



contexts (Green, 2021). We argue that (4-6) also entail the irrealis mood, as the actions are unrealized or have not occurred. Realis mood contexts relate instead to given (i.e., known, topical, defined) information and are inflected differently. We illustrate that what is unique about (1-3) is speaker evidence that the actions are unrealized, rather than merely being supposed not to occur. We argue that this suggests subcategorization within the irrealis mood, namely the presence of a second, stronger irrealis mood, along the lines of that proposed in Stroke (1982), and one that encodes non-eyewitness events (Dixon 2004, 2012). To our knowledge, this is the first proposal of such a distinction in East Cushitic.