

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
DAR ES SALAAM UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE



10TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BANTU LANGUAGES

12-14 August 2024

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Swahili impact in the strong necessity domain

Lazima & mpaka (& hatta and sharti/shuruti)

Rasmus Bernander (University of Gothenburg)

Gilles-Maurice de Schryver (Ghent University & University of Pretoria)

Maud Devos (Royal Museum for Central Africa & Ghent University)

Ponsiano Kanijo (Mkwawa University College of Education)

For workshop 2: Effects of language contact between Swahili and other East African community languages

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This study integrates research on the effects of Swahili contact and Swahilization with the growing interest in the linguistic category of modality in Bantu studies, applying it to the two modal markers *lazima* (1) and *mpaka* (2).

(1) Swahili (G42d)

lazima a-osh-e vy-ombo
NEC SM1-wash-SBJV 8-dish
'S/he must wash the dishes.'

(2) Tiriki (JE413) (Gluckman et al. 2017)

mpaka shi-paka shi-v-ε irwanyi
NEC 7-cat SM7-COP-SBJV outside
'The cat must be outside.'

Both markers are used for expressing strong necessity, i.e. notions of obligations and convictions. Hence, the extended variant of the *lazima* example in (1)' is considered infelicitous as the semantics of the proposition of the coordinated clause makes the strong necessity reading defeasible.

(1)' ** lazima a-osh-e vy-ombo lakini hakuna w-ajibu wa
NEC SM1-wash-SBJV 8-dish but NEG.EXT 14-obligation 14-CONN
ku-fany-a hivyo
INF-do-FV DEM8

** 'S/he must wash the dishes but there is no obligation to do so.'

Drawing on data from a large chronologically and geographically diversified Swahili text corpus, combined with a broad set of comparative data on East African languages, we offer a detailed analysis of the semantic and structural particulars of these markers. We also aim to show how both markers are strongly associated with Swahilization and the spread of Swahili code, with the attestation of their use as modal markers not only in different varieties of coastal and inland Swahili, but also in a broad set of over 20 other Bantu languages, ranging from members in the JE30/JD60 groups in the northwest to the P30 group in the southeast, and also non-Bantu languages like Luo, Ik and Kalenjin.

These commonalities aside, we will also zoom into the striking contrasts between the two markers in terms of their semasiological background and the type of contact-induced development they instantiate.

Lazima is included in most work on Swahili, including Schicho (1995), the sole study dedicated to the Swahili modal system. It also constitutes a clear case of matter transfer, itself being copied into Swahili from an Arabic necessity stem (Schadeberg 2009), although we will show that it exhibits structural as well as functional adaptations in the recipient languages it occurs in.

The modal function of *mpaka* is generally not acknowledged, however, and an important aim is to map out its use frequency and variational spread within Swahili. Furthermore, similar to what has been reported in Mous's (2020) detailed work on prepositional *mpaka*, the spread of modal *mpaka* makes for a comparatively more complex instance of transfer. This complexity involves various instances of matter transfer, as in (2), or pattern transfer as with *goike* in Gusii, which just as *mpaka*, originally means 'border'/'until'. Moreover, there are developments going the other way around, i.e. where the erstwhile modal marker has developed into an 'until'-preposition. Finally, we raise the issue whether the meaning extension of *mpaka* into a modal really comes from the influence of its limited use in Swahili or whether it constitutes a language-internal process of loan extension, adhering to a common type of contact-induced grammaticalization in Bantu (Bernander *forthcoming*).

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