

## CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN CUWABO<sup>1</sup>

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This paper provides a syntactico-semantic characterisation of conditional structures in Cuwabo, a Bantu language spoken in northern Mozambique. The different types of conditionals attested in the language are compared on the basis of several parameters such as semantic interpretation (including degrees of hypotheticality), morphological marking of conditionality, time reference, and interaction with the tense/aspect system.

Keywords: conditional, Cuwabo, Bantu

### 0. Introduction

In this paper, I discuss conditional constructions in Cuwabo, a Bantu language of about 800,000 speakers (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2007) spoken in northern Mozambique around the city of Quelimane, and classified as P34 by Guthrie (1967-71). Several types of *if*-clauses are identified, and for each, a semantic interpretation is provided, followed by a discussion of the morpho-phonological properties, the distribution and the functions of the different verb forms occurring therein.

Conditional constructions are complex sentences, consisting of a main clause (adopsis) and a subordinated clause (protasis). In Cuwabo, conditionality is systematically marked in the protasis, either through specific verb forms or tenses<sup>2</sup>, or by means of conjunctions. In the first case, two tenses are attested: the situative (section 1) and the *ka*- counterfactual/hypothetical (section 3). In the second case, three conditional conjunctions exist in Cuwabo. One, *akala* ‘if, whether’ (section 2), is used in substitution for the situative; the two others, *maásikini* ‘even if’ and *yoóvi* ‘otherwise’, introduce concessive conditionals (section 4). This paper considers each type of conditional available in Cuwabo, and describes their morphosyntactic, semantic and (whenever relevant) tonal properties. In addition, a reference to the traditional division between reality and unreality conditionals is proposed. Reality and unreality conditionals differ with respect to the degree of ‘hypotheticality’ of the situation described in the sentence. ‘Hypotheticality’ is understood in Comrie’s terms as “the degree of probability of realisation of the situations referred

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<sup>2</sup> The term ‘tense’ is used here to indicate a set of verb forms which include the same tense/aspect/mood markers. In this view, it is equivalent to French *tirer*.

to in the conditional, and more especially in the protasis” (Comrie 1986: 88). In reality conditionals, the condition stated in the protasis can still be met, in which case the event described in the apodosis will eventuate. In contrast, unreality conditionals present a situation which could have happened if the event described in the protasis had been met. As it was not and does no longer hold at the time of utterance, the realisation of the event described in the apodosis is impossible.

In the remainder of this introduction, a few general remarks on conditional sentences in Cuwabo can be made. First, in terms of syntax, the apodosis typically follows the protasis. In this respect, such a sequence seems to reflect the temporal and relational correlation in the real world between the information contained in the antecedent *if*-clause and its consequent *then*-clause. Still, sporadic examples in this paper show that this order is not strict in Cuwabo, which also allows apodosis-protasis order (see e.g. examples (3a) and (18c)). A second observation deals with the temporal properties of these conditionals: no time reference is overtly marked on situatives and *ka*-conditionals found in the protasis. And although the tense used in the apodosis clause usually helps in determining the time reference of the sentence, *ka*-conditionals constitute an interesting case whereby the distinction between a hypothetical conditional and a counterfactual conditional is left to the interlocutor’s interpretation, as will be shown in section 3. Third, typically the subject expressed in the subordinate clause is coreferential with the subject expressed in the main clause. But this is not obligatory as can be seen in (7), where the verb in the protasis refers to a class 9 noun, whereas the apodosis changes to a subject of second person singular. Finally, clausal boundary tones are commonly used to connect an *if*-clause to the main clause. This means that both clauses form a unit in terms of sentence intonation.

The Cuwabo examples in this paper are organised in different tiers. The first tier provides the sentence as it is heard, i.e. including every surface morpho-phonological process. Underlying representations are given on the second tier. Protasis and apodosis are indicated by means of square brackets followed by the labels P and Q, respectively. Regarding tone notation, only H-toned moras are marked with an acute accent. Underlying H tones (indicated in the second tier) are distinguished from H tones which surface as the result of High-Tone doubling, which consists of copying an underlying H onto the next mora to the right, on the word level but also across word boundaries. When the mora receiving the doubled H is in phrase-penult position, a falling pitch is usually heard. For phonetic concern, this fall is marked in the first tier by a circumflex accent on top of the segment. Intonational lengthening is conveyed by the diacritic < : > directly following the vocalic segment.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Most examples are extracted from narratives. Others were ‘semi-elicited’, i.e. they were created by the speaker as a result of different kinds of stimuli, rather than being directly ‘elicited’, i.e. translated from Portuguese. The source of the examples is indicated between curly brackets {...} on the first tier.

## 1. Situatives

Logical and temporal preconditions may be expressed in Cuwabo by means of what is commonly called the situative<sup>4</sup>. Subsection 1.1. concentrates on the situative tense hosted in the protasis, whereas the variety of tenses found in the apodosis is treated in subsection 1.2.

**1.1. Protasis: two situative markers.** Two situative tense/aspect/mood (TAM) prefixes exist in Cuwabo: *-a-* and *-gaa-* (sometimes shortened to *-ga-* on the surface), as shown respectively in (1) and (2), extracted from the same narrative, which seems to indicate that the choice between the two markers is arbitrary.

- (1) Mwaasegedhéyá dhiṁfúnéenyú kadhélágáni. {maria.97}  
 [mu-a-segedh-éy-a]<sub>p</sub> [dhi-ní-fun-á=inyu ka-dh-él-ag-a=ni]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM2PL-SIT-cause.trouble-NTR-FV 10-IPFV-want-FV.REL= PRO2PL IMP-go-APPL-HAB-FV=PLA  
 ‘When/If you are in trouble, anything you want, come and collect.’

- (2) Mugaddíkóséla mabáséen’ aábó, eṁfúnéenyu kalógáni. {maria.141}  
 [mu-gaa-ddí-kos-él-a ma-bása=ene ábo]<sub>p</sub> [e-ní-fun-á=inyu  
 SM2PL-SIT-OM1SG-do-APPL-FV 6-work=INT 6.DEM.II 9-IPFV-want-FV.REL= PRO2PL  
 ka-lóg-a=ni]<sub>Q</sub>  
 IMP-say-FV=PLA  
 ‘When/If you achieve that task for me, tell whatever you want.’

As can be seen from these examples, no conjunction is expressed in the subordinate clause. The sole presence of the situative prefix (*-a-* or *-gaa-*) in the protasis suffices to mark the sentence as being conditional. The situative is thus inherently subordinate, which is a typical property of so-called ‘converbs’ as defined by Haspelmath (1995), also known as ‘gerunds’ or ‘adverbial participles’ in European languages. Morphologically, situative verb forms consist of a subject marker, the situative marker and the verbal stem. This reduced finiteness, excluding tense marking, constitutes another characteristic of converbs. Syntactically, clauses containing a situative verb form function as clause modifiers. As suggested by the translations above, the linking between the two clauses can have a temporal interpretation (‘when’) or a conditional interpretation (‘if’). The two situative markers *-a-* and *-gaa-* can thus mean both ‘when’ and ‘if’. From a cross-linguistic viewpoint, this close association between temporal and conditional clause linking has commonly been reported (Dixon 2009: 14). This is possible since a clear temporal connection is established between the two clauses. However, in (3) and (4) below, only an ‘if’ interpretation is possible, since the linking is not based on a temporal basis, but rather on the consequence of an event.

<sup>4</sup> I follow here Devos (2008) and van der Wal’s (2009, 2014) terminology. Katupha (1983) also refers to this tense as ‘contingential’.

- (3) a. Ddiñdhág' ootaabúwá vatí váariba ddaahígúli vela. {semi-elic.}
- [ddi-ní-dh-ag-a o-taabúw-a vatí va-a-rib-a]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM1SG-IPFV.CJ-come-HAB-FV 15-suffer-FV 16.sunset SM16-SIT-be.dark-FV
- [**ddi-a-hí-gul-i** vela]<sub>P</sub>  
 SM1SG-SIT-NEG-buy-NEG 10a.candle.HID<sup>5</sup>
- 'I am going to suffer at night if I do not buy candles.'
- b. Ddaahíríntigi kabálayá:, bwenddéna kañnáálíbe. {semi-elic.}
- [**ddi-a-hí-riñt-ig-i** kabála=ya]<sub>P</sub> [bwenddé=na ka-ni-náa-lib-e]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM1SG-SIT-NEG-weave-HAB-NEG 9a.rope=DEF 5a.mat=5.DEF NEG-SM5-FUT-be.strong-FV
- 'If I do not weave this rope, this mat will not be strong.'
- (4) M̃maáni, míyo ddi-gaa-hí-j-i kaddiñdhów' óosuñza. {semi-elic.}
- [mu-maáni [míyo **ddi-gaa-hí-j-i**]<sub>P</sub> ka-ddi-ní-dhow-á o-suñz-a]<sub>Q</sub>  
 1-mother.HID PRO1SG SM1SG-SIT-NEG-eat-NEG NEG-SM1SG-IPFV-go-FV 15-learn-FV.HID
- 'Mother, if I do not eat, I am not going to school.'

Conditionality seems to be a recurrent interpretation of the negative situative, formed with the post-initial negative prefix *-hi-*, although (5) shows that the temporal interpretation may also apply.

- (5) Ddigaahísúwi dhoobó, múnóddívadá. Omúlága mwáána: omvadá:? {semi-elic.}
- [**ddi-gaa-hí-suw-i** dhi-obó]<sub>P</sub> [mú-ni-o-ddí-vad-á]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM1SG-SIT-NEG-wash-NEG 10-dish.HID SM2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-beat-FV
- o-mú-lag-a mú-aná o-mu-vad-á  
 15-OM1-educate-FV 1-child 15-OM1-beat-FV.HID
- 'When/If I do not wash the dishes, you beat me. Is beating a way to educate a child?'

Following Comrie's definition of 'hypotheticality' given in the introduction, conditional situatives can be considered as reality conditionals with a 'low hypotheticality', i.e. a great probability, due to their semantic closeness to factual sentences. The condition stated in the protasis can still be met, resulting in the realisation of the event described in the apodosis.

However, in many cases which do not involve negative polarity, a 'when' interpretation is preferred. This is especially true in the context of narratives, as shown in the following examples.

<sup>5</sup> HID (First High Deletion), aka 'Predicative Lowering' after Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000), consists in deleting the first underlying H of a word, usually a noun. In Cuwabo, this tonal process occurs in several different environments: 1) in non-verbal predication as in (e.g. *om̃vadá* in (5)); 2) after conjoint verb forms (e.g. *kóvaaye* in (21a)); 3) after negative tensed verbs (e.g. *vela* in (3) or *osuñza* in (4)); 4) in vocative expressions (e.g. *m̃maáni* in (4)).

- (6) Agaamwaangán' óoníibá, kanímóoná. {ddingí.17}  
 [a-gaa-mu-angán-a o-ní-ib-á]<sub>P</sub> [ka-ní-mu-on-á]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM2-SIT-OM1-watch-FV 1-IPFV-sing-FV.REL NEG.SM2-IPFV-OM1-see-FV  
 'When they watch (in the direction of) the one singing, they cannot see him.'

- (7) Enótwêya. Egaatweyá:, emfún' óóbúddúwaamó mwaári mwa mpulé {maria.49}  
 wóy' óoddódd' eejú wéene.

e-ni-ó-tw-ey-a [e-gaa-tw-ey-á]<sub>P</sub> [e-ní-fun-á o-búdduw-a=mo  
 SM9-IPFV.DJ-15-break-NTR-FV SM9-SIT-break-NTR-FV 9-IPFV-want-FV.REL 15-go.out-FV=LOC18  
 mwaári mwa mpule wéyo o-ddódd-e éjo wéene]<sub>Q</sub>  
 18.into 18.in 18.DEM.III PRO2SG SM2SG-snatch-SBJ 9.DEM.II INT

'It is going to break. Once broken, what will come out from inside, snatch it.'

Such temporal adverbial clauses can also be expressed by means of headless locative relatives using a class 18 concordial prefix<sup>6</sup>, as shown in (8). Note that, as non-subject relatives, adverbial relatives have the following characteristics: (a) the verb agrees with the antecedent of the relative clause, or the implied referent in the case of a headless (locative or manner) relative; (b) the subject noun phrase occurs in post-verbal position and does not control any agreement mechanism<sup>7</sup>. When it is expressed pronominally, it may either appear as an independent pronoun or be cliticised to the verb as shown in the following examples.

- (8) a. mukwéliyé:, akwilé eetéêne {body.17}  
 mu-kw-él-e=iye a-kw-ilé a-eté=ene  
 18-die-APPL-PFV.REL=PRO3SG SM2-die-PFV.CJ 2-all=INT  
 'When he died, all died.'

- b. namárogolo moonêlíye wíilá 'míyó ñnówélélúwa', okomesáár'uúkúl'ookíta. {ddingí.28}

namárogolo mu-ón-el-é=iye wíilá míyo  
 1a.hare 18-see-APPL-PFV.REL=PRO3SG CMP PRO1SG  
 ni-ni-ó-wel-el-úw-a o-komesáari ókule o-kít-a  
 SM1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-climb-APPL-PASS-FV NAR-start 17.DEM.III 15-go.down-FV

'Maria, the hare, when he saw he was being chased, started to go down (lit. 'when he saw: "I am being chased"')

It also happens, although more rarely, that temporal meaning is expressed on the relativised verb by the class 5 prefix *ni-*, presumably in reference to the word *ñsaká* 'time, moment' which belongs to class 5 and is implied in such sentences.

<sup>6</sup> Headless locative relatives in classes 16 and 17 are interpreted as *locative* adverbial clauses, rather than *temporal* adverbial clauses.

<sup>7</sup> See Creissels and Guérois (Submitted) for a detailed analysis of Cuwabo relatives.

- (9) *ṅvadelíyína vaṅlúgúni: étwéya* {maria.54}  
 ni-vád-el-é=iye=na                      va-ní-lugu=ni      e-hí-tw-cy-a  
 5-hit-APPL-PFV.REL=PRO3SG=INSTR    16-5-stone=LOC      SM9-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-FV  
 ‘When she hit the stone, it broke.’

Similarly to situative verb forms, temporal headless relatives are used in conjunction with a verb phrase, and assume the function of participial modifiers expressing time.

Regarding the origin of the two situative markers in Cuwabo, it is likely that *-a-* is a cognate of the reconstructed proto-form *\*-ka-*, whose consonant has been deleted<sup>8</sup>. According to Nurse and Philippson (2006), among the different uses attested for the formative *-ka-* in Bantu, one displays the values conveyed by the situative tense (*if*-clause). This use is more particularly confined to “a thin strip of languages along the east coast and just inland, from Kenya to northern South Africa” (Nurse and Philippson 2006: 170). For instance, in Makonde (P23), ‘if I buy’ is rendered by *ni-ka-súma*. Cuwabo and Makhuwa (exemplified in (10)) are other P-languages which exhibit this form of situative, but with  $\emptyset$  as the reflex of *\*k*, which represents a shared innovation among the two genetically related languages.

- (10) [Ni-khwáttá    na-khalá    ni-kíthi]<sub>P</sub> [o-háána    o-loól-ák-a]<sub>Q</sub> (van der Wal 2014: 51)  
 5-wound            SM5.SIT-stay    5-unripe    SM2SG-have    SM2SG-treat-DUR-FV  
 ‘when the wound is fresh you have to treat it’ (= ‘strike while the iron is still hot’)

The second situative marker, *-gaa-*, reminds one of the formative *nga*, which represents the conjunction ‘like, as’, distributed across most Bantu zones, “except C, H and P” (Nurse and Philippson 2006: 194). In many of these languages, this particle *nga* grammaticalised and progressively became incorporated as a TAM prefix (Nurse and Philippson 2006), to express conditional or hypothetical situations. This verb incorporation is particularly attested among zones M and N (Nurse 2008: 54). Consider for instance the two following examples from Sena (N44).

- (11) a. [A-**nga**-mphemb-a nyama    ya    ṁ-ma-dzi]<sub>P</sub>                      (Funnell 2004: 57, my gloss)  
 SM1-SIT-ask-FV            9.meat    9.CON    18-6-water  
 ‘If he asks for meat from the water (=fish)’  
 b. [U-**nga**-tamang-a]<sub>P</sub>,    [n-tima    u-na-chit-a    dididi]<sub>Q</sub> (Torrend 1900: 174, my gloss)  
 SM2SG-SIT-run-FV            3-heart    SM3-PRS-do-FV IDEO  
 ‘When you run, the heart beats rapidly’

Since both Cuwabo and Makhuwa share the situative morpheme *-a-*, but only Cuwabo also displays *-gaa-* in the same context, the Sena examples in (11) are of particular interest, and may help to understand this case of free variation in Cuwabo. Sena and Cuwabo are neighbouring languages, and although they differ in many respects (starting with the absence versus presence of

<sup>8</sup> The deletion of *\*k* is a recurrent historical phenomenon in Cuwabo as well as in Makhuwa (both being P30 languages), also attested in the infinitive prefix of the two languages, i.e. *o-* in Cuwabo and *o-/u-* in Makhuwa, and not *ku-*, as in other Bantu languages.

tones), mutual borrowings due to language contact are to be noted, especially as far as the phonology and the lexicon are concerned. With regard to the situative *-gaa-*, it is very likely that such a morpheme was borrowed from the Sena *-nga-*, which expresses the same semantic function.

As far as tones are concerned, the situative verb forms (either *-a-* or *-gaa-*) in Cuwabo display a lexical contrast between H-toned verbs and Ø-toned verbs. More precisely, the lexical H tone systematically emerges on the penult mora of the stem (or the ultimate mora in case of a bimoraic stem), whereas Ø-toned stems remain toneless<sup>9</sup>. Examples of monosyllabic, trisyllabic and 5-syllable verb stems are provided below, with toneless verb roots on the left column, and H roots on the right column. Object markers are freely added, since their presence does not alter the tone pattern<sup>10</sup>.

(12) *-a-* situative: morphological formula *SM-a-(OM-)VB-a*

<u>Ø-toned verbs</u>		<u>H-toned verbs</u>	
ddaa(mu)ja	‘if I eat (it)’		
ddaa(mu)lima	‘if I cultivate (it)’	ddaa(mu)gulá	‘if I buy (it)’
ddaa(mu)roromeliha	‘if I promise (it)’	ddaa(mu)bubuluwéla	‘if I roll to (it)’

(13) *-gaa-* situative: morphological formula *SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-a*

<u>Ø-toned verbs</u>		<u>H-toned verbs</u>	
ddigaa(mu)ja	‘if I eat (it)’		
ddigaa(mu)lima	‘if I cultivate (it)’	ddigaa(mu)gulá	‘if I buy (it)’
ddigaa(mu)roromeliha	‘if I promise (it)’	ddigaa(mu)bubuluwéla	‘if I roll to (it)’

However, the addition of the post-initial negative marker *-hí-* has the effect of neutralising the lexical tone contrast. As a result, the negative situative verb forms invariably exhibit one primary H tone, which is intrinsically borne by the negative prefix and which thus doubles onto the next mora.

(14) *-a-* situative: morphological formula *SM-a-hí-(OM-)VB-a*

<u>Ø-toned verbs</u>		<u>H-toned verbs</u>	
ddaa-hí-ja	‘if I do not eat’		
ddaa-hí-lîma	‘if I cultivate’	ddaa-hí-gûlá	‘if I buy’
ddaa-hí-róromeliha	‘if I promise’	ddaa-hí-búbuluwéla	‘if I roll to’

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that this tonal pattern for lexical H vs toneless verb stems is not restricted to the situative, but appears elsewhere in Cuwabo (see Kisseberth and Guérois (2014) for a detailed analysis of tonal properties of verbs among P30 languages).

<sup>10</sup> Although the *-gaa-* situative also tolerates a neutralised pattern in which a grammatical H tone anchors to the first mora of the macrostem, i.e. the object marker, as in *mugaddikóséla* ‘when you achieve for me’.

(15) *-gaa-* situative: morphological formula *SM-ga-hi-(OM-)VB-a*

<u>Ø-toned verbs</u>		<u>H-toned verbs</u>	
ddigaa-hí-ja	‘if I eat’		
ddigaa-hí-lîma	‘if I cultivate’	ddigaa-hí-gûlá	‘if I buy’
ddigaa-hí-róromeliha	‘if I promise’	ddigaa-híbúbuluwéla	‘if I roll to’

Both situatives may be inflected by the habitual pre-final marker *-ag-*, as shown in (16) and (17). In the latter case, the situative subordinate clause functions as a continuous action which occurs simultaneously with the event described in the main clause. A similar form combining the situative prefix and a reflex of the aspectual suffix *\*-ag-* is obtained in Makhuwa, and van der Wal (2014: 51) refers to this tense as Durative Situative. Further note that the apodosis in (17) is direct speech (see next subsection for discussion).

(16) mámbáttá ábá ddigaavahága mákanyá: agáǎrelá váddiddi {semi-elic.}

[má-mbatta ába [ddi-gaa-vah-ág-a má-kanyá]<sub>P</sub>  
6-duck 6.DEM.I SM1SG-SIT-give-HAB-FV 6-coconut.lee

a-gá-ni-rel-á váddiddi]<sub>Q</sub>  
SM6-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-lay-FV much

‘If I give coconut lees to these ducks, they will lay a lot of eggs.’

(17) ápálé: ǎdhówén’ aadhowága, ápálé: ǎdhówén’ aadhowága {maria.147}

[ápale ni-dhów-e=ni]<sub>Q</sub> [a-a-dhow-ág-a]<sub>P</sub>

16.DEM.III SM1PL-go-SBJ=PLA SM2-SIT-go-HAB-FV

‘“Over there, let’s go!”, while going. “Over there, let’s go!”, while going.’

**1.2. Apodosis: variation in TAM.** As was observed above, the situative verb forms in the protasis are unmarked for tense. But as reality conditionals, they refer to different temporal situations which all imply some likelihood. The time reference is set by the tense used in the apodosis. When the time reference is future, a causal relationship between the two clauses applies: if one event takes place, either in a near or in a remote future, another will come next, as a result. Examples are provided in (18).

(18) Situative + future

a. Muzógw’ ágaapulá nineel’ óója óba vaddiddi. {semi-elic.}

[mu-zógwe a-gaa-pul-á]<sub>P</sub> [ni-naa-ilá o-j-a ó-ba vaddiddi]<sub>Q</sub>

3-rain SM1-SIT-rain-FV SM1PL-FUT.DJ-AUX 15-eat-FV 14-fish much

‘If the rain falls, we will eat a lot of fish.’



- b. Yaak' éjw' éeñdhá ddáámfun' óókósa máttánga, kí ddaahílimi mbúga {semi-elic.}  
 nnáádhéna wuuvi?

e-aká éjo e-ní-dh-a ddi-a-ni-fun-á o-kós-a má-ttanga  
 9-year 9.DEM.II 9-IPFV-come-FV.REL SM1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-want-FV 15-do-FV 6-feast

[kí ddi-a-hí-lim-i mbúga]<sub>P</sub> [ni-náa-dh-e=na uuvi]<sub>Q</sub>  
 EMPH SM1SG-SIT-NEG-cultivate-NEG 3.rice SM1PL-FUT.CJ-come-IRR=COM where

'Next year, I would like to make a feast, if I do not cultivate rice, where will I find some?'

- c. Ogákós' áaní: ogaahísùñzi mwaawunó? {semi-elic.}

[o-gá-kos-a e-ni]<sub>Q</sub> [o-gaa-hí-suñz-i mwaawunó]<sub>P</sub>  
 SM2SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-do-FV 9.what SM2SG-SIT-NEG-study-NEG this.year

'What will you do if you do not study this year?'

Situatives may also co-occur with subjunctive (19) and imperative (20) moods. In this context, both subjunctive and imperative depend on the protasis event to occur, i.e. their realisation is determined by the occurrence of the event described in the protasis.

(19) Situative + subjunctive

waaddoddá:, dhiñfúnééwó ologélege vélêvo. {maria.50}

[o-a-ddodd-á]<sub>P</sub> [dhi-ní-fun-á=iwe o-log-él-eg-e vélevo]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM2SG-SIT-s snatch-FV 10-IPFV-want-FV.REL=PRO2SG SM2SG-speak-APPL-HAB-SBJ 16.EDEM.II

'When/If you snatch (it), whatever you (sg.) want, tell straight away.'

(20) Situative + imperative

Mwaasegedhéya dhiñfúnéenyú kadhélagani. {maria.97}

[mu-a-segedh-éy-a]<sub>P</sub> [dhi-ní-fun-á=inyu ka-dh-él-ag-a=ni]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM2PL-SIT-cause.trouble-NTR-FV 10-IPFV-want-FV.REL=PRO2PL IMP-go-APPL-HAB-FV=PLA

'When/If you are in trouble, anything you (pl.) want, come and collect.'

A similar causal relation is obtained when the sentence is used in a present temporality, indicated by the main clause verb. In the following examples, the present tense in the apodosis may express particular or spontaneous situations (21a), habitual situations (21b), or general statements (21c).

(21) Situative + present

- a. Agaañgán' óonóná kóvaaye. {maria.55}

[a-gaa-añgán-a]<sub>P</sub> [o-ní-on-á kóve=aye]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM1-SIT-look-FV SM1-IPFV.CJ-see-FV 9a.face.HID=POSS3SG

'When/If she looks, she sees her face.'

- b. Ddigaadhowá mmátakúlú mwaaw' aanóddíttamagíhá: {maria.19}  
 [ddi-**gaa**-dhow-á mu-má-takúlu mwaawa]<sub>P</sub> [a-**ni-ó-ddi-ttamag-ih-a**]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM1SG-SIT-go-FV 18-6-house 18.POSS3PL SM2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-FV  
 'When/If I go to their home, they make me run all around.'
- c. Nigaagumanihá:, entáwú, p' aaṅkáláani, p' aaṅváháani égûmi. {body.20}  
 [ni-**gaa**-guman-ih-a]<sub>P</sub> [entáwu pa **va-ni-kála=ani**  
 SM5-SIT-assemble-CAUS-FV then COP16 16-IPFV-stay.REL=PRO3PL  
 pa **va-ni-váh-a=ani** é-gumi]<sub>Q</sub>  
 COP16 16-IPFV-give-FV.REL=PRO3PL 9-health  
 'When/If unified, it works, it brings health.' (context: Every part of the body has its function.)

When dealing with past tense conditionals, the condition-consequence relation between the two clauses observed in (18) is somewhat hampered, in favour of a more temporal relation. The event expressed in the apodosis happened when or after (rather than 'if') the one introduced in the protasis held. The conditional interpretation is thus less obvious. Moreover, although there is no *a posteriori* doubt concerning the occurrence of the events described in both the protasis and the apodosis (since embedded in a past temporality), such sentences are in fact not concerned with the factuality of either one of their constituent clauses. A causal relation between the two clauses still exists, but on temporal rather than conditional grounds. Different types of past-related verb forms are attested in the protasis. The most commonly found in my database is the narrative tense, which formally looks like a basic infinitive form, with no subject or tense/aspect markers, but which differs tonally in exhibiting no 'prefix' High tone (see Kisseberth and Guérois 2014). Two sentences combining situative and narrative tenses are provided in (22).

(22) Situative + narrative

- a. Aamal' oójámó:, oṃmagyédhá namálába. {mbílri.4}  
 [a-**a**-mal-a ó-j-a=mo]<sub>P</sub> [o-**mu-magyédh-a** namálaba]<sub>Q</sub>  
 SM1-SIT-finish-FV 15-eat-FV=LOC18 NAR-OM1-slander-FV 1a.working-man  
 'After eating, she accused the employee.'
- b. Agaamal' ootóta nám' áagaadhowáná vatakúlúve, {mbílri.3}  
 mwáádhíye ojagámó namáy' éjilé agaamal' oopíya.  
 [a-**gaa**-mal-a o-tót-a náma]<sub>P</sub> [a-**gaa**-dhow-á=na va-takúlú=ve]<sub>P</sub>  
 SM1-SIT-finish-FV 15-hunt-FV 9a.game SM1-SIT-go-FV=COM 16-9a.house=16.POSS3SG  
 [mú-adhí=ye **o-j-ag-á=mo** namá=ya éjile]<sub>Q</sub>  
 1-wife=POSS3SG NAR-eat-HAB-FV=LOC18 9a.game=DEF 9.DEM.III  
 [a-**gaa**-mal-a o-píy-a]<sub>P</sub>  
 SM1-SIT-finish-FV 15-cook-FV  
 'After hunting game and bringing it home, his wife used to eat that meat after cooking it.'

The situative can also combine with a past imperfective as illustrated below.

(23) Situative + past imperfective

Ábáabá viín' áagaadhow' óókúle ṁmátákúlu mwáánáwa ṁpó:, {maria.14}  
 ááṁziw' éélá : "cibaréene mwáán' ág' ookáána múrâla."

á-baabá viína [a-gaa-dhow-á ókule mu-mátákúlu mú-anáwa ṁpo]<sub>P</sub>  
 2-parent too SM2-SIT-go-FV 17.DEM.III 18-6.house 1-child.POSS3PL 18.DEM.II

[á-a-ni-ziw-á]<sub>Q</sub> wíilá cibaréene mú-anága o-hi-káana mú-rála  
 SM2-PST-IPFV.DJ-know-FV CMP really 1-child.POSS1SG SM1-PFV.DJ-have 3-home

'The parents too, when they go to their daughter's houses there, they recognise that: "for real, my daughter has a home".'

Situative verb forms with a temporal interpretation can also be associated with direct speech, which thus appears as a substitute to the main clause. In this case, the third person narration subject expressed in the subordinate clause adapts to direct speech rules in the main (direct speech) clause and changes to a first person mode of speech, in order to respect co-referentiality between the two subjects.

(24) Situative + direct speech

a. Omuturumélá turíi: Agamwááñgána baáhi : "cá! Míyó múyán' óólle {maria.115}  
 kaṁnímuíceḷla."

o-mu-turumél-a turíi [a<sub>i</sub>-gaa-mú-añgán-a baáhi]<sub>P</sub> [cá míyo<sub>i</sub> mú-yaná  
 NAR-OM1-watch-FV INTER SM1-SIT-OM1-see-FV only INTER PRO1SG 1-woman

ólle ka-ni-ní-mu-ceelél-a]<sub>Q</sub>  
 1.DEM.III NEG-SM1PL-IPFV-OM1-give.up-FV

'He watched her (inter.). When he saw her: "Ohh! That woman, I am not going to lose her."'

b. Maríyá agaañgána : "méeyá ddilú ?" onóón' óolí tákúl' iína. {maria.124}

[Maríya a<sub>j</sub>-gaa-añgán-a]<sub>P</sub> [míyo<sub>j</sub>=yá ddi-lí uuvi]<sub>Q</sub> o-ní-on-á  
 Maria SM1-SIT-look-FV PRO1SG=DEF SM1SG-be where SM1-IPFV.CJ-see-FV

o-lí tákulu e-ína  
 SM1-be 9a.house 9-other

'Maria, when she looked: "Where am I?" She notices she is in another house.'

The temporal relation between the two clauses may be extended to simultaneity. This meaning, which can possibly be rendered by example (21a) above ('when/if' > 'while'), is further illustrated in (25), where one of the protagonists is realising that his wife, his children and his furniture are missing.

- (25) Haaaa! Cíini? Agaakuwá dhaáyi kanímóonávó muttu. {maria.168}  
 haa cíini [a-gaa-kuw-á dhaáyi]<sub>P</sub> [ka-ní-mu-on-á=vo mu-ttu]<sub>Q</sub>  
 INTER COP7.what SM1-SIT-shout-FV like.this.I NEG.SM1-IPFV-OM1-see-FV=LOC16 1-person.H1D  
 ‘What is it?’ When/while he is shouting like this, he does not see anyone.’

## 2. Conditional conjunction *akala* ‘if, whether’.

Conditional linking in Cuwabo can also be indicated by the use of a syntactic marker, namely the conjunction *akala* ‘if, whether’, which probably originates from the situative form of the verb *okála* ‘to be, stay, live’, with the resulting meaning “if it is” or “things being like this”. But unlike the situative verb forms, *akala* is not concerned with any temporal relation between the two clauses, and thus does not permit the formation of *when*-clauses. Instead, the conjunction describes hypothetical situations which, if realised, will trigger consequences suggested in the main clauses as in (26).

- (26) Akala ddi míyéene ósál’ uúb’ úpatúwéle mwiíko. {mbilri.21}  
 [akala ddi míyo=ene]<sub>P</sub> [ó-salu óbu o-patúw-el-e mu-íko]<sub>Q</sub>  
 if COP1 PRO1SG=INT 14-thread 14.DEM.I SM14-break-APPL-SBJ 18-river  
 ‘If it is me, may this thread break (in direction) to the river (so the culprit falls into the water).’

*akala* can also be used in indirect questions to express an enquiry or investigation as in (27). It is then best translated as ‘whether’.

- (27) Ddávéde ddoón’ áakala ñneel’ óókaana mikálélo dhiíná. {maria.18}  
 [ddi-á-ved-e ddi-ón-e]<sub>Q</sub> [akala ni-naa-ilá o-kaana  
 SM1SG-IT-search-SBJ SM1SG-see-SBJ if SM1PL-FUT.DJ-AUX 15-have.H1D  
 mi-kálelo dhi-ína]<sub>P</sub>  
 4-way.of.life 4-other  
 ‘I will go and search, and see whether I can have another way of life.’

As can be seen from these examples, the conjunction *akala* is part of the protasis and always occupies the clause-initial syntactic position. It is also the sole overt marker of conditionality in the sentence.

## 3. *ka-* conditionals

Counterfactual conditionals also exist in Cuwabo, whereby the protasis is marked by the prefix *ka-*, glossed CF for ‘counterfactual’, and attached to the infinitive verb, whilst the verb in the apodosis commonly receives the hypothetical prefix *-gaa-*, to express both ‘I would V’ and ‘I would have V-ed’, as suggested in the translations of the two following examples.

- (28) Kookaana koóbilri ddigaádhów' óóringa óńveddá bambáaya. {semi-elic.}  
 [ka-o-kaana koóbilri]<sub>P</sub> [ddi-gaa-hí-dhow-á o-Rínga ó-mu-vedd-á bambáaya]<sub>Q</sub>  
 CF-15-have 9a.money SM1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-go-FV 17-M.da.C. 15-OM1-search-FV 1a.potato  
 'If I had some money, I would go to Maganja da Costa to fetch sweet potatoes.'  
 'If I had had some money, I would have gone to Maganja da Costa to fetch sweet potatoes.'
- (29) Kuwiibá vaddíddi ddigaálála vammélo. {semi-elic.}  
 [ka-o-ib-á vaddíddi]<sub>P</sub> [ddi-gaa-hí-lal-a va-mu-mélo]<sub>Q</sub>  
 CF-15-sing-FV much SM1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-weaken-FV 16-3-throat  
 'If I sang a lot, I would damage my voice.'  
 'If I had sung a lot, I would have damaged my voice.'

In these two examples, the absence of distinction between the interpretation 'if I V-ed, I would V' on the one hand, and the interpretation 'if I had V-ed, I would have V-ed' on the other hand, shows that hypothetical conditionals and counterfactual conditionals are expressed in the same way in the language. Typically, in hypothetical conditionals ('if I V-ed'), the protasis presents a hypothetical or imaginary situation whose realisation, not completed at the moment of utterance, seems rather unlikely in this world. At least, these conditionals usually imply little confidence of their occurring on the part of the speaker. Instead they refer to what could happen in some other world. However, in the (unlikely) case where the event described in the protasis happened to hold, it is assumed that the event in the apodosis would consequently also hold. Unlike situative verb forms seen above, hypothetical conditionals have a very high degree of hypotheticality, i.e. their probability is very low. On the other hand, the counterfactual conditional ('if I had V-ed') refers to unreal conditions. The protasis proposes a statement assumed to be untrue or no longer real. The event described could have occurred in the past, triggering the realisation of the event described in the apodosis, but it did not and can no longer hold in this world at the time of utterance. The lack of tense distinction between these two types of speculative sentences in Cuwabo is commonly attested cross-linguistically (Comrie 1986: 93). What is crucial is that the *ka-* verb form determines in itself that the sentence is unreal, whereas the degree of hypotheticality is often determined by subjective evaluation. It should however be noted that contextual considerations may help in interpreting the tense reference and thus the degree of hypotheticality. For instance, the sentence in (30) necessarily involves a counterfactual reading since the past reference time is framed in the clause *íyó naáli mba* 'we were at home'.

- (30) Kuukopeél' ógaáfúguleluwa íyó naáli mba. {semi-elic.}  
 [ka-o-kopeél-a]<sub>P</sub> [o-gaa-hí-fugul-el-uw-a]<sub>Q</sub> íyó  
 CF-15-ask.permission-FV SM2SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-open-APPL-PASS-FV PRO1PL  
 ni-á-li mba  
 SM1PL-PST.IPFV-be 18.at.home  
 'If you had asked permission, we would have received you (lit. 'you would have been opened to), we were at home.'

With regard to the origin of the formative *ka-*, it is likely that it comes from the Proto-Bantu reconstruction *\*-ka-*, the same used for the situative prefix *-a-*, discussed above. In this case, the

consonant has been maintained probably because of its word-initial position which constitutes a strong position for consonants in Bantu languages. Another possible source for *ka-* is the subordinate conjunction *akala* ‘if’ mentioned above in subsection 1.3. It is indeed easy to imagine that *ka-* is a reduced form of *akala*.

*ka-* is attached to an infinitive verb form. In such a sequence, coalescence takes place with some variation in the vowel height degree, resulting either as a long mid-vowel [oo] or as a long high vowel [uu] (compare (28) and (30)). This attested variation argues in favour of the underlying [+high] feature of noun class prefixes consisting of a single vowel. The surface class 15 infinitive prefix *o-* is underlyingly [+high], i.e. *u-*, but underwent a word-initial constraint consisting in lowering high vowels to mid vowels, which seems to be recurrent in P30 languages (see van der Wal (2009: 20) for Makhuwa-Enahara). Also note that the single primary H tone (in the case of toneless verbs) or the first primary H tone (in the case of H-toned verbs) is systematically deleted. The resulting forms appear toneless in the first case (28), and with the lexical H tone on the ultimate mora (29) or penultimate mora (30) in the second case, depending on the stem length.

The counterfactual is optionally expressed as a compound verbal expression, in which either *wiilá* ‘say’ or *ólogá* ‘tell speak’ is inflected for the counterfactual conditional, and then followed by the main semantic verb found in a past form, imperfective (31) or perfective (32).

- (31) Kowiilúwága ddáǰkosá ǰpinddú ddigaágûla ǰddêbe. {semi-elic.}

[ka-o-il-úw-ag-a ddi-á-ni-kos-á mú-pinddú]<sub>P</sub>

CF-15-say-PASS-HAB-FV SM1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-do-FV 3-business

[ddi-gaa-hí-gul-a ní-ddebe]<sub>Q</sub>

SM1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-buy-FV 5-plot

‘If I had a chance to make business, I would buy a piece of land.’

- (32) Kuulogúwága ddaábaála ddiíziw’ wi káddigaataábúwile. {semi-elic.}

[ka-o-log-úw-ag-a ddi-a-hí-baál-a]<sub>P</sub> [ddi-hí-ziw-a wi

CF-15-tell-PASS-HAB-FV SM1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-give.birth-FV SM1SG-PFV.DJ-know-FV CMP

ká-ddi-gaa-taábuw-ile]<sub>Q</sub>

NEG-SM1SG-HYP-suffer-PFV

‘If I had children, I know I would not suffer (i.e. they would sustain me).’

As can be seen from the examples above, the apodosis is normally marked by a hypothetical tense marked by the prefix *-gaa-*. It is not clear at this stage whether this prefix is related to the situative *-gaa-* discussed above. Additionally, the two tenses in which they appear are morphologically distinguishable: whereas *-gaa-* is used as a single TAM marker in the situative, it necessarily co-occurs with the perfective prefix *-ile* when used as hypothetical. The use of a hypothetical verb form reinforces the nonfactuality (and even counterfactuality) expressed in the protasis. Still, other tenses are attested in the apodosis clause, such as the sequential perfective (33), or the future imperfective (34).

## (33) Counterfactual + sequential perfective

Kuulogíwága ddaahíkáana mááre baddisasanyedhé makáttámiyo ába. {semi-elic.}

[ka-o-log-íw-ag-a ddi-a-hí-kaana má-are]<sub>p</sub> [ba-ddi-sasany-edh-é

CF-15-tell-PASS-HAB-FV SM1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-have 6-idea SEQ-SM1SG-fix-APPL-PFV

ma-káttamiyo ába]<sub>Q</sub>

6-problem 6.DEM.I

‘If I had an idea, I would already have fixed the problem.’

## (34) Counterfactual + future imperfective

a. Kuulogíwa waáli owánúwe oli minddá dhâyé:, agáñlima. {semi-elic.}

[ka-olog-íw-a o-á-li owánuwe o-li mi-ndda dhí-aye]<sub>p</sub>

CF-15-tell-PASS-FV SM1-PST.IPFV-be 17.house.POSS3SG 17-be.REL 4-field.H1D 4-POSS3SG

[a-gá-ni-lim-a]<sub>Q</sub>

SM1-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-cultivate-FV

‘If he were in his birth land where his fields are, he would cultivate.’

b. Míyó kootelá: kaddigátáabuwa dhaayeené. {semi-elic.}

míyo [ka-o-tel-á]<sub>p</sub> [ka-ddi-gá-taabuw-a dhaayi=ene]<sub>Q</sub>

PRO1SG CF-15-marry-FV NEG-SM1SG-FUT.IPFV-suffer-FV like.this.I.H1D=INT

‘If I were married, I would not suffer this way.’

As stated above, hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals typically speculate about events which can no longer be met. As a result, the association of a counterfactual with a future tense in (34) is somewhat unexpected. It seems here that future temporality affects the sentence with a hypothetical reading rather than a counterfactual one. The event presented in the protasis, although unlikely to hold in this world on account of the counterfactual TAM marker, is also not entirely proscribed. In such a use, the range of meanings associated with the future imperfective tense may be extended. On the one hand, it appears in an independent clause, and indicates as expected a lengthy and unbounded process, taking place in the future, as illustrated in (35). On the other hand, it constitutes the apodosis of a conditional sentence, and expresses the result or the logical consequence of a situation presented as a condition, as in (34).

## (35) Wéyó wa mwáánáya, ogáséma macukwa. {semi-elic.}

wéyo wa mú-aná=ya o-gá-sem-a ma-cukwa

PRO2SG 1.CON 1-child=DEF SM2SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-work.wood-FV 6-beam.H1D

‘You the youngest one, you will be cleaning up the beams.’

Interestingly, this hypothetical value of the future imperfective is invariably attested in the few examples of the negative future imperfective available in my database, two of which are provided below in (36).

- (36) a. Kohíkálagá múnyerí: kaddigágúla guwo. {semi-elic.}  
 [ka-o-hí-kal-ag-a mú-nyerí]<sub>P</sub> [ka-ddi-gá-gul-a guwo]<sub>Q</sub>  
 CF-15-NEG-be-HAB-FV 3-flood.H1D NEG-SM1SG-FUT.IPFV-buy-FV 10a.cloth.H1D  
 ‘If there was no flood, I would not buy clothes.’
- b. Ovuruvuru waawínjivelé, kagáwásuluwa. {semi-elic.}  
 o-vuruvuru o-a-ínjiv-el-e ka-gá-wasul-uw-a  
 14-indiscipline.H1D 14-OM2-abound-APPL-PFV.REL NEG.SM2-FUT.IPFV-whip-PASS-FV  
 ‘This is for being very stubborn, they would (otherwise) not be whipped.’ (lit. ‘this is  
 indiscipline which abounded in them’)

The negative counterfactual is formed by adding the post-initial negative marker *-hi-*. In this case, the infinitive verb does not lose its (first) primary H tone, and the lexical contrast between H and Ø-toned verbs is neutralised. Instead, the negative marker bears a H which then doubles onto the next mora, as shown in (37). As is typical with Cuwabo negative verb forms, first H deletion (H1D) occurs on the object following the negative counterfactual verb form, as exemplified in (38) with *oba* (< *óba*).

- (37) Agaádhówá na míyó koohínyonyagá . {semi-elic.}  
 [a-gaa-hí-dhow-á na míyo]<sub>Q</sub> [ka-o-hí-nyony-ag-a]<sub>P</sub>  
 SM1-HYP-PFV.DJ-go-FV with PRO1SG CF-15-NEG-annoy-HAB-FV  
 ‘He would go with me if he was not annoying.’
- (38) Koohígúl’ ooba kavagaajúwe. {semi-elic.}  
 [ka-o-hí-gul-a o-ba]<sub>P</sub> [ka-va-gaa-j-úw-e]<sub>Q</sub>  
 CF-15-NEG-buy-FV 14-fish.H1D NEG-SM16-HYP-eat-PASS-PFV  
 ‘If I had not bought fish, there would be no meal at home.’

#### 4. Concessive conditionals

**4.1. *maásikini* ‘even if’.** The conjunction *maásikini* ‘even if’ is used to express conditional clauses with a concessive value. A similar form is obtained in Sena, and Moraira (1924: 166) describes it as a loan from Portuguese *por mais que*. Semantically, a protasis introduced by *maásikini* aims to bring an argument defying the application of the statement made in the apodosis. It thus expresses something which goes against expectations. As a result, and contrary to ‘normal’ conditional sentences, the apodosis in concessive conditionals no longer depends on the protasis to take place.

The concessive notion may appear in the subjunctive in the case where the event in the apodosis has a factual interpretation, in turn expressed by a future (39) or an infinitive (40).



## (39) Subjunctive + future

Maásíkiní ddivény’ óóváncéne ddivinááfíyé pavaribilé. {semi-elic.}

[**maásíkiní** ddi-vény-e óvano=éne]<sub>P</sub> [ddi-náa-fiy-e pa-va-rib-ilé]<sub>Q</sub>  
 even.if SM1SG-leave-SBJ 17.now=INT SM1SG-FUT.CJ-arrive-FV SEQ-SM16-be.dark-PFV

‘Even if I leave now, I will arrive late’

## (40) Subjunctive + infinitive

Míyô maásíkiní ddíkaáne dálá dhaaví, ójá múkucé:? née:! {semi-elic.}

[míyo [**maásíkiní** ddí-kaán-e dálá dhaavi]<sub>P</sub> ó-j-a mú-kucé née]<sub>Q</sub>  
 PRO1SG even.if SM1SG-have-SBJ 9a.hunger how 15-eat-FV 3-leftover no

‘Even if I am very hungry, to eat the leftovers? No way!’

In the case of unreality conditionals, the concessive protasis presents an event which can no longer happen. The verb thus appears in a counterfactual form, as shown in (41).

## (41) Counterfactual + future (imperfective)

Maásíkiní kúuwíilúwa ddaáli musilaámu, kaddigáp’ íifuwo. {semi-elic.}

[**maásíkiní** ká-o-il-úw-a ddi-á-li mu-silaámu]<sub>P</sub>  
 even.if CF-15-tell-PASS-FV SM1SG-PST-be 1-muslim.H1D

[ka-ddi-gá-p-i<sup>11</sup> e-fuwo]<sub>Q</sub>  
 NEG-SM1SG-FUT.IPFV-kill-NEG 9-domestic.animal.H1D

‘Even if I was a Muslim, I would not slaughter domestic animals.’

As can be seen in these examples, the dependent concessive clause usually appears sentence-initially as in (39) and (41). It may also be embedded in a main clause as in (40).

**4.2. *yoóvi* ‘otherwise’.** The conjunction *yoóvi*, rendered in English by ‘otherwise’ or ‘if not’, is used to express alternative concessive conditionals. It constitutes the negative alternative to the preceding clause. Consequently, the apodosis always precedes the protasis, as shown in (42).

## (42) kattáwáni, yoóvi: munójíwa {elic.}

[ka-ttáw-a=ni]<sub>Q</sub> [**yoóvi** mu-ni-ó-j-iw-a]<sub>P</sub>  
 IMP-flee-FV=PLA otherwise SM2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-cat-PASS-FV

‘run away, otherwise you (pl) will be eaten’

Similarly to *akala* ‘if, whether’, *yoóvi* is in protasis-initial position and the sole overt marker of conditionality in the sentence.

<sup>11</sup> Note on this verb form the presence of the optional negative final vowel *-i*.

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper I have presented the different conditional constructions found in Cuwabo taking into account different parameters that are relevant for the description of conditionals. A summary is provided in the following table.

**Table 1** Parametric comparison of conditionals in Cuwabo

Parameters	Type	→ Situatives <i>-a-/-gaa-</i> → <i>akala</i> conditionals	<i>ka-</i> conditionals	Concessive conditionals
1. Commonest clause order	PQ	PQ	PQ	PQ / QP
2. Which clause is marked?	P	P	P	P
3. Conditionality markers		<i>-a- / -gaa-</i> <i>akala</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>maásíkini</i> <i>yoóvi</i>
4. Semantic interpretation		conditional ‘if’ temporal ‘when’	temporal ‘when’ counterfactual hypothetical	‘even if’ ‘otherwise’
5. Hypotheticality degree		low	low	high
6. Time reference		future	past	past
7. TAM in apodosis		- future (imperfective) - subjunctive - imperative - present imperfective	- narrative - past imperfective - direct speech	- hypothetical - sequential perfective - future imperfective
				- future (imperfective) - infinitive - present imperfective

From this table, we observe that the four different types of conditionals have two features in common: first, they typically exhibit the protasis-apodosis order (except for the *otherwise*-clause which follows the main clause, as seen in subsection 4.2); second, conditionality is overtly marked on the protasis, either by a verbal prefix (situatives *-a-* and *-gaa-*, counterfactual *ka-*) or by a conjunction (*akala* ‘if, whether’, *maásíkini* ‘even if’, and *yoóvi* ‘otherwise’). It is also worth pointing out that the situative tense has two functions which depend on the sentence temporality: when the situation described has not occurred yet and may still take place in the future, both conditional and temporal interpretations are possible; however, when the time reference is past, a temporal interpretation (‘when’) is preferred over a conditional one (‘if’). This was clearly illustrated with examples (6), (7) and (17). In this respect, it would make sense to reassess the core function of the situative, not as a conditional, but rather as a temporal adverbial clause, describing a situation which is temporally dependent on the main clause event. Finally, on the hypotheticality continuum, conditional situatives are to be distinguished from *ka-* conditionals. Conditional situatives have a low hypotheticality, and tend to fall primarily into future time reference, although past is also attested, in which case a temporal interpretation (‘when’) is preferred over a conditional one (‘if’). On the other hand, *ka-* conditionals, which cover both hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals, have a high hypotheticality, with a systematic past time reference.

### Abbreviations Used

*	underlying form	IDEO	ideophone
1	first person	IMP	imperative
2	second person	IPFV	imperfective
3	third person	INT	intensive
Ø	toneless	INTER	interjection
APPL	applicative	LOC	locative
AUX	auxiliary	NAR	narrative
CAUS	causative	NEG	negation, negative
CF	counterfactual	NTR	neuter
CJ	conjoint	OM	object marker
CMP	complementiser	PASS	passive
COM	comitative	PFV	perfective
CON	connective	PL	plural
COP	copula	PLA	plural addressee
DEF	definite	POSS	possessive
DEM	demonstrative	PRO	pronoun
DJ	disjoint	PST	past
DUR	durative	REL	relative
FV	final vowel	SBJ	subjunctive
FUT	future	SEQ	sequential
H	high (tone)	SIT	situative
HAB	habitual	SM	subject marker
H1D	first H tone deletion	SG	singular
HYP	hypothetical	TAM	tense, aspect, mood

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