Insubordinated conditionals in Kupsapiny (Kupsapiiny, Kupsabiny)  

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The present study describes two types of insubordinated conditionals in Kupsapiny, the Southern Nilotic language of Eastern Uganda: one starting with the conditional marker yèè/yòò or ìte/ìto and the other starting with the combination ìto yèè. It shows that different senses of these constructions can be distinguished on the basis of what types of responses to them are possible or impossible. It also shows that the two types of constructions differ from each other in a few respects (e.g., the recoverability of a main clause, the difference from the full conditional construction); this suggests that one developed later historically than the other.  

Keywords: insubordination, conditional, Kupsapiny, Kupsapiiny, Kupsabiny, Nilotic, Uganda  

1. Introduction  

This paper describes two types of constructions that can be regarded as insubordinated conditionals in Kupsapiny (ISO 639-3: kpz, also spelled Kupsapiiny or Kupsabiny), the Southern Nilotic language of Uganda. It has two goals: one is to show that the senses of either type of insubordinated conditional construction can be distinguished on the basis of what types of responses to them are possible or impossible, and the other goal is to speculate on the historical development of these insubordinated conditional constructions.  

Section 2 briefly reviews previous studies on insubordination across languages. Section 3 provides background information on Kupsapiny including patterns of clause linkage and the formation of conditionals. Section 4 describes different types of situations where the Kupsapiny insubordinated conditional constructions are used by examining how the addressee responds to them. Section 5 analyzes the data presented in section 4 and  

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speculates on the historical development of the constructions. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Literature review

Evans (2007) shows that insubordination, “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (p.367), is widespread across languages (see also Evans 1993). Examples of insubordinated constructions include free-standing conditional clauses in English (e.g., *If you could come this way, please.* or *If you (dare) touch my car!*), free-standing ‘whether’-clauses with verb-final word order in German, and the infinitive used as a command in Italian (Evans 2007).

Evans hypothesizes that insubordination follows four stages of diachronic development, as in (1).

(1) a. Subordinate construction
    b. Ellipsis of main clause
    c. Conventionalized ellipsis
    d. Reanalysis as main clause structure

At stage (a), the construction consists of a main clause and a subordinate clause. At stage (b), the main clause is elided, and the subordinate clause stands alone. At this stage, the main clause is easily recoverable. At stage (c), the ellipsis is conventionalized, and the main clause is difficult to recover. At stage (d), what was previously a subordinate clause is conventionally used as a main clause, and it is impossible to recover the original main clause.

Insubordination has attracted attention especially because insubordinated clauses, which serve as main clauses but whose verbs are non-finite, provide a counterexample to the assumption that verbs in main clauses are finite, and also because insubordination, whereby a subordinate clause comes to be used as a main clause, is a counterexample to the purported unidirectionality of grammaticalization (e.g., Heine & Reh 1984: 74-76, Heine, Claudi & HÜnnemeyer 1991), according to which a main clause comes to be used as a subordinate clause.

Another observation that Evans makes of examples of insubordination in various languages is that the unit of the message can go beyond the level of a single clause, because no sharp distinction can be drawn between syntactic relations and discourse relations.
The specific research questions that the present study addresses are: (i) Does Kupsapiny exhibit any insubordinated constructions? (ii) How can one collect data on the use of such constructions in an understudied language like Kupsapiny, for which corpora do not exist? (iii) What can one assert with confidence about the historical development of insubordinated constructions in such a language, assuming a scenario like (1)?

3. Background information on Kupsapiny

3.1. Overview of grammatical properties of Kupsapiny

Kupsapiny is spoken by the Sebei or Sabiny/Sapiny people, who live in the Sebei region on the northern and western slopes of Mt. Elgon in Eastern Uganda, which is crossed by the Uganda-Kenya border running northeast to southwest. According to the national census by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics in 2002, the population of the Sebei is approximately 181,000, and almost all of them speak Kupsapiny. Kupsapiny belongs to the Kalenjin branch of the Southern Nilotic group of the Nilotic language family. Sabaot, which is spoken by about 280,000 people on the Kenyan side of Mt. Elgon, is another intelligible dialect of this language.

In this language, the consonant phonemes are p, t, c, k, f, s, š, m, n, ŋ, r, l, w, and y, and the vowel phonemes are i, e, a, o, u, ɨ, ə, ɑ, ii, ee, aa, oo, and uu. Kupsapiny also makes a five-way tonal distinction, high (‘), mid (no diacritic), low (‘), rising (ˇ), and falling (˚).

Kupsapiny is an agglutinating language with some fusion, where nouns and verbs both use prefixes and suffixes, but some morphemes are portmanteaux. It shows head-marking properties. The case marking system of this language is marked-nominative (Dixon 1994: 63-67, König 2006, 2008: 138-203) — that is, the case for the object (the absolute case) is functionally unmarked (in that the absolute case forms of nouns are the same as their citation forms, and are used in various types of situations), whereas the case for the subject (nominative case) is functionally marked. Although it is not clear whether the absolute case or the nominative case is morphologically unmarked, absolute case forms of most nouns with the case distinction show a flat tone pattern or a rising tone pattern (starting from a low or mid tone and rising toward the end), whereas their nominative case forms usually have a falling tone pattern (starting from a high tone and falling toward the end). Examples are shown in Table 1.

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1 Nilotic languages are conventionally considered to have the advanced tongue root distinction in their vowels (e.g., Ladefoged, Glick, & Criper 1968: 37-38, Larsen 1991: 144). However, I am not sure whether Kupsapiny does in fact have this distinction, in other words, whether any pair of the vowels listed here should be regarded as exhibiting this distinction, or whether the vowels have any further distinction. This issue needs closer investigation.
Table 1: Absolute and nominative case forms of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute case</th>
<th>Nominative case</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cìtò</td>
<td>cìto</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lèkwèt</td>
<td>lékwet</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tàrtet</td>
<td>tàrtet</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariya</td>
<td>tariya</td>
<td>‘white ant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Absolute case is used not only for the direct object (both the direct object of a transitive verb and the theme of a ditransitive verb), but also for the citation form and the subject of a copula construction. In addition to general subjects, the nominative case is used for the indirect object (and for the direct object of a transitive verb immediately after a word ending in a high tone and for the predicate of a copula construction).

However, not all nouns make this case distinction; some nouns do not exactly match the above uses of absolute and nominative cases. Moreover, there are a relatively large number of nouns that do not carry any morphological marking of case at all and are invariant in form (e.g., kó ‘house’, àmpùreerèt ‘umbrella’, màwùwaan ‘flowers’).

Instances of distinctive tone seem to be sporadically found in other places in the grammar of this language. For example, on some nouns, the future suffix for the first person and the negative suffix for the first person are identical in form (mà-), but only the low tone of the negative suffix affects the tone of the first syllable of the following verb.

The basic word order of Kupsapiny is VSO, but other orders are also possible in some discourse contexts. VOS is used when the subject is a full noun and the object is a pronoun or when the subject is in the third person and the object is in the first or second person. Moreover, VOS is often preferred over VSO when the subject is non-human and the object is human.

Kupsapiny uses prepositions (am/om ‘at, from’, kucaké ‘from, since’, akay/akoy ‘up to, until’, paka ‘up to, until’, kupa ‘for’), and in this language, nouns precede noun modifiers (e.g., adjectives, numerals, relative clauses, genitive nouns). Finally, this language has no grammatical gender. In some of the examples in the present paper, s/he or him/her is used.

2 Although tone seems to be relevant mainly to nouns in Kupsapiny, the present study attempted to record as many tone markings on words belonging to other grammatical categories as possible.
3 A pair of examples is shown in (i) and (ii).

(i) mà-yiku àni ɲarakan.
FUT.S:1-become 1SG.NOM happy
‘I will become/be happy.’

(ii) mà-yiku àni ɲarakan.
NEG.S:1-become 1SG.NOM happy
‘I am not happy.’
as an English translation of the Kupsapiny third person singular pronoun *neetó*, which is gender-neutral.

3.2. Finite and non-finite verb forms and patterns of clause linkage in Kupsapiny

Kupsapiny verbs have finite (tensed) forms and non-finite (participle) forms, which emerge as different sets of prefixes on verbs. They inflect for person and number; for example, *kà-ram* in (2) and *kèè-kally-à* in (3) are finite verb forms, while *a-ràm* in (3) is non-finite. 4

(2)  
\[ kà-ram \quad neetó \quad peéko. \]
\( \text{T.PST.3-collect} \quad 3\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{water.PL.ABSL} \)

‘S/he collected water.’

(3)  
\[ kèè-kally-à \quad neetó \quad (kulè) \quad a-ràm \quad peekò. \]
\( \text{T.PST.3-help-O:1SG} \quad 3\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{CMPL} \quad \text{PTCP.1SG-collect} \quad \text{water.PL.ABSL} \)

‘S/he helped me collect water.’

In finite forms, tense is indicated with a prefix, which inflects for person and number. A set of examples are given in Table 2, which shows different tense forms of *ràm* ‘collect’ for the third-person subject. There are three past tense categories: distant past, recent past, and today past. The present forms of some verbs require the imperfective suffix -e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>distant past (more than a week ago)</td>
<td><em>kìì-ràm</em> [D.PST.S:3-collect]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past (yesterday–a week ago)</td>
<td><em>kù-ram</em> [R.PST.S:3-collect]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today past</td>
<td><em>kà-ram</em> [T. PST.S:3-collect]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>∅-ràm-e [PRS.S:3-collect-IMPFV]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td><em>mà-kù-ram</em> [FUT-PTCP.S:3-collect]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Kupsapiny uses participle constructions for (a)–(g) in (i) where a finite verb is followed by a participle (Kawachi 2014).

(i) Participle constructions (V1: finite verb – V2: participle)  
(a) Temporal sequence of two events: Event 1 (V1), and then Event 2 (V2)  
(a’) Subconstruction of (a): Means of causation (V1) – path of motion/state change (V2)  
(b) Event 2 (V2) is the purpose of Event 1 (V1)  
(c) Subject-control construction  
(d) Object-control construction  
(e) Perception verb (V1) – perceived event (V2)  
(f) Motion event: Path of motion (V1) – manner of motion/concomitance (V2)  
(g) Motion event: Manner of motion/concomitance (V1) – path of motion (V2)
The participle verb forms of *ràm* `collect` are shown in Table 3.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>a-ràm (ànito/ànî)</td>
<td>[PTCP.S:1SG-collect (1SG.NOM/1SG.NOM)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>Ø-ràm (njito/njî)</td>
<td>[PTCP.S:2SG-collect (2SG.NOM/2SG.NOM)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>kù-ram (ncetô/ncê)</td>
<td>[PTCP.S:3-collect (3SG.NOM/3SG.NOM)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>cee-ràm (acékto/acék)</td>
<td>[PTCP.S:1PL-collect (1PL.NOM/1PL.NOM)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>a-ràm (akwékto/akwék)</td>
<td>[PTCP.S:2PL-collect (2PL.NOM/2PL.NOM)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kù-ram (cêkto/cék)</td>
<td>[PTCP.S:3-collect (3PL.NOM/3PL.NOM)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most subordinate clauses in Kupsapiny cannot stand by themselves without the main clause. However, this cannot serve as a definition of subordinate clauses in this language. A conditional clause can be insubordinated to serve as an independent utterance in various situations, as discussed in the bulk of the present paper.

Subordinate clauses cannot be distinguished from main clauses in terms of the non-finiteness of the verb, either. In a complex sentence, a main clause can contain a non-finite verb (a participle) rather than a finite verb (a tensed verb) (as will be discussed shortly; see (D) and (F) in (4)). Nevertheless, whether the verb is finite or non-finite can be a factor in characterizing the different types of Kupsapiny subordinate constructions to some extent.

There are six combinations of clause order and verb finiteness, shown in (4), that Kupsapiny subordinate constructions can follow. Different constructions can use different sets of combinations. Overall, (A), (C), and (D) are the most commonly used; however, note that `Main: non-finite, Subordinate: finite` and `Main: non-finite, Subordinate: non-finite` are impossible patterns.

(4)  
(A) Main: finite – Subordinate: finite  
(B) Main: finite – Subordinate: non-finite  
(C) Subordinate: finite – Main: finite

5 These verb forms do not stand by themselves when used as the participle. However, because they exhibit syncretism with forms for other grammatical categories, they can stand alone in other uses. First, the participle forms of verbs for any of the person-number combinations are identical with their optative forms (e.g., *a-sit* [PTCP.S:1SG/2PL-wash] or [OPT.S:1SG/2PL-wash]). Second, the participle forms of verbs for the second person singular and plural are the same as their imperative forms (e.g., *a-sit* [PTCP.S:2PL-wash] or [IMP.S:2PL-wash]). Third, the participle forms of some verbs for the third person are the same as their recent past forms (e.g., *ku-sit* [PTCP.S:3-wash] or [R.PST.S:3-wash]). Fourth, the first person singular and the second person plural participle forms of verbs whose present forms do not require the imperfective suffix are the same as their present forms (e.g., *a-nket* [PTCP.S:1SG/2PL-know] or [PRS.S:1SG/2PL-know]).

The forms in the parentheses in Table 3 are full pronouns, long and short forms, which can be omitted.
Thus, in Kupsapiny, although the finiteness of a verb is not necessarily associated with whether its clause is main or subordinate, there are specific possible and impossible combinations of clause order and verb finiteness.

3.3. Conditional constructions in Kupsapiny

Kupsapiny has two types of conditional constructions. The first uses either of the two conditional markers \( \text{yèè/yòò} \) and \( \text{ǹte/ǹto} \), and the other uses the combination of \( \text{ǹto} \) and \( \text{yèè} \) (sometimes, \( \text{ǹte} \) and \( \text{yèè} \)) as its conditional marker.\(^6\) (Note that \( \text{yèè} \) and \( \text{yòò} \) and \( \text{ǹte} \) and \( \text{ǹto} \) are each in free variation with each other in most cases, though there are cases where only one in each pair can be used, and the other cannot, as shown later.)

### 3.3.1. The \( \text{yèè/yòò} \) construction and the \( \text{ǹte/ǹto} \) construction

Out of the six combinations of clause order and verb finiteness in (4), the \( \text{yèè/yòò} \) construction can follow (A), (C), or (D), whereas the \( \text{ǹte/ǹto} \) construction can follow only (C) or (D), not (A).\(^7\) Thus, in both constructions, the verb of a conditional clause is in a finite form. Examples of the \( \text{yèè/yòò} \) and \( \text{ǹte/ǹto} \) constructions are shown in (5)–(10) and (8)–(10), respectively.

(i) \( \text{yèè/yòò} \) construction

(A) Main: finite, Subordinate: finite

(5) \( \text{ma-a-mpáán yèè ka-a-yaam àmii-cà.} \)

FUT-S:1SG-become.sick if T.PST-S:1SG-eat food.ABSL-that

‘I will become sick if I eat that food.’

\(^6\) The word \( \text{ǹto} \) (but not \( \text{ǹte} \)) can also mean ‘or’.

(i) \( \text{masa-á-kooon-ìŋ cukoompét ǹto kasáànit.} \)

FUT-S:1SG-give-O:2SG cup or plate

‘I will give you a cup or a plate.’

\(^7\) Although the use of combination (D) for either type of conditional construction is not common, it is perfectly grammatical.
As is clear from these examples, the *yèè/yòò* and *ǹte/ǹto* constructions differ from each other in a few other respects. First, the *yèè/yòò* construction is used for realizable or
possible conditions, whereas the ĕte/ňto construction is used for counterfactual, unrealizable, or unlikely conditions. Second, yèè/yòò occurs only at the beginning of a conditional clause; on the other hand, ĕte/ňto also occurs at the beginning of a conditional clause, but ĕte (but not ńto) normally occurs additionally at the beginning of a main clause to form ĕte/ňto ... , ĕte ... ‘If ... , then ...’, where ĕte/ňto and ĕte mean ‘if’ and ‘then’, respectively.8

3.3.2. The ĕto yèè (ńte yèè) construction

This construction begins usually with ĕto yèè and sometimes with ĕte yèè, the main clause always contains múüc ‘can’, and has to be in the interrogative to form a polar question, where the last word ending in a consonant takes the polar question enclitic =i or the last word ending in a vowel lengthens that vowel.9 The question is a rhetorical question: using a positive question ‘Can X do Y?’ (e.g., (11)), the speaker makes a negative assertion ‘I am sure that X cannot do Y’, and using a negative question ‘Can’t X do Y?’ (e.g., (12)), the speaker makes a positive assertion ‘I am sure that X can do Y’.

(11) ĕto yèè kée-rú paantápi,
if if T.PST.S:2SG-sleep now
múüc-i Ø-get lákkwar=í ?
can-IMPFV PTCP.S:2SG-get.up quickly=Q
‘If you sleep now (during the daytime), can you get up quickly?’
(Implied: ‘If you sleep now (during the daytime), you (will not feel like sleeping until late tonight and) will not be able to get up quickly tomorrow morning.’)

(12) ĕto yèè kà-co né yu,
if if T.PST.S:3-come 3SG.NOM here
ma-múüc-e ce-ŋalaal=í ?
NEG-can-IMPFV PTCP.S:1PL-talk=Q
‘If s/he comes here, can’t we talk?’
(Implied: ‘If s/he comes here, we should be able to talk.’)

8 Another difference is that yèè/yòò can carry past-tense prefixes for the third person subject (distant past: ki-yèè/ki-yòò, recent past: ku-yèè/ku-yòò, today past: ka-yèè/ka-yòò), unlike ĕte/ňto.
9 This construction does not seem to be able to use a main clause lacking múüc ‘can’, as in (i).

(i) ?ńto yèè kà-co né yu, ńte ká-tápóí.
if if T.PST.S:3-come 3SG.NOM here then T.PST.S:3-good
to mean, ‘If s/he comes here, it will be good.’
4. Insubordinated conditionals in Kupsapiny

The conditional clauses in either type of Kupsapiny conditional construction presented in section 3.3, which have to be finite, can stand alone as a sentence (this section assumes that they both serve as insubordinated clauses, but this point is returned to in section 5.2). Either type of conditional marker, yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto, or the combination ñto yèè can occupy the beginning of an insubordinated clause.\(^{10}\)

Sections 4.1 and 4.2 deal with insubordinated conditionals with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto and those with ñto yèè, respectively. Each section first describes the types of situations where the relevant insubordinated conditional is used, and then presents examples of its use and possible responses to it in each type of situation.

4.1. The insubordinated conditional construction with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto

4.1.1. Types of situations where the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto is used and the recovery of a main clause

The insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto can be used in various types of situations, most of which concern the positive or negative evaluation of an event by the speaker. Thus, this construction expresses any of the meanings in Table 4 (referred to by number in the text below).

| Table 4: Relations between the meaning of an insubordinated conditional clause with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto and a set of factors |
|---|---|---|---|
| Meaning | Speaker’s evaluation: positive/negative for whom | Person of subject | yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto | Tense of verb |
| [1] Request for action | positive for speaker(s) (if the conditional event occurs) | 2 | y/n | PRS, T.PST |
| [2] Advice/suggestion | positive for addressee(s) (if the conditional event occurs) | 2 | y/*n | PRS |
| [3] Asking for permission | positive for speaker(s) (if the conditional event occurs) | any person | y/n | PRS, T.PST |
| [4] Making an offer | positive for addressee(s) (if the conditional event occurs) | any person | y/n | PRS, T.PST |
| [5] Hope/wish | positive for speaker(s) (if the conditional event occurs) | any person | y/n | PRS, T.PST |
| [6] Obligation/need | negative for speaker(s) (if the conditional event does not occur) | 1 | y/n | y: PRS, n: T.PST |
| [7] Warning/threat | negative for addressee(s) (if the conditional event does not occur) | 2 | y/n | y: PRS, n: T.PST |
| [8] Hypothetical bad event | negative for any person (if the event of the conditional had not occurred) | any person | *y/n | T.PST, R.PST, D.PST |
| [9] Self-addressed polar question | Neutral | any person | ñto only (*y/*ñte) | PRS, T.PST |

\(^{10}\) These are the only insubordinated constructions that I found in Kupsapiny. It is not clear whether this language has any other insubordinated construction.
Examples of insubordinated conditionals with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto used for [1] (request for action) are given in (13) and (14).

(13)  yèè/yòò  múúc-e (ɲi)  ∅-sut-twò  pééko.
      if/if  can-IMPFV  2SG.NOM  PTCP.S:2SG-bring-O:1SG  water.PL.DEF.ABSL
      ‘Please bring me water.’ (lit. ‘If you (SG) can bring me water.’)

(14)  ǹte/ǹto  kee-múúc-e (ɲi)  ∅-sut-twò  pééko.
      if/ if  T.PST.S:2-can-IMPFV  2SG.NOM  PTCP.S:2SG-bring-O:1SG  water.PL.DEF.ABSL
      ‘Please bring me water.’ (lit. ‘If you (SG) could bring me water.’)

Note that the conditional markers yèè/yòò and ǹte/ǹto each cannot be used for all the types of situations in Table 4, but are used for different sets of situations (in the rightmost column of this table, ‘y’ and ‘n’ respectively indicate that yèè/yòò and ǹte/ǹto can be used, and the asterisk indicates that that conditional marker cannot be used). The exact meaning depends on context and may be ambiguous in some cases. (For example, the same insubordinated conditional may be interpreted as either the speaker’s [1] request that something be done or [5] hope/wish, or as either the speaker’s [3] request for permission or [5] hope/wish; or the same insubordinated conditional may also be interpreted as either an [2] advice/suggestion or a [5] hope/wish.)

When the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto involves the speaker’s positive or negative evaluation of the event, as in [1]–[8], a main clause could be provided to form the full conditional construction. According to my consultants, recovered main clauses are usually expected to contain either the word tàpon ‘good’, as in the case of [1]–[5], or miyááát ‘bad’, as in the case of [6]–[8].

11 A main clause that expresses a specific emotion or fact related to the speaker’s positive or negative evaluation of the event could also be added to the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto. For example, instead of ǹte ka-tápon [then TODAY.PST.S:3-good] in (16), (i)–(iii) could be added to (14) to form a full conditional sentence.

(i)  ǹte ka-a-parac  [then TODAY.PST-S:1SG-be.happy] ‘then I would be happy’
(ii) ǹte ka-a-kast-iŋ  [then TODAY.PST-S:1SG-thank-O:2SG] ‘then I would thank you (SG)’
(iii) ǹte ka-a-sop  [then TODAY.PST-S:1SG-be.saved/alive] ‘then I would be saved/alive’

Nevertheless, my consultants think that the main clause omitted from an insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto involving the speaker’s evaluation of the event should be one expressing the notion of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ (e.g., (15))
Thus, as long as it is used for any of meanings [1]–[8], the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto could be regarded as an omission from the main clause. That is, one could understand that in (13), tàpon ‘good’ is omitted from (15), while in (14), ñte ka-tápon [then T.PST.S:3-good] is omitted from (16), though (13) and (14) are nevertheless still complete as utterances. Note that the topic marker kulè, which can occur optionally at the end of the conditional clause in a full conditional construction, cannot be used in an insubordinated conditional.

In contrast, when used for meaning [9] (e.g., (106)), an insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto does not involve a positive or negative evaluation of the event by the speaker but is instead used as a polar question that the speaker asks himself/herself. In this case, no main clause can be retrieved, and thus the insubordinated conditional used this way does not involve the omission of a main clause.

### 4.1.2. Examples of the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto and possible responses to it

This section presents data on the uses of the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto and possible responses to it for each use. Note that in the following descriptions, the person who produces the insubordinated conditional is called the speaker and the person who hears and responds to it is called the addressee even when the latter is being considered in the role of the speaker of the response.

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12 When the verb in this insubordinated conditional construction can be used in either the today past or the present, the use in the today past is generally more polite than that in the present. For example, the verb in the present can be used only when a request is made to someone of equal or lower status compared to the speaker, whereas the verb in the today past can be used regardless of the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. When either the conditional marker ñte/ñto or yèè/yòò can be used in this insubordinated conditional construction, ñte/ñto is generally considered more polite than yèè/yòò.
When used for any of meanings [1]–[9] in Table 4, the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto can be responded to with èè ‘yes’ or pùriyo ‘no’ (as appropriate). For example, as a response to this type of insubordinated conditional when used in a request for some action [1], the addressee can say ‘yes’, meaning that s/he can perform the action, or ‘no’, means that s/he cannot.

[1] Request for action

Examples of the use of the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto to express the speaker’s request that some action be performed have already been provided in (13) and (14). Other examples include ‘Please come this way’ (lit. ‘If you (can/could) come this way’) and ‘Please let me use your phone’ (lit. ‘If you (can/could) let me use your phone’).

When the insubordinated conditional is used for a request for action, the subject is the second person, and either of the two types of conditional marker, yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto, can occur. Whichever conditional marker does occur, the verb is usually accompanied by múúc ‘can’ (especially when the conditional marker is ñte). For the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò, the verb (múúc when it is used) is either in the present or the today past, whereas with ñte/ñto, the verb is usually in the today past.

Examples of responses to (13) and (14) are seen in (17)–(28). Here, the addressee interprets the speaker’s utterance as a request to the addressee to take some possible action—the addressee may then, for example, reject the speaker’s request, perhaps by criticizing it as too frequent, as in (17). The verb ‘fulfill’ in the addressee’s responses in (18) and (19) also reflects the (addressee’s recognition of the) speaker’s desire for the addressee to perform the action. The addressee may also elaborate to say that s/he can or cannot perform the action, as in (20) or (21). The addressee may also approve the speaker’s request, for example with (22) or (23). When the addressee declines the speaker’s request, s/he may give a reason, as in (24) and (25), and/or apologize for being unable to perform the action, as in (18) and (26). The addressee may also postpone his/her answer, as in (27) and (28).

(17)  (pùriyo,)  Ø-teep-é-n=aaní ɲí kulè
     no PRS.S:2SG-ask-IMPFV-EP=O:1SG 2SG.NOM CMPL
Ø-sutt-wo  pééko àkookáy.
IMP.2SG-bring-O:1SG water.PL.DEF.ABSL always
‘(No,) you (SG) are always asking me to bring you water.’

(18)  à-yiku  cálat kulè ma-a-múúc-e
     PRS.S:1SG-COP(lit. become) sorry CMPL NEG-S:1SG-can-IMPFV
á-ɲit wùloo ke-mmwo-tyó-wo ní.

PTCP.S:1SG-fulfill where T.PST.S:2SG-say-to-O:1SG 2SG.NOM
‘I am sorry I cannot fulfill what you (SG) said to me (lit. where you said to me).’

(19) múúc-e á-ɲit wùloo ke-mmwo-tyó-wo ní.
can-IMPFV PTCP.S:1SG-fulfill where T.PST.S:2SG-say-to-O:1SG 2SG.NOM
‘I can fulfill what you (SG) said to me (lit. where you said to me).’

(20) èè, a-múúc-e (à-sut-uŋ peeko).
yes S:1SG-can-IMPFV PTCP.S:1SG-bring-O:2SG water.PL.DEF.ABSL
‘Yes, I can (bring you (SG) water).’

(21) pùrìyo, ma-a-múúc-e (à-sut-uŋ peeko).
no NEG-S:1SG-can-IMPFV PTCP.S:1SG-bring-O:2SG water.PL.DEF.ABSL
‘No, I cannot (bring you (SG) water).’

(22) pùrìyo wúyin.
no problem.SG.INDEF
‘No problem.’

(23) ma-a-sut-uŋ aní.
FUT-S:1SG-bring-O:2SG 1SG.NOM
I will bring it to you (SG).

(24) pùrìyo, mà-cee-tíɲe acék péy.
no NEG-PRS.S:1PL-have 1PL.NOM water.PL.INDEF.ABSL
‘No, we do not have any water.’

(25) ma-a-pónt-e saáwa. Ø-wèè-num-ùŋít
NEG-PRS.S:1SG-have-IMPFV time IMP.S:2SG-go-get-yourself peeko.
water.PL.DEF.ABSL
‘I do not have time. Go and get water for yourself.’

(26) à-yiku cálat kulè ma-a-múúc-e
S:1SG-COP(lit. become) sorry CMPL NEG-S:1SG-can-IMPFV (à-sut-uŋ peeko).
PTCP.S:1SG-bring-O:2SG water.PL.DEF.ABSL
‘I am sorry I cannot (bring you (SG) water).’

(27) \(\emptyset\)-kaɲ-a \(\) \(\) (aní).
IMP:S:2SG-wait-O:1SG 1SG.ABSL
‘Wait for me.’

(28) \(\emptyset\)-kaɲ tàkkaanuk tukúsiíc.
IMP:S:2SG-wait minutes.PL.DEF a.few
ma-wáá-kas àni.
FUT:S:1-go-check 1SG.NOM
‘Wait a few minutes. I will go and check.’

[2] Advice/suggestion

The insubordinated conditional can also be used to express the speaker’s advice or suggestion that the addressee perform some action, as in (29).

(29) yèè múúc-e \(\) (ɲí) \(\emptyset\)-gét korrón.
if can-IMPFV 2SG.NOM PTCP:S:2SG-get.up early
‘I advise/suggest that you (SG) get up early.’ \(\) (lit. ‘If you (SG) can wake up early.’)

Other examples are ‘I advise/suggest that you eat vegetables’ \(\) (lit. ‘If you can eat vegetables’) and ‘I advise/suggest that you come tomorrow’ \(\) (lit. ‘If you can come tomorrow’).

In this use of the insubordinated conditional with \(yèè/\)yòò \(\) or \(\) ñte/\ñto \(\), which my consultants state is possible irrespective of the social relation between the speaker and the addressee, the subject is the second person, the conditional marker is \(yèè/\)yòò \(\) (not \(\) ñte/\ñto), and the verb is accompanied by \(múúc\) ‘can’.

The addressee interprets the speaker’s utterance as advice or a suggestion that the addressee perform an action, as is clear from the addressee’s responses in (30)–(36). The addressee may accept the advice or suggestion, as in (30a), (31), (32), and (33), may thank the speaker for it, as in (31), or reject it, as in (30b), (34), (35), and (36).

(30) \(\) \(\) a-cem-cííntos \(\) / (b) a-ta-cííntos \(\) (ànì)
PRS.S:1SG-agree-together / PRS.S:1SG-disagree-together 1SG.NOM
akóó ɲi.
with 2SG.ABSL
‘I (a) agree/(b) disagree with you (SG).’

(31)  kèy tâpon,
MEANINGLESS(?) good
(a) kee-rwókk-wo / (b) ké-mmwów-o ňi.
T.PST.S:2SG-advice-O:1SG/T.PST.S:2SG-tell-O:1SG 2SG.NOM
‘Thank you (SG) (a) for advising me/(b) for telling me (about that).’

(32)  tapon.
good
‘It is good.’

(33)  (mantéé-sot,) mà-à-šèm àni.
NEG.IMP.S:2SG-worry FUT-S:1SG-try 1 SG.NOM
‘(Do not worry,) I will try.’

(34)  manté-rwókkw = aní.
NEG.IMP.S:2SG-advice=O:1SG
‘Do not advise me.’

(35)  mee-ıntı pe Ǿ-yeme pe
NEG-2SG.NOM REL.SG PRS.S:2SG-be.supposed.to REL.SG
Ǿ-rwókkw = aní.
PRS.S:2SG-advice=O:1SG
‘You (SG) are not the one who is supposed to advise me.’

(36)  mà-nam-ingení (cú/cí).
NEG-matter-2SG.POSS this.NOM/that.NOM
‘(This/That is) none of your (SG) business (lit. not your (SG) matter).’ (impolite)

[3] Asking for permission
Using the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto, the speaker may ask the addressee for permission to perform an action, as in (37).

(37)  yèè ka-múúc-e aní
if T.PST.1SG-can-IMPFV 1SG.NOM
Other examples of this use of the insubordinated conditional include ‘May I use your phone?’ (lit. ‘If I can/could use your phone’) and ‘May my child play with your child?’ (lit. ‘If my child can/could play with your child’).

In this use, the subject can be any person; when the subject is the first or third person, the verb is normally accompanied by múúc ‘can’, in either the present or the today past. Any conditional marker can occur, but yèè/yòò and ǹto are more polite than ǹte.

A construction used to ask for permission often takes the form of a question, but the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto is formally not in the interrogative (for a polar question).  

Examples of addressee’s responses to (37) are shown in (38)–(54). Similar to [1], the addressee interprets the speaker’s utterance as a question, as seen the use of the verb of asking in (38)–(40). It may be formally ambiguous whether the speaker is asking the addressee to perform the action or is asking the addressee for permission to perform the action himself/herself, but in this use, the speaker’s intention is the latter — it is the speaker’s possible action, not the addressee’s, that is relevant. This is clear from the fact that, as a response, the addressee may or may not let the speaker perform the action or not, as in (41)–(54). In addition, the addressee may endorse the speaker’s performance of the action, as in (41)–(45), order the speaker to perform the action, as in (46), or reject the speaker’s performance of the action, as in (47)–(54). When the addressee rejects it, s/he may explain the reason, as in (53)–(54).

(38)  ∅-teep-éé-n=aaní ɲi  àkookáy.
    PRS.S:2SG-ask-IMPFV-EP=O:1SG  2SG.NOM  always
    ‘You (SG) are always asking me (for permission).’

(39)  mantéé-teep-ééna.
    NEG.IMP.S:2SG-ask-O:1SG
    ‘Do not ask me.’
(40)  \( \textit{mee-tep-é-n} = \textit{aaní} \quad \textit{ni} \).
\textsc{NEG-ask-IMPFV-EP=O:1SG 2SG.NOM}
‘You (SG) do not have to ask me.’

(41)  \( \textit{èè, } \textit{tapon}. \)
yes good
‘Yes, good.’

(42)  \( \textit{èè, } \textit{kee-sót(-wo) } \quad (\textit{ni}) \quad \textit{tapón}. \)
\textsc{yes T.PST.S:2SG-think(-O:1SG) 2SG.NOM well}
‘Yes, it is a good idea (lit. you (SG) thought (about me) well).’

(43)  \( \textit{èè, } \textit{múúc-e} \quad \textit{ni}. \)
\textsc{yes can-IMPFV 2SG.NOM}
‘Yes, you (SG) can.’

(44)  \( \textit{èè, } \textit{wo } \quad (\textit{ni}) \quad \textit{tány}. \)
\textsc{yes go 2SG.NOM front}
‘Go ahead.’

(45)  \( \textit{mantéé-sot } \quad \textit{ni}. \quad \textit{∅-wo} \quad \textit{tány}. \)
\textsc{NEG.IMP.S:2SG-worry 2SG.NOM IMP.S:2SG-go front}
‘Do not worry (You (SG) do not have to ask me). Go ahead.’

(46)  \( \textit{∅-yaat } \quad \textit{ni} \quad \textit{tirííset}. \)
\textsc{IMP.S:2SG-open 2SG.NOM window.ABSL}
‘Open the window.’

(47)  \( \textit{pùryiyo, } \textit{mà-tapon}. \)
\textsc{no NEG-good}
‘No, it is not good.’

(48)  \( \textit{mà-paantáni}. \)
\textsc{NEG-now}
‘Not now (but maybe later).’

(49)  \( \textit{pùryiyo, } \quad (\textit{ampé}) \quad \textit{katú} \quad \textit{kot}. \)
\textsc{no because cold very}
‘No, (because) it is very cold.’

(50)  
\[ \text{pùriyo, ma-a-mac-é/ma-a-cem-ùŋ} \]
\[ \text{no NEG-S:1SG-want-IMPFV/NEG-S:1SG-allow-O:2SG} \]
\[ \text{aní kulè  Ø-yaat ni tiriísét.} \]
\[ \text{1SG.NOM CMPL PTCP.S:2SG-open 2SG.NOM window.ABSL} \]

‘No, I don’t want you (SG) to open/I don’t let you (SG) open the window.’

(51)  
\[ \text{ki-múna-mwóów-uŋ aní kulè} \]
\[ \text{D.PST.S:1SG-NEG-tell-O:2SG 1SG.NOM CMPL} \]
\[ \text{ma-a-macé céé-yaat tiriísét=í ?} \]
\[ \text{NEG-PTCP.S:1SG-want PTCP.S:1PL-open window.ABSL=Q} \]

‘Didn’t I tell you (SG) that I don’t want the window to be opened (lit. I don’t want us to open the window)?’

(52)  
\[ \text{kyaa-mwóów-uŋ aní kulè} \]
\[ \text{D.PST.S:1SG-tell-O:2SG 1SG.NOM CMPL} \]
\[ \text{ma-a-macé céé-yaat tiriísét.} \]
\[ \text{NEG-PTCP.S:1SG-want PTCP.S:1PL-open window.ABSL} \]

‘I told you (SG) that I don’t want the window to be opened (lit. I don’t want us to open the window).’

(53)  
\[ \text{mee-múúc-e ni amné wïy kot cé-yaat.} \]
\[ \text{NEG.S:2SG-can-IMPFV 2SG.NOM because hard very S:IMPERS-open} \]

‘You (SG) can’t because it is too hard to open.’

(54)  
\[ \text{pùriyo, wo palatét kot.} \]
\[ \text{no big noise.NOM very} \]

‘No, it is too noisy.’ (lit. ‘The noise is very big.’)


The use of the insubordinated conditional to express an offer on the part of the speaker to perform an action for the addressee is exemplified in (55).\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14} Another Kupsapiny construction for making an offer, which uses \textit{múúc ‘can’}, takes the form of a polar question, as in (i).

(i)  
\[ \text{múúc-e à-yoot-ùŋ aní tiriísét=í ?} \]
\[ \text{can-IMPFV S:1SG-open-O:2SG 1SG.NOM window=Q} \]

‘Shall I open the window for you?’ (lit. ‘Can I open the window for you?’)
(55)  yèè  ka-múúc-e  à-sut-uŋ  pééko.
   if  T.PST.S:1SG-can-IMPFV  PTC.P.S:1SG-bring-O:2SG  water.PL.DEF.ABSL
   ‘I will bring you (SG) water.’  (lit. ‘If I could/can bring you water.’)

Other examples include ‘I will lend you this umbrella’  (lit. ‘If I lend you this umbrella’),
‘I will cook  matooke  (a kind of starchy banana) for you’  (lit. ‘If I cook  matooke  for you’),
and ‘I will bring you water’  (lit. ‘If you (can) let me bring you water’).

In this use, which is polite, the speaker is lower in status than the addressee. The
subject is often the first person (though the speaker could make an offer on behalf of
someone else: e.g., ‘S/he will bring you water’). When the conditional marker is  ìte,
the verb  múúc  ‘can’ is usually (though not obligatorily) present, whereas its appearance is
obligatory when the conditional marker is  yèè/yòò  or  ìto. The subject can also be the
second person, and in this case, the verb is  cem  ‘let’, which may or may not be
accompanied by  múúc. The tense is either the present or the today past.

Possible responses to (55) are shown in (56)–(65). First, the addressee can interpret the
speaker’s utterance as an offer to help the addressee by performing the action, as is clear
from the use of the verb of helping in (56). The addressee may accept the offer, as in
(57)–(59), and may also thank the speaker, as in (56) and (60). Finally, the addressee may
say that s/he does not need the help, as in (61)–(65).

(56)  kèy  tàpon,  kee-kályya  aní  (ñi).
   MEANINGLESS(?)  good  T.PST.S:2SG-help  1SG.ABSL  2SG.NOM
   ‘Thank you (SG) for helping me.’

(57)  èè,  múúc-e  (ñi).
   yes  can-IMPFV  2SG.NOM
   ‘Yes, please./Yes, go ahead./Yes, you (SG) can.’

(58)  èè,  ð-o wo  (ñi)  täy.
   yes  IMP.S:2SG-go  2SG.NOM  front
   ‘Yes, go ahead.’  (impolite)

(59)  èè,  kee-sót(-wo)  (ñi)  tapón.
   yes  T.PST.S:2SG-think(-O:1SG)  2SG.NOM  well
   ‘Yes, it is a good idea.’  (lit. ‘you (SG) thought (about me) well.’)

(60)  èè,  (kèy  tàpon).
   yes  MEANINGLESS(?)  good
The insubordinated conditional can also express the speaker’s hope or wish for an event. Whether it is a hope or wish that is expressed depends on how likely or unlikely the event is to occur. As long as the event is one that might happen in the future or at present, which is expressed with the present tense or the today past, one’s hope for the occurrence of the event and his/her wish for the occurrence of the event form a semantic continuum, and there is no formal difference between these interpretations. However, the construction expresses a wish for a past event that could have occurred but did not occur or a past event that might not have occurred but did occur, expressed with the today past, recent past, or distant past. An example where the insubordinated conditional seems to express the speaker’s hope/wish is given in (66).

(66) *yèè kà-roopən tun.*
  *if T.PST.S:3-rain tomorrow*
  ‘I hope that it rains tomorrow.’  (*lit.* ‘If it rained tomorrow.’)
Other examples include ‘I hope that s/he comes’ (*lit.* ‘If s/he comes’) and ‘I hope that I can swim’ (*lit.* ‘If I can/could swim’).

In this use, the subject can be any person, and the conditional marker can be either *yèè/yòò* or *nte/nto*. The verb is in the today past when not accompanied by *múúc* ‘can’; when *múúc* is used, either the today past or the present can be used.

The addressee interprets the speaker’s utterance as expressing his/her hope that the event mentioned happens; thus, the addressee can respond with ‘I also hope’, as in (67) and (68). The addressee may add a main clause describing an event that may happen as a consequence of the event that the speaker hopes happens, as in (69) (with *nte*); this can form a full conditional sentence with (66). (The response could also be *kà-tapon* [T.PST.S:3-good] or *tàpon* [good] ‘It is good.’) The addressee may also express his/her opinion about the event, as in (70) and (71), or about its likelihood, as in (72).

(67) *pàra àni rìpo kulè kù-roopən tun.*

hope 1SG.NOM also CMPL PTCP.S:3-rain tomorrow

‘I also hope that it rains tomorrow.’

(68) *pàra àni rìpo.*

hope 1SG.NOM also

‘I also hope so.’

(69) *(nte) kà-tapon.*

then T.PST.S:3-good

‘(Then) it will be good.’

(70) *pùriyo wuyìn (yèè kù-roopən tun).*

no problem if T.PST.S:3-rain tomorrow

‘(There will be) no problem ((even) if it rains tomorrow).’

(*lit.* ‘No problem if it rained tomorrow.’)

(71) *ma-a-macé àni rópta tun.*

NEG-S:1SG-need 1SG.NOM rain.DEF.ABSL tomorrow

‘I don’t need rain.’

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15 Hope for an event that may or may not happen is expressed with *pàra*, and a wish for an event that is unlikely to happen or cannot happen is expressed with *peré*.

16 In (71), *ma-a-macé ani* is normally pronounced as *maamacaani*, and in (72), *a-sóó-t-i ìni* is normally pronounced as *asöttináání*. 
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(72) a-sóóti àni kulè kù-roopən tun.
PRS.S:1SG-think-IMPFV 1SG.NOM CMPL PTCP.S:3SG-rain tomorrow
‘I think that it will rain tomorrow.’

Next, (73) shows an example where what the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto expresses seems to be the speaker’s wish.

(73) ǹto ka-mííte neetó yu (paantàɲì).
if T.PST.S:3-exist 3SG.NOM here now
‘I wish that s/he were here.’ (lit. ‘If s/he were here.’)

The addressee interprets the speaker’s utterance as expressing his/her wish that the event would happen now or in the future or would have happened in the past, as shown by the fact that the addressee can respond with ‘I also wish’, as in (74). The addressee may also add a main clause describing an event that might happen as a consequence of the event that the speaker wishes to happen (e.g., (69): (ǹte) ká-tapon [(then) T.PST.S:3-good] ‘(Then) it would be good.’).

(74) peré ǹpo àni (kulè ka-mííte neetó yu).
wish also 1SG.NOM CMPL T.PST.S:3-exist 3SG.NOM here
‘I also wish (that s/he were here).’

No matter whether it is the speaker’s hope or the speaker’s wish that the speaker intends the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto to express, the addressee might deny the desirability of this event, as in (75). Thus, unlike (69) with ǹte, ‘Then it will/would be good’, which can be added to (66) or (73) to form a full conditional sentence that expresses that the speaker and the addressee feel the same way, (75) with ǹte has the opposite meaning to the full conditional sentence formed with it and (66) or (73), and reflects only the addressee’s feelings (specifically, the addressee’s hope/wish for the non-occurrence of the event), not the speaker’s.

(75) (ǹte) ká-miyáát.
then T.PST.S:3-bad
‘(Then) it would be bad.’
[6] Obligation/need

Below, (76) is an example of the use of the insubordinated conditional to express the speaker’s obligation or need to perform the action expressed by the clause (minus the negative prefix).

(76)  yèè múna-a-sárcí.
      if NEG-S:1SG-hurry
      ‘I have to hurry.’ (lit. ‘If I do not hurry.’)

Other examples are ‘I have to wake up early’ (lit. ‘If I do/did not wake up early’) and ‘I have to study hard’ (lit. ‘If I do/did not study hard’).

In this use, the subject is the first person, and the verb is in the negative. Either of the two types of conditional markers, yèè/yòò and ǹte/ǹto, can occur; with yèè/yòò, the verb is in the present (1SG: múna-a-VERB [NEG-S:1SG-VERB]), whereas with ǹte/ǹto, the verb is in the today past (1SG: ka-múna-a-VERB [T.PST-NEG-S:1SG-VERB]). The speaker feels that s/he is in a situation where s/he has to perform the action indicated with the verb form (minus the negative prefix). This use of the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto may be employed as internal speech.

Examples of potential responses to (76) are shown in (77)–(88). The addressee may agree with the speaker by saying, for example, (77)–(79), or motivate the speaker to perform the action in question by giving him/her a reason to do it, as in (80). On the other hand, the addressee may assert that the speaker should not or does not have to perform the action, as in (81)–(83), or give a reason that the speaker does not have to do so, as in (84)–(86). The addressee may also propose a possible solution to the speaker’s problem, as in (87) and (88).

(77)  manta.
      truly
      ‘Truly.’

(78)  ∅-sarcí ɲi.
      IMP.S:2SG-hurry 2SG.NOM
      ‘Hurry!’

(79)  yème ɲi  ∅-sárcí.
      have.to 2SG.NOM PTCP.S:2SG-hurry
      ‘You (SG) have to hurry.’
(80) ma-ku-wicikéy mááta.
FUT-S:3SG-go.away power
‘The power will go out.’
(For example, the speaker of (76) is working on a computer.)

(81) pùriyo, menté (ɲi) (kulè) a-sarcí.
no NEG.IMP.S:2SG 2SG.NOM CMPL PTCP.S:1SG-hurry
‘No, do not hurry.’

(82) pùriyo, ma-yemé ɲi ∅-sarcí.
no NEG-have.to 2SG.NOM PTCP.S:2SG-hurry
‘You (SG) do not have to hurry.’

(83) ∅-sut ɲee réysi.
IMP.S:2SG-take REL.SG easy
‘Take it easy.’

(84) mantée-sot. ∅-pónte ɲi saawét ne yemé/wó.
IMP.NEG.S:2SG-think PTCP.S:2SG-have 2SG time REL.SG enough/large
‘Do not worry. You (SG) have enough time/a lot of time.’

(85) kee-liilenkéy kot.
T.PST.S:2SG-become.late much
‘You (SG) are too late.’

(86) kaa-wúcikéy páásit kep.
T.PST.S:3SG-go.away bus already
‘The bus is already gone.’

(87) àm ne mee-nám/mee-láŋ pùppukiit?
at what NEG.S:2SG-catch/NEG.S:2SG-climb motorcycle.DEF.ABSL
‘Why don’t you (SG) take a booda (motorcycle taxi)?’

(88) ma-a-kwar-ééniŋ âni matáke-mmwaani pàka
FUT-S:1SG-take-O:2SG 1SG.NOM car-1SG.POSS up.to
dìfisii-qùŋ, office.ABSL-2SG.POSS
‘I will take you (SG) in my car to your office.’
Warning/threat

The insubordinated conditional can be used by the speaker to express a threat or warning toward the addressee, as in (89).

(89)  yèè múna-a-yóóŋte akwék peletét.
     if NEG.S:2PL-S:2PL-stop 2PL.NOM noise.ABSL
     ‘Stop the noise!’ (lit. ‘If you (PL) do not stop the noise.’)

Other examples include ‘Study!’ (lit. ‘If you (do/did not) study’) and ‘Wake up early!’ (lit. ‘If you do/did not wake up early’).

In this use, the subject is the second person, and the verb is in the negative (marked with a verb prefix). Either yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto can be used here: with yèè/yòò, the verb will be in the present (2 SG: muǹe-VERB [NEG.S:2SG-VERB]), while with ñte/ñto, it will be in the today past (2 SG: kee-muǹe-VERB [T.PST.S:2SG-NEG.S:2SG-VERB]). The speaker warns the addressee to perform the action indicated by the verb form minus the negative prefix.

Possible responses to (89) are in (90)–(97). First, the addressee may interpret the speaker’s utterance as a threat, as is clear from (the use of the verb of threatening in) (90). The addressee may yield to the speaker, as in (91) and (92), apologize to the speaker for not having performed the action earlier, as in (93), or thank the speaker for telling him/her to perform the action, as in (94). On the other hand, the addressee may refuse to accept (or may actively reject) what the speaker said, as in (95)–(97).

(90)  muna-cee-múyye acék amɲè kee-múyy-ekiyék.
     NEG-S:1PL-fear 1PL.NOM because T.PST.S:2SG-threaten-O:1PL
     ‘We are not afraid of your (SG) threat.’
     (lit. ‘We do not fear because you (SG) threatened us.’)

(91)  mà-cii-yóóŋt-e acék pelètèt.
     FUT-PTCP.S:1PL-stop-IMPFV 1PL.NOM noise.ABSL
     ‘We will stop the noise.’

(92)  (mantéé-sot,) ma-ce-šem àcek.
     NEG.IMP.S:2SG-worry FUT-S:1PL-try 1PL.NOM
     ‘(Do not worry.) We will try.’

(93)  cì-ku cálat.
     PRS.S:1PL-COP(lit. become) sorry
‘We are sorry.’

(94) kéy tàpon ke-mmwoow-éc pi.
MEANINGLESS(?) good T.PST.S:2SG-tell-O:1PL 2SG.NOM
‘Thank you (SG) for telling us (about that).’

(95) mà-cee-céme ce ke-mmwóww-ec pi.
NEG-S:1PL-accept REL.PL T.PST.S:2SG-tell-us 2SG.NOM
‘We will not accept what you (SG) said.’

(96) mà-cì-yooŋt-òy acék peletét.
NEG-S:1PL-stop-REFL 1PL.NOM noise.ABSL
‘We will not stop the noise.’

(97) mà-nam-iŋŋí (cú/cí).
NEG-matter-2SG.POSS this/that. NOM
‘(This/That is) none of your (SG) business (lit. not your (SG) matter).’

[8] Hypothetical bad event

Below, (98) is an example of the use of the insubordinated conditional to describe a hypothetical bad event that might have occurred in the past. The speaker feels glad or relieved that the event did not occur (as in (99), without nìpo ‘also’).

(98) ǹto ka-múna-ku-laláŋ.
if T.PST.S:3SG-NEG.S:3SG-PTCP.S:3SG-stop.raining
‘If it had not stopped raining, it would have been bad.’
(lit. ‘If it did not stop raining.’)

Other examples are ‘If it had been sunny every day last week, it would have been bad.’ (lit. ‘If it had stopped raining every day last week.’) and ‘If I had not brought the clothes in, it would have been bad (for example, they might have gotten wet in the rain.’ (lit. ‘If I had not brought the clothes in.’)

When the insubordinated conditional is used this way, the subject can be any person, but the conditional marker is ñte/ǹto, not yèè/yòò, and the verb is in the today, recent, or distant past, depending on the time of the event. The verb is in the negative if the event actually occurred in the past, and in the affirmative if the event did not occur.

From the conditional clause, the addressee infers a consequence that could have been expressed by a main clause like ‘it would have been bad’. In other words, what this
conditional conveys is that the real situation in the past was good because the hypothetical bad event did not happen.

(98) may be responded to in ways including those given in (99)–(105). That is, the addressee may agree with the speaker, as in (99) and (100), or agree with the speaker with a proviso, as in (101). The addressee may also provide a main clause for a possible specific consequence of the event that might have happened, as in (102)–(105). Note that such a main clause would only optionally contain ñte ‘then’, which normally occurs at the beginning of the main clause of the full conditional construction that follows the conditional–main clause order; thus, in order for (102)–(105) to form a full conditional sentence with (98), ñte ‘then’ is necessary.

(99) à-yikú àni (ṁ̀po) ñarakát
PRS.S:1SG-COP(lit. become) 1SG.NOM also glad kulè káá-lalóŋ.
CMPL T.PST.S:3SG-stop.raining ‘I’m (also) glad that it stopped raining.’

(100) cee-pónt-e kùpeyok.
PRS.S:1PL-have-IMPFV luck ‘We are lucky.’

(101) èè, ñteené roptà kulè, tapón àm kaapatišiyèt.
yes but rain.ABSL TOP good for farming ‘Yes, but the rain is good for farming.’

(102) (ñte) mùna-woo ká.
then NEG.S:1SG-go home ‘(Then) I would not have gone home.’

(103) (ñte) múna ci-pè wo-coom-ííše.
then NEG PL-go go-eat-INTR ‘(Then) we would not have been able to go to eat.’

(104) (ñte) kà-ci-pùúr-e ká.
then T.PST-S:1PL-stay-IMPFV home ‘(Then) we would have stayed home.’
(105) *(ǹte) ká-ci-múúc-e ci-pur ká.*
then T.PST-S:1PL-can/have.to-IMPFV PTCP.S:1PL-stay home

‘(Then) we would have had to/would have been able to stay home.’

[9] Self-addressed polar question
With the insubordinated conditional, the speaker may ask himself/herself a polar question, as in (106).

(106) ǹto à-yikú àni solwò.
if PRS.S:1SG-COP(lit. become) 1SG.NOM fool

‘Am I a fool?’ (lit. ‘If I’m a fool.’)

Other examples include ‘Is s/he here?’ (lit. ‘If s/he is here’) and ‘Did I close the window?’ (lit. ‘If I had closed the window’).

In this use, the subject can be any person. The conditional marker is always ǹto, never yèè/yòò or ǹte. The verb is in the present if the question is in the present, and in the today past if the question is in the past.

When the insubordinated conditional is used this way, the person who delivers the utterance can be viewed as “divided into two”, one half the speaker and the other the addressee. With the conditional, the former half asks the latter a polar question about whether the event expressed by the insubordinated conditional minus ǹto is true or false. The insubordinated conditional with ǹto in this use usually occurs as internal speech. The “addressee half” may not give any answer to the question at all. An answer, if given, may be a simple èè ‘yes’ or pùriyo ‘no’ or may show different degrees of certainty, as in (107)–(110). Note that the insubordinated conditional in this use (e.g., (106)) does not formally constitute a polar question. As mentioned earlier, to form a polar question in Kupsapiny, the polar question enclitic =í is added to the end of its declarative sentence counterpart if it ends in a consonant, and if it ends in a vowel, that vowel is lengthened. However, neither of these processes occurs in the insubordinated conditional (e.g., (106)). Note also that the question asked by means of the insubordinated conditional in this use is a self-addressed question. Thus, the referent of the first-person singular pronoun in (108)–(110) is the same as that in (106).

(107) múúc-e.
be.possible-IMPFV

‘It is possible (i.e., I may be a fool).’
(108)  *ma-a-múúc-e.*
   NEG-S:1SG-may-IMPFV
   ‘I may not be.’ (*lit.* ‘I cannot be.’)

(109)  *a-sóót-i àni kulè*
   PRS.S:1SG-think-IMPFV  1SG.NOM  CMPL
   à-yikú/m-à-yikú solwò.
   PRS.S:1SG-COP(*lit.* become)/NEG-PRS.S:1SG-COP(*lit.* become)  fool
   ‘I think that I am/am not a fool.’

(110)  *ma-a-sóót-i àni kulè*
   NEG-PRS.S:1SG-think-IMPFV  1SG.NOM  CMPL
   à-yikú solwò.
   PRS.S:1SG-COP(*lit.* become)  fool
   ‘I do not think that I am a fool.’

4.2. The insubordinated conditional construction with *ńto yèè*

4.2.1. Types of situations where the insubordinated conditional with *ńto yèè* is used

There are four types of situations where the insubordinated conditional with *ńto yèè* is used, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Relations between the meaning of the insubordinated conditional clause with *ńto yèè* and a set of factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Speaker’s evaluation: positive/negative for whom</th>
<th>Person of subject</th>
<th>Tense of verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>‘What if ...?’</td>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>any person</td>
<td>T.PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>Advice/suggestion</td>
<td>positive for addressee(s)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>T.PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>Suggestion to 1PL (inclusive of addressee)</td>
<td>positive for 1PL (inclusive of addressee)</td>
<td>1PL (inclusive of addressee)</td>
<td>T.PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>Making an offer</td>
<td>positive for speaker(s)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>T.PST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of the insubordinated conditional with *ńto yèè* as used for [1] (‘What if ... ?’) and for [2] (advice/suggestion) are shown in (111) and (112), respectively.

(111)  *ńto yèè kà-co né yu ?*
   if if T.PST.S:3-come 3SG.NOM here
   ‘What if s/he comes here?’ (*lit.* ‘If if s/he came here.’)
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(112) ǹto yèè kéé-rú paantáɲi ?
if if T.PST.S:2SG-sleep now
‘What if you (SG) sleep now?’ (lit. ‘If if you (SG) sleep now?’)

As mentioned in section 3.3.2, the full ǹto yèè construction is limited to use as a rhetorical question with múúc ‘can’, and the main clause cannot be elided from it to form an insubordinated clause. Conversely, because the insubordinated conditional with ǹto yèè is not used as a rhetorical question, it is impossible to add a main clause to it to form a full conditional sentence, regardless of the sense in which it is used. For example, (113), (114), and (115) are all ungrammatical:

(113) *ma-ku-tok ne ǹto yee kà-co
FUT-PTCP.S:3-happen what if if T.PST.S:3-come
né yu ?
3SG.NOM here
to mean, ‘What will happen if s/he comes here?’ (lit. ‘If if s/he came here.’)\textsuperscript{17}

(114) *ǹto yèè kéé-rú paantáɲi, tàpon.
if if T.PST.S:2SG-sleep now good
to mean, ‘If you (SG) sleep now, it will be good.’ (lit. ‘If if you (SG) sleep now, it will be good.’)

(115) *ǹto yèè kéé-rú paantáɲi, tàpoon-i.
if if T.PST.S:2SG-sleep now good-Q
to mean, ‘If you (SG) sleep now, will it be good?’ (lit. ‘If if you (SG) sleep now, will it be good?’)

Thus, this insubordinated conditional does not constitute an omission of a main clause, regardless of its use.

4.2.2. Examples of the insubordinated conditional with ǹto yèè and possible responses to it

This section presents data on the uses of the insubordinated conditional with ǹto yèè and possible responses to it in each use.

\textsuperscript{17} In order to express the intended meaning here, either yèè/yèè or ǹte/ǹto, instead of ǹto yèè, has to be used.
When the ǹto yèè construction is used for any of [2]–[4] in Table 5, the response can be èè ‘yes’ or pùriyo ‘no’; in contrast, when this construction is used for [1] (‘What if ...?’), the response cannot be either of these.

[1] ‘What if ...?’

An example where the ǹto yèè construction is used to convey the meaning ‘What if ...?’ is given in (111). Other examples include ‘What if I sleep now?’ (lit. ‘If if I slept now’), ‘What if I fall down?’ (lit. ‘If if I fell down’), and ‘What if s/he becomes sick?’ (lit. ‘If if s/he became sick’).

In this use, the subject can be any person, and the verb is in the today past. The ǹto yèè construction in this use expresses ‘what if ...?’ That is, the speaker asks the addressee what will happen if the event expressed by the construction minus ǹto yèè occurs in the future. (However, the ǹto yèè construction used this way may also have another interpretation matching one of the other uses.)

The ǹto yèè construction, when used this way, constitutes a WH-question. Thus, it cannot be answered with either èè ‘yes’ or pùriyo ‘no’, as mentioned above. The addressee is expected to give some other kind of answer, though simple tapon ‘good’ or miyáát ‘bad’ remain possible answers. Examples are shown in (116) and (117). In these examples, it may seem as if the addressee were continuing or completing the speaker’s unfinished conditional by providing what appears to be a main clause. Similar to the responses to the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto shown above (e.g., (69), (75), and (102) – (105)), here, ǹte ‘then’, which normally occurs at the beginning of the main clause of a full conditional construction following subordinate–main clause order, is optionally used in the addressee’s response. However, unlike the responses to the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto, (116) and (117) cannot form full conditional sentences with (111), because the ǹto yèè construction, which is restricted in use as described in section 3.3.2 above, does not take ǹte ‘then’ at the beginning of its main clause.

(116)  (ǹte)  ká-tapón/ká-miyaát.
then  T.PST.S:3SG:good/T.PST.S:3SG:bad
‘(Then) it would be good/bad.’

(117)  (ǹte)  ma-a-ŋarec àni.
then  FUT-S:1SG-be.happy 1SG.NOM
‘(Then) I will be happy.’
[2] Advice/suggestion

Also similar to the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò (not ñte/ñto), the ñto yèè construction can also be used to express the speaker’s advice or suggestion that the addressee perform the action, as in (118) (and (112)).

(118) ñto yèè kee-ŋét (ñi) korrón.
if if T.PST.S:2SG-get.up 2SG.NOM early
‘I advise/suggest that you (SG) wake up early.’
(lit. ‘If if you (SG) woke up early.’)

Other examples include ‘I advise/suggest that you (SG) study’ (lit. ‘If if you (SG) studied’) and ‘I advise/suggest that you (SG) come the day after tomorrow’ (lit. ‘If if you (SG) came the day after tomorrow’).

In this use, the subject is the second person and the verb is in the today past. Note that this use of the ñto yèè construction is not as polite as the insubordinated conditional with yèè (e.g., (29)), though both constructions can still be used regardless of the social relation between the speaker and the addressee.

Examples (30)–(36) above, which can be used as responses to the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò used by the speaker to give advice or make a suggestion, can also be used as responses to (118).

[3] Suggestion to the first-person plural (inclusive of the addressee)

Below, (119) illustrates the use of the ñto yèè construction by the speaker to suggest that s/he and the addressee perform the action together.

(119) ñto yèè kà-ci-péé-takèy sáŋ ?
if if T.PST-S:1PL-go.PL-REFL outside
‘Let us go outside.’ (lit. ‘If if we went outside.’)

Other examples include ‘Let us call the children’ (lit. ‘If if we called the children’) and ‘Let us eat matooke (mashed green bananas)’ (lit. ‘If if we ate matooke’).

In this use, the subject is the first-person plural, inclusive of the addressee. The addressee may accept the speaker’s suggestion by saying èè ‘yes’ or tapon ‘good’, or may decline it by saying pùriyo ‘no’ or miyáát ‘bad’. Other examples of responses to (119) are provided in (120)–(126). Among others, (120), a response characteristic of this use, implicitly affirms that with (119), the speaker suggested that s/he and the addressee go out together.
(120)  (èè,)  ci-pe (sàŋ).
yes  OPT.S:1PL-go.PL  outside
‘(Yes,) let us go (outside).’

(121)  ka-a-càm  àní.
T.PST-S:1SG-agree/like  1SG.NOM
‘I agree.’

(122)  mà-à-càme  àní.
NEG-PRS.S:1SG-agree/like  1SG.NOM
‘I do not agree.’

(123)  mà-à-càme/à-teyé  àní  ce
NEG-PRS.S:1SG-agree/PRS.S:1SG-dislike  1SG.NOM  REL.PL
ke-mmwóów-o  ní.
T.PST.S:2SG-say-O:1SG  2SG.NOM
‘I do not agree with/I dislike what you (SG) said to me.’

(124)  (a)  a-cem-cííntos  /(b)  a-ta-cííntos  (ànì)
PRS.S:1SG-agree-together/PRS.S:1SG-disagree-together  1SG.NOM
akóó  ní.
with  2SG.ABSL
‘I (a) agree/(b) disagree with you (SG).’

(125)  (èè,)  kee-sót  (nì)  tapón.
yes  T.PST.S:2SG-think  2SG.NOM  well
‘(Yes,) it is a good idea (lit. you (SG) thought well).’

(126)  mà-para  àní  á-wo sàŋ.
NEG-hope  1SG.NOM  PTCP.S:1SG-go  outside
‘I don’t feel like going outside.’

Similar to the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ìte/ìto, the ìto yèè insubordinated conditional construction can also be used by the speaker to offer to perform an action for the addressee, as in (127).
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(127) ŋto yëè kà-sut-uŋ peekò.
if if T.PST.S:1SG-bring-O:2SG water.PL.DEF.ABSL
‘I will bring you (SG) water.’ (lit. ‘If if I brought you water.’)

Other examples might include ‘I will open the window for you’ (lit. ‘If if I opened the window for you’) and ‘I will lend you this umbrella’ (lit. ‘If if I lent you this umbrella’).

In this use, the subject is the first person. According to my informants, this use of the ŋto yëè insubordinated conditional is polite, but does not seem to be as polite as the insubordinated conditional with yëè/yòò or ŋte/ŋto.

The responses given in (56)–(65), which can be given in reply to the insubordinated conditional with yëè/yòò or ŋte/ŋto used to express a speaker’s offer, as discussed above, are all also possible as responses to (127).

5. Analysis and discussion

The research questions asked at the end of section 2 were (i) whether or not Kupsapiny exhibits any insubordinated constructions, (ii) how to collect data on the use of insubordinated constructions in an understudied language like Kupsapiny, and (iii) what one can assert with confidence about the historical development of the insubordinated construction in Kupsapiny. The answer to (i) is yes — Kupsapiny seems to have at least two types of insubordinated conditional constructions. Sections 5.1 and 5.2 answer the other two questions, based on the data in section 4. While answering (iii) in section 5.2, it also returns to (i). Section 5.3 discusses how the Kupsapiny insubordinated conditional constructions exhibit mismatches between a syntactic unit and a message unit.

5.1. Responses to insubordinated conditionals

Sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.2 and Tables 4 and 5 showed that the meaning of an insubordinated conditional can be identified or pinpointed from a set of possible responses to it elicited from native speakers, and that information on what person(s) the subject can be in, how the speaker evaluates the event (positive vs. negative and for whom), and which conditional marker(s) can be used is also helpful to an extent for this purpose. The intended meaning of an insubordinated conditional cannot be inferred by looking at it or its components alone, because it is different from its literal meaning, though there are some recurrent intended meanings that insubordinated conditionals tend to express across languages. Thus, it is necessary to examine how a given insubordinated conditional is responded to in conversation in particular situations. Of course, it would be ideal to be able to examine actual conversations in order to achieve this end. However, insubordinated conditionals are infrequent in this language, and it is almost impossible to
obtain full data on what set of responses are possible and impossible to a particular use of
an insubordinated conditional.

There are two types of responses to an insubordinated conditional that can help us
understand its meaning in a particular situation. First, the addressee may describe what
behavior the speaker has engaged in or what emotion the speaker has expressed with the
utterance containing the insubordinated conditional. For example, the addressee might say
such things as in (128).

(128)  ‘You are doing X’: e.g., (17), (38)
   ‘You did X’: e.g., (90)
   ‘your doing X’: e.g., (31)
   ‘Do not do X’: e.g., (34), (39)
   ‘I also do X’: e.g., (67), (68), (74)
   ‘I also feel Y’: e.g., (99)

In such cases, it is clear that the addressee believes that with what the speaker said, the
s/he engaged in behavior X or expressed feeling Y. The use of a particular verb in the
addressee’s response (e.g. ‘fulfill’ in (18) and (19)) may also be a clue to the
understanding of the speaker’s intended meaning.

Second, the native speaker consultant as a hypothetical addressee may also provide a
response to an insubordinated conditional in a particular situation that is usually given to
another construction expressing the same meaning as that insubordinated conditional. For
example, (56)–(65), which can be used as a response to the speaker’s offer expressed with
the insubordinated conditional with \( yèè/yòò \) or \( ñte/ñto \), as in (55), or the insubordinated
conditional with \( ñto yèè \), as in (127), can also serve as a response to other constructions
for offering (e.g., footnote 14). Whether the response can be \( èè \) ‘yes’ or \( pùriyo \) ‘no’ also
distinguishes the ‘What if ...?’ use of the insubordinated conditional with \( ñto yèè \) from the
other uses of this conditional and from all the uses of the insubordinated conditional with
\( yèè/yòò \) or \( ñte/ñto \).

Thus, while one can certainly ask a native speaker directly about the meaning of a
construction, the (im)possible responses to it elicited from him/her can also help
understand it. Furthermore, there are cases where only by eliciting responses to an
insubordinated conditional by a native speaker can data be obtained — for instance, for
utterances given in internal speech (the insubordinated conditional with \( yèè/yòò \) or \( ñte/ñto \)
as used for an obligation or need of the speaker’s in [6] or as a self-addressed polar
question in [9]), which would not otherwise be recordable.
5.2. Historical development of the insubordinated conditional constructions in Kupsapiny

The insubordinated conditional with ñto yèè seems to be more conventionalized than the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto. One could therefore hypothesize that the former is at a later stage of development than the latter. Unlike the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto, to which a main clause can be added to form a full conditional sentence as long as it is used for one of [1]–[8] in Table 4, the insubordinated conditional with ñto yèè in any of its uses can never recover a main clause to be added to it to form a full conditional sentence. Thus, the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto seems to be at stage (b) or (c) in (1), where it is possible to recover a main clause that expresses the very abstract notions of ‘good’ or ‘bad’, whereas the insubordinated conditional with ñto yèè appears to be at stage (d), where it is impossible to do so.

It must further be noted, however, that although there is a full construction with ñto yèè (discussed in section 3.3.2), it is not clear whether the (non-full) conditional construction with ñto yèè, which the present study has regarded as an insubordinated construction, is really an insubordinated construction, because it cannot recover a main clause to form a full conditional sentence — actually, there is no evidence that it was ever insubordinated from the full construction. It may even be that what appears to be an insubordinated conditional with ñto yèè actually developed from the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ñte/ñto, rather than from the full construction with ñto yèè. Instead, the full construction with ñto yèè (e.g., (11), (12)) is limited in use, as discussed in section 3.3.2, and could be regarded as a juxtaposition of what looks like the ñto yèè construction and a rhetorical question with muuc ‘can’. In short, the development of the (non-full) conditional construction with ñto yèè needs further investigation.

5.3. Mismatches between the syntactic and discourse relations of insubordinated constructions

Across various languages, Evans (2007: 367–368) shows that it is very difficult to draw a sharp line between the syntactic and discourse relations of insubordinated constructions — the unit of a message may not be a single clause or construction formed by one speaker, but instead a larger discourse. The present study also supports this insight.

In many cases, the unit of a message is a single clause or construction formed by one speaker.

First, when an insubordinated conditional that is conventionalized enough to constitute an independent message occurs without any main clause, it can serve as the unit of a message by itself, even though it seems to be syntactically dependent. Second, the
message may be formed jointly by both the speaker and the addressee. When the insubordinated conditional with ǹte/ǹto as used for a hypothetical bad event in the past (e.g., (98)) is followed by a main clause provided by the addressee (e.g., (102)–(105)) and the speaker’s and addressee’s intended meanings match, the unit of the message seems to be the full conditional sentence formed by the speaker and the addressee together.

There are cases where the sharp line between the syntactic and discourse relations is more unclear. Even when the speaker’s and the addressee’s intended meanings do match each other, the full conditional sentence may lack ǹte ‘then’, which normally occurs in the full conditional construction with ǹte/ǹto — thus, in such a case, the full conditional sentence formed by the speaker and the addressee without ǹte is not perfectly grammatical, and cannot be regarded as a syntactic unit.

Moreover, when the ǹto yèè insubordinated conditional construction, whose completed counterpart requires the main clause to be a rhetorical question with múúc ‘can’, is used for ‘What if ... ?’ (e.g., (111)), the addressee may provide an answer to the question with a consequence clause (e.g., (116) and (117)). Such a consequence clause does not form a syntactic unit with the ǹto yèè insubordinated conditional, because it cannot form a full conditional sentence with the ǹto yèè insubordinated conditional, though it could form a full conditional sentence with a yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto conditional clause.

Furthermore, there are cases where the speaker’s and the addressee’s intended meanings do not match even when the addressee provides a main clause for an insubordinated conditional (e.g., (75) as an answer to (66)), with the result that a full conditional sentence is formed. In such cases, the insubordinated conditional is a single message unit that the speaker intends to convey, while the insubordinated conditional plus the main clause provided by the addressee constitutes another larger message unit.

6. Conclusion

This paper showed that Kupsapiny has two types of what seem to be insubordinated conditionals, one with either yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto and the other with ǹto yèè, and that the meaning of either type of insubordinated conditional used in a specific kind of context can be identified by looking at what responses are possible to it. It also showed that the insubordinated conditional with ǹto yèè seems to be more conventionalized than the insubordinated conditional with yèè/yòò or ǹte/ǹto.

Although the present study gave some information on the respective politeness of the uses of the insubordinated constructions in section 4, it has not been able to provide sufficient data on what Evans (1993) calls “social placedness conditions” (conditions on what does and does not constitute appropriate relations between conversation participants in contexts where a particular type of construction can be used) and “discourse placedness
conditions” (conditions involving the presuppositions of conversation participants when a particular type of construction is used). These are aspects of insubordinated constructions that need to be further investigated.

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Abbreviations

<table>
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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>ABST</th>
<th>CMPL</th>
<th>COP</th>
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<th>DEF</th>
<th>EP</th>
<th>FUT</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>IMPERS</th>
<th>IMPFV</th>
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<td>Second person</td>
<td>Third person</td>
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<td>Distant past</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Epenthesis</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<td>Question marker</td>
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</table>
SG  Singular  TOP  Topic
T.PST  Today past

References


