THE NATURE OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCES IN NYAKYUSA[1]

The mechanisms utilized to introduce conditional construction in Nyakyusa are partly similar to the patterns available in some Bantu languages because its protasis is introduced by the word **lıınga**. The counterfactual marker **angali** introduces the apodosis of the counterfactual sentences, similar to Zulu and Swahili. The main difference is that Nyakyusa differentiates reality and unreality situations primarily through TAM formatives. For instance, realistic situations manifest in future and present tenses while unrealistic events are primarily indicated by remoteness in past tense.

1. Introduction

The grammars of Bantu languages reveal different mechanisms for introducing conditional constructions in the protasis: some Bantu languages (e.g. Lusaamia JE34 and Haya JE22) employ proclitics attached to verbs (Saloné 1979; Botne 2006); other Bantu languages (e.g. Tonga M64 and Zulu S42) use words (Halpert 2012; Jimaima 2014); and there are Bantu languages (e.g. Swahili G42) which use both proclitics and words (Saloné 1983a). Section 2 provides an inventory of different mechanisms that license conditional constructions in Nyakyusa. Secondly, the classifications of conditional clauses are based on their semantics and TAM-types (Dancygier & Mioduszwska 1984; Dudman 1984). Previous studies proposed different classifications for some Bantu languages: Saloné (1979, 1983a) postulates three varieties, i.e. simple, hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals for Haya while Parker (1991) provides four types, namely open, hypothetical, counterfactual, and concessive conditionals for Mundani. Section 3 establishes the primary types of conditional constructions that occur in Nyakyusa. In addition, the various time

[1] Nyakyusa [ISO 639-3 nyy] is a Bantu language spoken by over a million people in South-Western Tanzania, where it is referred to as iKinyakyusa (Nyakyusa) (Lusekelo 2013) and Northern Malawi where it is called Chinkonde (Konde) (Ibid). In Guthrie's updated classification by Maho (2009), Nyakyusa (Konde) is categorized as M.31.

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references in the conditional sentences are discussed in the mentioned literature. Section 4 discusses the different mechanisms and TAM-types for languages such as Swahili, Zulu, Haya, Mundani and Tonga.

2. Mechanisms for formation of conditional sentences

Conditional constructions have the basic structure **lıınga** … **(po**) 'if…then' in Nyakyusa. The protasis is primarily introduced by **lıınga** 'if' and the apodosis by an optional word **po** 'then', as in (1)[2]. The apodosis can also be indicated by another word **kuti** 'then', as shown in (2). The indicator of the apodosis can be dropped, as in (3).

(1) [**Lıınga** mu-ku-londa uku-ki-nosya i-kı-su ıki] P
if 2PL-NPST-want INF-7OBJ-beautify AU-7-land 7.DEM
'If you want to develop this country,

[(**po**) na-mw[3]-ipang-e] Q
then FUT-2PL-strategize-SUBJV
(then) you should strategize.'

(2) [**Lıınga** mu-ø-seng-ile] P [**kuti** tu-ø-lim-e] Q
if 2PL-PST_1-slash-PFV then 1PL- PST_1-cultivate-SBJV
'If you have cleared, we will sow beans.'

(3) [**Lıınga** tu-ø-mal-ıle i-mbombo] P [tw-isa ku-fwaala i-ngiɣa] Q
if 1PL- PST_1-finish-PFV AU-9.work 1PL-come INF-wear AU-9.crown
'If we have finished the job, we will be crowned.'

[2] Nyakyusa data come from **Teti Teti** texts (Mwakifuna IV 1986) and **Nyakyusa stories** (Felberg 2007). Some examples come from spoken texts and elicited sentences which were obtained from native speakers from Kyela and Rungwe districts in Tanzania.

[3] Glides **y** and **w** result from the juxtaposition of disallowed vowel sequences, e.g. [u-a], [u-e], [i-u], [i-e] etc. Thus, **mu-i-pang-e** = [**mw-i-pang-e**] 'you should strategize'.

Doke (1935: 75) argues that 'Bantu makes no psychological distinction between the ideas of "if" (condition) and "when" (time)'. This seems not to be the case for Nyakyusa. The word **βo** 'when' introduces sentences which underscore temporal sequences rather than conditional constructions, as illustrated in (4).

(4) [**βo** βa-fık-ıle apa] P [(**po**) a-tu-ku-βa-ambilil-aɣa] Q
if 3PL-arrive-PFV here then FUT-1PL-NPST-2OBJ-receive-HAB
'When they have arrived here, (then) we will welcome them.'

The sequences **na lınga** 'even if' and **po papo** 'and then' are allowed in conditional sentences in Nyakyusa, as shown in (5-6).

(5) [**Na lınga** tu-fık-ıle pa-la pa-kilo] P [a-tu-ku-kisania] Q
even if 1PL-arrive-PFV 16-there 16-night FUT-1PL-NPST-go_on
'Even if we arrive there at night, we will go on (with the journey.'

(6) [**Lınga** u-ø-mal-ıle i-ki-liβa] P [(**po**) (**papo**)
if 2SG- PST_1-finish-PFV AU-7-base and then
'If you have prepared the foundation, then

u-ø-kat- eɣ-e a-ma-lasi] Q
2SG- PST_1-cut-HAB-SBJV AU-6-bamboo
you should prepare bamboo trees.'

The sequence **lınga** … **angali** provides counterfactual conditionals. Thus, Nyakyusa utilizes the word **angali** in the apodosis to introduce counterfactual conditional sentences, as shown in (7).

(7) [**Lınga** tw-a-meŋ-**e**] P [**angali** tw-a-βa-p-**ele**] Q
if 1PL-PST_2-know-**SBJV** **CF** 1PL-PST_2-2OBJ-give-**PFV**
'Had we known, we would have given them.'

The preceding section presented the lexical realizations of conditionals in the language. The TAM-types discussed in the subsequent section help to indicate different categories of conditionals.

3. Classifications of conditional sentences based on semantics and TAM-types

Classifications of conditional constructions for Swahili, Haya and Mundani appear to be language specific (Saloné 1979, 1983a; Parker 1991). Therefore, specific types of conditional constructions for Nyakyusa are provided below.

3.1 Open (simple) conditional clauses. For a better understanding of this category, three linguistic matters are of significance here. Firstly, open conditionals (Parker 1991), also referred to as simple conditionals (Saloné 1979), are consequential sentences whose relationship is in a cause–effect pattern (Dancygier & Mioduszwska 1984). It means that the fulfillment of the condition stipulated in the protasis will eventually result in the realization of the situation or event in the apodosis. This is possible because 'there is little doubt or uncertainty regarding the actualization of the event or action expressed by the verb in either clause' (Parker 1991: 168).

Secondly, studies on conditional constructions in Haya and Mundani (Saloné 1979, 1983a; Parker 1991) conclude that the TAM system for open (simple) conditional sentences is mainly recent past, present tense, and open future tense. This pattern is not fully attested in Nyakyusa because only present and future tenses realize open conditionals in the language.

Thirdly, I said earlier that interpretations of conditional constructions result from the message available in the whole sentence (Dancygier & Mioduszwska 1984). Dudman (1984) suggests that the reading provided by the whole sentence should be used as the landmark to decide on the TAM-type of the conditional construction.

The following examples will help us to have a better understanding of the three matters presented above.

(8)	[Lɪɪnga	mu-**ø**-lim-**ile**] P	[**a**-tu-**ku**-βyal-**a**	i-ndima] Q
	if	2PL-**PST$_1$**-cultivate-**PFV**	**FUT**-1PL-NPST-sow-**FV**	AU-10.bean
	'If you have cultivated,		we will sow beans.'	

(9) [Lıınga u-**ø**-seng-**ile**] P [**kuti** βa-lim-**e**] Q
if 2SG-**PST$_1$**-slash-**PFV** then 1PL-cultivate-**SBJV**
'If you have cleared, they will cultivate.'

(10) [Lıınga tu-chel-iɣw-**e**] P [**a**-tu-**ku**-kom- iɣw-**a]**Q
if 1PL-be late-PASS-**SUBJV** **FUT**-1PL.SBJ-**NPST**-hit-PASS-**FV**
'If we are late, we will be punished.'

(11) [Lıınga tu-**ka**-fy-**aɣ**-a] P [**a**-tw-is-**e** pa-**kw**-isasul-a] Q
if 2PL-**NEG**-8OBJ-find-FV **FUT**-come-**SBJV** 16-**NPST**-enjoy-FV
'If we don't get (them), we will come (back) to enjoy.'

The cause–effect relationship is apparent in these examples because the fulfillments of the conditions in protasis result into the actualizations of the situations in the consequent clauses. Thus, the semantic interpretations of the message in all cases indicate actual potentialities of the situations to be executed.

The interpretation of the TAM system depends solely on the understanding of the whole sentences. In these cases, two TAM-readings (present and future time references) are attested in open conditionals in Nyakyusa. The future reading is attested in examples (8) which comprises **zero**…**ile** formative in the protasis and **a**…**ku** …**a** in the apodosis. Formatives in example (9) are **zero**…**ile** in protasis and subjunctive **e** in the apodosis, which receive future interpretation. The present reading is attested in (10) whose protasis consists of the **zero**…**e** formative and and **a**…**ku** …**a** in the apodosis. Also, the interpretation of (11) is present time reference. Its protasis has the **ka** negation marker, which is used for present and past tenses (Ibid), and the apodosis comprises the future tense marker **a** and the subjunctive **e**. The whole sentence gives the present reading. I assume that Nyakyusa permits the subjunctive to realize simple (open) conditional constructions.

Contrary to previous findings in Swahili, Haya and Mundani (Saloné 1979, 1983a; Parker 1991), it seems that the mechanism to employ the past tense to designate open conditional clauses in Nyakyusa is not really possible. Saloné (1983a) and Parker (1991) propose that remote tense could also indicate open (simple) conditionals. However, based on the interpretation of the whole conditional constructions (Dunham 1984), data presented in this section indicates that open conditional clauses manifest only in two kinds of TAM in Nyakyusa, namely future and present readings. Although near past can occur in the protasis (as in (8-9) above), the apodosis must be

either future or present. Thus, this language does not make use of the past reading to designate open conditional constructions.

3.2 Hypothetical conditional clauses. The essence of hypothetical conditional constructions is that an antecedent clause introduces an imaginary proposition which is untrue or not known to be true (Saloné 1983a). Further interpretation of the hypothetical conditional constructions is that it is non-consequential (Dancygier & Mioduszwska 1984). It means that 'the situation expressed by the verb in the antecedent clause is unrealized at the moment of utterance, and its eventual realization may even seem unlikely' (Parker 1991: 174).

Saloné (1983a) and Parker (1991) suggest that hypothetical and open conditional constructions may seem similar with regard to their TAM-types because both manifest in past tense in Haya and Mundani. This is not the case for Nyakyusa which employs only remote past tense to designate hypothetical conditionals, as illustrated below.

(12) [Lıınga βa-**a**-fık-**ıle**] P [βa-**a**-p-el- iɣw- **aɣa]** Q
if 3PL-**PST$_2$**-arrive-**PFV** 3PL-**PST$_2$**-give-APPL-**HAB**
'If they came, they would be provided.'

(13) [Lıınga u-**ka**-jeng-**ıle** i-mbanda] P [inyumba sy-**a**-ɣw-**aɣa]** Q
if 2SG-**NEG**-build-**PFV** AU-10.pole AU-10.house 3PL-**PST$_2$**-give-APPL-**HAB**
'If you didn't build poles, houses would fall.'

The protasis in (12) above have the remote past tense marker **a** and the completive (perfective) **ile** while the apodosis has the remote past tense marker **a** together with the habitual marker **aɣa**. the protasis of example (13) bears a negation marker **ka** which is for past tense (Lusekelo 2013) while the apodosis has the PST_2 marker **a** together with the habitual marker **aɣa**. The whole sentence provides past reading. Any different TAM-patterns yield an ill-formed sentences, as in (14-15).

(14) *[Lıınga βa-**a**-fık-**ıle**] P [βa-**ø**-p-el- iɣw- **aɣa]** Q
if 3PL-**PST$_2$**-arrive-**PFV** 3PL-**PST$_1$**-give-APPL-**HAB**

(15) *[Lıınga u-**ka**-jeng-**a** i-mbanda] P [inyumba si-**ø**-ɣw-**aɣa]** Q
if 2SG-**NEG**-build-**FV** AU-10.pole AU-10.house 3PL-**PST$_1$**-give-APPL-**HAB**

In addition, the present tense is not permitted in the protasis of hypothetical sentences in Nyakyusa, as shown in (16).

(16)	*[Lınga tu-**ku**-ly-**a**] P	[tw-**a**-p-el- iɣw-**aɣa]** Q
	if 1PL-**NPST**-eat-**FV**	3PL-**PST$_1$**-give-APPL-**HAB**
	[Intention: 'If we eat,	we would be provided.']

The reason to rule out the possibility of recent past to mark hypothetical conditionals emanates from the fact that setting a boundary for present tense as opposed to other tenses is difficult because temporal references seem to be fused together (Botne 2006; Nurse 2008; Seidel 2008; Lusekelo 2013). On the interpretations of present tense available in the Bantu TAM system, Nurse (2008: 116) concisely shows that 'it represents the period between the past and the future' which is dependent on the intentions of the speaker and mechanisms available in the specific language. On the difficulty of interpreting the present tense, Seidel (2008: 154-155) also argues that 'the scope of the readings is rather broad: a) general present (including situations of gnomic character), b) progressive, c) current habitual or iterative and d) future'. It becomes apparent that previous publications on Bantu conditionals (Saloné 1983a; Parker 1991) could have combined such an array of definitions of present tense into the past tense. Thus, I am convinced that hypothetical conditionals in Bantu languages could only be obtained through reference to past.

3.3 Counterfactual conditional constructions. It should be understood right from the beginning that the semantics of counterfactual sentences involves the proposition in the antecedent clause, which is clearly untrue, to endorse the situation or event in the consequent clause to become highly unlikely (see Parker 1991: 177). It means that this structure permits interpretation of the counterfactual sentences as 'understood to be contrary-to-fact or to suggest a low likelihood of fulfillment' (Saloné 1983b: 322). Thus, the basic semantic content of counterfactual conditional constructions is realization of unreality situations (Ibid) in that 'the propositions they contain are false' (Halpert 2012: 118).

It should also be understood that the literature shows that Bantu languages realize the counterfactual conditionals either using proclitic elements (Botne 2006; Saloné 1983b) and/or words (Saloné 1983b; Parker 1991; Halpert 2012). As shown in section 2, **angali** introduces the apodosis of counterfactuals in Nyakyusa. Another example is offered in below.

(17) [**Lıınga** tw-**a**-cheliɣ-w-**e**] P [**angali** tu-**ø**-kom-iɣw-**e**] Q
if 1PL-**PST$_2$**-be late-PASS-**SUBJV** **CF** 1PL-**PST$_1$**-hit-PASS-**SUBJV**
'If we had come late, we would have been punished.'

Apart from the remote past tense and the subjunctive mood demonstrated in (19) above, the language permits the remote past tense formative **a** to co-occur with the perfective formative **ile** in both the antecedent and consequent clauses, as in (18). In addition, the sequence **a**…**ile** and **ø**…**ile** is permitted in the protasis and apodosis clauses respectively, as in (19).

(18) [**Lıınga** tw-**a**-βʊʊk-**ile** ku-tukuju] P [**angali** tw-**a**-βu-ul-**ile** i-njinga] Q
if 1PL-**PST$_2$**-go-**PFV** 17-Tukuyu **CF** 1PL- **PST$_2$**-2OBJ-buy-**PFV** AU-bicycle
'Had we gone to Tukuyu, we would have bought you bicycles.'

(19) [**Lıınga** tw-**a**-βʊʊk-**ile** ku-tukuju] P [**angali** tu-**ø**-ul-**ile** i-njinga] Q
if 1PL-**PST$_2$**-go-**PFV** 17-Tukuyu **CF** 1PL- **PST$_1$**-buy-PFV AU-10.bicycle
'Had we gone to Tukuyu, we would have bought bicycles.'

The aspectual formatives **ile** (perfective) and **aɣa** may also be used in the protasis and the apodosis respectively to express counterfactual conditionals, as demonstrated in (20).

(20) [Lıınga i-ɣali ly-**a**-ɣw-**ile**] P [ly-**a**-βa-ɣoɣ-**aɣa**] Q
if AU-5.car 3SG-**PST$_2$**-fall-**PFV** 3SG-**PST$_2$**-2OBJ-kill-**HAB**
'Had the car fallen, it would have killed them'

In addition, the grammar of the language permits situations in the imaginary world to be realized using the habitual formative **aɣa** in both the protasis (antecedent) and apodosis (consequent) clauses, as example (21) demonstrates.

(21) [**Lıınga** i-ɣali ly-**a**-ɣw-**aɣa**] P [ly-**a**-βa-ɣoɣ-**aɣa**] Q
if AU-5.car 3SG-**PST$_2$**-fall-**HAB** 3SG-**PST$_2$**-2OBJ-kill-**HAB**
'Had the car fallen, it would have killed them.'

The foregoing discussion entails that only the remote past tense allows counterfactual conditional readings in Nyakyusa. As found elsewhere (Parker 1991), future tense is strictly forbidden for counterfactuals. Thus, together with the TAM formative for past references, the word **angali** initiates the basic reading of counterfactual conditional clauses in the language.

4. Comparison with other Bantu languages

In this section, conditional constructions in Nyakyusa will be compared with those in other eastern and southern Bantu languages.

On the lexical indications of conditionals, Nyakyusa uses **lıınga** in the protasis. This is similar to Tonga, Swahili, Haya and Zulu whose conditional markers are **kuti** 'if', **kama** 'if', **ká** 'if' and **ukaba** 'if' respectively, as shown below.

(22) [**Kuti** nda-ba a-maali] P [ndi-**ya**-kuula moto ooyo] Q [Tonga]
if 1SG-be AU-money 1SG-**COND**-buy car this (Jimaima 2014: 51)
'If I have money, I will buy this car.'

(23) [**Kama** u-**ki**-end-a Lamu] P [u-ta-ona bahari] Q [Swahili]
if 2SG-**COND**-go Lamu 2SG-FUT-see sea (Goyvaerts 2007: 19)
'If you go to Lamu, you will see the sea.'

(24) [**Ká** n-da-mu-bón-a] P [n-da-mu-gamb-îl-a] Q [Haya]
if 1SG- FUT_1-3OBJ-see-FV 1SG- FUT_1-3OBJ-tell-APPL-FV (Saloné 1979: 70)
'If I see him, I will tell him'

(25) [**Ukaba** be-ngi-phuma manje] P [ngabe ngi-zo-fika kusasa] Q [Zulu]
if PST-1SG-leavenow CF 1SG-FUT-arrive tomorrow (Halpert 2012: 119)
'If I left now, I would arrive tomorrow.'

The difference is that Swahili requires **ki-** in the protasis and Tonga requires the marker **ya-** in the apodosis. Both languages permit these affixes to co-occur with the lexical conditional markers, as shown in (22-23) above. This behaviour is not demonstrated by Nyakyusa grammar.

As said earlier, Saloné (1983b) argues that the highest degree of possibility of the realizations of conditions in the protasis is available for **ki**-marked conjunctionless sentences in Swahili. I would

like to say that perhaps the structure of Swahili permits differentiation of the degree of possibility based on whether a word like **kama, iwapo**, **ikiwa** 'if' or a proclitic like **ki-** is used. This grammatical behaviour does not seem to manifest in numerous Bantu languages. The grammar of Nyakyusa utilizes the word **lıınga** 'if' to introduce a range of conditional constructions and the likelihood of the fulfillment of the conditions therein is really context-bound.

Further similarity is observed between Nyakyusa, Swahili and Zulu in the realization of counterfactual conditionals. These languages make use of expressions **angali** (Nyakyusa) (25), **nge** and **ngeli** (Swahili) (26) and **ngabe** (Zulu) (27). The difference is that Swahili permits double counterfactual markers in a sentence. The other difference is that Zulu and Nyakyusa make use of both CF and TAM in the apodosis. In addition, in Zulu and Nyakyusa the CF is an independent word (**angali**, **ngabe**) and is followed by a verb with TAM marking (e.g. PST_1 in Nyakyusa and FUT in Zulu, as shown below), but in Swahili the CF replaces TAM marking.

(26) [Lıınga tw-a-βʊʊk-ile] P [**angali** tu-**ø**-mw-aɣ-**ile**] Q [Nyakyusa]
if 1PL-PST_2-go-PFV CF 1PL- **PST_1**-buy-**PFV**
'Had we gone, we would have found him/her.'

(27) [(Kama) ni-**nge**-enda soko-ni] P [ni-**ngeli**-nunua vi-azi] Q [Swahili]
if 1SG-**CF**-go market-LOC 1SG-**CF**-buy 8-potato (Saloné 1983b: 322)
'If I were to go to the market, I would have bought potatoes'

(28) [Ukaba be-ngi-phuma manje] P [**ngabe** ngi-**zo**-fika kusasa] Q [Zulu]
if PST-1SG-leavenow CF 1SG-**FUT**-arrive tomorrow (Halpert 2012: 119)
'If I left now, I would arrive tomorrow.'

The second reflects the differences in TAM marking within conditional sentences in Bantu languages. Saloné (1979: 74, 1983b: 317) presents the patterns of TAM and semantic contents of conditional constructions in Bantu languages. In (29) I paraphrase her suggestions for Haya and Swahili. Based on the foregoing discussion, Nyakyusa is more of aspectual in typology because the language makes the following distinctions of the reality-unreality of the conditionals (30).

(29)

INDICATION	REALITY (Open)	UNREALITY (Hypothetical)	UNREALITY (Counterfactual)
Present tense	Simple (realistic)		---

Future tense	Simple (realistic)		---
Present tense	---	Hypothetical (Fictious)	
Past tense	---	Hypothetical (Imaginary)	----
Subjunctives	---	Hypothetical (Fictious)	----
Past tense	---	---	Counterfactual(Facts)

(30)

INDICATION	REALITY (Open)	UNREALITY (Hypothetical)	UNREALITY (Counterfactual)
Lexical	---	---	**angali**
TAM forms	**ø** … **ile**	**a** … **ile**	**ile**… **aɣa** or **aɣa** … **aɣa**
TAM type	Future tense	Remote Past	Past references
Semantics	possibility	imaginary	unrealistic

It appears that Swahili and Haya allow several TAM-types to realize the three categories of conditional sentences. This is not the case for Nyakyusa whose grammar permits present and future tense to designate open (simple) conditionals (reality) and reference to the past in designation of unrealities (i.e. hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals).

The third point revolves around the realization of conditional clauses by a proclitic. Unlike Nyakyusa, morphological units (proclictics) function to signal conditional sentences in some Bantu languages. The proclitic **ni** is a common feature which is 'used in the protasis of real conditional sentences' in Lusaamia, as (31) illustrates. In this language, the counterfactual affix **ná** is also used in the consequent clause, hence the sequence **ni**…**ná**.

(31)

[**Ni**-xu- mú-bona] P	[xu-**ná**- mú-bool- ér-á] Q	[Lusaamia]
if-1PL-3OBJ-see	1PL-**CF**-3OBJ-tell-APPL-FV	(Botne 2006: 66)
'If we see her,	we will tell her'	

In Swahili, Goyvaerts (2007: 19) shows that '*ki* may also be used in conditional discourse. In this case, the verb bearing *ki* may be preceded by *kama* to strengthen the 'if' condition'. Functionally, Saloné (1983b: 315) claims that '*-ki-* marked conjunctionless sentences express the

highest degree of probability about fulfillment of the proposition', as illustrated in (32). This case is true because Lamu is a township located at the sea-coast.

(32)	[U-**ki**-end-a	Lamu] P	[u-ta-on-a	bahari] Q	[Swahili]
	2SG-**CF**-go	Lamu	2SG-FUT-see	sea	(Goyvaerts 2007: 19).
	'If you go to Lamu,		you will see the sea.'		

The last point involves the problem in the proper classification of conditional sentences in the Bantu family. Parker (1991: 179) suggests that 'in a concessive (CONC) conditional, the antecedent clause indicates a condition that would seem to be opposed to the statement made in the consequence clause'. In my opinion, such given cases do not support a causal relationship between the protasis and the apodosis. This argument hinges on the claim made by Dancygier and Mioduszwska (1984) that conditional clauses need be consequential in that a cause–effect relationship should prevail between antecedent and consequent clauses.

Sentences introduced by "even if" appear to provide readings similar to what Parker (1991) proposes as concessive conditional constructions in Mundani. For such cases, Nyakyusa makes use of the expressions **na lınga** or **na papo lınga** to designate the conjunction 'even if'.

(33)	[**Na lınga**	tu-**ø**-fık-**ıle**	pa-kilo] P	[**a**-tu-**kw**-isa] Q	[Nyakyusa]
	even if	1PL-**PST$_1$**-go-**PFV**	16-night	**FUT**-1PL-NPST-come	
	'Even if we arrive at night,			we will come [to visit]'	

(34)	[**Na papo lınga**	βa-**ø**-tu-kind-**ile**] P	[a-tu-ku-βa-aɣa	pa-ky-amba] Q
	even if	3PL-**PST$_1$**-go-**PFV**	FUT-1PL-NPST-2OBJ-find	16-7-mountain
	'Even though they are ahead of us,		we will find them at the mountain'	

It becomes difficult to conceive the proposal that Bantu languages form a fourth category of concessive conditional clauses which Parker (1991) proposes. To me, the three clusters of conditional sentences provided in Section 3 above suffice for Nyakyusa.

5. Conclusion

I articulated lexical and TAM mechanisms utilized to introduce conditionals in Nyakyusa. I established that such strategies in this language are partly similar to the patterns available in Tonga, Zulu and Swahili because it makes use of the word **lıınga** (similar to **kuti**, **ká**, **ukuba** and **kama** 'if' in Tonga, Haya, Zulu and Swahili respectively). I proposed that the counterfactual marker **angali** introduces the apodosis of the counterfactual clauses, similar to the Zulu expression **ngabe** and Swahili word **ngeli**. The difference is Nyakyusa has another mechanism of differentiating reality and unreality situations primarily by the use of the habitual to mark counterfactual conditionals which does not occur in Tonga, Zulu and Swahili. In addition, the realistic situations (mainly in open conditionals) manifest in future and present tenses while unrealistic events (mainly hypothetical and counterfactual) are indicated by remoteness in past tense.

Abbreviations Used

AU	augment or pre-prefix	PASS	passive
APPL	applicative	PFV	perfective
CF	counterfactual marker	PL	plural
CONC	concessive marker	PRES	present tense
COND	conditional marker	PST	past tense
DEM	demonstrative	SBJ	subjective case
FUT	future tense	SBJV	subjunctive
FV	(default) final vowel	SG	singular
HAB	habitual marker	TAM	tense, aspect and mood formatives
INF	infinitive formative	NEG	negation
NPST	non-past	1, 2, 3	Bantu noun classes
OBJ	objective case		

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