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Past tense in Kambaata (Cushitic)

Yvonne Treis

yvonne.treis@cnrs.fr

(LLACAN, CNRS - INALCO - Université Sorbonne Paris Cité)

1. Introduction

Afro-Asiatic > Cushitic > East Cushitic > Highland East Cushitic (HEC)



South of Ethiopia; immediate neighbours: speakers of other HEC languages (Hadiyya, Alaaba) and Omoto languages of the Omotic family (Wolaitta, Dawro)

Number of speakers: 615,000 (2007 Ethiopian census)

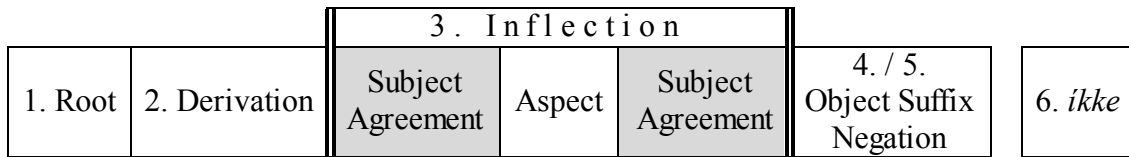
Database set up in a description/documentation project: narratives, conversational data and elicited data, yearly fieldtrips 2002-2007 and 2016; in addition: written corpus (schoolbook texts, Gospel of John, Little Prince etc.)

2. Typological profile

- **Morphological type:** agglutinating-fusional with many portmanteau morphemes; strictly suffixing
- **Parts of speech:** Open word classes: nouns, adjectives, verbs, ideophones, interjections; closed word classes: pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, demonstratives; hardly any conjunctions and adverbs (morphosyntactic definitions see Treis 2008: 82-97)
 - o Nouns: 2 genders (M vs. F); 9 cases (ACC, NOM, GEN, DAT, ABL, ICP, LOC, OBL/VOC, PRED); number on nouns is rather derivational than inflectional
 - o Adjectives: (as modifiers) case/gender-agreement with head noun, reduced case system (ACC, NOM, OBL); (as heads of NP) full case-marking potential
 - o Verbs – see below
 - o Ideophones: morphologically invariant; support verbs carry the inflection; intransitive support *y-* ‘say’ and *ih-* ‘become’, transitive support *a’-* / *ass-* ‘do’
- **Head- and dependent-marking:** fairly elaborate case system (from an African perspective); subject agreement on verbs
- **Strict head-finality:** dependent clauses before main clauses, main verb or copula = last constituent in a sentence; all modifiers before head noun
- **Zero anaphora:** Arguments of verbs can freely be omitted if they are retrievable from the context.

3. Morphological structure of the verb

Figure 1. Simplified structure of a indicative main verb in Kambaata

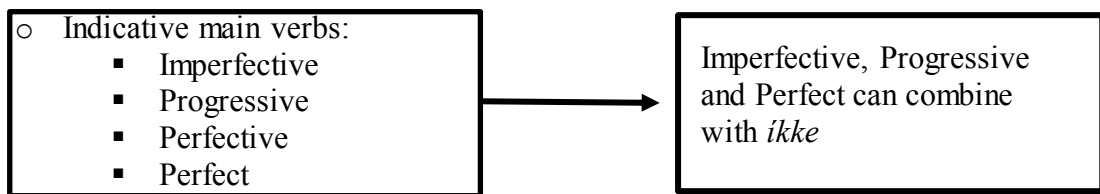


- 1. Verbal **root** necessarily ends in a single consonant or a consonant cluster, which influences the realisation of following C-initial morphemes or is itself influenced by them
- 2. Verbal **derivation** morphemes follow the root; the most productive are:
 - o Short CAUS1 *-s*, double CAUS2 *-siis*, PASS *-am* and MID *-’ ~ -aqq*
 - o Combinations are possible, note especially MID + PASS = REC
 - o Verb compounds are rare
- 3. **Inflectional** morphemes to the right of derivational morphemes; inflectional morphemes are partly fused
 - o 3.1. Subject agreement (first slot) = inherited from Afroasiatic
 - o 3.2. Aspect
 - o 3.3. Subject agreement (second slot) = recently grammaticalised
- 4./5. **Negation** ~ 5./4. **Object pronouns**¹
- 6. **ikke**

4. Kambaata (inflectional) verb types

Simplified overview of Kambaata verb types

- Important distinction between **main (final)** verbs and **subordinate (non-final)** verbs
 - o Main verbs end a sentence, have the most elaborate inflectional potential (more distinctions for subject agreement, aspect, mood)
 - o Subordinate verbs are found sentence medially (relative verbs, converbs, purposive verbs, verbal nouns), have a reduced inflectional potential (less or no distinctions for subject agreement and aspect, no mood marking), some are marked for switch-reference
- Within the group of main verbs: Important distinction between **indicative** main verbs and **non-indicative**



- o Non-indicative main verbs not marked for aspect
 - Imperative/jussive (‘V!’, ‘let him V!’ ...)
 - Admonitive (‘take care not to V!’, ‘there is a risk that ...’)

¹ Imperfective: object pronoun before negation, Perfect(ive): negation before object pronoun (Treis 2012).

5. Aspect marking on main verbs

5.1. Imperfective (IPV)

Characteristic aspect vowel (between agreement morphemes): *a(a)*

Table 1. Imperfective main verb

	-AGR	- <i>a(a)</i>	-AGR	
1s	-∅	- <i>aa</i>	- <i>m(m)</i>	e.g. <i>mar-</i> 'go'
2s	- <i>t</i>	- <i>aa</i>	- <i>nt</i>	<i>mar-áam(m)</i>
3m	-∅	- <i>a</i>	- <i>no</i>	<i>mar-táant</i>
3f 3p	- <i>t</i>	- <i>aa</i>	(-' <i>V</i>)	<i>mar-áno</i>
3hon	- <i>een</i>	-∅	- <i>no</i>	<i>mar-táa('u/'a')</i>
1p	- <i>n</i>	- <i>aa</i>	- <i>m(m)</i>	<i>mar-éenno</i>
2p 2hon	- <i>t-een</i>	- <i>a</i>	- <i>nta</i>	<i>man-náam(m)</i>
				<i>mar-teenánta</i>

The IPV marks an event as non-completed, either because the event is habitual, a general truth (1), carried out or happening at the speech time, in the future (2) from the perspective of the speech time, or in the future relative to the time of a past reference event (3) (for details see Treis 2011).

- (1) *Góg-u-se* *hagar-á* *doorr-ó* *mannóom-a-s*
 skin-mNOM-3fPOSS colour-mACC change-3mPVO.REL body-fNOM-3mPOSS

bajii-jáa'u (< *bajii-g-t-áa'u*).
 become_num-3fIPV

(Describing the consequences of leprosy) 'The body parts whose skin has changed colour become numb.' (K89: 8.49)

- (2) *Kazammaan-ó* *dagud-í* *shal-áan* *áy* *qeel-áno* *y-itán?*
 this_year-mGEN run-mGEN game-fLOC who.mNOM win-3mIPV say-2sICO
 'Who do you think (lit. "say") is going to win this year's race?' (Dialog 2014-12-10)

- (3) *Ga'aasíga inq-ó* *haakiim-í* *min-í* *mar-anó=tannée*
 next_day teeth-fGEN doctor-mGEN house-mACC go-3mIPV.REL=REAS

haww-áyyoo-haa *ikke*
 be_worried-3mPROG.REL-mCOP2 INACT

'He was worried because he would go to the dentist the next day.'

The IPV is not only used to encode events that are non-completed at the speech time but also at a reference time *prior* to the speech time, i.e. the imperfective can mark habitual events in the past.

- (4) (...) *ir-í* *aaz-éen* *cír* *y-ú* *abbíshshee-t*
 farm-mGEN inside-mLOC stroll say-mACC exceed.3mPCO.VV-COP3

iitt-anóo-hu
 love-3mIPV.REL.VV-mNOM

(Utterance about a daily activity of the protagonist:) '(...) he loved it very much to stroll across the farm (lit. (...) it is exceedingly that he loved to stroll across the farm).' (K89: 8.19)

5.2. Progressive (PROG)

Progressive = result of a recent grammaticalisation: imperfective converb (ICO) *-án* plus existential verb *yóo-* (COP1) ‘be (located)’ > *-áyyoo* PROG

Table 2. Progressive main verb

		-AGR	<i>-áyyoo</i>	-AGR		e.g. <i>mar-</i> ‘go’
1s		-Ø	<i>-áyyoo</i>	<i>-m(m)</i>		<i>mar-áyyoom(m)</i>
2s		<i>-t</i>	<i>-áyyoo</i>	<i>-nt</i>		<i>mar-táyyoont</i>
3m		-Ø	<i>-áyyoo</i>	<i>(-’V)</i>		<i>mar-áyyoo(’u’)</i>
3f	3p	<i>-t</i>	<i>-áyyoo</i>	<i>(-’V)</i>		<i>mar-táyyoo(’u’)</i>
3hon		<i>-een</i>	<i>-áyyoo</i>	<i>-mma</i>		<i>mar-áyyoomma</i>
1p		<i>-n</i>	<i>-áyyoo</i>	<i>-m(m)</i>		<i>man-náyyoom(m)</i>
2p	2hon	<i>-t-éen</i>	<i>-áyyoo</i>	<i>-nta</i>		<i>mar-teenáyyoonta</i>

The progressive marks a durative event as being in the process of happening at the reference time (which does not have to be the speech time).

- (5) *Kóo kám! Táda bun-í min-éeni-ndo od-áata*
 2mVOC leave.2mIMP now coffee-mGEN house-mLOC-Q things-fACC

aansh-án he’-áyyoo-haa
 wash-3mIPV live-3mPROG.REL-mCOP2

‘Hey, forget it/drop this idea! At the moment he might earn his living doing the dishes in a bar (lit. coffee house)!’ (Dialogue 2014-12-10)

- (6) *Handar-ch-ó béet-ut am-áachchi-se baan-án-t*
 dove-SG-fGEN child-fNOM mother-fABL-3fPOSS separate-PASS-3fPCO

méxxin kabahá-a ka’itá-a bát-bát y-itáyyoo’u
 alone to_here-ADD to_there-ADD flutter-flutter say-3fPROG

[Context: The protagonist Sabiro was watching birds.] ‘A dove girl who had been separated from her mother was fluttering alone here and there.’ (K89: 8.19)

Progressive marking encodes iteration (*ub-áyyoo’u* ‘he keeps on falling’) with punctual verbs (e.g. *ub-* ‘fall’) and an incipient change of state (*qeree’rr-áyyoo’u* ‘he is growing tall’) with inchoative-stative verbs (*qeraa’rr-* ‘be(come) tall’).

5.3. Perfective (PVO)

- Characteristic aspect vowel between agreement morphemes:
o(o) (except in 3hon and 2hon/p)
- Characteristic morphophonological process:
 palatalisation (P) and gemination (G) in 1s and 3m
- **Overlap** perfective/perfect:
 3hon and 2p/hon forms shared with the perfect paradigm (see §5.4)
- **Defectiveness:**
 1s and 3m perfective form can only be formed from verb stems ending in -C (but not -CC)

> verb stems in -CC do not distinguish between perfective and perfect (e.g. *barg-* ‘add’ > *barg-éemm* 1s perfective/perfect, **barg-óomm*)²

- **Neutralisation:** Distinction between perfective and perfect is neutralised in the negation

Table 3. Perfective main verb

	-AGR	-o(o)	-AGR		e.g. <i>mar-</i> ‘go’
1s	(P/G) -∅	-óo	-m(m)	only after -C	<i>marr-óom(m)</i>
2s	-t	-óo	-nt		<i>mar-tóont</i>
3m	(P/G) ‘-∅	-o		only after -C	<i>márr-o</i>
3f 3p	-t	-óo	-(’V)		<i>mar-tóo(’u)</i>
3hon	-éen	-∅	-ma(a’V)		<i>mar-éemma(a’a/a’u/a’)</i>
1p	-n	-óo-	-m(m)		<i>man-nóom(m)</i>
2p 2hon	-t-éen	-∅	-nta(a’V)		<i>mar-téenta(a’a/a’u/a’)</i>

The perfective form is used in texts for sentences which **advance the story**. Case study: The text *Sabiro* (K89: 8.19-23) shows that the sentences advancing the story end in true perfective verbs (26 of 86) or potential perfective verbs (24 of 86). Potential perfective verbs are verbs that do not make a distinction between perfective and perfect forms, i.e. 1s and 3m forms of verbs in -CC or 3hon and 2hon/p forms of all verbs (15), negative non-imperfective verbs (6) and the non-aspect-inflecting COP1 (*yoo-* ‘be located’) (3).

Example: Last 10 sentences of the story *Sabiro*:

- (7) ⁷²Sabiro left the cave slowly and in the rain he ran northwards (*dagújj-o* 3mPVO of *dagud-* ‘run’). ⁷³When he felt tired he walked, if not, he ran and (thus) he reached Qaacca (*iill-ée’u* 3mPVE=PVO of *iill-* ‘reach’). ⁷⁴Sabiro asked the people from Qaacca, took the road to Saraara, walked a bit, (came to) Jonguta, (setting off) from Jonguta, he reached Leemuutita in the evening (*iill-ée’u* 3mPVE=PVO of *iill-* ‘reach’). ⁷⁵As he had been told in Leemuutita he entered the town of Sarara (*áagg-o* 3mPVO of *aag-* ‘enter’). ⁷⁶Sabiru, who was in agony, suffered (even more) in the town of Sarara, he greeted an old man and told him that he had come from a place called Mishigida and that he as searching for Siggiso’s house (*kúll-o-ssa* 3mPVO-3pO of *kul-* ‘tell’). ⁷⁷As the house was close by, the old man showed it to him (i.e. led him there) (*malah-eemma-s* 3honPVE=PVO-3mO of *malah-* ‘show’). ⁷⁸As Sabiro’s heart beat too fast due to exhaustion and fear, he tried to regain his composure before he went and knocked at the door of the house (the old man) had pointed out to him (*qocc-ée’u* 3mPVE=PVO of *qocc-* ‘knock’). ⁷⁹Without asking who he was a small child opened the door, he said “Good afternoon” and entered the house (*áagg-o* 3mPVO of *aag-* ‘enter’). ⁸⁰Although Sabiro was given a chair when he entered, he headed towards the backroom (*márr-o* 3mPVO of *mar-* ‘go’). [see full example below] ⁸¹He clung to the neck of the woman who had recovered and was standing beside the fire and called out “Mum!” (*canqarr yée’u* 3mPVE=PVO of *canqarr y-* ‘cling to s.o.’s neck’). ⁸²The interior of the house filled with laughter and cries (*ikko* 3mPVO of *ih-* ‘be’).

² Roots consisting of a single C (e.g. *y-* ‘say’) and some roots ending in a glottal stop are not eligible for 1s and 3m perfective forms either.

- (8) *Sabír-u min-i áagg-i-yan barcum-á*
 [PN]-mNOM house-mACC enter-3mPCO-DS chair-mACC
aass-eemma-si=dá-a dum-í wud-ú
 give-3honPVE-3mO=COND-ADD backroom-mGEN side-mACC
láqq márr-o
 head_towards.3mPCO go-3mPVO

‘Although Sabiro was given a chair when he entered, he headed (straight) towards the backroom (= kitchen).’ (K89: 8.23)

5.4. Perfect (PVE)

- Characteristic aspect vowel between agreement morphemes:
ee (except in 3hon and 2p/hon)
- Characteristic morphophonological process:
palatalisation (P) and gemination (G) in 1s and 3m
- Accentuation of the verb form dependent on structure of the stem (except in 3hon and 2hon/p)
- **Overlap** perfect/perfective:
3hon and 2hon/p forms shared with the perfective paradigm (see §5.3)

Table 4. Perfect main verb

	-AGR	-ee	-AGR	
1s	(P/G) -∅	-ee	-m(m)	e.g. <i>mar-</i> ‘go’
2s	-t	-ee	-nt	<i>márr-eem(m)</i>
3m	(P/G) -∅	-ee	-(‘V)	<i>már-teent</i>
3f 3p	-t	-ee	-(‘V)	<i>márr-ee(‘u)</i>
3hon	-éen	-∅	-ma(a‘V)	<i>már-tee(‘u)</i>
1p	-n	-ee-	-m(m)	<i>mar-éemma(a‘a/a‘u/a‘)</i>
2p 2hon	-t-éen	-∅	-nta(a‘V)	<i>mán-neem(m)</i>
				<i>mar-téenta(a‘a/a‘u/a‘)</i>

Processes and actions that are completed but whose **ensuing/resulting state** (e.g. being folded as in (9) or being separated as in (10)) continues to the reference time.

- (9) *Daddáabb-i-s poost-áan wor-an-tee‘-lita ik-ku‘nnáan*
 letter-fNOM-DEF envelope-mLOC put_into-PASS-3fPVE.REL.VV.fACC become-3fNCO
woraqat-i al-éen xaaf-án-t er-án-tee-taa
 paper-mGEN top-mLOC write-PASS-3fPCO fold-PASS-3fPVE.REL-fCOP2

‘The letter had not been put in an envelope, (but) it had been written on a sheet of paper and it had (just) been folded.’ (K89: 8.21)

- (10) *Ánii kii=g-a-n am-áachchi-‘e baan-ámm-eemmi-a*
 1sNOM.CRD1 2sGEN=G-mOBL-N mother-fABL-1sPOSS separate-PASS-1sPVE.REL-mCOP2
 ‘Me too, I am separated from my mother like you are (from yours).’ (K89: 8.20)

Completed at the reference time but with **current relevance** at the event time:

- (11) *Kabár mát-u mán-ch-u ta daddaabb-íta éebb-ee-he*
 today one-mNOM men-SG-mNOM DDEM1.fACC letter-fACC bring-3mPVE-2sO

[Context: When Sabiro returns from the garden, his neighbour calls him.] ‘Today, someone has brought this letter for you.’ [The neighbour hands the letter over to him.] (K89: 8.21)

- (12) [...] *ánn-u-s [...] sharr-í wol-íta meent-ichch-úta éebb-ee’u*
 father-mNOM-3mPOSS chase-3mPCO other-fACC women-SG-fACC bring-3mPVE

[Context: The protagonist watched a tiny bird looking for its mother. He remembered what had happened to him when he was small.] (When he was three years old, his parents had started to quarrel and) his father had chased away (Sabiro’s mother) and married (“brought”) another woman.’ (K89: 8.20)

6. The past marker *ikke*

6.1. Formal features

- Position (re-call §3): right edge of main verb
- Morphophonological status still unclear, but probably phonologically dependent (enclitic to main verb)
- What can still follow?
 - o Superordinate clause, e.g. when *ikke* the last element in direct speech (K89: 4. 79)
 - o Head noun, when *ikke* is the last element of a modifying relative clause (K89: 4.41)
- Combinability:
 - o never found after non-indicative verbs (imperative/jussive, admonitive)
 - o never found after perfective verbs (§5.3)
 - o combined with imperfective (§5.1), progressive (§5.2) and perfect verbs (§5.4)

6.2. Etymology

- Probably frozen 3m or 3f perfect (PVE) form of the verb *ih-* ‘become’, open question: grammaticalised in the language itself or result of multifunctionality replication from neighbouring languages?

Table 5. Perfect of *ih-* ‘become’

1s	<i>ikk-eemm</i>
2s	<i>ik-keent</i>
3m	<i>ikk-ee’(u)</i>
3f 3p	<i>ikk-ee’(u)</i>
3hon	<i>ih-éemma(a’a/a’u/a’)</i>
1p	<i>inkeemm</i>
2p 2hon	<i>ik-kéenta(a’a/a’u/a’)</i>

--> *ikke*

Use as a full verb:

- (13) *Hamáam-i-i Bajíg-u-u iitt-an-tú’нна-n annann-á ik-kee’u*
 [PN]-fNOM-ADD [PN]-mNOM-ADD like-PASS-3fNCO-N separate-mACC become-3fPVE

‘Without agreeing with (lit. without liking) each other, Hamaame and Bajigo have separated (lit. have become separate).’ (K89: 3.100)

- (14) *Heetil-ch-uhu-u fáashsh-uhu-u(...) annann-á ik-kóo 'u*
 hare-SG-mNOM-ADD horse.SG-mNOM-ADD separate-mACC become-3FPVO
 ‘(After having chatted with each other), Hare and Horse went their separate ways (lit. became separate).’ (K89: 3.118)

6.3. Function

6.3.1. Past

A combination of **imperfective (IPV)** and *ikke* explicitly marks habitual/general truth in the past (but is not obligatorily when the text as a whole is situated in the past).

- (15) *Wod-ó mánn-u reh-anó j-áata*
 past_times-mGEN people-mNOM die-3mIPV.REL time-fACC
yoo-sí od-áan-in moog-am-áno ikke
 COP1.3-3mO.REL things-fICP-N bury-PASS-3mIPV IKKE
 ‘When the people of the old days died, they used to be buried with the things they owned’ (K89: 7.62) – Without *ikke*: ‘... they are buried with the things they own.’

Together with the progressive (PROG), *ikke* encodes an ongoing event at a past reference time (but not obligatorily when the text as a whole is situated in the past).

- (16) (...) *móochch-u fellaa'-ú-s bógg-ee*
 wild_animal-mNOM goats-mACC-DEF loot-3mPVE
mánn-u canc-áyyoo ikke
 people-mNOM shout-3mPROG IKKE
 ‘(...) people whose goats had been looted by a wild animal were shouting.’ (K89: 8.22) – Without *ikke*: ‘... are shouting.’

Ikke can combine with the **perfect (PVE)**; it thus marks that a state resulting from an earlier change of state is ongoing in the past (but not obligatorily when the text as a whole is situated in the past).

- (17) (...) *abbishsh mudd-ámm-eemm ikke*
 very perturb-PASS-1sPVE IKKE
 ‘I was very much worried (because it became clear to me that the breakdown of my plane was extremely serious).’ (*Petit Prince*: §7) – Without *ikke*: ‘I am very much worried ...’
- (18) (...) *hund-i-nné míuumm-unku qárr-ee'u ikke.*
 all-mGEN-1pPOSS hair-mNOM<N> fall_out-3mPVE IKKE
 ‘[When we were taken out of the barrel,] the hair of all of us had fallen out/was gone.’ (K89: 3.47) – Without *ikke*: ‘... the hair has fallen out/is gone.’

In combination with the **proximative** verb in *-ótaat* (‘be about to V’) (Treis 2011), *ikke* encodes that an event is about to happen at a reference that is prior to the speech time.

- (19) *Ayyaan-o-'óoni-n alaphph-ii mar-ótaa-t ikke*
 [PN]-mGEN-ASSOC.fICP-N play-mDAT go-3mPURP.VV-COP3 IKKE
 ‘I was just about to go out to play with Ayyaano and his friends.’ (K89: 3.96) – Without *ikke*: ‘I am just about to go ...’

6.3.2. Hypotheticality and counterfactuality

Usually, *ikke* is also found in the apodosis of unreal **conditional clauses**, where it always combines with an imperfective verb form (23) or a non-verbal predicate (26).

- (23) [*Qaw-ú ik-keenti-ráan*]_{protasis} *mát-ua=bb-aan*
 small-mACC become-2sPVE-UNREAL.COND one-mOBL=PLACE-mLOC
dákk a'-í fa'-is-áan-ke ikke
 hide do-1sPCO save-CAUS1-1sIPV-2sO IKKE
 ‘If you were small, I could hide you somewhere and save you.’ (K89: 4.76)

Though usually present, *ikke* does not *have* to occur in the **apodosis** of an unreal conditional clauses. See the (non-)use of *ikke* in comparable contexts in (24) and (25). See also (26)-(27).

- (24) [*Arríichch-ut yóo-ba' ikkiyan*]_{protasis} *fool-áam-u=rr-u*
 sun.SG-fNOM COP1.3-NEG UNREAL.COND soul-AAM-mNOM=NMZp-mNOM
gú'mm-unku uull-á al-éen he'-íi dand-áno-ba'a
 all-mNOM<N> earth-fGEN top-mLOC live-mDAT be_able-3mIPV-NEG
 ‘If there were no sun, no living being could live on earth.’ (K89: 2.49)

- (25) [*Arríichch-ut yóo-ba' ikkiyan*]_{protasis} *akaakilt-á le'-is-iha*
 sun.SG-fNOM COP1.3-NEG UNREAL.COND vegetable-mACC grow-CAUS1-mDAT
dand-éenno-ba'a ikke
 be_able-3honIPV-NEG IKKE
 ‘If there were no sun, one wouldn't be able to grow vegetables.’ (K89: 2.47)

The **protasis** can be marked in various ways (note that all these invariant markers seem to be built on the verb *ih-* ‘become’; no functional differences could so far be determined)

- The marker *ikkeeráan* (< 3mPVE of *ih-* ‘become’ plus *-ráan*) is added after a perfective main verb (26) / counterfactual: (31)
- The suffix *-ráan* (reduced form of *ikkeeráan*?) is attached to a perfect main verb form (23)
- The marker *ikkiyan* (< 3mPCO-DS of *ih-* ‘become’) is added after a perfective main verb (24) and (25) / counterfactual: (30)
- The marker *ikk* (< 3mPCO of *ih-* ‘become’) is added after a perfective main verb (27) / counterfactual: (29)

- (26) [*Téesu woqq-áa-'i marámm-eemm ikkeeráan*]_{protasis} *baréed-a-a*
 now way-mACC-1sPOSS walk(.PASS)-1sPVE UNREAL.COND good-mPRED-mCOP2
 ‘It would be good if I went my way.’ (*Petit Prince*: §10) [= used for a polite request]

- (27) [*Mat-u mán-ch-u masaal-á abb-is-ú'нна fá'-ee*
 one-mNOM people-SG-mNOM masaala-mACC celebrate-3mNCO leave-3mPVE
ikk]_{protasis} *mánn-u m-á y-áano-si-ndo [...]*
 UNREAL.COND people-mNOM what-mACC say-3mIPV-3mO-Q
 ‘(Ask your neighbours or relatives) what people would say, if a person did not celebrate the *masaala*-holiday.’ (K89: 5.10)

If no apodosis is explicitly expressed, hypothetical and past imperfective sentence are not formally distinguishable (only the context helps to disambiguate).

- (28) *Tánn gajaajj-óon fool-áam-u=rr-u gú'mm-unku*
 DDEM1.fOBL reason-fICP soul-PROP-mNOM=NMZp-mNOM all-mNOM<N>
tánn uull-á al-éen he'-íi dand-áno-ba'a ikke
 DDEM1.fOBL earth-fGEN top-mLOC live-mDAT be_able-3mIPV-NEG INACT

[Context: If there were no sun, no plants would grow.] ‘Consequently, no living being would be able to survive on this earth.’ (K89: 2.47) – Alternative reading in isolation/out of context: ‘Consequently, no living being used to survive on this earth.’

Kambaata makes **no distinction** between **hypothetical** (= “present counterfactual”) (23)-(27) and **counterfactual** (= “past counterfactual”) conditional clauses (29)-(31). Only the context disambiguates between the two readings. We find the same markers in the apodosis of counterfactual as in hypothetical conditional clauses.

- (29) [*Hikkánn Duuball-i min-éen yóo od-aatá-a*
 DDEM2.mOBL [PN]-mGEN house-mLOC COP1.3.REL things-fACC-ADD
min-i-sí-i xíud-deent ikk]_{protasis}
 house-mACC-3mPOSS-ADD see-2sPVE UNREAL.COND
hitt-íta y-itáanti-ba' ikke!
 like_this-fACC say-2sIPV-NEG IKKE

‘If you had seen the things in Duuballa’s house and the house (itself), you wouldn’t have said this.’ (DW_dialogue_comparison)

- (30) [*Át kánne yóont ikkiyan*]_{protasis}
 2sNOM here COP1.2s UNREAL.COND
hiz-óo-' reh-áno-ba'a ikke.
 brother-mNOM-1sPOSS die-3mIPV-NEG IKKE

‘If you had been there, my brother would not have died.’ (John 11, 21; literal translation)

- (31) [*Áti-i indo hé'-i shal-a-sí-i tiraatir-aa-sí-i*
 2sNOM-ADD ? exist-2sPCO song-fACC-DEF-ADD theatre-mACC-DEF-ADD
xíud-deent ikkeeráan]_{protasis} *maalal-táant ikke*
 see-2sPVE UNREAL.COND be_surprised-2sIPV IKKE

‘If you, too, had attended (lit. seen) the concert and the theatre, you would have appreciated it.’ (K89: 6.104)

As in hypothetical sentences, *ikke* always follows an imperfective verb form, mostly a main verb forms as in (29)-(31), or a non-verbal predicate. In questions, it can also follow an imperfective converb form (ICO: (32)).

- (32) *Áti-s m-á at-tán ikke?*
 2sNOM-DEF what-mACC do-2sICO IKKE

‘What would have you done (had you been in my place)?’ (DW2014-09-05f_nnu)

Abbreviations

AAM	propriative	MID	middle
ABL	ablative	N	pragmatically determined morpheme (function as yet unclear)
ADD	additive ('also', 'and')	NCO	negative converb
CAUS	causative	NEG	negation
COND	conditional	NMZp	nominalisation with =r
COP1	yoo-copula	NOM	nominative
COP2	ha-/ta-copula	O	object
COP3	VV-t-copula	OBL	oblique
DAT	dative	p	plural
DDEM	demonstrative adjective	PASS	passive
DEF	definite	PCO	perfective converb
DS	different subject	PL	plurative
f	feminine	PN	proper noun
G	multifunctional =g-morpheme (source meaning: 'manner')	POSS	possessive
GEN	genitive	PRED	predicative
ICO	imperfective converb	PROG	progressive
ICP	instrumental-comitative-perlative	PVE	perfective
IDEM	demonstrative pronoun	PVO	perfect
IMP	imperative	REL	relative
IPV	imperfective	s	singular
LOC	locative	SG	singulative
m	masculine	VV	vowel lengthening

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