

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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1. Understanding the eBook Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir User Reviews and Ratings

- Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir Free and Paid eBooks
 - Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir Public Domain eBooks
 - Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir eBook Subscription Services
 - Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir Compatibility with Devices
 - Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Interactive Elements Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
- 8. Staying Engaged with Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Setting Reading Goals Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Modalitf Cognition Et Polysfmie Sfmantique Du Verbe Modal Devoir
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources

13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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