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**A pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi proverbs  
expressing the theme of imprudence**

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**FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND  
LITERATURE**

**A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOME KIRUNDI PROVERBS  
EXPRESSING THE THEME OF IMPRUDENCE**

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**DEDICATION**

To my late father who did not live long to see this step of my life,

To my mother who is always beside me,

To my brothers and sisters for your moral support;

I warmly dedicate this Thesis.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Many people have contributed in a way or another to the completion of this work. I wish to express my heartfelt and deep gratitude to all of them. First and foremost , gratitude goes to Dr. Ildephonse Horicubonye, Senior lecturer at the University of Burundi, who despite his responsibilities accepted to supervise this work from the very first step until its present state. His wise criticisms and advice have helped me a very great deal.

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**KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS**

S: speaker

H: hearer

U: utterance

Vol.: volume

## ABSTRACT

This is a pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence with the aim of using linguistic approach to study how Burundians use Kirundi proverbs to convey various messages. It has been revealed that Burundians make use of proverbs intentionally in a polite way. Proverbs, therefore carry out various messages when they are used in an appropriate way. The study was based on two assumptions. First, that linguistic knowledge alone cannot allow the understanding of the message conveyed through proverbs of imprudence and second, that proverbs expressing imprudence cannot be understood without reference to social customs, culture and context.

Some Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence were collected from informants and others from written materials. They were translated into English and classified according to the functions they are likely to fulfill. The analysis was done on basis of pragmatic aspect. The findings of the study showed that 88% of the informants are aware of the proverbs expressing imprudence. They expressed their views that Kirundi proverbs are used indirectly. Kirundi proverbs can then be taken as one major source of reference to study the culture of a given speech community. The analysis of Kirundi proverbs is recommended as a powerful tool for people concerned with socio-pragmatics. Moreover, people who are interested in Kirundi language use, Kirundi proverbs constitute a wide field for them.

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## CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1.0. Introduction

Language is a tool of communication that people use to cooperate in various activities or to entertain relations with others. The possession of language, more than any other attribute, distinguishes humans from other animals. Thus, to understand our humanity, one must understand the language that makes us human. According to the philosophy expressed in the myths and religions of many people, it is language which is the source of human and power. Hymes (1964:26) writes the following:

*One may see language as a powerful and essential means of human communication, and one may also view language as artificial barriers to international understanding.*

Indeed, a long time ago, societies in Africa were denied of having culture, as a matter of fact, African societies have been described as primitive because they had no written materials. However, when researchers began to be interested in African Literature, studies proved the opposite and Burundian literature was not put aside. We have some researchers such as, Zuure and Rodegen who conducted their research on Burundian literature and many literary genres such as poems, songs, pastoral, blessings and riddles have been found in Burundi.

### 1.1. Background Information

Burundian tradition is based mainly on oral literature and proverbs are among the linguistic data that transmit most faithfully the history and the human's life experience. Dzobo (1973) cited in Buzakana (2005:3) says that, "Proverbs are statements about all aspects of life, its success and failures and its sufferings."

This means that, since human being's life is made of good and bad experiences, proverbs in Kirundi reflect life in a duality between good and bad experiences, sad and happy portions of life. Thus, proverbs can be uttered in whatever situation depending on its appropriateness and adequacy.

Hence, through the use of proverbs in general and those expressing imprudence in particular, any form of message, thoughts, and suggestions are conveyed, and some actions or behaviours of members of the society portrayed. However, it is not always easy to master some aspects of a language. This is due to the fact that some aspects of Kirundi language require the understanding of society and culture of the users of the language. Ntahomvukiye (1981:46) notes that, "The essence of proverbs remains incommunicable and proper to each language." This means that this fact of being proper to each language creates problems in the understanding of the message vehicled through the use of proverbs in general and those related to the theme of impudence in particular. Consequently, their expected effect on the interlocutors to whom they are uttered is not achieved.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

Kirundi proverbs serve as a vivid way of illustrating and expressing all kinds of behaviours of people in Burundian society. By uttering them, speakers have a view that they want to teach or to share with their interlocutors. The study of proverb's conveyed message and meaning is problematic especially when the researcher is an outsider of the society in which Kirundi language is used or when he does not master the aspects of that language. The crucial problem is that most Burundians do not understand the messages that are conveyed through those proverbs that express the theme of imprudence. Consequently, their utterance has no effect on the interlocutors to whom they are addressed.

### **1.3. Aim of the Study**

This study seeks to find out the role of the linguistic knowledge in the understanding of the messages conveyed through proverbs expressing imprudence. This study aims also to check if the messages vehicle through proverbs of that kind can be understood by hearers when they are uttered in an appropriate context. In addition to this, this study seeks to enquire if the understanding of the culture helps to work out the proverbial implied meaning.

### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

This study deals with a pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence. Some Kirundi proverbs were collected and analysed pragmatically to decode their implied meanings. The results of the study have a wide significance for all people in general and younger generations in particular. Proverbs of imprudence teach them to adopt good behaviours. By reading this work, people will understand what proverbs of imprudence tend to communicate. This study contributes to teaching people who are imprudent to change their behaviours and be watchful in their daily life.

### **1.5. Research Questions**

To carry out successfully our research, below are the research questions for which this present study seeks solutions.

1. To what extent does the linguistic knowledge alone allow the understanding of proverbs expressing imprudence?
2. Can proverbs expressing imprudence be understood without reference to social customs, culture and context?

## **1.6. Motivation**

As already stated above, proverbs play an important role in communication. The motivation which pushed us to choose this topic “**A pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence**” emanates from many reasons: First of all, being a native speaker of the Kirundi language, we have great interest in proverbs among other genres that constitute the oral literature because they depict all kinds of behaviours by saying much in few words. Secondly, according to our observation Kirundi proverbs expressing imprudence are effective means that are used to teach people who are victims of the behaviours and choices they make. Our forefathers had ability of creating proverbs expressing imprudence. These proverbs contribute to adopting good behaviours in terms of being careful in our everyday life. All of this inspired us because imprudence is a source of many problems

## **1.7. Scope and Delimitation of the Study**

This work is solely concerned with proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence. Hence, Kirundi proverbs are widely extended so that this area cannot be exhausted through this work. A desire to gather information about proverbs in Burundian socio cultural context therefore directs this research to the pragmatic principles and social norms of the Kirundi language use. Thus, this study appears then to be not exhaustive because we limited ourselves to a restricted area which is concerned with imprudence. So, the speaker’s intention is focused on and all selected proverbs are put in contexts illustrating imprudence. Besides, the analysis is made exclusively in respect to pragmatic principles and social norms of Kirundi language use.

## **1.8. Definition of some Key Terms**

The topic “pragmatic Analysis of some kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence” uses some key terms which need to be explained. These terms are “pragmatics”, “proverb” and “imprudence”

### **1. Pragmatics**

According to the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985:225) “pragmatics is the study of the use of language in communication, particularly the relationships between sentences and contexts and situations in which they are used”. From this definition then, it is obvious that this term “pragmatics” covers both context-dependent aspects of language structure and principles of language usage, and understanding that have nothing or little to do with linguistic structure. The pragmatic analysis therefore, is the kind of study focusing on language use beyond the linguistic elements.

### **2. Proverb**

It is not easy to define what a proverb is and different researchers have attempted to give different definitions. Nandua et al (1997:48) cited in Nzobonwanayo (2005:6) say that a proverb is “a brief, clearly expressed figurative comment on a situation.” Proverbs are means that express popular wisdom, they are viewed as a collection of the experiences people have. People in their life store their past experiences and pass them from generation to generation through the use of proverbs. According to the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (1975) “a proverb is a popular short saying with words of advice or warning.” This definition implies that the important characteristics of a proverb are its conciseness and shortness.

Finnegan (1970:393) points out that there are some general characteristics of a proverb and, in a way he sums up saying the following:

*A proverb is a saying more or less fixed from marked by shortness, sense and salt and distinguishes by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in it.*

The proverb then is that statement one passes after having observed a situation. It is like a summary concluding the whole scene of actions. A person observes a situation in real life and wants to assess it or pass a judgment on it by means of a proverb. As far as Rodegem (1970) is concerned, the proverb is characterized by rhythm, the norms and images. The proverb in his view provides evidence for knowledge telling and is a language exercise because the allegorical nature of proverbs makes a direct understanding of the meaning difficult to grasp especially for those who are not familiar with the original culture.

Proverbs may have positive or negative effects. Those related to the theme of imprudence have negative ones but may convey positive message because the listener will understand that he must change his behaviour. In Burundian society, one who knows to back up his speech by appropriate proverbs possesses the art of good language. As a matter of fact, it requires a concern of art, a search for beauty and appropriate style to hold public attention.

### **3. Imprudence**

According to the Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1987:606) “Imprudence is the quality or state of being imprudent”. The concept “imprudence” is referred to as the state of being unwise, ill advised, ill-judged or injudicious in one’s everyday action. The Kirundi proverbs that depict imprudence most of time call upon a listener to change his state of being unwise, ill-advised or ill-judged in his daily actions or experience.

In few words, this chapter is concerned with the background information, the statement of the problem, research questions, motivation of the study, scope and delimitation of the study, and the definition of some key terms.

## CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### 2.0. Introduction

In the domain of linguistics, some researches deal with semantic studies, others treat speeches uttered in everyday life, and still others treat pragmatic studies. However, in the early sixties, pragmatics was rarely if at all mentioned by linguists.

Pragmatics as a branch of linguistics studying how a language is used in communication is a result of successive discoveries. In the present study, studies dealing with pragmatics have been helpful in the investigation we carried out. In the domain of pragmatics, some people have worked on Kirundi proverbs in general, but no one has worked on Kirundi proverbs expressing imprudence. However, imprudence in real life is almost as old as the world. It therefore inspired us to explore the moral values that proverbs of that kind tend to convey and their expected effect on part of the hearer to whom they are addressed.

Indeed, in Kirundi communication proverbs are used to convey a message to a hearer, and to give a moral lesson. In this chapter then, we tried to find some ways which help us to analyze the proverbs and discover their implied meanings so as to convince the reader to understand what is being analyzed. In fact, the present work is meant to discover the actual pragmatic meaning which is the true meaning deeply rooted in the rundi culture, and which is context-bound. Thus, to achieve this goal is not an easy task, however, it requires much pragmatic knowledge which must be combined with the cultural knowledge. As a matter of fact, a wide range of pragmatic aspects as the knowledge of context, presupposition, speech acts, cooperative principles and conversational implicature are required.

## 2.1. Pragmatics versus Semantics

This work is entitled “Pragmatic Analysis of some Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence”. In the field of linguistics, we distinguish two main domains which are of paramount importance for this study. These are semantics and pragmatics. The problem however, is that the two theories are very close because they both deal with “meaning.”

Leech (1983:5) states the following:

*Both fields are concerned with meaning but, the difference between them can be traced to two different uses of verbs to mean:*

*i what does x mean?*

*ii what did you mean by x?*

Leech helps us then to understand that semantics deals with the study of meaning, whereas pragmatics, in addition to the study of meaning, deals with the aspect of meaning which can differentiate pragmatics theory from semantic one. Traugott and Pratt (1980:223) quoted in Inampayano (2007:12) say:

*Pragmatics is a part of linguistics that deals with language use while phonology, Syntax and semantics focus on language as a formal system of elements and rules .For combining them. Pragmatics (also) deals with speaker’s communicative competence” (the knowledge which enables them to produce and understand utterances in relation to specific communicative purposes and specific speech context)”*

From this statement, we discover that instead of studying the meaning of sentences, the pragmatic analysis is the kind of language study focusing on the use of that language used by speakers and hearers involved in that communication.

Indeed, pragmatics studies the use of a language in context, the subject under study therefore sets itself as a part of linguistics in general, though, pragmatics tries to analyze the meaning of an utterance beyond the linguistic elements to verify the context in which the language is used. From this point of view, semantics is concerned with what takes place on the speaker-hearer axis. As a matter of fact, semantics is referred to as the first step of pragmatics. This is to say that, the object of pragmatics is the study of deep meaning from grammatical meaning of words. Hence, many researchers have made distinction between pragmatics and semantics in different angles. Recanati (1987:2) for instance distinguishes pragmatic and semantic meaning by stating the following:

*An utterance not only represents a state of affairs but also expresses the thoughts and Feelings of the speaker, just as it evokes certain thoughts and feelings in the hearer; the part of meaning involving speaker and hearer- what the sign “expresses” or “evokes” is its pragmatic meaning, as against its representational context or semantic meaning.*

In other words, Recanati wants to explain that pragmatics studies what speakers do with words whereas semantics studies what words mean, what speakers use words to talk about. The pragmatic meaning then, depends on the speaker's use of the sentence in a specific context. Thus, the utterance of the sentence by a speaker in a particular context conveys an additional meaning that varies according to the circumstances of the utterance. Furthermore, researchers to pick up discrepancy between semantics and pragmatics; some have made a distinction on basis of some terms such as “sentence” and “meaning.”

Hurford and Heasley (1983:16) focus on the difference between semantic meaning and pragmatic meaning by differentiating “sentence” and “utterance” and say the following, “sentence is neither a physical event nor a physical object. It is conceived abstractly as a string of words put together by the grammatical rules of a language.”

Thus, a sentence can be viewed therefore, as “the ideal” string words behind various realizations because one can use these words to express different views depending on what he wants to communicate his interlocutor.

As far as the utterance is concerned, Hurford and Heasley(15) mentioned:

*An utterance is any stretch of talk, by one person before and after which there is silence on the part of that person. An utterance is the use of words by a particular speaker, on a particular occasion, of a piece of language such as a sequence of Sentences or single phrase or even a single word.*

In fact, according to these views of above linguists as well as some other researchers, it is obvious that the “semantic” relation between sentences and states of affairs cannot be opposed to the pragmatic relation between sentences and those who utter and interpret them. Sentences by themselves do not describe or represent anything. However, a proverb in English likewise in Kirundi can be used in different utterances context to represent different states of affairs.

All in all, both theories, that is, semantics and pragmatics although they are close, have some differences in the way they function in everyday communication. This work therefore is solely concerned with pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi proverbs that express imprudence. For this reason, to approach meaning from a pragmatic point of view, the semantic point of view helped us as the first step to get a satisfactory explanation of the implied meaning of proverbs.

## 2.2. Other Pragmatic Aspects

Kirundi proverbs are used to carry out pragmatic meanings. The interpretation of Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence, has to rely on pragmatic theories in order to decode the implied meanings of these proverbs.

### 2.2.1. Context and its Features

The language study departed from dealing with physical data of speech to take into account the context. In fact, the way meaning varies from context to context has been noticed by different researchers in linguistics. Indeed, context has been understood in various ways, for example to include “relevant” aspects of the physical or social setting of an utterance. As a result, many linguists have defined and given it some properties. Leech (13) for example states:

*I shall consider context to be any background knowledge assumed to be shared by “S” and “H” this contributes to h’s interpretation of what “S” means by a given utterance*

This implies that for the message to be appropriately understood, speaker “S” and the hearer “H” must have the same knowledge about the situation or context in which a message is delivered. However, the context changes overtime, consequently, this change affects objects in the successive states of context. Dijk (1977:191) says that, “a first property of context to be emphasized is its dynamic character.” It is clear therefore that a context is not just one possible word state, but at least a sequence of word-states. Moreover, these situations do not remain identical in time but change.

According to many linguistic researchers such as Yule and Brown (1983) and Malinowski (1960), context is an undeniable important factor in communication because it allows narrowing down the communicative possibilities of the message as it exists in abstraction from context.

In fact, it is difficult to assign any function and any true meaning to a proverb unless we provide to it an appropriate context. In this way we come up to discover the utterance's goal since the same proverb can have different interpretations according to places, settings, participants and so on.

Context then, as viewed by linguists, eliminates certain ambiguities or multiple meanings that a proverb can carry out once it is uttered. It is context which creates possibilities for interpretation and helps to remove the multiple ambiguities that utterances would have if they occurred in isolation.

### **2.2.2. Features of Context**

In the domain of linguistics, we have many features of context nevertheless, not all of them are relevant for this topic under study. Thus, only the most relevant ones are considered.

#### **2.2.2.1. Participants**

The concept "participant" refers to two types of people involved in a communication that is "the speaker" and the "Hearer". The knowledge of their individual status and their social relationships allow the analyst in most cases to understand the appropriateness of their respective utterances. The participants are also referred to as "addressers" and "addressees" that have to share a certain background to understand each other intelligibly. Leech (1983:13) says the following:

*Addressers and addressees can be referred to as a matter of convenience, as S(speaker) and H(hearer). These will be short-hand for speaker (s)/ writer(s) and hear(s) or reader(s).*

By saying so, Leech wants to let us know that, the addresser and addressee are not sufficient conditions in speech situations. We have also to take into account the context in which the utterance is stated.

### 2.2.2.2 .Setting

In communicative situation, the setting includes the time and place in which an event is situated. The setting of an utterance should not be ignored. Fasold(1990:44) says that, “the setting is physical circumstances of communicative event including time and place.”The physical context refers to the time when interlocutors have a conversation.

According to Hymes(1964:60), the setting has to be viewed both in terms of where and when the event is situated, as well as in terms of the physical relations of the interactions with respect to posture and facial expressions one’s expectation will be well fulfilled. People utter utterances according to the time and places in which they are. For instance when they are in the market, they use a language different from the one they use when they are in a given office, in church or in any given ceremony. Though, the interpretation of an utterance requires a physical context to understand the message carried out through the use of a proverb or any other utterance.

### 2.3. The Notion of Implicature

The notion of implicature is used by Grice (1975) to account for what a speaker suggests, implies or means as distinct from what he literally says. It contributes to providing an insight to the hearer in order to enable him to discover the sense of linguistic expressions.

Hurtford (278) defines the implicature as following:

*Implicature is a concept of utterance meaning as opposed to sentence meaning, but is parallel in many ways to the sense relation. (that is sentence meaning concepts) of Entailment”*

It is obvious that implicature is related to the method by which speakers work out the indirect illocutions of utterances.

Since Kirundi proverbs reflect Burundian society's sense and ability of creation, a semantic approach provided a description of words of an utterance, so, to decode the conveyed message, the information vehicled through the use of proverbs depicting the theme of imprudence has to be extended to aspects of local culture.

### **2.3.1 .Cultural Implicature of Proverbs**

Proverbs are used in current communication as expression of wisdom, and they are one of the most constituents of Burundian Literature. In fact, proverbs are useful means of studying people's experiences. Dalfovo (1984:27) says that, "Proverbs transmit some aspects of the world-view of people and their culture." According to him, proverbs portray people's beliefs and norms of life.

In fact, whenever Burundians see any kind of behaviour especially during their conversation, they often make use of proverbs. They utter an appropriate proverb to give a message to a hearer with the conviction; it must have an effect on the person to whom this proverb is uttered. Kirundi proverbs are made of images whose meanings are difficult to grasp for people who are not familiar with the original culture.

Burundians have invented proverbs which make use of images denoting all aspects of life according to Burundian culture at certain point. Thus, those images are charged with a certain cultural meaning as they are themselves found in Kirundi cultural setting. Consequently, anyone who wants to understand the message vehicled through Kirundi proverbs especially those expressing the theme of imprudence has to be able to grasp the metaphors or illusions that Kirundi proverbs encompass.

The cultural Implication of proverbs is specified mainly and particularly by Dzobo (1973:36) when he mentions that, “Proverbs are statements about all aspects of life, its success and failures and its traits and sufferings”. As a point in case, kirundi proverbs reflect all behaviours of people in Burundian society and all portions of life are portrayed.

### 2.3.2. Grice’s Cooperative Principle

Grice (1975) points out principles which have to be respected to achieve a successful conversation. Two interlocutors involved in conversation, have to take into account some factors so as to make their discourse fruitful. Thus, the speaker and the hearer are requested to follow these principles in their conversation as regulators of language use. Grice (1975:45) presents what he called “a cooperative principle” to which both interlocutors must adhere in their conversation as follows,

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

Grice also establishes the conversational conventions, or maxims supporting this principle. He distinguishes four categories of maxims which support his cooperative principle. These are:

*Quantity: Make your contribution as informative as is required (For the current purposes of the exchange) do not make your contribution more informative than required.*

*Quality: Do not say what you believe to be false, do not say for which you lack adequate evidence.*

*Relation: Be relevant*

*Manner: Be perspicacious, that is,*

*Avoid obscurity of expression, be brief and orderly.*

By establishing these maxims, Grice helps us to describe what type of meaning a speaker can convey by disregarding at least one of these maxims.

In fact, the violation of a maxim results from the speaker conveying, in addition to the literal meaning of his utterance, a meaning which is conversational implicature. Grice's conversational maxims are viewed to be principles for fruitful social use of language. Hence, these conversational maxims are applied differently following societies. Searle (1969) cited in Buzakana (2005:17) says the following:

*Conversational principles and maxims are regulative rather than constitutive the rules of language normally count as an integral part of the definition of that language, but maxims do not.*

In the same way, each language, each genre has its own way to deal with the indirectness. In the present study, proverbs have their own way to observe or violate Grice's maxims because they are particular genre and have meanings. They also have vivid expressions when they are relevant with respect to their contexts of use.

#### **2.4. Speech Act Theory**

When a speaker, in appropriate circumstances makes an utterance containing a referring expression, he carries out a certain act, an act of referring. Referring is typically a linguistic act; in linguistic communication, it is possible to carry out all sorts of acts using a language.

Austin (1962) quoted by Fasold (1990:117) asserts that, "the uttering of the sentences is part of the doing an action. According to him, in talking, the speaker(S) performs an act. This then allows us to confirm the speech is equaled with an action.

Indeed, when “S” is speaking to “H”, “S” intends and expects “H” to respond in some way as a result of recognizing that “S” intends him to take “U” as message bearing. So, when a person says something, words or other meaningful linguistic units he performs at one and the same time an act, namely a locutionary act. Austin (1962) cited in Leech (1983:176) says that, “all utterances are “performatives” in the sense of constituting a form of action, rather than simply a matter of saying something about the world.”

It is clear that when a speaker says something, he does not simply utter the words but there is an action that is performed through the utterance of such words. As a point in case, Austin (1962) distinguishes three kinds of speech acts performed at one and the same time by uttering an utterance or saying something.

- 1° Locutionary act: the act of uttering a certain sentence with a sense and reference that can be heard and understood by the hearer.
- 2° Illocutionary act: The act that forwards the speaker’s specific purpose to perform an act of for example, agreement, praise, advice, warning etc.
- 3° Perlocutionary act: concerns the achievement of the speaker’s purpose on the addressee, the perlocutionary act is referred to as the consequential response of the illocutionary, that is, the effect of the utterance on H.

Since the perlocution relies on the speaker’s intention (illocution) or be different from it. As a result, both the illocutionary act and perlocutionary act interest the present study because they have much to do with language function as they rely on the speaker’s communicative goals. So, associated with the illocutionary act is the illocutionary force of an utterance.

Although the illocutionary act and the illocutionary force of an utterance overlap apparently, they are distinct on the point of view of the utterer.

In fact, an act cannot be the same as its force. The force is the charge an utter or speaker equips with his utterance, and an act could have different forces according to the context, the speaker's intention etc. In other words, when an act is performed, it is equipped with a force which is the speaker's intended effect on the hearer, what could be considered as the speaker's intentions as well while the illocutionary act could be the means or strategies he uses to achieve his goal or intentions. Such strategies can be to give an order, to assert, to request, whereas their forces are what is intended as an effect of such strategies.

In short, the illocutionary acts may be categorized while their forces cannot, because they are to be inferred from the context. Leech (1975) states:

*Illocutionary force, particularly because of its indeterminacy and scalar variability, is more subtle than can be easily accommodated by our everyday vocabulary of speech Act verb*

From this remark then, Leech notices that the force's study is done in part, in non categorical scalar terms as a matter of fact; the context has an important role in the study of force's act.

#### **2.4.1. Classification of Speech Acts**

Austin (1962) tentatively proposed a classification of speech acts. However, there is no consistent principle of classification of speech acts but the criterion seems to be the semantic similarity between English verbs. Allan (1986:190) asserts that, "some verbs don't fit the category they are assigned to, some aren't illocutionary, and the Categories overlap haphazardly." By so saying, he stresses the point that there is no consistent principle of classification of speech acts.

However, despite this issue of not having consistent principle of classification of speech acts, researchers on this subject of speech acts tried to make a classification of them. Verschueren (1999:24) says that, “All speech acts, in any language anywhere in the world, fall into five categories”

These speech acts are classified as following:

- 1° Assertives (e.g. statements): expressing a belief, making words fit the world, and committing the Speaker to the truth of what is asserted.
- 2° Directives (e.g. requests or orders): expressing a wish, making the world fit the words, and counting as an attempt to get the hearer to do something
- 3° Commissives (e.g. promises or offers): expressing an intention making the world fit the words and counting as commitment speaker engage in future course of action.
- 4° Expressives (e.g. apologies, or thanks): expressing a variety of psychological state, having direction or fit between words and words, and simply counting as expression psychological state.
- 5° Declarations (e.g. baptizing, abdicating): not expressing any psychological state, making both the words fit the world and the world fit World, and the point of which is to bring about a change in institutional realities.

Since our study is a pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence, the notion of speech act is of paramount importance. However, this theory is quite complex to be studied as a whole here. Kirundi proverbs are indirectly conveying messages; this is the reason why the theory of direct and indirect illocutionary acts could not be ignored for the present study.

Hurford and Heasley (1983:259) make a distinction between the two illocutionary acts and say the following:

*The direct illocution of an utterance is the illocution most directly indicated by a literal reading of the pragmatic form and vocabulary of the sentence uttered. The indirect illocution of an utterance is any further illocution the utterance may have.*

The present study focuses on illocutionary acts as defined by their functions rather than by conventional rules as seen by Heasley (1979). Burundians In their daily conversations transmit their messages through the use of proverbs whose meanings are beyond the linguistic elements that make them. All the proverbial statements bear indirect illocutionary acts whose force is to be inferred from a set of implicatures in respect to the context.

## **2.5 .The Notion of Presupposition**

According to the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985:228) “Presupposition” refers to what a speaker or writer assumes that the receiver of the message already knows” We shall take the view that the notion of presupposition that is required in the analysis of a discourse is a pragmatic presupposition, that is, defined in terms of assumptions the speaker makes about what the hearer is likely to accept without challenge. Presuppositions are therefore what is taken by the speaker to be the common ground of the participants in the conversation.

In fact, presupposition is a condition for an assertion to be true.Cooper (1974) assimilates the notion of presupposition to the necessary conditions for an assertion’s state of affairs to be accepted or believed by the participants. However, there must be a corollary presupposition that appears in all and any assertion. That is, the existential presupposition. The existence of what is referred to by the assertion (trees, animals, people etc.).

In the context, that is the actual world of the utterance. This implies that, a proverb to be accepted must be well stated otherwise, there is no reason to believe in its truth while the structure does not remain as a stereotype or if it does not remain fixed so that it is recognized as a proverb anytime it is stated.

What is presupposed or condition for proverbs is an image whose referent is traced and this has to be matched with the actual world of the utterance. This signifies that the syntactic elements of the statements have to be transposed to the world of the utterance. The hearer or the analyst must identify the presupposition in order to find the referents, and recognize an utterance as a proverb. Thus, proverbs presuppose the correctness of the statement, and consequently, presupposition is a guarantee for the correctness of the stereotypical structure of an utterance.

### **2.5.1. The Role of Presupposition and Culture in Proverb Analysis**

Normally, the proverb is recognized by members of a society because its structure is regular and the images it contains are the expected ones, and appear in the regular syntactic order. The image is said to be regular and stereotypical if it is faithful to the popular tacit agreement on the proverbs overall structure, and if it is part of it. Moreover, the interlocutors must be culturally competent to understand the message that is conveyed; this means that, to understand the message vehicled beyond the linguistic meaning, interlocutors should possess the same knowledge of cultural background so as to be able to interpret proverbs' conveyed message.

In the same way, being faithful to the culture enables the addressee to work out the intended message carried by the uttered proverb. In Burundian cultural world, Kirundi proverbs especially those expressing the theme of imprudence, enclose presupposition because they are recognized and are regular in respect to the popular agreement on their respective structures.

In a nutshell, this section presents a general overview on the definition of pragmatics and especially from its linguistic angle. Besides, some areas that are closely related to pragmatics like presupposition, proverbial implicature, the notion of implicature, and conversational maxims. Within the same section, is presented in a relatively detailed way the theories of speech acts that guided us in the analysis of the data.

## CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

### 3.0. Introduction

Any scientific research requires an appropriate methodology in order to achieve successfully one's goal. According to Collins Cobuild English Dictionary (1987:911) "Methodology is a set of methods for doing something for example, teaching or carrying out research." Thus, this chapter is mainly concerned with both data collection and data analysis procedures. The former is based on how the data was collected; difficulties encountered and the latter is concerned with the procedures and steps followed to analyze the collected data.

### 3.1. Data Collection Procedures

Our research focused on Kirundi proverbs related to the theme of imprudence as stated in the first chapter. Some of them are currently used and often heard. Since in Kirundi proverbs, the statement is always constant but the statement may refer to different things and realities following the contexts. The selection of the proverbs under study is based on the moral value they express through their proverbial meaning; that is, the general significance and comprehension out of any context. Indeed, the proverbial meaning encompasses all the contexts without being specific. This is the reason why any context of the proverb is comprised in the proverbial meaning. As a result, the referent is the only element that varies with the context. It is in this view, therefore, we thought of the moral value vehicled in the proverbial meaning as a criterion to select our data. For the present study, proverbs were selected from written materials published by Rodegem (1970) and Ntahokaja (1979). Besides these proverbs collected from written materials, some others were collected from our informants and all of them were translated into English.

In the same line of thought, Brown and Yule (1983) assert, “The analyst can take his data either from written text or from tape recordings” Then, all proverbs were presented to our informants to put them in respective and appropriate contexts in order to find out their implied meaning.

### **3.2. The Area of the Study**

This research was conducted in Vugizo in the province of Makamba. This area was chosen firstly because the researcher is familiar with the area. Secondly, this area was chosen because it is fully located in the rural area where the cultural practices are still manifested. This area is occupied by people who often make use of proverbs in their conversations. It represents therefore an area where Kirundi language and its cultural values are widely used.

### **3.3. The Population and Sample of the Study**

The genre we dealt with was drawn from the Kirundi language. As a point in case, the twenty proverbs selected according to their moral values they transmit were meant for elderly people. However, the vastness of the area of the study could not allow us to reach every elder. Thus, we chose elders of 60 years old and more to work with. Those informants were chosen because they are assumed to have wide knowledge in tradition.

Indeed, the total population of the research was selected using a systematic list sampling technique. Since we could not consult all the old people estimated at one hundred, we selected 25 informants. The informants were put on a list according to the alphabetical order of their names. Thus, 25 respondents were selected. All the selected informants were approached systematically and were asked to give some proverbs that express the theme of imprudence and to identify the various possibilities of the proverb's function.

### **3.4. Techniques of Data Collection**

To get the views of people on the implied meaning of proverbs, we used a structured interview to collect some proverbs from our informants, besides this, we consulted the written materials by Ntahokaja (1979) and Rodegem (1970). Since many elderly people neither know how to write nor to read, we asked them questions directly from the questionnaire and wrote down the answers on the notebook. This fact of interviewing them helped us to explore the necessary information to the study. All the data collected from the different respondents and the information about Kirundi proverbs related to imprudence were compiled into useful information for the research study.

### **3.5. Data Analysis Procedures**

As stated in the first chapter, this research aims at studying the pragmatic meaning of proverbs that express the theme of imprudence. To analyze the data, a close look was put on the collected proverbs to ensure that all of them express the theme of imprudence. All proverbs being subdivided according to their moral values, were analyzed on basis of pragmatic principles.

Indeed, added to their literal and cultural meanings, our informants provided a context which is appropriate for each proverb. Context plays a very important role in the analysis and understanding of utterances. Brown and Yule (1983) assert, “the role of context on the one hand is to limit the range of diverse interpretations and on the other hand it supports the intended interpretations.” Here we realize that the notion of context as one aspect of pragmatics helped us to overcome ambiguity and multiple interpretations those proverbs could have.

In addition to this, the analysis of the collected data was based on Austin’s theory of speech acts. Being allegorical and metaphorical, proverbs do not mean exactly what is grammatically vehicled by their syntactic constituents. Whenever they are uttered; they have something that is implied.

The collected proverbs were analyzed on the basis of this theory of speech act. Austin (1962) quoted by Fasold (1990:117) writes, “the uttering of the sentence is a part of the doing an action.” While analyzing the data, we applied therefore Austin and Searle’s speech acts theories with the actual proverbial utterance’s context to decode the message that proverbs of that kind convey, and the effect they are expected to have on the interlocutors.

Furthermore, the analysis focused on the speaker’s intention and the illocutionary force of the proverb. We tried to have a close look at the collected proverbs and find out what their illocutionary force could be beyond their cultural and literal meanings. Besides, the theory of speech acts which was helpful in the analysis of our data, we tried to analyze whether or not Kirundi proverbs respect Grice’s conversational maxims because being indirectly used, there is the indirectness of the illocutionary force of proverbs as a rhetorical strategy that is inherent in the genre. Associated to this theory while analyzing the data was the cultural implicature of proverbs to understand or discover if ever the lack of knowledge hinders the understanding of what is implied.

In few words, this chapter is concerned with the methods used to gather the data for the present study, the difficulties that have been encountered while we were collecting the data. Moreover, this chapter indicates how we have analyzed the data to achieve the final result of our work.

### **3.6 .Encountered Difficulties**

#### **3.6.1. Difficulties Related to Data Collection**

Burundians are reserved, they do not tell easily what they know to anybody; they have first to know who you are and what you need the data for. Secondly, it was difficult to make a wide contact with people who know the tradition. In addition, since the informants for this study were elderly people living in the countryside we had to find them at their homes and interview them.

They sometimes answered to the questions in an incomplete manner or some even refused to answer if we could not give them anything as a motivation. Another difficulty we faced while collecting the data was that informants had to repeat what they had already said and write it in the note book. It was some how difficult because it not only weakened us but also the informants. Nevertheless we tried to use the interview in order to complete our research. That is why we generally preferred to use both the written materials of well known people such as Rodegem and the interview to gather required data for this research.

### **3.6.2. Difficulties Related to Translation**

The topic under study deals with “a pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence. As a matter of fact, while collecting the data, all materials were given in Kirundi language. It could be therefore impossible for such an investigation to be carried out without difficulty. It was very difficult to translate those proverbs because we had to keep their metaphorical meaning.

In fact, Kirundi and English are two different languages which have nothing in common. They belong to two different language families. English is an Indo-European language whereas Kirundi is a Bantu language. Some Kirundi words and expressions may lack the exact equivalent in English and were given a literal translation what obscures their implied meaning. Since proverbs are used in language which is very close to the culture of the language users, translating Kirundi proverbs into English created difficulties to the researcher and obscured their proverbial meaning. Hymes (1964) States, “languages are basically part of the culture and words cannot be understood correctly apart from the local cultural phenomena for which they are symbols.” However, we tried our best to keep close to the proverbial original meaning in order to keep the reader as close as possible to the original proverbial meaning.

## CHAPTER IV: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

### 4.0. Introduction

In the present section, we analyze the various messages that are conveyed through proverbs related to the theme of imprudence. Moreover, we analyze the impact or the perlocutionary effect that the selected proverbs have on the hearer. Furthermore, within the same section, the research questions are answered. In this chapter we try to analyze the twenty selected proverbs and each proverb was studied following its appropriate context and function.

### 4.1. Data Presentation

The sample of the collected proverbs comprises 20 proverbs which answer the elaborated questions. The first question: “Do you think there are proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence in Kirundi?” has the role of ensuring the researcher the existence of proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence. The second question:”Do you think the following proverbs belong to such a category?” is intended to confirm our intuition about the sample. To present the results, we used tables for the first and second question. Table number one illustrates the results of the first question; it shows the number of informants confirming the existence of proverbs expressing imprudence in Kirundi language. Most of our informants then approved the idea.

**Table1: data of question 1**

	Number of informants approving	Number of informants in percentage	Total of informant
Approval	22	88%	25
Disapproval	3	12%	

From the results contained in table 1, we realize that most of the informants that is 88% accepted the existence of proverbs expressing imprudence in Kirundi.

For the second question “Do you think the following proverbs belong to such a category of proverbs, answers are given by informants and are given in table 2. In this case, the proverb is not given but its corresponding number in appendix. This table then, shows the most recurrent functions that all the proverbs are likely to fulfill as they have been viewed by our informants.

**Table 2: data of question 2**

Functions	Not being alert	Imprudence	Being rush	Lack of self control
1	-	<b>18</b>	3	4
2	<b>19</b>	1	3	2
3	2	3	5	<b>15</b>
4		3	<b>14</b>	8
5	1	5	2	<b>17</b>
6	6	<b>15</b>	4	-
7	4		<b>16</b>	5
8	<b>14</b>	3	2	6
9	5	3	3	<b>14</b>
10	<b>16</b>	1	8	-
11	2		<b>15</b>	8
12	1	5	<b>17</b>	2
13	2	<b>20</b>	3	-
14	3	<b>16</b>	1	5
15	3	<b>15</b>	2	5
16	<b>17</b>	3		5
17	3	6		<b>16</b>
18	5	1	4	<b>15</b>
19	3	1	<b>20</b>	1
20	<b>16</b>		3	6

As earlier pointed out, this table illustrates the most recurrent functions each proverb can fulfill.

All the twenty proverbs have been classified in four functions that they are likely to fulfill. For instance, among the four functions, this Kirundi proverb “ubwihusi bwa cane busiga ico bwari buje gutira” which can be translated as “The extreme eagerness forgets what it came to borrow” The function of rushing is the most stressed on and under the same function five proverbs have been assigned to fulfill this function according to the results of our informants. In a nutshell, all the twenty proverbs have been classified according to the function they fulfil. Those proverbs were classified into four groups.

## **4.2. Analysis of Proverbs of Imprudence in their Context**

### **4.2.0. Introduction**

The collected proverbs were provided with contexts. It is context that creates possibility for proverbs interpretation. It also helps overcome ambiguities that utterances would have. A context helps the hearer to infer the underlying intention by analysing linguistic cues beyond their literal meaning.

### **4.2.1. Proverbs which Talk about Imprudence of not Being Alert**

According to the Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1987: 69) “alert is a state of being watchful and prompt to meet a danger, to be quick to perceive and act or to call to state of readiness, to warn, to make aware of danger.” Informants proved that in the Kirundi language, there exist proverbs of imprudence emanating from not being aware of danger or not being watchful and prompt to meet a danger.

### 1. Uwutazi urwimo arwimirizamwo inda.

Literal translation: He who does not know the fight indulges himself into war.

Situation: Mu ntambara yahuza abarwanya reta mu 1996, umugabo yitwa Nzirubusa yarafise umuhungu yitwa Ntabiriho. Umusi umwe abwira se ko azinduka aherekeza abasirikare guhiga abarwanyi mw'ishamba.se aramurahira ko n'agenda azomuvuma.Yidoze kera amubwira ati :”Uwutazi urwimo arwimirizamwo inda.”

Literal translation: During the period of war in 1996 opposing the national Forces and rebels, a man called Nzirubusa had a son Ntabiriho. One day, he told his father that the next morning he will take company soldiers to chase rebels from the forest. His father told him that if he went there he would curse him. After a long time whispering, Nzirubusa uttered the following proverb to his son: “Uwutazi urwimo arwimirizamwo inda.” (He who does not know the fight indulges himself into war.)

The following proverb, “Uwutazi urwimo arwimirizamwo inda” (He who does not know the fight indulges into war) has some key words. These are “Urwimo” (fight or war) and “arwimirizamwo” taken from the verb “Kwimiriza” (to follow somebody). In fact, the noun “uwutazi” then has a negative connotation and symbolizes someone who does things with foolhardiness. By associating this terms “Uwutazi” and “urwimo” one discovers that they imbed negative values in respect to Burundian culture.

In fact, considering the context in which the father uttered the proverb, it is obvious that one can realize what he intends to communicate to his son. Nzirubusa’s goal is to express his disapproval he feels.

Thus, Nzirubusa who has witnessed the dreadful events soldiers have undergone in his area could not understand how or why his son Ntabiriho dared to have such an idea. By uttering a proverb which makes use of the metaphor of war, the utterer indirectly conveys his message using images found in his cultural setting.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The utterer's force is quite different from what is meant by the grammatical structures of his utterance. In the present context, the intended message is to tell Ntabiriho that he could lose his life since he was ready to indulge himself in military affairs. As a point in case, the illocutionary act is to warn him that he could not follow them.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By uttering this proverb then, S produces an effect in H; that is in Ntabiriho by means of speaker's recognition of values and beliefs vehicled by the terms that make the proverb, and the hearer has to change his attitude.

## **2. Intakenga yishwe n'umuhumbizi.**

Literal translation: An imprudent person was killed by one who collected materials for construction.

Situation: Umugabo yitwa Bizimana yakunda kuja guhiga wenyene mw'ishamba rya kure. bakunda kuvuga ko harimwo ibikoko vyinshi bikaze. Ababanyi biwe baramuhanura kudasubirayo wenyene arabihakana. Umusi umwe asubirayo ahura n'igikoko kinini agira ubwoba yiruka asubira muhira. Ashitse yiganira umugore ivya mushikiye nawe umucira umwibutsa ukurikira: "Intakenga yishwe n'umuhumbizi"

Literal translation: Bizimana was a man who used to go to hunt alone in the forest situated away from his home. It was said that there were many dangerous animals in that forest. His neighbours had advised him not to return in that forest alone but he refused. One day, he returned in the forest and met a very big and dangerous animal. He therefore ran away. When he arrived at home, he told his wife what happened to him. Then, she uttered him the following proverb: "An imprudent person was killed by one who collects materials for construction."

For this proverb "Intakenga yishwe n'umuhumbizi" (an imprudent person was killed by one who collects materials for construction) the utterer uses some words which need to be taken in their context to infer the speaker's underlying intention. Then, this proverb has some key words such as "Intakenga" denoting someone who does not have anything to worry about. Another key word that prevents the interlocutor from understanding the speaker's conveyed message is "Umuhumbizi", literally meaning someone who collects construction materials. Knowing the context of use, Bizimana is described as someone distrustful in his actions; one has therefore to interpret the linguistic cues which contextualize the message vehicled by this proverb.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

Thus, what the utterer of this proverb intends to communicate is put aside from what is meant by the terms. It would not illustrate its message if it were not taken in this context. The utterer therefore intends to tell her husband that it is dangerous to go back alone in that forest. The utterer performs an illocutionary act which consists of warning him about the danger he may face if he dares to go back in that forest.

### Perlocutionary Effect

By stating this proverb “Intakenga yishwe n’umuhumbizi” S brings H to learn that he has to be careful so as to avoid risking his life by going alone in that dangerous forest. The perlocution is a result of social connotation around the cultural values of the terms that make the proverb.

### 3. Ubuze uwo aherekeza, aherekeza mukeba iwabo.

Literal translation: He who has nobody to accompany, accompanies his rival at his home.

Situation: Miburo na Ndayavugwa ni abavukanyi bafitaniye amatati y’itongo. Rimwe na rimwe iyo bahuye baratukana n’ukugwana bakarwana. Aho Miburo aburiye sebukwe, Ndayavugwa bajanye kuraba incuti. Bugingo bahindukiye ku mugoroba, bashitse mu nzira batangura gutukana, baragwana. Ndayavugwa ataha ishata ryatabutse. Umubanyi bahuye arabaza ivyamushikiye nawe aramubwira, kuko yarazi amatati bafitaniye aca amubwira umwibutsa ukurikira :  
 ”Ubuze uwo aherekeza, aherekeza mukeba iwabo.”

Translation: Miburo and Ndayavugwa are brothers and have land conflict. Sometimes, when they meet, they aggress each other and they even fight. When Miburo’s father in-law died, his brother Ndayavugwa accompanied him to visit his relatives-in-law. At night while they were coming back, halfway there, they began to insult each other and ended by fighting. Ndayavugwa arrived at home with his shirt torn. His neighbor who met him asked what had happened but since he knew the conflict between them, he therefore uttered him the following proverb: “He who has nobody to accompany, accompanies his rival at his home.”

This proverb, like other Kirundi proverbs comprises words used allegorically to indirectly convey a message to the hearer. As a matter of fact, the hearer needs to interpret them in their context of use. Then, in this proverb, we have terms like, “aherekeza” derived from Kirundi verb “guherekeza” (to accompany) and “mukeba” (someone who tries to harm you mischievously). According to Burundian tradition, even if people have a conflict, they hide it and don’t show it openly when they are in public as it can be illustrated by this Kirundi proverb :”Mwaramutse ntibuza akaraye” (good morning does not prevent people from being in conflict). So, the noun “umukeba” of Kirundi verb “gukebana” is used for people who hate each other mischievously.

In fact, according to the views of our informants most of time the hearer is not able to understand what the speaker wants to communicate from the linguistic elements of the proverb. However, by adding them to the cultural knowledge he has and the context in which it is uttered, he may infer what the speaker wants to communicate. In fact, in the context above, Miburo is not a reliable friend in a circumstance like that and Ndayavugwa has not been alert. He imprudently accompanied him.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

Thus, following this context, and the relationship between the two brothers, the utterer’s implied message is to express his disappointment because the neighbour who knows the background information about the two brothers could not think of Ndayavugwa accompanying his brother. In this case, the illocutionary act is to advise him not to make the same mistake and to be careful in order not to face a similar problem.

## Perlocutionary Effect

By saying this proverb, “uwubuze uwo aherekeza aherekeza mukeba iwabo”, S produces an effect in H who attracts attention of his situation. The perlocutionary act then, is the consequential recognition of values and social beliefs vehicled by the terms “intakenga” and “umuhumbizi.”

### 4. Barihamagarira yariye umwenda w'inkuba.

Literal translation: He who causes troubles for himself has borrowed from thunder.

Situation: Misigaro yari umugore afise umwana umwe w'umukobwa; Yakunda kumwigisha imyifato nziza hamwe nivyo yokwirinda na cane cane kugenda ararya canke kwakira ivy,abahungu bamuhaye. Inyuma y'indwi zibiri Ndimubandi yiganira nyina wiwe ukuntu yahenze umusirikare ngo azokwemerako babana kandi yamuririye amafaranga nyina wiwe acamucira umugani ati:”Barihamagarira yariye umwenda w'inkuba.”

Literal translation: Misigaro was a woman who had one daughter she used to teach her good manners and some bad behaviors she had to avoid mainly avoiding poisonous gifts of boys and to avoid taking what boys would give her. However, two weeks after, Ndimubandi told her mother that she had lied a soldier that she will get married with him and that she had taken some money from him. So her mother stated the following proverb: “He who causes troubles for himself borrowed from a thunder.”

This proverb used in the context above, constitutes an effective and accurate way to deliver a message to Ndimubandi about her imprudence of not being alert. This proverb, “Barihamagarira yariye umwenda w’inkuba” (He who causes troubles for himself borrowed from a thunder) uses images charged with certain cultural meaning that are found in Kirundi cultural setting. The following words “Barihamagarira” which is a Kirundi noun in singular derives from the verb “Kwihama” (to lay into) which means not to be careful and involve oneself in risky situation . This proverb uses the words like “Umwenda” and “Inkuba” that obscure the speaker’s purpose if the hearer does not interpret them in their context of use.

In the present context, the woman Misigaro whose main concern is to teach her daughter how to behave passes her message to her daughter indirectly by using images that denote something dangerous “inkuba” (thunder) and “umwenda” (a debt), she therefore has to decode what her mother presupposes by making such an utterance.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

In the present context, Misigaro’s intended message is to tell her daughter that she should prevent herself from lying to people in general and the soldier in particular. That kind of behaviour would obviously lead her into serious problems. She indirectly carries out her message by violating the conversational maxim, that is, the maxim of manner because she has not been perspicuous. The hearer has to infer what the speaker conveys by analyzing linguistic cues beyond their linguistic meaning. Then, in this case, the speaker’s illocutionary act is to warn her about the possible problems that may rise from her behaviour of not being watchful in her acts.

## Perlocutionary Effect

The feeling of persuasion by H is the perlocutionary act resulting from the proverbial implicature used by S. The social connotations around the words “Barihamagarira”, “yariye” and “umwenda w’inkuba” helps S to make H understand that he has to change and act according to the social values .

### 5. Umugabo w’isema akuburira mu rutara.

Literal translation: a man of ill omen keeps rubbish under the bed.

Situation: Harimeshi yari umugabo atunze, yarafise abana babiri bato. Abonyeko akunda gukena umukozi wo munzu yahaye akazi umukozi yitwa Butoyi yamara yaramaze kumvako yiba cane. Inasenge wa Butoyi aje kuramukanya kwa Harimeshi, Yatangaye cane maze aca cira umugani Harimeshi ati :”Umugabo w’isema akuburira mu rutara.”

Literal translation: Harimeshi was a rich man who had two young children.

After he realized that he was always in need of a house boy, he hired a house boy whose name was Butoyi but he had heard that Butoyi was a thief. When the aunt of Butoyi came to visit Harimeshi, she was very astonished to see that Harimeshi had offered a job to a thief like Butoyi and then, she uttered this proverb to Harimeshi: “A man of ill omen keeps rubbish under the bed.”

In order to be interpreted, the following proverb: “Umugabo w’isema akuburira mu rutara.” (A man of ill omen keeps rubbish under the bed) has been put in a context to illustrate the speaker’s goal or intention. This helps the hearer to infer the underlying intention by analyzing linguistic elements beyond their literal meaning.

As a point in case, the following proverb makes use of some words whose meaning could not mean what they actually assert if we don't consider the context in which the following proverb was uttered as it has been revealed by our informants.

Thus, according to the information provided by our informants, the term “Umugabo” (a man) is the singular noun which means an adult who is mature, responsible for his actions. He incarnates human virtues and cultural values. Then, such a man is not supposed to keep rubbish under the bed. In addition to this, such activity is not supposed to be done by a man described like that in the present context; consequently, what the linguistic elements mean would not logically give us the proverb's assertion in this context. Hence, the utterer of the proverb has addressed his message that the hearer Harimeshi has to work out to understand what he suggests, implies or means as distinct from what she literarily says.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

Thus, by uttering this proverb to Harimeshi who employed a thief whereas he was fore informed that he was a thief, the utterer intends to tell Harimenshi to be careful because he seems to ignore the behaviors of his house boy. The illocutionary act then, is to warn him because he employed someone who could involve him in a risky situation.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By uttering this proverb “umugabo w'isema akuburira mu rutura” the speaker produces an effect in H because he gets him to attract attention and supervise carefully his houseboy who could cause him some troubles.

#### 4.2.2. Proverbs which Talk about Imprudence Related to lack of self control

According to Webster's Ninth Collegiate Dictionary (1987:1065) self-control refers to restraint exercised over one's own impulses, emotions or desires. In other words, self control, refers to preventing someone from doing, exhibiting or expressing something. According to the results contained in the table two, our informants recognized the existence of proverbs fulfilling this function. They confirmed that in the Kirundi language, there are proverbs that depict people whose behaviours emanate from not taking control of their deeds.

##### 1. Ikimenabanga c'ikizinu camye mucu.

Literal translation: The indiscreet mushroom rose in summertime.

Situation: Bucumi ni umugore yubatse, umugabo wiwe ni umunebwe imisi yose azinduka kukabare. K'urubanza rw'ubugeni bwa murumunawe, yajanye n'umugore, bashitse urubanza rutanguye, ahamagara umugore amusaba inzoga mu rupfasoni ariko umugore aca avugira hejuru amutuka ko yaje ataco atereye. Umwe mubashingantahe baraho abwira Bucumi uno mwibutsa ati: "Ikimena banga c'ikizinu camye mucu."

Literal translation: Bucumi is a married woman; her husband is lazy, and he always goes to the bar. At the wedding party of his brother-in-law, he went together with his wife. When they arrived there, once ceremonies began, he called his wife and asked for some beer wisely. His wife however replied loudly and arrogantly that he had contributed nothing. One of the men who were sitting nearby told the wife the following proverb: "The indiscreet mushroom rose in summertime."

The proverb “Ikimenabanga c’ikizinu camye mucu” (the indiscreet mushroom rose in summer time) is formed on fundamental key words that obscure its implied meaning because they are used allegorically to represent what the speaker intends to communicate indirectly. The words “Ikimenabanga” (an indiscreet or a traitor) and “camye” from the Kirundi verb “kwama” (to blossom) and “mucu” (summertime) are used to give an image of the message the speaker wants to convey. By relying on the knowledge of Burundian culture, and the context in which this proverb is uttered, it is not allowed to say or speak whatever you see or hear. However, one has to check the place and time in which he is. In the present context, Bucumi replied arrogantly and loudly that her husband has not contributed. She seems to ignore the shame resulting from her behaviour.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The utterer of the proverb has chosen appropriate words whose images are able to carry his message. For instance, the use of a metaphor of “ikimenabanga” and “ikizinu” obscures the indirect illocutionary act he expresses to Bucumi. Here, normally the mushroom does not rise in summertime likewise Bucumi would not reply in the way she acted.

From the context provided, the gentleman who uttered the proverb intended to tell Bucumi to stop abusing her husband in public. Then, the utterer’s illocutionary act is to reprimand her for having said that her husband has not contributed.

## Perlocutionary Effect

By stating this proverb, “ikimenabanga c’ikizinu camye mucu” H feels moral pressure to take control of her words so as to grant S’s want. H’s recognition of the social connotations around the terms “ikimenabanga” and “camye mucu” creates an effect in H and consequently brings her to learn that she has to take control of her words in conversation.

### 2. Inkoko yagize urwara rurerure yimena inda.

Literal translation: A cock that had a very long spur pierced its stomach.

Situation: Bizoza ni umugore ateranya cane. Ico abonye ntazi kugihora.

Umukobwa wiwe Munyana ageze mubigero yamara ni Umunebwe. Nyina wiwe yumviseko agiraje kwubaka, nkuko ataco ahisha, yayagiye abandi ko uwuzomutwara bizomugora maze wa muhungu biramushikira acarageba Munyana. Inasenge wa Munyana avyumvise aca yegera Bizoza amucira umwibutsa muri aya majambo : « Inkoko yagize urwara rurerure yimena inda. »

Literal translation: Bizoza is a woman who gossips too much. She cannot keep Secret of what she sees. Her daughter Munyana is in her teens but she is not hard -working. When her mother heard that she was about to get married, as usual, she told people that it will be difficult for the one who will marry her daughter because she is lazy; consequently all what Bizoza said was spread out and the boy rejected Munyana. The aunt of Munyana who heard what happened, approached Bizoza and stated a proverb in the following words: “a cock that had a very long spur pierced its stomach.”

The utterer of this proverb “Inkoko yagize urwara rurerure yimena inda” (a cock that had a very long spur pierced its stomach) obviously uses words that obscure his intended meaning. They do not represent what they proverbially mean in the context provided below.

In fact, by combining the phrases “kugira urwara rurerure” (to have a long spur) and “kwimena inda” (to pierce one’s stomach), the choice of these words enhances the indirectness of the utterer. It consequently creates the violation of one of the maxims of conversation. This hinders the understanding of the proverbial implicature.

Indeed, the context provided to this proverb helps us explore the cultural implicature of the proverb. Thus, her deception resulted from her mother’s imprudence of not taking control of her words. Her daughter suffered a lot. Surely the speaker intentionally had a view point to give; to achieve her goal, she used a proverb that violates the maxim of manner which states that we should avoid obscurity of expression and to be perspicuous.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The speaker then intends to discourage Madam Bizoza from gossiping and saying whatever comes to her mind without taking control and seeing the impact of what she says. Then, the speaker’s communicative illocutionary act is to advise Bizoza to be careful in her activities.

### **Prelocutionary Effect**

By means of this proverb, S gets H to feel emotions and change his behavior in order to respond to the speaker’s want. The working out of the proverbial implicature used by S enables H to avoid her imprudence in her daily conversation.

### 3 .Umunwa w'umubeshi utamba tamba nk'isazi

Literal translation: The mouth of a liar wags like flies.

Situation: mu gihe c'intambara Uburundi buhitiyemwo, umugabo Nahishakiye yakunda kuvuga menshi,kandi yari umunyakinyoma. Umusi umwe yasanwe aho uwutwara abasoda kukirindiro hamwe na bagenziwe bicaye atangura kwidoga ko hari umugabo atakibona mumihingo.Bugingo ariko aridoga, kubera bari bamuwiko abesha kandi ateranya,uno mukuru w'ikirindiro yaciye amucira uno mwibutsa:"umunwa w'umubeshi utambatamba nk'isazi"

Literal translation: During the period of war Burundi had been undergoing, a man called Nahishakiye used to lie and was very talkative. One day, he saw where a lieutenant who was in charge of a military position was sitting together with soldiers. He started to soliloquize that there was a certain man in his neighbourhood who was no longer in the surroundings. While he was soliloquizing, since he was known because of his lies and gossip, the lieutenant uttered to him the following proverb:" The mouth of a liar wags like flies".

This proverb "Umunwa w'umubeshi utamba nk'isazi" (the mouth of a liar wags like flies) has been identified by our informants to be fulfilling the function of imprudence related to lack of self control.

In fact, it appears difficult to understand the proverb and find its conversational implicature if the hearer does not know the cultural meaning and some terms that make it up. Thus, this proverb has some key word, that is "umubeshi" (a liar) which describes the bad qualities of Nahishakiye. In Burundian culture, someone who is not able to keep secret is marginalized and disregarded.

So, by making comparison between the mouth of a liar and flies, the hearer of this proverb has to infer what the utterer presupposes by making such an utterance.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

By uttering such a proverb he has a view point or message to convey to Nahishakiye who used to talk for the sake of talking or to cause problems to others. In the context above, this proverb is used to tell Nahishakiye to change his behavior and act according to the Burundian culture. Such a proverb then has been uttered with an illocutionary act that consists of condemning the behaviour of Nahishakiye because he does not care about the effect of what he says in his daily life.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By “umunwa w’umubeshi utambatamba nk’isazi” the perlocutionary act is the change of feeling in H who relieves his behavior of talking about whatever he sees. The social connotations of the terms “umubeshi” and “ utambatamba nk’isazi” convey the beliefs and values that constrain H to change his behavior.

#### **4. Indondereza butindi ikosha nyina.**

Literal translation: Unworthy boy claims for the dowry paid for his mother

Situation: Nditije ni umwana w’ikinege. Se Buzubona yari afise inka zibiri.

Kubera Buzubona yari afise itongo rito, yagurishije inka imwe maze agura itongo asigarana inka imwe. Nditije yikundira utuyoga, itabi, imisi yose atashe yashika ashwana muhira abwira abavyeyi ngo nibamuhe amafaranga bagurishije inka kandi baguze itongo kandi nawe nyene azokenera. Nyina wiwe haheze imisi amucira umwibutsa ukurikira :« Indondereza butindi ikosha nyina »

Literal translation: Nditije is a unique son of Buzubona. His father had two cows but he sold one to buy a land because he was in shortage of it. Nditije liked to drink too much and smoke. Whenever he came home, he injured his parents, accusing them of not giving him money whereas they have sold a cow. He ignored that he could profit from the land they bought. Some days after, his mother uttered to him this proverb:” Unworthy boy claims for the dowry paid for his mother”.

The speaker’s use of this proverb “Indondereza butindi ikosha nyina” (unworthy boy claims for the dowry for his mother) uttered in a specific context like this helps us to discover the conveyed message that would be different or impossible to grasp if there was no specific context.

In fact, the meaning carried by these words that make this proverb is quite different from what the utterer wants to communicate. In this proverb; the words “Indondereza butindi” (someone who is unworthy) are used metaphorically to convey a message to Nditije in an indirect way what hinders its understanding.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

In our context, it is clear that the person who utters the proverb intentionally puts her message across so as to make the impact more forceful. In the present context, the utterer intends to correct her son who does not care about his life. He has no concern of his future life due to drinks and cigarettes. By uttering to him such a proverb, his mother’s illocutionary act is to denounce Nditije’s behavior. Then the proverbial illocutionary act is to express his indignation and disappointment for her son does not care about his behaviour.

## Perlocutionary Effect

By uttering “indondereza butindi ikosha nyina” S gets H to think about his behavior and feels strongly wrong. The utterance of this proverb containing such images found in Burundian culture is an excitement on H’s character. As a result, he feels a need to change his behaviour so as to respond to S’s want.

### 5. Usanze nyina ashaje agira ngo data yataye inkwano.

Literal translation: He who sees his mother in old age says that his father has lost his dowry.

Situation: Ndikumana ni umunyeshure mu mashure yisumbuye. Aho atahiye mu buruhuko yasanze se wiwe yubitse inzu nshasha ntoyitagitse kandi yakoresheje ibiti. Yinjiye mu nzu asanga ivyumba yabigabuye ku buryo bwakera. Ndikumana ntiyihanganye canke ngo avugane urupfasoni aca abwira se ko yavyubitse nabi kandi ko atagishobora kwubaka inzu nziza. Se wiwe ababazwa niyo nyifato aca amucira umugani ati: “usanze nyina ashaje agira ngo data yataye inkwano”.

Literal translation: Ndikumana is a pupil in secondary school. When he came on holiday, his father had built a small new house in wood. He entered and found that his father subdivided the rooms in an old fashioned way.

Ndikumana did not restrain, he did not talk to his father in a polite way, but he told him that he had not been able to build in an up-to-date fashion. His father then got angry with his son’s behaviour and uttered him this proverb: “he who sees his mother in old age says that his father has lost his dowry.”

This proverb put in this appropriate context portrays Ndikumana’s behaviour towards his father’s achievements. Here the allegorical nature of this proverb enables to discover the message it vehicles.

By matching up social customs 'values, and images contained in the proverb, one finds out what the speaker intends to assess or pass by means of a proverb like this in this context.

In fact, someone who reaches his old age is supposed to be consulted by younger people to help them managing or organizing things. However it is not the case in the above context. On the other side, in Burundian culture, as it has been viewed by Burundian "old age" is referred to as a stage of life during which one loses his ability to deal with things that require a lot of energy. This is illustrated by this Kirundi expression "ubusaza bunyaga amagara" (getting old takes away energy). Thus, Ndikumana violates the social values by misbehaving towards his parents.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

It is clear that the use of indirectness in this proverb hinders the understanding of the speaker's intended message and illocutionary act. The context played a great role to depict Ndikumana's behaviours and consideration towards his father. Thus, his father who was somehow humiliated by his son might want to pass his message without threatening his son's face. By uttering such a proverb, he intends to forbid strongly his son to count his words and not denigrate his father. The father's illocutionary act is to condemn his son's imprudent way of not controlling his behaviors and feelings.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By saying " usanze nyina ashaje agira ngo data yataye inkwano" S produces an effect in H.S makes H feel admiration and respect instead of violating imprudently social values. H feels propelled into avoiding bad behavior.

### 4.2.3. Proverbs which Talk about Imprudence Emanating from Being Rush

According to the Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1987:1033), to rush means to move forward, progress or act with haste or eagerness without preparation. While we were collecting our data, our informants have confirmed that in Kirundi language, there are proverbs which talk about imprudence emanating from being rush as it is revealed through the following proverbs:

#### 1. Ubwihusi bwa cane busiga ico bwari buje gutira

Literal translation: Extreme eagerness forgets what it came to borrow.

Situation: Hakizumukama ni umunyeshure muri kaminuza. Kuva aho ashikiye mu gisagara akabona hari abantu benshi batunze cane, yigiriye inama yo kuja arasiba mw'ishure kugira aje gukorera amafaranga nawe atunge bidatevye. Umusi umwe bagenziwe bahuye bamubwira ko mwigisha yabahaye akabazo nawe yasivye ahiga amafaranga. Umwe muribo abwira Hakizumukama uno mwibutsa : « Ubwihusi bwa cane busiga ico bwari buje gutira »

Literal Translation: Hakizumukama is a student at University. Since he arrived in town, he realized that many people are very rich. He decided therefore, to be sometimes absent from class in order to get time to work for money so as to get rich as quick as possible. One day, his classmate met him coming from school and told him that the lecturer has given an exam whereas he was absent, working for money. Then, one of his classmates told him the following proverb: "extreme eagerness forgets what it came to borrow"

The following proverb "ubwihusi bwa cane busiga ico bwari buje gutira" (extreme eagerness forgets what it came to borrow) makes use of words which hinder the understanding of the utterer's intention.

In other words one of Hakizumukama's classmates wants him to do something but he uses proverbs whose words are culturally meaningful and obscure what he wants to communicate.

According to the information got from our informants "ubwihusi" (eagerness) is the source of many problems. In Burundian culture, it is advised to manage things carefully." ubwihusi" therefore has negative connotation. In fact, in this context, it is obvious that Hakizumukama wanted to get rich as quick as possible. To achieve this richness, he has quickly decided to be absent from classes whereas his main purpose that pushed him to leave his home was to study. Nevertheless, he imprudently decided to deal with both working for money and to study.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The utterer of this proverb has an intention and a message to convey to Hakizumukama. The speaker's use of such a proverb is intended to tell Hakizumukama to attend regularly classes so as to avoid facing the same problem of being absent from classes. As a point in case, the illocutionary act is to advise Hakizumukama to be careful because his eagerness of getting rich would cause him to fail at academic side.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By uttering this proverb gets H feel aroused to relieve his rush while doing things consequently. He manages to work out the proverbial implicature through the interpretation of images contained in the proverb and seeks to fulfill S's want.

## 2. Inkuba y'umugore iyo itabutotesheje irabukumbagaza.

Literal Translation: Extreme eagerness of a woman pushes her to make cassava bread either too wet or too dry.

Situation: Karabera ni umudandaza w'amagi kw'isoko ry'Imakamba riri kubirometero umunani. Muburuhuko kubera abaguzi baba benshi, Karabera atwarira rimwe amagi menshi kandi akagenda ariruka cane. Murumunawe abonye ahaye atekera, amubwirako atekeye menshi kandi yama agenda cane ariko ntiyamwumvirije. Bugingo Karabera ayajanye ashitse imbere aragwa menshi arameneka kubera umuvuduko munini yagize kandi atwaye ibimeneka. Umwe murumunawe amushikiriye amubwira ati: "Inkuba y'umugore iyo itabutotesheje irabukumbagaza."

Literal translation: Karabera is a trader of eggs at a market of Makamba situated at eight kilometers from his home. During holidays, Karabera carries many eggs because clients are many during that period. He therefore goes very quickly but his young brother who saw him when he was gathering so many eggs more than what he used to carry, advised him to go slowly but he didn't listen to him. After a short time, Karabera fell down and many eggs were broken. So, his brother who followed him approached him and told him this proverb: "Extreme eagerness of a woman pushes her to make cassava bread either too wet or too dry."

This proverb: "Inkuba y'umugore iyo itabutotesheje irabukumbagaza" (Extreme eagerness of a woman pushes her to make cassava bread either too wet or too dry) like other proverbs, is made of words which are metaphorically used to give a message to the addressee. For instance "inkuba y'umugore" (a woman who is quick like a lightning) uses images charged with certain cultural meaning whose implied meaning is beyond its linguistic elements.

In the present context, Karabera wants to carry so many eggs and he does not control his speed, that is, he does not take care of the risk of breaking his eggs. His failure is due to his attitude of being rush.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

According to the context provided to this proverb, Karabera has been fore warned, but unfortunately, because of his state of being rush to get much money, he didn't observe his brother's advice. So what his younger brother implies by making such an utterance is quite different from what he literally says. Thus, his younger brother intentionally wants to impute the cause of the accident to his elder brother. Such a proverb's illocutionary act then is to condemn, denounce his behaviour.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

The perlocutionary act is the feeling of embarrassment in H who is exhorted to withdraw his rush while doing things in his daily activities. S produces an effect in H who feels moral pressure to limit his eagerness as a response to S's need.

### **3. Umunyahura agabura ihaha.**

Literal translation: An impulsive person rushes on lung when others share out the meat.

Situation: Bizimana yemereye umuhungu wiwe Butoyi inka kuko yahora amufasha kuziragira. Ico gihe inka zitatu zari mukuvyara Iyambere ivyara ishuri Butoyi ashatse gupfa gutora, se aramubwirako yoreka kwihuta. Iya kabiri nayonyene ivyara ishuri Butoyi biramunanira kwihangana kandi ntiyabona intambanyi yashobora kugira se aramuhanura ararengwa apfa gutora ishuri. Se ahengereye iya gatatu ivyaye inyana, acira Butoyi uno mwibutsa "umunyahura atorana ihaha"

Translation: Bizimana promised his son Butoyi a cow because he usually helped him to look after them. At that time three of his cows were about to give birth. The first gave birth to a calf and Butoyi wanted to take it even though it was not a female, but his father told him that he should wait for the second and avoid his rush. The second also gave birth to a calf and Butoyi was not able to take control of his rush and decided to take it without seeing the problems he would face. His father advised him but in vain. When the third cow gave birth to a female, his father uttered this proverb to Butoyi”an impulsive person rushes on lung when others share out the meat”

The context provided to the proverb helps to interpret the proverb and get the utterer’s goal. Its implied meaning seems to be beyond the literal meaning of words that make it. For instance, the combination of words such as “umunyahura” (an impulsive person) and “ihaha ” (a lung) which is a part of the body of a cow. These words then are metaphorically used to denote a character of Butoyi who is led of rush, and consequently is unable to wait for something.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The utterer is obviously the father Bizimana and makes such an utterance to convey him a message. He wants to let his son be aware of his imprudence. Therefore, he indirectly conveys him a message by making his assertion aside from what is usually meant by the terms. Then, from the context, one realizes that Bizimana intends to call upon Butoyi to be always patient and avoid rush when dealing with things or making a choice. In this way, the illocutionary act of the statement is to condemn, to show his dissatisfaction caused by Butoyi’s character of being rush and his ignorance of not foreseeing the consequence his state may create.

### Perlocutionary Effect

By saying this proverb “umunyahura atorana ihaha” H feels annoyed about the choice he made. The terms the speaker uses reflect the proverbial implicature what helps H feel annoyed about his choice.

#### 4. Imbwa yarihuse ivyara ibihumye.

Literal translation: A bitch rushed out and gave birth to blind offspring.

Situation: Minani ni umuhungu w’imyaka cumi n’umunani. Haheze igihe gito cane yize kunyonga ipikipiki yasavye se ngo ayimuhe ayijane kw’isoko nawe aramwankira kuko atari bwayimenye neza kandi yankako yogira impanuka. Minani ahengera se agiye, ahitana ya pikipiki arayijana. Amaze kugira ikirere gito, imuta hasi avuna ukuboko. Bahamagaye se arashavura, amuravye amucira uno mw’ibutsa « imbwa yarihuse ivyara ibihumye.»

Translation: Minani is a boy of eighteen years old. After a short time he has learned to ride a motor cycle, he asked his father to let him take the motorcycle to the market. But his father refused because he knew that has not yet mastered how to ride it, and he could have an accident. However, Minani waited for that his father left the house and took it. After a short distance, he fell down and broke his arm. People called his father, and then when he arrived, he got angry and stated the following to his son: “A bitch rushed out and gave birth to a blind offspring.”

This proverb has some key terms that Burundian society invented to depict certain aspects of life of people in accordance with Burundian culture and belief. For instance, according to the information collected from our informants, the word “imbwa” (a dog) is referred to a symbol of lack of modesty (Kwenyuza) by associating “imbwa” to the phrase “kuvyara ibihumye” (to give birth to blind offspring) the utterer creates an image whose denoted meaning has to be inferred beyond its linguistic elements. In fact, by relating these images to the present context, one discovers that Minani’s accident emanates from his impulsive character. His outcome can be paralleled to the dog’s blind offspring that was begotten due to its attitude of being rush. So, what the utterer might want to communicate have to be inferred from the context in which Minani broke his arm.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The speaker’s communicative intention cannot be inferred from what is literally meant by the terms of the proverb, rather, the context helps us discover the proverbial implicature. The speaker intends to tell his addressee Minani to stop being too rush. In that case, the illocutionary act of the statement is to express his annoyance and his irritation caused by his son’s imprudence.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By “imbwa yarihuse ivyara ibihumye” S gets H to think about his behaviour and feels embarrassed about his wrong deeds he has done led by imprudence. H’s recognition around the words “imbwa” and “ihaha” constrain H to act according to S’s want.

## 5. Ubwira bwica umuryango.

Literal translation: Haste endangers a family.

Situation: Nkurikiye ni umugabo ari mubarongoye abandi mu kigwati ca Gitaba.

Umusi umwe yararitse abantu bose kuja gukora igitarurwa ariko Ntayagabiri ntiyagiye kubera yararwaje umwana. Nkurikiye kubera ubwihusi bwiwe yaciye yihutira kumujana kwa musitanteri nawe arafunga. Agarutse batangura gutongana kuko Nkurikiye atamubajije icatumye asiba. Umugabo yabumvirije bariko batongana, acira umugani Nkurikiye ati :”ubwira bwica umuryango”

Literal translation: Nkurikiye is one of five representatives of Gitaba Village.

One day, he called upon his people to participate in the activities of building a bridge. However, Ntayagababiri did not attend because his son was sick. But, Nkurikiye because of his haste, he brought the case to the administrator and Ntayagabiri was imprisoned. When he was released, they started to quarrel because Nkurikiye had not asked him the reason why Ntayagabiri was absent. Then, one man who listened to them while they were quarrelling stated the following to Nkurikiye:”Haste endangers a family”

By making such an utterance, the utterer wants to convey a message to Nkurikiye whose attitudes are characterized by haste. To achieve his goal, then uses a proverb to convey indirectly his message. As a matter of fact, to understand or find out the proverbial, Implicature Nkurikiye must infer the speaker’s underlying intentions by interpreting the linguistic cues which contextualize the message.

In fact, this proverb, “ubwira bwica umuryango” (haste endangers a family) makes use of linguistic cues such as “ubwira” (haste) and has a negative connotation. Surely, if the hearer takes the literal meaning he cannot understand what is communicated to him, therefore, the reader has to analyze them taking into account the context so as to get the proverbial implicature.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

By making such an utterance the speaker intends to tell the chief to explore the way he manages things. He has to see how he acts according to the position he has in his village. In that case, the illocutionary act of the statement is to urge him to change his character.

The proverbial implicature is that the chief has to avoid his rush in doing things so that his people would not undergo the same problems like Ntayagabiri.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By saying “Ubwira bwica umuryango”, “S” produces an effect in “H” who feels moral pressure to change the way he manages things. Then, the perlocutionary effect is the need to change his behaviour and act according to S’s want.

#### **4.2.4. Proverbs which Talk about Imprudence of Being Improvident**

According to Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1987:606) improvidence is defined as “the quality or state of being improvident that is not, foreseeing and providing for the future”. In other words, being improvident refers to the state of being to careless to save any money or to plan for the future. In the course of data collection, our informants have confirmed the existence of Kirundi proverb depicting people of such behaviour and Burundians have invented proverbs that give a message to them.

## 1. Inkiko yakikamye uburundi burakanya.

Literal translation: When the border is not protected, the whole country shakes

Situation: Muhindo yari umurimyzi mworozzi kandi afise itunga ryinshi. Yarafise inka zitanu ariko nntanimwe asigaranye , mu kunywa arenza urugero n'ibindi bikorwa bibi. Amafaranga amaze kumuherako, umwana wiwe yaragwaye abura uburyo bwo kumujana kwa muganga. Umugore yahora amuhanura ntiyumve amucira uno mwibutsa :”inkiko yakikamye uburundi burakanya.”

Translation: Muhindo was a rich farmer and had a great fortune. He had five cows but he no longer has any since he started to drink too much and do wrong deeds. When all his money was over, his son fell ill and had no means to take him to hospital. His wife who used to advise him not to waste his means uttered him the following proverb: “When the border is not protected, the whole country shakes.”

In this proverb, the speaker uses a proverb to indirectly convey a message to Muhindo who does not care about his future. The speaker wants the addressee to do something but she says it politely. This hinders the understanding of the proverbial implicature. It is obvious that this proverb uses some images that denote the cultural meanings of Burundian society. They are used metaphorically to give an image of a country that is not protected by those who are supposed to assume the task. In the present context then, Muhindo is expected to protect his family and have a good plan for its future life. However, he involved himself in wrong deeds and deviated from his responsibilities.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

By making such an assertion, the speaker wants to give him a message because he does not think about his family's future life. She intends therefore to prevent her husband from wasting the family's financial means and to think about the problems that may rise from his state of being improvident. Then, what the utterer might want to mean is different from what is grammatically meant and the possible illocutionary act is to advice Muhindo to be prudent when using his financial means.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By saying “inkiko yakikamye Uburundi burakanya” the speaker produces an effect in the hearer by means of his recognition of the terms contained in the proverbs which are designated to correct some bad behaviours of not being improvident. Consequently H is brought to learn that he has to change his mind and invest for future.

**2** Uhimvye nabi yidahisha ingongo.

Literal translation: He who is satisfied makes himself vomit by means of a razor.

Situation: Barashingwa ni umukozi wa reta kandi akaba umurimyzi mworozzi.

Mwiyimbura yimbura ibiharage vyinshi ariko itera rigeze abayarabihejeje kuko aguma abidangaza ngo ntawufungura ibiharage. Umusi umwe yategetse umugore kugurisha ibiharage ngo umugurire inzoga n'inyama. Umuhungu wiwe abonye ukuntu aguma asesagura umwimbu amubwira uno mwibutsa : «uhimvye nabi yidahisha ingongo »

Translation: Barashingwa works for the government and is a farmer. In the period of harvest, he gathers a great quantity of beans, but he sells them in such a way that the sowing season always arrives after he had finished his harvest because he sells them affirming that he can't eat beans. One day he ordered his wife to sell beans in order to buy for him some beer and meat. His son who saw how his father was always wasting his harvest told him the following proverb: "He who is satisfied makes himself vomit by means of a razor."

This proverb, like other proverbs uses key words that require good knowledge at Kirundi cultural values to understand what the utterer wants to communicate. We have for instance "uhimvye" (he who is satisfied) which comes from Kirundi verb "guhimba" (to be satisfied) and then "guhimba nabi" which can be referred to Kirundi verb "kudadahirwa". (To over eat) or "kugwa mpishi". The proverb uses other key words like "yidahisha" from the Kirundi verb "kwidaha" (to vomit) and "ingongo" (a razor). It is obvious then, that the understanding of linguistic elements of this proverb, although it helps us understand the semantic meaning, it can not give us the actual intended proverbial meaning and its illocutionary act.

In the context above, the words "ingongo" (a razor) is used metaphorically to illustrate the behavior of Barashingwa who takes things for granted. He does not care about the harvest for further use in need. One discovers that the utterer's goal of making such an assertion is beyond its literal meaning.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

What the son implies or suggests is quite distinct from what he literally says. The son has taken convenient attitude in order to enable his father to capture his intention. Thus, the speaker's communicative intention in this context is to correct his father's behaviour. He imprudently wastes all what they harvest and struggle when it is time to sow. As a point in case, the illocutionary act of the statement is to give pieces of advice to his father who forgets and carelessly wastes his family's means.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By making such an utterance, H feels a moral pressure to avoid wasting his goods and invest for future needs. H's recognition of negative values depicted by the terms pushes him feel guilty and is brought to learn that he has to save for future to satisfy S's want.

### **3. Agahimbo kibagiza kugara.**

Literal translation: Satiety makes one forget to close the door.

Situation: Umuryango wa Ciza ugizwe n'abana indwi. Bose barakuze kandi barakunda ibikorwa. Umubanyi wabo yabonye ukuntu bama basesa ivyo ufungura batahejeje na cane cane mugihe c'iyimbura. Uno mubanyi abonye bakunda kubisesa kenshi yegera Ciza maze amucira uno mwibutsa "Agahimbo kibagiza kugara."

Literal translation: The family of Ciza has seven children; they are all mature and hard working. Their neighbor saw how they usually threw the scraps especially during the harvest period because there was extra food. Their neighbor who realized that they threw scraps several times, approached Ciza and stated him this proverb: “Satiety makes one forget to close the door”

Indeed, this proverb “Agahimbo kibagiza kwugara.” (Satiety makes one forget to close the door) is used to indirectly convey a message to Ciza. .This proverb uttered in this context “agahimbo” (satiety), and “kwibagira kwugara” (to forget to close the door) have nothing in common if one takes their literal meanings. They are used differently from their first meaning to denote Ciza’s family’s behavior of being improvident. They do not control the sufficient quantity of food to be prepared.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The addressee has to infer the neighbour’s goal of his utterance. The state of Ciza’s family appears clearly careless and do not plan watchfully for future life. Like wise, Ciza’s family does not evaluate the possible problem that would rise after wasting their harvest. The neighbour intends therefore to tell him that he is indignant and feels embarrassed by his family’s behaviour of being improvident. The illocutionary act is to blame firmly Ciza and his family.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By saying agahimbo kibagiza kugara, the utterer produces an effect in H by means of S’s recognition of the implicature of the terms “agahimbo” and “kwugara”. S gets H to change his behaviour and be watchful to predict the problem that may happen to him.

#### 4. Ukize akanyoro akita agahako.

Literal translation: He who is recovered from leprosy calls it scabies.

Situation: Umugore Bayubahe yavukiye mu muryango ukenye, ariko aho amariye kuja kwubaka,yabiriwe n’umugabo atunze cane. Iyo agiye kw’isoko, ntazi kugura ibigereranye akoresha amafaranga menshi, arasesagura, ntazi kugura ibihuye n’ivyo akeneye. Umusi umwe umugabo yahengereye avuye kw’isoko amucira uy’umwibutsa “ukize akanyoro akita agahako”

Literal translation: Bayubahe is a woman married to a rich man but she was born in Poor family. When she goes to the market, she does not limit or buy thing according to her family’s needs, she wastes the money buying what she does not need. One day her husband told her this proverb when she was back from the market: “He who is recovered from leprosy calls it scabies”

In this context, Bayubahe’s little concern about the use of money is not appreciated by her husband who suffered enough to get it. By stating this proverb at the presence of his wife, he has a view point to give to his wife. Nevertheless, he conveys her message indirectly.

#### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The proverb’s assertion then, is intended to express his aversion because his wife wastes his money. He has no sense of thinking about saving for future. However, she improvidently uses the money without any idea of being sensitive to future needs. By making such an utterance, he wants her wife to change her behaviour and be watchful while spending money.

Then, the illocutionary act is to exhort his wife, to show her how she should spend the money according to the required needs of the moment.

### **Perlocutionary Effect**

By saying “ukize akanyoro akita agahako” S gets H feel concerned that he has to fulfill S’s persuasion. The working out of the implicature used by S helps H display the speaker’s message and holds attention about his behavior.

#### **5. Uhimvye ahimbawe atamba inanga agaramye.**

Literal translation: He who is satisfied dances harpsichord music lying on his back.

Situation: Karikera ni umukozi wo munzu. Shebuja Mitakaro yamuhemvye umushahara wiwe w’amezi abiri aca yigira kuryoherwa no gusesagura amafaranga yose bamuhaye. Bugorovye, ataha ararimba yishongora kubera akaborerwe kandi na masaha yitereye. Shebuja Mitakaro aramwihweza bimutera agahinda maze amucira umwibutsa muri ay’amajambo :”uhimvye ahimbawe atamba inanga agaramye.

Literal translation: Karikera is a house boy in Mitakaro’s compound. His employer paid him his two months, salary and went to enjoy himself by drinking too much alcohol with his friends. He therefore spent all his salary he was paid. At night, he returned home singing because of the worse of drink, but it was also too late. His employer Mitakaro then, looked at him and grieved for his behavior, he stated him a proverb in the following words: “He who is satisfied dances harpsichord music lying on his back”

In order to be interpreted, this proverb has been put in a context which helps to illustrate its proverbial implicature. That is, a number of conditions have been fulfilled in order to come up with accurate implied meaning. The utterer passes his message indirectly and the hearer must infer the speaker's underlying intention by interpreting the linguistic cues of the speaker's utterance. This proverb uses some words that are changed with a meaning beyond their literal meanings. It is clear that the first meaning carried out by these words works as the first step that help us to discover their implied meaning. In this context, when Karikera gets his salary, he does not think about saving for future needs, rather, he wastes all his income as a result, he comes back singing due to the worse of drink.

According to Burundian culture, no one is allowed to misbehave by wasting his money, rather, one has to behave correctly if not he is punished, contempted and even dismissed from his job. By uttering indirectly these words, the utterer violates the maxims of conversation because he might want to mean something different from what is grammatically meant.

### **Illocutionary Act and Intended Message**

The utterer intends to tell his employee that he deplors his behaviour because he imprudently wastes all his income without any concern about his future life. As a point in case, the illocutionary act is to condemn his employee's imprudence caused by his state of being too improvident. **Perlocutionary effect** S's assertion creates an effect in H as karikera recognizes the proverbial implicature. The S's utterance brings a desired reformation of H's behavior since Karabera feels guilty and sorry.

### 4.3. Findings

The present study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. Does the linguistic knowledge alone allow the understanding of proverbs expressing imprudence?
2. Can proverbs expressing imprudence be understood without reference to social customs, culture and context?

After the analysis, it was found out that there are different recurrent functions that proverbs expressing imprudence are likely to fulfill. However, since there are many proverbs related to the theme of imprudence, we tried to choose only proverbs whose intended meanings were related to the theme of imprudence. We therefore adapted them to a contextual situation.

For the first research question, “To what extent does the linguistic knowledge alone allow the understanding of proverbs expressing imprudence?” all along the analysis it has been revealed that the meaning carried out by linguistic cues alone does not allow the interlocutor to get what the speaker intends to communicate.

The analysis has revealed that Kirundi proverbs related to imprudence are used to embellish speeches during conversation. As a matter of fact, people search how to reveal secret meaning through proverbs. Consequently, the utterer puts aside what he intends to communicate by using linguistic cues beyond their linguistic meaning.

While chatting, Burundians prefer to use proverbs in order to support and strengthen their opinions. The utterer of a proverb may want to convince his interlocutors about a given situation, to correct some behaviour, or to embellish his style. Then, the utterer uses words that denote more than what is literally meant by their linguistic elements. Furthermore, the analysis has revealed that the utterer passes a message to the hearer indirectly in order to avoid creating face threatening on his interlocutor.

This requires him to make choice of appropriate words whose images denote more than what they literally mean once they are used in a proverb. Therefore, throughout the analysis the research has revealed that by being indirect, the speaker violates the maxim of manner which stipulates that we should avoid obscurity of expression and be perspicuous. Most of the time, the speaker makes use of a proverb of imprudence to correct some bad behaviours or warn his interlocutors in an indirect way which obscures his/her intended meaning. The hearer has to infer what is communicated to him so as to respond in an accepted manner. This, therefore proves that the linguistic knowledge cannot allow the hearer to get what the utterance is intended to so as to respond to it accordingly.

Furthermore, the second research question for the study “can proverbs expressing imprudence be understood without reference to social customs, culture and context?” has been tackled and the analysis and interpretation of proverbs have proved that the analysis and interpretation depend first and foremost on the context. In fact, we have seen that the context is of paramount importance in the understanding of proverbs and their intended meanings.

Since messages are carried indirectly, it is from the context that the hearer or the analysts have to infer or deduce the speaker’s illocutionary act so as to fulfill the speaker’s want. Thus, a given proverb uttered in a well-known context helps the hearer to understand the speaker’s goal because it carries an implied meaning. This allows us to affirm that it would be impossible to understand what proverbs of imprudence tend to communicate without reference to context.

It has been also discovered that the illocutionary act and perlocution matched with the notion of meaning, presupposition and context, the analyst can determine the pragmatic meaning of proverbs. Each of these notions taken in appropriate context is relevant to achieve the speaker’s goal.

In addition, the knowledge of context has to be matched to other pragmatic aspects such as speech act theory, presupposition, and perlocutionary act to work out the speaker’s goal.

The analysis has revealed that, to account for the pragmatic meaning of a proverb one must possess the knowledge of the cultural background of the language. All these put together with the context facilitate the understanding of the utterance and its implicature.

Indeed, it has been also proved that proverbs work as a vehicle of culture in a given community. Kirundi proverbs help to explore our own culture and discover ourselves. They reveal the Burundian culture. People to whom those proverbs are addressed have to infer their intended meaning from the socio-cultural background of Kirundi language use. As a point in case, any researcher or analyst who is an outsider of Burundian society must face great problems because Kirundi proverbs especially those related to the theme of imprudence are charged with images whose meanings are found in Burundian culture. This, therefore, hinders the understanding of proverbial implied meanings. All in all, this chapter has mirrored some of Burundians' behaviours and has brought out some of those bad behaviours that people should eradicate for a better social integration.

## **CHAPTER V: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.0. Introduction**

This chapter summarizes the content of different chapters which compose the work. It reminds what the choice of the topic and research questions intended to. It also comprises the recommendations.

### **5.1. General conclusion**

The first chapter, General Introduction deals with the Background Information, the Statement of the problem, the Research Questions, the Motivation, Scope and Delimitation of the study and the definition of some key terms. This chapter then gives a general view of what the whole work looks like.

The second chapter, Literature Review, presents and reviews the literature from other researchers whose works are related to the present study. We, thus, look at some branches of linguistics such as pragmatics and semantics. The aspects of pragmatics such as speech acts theory, presupposition, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts and implicature have been of paramount importance for this study. The views of previous writers in relation to these notions gave an insight into the analysis of the study.

The third chapter, Methodology, describes the different ways used in collecting and analyzing the data. In this chapter, we focussed on the data collection procedures, the area of the study, the population and sample of the study, techniques of data collection, the encountered difficulties, and data analysis procedures.

As far as the sampling techniques are concerned, the proverbs were selected according to the moral values they transmit. They were meant for elderly people. Since we could not consult the whole population estimated at one hundred, we used the systematic sampling technique to get our informants.

The fourth chapter is entitled data presentation, analysis and findings. In this section, we tried to analyse the data got from written materials and our informants. The analysis was done on the basis of pragmatic principles. We decoded therefore the implied meanings carried by proverbs that express the theme of imprudence. The theories of previous writers helped to get what the utterer presupposes by conveying his or her message through a proverb that expresses the theme of imprudence. This chapter then presents and discusses the results got from the informants. It also sums up the outcome of the work under study.

The last chapter, General Conclusion rounds off the whole work. After the analysis of the data, it was found out that: the meaning of linguistic cues alone does not allow the understanding of the message conveyed through proverbs expressing imprudence. Besides, words that make proverbs of imprudence do not keep their literal meaning once they are used in an appropriate context. Throughout the analysis, the research has revealed that the linguistic knowledge alone works as the first step to get proverbial implied meaning. Furthermore, after the analysis of the data, it has been found out that the understanding of proverbs' implied meaning relies first, and foremost, on the context. It is from the context that the hearer has to infer the speaker's illocutionary force. All along the analysis the collected proverbs that express the theme of imprudence were put in contexts. It was from the context that we tried to analyse them. In addition, it has been proven that proverbs of imprudence contain images that are found in Kirundi setting.

Anyone who wants to understand the message vehicled through Kirundi proverbs expressing imprudence has to be able to grasp the metaphors that those Kirundi proverbs encompass. They are charged with cultural meanings to work as a vehicle of culture in a given community. The analysis has revealed that Kirundi proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence are used in respect to the socio-cultural background of Kirundi language use. Kirundi proverbs then, help to explore our own culture and any analyst has to infer their implied message from Burundian socio-cultural background.

## **5.2. Recommendations**

Any research is carried out because there is a problem. Then, identifying a problem is part of finding possible solutions. The problem many Burundians in general and younger generations face can be solved or reduced partially. To achieve this goal, we would like to make the following recommendations:

### **a) To parents**

We recommend that parents should take enough time in the evening, after work and teach the importance of Kirundi proverbs in general and those expressing imprudence in particular. It is known that Kirundi proverbs are transmitted orally from generation to generation. Parents should teach their children how to use proverbs expressing imprudence. We also recommend that parents should insist on the values of Burundian culture because it is by keeping our culture that our children are taught good behaviours.

### **b) To younger generations**

We would recommend that they should approach their parents and ask them different proverbs related to the theme of imprudence. Moreover, they should be interested in this literary genre that is transmitted orally. I recommend them to take enough time to read books that contain Kirundi proverbs.

**c) To further researchers**

We would recommend that other researchers should conduct researches on the same topic. In fact, I cannot claim that I exhausted this topic. Certain proverbs still need to be collected and studied. Other researchers should collect them and analyse them pragmatically in order to help those who do not have much knowledge in Kirundi proverbs.

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## APPENDICES

### The collected Proverbs

1. Agahimbo kibagiza kwugara.

**Literal translation: Satiety makes one forgets to close the door**

2. Barihamagarira yariye umwenda w'inkuba.

**Literal translation: He who causes troubles for himself borrowed from the thunder**

3. Ikimenabanga c'ikizinu camye mucu.

**Literal translation: The indiscreet mushroom rose in summertime**

4. Imbwa yarihuse ivyara ibihumye

**Literal translation: A bitch rushed out and gave birth to a blind off spring**

5. Indondereza butindi ikosha nyina

**Literal translation: Unworthy body claims for the dowry paid for his mother**

6. Inkiko yakikamye Uburundi burakanya

**Literal translation: When the border is not protected, the whole country shakes**

7. Inkuba y'umugore iyo itabutotesheje irabukumbagaza

**Literal translation: Extreme eagerness of a woman pushes her to make cassava bread either too wet or too dry**

8. Intakenga yishwe n'umuhumbizi

**Literal translation: An imprudent person was killed by one who collects materials for Construction**

9. Inkoko yagize urwara rurerure ruyimena inda

**Literal translation: A cock that had a very long spur pierced its stomach**

10. Ubuze uwo aherekeza aherekeza mukeba iwabo

**Literal translation: He who has nobody to accompany, accompanies his rival at his home**

11 .Ubwihusi bwa cane busiga ico bwari buje gutira

**Literal translation: Extreme eagerness forgets what it came to borrow**

12. Ubwira bwica umuryango

**Literal translation: Haste endangers a family**

13. Uhimvye ahimbawe atamba inanga agaramye

**Literal translationT: He who is satisfied dances harpsichord music lying on his back**

14. Uhimvye nabi yidahisha ingongo

**Literal translation: He who is satisfied makes himself vomit by means of razor**

15. Ukize akanyoro akita agahako

**Literal translation: He who is recovered from leprosy calls it scabies**

16. Umugabo w'isema akuburira mu rutara

## Questionnaire

1. Mwibazako mu Kirundi hariho imyibutsa yerekana ukutiyubara?

Literal translation: Do you think there are proverbs expressing the theme of imprudence in Kirundi?

2. Mwibazako iyo myibutsa iri muriyihe migwi?

A. Ukutiyubara mu bintu biteye ubwoba

B. Ukutiyubara bivuye ku burogorogo

C. Ukutiyubara kuvuye ku bwihusi

D. Ukutiyubara mukuziganiriza kazoza

Literal translation: To which category do you think these proverbs belong?

A. Imprudence related to not being alert

B. Imprudence related to lack of self control

C. Imprudence emanating from rush

D. Imprudence of being improvident

3. Mwompa uturorero tw'imyibutsa yerekana ukutiyubara, ukuntu bayikoresha n'insiguro yayo?

Literal translation: could you give some proverbs of imprudence, how they are used and their implied meanings?

4. Insiguro y'amajambo yubatswe umwibutsa ubwayo aratanga insiguro yico bashatse kubwira uwo bawuciriye.

Literal translation: Does the linguistic meaning of words that make a proverb by alone give the implied meaning to the hearer?

5. Kugira ubumenyi mu mico no mu migenzo vy'ikirundi hari ico vyoba bifasha mugutahura ico bashatse kuvugabakoresheje umwibutsa?

Literal translation: Does the knowledge of culture in Kirundi language help the hearer to understand what is conveyed through the use of proverb?

6. Amajambo y'ikirundi agumana insiguro asanganywe iyo bayakoresheje mu mwibutsa?

Literal translation: Do words keep their literal meaning when they are used in a proverb?