

Entre modalité et conditionnalité : L'analyse de corpus du préfixe verbal *oo-* en kirundi (bantou, JD62)

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In the Bantu language Kirundi (JD62), the verbal prefix *oo-* has traditionally been described as either conditional or potential. In this article, we show by means of a corpus-based analysis of its uses that it is first and foremost a modal prefix, and its conditional use is only a secondary development.

Dans la langue bantoue kirundi (JD62), le préfixe verbal *oo-* a été décrit comme un marqueur soit du conditionnel, soit du potentiel. Dans cet article, nous montrons à partir d'une analyse de corpus qu'il est avant tout un préfixe modal et que son usage comme marqueur du conditionnel n'est qu'un développement secondaire.

Keywords: Kirundi, modality, conditionality, potentiality, corpus.
Mots-clés : kirundi, modalité, conditionnel, potentiel, corpus.

1. Introduction

Dans la présente étude, nous nous focalisons sur le préfixe verbal *oo-* en kirundi (JD62), la langue bantoue nationale du Burundi. À partir du dépouillement d'un corpus de textes couvrant environ 100 ans, nous montrons que ce morphème possède plusieurs valeurs non relevées par les grammaires classiques de la langue. Traditionnellement, *oo-* a été caractérisé comme un marqueur soit du mode potentiel (Ntahokaja 1994) soit du conditionnel (Meeussen 1959; Cristini 2001; Zorc & Nibagwire 2007). Toutefois, dans aucune des descriptions du kirundi, les fonctions de ce préfixe n'ont été approfondies. Ceci vaut aussi pour les parents proches du kirundi parlés à l'ouest de la Tanzanie qui ont *oo-*, à savoir le kishubi (JD64), le kihangaza (JD65) (enquêtes par le premier auteur) et le kiha (JD66) (Harjula 2004).¹

Nous mettons en évidence ici que ce préfixe est à la fois modal et conditionnel, nous analysons les interrelations sémantiques sous-tendant cette polyémie et nous en reconstruisons l'évolution historique. Nous montrons que la potentialité est son sémantisme primordial, tandis que la nécessité et la conditionnalité résultent de développements fonctionnels secondaires. Ainsi, nous contribuons à l'étude de deux domaines langagiers très peu approfondis en linguistique africaine et bantoue (cf. Nicolle 2017; Nurse & Devos 2019), à savoir la modalité et la conditionnalité, tout comme leurs interactions, en kirundi.

En ce qui concerne notre méthode, il mérite d'être souligné qu'à ce jour relativement peu d'études en linguistique bantoue se basent sur un corpus. Au Centre d'études bantoues de l'UGent, plusieurs thèses de doctorat en linguistique de corpus portant sur différentes langues bantoues interlacustres, à savoir celles de la zone J de Tervuren (Bastin 2003), ont été effectuées ces dernières années : Mberamihigo (2014) sur la modalité en kirundi (cf. aussi Bostoen et al. 2012; Mberamihigo et al. 2016), Nshemezimana (2016) relative à la morphosyntaxe et la structure informationnelle en

¹ Dans les langues proches parlés à l'ouest du kirundi, comme le kifuliro (JD63) (Van Otterloo 2011), *oo-* est absent, tout comme en kinyarwanda (JD61), où son équivalent est *oo-* (Grimenyi 2002: 189).

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