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

KNOWLEDGE TELLING AND KNOWLEDGE TRANSFORMING IN RUNDI PRAISE POETRY : *A STUDY OF COMPOSITION SKILLS*

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree **Licence en Langue et Littérature Anglaises**

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DEDICATION

To you beloved parents, ineffable spring of my life

To you Fabien NIJIMBERE for your fatherly care

To you dear brothers and sisters

To all the type of people who enjoy helping others

To the one(s) in whose heart I have a neat room

I wholeheartedly dedicate this work,

Result of my own courage and

Your personal involvement.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS iii

CHAPTER 1 : THE PROBLEM 1

1. 0. Introduction 1
1. 1. Background to the Problem 2
1. 2. Statement of the Problem 3
1. 3. Aims of the Study and Research Questions 3
1. 4. Motivation and Rationale for the Study 4
1. 5. Scope of the Study 5
1. 6. Structure of the Thesis 5

CHAPTER 2 : THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 6

2. 0. Introduction 6
2. 1. The Notions of Knowledge Telling and Knowledge Transforming 6
    2. 1. 1. The Notion of Knowledge Telling 6
    2. 1. 2. The Notion of Knowledge Transforming 7
    2. 1. 3. From Knowledge Telling to Knowledge Transforming 8

2. 2. Rundi Praise Poetry Within African Oral Literature 10
    2. 2. 1. What is Oral Literature? 10
    2. 2. 2. Characteristics of Oral Literature 10
    2. 2. 3. Functions of Oral Literature 12
    2. 2. 4. Praise Poetry as a Dominant Type of African Poetry 13
        2. 2. 4. 1. Types of African Poetry 13
        2. 2. 4. 2. What is Praise Poetry ? 13
        2. 2. 4. 3. Occasions and Performance of Praise Poetry 14
        2. 2. 4. 4. Functions of Praise Poetry 15
        2. 2. 4. 5. Composers and Reciters of Praise Poetry 16
        2. 2. 4. 6. The Patterning of Language in Praise Poetry 18
        2. 2. 4. 7. The Dominance of Praise Poetry 18
    2. 2. 5. Rundi Praise Poetry 19
        2. 2. 5. 1. Praise Poetry Within Rundi Oral Literature 19
        2. 2. 5. 2. Form and Performance of Rundi Praise Poetry 21
        2. 2. 5. 3. Occasions and Functions of Rundi Praise Poetry 22
        2. 2. 5. 4. The Composers and Literariness of Rundi Praise Poetry 24

2. 3. What is Meant by Composition Skills 25

CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH DESIGN 27

3. 0. Introduction 27
3. 1. Data Collection Procedures 27
3. 2. Data Analysis Procedures 28
3. 3. Methodological Problems 29
3. 3. 1. Problems Related to Data Collection 29
3. 3. 2. Problems Related to Translation 30
3. 3. 3. Problems Related to Data Analysis 30

CHAPTER 4 : DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS 32

4. 0. Introduction 32
4. 1. Data Presentation 32
4. 1. 1. Data from Actual Performance 32
4. 1. 2. Data from Books 33
4. 1. 3. The Interview 33

4. 2. Applicability of Knowledge Telling and Knowledge Transforming to Rundi Praise Poetry 34
4. 2. 0. Introduction 34
4. 2. 1. Knowledge Telling in Rundi Praise Poetry 34
4. 2. 2. Knowledge Transforming in Rundi Praise Poetry 38
4. 2. 3. The Composition Skills Involved in Rundi Praise Poetry 42
4. 2. 3. 0. Introduction 42
4. 2. 3. 1. Metaphor in Rundi Praise Poetry 42
4. 2. 3. 2. Metonymy in Rundi Praise Poetry 43
4. 2. 3. 3. Parallelism in Rundi Praise Poetry 45
4. 2. 3. 4. Repetition in Rundi Praise Poetry 46
4. 2. 3. 5. Hyperbole in Rundi Praise Poetry 47
4. 2. 3. 6. Allusion in Rundi Praise Poetry 48

4. 3. The Underlying Factors of the Composition Skills Involved in Rundi Praise Poetry 49
4. 3. 0. Introduction 49
4. 3. 1. Innate Factors 50
4. 3. 2. Environmental Factors 51
4. 3. 3. Teachability of Creativity in Rundi Praise Poetry 52

4.4. Summary 54

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 58

APPENDIX 1 : CORPUS 60

APPENDIX 2 : SELECTED RESULTS FROM THE INTERVIEW 66

APPENDIX 3 : LIST OF INFORMANTS 71

BIBLIOGRAPHY 72

CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM

1. 0. Introduction

All over the world, people live in constant interaction. Thus, they need to communicate among themselves and establish mutual understanding before they start any type of activity in their everyday life. To this end, language is the primary tool. This is the reason why, apart from their mother tongue, people learn other languages so as to communicate with foreigners.

As the reasons of this interaction may vary from one individual to another, the style used varies accordingly. For instance, the way people give orders differs significantly from the way they ask for something, from the way they apologise or from the way they praise their chiefs or their own deeds.

Although proponents of universal grammar claim that people's mother tongue competence is scientifically the same, both qualitatively and quantitatively, it is questionable whether this is so in terms of the four language skills, i.e. speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills. It is true that the language faculty is innate and that differences in terms of competence are so minor that they can be tolerated; but this is not the case for composition skills, be it in written compositions or oral performances.

As far as written compositions are concerned, we distinguish between skilled and unskilled writers. The former view writing as a process of discovering meaning and exploring ideas, and their writings consist of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. For the latter, writing is a mechanical and automatic activity and it consists of knowledge telling only.

As far as oral compositions are concerned, praise poetry is a striking example to illustrate the extent to which skilled composers differ from unskilled ones. In fact, if we analyse praise poetry, "a product of illiterate people or semi-illiterate people" (Cuddon, 1979:468) or "a species of magic" (Cuddon, 1979:515), it is noticeable that it is the result of high imagination and creative ability. This is accounted for by the natural flow of words into each other in praise poetry.

For Killam (1973:94), "poetry as well as arts, music and dance are not usually carried out for their own sake. They are carried out for the glories of chiefs or kings, to praise them in front of the people they lead". This belief is shared by Nkurunziza (1986) who states that elevating chiefs and kings because of their socio-political importance was the main concern of praise poetry.

Upon observing these views on praise poetry, it seems to me that historical events, i.e. the achievements of the praised people, are the main concern of this literary genre. Within this respect, I share Rwasa's (1987:91) contention, according to which praise poetry is a social speech with heroic identity, and is nothing else other than historical and discursive. But, the question is whether or not all the people who are aware of these historical events are able to tell them in the way praise poets do.

Actually, I can say that the images, symbols, and smooth rhythm with which these historical events are told by poets are not a matter of everybody. The literariness displayed (in praise poems) clearly indicates that they are the outcome of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming respectively defined in sections 2.1.1. and 2.1.2. of the second chapter. Therefore, as far as this study is concerned, I am not concerned with investigating the why of praise poetry. Rather, the composition skills involved in this knowledge telling and knowledge transforming and their underlying factors are subject of my investigation.

1. 1. Background to the Problem

Because of its richness, Rundi praise poetry has aroused the interest of many researchers. Before embarking on the aspect to concentrate on during my research, it is worthwhile to mention some of the researchers who have dealt with this topic before me.

The first to mention is Rodegem (1963). As far as Rundi praise poetry is concerned, Rodegem (1963) has made a compilation of praise poems, praising cattle. However he has not made any further analysis.

Albert (1964-65) is the second one to mention. She has acknowledged praise poetry as a result of creative ability, but has not made any further analysis of this ability.

There are also some other researchers who have been interested in this area of research. These are Gakwavu (1968), Muhitira (1982), Nkezabahizi (1986), and Rwasa (1987). Though the above researchers felt interest in Rundi praise poetry, no one of them paid particular attention to the oral composition skills involved in it.

As far as composition skills are concerned, Nzikoruriho (1978), Kalisa (1990), and Simbananiye (1997) are the ones to have been involved in this aspect. However, no one dealt with composition skills involved in praise poetry.

Rather, their interest was in written compositions, and their studies aimed at providing suggestions relevant to a probable improvement of the skills in question in secondary schools.

This is to say that, so far, no research has been carried out on this aspect. Therefore, I would like to bring a modest contribution and complete former researchers who have stressed other aspects of Rundi praise poetry.

1. 2. Statement of the Problem

Traditionally, praise poetry, in Burundi as in any other traditional society, was given an important place, mainly for two reasons. First, it was a way of transmitting the tradition from generation to generation. Second, it was a mirror reflecting one's bravery or that of his chiefs or benefactors.

Praise poetry still exists nowadays, but the intriguing thing is that a number of problems hang around it, which is the reason d'être of this work. Indeed, almost all researchers agree on the fact that *no problem, no research*, but first what are some of these problems ?

To begin with, praise poetry is no longer given the importance it used to have. Apart from this, if I look at Rundi praise poems by less educated or simply uneducated people, it proved difficult to me to grasp clearly what they transmit, through the so many images and rhythmic devices they use. And as I know that these people are deprived of any theoretical framework as to how to compose, I wonder what enables them to achieve such a task.

1. 3. Aims of the Study and Research Questions

As pointed out by Rwasa (1987), Rundi praise poetry covers two aspects, i.e. historical and discursive. Thus, the concern of praise poetry is based on historical events. The first aim of this study is to prove that these historical events are not recited in a random way; rather I can assume that they are the results of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. Actually, since it is known that all the people are equally competent in terms of their mother tongue mastery, the question is : Are all the people who are aware of the same historical events able to tell them in praise poems in a similar way? In other words, the question may be put as follows : Is Rundi praise poetry a mere account of historical events or is it the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming ?

The second aim of this study is to identify the composition skills involved in Rundi praise poetry. To this end, I will have to answer this question : If Rundi praise poetry is the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming, what are the composition skills involved in it and their underlying factors?

Briefly speaking, this study has a twofold objective: First, it aims at proving that Rundi praise poetry is the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. Second and finally, it aims at identifying the composition skills involved in it and what underlies them.

1. 4. Motivation and Rationale for the Study

My interest in Rundi praise poetry stems from the fact that it is an integral part of human life. Within this respect, Killam (1973:91) and Nkurunziza (1986:89) are right to say that praise poetry is not peripheral, but basic to the life of people, their practices and thoughts.

In addition, from a younger age, I have been personally involved in reciting praise poems, memorised from my grandfather's recitations. As I grew up, I have made several attempts to compose mine, but the results were not the expected ones.

Moreover, upon listening to uneducated people reciting their praise poems, I have realised that they are full of images, symbols, rhythm, and melodic tunes. Thus, I can assume that they are the results of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. As these people, deprived of any composing theoretical techniques and strategies, may do better than educated ones, who are supposed to have enough composing theoretical framework, it deserves particular attention.

With regard to the above, I can contend that it is worthwhile to investigate in this area mainly for three reasons. First praise poetry is a valued Rundi literary genre as it is a mirror reflecting Burundian socio-cultural values. Second, working on it is a way of preserving the tradition (through writing) as nowadays it is no longer possible to gather around the fire in the evening and listen to recitation. Finally, the study will point out the composition skills involved in Rundi praise poetry and bring them to the knowledge of people, and perhaps on whose behalf it will deserve an everlasting interest.

1.5. Scope of the Study

Cuddon (1979: 144) says that textbooks on composition distinguish four kinds of prose composition, i.e. exposition, argument, description, and narrative. As far as this study is concerned, it is a work on composition, but no one of the ones enumerated above is concerned.

In fact, it is a work on oral composition, exactly on Rundi praise poetry. This is to say that the knowledge telling and knowledge transforming displayed in it, the composition skills involved in it, together with their underlying factors, are the subject of my investigation.

1. 6. Structure of the Thesis

This study comprises four chapters. The first is a general introduction. It defines the aims of the study, states the problem and describes its background. In addition it shows where my motivation stems from and provides the boundaries as well as the structure of the whole work.

The second provides the theoretical framework. Indeed, it defines the notions of knowledge telling, knowledge transforming, composition skills, and what is understood by praise poetry. The latter is defined within the lager context of African oral literature. Thus, its characteristics, functions and occasions are also discussed.

As far as the third chapter is concerned, it describes and justifies the methodological and analytical procedures devised for this work. The problems that I had to face either in collecting or analysing the data are also described in this chapter.

The fourth chapter analyses and discusses the data collected and presents the interpretation of the findings in relation to the aims of the study in question.

The whole work ends in a conclusion, which provides a retrospective view of what has been done all along the study, and some recommendations with regard to the findings.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. 0. Introduction

Rundi praise poetry is mainly part of oral literature and has aroused my interest in it. As in most of the cases, if not all, literature presents life experience, exactly people's experience and their aspirations, I'm not the only one to be interested in it.

Indeed, more important critics have dealt with it before me. Then, in this chapter, I would like to mention some of their achievements, on the basis of which my investigation will be carried out, since any researcher starts where others have stopped.

As throughout this study Rundi praise poetry will be associated with the notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming, the first section of this chapter presents what these notions proved to be, at least in the minds of critics. The second section presents Rundi praise poetry in relation to African oral literature, while the third tackles the notion of composition skills, subject matter of my investigation.

2. 1. The Notions of Knowledge Telling and Knowledge Transforming

2. 1. 1. The Notion of Knowledge Telling

According to critics, knowledge telling is a way of generating text content, given a topic to write about. This means that, when someone is in front of a topic, he gets the ideas related to it. Once these are activated, the writer tells this knowledge and thus starts the process of knowledge telling, they argue.

In fact, in a paper devoted to learning how to write, Bereiter and Scardamalia (1983:22) have distinguished two roads to writing, namely : low road and high road. The low road, concerned with content generation problem, i.e. selecting the file appropriate to the task and telling what is in it, can be equated with the knowledge telling process.

For Hurlburt (1978:9), the process of knowledge telling can be equated with that of *genius*. Basically, genius works at the level of origins and its business is to create. It is the creative function of the human mind and thus the creator of one's story. For him, the process starts when the secret knowledge of the creator wants

telling. And just like any seed, the seed of story has its own principles of growth which employ a process of intelligent selection from the subconscious mind's vast treasury of experience.

Whether referred to as *low road* or *genius*, generating text content when given a topic to write about is the concern of this process of knowledge telling, as converged on by both authors. As far as this study is concerned, the concept of knowledge telling should be understood as generating - orally - text content in relation to Rundi praise poetry.

2.1.2. The Notion of Knowledge Transforming

As far as the notion of knowledge transforming is concerned, critics reveal that it is neither a mere elaboration of knowledge telling nor a complete departure from it. Rather it retains it as a subprocess embedding it within a complex problem-solving process. They go on to say that the problem-solving space is conceived as an abstract entity consisting of a number of knowledge states and operations, the operations having an effect of producing movement from one knowledge state to another.

In fact, Scardamalia, Bereiter, and Steinbach (1984) state that this problem-solving process involves two different kinds of problem spaces. On the one hand, in the content space, the knowledge states are characterised as beliefs and operations that lead from one belief to another.

On the other hand, in the rhetorical space, the knowledge states are various representations of rhetorical situations, including the text and the goals it subserves. Accordingly, the operations are those that alter the text and the goals or relations between them. As far as the transformation of knowledge - accounted for by this model - is concerned, it takes place within the content space. But, it also requires an interaction between the two problem spaces, i.e. the content space and the rhetorical space. If this is the case for written compositions, to what extent is it so for oral ones, Rundi praise poetry in this case ?

Moreover, these critics go on arguing that the process of knowledge transforming attempts to describe how text content is transformed and that it is associated with skilled writers. Besides, this process is one of continual revision and rethinking, a belief shared by Bereiter and Scardamalia (1983:25) who equate it with the high road of writing. In addition, the process of knowledge transforming can be equated with that of craftsman. As argued by Hurlburt (1978:9), the latter is a conscious way of carrying one's story in the world, once the content has been generated.

Upon analysing the different views on the process of knowledge transforming, my feeling is that it consists of evaluating and transforming the facts that make up the writer's knowledge about a given topic. As far as my study is concerned, the concept of knowledge transforming should be understood as the how Rundi praise poets lean words towards each other when extolling their achievements or those of their chiefs during a performance.

2.1.3. From Knowledge Telling to Knowledge Transforming

The notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming are different but not totally separate. The notion of knowledge telling, characteristic of novice writers is embedded in that of knowledge transforming, characteristic of skilled writers. Recent studies on these issues claim that it is possible to move from knowledge telling to knowledge transforming. They argue that providing instruction is the process whereby this can be achieved.

For Scardamalia and Bereiter (1983), two general approaches are relevant to this end. The first approach suggests that students should stop after every sentence and select an evaluative statement from a set of possibilities. Here, the idea is to modify the straight-ahead course of knowledge telling by getting them to rethink decisions and to consider alternatives before proceeding to the next sentence.

Moreover, it is believed that, by so doing, their attention may shift to aspects of the writing task other than generation of the next item of text content. Such activities will cause the student to create small problem spaces for dealing with the issues that reflection brings to light. Thus, this will be the beginning of the rhetorical and content problem spaces, which are the main structural features of the knowledge transforming model.

The second approach depends on giving students insights into their own composing processes. It also depends on exposing them to a view of what the more mature composing process is like.

For Hurlbut (1978:9) who equates the notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming with those of genius and craftsman respectively, the improvement is achieved through practice. This belief is also shared by Holmes (1978:7). For Hurlbut (1978:9), while genius is part of human mental equipment like perception, memory and imagination, craftsman-ship must be learned. By a consistent practice, the genius is cultivated, developed and exercised, and this results into generating skills.

In addition, Bereiter and Scardamalia (1983:32) agree that, as far as the roads to writing are concerned, it is possible to move from the low road to the high road (i.e. from knowledge telling to knowledge transforming). Again, they argue that this is achieved by providing instruction, striving through suggestions and criticisms, relevant for the pre-writing activities. If this is true of written compositions, my wonder is whether it also holds true of oral compositions, especially Rundi praise poetry, the subject in question here.

Still in this line of providing instruction in order to move from knowledge telling to knowledge transforming, Cooper and Odell (1977), Young (1980), and Squire (1983) have attempted to clarify the time when it should be most effectively planned. For Cooper and Odell (1977), quoted in Freedman et al. (1983:234), the teaching of composition takes place in three different phases - prewriting, composition, and editing - each with relevant instructions towards improvement.

According to Young (1980), quoted in Freedman et al. (1983:182), it involves three different steps or anyone of their combination, while for Squire (1983:235), it consists of five steps likely to result in improved schooling.

Though the above critics differ in the way instruction should be provided for a possible improvement, they converge on the fact that it is the primary tool whereby this is achieved. Stating that the improvement is achieved through practice or through instruction at such stage as a rule is not what is important. Rather, what matters here is to provide the relevant instruction with regard to individual needs.

However, the question of how far instruction can go in changing knowledge tellers into knowledge transformers and what proportion of people can be expected to undergo such a change is left open and still baffles researchers in this area. As this is true of written compositions, one is right to wonder to what extent it is so for oral ones; a query which is going to have an answer throughout this work.

In short, this section was concerned with describing the notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. As the latter are going to be associated with Rundi praise poetry throughout this study, it is worthwhile to describe what it looks like. Being entirely part of oral literature, to describe it within the African framework is vital as well.

2. 2. Rundi Praise Poetry Within African Oral Literature

2. 2. 1. What is Oral Literature?

According to Finnegan (1970:2), oral literature is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion.

For Rombaut (1976:9), literature, a manifestation of culture, was, in Black Africa, oral and in African languages. This literature was practised orally and transmitted from generation to generation by specialists - such as bards. It was very rich and complex, hence a reflection of African values with regard to its civilisation.

In this respect, Cuddon (1979:468) defines oral literature as the product of illiterate or semi - illiterate societies. However Taylor (1981:21) does not agree with the fact of considering oral literature as belonging to pre-literature societies. For him, even within a highly literate culture, there are specific groups of people forming distinct sub-cultures who create poems, songs and stories about their life experience. These are recited and passed on orally rather than written down and published. This is the case for Beowulf, the great Anglo-saxon epic which, though in a written form nowadays, was the product of purely oral tradition.

Taylor (1981:22) goes on arguing that, although a recorded version of a folk song or tale isolates it from its oral tradition - dramatic gestures and voice inflections of the performer as well as the relevant cultural setting are lost - oral literature has exactly the same characteristics as its written counterpart. These are in terms of both range of thematic concern and wealth of technical or aesthetic conventions.

Upon observing the different views on oral literature, it can be defined as this kind of literature composed and practised orally. In addition, it is transmitted from generation to generation either in pre-literate societies or in literate ones. Thus, it depends upon oral traditions, a good source to recount the history of peoples either with or without writing.

2. 2. 2. Characteristics of Oral Literature

As a result of what oral literature depends on, performance, improvisation, audience and occasions that bring about verbal variability are its major characteristics (Finnegan, 1970).

As far as performance is concerned, it makes an important contribution to the impact of a particular literary form being exhibited. During performance, the artist is face - to - face with his public. Therefore, this can enhance the impact and even sometimes, the content of his words. This is achieved by means of the visual resources - gestures, expressions of the face and mimicry - conveying what is explicitly or implicitly written in literate cultures.

Moreover, the connection between transmission and the very existence is a much more intimate one in an oral piece of work. Thus, the performance must be effective and Finnegan (1970:3) and Miruka (1994:89) have outlined factors contributing to its effectiveness, even if overlooked in recording or interpreting instances of oral literature. These are:

- *expressiveness of tone;*
- *gestures;*
- *facial expression;*
- *dress;*
- *accoutrements;*
- *dramatic use of pause and rhythm;*
- *the interplay of passion;*
- *dignity or humour;*
- *receptivity to the reactions of the audience; etc...*

They go on to say that performance is like a complete opera which combines words, music and dance and therefore verbal content represents only one element in such an opera.

In addition to performance, improvisation and audience are important characteristics of oral literature. As the performer is face - to - face with the audience, he can exploit or be influenced by the latter.

On the one hand, the performer, for the purpose of arousing the listener's attention, can improvise and add new elements in the old pieces he is performing. On the other hand, the type of audience involved can affect the performance. In fact, referring to characteristics, behaviour, or fortunes of particular listeners or referring to their additions, queries and criticisms, the performer is brought to some kind of improvisation, thus affecting the knowledge being told.

Moreover, the outcome of this interaction between the performer and the audience is the alteration of older pieces or totally new creation in terms of their structure or their content. This kind of innovation varies with both genre, individual performer and the environment of performance. This leads to perpetual verbal variability, a striking characteristic of oral literature.

A further important characteristic of oral literature is the actual occasion of performance. As oral pieces are directly involved in the occasion of their actual utterance, the latter can affect the content and form of the piece being performed.

In brief, oral literature largely depends upon performance, audience and occasion of performance. Hence, a constant interaction between the performer and the audience on specific occasions is vital to oral literature and their effects on performance are indeed the main distinctions between oral literature and written literature.

2. 2. 3. Functions of Oral Literature

Art for art's sake is not characteristic of oral literature which, in most of the cases, if not all, arises in response to various social obligations. Thus, more than anything else oral literature is concerned with social situations. It can therefore be assumed that its social functions are the most important (Miruka, 1994:113).

Although there is lack of reliable material, oral literature is subject to criticism and interpretation as there is a growing interest of many groups in it. For Finnegan (1970:46), historians discuss its reliability as a historical source; creative writers turn to it for inspiration; governments recognise its relevance for propaganda or as a source in education. This belief is shared by Taylor (1981:5) who considers literature as a source of instruction and entertainment.

Rombaut (1976:10) also shares this belief. In fact, in his description of African oral literature, he has put much more emphasis on the richness of African myths and people's imagination and has revealed that African oral literature is a vehicle through which historical events, familial traditions, religious rituals as well as moral conducts are told.

In short, oral literature, being a reflection of people's life experience and their aspirations, has a number of functions the most important of which are social. The wonder about whether or not Rundi praise poetry fulfils such functions is going to be answered in later sections.

2. 2. 4. Praise Poetry as a Dominant Type of African Poetry

2. 2. 4. 1. Types of African Poetry

"The range of possibilities of human expression in poetry, as in all sorts of art, must approach an infinity" (Boulton, 1953:100).

As stated above, there are various ways of expressing oneself in a poetic form. As a consequence, a detailed classification in sharply defined categories is difficult to establish. However, several attempts have been made, though there is no common classification achieved so far.

On the one hand, Nketia (1958, quoted in Finnegan, 1970:79) has distinguished four broad classes in terms of the mode of delivery, each including different types. These are spoken poetry, recitative poetry, lyric poetry, and poetry expressed through the medium of horns or drums, in lyric, eulogistic or proverbial vein.

On the other hand, Finnegan (1970) has distinguished eight categories, namely: epic poetry, panegyric or praise poetry, elegiac poetry, religious poetry, special purpose poetry, lyric poetry, topical and political songs, and children's songs and rhymes.

In short, as it appears in the above discussion, there is no sharply defined classification of African Poetry. The fact that there are numerous possibilities, overlaps, exceptions, hybrid, intermediate types and poems that cannot be satisfactorily assigned to any of the existing categories (Boulton, 1953:100) accounts for this. However, Finnegan's (1970) classification which is based on occasions, functions, and mode of delivery, though not totally fitting the Burundian framework, seems to me more elaborate.

2. 2. 4. 2. What is Praise Poetry?

Kunene (1971:16), speaking of Sotho heroic poetry defines it as this poetry whose subject matter is mainly the heroic deeds of warriors and kings. Thus, their chief purpose is to praise, i.e. to extol the virtues of manly prowess, courage, of valour, and of fighting skill.

Schapera (1905:1) says that the Tswana term ***maboko,*** referring to praise poems derives from the verb ***boka,*** which means to honour by giving titles to a person in poems; to sing the praises of.

Killam (1973:94) defines praise poetry as this type of poetry carried out for the glories of chiefs and kings, to praise them in front of the people they lead. This view is shared by Nkurunziza (1986:26) who states that elevating chiefs and kings because of their socio-political importance, their generosity and their military achievement was the main concern of praise poetry. Muhitira (1982:20) who states that they are termed **amazina y'ubuhizi** - praise names – also contends this belief.

There are still other researchers who have been interested in defining this literary genre. These are Ntahomvukiye (1990-91), Finnegan (1970) and some others. All of them converge on the fact that praise poetry is this type of poetry directed to chiefs and kings to extol their heroic deeds, their virtues, courage and valour, their military achievement and hence their socio-political importance. In short, the chief purpose of praise poetry is to praise chiefs and kings or one's bravery or heroism.

2. 2. 4. 3. Occasions and Performance of Praise Poetry

Praise poetry is believed to result in the whim and inspiration of deities. It is thus formalised and less variable than other types of oral literature. And the several occasions on which it is performed are associated with formal address (Finnegan, 1970:118-119).

First and foremost, praise poetry is carried out on festive occasions where chiefs' and kings'glories are highlighted in front of people. Second, praise poetry is carried out in recognition of a man's status, i.e. marking the new status and commemorating the old one. Such occasions as initiation of boys to adulthood or investing the elders, weddings, accession to office, are illustration of this assumption.

Third, praise poetry is carried out when publicising an individual's recent achievements, particularly in battle or hunt, this done before and after. Finally, funeral dirges involve eulogies of the dead persons either when burying them or in memorial rites. Here, the heroic deeds, the abilities and skills of the dead persons are extolled in praise poems.

As far as performance is concerned, praise poetry - like any other type of oral literature - depends upon a performer who recites it orally in presence of an

audience. Its power seems to depend partly on the delivery and the personality of the reciter; but much more on the art of the poet as a composer. The intonation, the rhythm, the gestures and physical movement of the poet are ingredients with which praise poetry is rendered more enjoyable. This is consistent with Finnegan (1970:138-39) who states that:

- *Praise poems are delivered much faster and in a higher tone than ordinary prose utterances;*
- *The reciter pours forth the praises with few pauses for breath and at the top of his voice; and*
- *There is often growing excitement and dramatic gestures are made as the poem proceeds.*

In his description of a Zulu praiser, Grant (1927), quoted in Finnegan (1970:137-38) states that:

- *The reciter worked himself up to a high pitch of fervour as he recited;*
- *His face was uplifted and his voice became loud and strong;*
- *The shield and stick he carried, were, from time to time, suddenly raised and shaken; and*
- *His gestures became more frequent and dramatic, so that he would suddenly leap in the air or crouch with glaring eyes while praise poured from his lips.*

Finnegan (1970:138) goes on to say that the audience too play their part and often shout out encouragingly in support of what the praiser is saying or to cheer him on, adding to the emotional, even ecstatic mood that is induced by the delivery of these poems. Moreover, the performance is characterised by metrical and quasi - musical form of delivery.

In brief, praise poetry is carried out on a number of occasions most of which are associated with formal address. It also has a characteristic mode of delivery to make it more vivid, lively and enjoyable. Praise poetry not only provides pleasure and enjoyment, but also fulfils a number of other social functions, the most important of which are described in the next section.

2. 2. 4. 4. Functions of Praise Poetry

More than any other type of oral literature, praise poetry reflects people's feelings and aspirations with regard to the people or things praised. Thus, it fulfils a number of functions and is common in almost all African countries (Finnegan 1970:119).

First, praise poetry is a means for providing enjoyment on some occasions. These are occasions such as festive ones where new status is acquired and praise poetry is used for publicising or validating it. In African societies, cattle holding is a mark of status and pride and praise poetry is used to exhibit this pride.

Second, this type of poetry is used to praise the rulers. This is to say that most of the praise poetry is directed to kings, chiefs and leaders, their heroic deeds, to uphold them, as they are referred to as the representatives of God on earth. In other words, they have already accepted values and praise poetry is a means to stress and consolidate them. In this way, praise poetry serves as an encouragement to emulation or achievement, or as an inducement to action and ambition.

However, praise poetry not only praises the deeds of rulers, but can also act as a medium of public opinion. Within this respect, praisers can withhold praise or include implicit or explicit derogatory allusions as a kind of negative sanctions on the ruler's acts. Thus praise poetry in this case is used as a kind of social pressure directed to the ruler as a way of exerting control on him and an invitation to conform to expectations.

Furthermore, praise poems were not only a result of, but also a means towards, acquiring power and position in some cases. The effective earning of praises was one way in which a man could recommend himself to his chief for honour and advancement. Praise poems also point out to listeners the chief's right to the position held both through his descent from those predecessors whose great deeds were commemorated, and through his own qualities so glowingly and solemnly depicted in the poetry.

Finally, praise poetry fulfils several functions as far as social and political lives are concerned. It is thus the most documented type of African oral literature. The composers of this type of literature are important as well and to know who they are would be vital to this study.

2. 2. 4. 5. Composers and Reciters of Praise Poetry

Any oral literature requires a performer who formulates it in front of an audience. Praise poetry is not an exception to this. The great ability displayed by the performer is the root of wonder about his qualities, who he is and so on.

In many areas, composers of praise poetry are referred to as professionals, always individuals gifted or more ordinary. They are either associated with royal courts or wandering in the streets and attend festivals on their own initiative.

In Dahomey, today's Benin, they are known as ***nolodoto*** (good-memory-say-person) and ***ayisumo*** (heart-much-understand) (Drachler, 1963:250). In Rwanda, they are known as **b*iru*** and in West African countries, they are referred to as bards at least according to Finnegan (1970:116). In both cases, their chief function is to compose poems in praise of the men of position - kings and chiefs - or the ancestors of important families.

Nonetheless, praise poetry is not always composed by professionals. Self praises for instance are composed by the subjects themselves (Drachler 1963:250). This view is shared by Finnegan (1970:116) who states that the composition of formalised praise poetry among the Ankole is expected to be within the capacity of every nobleman. She goes on to say that, among the Sotho individuals, all men are expected to have some skill in the composition and performance of praise poetry. This belief is also shared by Morris (1964:13) who states that every nobleman must find inspiration in a particular episode, compose a personal praise poem based on it, and add it to his repertoire.

As far as performance is concerned, praise poetry is performed either by the performers, original poets or other oral practitioners. The latter are important for they circulate the poems. Hence, it is by means of their interposition that these poems reach the public. They make more contribution to the performance than to the composition. This is consistent with Finnegan (1970:106) who puts it as follows:

> *In some of the most highly specialised or technically complex poetry - Rwanda dynastic poetry, Yoruba Ifa literature, or Somali gabay – reciters may be distinguished from creative poets.*
> *The former are responsible for transmitting the poems of others, and for preserving the authoritative tradition for political and religious motives.*

In brief, the most formal state praise poems are usually made by official and professional male bards. However, some poems are composed by non professionals including women even if this is not very common. Praise poems are

recited either by their original poets - inspired artists - or by second rate technicians, whose role is to ensure the circulation of the poem (Finnegan, 1970:106). But how about the language used?

2. 2. 4. 6. The Patterning of Language in Praise Poetry

As far as praise poetry is concerned, it is the style, patterning of language, that provides the basis of its composition. Thus, style indicates to what extent the composer is skilled and how far he can make a combination of syntactic, semantic and musical devices to create emotions in his audience.

As stated by one of the most important researchers in African oral literature Finnegan (1970:118) – the praise of a person or a thing is not something to be expressed in bold or straightforward language. Allusion and imagery to a higher degree are exploited for this motive. Parallelism, metaphors, adulatory address, alliteration and assonance are stylistic devices by means of which the poets render their praise more agreeable and enjoyable (Cope, 1968; Finnegan, 1970; Ntahokaja, 1981; Ntahomvukiye, 1990-91). But can all these be found in Rundi praise poetry?

In any case, praise poets have an extraordinary ability to use a non straightforward language to refer to the heroic deeds or values of the praised persons or things. Stylistic devices - figures of speech, semantic and syntactic deviations - are the primary tools with which this is achieved. Not only this literariness conferred to poetry a dominant state, but also some other features as reflected in the following section.

2. 2. 4. 7. The Dominance of Praise Poetry

In African countries, poetry by far dominated African oral literature. Likewise, praise poetry dominated African poetry and hence the African oral literature as a whole. Considering its occasions, functions, and the people (kings and chiefs) with whom it is associated, it is not surprising to find that it is the dominant type. Moreover, praise poetry tends to be omnipresent, i.e. it is present in almost all the other types of poetry (Miruka, 1994:96).

As far as epic poetry is concerned, the hero, referring to his deeds is subject to praises. For elegiac poetry, even if it tends to be performed by non professionals, it is associated with funeral dirges or memorial rites, and praises are addressed to the dead people.

As far as religious poetry is concerned, it includes hymns, prayers and praises. These praises are directed to the deities for their great deeds. For specific purpose poetry, i.e. war and hunting poetry, there is no clear cut boundary between this type and praise poetry itself. In many areas, praise poetry is concerned with heroic deeds by warriors or skilled hunters and so does this specific purpose poetry. Even in work poetry, consisting of songs accompanying routine tasks, this activity as well as best workers are subjects to praises.

This omnipresence of praise poetry is also noticeable in songs and rhymes for children - where the mother eulogises the God and the baby itsef - and in lyrics associated with birth, initiation and marriage, which are all occasions for praises.

In addition to the occasions of praise poetry, its functions and its omnipresence, its universal acclaim is another factor accounting for its dominance. Many critics in this area, including Plato, the founder of the moralistic and didactic criticism, acknowledge this universal acclaim. For Plato, a poet is dangerous to the society since he is restricted to imitating the realm of appearance, a copy of reality and thus poems are twice removed from reality. For this reason poets should be banished from the republic unless they are limited to songs praising the state (Adams, 1971:11).

In short, I can say that praise poetry is a dominant type of African oral literature. This dominance is conferred to it by its occasions, functions and the great people with whom it is associated. Besides, praise poetry is dominant because of its universal acclaim. The case of Burundi is not an exception to this as it is going to appear in the description below.

2. 2. 5. Rundi Praise Poetry

2. 2. 5. 1. Praise Poetry Within Rundi Oral Literature

Within Rundi oral literature, there are several categories and each of which has its own subgenres. Ntabona (1980) and Ntahomvukiye (1990-91) are the most important researchers who have been interested in the classification of Rundi oral literature. The mostly referred to is Ntabona's (1980) and according to him Rundi oral literature comprises four different genres, each with its own subgenres. These are:

1° Narratives;
2° Lyrics, songs, and musical recitatives;
3° The lapidary genres; and
4° Heroic and pastoral recitations.

However, there is no apparent criteria on the basis of which this classification has been made. That is why I favour Ntahomvukiye's classification (1990-91), a more recent classification which is based on the functional approach. He has distinguished ten different categories and each of which has its own subgenres. Here is his classification:

1° Allative Discourse
2° Appelative Discourse
3° Desiderative Discourse
4° Ergative Discourse
5° Laudatory Discourse
6° Narrative Discourse
7° Normative Discourse
8° Precative Discourse
9° Performative Discourse
10° Recreative Discourse

Within Ntabona's classification (1980), praise poetry falls within the fourth genre, i.e. heroic and pastoral recitations, whereas in Ntahomvukiye's (1990-91), it falls within the fifth, i.e. that of laudatory discourse. What is common for these researchers is the definition they assign to praise poetry and it matches with that of other critics - Kunene (1971); Killam (1973); Schapera (1905); Finnegan (1970).

Rundi praise poetry is rich enough and is performed on a number of different occasions (see section 2. 2. 5. 3.) and thus may be classified in different subgenres. Among these are praise poetry directed to chiefs and kings, praise poetry directed to one's superiors or to oneself, to cows or things, and so on.

As far as this study is concerned, praise poetry should be understood as this type of poetry by cowherders uttering, declaiming and extolling the beauties and qualities of their cows, or extolling their own qualities and deeds as the owners of the cows. In addition, praise poetry should be understood as this type of poetry by cowherders, performed in praise of someone who has given them a cow, as the cow used to be and is still a tool by means of which people are linked in the relationship of inferior-superior in Burundi (Vansina, 1972:4). Just like any type of praise poetry, Rundi praise poetry is the outcome of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming – the concern of this study – and is performed in accordance with already set formulas determining its form.

2. 2. 5. 2. Form and Performance of Rundi Praise Poetry

Rundi praise poetry, like any other type of oral literature is performed by the original poet or a reciter in the presence of an audience with already set formulas (Morris, 1964 ; Babalola, 1966 ; Muhitira, 1982 ; and Ntahomvukiye, 1990-91).

Thus, Rundi praise poetry is characterised by four important moments (Ntahomvukiye 1990-91:69). Even if Muhitira (1982:53) acknowledges that there are classic parts of Rundi praise poetry he has only talked about the introduction where the reciter greets the audience and the closing where he showed that the performance is over.

Ntahomvukiye's (1990-91) identification seems to be more accurate and is the one I can suggest to refer to. He has identified four moments namely:

1° The introduction: The reciter greets the audience and particularly the chief present in the ceremony.
   e.g. **Ngira nivuge**: I am going to talk about myself.
2° The identification of the reciter: Where the reciter introduces himself by one of his numerous praise names.
   e.g. **Ndi**: I am
3° Description of deeds deserving praise and admiration.
   e.g. **Nararashe umugabo yikinze umutobotobo, ibijigo birajegera, ivyamwa birajoba, umugore ati uraka murasa ntiyarakindarira, umwana ati urakamurasa ntiyarakinsigariza :**
   I have shot a man hidden behind a tree. His teeth have been taken out. His wife said congratulations to have shot him as he no longer sleeps with me. His child said the same because he no longer leaves him something to eat.
4° Final greeting: It must be used as a way of closing so as not to leave the audience with the impression that the performance is still going on.
   e.g. **Mwiriwe ga mwa ndanga mwe** : Good evening to you noblemen

As stated by Finnegan (1977), quoted in Muhitira (1982:22), a poem is likely to be delivered in a manner and mood which sets it apart from everyday speech and prose utterances. Rundi praise poetry is not an exception to this. It matches with the conventions of recitation indicated by Ndulute (1977), quoted in Muhitira (1982:21):

> *High in pitch, loud in volume, fast in speed; these create an emotional excitement in the audience as well as in the praiser himself, whose voice often rises in pitch, volume, and speed as he progresses, and whose*

> *movements become more and more exaggerated, for it is also a convention of praise poem recitation, the praiser never stands still... he suits the actions to the words, the words to the actions; the performance is indeed dramatic.*

Moreover, the factors contributing to the effectiveness of oral performance as outlined by Finnegan (1970:3) –see section 2. 2. 2. - also apply to Rundi praise poetry. Hence, the reciter of Rundi praise poetry, with knotted cloth upon one of his shoulders and a spear in his hand, delivers his *Amazina* (Muhitira, 1982:21).

For Finnegan (1977), quoted in Muhitira (1982:25), oral composition, oral transmission, and oral performance, are criteria on the basis of which the orality of poetry is determined. Thus, Rundi praise poetry is oral par excellence as it seems that Rundi praise poems are composed and transmitted during performance.

Briefly speaking, Rundi praise poetry is oral and is characterised by four important moments. It is performed orally and the volume and speed of delivery, together with the elegant movements from side to side seem to be its main characteristics. Its performance occurs on a number of occasions, the most important of which are described in the section below.

2. 2. 5. 3. Occasions and Functions of Rundi Praise Poetry

Praise poetry occurs on various occasions and hence fulfils a number of different functions. As far as Rundi praise poetry is concerned, the occasions of its performance match with those related to praise poetry in general (see section 2.2.4.3.), except at the burial ceremonies. This is documented on by important researchers in this area, Ntahokaja (1981); Ntahomvukiye (1990-91); Mworoha et al. (1987);...Among these, Muhitira (1982:26) seems to have given a detailed picture of these occasions. He has distinguished three important phases each with its characteristic occasions.

Firstly, in former times, praise poetry was performed before and after the battle. Before, to enhance the morale of the armies, and after to praise their great achievements. Praise poetry was also performed over the enemies corpses after killing them, to show to what extent one has avoided their arrows and spears, and hence to extol his abilities. In addition, praise poetry was performed when investing the elders with power as a mark of a new status. His deeds were proffered by his delegate or himself after the investment.

Secondly, praise poetry was performed occasionally, for instance when one was nearly struck by a thunder - clap or when one sneezed. In both cases, his deeds were said to show that he has escaped from death.

Thirdly, praise poetry is performed nowadays on the following occasions:

1° In law courts when the defendant comes to defeat his adversary; a situation similar to that of winning over the enemy;
2° Cowherders also perform poetry in praise of their herds to show the qualities of their beautiful cows;
3° Cattle - lifters who manage to get away with cows without being caught will play the harp to tell the way they took the cows;
4° When someone has been given something by his superior, a cow for example, praise poetry is performed to say good of him;
5° During ceremonies of public holidays such as Independence Day, International Workers' Day, ... to provide enjoyment;
6° During folkloric dances, recitation of praise poetry lends itself as a good interlude;
7° One can also come across these praise names accompanying the harp or any other modern musical instrument.

Even if Muhitira (1982:26) has tried to describe in detail the various occasions of Rundi praise poetry, his description would rather fit the former times, except the occasions of festive days, which tend to be the remaining occasions on which nowadays praise poetry is performed. Moreover, he tends to ignore that much of Rundi praise poetry was directed to kings and chiefs to extol their great deeds and spectacular achievements.

In short, Rundi praise poetry was frequently performed in former times and was directed to kings and chiefs for their socio-political importance. It was also performed on festive occasions to mark a new status or provide enjoyment. It was also performed occasionally and is still performed nowadays on festive occasions.

Still in former times, praise poetry was a way of ensuring the transmission of culture (Nkurunziza, 1986 and Albert, 1964-65). This is no longer achieved as the occasions seem to be reduced. This is the reason why praise poetry should be written in order to keep it alive and hence ensure the transmission of culture through writing. To this end, its composers are undoubtedly of paramount importance and knowing who they are is important as well.

2. 2. 5. 4. The Composers and Literariness of Rundi Praise Poetry

Praise poetry is the only oral discourse to claim to be of a precise author in Burundi (Ntahokaja, 1981:62). This belief is contended by Muhitira (1982:23) who states that his informants have recognised the author's peculiarity. For them, the author of praise poetry must be someone who does not stagger and someone with a good memory.

For the two researchers, praise poetry is an individual genre, since it is composed and performed without any help from the audience. Nonetheless, as praise poetry is transmitted from generation to generation, it may be referred to as a collective genre. In other words, younger generations can memorise poems - from their elders or parents - which they are going to transmit to their sons and so on. In addition, praise poetry can be referred to as a collective genre, since the reciter / performer is influenced by the audience, just as this is the case for any oral literature (see section 2. 2. 2.) during performance.

As far as the aesthetic value of Rundi praise poetry is concerned, it is far beyond the other literary genres (Ntahomvukiye, 1990-91:24; Ntahokaja, 1981:61). All these researchers converge on the fact that praise poetry is far beyond the capacity of every individual in so far it involves the stylistic patterns and intellectual abilities not everybody is provided with. They argue that a number of figures of speech are displayed in it. As this has been seen in section 2.2.4.5., the freguently used figures of speech are alliteration, assonance, anaphor, parallelism, repetition, reduplication, allusions of any kind, hyperbole, homophony, metaphor, and metonymy.

Ntahokaja (1981:61) and Ntahomvukiye (1990-91:84) go on to say that the more dominant and more frequently used figures of speech are metaphor and metonymy. But for Ntahokaja (1981:61), the speciality of this literary genre is the rhythm. For Ntahomvukiye (1990-91:24), what is more striking is the diversity of themes dealt with, in that praise poetry extols all the possible human qualities, stressing bravery, kindness and generosity.

In brief, even if Rundi praise poetry is not composed by professionals, its composers are not individuals like others. They are people with extraordinary qualities to be able to tell their exploits and deeds in a more extraordinary way, using the above outlined stylistic devices. Thus, it is obvious that not everybody can recite his deeds and his exploits. As a consequence, one can generalise and say that praise poetry is the outcome of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming, the proof of which is the chief purpose of the subject under study. The composition skills involved in this process are also the concern of this study, and a description of what they are is a necessity.

2. 3. What is Meant by Composition Skills

As far as language is concerned, the concept of composition applies to written language whereas that of skill applies to both written and oral forms. As these concepts are going to be tackled in association with praise poetry - an oral form of language - I would like to let my readers be aware of what they consist of.

In fact, several critics have been interested in the composition process and most of them associate it with written forms of language as this is reflected in the definitions they provide. The Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language Unbridged states that composition is

> *an intellectual creation as a piece of writing especially a written exercise done for a course in writing in school and usually intended to show study and care in arrangement.*

The definitions provided by The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary and The Longman Synonymy Dictionary contend this belief. The Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary also contends it and adds that composition is achieved thanks to skill and imagination.

As far as skill is concerned, it applies to any type of activity. But when related to language, four different skills, i.e. writing, reading, listening and speaking skills are distinguished.

The Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged defines skill as

> *Knowledge of the means or methods of accomplishing a task, the ability to use one's knowledge effectively and readily in execution or performance –technical expertness.*

Moreover, skills disappear when not put to work, it adds.

The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary states that skill is

> *the capacity of accomplishing something with precision and certainty, practical knowledge in combination with ability; cleverness, expertness.*

Visibly, these views are similar except that the first adds that skills must be used in order not to disappear. Moreover, they are also adopted by The Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary and The Longman Synonymy Dictionary.

From these views, it is obvious that composition applies to written language, while skill applies to any type of activity that is engaged. This is not the case as far as this study is concerned. Composition applies to oral form of literature while skill is associated with language, particularly in the form of composition. Therefore, in this study, composition skills should be understood as this capacity, these methods and techniques with which Rundi praise poets are equipped and by means of which they generate a smooth and continuous flow of literary pieces in which they relate their exploits, deeds, and achievements.

In short, this chapter was an account of already existing literature in this area of research. Not only a review of what other scholars have written on this topic has been provided, but also their critical evaluation was given. The procedures according to which the data has been collected and analysed are the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

3. 0. Introduction

Any research requires a collection of data. As there are several procedures to this end, the present chapter aims at describing and justifying the ones according to which the data has been collected and analysed.

3. 1. Data Collection Procedures

The present study has a twofold objective:

- First, it aims at proving that Rundi praise poetry is the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming.
- Second, it aims at identifying the composition skills involved in it and their underlying factors.

Thus, this requires me to get texts of Rundi praise poems. To this end, as there are several methods identified by scholars, I have selected the ones which could be more relevant to this study.

This matches with Ntabona's (1985:221) beliefs according to which every method is totally dependent on the aims of the study in question. In this respect, he argues that collecting anything pertaining to orality must take into account the immediacy and warmth of the presence, its major characteristics.

Zumthor (1983), Cauvin (1980), and Greimas (1970), who argue that it is the message in situation that matters with all its warmth and effective charge that can be carried by the here and now, share this belief. The fact is that in the natural situation, the word, the gestures, the dance, etc...whatever the sender projects onto the receiver, are spontaneous with an irreplaceable role.

Praise poetry being a striking example of an oral text, collection of praise poems has taken into account the above views. Therefore, as far as this study is concerned, data collection has targeted rural areas where praise poems are still performed.

This is to say that I have collected praise poems in their actual moment of performance, i.e. in a live setting, so as to get original texts with their warmth and effective charge. This is what Ntabona (1985:236) has referred to as *enquête participation*. It is an investigation in which the investigator identifies himself within

the community of research and where the informants are in a natural setting in face to face with their usual public.

The advantage of this was that I was in a family climate and consequently of trust. Thus, the informants gave me as much information as they could, without shyness or the negative tendency of hiding the reality. About five of them have been individually interviewed and this helped me in the analysis. The criterion of selection was famousness.

Moreover, about five educated poets have been interviewed, and they have provided me with the techniques with which they are equipped. They were to be considered as a control set in the sense that uneducated poets, though skilled, do not know what kind of skills they have.

As praise poetry, in this study, is understood as this type of poetry performed by cowherders when extolling either the qualities of their benefactors or the qualities of their cows, or their own qualities as owners of the cows (section 2.2.5.1.), the data has been collected in such areas as BUTUTSI and MUGAMBA. In these areas, people have been and are still attached to the cow and they were easily accessible to me. Besides, these areas are believed to hold more than 70% of the Burundian cattle (Bidou, J. et al. 1991:148). The commune of MUGAMBA, belonging to both natural regions has been targeted to this end.

In addition to the data collected in a live setting, I have consulted already existing materials in books. Thus, Rodegem's (1963) book has constituted the second source of the data analysed in this study. Though their original context was to be reconstructed, they are believed to be more genuine in the sense that they were composed by old people whose interest in poetry was higher than that of nowadays people. This led me to hypothesising that they reflect the real image of Rundi praise poetry, and subsequently to considering them as a control set.

3. 2. Data Analysis Procedures

Once I got the texts of praise poems, I analysed them. Before the analysis itself, I provided the literary translation of the texts, to allow my readers catch what they reflect. The literal translation was also provided where necessary.

As this work aimed at proving that the notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming can apply to Rundi praise poetry, I have provided their accounting instances. The second step was to identify the composition skills involved in them, together with their underlying factors.

Moreover, let me note that my analysis has also taken into account the circumstances of performance because, as argued by Ntabona (1985:240), any analysis that does not take them into account would be a simple mutilation, why not a way of voiding the text of its substantival marrow. In search of accuracy, which is what makes the quality of any piece of scientific work, I have submitted the answers I got from my informants to my personal analysis, consisting of describing how knowledge is told on the one hand and how it is transformed on the other.

In fact, the knowledge told in Rundi praise poetry was described in details and the techniques whereby it is transformed were revealed at this stage. The latter are figures of speech and they are possible thanks to a number of factors, the most important of which were focused on as well.

Moreover, when giving instances of knowledge telling and accounting for their transformation, I have been providing examples from both types of texts - from observation and from books. Thus, out of three or two examples given for each case, at least, one example was from either type of texts. The fact is that the texts from books constituted a control set and parallelled examples were much more eloquent with regard to the first problem stated in section 1.2. of the first chapter and to the conclusions to be made. To let my readers know where the examples were drawn from, I numbered the texts as well as the verses. Thus, when providing examples, I used the symbols T_1, T_2, and T_3, followed by V_1, V_5, or V_2, ... where the T stands for text and V, for verse. Therefore eg(T_1, V_9 -V_{12}) means that the example is drawn from text one, from verse nine to verse twelve.

3.3.Methodological Problems

This work has been attended by a number of problems. These are related to data collection, to translation and to data analysis.

3.3.1. Problems Related to Data Collection

In any piece of research, collection of good data is a requirement and positively influences the results. As this study is a case in point, collecting data in a live setting as I have attempted to do would provide good data. However, the usage of a camera that is indispensable in orality based studies (Ntabona, 1985:237) was not possible for me.

Thus, I have been obliged to ask my informants to repeat for me so that I could be able to write the praise poems. This has been so because it was impossible to catch up with their speed in a natural recitation. Moreover, I was not able to record the mimicry and gestures, still due to the lack of a camera.

To correct this, I resorted to a questionnaire for interview. The pertinent questionnaire consisted of questions whose aim was to provide me with an overall idea of how Rundi praise poets view themselves and the art of poetry. As stated earlier, this interview was held in rural areas and it was achieved through different steps.

First, I familiarised myself with the people in the area of research. To this end, I often participated in a number of feasts with them as I have carried out an *enquête participation* as defined earlier. The second step was to decide on their famousness, a task which was a bit challenging.

However, most of my informants being uneducated, they got problems in answering some of my questions. The fact is that, even if they are skilled, they do not know exactly what kind of techniques they are equipped with.

3.3.2. Problems Related to Translation

As the texts of praise poems to be analysed were in Kirundi, the first thing to do after collection, was to translate them into English. As translating an oral text in a Western language is attended by a number of problems (Mounin, 1963 : 225), I was likely to face such problems.

The above critic goes on arguing that translation is one of the most difficult tasks, in the sense that truthfulness to the original text and accuracy are aimed at in a rigorous way, something which is difficult to achieve.

3. 3. 3. Problems Related to Data Analysis

To be qualified as a good one, any analysis must be as accurate as possible. Basically, even if an analysis cannot be totally accurate, at least, it must tend towards total accuracy.

As this work is a case in point, there are factors which are likely to hamper the accuracy. These are such problems as the lack of visual sources. In fact, in any oral piece of work, extralinguistic signs are very important, and according to Finnegan (1970), Greimas (1970), and Grant (1927), they have an irreplaceable role. Therefore, any research on such works should take them into account. As far as my analysis is concerned, I tried to reconstruct these extralinguistic signs but it was not so easy and in a way or another this has influenced the results.

CHAPTER 4 : DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4. 0. Introduction

The preceding chapter has described the methodology devised as far as this research is concerned. The present one sets out to look at the extent to which the research questions this study purports to answer have been achieved. This is to say that the achievement of the twofold objective of this study will find expression in the present chapter. In other words, the two research questions formulated at the beginning of this work, i.e.

1° Is Rundi praise poetry a mere account of historical events or is it the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming?
2° If Rundi praise poetry is the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming, what are the composition skills involved in it and what are their underlying factors ?

Will find answers in this chapter.

4. 1. Data Presentation

4. 1. 1. Data from Actual Performance

The data analysed along this study has been collected from mainly two sources, the most important of which, being their actual moment of performance. This collection has taken place in the areas of MUGAMBA and BUTUTSI, areas believed to hold more than 70% of Burundian cattle (Bidou, J. et al. 1991:148). In these areas, cows have been and are still highly valued. It is within this respect and in connection with the definition of Rundi praise poetry (see section 2.2.5.1.) that these areas have been chosen. And the commune of MUGAMBA belonging to these two natural regions has been targeted to this end. The collection has also taken into account both educated and uneducated people.

The collection has been carried out in these areas in accordance with the importance of a live setting as far as orality is concerned. As the texts collected were many, I have made a further selection, and have analysed only two of them. They were from the poets believed to be more skilled than others, and I judged them a bit richer than the others. They reflect the knowledge told and how it is told, respectively described in sections 4. 2. 1. and 4. 2. 2.

4.1.2. Data from Books

The books have constituted the second source of the data analysed along this study. In fact, in addition to the texts collected from a live setting, other texts have been drawn from books. Exactly, Rodegem (1963) has provided me with enough texts, from which one has been selected for analysis.

It is legitimate to wonder why I have sought other texts from books, whereas texts from a live setting could have been enough. This has been done on purpose. I have preferred not to rely only on texts collected from their actual moment of performance, because these poems are by nowadays people, whose interest in praise poetry seems to have been lost.

Therefore, completing them with texts twenty-six years older would provide more reliable data. In other words, these poems composed by people whose interest in praise poetry was still vivid are genuine and, if not richer than nowadays, are as rich as them. They were thus used as control material. But, the knowledge displayed in them and the way they are transformed are also found in recorded poems, as described in later sections.

4. 1. 3. The Interview

As it has been pointed out earlier, the data has been collected mainly from two sources, i.e. from a live setting and from books. When collecting the data from a live setting, an interview has been organised and a guiding questionnaire has been designed to this end.

This was motivated mainly by two reasons. First, I aimed at getting texts of praise poems to be analysed. Second, as there is no written materials in relation to the composition skills involved in praise poetry available, it was quite normal to seek such an information through questions.

Indeed, in accordance with what they seek, the questions can be classified in different categories. The first category of questions aimed at knowing the age of my informants, when, and how they have got involved in praise poetry. The second category consisted of questions urging my informants to tell me if poets are skilled or not. As far as the third category is concerned, it aimed at knowing the composing process, the techniques used and what is required to be skilled. It also aimed at knowing whether being skilled in poetry is part of innate factors or results from experience. The target of the fourth category was to know if there is a lack of interest in praise poetry in nowadays people, and what should be done if

this were the case. The last category urged my informants to recite their deeds through poems.

In general, through these questions, I have discovered that all my informants, uneducated – were beyond fifty-five (55) years whereas educated ones were in their twenties. Moreover, though uneducated poets know that they are skilled, they do not know the techniques they are in possession of ; that kind of information, I got it from educated poets.

In addition, through their answers, it is revealed that composition skills are innate, but they need some degree of experience to be developed. They thus regret the lack of interest in praise poetry by nowadays people , and according to them, teaching it at all levels of education could be a possible solution.

4. 2. Applicability of Knowledge Telling and Knowledge Transforming to Rundi Praise Poetry

4. 2. 0. Introduction

The notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming are very important as far as writing is concerned. For this reason, a number of scholars have put forward theories related to them. However, no one of the available literature relates these theories to oral texts. This is questionable for me, and in this section I am going to show that these theories can also apply to oral texts and thus will apply them to Rundi praise poetry.

4. 2. 1. Knowledge Telling in Rundi Praise Poetry

The notion of knowledge telling is defined as generating text content given a topic to write about. But as mentioned earlier this notion should be understood as generating (orally) text content as far as Rundi praise poetry is concerned (see section 2.1.1.).

In Rundi oral literature, praise poetry was highly valued. It was directed to important personalities, recited on various occasions, fulfilling a number of functions. In other words praise poetry was directed to kings, to chiefs, to one's benefactors, or to oneself. It was also directed to the cows. In each case, it was performed with different motives.

However, in this study (see section 2.2.5.1.), praise poetry should be understood as this type of poetry by cowherders, extolling the qualities of their

cows, the deeds of their benefactors or their own deeds. This was parallelled with the look down on non performant people. Thus it would be erroneous to assume that the notion of knowledge telling cannot apply to Rundi praise poetry as it has a content.

In fact, from the analysis I have made, Rundi praise poetry is concerned with extolling the qualities of cows.

eg_1 (T_1, V_7-V_{10}):	**Bituruka vyengenga**	:It that leaves the kraal elegantly
	Bitaha bihamiriza	It that straightforwardly comes back home
	Biragiza imishari imishamango	It that demonstrates its strength
	Ishamba rigakorwa n'umuvumero	And it echoed all around
eg_2 (T_2, V_{17}-V_{22}):	**Itegeka igikingi**	:It soon rightened the fence-shield
	Ibogora igikomezo	As well as the altar
	Yimura igikogoshi	It settled the grub away
	Yimura ikigoyi	As well as the hunger

The above examples clearly illustrate the extent to which cows are praised in Burundi. Either their beauty or their social role are subject to praise. From the first example, the poet is praising the beauty of the cow he received from his father. He also praises the importance of his cow, whose strength is sound everywhere around.

In the second example, the poet also praises the beauty of his cow. However, he puts much more emphasis on its importance as far as familial life is concerned. In fact, the poet has got the cow when his cattle was about to disappear. And in many areas of the country, people need fertilisers in order to get enough crops . Therefore, thanks to this cow, he has got enough crops and henceforth has got something with which the family was fed. By so doing, the hunger which was about to be rooted in this family has been settled away.

Not only the praise poets extol the beauties of their cows, but also their own qualities to have received cows.

eg_1 (T_1, V_{15}-V_{21}):	**Na jewe sinigize nyawambamba**	: I myself have not been useless
	Sinaguze itabi itanu	I have not bought tobacco for 50 francs
	Kandi sinishinze baracumba	Nor had I relied on bread making
	Narazindutse mara urubanza	I have travelled early in the morning
	Nsanga ibihuza bigumije urugamba	I found fool people Courageously fighting
	Mugufora ndenza ingimbi ingemera	I shot and kicked away the enemies
	Hanyuma data yaciye ampetera	And then my father gave me a second cow

eg_2 (T_3, V_{20}-V_{22}):	**Inyana inaniye ntikubitwa**	: A veal missed by me cannot be got
	Na ka Nyabenda kwa Kazamiye	by Nyabenda, son of Kazamiye
	Kwa Bunwa bugunda urwarwa	whose mouth is only keen on banana wine

From the first example, it is noticeable that the poet is describing the qualities thanks to which he has been given the second cow, i.e. his bravery on the battle field. In the second example, the poet shows that he is more skilled than anybody else. Thus, thanks to his skills, he always owns cows. That is why he says that nobody else can afford a cow missed by him.

While praising their own qualities, the poets look down on the poor achievements of other people, referred to as useless.

eg_1 (T_3, V_{28}-V_{30}):	**Niho nagabana Rugamba**	: I have got Rugamba
	Ngambiriza abatayigabanye	That makes my pride in front of those who have not got it
	Ba kino gitinya ikirimba	Those who fear the entrance to the king's kraal

Babirenge bitarenga kunama :Those who never go beyond the Kraal's entrance

In the above examples, the poet makes an opposition between his qualities and the poor achievement of some people, who could deserve the cows, but who have failed. He is proud of himself to have got the cow. He thus refers to himself as the outstanding who can talk to important personalities such as the king, unlike others who are afraid of the king's kraal's entrance.

Last but not least, the one who has given the cow is praised by the poet. The latter praises him as a sign of recognition of what he has got from him. In other words, given the importance of the cow in Burundi, the poet praises his benefactor to have enabled him to be seated among other eminent personalities. The benefactor is even praised through the praises directed to the cow.

eg_1 (T_2, V_1-V_4):	**Rugera abagabana**	: The chooser of receivers of gifts
	Mutima uruta umutumba	Heart bigger than the body
	Ntashengeranwa n'uguhumba	He who never pays homage to the king for joking
	Yampaye maza meza ya Mwaka	He gave me a nice cow Maza of Mwaka

eg_2 (T_1, V_1-V_4):	**Umuganyirwa w'ikigongwe**	: A pitiful man
	Nazindutse nganyira ibingoye	Whom I told my problems early in the morning
	Nsanga yabigabiye	And I found them solved
	Aca ampa inyana iri amasera	And he gave me a multi-coloured heifer

Through the above verses, the poet centers his praises on his benefactor. In the first example, the poet praises him to the extent of giving him a nationwide responsibility, to choose the ones who receive cows. In the second example, the poet refers to his benefactor as a pitiful man. The fact is that the latter consoled him by giving him a cow when he was desperate.

From all the above examples, the conclusion is that Rundi praise poetry has a content, that is the praise of cows, self praise parallelled with the look down on unimportant people's achievements, and the praise of his benefactor. This belief is contended by most of my informants according to whom one starts reciting poetry after being given a cow. However, it is not the case that all these items are always present in a piece of Rundi praise poetry. Rather, the emphasis can be put on one of the items, on two or more, depending on the poet.

As the analysed texts were drawn from two different sources, from books and from a live setting, there is a wonder if the above items, constituting the poet's knowledge telling, can be found in both types of texts. In fact, results from the analysis reveal that the texts of both types hold the same richness. It can be summarised in the following chart.

Summary of what is reflected in the poet's knowledge telling :

Message Reflected / Texts	Praise of the cow	Praise of the benefactor	Self-praise	Dispraise of others
From Observation	+	+	+	+
From Books	+	+	+	+

Through the above chart, it is clear that the items constituting the poet's knowledge telling are present in the texts from observation as well as in those from books. Indeed, both of them consist of the praise of the cow, the praise of the benefactor, self-praise, and the dispraise of others whom they consider as useless. Thus, the sign (+) means presence and, as it can be read in the chart, all the enumerated items are reflected in both types of texts.

On the whole, I can conclude that Rundi praise poetry has a content. This content is generated orally, as most of the Burundian poets are uneducated. If this is the case, I am right to say that Rundi praise poetry is the result of the process of knowledge telling (in its first stages) and applying this process to it is no mistake. This process goes together with another one which is more important, as described in the following section.

4. 2. 2. Knowledge Transforming in Rundi Praise Poetry

As already mentioned, praise poetry is one of the most valued Rundi oral literature and is far above the other literary genres, as far as aesthetic value is concerned. As discussed in the preceding section, the content of Rundi praise poetry is made of the praise of the cow, self-praise, the poet's deeds and those of his benefactor(s). Thence, it is mostly an account of historical events.

Even though it is an account of historical events, it is neither a simple nor a random one. It is well organised and thus differs from ordinary speech. The words lean on each other, which makes speech flow naturally and thus pleasing to listen

to. And in this study, this is the way the notion of knowledge transforming should be understood (see section 2.1.2.). This smoothness whereby the organisation sounds well is either related to the structure of the poem or its meaning.

As far as the structure is concerned, some words, bits of them, or even whole grammatical structures are repeated to this end.

eg_1 (T_2, V_{13}-V_{14}):	**Itamanzura agasera**	: It grew brighter
	Itamanzura amamerano	Its horns grew taller and taller
eg_2 (T_3, V_{76}-V_{77}):	**Sindi mama yarambariye**	: I do not rely on my mother's sayings
	Sindi icompa zigasiba	I'm not for their absence

In these two examples the words at the beginning of the verses are repeated. They contribute to making the poem more enjoyable to listen to. Then, Leech (1969) is right to equate repetition to music and to conclude that it plays an important part in poetry. In this respect, Leech (1969) goes on arguing that the music of phonological scheme which makes the sound pattern in a poetic creation communicates to a greater extent. This matches with Leech's (1981) ideas according to which repetition is expressive as it gives emphasis or emotive heightening to the repeated item.

Not only words are repeated, but also bits of them can be repeated for the same purpose. The following examples are more talkative:

eg_3 (T_1, V_{12}-V_{14}):	**Nti nimwambare mwikwize**	: I told them to be fully dressed
	Muze mwirabire intamba ya Bitambwe	And to come and to watch the descendant of Bitambwe
	Itambana n'iyayo kumurango	Dancing with its veal at daytime
eg_4 (T_3, V_{18}-V_{19}):	**Bamenye kuzisaba**	: Who knew to ask for them
	Ntibamenye kuzisasira	But who did not know to take care of them

Still, in the same line of rendering the poem more enjoyable to listen to, grammatical constructions are repeated. In fact, in the following examples the verb - noun phrase structure and the verb - conjunction of time - infinitive verb structure are repeated respectively.

eg_5 (T_2, V_{21}-V_{23}):	**Ishinga ikigega**	: It strengthened the food store
	Yimura ikigoyi	It settled hunger away
	Ibogora ibibondo	It rightened the children
eg_6 (T_3, V_{60}-V_{61}):	**Irashirukanya mu gushoka**	: It quickens when it is time to drink
	Iranyoganyoga mu gutaha	It moves elegantly when back home

In short, the examples above reveal that words, bits of them and whole grammatical structures are repeated intently, to make the poem flow smoothly, be easily memorised, and differ from ordinary speech.

As already pointed out, not only the organisation of Rundi praise poetry results in the repetition of certain words or structures, but it is also meaning based. Thus some words or structures can be used with an apparently anomalous meaning. However, they are not anomalous as such. The anomalous usage aims at rendering the poem as smooth as possible. Some other words or structures have an opaque meaning. Again, this is a means whereby the smoothness of the poem is achieved.

eg_1 (T_1, V_2-V_3):	**Nazindutse nganyira ibingoye**	: Whom I told my problems early in the morning
	Nca nsanga yabigabiye	And I found them solved
eg_2 (T_2, V_1-V_2):	**Rugera abagabana**	: The chooser of the receivers of gifts
	Mutima uruta umutumba	Heart bigger than the body
eg_3 (T_3, V_{42}-V_{43}):	**Ija gushinga umugambwe**	: It went to set group work
	Mw'itaba rya kiyenzi	In the flat of kiyenzi

In the above examples, if one considers the literal meaning, he is likely to miss the message conveyed by the poet. In the first examples, the poet is praising the pitiful man to whom he told his problems. The latter consoled him by giving him a cow. But the way he tells it is unusual. At first sight, one is likely to think that the pitiful man has given the cow to the problems. This would be anomalous, in

the sense that gifts are presented to people but not to things. Thus **kugabira** literally meaning "to present a gift" has an opaque meaning in this usage and means "to solve problems".

In the second example, the poet is also praising the one who has given him a cow. He refers to him as the heart bigger than the body (literal meaning). But, as far as human beings are concerned, this is not possible. Nowhere in the world, a man whose heart is bigger than his body will be found. Here, the poet is not referring to the shape. Rather, he is referring to the deeds of this man who gave him a cow. And since it is not the body which gives order to the heart, but the other way around, he considers the heart from whose order he has received the cow as far bigger than the body.

Still in the third example, the meaning conveyed by the poet is hidden. He does not mean that the cow has founded a party just like politicians (literal meaning). He is referring to the qualities and the function so far achieved by the cow and is praising it. For him, the cow deserves praise like a politician in the area where he has achieved remarkable tasks and from where he has many adherents.

In regard to the idea of rendering the poem smooth, there are also extralinguistic signs, such as a spear and a special costume, which have vital roles, either social or ritual. As far as the spear is concerned, it shows that the poet is proud of himself. He is also powerful and mature and is able to protect his family and to overthrow all his enemies. The special costume also shows the power of the poet.

In fact, this costume resembles that of the kings and the honour and respect as well as the power associated with them in traditional Burundi is symbolised through it. This is what motivates the choice of such a costume by the poets, why not other people on important feasts. Then, if today poets still put on this costume during performance, they recall this symbolic value embedded in it and associate them with it.

In addition, the elegant motions, from side to side, are signs of pride and power on the behalf of the poet. This is contended by most of my informants who state that the spear symbolises praise, maturity and bravery on the battle field. They go on arguing that it is a sign of pride and a source of protection, of not only the family, but also of the cattle. Therefore, it was uncommon to find a man in traditional Burundi walking without a spear in his hand. It was a sign of manhood. Moreover, as Burundians used to live on hunting, walking with a spear in one's hand was a sign of great attention as the spear could be useful at any time. More important is that Burundians were often involved in conflicts opposing either clans or villages. And after the battle heroic poetry as well as praise poetry were

performed, to relate one's heroic deeds and to praise oneself or one's chief as congratulations for such achievements respectively. This is what recalls the poet when he performs his poem holding a spear in his hand.

Having a look at the above examples, there is no doubt that the language used in praise poetry is different from the ordinary one. The way words lean on each other illustrates it and is the result of high techniques. Therefore, these techniques constitute the poet's knowledge transforming and allow him to transform and tell his deeds in a pleasing manner. This matches with Leech's (1981) conclusion about his discussion on style and content. According to him, style is restricted to the choices of manner rather than matter, of expression rather than content, and it constitutes the dress of thought. In other words, these techniques, otherwise known as composition skills, make the process of knowledge transforming possible, and one can assume that this process is applicable to Rundi praise poetry.

4. 2. 3. The Composition Skills Involved in Rundi Praise Poetry

4. 2. 3. 0. Introduction

As already pointed out, Rundi praise poetry is the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. This means that Rundi praise poets are equipped with techniques referred to as composition skills. These techniques account for the aesthetic value of Rundi praise poetry and manifest themselves mainly through figures of speech. Thus, identifying the figures of speech involved in Rundi praise poetry also means identifying the composition skills involved in it.

4. 2. 3. 1. Metaphor in Rundi Praise Poetry

Metaphor is by definition a form of comparison without recourse to comparative expressions (Henry 1984:77). This form of comparison is abridged, condensed, and shortened. In it, a word or a phrase, literally denoting one kind of object or idea, is used in place of another by way of suggesting a likeness or analogy between them. It is referred to as the backbone of poetry (Molino and Tamine, 1982:164). This belief is contended by James (1960:100) who states that, metaphor is the nerve or heart of all poetic creation and, as illustrated in the following examples, Rundi praise poetry is not an exception to this.

eg_1 (T_1, V_2-V_3):	**Nazindutse nganyira ibingoye**	: Whom I told my problems early in the morning
	Nca nsanga yabigabiye	And I found them solved

eg_2 (T_2, V_{24}): **Ija ingingo n'impfizi** : It conceived

eg_3 (T_3, V_{31}): **Ba birenge bitarenga ku nama** : Those who never go beyond the kraal's entrance.

Upon analysing the examples above, one can see that they do not have their literal meaning. For instance, in the first example, considering the literal meaning of the word **kugabira** which means *to present a gift to someone ;* one is likely to understand that the gift is presented to the problems. However, this is not the case, as the word **kugabira** is used metaphorically to mean that the problems were solved. Here, the poet bases his comparison on the likeness between the fact of consoling him from a desperate situation by giving him a cow and the fact of solving problems.

In the second and third examples, the phrases **kuja ingingo n'impfizi** and **ba birenge bitarenga ku nama** do not have their literal meanings. They are used metaphorically with the purpose of rendering the poem more pleasing. **Kuja ingingo n'impfizi** literally meaning to get a compromise with the bull, simply means that the cow has conceived and **babirenge bitarenga ku nama** literally meaning the feet which never go beyond the kraal's entrance, means that these people to whom the poet is referring are powerless and never pay homage to the king's kraal as opposed to the poet himself.

Here the metaphorical usage is built around analogy. Indeed, from the first example **kuja ingingo**, to get a compromise applies to people but not to animals and this takes place after a discussion. By analogy, referring to the time the bull spends courting the cow, the comprise is got only when the cow is ready to conceive and then accepts the bull. From the second example **kutarenga kunama**, not to go beyond the kraal's entrance, has also an opaque meaning. In fact, this was characteristic of powerless people who were afraid of others and who could not dare say something among them. Going to the king was something they never thought of and then could not get anything from him. Then for the poet, not receiving a cow from the king as an aftermath of not having paid him homage, is synonymous with staying within the boundaries of one's enclosure and then powerless.

4. 2. 3. 2. Metonymy in Rundi Praise Poetry

Metonymy is defined as the substitution of a term by another whose relation with it is either of cause and effect or material and object (Henry, 1984:17). Metonymy operates on the basis of comprehension, Henry (1984:17) goes on arguing. For Taylor (1981:180), metonymy is a straight substitution of vehicle for

tenor because of an inherent relation of function or action. Cressot (1947:76) contends these views by stating that metonymy is a semantic change whereby a signifier abandons the signified with which it is ordinary associated, for another one with which it is linked in a contiguous, temporal, or logical relationship.

From the analysis, it is noticeable that Rundi praise poets also have recourse to this figure of speech in their poetic creation.

eg$_1$ (T_2,V_9-V_{10}): **Itengatiye igisabo** : Holding a strain-band
Yimirije ikibondo Nursing a veal

eg$_2$ (T_3,V_{11}-V_{12}): **Yarinze ahwera atabonye icera**: He died without getting milk **mu cansi**
Atari icirabura mu cibo : If not void in man's basket

In these verses, the words ***igisabo,*** strain-band, and ***ikibondo,*** a baby, do not have their ordinary meaning. They are used metonymically to mean that the cow had a veal and thus could give milk. Likewise, the words ***icera,*** white thing, and ***icirabura,*** black thing, are used metonymically to mean that the man was very poor to the extent that he died without having got milk, not even once. He could not even get something to eat. Through the first example, the metonymic usage is based on the function of a strain-band on the one hand and a logical relationship between a baby and a veal on the other.

In fact, as a strain-band is used to shake milk so as to make butter, it is not surprising for the owner of cows to consider the fact of holding a strain-band as getting milk. Then, for the poet, holding a strain-band applied to a cow means that the latter can give milk. As far as the relationship between a baby and a veal is concerned, I can say that both of them are new-borns and need the care of their mothers. Thus, they are near each other and they can substitute each other on the basis of this logical relationship between them and thereby create metonymic reference.

In the second example, the white thing especially when in that type of container refers to milk, while the black thing in a man's basket symbolises void. Then, the poet's metonymic usage is built on the basis of a contiguous relationship between this absence of milk and this emptiness in the man's basket and poverty. Just like metaphor, metonymy is used, for poetic purposes, i.e. to make the poem as smooth as possible and thus more enjoyable.

4. 2. 3. 3. Parallelism in Rundi Praise Poetry

Taylor (1981:97-98) defines parallelism as:

> *a rhetorical device, very closely related to coordination, in that grammatical units are multiplied and balanced against one another, in order to emphasize the parallelism and relationship of the ideas contained in them.*

While Kunene (1971:100) contends this belief, he adds that parallelism can be discussed under three titles, namely:

- *Parallelism of thought through the repetition of words and phrases;*
- *Parallelism of thought through the restatement of ideas by synonyms and indirect references;*
- *Parallelism of grammatical structure through the repetition of syntactic slots*.

For Molino and Tamine (1982:201), parallelism is a recurrence of two or successive sequences of the same morpho-syntactic scheme, together with repetitions or rhythmic differences, phonic or lexico-semantic. They go on arguing that parallelism is defined on the basis of two immediate successive segments.

In Rundi praise poetry, parallelism is used and can be discussed under the three titles identified by Kunene (1971) above.

eg_1 (T_3,V_{76}-V_{77}): **Sindi mama yarambariye** : I do not rely on my mother's sayings
Sindi icompa zigasiba I am not for their absence

In these two verses, there is a parallelism achieved through the repetition of the word **sindi** – *I am not* – the ideas that are parallelled here are the fact of not relying on what he has been told by his mother, on the one hand, and his zest to achieve best, on the other.

As far as the parallelism achieved through the restatement of ideas is concerned, the following examples can fit well.

eg_2 (T_2, V_{22}-V_{23}): **Yimura ikigoyi** : It settled hunger away
Ibogora ibibondo It rightened the children

In these verses, the poet parallels the ideas of settling hunger away and that of feeding and henceforth rightening the children. The ideas parallelled here seem to be linked in a logical relationship, one being the consequence of another.

As far as the parallelism of grammatical structure achieved through the repetition of syntactic slots is concerned, the following example is much more revealing. Even the preceding examples can fit this category in the sense that in both examples, we have similar constructions in successive verses. In the first example, in addition to the parallelism achieved through the repetition of words, there is also a repetition of a two-word phrase in the two verses. In the second example there is a repetition of a syntactic structure, verb – noun phrase while in the third example, there is a repetition of the noun phrase – verb structure.

eg$_3$ (T_1, V_7-V_8): **Bituruka vyengenga** : It that leaves the kraal elegantly
Bitaha bihamiriza It that straightforwardly comes back home

Upon analysing the above examples, one can conclude that Rundi praise poets use this rhetorical device, known as parallelism, in their poetic creation. Again, this device is used for the purpose of making the poem flow naturally and smoothly. Not only ideas are parallelled in Rundi praise poetry, but also and commonly consonant clusters and vowel sounds are parallelled, and this is known as repetition.

4. 2. 3. 4. Repetition in Rundi Praise Poetry

According to Finnegan (1970:137), repetition is a feature of mark in praise poetry. This is the case as far as Rundi praise poetry is concerned as argued by Ntahokaja (1981) and Ntahomvukiye (1990-91). Depending on which words or parts of words repeated, repetition has different forms.

As a matter of fact, when initial sounds in succeeding words are repeated, it is known as alliteration (Taylor, 1981:206).

eg (T_1, V_9): **Biragiza i<u>mishar</u>i i<u>mishamango</u>** : It that demonstrates its strength

Assonance is another kind of repetition and is a repetition of similar vowel sounds in two or more words that are relatively close together, and the sounds usually occur in a medial position in each word (Taylor, 1981:205). The vowels do

not need to be identical to be effective, but only of similar formation and duration, Taylor goes on arguing.

eg (T_3,V_{31}): **Ba birenge bitarenga kunama**: Those who never go beyond the kraal's entrance

Still, anaphor is another kind of repetition and an important one as far as Rundi praise poetry is concerned. It involves repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses, sentences or verses (Wales, 1989 and Molino and Tamine, 1982:187).

eg (T_2, V_{13}-V_{14}): **Itamanzura agasera** : It grew brighter
Itamanzura amamerano Its horns grew taller and taller

Through the above examples and through the analysis made, it can be concluded that alliteration and assonance are the kinds of repetition mostly used in Rundi praise poetry. Anaphor is also used, but to a lesser degree. Moreover it can be said that repetition has the role of not only emphasising, but also and primarily, that of smoothing the verses and thereby creating emotions on the audience.

4. 2. 3. 5. Hyperbole in Rundi Praise Poetry

Hyperbole, also known as overstatement, exaggerates the quality of the tenor, sometimes to a fantastic degree, in order to emphasise it the more (Taylor, 1981:180). It is an extravagant exaggeration of statement; a statement exaggerated fancifully for poetic purposes.

In Rundi praise poetry, hyperbole is commonly used. This means that, when extolling their deeds, the qualities of their cows or the achievement of their benefactors, the poets exaggerate. This shows that there is a huge gap between the poets or their benefactors and other people and hence that they deserve much praise and honour.

eg$_1$ (T_2, V_1-V_2): **Rugera abagabana** : The chooser of the receivers of gifts
Mutima uruta umutumba Heart bigger than the body

eg$_2$ (T_3, V_{86}-V_{87}): **Ntawumusaba ngw'asonze** : None of his servants will feel hungry
Ntawumurinda ngw'arambe None in opposition to him lives long

Through these examples, it is noticeable that the poet is not only describing the qualities of his benefactors, but also exaggerates on them. In the first example the poet sees that his benefactor is more powerful than anybody else. Therefore, he refers to him as the one whose heart is bigger than the body and the one who chooses the receivers of gifts, either on the national or international scales.

More striking is the second example where the poet sees in him the source of life. This fantastic exaggeration on the qualities embedded either in the benefactors or in the poets themselves or in their cows is done for the purpose of emphasising more, and it is quite common in Rundi praise poetry.

4. 2. 3. 6. Allusion in Rundi Praise Poetry

Allusion is actually "a special kind of simile or metaphor in which the vehicle has an already accepted quality and authority invested in it by cultural tradition" (Taylor,1981:169).

In other words, it is a comparison achieved by bringing into play some image or idea which recalls to the reader's mind an outside, but universally recognisable image.

As far as Rundi cultural tradition is concerned, the kings are people who have already accepted values. Thus, Rundi praise poets, in the way of extolling their deeds, refer to them just to show to what extent they deserve much praise. Soldiers, living at the king's court and even nowadays soldiers, have an already recognised social value and can also be alluded to by Rundi praise poets.

eg_1 (T_3, V_{69}-V_{70}): **Nticura igicumito** : He who never fears death
Ishuri ya Muguduko na Mwambutsa Son of Muguduko and Mwambutsa

eg_2 (T_3, V_{36}-V_{37}): **Niho nagabanira Yamarwa Ivuye mu Batare** : It is from where I got Yamarwa Coming from the Batare princes

eg_3 (T_2, V_7): **Bishira iburyo nk'intwaramiheto** : Right handed like soldiers

From the above examples, it can be seen that, the poet is referring to the princes of abatare and abambutsa and soldiers. As princes are people whose quality is recognised by every Burundian, the poet who is comparing himself to them, or who is getting something from them, will undoubtedly be respected and conferred some of their qualities by the audience.

For instance, in the first two verses, the poet is proud of being a descendant of the king Mwambutsa and of being even able to defeat death. In the two other verses, the poet is proud of having got a cow from the princes **abatare**. It illustrates that getting something from powerful men such as princes makes someone powerful as well. In the third example, the poet compares the cow to the deeds of soldiers who, according to him, are right handed.

To a greater extent, allusions are used by Rundi praise poets and the people mostly alluded to are kings and sometimes soldiers. This is due to the qualities conferred to them by the culture, and poets allude to them in expectation of having, if not the same qualities, at least some of them or of being respected just like kings.

To conclude this section, I cannot pretend to have identified all the figures of speech involved in Rundi praise poetry. However, I have pointed out and have exemplified those that are frequently used, i.e. metaphor, metonymy, parallelism, repetition, hyperbole, and allusion. But, unlike Ntahokaja (1981) and Ntahomvukiye (1990-91) who confirm that metaphor and metonymy are the most frequent, results from my analysis reveal that the recurrence of a given figure of speech depends upon each individual poet.

As said earlier, the analysed texts are of two different sources, from books and from observation. Through them, a number of figures of speech, making the process of knowledge transforming possible, have been identified. But, the wonder is whether all these can be found in both types of texts. Indeed, on the basis my findings, the conclusion is that they appear in the texts of both types.

4. 3. The Underlying Factors of the Composition Skills Involved in Rundi Praise Poetry

4. 3. 0. Introduction

So far, the composition skills involved in Rundi praise poetry have been identified. But, the factors underlying them are not yet pointed out. This is what the present section sets out to look at, and these factors can be grouped in two categories, i.e. innate factors and environmental ones.

4. 3. 1. Innate Factors

Creating in poetry is an activity which makes demands of attention on the part of the poet. Thus the poet should obviously have high imagination. As Rundi praise poetry or any other type of poetry is intimately linked with culture, Rundi praise poets adapt themselves to their culture in their creative process. This is to say that whatever they express is expressed within the limitations of Burundian culture.

As already mentioned in the above sections, this requires techniques, referred to as composition skills. The latter are not randomly possessed. Rather, they are underlain and fostered by a number of factors including innate ones. This is contended by a number of critics in this area of research.

For Spender (1982:62), a poet is divinely gifted with a lucid and purposive intellect. Thus, the first line is given to him by God through the process of inspiration and he himself has to remember what he has experienced, and what he relives again and again with all their original freshness. The highly sensitive apparatus of memory with which he is equipped allows such an achievement, he goes on arguing. Then, memory is the natural gift of poetic genius also known as mystical gift.

From the analysis I have made of Rundi praise poetry and from my observation of the way it is performed, the conclusion is that Rundi praise poets are equipped with great abilities. This is to say that thanks to the composition skills they are in possession of, ideas come freely from their memory, without effort, and in the most pleasing manner.

However, most of Rundi praise poets capable of such a task are not educated. Therefore, contrary to empiricists who assert that any skill is learnt as a result of experience (Clark and Clark, 1977:298), Rundi praise poets are gifted from birth. If it were true that composition skills were learnt as a result of experience, the oldest people would be the best composers. As this is not the case, I sustain Spender's contention above and conclude that Rundi praise poets, just like any other poet, are divinely gifted. My informants have also contended this by stating that some people are not good at praise poetry due to lack of talent. Moreover, the rhetorical devices Rundi uneducated praise poets use, as identified in previous sections, are much more revealing.

In this respect, Stein and Heinze (1982:19), in their summay of Galton's hereditary genius, state that mental capacities are hereditary. Thus, no man can achieve a very high reputation without being gifted with very high abilities.

As a consequence, very few who possess these abilities can fail in achieving eminence.

Adair (1990:64) contends this by stating that the mind in creation is equipped with a power which arises from within. He adds that the conscious portions of our nature are unprophetic either to its approach or its departure. Nonetheless, he acknowledges that the gifts are of different quality and degree, which probably accounts for the difference in people's abilities.

For some other critics, the creative act cannot be forced (Rogers, 1982: 146 and Wallas, 1982:111). While summarising man's gifts, Wallas (1982:111) adds that the sine qua non condition of the man to be truly a man is the great gift in imagination. He goes on arguing that creative imagination is active at the mind's unconscious level. In other words, mental work is done without conscious participation, choices being made and ideas fitted together into patterns.

Likewise, creativity in Rundi praise poetry takes place without conscious participation of the poet. This means that even if there may be creative acts taking place at this level, most of the work is achieved at the unconscious level. This is accounted for by the way Rundi praise poets are spontaneous during performance, and they can even improvise and create something new, in response to the audience's feedback.

Briefly speaking, innate factors are very important and play a vital role as far as Rundi praise poetry is concerned. Indeed, Rundi praise poetry is the result of innate capacities and anyone who is not equipped with them cannot compose poems. Even though they are not the only ones, at the very least, there must be innate mechanisms and they constitute the basis of any poetic creation. This is converged on by both educated and uneducated informants who contend this belief.

4. 3. 2. Environmental Factors

As already pointed out, Rundi praise poetry results in great ingenuity thanks to the composition skills. The latter are underlain by both innate and environmental factors.

In fact, even though a number of critics tend to confirm that any skill is the result of innate abilities, some degree of experience is necessary. Clark and Clark (1977:298) in their discussion about language acquisition acknowledge that, at the very least, there must be some innate mechanisms thanks to which language is learnt. However, children will not acquire a language they are not exposed to, they go on arguing.

In the same sense, Steinberg (1982:146) states that according to all rationalists, innate ideas alone are not sufficient for the learning of a language or anything else. Some degree of experience is necessary to activate those ideas otherwise latent in the mind. Still Rogers (1982:146), who states that inner conditions for creativity cannot be forced, but must be permitted to emerge, shares this belief. It is also contended by my informants who, after acknowledging that Rundi praise poets are gifted, state that they have to base on others' poems to compose their own. For instance, most of them told me that they have been trained by their fathers.

Therefore, Rundi praise poets, though equipped with innate abilities, need experience for the latter to operate. In other words, Burundian children born in an area where praise poetry is not performed will not compose any poem, no matter how skilled they will be. The fact that great praise poets are found in MUGAMBA and BUTUTSI as opposed to IMBO can illustrate this.

In fact, in the IMBO region, people are more active in agriculture rather than in cattle-breeding. Therefore, there is no way they can compose poems in praise of their cows or benefactors whereas they have not any. On the other hand, in MUGAMBA and BUTUTSI, where most people own cows, it is quite normal to find many praise poets. However, this does not necessarily mean that the best praise poet comes from these areas. Rather, anyone equipped with the innate abilities and whose interest in praise poetry is great can be the best, regardless of his region.

Thus, it can be concluded that Rundi praise poets, though endowed with high natural gifts, need experience to create poems. Thence, they have to live in an area where cattle-breeding is the principal activity, possess cows, and have benefactors. They also have to interact with wise and old praise poets who can provide them with enough experience.

4. 3. 3. Teachability of Creativity in Rundi Praise Poetry

In the previous sections, composition skills in relation to Rundi praise poetry and their underlying factors are discussed. But, the question is whether or not creativity can be taught. In other words, the wonder is whether it is possible to move Rundi amateurs in praise poetry from the state of knowledge telling to that of knowledge transforming by means of providing instructions.

As already pointed out, the content of Rundi praise poetry is historically based. Indeed the poet extols his achievements and their immediate effects, i.e. his deeds, what he owned as a reward, and the one who rewarded him, are

subjects to praise. He succeeds thanks to the composition skills with which he is equipped.

So far, no formal instruction is provided to Rundi praise poets to help them compose their poems. Even if it is true that they are endowed with high natural gifts, the latter must be permitted to emerge. In this sense, Rogers (1982: 146) compares a poet to a farmer who cannot make the germ develop or sprout from the seed, but who can only supply the nurturing conditions, which will permit the seed to develop its own potentialities. Still Rogers (1982:145) argues that creativity takes place when the organism is open to all its inner and outer experience.

In this respect, I can say that Rundi praise poets are provided with instruction though this is informal. This is to say that interaction with old poets and the personal interest in reciting others' poems before composing their own make up such an instruction. It is thus from the high natural gifts with which they are endowed together with this experience that Rundi praise poems are composed. This is contended by all my informants.

This experience is vital as far as Rundi praise poetry is concerned. The fact is that all the Rundi praise poets emerge thanks to the help of other poets, and the greater the experience is, the better the poet will achieve, provided that he is naturally gifted. Though such kind of instruction tends to be unnoticed, it takes place in a natural environment.

Thus, teachability of creativity in Rundi praise poetry lies in providing this experience, i.e. in bringing external conditions to foster and nourish the internal ones. To this end, some of my informants suggested to gather families in the evening around cultural shows, rather than in bars. Some other have suggested to teach it at all levels of education, i.e. from the primary level to the university level, which would bring a solution to nowadays lack of interest in it.

In these lines, Rogers's (1982:145) conclusion in psychotherapy reveals that by setting up conditions of psychological safety and psychological freedom, creativity is maximised. However, as argued by Parmes (1982:348), many people seem to have the seeds of creativeness and education can help for this provision. Parmes (1982:348) goes on arguing that although heredity may place limitations on the skills involved in creative abilities, these skills can be extended within these limitations thanks to education. In this respect, one of my informants told me that he started being involved in praise poetry when he was thirty, after listening to others' recitations when he was accompanying his father on some invitations.

After acknowledging that it is difficult to tell how great minds arise or to detect and encourage them when they do appear, Highet (1954:35) has suggested two methods of feeding them as they grow. Giving them constant challenge and stimulus and bringing them into contact with other eminent minds are relevant methods to this end, and this can fit well the Burundian framework.

In short, as discussed above, it is possible to move Rundi praise poets from the state of knowledge telling to that of knowledge transforming and thereby transform them into great poets. This can be achieved through experience and by bringing the external conditions that can foster the innate ones. It can also be achieved by means of instructions through formal education.

4. 4. Summary

This chapter was concerned with presenting the data analysed all along this study and the interpretation of the findings. In fact, as stated earlier, the data was collected mainly from two sources, from observation and from books.

Though I expected, that texts from books were richer than those from observation, results from the analysis proved that they have the same richness. Through both texts the same message is reflected and to some extent in the same way.

Indeed, results from the analysis revealed that, the knowledge told in Rundi praise poetry is in connection with the beauty of the cows owned, the benefactors and the qualities of the poets that allowed them to own them, parallelled with a look down on the poor achievements of other people, whom they refer to as useless. The way this knowledge is told is different from ordinary speech because there is a transformation which is made.

Following this, the conclusion is that, the notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming can apply to Rundi praise poetry. This provides an answer to the first question formulated at the beginning of this work. Thus one can assume for sure that the notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming, formerly associated with written compositions, can also apply to oral compositions, Rundi praise poetry in this case.

Moreover, the means whereby this is achieved are known as composition skills , and the most frequent rhetorical devices are metaphor, metonymy, allusion, hyperbole, repetition and parallelism and the recurrence of one of them depends upon each individual poet's preference.

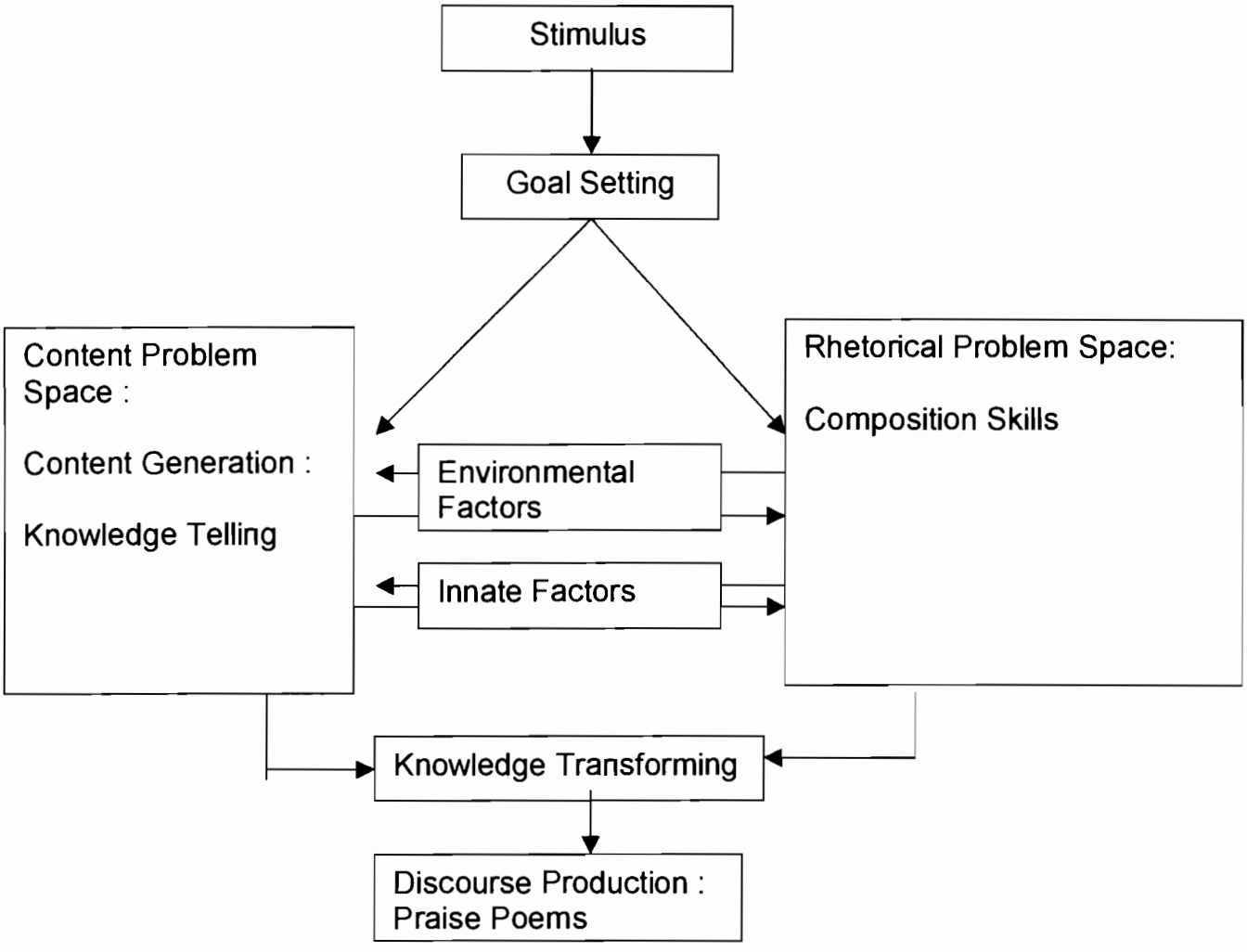
Besides, results reveal that the composition skills thanks to which the knowledge told is transformed are underlain by both innate and environmental factors. The innate factors are accounted for by the fact that Rundi uneducated poets use a number of rhetorical devices they have learned nowhere. As innate factors need some degree of experience to operate, environmental factors are vital as well. This was converged on by a number of critics as well as my informants, both educated and uneducated.

Thus, my second wonder of knowing the composition skills involved in praise poetry and their underlying factors finds an answer in the above, and I can say that to a considerable extent, the aims of this work have been achieved.

In brief, what I hypothesised at the beginning of this work is now verified, and it can be concluded that the notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming can apply to Rundi praise poetry. Moreover, knowledge transforming is achieved by means of a number of rhetorical devices, otherwise known as composition skills, the latter being underlain by both innate and environmental factors.

With regard to the transforming process in Rundi praise poetry, the following chart is much more talkative.

Summary of the Knowledge Transforming Process :



As can be seen in the above chart, a poem's production requires a number of steps, following one another, but also interacting with one another. Indeed, before the poet starts anything in relation to making the poem, there must be a stimulus . According to my informants this stimulus, for Rundi praise poets, is to get a cow from one's benefactor or to be invited to a party.

Following the stimulus, the poet sets a goal. Then, he chooses one of the items to be subject to praise or mix them in one production. At this stage, the knowledge telling process starts, and it takes place in the content problem space.

Meanwhile, the rhetorical devices thanks to which his knowledge is transformed are being activated, this taking place in the rhetorical problem space. Here, the poet selects the composition skills to use when rendering the poem as pleasing as he can.

Poetic creation being underlain by both innate and environmental factors, there is a constant interaction between the two problem spaces, accounted for by the two-way arrows in the above chart. The result of this interaction makes the process of knowledge transforming possible, and then a continuous flow of poems is poured by the poet.

To a greater extent, these different steps constitute onefold unit. The fact is that no single step is self-dependent, as there is a constant interaction. It is even difficult to assess how much time one step lasts, and at what time the next step starts and to set clear cut boundaries between them.

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

All along this study, I have attempted to prove that Rundi praise poetry is the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. Moreover, I have tried to identify the composition skills involved in it and the factors underlying them. This has been achieved through a four step process.

First, I have stated the problem and have formulated the hypotheses on the basis of which this research has been carried out. The aims of this study have also been defined. Besides, I have shown why it is worthwhile to investigate in this area, where my motivation stems from, and the boundaries of my research.

Second, I have given an account of the existing literature in this area of research. This is to say that I have made a critical evaluation of what other scholars have found. Therefore I have provided a description of Rundi praise poetry within African oral literature. In addition, I have provided the definitions of key terms relevant to this study.

Third, the methodology devised for this study has been described. Thus, I have described and justified the procedures according to which the data has been collected and analysed. Problems encountered have been also presented.

As far as the fourth step is concerned, it reveals that the notions of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming can apply to Rundi praise poetry, and Rundi praise poets are equipped with great ability, and the figures of speech involved in their poems are instances accounting for their skills in composition. Moreover, the composition skills involved in Rundi praise poetry are underlain by both innate factors – to a greater degree – and environmental ones. Still, this step reveals that Rundi praise poets can be moved from the state of knowledge telling to that of knowledge transforming by means of instructions either through experience or through formal education. But, it is intriguing to find that there is a lack of interest in praise poetry on the part of nowadays people.

With reference to the above findings, I can formulate the following recommendations :

- In order to arouse Burundians' interest in praise poetry, it should be taught at all levels of education, at least letting the teachees know the composition skills involved in it and training them through recitations.
- Rundi praise poetry should be recreated and adapted, to match with today's framework.
- Rundi praise poetry should be written or recorded, to provide the materials for this education, recreation, and adaptation.

- Researchers should thus collect the existing praise poems from their holders before the latter die.

As shortly described above, this study has revealed a number of facts in relation to the composition skills involved in Rundi praise poetry. But the question is whether I can claim to have exhausted this area of research. The answer to this question largely depends upon the extent to which the aims of the study have been achieved by the findings.

Actually, it would be pretentious to claim that I have fully investigated this area of research. As a matter of fact, results proved that creativity can be taught, i.e. Rundi praise poets can be moved from the state of knowledge telling to that of knowledge transforming by means of instructions. But, the question of knowing what kind of instruction to provide and at what age is still unanswered. Therefore further research needs to be carried out in order to know what kind of instruction is relevant and at what age.

Further research should also be carried out to know the relationship between innate and environmental factors and their impact upon one another. To this end, a longitudinal study would provide the appropriate framework. More research is needed to compare texts by educated poets and texts by uneducated ones to see what kind of differences and similarities can be found between them.

All in all, it is hoped that this study has to a considerable extent achieved its aims. If this is so, I am therefore right to conclude that Rundi praise poetry is the result of both knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. Thus, Rundi praise poets are equipped with great ability, otherwise known as composition skills, underlain by both innate and environmental factors.

Through this study, I have brought a modest contribution in this area of research by pointing out the involved composition skills in Rundi praise poetry and their underlying factors. Subsequently, I hope that the little path it opens in this area of research will lead to a big road through which other obscure zones of this area will be reached.

APPENDI X 1 : CORPUS

$Text_1$ (From observation)	Translation :
1 Umuganyirwa w'ikigongwe	A pitiful man
Nazindutse nganyira ibingoye	Whom I told my problems early
Nca nsanga yabigabiye	And I found them solved
Aca ampa	And he gave me
Inyana iri amasera	A multi-coloured veal
6 Naciye ndayita	I then named it
Bituruka vyengenga	It that leaves the kraal elegantly
Bitaha bihamiriza	It that straightforwardly comes back home
Biragiza imishari imishamango	It that demonstrates its strength
Ishamba rigahorwa n'imivumero	And it echoes everywhere around
11 Nca mpamagara umugore n'umwana	And I called my wife and my child
Nti nimwambare mwikwize	I told them to be fully dressed
Muze mwirabire intamba yabitambwe	And to come and to watch the descendant of Bitambwe
Itambana n'iyayo ku murango	Dancing with its veal at day-time
15 Na jewe sinigize nyawambamba	I myself was not useless
Sinaguze itabi itanu	I didn't buy tobacco for 50 francs
Kandi sinishinze baracumba	Nor did I rely on bread-making
18 Narazindutse mara urubanza	I travelled early
Nsanga ibihuza bigumije urugamba	I found fool people courageously fighting
Mugufora ndenza ingimbi ingemera	Bowing, I threw away the enemies
21 Hanyuma Data yaciye ampetera aca ampa	Then, my father gave me a second cow And gave me
Kivotera tongo	It that joyfully grazes the cultivated land
Kimoma nyovu	Which pulls the uncultivated one
25 Nije nayishoje	I brought it myself
Ntatinya urukamvye	He who never fears a serious battle
Urugamba rugumije abarimbi	When even held by fearful people.

Text$_2$ (From observation)

Rugera abagabana	The chooser of receivers of gifts
Mutima uruta umutumba	Heart bigger than the body
Ntashengeranwa n'uguhumba	He who never pays homage to the king for joking
Yampaye Maza meza ya Mwaka	He gave me nice Maza of Mwaka
Izereka imitari	It that shows them horns
Zikiyagana mu gutaha	They then group them to go back home
Bishira iburyo nk'intwaramiheto	Right handed like soldiers
Iyo nka nayigabanye	That cow I got
Itengatiye igisabo	Holding a strain-band
Yimirije ikibondo	Nursing a veal
Ndayahura ikibara	I gave it grass
Isobanura ikibamba	It sorted out colours
Itamanzura agasera	It grew brighter
Itamanzura amamerano	Its horns grew taller and taller
Ihamiriza mu gushoka	It takes front position when going to drink
Iranyiganyiga mu gutaha	It moves elegantly when back home
Itegeka igikingi	It rightened the fence shield
Ibogora igikomezo	It rightened the altar
Yimura igikogoshi	It settled the grub away
Ituza ikirungurira	It chased nausea
Irashinga ikigega	It rightened the food store
Yimura ikigoyi	It settled hunger away
Ibogora ibibondo	It rightened children
Ija ingingo n'impfizi	It conceived
Iravyara soni	And gave birth to soni
Inka nagabiye Mugara	A cow I gave to Mugara
Nanka kwitwa umugarariji	In order not to be considered as a rebel
Mu Batutsi bagabanye inka	Among herders who received cows

Text$_3$ (From Rodegem)

1 Naragabanye Manyama s'ugushungwa n'ukuramba Inka zarizivuye kwa kino kinonera ikinyoma kwa kino gihanamiye urugege kwa ntibugira ngo nje guhurura	I received Manyana it's not quick It's to be patient Cows were coming from the one who skips along lies The one ready to shoot the arrow The one who does not take it easy
6. Ku muhutu atabegera imbwa Ntabegere umwana Ndagabana ndava y'ibiranga Inka zivuye mu Masinzo Ku muhutu w'umutware Ndaha	At a hutu who does not feed a dog Nor a child I got brighter Ndava cows coming from Masinzo At a leading hutu Ndaha
11 Yarinze ahwera atabonye icera mu cansi Atari icirabura mu cibo Burahava mu gitondo Ndagabana Biteramana n'ubukombe Agatiro kivye inkangara	Who died without getting milk If not void in man's basket Then the following morning I got Biteramana n'ubukombe When young cows are sleepy
16 Inka zivuye mu Bahima Bo mu ngwiro za Gicumbi Bamenye kuzisaba Ntibamenye kizisasira Inyana inaniye ntikubitwa	Cows coming from Bahima tribe From the hillside of Gicumbi Who knew to ask for cows But who did not know to take care of them A veal missed by me cannot be got
21 Na ka Nyabenda kwa kazamiye kwa Bunwa bugunda urwarwa Atazi iyo icago kizova Ya kunda Mirire Ntakunda gutanga mwiriwe	By Nyabenda son of Kazamiye Whose mouth is keen on banana wine Without knowing the source of badness He liked Mirire But did not like to greet other people

26. Ndahava ndataha	And I went back home
Mu Batare mu batutsi	Among the abatare princes and herders
Niho nagabana Rugamba	It's the time I got Rugamba
Ngambiriza abatayigabanye	That makes my pride among people who didn't get it
Ba kino gitinya ikirimba	Those who never pay homage to the king's court
31 Ba birenge bitarenga ku nama	Those who never go beyond the kraal's entrance
Buraca mu gitondo mva mu Runyinya	I left Runyinya the following morning
Ndasimba kayongwe na kaniga	I jumped over kayongwe and kaniga rivers
Nishimikije umusuno	Leaning on a bamboo tree
Ndataha iremera kwa Rumomana	I went back to Remera at Rumomana
36 Niho nahagabanira yamarwa	It's from where I got Yamarwa
Ivuye mu Batare	Coming from the abatare princes of Museso
Kwa mwene Museso	And the following morning
Buraca mu gitondo	An attack was launched by Muganga
Muganga aratera	
41 Irasimba ibigogero	It jumped over the milking fence
Ija gushinga umugambwe	And went to set group work
Mw'itaba rya kiyenzi	In the flat of Kiyenzi
Ndayihindukirana	I came back with it
Mw'itaba rya Remera	In the flat of Remera
46 Iraronderera inkiriri	It seeks for the heifer
Mu nkingu za Remera	In the hillsides of Remera
Irakubisha ukuryo	It turns things by right hand
Irabogoza ukubamfu	It rightens by left one
Yanka isememe	It does not like quarrels
51 Mu mihana y'ababanyi	In the neighbouring households
Ndavuza urwamo iravuza urwuri	It brouses as I shout
Irashingurana ishinge ishimwe	It joyfully pulls out the uncultivated land
Iraryana itongo itoto	As it does for the cultivated one
Ndayahura ikibara	I gave it grass

Irasobanura ikibamba	It sorted out colours
Ndavuza urwamo ndakora inkoni	I shouted and took a stick
Irakora inkomati	It quickened
Ndakobereza irakonganya	It quickened as I whistled
Irashirukanya mu gushoka	It quickens when it's time to drink
Iranyoganyoga mu gutaha	It moves elegantly when back home
Yahora yima yimiriye amakaba	It used to conceive when still milking
Bugaca mu gatondo ikavyara	Then it gave birth soon
Mirire ya kiriri	To nice Mirire
Inka zivuye mu basinzira ku Murango	Cows coming from the ones who sleep at day time
Bakikangura bugorovye	Who wake up in the evening
Ntavyutsa igisivya	He who does not wake up for absence
Imihigo iraye ku Muzenga	Soldiers spending the night at Muzenga
Nticura igicumito	He who does not fear death
Ishuri ya Muguduko na Mwambutsa	Son of Muguduko and Mwambutsa
Avuye mu Masango	Coming from Masango
Akagudukira i Remera	Suddenly going to Remera
Mpfizi ibereye inka	Bull well fitting cows
Rumaragishika zigashikirana	He who makes them come close
Mbere sindi igiti gitaye umuntu	I am not a tree casting a person
Sindi Mama yarambariye	I do not rely on my mother's sayings
Sindi icompa zigasiba	I am not for their absence
Rusera rwampaye Gatoto	Rusera from which I got Gatoto
Kadahunda mu rwoya	That does not feel cold
Inka zivuye mu Kinyana	Cows coming from Kinyana
Kwa Bisomanyi mu batutsi	At Bisomanyi of herders
B'abatasha mukunzi wo gukira	Who send greeting to a true friend
Ndagano y'abatare	Ndagano from abatare princes
Mfise abatanzi ntizifise abasezi	I have benefactors, not beggers
Rusera rwo mu Masera	Rusera of Masera

86 Ntawumusaba ngw'asonze Ntawumurinda ngw'arambe Umutavu wa Mwambutsa Yakinye araba ibirimba Rubangisha yampaye nyovu y'ibitama binini	No one of his servants will feel hungry No one in opposition to him lives long Baby of Mwambutsa Who played looking at the king's kraal Rubangisha who gave me Nyovu with big cheeks
91 Ifise ibitako binini binini Iza yonsa ntagasumba intara Bitwi bisumba amahembe Inka zivuye mu Gasarara	That has big thighs It came nursing the outstanding veal Ears taller than horns Cows coming from Gasarara
95 Kwa bene Rutoke bene Ruvuga Bigoro vy'ikigongwe Na ngoma y'ibitari	At Rutoke's and Ruvuga's Pitiful Bigoro And Ngoma of long horns

APPENDIX 2 : SELECTED RESULTS FROM THE INTERVIEW

As, among the texts collected, I have made a selection of two for analysis, I also prefer to show the results of the interview held with the composers of these texts. It is as follows : after each question there are two answers, one by the first poet (a) and the other(b) by the second poet. In addition Q stands for the question while A stands for the answer.

1) Q : Mwebwe ko muzi amazina y'ubuhizi, mwoba mwatanguye kwivuga ryari ?

Translation : you are good as far as praise poetry is concerned, from when have you started ?

A. a) Mfise imyanka cumi n'umwe.

Translation : I was eleven years old.

b) Natanguye mfise imyaka mirongo itatu.

Translation : I have started when I was thirty years old.

2) Q : Mwatanguye gute ?

Translation : How have you started ?

A: a) Natanguye nkwirikira papa ku butumire ; Hanyuma barivuga amazina y'ikaze. Niho nayarahuye.

Translation : I started following my father at some invitations. At our arrival they declaimed poetry to welcome us. And it's from there I have learnt it.

b) Umuntu atangura kuryoherwa anyoye, akabigomwa yumvise abandi bariko barivuga. Hanyuma nawe bakugabiye, uti nobatazira.

Translation : When drinking, one starts by admiring others' recitations. And when given a cow, he thinks of praising his benefactor.

3) Q: Ni ayo mwarazwe canke ni ayo mwiyumviriye mwebwe nyene ?

Translation : Have you got the praise poems from inheritance or are they of your own composition ?

A: a) N'ayo numva bivuga, ariko nararyohora. Waraseruka aho bagutumiye bati wamaze iki, ugaca utangura.

Translation : It's what I heard from others but I refined them. At your arrival at a place where you were invited, they could ask you what you have achieved. And it was an opportunity to start.

b) N'ayo narahuye, ariyo nubakiye ko rwanje.

Translation : I have got it from others and it provided me with the basis for my own composition.

4) Q : Mubona imvugo mukoresha mu kwivuga itandukaniye hehe n'iya misi Yose ?

Translation : To what extent does the speech you use in praise poetry differ from that of everyday usage ?

A: a) Iratandukanye kuko mu mazina y'ubukuzi imvugo iraryohoye.

Translation : There is a difference because in praise poetry there is a refined Speech.

b) Iratandukanye kuko mu mazina y'ubuhizi, imvugo irahinguye ; umuntu ahingura ijwi, araturiza nk'impfizi yivuga kandi harimwo igaruka garuka.

Translation : There is a difference because in praise poetry the speech is refined. One refines his voice just like a bull and there is a repetition.

5) Q : None uburyo mukoresha kugira muronke imvugo iryohoye ni ubuhe ?

Translation : What are the techniques you use in order to get a refined speech ?

A: a) Dukoresha imvugo nkikiro, ikirundi co kuryohereza mbere gikeneye gusigurwa.

Translation : We use a non-straight language, a praising language, sometimes needing to be explained.

b) Ufatira ku migenzo ukaryohora. Nobigereranya n'impfizi yivuga. Ntiyabira nk'inka ivyara, iraturiza.

Translation : One bases on the culture and thus refines. I can compare it to a bull whose voice is different from that of a cow.

6) Q: Mbega ririya cumu ryoryo muba mufise mu kuboko rifasha iki ?

Translation : What is the role of that spear in your hand during a performance ?

A. a) Ryerekana akanyamuneza uririmbana uwakugabiye, ubushingantahe, ko utari imburakimazi, kandi ko inka idashorezwa igipfunsi.

Translation : It shows the joy with which you praise your benefactor. It shows wisdom and powerfulness and that a cow cannot be brought somewhere using only hands. A spear is necessary to ensure protection.

b) Riranga ubuhizi, ubushingantahe, ingwano, icubahiro.

Translation : It shows praise, nobleness, battle, and respectability.

7) Q : Mbe mutegura imbere yuko mutangura kwivuga ?

Translation : Do you have to prepare before the performance ?

A. a) Ndategura inyubako nziza.

Translation : Yes I prepare a well thought out style.

b) Mw'ijoro ndyamye ndategura.

Translation : Yes I prepare while sleeping.

8) Q : Mbe abivuga ni bande ?

Translation : Who are the people involved in praise poetry ?

A: a) Abagabo

Translation : Men

b) Abagabo nibo bivuga.

Translation : The men are the ones who praise.

9) Q: Ko hariho abativuga ni ukutabishaka canke ni ukutabishobora ?

Translation : There are people who are not involved in praise poetry, is it due to lack of interest or are they unable ?

A: a) Ni ukutabishobora.

Translation : They are unable.

b) Ni ukutabishobora ; bibagora gutondeka, kandi ni imbundege, ntashengera kandi ntagabane.

Translation : They are unable. It is difficult for them to refine the speech. These people are also powerless and never pay homage to the king and consequently do not receive any gift.

10) Q: None kugira umuntu amenye kwivuga bisaba iki ?

Translation : What is required to be a praise poet ?

A: a) Bisaba umutwe, kwitanga, ijambo, amamuko, ico shobuja yakumariye.

Translation : It requires memory, courage, nobleness, from which family you are born, and the deeds of your benefactor.

b) Bisaba kuba intore, guseruka mu bandi, n'umutwe.

Translation : It requires bravery, interaction with other people, and memory.

11) Q : None muravye mubona ab'ubu bacivuga nk'abakera ?

Translation : If you try to assess, are nowadays people still involved in praise poetry like our ancestors ?

A: a) Oya vyarahindutse, ab'ubu barataye akaranga, ntibakivyumva.

Translation : Now it is worn out, nowadays people have lost their culture. They no longer listen to praise poetry.

12) Q: Mubona hokorwa iki kugira ab'ubu bamenye kwivuga ?

Translation : What can be done so that nowadays people be involved in praise poetry ?

A: a) Igiteramo nk'icakera cofasha.

Translation : Gatherings like traditional ones can help.

b) Kunagura urwaruka. Kurwigisha mu mashule yose kuva hasi gushika muri

kaminuza, twisunze ingeso zikirundi ziranga ubuhizi.

Translation : To train again the children at all levels of education on the basis of culture specific to Burundi and praising one.

13) Q: Muguheraheza, murashobora kutubwira ico mwamaze ?

Translation : In the end, can you tell us your achievements ?

A: See text1 and text2 above.

APPENDIX 3 : LIST OF INFORMANTS

1. Uneducated Informants

Buyondi (70), Kivumu.

Musoma (55), Mutobo.

Ntadida (59), Mpota.

Nzobatinya (46), Mpota.

Vondoro (56), Mpota.

2. Educated Informants

Bigirindavyi Bernard (29), Ruhongo.

Bucanayandi Marc (26), Nyarurambi.

Niyondavyi Sévérin (27), Kibezi.

Niyongabo Fulgence (25), Kivumu.

Niyukuri Odiphax (16), Mpota.

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