a very important role that he has in his family as the bible itself wants men to do.

The fact that a husband has to love his wife is accompanied by some other roles so as to prove that love to his wife. A husband has to take care of his wife and avoid any thing that can harm her. Singers emphasize on this as it is seen in the song (gorora amaboko muhoberane) to mean lift your hands and hug each other. In the fourth stanza of this song, singers are telling the bridegroom what he has to do to his wife so as to make her live happily. They say:

Nawe ga muhungu	And you the groom
Umuhungu agutwaye	The one who marries you
Uramufata neza	Take care of her
Umurinde ikofe	Do not slap her
Kuko ntaryo yarazi	She is not used to that

In this stanza, singers tell us the roles that a man has in his family. They are telling the bridegroom the behavior that a husband should have toward his wife. He is to take care of his wife and treat her well. The bride is not used to beatings. Singers are asking the bridegroom to continue treating her in a way that she was treated by her parents. In the same song, singers in stanza five go on telling the bridegroom what he has to do to his wife so as to make her happy as she was at her parents' home. They say:

Ewe ga muhungu	And you the bridegroom
Nongere ndakubwire	Let me tell you again
Uyo mwana wiwacu	That our child
Uramurinda izuba	Protect her from sun
N'inzara N'inyota	Hunger and thirst
Uramurinda irungu	Keep company to her
Yakuriye mubandi	Is what she was used to

From this stanza, we understand that a husband is everything that his wife needs. He is the first companion to his wife. A girl when she is still at her natal home, she is happy to be with her brother and sisters, her parents and her peers. So when she is married, she leaves all those her friends and companions and go to live with her husband and her in-laws if she has them. In this case, her husband has a very important role of keeping company her wife to avoid her to feel lonely. Some men spend most of their time with their friends or at work and forget that their wives need them at home. They come late at home and they do not take time to talk to their wives. In this case the wife is not happy with this situation and she feels as if she is alone. Singers in this song are aware of that, the reason why they are telling the bridegroom to be a good companion to her wife so as to make her feel happy and loved. In Traditional Burundi according to my informants, when a girl is married, her relatives pay her visit many times so as to keep her company especially when she has not yet got children. These relatives would help her with some activities like farming, fetching water and firewood. Sometimes they would send her a girl who would spend many days with her helping her in doing home works and keeping her company in order to have someone that she can talk to when her husband is not at home.

In any society, tradition is a very important element used by men to justify the exclusion of women from certain spheres of the life. For example, traditionally speaking, women have no right to inherit a land. Because of this they are economically dependent on men. Their natural place is the home since they are not allowed to do public activities for economic gain. For this reason, a husband is required to give to the wife all the basic needs of human beings such as a shelter, food and clothes. We see it in the song (uramurinda inzara n'inyota) which means that prevent her from being hungry and thirsty. Again they say (uramurinda izuba) to mean, protect her from sun. This shows that a man has to build a house for his wife and children to protect them from sun and rain. A husband has to make good living conditions for his family so as to make a happy and healthy family.

When a girl is married, she is in the hands of her husband. She is no longer member of her natal family. For this reason, all that she needs to live, she will get them from her husband or sometimes from her in-laws. When it happens that the wife becomes thin, people do laugh at her husband in particular and at the whole family in general saying that they are poor that they have failed to feed the wife, according to my informant. But when the wife becomes fat and healthy, Burundian traditional believes that the wife is well treated by her husband. They say that the wife is

married to a husband who is wealthy; who does all he can to get what his wife needs to live well. This is why in Burundi tradition when a girl is about to get married, her parents send someone especially her close relative to go to the bridegroom's family to see whether they are poor or rich in order to let her go in that family or not because they believe that if their daughter is married in a poor family, she will be unhealthy and live miserable life.

Even though a girl may get married in a rich family, it may happen that she lives a miserable life because of the selfishness of her husband and her in-laws. As the singers are aware of this, they say it when they are performing these wedding songs. This can be seen in the song (Ngoma y'ikigwa) which means that the lady of kigwa when singers say:

Ndamuzanye mu bigo binini	I bring her in the wealthy family
Kwa sebukwe na inabukwe hahandi	To her father and mother in-law
hahandi baca ibigega bagatimbika	Where they have every thing
Bitabuza umukobwa kugogwa	But which does not prevent the bride's misery

In this song singers know that it may happen that a girl gets married in a wealthy family but still live a miserable life because of their selfishness or because they do not take care of her.it is in this way that singers when they are singing and performing this song want to wink at them so that they may avoid such behavior and treat her well as their own child.

As we have already mentioned it that a husband is the head of his family, he has another role of being a supervisor of all the activities in his family. He makes sure that all the activities are done well and see if every member of his family is doing or have done what she/he should do and at the time that she/he should do it. Being a supervisor of someone's works is not far from having authority on the person to whom you are a supervisor. This sometimes leads to a kind of oppression done by some men on the rest of their family members. This is because there are some husbands who seem not to know their duties who spend much of their time in bars with their friends thinking that the family activities will be done by their wives and children. According to my informant such men when they come back home, drunkard, they beat their wives and sometimes their children pretending that they have authority on them. They want to see the family activities being well done while for them they do nothing.

As a supervisor of all family activities, a good husband is a model in his family. He has to work hard so that other family members may lean from him. He supervises

and at the same time works and the management of the family assets. He is concerned with the welfare of the family. In order to succeed in this task; a husband should be a hard working person, courageous and wise so that his family members imitate him. Children tend to imitate the behavior of their parents reasons why husband should be a good model in his family. In Kirundi they say (imbuto itewe niyo imera) or (impfizi y'intama itendera nkase). In this context, it means that the behavior that he has in his family is what his children will have. To mean that if a father is a good model to his children, they will also be a model to other people or to their children when they become mature and make their own families. A husband with strong personality and who is intelligent is able to settle conflict that may arise in his family. He is ready to sacrifice himself for the well-being of his family .What we have to know is that these roles that a husband has in his family may change with time, tribe, and religion or culture because these factors influence much the assignment of roles to men. For example in traditional Burundi they believe that cooking, looking after children are women's activities, but today there are some men who help their wives to do these activities .As wife may be cooking while her husband is looking after children and vise-versa or a wife may go for work and be late to come back home and the husband who is already at home may help the wife to look after children or do other activities said to be done by women.

From all that we have seen in this chapter, we deduce that a husband has many duties that he has to fulfill in his family for the well-being of his family members. We have realized that the place of a husband in his family is of a great importance since he is the head of the family .He is to be model and a provider which makes him to work hard so as to get the needs of his family .We have also seen that there are some men who misuse or misinterpret the position that they have in their families by mistreating the rest of their family members saying that they have power on them. We have also seen that these roles which are assigned to men may vary or change with time, culture, religion, etc. In the following chapter, we are going to see the roles that are assigned to women in their marital life in traditional Burundi. By analyzing these roles, some selected Kirundi wedding songs portraying these roles are going to be dealt with.

CHAPTER THREE

MARRIAGE AND FEMALE ROLE IN BURUNDI

This chaper is going to analyze selected Rundi wedding songs, the message that they convey to women in particular and to all people in the society in general. Rundi wedding songs are believed to convey a strong message to both wife and husband and this message helps in guiding them as they begin marital life, a life which is not easy. In addition to this, it is going to analyze the roles that are assigned to women and how those roles affect them in different domains of their lives as it is our focus in this chapter. By analyzing this, selected Rundi wedding songs are going to be dealt with in order to see their contribution in assigning roles to females in our society.

Marriage as an institution is found all over the world though there may be some differences in the way that it is celebrated. In Burundi, there are some differences between traditional and modern celebration of marriage. In traditional marriage for example, marriage is celebrated at night. The bride leaves her parents' home in the evening and goes to her husband's home where ceremonies take place. This is not the case for modern cerebration of marriage where we see that it is cerebrated day time as the bride leaves her parents' home day time. But we have to know that ceremony can go on until night. Another difference between traditional and modern marriage celebration is that in traditional marriage celebration, the bride's parents would not accompany their daughter and participate in wedding ceremonies. But, in modern marriage celebration, we see that the bride's parents also participate in wedding ceremony of their daughter and this is mostly done by educated people.

In most African societies including Burundi, marriage is like an obligation. We see that if a person (male or female) decides not to marry or to be married, that person is not well considered in the society. This happens in Burundi society as it also happens in some other societies as it is shown by Emecheta in *Joys of Motherhood* when she says: "Because of her freedom to remain unwed, other women in the village view her as wild and choose not to befriend her". From Emecheta's point of view, we understand that in some areas in Nigeria like in some many other African societies, the decision of remaining unmarried is viewed as a bad decision which can in one way or another cause one to be discriminated in the society. We have the same case in Burundi. According to my informant, when it happens that a girl is not married, they would build a small house commonly known as (agahundwe) in which she would live alone until she dies. For a boy according to the same informant, if he

does not marry, he was not respected by other men. He would not join other men when they are talking about serious issues. They would call him (ikirumbire). This shows the importance given to marriage institution in Burundi as well as in many other societies especially African societies.

Being a wife or a husband is not an easy task. It demands both husband and wife to be courageous in order to overcome the difficulties or problems that they may encounter in marital life so as to make a strong household. This is seen in *The Natural History of the Family*_where Ralph Linton claims that the family has survived many difficulties when he says:

> The ancient trinity of father, mother and children survived more vicissitudes than any other human relationship. It is the bedrock underlying all other family structures. Although more elaborate family patterns can be broken or may even collapse of their own weight, the rock remains... (52).

From Linton's view, we understand that there are many difficulties that a family survives and keeps going on. We also understand that marital life is not easy, people need to be strong enough and courageous in order to keep the household.

Traditional Burundians knew that there are many difficulties in marital life. For this reason, young people both girls and boys were trained from their early age before their marriage so that they may know how to behave when a given problem happens in their marital life. As a family is made up of father, mother and children though there may be some families without a father, a mother or children, each member of the family has roles to fulfill in the family. As this chapter is concerned with female role in family in Burundi, we are going to see some of those roles as expressed in some selected Rundi wedding songs. According to my informant, in traditional Burundi, a female child is brought up from her young age by teaching her the activities that she has to do at home. Most of the activities that she does are the same activities that she will have to do at her own home when she grows up and gets married. As we have already seen it, most of those activities taught to girls are domestic activities as they believe that those are the same activities that she will have to do in her marital life.

As it has already been mentioned in chapter two, the fact of assigning roles to people according to their gender is not an issue of today, but it existed from the beginning of mankind. This is done not only in Burundi society, but also in all societies of the

world though it may be done at different level. My informant says that in traditional Burundi, the choice of a girl to marry was not done accidentally. Different qualities were to be taken into account basing on the role that a wife has in the family. Some of those qualities are working hard, respect people, not to talk much, not to be late at home in the evening time, good welcoming of guests, to spend most of the time at home working, etc. This is done not only in Burundi, but also in some many other societies as we can see it in the Indo-Fijian female stereotype which indicates that: Ideally, women should be quiet, demure, unobtrusive and obedient. They should dress modestly and generally attempt to be physically and socially inconspicuous. Interaction with Unrelated males should be avoided and spatial movement outside the home should be minimized. Women should not talk much or too loudly or be argumentative especially in the presence of males or older females. A disobedient, argumentative, talkative female who mixes freely with males and is seen alone in public too often has the potential to dishonor the family (45).

From the above Indo-Fijian female stereotype, we understand that in Burundi like in many other countries, a woman should not behave in the way that she wants. There is a way in which she has to behave according to the norms of her society. We have to remember that in Burundi, from their young age, females are trained to become good women with the qualities mentioned above. In traditional Burundi, it is said that a girl who has such behavior was loved by many people and each father would like to have her as his daughter-in-law, according to my informant.

As we are dealing with wedding songs, we realize that these songs convey a message of a great importance. It warns and guides the girl who gets married on how she will have to behave in her marital life, the roles that she has in her family, the problems that she will face and how she will react in order to overcome those problems. These songs also show the bride the behavior that she will have in front of her father and mother-in-law, her brother and sisters-in-law as well as her neighbors and the whole society in general. When we listen carefully to these songs, we understand that most of the roles that are given to women are done at home or not far from home.

One of the roles that are assigned to a wife in her family which seems to be of a great importance is procreation. This is a very important role that a wife has in her marital life because in most cases, the failure of this for women causes the failure in all their marital life. In traditional Burundi society, a woman who fails to give birth to children is mistreated in her family and in the whole society. But today things have changed. A woman can fail to have children and still live with her husband all their life. But, this is not the case for all women who fail to have children because

there are some people who still mistreat such women. For Gatimantangere, the image of a mother is given a great importance when she says: "It is found out that the role of women is still connected with procreation, considering the primary meaning of the concept (umuvyeyi) which means parent. It is ultimately related to fecundity which generates life and perpetuation" (16). From this view, we understand that in traditional Burundi, marital life without procreation is not a real life. To have children is a great honor to the family especially to woman who is the first victim when it happens that a couple has no children. In traditional Burundi, it is believed that only a woman can be barren and not a man. Giving birth is honor not only for Burundian women, but also for women in many other societies. We can see this in *Joys of Motherhood* when Emecheta through the character Nnu Ego shows us how important is for a woman to give birth to children when she says:

> Nnu Ego believes that a woman's glory is in direct correlation to how she contributes to her husband's name. She believes that a woman who is fertile is seen as a commodity because she is a means for her husband to express his virility and role in the community (120).

From Emecheta's point of view, we understand that in many societies, the ability of a woman to give birth to many children is of a great importance in families. The same is in Burundi whereby in tradition, a wife was considered as a real wife when she gives birth to as many children as she can. We have to know that giving birth to children was not the only condition for a wife to be well considered in the family, but giving birth to male children was very important. As we know that many societies of the world are patriarchal including Burundi, male children are mostly preferred than female ones. According to my informant, in traditional Burundi, a woman who gives birth only to female children was mistreated and sent back to her parents together with her daughters accusing her to stop the offspring of the family or the clan, what they call (guhonya umuryango). This is also seen in *Joys of Motherhood* when Emecheta through her character says: "O God, why did you not take one of the girls and leave me with my male child? My only man child" (128). This shows how in many societies of the world including Burundi a male child is given an important place in the family and the society rather than female child. Because of this place given to boys, a woman is very happy when she gives birth to children especially to male children.

As we are dealing with wedding songs, this very important role of wife in her marital life is found in many Rundi weddings songs whereby while performing these songs singers and the bride's relatives wish her to have many children so that she may be

well considered by her husband, her in-laws and also the community in which she lives. Till now, people still wish the couple to have children but not many children as it used to be. We are going to see this in the song entitled (Hora mwana wa mama) which means keep quiet my sister in its fourth stanza when singers say.

Ugiye kwubaka urwawe	You are going to make your own home
Ugiye kuba umugwiza	you are going to be a multiplier
Uze ugwize ibibondo	Give birth to many children
Uheze ugwize umuryango	Then enlarge the clan

In this song through this stanza, we see the performers of this song giving to the bride a kind of advice at the same time wishing her to go and give birth to many children in her new family in order to keep the clan growing and expanding. They wish her to have children because they know that it is the first thing that will make her live a happy life, live in peace with her husband, her in-laws and the whole community.

To be a mother has a special status in Burundi society. When a woman gives birth to a child she is no longer only a woman, but also a mother. In Burundi tradition women sing to their children on their back while soothing them to make them asleep. They sing saying (wanshize mu bavyeyi kera narabatinya) to mean that you included me among mothers; I was afraid of them before I get you my child. This shows how joyful is for women to become mothers. This can be supported by the Nigerian socialist Oyeronke Oyewumi who states that when a woman gives birth, two entities are born, a baby and a mother (2003, 1). From this we understand that in woman's life, there is nothing more important than becoming a mother.

Giving birth as a pivotal role of a wife is also seen in the song entitled (umukobwa mwiza) to mean the beautiful girl. In this song, singers as they perform it apart from giving her a kind of advice on how she will have to behave in her family, they also wish her to have children so as to keep the offspring of her new family. In this song, the wish to have children is seen in its fourth stanza which says.

Genda mukobwa	Go the lady
Wubake urwawe	Make your own home
Ugwize umuryango	Enlarge the family
Wigeze neza	Behave well.

In Burundi tradition, the fact of having many children is considered as richness, this is the reason why to have children is honor to the family. This fact of considering children as richness for the family is not only for Burundians, but also for some other

societies especially African societies. For example, there is a proverb in Nigeria which says that richness is having lots of people around you, which show how much it is important to have many children in many societies.

Another important role of a wife in her marital life is to work hard the domestic activities .As we have already mentioned it in traditional Burundi, females are taught from their early age to do different activities which do not allow them to leave the compound and if it happens, not so far away from the compound. Some of those activities were: cooking, cleaning, looking after children, farming activities, etc. Girls grow up being used to such activities as it is believed that these are the same activities that they will do in their marital life. For example, in the song entitled (uramurera) to mean teach her, we see some of the domestic activities that a wife has to do in her family and she has to do it hard so that her in-laws may not consider her as a lazy person. In this song, singers who are most of the time the relatives and friends of the bride are telling the in-laws especially mother-in-law to continue teaching the bride to do home activities .For the singers, the bride is still young, she still needs someone to guide her in doing her works. This can be seen in stanza 4 when they say:

Umwana wacu	Our child
Ifura ya mama	The first born of our mother
Yari ikibondo	She was still young
Umwize vyose	Teach her all things
Asenye, avome	Let her fetch water and firewood
Niwamutuma gusiza bikamunanira	If you tell her to cultivate and fails
Niwamutuma gutera bikamunanira	If you tell her to plant and fails
Urantumako nirerere ntiyaribwagere	Call me to teach her myself she was not yet ready
Ni umwana yoga mu bandi	She was still young

In this stanza, singers are aware of the activities that the bride is going to do in her new family .They know that she may fail to do well some of those activities as she is still young, not mature enough to do all those activities. So they are asking the in-laws to continue to teach her how to do those activities. Not to mistreat her in case that she fails to do it properly, instead, call her mother to come and show her how to do those works, guide her in her works.

Doing domestic activities is women's role in many societies. In traditional Burundi, females are given some special names for those home activities. Some of those names are (umuzezwanzu), (umunyaruhimbi), (umunyakigo) which can be translated

respectively as the one who takes care of the house, the one who takes care of the place where milk is kept, a housewife. When we analyze these names, we understand that women's roles are to be fulfilled at home, not in public places. This fact of doing domestic activities prevents women from being in public places and this is like a handicap to them because it contributes much to their ignorance. This is because from their early age, females are affected by traditional division of labor in traditional Burundi and in some other societies.

For example in *The Lady with a Beard,* a young girl is already called a mother because of the role or responsibilities that she has in the family. This is illustrated by Emade when she addresses her daughter, Ntube "Mother; what are you doing? You are peeling cocoyams like an nchong? Who will eat them? Go out .You are woman now and yet you cannot peel cocayams like a Bakossi woman?" From this passage, we understand that a girl in Bokassi tradition is already trained to women's duties at a very early age and the mother plays an important role in such acts. This emanates from the norms of tradition in many societies whereby females are prevented from their rights to go to school except traditional schools where they are taught only such domestic activities.

This is illustrated by a French writer Jean Baptist Poquelin known as Molière in *Ecole Des Femmes* when he presents characters whose debate is related to the uselessness of women to go to school. They state that if a woman goes to school, the husband becomes vain. For Molière, an educated woman loses flexibility and thus replaces her husband as far as decision making is concerned. For him, women must be subordinate and obedience must be their key characteristics. There is no need to attend school, except the traditional education where we have men as teachers and the lecture is exclusively related to traditional requirement. From this statement, we realize that Molière gives an inferior position to woman and a superior position to man which causes women to be maintained in a low position which ends at home place as the natural place for women.

Not only women have to do all domestic activities and stay at their natural place which is at home, but also they have to keep secret and be strong enough to bear the difficulties in their life in marriage. Women encounter many difficulties in their marital life, some are beaten and tortured. They are prevented from some of their rights and the only thing that they have to do, according to traditional norms is to bear that hard life. In traditional Burundi, when it happens that a woman tells her friends or relatives the problems that she has in her family, the first thing that they advise her to do is to bear the situation and be ready to live such a life as they say

that (nikwo zubakwa) which means that it is how homes are built. Because Burundians know that women encounter some difficulties in their families which women need to be strong enough to overcome this, they are given a name of (umukenyeze) which means the one who can bear hard life or situation. There is also a Kirundi proverb which encourages women to accept and bear the hardship of their life in marriage. The proverb is (umugoremugabo yambarira urugori ku ruguma) which means that a brave woman accepts marital burden courageously, she keeps secrets of the hard life of her family. On one hand, these advices have helped in bringing stability and keeping order in some families because a wife knows that whatever situation she lives in her marital life, she must accept it and be used to it. On the other hand, this situation undermines a wife and prevents her from some of her rights as a human being.

In the same light, the song (reka kurira) which means do not cry is a kind of advice that singers are giving to the bride concerning the way that she will behave in case that her in-laws mistreat her or tell her words which are not pleasant to her. They advise her not to say much and sometimes she has to keep quiet when her in-laws tell her bad things. In stanza 6 of this song, singers while performing say:

Ewe mwana wa mama nkwihoreze	Let me sooth you my dear
Inyuma y'ivyo vyose uzobarirwa	After all that you will be told
Uzobirabire hasi wihorere	Look at it carefully and keep quiet
Erega ugiye nk'abandi	You are married like others

Singers while performing this song, they know that the bride's in-laws will say much about her, they will tell her many words which are not good and the only thing that they tell her to do about this is to answer them in few words or even to just listen to them and then keep quiet in order to avoid conflicts that may occur between the bride and her family members. The Rundi wedding songs context idealistically presents the convergence of gender performance and the performance of wedding songs that describe the expected gender identity. These songs reflect the knowledge of the society and each society has its own knowledge upon which it is structured. Traditional Burundi as a patriarchal society, people do believe that a wife must accept all the problems that she may face in her family. Women and girls while performing wedding songs on wedding day, it seems that they enjoy the patriarchal society authority unknowingly. This is because they have already internalized in their mind that they are inferior to men and that they have to accept it and bear all the consequences of the patriarchal system. They are like instruments used by men to reinforce their authority while performing these wedding songs.

In the same way, singers in the song entitled (Yari umunyaruhimbi) which means that she was the caretaker of the place where milk is kept, tell the bride to be mature enough and be aware of the situation. They also tell her to abandon the childish behavior as she is no longer at her parents' home so as to bear the difficulties that she will face which will help her to keep on her marital life. In stanza 4 they say:

Urakura umenye ubwenge	Be mature enough and be aware of the situation
Ubwana ubusige iwanyu	Leave your childish behavior at your parents' home

As most of the singers are adult women who know much about marital life, they are telling the bride to be mature enough so as to know how to react when problems occur in her family. They are telling her to avoid childish behavior because they know that she has to be serious in order to make a strong home. In the first stanza of this song, singers are telling the bride some of the pains that she will have in the new life that she begins when they say:

Ngo uragiye iw'abandi	You are gone in another family
Haravuna ntihunga	Where they mistreat people inhumanly
Iyo haramutse hunze	They will not be kind to you
Hungisha agapfusi	

When we analyze the message given by singers in this stanza, we understand that they are telling the bride how she will be mistreated in her new family. They are telling the bride that the new family to which she belongs will not take care of her, instead, they will mistreat her. They show that marital life is tough and hard. This is the reason why they advise the bride to be ready to go through such a life. In the wedding song entitled (iyongurube) which means that pig, singers illustrate the problems that a woman is subjected to in her marital life. They show some of those problems that a wife faces. In this song, the husband changes his behavior. Sometimes his behavior is bearable to the wife, other time, he changes her behavior to an unbearable one. Her mother in-law gives her a lot of things to do for her in-laws and this is to be done in a short time. All the members of her new family are not in good relation with her. She is asking for advice of what she can do about that situation. The wife finds herself in a tough situation which is not easy for her to endure. She is asking for advice from her friends. In stanza 4 verse 1 and 2, she has gone to Buyogoma, one of the natural regions of Burundi to ask for advice in order to know how to behave in such hard situation. In the same stanza verse 3 and 4, the bride gets advice from her friends. The advice she gets is to be strong, to keep secret though it is not easy. They say (yewe biragoye, urakomera kw'ibanga) to mean that it is not easy but, be strong and courageous and keep the secret of her family.

The stanza 2 of this song shows that the mother-in-law asks the bride to get up early in the morning and prepare food and drinks for her in-laws and then do other activities after. For women, this fact of getting up early in the morning is normal though there may be some women who may lament for this as we see it in this song. According to my informant, getting early in the morning is one of the qualities of Burundi women. Women are encouraged to do their home works like cooking, look after the family, etc whether they are educated or not. As we have already mentioned it, girls are trained for these home activities from their young age because they continue doing them in their marital life. This is not for Burundi women only, but also for other women from other societies as it is illustrated by Bindu's comment when she says:

> I have three daughters and girls are the same. We teach them that no matter how educated you are you need to know how to cook and how to look after a family. This is because when they go to their husband's home, the parents-in law will be there, so she has to smart enough to get up early in the morning and get the meals ready and then prepare herself for her work (42).

The above comment illustrates how gender expectation constricts female autonomy .In this song, the wife seems to lament the way she is treated by her in-laws. But from the Bindu's comment, we understand that women should not feel overloaded in doing their duties, instead, they have to get used to it since they are trained for that from their early age. The comment shows that no matter the level of education that a woman has, there are some duties that are inevitable for her in the family.

In Burundi, there are some women who suffer and who are tortured by their husbands. Traditionally, sufferings in marital life have been considered as a normal life for women. In Burundi, girls who get married knew already that they were going to suffer and live unhappy life and mistreated by their husbands and their in-laws. For this reason, girls seem unhappy when it gets time to leave their natal family and go to live with their husbands in a new family. Some would think that the wedding day should have been postponed in order to spend some other days at their parents' home something that could not be accepted. We can see this in the song entitled (Ngoma ya ruhinda) which means the bird of Ruhinda. This song is a reflection of fear that girl has of being married since she knows already that life will not be easy for her. She would like her parents to postpone the wedding day so that she may spend some other enjoyable days at her natal family. People have already internalized that all girls must suffer in their marital life as we see it in the very beginning of this song where the first verse in stanza 1 says:

Nta murondo atagira ingorane There is no girl who has no problems

This shows that sufferings have become a daily life for females in patriarchal societies. But, we have to remember that all women do not suffer in their families. Man women are happy in their families with their husbands. The stanza 2 of this song says:

Nta murondo atagira ingorane	No girl who has no problems
Mama wamvyaye wigire hino ma	My mother, come near to me
Simboniyonja simbona icondi	I don't see where I go and what I am
Mbwirira dawe nsibe kugenda ma	Tell my father to allow me not to go
Ndare uyumusi nyage n'abandeze	To pass the night here talking to my parents
Ndi n'akajambo mama ntarabaza	I have something I have not yet asked about
Ndare ndatwenga nsezere urungannwe	So that I may laugh with my peers And say goodbye to them
Intara ntabaye ejo buca zingura	The new environment is going to harm me

In the above stanza, the bride is confused. She does not see the life that she is going to live in the new family. She is asking her mother to convince her father to postpone the wedding day so that she may stay at home again at least a single day to enjoy and laugh with her peers and say goodbye to them as she believes that she will not have again enjoyable moments in her new life that she is going to start.

In traditional Burundi, if the dowry has already been paid, it is very difficult for the bride's parents to give it back to the bridegroom's family. Once the dowry is paid, the bride gets ready to leave her natal family. She is no longer a member of her natal family, but a member of her husband's family. That is why in stanza 3 of this song we see the bride's mother giving answer to her daughter, an answer which rejects the request of the bride. The mother knows that there is no way marriage can be postponed since they have already received the dowry. So, there is no way you can refuse to go.The mother goes on encouraging her daughter not to be afraid of getting married promising her to continue keeping her company. In stanza four of this song, the bride seems to be convinced. She sees there is no other choice. She is saying goodbye to her lovely brother, asking him to pay her visit in the new and unbearable environment in which she needs company. She is telling her mother to say goodbye to her young sister Kigeme who was not at home at that time. According to the bride, she is going to pay the dowry that her parents have received. At the end of this song, that is the last verse, the bride doubts whether she will die or survive in that new and

hard life that she is going to start. This song illustrates the feelings that a bride has in a patriarchal society when it is time for her to leave her natal family and go to start a new life in a new family which seems not to be enjoyable to her.

Taking care of children is another role of a great importance for women in their families. As a wife spends most of her time at home, she is in contact with her children, takes care of them and makes sure that she teaches them the fundamental norms of the society in which they live. A mother does all her best to make sure that she brings up her children in a good behavior depending on what is required by the norms of the society. If it happens that children misbehave, their mother is accused of being responsible of it. In Kirundi, they say that (indero mbi y'umwana itukwa nyina), to mean that the mother is the one to be blamed for the bad behavior of her children. This is not for Burundians only but also for other people in some other societies. Through Emecheta's_Joys of Motherhood we see such an example of a good mother. She presents us through the character Adaku a kind of such a mother who does all the best so as to help her children to prepare their future. This is seen when Adaku declares to Nnu Ego that she will not be held prisoner and says:

> Everybody accuse me of making money all the time. What else is there to do? I will spend the money I have in giving my girls a good start in life. They shall stop going to the market with me. I shall see that they get enrolled in a good school. I thing that will benefit them in the future. Many rich Yoruba families send their daughters to school these days. I shall do the same with mine. Nnaife is not going to send them away to any husband before they are ready. I will see to that! I'm leaving this stuffy room tomorrow, senior wife (168).

By analyzing what Adaku has said, we understand that a mother has a task of taking care of her children. She works hard in order to prepare a good future for her children. We see this woman who spends most of her time making money so as to pay school fees for her children. This woman does all these for the interests of her children. She does not care about what people say about her spending much time making money because she knows what she is looking for. There is an Igbo proverb which says: "The joys of being a mother was the joy of giving all to your children". This is the same case for Burundi women. According to my informant, a woman who has little food can spend a whole day without eating while she is cultivating and give the little food that she has to her children.

Alobwed' Epie's in *The Lady with a Beard* presents us a woman Emad, a widow who proves herself strong and who does not expect help from men. As a mother, she does all her best to protect her children from all things or people that can harm them.

This is seen when Ntube, her daughter breaks her pot and then all the women of the village came to see her as if something strange has happened. This pushes Emade to speaking in a consolatory way, full of sympathy toward her daughter and then says: "Bring the daughter-of-the upstream python to me. I want to take her to my hut myself". When we read this statement, we realize that a mother as a caretaker and a protector of her children plays an important role when there are people who want to do bad things to her children and makes sure that she protects them.

In addition to this, a woman being a caretaker of children can also do several activities and assumes many roles which are complimentary to one another. Being a caretaker of children, this causes a woman to spend most of her time near her children and this has an impact on women's life especially uneducated women because the fact that they remain at home prevents them the chance of doing some other activities which are done in public places and this makes them to be ignorant. This can be supported by Jeanne Stanton's work *How Being All Things: How to be a Wife, Lover, Boss, and Mother (and Still be Yourself)* when she states that:

> Most of women have spent most of their adult lives gestating and caring for small children. Those functions have preempted their entire lives. They were ignored for all high-level purposes, shut out from the world that supplies the Condition for productivity (15).

From the above passage, we understand that woman has been victim of her ignorance caused by the norms of tradition which prevent her from her rights to go in public places and do other different activities which can bring her income like trade. This causes women to remain ignorant and inferior to men and economically dependent since they cannot produce for themselves. They live a dependent life especially economically since they do not do the activities that can provide them with some money.

In traditional Burundi, a woman has to be submissive, humble and she has to respect her husband, her in-laws and all people in general especially male people. In most of the time, to respect involves to accept rules and authority that is put on you. For this reason, women find themselves under a kind of oppression in their marital life because you find that a husband has authority on her wife. In some families, her in-laws also have authority on her. So, as it is said that a wife must be submissive and respect people, women are obliged to accept this and do what is required to them to do.

For a woman, the fact of respecting her husband originates from culture, norms as well as the religious beliefs. According to the bible, a wife has to respect her

husband as she respects her God. It says: "Wives, submit to your own husbands as to the Lord" (Holy Bible, New International Version, Eph.5.22). From this verse and some other verses of the bible, Burundians believe that a wife has to respect and submit to her husband, something which is true according to the bible. But, in patriarchal system, some people misinterpret this. Some men think that a wife respects her husband and submit to him if she accepts all things that her husband tells her to do. But, sometimes this leads to a kind of oppression and dictatorship toward wives. Taking an example from our society, my informant says that there are some men who misuse the richness of the family, taking them to the market so as to get money for drinking alcohol. When it happens that a wife asks her husband to stop this, some men beat their wives saying that they do not respect them. They say that wives must accept all decisions made by their husbands and respect them as heads of families. To mean that for some men, a wife has nothing to say when her husband is wrong so as to show respect and submission to him. For this case, we understand that some men misinterpret what is written in the bible so as to keep their wives down.

In addition to this, in traditional Burundi, people believe this respect and submission of a wife to her husband. For this reason, girls from their young age are trained to respect people especially male people because they know that it will help them in their future when they get married. On wedding ceremony, singers give advice to the bride who starts her new life telling her that she is going to meet new people and live with them especially her husband and her in-laws. What they advise her to do is to respect them as members of her new family, accept what they tell her to do and submit to them. We can see this in the song entitled (Iyo ngurube) which means that pig where we see that people whom the bride asks for advice tell her to respect her mother and brothers-in-law as a secret of keeping her household. This shows that for a wife, to respect her husband and her in-laws is very important for her to live in peace with her family members. This is the reason why girls are trained for respecting people from their childhood so that they may grow up knowing that to respect people is their obligation in their lives.

From all what we have tried to analyze under this chapter, we deduce that in many societies, the patriarchal system assigns many roles to women than to men. We have realized that most of those roles assigned to women are done at home or near the home, a fact that causes women not to get the chance to be in public places. This is because they spend most of their time at home doing domestic works such as cleaning, cooking, look after children, etc. This leads to women to live a dependent

life especially economically since they do not engage themselves in the activities which can bring them an income like trade for their development. This situation affects much women since they cannot depend on themselves economically. Men are their providers which sometimes lead to poverty in families especially when it happens that the head of the family passes away or becomes unable to work because of diseases or handicap.

We have to mention also that there are some women who do not respect their husbands. They have lost the values of a good woman and sometimes become aggressive to their husbands. They drink alcohol and go back home late in the evening being drunkard. But, these are some exceptions and very few women behave in such a way. We have also deduced that women are only trained for the matter of behavior and not economic matter. They are not encouraged in doing economic works because in all songs that we have dealt with, there is no where women are encouraged to engage themselves in the activities which can bring them money. Instead, those songs say only the behavior that they should have and encourage them to accept life as it is, the reason why women are economically dependent.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This work under study has dealt with the premise that the Burundian wedding songs as a part of oral literature much used in traditional Burundi reflect the Burundians culture and their beliefs. This work assumed that Kirundi wedding songs have a strong message which is more advisory which aims at shaping people's behavior as well as educating them about gender relation between members of the family and of the whole society. Moreover, this study has proved that Rundi wedding songs are very rich in moral lessons which help to make aware members of the family especially wife and husband the behavior that each of them should have in order to build a solid and strong household. It also helps to build a dynamic society since we know that if families are strong even the whole community becomes strong. The wedding songs can be considered as a way of teaching people how to live in harmony in families especially knowing that as a man or a boy, a girl or a woman is concerned with which activities in the family on one hand and in the society on the other hand.

In chapter one which deals with Marriage and Gender Socialization in Burundi, we have looked at Burundian norms and regulations which govern marital institution basing on gender. In this chapter, we have realized that Burundians have rules and regulations that they follow when it is time to sanction a marriage. We have seen that those rules contribute much in building solid families. We have also realized that in order to conduct a marriage, there is a process that is followed. The process concerns the preparation of boys and girls from their early age to that institution of marriage whereby we realized that gender issues are taught to children from their young age, preparing them to get married while they know what they have to do and how they are to behave in their families. We have also realized that parents play a significant role when it is time for their children to celebrate their marriage. We have noticed that traditionally, the choice of one's husband or wife was not the bride's or the groom's duty, but their parents had to do this for them. For this reason, we noticed that marriage unites two families, that is the bride's and the groom's families and not the couple only.

In chapter two which dealt with Marriage and Male Role in Burundi, we deduced that Burundi tradition as a patriarchal society has duties that are assigned to men in their families. We have noticed that this assignment of responsibilities to husband in his family is patriarchal based and it also emanates from Burundian culture, norms as well as the religion beliefs whereby we have seen that the bible itself has roles that it assigns to men in their families.

All along our analysis, we have found out that because of the roles and position that a husband has in his family, some men misuse it by becoming the oppressors to the rest of their family members especially their wines. Our analysis have also proved that the roles that are given to men make them work hard (for those who know their responsibilities) in order to provide their families with their needs. We have analyzed some of the qualities of a man that people take into consideration when choosing a husband basing on the roles that he has in his family among which are being brave and courageous, possessing a land and cows, working hard etc.

In chapter three which dealt with Marriage and Female Role in Burundi, we have noticed that the patriarchal Burundian society gives an inferior position to women. We have realized that women are prevented from some of their rights in many ways. We have realized that women are overloaded with many activities especially domestic activities including taking care of children. Because of this, we noticed that women spend most of their time at home doing domestic activities which prevent them from being in public places or from doing other activities like trade which can help them to develop themselves. All along our analysis, we noticed that women live a dependent life whereby they have to depend on their husbands especially economically as they do not get opportunities to leave their homes and go to public places where they can do other activities which can bring them money for their needs. We have also realized that the first important role of a wife in her family is that of procreation. This is very important because when it happens that a wife fails to give birth to children, she is mistreated by her husband, her in-laws and sometime the society in which she lives. She was even sent back to her parents or lives a polygamy life. In our analysis, we also realized that male children are more preferred in families than female children because boys are said to be the continuation of the clan. Women who give birth to girls only are said to stop this continuation and they are chased away with their daughters. It is the male offspring that gives place to a wife in family in particular and in society in general. The wedding songs that we have dealt with have illustrated this. In our analysis, we have also realized that marital life is not easy and it requires both wife and husband to be courageous, tolerant and sometimes they have to sacrifice themselves for the well-being of their families.

The wedding songs in this chapter reveal the secret of marital life and singers in their discourse want to teach the wife and husband about marital life and the behavior that they will have so as to keep strong the household. Hence, Burundian wedding songs as a form of expressing gender issues in this patriarchal society. They are tools of teaching people the moral behavior that they should have in their families depending

on one's gender. These songs criticize or satirize the bad behavior that some people have in their families and in the whole society. The message that these songs contain aims at guiding people in a good way of living and also warns or corrects evils done by people in families and society. We have also realized that the message that these songs contain aims at preserving the Burundian culture and beliefs from our forefathers to the new generation. Wedding songs like other forms of oral literature reflect people's life, their beliefs and practices. We realized that the message of these songs is very helpful to Burundians and also to other people interested in Burundians culture and beliefs.

While carrying out this research, many difficulties were encountered among which are the lack of enough works of literature which are related to gendering through wedding songs because many works of literature on wedding songs that we came across treat wedding songs in social-cultural or socio-economic domains and not in relation to gender. For this reason, we suggest that other scholars should undertake scientific studies on wedding songs which show gender differences so as to find out what these songs say about gender.

While carrying this research, we lacked enough wedding songs which say about male role. Most of these songs address women. We would encourage those people in traditional dancing clubs to try to compose many other wedding songs of that kind because we realized that many wedding songs talk about the role, behavior and life in general of wives in their families. In these songs, we do not see where women are encouraged to do economic activities to improve their way of life. Instead, they are encouraged to a dependent life. As recommendation to the government in general and to the minister in charge of family affairs, they should put much efforts in teaching people how to live together in peace regardless their gender differences. They should also teach them human's right in general and women's rights in particular because we have realized that in Burundi as a patriarchal society there still exist women who are oppressed by their husband like beating them, others are raped. Culture is very important for any country. For this reason, Burundians should love their culture and preserve it.

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APPENDICES

Corpus of Rundi Wedding Songs and their Translation in English

1. Iyo nkware	**English rendition**
Icitabirizo: Iyo nkware	**Refrain:** That sparrow
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Cinkware yewe ga Cinkware	Cinkware you Cinkware
Nariko nditemberera	I was just wandering
Mu mirima y'ababanyi	In my neighbors' farms
Turahura n'agakware	Where I met the sparrow
Karambaza kambazagiza	It started to ask me many question
Mbe cinkware wiriwe he?	Cinkware where have you been?
Niriwe kwa patiri	I spent the day at the parish
Patiri yaguhaye iki	What has the priest given you?
Yampaye umuhezagiro	Blessing
Umuhezagiro wabageni	The wedding blessing
Impeta ku rutoke	This is the ring to wear on my finger
N'urushungu ku maguru	This is the wedding dress
Umusore yakoye inka	A young man who has paid a heifer as a dowry
Bamusasire indava	Deserves a confortable sit
Umubindi w'ubuki	Beer from honey
Kuko yatanze inkwano	For he has paid the bride price
Umusore atakoye	A young man who has not paid the dowry
Bamusasire urwiwe	Should not get a comfortable place to sit
Umubindi w'amazi	He shall get a pot of water
Kuko yabuze inkwano	For he has not paid the dowry.

2. Yengayenga mugeni	**English rendition**
Icitabirizo: yengayenga mugeni	**Refrain:** bride, walk elegantly
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Uri n'iwanyu mugeni	You have your natal family, bride
Uri n'iyo uva mugeni	You where you originate, bride
Ugire iyo uja mugeni	Have a good destination too, bride
Ngo so wawe mugeni	Your father, bride
Aragukunda mugeni	Loves you so much
Na sobukwe mugeni	Even your father in-law
Aragukunda mugeni	Is proud of you
Yagukoye inka yiwe	For he has accepted to pay the dowry to you

Gira iteka mugeni	Honor the bride
3. Pfunya urugendo	**English rendition**
Icitabirizo: Pfunya urugendo	**Refrain:** Reduce the speed, I beggin
ndahaye ndahabona	to perceive the area
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Ndahaye ndahabona (2)	I begin to perceive the area (2)
Ngahariya je ndahaye ndahabona	Look! It is over there
Muri vya bivumuvumu	The environment full of traditional trees
Bimwe bivuga umuyaga	Where only the wind blows
Ngahariya (2)	It is over there (2)
Rwa rugo rw'ibihahe	The fence made up of Euphorbia
Rusobanije iminyare	
4. Shamba rirantega	**English rendition**
Icitabirizo: Shamba rirantega	**Refrain:** the bush blocks my way
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Mabukwe (2)	My mother-in-law (2)
Mabukwe uranyabuka	Mother-in-law, you hate me
Ewe Mabukwe	My mother-in-law
Hamwe nagutumako	When I send you the message
	To tell you this appointment
Ngo uharure ibarabara	And thus clean the pathway
Ricamwo abanyabukwe	In which the bride will pas
Weho warabiki?	What have you done?
Kuva kuwambere	From Monday
Gushika kuwakane	To Thursday
Wariko urakora iki?	What were you doing?
Kirazira ntuntuke	Do not try to insult me
Wontuka wombona	If ever you try to do so
Kirazira ntunkome	I will make things hot for you
Wonkoma wombona	Do not provoke me
Mabukwe ntuntuke	Otherwise the situation will get worse
Ndazi ko uri imvuzi	I know you are too much talkative
Wontuka wombona	If ever you insult me You will pay for it
Ndi uwo kuri Budwi	I am nature enough
5. Sonera murundi	**English rendition**

Icitabirizo: soncra murundi ntaho Yabukura	**Refrain:** he is unable to feed the bride's
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Yabuguze agahama	He bought them
Yabukuye mu kayanza	He has got them from red chalk from Kayanza
Yabuguze utujumbu	He bought them using money he got From sweet potatoes
Akuye mu kirimiro	Worked for in Kirimiro
Ntaho yabukura	Where do you want him to draw these Food and beer from?
Yabuguze utumera	He bought them sorghum he worked for
Akuye mu Kirundo	A long time in Kirundo
Mama izo nera	What poor creatures
Ntiyamara imanza	He never participated in parties
Ntaho yabukura	Where do you want him to draw them from
Ntiyaterera	He never contributed in parties
Ntaho yabukura	Where do you want him To draw food and beer

6. Yabaye amazi masa	**English rendition**
Icitabirizo: Yabaye amazi masa	**Refrain:** It is pure water
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Urumviriza	Please, test it first
Ni amazi si amarwa	It is water, not banana wine
Yavomye Waga	He fetched water from Waga river
Aravoma aruzuriza	And filled the pots
Na Siguvyaye	And also he fetched water from Siguvyaye river
Aravoma aruzuriza	And filled pots
Nasomye ndacira	I tasted it and spit it away immediately
Si amarwa ya gihonyi	It is neither beer from Gihonyi banana
Si amarwa ya gitsiri	Nor beer from Gitsiri banana

7. Uraba wumva ndaje	**English rendition**
Icitabirizo: Uraba wumva ndaje:	**Refrain:** Have you heard me? I am coming:
Ibitero:	**Verses:**

Uraba wumva	Have you heard
Wumva ndaje muntu uri imbere	People inside the household I am coming
Wumva ndaje ntugire ngo nasivye	Do not think that I have postponed the appointment
Uteragure izo nkoko	Now, make ready the pots of beer
Uteragure izo ntango	Make the food ready

8. Eee inkangara	**English rendition**
Icitabirizo: Eee inkangara	**Refrain**: Eee the baskets
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Inkangara	Basket
Inkangara (2)	Basket (2)
Inkangara iri he?	Where is the basket?
Inkangara ivuye hehe?	Where does the basket come from?
Iwabo w'umukobwa	It comes from the bridegroom's in-laws
Iherekejwe nande?	Who accompanies it?
Inasenge w'umukobwa	The bride's aunt
Inkangara ijemwo iki?	What is inside the basket?
Inkokoy'umukwe	The chicken for the son-in-law
Inkangara ijemwo iki?	What is inside the basket?
Igisahira c'umukwe	Bananas for the son-in-law
Inkangara ijemwo iki?	What is inside the basket?
Akuki k'umukwe	Delicious banana wine mixed with Honey for the son-in law

9. Honga ndore	**English rendition**
Icitabirizo: Eeeh honga ndore	**Refrain:** Give a gift
Honga	Yes give a gift so that we
Eeeh honga ndore	see and accept
Honga	
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Honga ndore ndabeko uri umugabo (2)	Give a present to prove that you are really a man (2)
Honga ndore ndakwihere umugeni (2)	Give a present so that I offer you the bride (2)
Honga ndore ndabeko uri umugabo	Give a reward to show your manhood

Ko uri umugabo canke uri akagabo	Give a reward to prove that you are a man worthy of the name
Honga inyana jewe ndakugabire	Give a heifer so that I offer you a bride
Honga inyana imwe ya Bigeni	Give the heifer that of Bigeni
Honga urubega gwa nyina wa muntu	Give the clothes for the bride's mother
Honga umunyike wa nyina wa muntu	Give a piece of cloth for the bride's mother
Honga umushanana wa nyina wa muntu	Give the gift for the bride's brother
Honga icuma ca musaza wa muntu	Give a piece of land so that I offer
Honga igisate c'itongo	you a bride
Honga itongo jewe ndakugabire	I tell you the truth
Ndakugabire ndakwihere umugeni	I offer you a bride

10. Ndabe ga ma	**English rendition**
Iccitabirizo: Ndabe ga ma	**Refrain:** Let me see, mum
Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Ndabe ga Roza we	Roza, let me see
Ndabe ico wahabiye	Let me see what you run after
Ndabe ico wiguze	Let me see what you yearned for
Ndabe	Let me see
Ndabe ga mwiza we	Let me see my dear
Ndabe ico bahaya	Let me see what was said all Over the roads
Ndabe ico bavuga	Let me see what they talked about
Ndabe	Let me see
Rya tunga bavuga	Is this the wealth that stirred
Oya mama ntiryoba iryo	hundreds of hearts?
Rwa rugo bahaya	Is this the wealthy household
Oya mama ntirwoba urwo	Claimed loudly
Rya tongo bahaya	Is this the land they praised?
Oya mama ntiryoba iryo	
Za nka bavuga	Is this the cattle they praised?
Oya mama ntizoba izo	Let me see my sister
Ndabe ga mwene ma	Let me see what you sacrificed
Ndabe ico waruhiye	yourself for
Ndabe ga mwenewa	Let me see my sister

11. Gorora amaboko muhoberane

Icitabirizo: Gorora amaboko muhoberane

Ibitero:

Bagenzi ndabakunda
Mbakunda ntari Imana
Iyaba nari Imana
Jewe nobagabiye
Nkabaha ibikwiye
Uwo muhungu ahoyaza iwacu
Yaraje kudusaba umugeni
Nyina w'umukobwa aramurahira
Ng'umwana wanje ntarakura
Se w'umukobwa aramusubiza
Murekure agende azokurira iyo agiye

Umwana wiwacu
Twamureze neza
Mu ndero y'ikirundi
Ni mutima utikunda
Agakunda abagenzi
Ehe none aragiye
Umurondo wiwacu
Yari umunyaruhimbi
Yarasenya akavoma

Yarakuka agakubura

Nawega muhungu
Umuhungu umutwaye
Uramufata neza
Umurinde ikofi
Kuko ntaryo yarazi
Ewe ga muhungu
Nongere ndakubwire
Uwomwana wiwacu
Uramurinda izuba

English rendition

Raise your arms and hug each other

Verses:

I love you my friends
I love you though I am not God
If I were God
I would give you all you need

That groom when he came to our home
He was coming to ask for a bride
The bride's mother refused
That her daughter is still young
Then the bride' father answered her
Let her go, she will be mature in her new family
Our child
We brought up her in a good way
In Rundi norms
She is not selfish
She loves people
See then, she is gone
Our daughter
She was the caretaker of Uruhimbi
She was the one who fetches water and firewood
She was the one who does cleanings
Then she is gone
And you the groom
Who marries her
Take care of her
Do not slap her
She is not used to it
And you the groom
Let me tell you again
Our daughter
Needs a shelter

N'inzara n'inyota
Uramurinda irungu
Yakuriye mu bandi

She needs food and drinks
Do not leave her alone
She grows up with companion

12. Hora mwana wa mama

Icitabirizo: Hora mwana wa mama

Ibitero:

Hora nkwihoreze
Mpoze umwana twareranywe

Mpoze umwana twakuranye
Ugiye tutakwanse
Genda wubake neza
Genda wubake urwawe
Urwaso rwubatse abandi
Genda wiyungayunge
Mu ntara utabaye
Uzogorwa na vyinshi
Uragumya umutima
Mwana wa ma
Ka kajambo twayaze
Turi babiri mwana wa ma
Urakagumya mpinga yanje
Kazogufasha mwiza wanje
Uyo sobukwe wawe
Nuyo nyokobukwe
Urabatega yompi
Nibo bavyeyi bawe
Ugiye kwubaka urwawe
Ugiye kuba umugwiza
Uze ugwize ibibondo
Uheze ugwize umuryango

English rendition

Refrain: Keep quiet I sooth you my dear

Verses:

Keep quiet I sooth you my dear
I sooth the child that we were brought up together
I sooth the child we grew together
Even though you go, we love you
Go and make a good home
Go and make your own home
Your father's home is for others
Go and be humble
In a strange milieu
Many things will be difficult to you
Keep strong
My sister
Remember the secret
That we talked to each other
Keep it my dear
It will help you
Your father-in-law
And your mother-in-law
Listen to them
Those are your parents
You are going to make your own home
You are going to be a multiplier
Give birth to many children
And then, enlarge your in-laws' family

13. Umukobwa mwiza

Icitabirizo: Bandaye ku mugono kugira bamunyibe

Ibitero:

Ntore y'iwacu
Umwigeme mwiza
Aratwengatwenga
Atwenga rikaka
Umuhungu wanyu
Abonye umukobwa
Umukobwa mwiza
Akamiramitwa
Yagirango amunyibe
Uwo cambu mwumva
Yazanye inkwano
Yo gukwa umukobwa
Umukobwa mwiza
Nagirango ni umanje
Abafise imari
Nibo ben'Imana
Nibo bamujanye
Genda mukobwa
Wubake urwawe
Ugwize umuryango
Wigenze neza

English rendition

Refrain: They passed a sleepless night trying to steal my daughter

Verses:

Our beloved
The beautiful girl
She smiles
She has good smile
Your son
When he sees the girl
The beautiful girl
He desires her
He wants to steal my daughter
My daughter's father-in-law
Brought the dowry
To pay for the bride
The beautiful girl
I was thinking that she is mine
Those who are rich
They are lucky
They take her from me
Go my daughter
Make your own home
Give birth to many children
Behave well my daughter

14. Uramurera

Icitabirizo: Uramurera

Ibitero:

Umwana wacu — Niwamutuma gucana bikamunanira
Ni uwisangi — Niwamutuma gukinjika bikamunanira
Yari ikibondo — Urantumako nirerere ntiyaribwakure
Ntazi irungu — Ni umwana yoga mubandi
Ntazi ikofi
Umwana wacu — Niwamutuma gukuba bikamunanira
Atewe iteka — Niwamutuma gucumba bikamunanira
Yere iwanyu — Urantumako nirerere ntiyaribwakure

Utere impundu
Ntere iyindi
Umwana wacu
Infura ya mama
Yari ikibondo
Umwize vyose
Asenye avome
Umwana wacu
Ni uwisangi
Intore iwanyu
Intore iwacu
Akere bose

Ni umwana yoga mu bandi

Niwamutuma gusiza bikamunanira
Niwamutuma gutera bikamunanira
Urantumako nirererc ntiyaribwakure
Ni umwana yoga mubandi

Niwamutuma kubanguka bikamunanira
Niwamutuma guterera bikamunanira
Urantumako nirererc ntiyaribwakure
Ni umwana yoga mu bandi

English rendition

Refrain: Educate her

Verses:

Our child
She is ours commonly
She was still young
She is not used to being alone
She is not used to beatings
Our child is honored
Let her be blessed
Then rejoice
And I rejoice too

My mother's first born
She was still young
Teach her all things
Let her fetch water and firewood

Let her be blessed
Let her give birth to many children
Then you rejoice

If you tell her to light fire and she fails
If you tell her to cook and she fails
Call me to come and teach her myself
She was not mature enough to do that

If you tell her to grind and she fails
If you tell her to prepare bread and she fails
Call me to come and teach her myself
She was not mature enough to do that
our child
If you tell her to cultivate and she fails
If you tell her to plant and she fails
Call me to come and teach her myself
She was not mature enough to do such works
our child
If you tell her to cut grasses and she fails
If you tell her to cultivate and she fails
Call me to come and teach her myself
And I rejoice too
She was still young to do such works

15. Iyo ngurube

Icitabirizo: Iyo ngurube

Ibitero:

Ivyo ng'aha vyananiye
Ivyo ng'aha biragoye
Ivyo ng'aha vyananiye
Umuhungu yanyobeye
Mu gitondo ni umuntu
Ku mutaga ni intama
Ku mugoroba agahinduka
Mw'ijoro ni ingurube
Mabukwe yanyobeye
Mu gitondo arazinduka
Mukazana nshuhiriza
Baramwawe barashonje
Sobukwe aragwabiye
Zana urwarwa zana indimano
Nihere umuryango
Natenyenya akavururira
Ivyo ng'aha vyananiye
Mubona biragoye
Iryo banga ryananiye
Kwubaka biragoye
Databukwe yananiye
Mabukwe yanyobeye
Baramwanje bananiye
Mpanuze abagenzi
Naragiye iyo i Buyogoma
Gutererezа impanuro
Bati yewe biragoye
Urakomera kw'ibanga
Nyokobukwe uramwubaha
Baramwawe urabakunda
Ube rukundo mu muryango
Ako niko kabanga

English rendition

Refrain: That pig

Verses:

I do not understand what happen here
Things are not easy
Life here is unbearable
My husband is changeable
In morning, he behaves humanly
At noon, he behaves like sheep
Then in the evening he changes
At night, he becomes like a pig
My mother-in-law is unbearable
She wakes up early in the morning
Telling me to prepare food
That my brothers-in-law are hungry
That my father-in-law is very hungry
She tells me to bring her beer
To give to her family members
And if I delay, she becomes angry
The situation here is unbearable
I tell you it is difficult
I have failed to maintain my marriage
Marital life is not easy
My father-in-law is unbearable
My mother-in-law is incomprehensible
My brothers-in-law are unbearable
Let me ask for advice from my friends
I went to Buyogoma region
Asking for advice
They told me
To keep strong
To show respect to my mother-in-law
To love my brothers-in-law
To be cooperative in the family
That is the secret of marital life

16. Reka kurira

Icitabirizo: Reka kurira ugende mugeni wa Nzobe erega ugiye nk'abandi ntusarare

Ibitero:

Mukobwa nakunze nkubarire
Si je ndakuriye mwana wa ma
Wariwe n'abavyeyi bakuvyaye
Bo babonye inyana inyananyana
Baca baheba umwana bibarutse
Ngo ehe genda tuzovyara uwundi

Uramenya umenyere mpinga ya bitaho
Umenyere murundi mpinga nfise
Murundi aragora mwana wa ma
Aragona ari maso mpinga ya mama
Akaniha atagwaye mpinga ya bitaho
Ndagucire agace mugeni wa nzobe
Muramukazawe niyagutuka
Urahitana amazi mwana wa ma
Uyashire mw'itama ntuyamira
Uheze ntuyacire mwana wa mama
Uti weho uri umukobwa uzoyabona

Muramwawe nawe niyagutuka
Ngo ntaco yakoye ntaco yazanye

Uramwishura nawe utiziganya
Uti naje ntaco nahasanze uranfata ukwo

Mukobwa wiwacu nkwihoreze
Ugiye tutakwanka mwana wa ma
Uze ukunde abo usanze nfura ya ma
Uze ubafate neza ntuhemuke
Nyokobukwe akubonye akwirahire

Ngo ndashimiye Imana ikungabiye
Ewe mwana wa mama nkwihoreze

English rendition

Refrain: Go, do not cry the bride, you are gone like others

Verses:

Let me tell you something my friend
I am not the one who did this to you
But your parents
Who have seen a dowry
And decided to leave their own child
Telling her to go, that they will give birth to another child
You have to know and be used to
You have to know your husband
It is not easy to know your husband
He pretends to be asleep while not
He groans without being ill
Let me advice you young lady
When your sister-in-law insults you
Put water in your mouth

Do not swallow it
And tell her: you are a girl and you will see the world
When your brother-in-law insults you
That your husband paid the dowry for nothing that he brought nothing
Answer him
Leave me as I am, I too did not find anything here
Let me advice you my sister
We do not hate you though you are gone
Love your in-laws
Take care of them
So that your mother-in-law be proud of you
And praise God for having you
I sooth you my sister

Inyuma y'ivyo vyose uzobarirwa	After all those things that you will be told
Uzobirabire hasi wihorere	Keep quiet and worry not
Erega ugiye nk'abandi ntusarare	Do not cry, you go like other Girls

17. Ngoma y'ikigwa ndamuzanye

Icitabirizo: Ngoma y'ikigwa ndamuzanye

Ibitero:

Ndamuzanye Burundi we uranderera	I bring her to you people
Ndamuzanye mabukwe we uranderera	Take care of her
Ndamuzanye ni umwana umwe	I bring her to you mother-in-law
Yaravukanye ntiyakurikigwa	Take care of her
Ntagira ikizoza munyuma	My only child
Ndaje	I come
Ndamuzanye munterekere	I bring her, give me much beer
Mutanterekeye ndamusimbane	If not, I bring her to those who
Iyo banterekera nkarambirwa	Will provide me much drinks
Ndaje	I come
Ndamuzanye ni ikivumuvumu	I bring the beautiful girl
Kivuma imisozi nayo abasore	Mountains and young men
bakamwenyura	Smile at her sight
Bakabura intege zogutambuka	And lose energy to go on walking
No gutaha	And go back home
Ndaje	I come
Ndamuzanye mu bigo binini kwa	I bring her in a wealthy family
Sebukwe na inabukwe hahandi	Where they possess barns full
Baca ibigega bagatimbika	Of crops but give little
Bakabura inzoga zoguha abashitsi	To guests
Nabarimu	To teachers
Ndaje	I come
Ndamuzanye mu bigo binini kwa	I bring her in a wealthy family
Sebukwe na inabukwe hahandi	To her father and mother-in-law
Baca ibigega bagatimbika	Where they own everything but
Bitabuza umukobwa kugogwa	Which cannot prevent the lady's Unhappiness
Ndaje	I come
Ndamuzanye ni kirwanirwa	I bring her, she for whom
Yararwaniwe na batanu	Five young men had fought

English rendition

Refrain: I bring the bride of ikigwa

Verses:

Uwagatandatu aramusimbanye	But you the sixth deserves her
Ndaje	I come

18: Ngoma ya ruhinda

Icitabirizo: Ngoma ya ruhinda

Ibitero:

Nta mukobwa atagira ingorane	There is no girl who has no problems
Yabonye koko kobuca agenda	When she sow that she is near to leave
Asimbira kw'isoko agura umutaka	She went to the market and bought an Ambrela
Agura ubudede bumwe bwo munda	She bought jewel
Agura amavuta intake n'agahama	She bought oil
Agura inyerere agura n'akagufu	She bought "inyerere" and a necklace
Amahera ahera ataguze ibirezi	The money got finished before
Ararira maze ashaka gusaba	She bought all she needed Then she cried loudly
Nta murondo atagira ingorane	There is no girl who has no problems
Mama wamvyaye wigire hino	My mother, come near to me
Simbona iyonja simbona icondi	I do not see where I go or what I am
Mbwirira dawe nsibe kugenda	Tell my father to allow me not to go
Ndare uyumusi nyage n'abandeze	To pass the night here talking to my parents
Ndi n'akajambo mama ntarabaza	I have something I have not yet asked about
Ndare ndatwenga nsezere urunganwe	So that I may lough with my peers and say goodbye to them
Intara ntabaye ejo buca zingura	The new family is going to harm me
Musaninka wanje wigire hino	Come near to me
Inkwano z'abandi twaraziriye	We have already received the dowry
Mbe bura bwanje kugira ubwoba?	Why are you afraid my lovely daughter?
Kigeme azoza yirigwe ararima	Kigeme will come and help you to cultivate
Nzoza tuyage duce makeyi	I will come so that we can chat
Uyage kibondo ngende giciye	We will chat and you will be happy
Musaninka my daughter,	Get out my daughter, you are gone
Sohoka kiyago ugiye nk'abandi	Like other girls
Musazanje nkunda je ndaruhayinda	My lovely brother, I leave I can hear those who are going to accompany you are

English rendition

Refrain: The bride of ruhinda

Verses:

	already here
Ndengeye hirya mu rugo rw'abandi	I am going to belong to another family
Sinzi kazoza sinzi ibizoshika	I do not know neither my future nor what will happen to me
Sinzi imigenzo sinzi imigambi	Plans to me
Urasimba undabe ishamba ntiringure	Come to visit me
Uraza tuyage irungu ntirinyice	I do not know their culture
Nzicurikire nicure kuza	And I will wish to come but in vain
Nzoyaga n'inka nyage n'ivomo	Domestic activities will be my company
	Come so that we may chat
Ndaciwe ndagiye mama murampevye	You abandon me and I am gone
Kigeme akaza uti nakabayi	Say goodbye to Kigeme when she comes back
Uti wewe aragiye kwishura inkwano	Tell her that I am going to pay back the dowry
Umbwirire data uti aragusczeye	Say goodbye to my father
Arabe ibitaha amenyeko andungitse	Let him be aware that he sends me
Asibe ikiyago yibuke za nyana	And then look after cows and the household
Urugo arurabe mvuye mu rwuzuye	
Nzopfa nzokira sindabizi ma	I do not know whether I will die or Live

English rendition

19. Yari umunyaruhimbi mawe yari Umwari nk'abandi mawe

Refrain: She was the caretaker of the place where milk is kept

Ibitero:	**Verses:**
Ngurabaho mugenzi	Wish you to live well my friend
Uraciwe uragiye	Now you are gone
Nguragiye iwabandi	in another family
Haravuna ntihunga	It is a harmful family
Iyo haramutse hunze	
Hungisha agapfunsi	They are not good caretaker
Niwagera iyugiye	When you reach there
Ugakumbura iwanyu	And miss your parents' home
Uraja mukigari	Go to an elevated place
Uraranganye amaso	Look at distant your natal home
Ngo uti hariya ni iwacu	Then say that is my natal home
Narinarakubwiye	I told you

Ngo uhebe umukubuzo	To avoid cleaning
Ni uruziro rw'abahungu	Because it is what boys like
Ngurabaho wamwiza	Wish you to live well my dear
Urakura umenye ubwenge	Be mature enough and be aware
Ubwana ubusige iwanyu	Leave your childish behavior at your natal home
Ngw'ikimbabaje si ikindi	What makes me sad is this
Niwagera iyugiye	When you reach there
Uzogwara singwaze	I will not take care of you when youget ill
Nguzovyara simpeke	I will not hug your baby when you give birth

LIST OF INFORMANTS

NAME	SEX	AGE	PROVINCE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION
MUCO SOPHIA	F	63	CANKUZO	FARMING
MINANI CLAUDETE	F	37	CANKUZO	FARMING
NCUTI YVAN	M	60	CANKUZO	FARMING
NIYONKURU DEO	M	30	CANKUZO	FARMING
IRISHURA CLEMENT	M	40	NGOZI	TEACHING
TOYI BELLA	F	38	NGOZI	BANK WORKER
KARIWABO LONGIN	M	27	NGOZI	STUDENT
RUKUNDO PAULINE	F	25	NGOZI	STUDENT
MANIRAKIZA DIANE	F	34	MAKAMBA	BUSINESS WOMAN
SIBOMANA MARTIN	M	45	MAKAMBA	BUSINESS WOMAN
BIZIMANA GRACE	F	40	GITEGA	SHOE REPAIRER
MANIRAMBONA PRISCA	F	25	GITEGA	FARMING
NIMBONA BELYSE	F	55	GITEGA	FARMING
RUVIWABO DIDACE	M	59	GITEGA	FARMING
CIZA PIE	M	22	GITEGA	FARMING
NDAYIZEYE ZEPHILIN	M	39	BUBANZA	FARMING
CITEGETSE THERANCE	M	36	BUBANZA	BUSINESS MAN
SIMBIZI INGRIDE	F	32	BUBANZA	BUSINESS WOMAN
NIZIGAMA VALERIE	F	41	MAKAMBA	BUSINESS WOMAN