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# A pragmatic analysis of some kirundi expressions used at the "end of the morning ceremony "ukuruvako" : a survey conducted in five natural regions of Burundi

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UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI



INSTITUTE FOR APPLIED PEDAGOGY  
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**A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOME KIRUNDI  
EXPRESSIONS USED AT THE “END-OF-THE-MOURNING  
CEREMONY ‘UKURUVAKO’ ”: A Survey Conducted in Five  
Natural Regions of Burundi**

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Bujumbura, July 2011

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to the following:

My deceased father,

My mother,

My wife, Pascaline Nishemezwe

My children, Odon Fisher Irishura and Landry Prince Arakaza

My brothers and sisters.

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- 1 e.g : example given ( latin ‘ exempli gratia’ )
2. Ex: Example
3. H: Hearer
4. i.e: that is (latin 'id est')
5. MIT : Massachussets Institute of Technology
6. S: Speaker
7. Transl: Translation

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**Leonard Nyankuri**

## **ABSTRACT**

This study investigates pragmatically some Kirundi Expressions used at the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”. A number of Kirundi utterances have been isolated by different techniques including the interview, and have been analyzed to test the validity of the hypotheses stated in the introductory chapter. The pragmatic theories of speech acts and implicature have been used. Some speeches have been classified according to their illocutionary functions. A statistical chart has been used to see the dominant functions and then deduce what would be the feelings of our population about death through the utterances of this event. The pragmatic theories adopted in this study are those explored by language philosophers like Searle, Austin and Grice : these are mainly, the theory of speech acts, the illocutionary force and the theory of implicature.

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## CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### I.0 Introduction

Language is a tool of communication since it facilitates activities in everyday life. When a person needs something from his neighbour, he has to utter some words to ask for it. This person is acting as a speaker towards his addressee. The latter can also act as a speaker while answering, when the speaker and the hearer understanding each other, we say that we say that the language achieved the goal of communicating.

### I.1. Background to the study

A person's language success in life is his ability to express himself and be clearly understood. It is through language that people who live together can exchange and share opinions about everyday life. Language and culture are normally related, or one is the part of the other. From this, D. Hymes (1964: xvii) points out that:

*there is one kind of content, one body of phenomena which language and culture share and that is meaning; both the speaker and hearer are required to know the culture and language of the community in which they live*

The speaker has a task to express his ideas in a clear and correct way in given situations. Besides, any person of a specific community needs to interact in order to establish and sustain relationships with others in his daily activities. The interaction between people of the speech community is really facilitated by language. Whatever people do when they come together occurs through language. Language, thus, allows people to live together, to work and celebrate together.

In Kirundi as in other languages of the world, there are specific speeches uttered while celebrating a particular ceremony or while performing a particular ritual. D. Hymes (1964: 252) states:

*although an individual will naturally shift from one type of utterance to another, depending upon the context of the social situation, there may well be a series of diverse social contexts which are dominated by the use of one type rather than another.*

From this quotation, we can say that appropriate discourses are to be selected according to the social situation. It may be surprising and harmful if, for example, one makes a joke at a funeral ceremony. In any community, there are two main kinds of ceremonies: there are ceremonies of joyful context such as marriage, birthday and victory, and those of mournful context such as death commemoration, eulogies and funeral. Both of these ceremonies are social. Speeches related to them deserve a certain competence according to the culture of the speech community in which the event occurs; that is, the speaker must have experienced the language and life in that society. Talking about language and society, W.R. Betty (1978: 143) points out that

*(...) language is a tool of a society that employs it and the way in which language is used reflects the culture of that society.*

In most general terms, we study language as part of a social process. It is through language that people of a given society establish norms and code. Children born there in the society acquire the language and grow there with a certain competence but with limited accuracy.

This study will serve as a guide to speakers of Kirundi. In fact, some relevant principles will be provided along this work. The “end-of-the-mourning” period is a kind of ceremony done some days after the death of any person. It is really a specific event because rituals related to it and speeches delivered there quite differ from other speech events. This particularity is seen by the fact that not any person is able to deliver the speech. Furthermore, any case settled there is considered as a law and has to be accomplished in due time.

## **I.2. Statement of the problem**

Although some research has been conducted in this field of pragmatic analysis of language, constraints encountered in Kirundi language use need further illustrations. First of all, Kirundi language is spoken in all the provinces of Burundi. Besides, some neighbouring countries speak dialects almost similar to Kirundi as far as structure and lexical meanings are concerned. These are Kinyarwanda (in Rwanda), and the Giha and the Gihaya dialects used in Tanzania.

Even though Kirundi is spoken and understood throughout Burundi, not every native speaker of Kirundi is able to deliver an appropriate speech for a specific event. This is so true that good speakers have to be selected beforehand with great attention, considering their previous experience of speech delivery at such events. Normally, the speaker is supposed to convey a certain message and he expects some attention and affect from the audience. A good speech deliverer will be listened to and his words and ways of saying things will affect, in a way or another, the hearers.

### **I.3. Aims of the study**

The primary aim of this analysis is to investigate the constraints encountered in Kirundi expressions used in some social contexts, especially in ceremonies ending the mourning period. In other words, what are the constraints imposed by this social event on the language to be used?

Since this study deals with a specific social event, it gives value to the Kirundi language and culture. In fact, works devoted to pragmatic analysis of Kirundi speeches are still very limited. Since these ceremonies ending the mourning period named “Ukuruvako” occur after a certain period of unhappiness, we intend to find out what Burundians think about death and how they express their feelings through the Kirundi language.

### **I.4. Research questions**

A scientific work involves posing relevant questions on which the investigation will be focussed. It is the research questions and research hypotheses which enhance the readers’ interest as they go throughout the work.

The following are the research questions that guided our study:

- 1° Are there Kirundi expressions whose understanding deserves deep socio-cultural background?
- 2° What constraints of communication are present in the Kirundi language during the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”?
- 3° How do Burundians feel about death as far as the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony” is concerned?

## **I.5. Research hypotheses**

This study focuses on the following hypotheses:

- 1° There are some Kirundi expressions whose delivery and understanding deserve deep socio-cultural background.
- 2° Kirundi language has a lexicon peculiar to the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”.
- 3° Seeing the structure and the texture of the language used in the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”, Burundians feel a deep regret and grief about the death but get relieved and comforted afterwards.

## **I.6. Motivation for the study**

As stated earlier, most Burundians are not able to deliver an efficient speech in a particular socio-cultural circumstance. The speaker may fail to convey the intended message and the listeners will not act accordingly. Moreover, the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony” (Ukuruvako) has to be talked about because expressions used there require much attention and much more control. While listening to some speeches, one may ask oneself the real causes of the rhetoric ignorance characterizing the majority of the native locutors and that is why the person to deliver the speech must be carefully selected beforehand, considering his past experience of speech delivery in such events.

Likewise, one may ask whether or not communicative principles are known or neglected. This particular ceremony should not tolerate speech infelicity (default of language) and should avoid shocking participants. In some cases, it has been found that there are some problems of misconstruing the real message conveyed even when the message is interesting to listen to. No doubt that the quality of speech is also a cause for concern. Another reason is the

will to explore Burundian culture because it is rich and equipped with specificities worth exploring even for a native speaker.

### **I.7. The scope of the study**

This study will not cover all social events in Burundi. It may even seem pretentious if we say that we have included all mourning ceremonials and rites. Besides, carrying out a survey in all areas of the country would be impossible seeing that the work requires the physical presence of the researcher to record and interview people at any such event. The present work is thus limited to only five natural regions of Burundi: Kumoso, Bugesera, Buyogoma, Kirimiro and Mugamba. The others, which are not concerned by the study, are: Buyenzi, Mumirwa, Buragane, Bututsi, Imbo and Bweru (see the map on page 41).

There are two main reasons for choosing the five natural regions.

- On one hand, Kumoso and Bugesera are regions which respectively share the boundary with Tanzania and Rwanda, the neighbouring countries in South East and North of Burundi. We should also point out that Kinyarwanda and Giha dialects spoken respectively in Rwanda and Tanzania are close to Kirundi in matters of semantics. This attracts sociolinguistic and socio-cultural interest.
- On the other hand, Buyogoma, Kirimiro and Mugamba are regions which are located inside the country. It is clear that an external influence on their language or culture would be more limited. The discourses from these areas are expected by a researcher to be a reference of interpretation for the above areas. Hence we get consistent data of effective speech to be analysed.

It was realized that although people live in the five different natural regions, they share the same cultural rituals and linguistic features. Yet, our focus is not on their different ways of pronunciation; rather, the focus is on the

pragmatic analysis of speeches delivered during the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony” and their different interpretation as would be expected by listeners.

### **I.8. Significance of the study**

In this work, it is expected that the richness of Burundi culture will be explored. Moreover, readers of this material will have an additional interest in speeches about social circumstances. They will learn through this work the use of some cultural, social and linguistic elements (these are principles, theories, maxims and rituals in relation to the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”).

We already know that a person may have knowledge of a given language and speak it fluently. Yet, he fails to perform the implied meaning of an utterance in that language. Speakers should know that though they are native speakers, they need further elements to be successful in communication. Rhetorical maxims are worthwhile either in daily conversations or in speech delivery during social circumstances.

Leech (1983: 49) states that:

*although the language using ability is no doubt a considerable extent genetically inherited, linguistic behaviour itself is something that is learned by each individual, and is passed on by cultural transmission. Other kinds of functional explanations – psychological and social are required to account for the successful development of rich and complex linguistic behaviour patterns in individual and in society.*

In fact, we should agree that good linguistic behaviour is very important in any language and for any person. The former is transmitted from person to person according to social code.

This work has the task of exploring Kirundi language in cultural and social contexts. This is one of the most significant ways to discover people's beliefs, views and attitudes of which contextual speech is a very consistent vehicle. Besides enriching Kirundi language, this material would stimulate the interest of readers, and in so doing, enhance understanding in this domain.

## **I.9 Definition of key terms**

For better understanding of this work, some key words need to be defined. These include pragmatics and speech act theory.

### **I.9. a. Definition of pragmatics**

In Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985: 225), *pragmatics is the study of the use of language in communication, particularly relationships between sentences and the contexts and the situations in which they are used.*

From the above definitions I intend to analyse how speeches are differently interpreted and the role of the place, audience, time in speech delivery or its inference.

### **I.9.b. Speech act theory**

This involves the idea of doing things or effecting a change with words: Traugott , and Platt, ( 1977: 229) state that :

*Speech act theory developed by Austin, J. et al, is among the different pragmatic framework proposed for*

*describing language use in context and it treats an utterance as an act performed by a speaker in context with respect to addressee*

Levinson (1983: 236) states that Austin isolates three kinds of acts that are simultaneously performed ; these are :

Locutionary aspect which is the semantic aspect; that is the utterance of the sentence with determinate sense and reference. Illocutionary aspect is the force or intention of the speaker, that is, the attempt to accomplish some communicative purpose such as promising, warning, threatening or informing. Perlocutionary aspect is the effect brought about what an utterance makes the hearer do. Such effects are special to the circumstance of the utterance.

I can conclude here that through speech acts, the function of utterances, their implied meaning and the different interpretations of one utterance, are some of elements contributing to my hypotheses verification.

## CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.

### II.0. Introduction

Life in a given community is facilitated by communication between speakers and hearers. Speech communication begins with a speaker. If one needs something from his neighbour, he calls and tells him, he is acting as a speaker. Of course he may also act as a listener when his friend or neighbour starts talking to him.

In public speaking, however, he will usually present his entire speech without any interruption. As far as speeches uttered at the “end-of-mourning ceremony” are concerned, these are speeches uttered publicly. Speeches are delivered in sequence, that is, the elder member of the family acts as a moderator of the ceremony, while he has to give the floor to all the persons who need to speak in the circumstances of the social event.

Even though it is not a ceremony of laughing and dancing, the speaker is required to motivate the ceremony towards the end-of-the-mourning in order to stir up people to begin a new period of everyday life.

On this, E.L. Stephen (2009: 17) states:

*Your success as a speaker depends on you, on your personal credibility, your knowledge of the subject, your preparation of the speech, your manner of speaking, your sensitivity to the audience and the occasion. But successful speaking also requires enthusiasm. You cannot expect people to be interested in what you say unless you are interested yourself.*

From this assertion, it is obvious that the speaker should understand the context of the event. The speaker should understand and act as one who is helping people to stop and leave the mourning period behind. It is an event in which we must learn the techniques of effective speechmaking, but before they can be of much use, we must first have what to say, something that speaks (animates) our own enthusiasm.

For example: “Mu vyukuri hagiye naka ntihagiye bene naka”.

Transl: Truly, he went away, but his family is here.

The speaker here is as sincere as possible, but also enthusiastic. This sentence prepares the audience to start with another mood.

## **II.1. Pragmatics and other linguistic fields**

To understand the meaning of the language used at the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”, some pragmatic interpretation is needed. Indeed, one will understand the potential of the message in each of the utterances of the speeches delivered at that occasion, when they are taken in the context of delivery. But pragmatics alone does not supply all the meaning. The other linguistic aspects come to help to that, such as semantics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, etc.

### **II.1.1. Semantics and Pragmatics**

People have been facing the problem of distinguishing ‘language’ and ‘language in use’. This has also been a centre of dispute between semantics and pragmatics. Both fields are concerned with meaning but there is a little difference traced to different uses. Semantics traditionally deal with the dyadic relation (words “indero y’ibibondo” and their direct meaning):

(1) e.g: “Indero y’ibibondo gisigura iki”?

Transl: What is the meaning of children’s education?

While pragmatics deals with meaning of term as a triadic relation (words, their direct meaning and words beyond their ordinary meaning):

(2) e.g. “Indero y’ibibondo ushaka kuvuga iki”?

Transl: what do you mean by children’s education?

Thus a term in pragmatics is defined in relation to a speaker or user of a language, whereas a term in semantics is defined purely as a property of expression in a given language in abstraction from particular situations, speakers, or hearers. This is a rough-and-ready distinction which has been stated by philosophers such as Morris (1938, 1946) or Carnap (1942). We shall redefine pragmatics for the purpose of linguistics, as the study of meaning in relation to speech situations. According to Leech (1983: 5)

*the semantic representation (or logical form) of a sentence is distinct from its pragmatic interpretation.*

He goes on saying that:

*Semantics is rule – governed (grammatical); general pragmatics is principle-controlled (rhetorical).*

It is obvious here that semantics and pragmatics are distinct, though complementary and interrelated. Logically, two clear alternatives are possible: it may be claimed that the use of terms shown in the example “indero y’ibibondo” is both the concern of semantics, and of pragmatics.

One quite restricted scope for pragmatics that has been proposed by Levinson (1983: 7) is this:

*pragmatics should be concerned solely with principles of language usage, and have nothing to do with the description of linguistic structure. Or, to involve Chomsky's distinction between competence and performance, pragmatics is concerned solely with performance principles of language use; here we come to the heart of the definitional problem: the term pragmatics covers both context-dependent aspects and principles of language usage and understanding that have nothing or little to do with linguistic structure.*

But it is difficult to forge a definition that will happily cover both aspects. However, this should not be taken to imply that pragmatics is a hodge-podge, that it is concerned with quite disparate and unrelated aspects of language. Rather, pragmaticists are specifically interested in the interrelation of language structure and principles of language use

e.g: “Uwufitaniye ikintu n’umuhisi” He who owes or ask something to the  
deceased

“Agishikirize aha nyene” May say it now.

The above utterances present linguistic aspects. Before uttering them, the speaker considered participants in the circumstance attendance. By so doing, the speaker wants to search for a common ground; he respected what is called the positive-face. At the same time he performed tact maxim (minimise cost of other, maximise benefit to other) among politeness principles; that is pragmatics. However, if he says: “Akirihire aha nyene” (Must pay it here and now), he would have violated the tact maxim. The audience would be face-threatened, too. This is why an appropriate choice of utterance is very important for the sake of the pragmatic meaning.

### II.1.2. Pragmatics versus Sociolinguistics

The most restrictive pragmatic meaning would draw a clear boundary between sociolinguistics and pragmatics, for sociolinguistics is a field that cuts across linguistic levels or components of grammar.

e.g. “Twagendana tutagenzanya”      We were real companions

The above Kirundi utterance is formed by two grammar components (two verbs); grammar is studied through language and society. This is sociolinguistics. Pragmatics and socio-linguistics therefore share many areas of common interest insofar as sociolinguists contribute much to certain areas of pragmatics, especially the study of social deixis, speech acts and their use.

Pragmatics in its turn has much to contribute to socio-linguistics; for it is trying to understand the social significance of patterns of language usage. Indeed, it is essential to understand the underlying structural properties and processes that constrain verbal interaction. Speaking about language use, language is used in social groups and requires common attitudes to language and some standard patterns or principles. About this, Hymes (1964: 215) states the following:

*Whatever the angle of vision, all study of language and speech as part of social life is basically one, rooted in the interdependence within social life itself.*

The linguistic aspects of adaptation to environment and circumstances, formation and expression of personality, social structure and interaction, cultural values and beliefs are facets of an integrated whole. We may argue that no one can speak about language use without speaking about a group of people who use it. Besides, knowing the background of the community involves being aware of some exigencies and appropriate patterns to select.

### **II.1.3: Pragmatics and psycholinguistics**

According to Levinson (1983: 375), the relation between pragmatics and psycholinguistics may be considered under two headings: first, there are the interrelations between pragmatics and cognitive psychology, and especially theories of language processing and production. Because the two disciplines share a basic interest in the process of language understanding, they have a mutual interest in the development of concept like implicature, presupposition and illocutionary force.

Here, pragmatics is likely to be the provider, psycholinguistics the tester, refiner and rejecter. In more specific terms, pragmatics studies the utterance of the speaker, the intended meaning and the behaviour according to this utterance. So, utterance, meaning and behaviour on both speaker and hearer are interrelated.

e.g. “Twasangira akabisi n’agahiye” We shared the joys and the pains.

Pragmatically, that means “We were real friends”. The psychological effect on hearers is ‘getting informed’. On the other hand, advances in discourse analysis may show certain language production parameters for example, pauses, hesitations, self-editing, etc. Psycholinguistics has been taken to be straightforward indicators of internal cognitive purposes; pragmatics contributes much about the way in which contexts of language acquisition play a crucial role in how, when and what is learned.

We deduce that terms like psychology of language, self-editing, code-switching, and learning in second language acquisition are some attitudes of speechmaking. Before producing an utterance, a speaker should select words by saying the ones which cannot disturb the audience.

(3) “Bavukanyi mwitavye uru rubanza rwa Carukura”.

Transl: Brothers who are attending this ceremony of Carukura.

(4) “Bavukanyi mwaje mu rubanza rwa nyakwigendera Carukura”.

Transl: Brothers attending this end of mourning for the late Carukura.

Certainly that the utterance n°3 will have a bad effect on participants because some will consider the utterance for a living person: they will feel deceived, irritated, or distressed. However in the utterance n°4 above, people will really feel that they share event with the speaker. The speaker’s want is the hearer’s want: this is to “end-the-mourning period”. The speaker’s feeling is the hearer’s feeling. No one should upset another in whatever he may say. Both of them claim for a common ground. The utterance n°4 above is the one fitting speechmaking at the event.

### A diagram of these linguistic domains

	<b>Pragmatics versus Semantics</b>	<b>Pragmatics versus sociolinguistics</b>	<b>Pragmatics versus psycholinguistics</b>	<b>Pragmatics versus discourse analysis</b>
<b>Similarities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Both domains have linguistic utterances</li> <li>- Semantics is included in pragmatics</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Both domains are used in social life</li> <li>- Sociolinguistics contributes in pragmatics while studying deixis, speech acts and their use</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Pragmatics is about language philosophy and psycholinguistics is about speaker's behaviour. Both concern cognitive study.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Both domains use words fetched from the same language</li> </ul>
<b>Differences</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Semantics studies form of language whereas pragmatics studies interpretation</li> <li>- Semantics is rule governed and pragmatics is principle controlled</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sociolinguistics studied through language and society</li> <li>- Pragmatics studies speakers' meaning beyond formal theories.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Psycholinguistics is for people behaviour in front of language whereas pragmatics studies the language use in a context</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In discourse analysis, a sentence can be fully analyzed with no context considerations.</li> <li>- Pragmatics is studied in terms of non-conventional elements, i.e., motivated in terms of conversational goals</li> </ul>

#### II.1.4. Pragmatics and discourse analysis

A linguistic string (sentence) can be fully analysed without considering context. It is seriously questionable. If the grammarian wishes to make claims about acceptability of a sentence, whether it is a correct sentence of the language or not, he is implicitly appealing to contextual considerations.

When dealing with an analytic approach in linguistics which involves contextual considerations, certainly that we are in the area of language study called pragmatics. Carrying out discourse analysis consists in a combination of syntax and semantics, but it primarily consists of dealing with pragmatics. It is also obvious here that a language in context is first recognized through its signs.

Morris (1938: 6) defines pragmatics as *the relations of signs to interpreters*. Then we see that the connection here is remarkable. Whether dealing with discourse analysis or pragmatics we are certainly concerned with what people using the language are doing, and accounting for linguistic features in the discourse as the means employed in what they are doing.

Considering the above statement of Morris (1938), we understand that pragmatic analysis treats even weaker forms (utterances within a sentence) in a context, whereas discourse analysis treats the data as a connected speech, beyond a limit of a single sentence, that is, correlating culture and the signs of the language. Hereby, the analyst seeks to describe regularities in linguistic realisations used by people to communicate those meanings and intentions. Considering the following example, we say:

e.g: “Bavukanyi mwaje mu rubanza rw’umuhisi Carukura”.

Transl: Brothers attending the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony” for the deceased Carukura.

“Uyu musu twaje kumarira bene umuhisi”

Transl: Today, we have come to end the mourning for the deceased.

Discourse analysis requires a set of words (a sentence is a basic unit for analysis) whereas pragmatics goes into details within one sentence. So, a basic unit here is an utterance.

## **II.2. Formalistic and functionalistic theories**

These terms are relevant to the study of a language. They tend to be associated with different views of the nature of language. However, their contribution will help a researcher to go far with more language analysis: some authors, formalists like Chomsky (1965), and functionalists like Halliday (1978) – state the following:

- (a) *Formalists state that language is a mental phenomenon whereas the functionalist Halliday states that language is a societal phenomenon.*
- (b) *Formalists study language as an autonomous system, whereas functionalist study it in relation to its social function.*

On the face of it, the two approaches are completely opposed to one another. However, each of them has a considerable amount of truth in it. To take one point of difference, it is undeniable that language is a psychological phenomenon and a social phenomenon. Any balanced account of language has to give attention to both these aspects: the internal (psychological) and the external (social) aspect of language. The conclusion will be that the correct approach to language is both formalist and functionalist.

Leech (1983:47) says that:

*Grammatical explanations are primarily formal; pragmatic explanations are primarily functional; mapping rules of well formedness, specifying what is well – formed or grammatical representation exigencies are concerned by formalism explanation.*

From this, pragmatic is a study of language as a functional tool (language is used in everyday life). Leech (1983:48) says that explanation in pragmatics goes further than this and yet is in a sense a weaker form of explanation. It is weaker because a pragmatist does not need to see if a sentence is well constructed, only the utterances in context implies the meaning. Principles impose weaker constraints on language behaviour than grammatical rules: they can only be predictive in a probabilistic sense.

Formal explanation will always leave something unexplained, and hence, if a functional explanation is available, we should not hesitate to use it. Formalist approach to language study up to the present time has led to inappropriate attempts to fit pragmatic phenomena into theories of grammar. Hence functionalism may be brought in to redress a balance which has to stand in favour of formalism. For example, someone says:

e.g: Will you drink a “Nile” or a Mountain?

In some society Nile is known as the name of a River and Mountain is known as a higher ground with stones or simply with a forest. In this case, we see that this sentence would be grammatically invalid since it is considered simply as a mental phenomenon. There is no way a river and a mountain are drinkable. But, in other societies, however, like Uganda where Nile and Mountain are industrial nice lemonades, the sentence is certainly understandable, no doubt that both speaker and hearer have a similar meaning.

### **II.3. Austin's theory of speech acts**

The speech acts can be examined under three different headings, i.e., (1) as meaningful speech, (2) as speech with a certain conventional force, and (3) as speech with a certain non-conventional effect. For the first aspect, speech act as a meaningful speech, i.e., it can be regarded as the speech act's constative dimension while (2) and (3) can be regarded as together constituting its performative dimension. "Constative" means words meaning consideration while "performative" implies meaning given through context.

The speech act as a meaningful speech can in turn be investigated under three headings:

- (a) The production of the actual noises, that is, so to speak, the vehicles of meaning.
- (b) The production of certain words in a certain syntactical order and in certain language by means of the production of those noises.
- (c) The production of the latter to communicate a specific message, usually but not necessarily about a concrete situation.

To be clearer, the production of actual noises which vehicle meaning is a locutionary act. The speaker expects a hearer to perform a certain action, i.e., an illocutionary act. Finally, a hearer performs a direct reaction or a psychological one, i.e., a perlocutionary act.

### **II.4. Searle's theory of speech acts**

He accepts the locutionary act but states that there is a referring act and the act of predication. Besides, he accepts that the speech act is basic unit of meaning and force, or the most basic linguistic entity with both a constative and a performative dimension. He also accepts that there are illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts.

His understanding of the latter is similar to Austin's but his understanding of the former is quite different as we see it in the following paragraph. In fact, locution and illocution cover language as meaningful and language as having conventional force. The same phonetic act under one description was meaningful, which means that it had sense and reference, and under another description had a certain conventional force, which means that it counted as a conventional social act of a certain sort (such as ordering or promising).

Although Searle accepts that the speech act is both meaningful and of some conventional force, he analyzes the dimensions of the speech act differently. The major difference is Searle's postulating a propositional act which is subdivided into a reference act and an act of predication. Searle accepts the proposition which Austin's scruples prevented him from embracing. He also speaks of the incomplete speech act of predication which Austin did not mention. In Leech (1983: 175), the two systems of Austin and Searle are outlined as follows:

<b>AUSTIN</b>	<b>SEARLE</b>
a) Locutionary act - Phonetic Act (production of noises) - Phatic Act (syntactic arrangements) - Rhetic Act (conveying messages)	a) utterance Act
	b) Propositional Act - Reference Act (referring to an event) - Act of predication (incomplete speech act)
b) Illocutionary Act	c) The Illocution act
c) Perlocutionary Act	d) Perlocutionary act.



We must distinguish between the sense of a referring expression and the proposition communicated by its utterance. The sense is conveyed by the descriptive general terms given or implied by the referring expression. Then ‘umugabo’, for instance, has a sense independently of any particular context but only in some particular context will it be used to refer to an individual.

## **II.5. Grice’s theory of speech acts**

For Grice, the relation between sense, that is, semantics, and force (pragmatics) or in his own terms between what is said and what is implied is to be traced in terms of certain general principles of human rational cooperative behaviour. The derivation of a given implicature from a given sense can be worked out with the help of contextual background information and which Grice brings together under the heading of cooperative principle.

### **II.5.1. Cooperative principle**

According to Grice (1975:91), one may perhaps distinguish four categories under one or another of which will fall certain more specific maxims and submaxims.

He calls the categories:

Quantity maxims: Make your contribution as informative as required. Do not  
make your contribution more than required

Relation maxims: Be relevant.

Manner maxims: Avoid obscurity, be brief, avoid ambiguity, be ordered

Quality maxims: Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. Let us consider the following utterances.

(1) “Ni nde yarafitiye ideni umuhisi”? Who owes something to the deceased?

(2) “Yagiye ntaramwishura ibihumbi cumi yanguranye”.

Transl: He went away before I paid him back his ten thousand.

The participant has answered briefly and clearly to mean that the maxim of manner is achieved. There is no lie in that sentence: that is the maxim of quality accomplished. He has just given the right amount of information and has directly addressed the elder's goal in asking the question. So, he has been relevant to the interlocutor. The person in (2) has said precisely what he meant, no more and no less. There is no implicature generated. That is to say that no difference between what (2) says and what he means.

(3) A. “Ni nde yarafitiye ideni umuhisi” ? Who owed something for the deceased ?

B. “Hari uwomumenya”? Is there anyone who knows him?

Here the person B has not been communicative because the utterance ‘who knows him’ is not relevant to the question asked. The answer also is very ambiguous since it lacks any precision. The quality maxim is not there because of inadequate evidence. However, not saying what lack adequate evidence does not mean to keep quiet. This would be dropping a whole communication. We need to contribute to what is required: that is to be relevant to what we are asked by our interlocutor.

### **II.5.2. Politeness principle**

Besides the cooperative principle, there is also the politeness principle that is a necessary complement. Therefore, different societies operate maxims in different ways: politeness can be given a higher rating than cooperation in certain situations or giving priority to one maxim of politeness principle rather than another. Politeness is a concept which is difficult to define because of its complexity. About politeness, to be linguistically polite involves speaking to people appropriately in the right relationship to you.

Hereby, the speaker's intention is surely to achieve smooth communication. Politeness concerns the relationship between two participants whom we may call self and other. In a conversation, self will be identified with S and other with H. Speakers also show politeness to third parties, they may or may not be present in the speech situation. The label 'other' may also be applied to people designated by third person pronoun.

The maxims of politeness principle tend to go in pairs as follows:

- Tact maxim: a) Minimise cost to other (abandon something for others).  
b) Maximise benefit to other (giving favour).

“Murashobora gufata ivyicaro!” May you please have seats!

- Generosity maxim: a) Minimise benefit to self.  
b) Maximise cost to self.

“Umuhisi yari yaranguranye ibihumbi cumi”

Transl: The deceased had lent me ten thousand

“Ng’aya( amafaranga) ndayabashikirije.”

Transl: Here is the money(I owed the him) I give it to you

- Approbation maxim :

- a) Minimise dispraise of other.
- b) Maximise praise of other.

“Carukura yari umushingantahe” Carukura was a wiseman.

“Eme”! That’s right.

- Modesty maxim: a) Minimise praise of self.

- b) Maximise dispraise of self.

“Naje ndacari muto” I am still young, too.

“Being still young” there have been two alternative meanings. The speaker first is minimising praise to self; that is, she is not able to feed children being too young. Secondly, the speaker may intend to appeal the neighbour’s attention for children’s education. In any case, the maxim of politeness is involved.

- Agreement maxim: a) Minimise disagreement between self and other.

b) Maximise agreement between self and other

A. “Umwana si uwumwe, n’uwo umuryango, n’uwo igihugu”.

Transl: A child is not only for his parents but also for the family, for the nation.

B. “Ni uko” Exactly.

- Sympathy maxim:

a) Minimize antipathy between self and other

b) Maximise sympathy between self and other.

A. “Aha ni ku rugo rw’umuhisi twabuze tutanka”.

Transl: Here is the home of our beloved deceased .

Among all these politeness maxims, it is difficult to say which is the most important since they are all applied occasionally through speechmaking. For example to achieve politeness, people may use mitigating strategies that soften the illocutionary force even though these strategies may hinder the illocutionary quality.

A. “Umuhihi yari afise ibitungwa vyinshi” The deceased had many cattle.

“Nta bindi” Nothing else.

We see that only the tact maxim is there; however if B says or accepts A’s sentence, the approbation and the agreement maxims would be involved. Politeness maxims are applicable in all situations whether in conversations or on other speech occasions.

### **Classification of maxims according to Grice (1975)**

<p>Cooperative maxims or cooperative principles (CP)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Maxim of quality : do not say what you believe to be false</li> <li>- Maxim of quantity: make your contribution as informative as required</li> <li>- Maxim of relation: be relevant</li> <li>- Maxim of manner: avoid ambiguity</li> </ul>
<p>Politeness maxims or Politeness principles (PP)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tact maxim: minimise cost to other and maximise benefit to other</li> <li>- Generosity maxim: minimise benefit to self and maximise cost to self</li> <li>- Agreement maxim: minimise disagreement between self and other and maximise agreement between self and other</li> <li>- Approbation maxim: minimise dispraise of other and maximise praise of other</li> <li>- Modesty maxim: minimise praise of self and maximise dispraise of self</li> <li>- Sympathy maxim: minimise antipathy between self and other and maximise sympathy between self and other</li> </ul>

The above maxims constitute what is called interpersonal rhetoric. We realized that in any utterance or else in any speech act, those maxims contribute to maintaining social relationship.

### II.5.2.1. Politeness and face

There are several ways to think of politeness. These might involve ideas like being tactful, modest, nice to other people, having good communicative behaviour. In the study of linguistic politeness, the most relevant concept is face. Your face, in pragmatic is your public self-image. G. Yule (1996: 134) says:

*If you say something that represents a threat to another person's self image, that is a face-threatening act.*

This is the emotional and social sense of self that every person has and expects everyone else to recognize. Politeness is showing awareness of another person's face. For instance, if you use a direct speech act to order a person to do something:

- A. "Ufise ico aheranye canke aheraniwe"      He who claims for something  
 B. "Agishikiririze aha nyene"                      May say it right now.

You are acting as if you have more social power than the other person. If you do not actually have that social power then you are performing a face threatening act. An indirect speech act in the form of a question removes the assumption of social power.

e.g. "Uwufise umwenda awurihe."      He who has debt may pay it now.

Here, you appear to be asking about ability. This makes your request less threatening to the other person's sense of self. Whenever you say something that lessens the possible threat to another's face, it is called a self-saving act.

### II.5.2.2. Negative face

Your negative face is your need to be independent and to have freedom from imposition. It is the want that your actions be unimpeded by other persons actions. However, in most cases, for social life there are acts that are relevant for being nice to other people but which sometimes threaten the negative face. These are: those acts predicate some future act of H and in so doing put some pressure on H to do or refrain from doing the act.

In the sentence:

A. “Ntuze usibe urubanza rwo kuruvako”.

Transl: You must be present at the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”.

The person S indicates that he wants H to be present at the ceremony. He puts some pressure on H to go there and abandon his scheduled work.

### II.5.2.3. Positive face

Your positive face is your need to be connected, to belong, to be a member of the group. Thus a face-saving act that emphasizes a person’s positive face will show solidarity, draw attention to a common goal. (let us do this together; you and I have the same problem..)

e.g: - A. “Urazoza turuveko kuri Carukura”.

-Transl: Welcome to the “end-of-the-mourning” for Carukura.

Here the speaker does not care about the addressee’s feelings. In some important respect, he does not want H’s wants include.

- “Sinzoza nta kanya mfise”! I won’t come !I don’t have any time!

The speaker indicates that he thinks H is wrong then such wrongness is associated with disagreement. Those acts mean that S does not care about or simply is indifferent to H’s positive face.

Ideas about adequate language to mark politeness differ substantially from one culture to the other. If you have grown up in a culture that has directness as a valued way and you use direct speech acts, you will be understood. Anyone who has grown up in a culture more oriented to indirectness and uses it in the indirect speech acts will be understood.

- A. “Ni mufate ivyicaro”      Have seats.
- B. “Ni mwicare”      Sit down please!

In a culture where the English language is spoken as a first language, the sentence fits the maxim of politeness. In A, the equivalent sentence in Kirundi, the speaker S would be threatening H. So the politeness maxim is not there.

## **II.6. Implicature and inference**

These terms are sometimes misused and confused for that matter. In fact, to imply means to suggest that something is true or that you feel or think something without saying so directly. To imply is to hint or convey some meaning indirectly by means of language. An implicature is generated intentionally by the speaker and may not be understood by the hearer.

An example of implicature is :

- A. “Twagendana tutagenzanya”. We were real companions.
- B. “Twasangira vyose”      We shared everything.

The speaker indirectly means that he deserves to be gifted back a cattle. This is an implied meaning. To infer, however, is to deduce something from evidence. This evidence may be linguistic, paralinguistic or non linguistic. An inference is produced by the hearer. An example of inference is:

- A. “Twagendana tutagenzanya”      We were real companions.
- B. “Twasangira vyose”      We shared everything.

Here, the listener deduces that they were real friends. This is an inferred meaning.

### II.6.1. Conversational implicature

Conversational implicature is a way of getting a message not directly reflected through words that are used in a sentence or an utterance. Hearers manage to work out the complete message when the speakers mean more than what they say.

e.g. A. “Abana baracari bato cane bakeneye indero ikwiye”.

Transl: Children are still very small and they need full education.

A Kirundi native speaker will easily understand that his interlocutor needs someone to replace the husband in the house for the sake of children’s education. It would be impolite if a woman for example says:

A. “Nkeneye uwuca ancura”

Transl: I need someone to become my husband.

She should rather say: “Nkeneye uwumfasha kurera abana”.

Transl: I need someone to help me raise these children.

It is understood here that a traditional marriage is also included because to help her educate the children actually means to live with the widow and share all responsibilities as wife and husband. Such forms of language are also found in the “end-of-the-mourning” speech acts.

### II.6.2. Conventional implicature

The same implicature is always conveyed regardless of the context of the utterance whereas in conversational implicature the meaning is implied on account of the context. There are not many conventional implicatures because words introducing them are very few. In this case the word “but” always carries the implicature.

A. “Urya mugore n’umupfakazi ariko aratanze”

Transl: That woman is a widow but she is rich.

B. “Abo bana nta se bafise ariko baguma biga”

Transl: These children don’t have their father but go on studying.

In A it is expected that a widow is normally not rich. That is the non visible meaning inferred from that sentence. In B the meaning implied is that orphans in that area normally do not go to school due to the lack of school fees. Surprisingly, the children in question are continuing their studies. In both examples when it is said “Gufasha impfuyi n’abapfakazi” (to help orphans and widows) makes reference to poor and miserable persons. So, in Burundi community A and B imply conventional implicature.

## II.7. Utterance and rhetoric

An utterance is a term used in linguistics to refer to a stretch of speech. In principle, it is physically definable, a behavioural unit. One commonly used definition refers to a stretch of speech preceded and followed by a silence or a change of speech. This is not a satisfactory definition, but some attempts have been made to produce a more restricted definition, using such features as pause, rhythm, breath patterns, pitch movements, etc.

e.g. A. “Tugire amahoro! Basokuru barayamaze bati: umwana si uwumwe”?

Transl: Peace be with us! Our elders used to say that: “The child’s education lies with the community”

“Peace be with us” is the first utterance.

“Our elders used to say that” is the second utterance.

“The child’s education lies with the whole community” is the third utterance.

The sentence contains three utterances.

### II.7.1. Utterance meaning

Three levels of utterance meaning are recognized: the first level is that of abstract meaning. What a word, phrase or sentence could mean. The term “abstract meaning” does not only apply to single words, it can apply equally well to phrase or even to whole sentences.

e.g.A. “Abo kwa Carukura bari ku masaka”. Carukuras are on sorghum beer.

Taken in the abstract way sorghum could refer to the sorghum but what all the words actually mean on the occasion could only be determined in context. The second level is the contextual meaning. It cannot even cross our mind that there could be alternative interpretations.

A. “Yigiriye atanyokoreye(inka) n’imwe” He died before giving me even one.

B. “ Isaha zine yanyokoreye(inyama) zitatu. At ten, he gave me three  
grilled steaks

The person A on one hand cannot think of another thing but a cow. On the other hand the person B cannot think of other thing but of steaks of meat. The third level is the ‘force of an utterance’ or the speaker’s intention in uttering something.

e.g. A. “Aba bana ni rwawe”? Are these children yours?

Although it seems to be no problem in understanding the utterance meaning, the speaker’s intention may be expressing request, expressing scorn or causing damage (bariko baronona), admiration or expressing feeling of seeing the young mother with many children. These are different alternatives of the pragmatic meaning which the same utterance might have.

## II.7.2. Rhetoric

Rhetoric deals with rules of good linguistic behaviour which, for clarity, we should rather call ‘maxims’ or ‘precepts’.

*“To break a maxim is to fail relatively, rather than absolutely”* Leech (1980:10).  
When we start talking of bad language and good language rather than language and non-language, bad Kirundi and good Kirundi etc., we are in the realm not of grammar but of rhetoric.

There are two characteristics of rhetorical maxims in contrast to grammatical rules; these are:

- (a) they may be observed at different degrees of efficiency;
- (b) they may conflict with one another. In this case, we make an evaluation on the relative importance in some situation. It will generally be granted, for example, that the maxim of quality outweighs the maxim of quantity.

A. “Nta wogira ideni”? Who would have a debt?

B. “Jewe ndayamufitiye ng’aya”. I owe him some money, here you are.

The person B has been enough relevant towards A.

This use of the term “rhetoric” is traditional, referring to the study of effective use of language in communication. Rhetoric has been understood in particular historical traditions as the art of using language skilfully for persuasion, or for literary expression or for public speaking. In this context, the focus is on goal-oriented speech situation, in which the speaker uses language in order to produce a particular effect in the mind of hearer.

## II.8. Function of language

As mentioned before, language is used primarily for communication of factual information. Many semanticists have maintained that making statements descriptive of states-of-affair is one of the functions of language; it also serves, as do our partners of behaviour for establishment and maintenance of relationship, for the expression of our attitudes and personality. We shall not go into detail; we will simply assume that these are more or less distinguishable functions. These are the descriptive function, the social function and expressive function.

The descriptive function consists in providing also a descriptive meaning. This is factual in the sense that it can be explicitly asserted or denied and in most favourable cases, it can be objectively verified. In this sentence, for example, A. "Hapfuye ikibiri, ntihapfuye izina" Only the body has died, but the name is alive.

These utterances give descriptive information or descriptive meaning. They are thus objectively verifiable because they provide a state of things observable. Other terms that have been used in the literature for this aspect of meaning include referential function, cognitive function, propositional function and designative function.

Moving to the social and expressive functions of meaning in this context, the distinction between them is far from clear-cut, many authors have subsumed both under a single term: this is emotive, attitudinal, interpersonal, expressive, etc. The expressive meaning, in a narrower sense, is that aspect of meaning which covers the characteristics of the speaker.

The social meaning is that aspect which serves to establish and maintain social relations. Hence expressive and social meaning are interconnected. Brown (1958:307) states the following.

*for it is only by virtue of membership of social group that we are able to interact with others, in doing so, to establish our individual identity and personality*

It is clear that individual identity and personality involves expressive meaning and hence an expressive function of language. Being a member of a social group where a person expresses his thoughts or interact with others, involves emphasis on social constraints in order to respect some principles. The most appropriate term for what is common to the social and expressive functions is interpersonal. Talking about this, Halliday (1970:143) says:

*It is convenient, however, to allow for the terminological distinction of the two functions, since one of the points of controversy in linguistic theory is the degree to which the individual is constrained by social conventions in the use of language.*

In fact during this end-of-mourning ceremony “ukuruvako” it is better to say.

A. “Urakoze ko utuzimanye, n’ubundi wahabereye umugabo”

Transl: Thank you for this food and beer, you’ve been a man.

B. “Urakoze, iyi nzoga iraryoshe irakuhirwa”

Transl: Thank you for this delicious beer; we should have some more of it.

Both the statements in A and B are expressing thanks to the person who distributed the beer and that he can give an additional beer if there is any left. The person B socially violates the principle of not asking for more drink on such a scornful circumstance. B means that he is delighted to have something to drink on this occasion and would like to have more; he is socially impolite.

## II.9. Conclusion

The pragmatic study of a given speech may be wide and complex. We cannot attempt to deal with all the aspects of our situational speeches. However, in this chapter, we dealt with the use of some aspects, principles and theories suggested by some philosophers. Once those elements are used through the analysis of given speeches, we showed how speakers are socially constrained. We shall indicate how some infelicities may challenge the communication or show how cultural aspects influence and value the language. Brown and Yule (1983:2) suggest the following:

*the value of use of language to transmit information is well embedded in our cultural mythology. We all believe that it is the facility of language which had enabled the human race to develop diverse cultures, each with its distinctive, customs, religious observances, laws, oral traditions, patterns of trading and so on.*

We realise that many factors may affect speech production and comprehension. Besides, there are also some constraints which force the great attention of the speaker; these are: ritual constraints, system constraints, class situational constraints, psychological constraints, textual constraints, etc.

Yet, as far as this topic “A pragmatic Analysis of some Kirundi expressions used at the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony” (Ukuruvako), is concerned, all these aspects are to be included while applying theories and maxims of the former philosophers.

We believe that all these theories proposed by our previous researchers will guide the analysis to elucidate some infelicities (infractions of language, indiscipline, disrespect, miscarriages, disloyalties, etc) so as to avoid them and consequently propose further ways for efficient speeches.

This chapter concerns learning and applying both those cooperative and politeness principles. None is to be rejected for they really contribute to the quality of discourse. Even though we may have no direct interaction; that is, in public speaking, the relevance of speech is very important.

### **CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH**

This study is a pragmatic one; it comprises a theoretical part and a practical one. We have chosen to use pragmatic theories such as Grice's theory of cooperativeness and politeness maxim and Austin and Searle's theories of speech acts. Our great interest shall be put on the locutionary act (utterance act according to Searle), illocutionary act and perlocutionary act.

The practical work involves collecting speech discourse to be analysed with the object of applying the above mentioned theories to the data. In particular, we display the functions of Kirundi expressions drawn from the discourse delivered in those circumstances. In brief, the work intends to find out to what extent the "end-of-the-mourning ceremony" expressions are used in accordance with the theories of cooperative or politeness maxims and the theory of speech acts.

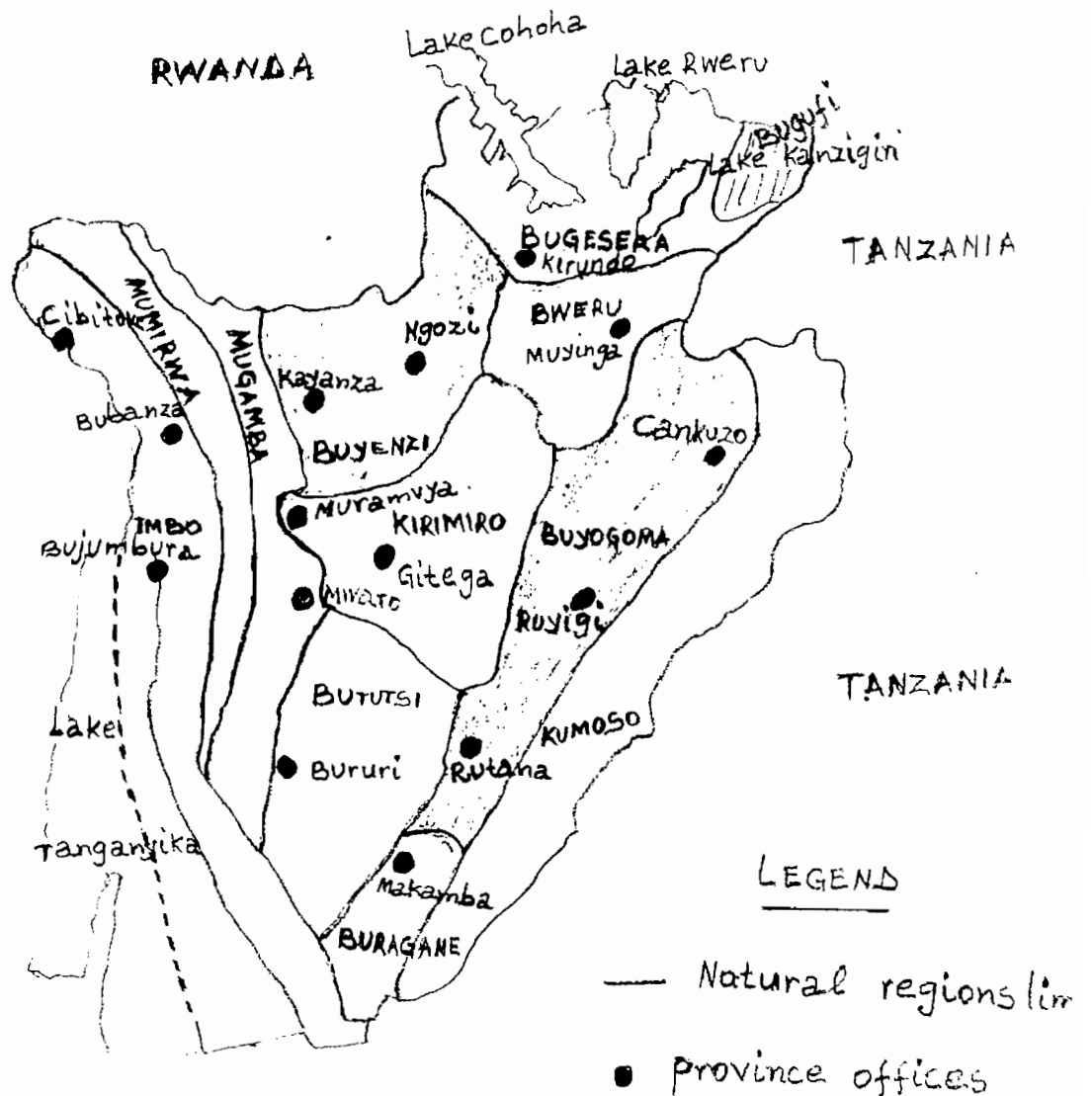
We should say here that each expression in the speech event shall not be concerned by all the theories expounded. This is due to the fact that some expressions will be taken in interpersonal context. Therefore, an adequate form of analysis shall be checking cooperative theories in the expression. Finally, politeness theories and speech act theories shall jointly be used in other non-conversational expressions (in public speaking). The evidence comes from the study of some Kirundi expressions used at the "end-of-the-mourning" period in various contexts. They cannot be studied out of their context of use. Otherwise they have no meaning.

### III.1. Research population

Our study focuses on Kirundi language analysis bearing in mind that our intended speakers and hearers of the ceremony are already familiar with Kirundi structures. The study, as said before, rests on five natural regions among the eleven identified in our country: these are, Kumoso, Buyogoma, Imbo, Kirimiro, Buyenzi, Bweru, Mumirwa, Bugesera, Mugamba, Bututsi and Buragane.

#### Burundi natural regions

J.E. Bidou and P. Serven (1991:5)



In all these eleven areas, the ritual of ending-of-the-mourning period is practiced. However, the choice of five regions among eleven is not random. This was dictated by the fact that the region shall be relevant to our data collection. Bugesera and Kumoso, on one hand, share the limit with the neighbouring countries of Burundi, respectively Rwanda in the North of Burundi and Tanzania in the East. The two natural regions are expected to have significant perlocutionary effect on participants of this particular ceremony. This is supposed to be motivated by a sociolinguistic and a socio-cultural influence of neighbouring dialects (Kinyarwanda and Giha dialects) close to Kirundi so far as linguistic features are concerned (lexical, grammatical terms, syntax) because speakers of those dialects can easily communicate each one using his own language during the interaction.

e.g. A term “umwênda” means “a debt” in Kirundi and Giha dialect whereas “umwënda” means “a woman garment” in Kinyarwanda dialect.

Buyogoma, Kirimiro, Mugamba, on the other hand, are three regions that we have been interested in this research. These ones are located at the heart of the country, then serve as references of interpretation for the former ones. All those aspects put together, a considerable speech data is created. Besides, interview shall follow the direct observation. Some people who were holding speech shall be asked a few questions about what was being said. Nevertheless, we cannot easily predict which expressions shall interest our research questions to our respondents.

Finally the choice of the informants to be interviewed was random; both women and men were selected, first among those who delivered the circumstantial speeches, and then among participants. Children under ten were not concerned by the interview because they were not expected to have been exposed and listened to such linguistic phenomenon and might not know the meaning of the expressions used in the ceremony.

We hope that the five areas sampled will provide us the representative data for the speeches delivered in the whole country especially in this ceremony of ending of the mourning period. Therefore, analysis and interpretation related to them shall carry enough contribution for the efficiency of Kirundi language speechmaking.

## **III.2. Data collection procedures**

### **III.2.1. Introduction**

As far as the topic is concerned (A Pragmatic Analysis of some Kirundi Expressions Used in Speeches Delivery at the “End-of-Mourning Ceremony”), the researcher has used data found in J.B Ntahokaja’s *Imigenzo y’Ikirundi* (1979). The chapter on “ukumarirwa” (the end-of-the-mourning ceremony) on pp.43-44 was of particular interest for the study.

Furthermore, the researcher, had the opportunity to partake in this kind of ceremonies more than once, and witness, through direct observation, the ceremonies organized on this occasion and the poignancy of the language used in the speeches pronounced on this occasion. Two persons were interviewed at each occasion: one among speakers in the ceremony, another among participants. A sound recorder was an efficient instrument to use in such a circumstance because sounds were stored in memory card and them in a flash disk.

Speeches collected in five different geographical areas of Burundi (Kumoso, Buyogoma, Kirimiro, Mugamba and Bugesera) constituted a rich source from which we could glean the pragmatic devices on which the speeches are naturally and spontaneously built. In the course of the study, many cases related to ceremonies surrounding the end-of-the-mourning period occurred:

a head of a family died; in another family, it was the mother, and in a third, the family lost their oldest son. And in all those circumstances, different kinds of speeches were delivered. The study aimed at a pragmatic study of the utterances uttered in these circumstances.

The first death happened while children born in the family were still very young. There are very rich Kirundi expressions about this kind of event. Those cases are when a father who died leaving very young children and a father who died leaving mature children.

Throughout the study, some expressions were isolated as long as we found them adequate or interesting for eventual illustrations. These are expressions whose understanding requires transfer of meaning (a meaning that requires going far beyond the literal meaning). We have also described the functions of those utterances. Those functions depend upon structure, the intention the speaker has when uttering them.

Examples:

A. “Nanje nakuye inka ngaha” I carried a cow from this family

“Nkaba nsaba ubucuti ” And I beg kinship

B. “Hora, ntitukuzi mu bakwe” Keep quiet, you are not known among sons-in-law.

“Uri igisuma kigenda ijoro” You are a walking-night thief.

A literal meaning of those utterances fails to provide an adequate account of the true meaning. In fact, the son-in-law is accused here of not having paid the bride-price. He took away the daughter of the deceased without paying a dowry.

This kind of description was also extended to the rhetoric of utterances used in the text, that is, the quality of the utterances, their relevance to the ceremony and the use of it towards hearers.

The speech: B. “Hora, ntitukuzi mu bakwe” Keep quiet, you are not known among sons-in-law, is an answer or in other words, a rejection of a person who did not pay the bride price. All this, is understood through culture. The understanding is made possible by the knowledge of cultural connotations around the words used in the context.

### **III.2.2. Data collection**

There are several methods to collect data. However, some of them do not fit this study. For example, the questionnaire technique is not suitable because the study is not really of a survey kind. Brown and Yule (1983:20) suggest the following:

*the discourse analyst's data is taken from written text or tape recordings. It is rarely in the form of a single sentence. This type of linguistics is sometimes described as 'performance data' and many contain features such as hesitations, slips...*

Considering this statement, we have chosen to apply written text about the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony” to collect our research data. Direct observation, listening and recording activities took place during the occurrence of the event.

Therefore, the choice of the direct observation method should complete written texts because watching events occurring in a context goes beyond having a discourse written text since we need to observe possible effects of these speeches on participants. This method consists of collecting chunks (units of

language) of discourse and then transcribing them for the subsequent analysis. Besides, the tape recording would also facilitate deep analysis.

Moreover, the chosen text is taken from the book titled *Imigenzo Y'Ikirundi* written by Jean-Baptiste Ntahokaja (1977:43). This book contains many and interesting Kirundi socio-cultural and sociolinguistic elements. We were particularly interested by the subtitle 'Ukumarirwa' which fits well with our topic and provides enough details of the ceremony.

But it is said in passing that it is from the verb 'ukumarirwa' that the noun "imarirano" is a derived, which stands for appropriate garments worn at that mourning event. Also, the terms 'ukumarirwa' and 'ukuruvako' are synonymous in this context. They both mean ceremonials characterizing the "end-of-the-mourning period".

The second reason for the choice of the paragraph about 'ukumarirwa' in Ntahokaja's book (1977:43) is that, it is written in standard Kirundi, which served us as a basis for quality for the subsequent discourse collection. We should also mention here that the ceremony is among 'Imigenzo' (customs). Speaking about customs, these involve beliefs, norms, codes, obligations, attitudes, social constraints etc. All these constitute the devices that we are investigating. In short, the written text, tape-recordings and direct observation will be our research methods for this work.

### **III.3. Data analysis procedure**

The analysis of collected data (speeches uttered on the occasion of the end-of-the-mourning) will be based on the theory of implicature, the theory of speech acts and rhetoric principles, i.e, cooperative principles and politeness principles.

Through this analysis, we will show the functions of Kirundi utterances based on those delivered by the speakers during the end-of-the-mourning. While showing the functions of the utterances, the pragmatic theory of speech acts will be used to describe the meaning intended by the speakers and the possible effect on the hearers.

What the language is used for is our concern in this investigation. We shall analyse the rhetoric principles used within the discourse delivered. In the case we find them, we need to examine their accuracy. We have to suggest better Kirundi language usage according to the theories laid out by the philosophers who founded these theories, namely Austin, Searle and Grice. In short, this study will elucidate some sets of functions of language, i.e, the descriptive, social and expressive functions of Kirundi language.

### **III. 4. Difficulties encountered**

#### **3.4.1. Difficulties related to data collection**

In Kirundi language, there are too many expressions related to social ceremonies. Collecting sufficient information from the local communities of the five natural regions proved difficulty due to the following constraints:

- a) The nature of the study requires sitting with subjects for some hours during the speech recording and interviewing.
- b) Some subjects were suspicious about the aim of the research and were not willing to cooperate. Convincing them to give the interview was not an easy task.
- c) Some individuals resented being bothered or expected payment for their knowledge contribution. It was necessary to get most responses directly from the respondents rather than leaving

questionnaires behind as most people did not usually want or have time to read and fill in long questionnaires.

- d) Interviews were a major and useful research instrument but had some disadvantages. For example: respondents suspected it as a radio interview.

### 3.4.2. Difficulties related to translation

One of the obstacles I faced in this kind of study is related to translation:

- a) The literal translation of each expression in English may not be as refined as the English language requires. Though it was applied, it obscures the meaning and the real local flavour of Kirundi is diluted in it. Example: “Nimubambike imarirano. Uwo wese yafashe ijambo azozane insuhûzo.” Such words “insuhûzo” and “imarirano” are difficult to translate in English because they do not have English equivalent word ; we had to resort to approximate literal translation or paraphrase.
- b) To disambiguate the hidden meanings and implications was a demanding and challenging task due to the various possible interpretations according to the expressions used.

Moreover, we know that Kirundi and English are two different languages. The former originates from the Bantu language family while the latter is a branch of the Indo-European language family. This is to say that the speakers of the two languages originate from different cultures. Hence translating from Kirundi into English presents difficulties. We were then obliged to use paraphrases which sometimes failed to convey accurate meaning. Our purpose was to keep close to the original meaning in context of an utterance as stated by P. Newmark (1964:113) when he says, “*context is an overriding factor in all translations and is primarily any rule*”.

## **CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND FINDINGS**

### **IV.1. Introduction**

As we opted for the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”, it has been relevant to have in mind the occurrence of the event. In fact, people reading this material would like to know how it is organized, some rituals performed there, and its consistency. As in any social ceremony, it has exigencies, which will be seen later, that people are not allowed to speak whatever they like because of the circumstance.

#### **IV.1.1. Description of the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”**

“Imarirano” is a kind of non-dyed garment worn at the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”. Before wearing it, people put marks of chalk dust on their faces and cheeks. The leader of the ceremony must be the elder brother of the deceased or his cousin. The first to wear ‘Imarirano (noun)’ is the widow; the following is the oldest son, and so on, according to their ages; then come the girls, according to their ages. A pregnant woman is not allowed to wear it but should hold its piece for a while and give it back. A widow should not wear “Imarirano” if she did not get any child with the bereaved.

If the deceased person was rich and had mature boys, the older son would take the cows earlier to the pasture land. He would go in front of them with a stick and a spear on his shoulder. After the cows had grazed enough, the herd was led to the river to drink water . This was to inform the cows that their master was no longer alive. If not, the herd would die from curse, to mean that cows were weeping for their deceased master.

A kind man would be called to milk the cows; this one was chosen among people who could not easily get angry and curse the children. If a wicked man did it, all children could die. After milking, he would give the children some milk to drink outside the house. He would send a servant to reap a bunch of bananas, grill it on fire, and then give it to the widow and children, who season it and eat it with milk.

After this ritual, they bring ‘amata’, not milk but a sorghum beer. The widow, children and servants drink it supported by relatives. All that they had abandoned to eat during the mourning period is now allowed to be eaten. Therefore, they bring “Rusha rwa barundi” (Rusha of Burundians).

Rusha of Burundians is the beer devoted to all people who attended the ceremony. The family members begin to drink more beer after the so-called milk is finished. People who attend the ceremony get their own pots of beer that they share in groups. After drinking, the chairman gathers all the people wearing “Imarirano” and then related speeches are delivered. We should add that married daughters of the deceased cannot wear “Imarirano” (the ceremonial traditional cloth).

The leader of the ceremony starts by saying: “Today we have come to end the mourning period for the deceased Carukura. Anybody who has something to claim from the family such as a debt, a cow or a plot of land, that the late owed him or that he owed the deceased Carukura should say it right now”. They start to exchange then. After the debtors have spoken, come the speeches of the sons-in-law.

However, one who did not pay the bride-price is not allowed to say anything at the event; he is considered ~~as~~ like a robber. The elder son of the deceased can declare those who have been paid and those who are lying.

Everyone who will speak during the ceremony is required to bring 'insuhuzo' (beer for comforting); that was a beer brought to someone who lost a member of the family. Someone who claims or pleads for something should be asked to bring first 'Insuhuzo' (beer for comforting), in the default of which his complaint will be rejected.

#### **IV.1.2. Purpose of the ceremony**

As has been stated by some of my informants, the purpose of the "end-of-the-mourning" may be stated from two main points of view: The first view takes into account the material aspect. The ceremony is therefore held in order to solve some problems about probable land conflicts among the relatives; all this is said at the ceremony and some social problems are solved there.

Even if a clear problem does not exist, participants may resort to this opportunity to prevent the family from an eventual land or social conflict among the widow and his neighbors. The second point of view rests on moral aspects. The family of the deceased may feel better after giving appropriate honor and respect to the deceased person. This entails that no other kind of ceremony may be planned before the one of the end-of-the-mourning period. Therefore, the purpose should be here to allow other programs to be realized.

#### **IV.1.3. Participants in the ceremonies**

As in any Burundian ceremony, there must be participants. According to Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985:207), *a participant is a person present in a speech event and whose presence may have an influence on what is said and how it is said.*

The ceremony ending the mourning period is a social interaction through which rapports between participants are established by means of verbal exchanges. This exchange involves many speakers classified in four main categories. These categories include, the selected Wiseman to represent the family, debtors, the sons-in-law, and finally the children of the deceased if they are mature enough to deliver a speech, if not they are replaced by their mother.

The goal of the Wiseman's speech is to welcome the guests and introduce the "end-of-the-mourning ceremony". He is also the moderator of the speeches because he is the one to give the floor to a person who asks for it. He may refuse a person to speak if he judges it not appropriate or if he considers that the person who asks for the floor does not deserve it.

The creditors of the deceased are given the speech after the introduction. This is only to announce what they have to give back to the bereaved family. The third round is given to the sons-in-law. These ones may have paid a bride-price of cows and actually need to be offered what is called 'Indongoranywa' (a cow offered to a son-in-law when he brings the first born to be gifted by his father-in-law).

The last round is given to the elder son if he is mature, this one may accept or not that the family owes something to the neighbors or that the latter owe something to the family. If there are people who are claiming to be paid more than once, the eldest son is there to contradict them. The turn-taking which is observed there allows the speakers to control the floor in their communication. Remaining participants are people who come to listen, to drink and to serve as witnesses when necessary.

## IV.2. Pragmatic analysis of the data

This part focuses directly on Kirundi expressions extracted from the speech about the “end-of-the-mourning” ceremony and their contextual meanings. The interpersonal principles of utterances, their illocutionary forces or their implied meanings have been discussed on the basic selection of examples of expressions presented in their contexts of use.

Example: “Inka n’iy’umuryango”,                      The cow lies in the family,  
 “Ibwirizwa kuguma mu muryango”    it must stay in the family

In Burundian culture, the word “Inka” a cow has two connotations; first a cow means a domestic animal with long horns, it grazes, this is a literal meaning. Second, “a cow” means a young girl ready to get married and probably that any lady may be called a cow according to the context. In the context above, a cow refers to the lady (a widow). The speaker was claiming that something has been paid in order to get that cow; this was done before the death of its owner. Since a certain price was paid to get it; she must stay in the family to which the cow belongs.

Besides, a cow was commonly used by Burundians to pay the bride-price. Then, it was understood that if they stayed with the widow, they would compensate for the cow delivered to get her in ancient times. If the woman went away, they would lose the cow (in literal and non literal senses). As resolution of that social issue, the brother of the deceased was suggested to replace the deceased in marital responsibilities.

### **IV.2.1. Speech components**

In Burundian culture, any speech at any ceremony is made up of speech components organized coherently. As far as the “end-of-the-mourning” ceremony is concerned, it includes components such as honorific expressions, opening and closing greetings and transitional devices.

#### **IV.2.1.1. Honorific expressions**

Formal speech includes honorific expressions which have a very significant role to play. Anyone who takes the floor has first to call his listeners by using politeness expressions. So, the audience must stop whatever they are doing in order to get ready to listen.

Examples: “Bashingantahe”	Wisemen or Honorable Assembly of Wiseman
“Bapfasoni”	Ladies or Honorable Ladies
“Baryango”	Honorable relatives
“Bashitsi bahire”	Honorable guests
“Bagenzi”	Dearest comrades
“Babanyi”	Honorable neighbors.

These expressions aim at alerting the hearers’ attention before a speech is introduced. Moreover, honorific expressions enable the speaker to single out who the speech is targeted to. Listeners feel estimated and consider the speech to be really their own.

### IV.2.1.2. Opening and closing the speech

In every speech event, anyone who is going to make a speech has to greet people who are present at the place. He greets people who are present at the ceremony. He greets them at the beginning as well as at the end of the speech. This kind of greeting is not as simple as is daily greeting like:

“Mwaramutse”	Good morning
“Mwiriwe”	Good evening
“Yambu”	Hello

Instead, it is structurally and semantically different. In fact it is composed by more than one word and it is based on what is essential in everyday life, that is, ‘having peace’ and ‘having Christ’. The formal Kirundi greetings are “Tugire amahoro” (Peace be with us) or “Tugire amahoro y’Imana ” (May peace of Almighty be with us) has also been adopted in religious environment. The functions of these greetings are simply to wish the audience well, but they have a special function, namely that of attention getting. The opening and closing greetings makes it easy to hand over the floor from the current speaker to the next according to the turn-taking system.

### IV.2.1.3. Transitional devices

These are speeches which occur frequently in Kirundi formal speech. These stereotypical formulas serve as drawing the audience’s attention on what has just been said as well as on what is just going to follow. They also ensure the hearers that the message is still going on. The speaker may use for that purpose, formulaic speeches such as the following:

“Ni uko iyo ni ingingo”	That is a point
“Ni uko iyo ngingo itungane”	That is a point, may it be accomplished
“Ni uko iryo rikaba ijambo”	That is a word
“Ni uko muhire”	That is it, honorable
“Ni uko iyo ikaba ingingo”	That is a point
“Murumva iryo jambo”	May you hear that word
“Nuko muhire mukama”	That is it, honorable lord
“Ni uko bakunzi bahire”	That is it, dear friends.

These transitions are important for the current speakers for they allow them to look back into what they said and reformulate the following ideas. They also enable speakers to be concise and avoid repeating themselves and control the quality of the following speech.

### **IV.3. Speech acts performed in the “end-of-mourning” ceremonies**

#### **IV.3.1 Assertives**

According to Searle’s classification in Leech (1983:105), assertives commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. Those illocutionary acts tend to be neutral regarding politeness; they belong to the collaborative category which has the function indifferent to the social goal. These are asserting, reporting, announcing, suggesting, stating, instructing, complaining and claiming.

Text.1: 3 “Uyu munsi twaje kumarira bene umuhisi” Today we have come to  
end the mourning with the family of the deceased.

4 “Abakurambere barayamaze bati:” Elders used to say that:  
“Umubanyi niwe muryango” The neighbor is the family indeed



Text.2: 30 “Twasangira akabisi n’agahiye” We shared the raw and the ripe fruit  
 31 “Twagendana tutagenzanya” We were real companions  
 32 “Eka twasangira vyose” We shared everything.

When people are real friends, they can share what they have to drink or eat, they usually walk together. Friends can also solve some problems for each other, that is, if one is hungry during the journey, whatever his colleague has on him could rescue his companion when they share. The thirtieth utterance means that they were friends indeed. The utterance has then the function of praising and condoling the deceased. The last two utterances also have the functions of praising, condoling and thanking the way the relationship was being lived.

Expressive function is also seen in those opening and closing greetings as in the following utterances:

75 “Tugire amahoro” Peace be with us  
 90 “Tugire amahoro y’Imana” May peace of Almighty be with us

These are terms that ensure speaker-hearer cooperation. Besides, the speaker invites the listener to get attentive. The functions of these utterances are: greeting, inviting and attracting attention to listening.

### **IV.3.3. Directives**

Directives are intended to get the hearer to carry out an action. They frequently belong to the competitive category, and therefore comprise a category of politeness. On one hand some directives such as invitations are intrinsically polite. Some directives are the following: requesting, advising, ordering, demanding, commanding etc.



#### IV.3.4. Conflictives

A further illocutionary function which appears in the discourse of the ending-the-mourning ceremony is a conflictive function. The illocutionary goal conflicts with the social goal, that is, threatening, accusing, cursing and reprimanding. In the utterances below:

Text.5:

59 “Hora, ntitukuzi mu bakwe” Keep quiet, you are not known among sons-in-law

60 “Uri igisuma kigenda ijoro” You are a walking night thief

Apparently the utterances above seem rude and impolite towards the listeners. However, this is culturally legal as regards to the quality of the speaker; this is an “Umushingantahe” (a Wiseman) and the context in which he is speaking this is appropriate. Speaking about the quality of the speaker, F. Nzeyimana (1990:86) states the following:

*« L’investigation menée à l’endroit de la personne Inararibonye nous a conduit à aller la retrouver sur le terrain des valeurs humaines. Ainsi nous avons trouvé que : c’est l’homme accompli. Jusqu’à ce qu’on lui confère la dignité de Mushingantahe garant de la vérité »*

Transl: “*The investigation made about Inararibonye led us to go and find him on the ground of the human values. Thus we found that Inararibonye is ‘an accomplished man’. To the point that he was granted an honour of a Mushingantahe, detainer of the truth’.*”

So the truth and the authority are qualities attributed to the personality of Wiseman or “Inararibonye” (the very experienced man); thus he is allowed to say so. The politeness maxims are involved in the utterance because the place

and the context allow it. If the Wiseman said it in another place rather than the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”, the utterances would directly become heavy and insulting. The authority, as already seen, involves the illocutionary force of ordering, commanding, and advising in:

Text.6:

61 “Ukaba ukeneye iteka ry’abakwe” If you need the honor of sons-in-law

62 “Uze wikubite agashi” Just apologize and get in order.

The functions of these utterances above to the addressee are to advise him; he must get out from the long indifference to social requirements. Other participants are indirectly instructed from the Wiseman.

#### **IV.4. Utterances, illocutionary forces and perlocutionary acts**

While planning utterances, speakers have to decide on their illocutionary content, that is, on which speech act they intend to make and how. The explicit performative of an utterance is what has been referred to as illocutionary force. In other terms, illocutionary force is what is accomplished by what is said. The perlocutionary act, as said before, is the result or effects that are produced by means of saying something. Nevertheless, it may be performing some actions or simply having some feelings towards a given utterance.

From the previous analysis it has been shown that the speeches uttered during the ceremony of ending the mourning period were used to convey many meanings. Utterances are produced with particular illocutionary forces. We would like to point down the most important.

#### IV.4.1. Instructing

This force of an utterance has the function of stating some truth and giving some necessary lessons to the listeners.

Text.1: 4 “Abakurambere barayamaze bati:” Our elders used to say that:

5 “Umubanyi ni we muryango                      The neighbor is the family indeed.

The force of the former utterance is to report what has been said by elders. The speaker has the intention of instructing people that in a difficult situation, the neighbor is ready to help as he is closer than the family relatives of the bereaved. The result is that the audience learns the possible course of action to be performed.

#### IV.4.2 Claiming

To claim is to ask insistently for something you believe it is your legal right to own or to have. It must be something you have the right to.

Text.2:

36 “Umuhisi nari naramugabiye inka”              I had gifted a cow to the deceased

39 “Nkaba nsaba kwokorerwa akanyana”      I ask to be gifted a female cow

57 “Nkaba nsaba ubucuti”                      I beg for kinship

The illocutionary force of both those utterances is pleading or claiming for things. However, depending upon the status of these speakers, the effects on the listeners shall be different. In the utterance number thirty-nine above, the speaker is one who gifted the deceased. So the result would be that the interlocutor gets ready to do something. On the other hand, the fifty-seventh utterance is delivered by a person who is guilty and his claim is reduced to begging. Certainly that the interlocutor gets surprised.

### IV.4.3. Praising

Some utterances have the illocutionary force of praising the deceased for some illustrious achievements. The actions are appreciated, and so is the one who carried them out.

Text.3:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 47 “Koko umuhisi Carukura yari umugabo”        | Really Carukura was a man   |
| 48 “Umusavye ikintu agifise ntiyakwirengagiza” | If you asked him<br>for something he had,<br>he would never look just<br>on the side. |

The perlocutionary act or possible effects that are expected on the addressee are the following:

- The listeners feel sympathy towards the deceased,
- They get satisfied because his deeds will serve as a testimony in the other world (that is the heaven).

### IV.4.4. Announcing

A further illocutionary force which is implied in the discourse of the “end-of-mourning ceremony” is announcing as we see it in these utterances:

Text.7:

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 80 “Baryango twabaye impfuyi”       | Family and friends, we have become orphans        |
| 81 “Umuhihi ansigaranye abana bato” | The deceased left me with four young<br>children. |

From these utterances, one can see that the illocutionary force is for announcing. The possible effect on the addressees is that the latter learns about the bad news and get shocked, and reacts accordingly.

#### IV.4.6 Offering

This kind of illocutionary force has been observed where some debtors had to give back money, gave it to the assembly of the Wiseman who attended the ceremony. Another force of offering was seen at the end when people were giving back some materials used for drinking.

Text.3:

49 “Yari yaranguranye ibihumbi cumi” He had lent me ten thousand

53 “Ng’aya (amafaranga) ndayabashikirije” Here is the money (I owed to the deceased) I give it to you.

The effect on participants is that they get satisfied with what is done at the place.

#### IV.4.6. Asserting

This type of illocutionary force is seen in the following utterances:

Text.1: 10 “Hapfuye ikibiribiri” Only the body died

11 “Ntihapfuye izina” Not the name

12 “Hagiye Carukura” Carukura passed away

13 “Ntihagiye bene Carukura” But the Carukuras remained

The perlocutionary act of these utterances is that the addressees get comforted and feel relieved after they have reflected on life here and after.

#### IV.4.7. Advising

The speaker here expects the addressee to perform some action. The utterances containing such an illocutionary force are:

Text.5: 62 “Uze wikubite agashi” Just correct yourself

63 “Ugire ibikenewe vyose” And be regular with the bride-price

The effect on the son-in-law is to enter the possible course of action. Other participants get instructed and feel satisfied.

#### **IV.4.9. Commanding**

The utterance containing this illocutionary force has a purpose close to the one of advising. The difference is that commanding requires direct action. Utterances requiring direct execution are:

Text.9: 104 “Inka n’iy’umuryango” The cow lies in the family

105 “Ibwirizwa kuguma mu muryango” It must stay in the family

Text.1:17 “Uwufise ico aheranye canke aheraniwe” He who claims for something

18 “Agishikiririze aha nyene” Let him mention it here and now

The illocutionary forces of those utterances are: getting ready to perform and feel socially responsible.

#### **IV.4.10. Reprimanding and accusing**

Utterances containing the illocutionary forces are not more than two. These are uttered by a wiseman representing the family.

Text.5: 59 “Ntitukuzi mu bakwe” You are not known among sons-in-law

60 “Uri igisuma kigenda ijoro” You are a walking-night thief.

Here are some feelings first on the side of the direct addressee: he gets surprised, he learns from this situation and gets socially responsible. Second other participants who are attending the ceremony and listening to the speaker learn from this situation and also get socially responsible.

#### **IV.5. A Chart of speech acts used in the end-of-mourning ceremonies**

This chart intends to assess the frequency of speech acts. The researcher expects to have an overview on people's feelings in this topic through the frequency of expressives and assertives. This is to evaluate if the third hypothesis is verified; and it was that of “ seeing the structure and the texture of language used in the ‘End-Of-The-Mourning Ceremony’, Burundians feel deep grief but get relieved afterwards”. The two first hypotheses are checked in the frequency of illocutionary forces and the various effects on participants. Beyond these seemingly common effects, other feelings are psychologically manifested as seen in previous functions of language.

<b>SPEECH ACTS</b>	<b>ILLOCUTIONARY FORCES</b>	<b>PERLOCUTIONARY ACTS(effect on participants)</b>	<b>EXTRACT NUMBER</b>	<b>UTTERANCE TYPE</b>
1.ASSERTIVES	Reporting Instructing	Listeners get attentive	4,5,93,94,95,96,97, 101.	Umwana si uw'umwe 'The child is for the community'
	Announcing	They get informed	75 ,77, 76 78 ,80 , 3 46, 47, 51	Baryango twabaye impfuyi 'we got orphans'
	Stating	They learn about the situation	103 ,104	Mu vy'ukuri abana n'ab'umuryango 'Truly, children are for the family'
	Asserting	They inspire	10, 11, 12, 13	Hapfuye ikibiribiri ntihapfuye izina 'Only the body is dead but the name is alive'
	Claiming	They get ready to perform some action	39 ,58, 86 87 ,88	Nkaba nsaba kwokorerwa akanyana 'I ask to be gifted a female cow'

2.EXPRESSIVES	Offering	Listeners feel satisfied	53 ,120	Ngaya ndayabashikirije ‘Here you are’
	Greeting	Get attentive	1 ,12, 27, 43, 45, 55, 112	Tugire amahoro ‘peace be with us’
	Condoling	They feel sympathy	30 ,31 ,32	Twasangira akabisi n’agahiye ‘we shared the raw and the ripe fruit’
	Praising	Listeners feel at ease	30, 31, 32, 46, 47, 68	Koko umuhisi Carukura yari umugabo ‘Really Carukura was a man’
3.DIRECTIVES	Advising	They enter a possible course of action	61, 62, ,110	Uze wikubite agashi‘Justcorrect yourself’ Ugire ibikenewe vyose ‘And get in order’
	Commanding	They get ready to perform some action	105	Inka n’iy’umuryango ‘The cow lies in the family’ Ibwirizwa kuguma mu muryango ‘It must stay in the family’
	Recommending	They become thoughtful	19, 20, 22, 63	Uwudashikiriza ikintu ‘He who keeps quiet’ Ntihagire ica azobaza mu nyuma ‘may he not ask for anything later
	Demanding	They feel at ease	83 , 84, 85	Mubarere bakure ‘Educate them until they become mature

4.CONFLICTIVES	Threatening	He gets attentive	59	Hora 'keep quiet'
	Reprimanding	He gets attentive ,gets surprised	59	Ntitukuzi mubakwe 'you are not known among the sons-in-law'
	Accusing	He learns from this situation, he gets instructed	60	Uri igisuma kigenda ijoro 'you are a walking-night thief'

#### IV.6. Interpretation of the results

In this chapter, the speech related to the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony” has been analyzed in relation to Burundian culture. It has been realized that the understanding of an illocutionary act depends very much on lexical and syntactic properties of the utterances, as well as related pragmatics, cultural and contextual considerations. We have analyzed the illocutionary forces of selected utterances from the speech acts related to the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”. We observed that the force and the function of an utterance varied according to what the speaker intended to convey to the direct addressee or to the whole audience.

In fact depending upon the context, the speaker and the audience; one utterance may possess more than one illocutionary force. It has been also realized that the addressees may understand or interpret the utterance in different ways. This involves different results towards the intended meaning. In the course of our data analysis, the speech acts were extracted from the whole discourse of the ceremony.

Among 60 extracts; 28 were assertives, 11 were directives, 18 were expressives, and 3 were conflictives.

Speech acts	Number of extracts /60	%
Assertives	28	46.5
Directives	11	18.5
Expressives	18	30
Conflictives	3	5
Total	60	100

While interpreting this table, one may realize that there are occurrences of expressives and assertives than other categories of speech acts. The reason may be that in this kind of ceremony, speakers tend to make known their psychological attitudes towards a state of affairs. Another reason of the dominance of expressives and assertives may be that speakers are expressing feelings about leaving behind the social lethargy entailed by the loss of a member of their family.

Assertives are also dominant as well as expressives. The reason is that assertives have a social goal and the ceremony which is held at the end-of-the-mourning here is a socio-cultural one because people are announcing, pleading and claiming to clear the social situation and embark on life again. On the other hand, illocutionary forces have also been explored. Indeed, it was realized that some utterances found in some extracts are used to convey particular illocutionary forces; these forces are reporting the truth instructing to teach about it; they are also announcing, stating and asserting to inform people about some social situation; they are commanding to get some people to act; they are reprimanding and accusing to get the addressee learn some seriousness.

It should be noted that turn-taking was abided within delivering the speeches about the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”, that is, there is coordination between the ceremony and the talks related to it. Turn-taking enables the speaker to utter the speech acts properly, taking into account his role in the ceremony and the message to be communicated.

In short, this topic whose objective was a pragmatic study of the discourse used at the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”, has been analyzed in its three main steps which are speech acts, illocutionary forces and their perlocutionary acts (the result or effects that are produced by means of saying something).

Speech acts were dealt with in four of its categories. This corroborates Searle's claim that:

*there is a rather limited number of basic things that we can do with language: we tell people how people are, we try to get them to do things, we commit ourselves to do things, we express our feelings and attitudes, and we bring about change through our utterances.*

It is in this wake of Searle's thread and vein that the present study was led in order to get the research purposes. Another aim was also to explore Burundians' and their feelings about death. This led us to guess possible effects towards some utterances. We realized that the level of understanding may depend upon the individual status of the addressee.

While stating our hypotheses in the introductory chapter, our first hypothesis was to find out some Kirundi expressions which, once delivered and understood could deserve a deep socio-cultural background. This hypothesis has been answered positively because through the analysis, we found some utterances which implied meanings and inferred meanings requiring a mastery of the social code of some rituals and Burundian culture in general. Each utterance which has been analyzed, we noticed, could be interpreted in more than two ways.

The second hypothesis was to find out what constraints of communication are presented in the Kirundi language during the "end-of-the-mourning ceremony". Implied meaning and inferred meaning may be different due to various constraints. These may be linguistic constraints (related to the lexical and syntactic components), cultural constraints (related to rituals and exigencies), social constraints (related to codes in a community). We realized that the above hypothesis was then verified.

The third hypothesis was that Burundians feel regret and grief about death but get relieved and comforted through the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony” and utterance functions. In particular, expressives are the ones to display feelings; thanking, praising and condoling about a person who died gives vent to the expression of deep regret. Through directives, illocutionary forces like advising, recommending and commanding; it was realized that people find comfort because they are getting answers to some of their real problems. Finally, assertives may serve as a relief maker through the illocutionary forces of asserting, stating, claiming and instructing.

## CHAPTER V: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### V.1.General conclusion

All along this study, focus has been put on the pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi expressions used at the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”. Through it, we have tried to analyze expressions in context using pragmatic theories, such as the speech act theory. Speech acts and illocutionary forces have been tackled. It is thanks to this that research questions have been answered. That is to mean that we may assign a meaning to a certain expression when the cultural context is appropriate to make it understandable.

This work comprised five chapters:

The first chapter has introduced the topic in stating the problem, the hypotheses, the aim and the motivation of the study. We have also attempted to define basic notions of this topic, of which the most general would be that “*pragmatics is the study of invisible meaning, or how we recognize what is meant even when it is not actually said or written*” G. Yule (1959:127).

The second chapter has put an emphasis on theoretical notions which are relevant to the analysis of the speeches under study. We have outlined the pragmatic theory and some related issues such as the notion of speech acts, illocutionary forces and perlocutionary acts. Moreover, a focus has been put on the meaning of an utterance. In fact, it has been said that the meaning is determined by the context of use and sometimes by the quality (status) of the speaker. Some functions of language have been underlined through Kirundi expressions. Those are expressives, directives, assertives and conflictives.

The third chapter dealt with the methodology used in the analysis of the data. In this part we indicated the procedures used to collect data. Indeed, tape-recording, interview, and direct observation have been used to be sure that no data is omitted. We have also indicated difficulties encountered while collecting and translating the data.

The fourth chapter has dealt with the analysis proper. It has led to the very analysis of speeches delivered during the “end-of-the-mourning ceremony”. The first task consisted in showing the structural organization of those speeches. Indeed, they comprise different components: the first one is about honorific expressions used to alert the hearers’ attention and to introduce the speech.

The second components deal with opening and closing greetings which only differ from the fact that opening greeting indicates that the speaker is proposing a speech while the closing greeting indicates that the speaker stops speaking. The third component to be underlined was transitional devices. These are used when the speech specifically occurs in order to maintain the logic of what is being said; and keep the floor of the speech. Hearers are sure that the speech is going on.

Another component referred to was speech effect or utterance result. It has been shown that the meanings of some expressions are not to be found in semantic or syntactic structures. The meaning was inferred from the context because it is the hidden or the invisible meaning, the one intended by the speaker. This is a speech purpose or a speaker’s intention.

The second part of the fourth chapter constitutes the analysis proper. It consisted in identifying speech acts performed by participants, the illocutionary forces conveyed by these utterances and the effect of these utterances on participants.

In short, this study managed to answer the research questions asked in the introductory chapter. In fact, the purpose was to discover different illocutionary forces bound to the utterances, constraints of speech delivery and speech interpretation during the ceremony about the end of the mourning period, and possible effects on participants. This involves how Burundians feel about death.

This study has only tackled speech acts, illocutionary forces and perlocutionary acts bound with utterances from Kirundi speeches delivered during the end-of-the-mourning ceremony. Therefore it would be pretentious to claim that it exhausted all its aspects. Nevertheless, our hope is that it contributed a valuable insight in existing works of Kirundi pragmatics.

## **V.2. Recommendations**

Teaching speech acts is necessary because learners tend to have difficulty in understanding the intended meaning communicated by speech acts or producing a speech act using an appropriate language and manner in the language being learned. Knowledge of appropriate language and appropriate manner is worthwhile as attested by Thomas (1983) in Baranyizigiye (2008), when he defines what he has termed respectively ‘pragmalinguistic failure’ and ‘Sociopragmatic failure’.

Knowledge of the appropriate language and the appropriate manner has to do with cross cultural assessments of relative power or social constraints for the maintenance of good human relations. Therefore, speech acts should be taught in secondary schools at senior level.

The developers of learning materials on how cultural rules and values determine language use should be supported. In fact, material related to this kind of speech acts are quasi inexistent in many schools. Then these should be created to teach what is polite and cooperative in relation to speech acts.

Furthermore, the investigation in language use should be the interest of many researchers in the University of Burundi, especially in the Institute for Applied Pedagogy, the English Kirundi Department, in the Department of African Languages and Literatures. In fact, this field has acquired the status of an applied science and serves much more in knowledge to manage the interpersonal relations in business, in church, in politics, etc.

Many studies can be carried out in this broad domain. This can be spread or analyzed using other components, for example, investigating further functions of Kirundi language in this same context, or focusing on one kind of rhetoric explored by language philosophers, using a stylistic point of view.

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# APPENDICES

## **Appendix 1: An interview structure**

1. “Kubera iki imiryango (iyo yabuze umuntu) itegura urubanza rwo kuruvako” ?

Transl: Why do families (when they have lost a family member) prepare the end of mourning ceremony?

This question led me to get the main purpose of this ceremony of ending the mourning. From this question I got the details about the purpose and probably some speeches uttered at the place.

2. “Kubera iki barinda gutora umushingantahe wo kuvuga ijambo kuri urwo rubanza”?

Transl: Why do people first select a wiseman to deliver the speech at the end of mourning ceremony?

From this question I intended to know if any person is allowed to hold the speech or if there are other speech qualities expected from him.

3. “Vyoba ari vyiza kwongeza inzoga ku rubanza rwo kumarirwa” ?

Transl: Is it right to ask for more beer at such an event?

This was to know if YES; how the speech is arranged and if NO; what would be the cause or how would the interpretation of the audience.

4. “Umuryango wabuze umererwa gute mu gihe co kugandara? Mu gihe co kuganduka ho wiyumva gute”?

Transl: How does the family feel during the mourning period?

How do they feel at the end-of-mourning?

Once I know their feelings, this would help us to know how finally different effects are involved towards the addressee at such an event.

5. “Wewe ubwawe uwogutora uje gushikiriza ijambo rijanye n’urwo rubanza wokwemera”?

Transl: What if you were selected to deliver a speech at such an event, would you easily accept?

This question served me to get an idea of what are the feelings of an average Kirundi speaker towards this event speechmaking and compare his competence with the one of the selected wiseman.

**APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INFORMANTS**

<b>Names</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Date of interview</b>
BUCUMI Bonitus	60	Gitega	June 2010
NTABIRIHO Albert	50	Mwaro	July 2010
SINDIHO Marie	90	Ruyigi	June 2010
HABONIMANA Marius	36	Mwaro	July 2010
NGENDANKAZI Honorate	65	Gitega	June 2010
MATARO Pierre	40	Kirundo	July 2010
RUYIGE	80	Ruyigi	June 2010
SEBUSHAHU Vital	36	Kirundo	July 2010
NKUYE Pascal	45	Ruyigi	June 2010
GIKOKO Eugénie	42	Ruyigi	June 2010

### Appendix 3: Data collected and their translation

#### Text.1: Ijambo ry'ukumarirwa

1. Tugire amahoro  
 Bavukanyi mwaje kuri runo rubanza  
 Rwa nyakwigendera Carukura  
 Uyu munsu twaje kumarira bene umuhisi  
 Abakurambere barayamaze bati:  
 'Umubanyi niwe muryango'

5. Umuhisi yari mu muryango  
 Yari mu babanyi  
 Yatiza canke agatira agasuka      Yabitsa  
 canke akabitswa agatungwa  
 Yagurana canke akaguranwa agafaranga

10 Mu vyukuri hagiye Carukura  
 Ntihagiye bene Carukura  
 Hapfuye ikibiribiri  
 Ntihapfuye izina  
 Ni uko muhire

15. Uyu mwanya imiryango  
 Ababanyi n'abagenzi dukoranye  
 Uwufise ico aheranye canke aheraniwe  
 Agishikiririze aha nyene  
 Umuryango w'umuhisi ubimenye

#### Text.1: Speech on the end of mourning

1. Peace be with us  
 Honorable relatives attending this ceremony  
 Of the deceased Carukura  
 We are here to end the mourning of the  
 deceased.

Elders used to say that:

'The neighbor is the family indeed'

5. The deceased was part of the family  
 He was among neighbors  
 He could lend or borrow a hoe  
 He could gift or be gifted a cow  
 He could lend or borrow money

10 In fact, even though Carukura died  
 The Carukuras have not disappeared  
 Only the body passed away  
 But the name is still alive  
 That is it, honorable

15. This moment when family members  
 Neighbors and friends are gathered  
 Let he who owes him something or who he  
 owes something  
 Say it here and now;  
 For his family needs to know about it

20. Ni uko iyo nama itungane  
 Nayo utagishikiririza aha nyene  
 Ntihagire ico azobaza mu nyuma  
 Azoba agomba gusinda  
 Nuko iyo ikaba ingingo  
 Reka duhere ku bafitiwe umwenda  
 25. Hace hakurikira abafise umwenda

**Text.2: Ijambo ryo gusaba  
 kwokorerwa**

Bashingantahe, bapfasoni  
 Tugire amahoro  
 Jewe nanje nari umubanyi  
 Nkaba umugenzi w'umuhisi  
 30. Twasangira akabisi n'agahiye  
 Twagendana tutaganzanya  
 Eka twasangira vyose  
 Ni uko muhire  
 Ariko rero murabona ko Imana  
 Yahavuye yisubiza ivyayo  
 Umuhisi narinaramugabiye inka  
 Iyo nka ivyara inyana n'ishuri  
 Nkaba nsaba kwokorerwa akanyana

40. Hanyuma umupfakazi nawe  
 Abandanye aragira nkuko vyari  
 Maze imigenderanire ibandanye  
 Tugire amahoro

20. That is it, may it be accomplished  
 One who keeps quiet  
 May he keep quiet for ever  
 Unless he wants to quarrel  
 That is a point  
 Let's begin by those who claim for something  
 25. Then the debtors

**Text.2: Speech of claiming for a cow**

Ladies and gentlemen  
 Peace be with us  
 I was a neighbor  
 And a friend of the deceased  
 30. We shared the joys and the pains  
 We were real companions  
 We shared everything  
 That is it, honorable  
 But, as you see that God  
 Finally took his  
 I had gifted a cow to the deceased  
 The cow gave a female and a male  
 I ask to be gifted a female cow

40. And then the widow  
 May continue feeding the cows as usual  
 May also the relationship continue  
 Peace be with us

**Text.3: Ijambo ryo kuriha umwênda**

Bashingantahe,bapfasoni

45 Tugire amahoro

Koko umuhisi Carukura yari umugabo

Umusavye ikintu agifise

ntiyakwiringagiza

Uwo mushingantahe

Yari yaranguranye ibihumbi cumi

50. Ni uko muhire

Imana yamuhamagaye ntarayamwishura

Ng'aya (amafaranga) ndayabashikirije

Tugire amahoro

**Text.4: Ijambo ryo gusaba ubucuti**

55. Tugire amahoro

Jewe ndi umukwe w'umuhisi Carukura

Nanje nakuye inka ngaha

Nkaba nsaba ubucuti

Tugire amahoro

**Text.5: Ijambo ryo kwihakana**

**umukwe**

Hora,ntitukuzi mu bakwe

60. Uri igisuma kigenda ijoro

Ukaba ukeneye itekary'abakwe

Uze wikubite agashi

Ugire ibikenewe vyose

Abandi ni mubandanye

**Text.3: Speech for paying back a debt**

Ladies and gentlemen

45 Peace be with us

Really Carukura was a man

If you asked for something he had, he would never look just on the side

The wiseman

Had lent me ten thousand

50. That is it, honorable

God called him before I paid back

Here is the money (I owed the deceased) I gi  
it to you

Peace be with us

**Text.4: Speech of claiming for kinship**

55. Peace be with us

I am the late's son-in-law

I carried a cow from here

I beg for kinship

Peace be with us

**Text.5: Speech of no recognition**

Keep quiet, you are not known among sons-  
law

60. You are a walking - night thief

If you need the honor of sons-in-law

Just correct yourself

And be regular with the bride-price

Others may continue

**Text.6: Ijambo ry'umushingantahe yatowe**

64. Tugire amahoro

Bashingantahe, bapfasoni

Mwumvise abavuze ivyo bashikirije

Turabakengurukiye kuvyaho badushikirije

70. Ariko imbere yo guha akanya

umupfakazi

Dusavye abo bose bashikirije ijambo

Baze bazanire insuhuzi umuryango

w'umuhisi

Ni uko icyo ni ingingo

**Text.7: Ijambo ry'umupfakazi**

75. Tugire amahoro

Ica mbere ni uko ivyaho abashingantahe

bavuze

Bari bafitaniye n'umuhisi

Ntaco babeshe yabimbariye uko nyene

80. Ica kabiri: "Baryango twabaye

impfuvyi".

Ansigaranye abana bato cane

Baracasigaje igihe cyo gukura

Murabarere bakure

Bakeneye indero ikwiye

85. Indero izobashikana mu bigero

Iyo nayo sinoyibaronsa jenyene

Naje ndacari muto

Nsigaye ndabwa namwe

Tugire amahoro

**Text.6: Speech of a selected Wiseman**

64. Peace be with us

Ladies and gentlemen

You have heard what those speaker delivered

We thank them for what they said

70. But before giving a speech to the widow

We ask all those who hold a speech

To bring a beer of comfort to the bereaved

That is a point

**Text.7: Speech of the widow**

75. Peace be with us

First, what has been said

About the debt with the deceased

It is true because the late told me this

80. Second : "Family and friends, we have

become orphans"

The deceased left me with young children

They are still growing

Educate them until they get mature

They need enough education

85. Which will carry them to the maturity

I cannot achieve it alone

I am still young too

I count on your help

Peace be with us

**Text.8: Ijambo ry'umushingantahe yitsa**

90. Tugire amahoro y'Imana  
Umupfasoni w'umuhisi arashikirije  
akajambo ati:

Ica mbere: ivy'abo bashingantahe bavuze  
Ko bari bafitaniye n'umuhisi

95 Ati: nta kinyoma kirimwo

Ati: umuhisi yagiye abimubariye

Ati ica kabiri: ikibazi c'indero y'ibibondo  
“Ngo rivuga umwe rigasema”

Reka mpe akanya mugenzanje agire ico  
abivuzeko

**Text.9: Ijambo ry'umushingantahe w'umuryango**

100. Egome tugire amahoro  
Abakurambere barayamaze bati

Umwana si uw'umwe

Mu vy'ukuri abana ni ab'umuryango

Inka ni iy'umuryango

105. Ibwirizwa kuguma mu muryango

Ni uko muhire

Mu muryango uwushobora  
gukurikiranira hafi indero y'ibibondo

Nawe azozane insuhuzo

110. Hanyuma amenyeshe abaryango  
Tugire amahoro

**Text.8: Speech of another Wiseman**

90. May we have peace from the Almighty  
The widow says this:

First: people who said

About debts with the deceased

95 They did not lie

The deceased told it to her

Second: the issue of children education

“A single speaker lies”

Let me give a speech to my friend to say ab

**Text.9: Speech of Wiseman from the family**

100. Yes, peace be with us

Elders used to say that

A child lies in the community

Truly children lie in family

The cow lies in the family

105. Must stay is the family

That is it, honorable

In the family, one who can closely follow  
children's education

May he bring a beer of comfort too

110. Then may inform relatives

Peace be with us