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Simbananiye, Aurore; Sous la direction de : Dr. Grégoire Njejimana

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UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

PRAGRAMATIC ANALYSIS OF METAPHOR IN SOME BURUNDIAN EPIC POEMS.

« AMAZINA Y'UBUHIZI »

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DEDICATION

*To my **parents**,*

*To my **brothers** and **sisters**,*

I do dedicate this work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the assistance and advice of several people. We would like to express them our gratitude for their help.

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CHAPTER I. THE PROBLEM

1.0. Introduction

The main function of a language is communication. We speak in order to be understood otherwise language would serve no purpose.

In this case, every linguistic message must be simple and easily perceptible for the hearer. Nonetheless, for multiple reasons, a linguistic message can take various forms. It may involve a literal meaning, a figurative one or a metaphorical meaning. This study intends to focus on the metaphor use in some Burundian epic poems.

1.1. Motivation of the study

Metaphor is a special type of comparison in language use. This figure of speech is frequently used in poetry.
Our analysis will be pragmatic and will focus on metaphor found in some Burundian epic poems.

Both "metaphor" and "epic poems" will be explicitly defined later. The question is whether the message is well understood or not because of the use of many images.

We will try to know why the use of those figures of speech in general and the use of metaphor in particular, and also try to establish the comparison in order to make the analysis clear and understandable.

In order to clarify the study, it would be better to use the pragmatic approach, since according to Levinson
(1983 : 5) pragmatics is the study of language in usage.

1.2. Statement of the problem

What we call "amazina y'ubuhizi" is a component of a literary genre that has a good place in Burundian oral literature. This literary genre is very rich and refers to many domains and to traditional course of events.

Nowadays, there are some opportunities to hear that kind of literature for example on weddings or national feasts. Epic poems contain messages that people hardly understand or that people do not understand at all; whereas those messages are like regulators of social behaviours. All this is due to the metaphorical expressions used in those epic poems. Our study then will be a contribution to resolve the problem with regard to the type of literary genre, we will specify later the referent.

For this moment, we can clarify that there are many other ways of qualifying our "amazina y'ubuhizi" and therefore, we faced some difficulties about the right term: "epic poems", "epic songs" and "praise names".

However the main problem is not the use of this term or that one.

When analysing those epic poems, we will have to pick up some different metaphorical expressions. Our purpose then is to discover the mechanisms of transmission of the meaning, the different steps taken to get to the right meaning as it is uttered by the reciter and as it has to reach the hearer.

This task being difficult, the analysis will be based on some pragmatic theories for the contribution to the study.

1.3.Delimitation of the study

In general, literature is an art. Poetry being a special kind of literature, adds an artistic dimension to the latter. Reality appears with an extraordinary embellishment. To be more precise, our sphere of activity will be in Burundian oral literature. But the definite aspect of the poetic genre is another matter. In this study, we will limit our study exclusively on metaphor. This choice is necessarily motivated by its complex character and frequency in Burundian epic poems.

1.4. Aims of the study

Sometimes, epic poems are performed on stage without being understood by the addressee. This is due maybe to the fact that metaphorical expressions embody various meanings.

Every piece of epic poems is uttered according to the context, situation and addressee. The addressee then must have the same canal of meaning. He has to be qualified enough to catch the message addressed to him. And the message is encoded since the composer uses many images of comparison, metaphor being the highest type of comparison.

Ndi inzoka y'umushana
I am a kind of a supple snake

If the composer talks about "the snake", what does the addressee understand? When we all know that a snake has many qualities (venomous, supple, flexible, hypocrite, ...). The composer adds (y'umushana); a qualifier for a precision to be understood; to mean a kind of supple snake.

Then the purpose of our study is to show and to specify and clarify the different ways of comprehension for this particular genre of message hardly understandable.

CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Definition of Pragmatics

Pragmatics is a term attributable to the philosopher Morris (See Levinson 1983 : 1), who attempted to set out the general shape of a science of signs i.e. Semiotics.
Within Semiotics, he distinguished three branches of inquiry; syntax, the study of the formal relation of signs to one another, Semantics, the study of the relation of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable, and pragmatics, the study of the relations of signs to interpreters.

As a subfield of linguistics, where it has traditionally been defined as the study of language use, pragmatics is a new domain which is still seeking its boundaries.

In fact, many scholars have tried to define pragmatics. Gumperz (1982 : 3) defines pragmatics as follows :

> ***Pragmatics is a study which is concerned with the analysis of communicative process involved in human learning, social cooperation and underlying social evolution. It concentrates directly on the verbal strategies of speaker (hearer coordination, as revealed in turn-taking) and other processes of conversational processes.***

This definition specifies the important points which pragmatics tackles such as a good understanding of verbal signs in human cooperative processes.

Pragmatics is also a theory of language use. According to Kempson (1977) the main aim of such theory is expected to

be the explanation of how speakers can use the sentences of that language to convey messages which do not bear any necessary relation to the linguistic content of the sentence used.

Such theory of pragmatics explains also the relation between the use of sentence and linguistic act (illocutionary act) which that sentence is used to perform.

Levinson (1983:5) asserts that pragmatics is the study of language usage. It has long been recognized that language is a tool for society to communicate ideas, feelings, beliefs, needs and all kinds of information.

Crystal (1985:240) defines pragmatics as follow :

> ***In modern linguistics it has come to be applied to the study of language form the point of view of the users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in an act of communication.***

In fact, language creates links between members of a given community. Indeed, a pragmatic study could not work without an analysis and description of the relationships that exist between the participants in communication.
Who are the participants? The speaker and hearer use the language for a certain purpose. So to study this interaction one needs to know the context in which the language has been used.

Levinson (1983:7) gives another definition of pragmatics where he stresses the role of context :

Pragmatics is concerned solely with performance principles of language use. A theory of pragmatics would essentially be concerned with the disambiguation of sentences by the contexts in which they were uttered.
In fact context does a lot in the interpretation of utterances that make an effective communication.

After having examined different definitions of pragmatics given by scholars, we have noticed that all of them share a point : Pragmatics is related to language in use.

To sum up, we have adopted a definition which is understandable and somehow complete in Levinson (1983:9). Pragmatics covers both content - dependent aspects of language structure and principles of language usage and understanding that have nothing or little to do with linguistic structure.

2.2. **Pragmatics versus Semantics**

Hurford and Heasley (1983) define semantics as the study of meaning in a language. Pragmatics is defined as the study of meaning in context.

However, Semantics and pragmatics are distinct fields although they are complementary and interrelated fields of study.

According to Levinson (1983:19), Semantics is the study of sentence - meaning while pragmatics is the meaning theory. But we find that the difference between the two fields is so vague, insubstantial and elusive that it is impossible to come to any clear, concrete or tangible

conclusion about it. Leech (1983:6) handles the matter as follows.

Semantics traditionally deals with meaning as dyadic relation. This corresponds to the question : "What does X mean?"

Here meaning is defined as a property of expression in abstraction from particular situations, speaker or hearer. As for Pragmatics it deals with meaning as a triadic relation. The corresponding question is "What did you mean by X?" The meaning is defined in relation to the speaker or user of the language.

For Recanati (1987:2), the subject of pragmatics is what takes place on the speaker-hearer axis, that is, verbal exchange taken as an intersubjective activity or social practice. In other words, pragmatics studies what speakers do with words whereas semantics studies what words mean, what speakers use words to talk about.

2.3. Context

As discussed in Lyons (1981:219), there is no simple answer to the question : what is context? However some authors have made an attempt to provide an explanation to the term "context".
Brown and Yule (1983:25) point out that context refers to the circumstances in which language is used.
Wardhaugh (1985:102) sees context in terms of its role. He states that context helps remove the multiple ambiguities that utterances would have if they were taken in isolation. Context has features which are relevant to the disambiguation of an utterance.
The context is operated by the persons satisfying the two functions : a speaking-function and a hearing-function.
Those persons are called participants.

2.3.1. Participants

According to the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, a participant is a person who is present in a SPEECH EVENT and whose presence may have an influence on what is said and how it is said.

He or she may actually take part in the exchange of speech or be merely a silent participant, for example, as part of an audience to whom any political or economical speech is made.

On the same concept of participants, Lyons (1977 : 36) points out the fact that the speaker addresses an utterance to (an)other person(s) who is (are) present in a situation. He focuses, though, on the social statutes of participants which determines the terms of address if the speaker is to produce appropriate sentences in various situations. As a matter of fact, the way a superior addresses his our her inferior is different from the way the latter addresses the former.
Or, the way a man addresses a woman is different from the way he addresses a man like him, especially in the case of gentlemen and ladies.

2.3.2. Physical setting

Hymes (See Brown and Yule 1983 : 38) uses the term "setting" meaning both where the event is situated in place and time, and also the physical relations of interactants which respect to posture and gesture and facial expression. Wardhaugh (1985:102) points out that an utterance can make reference to the external world in the way that it names objects and participants and indicates places, positions and time.

Moreover, apart from the knowledge of the world around them, the participants share a common knowledge of what is uttered at a given time and how it is said.

2.3.3. Topic

According to Wardhaugh (1985:104) to understand a bit of conversation, one of the point we must examine is the content of what is said and the precise manner in which that content is communicated. He adds that specific choice of words and phrases must also be interesting, particularly as they relate to the topic or topics under discussion.

2.3.4. Knowledge of the world

As discussed in Brown and Yule (1983:233) the interpretation of a discourse is based to a large extent on a simple principle of analogy with that we have experienced in the past. The question is then to know how we organize all this knowledge and activate only limited amounts when needed.
Minsky states that (see Brown and Yule 1983:238) our knowledge is stored in memory in the form of data structure, which he calls "frame", and which represents stereotyped situations. When one encounters new situations (...) one selects from memory a structure called frame.
This is a remembered framework to be adapted to fit reality by changing details as necessary.

The most sensible conclusion we can come to is that it is not easy to define the scope of context. Thus the list of contextual features mentioned above is not exhaustive. We have chosen those which seem to be more important.

2.4.Conversational Implicature

A conversation is a social activity involving at least two people willing to communicate orally. The task undertaken is supposed to be mutually satisfactory and beneficial to the participants. Thus, conversation is a cooperative enterprise.
The silence during the conversation is often embarrassing for both parties. But our case is special since it is only the reciter who is given the floor and others have to listen.
That is why, we do not consider only the literal meaning of an utterance because very often the reciter wants to mean more than what he says.

The notion of implicature provides more explicit account of the matter.
Indeed, implicature is a kind of reasonable inference related to the method by which hearers understand the indirect illocutions of utterances.

Hurford and Heasley (1983:288) assume that implicature exists by reason or general social conventions, of which the principle of cooperativeness between speakers is the most important.

Grice's theory of Implicature

The interpretation of an utterance sometimes does not focus on the lexical meaning of the words which make the utterance. The hearer may go beyond the linguistic meaning of the sentences, to find the hidden message, or the implied meaning. That leads us to the notion of "Conversational Implicature".

According to Brown and Yule (1983:32), the notion of conversational implicature is derived from a general principle of conversation plus a number of maxims which speakers must obey.

The general principle is called "Cooperative Principle" (CP) which Grice (See Speber and Wilson 1986:33) presents in the following terms :

> Make your conversational contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

According to Kempson (1977:70) the conversational implicatures of any utterance are, by definition, the assumptions over and above the meaning of the sentence used, which the speaker knows and wants the hearer to make (in the face of an apparently open violation of the cooperative principle), in order to interpret the speaker's sentence in accordance with the cooperative principle.

Grice (See Speber and Wilson 1986:33) develops the Cooperative Principle into nine maxims which are classified into four categories.

The linguistic interest of those maxims is that they generate inferences, beyond the semantic meaning of an utterance.

1. Maxims of Quantity.

a) Make your contribution as informative as required
b) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

2. Maxims of Quality.

c) Do not say what you believe to be false
d) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence

3. Maxim of relation

e) Be relevant

4. Maxims of manner

f) Avoid obscurity of expression
g) Avoid ambiguity
h) Be brief
i) Be orderly

The maxims mentioned above are necessarily obeyed for the conversation to be successful.

2.5. The theory of Speech Acts

A more general approach has been worked out by linguists and philosophers especially John Searle and J.L. Austin.
Searle (1969) builds upon Austin (1962) to develop the notion of speech acts, i.e action which the utterance of text intentionally or conventionally performs.

Austin distinguishes three different types of action involved in or caused by the utterance of a sentence :

* The locutionary act : is the act of uttering a sentence with a certain meaning. In other words, it is the saying of something that is meaningful and that can be understood, that is,
having a clear sense and reference.

* The illocutionary act :is the act of intending an utterance to constitute an act of praise, criticism, agreement, ... In other words, it is an act of using a sentence in order to perform a function.

* The perlocutionary act : is the act of uttering a sentence to achieve a certain consequent response from the hearer, for example to frighten him, to amuse him, to get him to do something. In other words, it is the result or effect that is produced by meaning of saying something.

According to Searle (1969), a speaker performs speech acts, utterances when talking. In this connection he distinguishes three types of acts :

* Utterance acts : which are acts of producing various sounds, words and sentence.

* Prepositional acts : which are acts of referring and predicating.

  - referential act, that is relating one individual to another.

  - prepositional acts by which speakers ascribe a property to individual identified by a referential act.

* Illocutionary acts : which are acts that specify the purpose of the speaker in the discourse; for example, asking, promising, warming, threatening, ...

Searle and Austin's classifications are not contradictory; they are rather complementary. When combining the two views, we get four types of acts :

* The locutionary utterance act as a form of activity or a mere performance of speech sound.

* The prepositional act as the act of uttering something meaningful.

* The illocutionary act as a performance of a certain function.

* The perlocutionary act as a reaction to the illocutionary one.

In real life conversation those four acts appear almost simultaneously. When conveying a message, the speaker must utter sounds (utterance act) which are recognized as being meaningful (prepositional act) in order to achieve his intention (illocutionary act) by producing certain effects on the addressee (perlocutionary act).

For Searle, there is in any utterance a "locution" which is associated with a certain force. This force is what is called the illocutionary force, that is, a way in which an utterance is to be taken. Therefore, each speech act is interpreted according to the locution, to its proposition
and its contexts.

However, the interpretation of a speech act by an analyst can differ from the one intended by the speaker and that is the point on which Austin and Searle do not agree.

As a matter of fact, Austin holds that to an illocutionary act corresponds necessarily one illocutionary force, but Searle argues that for one illocutionary act, several forces may be intended by the speaker and several recognized by the addressee. In few words, Searle holds that the illocutionary force of an utterance is that interpreted by the addressee, which however, may differ from that intended by the speaker. To avoid this ambiguity and vagueness of the illocutionary force of an utterance, Searle (1969:47) believes that the act is fully successful only if the speaker gets the addressee to recognize what he is trying to do that is the speaker.

Consequently, Searle (quoted by Levinson 1983:240), builds upon a typology of basic kinds of action that one can perform in speaking.

This typology comprises five types of utterances :

1. representatives : they commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition (paradigm cases : asserting, concluding, ...)

2. directives : they are attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something (paradigm cases: requisition, questioning)

3. commissives : they commit the speaker to some future course of action (paradigm cases : promising, threatening, offering, ...)

4. expressives : they express a psychological state (paradigm cases : thanking, apologizing, welcoming, congratulating ...)

5. declarations : they effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions (paradigm cases: excommunicating, declaring war, ...)

Indirect Speech acts

According to Searle (See Martinich 1990:161), the simplest cases of meaning are those in which the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says. In such cases the speaker intends to produce a certain illocutionary effect in the hearer's knowledge of the rules that govern the utterance of the sentence. But notoriously, not all the cases of meaning are this simple. In insinuations, irony and metaphor, the speaker's utterance meaning and the sentence meaning come apart in various ways.

In any indirect speech act, one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another. And also in indirect speech acts, the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistics and non linguistics together with the powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer.

To be more specific the apparatus necessary to explain the indirect part of indirect speech acts includes a theory of speech acts, certain general principles of Cooperative conversation (some of which have been discussed by Grice) and mutually shared factual background information of the speaker and the hearer, together with an ability on the part of the hearer to make inferences.

2.6. Definition of "epic"

In Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1986), the term "epic" is defined as being a long narrative recounting the deeds of a legendary or historical hero. He continues by saying that it is a long narrative poem recounting heroic deeds set against a background of war and the supernatural, having a serious theme developed in a coherent and unified manner by certain formal characteristics as beginning in media res, the invocation to the muse, and the use of extended similes.

For the Compact Edition of The Oxford English Dictionary (1971), epic is defined as being pertaining to that species of poetical composition, it is represented typically by the Iliad an Odyssey, which celebrates in the form of a continuous narrative the achievements of one or more heroic personages of history as tradition.

And a "poem" is a composition of words expressing facts, thoughts or feelings in poetical form, according to the same dictionary.

Some studies related to the present one

Some people have attempted to define the term "epic" and have said something about it.

For example NTABONA (1980), claims that each Burundian literary genre has a designation which is specific.
When it is allied with other genres, it can be distinguished by one particular feature. We are concerned with the case related to ranting texts that are called recitations but they are designated under the name of "poetry".

Those texts are ranted, stemming from the battle. The poet speaks about his high deeds, about his courage and his skill. It is a kind of poetry that reveals bravery and courage. It despises fear and clumsiness.

According to NKEZABAHIZI (1986), those epic poems are also ranted stemming from an exploit that deserves to be praised. In those poems, the poet exalts and describes his courage, his skill, his victories. He describes those actions in an exaggerate manner and sometimes whimsical. In fact it is a ranting of his own praises. All that he says, he has realized it in the past but he has kept them in his memory.

For Albert (see Gumperz & Hymes 1986:90) most often, loyalty to a superior is defined largely in terms of what is said about him. If one spreads praises abroad - and amazina, poems based on praise - names composed for a superior are one of the formalized means of demonstrating loyalty - then one may hope for a reward.

He continues by saying that praise poems (amazina literally "names" figuratively "praise-names") are composed to honor a generous superior or the author's valour in battle. Highly refined literary-rhetorical skills composition and delivery of amazina are included in the Speech training of young boys of good family.

The form is fixed but the contents are created impromptu. The naturally alliterative character of Kirundi as a Bantu language is reinforced by conscious selection of assonant words in the construction of praise-names and figures of Speech.

Two decades ago, there was a colloquy organized by the Burundian Center of Civilization, and what comes out was compiled in a volume called La civilization ancienne des peuples des Grands Lacs. On page 61, then it is said that the real poetic style is particularly well chosen in heroic poetry called "Amazina y'ubuhizi" in Kirundi, ebyevugo in Ankole, ibyivugo in Kinyarwanda, warlike exaltation, songs for high deeds and speaking in praise of cow, which is the paramount reward makes the web of poetry. The vocabulary used makes change and avoids common expressions that are replaced by terms derived from verbs considered as very noble and more descriptive.

Kunene (1971:84) states that in a large gathering, sitting round and waiting to hear a royal message, a man seems suddenly seized by an irresistible devil [sic!].
He leaps forward, parades in front of his friends, his head held high, his eyes large and staring, his face contorted, his voice raised in pitch, making violent gestures, he declaims his praises but without varying the intonation of his voice, and with such a stream of words that it is difficult to understand all the words...

In general, when reciting epic poems there is an idea of praising. As stated by Kunene (1971 : 90) the heroic poems of the Basotho have as their subject matter, mainly the heroic deeds of warriors and of kings. Their chief purpose is to praise - to extol the virtues of manly prowess of courage, of valor, and of fighting skill.

After a successful battle or hunt, each warrior who had distinguished himself composed praises for himself, or added more lines to his earlier ones.

The physical characteristics used in praising the hero are those which distinguish him from other people,

particularly those which make him look awesome and fierce, and are likely to inspire fear into his adversaries. Other qualities are similarly praised, for example astuteness, foreknowledge of possible dangers through vigilance etc.
Here of course, we are on the borderline between factual and figurative descriptions, for when the poet praises the hero for acuteness of hearing (referring specifically to his ears), he might as well praise him for acuteness of sense of smell (with reference to his nostrils), or of sight (with reference to his sensitivity to the goings-on around him).

In other words, the reference would not be to his ability to smell or see or hear better than other people, which is literal but to his constant vigilance which is metaphorical.

According to NTAHOMBAYE (1983:102), "Amazina y'ubuhizi" is a discourse that exalts the courage of the warrior and his victories won in his life. It is a narrative discourse about warlike past of the hero. It is characterized by the global vision of the heroic behaviour of the character. Moreover, he is of an extra-bellicose nature, and his utterance intervenes always after the battle.

To sum up, the different definitions of epic poems given here and there, share something : those epic poems praise the hero because of his high deeds.

2.7. **Metaphor**

For many people, metaphor is a verbal game in which the speaker makes the hearer take trouble in decoding the purposefully complicated message.

The Webster's third International Dictionary of the English Language says that metaphor (Greek : metapherein i.e to transfer) is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase

denoting one kind of object or action is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them.

Partridge (1982:180) defines it as a figure of speech in which a name or a descriptive term is transferred to some object different from, but analogous to, that to which it is properly applicable.

The Britannica World Language Dictionary (1959), also defines metaphor as a figure of speech in which an object is likened to another by speaking of it as if it were that other. This definitional approach matches with Cuddon's (1979:391) view that : metaphor (Greek : carrying from one place to another) is a figure of speech in which a thing is described in terms of another.

In Le style et ses techniques, Cressot (1947 : 72) defines metaphor as :

Un changement semantique par lequel un signifiant abandonne le signifié auquel il est habituellement lié pour un autre en vertu d'une comparaison qui retient des ressemblances arbitrairement privilégiées.

A semantic change by which the signifier leaves out its signified to which it is habitually linked for another in virtue of a non-formulated comparison between those signified; a comparison that retains resemblance arbitrarily privileged.

Some observations can be made from the different definitions stated above.
The comparison is implicitly stated. All the writers explicitly recognize that metaphor is concerned with non-literal words and phrases.
The figure of speech is, except in Cressot's definition, used interchangeably with trope. The former is generally concerned with formal changes whereas the latter is the one which is held to be truly concerned with changes in meaning.

The Webster's third New International Dictionary (1976:2452) defined it as follows : Trope (Latin : tropus, Greek : tropos) i.e turn, way, manner, style; akin to Greek (tropein : to turn); use of a word or expression in a different sense from that which properly belongs to it for giving life or emphasis to an idea : an instance of such use.

Yet it must be remarked that this distinction between figure and trope need not be unduly stressed upon if for no other reason than because any rhetorical device involves both, and its full analysis must account for each type of change. Throughout this study we will be using trope and figure as substitutable terms bearing in mind that our primary concern rests on the change of meaning.
Furthermore, it follows from the different definitions that metaphor is occasionnaly viewed as a mere substitution of one term by another.

Searle also had said something about metaphor. According to him (quoted from Martinich 1990 : 403), any adequate theory of language or language use must be able to account for not just the wide variety of literal utterances but those used as figures of speech.

Of these, metaphor is one of the most conspicuous. There are two basic approaches to meaning: a semantic approach and a pragmatic approach.

Searle's "metaphor" explains metaphor within Grice's pragmatic theory of conversation and his own theory of speech acts.
Metaphors are similar to indirect speech acts in that both are conversationally implied due to the nonfulfillment of conversational maxims.

The problem of explaining how metaphors work is a special case of the general problem of explaining how speaker meaning and sentence or word meaning come apart.

It is essential to emphasize at the very beginning that the problem of metaphor concerns the relations between word and sentence meaning, on the one hand and speaker's meaning or utterance meaning, on the other.

To have a brief way of distinguishing what a speaker means by uttering words, sentences and expressions, on the one hand, and what the words, sentences and expressions mean, on the other, Searle calls the former speaker's utterance meaning, and the latter, word, or sentence meaning. Metaphorical meaning is always speaker's utterance meaning.

Searle continues by saying that, often in metaphorical utterances there is a change in meaning of at least one expression. He says also that on the contrary, in metaphor there is never a change of meaning; diachronically speaking, metaphors do indeed initiate semantic changes, but to the extent that there has been a genuine change in meaning, so that a word or expression no longer means what it previously did, precisely to that extent, the locution is no longer metaphorical.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with data collection and data analysis procedures. Regarding the former, it will indicate the sources from which we picked out the data. It will also present the main problems we met when collecting the data and when translating it. With respect to data analysis, we will give an account of the method to be used when analysing the data.

3.1. Data collection procedure

The data to be analyzed has been collected from Rodegem's Patrimoine Culturel Rundi Tome XIV.

In fact we have chosen to carry out our study on metaphorical expressions found in epic poems. And what we found is that works on epic poems in general are not many, particularly those on metaphorical expressions.
As we all know, there are many ways of collecting data : interviews, questionnaires, tape recording and written materials to name a few.

We decided upon the written materials. Indeed, writing is very recent, that is why it was unknown in traditional Burundi. Yet, Burundi has its own literature which is oral like some many other African countries. We all know that, writing is the major vehicle used in education for knowledge as well as the preservation and transmission of culture and history of a given people.

The reason of choosing the written materials collected by Rodegem is that his texts are more genuine than nowadays' texts.

In fact, Rodegem is among the famous anthropologists who dealt with the Kirundi language. His various works have greatly contributed to the study of the Kirundi language as well as the Burundian culture.

Furthermore, we have decided to select thirty one expressions in all the six epic poems collected in Rodegem's (1963: 62-104).They will be analyzed and classified in categories. The list will be available in the Appendix.

3.1.1. Problems

3.1.1.1. Problems in data collection

According to William Labov cited by MANANDA (1996 : 19), sufficient good data on speech are provided by tape recorder interviews. However, it has not been possible for us to use a tape recorder or any other instruments of the kind.

The first reason is that we could not create the context of utterance. The other reason is that we collected those texts from Rodegem's Patrimoine Culturel Rundi Tome XIV because we found them original. That is where we limited my collection of data.

3.1.1.2. Problems in translation

Translation is a very complicated task, especially when it deals with two languages of different origins and cultures such as Kirundi and English.
It is laborious to try to translate this kind of literature which is essentially oral. Right through the very signification, in general, this literature is called **(kwivuga)** which means to speak about oneself; and to write it would be to distort the genre.

Furthermore, the exclusive rights of the text used is drawn up from a written literature. This is so because nowadays informants, -if ever there are- misrepresent the original texts.

Besides, it is difficult to create the context of utterance, because if it is not uttered naturally, the text suffers by it and the analysis becomes more complicated.
In that case, one might prefer to take a written natural text than an oral distorted text.

As regards translation, a word for word translation is misleading since we are working with metaphor and it is difficult since there may be non equivalent words in both languages. Therefore, the general idea is vital to a better understanding of the translated statement.

Hence, we will try to keep as near as possible to the idea expressed in epic poems.

3.2. The procedure of data analysis

The collected data on epic poems found in Rodegem will be analyzed as follows. As it has been mentioned earlier in the delimitation of study, when analysing those epic poems, we will select the metaphorical expressions and then try to analyze the meaning applied by the hero.

We isolate the term taken for comparison with the hero.
And within a deep analysis of the state of behaviour, of the social consideration of the term used, we end up with the quality or the defect; in brief the characteristics aimed for this hero for identification.

In few words, the expressions will be interpreted by providing the utterance with meanings with regards to the context.
The analysis focuses on the speaker's goal and the illocutionary force of the metaphorical expressions. To do so, we will rely on the speech act theory.

CHAPTER IV. PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS FOUND IN EPIC POEMS.

This study is concerned with Burundian epic poems. In everyday language, people are compared to many things. The motivations of those kinds of comparisons can be physical or psychological.

The communicative aim of this kind of language is to underscore the different qualities embodied by the one who is speaking, that is the hero.
For this precise case of Burundian epic poems, we can detect some different qualities assigned to the hero. Our task then is to show in each case, the message conveyed by the narrator, according to the situations and to the audience.

As it has been mentioned above, this chapter consists of analysing cases of metaphor located in their contexts and interpreting them.

For a better understanding of this approach, the analysis will follow some steps :

1. Presentation of the word
2. Description of its use in Burundi
3. Quotation of epic poetry
4. Interpretation by comparing the basic meaning to the extended meaning using the context.

4.1. Structural characteristics

The solemn declamation has its own rhythmic melody. The reciter is alive, he relates his exploits at arms, his glorious achievements with steady exaggeration because it is required by the genre.

Compared with other poetic genres, language in epic poetry, goes out from the ordinary. Intentionally, some images elude the understanding of the audience. The search for the beautiful for the composer can also be the origin of the non-comprehension of the message because the composer cares only about the "well said".

The verb "ndi" meaning "I am" appears frequently and it is quite normal since the narrator relates his high deeds.

With regard to the following section which consists of the analysis and interpretation of metaphorical expressions found in epic poems, we found that the hero is identified to many things. He will be identified with animals, plants, tools and instruments, weapons, jewels, states and natural forces.

4.2. Reference to Animals

The analysis of the data shows that the hero identifies himself with references to domestic and wild animals. The selection of those references can be accounted for by Burundian cultural values.

4.2.1. Domestic animals

In this category, three animals can be distinguished namely, cow, sheep and cock.

4.2.1.1. Cow

A cow has an important place in Burundian life. It symbolizes wealth, power, and prestige. In a metaphorical sense, a young girl at the age of getting married is called in Kirundi "inka-muntu" which means that the young girl is both a cow and a human being. This comparison is due to the

considerable prestige a cow enjoys in Burundian society. Normally the set of themes around the name in connection with a cow is particularly oriented towards beauty, materially importance and social value. The above qualities can be illustrated by various metaphorical expressions.

4.2.1.1.1. *Interékwa* : **bull**

"Interékwa" comes from "gutéreka"; -ter-ik- to put something somewhere; gutereka hasi : to put down.
Still, the verb "gutereka" can be used in many domains, but its fundamental meaning is to save, to keep alive, or not to make disappear. When someone says "gutereka igitoke", he means not to harvest the banana, or else to keep the banana for a coming ceremony. The verb can also be used in the context of cattle breeding, then it means to select only a very good calf when others are killed or sold or else given to other people. The reason for this is that there is no use for keeping many calves in one enclosure, they can kill each other. Another reason is the blooming out of the calf and also of the cattle.
Most of the time, the chosen calf is selected thanks to its beauty i.e. its breed. Therefore "interekwa" is a bull that had been selected among other calves and had to stay in the enclosure.

Ni wé mubāngi wa Rubāngīsha
Ntahorá abáriza amakurú ku muhana
Yárāye kwā Karyēnda
Ni wé Bigabo vyā Nkîranyi na Bihayi
N'ínterékwa ya Sêbahizi

Translation :

He is at the front of Rubangisha's troop
He never asks news at home
Having spent the night at Karyenda's
It is he Bigabo son of Nkiranyi and Bihayi
He is the selected bull of Sebahizi

In this strophe, the narrator means that he is always at the front of Rubangisha's troop. Rubangisha was a name given to King Mwambutsa. He never asks news at home means that he never asks how the battle is so that he can intervene. He is never afraid of the battlefield. The narrator compares himself to "interekwa" to show that he is the man highly appreciated by his chiefs, that is the reason why they want him to stay in their ranks. He praises himself for his very good qualities.

4.2.1.1.2. *Ishâshi* **: young cow**

"Ishâshi" is a young cow capable of being fecundated. It is one of the most valuable object that can be exchanged with a young lady for marriage.

Ngoma y'íntěrane
Itērányа abavûkana
Igahāza abâna amakuyano
Ndi ishâshi y'ísāzi
Yīmá ntibáhārīre

Translation :

Full big drum
Able to divide brothers
It satisfies children with milk
I am a young cow of a fly
When I am fecundated nobody protests

By big drum, he wants to mean that the trunk of the cow is like a drum. It is a nice cow and besides, it nourishes children with milk that is why it is a highly covetable thing.

When the reciter compares himself to "ishashi" he means that he is of the highest importance. He thinks he is valuable like the young cow. In fact, the reciter means that he is a man with exceptional qualities.

4.2.1.1.3. *Rutêndĕri*

"Intêndĕri" can be a cow or a sheep.But in this context, it is a cow with hanging horns. The prefix ru- indicates that it is a male. Then Rutenderi is a bull with hanging horns.
A cow of this kind of horns, when it fights against another, wins because it kicks on sides. It has a special consideration because of its distinctive feature. In Burundian tradition, some social practices show us that it may be considered as a prohibition.

Indānga indārana migabo
Ya Bigoro na Rugomero
Ntagerwá mu murōngo
W'ábămbaye intāma
Rutêndĕri rwā Makombe
Ntēndéke amaregérege

Translation :

A perfect man that spends the night with a plan of attract
Son of Bigoro and Rugomero
He cannot be on the same line
With people wearing sheep's skin
Cow with hanging horns of Makombe
I let fall my horns

This man cannot be confused with people wearing sheep's skin. Long ago, traitors had to wear sheep's skin, that is the reason why he cannot be confused with traitors, and thanks to his hanging horns he adds a tragedy.
The reciter wants to raise the idea that he is different physically and people have to fear him otherwise they will be in trouble.

Broadly speaking, being a warrior, he is fearless of danger because of his physical distinctive characteristics.

4.2.1.1.4. *Gitáre* : cow with white coat

Another reference uses a white cow. In Burundian culture, a cow of such a color is prestigious. Igitare is a clear white color, and the name Gitare is given to a cow that has a white coat. It is used in Kirundi to talk about a good cow : Gitare c'intateka : a never ending milked cow. For some families, there is a curse on that cow : when it is stolen, the thieves were caught at the end.
This cow is the object of identification. When the cattle is grazing far, people can recognize the owner thanks to the white cow.

Gitáre cā Mwāmbutsa
Nīkīnze umushirakure
Ndasa umusigirigana
Nsīmba umukubá, mvyāgira umunyika
Bati ivyo n'ibikí?

Translation :

Cow with white coat of King Mwambutsa
When I am hiding behind an eucalyptus
I shoot a soldier
I jump a current and take place near the basin
People wonder what is happening

The narrator is like "Gitare" because he is good looking and brave. In addition to that he is the servant of the King Mwambutsa. Most probably, he has been chosen thanks to his noble-heartedness and also to his skills or bravery.

4.2.1.2. **Sheep**

A sheep is a domestic animal. It has an important place among other animals in Burundian tradition. It comes after the cow, because it holds the second place. It can even take the first place.

A sheep is a calm animal that inspires quietness and wisdom. Quite often, a sheep is considered as being a very stupid animal. However in Burundian beliefs, a sheep was sacred. Conversely to what happens to other animals, the mutton meat was not eaten. It was only eaten by pygmies.

According to Rodegem (1970), a sheep was also a ritual animal. For example, during the ceremony of reconciliation, someone has to cut up the ends of ears of a sheep. Then the two families in dispute had to wash with the sheep's blood. After the ceremony, they were reconciled.

A part from being a sacred and a ritual animal, a sheep, especially a white one, is considered as being the divine incarnation.
During the ceremony after the birthday of twins, two sheep, "intama za Kiranga", considered as gods, were said to protect the family.

Rutágari : Ram

Generally, "intagari" is a ram. Then Rutagari is a name given to a ram.

Nti ndavúze je Rutágari rw'intambara
Rwǎtegekewe isōmborotsanyi
Zōshāka amagará
Amagǒrwa akabûzura

Translation :

I am speaking, I Rutagari the warrior,
Trained for provocation
Provoked men who care about their lives
Are unlucky, they are candidates for sorrow

Rutagari expresses a double-force. The reciter then, when he is identifying himself with the ram, one may wonder if it is not to aim at the dual force : the divine force and the male force.

In this precise case of epic poems, he is compared to a ram to bring out the double force.

4.2.1.3. Cock

A cock is also an important domesticated gallinacean in Burundi. A cock is the metronome of everyday activities. There is an expression around a cock meaning time : mu nkoko ya mbere; very early in the morning.

A cock is generally a messenger in Burundian beliefs. It symbolizes manliness, Burundians said that "umugoré ntâryá Rusǎke aba agômba kubíka nkayó"; it means "a woman does not eat chiken, she would crow like a cock"; to mean that she would behave like men. It was only eaten by men.

However, there is another important characteristic of a cock : it can be a bird of ill omen, it is the bearer of bad tiding. When the cock crows, we say in kirundi that "isake irabitse", coming from "kubíka" to crow. Another sense of "kubíka" is to announce bad news particularly about death.

In fact, a cock is a kind of bird whose crowing is a sign of misfortune. Above all, the cock is a fighter, it is aggressive, it is pugnacious, and quarrelsome.

Sǎki y'îvyûma
Séma ya Museruko

Translation

Iron cock
Dangerous sign of chief Museruko

The reciter is the iron cock and he is a dangerous sign, he wants to raise the aggressive character of a cock.
Therefore, the one who dreams to fight with him or the one who challenges him to a duel or anything else, the one who is invited by him in battle, it is bad news for him because he is going to die.

Regarding the cock, virility, pugnacity and aggressivity are the best qualities which the warrior can be identified with.

To sum up, values relating to domestic animals are beauty and social value for the cow and sacred character for the sheep and aggressivity for the cock. That is the important reason for their selection.

4.2.2. Wild animals

In this section, wild animals that will be studied are: lion, leopard, gazelle, antelope, birds and snakes.

4.2.2.1. Lion

A lion has two different names in Kirundi. That is "intare" and "intambwe". A lion is a symbol of power in Burundi. It is considered as the king of the jungle, more precisely the king of all animals. In many cultures, the lion is taken as the representation of power. As we all know, it kills other animals. Among all other animals, it is only afraid of a snake.

It is said that the first king of Burundian Kingdom, his name was Ntare, because he had killed a lion and then was given his name. And later, the name Ntare has become a dynastic name.

Nāma ndí inkórakíbi (...)
Nāma ndí ruturubikantāmbara
Intāmbwe yó mu mashâshi (...)

Translation :

I am always causing disaster (...)
I am always the one who handles roughly the war
Lion among young cows (...)

The presence of a lion does not bring security, the lion does nothing good. In these epic poems, we have pointed out, "intambwe yo mu mashashi", as it has been translated, it means the lion among young cows. We all know that between a lion and a cow, there is no love. We can try to imagine

the lion among many young cows. The lion cannot throw away the golden opportunity of devouring them. The hero wants to show that he is very powerful and able to defeat anyone else.

4.2.2.2.Leopard

As the lion is the king of jungle, the leopard is the prince of the jungle. It is an animal well known for its ferocity and savagery. The leopard is also a big predator, it is a great enemy of caprines. Even though it is not tall, its height is sufficient for a good efficiency. It is feared mostly because of its claws. The claws constitute the most redoubtable weapon. There is another name of a leopard in Kirundi :
"Bwâra bwā shîshi" literally translated as claws that never hesitate to tear a prey in pieces.
Another no less important weapon it possesses can be the canines.

Ndi ingwe y'íngoré
Ndi iyó kwā Rusahuzi
Nihó nagábana Gisābo
Kitarí isǎngi

Translation :

I am a female leopard
I belong to Rusahuzi's family
That is why I got Gisabo
Which is not a collective property

A female leopard is very dangerous, it is more spiteful than the male. If it happens that someone shoot it and does not reach it, it does its possible to find the person otherwise it goes to a family and causes trouble.

The reciter then is like the female leopard and belongs to Rusahuzi's family whose duty is to pillage. And he got a cow called Gisabo as a prey that is not a collective property. But also the reciter could have got the cow called Gisabo as a gift because he has praised the King. Thanks to his eloquence, he got a cow.

Therefore, the reciter is identified with the leopard to show that he is endowed with many natural qualities of a warrior, such as courage, strength and bravery.

4.2.2.3. *Gazelle* : **ingerégere**

Among wild animals, the gazelle is also an animal which can be identified with.
"Ingerégere" as it has been translated is a gazelle. It is well known for its bounds or its leaps. It is also called "intarutsi" from "gutáruka" to jump high. When hunting, they hardly catch it, it jumps high and runs fast.

Ngira nīvúge umuhizi
Wa ntígirá insāzi (...)
Ngerégere ya Mwāmbutsa

Translation :

I want to praise my bravery
Of the one who does not behave like a fly
The gazelle of King Mwambutsa

The reciter is not insignificant when he says that he does not behave like a fly.
Normally, when one is compared to that animal, it is for praising his athletic qualities. Our warrior runs as fast as a gazelle. His enemy cannot run away from him. He will catch him. And he is Mwambutsa's warrior, the King's warrior. He has a privileged place.

4.2.2.4. *ifūmberi*: **Antelope**

In epic poems, the antelope is also cited. Ifumberi is a kind of wild antelope. It is like a gazelle but has a brown skin and does not have horns. An antelope has been a choice for metaphor because of its athletic abilities.

Ni jēwé Fūmbēri fūmbegete
Ncīye mu kabândé ndabāndānya
Ncīye mu mashînge ndashīngūra

Translation :

It is me the wild antelope
When I pass in small valleys I continue
When I pass in sweet grass I pull out everything

The reciter means that he resists against enemies, but when it is time to escape, no one can catch him, he runs as fast as he can, like this antelope, no matter how the way is. He wants to emphasize on his athletic capacities.

4.2.2.5. **Birds**

In this subcategory is found a number of kinds of birds such as eagle, sparrow-hawk and a guinea fowl.

4.2.2.5.1. *Inkôna* : **eagle**

Inkona is eagle. It is considered as the king of birds. It is a big bird renowned for having a very piercing eyesight. It is said that an eagle flying at 3.000 m high can see a mouse in grass. A part form being powerful, the eagle flies high. There is even an expression about the term : "kuguruka bukôna"; to fly like an eagle means to fly high.

Babá ry'îNkôna
Rikebá nk'îNkôta

Translation :

Wing of the eagle
That cuts kike the cutlass

The hero is comparing himself to the wing. Thanks to the wing, the eagle can fly high and this wing is sharp. The wing of an eagle has a characteristic of being somehow united, the wind cannot tear it up.
The hero then, when he is up to the front, his achievements are liable for the damage, he is extremely quick. Nobody can beat him because he is very powerful.

4.2.2.5.2. *Agacá* **: Sparrow-hawk**

Agaca is a big, very dangerous for insects and chicks. This bird is well known as being an enemy of the farmyard and also of insects. But it is fond of chicks. When attacking those poor animals, it does it with malice. Apart from very few expressions around the term for example "Gucakira bwa gaca" meaning to seize sharply or else to snap up, this animal often appears in wellerisms (MANANDA, 1996).

Agacá kā Minigo
Gacīra ingobé mu rugororo

Translation :

Sparrow-hawk of chief Minigo
Spits the spears

In this passage, the hero means that being like the sparrow-hawk of the chief Minigo, he is the maker of spears and when killing them he uses the spears. Another important thing is that he is among Minigo's troop. Minigo meaning the one who strangles. The sparrow-hawk is a nasty bird that can eat other small birds. The hero also when he is at the battlefield he must kill his enemies.

4.2.2.5.3. *Inkânga* **: Guineafowl**

"Inkânga" is a guineafowl. It belongs to the gallinacean family. It is a beautiful bird and it would have been chosen for beauty. It has a tender meat.

Ndi inkânga ya Gisābo
Yakânze Ndaryĭmare
Agacá ku mahĕmbe
Agaca ku matŏnde
Akagwīra ibikanú́
Arí́we nītá́ umumēnja

Translation :

I am the guineafowl of King Gisabo
The one who frightened Ndaryimare
Caused him to fall backwards
And wounded his nose
The fell the neck down
The one I call the rebel

The hero is beautiful like the Guineafowl of King Gisabo. Besides we can look at another meaning as it is followed by the verb. "Yakânze" coming form "gukânga" it means "to scare" or "to frighten". The metaphor then lies in that last meaning. In this case, it would be quite normal for a warrior because he is able to frighten his enemies.

Therefore "inkânga ya Gisâbo" would be the warrior of King Gisabo, whose name or whose sight is sufficient to sow terror.

4.2.2.6. Snakes

Snakes also are another kind of wild animals that can be identified with in epic poems. In this sub-category is found a number of snakes such as; umushana : a kind of supple snake, imvuvyi : water snake and ikimata : kind of viper.

4.2.2.6.1. Umushǎna

"Umushǎna" is a kind of snake that is fast and leste. This snake is long and when moving it is as if it flies. Its victims are small birds, some lezards and frogs. This snake is also venomous.

In kirundi language, when we say that someone is umushana, we mean that he is fast. However the quality of suppleness is important for the snake. There is another expression like "ntibatamba n'imishana" to mean that they dance well, with flexibility, but there is also an idea of elegance.

Arí je nzóka y'úmushǎna
Yīkûba ku muryângo
Ishâka guhōra umuryāngo

Translation :

That is me the supple snake
Which hides itself near the entrance
So that it can revenge the whole family

This snake has a good strategy when it hides near the entrance, it can bite whoever enters. The narrator then is like this supple snake and wants to emphasize on the speediness. When he is pursuing his enemies, the latter cannot escape.

4.2.2.6.2. *Imvuvyi* : **watersnake**

The term "imvuvyi" comes from "kuvuba" -vub- to mean to "sulk". Rodegem (1970), gives the meaning of imvuvyi as being a watersnake. This snake is considered as the prince of other snakes, the python being the king. It has a black color and above all it has other three characteristics :

- It is mobile and it is animated, this helps it to catch everything in its environment. It is a good strategy for the snake.

- This snake, wherever it is, it is ready to attack, it is very aggressive. It is said that when it is near the river, even the cattle cannot drink water. It stops them to drink water.

- The third characteristic is that it is well known for its venom. This snake is venomous, if its victim does not find medicine he dies.

Mvuvyi ya Bívŭmbi
Ahó ivubíye ntíbakivōma

Translation :

Watersnake of Bivumbi
Where it sulks no one search for water

The hero being a watersnake stops all activities. He prevents people to draw water from the river. He is mobile like the snake, he is conscious that he is in hostile environment. Therefore he has to do his best to take advantage of this strategy. The reciter then when comparing himself to the watersnake, he means that he is ready to attack. His aggressiveness makes him becoming nastier.
To conclude, the snake combines all the good sides of a warrior. The reciter has an effective weapon that helps him to defeat enemies.

4.2.2.6.3. ***Ikimata*** **: (kind of viper)**

The word "ikimata" may come from "kumata", -mat- which means to stick. Normally it is a kind of viper. When it sticks, it is very hard to take it off. The skin must be cut off. When it attacks the victim, it sticks.
There is an expression "Akwizingiyeko ameze nk'ikimata", to mean that if he really wants something he gets it.

Kimata cā Múdǔgu
Mase ku mutǔmba
Ndakómeretsa umurǔndi

Translation :

Kind of viper son of Mudugu
When I stick the trunk
I wound the shins

The hero being "ikimata" when it sticks on the trunk it wounds the shins, he wants to mean how his action generates many consequences. Not only the shins are wounded but also the trunk is wounded. His action is extended to other fields.
The narrator wants to emphasize on the fact of fighting, wherever he attacks the enemy he cannot leave without

defeating him. The quality of the hero expressed here is the determination, steadiness, success in his mission. He reaches his goal.

In epic poems, the hero is not only identified with animals but also with plants.

4.2.3. Plants

In the epic poems we have found two kinds of plants that the narrator uses as metaphors.

4.2.3.1. Umukěre

"Umukěre" is a kind of wild plant growing at high altitude. It is a strawberry plant.
This plant is usually found in valleys, and many bushes are made up mostly by this plant. A bush made up with those kinds of plants is hardly accessible. It is difficult to go through it; because of the prickles or thorns. In everyday language, the word "umukere" is not frequently used.
According to Rodegem (1970), it has a magic usage. It is said that if a sick person is greeted by an adulterer, he was condemned to die. Therefore he has to chew the leaves of the plant to escape from the danger.

Ndavúze mukěre w'íbāmba
Ufatá abarwānyi i mugǒngo

Translation :

I am mentioning a wild plant
that catches my enemies from their back

The hero being the wild plant, he is a barrier for the enemies. This barrier is special because it has two objectives first it is not to allow enemies to get in and second if they try to get in, the barrier hurts them with the prickles.

4.2.3.2. **Umubirīzi**

The "umubirīzi" is a medicinal plant, from which they extract a bitterpill. A patient who gets that prescription finds it very hard to swallow because it is very bitter. However it is used as a febrifuge, it is an antipyretic, a medicine which is used to lower fever.

In everyday language, everything bitter is called umubirizi. If the word is applied to a person, it means that he is very severe. He takes severe measures.

Mubirīzi w'ísāma
Arwāná ubutômóka

Translation :

Bitter plant that spreads
never give up when fighting

The hero being the bitter plant that spreads away its juice, he never runs away when fighting. When compared to this plant, he wants to emphasize on the fact that the rigour of his principles is used against his enemies.

They will hardly fight against him. In conclusion, the important characteristic raised here is the severity.

Regarding these two kinds of plants taken for comparison, we have seen why they have been chosen. One has been chosen because of its prickles, and the other one because of its bitterness. These plants are among other things that can harm the enemies.

4.3. Reference to inanimate beings

In this part the inanimate beings that have been found are : tools and instrument, weapons and jewels.

4.3.1. Tools and instruments

In this section, we will have to analyse three tools such as the mortar : isekuro; thread: umusurusuru and isinzo: the hacksaw.

4.3.1.1. *Isékuro* : mortar

"Isékuro" as it has been translated is a mortar. It is carved from a special kind of wood called "umuvumu" which is the ficus. It is an important instrument needed for everday activities. It is usually used for pounding the grains such as maize, sorghum, rice, it is also used to pound cassava.

The word "isékuro" is not frequently used in kirundi language but there is an expression "kuba isekuro" to mean to be fat and short, it refers to the height of the mortar. It is mainly small and large.

The custom forbade girls to sit on the mortar because they would change sex.

Ndi isékuro y'ímigǐgi
Isekúra ibihânda

Translation :

I am the tireless mortar
I am used to pound thorny things

The hero is compared to the mortar. But the fact of being fat and short does not matter here, what is important is its resistance. The hero is as strong as the mortar. This one is subjected to the knocks of the pestle everyday. And it does not give away under the knocks.
The hero wants to underline his natural strength and his tough character.

4.3.1.2. *Umusurúsuru* : **thread**

"Umusurúsuru" is a traditional thread. It is extracted from a bark of a tree called "igisurú". Rodegem (1970) has translated the word as being something like the nettle. This plant has small flowers that are not much visible. It is covered with strand that when it is in contact with the skin, irritate it.

The thread then, was used of course for sewing clothes and some materials. It was much used for its suppleness.
The tree is also said to be used by parents when they thrash unruly children.

Ni jēwé musurúsuru udakōkôye
Umwâna wa Ngáramarúgǎnda
Ntagarámira igitǔntu
Kū nâma kwā Remezo

Translation :

It is me the really natural good thread
Son of Ngaramaruganda
Cannot be killed by tuberculosis
Near the Remezo's home

The hero being the traditional thread, he cannot be killed by tuberculosis, especially when he is near Remezo's home. He is not afraid of this disease and cannot die. The hero wants to underline the quality of his body. He is supple when fighting. He can also escape easily.

4.3.1.3. *Isînzo* : **hacksaw**

"Isînzo" is an instrument used in forge. It is a burin or a hacksaw. In any case it is used to cut other metals. Thanks to the hacksaw, people could have many different tools used in everyday life, such as knife, spear, billhook, hoe ... It is an instrument of capital importance.

Narí nákuriye mū nkorōtanyi
Narí isînzo mberé
Naráhētse umumbānzagukeba
Nayó icûma gíhīye

Translation :

I have grown among fighters
I was the hacksaw in fact
I have rocked a man thinking about food
While the iron was hot

In this context of epic, the "isînzo" has an other meaning. "Isînzo" was a troop of the elite. The troops of the king were called "amasinzo". Then the hero has grown among people who were fond of battles. Indeed he was the troop of the elite, he remembers aggressing an irresponsible man who does not know the importance of a war. This man was carrying about food while it was time to work. To mean that it was time to go to the battlefield. A good warrior must think about war above everything.

The hero being a hacksaw, is an essential tool for the blacksmith, and being the troop of elite, he is important for the health of the king; the warrior is also indispensable to his fellows. Without him, his fellows lose the battle.

4.3.2. Weapons

The different kinds of weapons that are used and found in these pieces of epic poems are the spear, the bow and arrows.

4.3.2.1. Icúmu : a spear

A spear is an important kind of weapon that was used by Burundians. There are many different kinds of spear made for their performance and their usage :

- There are spears for fight, that are made in the way that is different to the sharpened part that pierces.
- There other spears that have symmetrical hooks that pierce the flesh when it is taken off the victim.
- There are spears of parade, that are embellished and carried exclusively by men. They are used only under the image of symbol. There is a saying which goes like, "icumu n'umugabo biragendana" a man is always with his spear.

Gacúmu karashé
Kāmpi kavunyé abacúzi
Mfaté umwŭgi nsogôte umwūgariro

Translation :

Small spear that shot
Small arrow that broke the blacksmith
I take a very sharp arrow

The hero compares himself to the spear to mean that he is the center of whatever is done.
He is as important as the spear because the latter is a traditional weapon par excellence.
When he says that he is a small spear that is throw, he means that the spear can be effective in reaching the target. And even though it is small, it reaches its goal, it reaches the enemy.
This man is an experienced warrior.

4.3.2.2. Umuheto n'úmwāmpi: bow and arrow.

The bow and arrows are analyzed together because they are complementary. The bow is not functional without the arrow and vice-versa. Contrary to the spear, the bow and arrows are exclusively warlike because they are used during the troubles causing bloodshed. The bow and arrows are also used when hunting.

In fact the bow is made of supple tree and a supple rope. Some people say that the rope was made from a bull's vein. The arrows were made according to the efficiency when fighting.

Muheto w'íngǎre
Watsînze uwó ingamíra
Bógambarazi vyā Bigoro na Rugomero

Translation :

Perfect bow
That defeated the rebels
Disobedients of chief Bigoro and chief Rugomero

The hero who is compared to those two complementary weapons wants to bring to the fore the character of uniqueness.
The uniqueness lies in the fact that when you do not have any arm, especially for men, you are nothing, you are a dead person because you cannot defend yourself.
The hero goes far when he underlines the spiteful character doubled by ruthless character : muheto w'ingare. A perfect bow that bends well. This kind of bow makes easier the movement of bending.

4.3.3. Jewels

Among the jewels, we have found only two kinds of jewels; ikirezi : pectoral and imiringa : bracelets.

4.3.3.1. Ikirézi : pectoral

"Ikirézi" can be translated as a pectoral. It is a heavy and white pendant. But there are two kinds of pectoral. There is one that has a form of a trapezium and there is another one that has a form of a crescent of the moon.
These jewels are worn just as well by men as by women. The prince worn one pectoral and the princess worn three, and these pectoral had a form of a crescent of the moon.

Long time ago, it served as currency in Eastern Africa especially in Burundi. One pectoral could be exchanged against seven or eight cows. Warriors have to adorn themselves with those pectorals while dancing after the battle. Only rich people could get those pectorals because they were so precious.

In common language, when people say that someone is "ikirézi" they want to mean that he or she is beautiful.

Kirézi c'úmusahira
Ashíkanye umusāngo
Kū nâma i Bwǎmi kwā Mwāmbutsa

Translation :

Smooth pectoral like a banana
Presents gifts
To the royal court at Mwambutsa's Palace

This pectoral that is like a banana, is the one that has a form of a crescent of the moon.
The hero being the smooth pectoral, he is handsome. He is well embellished and presents gifts to the royal court.
The hero means that he is smart and he is precious in the eyes of King Mwambutsa. In fact people wearing this kind of pectoral were important and presentable so they would have discussion with the King.

4.3.3.2. *Imiríinga* : **bracelets**

In general, imiringa are translated as being bracelets. But "imiríinga y'íminyôsho" is a term used in poetry to mean the bracelets made in copper.

Traditionally, people wore those bracelets on some important occasions. They were put on hands. They were really precious that is the reason why they were worn by the chiefs and other rich people. They do not have the same value as the pectoral.

Miríinga y'íminyôsho
Itarí bukoré mu cîbo kimwé

Translation :

Small copper bracelets
That cannot touch only one small basket

The hero wants to emphasize his importance, like those bracelets. As those bracelets are precious in the ornament of these cadets when dancing. He is also important among his fellows. The bracelets make him more handsome.

Coming to our context; small copper bracelets that cannot touch only one small basket; it means that the person wearing these bracelets does not eat only in one basket, he also takes some food in other baskets. It can be interpreted as the hero who does not fight on one front; he fights everywhere. He is a warrior without border.

To conclude, the objects for comparison in this section are inanimate. They are divided in three groups such as tools, weapons and jewels. The mortar refers to the hero's strength, the thread to his suppleness and the hawksaw to the absolutely necessary for the blacksmith.

Regarding the metaphor, the comparison between the hero and the different characteristics of these tools is direct.

For the different weapons mentioned in the same section, that is the spear and the bow. We have found that they were the most important weapons used by Burundians. The metaphor is also direct. The hero is compared to these arms because they kill the enemy. They help him to defend himself when he is in danger. With regard to jewels, in general, they are cited for physical appearance and beauty. The pectoral and bracelets are precious jewels highly valued by Burundians.

4.3.4. Reference to state and behaviour

The hero when praising himself, he compares himself to many things. It is amazing how he can identify himself with state and behaviour. We have raised one case of a feeling, one case of state, one case of leadership and one case of behaviour.

4.3.4.1. Feeling

Seséme : **nausea**

As it has been translated above "iseséme" is nausea. "Gusésema", in common language, is to cause nausea. When someone is qualified like that it means that he is repugnant or he is disliked.

Seséme y'ábahîmvye
Bisǎnzagi vyā Tāba

Translation :

Nausea of satiated people
The generous of Taba

When the reciter states that he is the nausea for his enemies, we try to imagine the state in which satiated people are, indeed nausea does not arrange anything.
The hero wants to point that he is famous because his strength represents a dissuasion for the enemies under a picture of something putrid. The hero's enemies run away from him. They cannot face him.

4.3.4.2. **State**

Bwǎrike : **boiling water**

"Ubwǎrike" comes from -arik- (kwârika) which means to boil water and "amǎrike" is boiled water. "Ubwǎrike" then is the state of water that boils, it is in few words the heat.

Ndi Bwǎrike bwā Māndarānga
Bwāríkwa kū nkǔmbi y'úmuriro
Inkǔmbi igûye ku munyika

Translation :

I am the boiled water of Mandaranga
Boiled on the victim of the fire
After the fire has broken out near the basin

The comparison refers to the fact that it is forbidden to play with boiling water because it hurts. The hero, being the boiling water, it is forbidden to play with him. His enemies find him very dangerous, therefore they have to run away from him.

4.3.4.3. **Leadership**

Ndongozi : **leader**

"Ndongozi" comes from the verb -rongor- kurongora, to lead; to show the way.
"Indongozi" then is the guide; the leader.

Ndōngōzi ya Mujo
Ndōngōye amatúruka
Nēgeranya amatāha

Translation :

Leader of Mujo's troop
I know when I drive cattle to the fields
And when to put the cattle in the cowshed

In this precise case of epic poems, the hero wants to emphasize the fact that he is the troop-leader.

He is responsible for whatever can happen to them. In few words, he is the one who does not feel any fear, the one who takes responsibilities and shows the way to others.

In order to be the leader, the hero must fulfil all the conditions acquired for; such as courage, honesty, sense of responsibility to name but a few. Well then, we think that the hero is really the leader because he does many things at a time : to drive lazy people, to be the leader of a troop, to drive the cattle to the fields and to bring them again safely. It is a hard work.

4.3.4.4. **Behaviour**

Iséma : omen of evil

"Iséma" is a dangerous sign but can be better expressed by omen of evil. This word is used frequently in some expressions such as : buséma to mean like omen of evil. "Nturira buséma" : you are telling the truth.

For this word, its meaning goes around something which is unlucky or someone who is responsible for the misfortune, or someone who causes misfortune. In Burundian tradition, someone who did forbidden acts could be qualified as "iséma".

Séma ya Museruko
Ndasāma bakānsānganira

Translation :

Dangerous sign of chief Museruko
When I resonate my friends come to me

Regarding our hero when he is comparing himself to "isema", he means that he is a danger for his enemies. His presence on the front sets up bad news for the enemy's camp. The misfortune for them is that they are going to disappear all of them and what is amusing is that they were well informed.

4.4. Reference to natural forces

At this level, physically there is no pole of comparison because the hero appeals to the invisible natural quality but which acts and provides important results.

In this section, we have found only two natural forces with which the hero has been identified. These are : umururа: tornado and inkuba : lightning.

4.4.1. *Murûra* : tornado

As it has been translated above, umururа is a tornado. This kind of wind is violent and it can even overturn trees. If ever the wind uproots the trees, we can easily imagine the situation in which the people are, walking in the street. This word however is not frequently used, we did not find so far any expression built upon the word.

Ndi murûra w'îndûrú
Udakāngwa indûrú

Translation :

I am the tornado that makes noise
That is not terrified by the noise

The hero is like the tornado and this tornado makes much noise to frighten.
For our hero who is comparing himself to the tornado, he wants also to frighten his enemies, which is quite normal because he is praising himself. A tornado is a force of nature that we cannot handle. It is very terrifying because it leaves total devastation in its wake.

4.4.2. *Inkubá* : **lightning**

The word "inkuba" comes from -kub-it-; gukubita that means to strike violently and quickly. Even in the stem there is an idea of violence and quickness.
Then inkuba is the lightning.

There are some expressions built around this word for example. "Kubá inkubá" as quick as lightning. Or "gukúbitwa n'ínkubá" : to be very surprised like to be struck by the lightning.

Ni je nkubá ya ruhanika
Ndi umunyurangabo wa Rugōngo
Mbona urugǎmba rw'îvyûma
Nkarwānira kurusânga

Translation :

It is me the lightning
I am the sharpened arrow of Rugongo
Wherever there is a fight
I am excited and I have to fight

The hero, when he is comparing himself to the lightning, wants to stress more quickness, extreme violence observed when there are lightning in nature. The hero the spreads terror on his way like a lightning.

4.5. On speech Act theory

For carrying our research to a successful conclusion, the analysis will rely on illocutionary forces through the theory of speech acts.

As the metaphorical expressions found in epic poems are illocutions, they must embody illocutionary forces. By illocutionary force of an utterance is to mean its status as a praise, a threat, a warning.

In short, a chart will present a brief summary of illocutionary forces found in epic poems.

4.5.1. A chart of References and illocutionary forces

References	Kirundi language	English translation	Illocutionary forces
Cow	1. Ishâshi	young cow	praise
	2. Rutênděri	cow with hanging horns	praise
	3. Interékwa	Selected bull	praise
	4. Gitáre	cow with white coat	praise
Sheep	Rutágari	Sacred sheep	praise
Cock	isăki	Cock	threat
Lion	Intāmbwe	Lion	threat
Leopard	Ingwe	Leopard	threat
Gazelle	Ingerégere	Gazelle	praise
Antelope	Ifūmberi	Antelope	praise
Birds	Inkôna	Eagle	threat
	Agacá	Sparrow-hawk	threat
	Inkânga	guinea-fowl	praise
Snakes	Umushăna	supple snake	threat
	Imvuvyi	water-snake	threat
	Ikimata	kind of viper	threat
Plants	Umukĕre	Strawberry plant	threat
	Umubirīzi	bitter plant	to be decisive
Tools and instruments	Isékuro	Mortar	praise
	Umusurúsuru	Thread	praise
	Isînzo	troop of elite	praise

References	Kirundi language	English translation	Illocutionary forces
Weapons	icúmu	spear	threat
	Umuheto n'úmwāmpi	bow and arrows	threat
Jewels	Ikirézi	Pectoral	praise
	Imiringa	Bracelets	praise
Feeling	Seséme	Nausea	discouragement
Leadership	Ndōngōzi	leader	praise
State	Bwǎrike	Boiling water	threat
Behaviour	iséma	omen of evil	threat
Natural forces	Murûra	Tornado	threat
	Inkubá	Lightning	threat

This is a summary of illocutionary forces found in metaphorical expressions of epic poems cited above in 4.2.

With regard to the illocutionary act; it has to fulfil some felicity conditions to be successful. Those felicity conditions are grouped in three categories : preparatory or prerequisite condition, sincerity conditions and essential conditions.

Do metaphorical expressions found in epic poems fulfill these conditions?
For the first condition; the producer of the illocutionary act must have the right to do so; and in most cases, the occasion of the production of utterance must be appropriate.
For our case, not anybody can recite the epic poems, very often it is a warrior or a narrator and it is specified that only men are allowed to recite epic poems in front of the King or prince.

As far as the sincerity condition is concerned, when the reciter is praising himself, he expresses freely his feelings with the objective of amusing the audience by his deeds.

For the essential condition, that is concerned with the commitment of the speaker, it is fulfilled in epic poems by the reciter when he chooses the right words he believes are going to hold breathless the audience. He is committed to the message he wants effectively to convey to his listeners.

Therefore we can say that the metaphorical expressions found in Burundian epic poems fulfill the felicity conditions.

Another no less important point is that according to the two taxonomies by Austin and Searle, we can place the illocutionary acts of epic poems in the Austin's class of behabitives and Searle's expressives. Indeed, the form of epic poems items is declarative which is the result of praising himself and it is also a way of getting the addressee to behave in a certain way, to mean that by listening, the addressee is amused by what is being said. And on the semantic level, they are expressives since the primary and secondary illocutionary acts reveal the addresser's feeling of praising himself with the addressee's event, that is winning the battle.

CONCLUSION

This study "A pragmatic Analysis of metaphorical expressions found in some Burundian epic poems", has been an attempt to analyze and interpret pragmatically collected epic poems. We have taken into account one of the pragmatic theories that is the speech act theory. This section of the work aims at giving briefly the main points of the study.

This work dealing with utterance found in collected epic poems, particularly metaphorical expressions was carried out applying the speech act theory. In fact, utterances in the epic poems have been proved to be speech acts since they conventionally or intentionally perform an action. To do so, we based on Austin's suggestion that states that when a speaker utters a sentence it is generally involved in three different acts : locutionary act, illocutionary act and perlocutionary act; the illocutionary act being the main focus.

Firstly, we have analyzed the metaphorical expression and the context in which each utterance occurs. Secondly, relying on the theory of speech acts and on Searle's typology of basic kinds of actions that one can perform in speaking, we have interpreted the utterances that is the metaphorical expressions found in collected epic poems.
The analysis of utterances based on the speech act theory shows that they are all expressive.

This work has revealed to be a very interesting field of research. And we do not pretend to have exhausted all dimensions related to the topic. We hope that there will be many studies under other aspects to extend the topic.

CORPUS : THE APPENDIX

1. Ni we mubānji wa Rubāngīsha
   Ntahorá abariza amakurú ku muhana
   Yárāye kwā Karyēnda
   Ni wé Bigabo vyā Nkíranyi na Bihayi
   N'ínterékwa ya Sêbahizi

Translation

   He is at the front of Rubangisha's troop
   He never asks news at home
   Having spent the night at Karyenda's
   It is he Bigabo son of Nkiranyi and Bihayi
   He is the selected bull of Sebahizi

2. Ngoma y'íntěrane
   Itērányа abavûkana
   Igahāza abâna amakuyano
   Ndi ishâshi y'ísāzi
   Yīmá ntibáhārīre

Translation

   Full big drum
   Able to divide brothers
   It satisfies children with milk
   I am a young cow of a fly
   When I am fecundated nobody protests

3. Indānga indāranamigabo
   Ya Bigoro na Rugomero
   Ntagerwá mu murōngo
   W'ábǎmbaye intāma
   Rutênděri rwā Makōmbe
   Ntēndéke amaregérege

Translation

A perfect man that spends the night with a plan of attack
Son of Bigoro and Rugomero
He cannot be on the same line
With people wearing sheep's skin
Cow with hanging horns of Makombe
I let fall my horns

4. Gitáre cā Mwāmbutsa
Nikīnze umushirakure
Ndasa umusirigana
Nsīmba umukubá, mvyāgira umunyika
Bati ivyo n'íbikí

Translation

Cow with white coat of King Mwambutsa
When I am hiding behind an eucalyptus
I shoot a soldier
I jump a current and takes place near the basin
People wonder what is happening

5. Nti ndavúze je Rutágari rw'íntāmbara
Rwǎtegekewe insōmborotsanyi
Zōshaka amagará
Amagǒrwa akabûzura

Translation

I am speaking, I Rutagari the warrior
Trained for provocation
Provoked men who care about their lives
Are unlucky, they are candidates for sorrow

6. Sǎki y'îvyûma
Séma ya Museruko

Translation

Iron cock
Dangerous sign of chief Museruko

7. Nāma ndí inkórakíbi (...)
Nāma ndí ruturbikantāmbara
Intāmbwe yó mu mashâshi

Translation

I am always causing disaster (...)
I am always the one who handles roughly the war
Lion among young cows

8. Ndi ingwe y'íngoré
Ndi iyó kwā Rusahuzi
Nihó nagábana Gisābo
Kitarí isǎngi

Translation

I am a female leopard
I belong to Rusahuzi's family
That is why I got Gisabo
Which is not a collective property

9. Ngira nīvúge umuhizi
Wa ntígirá insāzi
Ngerégere ya Mwāmbutsa

Translation

I want to praise my bravery
Of the one who does not behave like a fly
The gazelle of King Mwambutsa

10. Ni jēwé Fūmbēri fūmbegete
Ncīye mu kabândé ndabāndanya
Ncīye mu mashînge ndashīngūra

Translation

It is me the wild antelope
When I pass in small valleys I continue
When I pass in sweet grass I pull out everything

11. Babá ry'înkôna
Rikebá nk'înkôta

Translation

Wing of the eagle
That cuts like the cut lass

12. Agacá kā Minigo
Gacīrá ingobé mu rugororo

Translation

Sparrow-hawk of chief Minigo
Spits the spears

13. Ndi inkânga ya Gisābo
Yakânze Ndaryĭmare
Agaca ku mahĕmbe
Agaca ku matŏnde
Akagwīra ibikanú
Aríwe nītá umumēnja

Translation

I am the guinea fowl of King Gisabo
The one who frightened Ndaryimare
Caused him to fall backwards
And wounded his nose
He fell the neck down
The one I call the rebel

14. Arí je nzóka y'úmushǎna
Yīkûba ku muryâ̂ngo
Ishâ̂ka guhōra umuryāngo

Translation

That is me the supple snake
Which hides itself near the entrance
So that it can revenge the whole family

15. Mvuvyi ya Bívǔmbi
Ahó ivubíye ntíbakivōma

Translation

Watersnake of Bivumbi
Where it sulks no one search for water

16. Kimata cā Múdugu
Mase ku mutǔmba
Ndakómeretsa umurǔndi

Translation

kind of viper son of Mudugu
When I stick the trunk
I wound the shins

17. Ndavúze mukěre w'íbāmba
Ufatá abarwānyi i mugôngo

Translation

I am mentioning "umukere" a wild plant
That catches my enemies froms their back

18. Mubirīzi w'ísāma
Arwāná ubutômóka

Translation

Bitter plant that spreads
Never give up when fighting

19. Ndi isékuro y'ímigĭgi
Isekúra ibihânda

Translation

I am the tireless mortar
I am used to pound thorny things

20. Ni jēwé musurúsuru udakōkôye
Umwâna wa Ngáramarúgăndа
Ntagarámira igitŭntu
Kū nâma kwā Remezo

Translation

It is me the really natural good thread
Son of Ngaramaruganda
Cannot be killed by tuberculoses
Near the Remezo's home

21. Narí nákuriye mū nkorōtanyi
Narí isînzo mberé
Narahētse umumbānzagukeba
Nayó icûma gíhīye

Translation

I have grown among fitters
I was the hacksaw in fact
I have rocked a man thinking about food
While the iron was hot

22. Gacúmu karashé
Kāmpi kavunyé abacúzi
Mfat'umwūgi nsogôte umwūgariro

Translation

Small spear that shot
Small arrow that broke the blacksmith
I take a very sharp arrow

23. Muheto w'íngǎre
Watsînze uwó inganira
Bigāmbarazi vyā Bigoro na Rugomero

Translation

Perfect bow
That defeated the rebels
Disobedients of chief Bigoro and chief Rugomero

24. Kirézi c'úmusahira
Ashíkanye umusāngo
Kū nâma i Bwǎmi kwā Mwāmbutsa

Translation

Smooth pectoral like a banana
Presents gifts
To the royal court at Mwambutsa's Palace

25. Miřinga y'íminyôsho
Itarí bukoré mu cîbo kimwe

Translation

Small copper bracelets
That cannot touch only one small basket

26. Seséme y'ábahîmvye
Bisǎnzagi vyā Tāba

Translation

Nausea of satiated people
The generous Bisanzagi of Taba

27. Ndi Bwǎrike bwā Māndarānga
Bwārírkwa ku nkǔmbi y'úmuriro
Inkǔmbi igûye ku munyika

Translation

I am the boiled water of Mandaranga
Boiled on the victim of the fire
After the fire has broken out near the basin

28. Ndōngōzi ya Mujo
Ndōngōye amatúruka
Nēgeranya amatāha

Translation

Leader of Mujo's troop
I know when I drive cattle to the fields
And when to put the cattle in the cowshed

29. Séma ya Museruko
Ndasāma bakānsāganira

Translation

Dangerous sign of chief Museruko
When I resonate my friends come to me

30. Ndi murûra w'îndûru
Udakāngwa indûru

Translation

I am the tornado that makes noise
That is not terrified by the noise

31. Ni je nkubá ya ruhanika
Ndi umunyurangabo wa Rugōngo
Mbona urugǎmba rw'îvyûma
Nkarwānira kurusānga

Translation

It is me the lightning
I am the sharpened arrow of Rugongo
Wherever there is a fight
I am excited and I have to fight

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