

The Subjunctive Mood In Kikisi, Kindendeule and Chingoni¹

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Abstract

In the Bantu languages of Kikisi, Kindendeule and Chingoni, the subjunctive is a grammatical category that stands in contrast with the indicative mood. Morphologically, the subjunctive is characterized by the verbal suffix -e (or some other variants), absence of tense marking and the obligatory presence of the subject and/or object marker. Two types of subjunctive are illustrated (Quer, 2005; Stowell, 1993): (i) Intentional subjunctives that are triggered by matrix predicates and (ii) polarity subjunctives that are licensed by some operator. The subjunctive is associated with irrealis-inducing environments such as irrealis-inducing adverbs and complements of manipulative verbs (Givón, 1994). This paper argues that the subjunctive ambiguously exhibits Inflection or Tense features as well as COMP features. With respect to Inflection features, the subjunctive is in complementary distribution with tense marking. However, it displays COMP features in its selectional relations with the superordinate volitional and directive predicates. This ambiguity is accounted for if we adopt Rizzi's (1997) proposal of an articulated CP. The Inflection features are FinP features and the COMP features ForceP features, which are all on the left periphery.

Keywords: *subjunctive, mood, modality, irrealis, left periphery*

Introduction

In the Bantu languages of Kikisi (G67), Kindendeule (N101) and Chingoni (N12), the subjunctive is a grammatical category that stands in contrast with the indicative mood. This contrast is demonstrated in the following examples:

Kindendeule

- (1) a. *Hukulu cha-a-yend-a² ku-bomani*
1.grandpa FUT-1SM-go-IND 17-city
'Grandpa will go to the city.'

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² The prefix *cha-* is glossed as 'future.' This, however, is not the same slot as that of such tenses as indefinite past, remote past and present, all of which appear after the subject markers. For example, *bh-aki-yenda* 'they went' or *bh-i-yenda* 'they are going.'

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- b. *T-i-pal-a hukulu a-yend-e ku-bomani*
 we-PR-want-IND 1.grandpa 1SM-go-SUBJ 17-city³
 ‘We want grandpa to go to the city.’

Kikisi (Ngonyani 2012:133-134)

- (2) a. *Bha-see bh-i-hubhil-a Kikwete i-bi ku-yis-a*
 2-elder 2SM-PR-expect-IND Kikwete PR-come INF-come-IND
 ‘The elders hope that Kikwete will come.’
- b. *Bha-seebh-i-lindilil-a Kikwetea-yis-e*
 2-elder 2SM-PR-wait-IND Kikwete 1SM-come-SUBJ
 ‘The elders are waiting for Kikwete to come.’

Chingoni (Ngonyani 2003:78)

- (3) a. *M-ge*n*i i-gan-a ku-hamb-a ku-m-gunda*
 1-guest PR-want-IND INF-go-IND 17-3-farm
 ‘The guest wants to go to the farm.’
- b. *M-ge*n*i i-gan-a ve u-hamb-iku-m-gunda*
 1-guest PR-want-IND you you-go-SUBJ 17-3-farm
 ‘The guest wants you to go to the farm.’

In these pairs of sentences, the underlined verb in (a) is in the indicative mood contrasting with the subjunctive form underlined in (b). In all these languages, the subjunctive can be identified by three features: (a) the verbal suffix *-e* (Kindendeule and Kikisi) or *-i* (Chingoni) that replaces the final indicative marker or perfect aspect marker⁴; (b) the absence of tense markers; and (c) the presence of subject marker and/or object marker.

Semantically, there are two meanings associated with the subjunctive. One is modality and the other is the non-realization of the proposition *vizirrealis*. The expression of irrealis is associated with irrealis-inducing environments such as irrealis-inducing adverbs and complements of manipulative verbs (Givón, 1994).

This paper describes the subjunctive in these languages and explores its morphosyntactic characteristics. It addresses three questions:

- a. What are the morphosyntactic features of the subjunctive in the three languages?

³Abbreviation:

FUT	Future	IND	Indicative	INF	Infinitive
LIM	Limitative	NEG	Negation	OM	Object marker
PR	Present	PS	Past	Q	Question marker
SM	Subject marker	SUBJ	Subjunctive		

⁴ In Chingoni, the suffix *-is* used in some dialects and *-e* appears in other dialects.

- b. What semantic features are associated with the subjunctive?
- c. What is the structural position of the subjunctive marker?

Drawing on work by Quer (2006) and Stowell (1993), this paper identifies its distribution and its semantic features. It argues that the subjunctive ambiguously exhibits Inflection or Tense features as well as COMP features. With respect to Inflection features, the subjunctive is in complementary distribution with tense marking. However, it displays COMP features in its selectional relations with the superordinate volitional and directive predicates. This ambiguity is accounted for if we adopt Rizzi's (1997) proposal of an articulated CP. The Inflection features are FinP features and the COMP features ForceP features, which are all on the left periphery.

The argument is presented in the following way. In Section 2, basic morphosyntactic facts about the subjunctive in the three languages are presented. This is followed by a description of the distribution and modal interpretation of the subjunctive in Section 3. Section 4 focuses on the semantics of the subjunctive, especially in relation to irrealis. In Section 5, we propose an analysis of the phenomena and its implications. Finally, concluding remarks are presented in Section 6.

Basic Morphological Facts

The subjunctive is marked by unique verbal morphology and syntactic behaviour. In this section, we describe those features and illustrate the restrictions on co-occurrence with other verbal affixes. The section begins with identifying strategies of expressing modality and an overview of the verbal template for the Bantu languages. Following this overview, we present examples of the subjunctive in the three languages and highlight some morphosyntactic phenomena associated with the subjunctive.

Mood is a morphological category that expresses modality in a manner that is parallel to the category tense expressing time and gender expressing sex. Modality includes semantic notions such as possibility, necessity, probability, obligation and volition (Barbiers, 2002; Downing & Locke, 2002). It includes also reality and non-reality of events. This means that modality is a semantic notion/category that may be expressed by an inflectional affix (Palmer, 2001; Chung & Timberlake, 1985), similar to time as a semantic category that is often expressed as tense. Mood is the morphological expression of modality. Other strategies of expressing modality include the use of auxiliary verbs (e.g. *must*, *can*) and adverbs (e.g. *probably*, *definitely*). As a morphological category, mood is marked in a particular slot in the Bantu verbal template. The morphology of the verb in all three languages can be represented in the following template:

(4) Elements of the Bantu verb (Meeussen, 1967:108)

1. Pre-initial Relative marker
2. Initial Subject marker

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3. Post-initial	Negative affix
4. Formative	Tense, conditional marker
5. Limitative	Aspect
6. Infix	Object marker
7. Radical	Root
8. Suffix	Verb extensions
9. Pre-final	Aspect
10. Final	<u>Mood</u> , Aspect
11. Post-final	Imperative, Negation

The languages do not all have all 11 slots, neither do they fill all slots for all verbs. As few as two slots may form a verb. The subjunctive marker appears in the Final slot in the template.

The first feature, the presence of the subjunctive marker on the verb, is illustrated in the Kindendeule examples contrasting the indicative with the subjunctive. The indicative *chaayenda* ‘she/he will go’ in (1a) is marked with the final vowel *-a*. The verb *ayende* ‘she/he should go’ in (1b) bears the subjunctive marker *-e*. A similar distinction is observed in Kikisi (2a) where the infinitive *kuyisa* ‘to arrive’ is distinguished from the subjunctive *ayise* ‘she/he should come’ in (2b). Likewise, the Chingoni example in (3a) is marked with a final *-a* contrasting it with the subjunctive in (3b) with *-i*.

The second feature is that this subjunctive marker is incompatible with tense marking. In our earlier example from Kindendeule, we saw *chaayenda* ‘she/he will go’ marked with the indicative marker. The subjunctive in (1b) bears no tense marking. It is not only tense marking that is prohibited from co-occurring with the subjunctive marker, the infinitive marker also cannot appear on a verb that is marked with the subjunctive. In the Kikisi and Chingoni examples, we find the infinitive forms in (2a) *kuyisa* ‘to come’ and *kuhamba* ‘to go’ against *ayise* ‘she/he should come’ and *ahambi* ‘she/he should come’ in Kikisi and Chingoni, respectively.

These two features, the subjunctive marker *-e* and the absence of tense or infinitive marker, are complemented by the third feature, namely the obligatory presence of subject marking. A clear contrast with the imperative in Kikisi is more instructive here.

- (5) a. *Yis-a*
 come-IND
 ‘Come!’
- b. *A-yis-e*
 1SM-come-SUBJ
 ‘She/he should come.’

The imperative form of the same verb in (5a) does not have a subject marker but the subjunctive form in (5b) is marked with the subject marker. Object marking is also possible, as the following Kikisi example demonstrates:

- (6) *Ni-pelek-e* *kwa mabhu*
me-send-SUBJ to mother
'Take me to my mother.'

The subject and object affixes may also co-occur with an affix that in Meeussen's (1967) template would be classified as limitative (see (4) above). Meeussen identifies three limitative affixes, namely motional *-ka-* ('go to do'), inceptive *-ka-* ('already, not yet') and persistent *-ki-* ('still, no more'). Of these, the motional limitative appears with Kindendeule subjunctive. Consider the contrast between the future form of *-hemel-* 'buy' and its subjunctive in these examples:

- (7) a. *Cha-bha-hemel-a* *ng'-hunda*
FUT-2SM-buy-IND 5-farm
'They will buy a farm.'
- b. *Bha-ka-hemel-e* *ng'-hunda*
2SM-LIM-buy-SUBJ 5-farm
'They should go buy a farm.'

The future form in (7a) which appears with the indicative marker *-a* is changed to the motional limitative *-ka-* in (7b). This motional affix appears after the subject marker before the verb stem.

Motional *-ka-* that appears with the subjunctive also is available in the other two languages in this study, as the following examples demonstrate:

- (8) Chingoni
u-ka-geg-e
you-LIM-carry-SUBJ
'You should go carry.'
- (9) Kikisi
tu-bhuk-e tu-ka-lol-e
we-go-SUBJwe-LIM-see-SUBJ
'Let us go see.'

Indeed, often there is an explicit verb expressing the motion, as in the Kikisi example. In this case the subjunctive appears on both verbs. The limitative prefix, however, appears only on the second verb and not on the motion verb.

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To sum up, the subjunctive morphology is characterized by the verbal suffix *-e/-i*, the absence of tense marking and the obligatory presence of subject marking. Having considered the basic morphosyntactic properties of the subjunctive, let us now examine its syntactic distribution and semantics.

Distribution

In this section we explore the syntactic environments in which the subjunctive appears in these three languages. The three languages provide examples of the subjunctive in independent clauses and in dependent clauses.

Studies of the subjunctive in other languages, such as Romance and Slavic languages, have identified dependency as a major characteristic of the subjunctive (Giannakidou, 2009; Quer, 2005). Givón (1971, 1994) explores similar features in Bantu languages. In his study of subjunctives in Chibemba, Givón (1971) identifies two kinds of subjunctive, namely subjunctives of coercion and subjunctives of uncertainty. These are exemplified below:

- (10) a. *a-y-e*
1SM-leave-SUBJ
'He may/should/must leave.'
- b. *a-inga-is-a*
1SM-might-come-IND
'He might come.'
Givón (1971:70)

Example (10a) is termed the subjunctive of coercion and (10b) is the subjunctive of uncertainty. The former is found in all Bantu languages, while the latter was reportedly found only in Chibemba. Givón argues that the subjunctive is a dependent tense and that even in cases of seemingly independent subjunctives, there are covert higher performative verbs that select the subjunctive. Arguments in support of this include the fact that the two sentences above are ambiguous and only higher predicates (that are missing) can help disambiguate them as in the following sentences:

- (11) a. *n-dée'-fwaayaukuti a-y-e*
I-want-him to 1SM-leave-SUBJ
'I want him to leave.'
- b. *n-dée'-suminaukuti a-y-e*
I-permit-that he -1SM-leave-SUBJ
'I permit/allow that he leave.'
Givón (1971:70)

The two possible readings are disambiguated by two different higher verbs, 'to want' and 'to allow', respectively. In this paper, we show that there are environments of independent subjunctives that do not require a higher predicate.

We find evidence of dependency in the languages we examine here. The dependency is realized in two environments: (a) when the subjunctive clause is selected by a higher predicate; and (b) when the subjunctive is triggered by certain embedding properties in a manner that parallels polarity items. The two are described by Quer (following Stowell, 1993) as intensional subjunctives and polarity subjunctives (Quer, 2006). We illustrate these with the following examples from Kikisi:

- (12) a. *Bha-see bh-i-lindilil-a Kikwete a-yis-e*
 2-elder 2SM-PR-wait-IND Kikwete 1SM-come-SUBJ
 ‘The elders are waiting for Kikwete to come.’
- b. *n-dut-e*
 I-go-SUBJ
 ‘I should go.’

The subjunctive clause in (12a) is a subordinate clause licensed by the superordinate predicate ‘wait for.’ The clause in (12b) is not a subordinate clause. However, it expresses the attitude of the speaker with respect to desire or necessity to go. There is no overt marker of a superordinate structure. Instead, there is some implicit force, an illocution of a resolve to do something.

Drawing on the work of Quer (2005, 2009), we identify three subclasses of intensional subjunctives, namely directive, causative and volitional. These subclasses are defined by the matrix predicates that select them. The following three examples from Kindendeule represent the three subclasses:

- (13) a. *T-aki-n-laghih-a mw-ana a-yend-e*
 we-PT-1OM-order-IND 1-child 1SM-go-SUBJ
 ‘We instructed the child to go.’
- b. *ma-kelele gh-aki-li-tend-a li-yokali-pit-e*
 6-noise 6SM-PT-5OM-make-IND 5-snake 5SM-come.out-SUBJ
 ‘The noise made the snake come out.’
- c. *N-i-pal-a Juma a-ghegh-e ki-tabu*
 I-PR-want-IND Juma 1SM-carry-SUBJ 7-book
 ‘I want Juma to carry a book.’

Directive subjunctives are selected by matrix predicates that instruct, direct or permit. In (13), the verb *-laghiha* ‘instruct, order’ triggers the subjunctive in the subordinate clause predicate, *ayende* ‘she/he should go’. Causative subjunctives are selected by verbs of ‘cause,’ ‘make’ ‘permit’ or ‘prevent.’ In example (13b), the verb of the superordinate clause is *-tenda* ‘make’. It selects the subjunctive predicate *apite* ‘she/he come out.’ Volitional predicates such as ‘want’ or ‘desire’ are illustrated in (13c). The verb *-pala* ‘want’ in the matrix clause selects the subjunctive *agheghe* ‘she/he carry.’

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Polarity subjunctives are not triggered by superordinate predicates. They appear in independent clauses and non-complement subordinate clauses. There are two subclasses of these, namely adverbial subjunctives and those expressing modality. The following examples are taken from Kindendeule:

- (14) a. *T-aki-bha-pelek-a ku-n-ghunda bha-ka-lim-e*
 We-PT-2OM-send-IND 17-3-farm 2SM-LIM-farm-SUBJ
 ‘We sent them to the farm so they could till the land.’
- b. *n-i-longel-a naha mwe n-kotok-e*
 I-PR-speak-IND thus you you-stop-SUBJ
 ‘I say this so that you stop.’
- (15) a. *m-bhok-e*
 you-leave-SUBJ
 ‘You should leave.’
- b. *mbaha bha-hik-e*
 better 2SM-come-SUBJ
 ‘It is better they come.’

Both sentences in (14) are complex with the main clause followed by a subordinate clause. Both subordinate clauses are adverbial purpose clauses. The adverbial subjunctive in (14) appears in the subordinate clause. The crucial point here is that the subjunctive is not necessitated by the matrix predicate. The verb *peleka* ‘send’ does not require a subjunctive complement. The subjunctive in this case is licensed by an implicit subordination translated as ‘so that/in order that.’

Adverbial subjunctives may also be associated with certain adverbs. In the following examples from Kindendeule, the subjunctives are introduced by such adverbs:

- (16) a. *Mbaha m-ok-e*
 better I-leave-SUBJ
 ‘I better leave.’
- b. *Cha-ti-tyang-a mpaka ti-totokel-e*
 FUT-we-walk-INDuntil we-be.tired-SUBJ
 ‘We will walk until we get tired.’

The two adverbs *mbaha* ‘better’ and *mpaka* ‘until’ are triggers for the subjunctive that follows. In (16a), the adverb introduces an independent clause, while in (16b) the adverb introduces a dependent clause. In both sentences, the subjunctive is not licensed by a higher predicate.

Kiswahili (G42d) exhibits subjunctive features very similar to these three languages. It also has subjunctives that are triggered by adverbs. Consider the following sentences:

- (17) a. *Afadhali ni-ondok-e*
 better I-leave-SUBJ
 'I better leave.'
- b. *Tu-ta-tembe-a mpaka tu-chok-e*
 we-FUT-walk-FV until we-be.tired-SUBJ
 'We will walk until we get tired.'

The two adverbs *afadhali* 'better' and *mpaka* 'until' are responsible for licensing the subjunctive that follows.

The subjunctive sentences bear the speaker's attitude towards the truth of the proposition. As noted earlier, this is modality. The subjunctive mood in these languages can be used to express epistemic modality and deontic modality. Epistemic modality expresses the speaker's commitment regarding the factual status of the proposition (Palmer, 2001). It may express necessity or possibility. Consider, for example, the speaker's commitment as expressed by the modal auxiliaries in following English sentences:

- (18)a. *The girl must be tired.*
 b. *The girl may be tired.*

The modal auxiliary *must* in (18a) expresses a logical necessity, while *may* in (18b) expresses a possibility. The two sentences differ in the degree of certainty. Both are expressed by modal auxiliaries in English. The weaker certainty is expressed by the subjunctive in the three languages described here. In the following sentence from Kindendeule, the first clause provides the context of the second clause, where the subjunctive is located:

- (19) *Bha-ki-n-lindil-a mw-ana yu*
 2SM-PT-10M-wait-IND 1-child 1.that
 'They waited for the child.'
- pangi a-yimuk-e*
 maybe 1SM-wake.up-SUBJ
 [hoping] maybe she/he would wake up.'

The subjunctive in the second clause expresses hope and possibility of the child waking up. The modality is reinforced in this case by *pangi* 'maybe.'

Deontic modality refers to obligation, desirability, or permission projected as result of some external authority (Palmer, 2001:10). Again, using *must* and *may* in English, we provide a simple illustration.

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- (20) a. *The girl must come.*
b. *The girl may come.*

The first sentence expresses an obligation while the second sentence expresses permission. This second sentence has a weaker force. The following examples from Kikisi and Kindendeule demonstrate one of the features of subjunctive in independent clauses, namely to express some weak force associated with instructions or desirability:

- (21) a. *Mw-ana a-yis-a* (Kikisi)
1-child 1SM-come-IND
'The child is coming.'
b. *Mw-ana a-yis-e*
1-child 1SM-come-SUBJ
'The child should come.'
- (22) a. *Mu-n-lek-a* (Kindendeule)
you-1OM-leave-IND
'You leave him/her.'
b. *Mu-n-lek-e*
you-1OM-leave-SUBJ
'Leave him.'

Sentences (21a) and (22a) are marked with an indicative *-a*. The reading in (21a) is that of an assertion of a fact, while (22a) is an instruction. Sentences (22b) and (22b), on the other hand, are suggestions expressed by the subjunctive form. This is weak force.

To sum up, the subjunctive in the three Bantu languages appear in two main environments. The first environment is selected by some superordinate predicate, while the second environment is not triggered by predicates. The former are known as intensional subjunctives and the latter are referred to as polarity subjunctives. Intensional subjunctives may be directive, causative or volitional. Polarity subjunctives may be adverbial or modal. A feature that links together all these subjunctives is that they appear on verbs or predicates that express events that are not realized yet. These are known as irrealis. We explore this feature in the next section.

The Subjunctive and the Irrealis

In a cross-linguistic study of the relation between irrealis and the subjunctive, Givón (1994) concludes that the subjunctive is a subset of submodes of irrealis. The modes all relate to non-facts expressed through two modalities: (a) epistemic modality and (b) valuative-deontic modality. The subjunctive in

the former expresses lower uncertainty, while that in the latter encodes weaker manipulation. This section examines these submodes and their subjunctive expressions.

The epistemic mode refers to the commitment of the speaker with respect to the truth, probability, certainty, belief and evidence. Givón notes that there is a gradation of irrealis within the epistemic mode from high certainty to low certainty. The following examples from English are instructive:

- (23) a. *She will come.*
b. *Perhaps she might come.*

Although they both express the fact that the coming has not taken place (irrealis), these two sentences differ with regard to the speaker's level of certainty. Sentence (23a) expresses certainty or highest certainty, in Givón's terms, while in (23b) the speaker is not certain about her coming. The second one is regarded as lowest certainty.

We can capture this gradation in Kindendeule by contrasting a simple future sentence with a subjunctive sentence.

- (24) a. *cha-a-hik-a*
FUT-1SM-come-IND
'She/he will come.'
- b. *pangi a-hik-e*
probably 1SM-come-SUBJ
'perchance she/he might come'

Both these sentences express non-fact or irrealis. The simple future sentence in (24a) implies the speaker is certain that this person will come. In contrast, in (24b), the adverb and the subjunctive mood marker express an uncertainty about the coming. Therefore, one function of the subjunctive is to express epistemic modality of lower certainty.

Valuative-deontic modality expresses desirability, preference, intent, ability, obligation and manipulation. For example,

- (25) a. *Come!*
b. *You may come.*

These two sentences, the imperative in (25a) and permission in (25b) illustrate different levels of the speaker's control of addressee's action or what Givón(1994) calls manipulation. They differ in the strength of the manipulation. The imperative is the strongest form of manipulation, while

permission in (25b) is weak manipulation. The imperative implies the speaker has greater control of the addressee with respect to causing or making the addressee do something.

The two ends of manipulation can be exemplified by the contrast between an imperative (with the indicative) and a hortative (with the subjunctive) in Kindendeule.

- (26) a. *Tyang-a!*
walk-IND
'Walk!'
- b. *N-tyang-e*
you-walk-SUBJ
'You should walk.'

There is stronger force in (26a) which can rightly be interpreted as a command. The force inherent in (26b) is not the same as in (26a). The latter is an exhortation, a polite instruction or suggestion. This latter expression does not carry much force in manipulating the addressee.

Notice that on both, certainty scale and manipulation scale, the subjunctive is responsible for the lower or weaker end. This is consistent with Givón's (2001) prediction that states:

If a language has a grammaticalized subjunctive at all, then it will appear at two distinct foci –lower certainty and/or weaker manipulation – along the scale of the two irrealis sub-modes (Givón,2001:313).

We have demonstrated that with respect to epistemic modality, the future expression is considerably stronger in expressing non-fact (irrealis) than the subjunctive. In expressing deontic modality, the subjunctive carries weaker manipulation compared to imperatives.

We consider irrealis to be a conceptual category of unreal events, contrasting it with realis, a category of real events (de Haan, 2012; Bybee, 1998). It may be expressed by some lexical items such as adverbs (e.g. *probably, maybe, possibly*), modal auxiliaries (e.g. *will, might, shall*), lexical items (e.g. *want, intend*) or morphological marking. In the languages discussed in this paper, irrealis is not marked by any other morphological object. As noted in the preceding section, some adverbs that induce unreal or irrealis reading of the events also trigger the use of the subjunctive. We illustrate this in the following examples from Kindendeule:

- (27) a. *Mbaha mw-ana a-golok-e*
better 1-child 1SM-sleep-SUBJ
'It is better the child sleep.'

- b. *Kubiro cha-a-hik-e*
probably FUT-SM-come-SUBJ
'Probably she/he will come.'
- c. *Pangi kangombo yu a-buk-e*
perhaps 1.young man 1.that 1SM-leave-SUBJ
'Perchance that young man might leave.'

In these examples, the adverbs *mbaha* 'perhaps', *kubiro* 'probably' and *pangi* 'perhaps' induce irrealis reading. This non-real modality of the events is reinforced by the use of the subjunctive which is triggered by the adverbs. The adverbs induce irrealis environments.

In this section, we have discussed the two sub-modes of irrealis and ascertained that the subjunctive morphology is lower on epistemic modality and deontic modality. The subjunctive is associated with irrealis-inducing environments, such as irrealis-inducing adverbs and complements of manipulative verbs (Givón, 1994). Having considered the semantics of the subjunctive, let us now turn to its structural representation.

The Subjunctive and the Left Periphery

Features associated with the subjunctive give rise to several descriptive and theoretical questions, some particular to the Bantu languages and others more general (see, for example, questions in the editorial of a special *Lingua* issue by Quer, 2009). In this section, we address one question: How do we account for the morphological position of the subjunctive marker? We argue that the morphology of the subjunctive verb can be explained in syntactic terms in an antisymmetric fashion (Kayne, 1994).

Recall that the subjunctive appears as a suffix, in the final slot in Meeussen's (1967) terminology. In the sister language of Kiswahili, the only affix that may appear after the subjunctive is the interrogative *-je*.

- (28) a. *Ni-na-tak-a ni-fany-e kazi*
I-PR-want-INDI-do-SUBJ 9.work
'I want to work.'
- b. *Ni-fany-e-je?*
I-do-SUBJ-Q
'What/how shall I do?'
- c. *Ni-ta-fany-a-je?*
I-FUT-do-IND-Q
'What/how shall I do?'

All morphological features that characterize the subjunctive are present in (28a) and (28b). There is a subject marker in (28a) on the verb that bears the

subjunctive affix, and a subject marker in (28b). Both sentences do not have tense markers, and the subjunctive marker *-e* appears in place of the indicative *-a*. In (28b) the question marker *je* appears after the subjunctive. This marker also appears in (28c). However, in this sentence, the indicative marker and future tense marker are present. If we consider *je* as the question element generated in C, the appearance of the rest of the verb before it must be a result of movement of the subjunctive or indicative verb to C and attachment on the left of the C.

The subjunctive exhibits both Infl or Tense and COMP features. With respect to Inflection features, the subjunctive displays two characteristics. The first characteristic is that in all three languages we find it is in complementary distribution with tense marking. This suggests a reasonable possibility that the two belong to the same category. The second feature is observed and selectional relations are found in intensional subjunctives. Consider the following desiderative matrix predicate and its complements in Kindendeule:

- (29) a. *T-i-pal-a* *ba-hik-e*
 we-PR-want-IND 2SM-come-SUBJ
 'We want them to come.'
- b. *T-i-pal-a* *ku-hik-a*
 we-PR-want-IND INF-come-IND
 'We want to come.'
- c. **T-i-pal-a* *b-i-hik-a*
 we-PR-want-IND 2SM-PR-come-IND
 'We want them to come.'
- d. **T-i-pal-a* *ba-hik-a*
 we-PR-want-IND 2SM-come-IND
 'We want them to come.'

The examples show that the matrix predicate *-pal-* 'want' selects either a subjunctive subordinate clause as (29a) or an infinitival subordinate clause as (29b). The infinitive is an inflectional category of Tense. The complementary distribution with the subjunctive strongly suggests the subjunctive is also an inflectional category. We therefore conclude that the matrix verb *-pal-* 'want' specifies the inflectional system of the subordinate clause. In other words, the subjunctive can be considered as part of the finiteness system of Kindendeule which expresses irrealis. This is consistent with Givón's (1971) description of the subjunctive as a subordinate tense.

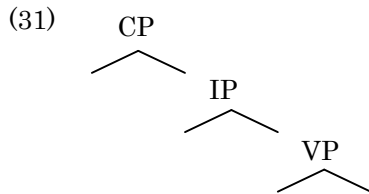
We pointed out earlier that polarity subjunctives are licensed by an operator. Polarity subjunctives express what has been described as Force (Chomsky, 1995; Rizzi, 1997). They can express exhortations, directives and a range of

epistemic modality as well as deontic modality. Certain illocutionary forces are associated with the subjunctive. Consider the following sentences from Kindendeule:

- (30) a. *Mu-n-ghagh-e* *mw-ana*
 You-1OM-carry-SUBJ 1-child
 'You carry the child.'
- b. *Mbaha Halima a-hemel-e* *mutuka*
 better Halima 1SM-buy-SUBJ 9.car
 'Halima had better buy a car.'

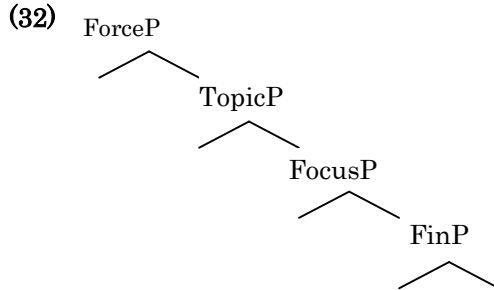
Sentence (30a) expresses the illocutionary force of an exhortation, while that in (30b) can be interpreted as a suggestion. Other Force morphology is associated with questions and relative clauses. These are elements of the C system. Since the subjunctive shares these features with other force features, we conclude that it also belongs to the C system.

Therefore, the subjunctive ambiguously exhibits both Inflectional features that would place it in IP, and Force features, which would locate it in the CP. This ambiguity can be accounted for using Rizzi's (1997) articulated left periphery. Rizzi's proposal is built on the basis of the commonly accepted assumption in generative grammar that the clause consists of three structural layers, namely the lexical layer, the inflectional layer and the complementizer layer (Rizzi, 1997:281). These three layers can be represented this way:



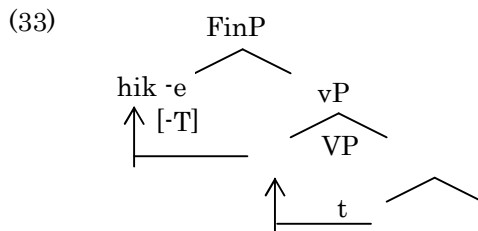
The VP is the lexical layer in whose domain theta roles are assigned by verbal heads. The second layer, the inflectional layer, is the domain of functional heads that specify such features as tense and aspect, as well as morphological licensing of arguments in the form of case and agreement. The complementizer layer is the domain of functional heads that have to do with topic and operator-like elements including focus, interrogative and relativization.

Rizzi (1997) proposes to split the CP into four functional projections in a manner that parallels the split of IP (Pollock, 1989) and VP shells (Larson, 1988). In this proposal, CP or the left periphery of the clause is composed of four phrases, namely Force Phrase, Topic Phrase, Focus Phrase and Finiteness Phrase. These are represented in following structure:

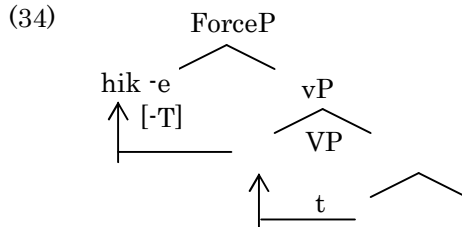


ForceP links the clause with external superordinate structures. For example, material that expresses such clause types as relative clauses, comparatives and adverbials are part of ForceP system. FinP is the locus of interface between the CP and inflectional TP. This is where the specifications for agreement, case and tense are found. ForceP and FinP are the obligatory elements of the CP. In Rizzi's formulation, ForceP and FinP express selectional relations, one looking outwardly to superordinate structure, the other looking inside the IP. Projections between these two, that is to say, TopicP and FocusP do not express selectional relations and may vary in order. These two are responsible for discourse related features, such as word order changes for topicalization. We find no evidence of Topic features and Focus features related to the subjunctive in these three languages.

Now we are in a position to show how the two subjunctives are derived. There are two licensing structures for the subjunctive that give rise to the two subclasses. In the subjunctive licensed by a higher predicate, intensional subjunctive, the subordinate clause, is embedded under the FinP. Given the finiteness features associated with the subjunctive, namely subject marking and absence of tense marking, we propose to analyze it as a syntactic head at FinP.



The subjunctive affix is a syntactic head that attracts a tenseless verb. The verb raises and attaches to the left of the host, the subjunctive head yielding the Stem-SUBJ order. Likewise, in polarity subjunctives, the subjunctive head is in ForceP, but there is no FinP. The verb is attached to the subjunctive.



In both cases, the result is Stem-SUBJ order, where the subjunctive affix heads its C head.

To sum up, we propose to analyze intensional subjunctives as FinP because they exhibit finiteness that is selected by the matrix predicates. Polarity subjunctives, on the other hand, are generated in ForceP because they are associated with particular illocutionary force.

Conclusion

This article addressed three questions. The first question was concerned with the identification of morphosyntactic features of the subjunctive in the three languages. We showed that all three languages share three features that characterize the subjunctive, namely a morphological mood marker *-e*, the absence of tense marking, and the presence of subject marker and/or object marker on the verb. With respect to its distribution, the subjunctive is found in two environments: (a) subordinate clauses in which they are selected by some matrix predicate and (b) in independent clauses that carry specific force such as exhortation, expressing epistemic modality or deontic modality, or in irrealis-inducing adverbial clauses. The former are known as intensional subjunctives while the latter are called polarity subjunctives. The second question sought to examine semantic features associated with the subjunctive. We noted following Givon (1994, 2001) that both subjunctives express irrealis, some with weak manipulation and others with lower certainty. The subjunctive is associated with exhortations, epistemic modality as well as deontic modality. The third question addressed the structural position of the subjunctive marker. We observed that the subjunctive exhibits both inflection features and complementizer features. Inflection features are evident in its paradigmatic relations with tense and the infinitive. Its complementizer features are found in the illocutionary force that is related to some of the independent clause or polarity subjunctives. We argued that intensional subjunctives are generated in Rizzi's (1997) FinP because the matrix predicates select specific kind of finiteness. Polarity subjunctives are generated in ForceP because they are associated with specific illocutionary force.

As a morphosyntactic category, the subjunctive is widely attested in languages of the world. However, this phenomenon is not characterized by

uniform features and is subject to considerable cross-linguistic variation (Quer, 2006, 2009). Features that mark the subjunctive in one language group or one language may be completely missing in other languages or groups of languages. The functions, use and effects of the subjunctive may differ in different languages. The data and discussion in this article will contribute to the expansion of the empirical base on the studies of subjunctives. We hope that this will lead to a better understanding of the commonalities of this mood and lead to cross-linguistic generalizations.

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