

Modal Devices in Kirundi A Corpus-driven Approach

Ferdinand MBERAMIHIGO

Université du Burundi

fmberamihigo@gmail.com





A corpus-driven approach

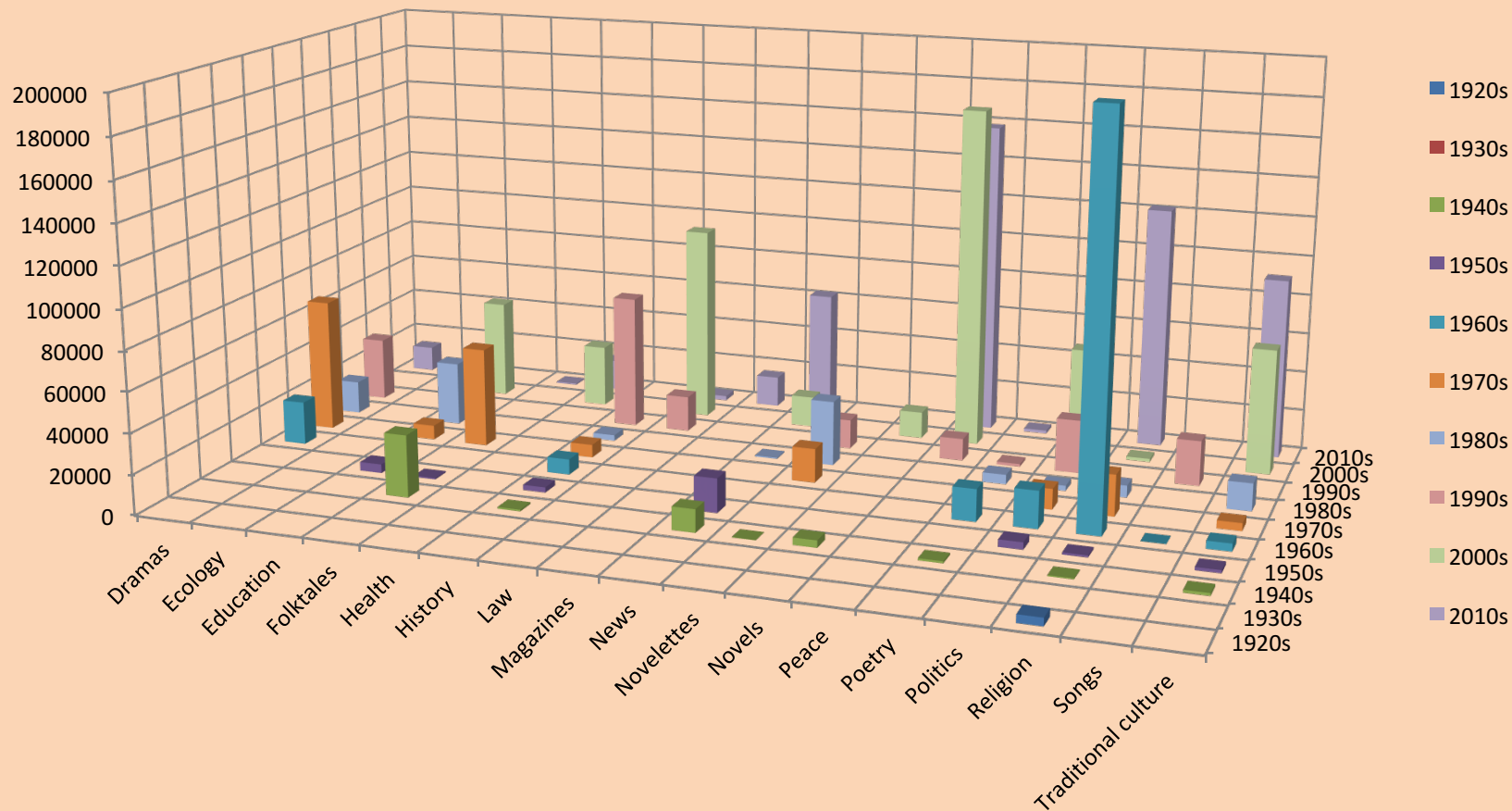
Kirundi corpus

❖ Tokens : 1.918.292

❖ Types : 204.016

❖ Period distribution: 9 decades (1920s-2010s;
1930s: empty)

Genre/Topic & Period



Theoretical framework

Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998):

Modality: Possibility and necessity

Nuyts (2004, 2005):

❖ Dynamic:

➤ *Participant-inherent*

➤ *Participant-imposed*

➤ *Situational*

❖ Deontic

❖ Epistemic

Focus

Four types of modal devices used in Kirundi language :

- Affix
- auxiliary verbs
- epistemic adverbs

Modal affix: -oo-

Potential marker

- traditionally labeled conditional/potential in Bantu
- Located between SC and root.
- The most widely used and has the largest semantic scope and the greatest number of modal values.
- Therefore, it stands as the grammatical morpheme dedicated to the expression of modality in Kirundi.

Dynamic possibility

Participant-inherent Dynamic Possibility (P-In DyPo):

Uburundi naje nobutwara.

‘Burundi, I am also able to govern it’

(Mugororoka, News, 1970s)

u-bu-ruúndi	na	je	n- oo -bu-twáar-a
AUG ₁₄ -NP ₁₄ -Burundi	also	me	SC _{1sg} - MOD -OC ₁₄ -govern-PFV

Dynamic possibility (2)

Participant-imposed Dynamic Possibility (P-Im DyPo):

...ejo uraza kundamutsa, niho tworonka n'akanya ko kuganira.

‘...tomorrow, come and visit me, so that we can have at least some time to talk.’

(*Rumarantimba*, Drama, 1980s)

ejó	u-ra-əz-a	ku-n-ramuts-a	ni	ha-ó
tomorrow	SC _{2sg} -HORT-come-IPF	NP ₁₅ -OC _{1sg} -visit-IPF	COP	PP ₁₆ -PRCS

tu-oo-roonk- ^H a	n	a-ka-ánya	ka-ó
SC _{2pl} -MOD-get-REL.IPF	at.least	AUG ₁₂ -NP ₁₂ -time	PP ₁₂ -CONN

ku-gániir-a
NP₁₅-talk-IPFV

Dynamic possibility (3)

Situational Dynamic Possibility (SiP):

Umuntu arashobora guhema umwotsi w'itabi awutumuriweko n'uwurinywa.

'A person can breathe tobacco smoke when he is smoked out by someone who smokes.'

(USCRI_H_QuitSmoking, Health, 2000s)

u-mu-ntu a-ra-**shóbor**-a ku-heem-a u-mu-óotsi
AUG₁-NP₁-person SC₁-DISJ-**can**-IPFV NP₁₅-breathe-VF AUG₃-NP₃-smoke

u-a i-∅-taábi a^H-u-tuumuur-ir-u-ye-kó
PP₃-CONN AUG₅-NP₅-tobacco SC₁.CJC-OC₃-smoke.out-APPL-PASS-PFV-POSTF₁₇

na u-u-ri-nyó-a
by AUG₁-SC₁-OC₅-smoke-IPFV

Deontic possibility

Imana yabariye Adamu iti: “Urashobora kurya ivyamwa vyose uretse igiti kiri hagati mu murima”.

‘God said to Adam: « You can eat of all the fruits, except of the tree which is in the middle of the garden».’

(CU110308Umuro, Peace, 2010s)

i-N-máana	i-á-bárir-ye	Adaámu	i-ti	u-ra- shóbor -a
AUG ₉ -NP ₉ -God	SC ₉ -PE-say-PFV	Adam	SC ₉ -QUOT	SC _{2sg} -DISJ- can -IPFV
ku-rí-a	i-bi-aámwa	bi-óóse	urétse	i-ki-tí
NP ₁₅ -eat-IPFV	AUG ₈ -NP ₈ -fruit	PP ₈ -all	except	AUG ₇ -NP ₇ -tree
i-ki-tí	ki-ri ^H	hagatí	mu	mu-rimá
AUG ₇ -NP ₇ -tree	SC ₇ -be.REL	in.the.middle	LOC ₁₈	NP ₃ -garden

Epistemic possibility

Iryo dini rero ryoba ryatangira izo nyigisho mu kinyegero kuko mu masengero yabo basa n'abatanga inyigisho nziza.

'So this religion may have given these precepts in secret because in their churches they seemed to give good precepts.'

(*Mushingantahe*, Paix, 2000s)

i-ri-o	∅-diní	reeró	ri-oo-bá-a	ri ^H -á-táang-ir-a
AUG ₅ -PP ₅ -DEMB	NP ₅ -religion	then	SC ₅ - MOD -be-VF	SC ₅ .CJC-PE-give-APPL-VF
i-zi-o	N-yígiisho	mu	ki-nyegero	kukó
AUG ₁₀ -PP ₁₀ -DEMB	NP ₁₀ -precept	LOC ₁₈	NP ₇ -secret	because
mu	ma-sengero	a-ábo	ba-á-se-a	na
LOC ₁₈	NP ₆ -church	PP ₆ -POSS ₂	SC ₂ -HP-seeem-VF	with
a-ba-á-táng-a	i-N-yígiisho		N-(z)iizá	
AUG ₂ -PP ₂ -HP-give-IPFV	AUG ₁₀ -NP ₁₀ -precept		AP ₁₀ -good	

Dynamic necessity

Participant-inherent Dynamic Necessity (P-In DyNe):

***Dawe wo mw'ijuru arazi ko dukeneye kwambara
n'ugufungura.***

'Our Father in Heaven knows that we need to dress and
to eat.'

(Yaga, Religion, 1960s)

daawé	u-ó	mu	i-∅-juru	a-ra-ézi	kó
our.father	PP ₁ -CONN	LOC ₁₈	AUG ₅ -NP ₅ -heaven	SC ₁ -DISJ-know	that
tu-kener- ^H ye		ku-ambar-a	nó	u-ku-fuungur-a	
SC _{1pl} -need-REL.PFV		NP ₁₅ -dress-IPFV	and	AUG ₁₅ -NP ₁₅ -eat-IPFV	

Dynamic necessity (2)

Participant-imposed Dynamic Necessity (P-Im DyNe)

Ibimazi vy'úmuryāngo ní ikĩntu umuryāngo utegérezwa kwāma ufise kugíra ngo urōnké umugisha.

'Family amulets are something a family must keep constantly so that it would have a blessing.'

(*IntaraKama*, Traditional Culture, 2010s)

i-bi-mazi	bi-a	u-mu-ryaango	ni	i-ki-ntu
AUG ₈ -NP ₈ -amulet	PP ₈ -CONN	AUG ₃ -NP ₃ -family	COP	AUG ₇ -NP ₇ -thing

u-mu-ryaango	u-tégerew ^H a	ku-ám-a
AUG ₃ -PN ₃ -family	SC ₃ -must-REL.IPFV	NP ₁₅ -be.constantly-IPFV

u ^H -fít-ye	kugíra	ngo	u-roonk ^H e	u-mu-gisha
SC ₃ -have-PFV	so	that	SC _{2sg} -get-SBJF.PFV	AUG ₃ -NP ₃ -chance

Dynamic necessity (3)

Situational Dynamic Possibility (SiP):

Ivyo bihe bitegerezwa gushikira na cane cane ikiremwa muntu kandi nta ko avyirinda kuko ni ntabanduka.

‘These times must happen especially to the human being and there is no way of eluding them because they are ineluctable.’

(CU100427, Peace, 2010s)

i-bi-o	bi-he	bi-tégerew-a	ku-shik-ir-a	na	
AUG ₈ -PP ₈ -DEMB	NP ₈ -time	SC ₈ -must-IPFV	NP ₁₅ -happen-APPL-IPFV	and	
caanecáane	i-ki-remwá	mu-ntu	kaáandi	nta	ku-o
especially	AUG ₇ -NP ₇ -being	NP ₁ -human	and	COP.NEG	PP ₁₅ -PRCS
a-bi-iriind- ^H a	kukó	ni	ntabaandúuka		
SC ₁ -OC ₈ -elude-REL-IPFV	because	COP	ineluctable		

Deontic necessity

Ingene Bakwa. Umusore waho agomba kukwa umugore, abwirizwa kutanga inka zine canke zitanu, canke zitandatu.

‘How they pay dowry. A young man from there who desires a wife must give four, five or six cows.’
(*Rusizira4603Akatangaza*, News, 1940s)

ingéne how	ba-kó- ^{Ha} SC ₂ -pay.dowry-REL.IPFV	u-mu-sóre AUG ₁ -NP ₁ -young.man	u-áaho PP ₁ -POSS ₁₆	
a-goomb- ^{Ha} SC ₁ -desire-REL.IPFV	ku-kó-a NP ₁₅ -pay.dowry-IPFV	u-mu-goré AUG ₁ -NP ₁ -wife	a- bwíirizw -a AUG ₁ - must -IPFV	
ku-táang-a PN ₁₅ -give-IPFV	i-N-ká AUG ₁₀ -NP ₁₀ -cow	zi-né PP ₁₀ -four	caanké or	zi-taanu PP ₁₀ -five
caanké or	zi-taandátu PP ₁₀ -six			

Epistemic necessity

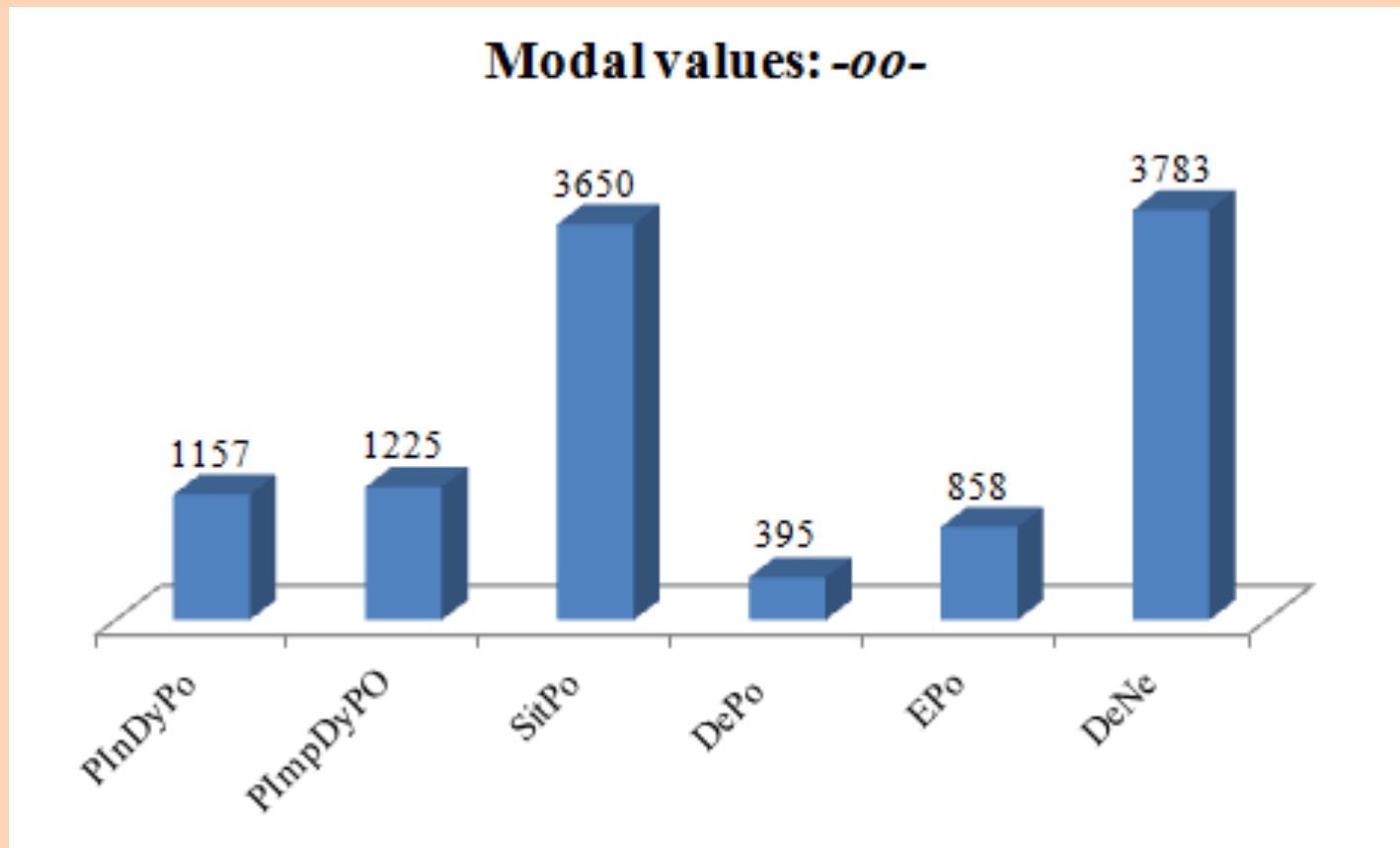
Icara ndagusomye mbona umengo akazuba kaguciyeko, utegerezwa kuba unyotewe.

‘Sit down, let me share beer with you, I see that, apparently sun passed on you, you must be thirsty.’

(*Umugumyabanga*, Drama, 1990s)

icar-a sit.down-IPFV	N-ra-ku-som-i- ^H e SC _{1sg} -DISJ-OC _{2sg} -drink-CAUS-SBJV.PSP	N-bón-a SC _{1sg} -see-IPFV
umeengo apparently	a-ka-zuúba AUG ₁₂ -NP ₁₂ -sun	ka-a-ku-cí-ye-kó SC ₁₂ -HP-OC _{2sg} -pass-PFV-POSTF ₁₇
u- tégerew -a SC _{2sg} - must -IPFV	ku-bá-a NP ₁₅ -be-IPFV	u ^H -nyóoterw-ye SC _{2sg} .CJC-be.thirsty-PFV

-oo-: the modal affix



Auxiliaries

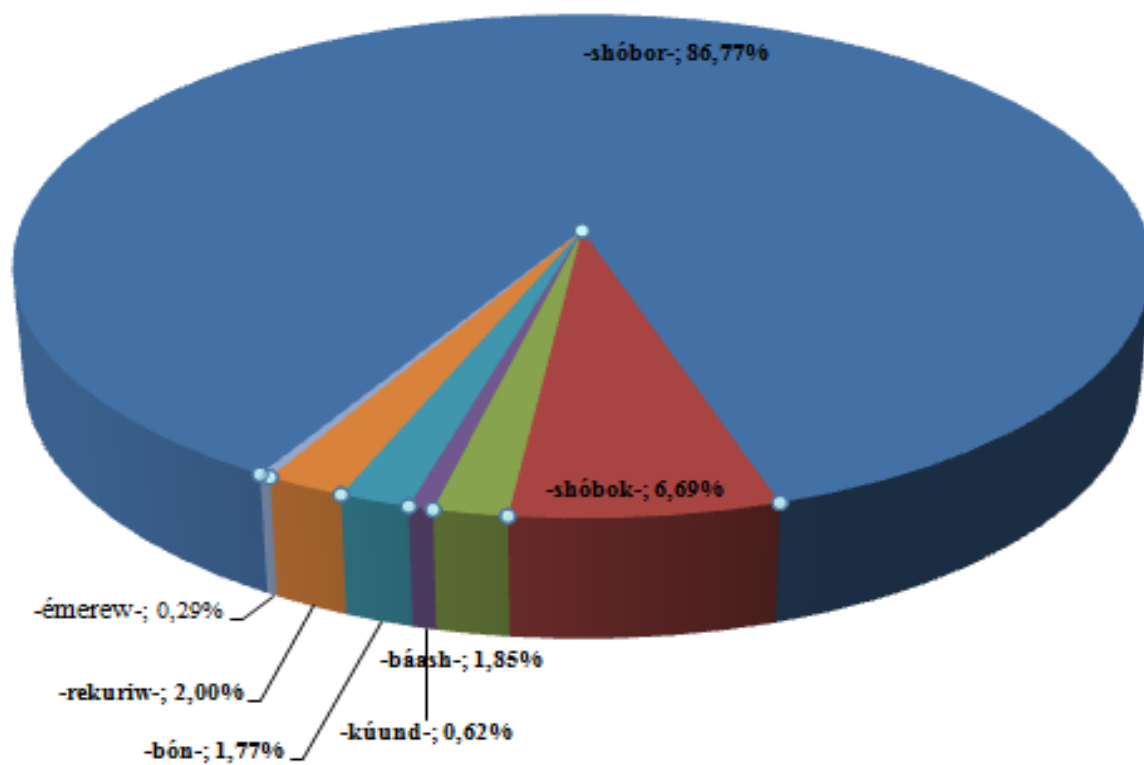
Typical construction: followed by an infinitive (see slides 11,12).

Possibility: **-shóbor-** (be able), **-shóbok-** (be possible), **-báash-** (be able), **-kúund-** (be possible), **-bón-** (be able), **-rekuriw-** (be allowed) and **-émerew-** (be allowed); each of them covering a modal scope in its way.

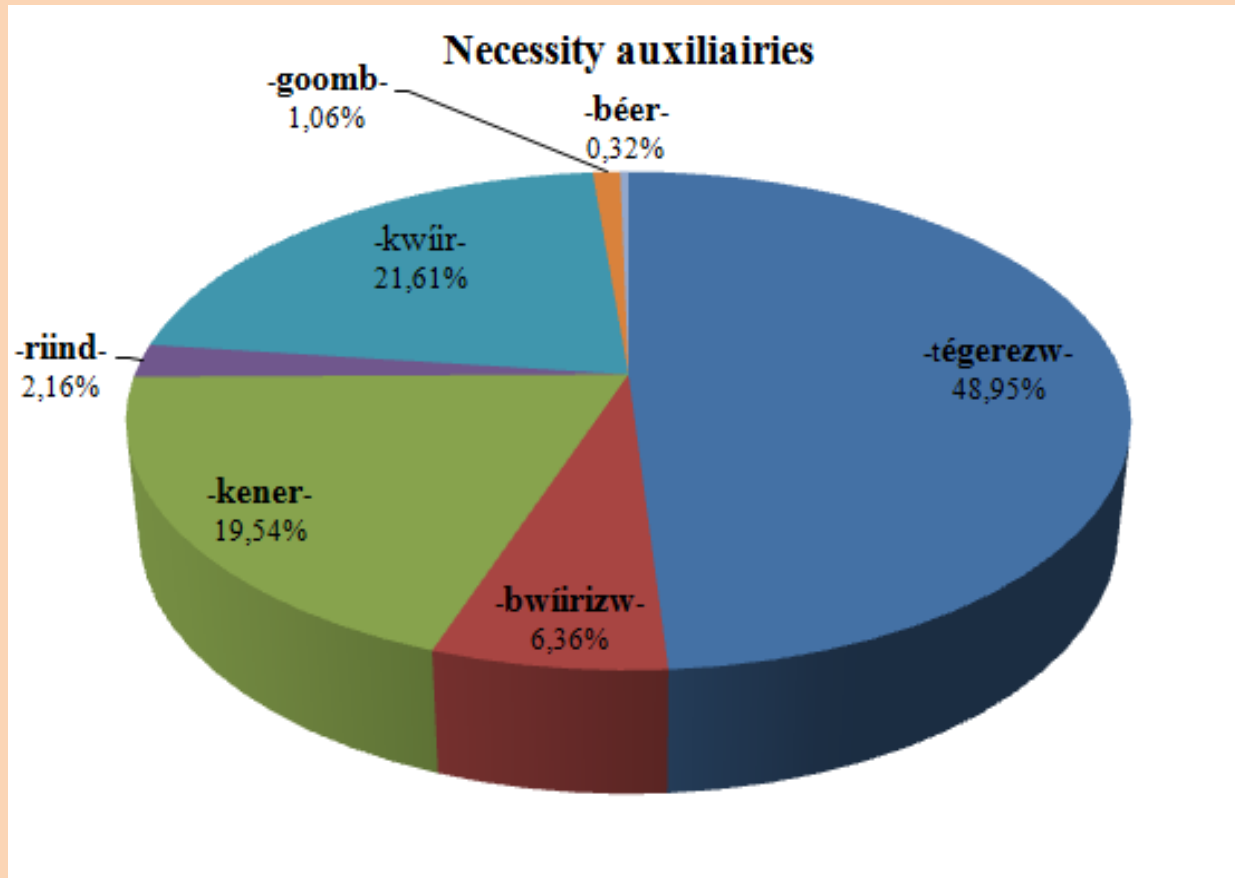
Necessity: **-tégerezw-** (must), **-bwíirizw-** (must), **-kener-** (need), **-riind-** (need), **-kwíir-** (should), **-béer-** (be necessary) and **-goomb-** (must).

Possibility auxiliaries

Possibility auxiliaries



Necessity auxiliaries



Epistemic adverbs

Epistemic adverbs (14)

- ❖ Six expressing possibility: **ngirango**, **umeengo**, **nkeeka**, **kuumburé**, **kurúubu**, **ubóna** (‘maybe’)
- ❖ One expressing necessity (certainty): **kokó** (‘certainly’)

One epistemic (**umeengo**) overlapping to evidentiality (15) [Mberamihigo & al. forthcoming].

Overlap to evidentiality: *umeengo*

Yinjiranye n'umukobwa, kandi umengo ni Janine!

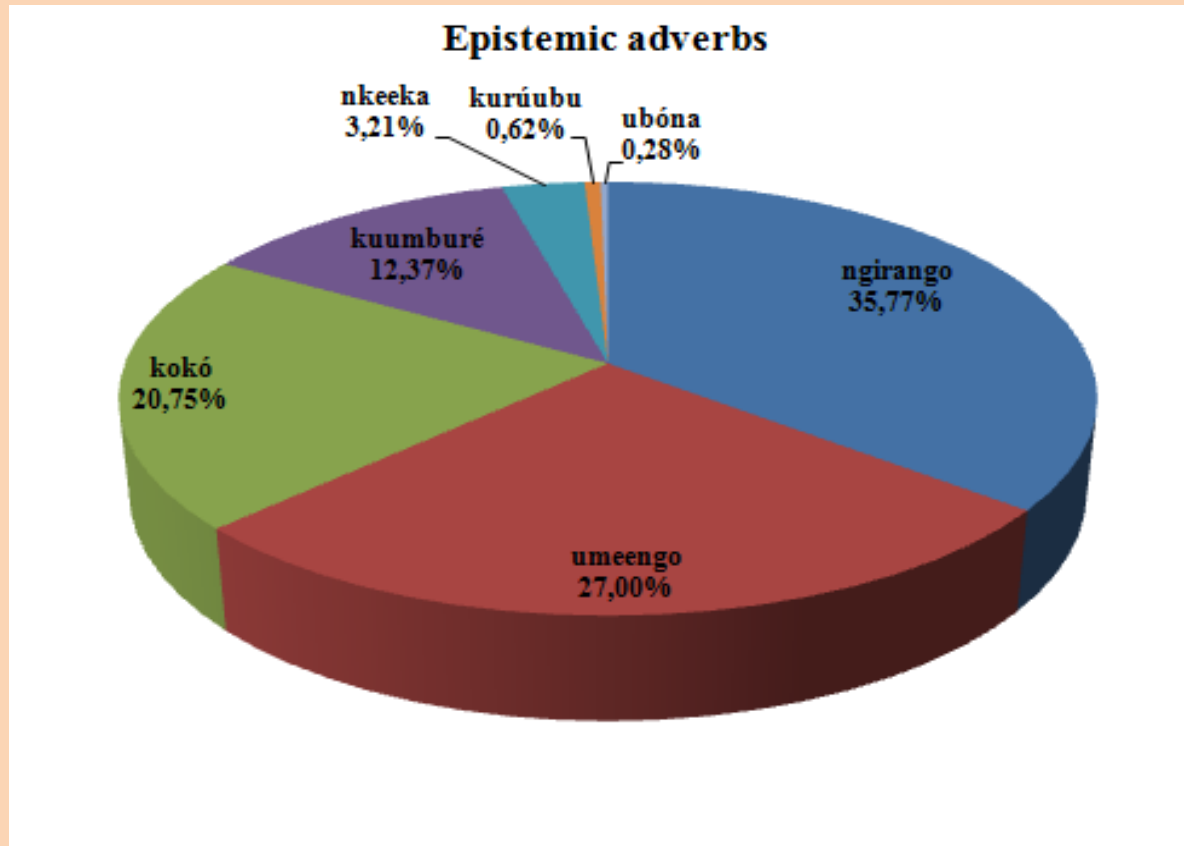
'He entered with a lady, and apparently it is Jeanine!'

(*Nyerek'akaranga*, Drama, 1970s)

a-ínjir-an-ye	na	u-mu-koóbwa	kaáandi
SC ₁ -enter-ASSOC-PFV	with	AUG ₁ -NP ₁ -lady	and

umeengo	ni	janiíne
apparently	COP	Jeanine

Epistemic adverbs: Statistic overview



Conclusion

A set of modal markers

❖ With different scopes

❖ Grammaticalized to different extents.

❖ Some structures typical of the expression of modality.

References

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