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ON THE MODAL VERB *-HOTOL-* IN MANDA (N.11)

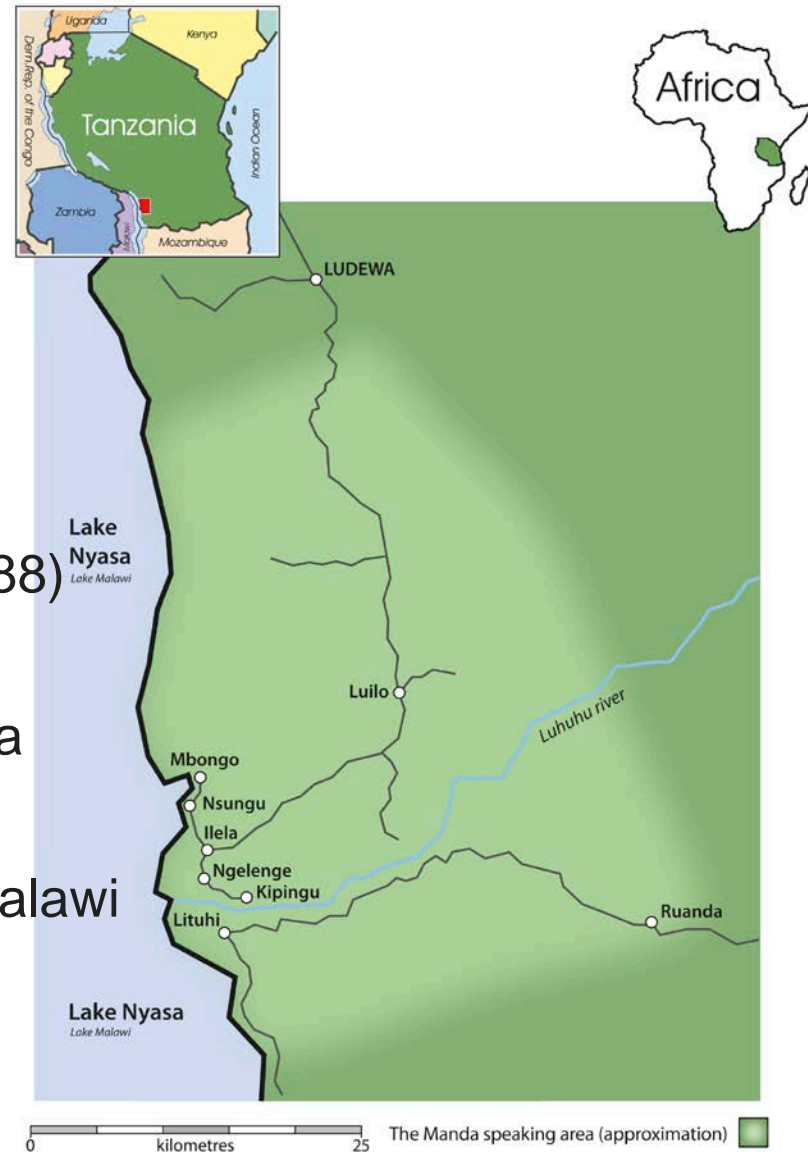
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Introduction

- Bantu language
- N.11 (Guthrie 1948, 1967-71, Maho 2009)
- Great affinity to G.60 (Nurse 1988)
- ~30 000 speakers (Anderson et al 2003; Muzale & Rugemalira 2008:80)
- North-eastern shores of Lake Malawi (Nyasa)



...Introduction

- Devos (2008; forthcoming): Traditionally little attention in the literature of Bantu languages concerning the domain of modality/modal auxiliary verbs. Bantu grammars often give very little information on the etymology of such verbs, the modal domains covered by them and their development.
- Or if they even exist (!)
- Not discussed in Nurse (2008)
- Yet: Recent studies (Devos 2008; Bostoen et al 2012; Mberamihigo 2014; Kawalya et al 2014): Modal auxiliaries = prevalent category cross-Bantu
- Aims:
 - Offer a description and analysis of the polyfunctional behavior of the modal verb *-hotol-* in Manda (N.11)
 - Reconstruct the path of evolution of *-hotol-*:
 - i) from pre-modal lexeme > a verb expressing notions of modality
 - ii) development(s) and conceptual shift(s) within the domain of modality.

Modal functions of *-hotol-*

- In synchronic Manda, the modal verb *-hotol-* is used in collocation with an infinitive verb to denote concepts related to possibility/potentiality
- All subdomains of modality as they are defined in van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) are covered by *-hotol-*
- Signal that the event encompassed in V2 is possible or permitted

...Modal functions of *-hotol-*

- *i) Participant-internal modality*: Abilities or capacities inherent in the 1st participant [typically the subject] of the clause.

(1) *ahótó kugendésa gáli?*

a-hotol-a	ku-gendes-a	gali
SM3SG-POT-FV	INF-drive-FV	car

'can she drive the car?'

- *ii) Participant-external modality*: What is capable for the 1st participant is enabled by conditions from outside (Bybee et al 1994:192)

(2) *ndaya yáke nahotwíli kúkína mpíla*

ndaya yi-ake	ni-a-hotol-ili	ku-kin-a	mu-pila
reason ACP9-POSS.3SG	SM1SG-PST2-POT-PFV	INF-play-FV	NCP3-football

'[...] (and) because of that I could play football'

... Modal functions of *-hotol-*

- iii) *Deontic modality*: certain instantiation or “specialization” of participant-external modality (Auwera & Plungian 1998)
- (3) *máwu antávila mwána: uhótó kusígála panyúmba*
 mawu a-mu-tavil-a mu-ana: u-hoto ku-sigal-a pa-nyumba
 mother SM1SG-OM3SG-tell-FV NCP1-child: SM2SG-POT INF-remain-FV LOC16-NCP9:home
 ‘mother tells the child: you can stay at home’ [adapted from Winford & Migge 2007]
- As pointed out for other Bantu languages (Bostoen et al 2012; Kawalya et al 2014): important pragmatic-semantic cut-off point where the deontic use expresses a more attitudinal concept = more subjective (~subjectified) reading.
 - This is mirrored conceptually and syntactically in the Manda language

... Modal functions of *-hotol-*

- iv) *Epistemic modality*: “the speaker’s degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition” (Traugott & Dasher 2002:106)
- Uncertainty in the case of possibility

(4) *ahótóla kúya kunyúmba; niwóna baiskéli yáki*

a-hotol-a	ku-y-a	ku-nyumba	ni-won-a	baiskeli	yi-aki
SM3SG-POT-FV	INF-be-FV	LOC17-home	SM1SG-see-FV	bicycle	ACP9-POSS3SG

‘he might be at home; I can see his bicycle’

- Just as the deontic modality it encompasses a more subjective category.

Summary and point of departure

	Pre-modal	>	Pre-core modal		>	Core-modal	
			part.- internal	part.- external		deontic	epistemic
Grammatical status	lexical verb	>	collocation with infinitive		>	auxiliary	
Semantic characteristics	X does Y [Y= object]	>	X does Y [Y=action/event] event-oriented		>	X does Y (according to speaker's subjective beliefs/attitudes)	

- 1) Pre-modal (lexical) verb > pre-core modal verb
- 2) Pre-core modal verb > core modal verb

1. Origin of & recruitment into a modal verb

- *-hotol-* < **-cotvd-* ‘pierce’ (C.S. 839; Guthrie 1967-71; Bastin et al 2002); **c* > h(s) (Nurse 1988:102)

LANG	CODE	I	II	III	IV~Dynamic modal
Proto-Bantu	-	‘pierce’			
Mpoto	(N.14)	‘pierce; bore a hole’			‘be able’
Tz Ngoni	(N.12)	‘perforate’	‘criticize; say hard but just things’	‘overcome; win; vanquish’	‘be able’
Matengo	(N.13)	‘pierce; stab’		‘competition’ (n.)	‘be able (to)’
Kisi	(G.67)	‘pierce; perforate’		‘overcome; win; vanquish’	‘be able’
Pangwa	(G.64)	‘pierce’	‘be frank, honest’ (?)		
Manda	(N.11)	‘pierce (wood)’		‘overcome; win; vanquish’	‘be able’

... 1. Origin & recruitment into a modal verb

- Rare lexical examples in Manda data
- Especially (extended) meaning ‘overpower; overcome’ in the New Testament (1937)

(5) *mukihotole kiwifu pa kukita kinofu*

mu-ki-hotol-e ki-wifu pa ku-kit-a ki-nofu
SM2PL-OM7-overcome-FV ACP7-evil LOC16 INF-do-FV ACP7-good
‘[...] overcome evil by doing good’ [N.T 1937, Romans 12:21]

- The recruitment into dynamic modality: Generalization and abstraction of physical ability of overcoming and dominating a concrete referential entity to master a more abstract activity or an event

2. The extension within the modal domain

- Pre-core domain of modality > core modality domain
- Through a mutual process of *grammaticalization*
- & *subjectification* = the extension in semantic scope from coding more objective concepts of innate ability of the 1st participant to expressing the speaker's subjective view on the situation (Traugott 2010)
- E.g. Heine & Narrog (2010): Subjectification one possible but not obligatory pragmatic-semantic initiator of change within the realm of grammaticalization

... 2. The extension within the modal domain

- Subjectification-cum-grammaticalization
 - Triggered by the occurrence of dynamic/non-core *-hoto/-* use in potentially ambiguous contexts (cf. Heine 2002; de Smet & Verstraete 2006)
 - Where the more subjective invited inferences (or implications) got conventionalized and semanticalized
 - Often the case in the data
- (6) *nívi náku apa ihótó kukuwonésa*
 ni-vy-ili na=ku apa a-i-hoto ku-ku-wones-a
 SM1SG-be(come)-PFV and=PRON3SG DEM16 SM2SG-PRS-POT INF-OM2SG-greet-FV
 'I am with him here, he is able to/might greet you'

... 2. The extension of *-hotol-* within the modal domain

- Indications of form-meaning split:
- A) semantic: "host class expansion" (Himmelman 2004)
- B) Loss in syntactic autonomy in elipsis constructions
- C) Diachronic
- D) (Micro)comparative

A) "Host class expansion" (Himmelman 2004)

- The supply of types of verbs that *-hoto/-* may co-occur with has expanded
- The "litmus test" of reconceptualization a verb (Kuteva 2001)
- Can stand in collocation with "itself"

(7) *ihótó kuhótóla kupínda ligánga líla*

a-i-hoto ku-hoto-a ku-pind-a li-ganga líla

3SG-PRS-POT INF-be.able-FV INF-lift.up-FV 5-stone DEM5

'he might be able to lift that stone'

- "Double modals" = increased scope and thus more generalized meaning of core modal *-hoto/-* (Traugott & Dasher 2002:108; 139-140; Traugott 2010; Bybee & Pagliuca 1985).

B) Loss in syntactic autonomy

- Reflected in clauses with anaphoric reference (cf. Bostoen et al 2012; Heine & Miyashita 2008)
- Areal trait: complement elision in elipsis (Ngonyani 2000, 2003)
- When *-hotol-* expresses core modality, V2 cannot be elided
- Or else *-hotol-* automatically has a pre-core modal reading

(8) *ng'ówólo ahótóla kugénda kulléla kwa valóngo múndu?*

mu-gowolo	a-hotol-a	ku-gend-a	ku-llela	kwa	va-longo	mundu
NCP1-old	SM1SG-POT-FV	INF-walk-FV	LOC17-llela	to	NCP2-relative	3SG.POSS

'Can grandmother go to visit her relatives in llela?'

A1: *ena, ahótóla* 'yes, she is able (to walk there)' **'yes, she is allowed to walk (there)'

A2: *ena, ahótóla kugénda* 'yes, she is allowed to walk (there)'

C) Diachronic indications New Testament (1937)

- Core modality is a later evolution
- No epistemic use
- Ambiguous examples part.-external and deontic

(9) *pawaka mundu uyu ahotola kuwatumakila wabambo wawili*

pawaka mu-ndu uyu a-hotol-a ku-wa-tumakil-a wa-bambo wa-wili
 NEG.EXT NCP1-person1DEM 3SG-POT-FV INF-OM3PL-serve NCP2-masterACP2-two

'no one can serve two masters...' [Matt. 6:24]

{ "...Either you will hate the one and love the other, or you will be devoted to the one and despise the other..." }

(10) *muhotola lepa kuntumakila Mulungu nu Mamona*

mu-hotol-a lepa ku-mu-tumakil-a Mulungu na Mamona
 SM2PL-POT-FV NEG INF-OM3SG-serve-FV God and Mamon

'You cannot serve both God and money' [Matthew 19:25]

D) (Micro-)Comparative indications

- Implicational hierarchy
- Corroborate the relative chronology pre-core > core

LANGUAGE	CODE	Pre-core modal		Core modal	
		Part- ext.	Part.- int.	Deontic	Epistemic
Mpoto	(N.14)		yes	yes	yes
Kisi	(G.67)		yes	yes	no (?)
Matengo	(N.13)		yes	yes (?)	no
Ngoni	(N.12)		yes	no	no
Pangwa	(G.64)		no	no	no

... D) (Micro-)Comparative indications An problematic issue

- “Swahilization” of this area
- all other languages has borrowed *-wez-* ‘be able’ from Swahili into the modal domain
- Used complementary OR as a synonym/core borrowing
- Ex: Matengo Yoneda (Yoneda 2010; pc)
- Generational shift
- Did the borrowing of *-wez-* stop an increasingly non-referential use of *-hoto/-* or did it replace it?

Summary & conclusion

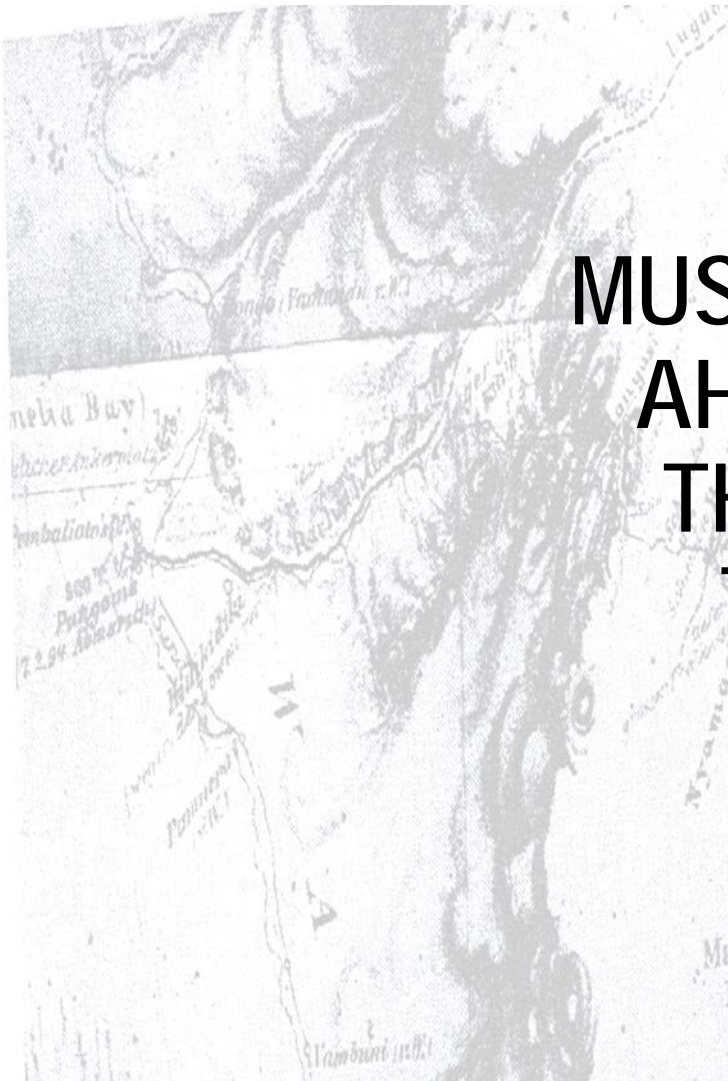
- Account of the semasiological development of the modal verb *-hoto-* in Manda:
- From a lexical verb ‘pierce’ to ‘overcome’
 - > (dynamic) modal verb
 - > core modality
- Evolution through joint process of grammaticalization and subjectification
- In turn: striking similarities with the lexical meaning, development & formal diagnostic of a verb **-cobud-* described for Luganda (Kawalya et al 2014) and Rundi (Bostoen et al 2012)
- similar extension within the modal force of possibility
- similar pre-modal meaning of ‘overcome’

... Summary & conclusion

- Also: the high degree of borrowing in this domain in Bantu (cf. Devos 2008; forthcoming; Kawalya p.c.);
- Swahili loan *-wez-* in several neighboring languages
- Partly the explanation to why the topic of modal verbs has been a neglected subject for (at least Tanzanian) Bantu languages?
- There is every reason for continuing to investigate the expression of modal notions in Bantu languages
- Likely much to be revealed and new insights to be won!



**MUSÉNGWÍLI!
AHSANTE!
THANKS!
TACK!**





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