A Sandawe Grammar

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SIL International
2010

SIL e-Books
20

Library of Congress Catalog No:
ISBN: 978-1-55671-252-4
ISSN: 1934-2470

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Abstract

This paper is a descriptive overview of the grammar of Sandawe, a Khoisan language spoken in Tanzania. The first section begins with a brief description of the geographical context of the Sandawe language, followed by a short summary of previous research into the language. This is followed by a phonological overview and an explanation of the sources and presentation of the data contained in the grammar.

Sections 2 to 7 are organised according to grammatical category and consider nouns, pronouns, postpositions, verbs, modifiers and conjunctions, respectively. Section 8 looks at word order and section 9 at derivation. Clause construction is then discussed, with section 10 concerning itself with mood, reality, and aspect in major clause types and section 11 covering the remaining clause types. Finally, section 12 takes a brief look at some important discourse features evident in Sandawe. A sample text is given in full in the Appendix.

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present a descriptive overview of the grammar of Sandawe, a Khoisan language spoken in Tanzania. An effort has been made to provide a wide coverage of grammar topics and, consequently, no topic is covered in as much depth as it deserves. Leaving these disclaimers aside, it is hoped, however, that this grammar fulfils both its primary goal of being a practical resource for those working on the Sandawe Bible translation project and also its secondary goal of making the knowledge gained by those in the project more widely available.[1]

In the main, no attempt has been made to relate the Sandawe grammatical phenomena described here to those found in other Khoisan languages. Nor has much attention been paid to discussing the Sandawe phenomena with respect to their possible diachronic development. Instead, the grammar presented here concerns itself with how Sandawe is currently spoken and tries to describe the language using familiar and accessible categories and terminology.

In the subsections of this introduction, a brief description of the geographical context of the Sandawe language is given, followed by a short summary of previous research into the language. A phonological overview forms the next subsection and is followed by an explanation of the sources and presentation of the data contained in this grammar.

Section 2 to 7 are organised according to grammatical category and consider nouns, pronouns, postpositions, verbs, modifiers and conjunctions respectively. Section 8 looks at word order and section 9 at derivation. Clause construction is then discussed, with section 10 concerning itself with mood, reality, and aspect in major clause types and section 11 covering the remaining clause types. Finally, section 12 takes a brief look at some important discourse features evident in Sandawe. A sample text is given in full in the Appendix.

[1] This work has benefited greatly from numerous discussions on Sandawe gammar with colleagues Daniel and Elisabeth Hunziker and from input graciously given by linguist Ed Elderkin. Thanks are also due to the Sandawe speakers who provided the texts discussed here.

1.1 The Sandawe language

Sandawe is spoken by a group of perhaps up to 40,000 people, most of whom live in the Kondoa district of central Tanzania. Sandawe has been regarded by many scholars as a Khoisan language, although the issue of its classification remains a contentious one. In a dissertation on linguistic relationships, Sands (1995) concludes that 'it seems a little more likely than not that the Northern, Southern, Central Khoisan groups along with Sandawe are related' (1995:193–194). However, recent research has cast doubt on the position that a Khoisan family exists (Güldemann and Vossen 2000). There are no other Khoisan languages surrounding Sandawe, but there are representatives from Greenberg's (1955) other three main language families, such as Burunge and Iraqw (Afro-Asiatic), Nyaturu and Gogo (Niger-Congo), and Datooga (Nilo-Saharan).

Sandawe has two main dialects, the differences between which are 'slight and gradual' (ten Raa 1970:147) and include speech speed and other pronunciation features, lexis, grammatical phenomena and the use of taboo language. Speakers of different dialects report no problems with mutual intelligibility. The two dialects are referred to here as *western Sandawe* and *eastern Sandawe*, corresponding to *Dtelha* ('proper Sandawe') and *Bisa* ('uncouth Sandawe') in ten Raa's work (1970:131). Western Sandawe can be further divided into two sub-varieties, with one being labelled western and the other central. The differences between these two varieties are not as considerable as those which differentiate the western and eastern dialects.[2]

Most Sandawe also speak Swahili to a level that allows basic conversation with neighbouring peoples. Swahili competency depends partly on geographical location, with the Sandawe living in more remote areas being less likely to know Swahili well, and partly on age and education level, with older and less educated Sandawe being less familiar with Swahili.

1.2 Previous research

The classification of the Sandawe language is treated in several places, including Greenberg (1950), Ehret (1986) and Sands (1995). Greenberg (1950) divides the Khoisan language phylum into three major branches: Sandawe, Hadza, and Southern Africa. The latter branch is then divided three ways, following the classification of Bleek (1927), into Northern, Central and Southern. Ehret (1986) supported the position that Sandawe and Hadza are both Khoisan and found that the former was more clearly so. Elderkin, who has done much research on Sandawe, claims that Sandawe's Khoisan affiliation 'cannot be challenged' (1982:79), but he also recognises the distance of the relationship between Sandawe and the rest of the Khoisan group, commenting that 'Sandawe, although not the real McKhoi, seems to be a cousin' (1992:121). Sands (1995:193–194), in a dissertation on distant linguistic relationships that uses Khoisan as a case study, concludes that Sandawe is clearly related to the Khoisan group.

Early research on Sandawe phonetics and phonology can be found in Dempwolff (1916) and Copland (1938). More recent studies include that which was undertaken by Tucker and Bryan (1977), who made a phonetic comparison of the three East African click languages: Sandawe, Hadza, and Dahalo. Wright *et al.* (1995) investigated Sandawe clicks and concluded that there

[2] See Eaton, Hunziker, and Hunziker (2007) for further discussion of the Sandawe dialect situation.

are five contrastive click accompaniments in the language's phonemic inventory: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced, voiced nasalized, and glottalised.

Various aspects of Sandawe tonal phonology have been studied by Elderkin (1986, 1989, 1991, 1992). Elderkin's 1989 thesis *The significance and origin of the use of pitch in Sandawe* explores the interaction of syntax and tone and gives a diachronic explanation for the phenomena observed. Elderkin claims that pitch levels for words in Sandawe (referred to later as *word keys* in a 1999 paper) are determined by syntactic structure and by the structure of information. A different set of tonal phenomena is described as part of a phonology of Sandawe produced by Hunziker *et al.* (2008). The two different tonological descriptions may represent different stages in language development, or possibly two contrasting dialects. A recent phonetic sketch of Sandawe is Eaton (2006).

Previous research on Sandawe grammar includes the early treatments given by Dempwolff (1916) and van de Kimmenade (1936). Kagaya (1990, 1994) looked at word order and subject marking. Eaton (2008) discussed the relationship between object marking and aspect. A grammar sketch has been produced by Elderkin (GS), which takes a more diachronic approach to the data than the grammar presented here. Differences in categorisation and terminology between Elderkin's grammar sketch and the present one stem largely from differences in approach, rather than differences in data.

In the area of discourse, the grammar of focus is considered in Eaton (2002) from a largely theoretical perspective. More data-focused treatments of Sandawe discourse are provided by Elderkin (1994) and Eaton (2005), which consider data from oral and written texts, respectively.

1.3 Phonological overview

The following tables give the consonant phoneme inventory for Sandawe:

Table 1.1 Pulmonic and glottalic consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	*Labio-dental*	*Alveolar*	*Alveolar lateral*	*Post-alveolar/ Palatal*	*Velar*	*Labial-velar*	*Glottal*
Plosive	p p^h b		t t^h d			k k^h g		ʔ
Affricate				tɬ dl	tʃ $tʃ^h$ dʒ			
Ejective			ts’			k’		
Ejective affricate				tɬ’				
Nasal	m		n					
Tap			r					
Fricative		f	s	ɬ		x		h
Approximant					j		w	
Lateral approximant			l					

Table 1.2 Velaric consonant phonemes

	Dental	*Post-alveolar*	*Lateral*
Voiceless unaspirated	ǀ	ǃ	ǁ
Voiceless aspirated	ǀʰ	ǃʰ	ǁʰ
Voiced	ᵍǀ	ᵍǃ	ᵍǁ
Voiced nasalised	ⁿǀ	ⁿǃ	ⁿǁ
Glottalised	ǀʼ	ǃʼ	ǁʼ

In the eastern dialect of Sandawe, /tʃ/ may be fronted to /ts/ and /dʒ/ may be fronted to /dz/ or weakened to /ʒ/. In both dialects, /tɬʼ/ is realised as [kɬʼ] before /u/ or /w/, and /n/ as [ŋ] before velar consonants. All plosives, fricatives, and clicks, with the exception of the labials, /ʔ/, /h/, /d/, /dl/, and /tɬ/, may be labio-velarised. The consonant /w/ is not found preceding /i/ or /u/.

Clicks are found both word-initially and (less commonly) word-medially. Voiced clicks are rare and words containing them are pronounced with voiceless aspirated clicks by some speakers.

The following vowel phonemes are found in Sandawe:

Table 1.3 Vowel phonemes

Short oral	*Long oral*	*Nasal*
i	iː	ĩː
e	eː	ẽː
a	aː	ãː
o	oː	õː
u	uː	ũː

Contrastive length is a feature of oral vowels in Sandawe, but not of nasal vowels. Long oral vowels are approximately 1.5 times as long as short oral vowels, and slightly longer than nasal vowels. Long vowels, both oral and nasal, are sometimes shortened before a glottal stop. An oral vowel followed by a glottalised click is usually nasalised. Elderkin (1989:51) refers to this predictable nasalisation as ‘accidental nasality’, which is caused by the lowering of the velum which during the production of a glottalised click. Low toned high vowels are usually devoiced in word-final position. Voiceless high vowels also sometimes occur word-medially.

Sandawe has two underlying tone levels: high /ˊ/ and low /ˋ/. A low tone preceded by a high tone causes the tone of any following high tone to be downstepped and occur as a mid tone [ˉ] on the surface level. Also, at the surface level, a distinction exists between low level [ˋ] and low falling [ˏ] tones in word-final position. The former are lowered high tones and the latter are low tones at the underlying level.

High and low tones occur on both short and long vowels, although low toned long vowels are exceptional. Rising tones occur on long vowels only and falling tones on both short and long vowels. These tones are analysed as sequences of level tones. Table 1.4 illustrates these tone patterns:

Table 1.4 Tone patterns

Underlying	*Surface*	*Gloss*
H	[sáná]	'beeswax'
H	[tʃʰáː]	'cooking pot'
L	[kʰʷ̀à]	'return'
L	[dõ̀ː]	'tree (type)'
LH	[tʃʰǎː]	'tears'
HL	[tʰâ]	'run (sg.subj.)'
HL	[tʃʰâ̰ː]	'fat'

Rightward tone spread occurs in non-word-final morae in Sandawe. Thus a L tone is realised as a HL tone when it follows a H tone, as in [tʰímé-sâ] H-H-L 'cook-3f.sg.PC', and a H tone on a long vowel is realised as a LH tone when it follows a L tone, as in [hùmbù-ǎː] L-L-H 'cow-SF'. High tone spread applies across syllable boundaries in monomorphemic words as well as multimorphemic words. Thus, the tone pattern of [mántʃʰâ] 'food' is analysed as H-L rather than H-HL. However, low tone spread applies across syllable boundaries in multimorphemic words only.

The association of tones to words of differing syllabic patterns shows a high, but not complete, degree of predictability. There is a strong tendency for the H tone to be carried on more syllables than the L tone, leaving the L tone(s) associated to the syllables at the word boundaries. Thus the tone patterns of words such as [gáwâ] H-L 'hill' and [tɬ'àbísó] L-H-H 'stomach' occur more frequently than those of [tátà] HL-L 'tip, point' and [kèlèmbá] L-L-H 'skin'.

Words may undergo a grammatically-conditioned tone lowering process in which all tones are realised as L tones. Evidence of the original tone pattern can be found in the tone of the final syllable, which is low and level, if it is an underlying H tone, and low and falling, if it is an underlying L tone. This tone lowering process applies to the head in a genititve construction, an adjective in a NP and, under certain conditions, to a verb. The process does not apply to a HL melody word when it follows a H tone, nor to a word which does not contain any H tone (see (23) in section 2.6.1 and (26) in section 4.8 for examples of these exceptions). Some conjunctions also undergo the tone lowering process (see sections 7.1–7.3).

The suffixation of morphemes in Sandawe causes a variety of assimilation processes.[3] If a multisyllabic stem ends in a short oral vowel, it is optionally assimilated to the quality of the vowel in a vowel-initial suffix. The resulting assimilated vowel is then long. This assimilation process does not take place when the stem is monosyllabic, or if the stem-final vowel is long. When a stem ending in a nasal vowel is suffixed with a vowel-initial morpheme, the segment [g] is inserted at the morpheme boundary. A stem-final /u/ or /u̯/ vowel is realised as [w] before suffixes beginning with /i/, /e/, or /a/. A suffix consisting of a glottal stop and a vowel, such as the third person plural realis pronominal clitic /-àʔ/, is usually realised with the glottal stop after the vowel, but may also be realised with it before the vowel, as in [-ʔà] (see example (24) in 4.7).

1.4 The data

All data examples in this grammar come from texts, unless described as 'elicited', in which case they were translated from Swahili without any discourse context or were devised by the author and tested on a mother-tongue speaker of Sandawe. The texts providing the examples include both oral and written texts and draft translations of Bible portions, and come from a variety of Sandawe speakers. The main consultant for the elicitation work was a speaker of the Western dialect of Sandawe, who comes from the village of Magambua. Speakers of both the Western and Eastern dialects are represented in the data from the text corpus.

Each data example given in the following sections contains two lines of IPA transcription. The first line shows the surface form of the data, including the results of segmental assimilations and tonal processes. The second line shows a morpheme by morpheme breakdown of the data, with underlying tones marked. It should be noted that the surface tone markings of the first line of each example do not fully describe the surface pattern of a sequence of low tones following an initial high. That is, since a low tone surfaces at the height of the preceding tone, a sequence of low tones can involve several different tone heights. For example, in the multimorphemic word /ts'â-tà-nà-sà/ HL-L-L-L 'water-in-to-3f.sg.PC', each low tone is realised at a successively slightly lower level. However, in the phonetic transcription, such an example is written as [ts'átànàsà̀], which does not reveal this. Similarly, if a word-final low tone follows a mid tone, it is more accurately described as a mid falling tone, but in the data transcription here, it is shown as a low falling tone.

The following abbreviations are used in the morpheme by morpheme glosses:

&	connective
1pl.	first person plural
1sg.	first person singular
2pl.	second person plural
2sg.	second person singular
3f.sg.	third person feminine singular
3m.sg.	third person masculine singular
3a.pl.	third person animate plural (object)
3i.pl.	third person inanimate plural (object)

[3] These processes are described in more detail in Hunziker, Hunziker, and Eaton (2008).

3pers.	third person
3pl.	third person plural
add.	additive
adj.	adjectiviser
appl.	applicative
ben.	benefactive
caus.	causative
comp.	comparative
conn.	connective
decl.	declarative
dem.	demonstrative
des.	desiderative
dir.	directional
dist.	distal
dur.	durative
et.al.	*et al.*
$[]_{GEN}$	tonal genitive
hear.	hearsay
Imp.PC	imperative pronominal clitic
interrog.	interrogative
irr.	irrealis
iter.	iterative
loc.	locative
mult.	multiple
NC	narrative conjunction
neg.	negative
nml.	nominaliser
obj.	object
PC	(realis) pronominal clitic
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
pro.	pronominal
prox.	proximal
qu.	question
RC	repetitive conjunction
recip.	reciprocal
ref.	referential
reflex.	reflexive
SC	subjunctive conjunction
SF	subject focus
sg.	singular
sp.	specific
subj.	subject
sub.cl.	subordinate clause
Subj.PC	subjunctive pronominal clitic
verb.	verbaliser

2 Nouns

2.1 *Indirect marking of nouns for gender and number*

Nouns in Sandawe are not usually marked for gender or number. Instead, these features for a particular noun are often indicated in other words within the clause. A verb, for example, may be suffixed with the multiple morpheme /-wà/ if the subject is plural, or with an object morpheme which shows the person, gender and number of an object noun in the clause. Thus, in the following examples, although the underlined nouns themselves are not marked for gender and number in the Sandawe, other morphemes indicate these features:

(1)	dȅru̥	!’úāː	|’èːkàwȁ
	dèrù̥	!’û-áː	|’ěːkâ-wà
	[chin	hair]$_{GEN}$-SF	be.heavy-mult.
	The whiskers are heavy.		

(2)	híô	níʔī̄ː	^{n}|étànȍː	^{n}ǁȅːiʔ
	hí-ò	níʔ-ː́	^{n}|ê-tà-nà-ò	^{n}ǁěː-ìʔ
	when-1pl.PC	go-&	bush-in-to-1pl.PC	enter-sub.cl.
	When we went and entered into the bush,			
	kòː	kêutȍ	mòkòndȍ̏gȍ	|àʔwàː
	kóː	kêutò	mòkóndó-ː̏̀-ò	|ȃː-wáː
	NC(1pl.)	[pig	track]$_{GEN}$-sp.-1pl.PC	see-3i.pl.obj.
	we saw pig tracks.			

2.2 *Grammatical gender and number in animate nouns*

Some Sandawe nouns referring to people are directly marked for person, gender and number by means of morphemes which are referred to here as *person gender number (PGN) morphemes* (following Elderkin, 1986:133, after Hagman, 1977:41 for Nama). Two sets of PGN morphemes can be identified, a low-toned set and a high-toned set:[4]

[4] In Elderkin’s analysis the two PGN sets are referred to as *nominal PGNs* (1986:139).

Table 2.1 PGN morphemes

	Low toned	*High toned*
1sg.	sə̀	sé
2sg.	pò	pó
3m.sg.	Ø / è / ù / mə̀	é / é꞉
3f.sg.	sə̀	sú / é꞉sú
1pl.	sə̃̀꞉ / sà	sə́̃꞉
2pl.	sə̃̀꞉	sə́̃꞉
3a.pl.	sò	só
3i.pl.[5]	ʔ̀ wà	ʔwá꞉ / ʔ̀ wá꞉

Some of these morphemes can be found in the following nouns which are marked for gender and number:

Table 2.2 Gender and number marking in nouns

Masculine singular	*Feminine singular*	*Plural*
ⁿ|èmésé꞉ *man*	ⁿ|èmésú *woman*	ⁿ|òmósò *people*
máxàé꞉ *man*		máxà *men*
	tʰámètʃʰú *woman*	tʰámètʃʰə̀ *women*
k'àrě꞉ *male youth*	k'àrě꞉sú *female youth*	k'àrě꞉ (k'àrě꞉só) *youths*
ⁿ‖ǒ꞉ù *son*	ⁿ‖ǒ꞉sə̀ *daughter*	ⁿ‖ǒ꞉kó (ⁿ‖ǒ꞉kósò) *children*
dìʔsě꞉ *old man*	dìʔsě꞉sú *old woman*	dìʔsě꞉ (dìʔsě꞉sò) (dìʔsě꞉só) *old people*
wàràngě꞉ *god*	wàràngě꞉sú *goddess*	wàràngò *gods*

The high toned PGN morphemes /-é꞉/ (masculine), /-sú/ (feminine) and /-só/ (plural) can be seen in several words. However, the two examples of words containing the plural morpheme /-só/ (shown in parentheses) occur less frequently than the comparable forms without this morpheme. The low toned PGN morphemes /-ù/ (masculine), /-sə̀/ (feminine) and /-sò/ (plural) are also found in some of the examples given. Note, also, the presence of the plural morpheme /-kó/ in /ⁿ‖ǒ꞉kó/ 'children'. This morpheme is also found attached to /hô/ 'who' when this word has a plural referent (see section 10.2.1.1).

The words for 'son' and 'daughter' and 'children' in the table, above all, include the meaning of belonging to someone. Thus, these words cannot function as the head of a genitive in

[5] *3a.pl.* stands for third person animate plural and *3i.pl.* stands for third person inanimate plural.

which the modifier refers to a person because this would contradict, or repeat, the inherent meaning:[6]

(3) * hèwé ⁿǁòːu
hèwé ⁿǁǒːù
[he son]$_{GEN}$
* His son.

Instead, the following forms are used in such constructions: /ⁿǁôè/ 'boy', /ⁿǁôsụ̀/ 'girl' and /ⁿǁôkò/ 'children'. The following examples from the text corpus illustrate the differences between the two sets of forms:

(4) nɪ̀ː ⁿǁǒːkɔ̃̀ːkì tʃʰíâ máxâ ⁿǁòkɔ̀
nɪ́ː ⁿǁǒːkó-ɪ̀-kí tʃʰíà máxà ⁿǁôkò
and children-sp.-add. all [male children]$_{GEN}$
And the children were both boys.[7]

(5) hèwéʔgàː bàʔésɛ̃̀ː wàròŋgɛ̀ː bɔ̃̀ː
hèwéʔ̰ gâ-à bàʔé-sí-è-ɪ̀ wàròngɛ̌ː-ɪ̀ bô-ɪ̀
and.so-3m.sg.PC [be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. god-sp. word]$_{GEN}$-sp.
And so the word of the Lord

jónà ʔàmìtâi ⁿǁòɛ̃̀ːgà !'òːwè
jônà ʔàmìtâi ⁿǁôè-ɪ̀-à !'ǒː-é
Jonah [Amittai son]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3m.sg.PC get-3m.sg.obj.
got Jonah, son of Amittai.

2.3 Grammatical gender in inanimate nouns

Inanimate nouns in Sandawe are usually treated as masculine. Two exceptions to this tendency are /ǁ'àkásụ̀/ 'sun' and /!ǎ̰ːsó/ 'moon', which are treated as feminine nouns by many (but not all) speakers of Sandawe.[8] An example of this is as follows:

(6) ǁ'àkásũ̀ːsụ̀ sàː téɬásà híǁ'íʔĩ̀ːsà nàʔ
ǁ'àkásụ̀-ɪ̀-sụ̀ sáː téɬà-sà híǁ'í-ʔĩ̀ː-sà náʔ
sun-sp.-3f.sg. NC(3f.sg.) completely-3f.sg.PC heat-with-3f.sg.PC shine
The sun shone completely with heat.

[6] If the modifier in the genitive is an animal or an object rather than a person, the /ⁿǁǒː-/ forms may be used.

[7] The context makes it clear that 'both' rather than 'all' is meant by /tʃʰíà/ here.

[8] See ten Raa (1969:34–35) for a discussion of the clausal origin of these words and a possible reason behind their feminine grammatical gender.

Furthermore, a noun which is usually masculine can be made a diminutive by treating it as feminine.[9] In the following example, the masculine noun /mêlì/ 'boat' is marked as feminine and thus it is clear that a small boat is meant:

(7)

ʔóʔsìʔ	ʔà:	hòsó	mélìtà	jàʔbèsìsɔ̃̀ːsò
ʔóʔ̰-síʔ	ʔá:	hòsó	mêlì-tà	jàʔbé-sí-sò-ɨ̃́-sò
there(ref.)-loc.	NC(3pl.)	they	boat-in	work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

mélɨ̃̀ːsu̯ts'àʔ	dûru̯nàʔ	!èmòːàʔ	ⁿǁʷèː
mêlì-ɨ̃́-sù̯-ts'i̯-àʔ	dúrù̯-nà-àʔ	!èmé-óː-àʔ	ⁿǁʷěː
boat-sp.-3f.sg.-at-3pl.PC	shore-to-3pl.PC	take-nml.-3pl.PC	try

It was then that they who worked in the boat tried to take the boat to shore.

2.4 The plural suffixes /-xéː/ and /-xi̯/

Nouns can be marked as plurals by means of the suffix /-xéː/ together with the specificity suffix /-ɨ̃́/:

(8)

bóxɛ̃̀ː	hèwéxéː	kʷàː	
bô-xéː-ɨ̃́	hèwéxéː	kʷáː	
word-pl.-sp.	dem.(ref.pl.)	NC(3m.sg.)	

nìnéwì	mfàlmèà	!'òːwèwà	
nìnéwì	m̀fâlmè-à	!'ǒː-é-wà	
[Nineveh	king]$_{GEN}$-3m.sg.PC	get-3m.sg.obj.-mult.	

These words reached the king of Nineveh.

The plural morpheme /-xéː/ cannot be attached to nouns without a following specificity morpheme. It can, however, be found without the specificity morpheme in plural demonstratives, such as the one in the preceding example.

The plural morpheme /-xi̯/, glossed here as 'et al.', is used to refer to a group associated with the referent of the (human) noun to which it is attached:

(9)

kʷàː	hèwéts'âː
kʷáː	hèwé-ts'i̯-à
NC(3m.sg.)	dem.(ref.3m.sg.)-at-3m.sg.PC

jàjáxɨ̃̂ːsòà	tìmu̯ʔɨ̃̀ː
jàjá-xi̯-ɨ̃́-sò-à	tímù̯-ʔɨ́ː
brother-et al.-sp.-3a.pl.-3m.sg.PC	swallow-3a.pl.obj.

And so then he swallowed the brothers.

[9] ten Raa (1969:32) comments that in Sandawe 'largeness, fullness, and strength are associated with maleness, and that smallness, birth, and weakness are associated with femaleness […] Any object which is thought of as a small thing in relation to its surroundings tends to be treated as female'.

The *et al.* suffix is also found suffixed to a noun, in order to indicate a joint subject:[10]

(10)	pò:	ⁿǁŏ:kóxi̥sō:	māntʃʰ̀à
	pó:	ⁿǁŏ:kó-xì̥-só:	mántʃʰà
	NC(1pl.)	children-et al.-1pl.SF	eat
	Then I/we eat with the children.		

This construction does not show whether one or more people joined with the children to eat, but it does indicate first person. The second person equivalent of this construction is ambiguous in the same way, as the following elicited example illustrates:

(11)	pè:	ⁿǁŏ:kóxi̥sī̄:gā:	māntʃʰ̀à
	pé:	ⁿǁŏ:kó-xì̥-sī́:-á:	mántʃʰà
	NC(2pl.)	children-et.al.-2pl.-SF	eat
	Then you/you (pl.) eat with the children.		

If this construction is third person, the additive morpheme /-kí/ is used instead of a PGN morpheme and the resulting construction is not ambiguous:

(12)	ʔà:	ⁿǁŏ:kóxi̥kīā:	māntʃʰ̀à
	ʔá:	ⁿǁŏ:kó-xì̥-kí-á:	mántʃʰà
	NC(3pl.)	children-et.al.-add.-SF	eat
	Then they eat with the children.		

Removing the *et al.* morpheme from this construction changes the meaning from ‘they’ to ‘he/she’.

2.5 Specificity

Sandawe formally marks a distinction between *specific* and *non-specific* NPs. A full NP[11] that is specific is marked by the suffix /-ī̀/, as shown in the following example:

(13)	mǎ:kâ	têʔ	sàndàwě:sú	tésûsi̥	ǀȁ:
	mǎ:kà	té-è-ts’ì̥	sàndàwě:-sú	té-sù̥-sì̥	ǀâ:
	year	other-3m.sg.-at	Sandawe-3f.sg.	other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC	see
	The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,				

[10] This example contains the alternative first person plural SF marker form /-só:/. A more common way to construct the subject NP is this example would be /ⁿǁŏ:kó-xì̥-sű:-á:/ ‘children-et.al.-1pl.-SF’. The surface tone pattern of the verb in this example starts at the height of the preceding tone, which is mid, because the verb has a HL tone melody and, thus, does not follow the normal tone lowering rule (see section 1.3).

[11] Pronouns cannot be marked with the specificity morpheme.

tɬ’àbísósúsu̯
tɬ’àbísó-sí-su̯
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

nɪ̀ː tɬ’àbísɔ̂ː hèwé kʷàʔa̯nájɛ̂ː
nɪ́ː tɬ’àbísó-ɪ̀ hèwé kʷàʔà̯ná-ì-éː-ɪ̀
and stomach-sp. dem.(ref.3m.sg.) five-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.
And this (specific) pregnancy was the fifth.

The morpheme /-ɪ̀/ is not equivalent to the English particle ‘the’ as it is a marker of specificity, rather than identifiability. This can be illustrated by the following elicited examples:

(14) ⁿ|ʷăː méː
ⁿ|ʷăː méː
elephant big
The elephant is big.
(A generic statement about elephants.)

(15) ⁿ|ʷă̌ːˆ méː
ⁿ|ʷăː-ɪ̀ méː
elephant-sp. big
The (specific) elephant is big.
(Said when looking at a group of different animals.)

The NP in example (14) is non-specific, but it is identifiable, and the Sandawe does not include the specificity marker, but the English gloss includes ‘the’. In contrast, the NP in example (15) is both specific and identifiable and, therefore, the specificity suffix /-ɪ̀/ is used in the Sandawe and ‘the’ is contained in the English gloss.

A noun which is marked with the specificity suffix is also marked with a low toned PGN morpheme. In the case of third person masculine nouns, this PGN morpheme is zero, but for the other PGN values, a segmental morpheme is evident. In the example below, the third person masculine singular nouns ‘lion’ and ‘tooth’ are marked as specific and can be contrasted with the third person feminine noun ‘old woman’, which is marked as specific and suffixed with the PGN morpheme /-su̯/:

(16) pàː ǁʰàtʃʰû̂ːgāː !’àkʰă̌ːgà tɬ’àkʰʷèːà
páː ǁʰàtʃʰú-ɪ̀-áː !’àkʰă̌ː-ɪ̀-à tɬ’ákʰu̯-é-à
NC(3m.sg.) lion-sp.-SF tooth-sp.-3m.sg.PC pull.out-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then Lion pulled out a tooth and

dìʔsěːsṵ̂ːsʷà̰ ʔìè
dìʔsěː-sú-ːˆ-sṵ̀-à ʔí-é
old.person-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.-3m.sg.PC 3pers.-3m.sg.obj.
gave it to the old woman.

Specific animate third person plural nouns are optionally suffixed with the third person plural PGN morpheme. If this PGN morpheme is used, any concordant object marking in the verb must be the animate form /-ʔíːˊ/, rather than the inanimate form /-wáː/:

(17) à: |ʰǐːâ ⁿ‖òːkõ̂sòàː tù
á: |ʰǐːà ⁿ‖ǒːkó-ːˆ-sò-áː tû
NC(3pl.) [dik.dik children-sp.-3a.pl.]$_{GEN}$-SF come.out
Then Dik-dik's children came out

sàː tɬ'ă:ʔíːgâ hík'i̯
sáː tɬ'ă:-ʔíːˊ-à hík'ì̯
NC(3f.sg.) take-3a.pl.obj.-conn. go
and she took them and went.

This example can be contrasted with the following one, in which the specific NP 'children' is not suffixed with the third person plural PGN morpheme and the verb contains the inanimate plural object morpheme rather than the animate one:

(18) kʷàː rõ̂ː ⁿ|ʷìʔyàːxi̯sèi
kʷáː rõ̂ː ⁿ|ʷíʔyáː-xì̯-sé-ì
NC(3m.sg.) voice make(3m.sg.obj.)-ben.-1sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
He should make a voice for me

ʔèː |ǐːˊ ⁿ‖ǒːkóxê̞ː tìmu̯wàː
ʔéː |íːˊ-ːˊ ⁿ‖ǒːkó-xéː-ːˆ tímù̯-wáː
SC(1sg.) come-& children-pl.-sp. swallow-3i.pl.obj.
so I can come and swallow the children.

Furthermore, if a specific third person plural NP is the subject of a realis clause, the choice of realis pronominal clitic in agreement with the subject corresponds to the specificity marking. That is, if the third person plural PGN morpheme is suffixed to the subject NP, any realis PCs in the clause must also be third person plural. If the NP is not suffixed with the third person PGN morpheme, any realis PCs must be third person singular. (See examples (40) and (41) in section 5.6.1.)

If a NP is suffixed with the *et al.* morpheme /-xì̯/, the specificity morpheme follows this and precedes any PGN morpheme which is also attached:

(19) kʷàː hèwéts'âː
kʷáː hèwé-ts'i̯-à
NC(3m.sg.) dem.(ref.3m.sg.)-at-3m.sg.PC

jàjáxîːsòà tìmu̯ʔìː
jàjá-xi̯-ː̀-sò-à tímu̯-ʔíː
brother-et al.-sp.-3a.pl.-3m.sg.PC swallow-3a.pl.obj.
And so he swallowed the brothers.

A NP containing a demonstrative must be marked as specific (see example (13) above). If a demonstrative is followed by a NP which is not marked as specific, then this sequence of words is understood as a copular clause, rather than as an NP, as illustrated by the following elicited examples:

(20) hěːˆ !'úmâː
hěːù !'úmá-ː̀
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) earth-sp.
This earth.

(21) hěːˆ !'úmá
hěːù !'úmá
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) earth
This is earth.

If a specific NP contains a modifier, the modifier is also suffixed with the specificity morpheme, as in the following example:

(22) hǐːgó hùmbǔː gàndàsêː ‖'ò‖'âi
hǐːgó hùmbù-ː̀ gàndà-sí-è-ː̀ ‖'ò‖'á-ì
dem.(dist.3m.sg.) cow-sp. be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. baboon-pro.[12]
That thin cow is Baboon's,

hǐː hùmbǔː tʃʰâːki̯sêː ⁿ|ʷǎːî
hǐ́ː hùmbù-ː̀ tʃʰâːki̯-sí-è-ː̀ ⁿ|ʷǎː-ì
and cow-sp. be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. elephant-pro.
and the fat cow is Elephant's.

[12] The pronominal morpheme /-ì/ is not shown with a surface tone mark because when the tone pattern of this word is whistled by a Sandawe speaker, the final vowel is not whistled separately, as would be usual. Other morphemes which are not given separate whistles are the second person realis PC /-ì/, the irrealis morpheme /-ì/, the subordinate clause morpheme /-ìʔ/ and the low toned third person masculine singular PGN morpheme /-ù/. Furthermore, unlike vowels in other morphemes, the vowels in these morphemes cannot assimilate to the stem to which they attach. Elderkin (1989: 46–50) analyses such vowels as the *syllable closures* /-j̀/ and /-ẁ/.

If the specificity morphemes on the modifiers were omitted in this example, the NPs consisting of a noun and a modifier would instead be interpreted as copular clauses. Thus, the English gloss would be 'That cow is thin, it is Baboon's, and the cow is fat, it is Elephant's'. As in example (20), the specificity morpheme is used to differentiate a modified NP from a copular clause.

The specificity morpheme is also used in nominalisation (see section 9.1.1) and relative clause formation (see section 11.5).

2.6 Genitives

There are two types of genitive construction in Sandawe. These are referred to here as the *tonal genitive* and the *pronominal genitive*.

2.6.1 Tonal genitive

In the tonal genitive, the modifier precedes the head and the genitive relationship is expressed tonally, by the realisation of the tone pattern of the head noun as low toned. Two examples of the tonal genitive are contained in the following example:

(23)

pà:	mǐːndʒó	ⁿǀèmèsɛ̃̀ːkìà:	hèwé	kʰótʰɪ̃̀ːgà	
pá:	mǐːndʒó	ⁿǀèmésé:-ɪ̃̌-kí-á:	hèwé	kʰôtʰì-ɪ̃̌-à	
NC(3m.sg.)	[journey	man]$_{GEN}$-sp.-add.-SF	[he	coat]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3m.sg.PC	

téɬâː	ⁿǃàʔàkàː
téɬà-à	ⁿǃáʔá-ká-é
completely-3m.sg.PC	cling-com.-3m.sg.obj.

Then the traveller wrapped his coat more tightly around him.
(Literally (Lit.) … man of journey… coat of he…)

In the first genitive NP, the head is the noun /ⁿǀèmésé:/ 'man' and the modifier is the noun /mǐːndʒó/ 'journey'. In the second, the head is the noun /kʰôtʰì/ 'coat' and the modifier is the pronoun /hèwé/ 'he'. In this second genitive NP, the tone pattern of the modifier is not lowered because it has a HL tone melody and follows a H tone. A second exception to the tone lowering process is made when the head has a L tone melody, as in example (26) in section 4.8.

A genitive noun phrase can itself become the modifier of another genitive construction:

(24)

!èkǒː	!ʰùmè	rìŋgìsòː	ⁿǁǒː	mántʃʰákʊ̥sò
!èkǒː	!ʰùmé	rìŋgísóː	ⁿǁǒː	mántʃʰà-kʊ̀-ì-sò
[[millet	flour]$_{GEN}$	porridge]$_{GEN}$	child	eat-caus.-irr.-3a.pl.

They would feed the child millet flour porridge.
(Lit. … porridge of flour of millet.)

In the following example, the head is a locative noun:

(25)	sìː	dlànî̂ːsi̥	kʰùʔsèːȁ
	síː	dlàní-ː̏-sì̥	kʰúʔ-sé-é-à
	NC(1sg.)	arrow-sp.-1sg.PC	spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-conn.

Then I threw the arrows away and

tʰěː	ǀ’ȁːnȁsi̥	kȅ
tʰěː	ǀ’ấː-nà-sì̥	kê
[tree	top-to]$_{\text{GEN}}$-1sg.PC	climb

climbed to the top of a tree.

This can be contrasted with the following elicited example in which the two nouns are not in a genitive construction:

(26)	gélé	ǀ’ấːnâː	kȅ
	gélé	ǀ’ấː-nà-a	kê
	Gele	top-to-3m.sg.PC	climb

Gele climbed to the top.

If the tone pattern of the second noun is realised as low toned, then it is interpreted as the head of a genitive construction for which the first noun is the modifier. The first noun is then understood to be referring to a baobab tree, rather than to a person named Gele:

(27)	gélé	ǀ’àːnȁː	kȅ
	gélé	ǀ’áː-nà-à	kê
	[baobab	top]$_{\text{GEN}}$-to-3m.sg.PC	climb

He climbed to the top of the baobab / He climbed (up) the baobab

2.6.2 Pronominal genitive

The second type of genitive construction in Sandawe employs the pronominal morpheme /-ì/ and typically occurs pronominally, as in the following example:[13]

(28)	hǐ̌ːgó	hùmbȕː	gàndàsê̂ː	ǁ’òǁ’âi
	hǐ̌ːgó	hùmbù-ː̏	gàndà-sí-è-ː̏	ǁ’òǁ’á-ì
	dem.(dist.3m.sg.)	cow-sp.	be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	baboon-pro.

That thin cow is Baboon’s,

(Lit. That thin cow is the one of Baboon,

[13] The analysis of the pronominal genitive given here has benefited greatly from several instances of personal communication with linguist Ed Elderkin.

	hȉ:	hùmbȕ:	tʃ^{h}ȃ:kḭsȅ:	^{n}|^{w}ǎ:î
	hḯ:	hùmbù-ː̏	tʃ^{h}ȃ:kḭ̀-sí-è-ː̏	^{n}|^{w}ǎ:-ì
	and	cow-sp.	be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	elephant-pro.

and the fat cow is Elephant's.
and the fat cow is the one of Elephant.)

If the referent of the pronominal is not third person masculine, a low toned PGN morpheme that agrees with the referent must follow the pronominal morpheme. Thus, if the cows referred to in the preceding example are female, the third person feminine morpheme /-sṵ̀/ follows the pronominal morpheme in each case.

When the possessor is 'I' and the possessed item is singular, the connective morpheme /-ː̋/ occurs before the pronominal morpheme /-ì/:

(29)	hùmbȕ:	tʃ^{h}ȃ:kḭsȅ:	tʃḯ:gî
	hùmbù-ː̏	tʃ^{h}ȃ:kḭ̀-sí-è-ː̏	tʃí-ː̋-ì
	cow-sp.	be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	I-&-pro.

The fat cow is mine.

If the possessed item is plural, a plural PGN morpheme is used:

(30)	^{n}!áŋk'ówâ:	hě:x^{w}é:
	^{n}!ánk'ó-wà-à	hě:x^{w}é:
	be.hard-mult.-3m.sg.	dem.(ref.pl.)

These are hard,

	hàpúʔwȁ:	^{n}!éŋk^{h}éwásè
	hàpú-ʔ̥wà-ː̏	^{n}!énk^{h}é-wà-sí-è
	you-3i.pl.-sp.	be.soft-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.

yours are soft.

The pronominal morpheme /-ì/ is optional when the possessed item is plural. If it occurs, it follows the plural agreement morpheme and precedes the specificity morpheme, if one is present.

If a pronominal genitive NP occurs in a clause with a verb, rather than in a copular construction, the specificity morpheme must be suffixed to the NP:

(31)	ǁàkíkô	ʔò:	mǐ:ndʒó	sű:gȋ:	bà:rà:
	ǁàkí-kò	ʔó:	mǐ:ndʒó	sű:-ì-ː̏	bǎ:rà-é
	descend-2sg.Imp.PC	SC(1pl.)	journey	we-pro.-sp.	start-3m.sg.obj.

Get down, and let's start our journey.

If the NP is masculine and singular, the morpheme /-à/ may be attached after the pronominal morpheme and before the specificity morpheme, as in the following example:

(32)

híâ	ǀĩ́ːgîʔ
hí-à	ǀí-ˀ̃́-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC	come-&-sub.cl.

It seemed to him that

kòŋkórȉãː	ʔúrâː	bàʔè
kònkór̥ì-ì-à-ˀ̃̀	ʔúr̥ì-à	bàʔé
cockerel-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	very-3m.sg.PC	be.big

the cockerel's was very big.

The pronominal genitive is also used to derive ordinal numbers, as seen in section 6.3.2.

In the next example, the pronominal genitive NP has been made into a PP by the suffixation of the postposition /-ts'ì̥/ 'at':

(33)

hèwéʔgȁː	bàʔésȇː	wàròŋgȅː	bȍ	kósâː
hèwéʔ̥̀ gâ-à	bàʔé-sí-è-ˀ̃̀	wàròngěː-ˀ̃̀	bô-ˀ̃̀	kósì̥-à
and.so-3m.sg.	[be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	god-sp.	word]$_{GEN}$-sp.	again-3m.sg.PC

kísóxȉẽːts'ȁː	jónȁː	!'òːwè
kísòxì̥-ì-éː-ˀ̃̀-ts'ì̥-à	jônà-à	!'ǒː-é
two-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC	Jonah-3m.sg.PC	get-3m.sg.obj.

And so the word of the Lord got Jonah again for the second time.

This construction is also found in the following two examples:

(34)

p^{h}ê̏ìẽːʔ	k^{w}àː	ǀí	dàk'^{w}ẽ̌ːˆ
p^{h}ê-ì-éː-ˀ̃̀-ts'ì̥	k^{w}áː	ǀí	dàk'^{w}ěː-ˀ̃̀
tomorrow-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at	NC(3m.sg.)	come	donkey-sp.

The next day along came Donkey.

(35)

^{n}!ê	bǎːrsàts'ȉẽts'ì̥
^{n}!ê	bǎːrà-sà-ts'ì̥-ì-éː-ˀ̃̀-ts'ì̥
day	start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at

On the first day

jónȁ	kʷàː	ḿjìtànȁː	ⁿǁèː
jônà	kʷáː	m̂jì-tà-nà-à	ⁿǁěː
Jonah	NC(3m.sg.)	town-in-to-3m.sg.PC	enter

Jonah entered the town.

The pronominal genitive may also follow a postpositional morpheme, as in the following three examples:

(36)

pàː	kòŋkórȋkìàː
páː	kònkórḭ-ȉ-kí-áː
NC(3m.sg.)	cockerel-sp.-add.-SF

hèwé	ǁʰàtàʔìȅː	ǁʰèbȅːgȁ	kʰòk’òsèː
hèwé	ǁʰàtá-ts’ḭ-ì-éː-ȉ	ǁʰébé-ȉ-à	kʰòk’òsé-é
[[he	leg]$_{GEN}$-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	toe]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3m.sg.PC	remove-3m.sg.obj.

And then the cockerel removed a toe from his leg.
(Lit. Then the cockerel removed the toe of the one at the leg of he.)

(37)

bàʔésȇː	wàròŋgȅː	ts’éxéts’ȉsḭ
bàʔé-sí-è-ȉ	wàròngéː-ȉ	ts’éxè-ts’ḭ-sḭ
be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	god-sp.	one-at-1sg.PC

hàlìm̀sè	kɬ’ùŋgùts’ȋȇː
hàlìm̀sé	tɬ’ùŋgù-ts’ḭ-ì-éː-ȉ
worship	sky-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.

I worship the one Lord, the one who is in heaven.

(38)

hěːû	tɬ’àbísȏːtàjȅː	mǒːndʒísḭ	ǀȁː
hěːù	tɬ’àbísó-ȉ-tà-ì-éː-ȉ	mǒːndʒí-sḭ	ǀâː
dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	stomach-sp.-in-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	first.time-1sg.PC	see

I have felt the one in this stomach for the first time.

The same construction is found in the following example, but with the addition of further postpositional suffixes which derive a PP from the construction:

(39)

hǐːsí	kʰìmbà	jónȁ	ʔàʔéːâ
hǐːsí	kʰímbá	jônà	ʔàʔéː-à
then	interj.(surprise)	Jonah	earlier-3m.sg.PC

méȉ	gùrà	ǀúkṵʔȉẽːtànȁː	ǁàkȋ́ː
mêȉ	gùrà	ǀúkṵ̀-ts’ḭ-ì-éː-ȉ́-tà-nà-à	ǁàkí-ȉ́
[boat	room]$_{GEN}$	bottom-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-in-to-3m.sg.PC	descend-&

But, at that time, Jonah had already gone down into the boat room at the bottom,

nɪ̀ːgə̀ː	ⁿǁínə́ː	ǁ’ô	téɬâː
nɪ́ː-à	ⁿǁíné-ːˊ	ǁ’ô	téɬà-à
and-3m.sg.PC	lie.down-&	sleep	completely-3m.sg.PC

and had lain down and was sleeping soundly.

3 Pronouns

3.1 Personal pronouns

Table 3.1 lists the personal pronouns found in Sandawe (less frequently occurring forms are shown in parentheses):

Table 3.1 Personal pronouns

	Personal pronoun
1sg.	tʃí
2sg.	hàpú
3m.sg.	hèwé
3f.sg.	hèsú (hùsú)
1pl.	sə̋ː
2pl.	sɪ̋ː
3pl.	hèsó (hòsó)

The following three examples from the text corpus illustrate the use of personal pronouns in different clause types.

(1)

tʃáː	ʔútáːkí	mĕːnə̄ː		sìè
tʃí-áː	ʔútáː-kí	mĕːnà-é-ːˊ		sí-é
I-SF	long.ago[14]-add.	love-3m.sg.-&		take-3m.sg.obj.

And even long ago I loved her and took her.

(2)

hĕːû	ⁿǁə̌ːˆ	tʃí	táxi̯	ʔàmé:jóːsi̯	
hĕːù	ⁿǁŏː-ːˇ	tʃí	táxi̯	ʔàmé-é-jóː-ì-si̯	
dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	child-sp.	I	just	raise-3m.sg.obj.-dur.-irr.-1sg.	

This child, I will just raise him

[14] /ʔútáː/ ‘long ago’ has the alternative tone pattern /ʔûtáː/ (see example (49) in section 5.6.2).

hèwé ʔìèʔɔ̀ː mʷìʃɔ̃̀ːnà
hèwé ʔíé-ʔɔ̀ː mʷîʃò-ɨ̀-nà
[[he live-nml.]$_{GEN}$ end]$_{GEN}$-sp.-to
until the end of his life.

(3) hàpú ⁿǁǒːkó kísôxi̯wàsìpɔ̀
hàpú ⁿǁǒːkó kísòxì̯-wà-sí-pò
you children two-mult.-poss.-2sg.
You have two children!

Personal pronouns are also used as modifiers in both tonal genitives and pronominal genitives:

(4) pàː mǐːndʒó ⁿǀèmèsɛ̃̀ːkìàː hèwé kʰótʰɛ̃̀ːgà
páː mǐːndʒó ⁿǀèmésé:-ɨ̀-kí-áː hèwé kʰôtʰì-ɨ̀-à
NC(3m.sg.) [journey man]$_{GEN}$-sp.-add.-SF [he coat]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3m.sg.PC

téɬâː ⁿǃàʔàkàː
téɬà-à ⁿǃáʔá-ká-é
completely-3m.sg.PC cling-com.-3m.sg.obj.
Then the traveller wrapped his coat more tightly around him.

(5) hùmbɯ̃̀ː tʃʰâːki̯sɛ̃̀ː tʃɪ̋ːgî
hùmbù-ɨ̀ tʃʰâːkì̯-sí-è-ɨ̀ tʃí-ɨ́-ì
cow-sp. be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. I-&-pro.
The fat cow is mine.

3.2 Other pronominal forms

Demonstrative pronouns are discussed in section 6.4.1. Several other kinds of pronominal forms include the specificity morpheme /-ɨ̀/. Examples of these forms are given in section 2.6.2 on the pronominal genitive and section 11.5 on relatives. A further kind of pronominal form created by the specificity morpheme is contained in the following example:

(6) sàndàwɛ̌ːsɯ̂ híô ǃèkɔ̌ː sòsòbɛ̀ːiʔ
sàndàwɛ̌ː-sɯ̀ː hí-ò ǃèkɔ̌ː sòsòbé-é-ìʔ
Sandawe-1pl. when-1pl.PC millet harvest-3m.sg.obj.-sub.cl.
When we Sandawe harvest millet,

pòː !^{h}âːnòː k^{h}ìk^{h}ìʔsèːà
póː !^{h}âː-nà-ò k^{h}ìk^{h}ìʔsé-é-à
NC(1pl.) threshing.place-to-1pl.PC bring.together-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
we bring it together to a threshing place and sort

màɬéː łáːûkì dáːndâ
màɬé-é łáː-ù-ɨ̀-kí dáːndà
sort-3m.sg.obj. good-3m.sg.-sp.-add. one.side
the good to one side

nɨ̀ː bŭːdâːkì dáːndâ
nɨ́ː bŭːdà-ɨ̀-kí dáːndà
and bad.millet-sp.-add. one.side
and the bad to one side.

The pronominal form ‘the good’ is derived from the adjective stem /łáːù/ ‘good-3m.sg.’ and the specificity morpheme /-ɨ̀/. The same morpheme is used in the following example to create a pronominal morpheme from a numeral:

(7) kísósɔ̀ːsɔ̀ mòkóndɔ̂ː ǁ’àʔwàːsɔ̀
kísò-sò-ɨ̀-sò mòkóndó-ɨ̀ ǁ’ǎː-wáː-ì-sò
two-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl. track-sp. follow-3i.pl.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.
Two were to follow the tracks.

The following example contains the pronominal form /màúléː/ ‘someone (3m.sg.)’:

(8) màúléː ^{n}ǁòsu̯kò sìèsù
màúléː ^{n}ǁô-su̯-kò sí-ésú
[someone(3m.sg.) child-3f.sg.]$_{GEN}$-2sg.Imp.PC take-3f.sg.obj.
Take someone’s girl!

The feminine equivalent of this form is /màsúléː/. Another pronominal form is /hɨ́ːgé/ ‘some’. In the following example, it is used both as a noun modifier and as a pronominal form:

(9) mák’ɔ̂ː hɨ́ːgéxɛ̂ːsīʔ tɬ’ěːts’íwâː
màk’é-ó-ɨ̀ hɨ́ːgé-xéː-ɨ̀-síʔ tɬ’ěː-ts’í-wà-à
be.troubled-nml.-sp. some-pl.-sp.-loc. diminish-reflex.-mult.-3m.sg.PC
As for some troubles, they have diminished

pàː hɨ́ːgéxéːáː ǀâːts’ìwâ
páː hɨ́ːgé-xéː-áː ǀâː-ts’í-wà
NC(3m.sg.) some-pl.-SF see-reflex.-mult.
but others have become apparent.

When suffixed with a high toned PGN morpheme, the quantifier /tʃʰíà/ ‘all’ can be used pronominally:

(10) tʃíkí wàrè máxáèːsi̯ tʃʰíásɯ̄ː hùk’wàkìsɯ̃̀ː
tʃí-kí wàré máxà-éː-si̯ tʃʰía-sɯ́ː húk’wà-kí-ì-sɯ̃̀ː
I-add. friend male-3m.sg.-1sg. all-1pl. kill-recip.-irr.-1pl.
I also, friend, am a male, we both will kill each other.

If the specificity morpheme and a low toned PGN morpheme are then suffixed to this form, a specific group within the ‘all’ is meant:

(11) tʃʰíásɯ̃̀ːsɯ̃̀ː níʔīː kêutò mànàwɜ̃̀ːtsʼi̯ gìdèsɯ̃̀ː
tʃʰía-sɯ́ː-ɨ̀-sɯ̀ː níʔ-ɪ́ː kéùtò mánáwà-ɨ̀-tsʼì̯ gìdé-ì-sɯ̃̀ː
all-1pl.-sp.-1pl. go-& [pig paths]GEN-sp.-at lie.in.wait-irr.-1pl.
The rest of us were to go and lie in wait at the pig paths.

Another pronominal form which is derived using high toned[15] PGN morphemes is /tsʼéxì̯/ ‘alone’:

(12) tsʼéxi̯sʷāː ʔìèwà hùsú kʰòːtàsà
tsʼéxì̯-sú-áː ʔíé-wà hùsú kʰǒː-tà-sà
alone-3f.sg.-SF live-mult. [she house]$_{GEN}$-in-3f.sg.PC
She lived alone in her house.

4 Postpositions

In Sandawe, postpositional suffixes are used to derive postpositional phrases from NPs. The following subsections discuss the function and distribution of the following postpositions and postposition combinations: /-tsʼì̯/ ‘at’, /-tà/ ‘in’, /-nà/ ‘to’, /-tànà/ ‘into’, /-tʃè/ ‘from’, /-tàʃè/ ‘out of’, /-ǁʼà(ʔ)/ ‘belong’, /-ʔɨ̀ː/ ‘with’, /-xéʔ̯/ ‘like’, and /-kì̯méː/ ‘because’.

4.1 /-tsʼì̯/ ‘at’

The postposition /-tsʼì̯/ ‘at’ is used to specify a general location, which is not necessarily inside:

(1) sʷê ǁʰàtʃʰɯ̂ː gùràtsʼàː ⁿǁìnèwà
sʷê ǁʰàtʃʰú-ɨ̀ gùrà-tsʼì̯-à ⁿǁíné-wà
now lion-sp. room-at-3m.sg.PC lie.down-mult.
Now Lion lay down in the room,

[15] An exception to this is the third person masculine form /tsʼéxì̯-è/ which has a low toned PGN morpheme.

kòŋkórḭ̂ː	tàŋgáʔtsʼàː	ⁿ‖ìnèwà̰
kònkórı̰̀-ː̃	tàngáʔ̰-tsʼı̰̀-à	ⁿ‖íné-wà
cockerel-sp.	doorway-at-3m.sg.PC	lie.down-mult.

Cockerel lay down at the doorway.

This suffix is commonly reduced to /-ʔ̰/.

The suffix /-kʊ̰̀/ has a similar locative meaning to /-tsʼı̰̀/, but is very limited in its distribution. It can be seen in the following example:

(2)

híâ	hík'ɪ́ː	ˡʰɪ̌ːâ	tsʼàːkʷà	ⁿ‖èːiʔ
hí-à	hík'ı̰̀-ː́	ˡʰɪ̌ːà	tsʼǎː-kʊ̰̀-à	ⁿ‖ěː-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC	go-&	[dik.dik	home]$_{GEN}$-at-3m.sg.PC	arrive-sub.cl.

When he went and arrived at Dik-dik's home,

hà̀xı̰̀	rô̰ː	méː
hâxı̰̀	rô̰ː	méː
again	voice	big

again the big voice.

This suffix is also found in /há-kʊ̰̀/ 'where at' (see section 10.2.1.4).

A further suffix with restricted distribution is /-kı̰̀/ 'at', which is illustrated in the following example:

(3)

híâʔ	tʃí	wàrèxɪ̃̀ːsòàː	ⁿˡàtíjôːiʔ
hí-àʔ	tʃí	wàré-xı̰̀-ː̃-sò-áː	ⁿˡàtí-jóː-ìʔ
when-3pl.PC	[I	friend]$_{GEN}$-et.al.-sp.-3a.pl.-SF	come-dur.-sub.cl.

When my friends came,

tʰěː	ˡʼà̰ːkìsı̰̀	kḛ̂ː	ʔìè
tʰěː	ˡʼǎː-kı̰̀-sı̰̀	kê-ː́	ʔíé
tree	top-at-1sg.PC	climb-&	stay

I had climbed and was staying up in the tree.

The forms /tsʼǎː-kʊ̰̀/ 'at home' and /ˡʼǎː-kı̰̀/ 'at the top, up, above' can be contrasted with /tsʼǎː-nà/ 'to home' and /ˡʼǎː-nà/ 'to the top, up, above' (see examples (8) and (9)).

The postposition /-tsʼı̰̀/ 'at' is commonly used to derive adverbials:

(4)

téɬâsı̰̀	hémbétsʼîsı̰̀	ˡà̰̀gèː
téɬà-sı̰̀	hémbé-tsʼı̰̀-sı̰̀	ˡâ̰ː-éː
completely-1sg.PC	clearness-at-1sg.PC	see-3m.sg.obj.

I see it completely clearly.

The form /^{n}!ê-ː̏-ts’ì̥/ ‘today (day-sp.-at)’ is another of these adverbials. This form is often realised as [^{n}!ê̂ːʔ]. The following examples show two other adverbials in which the postposition /-ts’ì̥/ ‘at’ occurs:

(5)	hěːutʃè̏ː	^{n}ǀò̏ː
	hěːù-tʃè-é-ː̏	^{n}ǀó-ː̏
	[dem.(prox.3m.sg.)-from-3m.sg.-sp.	fear]$_{GEN}$-sp.

	ʔútáːsâ̂ːʔ	ǀâ̂ːsūsù̏ts’è
	ʔútáː-sà-ː̏-ts’ì̥	ǀâ̂ː-sí-sȕː-ts’é
	long.ago-nml.-sp.-at	see-poss.-1pl.-neg.

Since long ago we haven’t seen fearing of this kind.

(6)	k^{w}àː	bàhárì̏ː	ts’éxénàsà̏ːts’à̏ː	làʔtè
	k^{w}áː	bàhârì-ː̏	ts’éxè-nà-sà-ː̏-ts’ì̥-à	làʔté
	NC(3m.sg.)	sea-sp.	one-to-nml.-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC	calm down

Then the sea calmed down at once.

4.2 /-tà/ ‘in’

The postposition /-tà/ ‘in’ is illustrated in the following example:

(7)	kókó	k^{h}ǒːtâ	ǁ^{h}àtʃ^{h}úkí	dʒàk^{h}átâ	s^{w}énàkì
	kókó	k^{h}ǒː-tà	ǁ^{h}àtʃ^{h}ú-kí	dʒàk^{h}á-tà	s^{w}ê-nà-kí
	chicken	house-in	lion-add.	wilderness-in	now-to-add.

The chicken is in the house, and the lion is in the wilderness, until now.

This postposition can also be used to refer to an area close to something, but not necessarily in it. Thus /t^{h}ěː-tà/ ‘tree-in’ means ‘in the area close to the tree’.

4.3 /-nà/ ‘to’

The postposition /-nà/ ‘to’ is used to indicate movement towards a goal:

(8)	kòː	ts’áːnôː	hǎːŋgâː	^{n}ǀàtí
	kóː	ts’ǎː-nà-ò	hǎːŋgà-à	^{n}ǀàtí
	NC(1pl.)	home-to-1pl.PC	leave.place-conn.	come

Then we left and came home.

(9)	sìː	dlànî̂ːsi̥	k^{h}ùʔsèːà̏
	síː	dlàní-ː̏-sì̥	k^{h}úʔ-sé-é-à
	NC(1sg.)	arrow-sp.-1sg.PC	spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-conn.

Then I threw the arrows away and

tʰĕː	ǀ’àːnȁsi̥	kȅ
tʰĕː	ǀ’ấː-nà-sì̥	kê
[tree	top-to]$_{\text{GEN}}$-1sg.PC	climb

climbed up a tree.

These two examples can be compared with examples (2) and (3) above, in which there is no movement.

The postposition /-nà/ ‘to’ is used both for the movement of a subject towards a goal, as in the previous two examples, and also for the movement of an object towards a goal, as in the following example:

(10)	híô	nówésámēːȍiʔ	pòː	làʔsĕːnôː	tɬ’àː
	hí-ò	nówé-sà-kì̥méː-ò-ìʔ	póː	làʔsĕː-nà-ò	tɬ’ăː
	when-1pl.PC	grind-nml.-bec.-1pl.-sub.cl.	NC(1pl.)	trough-to-1pl.PC	take

When we want to grind, we take (them) to the winnowing trough.

Postpositions can be used to disambiguate the meaning of a clause. The verb /ⁿǁĕː/, for example, means both ‘arrive’ and ‘enter’. When it is used with the postposition /-nà/ ‘to’, the meaning ‘enter’ is understood:

(11)	pàː	ǁʰàtʃʰʷáː	ǀȁː
	páː	ǁʰàtʃʰú-áː	ǀí-à
	NC(3m.sg.)	lion-SF	come-conn.

Then a lion came and

hèsú	kʰòːnȁː	ⁿǁèː	tʷĕːâ
hèsú	kʰŏː-nà-à	ⁿǁĕː	tʷĕː-à
[she	house]$_{\text{GEN}}$-to-3m.sg.PC	enter	at.night-3m.sg.PC

entered her house at night.

If the postposition /-ts’ì̥/ ‘at’ were used instead, the clause would be interpreted as ‘arrived at her house at night’.

When /-nà/ ‘to’ is preceded by the nominalising suffix /-ʔȍː/, the meaning ‘towards the general vicinity of’ is understood:

(12)	hèwéʔȍ̂ːnàʔȍ	ⁿǀàtì	hínâmsē̄ː
	hèwé-ʔȍː-nà-òʔ	ⁿǀàtí	híná̀msé-ː̋
	he-nml.-to-1pl.Subj.PC	come	thank-&

Let’s come to him thankfully.

This can be contrasted with the use of /-nà/ ‘to’ preceded by the directional morpheme /-ʔ̰tè/, which results in the meaning ‘in the general direction of’:

(13) hàbàʔsé́ː kʷámé́ː ⁿ|àtì sű́ʔtènàʔ
hàbàʔsé-ːˊ kʷámé-ːˊ ⁿ|àtí sű́ː-ʔ̰tè-nà-àʔ
make.noise-& drive.out-& come we-dir.-to-3pl.PC
They came towards us making noise and driving out.

If the postpositional suffix combinations in the two previous examples were replaced by /tà-nà/ ‘into’ (see the following section), the movement involved would be understood as being all the way to the goal itself, rather than towards its general vicinity or in its general direction.

The suffix /-nà/ ‘to’ is also used in expressions involving movement towards a time:

(14) hěːû ⁿ‖ǒːˆ tʃí táxi̯ ʔàméːjóːsi̯
hěːù ⁿ‖ǒː-ːˋ tʃí táxì̯ ʔàmé-é-jóː-ì-sì̯
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) child-sp. I just raise-3m.sg.obj.-dur.-irr.-1sg.
This child, I will just raise him

hèwé ʔìèʔõ̀ː mʷìʃõ̀ːnà
hèwé ʔíé-ʔõ̀ː mʷîʃò-ːˋ-nà
[[he live-nml.]$_{GEN}$ end]$_{GEN}$-sp.-to
until the end of his life.

See also /ts’éxè-nà-sà-ːˋ-ts’ì̯/ ‘at once (one-to-nml.-sp.-at)’ in example (6) and /sʷê-nà-kí/ ‘until now (now-to-add.)’ in example (7).

In the following example, the movement expressed by /-nà/ is of a sound:

(15) sʷê mòndʒõ̀ːgāː híâ |’ìŋkèiʔ
sʷê mòndʒó-ːˋ-áː hí-à |’ìnké-ìʔ
now jackal-sp.-SF when-3m.sg.PC chew-sub.cl.
Now when Jackal chewed,

pàː íthánàː kʰèʔèts’ì
páː íthà-nà-à kʰéʔé-ts’í
NC(3m.sg.) far-to-3m.sg.PC hear-reflex.
then it was heard from afar.
(Lit. then it was heard to far away.)

4.4 /-tànà/ ‘into’

In the Western dialect of Sandawe, the ‘to’ suffix /-nà/ is used together with /-tà/ ‘in’ to express movement to or into somewhere. In the Eastern dialect of Sandawe, the suffix /-nà/ tends to be used on its own in this function.

The following two examples are from texts written by speakers of the Western dialect:

(16) híô ní?ĩː ⁿ|étànɔ̀ː ⁿ‖èːì?
hí-ò ní?-ɾ́ ⁿ|ê-tà-nà-ò ⁿ‖ěː-ì?
when-1pl.PC go-& bush-in-to-1pl.PC enter-sub.cl.
When we went and entered into the bush,

kòː kêutɔ̀ mòkòndɔ̃̀ːgɔ̀ |à?wàː
kóː kéùtò mòkóndó-ɾ̃-ò |ɑ̃̂ː-wáː
NC(1pl.) [pig track]$_{GEN}$-sp.-1pl.PC see-3i.pl.obj.
we saw pig tracks.

(17) hîsi̩ ts'âsi̩ sìèi?
hî-sì̩ ts'â-sì̩ sí-é-ì?
when-1sg.PC water-1sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-sub.cl.
When I have taken the water,

sìː tʃʰáːtánàsi̩ kàː
síː tʃʰáː-tà-nà-sì̩ kǎː
NC(1sg.) pot-in-to-1sg.PC put
I put them into the pot.

In the following example, the meaning of 'towards' is understood:

(18) kòŋgò?ɔ̀m̀sékʷê tɬ'ûː !ʷǎː tàkàtîfu̩tànà̀
kòŋgò?ɔ̀m̀sé-kʷè tɬ'ûː !ʷǎː tàkàtîfù̩-tà-nà
lift.up-2pl.Imp.PC hand place holy-in-to
Lift up (your (pl)) hands towards the holy place.

4.5 /-tʃè/ 'from'

The postposition /-tʃè/ 'from' is illustrated in the following elicited example:

(19) tʰěːtʃʰũ̄ː tàːsũ̀ːgì
tʰěː-tʃè-sű́ː tǎː-sű́ː-ì
tree-from-1pl. untie-1pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
He will untie us from the tree.

The source NP is suffixed with the postpositional morpheme and then with a high toned PGN morpheme. This PGN morpheme does not correspond to the person, gender and number of

the NP to which it attaches, but to that of the NP which refers to what originates from the source.[16] A further elicited example, which illustrates this, is as follows:

(20) òvádátʃʰē ꜜìsi̯
òvádà-tʃè-sé ꜜí-ì-si̯
Ovada-from-1sg. come-irr.-1sg.
I will come from Ovada.

Furthermore, if such a clause contains a subject focus (SF) marker, this morpheme may occur on the source NP, rather than on the subject itself:

(21) òvádàtʃʰāː ꜜì
òvádà-tʃè-sé-áː ꜜí
Ovada-from-1sg.-SF come
I have come from Ovada.

This phenomenon can also be seen in example (31). A further use of the postposition /-tʃè/ can be seen in example (5).

4.6 /-tàʃè/ 'out of'

The suffixes /-tà/ 'in' and /-tʃè/ 'from' may be combined to mean 'out of':

(22) hèwéʔgàː ‖ʰàtʃʰûː kʰǒːtátʃē tʷěːâ
hèwéʔ̯gâ-à ‖ʰàtʃʰú-ːˇ kʰǒː-tà-tʃè-é tʷěː-à
and.so-3m.sg.PC lion-sp. house-in-from-3m.sg. at.night-3m.sg.PC

tûː hík'ɪ̄ː ⁿ|étàː ʔìèwà sʷénàkì
tûː-ˊ hík'ì̯-ːˊ ⁿ|ê-tà-à ʔíé-wà sʷê-nà-kí
come.out-& go-& wilderness-in-3m.sg.PC live-mult. now-to-add.
And so Lion came out of the house at night and went and lived in the wilderness until now.

The obligatory use of the high toned PGN morpheme set and the optional use of the SF marker on the source NP is the same as illustrated in the previous section for the postposition /-tʃè/ on its own. The next example contains a source NP followed by the SF marker:

(23) dàk'ʷěːˆ kʷàː ts'átàtʃèàː tûː híkʼɪ̄ː
dàk'ʷěː-ːˇ kʷá: ts'â-tà-tʃè-é-áː tû-ːˊ hík'ì̯-ːˊ
donkey-sp. NC(3m.sg.) water-in-from-3m.sg.-SF come.out go-&
As for Donkey, then he came out of the water and went and

[16] The combination of the postposition /-tʃè/ and the high toned PGN morpheme set results in the following forms: [-tʃʰe] 1sg., [-po] 2sg., [-tʃe] or [-tʃʰe] 3m.sg., [-tʃʰu] 3f.sg., [-tʃʰūː] 1pl., [-tʃʰɪ̄ː] 2pl., [-tʃʰo] 3pl.

dórɔ̂ːgà	xàtsʼèwàtsʼèː	kʷàː	kàʔ
dóró-ɨ̃-à	xàtsʼéwà-tsʼè-é	kʷáː	káʔ
zebra-sp.-3m.sg.PC	scold-appl.-3m.sg.obj.	NC(3m.sg.)	hear.

scolded Zebra saying…

4.7 /-ǁʼà(ʔ)/ 'belong'

The postposition /-ǁʼà(ʔ)/ 'belong' is used with animate NPs:

(24)

kʰéʔékʷâːkìʔà		kàʔ
kʰéʔé-kù-wà-ɨ́kí-àʔ		káʔ
hear-ben.-mult.-recip.-3pl.PC		hear.

They agreed that

bǎːrā̃ː	mǐːndʒó	ⁿ|èmèsɛ̃̀ːǁʼàʔ
bǎːrà-é-ɨ́	mǐːndʒó	ⁿ|èméséː-ɨ̃-ǁʼàʔ
start-3m.sg.obj.-&	[journey	man]$_{GEN}$-sp.-belong

kʰótʰì	tùkʷèːtsʼèsɛ̃̀ː
kʰôtʰì	tû-kụ̀-éː-tsʼè-sí-è-ɨ̃
coat	come.out-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-appl.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.

the first one to remove the coat from the traveller,

hèwé	sàmbòsɛ̃̂ː
hèwé	sàmbò-sí-è-ɨ̃
he	strength-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.

he was the one with strength.

In this example, /-ǁʼà(ʔ)/ occurs with its glottal stop. If it is followed by the postposition /-nà/ 'to', the glottal stop is omitted:

(25)

nìkʷɜ̃̀ː	kʰʷà	bàʔésɛ̃̂ː		wàràŋgèːǁʼànà
nɨ́ː-kʷà	kʰʷà	bàʔé-sí-è-ɨ̃		wàràngɛ̌ː-ǁʼà-nà
and-3m.sg.Subj.PC	return	be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.		god-belong-to

And he should return to the Lord.

If the preceding example contained the postpositional phrase /wàràngɛ̌ː-ǁʼàʔ-tʃè/ 'god-belong-from', the clause would be interpreted as meaning 'and he should return from God'. Note how, in this suffix combination, the glottal stop is included. It seems likely that the glottal stop is a reduction of the postposition /-ts'ḭ̀/ 'to'. A less common variant of the 'belong' postposition is /-kʼà(ʔ)/.

4.8 /-ʔɪ̀ː/ 'with'

The postposition /-ʔɪ̀ː/ 'with' has an instrumental function:

(26) pòː hùmbù tʃʰóʔɪ̀ːgò ⁿ|ìːmòː
póː hùmbù tʃʰô-ʔɪ̀ː-ò ⁿ|ǐːmò-é
NC(1pl.) [cow manure]$_{GEN}$-with-1pl.PC spread-3m.sg.obj.
Then we spread it with cow manure.

In the following example, it is shown in its negated form:

(27) hěːû bô̰ː sɪ́ː tʰàntòːʔɪ̀ːtsʼè
hěːù bô-ɪ̰̀ sɪ́ː tʰántóː-ʔɪ̀ː-tsʼé
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) word-sp. [you(pl.) effort]$_{GEN}$-with-neg.
This word was not by your (pl.) effort.

The postposition /-ʔɪ̀ː/ may also express accompaniment, as in the following example, in which it is suffixed to a verb stem and also to a noun stem:

(28) ʔóʔsīʔ měːnátsʼīʔɪ̀ː tùsɪ̀ː
ʔóʔ̰-síʔ měːnà-tsʼí-ʔɪ̀ː tû-ì-sɪ̀ː
there(ref.)-loc. like-reflex.-with come.out-irr.-2pl.
It is then you (pl.) will come out with joy,

pútɬʼúmáʔɪ̀ː xèsɪ̀ːgì
pútɬʼúmà-ʔɪ̀ː xé-sɪ́ː-ì
peace-with lead-2pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
he will lead you (pl.) with peace.

The following example further illustrates the accompaniment function of /-ʔɪ̀ː/:

(29) sàː ʔáráː hèsú sàndàwěːsṵ̂ːsu̯̰ hík'i̯̰
sàː ʔáráː hèsú sàndàwěː-sú-ɪ̰̀-sṵ̀ hík'ì̯̰
NC(3f.sg.) truly dem.(ref.3f.sg.) Sandawe-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg. go
And truly this Sandawe woman went,

sàː ⁿ‖ǒːkó kísôxi̯̰ pàsàːʔɪ̀ːsà kʰʷà měːnátsʼɪ̄ː
sàː ⁿ‖ǒːkó kísòxì̯̰ pàsǎː-ʔɪ̀ː-sà kʰʷà měːnà-tsʼí-ɪ̄́
NC(3f.sg.) [children two twins]$_{GEN}$-with-3f.sg.PC return like-reflex.-&
and then she happily returned with twins.
(Lit. …with twins of two children.)

If, in the second clause of this example, the woman and the twins were both the subject of the verb (‘she and the twins happily returned’), the additive suffix /-kí/ and not the postposition /-ʔɪ̀ː/ would be used (see section 7.5).

The following example shows how /-ʔɪ̀ː/ can be used in an adverbial with a manner function:

(30)	pàː	mòndʒôːgāː	tsʼŏːtsʼíʔɪ̂ːgà	kʰʷà
	páː	mòndʒó-ɪ̀-áː	tsʼŏːtsʼí-ʔɪ̀ː-à	kʰʷà
	NC(3m.sg.)	jackal-sp.-SF	hunger-with-3m.sg.PC	return
	Then Jackal returned hungry.			

4.9 /-xéʔ̰/ ‘like’

The postposition /-xéʔ̰/ ‘like’ is illustrated in the following example:[17]

(31)	hěːxʷéxéʔ	ⁿ|ʷìʔyàpòsṵ̃ː
	hěːxʷé-xéʔ̰	ⁿ|ʷíʔyá-tsʼè-pó-ì-sṵ̃ː
	dem.(prox.pl.)-like	do-appl.-2sg.obj.-irr.-1pl.

híô	ʔóʔtʃʰṹːgāː	tùiʔ
hí-ò	ʔóʔ̰-tʃè-sṹː-áː	tû-ìʔ
when-1pl.PC	there(ref.)-from-1pl.-SF	come.out-sub.cl.

We will do for you (things) like these, if we get out of here.

The postposition /-xéʔ̰/ can also be suffixed to verbs to indicate the manner in which the action of the verb is done, as the following two examples show:

(32)	sʷê	tʰékʰélɛ̂ː	pàː	|ʰɪ̌ːāː	bòxèʔà	kʰèʔè
	sʷê	tʰékʰélçː-ɪ̀	páː	|ʰɪ̌ːà-áː	bô-xéʔ̰-à	kʰéʔé
	now	hyena-sp.	NC(3m.sg.)	dik.dik-SF	speak-like-3m.sg.PC	hear

Now Hyena heard how Dik-dik spoke.

(33)	hàpáː	mèːnàːxèʔì	ⁿ|ʷèː
	hàpú-áː	mĕːnà-é-xéʔ̰-ì	ⁿ|ʷéː
	you-SF	like-3m.sg.obj.-like-2sg.	do

You do as you like.

[17] This postposition has also been elicited in the form /-xéʔɪ̀ː/, which is an Eastern dialect variant. See (1) in section 8.1.1 for an example of this.

4.10 /-kì̥méː/ ‘because’

The postposition /-kì̥méː/ can be glossed as ‘because’, ‘for’, or ‘for the sake of’. The first syllable of this postposition is commonly elided. The following two examples illustrate the function of this morpheme:

(34)	!^{hw}àtáts’i̥mēː	ǁ^{h}èmòːsìʔ	tɬǎːsi̥
	!^{hw}àtáts’ì̥-kì̥méː	ǁ^{h}èmé-óː-síʔ	tɬǎːsì̥
	sin-bec.	pay-nml.-loc.	death

The payment for sin is indeed death.

(35)	ⁿǀàtíkʷê	ʔòː	hàlìm̀sè	bàʔésê̂ː	wàràŋgȅ̂ːts’i̥
	ⁿǀàtí-kʷè	ʔóː	hàlìm̀sé	bàʔé-sí-è-ː̏́	wàràngěː-ː̏́-ts’ì̥
	come-2pl.Imp.PC	SC(1pl.)	worship	be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp	god-sp.-at

Come, let’s worship the Lord,

sí̋ː	hèwémēː	jàʔbèsìsȉːsȉː	tʃʰíásȉː
sí̋ː	hèwé-kì̥méː	jàʔbé-sí-sȉː-ː̏́-sȉː	tʃʰíà-sȉ
you(pl.)	he-bec.	work-poss.-2pl.-sp.-2pl.	all-2pl.

all you (pl.) who are workers for his sake.

The function of the /-kì̥méː/ postposition is similar to that of the benefactive morpheme. The latter morpheme is attached to a verb to show that the action of the verb is beneficial or detrimental to the following object (see section 5.3).

When the /-kì̥méː/ postposition is suffixed to /hótʃōː/ ‘what’, the resulting form means ‘why’:

(36)	hótʃōːki̥mȅː	kìpàlàlà	sí̋ːgî	tȕku̥	màkǎː
	hótʃōː-kì̥méː-è	kìpàlàlà	sí̋ː-ì	tû-kù̥	màkǎː
	what-bec.-2pl.PC	sweat	you(pl.)-pro.	come.out-caus.	thing

ǁ’àntásúku̥sèts’ȅ̂ːki̥mèː
ǁ’àntá-sí-kù̥-sí-è-ts’é-ː̏́-kì̥méː
be.satisfied-poss.-caus.-poss.-3m.sg.-neg.-sp.-bec.
Why do you (pl.) contribute your (pl.) sweat for something which does not satisfy?

If /-kì̥méː/ is suffixed to the object of the verb /bô/ ‘say’ in a clause which introduces a speech, the words which follow are a prohibition or a proclamation:

(37)	sàː	ʔíxi̥sȁ	bȍ	ⁿǁǒːkȏːsòmèːsȁ
	sáː	ʔíxì̥-sà	bô	ⁿǁǒːkó-ː̏́-sò-kì̥méː-sà
	NC(3f.sg.)	thus-3f.sg.PC	say	children-sp.-3a.pl.-bec.-3f.sg.PC

Then she spoke, thus, to her children,

mě:k^{w}ê k^{h}ǒ:ˆ ^{n}!ò:wè
mě:-k^{w}è k^{h}ǒ:-ˇ ^{n}!ǒ:-é
neg.-2pl.Imp.PC house-sp. open-3m.sg.obj.
"Don't open the door,

ʔàŋk^{h}á hókē:ā: |ī́: ʔìmbòiʔ
ʔànk^{h}á hô-ké:-á: |í-ˊ ʔìmbô-ìʔ
even who-decl.-SF come-& say-sub.cl.
even if someone comes and speaks."

5 Verbs

5.1 Object marking on the verb

5.1.1 Object agreement morphemes

The following object morphemes may be suffixed to the verb in Sandawe:

Table 5.1 Object agreement morphemes

	Direct	*Benefactive*	*Applicative*
1sg.	sé	xi̯-sé	ts'è-sé [ʔtʃ^{h}e], [ʔse]
2sg.	pó	xi̯-pó	ts'è-pó [ʔpo]
3m.sg. [18]	é, é:	kù-è [k^{w}e], kù-é: [k^{w}e:]	ts'è-è [ts'e], ts'è-é: [ts'e:]
3f.sg.	ésú, é:sú	kù-èsú [k^{w}esu], kù-é:sú [k^{w}e:su]	ts'è-ésú [ts'e:su]
1pl.	sű:	xi̯-sű:	ts'è-sű: [ʔtʃ^{h}ũ:], [ʔsũ:]
2pl.	sī́:	xi̯-sī́:	ts'è-sī́: [ʔtʃ^{h}ĩ:], [ʔsĩ:]
3a.pl.	ʔī́:	xi̯-ʔī́:	ts'è-ʔī́: [ts'ĩ:]
3i.pl.	wá:	kù-wá: [k^{w}a:]	wà-ts'è-é [wats'e:][19]

The benefactive morpheme is /-xi̯/ before a consonant-initial object morpheme and /-kù/[20] before a vowel-initial one and the third person inanimate plural object morpheme /-wá:/. Each of the third person singular morphemes has two forms, one containing a short /e/ and one a long /e:/. The short vowel forms are more commonly heard, except following a nasal vowel, where the longer form tends to be preferred (see example (11)). Speakers of the Eastern dialect of Sandawe are more likely to use the longer forms than speakers of the Western

[18] The third person masculine forms may also be used with a third person feminine object.
[19] The 3i.pl. form is derived differently from the other forms, with the multiple morpheme /-wà/ preceding the applicative morpheme, which is followed by a 3m.sg. object agreement morpheme. This suggests that the 3i.pl. object morpheme /-wá:/ may in fact be derived from the multiple morpheme /-wà/ plus the 3m.sg. object morpheme /-é/ (Ed Elderkin, personal communication, 2006). However, /-wá:/ behaves tonally like a high-toned morpheme, rather than a combination of a low-toned morpheme and a high-toned morpheme and, therefore, if this analysis is correct, a tonal reanalysis has occurred.
[20] It is not possible to tell whether the vowel in this morpheme is voiced or voiceless as it always surfaces as labio-velarisation when it precedes a vowel.

dialect. The tone of the vowels in the object morphemes is high, except for that of the short /e/ vowels in the third person singular benefactive forms. As the third column shows, the combination of the applicative morpheme /-ts’è/ and an object morpheme which begins with the consonant /s/ has two different assimilated versions.

The following example from the text corpus contains two instances of the first person singular direct object morpheme:

(1)	sísék^{w}ȅː	bàhárȉtànȁ	ǁèsè
	sí-sé-k^{w}è-ː́	bàhârì-ː̏-tà-nà	ǁê-sé
	take-1sg.obj.-2pl.Imp.PC-&	sea-sp.-in-to	throw-1sg.obj.
	Take me and throw me into the sea!		

The following example contains one of the verbs from the previous example, but with a different direct object morpheme:

(2)	màúléː	^{n}ǁȍsu̥kȍ	sìèsù
	màúléː	^{n}ǁô-sù̥-kò	sí-ésú
	[someone(3m.sg.)	child-3f.sg.]$_{GEN}$-2sg.Imp.PC	take-3f.sg.obj.
	Take someone’s girl!		

Unless it follows a long vowel, or a short vowel in a monosyllabic stem as in (2), the third person feminine singular object morpheme /-ésú/ is usually realised as a lengthened stem-final vowel, followed by [sú].

The third person masculine singular object and the second person singular benefactive object are both illustrated in the following example:

(3)	p^{h}ékȍ	ǀì
	p^{h}ê-kò	ǀí
	tomorrow-2sg.Imp.PC	come
	Come tomorrow,	

ʔèː	kàlȅ̌ːˆ	p^{h}ì!’ìsèːxi̥pò
ʔéː	kàlěː-ː̏	p^{h}í!’ì-sé-é-xì̥-pó
SC(1sg.)	appearance-sp.	change-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-ben.-2sg.obj.
so that I can change your appearance for you.		

Direct object marking precedes benefactive object marking.

The following example contains a third person feminine singular applicative object:

(4) kʷàː nàúlâː ǁʰèméâ kéts'èːsù
kʷáː nàúlì-à ǁʰèmé-à kê-ts'è-ésú
NC(3m.sg.) fare-3m.sg.PC pay-conn. climb-appl.-3f.sg.obj.
He paid the fare and got on it (the boat).

In the case of third person plural objects, the choice between using the animate and inanimate forms of the object morpheme depends on the person, gender, and number marking on the object itself. If, as in (5), the object is suffixed by a third person plural PGN morpheme (/-sò/), the verb must be suffixed with the animate third person plural object morpheme:

(5) ʔàː ǀʰǐːâ ⁿǁòːkə̃̀sòàː tù
ʔáː ǀʰǐːà ⁿǁǒːkó-ːˆ̀-sò-áː tû
NC(3pl.) [dik.dik children-sp.-3a.pl.]$_{GEN}$-SF come.out
Then Dik-dik's children came out

sàː tɬ'ăːʔǐ́ːgâ hík'ì̯
sáː tɬ'ăː-ʔǐ́ː-à hík'ì̯
NC(3f.sg.) take-3a.pl.obj.-conn. go
and she took them and went.

However, if the object is not suffixed with a PGN morpheme, the verb must be suffixed with the inanimate plural object morpheme /-wáː/:

(6) kʷàː rə̂ː ⁿǀʷìʔyàːxì̯sèi
kʷáː rə̂ː ⁿǀʷíʔyáː-xì̯-sé-ì
NC(3m.sg.) voice make(3m.sg.obj.)-ben.-1sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
He should make a voice for me

ʔèː ǀǐ́ː ⁿǁǒːkóxə̂ːˆ̀ tìmù̯wàː
ʔéː ǀíːˊ ⁿǁǒːkó-xéː-ːˆ̀ tímù̯-wáː
SC(1sg.) come-& children-pl.-sp. swallow-3i.pl.obj.
so I can come and swallow the children.

A similar phenomenon was noted by Vossen (1985) for ǁani. In this Central Khoisan language, the absence of explicit object marking for gender and number prohibits the marking of the finite verb in agreement with the object. However, the relative constituent order positions of the object and verb also play a role in object marking in ǁani and this does not appear to be the case for Sandawe.

Attaching an object morpheme to a verb stem does not result in completely predictable forms. In particular, suffixing the third person masculine singular object /-é/ and the third person

inanimate plural morpheme /-wáː/ to different verb stems results in some distinct assimilation patterns. The most common of these patterns are exemplified in the following table:[21]

Table 5.2 Common object suffixation patterns

	Stem	*3m.sg. object*	*3i.pl. object*	*Gloss*
1	^{n}!^{w}áné	[^{n}!^{w}áníː]	[^{n}!^{w}ánéwáː]	*ask for, beg*
2	^{n}ǁók^{h}ò	[^{n}ǁók^{h}ōː]	[^{n}ǁók^{h}ówāː]	*wash*
3	hìbà	[hìbǎː]	[hìbàwǎː]	*weed*
4	mě:nà	[měːnāː]	[měːnáwāː]	*like*
5	tímù̥	[tímēː]	[tímu̥wāː]	*swallow*
6	dàk^{hw}é	[dàk^{hw}éː]	[dàk^{hw}émáː]	*prune*
7	hòk’ó	[hòk’óː]	[hòk’ómáː]	*deprive*
8	bìk^{h}é	[bìk^{h}éː]	[bìk^{h}ímáː]	*leave*
9	dùbé	[dùbéː]	[dùbúmáː]	*hit, smash*
10	dlòmó	[dlòmóː]	[dlòḿːáː]	*buy*
11	t^{h}ímé	[t^{h}íːmé]	[t^{h}íʔwáː]	*cook*
12	^{n}!àmé	[^{n}!ǎːmé]	[^{n}!àʔwáː]	*forge*
13	^{n}ǁùné	[^{n}ǁǔːŋgé]	[^{n}ǁùʔwáː]	*wash clothes*

Several patterns can be observed. The examples in rows 1–5 form one group. This group contains verb stems which end in a short /e/, /o/, /a/ or /u̥/ vowel and have either H, L, HL or LHL tone melodies. The suffixation of the singular object morpheme /-é/ results in a lengthened final vowel of the quality of the stem vowel if it is voiced or a long [eː] if the stem vowel is /u̥/. The tone of the final vowel follows the normal tonal pattern rules for Sandawe (see Hunziker, Hunziker, and Eaton 2008). The process of suffixing the plural object morpheme /-wáː/ also follows these rules. Following is an example containing a verb which belongs to this group:

(7) tʃ^{h}íátʃ^{h}ī̏ȁːkìsi̥ mèːnàwàːk^{w}ȅ
tʃ^{h}íà-tʃ^{h}íà-ː̏-kí-sì̥ měːnà-wáː-kù-è
all-all-sp.-add.-1sg.PC like-3i.pl.obj.-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
And I consented to her[22] in all things.

The examples in the group represented by rows 6–10 all belong to the LH tone melody group, with one exception (/tɬ’óxó/ ‘dibble’). The final vowel in the verb stem is either /e/, /o/ or /a/. Suffixing the singular object morpheme /-é/ to these stems results in a lengthened final vowel of the quality of the stem vowel, as in the examples in rows 1–5. The difference between these two groups of verb stems is what happens when the plural object morpheme /-wáː/ is suffixed.

[21] The verb stem has been identified by eliciting the verbs without any object marking.
[22] The context of the example makes it clear that the third person masculine singular morpheme refers to a woman.

This morpheme is realised as [-máː] when it is attached to stems in the second group. If the first vowel in the stem is either /i/ or /u/, the second vowel is realised with the same quality when /-wáː/ is suffixed (rows 8 and 9). If the first vowel in the stem is /a/, the second vowel may be unchanged from its stem form (row 6), or it may be realised as /i/, as in the following example:

(8)[23] núá kísôxi̥sà x^{w}àntìmàːrè
núá kísòxi̥-sà x^{w}ànté-mé-wáː-ré
maize.porridge two-3f.sg.PC cook-iter.-3i.pl.obj.-3pers.obj.
She cooked two (amounts of) maize porridge.

If the second consonant in the verb stem is /m/, the second vowel is elided when /-wáː/ is suffixed and the /m/ is lengthened and becomes tone bearing (row 10).

The [-máː] ending can be interpreted as the assimilation of two suffixes: /-mé/ and the plural object morpheme /-wáː/. This interpretation is supported by the example below which comes from an older speaker of Sandawe. The form of the verb 'leave' in this example can be compared with the form given in row 8 of table 5.3:

(9) híê nìʔìːʔ ǁ'íák^{w}è ǁ'ìà
hí-è níʔ-ìʔ ǁ'íà-k^{w}è ǁ'íà
when-2pl.PC go-sub.cl. dance-2pl.Imp.PC dance
When you (pl.) go, dance the dance,

xáɬóː bìk^{h}íméwáːk^{w}ê
xàɬé-óː bìk^{h}é-mé-wáː-k^{w}è
tease-nml. leave-iter.-3i.pl.obj.-2pl.Imp.PC
leave off the teasing!

The /-mé/ suffix was described by Dempwolff (1916: 35) as an iterative suffix which also conveyed 'Bedeutungsnuancen der Intensität'. This suffix is also found functioning as an indicator of a plural subject:

(10) pàː !'^{w}áː dĕːt^{h}ēːā ^{n}|àtíâ ǁ'àkímé
páː !'^{w}áː dĕːì̥t^{h}éː-áː ^{n}|àtí-à ǁ'àkí-mé
NC(3m.sg.) pigeon be.many-adj.-nom. come-conn. descend-iter.
Then many pigeons came and descended.

This function may also be fulfilled by the multiple morpheme /-wà/ (see section 5.6.2).

A third group of verb stems is exemplified in rows 11–13. These stems belong to either the H or the LH tone melody groups and all end in /é/. The second consonant in these stems is /m/, /n/ or /w/. When the singular object morpheme /-é/ is affixed to these stems, it is the first

[23] The morpheme glossed here as '3pers.obj.' occurs optionally after a regular third person object morpheme.

vowel and not the second which is lengthened. If the second consonant is /n/, it is realised as [ŋg]. In all the examples in this group, the second syllable of the stem is elided when the plural object morpheme /-wá:/ is suffixed and a glottal stop precedes the suffix. In the plural object forms of those stems with /m/ or /n/ as a second consonant, the first vowel in the stem or the vowel of the plural object suffix is sometimes slightly nasalised.

The examples in table 5.2 come from a data set of 101 transitive verbs. The three main groups described account for eighty of those verbs (thirty-three in the first group, twenty-one in the second, and twenty-six in the third). Of the remaining twenty-one verbs, ten do not display any recognisable patterns when suffixed with the object morphemes. Examples of the remaining eleven verbs are given in the following table:

Table 5.3 Other object suffixation patterns

	Stem	*3m.sg. object*	*3i.pl. object*	*Gloss*
1	báló:	[báló:wé]	[báló?wá:]	*herd*
2	ⁿ!átʰá̋:	[ⁿ!átʰá̋:gé:]	[ⁿ!átʰá?wá:]	*spread out*
3	híⁿǁī:	[ⁿǁímē:]	[ⁿǁí?wā:]	*paint*
4	híⁿ!ī́:	[ⁿ!ímē:]	[ⁿ!í?wā:]	*straighten*
5	hó!ò̃:	[!ó:mé]	[hó!ó?wā:]	*fill*
6	héⁿǁʷé̋:	[ⁿǁʷé̋:]	[héⁿǁʷé?wáwá:]	*break*

In the example in row 1, the verb stem ends in a long /o:/ vowel. When the singular object morpheme is suffixed to this stem, an epenthetic [w] precedes the suffix. Following the usual pattern in Sandawe for stem-final long vowels, the /e/ vowel of the suffix is not assimilated into the stem vowel. When the plural object suffix is attached to a stem of this kind, it is preceded by a glottal stop and the stem-final vowel is shortened.

Row 2 gives an example of a stem which ends in a nasalised vowel. Four of the eight stems in the data set which end in a nasalised vowel follow the pattern illustrated by this example. The longer forms of the third person singular object morphemes (/-é:/ and /-é:sú/) are preferred with stems from this group. When the plural object morpheme /-wá:/ is suffixed to the stem, it is preceded by a glottal stop and the stem-final vowel is short and oral. A common verb which follows this pattern is /ǀẫ:/ ‘see’, as the following two examples illustrate:

(11) téɬâsi̯ hémbéts’îsi̯ ǀã̃gè:
téɬà-sì̯ hémbé-ts’ì̯-sì̯ ǀẫ:-é:
completely-1sg.PC clearness-at-1sg.PC see-3m.sg.obj.
I see it completely clearly.

(12) híô ní?ī̄: ⁿǀétànɔ̀: ⁿǁè:i?
hí-ò ní?-ī́ ⁿǀê-tà-nà-ò ⁿǁě:-ì?
when-1pl.PC go-& bush-in-to-1pl.PC enter-sub.cl.
When we entered into the bush,

kò:	kêutò	mòkòndǒ̀gò	ǀàʔwà:
kó:	kéùtò	mòkóndó-ɨ̀-ò	ǀâ̂:-wá:
NC(1pl.)	[pig	track]$_{GEN}$-sp.-1pl.PC	see-3i.pl.obj.

we saw pig tracks.

The remaining four verb stems from the data set which end in a nasalised vowel are shown in rows 3–6 of table 5.3. In all these examples, an initial syllable which is present in the stem is absent in the forms with singular object morphemes and, in two of the examples, it is absent in the forms with plural object morphemes as well. The initial syllable in each case starts with the consonant /h/ and is followed by an oral vowel of the same quality as the nasalised vowel which it precedes. Example (13) illustrates the use of one of the object marked forms from this group:

(13)

hèwéʔgà:	dórǒ̂:	dàkʼʷě̂:gà	ⁿǁíʔwā:jó:
hèwéʔ̰ gà-à	dóró-ɨ̀	dàkʼʷě̂:-ɨ̀-à	ⁿǁî:-wá:-jó:
and.so-3m.sg.PC	zebra-sp.	donkey-sp.-3m.sg.PC	paint-3i.pl.obj.-dur.

And so Zebra painted (them on) Donkey

kʷà:	tɬèm̀sé
kʷá:	tɬèm̀sé
NC(3m.sg.)	finish

and finished.

With most verb stems, attaching first and second person object agreement morphemes (and the animate third person plural form) results in predictable assimilated forms. The exceptions are found in the group of verb stems for which the non-stem-final vowel is lengthened when the third person masculine singular object agreement morpheme /-é/ is added (rows 11 to 13 of table 5.2) and in the group given in rows 3 to 6 of table 5.3. Table 5.4 illustrates the patterns for verb stems of these types:

Table 5.4 Exceptional third person singular forms

	Obj.agr.	*Verb stem*		
		tʰímé *cook*	híⁿǁíː *paint*	hó!ǒː *fill*
1sg.	sé	[tʰí́ːsé]	[ⁿǁî́ːsē]	[!ǒ́ːsé]
2sg.	pó	[tʰí́ːpó]	[ⁿǁî́ːpō]	[!ǒ́ːpó]
3m.sg.	é, éː	[tʰíːmé]	[ⁿǁímēː]	[!óːmé]
3f.sg.	ésú, éːsú	[tʰíːmésú]	[ⁿǁímēːsū]	[!óːmésú]
1pl.	sű́ː	[tʰí́ːsű́ː]	[ⁿǁî́ːsū̃ː]	[!ǒ́ːsű́ː]
2pl.	sí́ː	[tʰí́ːsí́ː]	[ⁿǁî́ːsī̃ː]	[!ǒ́ːsí́ː]
3a.pl.	ʔí́ː	[tʰí́ːʔí́ː]	[ⁿǁî́ːʔī̃ː]	[!ǒ́ːʔí́ː]
3i.pl.	wáː	[tʰíʔwáː]	[ⁿǁíʔwāː]	[hó!óʔwāː]

The iterative suffix /-mé/ is only found in the third person singular forms. In the other forms, the root vowel is nasalised.[24] Note also that the high tone of the stem /hí^{n}ǁī́ː/ ‘paint’ becomes a falling tone in the derived forms, whereas the falling tone of the stem /hó!ô̋ː/ ‘fill’ becomes a high tone in the derived forms. In contrast with the corresponding forms for the other verbs, the third person singular forms for /hí^{n}ǁī́ː/ ‘paint’ and /hí^{n}!ī́ː/ ‘straighten’ have long /e/ vowels, the tone for which is downstepped, apparently as the result of the tone of the preceding vowel being falling.

The lengthened vowel in /t^{h}íːmé/ ‘cook(3m.sg.obj.)’ can be analysed as deriving from the affixation of the object morpheme /-é/ to the root-final vowel. /-mé/ is therefore taken to be a suffix, perhaps the iterative suffix. Other stems in the same group end in /-né/ or /-wé/. If this analysis is followed, the third person singular feminine forms must be analysed as having a ‘split’ object morpheme, with /-ésú/ being divided into a root-final /-é/ and a stem-final /-sú/.[25]

5.1.2 Other verb stem changes

In addition to the stem changes previously described, some Sandawe verbs show an alternation between the vowels /e/ and /a/ in their stem and object marked forms, respectively:

Table 5.5 /e/-/a/ alternation in verb stems

Stem	*Object marked stem*	*3m.sg.obj.*	*3i.pl.obj.*	*Gloss*
k’^{w}éː	húk’^{w}à wák’^{w}à	[húk’^{w}āː] [wák’^{w}āː]	[húk’^{w}áwāː] [wák’^{w}áwāː]	*kill*
s^{w}éː	s^{w}á	[s^{w}áː]	[s^{w}ásáwāwāː]	*peel*
t^{w}ĕː	t^{w}ăː	[t^{w}ăː]	[t^{w}àʔwáː]	*pick, pluck*
ts’éː	ts’á	[ts’áː]	[ts’áʔwáː]	*drink*
ǁ^{w}éː	ǁ^{w}á	[ǁ^{w}áː]	[ǁ^{w}áǁ^{w}áwāː]	*hide*
^{n}ǁ^{w}éː	^{n}ǁ^{w}á	[^{n}ǁ^{w}áː]	[^{n}ǁ^{w}á^{n}ǁ^{w}áwāː]	*take off heat/fire*

The verbs in this group have in common a stem-final long /e/ vowel. Thus, if the third person masculine singular object morpheme /-é/ were attached to the stem without a vowel change, there would be no evidence of a stem change. The vowel change from /e/ to /a/ means that attaching the /-é/ object morpheme results in a discernible stem change.

Note also here how the plural object forms differ in their derivation, with two having a glottal stop before the agreement morpheme and the last two examples in the table having reduplicated stems. The following example from the text corpus illustrates the use of one of the verb forms from table 5.5:

[24] The reflexive/stative forms of verbs in this group also follow this pattern. An example of this is /!ő̋ːtsʼ̩ì/ ‘fill-reflex.’, meaning ‘be filled’.

[25] Elderkin (personal communication, 2006) suggests that the feminine object marker /-sú/ is an innovation in Sandawe and that this accounts for its stem-final position in such examples.

(14) rìŋgísȍ̂ːkī dóːlô màʔsèkàːtsʼȅ
rìngísóː-ȉ̃-kí dóːlò màʔsé-ká-é-tsʼè
porridge-sp.-add. a.little stir-com.-3m.sg.obj.-appl.
And the porridge is for stirring a little,

úrȉ̃ː tȉ̃ːtsʼȉːtsʼè
úrȉ̃ː tȉ̃ːtsʼi̥-ì-tsʼé
very boil-irr.(-3m.sg.)-neg.
it wouldn't boil a lot,

nȉ̃ː ⁿǁʷâːsȍ nȉ̃ː !ʼʷákʰʷȁːsȍ
nȉ̃ː ⁿǁʷá-é-ì-sò nȉ̃ː !ʼʷâkʰu̥-wáː-ì-sò
and take.off.heat-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl. and cool.down-3i.pl.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.
and they would take it off the heat and cool them down.

A small group of transitive verbs marks an object by means of suppletive stems:

Table 5.6 Object marking in suppletive transitive verb stems

Objectless form	*Stem for sg.obj.*	*3m.sg.obj.*	*Stem for pl.obj.*	*3i.pl.obj.*	*Gloss*
kʰùʔùm̀sé	ǁʼê	[ǁʼêː]	kʰúʔ	[kʰùʔséː] [kʰùʔùm̀séː] [kʰùʔùm̀séwáː]	*throw*
kǎːwà	pěː	[pěː]	kǎː	[kǎː] [kǎːwāː]	*put*
ǁʼǒː hétékà	sí	[síé]	tɬʼǎː	[tɬʼǎː] [tɬʼàʔwáː]	*take*

The forms described in table 5.6 as 'objectless' are used in the same ways as the stem forms of other transitive verbs. That is, the objectless forms of suppletive transitive verbs function as imperfective verbs, as will be discussed in section 10.4.1. /kʰùʔùm̀sé/ 'throw' can be analysed as deriving from the stem /kʰúʔ/ 'spill (intrans.)' plus, the iterative suffix /-mé/ and the causative morpheme /-sé/. This form shows a likeness with verbs which express multiple action, such as /lʰòròm̀sé/, 'make holes'. /kǎːwà/ 'put' appears to be derived from the stem /kǎː/, plus the multiple morpheme /-wà/.

Two stems for object marking can be identified: one for singular objects and one for plural objects. When the object is third person, the singular forms of the verb must contain the agreement morpheme /-é/,[26] whereas, the equivalent plural forms may occur without the plural agreement morpheme /-wáː/:

[26] It is assumed that the derived form [pěː] comes from the stem /pěː/, plus the agreement morpheme /é/, but no evidence of the agreement morpheme can be seen in the surface form.

(15) híô nówésámēːòiʔ
hí-ò nówé-sà-kl̩méː-ò-ìʔ
when-1pl.PC grind-nml.-bec.-1pl.-sub.cl.
When we want to grind,

pòː làʔsěːnôː tɬ'àː
póː làʔsěː-nà-ò tɬ'ǎː
NC(1pl.) trough-to-1pl.PC take
we take (them) to the winnowing trough.

As table 5.6 shows, the objectless forms for two of the verbs closely resemble the corresponding stems for plural objects. Note also how /kǎːwāː/ 'put-3i.pl.obj.' appears to be derived from the stem /kǎː/ plus the multiple morpheme /-wà/ and the third person masculine singular object morpheme /-é/.

5.2 Object marking on the object

A NP, which is the object of a transitive verb which does not contain object marking, can (under certain conditions) be suffixed with the morpheme /-ts'l̩/:[27]

(16) pàː ⁿ|ʷǎːˆ kútúːmbî méːâ síḗː
páː ⁿ|ʷǎː-ːˆ̃ kútúːmbì méː-à sí-é-ːˊ
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. tree.trunk big-3m.sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-&
Then Elephant took a big tree trunk and

kòŋgòʔsḗː ǁ'òǁ'âːtsʼàː tɬ'àpʰè
kóngóʔ-sé-é-ːˊ ǁ'òǁ'á-ːˆ̃-ts'l̩-à tɬ'àpʰé
raise-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-& baboon-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC hit
raised it up to hit Baboon.

This morpheme is a postpositional morpheme which expresses location, as in the following example:

(17) sʷê ǁʰàtʃʰûː gùràtsʼàː ⁿǁìnèwà
sʷê ǁʰàtʃʰú-ːˆ̃ gùrà-ts'l̩-à ⁿǁíné-wà
now lion-sp. room-at-3m.sg.PC lie.down-mult.
Now Lion lay down in the room,

kòŋkórîː tàŋgáʔtsʼàː ⁿǁìnèwà
kònkórl̩-ːˆ̃ tàngáʔ̰-ts'l̩-à ⁿǁíné-wà
cockerel-sp. doorway-at-3m.sg.PC lie.down-mult.
Cockerel lay down at the doorway.

[27] Elderkin (GS:M13) notes that this morpheme can be 'suffixed under certain conditions to the NP $_{(O)}$ standing as object of an imperfective verb'.

This morpheme has different functions according to whether it attached to the object of a verb or to a non-argument NP. In the former case, it is an object marker and in the latter, it is a postpositional marker. The meaning expressed by the use of this morpheme in example (16) supports the view that it is a postpositional morpheme. The preceding example describes how Elephant raises up a tree trunk, in order to hit Baboon, but is unsuccessful and does not manage to hit him. An alternative gloss would therefore be that he 'raised it up and hit *at* Baboon'.

The suffixing of the postpositional morpheme /-ts'i̯/ to an object is determined by whether the object is specific. This morpheme is only used when the object is specific. The following elicited examples illustrate this:

(18) ts'ásà $^{n}!^{w}$ànè
ts'â-sà $^{n}!^{w}$áné
water-3f.sg.PC ask.for
She asked for water.

(19) ts'ɑ̂ːʔsà $^{n}!^{w}$ànè
ts'â-ɨ̌-ts'i̯-sà $^{n}!^{w}$áné
water-sp.-at-3f.sg.PC ask.for
She asked for the water.

(20) ts'áʔsà $^{n}!^{w}$ànè
ts'â-ts'i̯-sà $^{n}!^{w}$áné
water-at-3f.sg.PC ask.for
She asked for Water/ She asked Water (for something).

In (18), the object is not specific and therefore is not suffixed with the postpositional morpheme. In contrast, in (19) the object is suffixed with both the postpositional and the specificity morphemes. The object in (20) is suffixed with a postpositional morpheme and therefore is interpreted as specific but, since it is not suffixed with the specificity morpheme, its specificity is understood to come from the fact that its referent is a person called 'Water'.

Similarly, in the following example from a text, the object is a first person singular personal pronoun and is thus not marked as specific since pronouns are never so marked. However, it does refer to a specific entity and is therefore suffixed with the postpositional morpheme:

(21) dìmè wàràŋgɛ̌ːˆgāː tʃíts'âː ǁ'^{w}èː
dìmè wàràngɛ̌ː-ɨ̌-áː tʃí-ts'i̯-à ǁ'^{w}ɛ̌ː
perhaps god-sp.-SF I-at-3m.sg.PC test
Perhaps God is testing me.

There is one construction in which a non-specific object is suffixed with the postpositional morpheme when the verb is not object marked. This construction is the 'exclamatory clause'

(Elderkin 1989:119), which is used to imply surprise or appreciation. Unless such a clause contains an adverb, it does not contain any PCs or the SF marker, as the following elicited example illustrates:

(22)	hèsú	núáts’i̥	x^{w}ànté
	hèsú	núá-ts’ì̥	x^{w}ànté
	dem.(ref.3f.sg.)	stiff.porridge-at	cook
	This one can really cook stiff porridge!		

As noted by Elderkin (GS:S9), the object in an exclamatory clause must be suffixed with the postpositional morpheme. However, the object is not necessarily specific.

There is also a construction in which a specific object is not suffixed with the postpositional morpheme when the verb is not object marked. This construction is one which is based on the possessive morpheme and functions as an object relative:

(23)	hábúsâ̂ː	tʃáː	pòːwȅȉː
	hábúsà-ȉ̀	tʃí-áː	pó-é-ì-ȉ̀
	condition-sp.	I-SF	2sg.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-pro.-sp.

	hàbùsénîː
	hàbùsé-nè-ì
	keep.condition-interrog.-2sg.PC
	Did you keep the condition which I gave you?

5.3 Benefactive

The benefactive morpheme may be used to express something which is beneficial or detrimental to the following object. Example (6) illustrates the former use and the following example illustrates the latter use:

(24)	nȉː	měːkô	!^{hw}àtáts’i̥	tèːxi̥sȕː
	nı̋ː	měː-kò	!^{hw}àtáts’ì̥	téː-xì̥-sű́ː
	and	neg.-2sg.Imp.PC	sin	count-ben.-1pl.obj.
	And don’t count it as sin against us			

	hěːû	^{n}ǀèmésê̂ː	ǁ’èk’á	kùʔsèːʔȍːmèː
	hěːù	^{n}ǀèmésé:-ȉ̀	ǁ’èk’á	kúʔ-sé-é-ʔȍː-kì̥méː
	[dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	man-sp.	blood]$_{GEN}$	spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-nml.-bec.
	because of spilling the blood of this man,			

	!^{hw}àtáts’i̥sèts’ȅː
	!^{hw}àtáts’ì̥-sí-è-ts’è-ȉ̀
	sin-poss.-3m.sg.-neg.-sp.
	who does not have sin.

The benefactive morpheme is also used in figurative expressions. In the next two examples, ‘have mercy on’ is expressed in two different ways, both of which use the benefactive morpheme:

(25)	ʔàmànà	hèwésíʔ	mònȁ	kʰʷăːxi̥sũ̄ːgȉ
	ʔámáná	hèwé-síʔ	mò-nà	kʰʷà-é-xì̥-sṹː-ì
	perhaps	he-loc.	spirit-to	return-3m.sg.obj.-ben.-1pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)

Perhaps he will have mercy on us
(Lit. Perhaps he will return for us the spirit.)

nĩ̏ː	pònàsũ̏ːgȉ	ʔòː	měː	tʃʰèːkì
nĩ́ː	póná-sṹ-ì	ʔóː	měː	tʃʰěː-kí
and	heal-1pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)	SC(1pl.)	neg.	absent-verb.

and heal us so that we are not destroyed.

(26)	kʷàː	mòkúmâː	ǀȁ̃xi̥ʔĩ̏ː
	kʷáː	mòkúmù̥-à	ǀẫː-xì̥-ʔĩ́ː
	NC(3m.sg.)	mercy-3m.sg.PC	see-ben.-3a.pl.obj.

Then he had mercy on them.
(Lit. Then he looked on them (with) mercy.)

5.4 Applicative

The following table illustrates the variety of meanings which may be associated with the applicative morpheme /-ts’è/:

Table 5.7 Applicative

děːwà	*be many-mult.*	děːwàts’è	*be too many for*
dʒáː	*touch (intrans.)*	dʒáːts’è	*touch (trans.)*
ʔíɬímēː	*shut (3m.sg.obj.)*	ʔíɬímēːts’è	*shut (3m.sg.obj.) for*
kăː	*put (pl.obj.)*	kăːts’è	*put (pl.obj.) into*
kê	*climb*	kêts’è	*climb on*
màʔsékáː	*stir*	màʔsékáːts’è	*be for stirring*

The applicative morpheme raises the valency of the verb to which it attaches by one. When it attaches to an intransitive verb, it may add an applied object, as in /děːwàts’è/ ‘be too many for’, or it may add a direct object, as in /dʒáːts’è/ ‘touch (trans.)’. When the applicative morpheme is attached to a transitive verb, it adds an applied object, as in /ʔíɬímēːts’è/ ‘shut (3m.sg.obj.) for’.

The next two examples from the text corpus illustrate the use of the applicative morpheme with two of the verbs from table 5.7:

(27) híâ hòk’a̋ː tɬèmsȅiʔ
hí-à hòk’á-ː̋ tɬèmsé-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC be.lukewarm-& finish-sub.cl.
When it has finished getting lukewarm,

sìː !ʰùmésị̊ síâː kǎːts’ê
síː !ʰùmé-sị̊̀ sí-é-à kǎː-ts’è
NC(1sg.) flour-1sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-conn. put-appl.
then I take the flour and put it into (the water).

(28) kʷàː nàúlâː ǁʰèméâ kéts’èːsù
kʷáː nàúlì-à ǁʰèmé-à kê-ts’è-ésú
NC(3m.sg.) fare-3m.sg.PC pay-conn. climb-appl.-3f.sg.obj.
He paid the fare and got on it (the boat).

In (27), the applicative morpheme is obligatory if a goal PP (such as ‘into the water’) does not occur in the clause and optional if one does.

In the following example, the verb suffixed with the applicative morpheme occurs in a copular clause:

(29) rìŋgísȏːkī dóːlô màʔsèkàːts’ȅ
rìngísóː-ː̏-kí dóːlò màʔsé-ká-é-ts’è
porridge-sp.-add. a.little stir-com.-3m.sg.obj.-appl.
And the porridge is for stirring a little,

úrı̋ː tı̏ːts’ı̏ːts’è
úrı̋ː tı̋ːts’ị̊-ì-ts’é
very boil-irr.(-3m.sg.)-neg.
it wouldn’t boil a lot,

nı̏ː ⁿǁʷâːsȍ nı̏ː !’ʷákʰʷȁːsȍ
nı̋ː ⁿǁʷá-é-ì-sò nı̋ː !’ʷâkʰų̊̀-wáː-ì-sò
and take.off.heat-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl. and cool.down-3i.pl.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.
and they would take it off the heat and cool them down.

The applicative morpheme follows any direct object marking:

(30) híâʔ sȁxị̊ ǀʰı̆ːȃːsụ̊ ⁿǁŏːkȏːsòsȁ
híàʔ sáxị̊̀ ǀʰı̆ːà-ː̏-sụ̊̀ ⁿǁŏːkò-ː̏-sò-sà
usually RC(3f.sg.) dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg. children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC

kʰǒːtánàsà̀ ʔíɬímēːtsʼḭ̀gà̀
kʰǒː-tà-nà-sà ʔíɬímēː-tsʼè-ʔĩ-à
house-in-to-3f.sg.PC shut(3m.sg.obj.)-appl.-3a.pl.obj.-conn.
Usually Dik-dik shut the children in the house

mántʃʰâ ìtʃʰàsànàsà̀ hìkʼi̯
mántʃʰà ítʃʰà-sà-nà-sà híkʼi̯
food look.for-nml.-to-3f.sg.PC go
and went to look for food.

See section 11.5.2 on relative clauses for a further use of the applicative morpheme.

5.5 'Give'

Object marking morphemes are used in a specific way in a Sandawe construction that expresses the action of giving. The following tables give the paradigms for this construction when it has a third person feminine singular subject:

Table 5.8 Third person feminine singular subject, singular object

Recipient	*Ongoing*	*Completed*	*Irrealis*
1sg.	[séʔwàsà̀] sé-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives me it*	[séːsâ] sé-é-sà *She gave me it*	[sêːsu̯] sé-é-ì-su̯ *She will give me it*
2sg.	[póʔwàsà̀] pó-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives you it*	[póːwésâ] pó-é-sà *She gave you it*[a]	[póːwêsu̯] pó-é-ì-sù̯ *She will give you it*
3m.sg.	[ʔíʔwàsà̀] ʔí-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives him it*	[ʔíésâ] ʔí-é-sà *She gave him it*	[ʔíêsu̯] ʔí-é-ì-sù̯ *She will give him it*
3f.sg.	[ʔíʔwàsà̀] ʔí-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives her it*	[ʔíésúsâ] ʔí-é-sú-sà *She gave her it*	[ʔíésûsu̯] ʔí-é-sú-ì-sù̯ *She will give her it*
1pl.	[sṵ̋ʔwàsà̀] sṵ̋ː-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives us it*	[sṵ̋ːgésâ] sṵ̋ː-é-sạ *She gave us it*	[sṵ̋ːgêsu̯] sṵ̋ː-é-ì-sù̯ *She will give us it*
2pl.	[sɪ́ʔwàsà̀] sɪ́ː-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives you (pl.) it*	[sɪ́ːgésâ] sɪ́ː-é-sà *She gave you (pl.) it*	[sɪ́ːgêsu̯] sɪ́ː-é-ì-sù̯ *She will give you (pl.) it*
3pl.	[ʔíʔwàsà̀] ʔí-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives them it*	[ʔɪ́géʔɪ́ːsâ] ʔí-ɪ́-é-ʔɪ́ː-sà *She gave them it*	[ʔɪ́géʔɪ̂ːsu̯] ʔí-ɪ́-é-ʔɪ́ː-ì-sù̯ *She will give them it*

[a] Note the lengthened vowel in the second person recipient object morpheme.

Table 5.9 Third person feminine singular subject, plural object

Recipient	*Ongoing*	*Completed*	*Irrealis*
1sg.	[séʔwàsə̀à] sé-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives me them*	[séʔwāːsə̀à] sé-ʔ̰ wáː-sà *She gave me them*	[séʔwə̀ːsu̯] sé-ʔ̰ wáː-ì-sù̯ *She will give me them*
2sg.	[póʔwàsə̀à] pó-ʔ̰ wa-sà *She gives you them*	[póʔwāːsə̀à] pó-ʔ̰ wáː-sà *She gave you them*	[póʔwə̀ːsu̯] pó-ʔ̰ wáː-ì-sù̯ *She will give you them*
3m.sg.	[ʔíʔwàsə̀à] ʔí-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives him them*	[ʔíʔwāːsə̀à] ʔí-ʔ̰ wáː-sà *She gave him them*	[ʔíʔwə̀ːsu̯] ʔí-ʔ̰ wáː-ì-sù̯ *She will give him them*
3f.sg.	[ʔíʔwàsə̀à] ʔí-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives her them*	[ʔíʔwāːsūsə̀à] ʔí-ʔ̰ wáː-sú-sà *She gave her them*	[ʔíʔwāːsə̀ùsu̯] ʔí-ʔ̰ wáː-sú-ì-sù̯ *She will give her them*
1pl.	[sṹʔwàsə̀à] sṹː-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives us them*	[sṹʔwāːsə̀à] sṹː-ʔ̰ wáː-sà *She gave us them*	[sṹʔwə̀ːsu̯] sṹː-ʔ̰ wáː-ì-sù̯ *She will give us them*
2pl.	[sɪ́ʔwàsə̀à] sɪ́ː-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives you (pl.) them*	[sɪ́ʔwāːsə̀à] sɪ́ː-ʔ̰ wáː-sà *She gave you (pl.) them*	[sɪ́ʔwə̀ːsu̯] sɪ́ː-ʔ̰ wáː-ì-sù̯ *She will give you (pl.) them*
3pl.	[ʔíʔwàsə̀à] ʔí-ʔ̰ wà-sà *She gives them them*	[ʔíʔwāʔɪ̄ːsə̀à] ʔí-ʔ̰ wáː-ʔɪ́ː-sà *She gave them them*	[ʔíʔwāʔɪ̏ːsu̯] ʔí-ʔ̰ wáː-ʔɪ́ː-ì-sù̯ *She will give them them*

The following morpheme order schemas can be observed. When the recipient is first or second person:

Recipient – Direct object – PC/pgn

When the recipient is third person:[28]

ʔí – Direct object – (Recipient) – PC/pgn

Parentheses are included in the preceding second schema because the object morphemes for a third person recipient are omitted in the ongoing form.

The choice of direct object morpheme is determined in the following way:

Ongoing: /-ʔ̰ wà/, for both singular and plural

[28] Elderkin (personal communication, 2005) analyses both /ʔí-/ and the /-ʔ/ in /-ʔ wá/ and /-ʔ wáː/ as third person.

Completed and irrealis: /-é/ for singular
/-ʔ̰ wá:/ for plural

Three alternative forms for the verb ‘to give’ have been attested:

(31) ʔíʔwàsɪ̀ːsà
ʔí-ʔ̰ wà-sɪ́ː-sà
3pers.-3i.pl.obj.-2pl.obj.-3f.sg.PC
She gave you (pl.) it/them.

(32)[29] ʔíésű́ːgésâ
ʔí-é-sű́ː-é-sà
3pers.-3m.sg.obj.-1pl.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-3f.sg.PC
She gave us it.

(33) ʔíéʔɪ́ːgésâ
ʔí-é-ʔɪ́ː-é-sà
3pers.-3m.sg.obj.-3a.pl.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-3f.sg.PC
She gave them it.

These forms may be archaic and/or still used in the Eastern dialect of Sandawe. The paradigms given in the tables above represent the speech of one Sandawe speaker from the Western part of Usandawe.

The next two examples are found in the text corpus and illustrate the use of the ‘give’ construction in context:

(34) hábúsâ pòːwèsi̗
hábúsà pó-é-ì-si̗
condition 2sg.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.
I will give you a condition.

(35) pàː ǁʰàtʃʰɪ̂ːgāː !’àkʰɪ̌ǎːgà tɬ’àkʰʷèːà
páː ǁʰàtʃʰú-ɪ̃́-áː !’àkʰɪ̌ǎː-ɪ̃́-à tɬ’ákʰù̗-é-à
NC(3m.sg.) lion-sp.-SF tooth-sp.-3m.sg.PC pull.out-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then Lion pulled out a tooth and

dìʔsěːsɪ̂ːsʷà ʔìè
dìʔsěː-sú-ɪ̃́-sù̗-à ʔí-é
old.person-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.-3m.sg.PC 3pers.-3m.sg.obj.
gave it to the old woman.

[29] Note that in examples (32) and (33) the singular object morpheme /-é/ appears to occur twice, both before and after the recipient object morpheme (cf. the positioning of this morpheme in the preceding paradigms).

The imperative forms of the ‘give’ construction are the following:

(36) ékô
é-kò
3m.sg.obj.-2sg.Imp.PC
Take it!

(37) éwákò̰
é-wà-kò
3m.sg.obj.-mult.-2sg.Imp.PC
Take them!

These constructions are only used when the speaker has the item or items to be given in his possession. Otherwise, a form using a regular verb with the meaning ‘take’ is used, as in the following example:

(38) síékô
sí-é-kò
take-3m.sg.obj.-2sg.Imp.PC
Take it!

5.6 Other number marking

5.6.1 Suppletive stems for subject number

Some intransitive verbs in Sandawe have suppletive stems which reflect the number of the subject:

Table 5.10 Intransitive suppletive stems

Singular subject	*Plural subject*	*Gloss*
ǀí	ⁿǀàtí	*come*
hík’ḭ̀	níʔ	*go*
íé	nĕː	*stay, live*
tɬǎːsḭ̀	ɬàʔté	*die*
tʰâ	gìrḭ̀bé	*run*
!’àwé	!ʰóː	*fall*
ⁿǁúmé	ɬéː	*stand*
hǎːkíts’ḭ̀	hǎːnàkí	*sit*

The following examples from the text corpus illustrate the occurrence of some of these suppletive stems:

(39) hík'ísɪ̄ː mìndàtàsi̯ |ʷǎːsi̯ ⁿ|èʔwǎː
hík'ì̯-si̯-ːˊ mìndà-tà-sì̯ |ʷǎː-si̯ ⁿ|ěː-wáː-ːˊ
go-1sg.PC-& field-to-1sg.PC millet-1sg.PC cut-3i.pl.obj.-&
I go to the field and cut millet and

|ǐː kùnùtànàsi̯ kǎː
|ì-ːˊ kùnù-tà-nà-sì̯ kǎː-ːˊ
come-& mortar-in-to-1sg.PC put-&
I come and put them in the mortar

nìsɪ̀ː pǔːéː bùrùʔsèː
nǐː-sì̯ pǔː-é-ːˊ bùrùʔsé-é
and-1sg.PC pound-3m.sg.obj.-& winnow-3m.sg.obj.
and pound it and winnow it.[30]

(40) hěːsô kísósɔ̃̀sò kʷámɛ́ː hàbàʔsɛ́ː ⁿ|àtìsò
hěːsò kísò-sò-ːˇ-sò kʷámé-ːˊ hàbàʔsé-ːˊ ⁿ|àtí-sò
dem.(prox.3pl.) two-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl. drive.out-& make.noise-& come-3a.pl.
These two were to come, driving out and making noise.

If a clause contains a suppletive verb stem and a third person plural subject that is not marked with a PGN morpheme, any PCs which agree with the subject must be third person masculine singular, rather than third person plural:

(41) ⁿ‖ǒːkɔ̂ː ɬàʔtéâ
ⁿ‖ǒːkò-ːˇ ɬàʔté-à
children-sp. die-3m.sg.PC
The children died.

However, if the subject in such a clause is suffixed with a plural PGN morpheme, the third person plural PC is used:[31]

(42) ⁿ‖ǒːkɔ̂ːsò ɬàʔtéâʔ
ⁿ‖ǒːkò-ːˇ-sò ɬàʔté-àʔ
children-sp.-3a.pl. die-3pl.PC
The children died.

[30] The object of 'put' is plural (the cut millet), but once the millet is in the mortar it is treated as singular ('pound it and winnow it').
[31] The same pattern can be observed in verbs in which the plurality of the subject is indicated by the multiple morpheme /-wà/, rather than by a suppletive stem.

5.6.2 Multiple

The multiple morpheme /-wà/ may attach to a verb stem. Its function is to indicate multiple occurrences of the action of the verb. The precise meaning of the morpheme depends on the context of its occurrence, as the following examples illustrate. In example (43), the presence of /-wà/ shows that the subject of the clause is plural:

(43)	d̏èr̥u̥	!’úāː	ǀ’èːkàwȁ
	dèr̥ù̥	!’û-áː	ǀ’ěːkâ-wà
	[chin	hair]$_{\text{GEN}}$-SF	be.heavy-mult.
	The whiskers are heavy.		

If the /-wà/ morpheme is omitted, the clause is understood as having a singular subject.

The /-wà/ morpheme may also indicate that a singular subject has completed the action of the verb more than once:

(44)	hísâ	ǀʰĭːȃːsʷāː	hăːŋgā̂ː	hìk’ȉːʔ
	hí-sà	ǀʰĭːà-ː̏ -sù̥-áː	hăːngà-ː́	hík’ì̥-ìʔ
	when-3f.sg.PC	dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg.-SF	get.up-&	go-sub.cl.
	When Dik-dik got up and went,			

pȁxi̥	tʰékʰélȇː	ǀʰĭːâ	kʰòːnȁː	hík’âː
páxì̥	tʰekʰéléː-ː̏	ǀʰĭːà	kʰŏː-nà-à	hík’ì̥-à
RC(3m.sg.)	hyena-sp.	[dik.dik	house]$_{\text{GEN}}$-to-3m.sg.PC	go-conn.
then Hyena went to Dik-dik’s house and				

ⁿǁúméwâː	màʔé	ǀʰĭːâ	ⁿǁòːkòxȅmèːȁ
ⁿǁúmé-wà-à	màʔé	ǀʰĭːà	ⁿǁŏːkó-xéː-ː̏ -kì̥méː-à
stand-mult.-3m.sg.PC	go.around	[dik.dik	children-pl.-sp.-bec.]$_{\text{GEN}}$-3m.sg.PC
stood around, because of Dik-dik’s children.			

In other examples of a singular subject occurring with a verb marked with the multiple morpheme, the context can suggest a habitual or repetitive interpretation:

(45)	hóbê	jàʔàbȍi	jàʔbèwȁ
	hóbè	jáʔábò-ì	jàʔbé-wà
	[what	work]$_{\text{GEN}}$-2sg.	do.work-mult.
	What work do you do?		

(46)	hótʃómȉː	ǁóʔnȁ	ʔíɛ̋ː	hík’wȁ
	hótʃò-kì̥méː-ì	ǁóʔ-nà	ʔíé-ː́	hík’ì̥-wà
	what-bec.-2sg.PC	there-to	stay-&	go-mult.
	Why do you keep going there?			

The text corpus contains no example of two instances of the /-wà/ morpheme suffixed to the same verb, but this is theoretically possible, as the following elicited example shows:

(47) hùmbù báló:wáwàì
hùmbù báló:-wà-wà-ì
cow graze-mult.-mult.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
The cows will habitually graze.

This example can be interpreted as containing one /-wà/ morpheme to show that the subject is plural and a second /-wà/ morpheme to convey habitualness.

The multiple morpheme may occur with the durative morpheme /-jó:/:

(48) ʔà: nĕ:wájō:
ʔá: nĕ:-wà-jó:
NC(3pl.) live-mult.-dur.
And then they lived

sà: ⁿ|ûm̀sŭ̃sʷà: tɬ’àbísó:sâ !’ò:wè
sá: ⁿ|úm̰ sú-ː̃-sụ́-á: tɬ’àbísó:-sà !’ŏ:-é
NC(3f.sg.) wife-sp.-3f.sg.-SF stomach-3f.sg.PC get-3m.sg.obj.
and then the wife became pregnant.

In this example, the function of the multiple morpheme is to intensify the durative meaning associated with the /-jó:/ morpheme.

The multiple morpheme may be found in combination with the reciprocal morpheme and the benefactive morpheme:

(49) wékɛ̃́: nĩ̀: ǁ’àkásụ̰ ʔútā: ʔà: kòŋgòmàwɜ̃̀:kì
wékɛ̃́: nĩ́: ǁ’àkásụ̀ ʔûtá: ʔá: kóngómà-wà-ː̃́kí
wind and sun long.ago NC(3pl.) argue-mult.-recip.
Long ago the wind and the sun argued.

(50) mélìtà jàʔàbò ⁿ|òmòsɔ̃̀:sò
mêlì-tà jáʔábò ⁿ|òmósò-ː̃-sò
[boat-in [work people]$_{GEN}$]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3a.pl.

ʔà: ʔíxâʔ bòkʷɜ̃̀:kí
ʔá: ʔíxḭ̀-àʔ bô-kù-wà-ː̃́kí
NC(3pl.) thus-3pl.PC say-ben.-mult.-recip.
Then the boat workers said to each other thus.

In the following example, the multiple morpheme occurs before the suffix /-sl̥/ which derives a verb from a noun:

(51) híâʔ ts'ò:ts'ìwàsì:ʔ
hí-àʔ ts'ǒ:ts'í-wà-sl̥-ìʔ
when-3pl.PC hunger-mult.-verb.-sub.cl.
When they were hungry,

ʔà: ʔísó:nâʔ nìʔ
ʔá: ʔìsá-ó:-nà-àʔ níʔ
NC(3pl.) steal-nml.-to-3pl.PC go
they went to steal.

In the following example, the multiple morpheme precedes the reflexive morpheme /-ts'í/:

(52) kʷà: tʰâ: ts'átànà̃: tʰò:
kʷá: tʰâ-à ts'â-tà-nà-à tʰǒ:
NC(3m.sg.) run-conn. water-in-to-3m.sg.PC jump
And then he ran and jumped into the water

nì̃: ɬâ: kʰòŋgò:ràwàts'ì
nǐ́: ɬá:-à kʰòngǒ:rà-wà-ts'í
and well-3m.sg.PC scrub-mult.-reflex.
and scrubbed himself well

kʷà: tʃʰúʔwà̀ ráŋgì̃:
kʷá: tʃʰúʔ̰-wà rầngì-ɾ̃́
NC(3m.sg.) go.away-mult. colour-sp.
and the colours went away.

If the order of these two morphemes is reversed, the sentence is interpreted as meaning 'the colours scrubbed themselves well and went away'. The multiple morpheme is understood to mark a plural subject, rather than the habitual action of a singular subject. The following example suggests that there is an association between this morpheme order and the plural subject interpretation:

(53) mák'ỗ: hǐ́:géxễ:sīʔ tɬ'ĕ:ts'íwâ:
màk'é-ó:-ɾ̃́ hǐ́:gé-xé:-ɾ̃́-síʔ tɬ'ĕ:-ts'í-wà-à
be.troubled-nml.-sp. some-pl.-sp.-loc. diminish-reflex.-mult.-3m.sg.PC
As for some troubles, they have diminished

pà: hǐ́:géxé:á: ǀẫ:ts'íwâ
pá: hǐ́:gé-xé:-á: ǀẫ:-ts'ì-wà
NC(3m.sg.) some-pl.-SF see-reflex.-mult.
but others have become apparent.

The iterative suffix /-mé/ may also be used to express the multiple action of a verb, as shown in the following elicited examples:

(54)	búrāː	gìtɬ'ȇː	lʰòrȍ̂ːsèː
	búrı̥-áː	gìtɬ'é-ʔ̏	lʰòrȍ̌ː-sé-é
	mouse-SF	clothing-sp.	have.hole-caus.-3m.sg.obj.
	A mouse has made a hole in a piece of clothing.		

(55)	búrāː	gìtɬ'ȇː	lʰòròm̀sèː
	búrı̥-áː	gìtɬ'é-ʔ̏	lʰòrȍ̌ː-mé-sé-é
	mouse-SF	clothing-sp.	have.hole-iter.-caus.-3m.sg.obj.
	A mouse has made holes in a piece of clothing.		

(56)	búrāː	gìtɬ'ȇː	lʰòròm̀sìmàː
	búrı̥-áː	gìtɬ'é-ʔ̏	lʰòrȍ̌ː-mé-sé-mé-wáː
	mouse-SF	clothing-sp.	have.hole-iter.-caus.-iter.-3i.pl.obj.
	A mouse has made holes in pieces of clothing.		

In the following example, the verb /bùrùʔsé/ 'winnow' has a singular object:

(57)	àː	tʰámétʃʰāː	bùrùʔsèː	làʔsěːʔȋgȁʔ
	áː	tʰámétʃʰū-áː	bùrùʔsé-é	làʔsěː-ʔȉː-àʔ
	NC(3pl.)	woman-SF	winnow-3m.sg.obj.	winnowing.trough-with-3pl.PC
	Then the women winnow it with the winnowing trough.			

The plural form of this verb is /bùrùʔséwáː/ 'winnow them'. This is an example of a verb which does not include the iterative /-mé/ morpheme when it has a plural object. Instead, the verb /bùrùʔsé/ 'winnow' can be analysed as having an inherently iterative meaning. (The causative suffix /-sé/ can be identified in this form, but there is no corresponding non-causative form */buruʔ/.)

In the following example, the reduplicated verb form /tɬ'àpʰàtɬ'àpʰàsé/ 'pound' has a singular object, but expresses multiple action:

(58)	sʷê	kʷàː	dórȏː
	sʷê	kʷáː	dóró-ʔ̏
	now	NC(3m.sg.)	zebra-sp.

tʰěː	tɬ'ʷéːséȁ	ìtʃʰàwȁː	nȉːgȁː
tʰěː	tɬ'ʷéː-sí-è-à	ítʃʰà-wà-ʔ̋	nı̋ː-à
tree	be.bitter-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC	look.for-mult.-&	and-3m.sg.PC

tɬ’àp^{h}àtɬ’àp^{h}àsɛ̋ː	dǐːnâː	ɬâː	nòːwè
tɬ’àp^{h}àtɬ’àp^{h}àsé-é-ː́	dǐː-nà-à	ɬáː-à	nóːwé
pound-3m.sg.obj.-&	stone-to-3m.sg.PC	well-3m.sg.PC	grind(3m.sg.obj.)

Now Zebra looked for a bitter tree and he pounded it on a stone and ground it well.

There are no verb forms */tɬ’ap^{h}ase/ or */tɬ’ap^{h}a/ in Sandawe, but the form in the example above can be analysed as being related to the verb /tɬ’àp^{h}é/ ‘beat, thresh’.

5.7 Verbal extensions

The following suffixes all either attach to existing verb stems or are found in verbs for which no suffixless form has been attested. Suffixes which derive verbs from other grammatical categories are discussed in section 9.2. Six suffix types will be discussed in the following sections: causative, reflexive/stative, reciprocal, comitative, durative, and desiderative.

5.7.1 Causative

The following table gives examples of some causative verbs which are derived from other verbs by means of the suffixes /-kʊ̀/, /-sí-kʊ̀/ or /-sé/:

Table 5.11 Causative

kê	*climb*	kêkʊ̀	*raise*
mántʃ^{h}à	*eat*	mántʃ^{h}àkʊ̀	*feed*
t^{h}ǒː	*move (intrans.)*	t^{h}ókʊ̀	*move (trans.)*
tû	*come out, go away*	tûkʊ̀	*remove*
^{n}‖úmé	*stand (sg.subj.)*	^{n}‖ûːkʊ̀	*make stand (sg.obj.)*
dàrà	*wait*	dàràsúkʊ̀	*make wait*
fógógɔ́ː	*be clear*	fógógɔ́ːsúkʊ̀	*make clear*
xâ	*be bad*	xâsúkʊ̀	*make bad*
ǁ’àkí	*descend*	ǁ’àkísúkʊ̀	*make descend*
ǁ’ék’à	*bleed*	ǁ’ék’àsúkʊ̀	*make bleed*
bé:bà	*be near*	bè:bàsé	*move near*
k^{w}élɛ́ː	*enter quickly*	k^{w}èlɛ̃ːsé	*make enter quickly*
k’á^{n}!á	*be lost*	k’à^{n}!àsé	*lose*
náʔ	*burn, be alight*	nàʔsé	*light fire*
ǀ^{h}òrǒː	*have holes*	ǀ^{h}òròm̀sé	*make holes*

The following example from the text corpus contains an example of the causative suffix /-kʊ̀/:

(59) !èkǒː !^{h}ùmè rìŋgìsòː ^{n}‖ǒː mántʃ^{h}ákʊ̀sɔ̀
!èkǒː !^{h}ùmé rìngísóː ^{n}‖ǒː mántʃ^{h}à-kʊ̀-ì-sò
[[millet flour]$_{GEN}$ porridge]$_{GEN}$ child eat-caus.-irr.-3a.pl.
They would feed the child millet flour porridge.

This suffix is described by Elderkin (GS:M35) as an 'old suffix'. It is commonly found in verbs which have no non-causative equivalent:

(60) hèwé bàʔòː gìtɬ'ə̃̀ːgà tètèkʷàː
hèwé bàʔé-óː gìtɬ'é-ə̃̀ː-à tétékʊ̀-wá
[[he be.big-nml.]$_{GEN}$ clothes]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3m.sg.PC take.off-3i.pl.obj.
He took off his clothes of greatness.

Other verbs without non-causative equivalents include /ádúkʊ̀/ 'help', /tl'ákʊ̀/ 'pull out' and /ɬékʊ̀/ 'put on a fire'.

The /-kʊ̀/ suffix commonly occurs with a preceding [-sú]. Elderkin follows Dempwolff (1916:37) in analysing [-sú] as the 'nominalising' suffix /-sí/ (glossed below as possessive), whose vowel is affected by the following /-kʊ̀/ (GS:M36):

(61) dóːlókī ʔàŋkʰá ɬ'ăːntʃʰímásūkèːsòts'è
dóːlò-kí ʔànkʰá ɬ'ăːntʃʰímà-sí-kʊ̀-éː-ì-sò-ts'é
a.little-add. even be.sweet-poss.-caus.-3m.sg.obj.[32]-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.
They would not make it even a little sweet,

kàʔ kʷàː mĕː tɬ'àbísóːá: kûmʊ̀kʷēː
káʔ kʷáː mĕː tɬ'àbísóː-áː kûmʊ̀-kù-éː
hear. SC(3m.sg.) neg. stomach-SF hurt-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
apparently so that the stomach would not hurt.

The combination of the /-sí/ and /-kʊ̀/ suffixes is the most productive of the three types of causatives shown in the preceding table. This suffix combination is also used to derive causative verbs from nouns (see section 9.2.3).

When attached to the verb /dlòmó/ 'buy', the /-sí/ and /-kʊ̀/ suffixes result in a form which means 'sell':

(62) ʔùsʷê wàrè hùmbù ʔùsə̋̀ʔwàì kèsôʔ
ʔùsʷê wàré hùmbù ʔùsə̋̀ː-ʔ̰ wà-ì kèsé-òʔ
now friend cow we-3i.pl.-pro. drive-1pl.Subj.PC

dlòmósúkʊ̀sànà̀ m̀nádánà̀
dlòmó-sú-kʊ̀-sà-nà m̀nádà-nà
buy-poss.-caus.-nml.-to market-to
Now, friend, let's drive our cows to the market in order to sell them.

[32] The third person masculine object morpheme, which follows causative /-kʊ̀/, is always the long /-éː/, rather than the alternative short form /-é/ (see section 5.1).

The causative suffix /-sé/ is commonly found in verbs for which no suffixless form exists:

(63)	àː	tʰámétʃʰāː	bùrùʔsèː	làʔsěːʔȋ̂gȁʔ
	áː	tʰámétʃʰū-áː	bùrùʔsé-é	làʔsěː-ʔȉː-àʔ
	NC(3pl.)	woman-SF	winnow-3m.sg.obj.	winnowing.trough-with-3pl.PC

Then the women winnow it with the winnowing trough.

All the tones in the verb stem preceding /-sé/ are low. The following example contains the verb /kʰùʔsé/ ‘throw away (pl.obj.)’, which is derived from /kʰúʔ/ ‘scatter, spill’:

(64)	sìː	dlànȋ̂ːsi̥	kʰùʔsèːȁ
	síː	dlàní-ȉ̃-sì̥	kʰúʔ-sé-é-à
	NC(1sg.)	arrow-sp.-1sg.PC	spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-conn.

Then I threw the arrows away and

tʰěː	ǀ’ȁːnȁsi̥	kȅ
tʰěː	ǀ’ā́ː-nà-sì̥	kê
[tree	top-to]$_{GEN}$-1sg.PC	climb

climbed to the top of a tree.

The plural object /-wáː/ morpheme can occur after a causative morpheme, as in the following example:

(65)	pòː	kʰǒːnôː	^{n}ǁèːsùkʷàː
	póː	kʰǒː-nà-ò	^{n}ǁěː-sí-ku̥-wáː
	NC(1pl.)	house-to-1pl.PC	enter-poss.-caus.-3i.pl.obj.

Then we bring them in the house

pòː	tóŋgétánȍː	tɬòku̥wàː
póː	tóngé-tà-nà-ò	tɬôkù̥-wáː
NC(1pl.)	container-in-to-1pl.PC	put-3i.pl.obj.

and put them in the container.

The combination of the singular object morpheme /-é/ preceded by the /-sé/ causative morpheme is realised as [-séː]:

(66)	híâ	hèwéxéː	^{n}ǃȇ̂ːgāː	tʃʰèːkìːʔ
	hí-à	hèwéxéː	^{n}ǃê-ȉ̃-áː	tʃʰěː-kí-ìʔ
	when-3m.sg.PC	dem.(ref.pl.)	day-sp.-SF	absent-verb.-sub.cl.

When these days have finished,

ʔàː	pʰálâʔ	kʰʷàséːtʃʰôiʔ
ʔáː	pʰálâ-àʔ	kʰʷà-sé-é-tʃʰì-só-ìʔ
NC(3pl.)	marriage.gift-3pl.PC	return-caus.-3m.sg.obj.- neg.-3a.pl. -sub.cl.

if they have not returned the marriage gift,

ʔàː mànǎː káʔ
ʔáː mànǎː káʔ
NC(3pl.) know hear.
then they know that

tʰámétʃʰṻːsȕ dògȍːsȍ mě:nâːʔ
tʰámétʃʰū-ː̏-sù dògó-ː̏-sò mě:nà-àʔ
[woman-sp.-3f.sg. relative-sp.-3a.pl.]GEN agree-3pl.PC
the woman's relatives agree

ⁿǁǒːkôːsȍ hètèkàwȁːkȉː
ⁿǁǒːkó-ː̏-sò hétékà-wà-ː́kí-ː̏
[children-sp.-3a.pl. marry-mult.-recip.]GEN-sp.
to the marriage of the children.

The plural equivalent of /k^{hw}à-sé-é/ is /k^{hw}àm̀séː/, /k^{hw}àm̀símáː/, or /k^{hw}àm̀séwáː/ 'return them'. The first of these was considered to be the most common by our main consultant. The three forms can be analysed as deriving from /k^{hw}à-mé-sé-(mé)-wáː/ 'return-iter.-caus. (-iter.)-3i.pl.obj.

5.7.2 Reflexive/stative

Verbs with a reflexive or stative meaning can be derived by the suffix /-ts'í/ or /-ts'ḭ̀/.[33] The choice between the two suffixes does not seem to be predictable, as the examples in the following table illustrate:

Table 5.12 Reflexive/stative

ʔàmé	*keep, raise*	ʔǎ̋ːts'í	*keep/raise oneself, be kept/raised*
tʰímé	*cook*	tʰı̋ːts'í	*be cooked*
tʰìné	*sew*	tʰı̌ːts'í	*be sewn*
ⁿǁókʰò	*wash*	ⁿǁókʰòts'í	*wash oneself, be washed*
ʔámé	*split*	ʔa̋ːts'ḭ̀	*be split*
híⁿ!ı̋ː	*straighten*	ⁿ!ı̂ːts'ḭ̀	*be straightened*
hó!ôː	*fill*	!ő:ts'ḭ̀	*be filled*
màɬé	*choose*	màɬéts'ḭ̀	*choose oneself, be chosen*

Note, also, how for the first three verbs in the table, the second syllable of the verb stem is not found in the reflexive/stative forms. Those verbs which behave in this way belong to the group of verbs which have a lengthened first (root) vowel when a third person object morpheme is attached (see section 5.1.1).

[33] The use of this suffix is comparable to that of a *middle* suffix (Sander Steeman, personal communication, 2006).

The precise meaning of verbs ending in the /-ts'í/ or /-ts'ḭ̀/ morpheme is dependent on the meaning of the stem verb and on the context. In the following example, a reflexive meaning is understood:

(67)
	sìː	tʃáː	kìtóŋgétâsḭ	ǁʷàts'ḭ
	síː	tʃí-áː	kìtóngé-tà-sḭ	ǁʷá-ts'ḭ̀
	NC(1sg.)	I-SF	barrel-in-1sg.PC	hide-reflex.

Then I hid myself in the barrel.

In contrast, in the following example, a stative interpretation is appropriate:

(68)
	mák'ô̰ː	hḯːgéxḛ̂ːsīʔ	tɬ'ĕːts'íwâː
	màk'é-óː-ɨ̀	hḯːgé-xéː-ɨ̀-síʔ	tɬ'ĕː-ts'í-wà-à
	be.troubled-nml.-sp.	some-pl.-sp.-loc.	diminish(caus.)-reflex.-mult.-3m.sg.PC

As for some troubles, they have diminished

pàː	hḯːgéxéːáː	ǀâ̰ːts'ìwâ
páː	hḯːgé-xéː-áː	ǀâ̰ː-ts'í-wà
NC(3m.sg.)	some-pl.-SF	see-reflex.-mult.

but others have become apparent.

The meaning of a verb plus the /-ts'i/ suffix is not always transparent, as in the following example:

(69)
	sàː	ʔáráː	hèsú	sàndàwĕːsṵ̂ːsṵ	hík'ḭ
	sàː	ʔáráː	hèsú	sàndàwĕː-sú-ɨ̀-sṳ̀	hík'ḭ̀
	NC(3f.sg.)	truly	dem.(ref.3f.sg.)	Sandawe-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.	go

And truly this Sandawe woman went,

sàː	ⁿǁŏːkó	kísôxḭ	pàsàːʔɪ̃̀ːsà	k^{hw}à	mĕːnáts'ɪ̄ː	
sàː	ⁿǁŏːkó	kísòxḭ̀	pàsăː-ʔɪ̃̀ː-sà	k^{hw}à	mĕːnà-ts'í-ɨ́	
NC(3f.sg.)	[children	two	twins]$_{GEN}$-with-3f.sg.PC	return	like-reflex.-&	

and then she happily returned with twins.

When suffixed with the /-ts'i/ suffix, the verb /mĕːnà/ 'like' may mean either 'like oneself' or 'be liked' if the context is appropriate, but it is most commonly understood with the meaning 'be happy'.

Other non-transparent examples include /tɬíné/ 'build' and /tɬḯːts'í/ 'build oneself up, be steadfast', and /ìsá/ 'steal' and /ìsáts'ḭ̀/ 'steal oneself away'.

5.7.3 Reciprocal

The distribution of the reciprocal morpheme is shown in the following table:

Table 5.13 Reciprocal

húk'wà	*kill*	húk'wàkí	*kill each other*
!'ŏː	*meet, get*	!'ŏːkí	*meet each other*
bìkʰé	*leave*	bìkʰékí	*leave each other*
kʰéʔé	*hear*	kʰéʔéwâ̰ːkí	*hear each other*
mĕːnà	*like*	mĕːnàwâ̰ːkí	*like each other*
mànà	*know*	mànàwǎ̰ːkí	*know each other*
kʰéʔé	*hear*	kʰéʔékʷâ̰ːkí	*listen to each other*
mĕːnà	*like*	mĕːnáːkʷâ̰ːkí	*agree with each other*[a]
ǁʰèmé	*pay*	ǁʰḛ̌ːkʷâ̰ːkí	*pay for each other*
dùbé	*smash*	dùbìmḛ̆ːkí	*smash into each other*
màɬé	*choose*	màɬìmḛ̆ːkí	*choose each other*
wèré	*walk, visit*	wèrìmḛ̆ːkí	*visit each other*

[a] The reciprocal form also includes a singular object morpheme /é/.

In the first three rows, the reciprocal morpheme takes the form /-kí/ and is attached to the verb root, whereas, in the remaining examples, it takes the form /-ː́kí/ and follows either the multiple morpheme /-wà/, the combination of this morpheme with the benefactive morpheme /-kù/, or the iterative morpheme /-mé/.[34]

The following three text examples illustrate some of these uses of the reciprocal morpheme:

(70) tʃíkí wàrè máxáèːsi̯ tʃʰíásɯ̄ː hùk'wàkìsɯ̰̀ː
tʃí-kí wàré máxà-éː-si̯ tʃʰíà-sɯ́ː húk'wà-kí-ì-sɯ̰̀ː
I-add. friend male-3m.sg.-1sg. all-1pl. kill-recip.-irr.-1pl.
I also, friend, am a male, we both will kill each other.

(71) wékɛ̄ː nɪ̄ː ǁ'àkásu̯ ʔútāː ʔàː kʰòŋgòmàwà̰ːkì
wékɛ́ː nɪ́ː ǁ'àkásù̯ ʔútáː ʔáː kʰóngómà-wà-ː́kí
wind and sun long.ago NC(3pl.) argue-mult.-recip.
Long ago the wind and the sun argued with each other.

(72) mélìtà jàʔàbò ⁿ|òmòsɔ̰̀ːsò
mêlì-tà jáʔábò ⁿ|òmósò-ː̀-sò
[boat-in [work people]$_{GEN}$]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3a.pl.

[34] Alternatively, the form /-ː́kí / could be analysed as two morphemes: the connective morpheme /-ː́/ and the reciprocal morpheme /-kí/.

ʔà: ʔíxâʔ bòkʷǎ́:kí
ʔá: ʔíxə̀-àʔ bô-kù-wà-ɾ́-kí
NC(3pl.) thus-3pl.PC say-ben.-mult.-recip.
Then the boat workers said to each other thus.

5.7.4 Comitative

The comitative morpheme /-ká/ expresses ‘accompaniment or instrument’ (Elderkin GS:M33):

Table 5.14 Comitative

kʰǎ:	*hit*	kʰǎ:ká	*hit with*
!ʰó:	*fall (pl.subj.)*	!ʰó:ká	*fall with (pl.subj., sg.obj.)*
ⁿ!áʔá	*cling*	ⁿ!áʔáká	*wrap around*
ǀí	*come (sg.subj.)*	ǀíká ǀíwàká	*bring (sg.subj., sg.obj.)* *bring (sg.subj., pl.obj.)*
ǀ’ě:	*look*	ǀ’ě:ká	*attend to*

It is usually found with a following singular object morpheme and therefore a long vowel:

(73) pà: híâ úrɾ́:gà wèkʰɛ̃̀:gìʔ
pá: hí-à úrɾ̃:-à wékʰɛ́:-ìʔ
NC(3m.sg.) when-3m.sg.PC very-3m.sg.PC blow-sub.cl.
But when he blew a lot,

pà: mĭ:ndʒó ⁿǀèmèsɛ̃̀:kìà: hèwé kʰótʰɪ̃̀:gà
pá: mĭ:ndʒó ⁿǀèmésé:-ɾ̃-kí-á: hèwé kʰôtʰì-ɾ̃-à
NC(3m.sg.) [journey man]$_{GEN}$-sp.-add.-SF [he coat]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3m.sg.PC

téɬâ: ⁿ!àʔàkà:
téɬà-à ⁿ!áʔá-ká-é
completely-3m.sg.PC cling-com.-3m.sg.obj.
then the traveller wrapped his coat more tightly around him.

(74) k’àrě: híkí hèwé tùrə̰tà ǀ’è:wàkàìnà
k’àrě: híkí hèwé túrə̰tà ǀ’ě:-wà-ká-ì-nà
youth how [he life]$_{GEN}$ look-mult.-com.-irr.(-3m.sg.)-qu.
How will a youth attend to his life,

pà: ɬàùwà̀i
pá: ɬáúwà-ì
SC(3m.sg.) be.good(pl.subj.)-irr.(-3m.sg.)
so that it is good?

The following example contains a benefactive object as well as the comitative object:

(75)	tʃěː	kʰàːkàːxi̥pȍsi̥
	tʃěː	kʰǎː-ká-é-xì̥-pó-ì-sì̥
	head	hit-com.-3m.sg.obj.-ben.-2sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.
	I will hit your head (against something).	

5.7.5 Durative

Elderkin refers to the durative morpheme /-jóː/ as an 'anomalous clitic' (GS:M6) because it behaves tonally like a word rather than a suffix. We have also found that this morpheme exhibits unusual tonal behaviour in that its high tone does not necessarily undergo downstep when it occurs in the downstep environment. Thus, in the following example, the tone of the durative morpheme may be high or mid (a downstepped high):

(76)	ʔàː	něːwájōː / něːwàjóː		
	ʔáː	něː-wà-jóː		
	NC(3pl.)	live-mult.-dur.		
	And then they lived			
	sàː	^{n}|ûmsȕsʷàː	tɬ'àbísóːsâ	!'òːwè
	sáː	^{n}|úm̥̀ sú-ː̏-sù̥-áː	tɬ'àbísóː-sà	!'ǒːwé
	NC(3f.sg.)	wife-sp.-3f.sg.-SF	stomach-3f.sg.PC	get
	and then the wife became pregnant.			

As in the preceding example, the durative morpheme commonly occurs following the multiple morpheme /-wà/, which can be associated with a repetitive or habitual meaning. In the following example, the durative morpheme alone provides the durative interpretation:

(77)	sìː	ɬébérâsi̥	sìè	sìː	ɬèbèrímé:
	síː	ɬébérà-sì̥	sí-é	síː	ɬèbèrímé-é
	NC(1sg.)	stirrer-1sg.PC	take-3m.sg.obj.	NC(1sg.)	stir-sg.obj
	Then I take the stirrer, and I stir it,				
	sìː	bìkʰéː	pàː	tɨ̋ːts'i̥jōː	
	síː	bìkʰé-é	páː	tɨ̋ːts'ì̥-jóː	
	NC(1sg.)	leave-3m.sg.obj.	NC(3m.sg.)	boil-dur.	
	then I leave it, and then it boils for a while,				
	sìː	^{n}ǁʷáː			
	síː	^{n}ǁʷá-é			
	NC(1sg.)	take.off.heat-3m.sg.obj.			
	and then I take it off the heat.				

In the following example, the durative morpheme corresponds to the conjunction ‘until’ in the English translation:

(78) hîsi̯ ‖ǎː !’òːkʰàiʔ
hí-sì̯ ‖â-é-ɾ́ !’ǒːkʰà-ìʔ
when-1sg.PC plant-3m.sg.obj.-& stop-sub.cl.
After I have finished planting,

sìː íâː dàràjóː pàː |’ʷǎːgāː tù
síː íé-à dàrà-jóː páː |’ʷǎː-ɾ̀-áː tû
NC(1sg.) stay-conn. wait-dur. NC(3m.sg.) millet-sp.-SF sprout
I wait until the millet sprouts.

Some occurrences of the durative morpheme are not interpreted as indicators of duration, but rather as emphatic or exclamatory markers:

(79)[35] hùmàséàjóː
hùmà-sé-à-jóː
defeat-1sg.obj.-3m.sg.PC-dur.
He has defeated me!

(80) dǎːtʃʰēːjóː
dǎː-tʃʰì̀-sé-joː
be.able-neg.-1sg.-dur.
I couldn’t!

Note also that the durative morpheme follows the subject marking morphemes in these examples.

5.7.6 Desiderative

When the desiderative morpheme /-m̩ sé/ is attached to a verb, the meaning expressed is a desire or intention to perform the action of the verb:

(81) kʰʷàm̀sési̯
kʰwà-m̩ sé-sì̯
return-des.-1sg.PC
I want to return/ I’m about to return.

(82) sàndàwěːkíʔî̀ːsi̯ sàjòm̀sè
sàndàwěːkí-ʔî̀ː-sì̯ sàjò-m̩ sé
Sandawe-with-1sg.PC speak-des.
I want to speak Sandawe.

[35] Note the exceptional surface tone pattern that occurs when the durative morpheme is attached.

When this morpheme is attached to a noun phrase X, the meaning ‘I thought it was a X’ or ‘I said X’ results (see section 9.2.4).

6 Modifiers

6.1 Adjectives

The following forms are among those which have been identified as adjectives in Sandawe:

Table 6.1 Adjectives (in third person masculine form)

Adjective	*Gloss*
bútl’i̯	*red*
dʒǎːngà	*green/grey, wet*
hàmběː	*where?*
kʰùrṵkʰúrúː	*round*
k’ánk’árà	*black*
k’ùnk’ú	*blunt*
ɬáːù	*good*
méː	*big*
nâ	*far off*
nê	*nearby*
pʰóː	*white, light*
ts’ǐːntʰè	*infant*
ts’ǒːʔ̰tó	*small*
tʃʰěː	*absent*
tɬàːkîéː	*empty*
ǀ’áːmṵ	*old, used*
ǁàěː	*new*

An adjective can be defined by the fact that it forms a NP when it occurs after a noun and with a lowered tone pattern, as illustrated by the following elicited example:[36]

(1) ǁʰàtʃʰú k’àŋk’àrà̰
ǁʰàtʃʰú k’ánk’árà
lion black
A black lion.

When the tone of the adjective is not lowered, the resulting construction is a copular one:

[36] Note that the adjective /tlàːkîéː/ ‘empty’ does not have a lowered tone pattern in a NP. This adjective is already tonally exceptional as it is has a low tone on a long vowel.

(2) ‖ʰàtʃʰú k’ánk’árâ
‖ʰàtʃʰú k’ánk’árà
lion black
A lion is black.

In contrast, placing a noun with a lowered tone pattern after a noun results in a genitive clause:

(3) ‖ʰàtʃʰú ts’ʷà:
‖ʰàtʃʰú ts’ʷă:
[lion tail]$_{GEN}$
A lion’s tail.

When the tone of the second noun is not lowered, the resulting construction is a copular one:

(4) ‖ʰàtʃʰú tʃŭ:
‖ʰàtʃʰú tʃŭ:
lion animal
A lion is an animal.

Placing a verb with a lowered tone pattern after a noun results in a genitive NP, with the verb interpreted as a nominalisation:

(5) ‖ʰàtʃʰú bàʔè
‖ʰàtʃʰú bàʔé
[lion be.big]$_{GEN}$
Bigness of the lion.

When the tone of the verb is not lowered, the resulting construction is an exclamatory clause (see section 11.2):

(6) ‖ʰàtʃʰú bàʔé
‖ʰàtʃʰú bàʔé
lion be.big
A lion is big!

When a noun is marked with the specificity morpheme /-ː̃/, the adjective retains its basic tone pattern in both a NP construction and a copular clause. In the former, the adjective is also suffixed with the specificity morpheme:

(7) ‖ʰàtʃʰû: k’ánk’árẫ:
‖ʰàtʃʰú-ː̃ k’ánk’árà-ː̃
lion-sp. black-sp.
The black lion.

(8) ǁʰàtʃʰû̃ː k’ánk’árâ
ǁʰàtʃʰú-ˀ̃ k’ánk’árà
lion-sp. black
The lion is black.

6.1.1 Person, gender, and number marking

The following table shows three of the different person, number, and gender forms for Sandawe adjectives:

Table 6.2 PGN marking in adjectives

3m.sg.	*PGN*	*3f.sg.*	*PGN*	*3i.pl.*	*PGN*	*Gloss*
ɬáːù	ù	ɬáːsù̥	sù̥	ɬáːʔ̥ wà	ʔ̥ wà	*good*
nâ	Ø	nâsù̥	sù̥	náʔ̥ wà	ʔ̥ wà	*far off*
nê	Ø	nêsù̥	sù̥	néʔ̥ wà	ʔ̥ wà	*nearby*
ts’ŏːʔ̥ tó	Ø	ts’ŏːʔ̥ tósù̥	sù̥	ts’ŏːts’òʔ	Ø	*small*
ǀ’áːmù̥	mù̥	ǀ’ā́ːsù̥	sù̥	ǀ’ā́ːʔ̥ wà	ʔ̥ wà	*old, used*
hàmbĕː	Ø	hambĕːsú	sú	hàmbĕːʔwáː	ʔwáː	*where?*
kʰùrù̥kʰúrúː	Ø	kʰùrù̥kʰúrúːsú	sú	kʰùrù̥kʰúrúʔwáː	ʔwáː	*round*
k’ùnk’ú	Ø	k’ùnk’úsú	sú	k’ùnk’úʔwáː	ʔwáː	*blunt*
méː	Ø	méːsú	sú	méʔwáː	ʔwáː	*big*
pʰóː	Ø	pʰóːsú	sú	pʰóʔwáː	ʔwáː	*white, light*
ts’ĭːntʰè	Ø	ts’ĭːntʰèsú	sú	ts’ĭːntʰèʔwáː	ʔwáː	*infant*
tʃʰĕː	Ø	tʃʰĕːsú	sú	tʃʰĕːʔwáː	ʔwáː	*absent*
tɬàːkîéː	éː	tlàːkîsú	sú	tlàːkîʔwáː	ʔwáː	*empty*[37]
ǁàĕː	Ø	ǁàĕːsú	sú	ǁàĕːʔ̥ wáː	ʔ̥ wáː	*new*[38]
bútl’ì̥	Ø	bútl’ì̥sú	sú	bútl’ì̥	Ø	*red*
dʒăːngà	Ø	dʒăːngàsú	sú	dʒăːngà	Ø	*green, grey, wet*
k’ánk’árà	Ø	k’ánk’áràsú	sú	k’ánk’árà	Ø	*black*

The following example from the text corpus illustrate two of these forms:

(9) kʷàː bàʔésɛ̃̂ː wàròŋgɛ̃̂ːgàː bàhárîːtànàː
kʷáː bàʔé-sí-è-ˀ̃ wàròngĕː-ˀ̃-áː bàhârì-ˀ̃-tà-nà-à
NC(3m.sg.) be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. god-sp.-SF sea-sp.-in-to-3m.sg.PC

[37] The stem /tɬàːkî/ is also used to express the meaning of not having something; thus, /tʰérè tɬàːkîéː/ ‘pot empty-3m.sg.’ means both ‘empty pot’ and ‘he has no pot’. In the former interpretation, the PGN morpheme refers to the pot and in the second to the one who does not possess it.
[38] This example differs from the others in the same group as the tone of vowel in the plural suffix is downstepped.

wékʰḗː méːâ kʰìnsèːtsʼȉː
wékʰḗː méː-à kʰìnsé-é-tsʼè-ʔḯː
wind big-3m.sg.PC send-3m.sg.obj.-appl.-3a.pl.obj.
Then the Lord sent a big wind to the sea for them

kʷàː gèrékáː méːʔwáː ⁿ|ʷénⁿ|ʷétsʼī
kʷáː gèrékáː méː-ʔwáː-áː ⁿ|ʷénⁿ|ʷè-tsʼí
NC(3m.sg.) ridge big-3i.pl.-SF make-reflex.
and then big ridges (waves) were made.

The three sections in table 6.2 represent three subgroups of the set of adjectives with respect to person, gender, and number marking. The adjectives belonging to the first subgroup are suffixed with PGN morphemes from the low-toned series, whereas the remaining adjectives are suffixed with morphemes from the high-toned series. The choice between low- and high-toned PGN agreement is not predictable, but a tendency can be seen for adjective stems ending in a low tone to take low-toned PGN morphemes and those ending in a high tone to take high-toned ones. Within the set of adjectives suffixed with the high-toned morphemes, a distinction can be made between those which have the plural morpheme /-ʔwáː/ and those which are zero marked for plural.

The person, gender, and number forms not given in table 6.2 follow the pattern evident in the third person feminine singular column. That is, the first five adjectives are suffixed with the relevant low-toned PGN morpheme and the remaining adjectives are suffixed with the corresponding high toned PGN morpheme. The choice of third person plural morpheme is as shown in the table for inanimate nouns, but for animate nouns, either the high- or low-toned PGN morpheme may be used, according to the pattern seen in other person forms.

The three adjectives listed in the third subgroup in the table, which do not allow the plural morpheme /-ʔwáː/, also do not allow the suffixation of the animate plural morpheme /-só/. These three adjectives, together with /pʰóː/, meaning ‘white’, behave differently from the other adjectives in a further way as they can be suffixed with the morpheme /-sɻ̩̀/, resulting in a verb and are thus like nouns (see section 9.2.2).[39]

6.1.2 Intensifying and weakening

There are two ways in which the meaning of an adjective may be intensified. One involves the use of one of two adverbs, /ʔúrḯː/ or /ʔúrɻ̩̀/, which both mean ‘very’:

[39] It is possible that these words may once have been nouns and have come to be partially grammaticalised as adjectives. This possibility is suggested by our consultant’s comment that older Sandawe speakers use the construction /tʰérè pʰóː-sí-è-sí-è/ (pot white-poss.-3m.sg.-poss.-3m.sg.) to mean ‘he has a white pot’, whereas younger Sandawe would say /tʰérè pʰóː-sɪ-è/ (pot white-poss.-3m.sg.) for the same meaning. The structure of the first variant treats /pʰóː/ as a noun, whereas that of the second treats this word as an adjective.

(10)	k^{h}ìmbà	bàʔésɛ̂ː	wàròŋgɛ̏ː
	k^{h}ímbá	bàʔé-sí-è-ː̏	wàròngěː-ː̏
	interj.(surprise)	be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	god-sp.

	sómbá	ʔúrı̋ː	mèːȁ	k^{h}ìnsèː
	sómbá	ʔúrı̋ː	méː-à	k^{h}ìnsé-é
	fish	very	big-3m.sg.PC	send-3m.sg.obj.

But[40] the Lord sent a very big fish.

The adverb may either precede or follow the adjective, but it more commonly precedes it.

The second way in which the meaning of an adjective may be intensified requires forming a verb from the adjective by means of the suffix /-ts'í/ and then adding the adjectiviser suffix /-̥̀ t^{h}éː/ (see section 9.3.1). As well as intensifying the meaning expressed, this suffix changes the verb back into an adjective. An example of this has not been attested in the text corpus, but the following elicited example is grammatical:

(11)	t^{h}érê	ǀ'âːmu̥ts'ìt^{h}èː
	t^{h}érè	ǀ'áː-mù̥-ts'í-̥̀ t^{h}éː
	pot	used-3m.sg.-verb.-adj.

A very used pot.

In order to weaken the meaning of an adjective, the adjective, together with any PGN morphemes, may be reduplicated, as shown in the following elicited examples:

(12)	t^{h}ĕː	méːmēː
	t^{h}ĕː	méː-méː
	tree	big-big

A quite big tree.

(13)	^{n}‖ŏːkó	ɬáːʔwȁɬàːʔwȁ
	^{n}‖ŏːkó	ɬáː-ʔ̥ wà-ɬáː-ʔ̥ wà
	children	good-3i.pl.-good-3i.pl.

Quite good children.

Alternatively, an adjective may be preceded by the adverb /dóːlô/, 'a little'.

6.1.3 Comparatives

A comparative construction can be formed using an adjective together with the word /ʔôntʃè/ 'compared to',[41] as in the following elicited example:[42]

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[40] The meaning 'but' is conveyed by the use of an interjection expressing surprise.

[41] This form may be multimorphemic. It can be analysed as including the postposition /-tʃè/ 'from'.

[42] All the examples in this section and the following one are elicited.

(14) gáwɑ̂ː ts’ŏːʔtō gélɛ̂ː ʔòntʃè
gáwà-ː̀ ts’ŏːʔ̰ tó gélé-ː̀ ʔôntʃè
Gawa-sp. be.small-adj. Gele-sp. compared.to
Gawa is smaller than Gele.

A superlative meaning can be expressed by using the comparative construction in the following way:

(15) gáwɑ̂ː ts’ŏːʔtō tʃʰíásɔ̃̀ːsɔ̀ ʔɔ̀ntʃè
gáwà-ː̀ ts’ŏːʔ̰ tó tʃʰíà-só-ː̀-sò ʔôntʃè
Gawa-sp. be.small-adj. all-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl. compared.to
Gawa is smaller than everyone.

In order to compare two like things, the postpositional morpheme /-xéʔ̰/ ‘like’ can be suffixed to the standard in the comparison:

(16) hùmbɯ̃ː méːsú lĕuxéʔ
hùmbù-ː̀ méː-sú lèú-xéʔ̰
cow-sp. big-3f.sg. buffalo-like
The cow is big like a buffalo.

An alternative means to express such a comparison is to use the comparative suffix /-m̰ kà/ followed by a high-toned PGN morpheme:

(17) tʃí kʰòː hàpú kʰòːm̀kèː
tʃí kʰŏː hàpú kʰŏː-m̰ kà-éː
[I house]$_{GEN}$ [you house]$_{GEN}$-comp.-3m.sg.
My house is like your house.

6.1.4 Negative and future

An adjective can be negated by the suffixation of the negative morpheme /-ts’é/:

(18) kʰŏː méːts’é
kʰŏː méː-ts’é
house big-neg.
Not a big house.

In order to express future time reference with respect to adjectives, the adjective must first be made into a verb. Then future time can be expressed in the normal way:

(19) kʰŏ̌ːˆ méːts’îː
kʰŏː-ː̀ méː-ts’í-ì
house-sp. big-verb.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
The house will be big.

(20) kʰǒːˆ mé:ts'îːts'è
kʰǒː-ːˇ mé:-ts'í-ì-ts'é
house-sp. big-verb.-irr.(-3m.sg.)-neg.
The house won't be big.

6.2 Non-numeral quantifiers

The non-numeral quantifiers discussed in this section behave like adjectives in following the noun they qualify and forming a NP with that noun. Their meaning may also be intensified or weakened by the addition of adverbs, as described above for adjectives. However, in terms of tonal and agreement properties, quantifiers differ from adjectives in not having their tone lowered when they are used attributively and not occurring with the plural suffixes /-ʔ̰ wà/, or /-ʔwáː/.

The following example contains the quantifier /tʃʰíà/ 'all, both':

(21) mántʃʰákòjǒː nìkǒː
mántʃʰà-kò-jó-ːˊ nǐː-kò
eat-2sg.Imp.PC-dur.-& and-2sg.Imp.PC

hěːxʷéː tʃʰíâ tòʔwàːrè
hěːxʷéː tʃʰíà tô-wáː-ré
dem.(prox.pl.) all finish-3i.pl.obj.-3pers.obj.
Eat and finish all these!

If the tone pattern of the quantifier /tʃʰíà/ is lowered, its meaning changes:

(22) ⁿ|òmósô tʃʰìà
ⁿ|òmósò tʃʰíà
people all
Together with people.

If the basic tone pattern is retained, this example means 'all/both people'.

If /tʃʰíà/ modifies an animate noun, it may be suffixed with the high-toned PGN morpheme /-só/.

The verb /děː/ 'to be many', is made into a quantifier by the addition of the adjectiviser suffix /-̰ tʰéː/:

(23)

hîsi̥	ǀ’ὲːiʔ	ɬékáʔ	táxi̥
hî-sì̥	ǀ’ěː-ìʔ	ɬékáʔ	táxì̥
when-1sg.PC	see-sub.cl.	like	just

It feels just like

!’òròrǒ̌ː	děːtʰēːsāː	ně̌ː	!’ʷǎːtâʔ	pùndùsè
!’òròrǒ̌ː	děː-̥̀ tʰéː-sò-áː	něː-ː́	!’ʷǎː-tà-àʔ	pùndùsé
frog	be.many-adj.-3a.pl.-SF	stay-&	puddle-in-3pl.PC	swim

many frogs are swimming in a puddle.

In contrast to /tʃʰíà/ ‘all/both’, but like other non-numeral quantifiers, such as /máːʔ̥tó/ ‘few’, an optional third person plural low-toned PGN morpheme can be suffixed to it when the noun being modified is animate.

The inanimate plural form for /hĩ́ːgé/ ‘other, some’ may be suffixed with the plural morpheme /-xéː/, as in the following example:

(24)

mák’ȏː	hĩ́ːgéxȇːsīʔ	tɬ’ěːts’íwâː
màk’é-óː-ː̏	hĩ́ːgé-xéː-ː̏-síʔ	tɬ’ěː-ts’í-wà-à
be.troubled-nml.-sp.	some-pl.-sp.-loc.	diminish-reflex.-mult.-3m.sg.PC

As for some troubles, they have diminished

pàː	hĩ́ːgéxéːáː	ǀȃːts’ìwâ
páː	hĩ́ːgé-xéː-áː	ǀȃː-ts’í-wà
NC(3m.sg.)	some-pl.-SF	see-reflex.-mult.

but others have become apparent.

The animate plural form of this quantifier takes the high toned PGN suffix /-só/. The singular equivalent of /hĩ́ːgé/ is /té/, which takes low-toned PGN agreement morphemes:

(25)

mǎːkâ	têʔ	sàndàwěːsú	tésûsi̥	ǀȁː
mǎːkà	té-è-ts’ì̥	sàndàwěː-sú	té-sù̥-sì̥	ǀȃː
year	other-3m.sg.-at	Sandawe-3f.sg.	other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC	see

The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

tɬ’àbísósúsu̥
tɬ’àbísó-sí-sù̥
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

6.3 Numerals

Like the non-numeral quantifiers, numerals in Sandawe are like adjectives in that they follow the noun which they qualify and form a NP with that noun, but are unlike adjectives in not allowing a lowered tone option and not occurring with the plural suffixes /-ʔ̰wà/ or /-ʔwáː/.

6.3.1 Cardinal

The Sandawe numerical system is quintenary:

Table 6.3 Cardinal numbers

Gloss	*Singular*	*Inanimate plural*	*Optional animate plural*
one	ts'éxḭ̀-è (masc.) ts'éxḭ̀-sú (fem.)		
two		kísò-xḭ̀	kísò-só
three		sʷámkí-xḭ̀	sʷámkí-sò
four		hàká-xḭ̀	hàká-sò
five		kʷàʔà̰ná	kʷàʔà̰ná-sò
six		kʷàʔà̰ná dáːndà ts'éxè	kʷàʔà̰ná dáːndà ts'éxè-só
seven		kʷàʔà̰ná dáːndà kísò-xḭ̀	kʷàʔà̰ná dáːndà kísò-só
eight		kʷàʔà̰ná dáːndà swámkí-xḭ̀	kʷàʔà̰ná dáːndà swámkí-sò
nine		kʷàʔà̰ná dáːndà hàká-xḭ̀	kʷàʔà̰ná dáːndà hàká-sò
ten[43]		kómm̀	kómm̀sò

As can be seen in table 6.3, the inanimate plural suffix /-xḭ̀/ occurs in the words for 'two', 'three', and 'four'. The animate plural suffix is high toned for 'one' and 'two', but low toned for 'three', 'four', 'five', and 'ten'. The compound numbers include the word /dáːndà/, which means 'at the side'. The numerals following this word often have lowered tone patterns, but it is unclear what determines this.

The following example illustrates the use of a numeral in a NP, where, like an adjective, it follows the noun:

(26) núá kísòxḭ̀sà̀ xʷàntìmàːrè
núá kísòxḭ̀-sà xʷànté-mé-wáː-ré
maize.porridge two-3f.sg.PC cook-iter.-3i.pl.obj.-3pers.obj.
She cooked two (amounts of) maize porridge.

6.3.2 Ordinal

Table 6.4 gives the masculine and feminine forms for the ordinal numbers in Sandawe; alternative forms exist for some forms:

[43] We can assume that /kómm̀/ is a Swahili loanword (from *kumi* 'ten').

Table 6.4 Ordinal numbers[44]

Gloss	*Masculine*	*Feminine*
first	[bă:rsàts'ìẽ:] [bă:rsà?ìẽ:] bă:rà-sà-ts'i̯-ì-é:-ɨ̀ start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	[bă:rsàts'i̯sṹ:su̯] [bă:rsà?sṹ:su̯] bă:rà-sà-ts'i̯-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ start-nml.-at-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
	[tá:ŋgìẽ:] tá:ŋgi̯-ì-é:-ɨ̀ at.front-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	[tá:ŋgi̯sṹ:su̯] tá:ŋgi̯-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ at.front-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
second	[kísóxìẽ:] [kísóx^{w}ề:] [kísóê:] kísòxi̯-ì-é:-ɨ̀ two-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	[kísóxi̯sṹ:su̯] kísòxi̯-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ two-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
third	[s^{w}ámkíxîẽ:] [s^{w}ámkîẽ:] s^{w}ámkíxi̯-ì-é:-ɨ̀ three-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	[s^{w}ámkíxi̯sṹ:su̯] [s^{w}ámkísû:su̯] s^{w}ámkíxi̯-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ three-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
fourth	[hàkáxîẽ:] [hàkájê:] hàkáxi̯-ì-é:-ɨ̀ four-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	[hàkáxi̯sṹ:su̯] [hàkásû:su̯] hàkáxi̯-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ four-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
fifth	[k^{w}à?a̯nájê:] k^{w}à?a̯ná-ì-é:-ɨ̀ five-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	[k^{w}à?a̯násṹ:su̯] k^{w}à?a̯ná-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ five-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
sixth	[k^{w}à?a̯ná dá:ndâ ts'èxề:] [ts'èxèìẽ:] k^{w}à?a̯ná dá:ndà ts'éxè-ì-é:-ɨ̀ five-and-one-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	[k^{w}à?a̯ná dá:ndâ ts'èxèsṹ:su̯] k^{w}à?a̯ná dá:ndà ts'éxè-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ five-and-one-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
tenth	[kômìẽ:] [kômuề:] kóm̀-ì-é:-ɨ̀ ten-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.	[kômsṹ:su̯] kóm̀-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ ten-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
last	[!'ŏ:k^{h}ásàts'ề:] [!'ŏ:k^{h}áts'ề:] !'ŏ:k^{h}à-sà-ts'i̯-é:-ɨ̀ stop-nml.-at-3m.sg.-sp.	[!'ŏ:k^{h}ásàts'i̯sṹ:su̯] [!'ŏ:k^{h}áts'èsṹ:su̯] !'ŏ:k^{h}à-sà-ts'i̯-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ stop-nml.-at-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.
	[!'ŏ:k^{h}áts'ề:] !'ŏ:k^{h}à-ts'è-é:-ɨ̀ stop-appl.-3m.sg.-sp.	[!'ŏ:k^{h}áts'èsṹ:su̯] !'ŏ:k^{h}à-ts'è-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯ stop-appl.-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.

The following two examples from the text corpus contain ordinal numbers:

(27)	hèwé?gà:	bà?ésê:	wàròŋgề:	bồ	kósâ:
	hèwé?a̯ gâ-à	bà?é-sí-è-ɨ̀	wàròngě:-ɨ̀	bô-ɨ̀	kósi̯-à
	and.so-3m.sg.	[be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	god-sp.	word]$_{GEN}$-sp.	again-3m.sg.PC

[44] The compound ordinal numbers for 'seventh', 'eighth', and 'ninth' are formed in the expected way, according to the patterns seen in 'second', 'third', and 'fourth' respectively.

kísóxìẽːtsʼàː	jónàː	!ʼòːwè
kísòxi̯-ì-éː-r̃-tsʼi̯-à	jônà-à	!ʼǒː-é
two-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC	Jonah-3m.sg.PC	get-3m.sg.obj.

And so the word of the Lord got Jonah again for the second time.

(28)

nl̃ː	tɬʼàbísõ̂ː	hèwé	kʷàʔa̯nájê̂ː
nĺː	tɬʼàbísó-r̃	hèwé	kʷàʔa̯ná-ì-éː-r̃
and	stomach-sp.	dem.(ref.3m.sg.)	five-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.

And this pregnancy was the fifth.

Ordinal numbers in Sandawe are derived using the pronominal genitive construction (see section 2.6.2). However, as can be seen in the table, the pronominal morpheme /-ì/ is not used in the feminine forms. If the pronominal morpheme is attached to a number stem before feminine agreement morphemes, the resulting form is grammatical, but is no longer an ordinal number:

(29)

kʷàʔa̯nâisũ̀ːsu̯
kʷàʔa̯ná-ì-súː-r̃-sù
five-pro.-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.

Five's one.

In this elicited example, 'Five' is understood to be the name of a person and 'one' refers to someone or something which is feminine and belongs to 'Five'.

Some of the cardinal numbers have alternative forms. For example, there are two ways in which to express the meaning 'first'. One can be glossed 'the one at the start' and the other 'the one in front':

(30)

ⁿǃê	bǎːrsàtsʼìẽtsʼi̯		
ⁿǃê	bǎːrà-sà-tsʼi̯-ì-éː-r̃-tsʼi̯		
day	start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at		

On the first day

jónà	kʷàː	ḿjìtànàː	ⁿǁèː
jônà	kʷáː	m̂jì-tà-nà-à	ⁿǁěː
Jonah	NC(3m.sg.)	town-in-to-3m.sg.PC	enter

Jonah entered the town.

(31)

táːŋgìẽːkì	sàxi̯	tʃʰíndówáː	
táːŋgi̯-ì-éː-r̃-kí	sáxi̯	tʃʰíndówáː	
at.front-pro.-3m.sg-sp.-add.	RC(3f.sg.)	bury(3m.sg.obj.)	

She buried the first one

hàxi̯ sʷêìẽːkì nê
háxi̯ sʷê-ì-éː-ɨ̃́-kí nê
again now-pro.-3.m.sg.-sp.-add. dem.adj.(prox.3m.sg.)

kŏːnáwàts'ìsè
kŏːnà-wà-ts'í-sí-è
spoil-mult.-reflex.-poss.-3m.sg.
and again this current one here is handicapped.

We can also see in the table how the words for 'second', 'third', and 'fourth' (with the exception of the feminine form of 'second') may include the plural suffix /-xi̯/ or may omit it. In addition, there is an alternative pronunciation for 'second' which ends in the sequence /-ʷẽː/. It should also be noted that the pronominal morpheme /-ì/ surfaces as the glide [j] in the masculine forms for 'fourth' and 'fifth', the stems for which both end in the vowel /a/.

Inanimate and animate plural forms for the modifiers 'first' and 'last' are constructed in the following way:

Table 6.5 Inanimate and animate plural forms for 'first' and 'last'

Gloss	*Inanimate plural*	*Animate plural*
first	[bă:rsàts'i̯xɛ̃ː] [bă:rsà?xɛ̃ː] bă:rà-sà-ts'i̯-xéː-ɨ̃́ start-nml.-at-pl.-sp.	[bă:rsàts'i̯sɔ̃ːsɔ̀] [bă:rsà?sɔ̃ːsɔ̀] bă:rà-sà-ts'i̯-sóː-ɨ̃́-sò start-nml.-at-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.
last	[!'ŏːkʰáwàts'èxɛ̃ː] !'ŏːkʰà-wà-ts'è-xéː-ɨ̃́ stop-mult.-appl.-pl.-sp.	[!'ŏːkʰáwàts'èsɔ̃ːsɔ̀] !'ŏːkʰà-wà-ts'è-sóː-ɨ̃́-sò stop-mult.-appl.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

6.4 Demonstratives

6.4.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The following table summarises the parameters of variation in the Sandawe demonstrative pronoun system:

Table 6.6 Demonstrative pronouns

	Masculine	*Feminine*	*Plural, animate*	*Plural, inanimate*
Proximal (near to hearer and speaker)	hĕːù [hĕːˆ]	hĕːsù̯	hĕːsò hĕːxʷéː	hĕːxʷéː
Referential (near to hearer only)	hèwé	hèsú hùsú	hèsó hèwéxéː hèwéxè	hèwéxéː hèwéxè
Distal (far from hearer and speaker)	hăːù [hăːˆ]	hăːsù̯	hăːsò hăːxʷéː	hăːxʷéː
	hĭ̆ːgò	hĭ̆ːsù̯	hĭ̆ːsò	hĭ̆ːxʷè

The Sandawe demonstrative pronoun system recognises two degrees of distance: near and far. The root vowel in the stem of a demonstrative indicates the degree of distance with respect to the hearer: /e/ is found in proximal and referential demonstratives and /a/ or /ĩː/ in distal demonstratives. Sandawe demonstrative pronouns also differentiate between referents which are near to both the hearer and the speaker (proximal) and referents that are near to the hearer but far from the speaker (referential).

The second set of distal demonstratives given in table 6.6 are not as common as the first set and are mainly used by speakers of the Eastern dialect of Sandawe. The forms shown in square brackets are alternative realisations of the full forms.

The forms in table 6.6 are referred to here as demonstrative *pronouns,* in order to distinguish them from a different set of forms, which are here termed demonstrative *adjectives* and are discussed in the next section. However, it is important to note that the demonstrative pronouns considered in this section function both as nouns and as modifiers of nouns.

The following first example contains a proximal inanimate plural demonstrative:

(32) mántʃʰákòjõ̀ː nìkõ̀ː
mántʃʰà-kò-jó-ɾ́ nɾ́ː-kò
eat-2sg.Imp.PC-dur.-& and-2sg.Imp.PC

hĕːxʷéː tʃʰíâ tòʔwàːrè
hĕːxʷéː tʃʰíà tô-wáː-ré
dem.(prox.pl.) all finish-3i.pl.obj.-3pers.obj.
Eat and finish all these!

The inanimate demonstratives may also be used with animate nouns, if the nouns are not marked with PGN morphemes. (This is a similar phenomenon to the distribution of third person plural object morphemes, as seen in examples (5) and (6) in section 5.1.1).

The following example contains a referential feminine demonstrative:

(33)	hèsú	dámâ̰ːsṳ
	hèsú	dámà-ʔ̀-sṳ̀
	dem.(ref.3f.sg.)	calf-sp.-3f.sg.

hàpú	màːmȅ	tùkȅːi
hàpú	máːmè	tû-kṳ̀-éː-ì
[you	maternal.uncle]$_{GEN}$	come.out-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)

This calf, your maternal uncle will contribute.

The following example contains a distal masculine demonstrative:

(34)	hǎːŋgákȭː	hīk'i̥	nìnéwìnȁ
	hǎːngà-kò-ʔ́	hík'ì̥	nìnêwì-nà
	get.up-2sg.Imp.PC-&	go	Nineveh-to

ḿjȉː	hǎːû	mȇːtànȁ
m̂jì-ʔ̀	hǎːù	méː-ʔ̀-tà-nà
city-sp.	dem.(dist.3m.sg.)	big-sp.-in-to

Get up and go to Nineveh, into that big town

The pronominal function of the demonstrative is illustrated by the following example:

(35)	hěːsô	kísósȍsò	k^{w}ámɛ̋ː	hàbàʔsɛ̋ː	^{n}ǀàtìsȍ
	hěːsò	kísò-sò-ʔ̀-sò	k^{w}ámé-ʔ́	hàbàʔsé-ʔ́	^{n}ǀàtí-sò
	dem.(prox.3pl.)	two-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.	drive.out-&	make.noise-&	come-3a.pl.

These two were to come, driving out and making noise.

Here the animate form of the demonstrative is used in agreement with the PGN marking of the numeral.

The alternative distal demonstrative associated with the Eastern dialect of Sandawe is illustrated in the following example:

(36)	hǐ̌ːgó	hùmbȕː	gàndàsȇː	ǁ'òǁ'âi
	hǐ̌ːgó	hùmbù-ʔ̀	gàndà-sí-è-ʔ̀	ǁ'òǁ'á-ì
	dem.(dist.3m.sg.)	cow-sp.	be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	baboon-pro.

That thin cow is Baboon's,

hȉː	hùmbȕː	tʃ^{h}âːki̥sȅː	^{n}ǀ^{w}ǎːî
híː	hùmbù-ʔ̀	tʃ^{h}âːkì̥-sí-è-ʔ̀	^{n}ǀ^{w}ǎː-ì
and	cow-sp.	be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	elephant-pro.

and the fat cow is Elephant's.

The default order is for a demonstrative to precede the noun which it modifies. However, if the referent of the noun has been alluded to in the preceding discourse, the reverse order is often used, as in the following example:

(37)	mǎːkâ	têʔ	sàndàwěːsú	tésûsi̥	ǀã̏ː
	mǎːkà	té-è-ts’ì̥	sàndàwěː-sú	té-sù̥-sì̥	ǀã̂ː
	year	other-3m.sg.-at	Sandawe-3f.sg.	other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC	see

The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

tɬ’àbísósúsu̥
tɬ’àbísó-sí-sù̥
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

nĩ̀ː	tɬ’àbísõ̂ː	hèwé	kʷàʔḁnájẽ̂ː
nĩ́ː	tɬ’àbísó-ː̃̀	hèwé	kʷàʔḁ̀ná-ì-éː-ː̃̀
and	stomach-sp.	dem.(ref.3m.sg.)	five-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.

And this pregnancy was the fifth.

Example (34) also illustrates this phenomenon.

6.4.2 Demonstrative adjectives

As well as the demonstrative pronouns described in the previous section, Sandawe has a set of demonstrative adjectives, which behave formally like adjectives, taking the low toned agreement forms and following the noun which they modify:

Table 6.7 Demonstrative adjectives

	Masculine	*Feminine*	*Plural, animate*	*Plural, inanimate*
Proximal	nê	nêsù̥	nêsò nêʔwà	nêʔwà
Distal	nâ	nâsù̥	nâsò nâʔwà	nâʔwà

The following example contains a demonstrative adjective which modifies the pronominal form it follows:

(38)	táːŋgì̏ẽːkì	sȁxi̥	tʃʰíndówáː
	táːngì̥-ì-é-ː̃̀ -kí	sáxì̥	tʃʰíndówáː
	at.front-pro.-3m.sg-sp.-add.	RC(3f.sg.)	bury(3m.sg.obj.)

She buried the first one

hȁxi̥	sʷȇȉẽːkì	nê
háxì̥	sʷê-ì-é-ː̏-kí	nê
again	now-pro.-3.m.sg.-sp.-add.	dem.adj.(prox.3m.sg.)

kǒːnáwàts’ìsȅ
kǒːnà-wà-ts’í-sí-è
spoil-mult.-reflex.-poss.-3m.sg.
and again this current one here is handicapped.
(Lit. and again the here one of now is handicapped.)

The following two examples are commonly heard in conversation:

(39) nêsi̥
nê-sì̥
dem.adj.(prox.)-1sg.
I am here.
(For example, in response to a register of names being called.)

(40)

(40)	gélé	nâ
	gélé	nâ
	Gele	dem.adj.(dist.3m.sg.)

That Gele.
(For example, as the Gele previously discussed appears in the distance.)

6.5 Adverbs

Adverbs in Sandawe may not be recognised by any formal properties such as suffixes or tonal characteristics. Rather, an adverb can be characterised as a word which is not the argument of a verb, but may be added to a clause without being suffixed with any postpositional morphemes. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(41)	hàpú	xáî	màntʃʰȁ	tʃí	ɬáːsi̥	màntʃʰȁ
	hàpú	xâ-ì	mántʃʰà	tʃí	ɬáː-sì̥	mántʃʰà
	you	badly-2sg.PC	eat	I	well-1sg.PC	eat

You eat badly, I eat well.

(42)	dóːlókī	ʔàŋkʰá	ǁ’ǎːntʃʰímásūkȅːsòts’è
	dóːlò-kí	ʔàŋkʰá	ǁ’ǎːntʃʰímà-sí-kù̥-éː-ì-sò-ts’é
	a.little-add.	even	be.sweet-poss.-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.

They would not make it even a little sweet.

As well as manner adverbs, such as those in the previous two examples, Sandawe has adverbs expressing time:

(43) pʰékɔ̀ |ì
pʰê-kò |í
tomorrow-2sg.Imp.PC come
Come tomorrow,

ʔèː kàlɛ̌ːˆ pʰì!ʼìsèːxi̯pò
ʔéː kàlɛ̌ː-ːˇ pʰì!ʼìsé-é-xi̯-pó
SC(1sg.) appearance-sp. change-3m.sg.obj.-ben.-2sg.obj.
so that I can change your appearance for you.

(44) hǐːsî hàpáː tʰákàtsʼɛ̀ːˇ !ʼòːwèpɔ̀
hǐːsì hàpú-áː tʰâkà-tsʼè-ːˇ !ʼɔ̌ː-é-ì-pò
then you-SF want-appl.-sp. get-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-2sg.
Then you will get what you want.

Time adverbs typically occur clause-initially and tend not to be marked with a PC, although they may be, as in (43). Other kinds of adverbs do tend to be marked with a PC, as in (41) and (45).

Sandawe also has adverbs expressing location, such as the following:

(45) wáʔâsi̯ kʰòkʰòrósi̯ !ʼòːwè
wáʔ-sì̯ kʰòkʰòró-sì̯ !ʼɔ̌ː-é
there(dist.)-1sg.PC old.cow-1sg.PC get-3m.sg.obj.
I got there an old cow

nɛ̀ːˇ tìmu̯wàː nìsɛ̀ːˇ ‖ʼàntà
nɛ́ː tímù̯-wáː nɛ́ː-sì̯ ‖ʼàntá
and swallow-3i.pl.obj. and-1sg.PC be.satisfied
and I swallowed them and was satisfied.

The following table contains six locative adverbs grouped according to their parameters of use:

Table 6.8 Parameters of locative adverbs

	Specific location	*Approximate location*
Proximal (near to hearer and speaker)	ô	ôntè
Referential (near to hearer only)	óʔ	‖óʔ
Distal (far from hearer and speaker)	wáʔ	hétɬʼì̯

The parameters of distance with respect to the hearer and speaker correspond to those for demonstratives (see section 6.4.1). The distinction made in the table between ‘specific’ and ‘approximate’ location is based on how the Sandawe adverbs are translated into Swahili by Sandawe speakers, but it is not clear that this is the best way to capture the difference between the two sets of adverbs.

All the directional adverbials found in text corpus are PPs rather than adverbs (see sections 4.3 and 4.4 for examples).

Some adverbs in Sandawe also function as other grammatical categories in their basic forms. For example, /pʰútl’úmà/ is both an adverb meaning ‘safely’ and a noun meaning ‘safety’. A further example is /xâ/, which is both an adverb meaning ‘badly’ and a verb meaning ‘to be bad’.

Two further words which show similarities with adverbs may be mentioned here. The following example contains the form /híàʔ/, which means ‘usually’:

(46)

híâʔ	sàxi̯	ǀʰǐːâ̰ːsu̯	ⁿǁǒːkô̰ːsòsà
híàʔ	sáxi̯	ǀʰǐːà-r̃-sù̯	ⁿǁǒːkò-r̃-sò-sà
usually	RC(3f.sg.)	dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg.	children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC

kʰǒːtánàsà	ʔíɬímēːtsʼḭ̀ːgà
kʰǒː-tà-nà-sà	ʔíɬímēː-tsʼè-ʔḭ̌ː-à
house-in-to-3f.sg.PC	shut(3m.sg.obj.)-appl.-3a.pl.obj.-conn.

Usually Dik-dik shut the children in the house

mántʃʰâ	ìtʃʰàsànàsà	hìkʼi̯
mántʃʰà	ítʃʰà-sà-nà-sà	híkʼi̯
food	look.for-nml.-to-3f.sg.PC	go

and went to look for food.

This word appears to be clausal in origin (see section 11.3). A possibility which is supported by the fact that it cannot be marked with a PC in agreement with the subject of the clause in which it occurs.

Another word which cannot be marked with PC in agreement with the subject of a clause is /dìmè/, meaning ‘perhaps’:

(47)

dìmè	wàràŋgə̌ːˆgāː	tʃítsʼâː	ǁʼʷèː
dìmè	wàràngə̌ː-r̃-áː	tʃí-tsʼi̯-à	ǁʼʷə̌ː
perhaps	god-sp.-SF	I-at-3m.sg.PC	test

Perhaps God is testing me.

This word can, therefore, be categorised as extra-clausal and termed a *disjunct*. This is further suggested by the fact that its meaning has scope over the clause as a whole. The word /ʔámáná/ also meaning 'perhaps', is another example of a disjunct in Sandawe.

7 Conjunctions

7.1 /nĩ́ː/, /hĩ́ː/ 'and'

The coordinating conjunction /nĩ́ː/ (Western dialect) or /hĩ́ː/ (Eastern dialect) is used to conjoin NPs, as in the following example:[45]

(1)

wékɛ̃́ː	nĩ̀ː	ǁ'àkásu̥	ʔútāː	ʔàː	kʰòŋgòmàwã̀ːkì
wékɛ̃́ː	nĩ́ː	ǁ'àkásù̥	ʔûtáː	ʔáː	kʰóngómà-wà-ː́kí
wind	and	sun	long.ago	NC(3pl.)	argue-mult.-recip.

Long ago the wind and the sun argued with each other.

The same conjunction also conjoins clauses, as illustrated in the following two examples:

(2)

ʔútáː	lóːlôʔ	ǀʰĭːâ	hèsú	kʰòːsùsu̥
ʔútáː	lóːlòʔ	ǀʰĭːà	hèsú	kʰŏː-sí-sù̥
very.long.ago		dik.dik	[she	house]$_{GEN}$-poss.-3f.sg.

Very long ago Dik-dik had her house

nĩ̀ː	ⁿǁŏːkó	sʷámkíxi̥wàsùsu̥
nĩ́ː	ⁿǁŏːkó	sʷámkíxì̥-wà-sí-sù̥
and	children	three-mult.-poss.-3f.sg.

and had three children.

(3)

ǁŏːts'i̥	ⁿǀĩ̂ːsi̥	!'òːwè	nĩ̀ː	ⁿǀîŋgèː
ǁŏː-ts'ì̥	ⁿǀĩ̂ː-sì̥	!'ŏː-é	nĩ́ː	ⁿǀínì̥-éː
path-at	meat-1sg.PC	get-3m.sg.obj.	and	eat(meat)-3m.sg.obj.

On the way, I got meat and ate it.

The conjunction /nĩ́ː/ is commonly used to conjoin clauses containing verbs when there is no change of subject, as in (3). If there is a change of subject, a narrative or repetitive conjunction is usually used (see section 7.3).

When realis or imperative/subjunctive clauses are conjoined by means of /nĩ́ː/, it is common for the conjunction to be followed by the relevant PC:

[45] Note that all the conjunctions discussed in sections 7.1–7.3 are realised with lowered tone patterns.

(4) hèwéʔgàʔ jónn̄ːgàʔ ⁿǃáːˊ
hèwéʔ̰ gâ-àʔ jônà-ːˋ-àʔ ⁿǃá-é-ːˊ
and.so-3pl.PC Jonah-sp.-3pl.PC catch-3m.sg.obj.-&
And so they caught Jonah

nìʔn̄ː bàhárr̄ːtànàːʔ ǁèː
nˊːˊ-àʔ bàhârì-ːˋ-tà-nà-àʔ ǁê-é
and-3pl.PC sea-sp.-in-to-3pl.PC throw-3m.sg.obj.
and threw him into the sea.

In the preceding example, the connective morpheme /-ːˊ/, glossed here as '&', is attached to the verb which precedes the conjunction. This morpheme can be analysed as a reduced form of the conjunction /nˊːˊ/ or /hˊːˊ/. The connective morpheme may be omitted before the conjunction (as in example (3)), but it is more common for it to occur. Both nouns and verbs (with the exception of irrealis verbs) which precede the conjunction /nˊːˊ/ are usually suffixed with the connective morpheme /-ːˊ/.[46]

It is also common for the conjunction to be omitted and the connective morpheme alone to conjoin two phrases or clauses. This is particularly common when two conjoined verbs have the same subject and describe closely connected simultaneous events (as in the remaining examples in this section), rather than successive events (as in example (3)).

A common function of conjoining verbs with the connective morpheme is to express progressive or completive aspect, as shown in the following two examples:

(5) hàpú híkâː ìè
hàpú híkí-à íé
you how-3m.sg.PC stay
You, how is it,

kʷìː íɛ̄ː ⁿǁínɛ̄ːˊ ǁʼò
kʷíː íé-ːˊ ⁿǁíné-ːˊ ǁʼô
NC(2sg.) stay-& lie.down-& sleep
you are lying down and sleeping?
(Lit. You stay and lie down and sleep.)

[46] The connective morpheme is not normally suffixed to the stem of a possessive construction that precedes the conjunction /nˊːˊ/, such as in example (2).

(6) híâ íxâː bô̰ː tɬèm̀sèìʔ
hí-à íxì̯-à bô-ː́ tɬèm̀sé-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC thus-3m.sg.PC say-& finish-sub.cl.
When he had finished saying thus,
(Lit. When he said thus and finished,)

pàː múréāː ⁿǃàʔḭ̀ː
páː múrè-áː ⁿǃá-ʔḭ́ː
NC(3m.sg.) shame-SF seize-3a.pl.obj.
shame seized them.

A further use of the connective morpheme can be observed in motion verbs. Not all motion verbs in Sandawe include the meaning component of *locomotion*, or movement to a place. The verb /hénté/ 'limp', is one of these non-locomotive verbs, as can be seen by the following elicited example, which is ungrammatical:

(7) * tʰĕːtánà̀ː hèntè
tʰĕː-tà-nà-à hénté
tree-in-to-3m.sg.PC limp
* He limped to the tree.

In order to express the meaning 'he limped to the tree', a locomotive verb, such as /hík'i̯̰/ 'go' is conjoined to /hénté/ 'limp':

(8) tʰĕːtánà̀ː hénté̋ː hík'i̯̰
tʰĕː-tà-nà-à hénté:́ hík'ì̯
tree-in-to-3m.sg.PC limp-& go
He limped to the tree.
(Lit. …he limped and went.)

As can be seen in the preceding examples, it is common for the verb that is suffixed with the connective morpheme to precede the verb with which it is conjoined. However, the reverse order is grammatical if the events described by the two verbs occur simultaneously (Elderkin, 1989:140). This is illustrated in the following two examples:

(9) ts'éxénàsa̋̃ːts'i̯̰ pàː mĭːndzó ⁿǀèmèsèːàː ǀ'ùsùku̯̰
ts'éxè-nà-sà-ː̃̌-ts'ì̯ páː mĭːndʒó ⁿǀèmésé:-áː ǀ'úsúkù̯
one-to-nml.-sp.-at NC(3m.sg.) [journey man]$_{GEN}$-SF pass
Suddenly a traveller passed by

kʰótʰìà híǀ'ā̰ː
kʰôtʰì-à híǀ'à-ː́
coat-3m.sg.PC wear-&
wearing a coat.

(10) tʰékʰélé:á: |ì
tʰékʰélé:-á: |í
hyena-SF come
Hyena came,

pò: kʰǒ:-ɨ̂-gɔ̀ ⁿ!ò:wèkʷɛ̀ hàpûmsɛ̄:
pó: kʰǒ:-ɨ̂-ò ⁿ!ǒ:-é-kù-è hàpú-m̩ sé-ɨ́
NC(1pl.) house-sp.-1pl.PC open-3m.sg.obj.-ben.-3m.sg.obj. you-des.-&
and we opened the house for him, thinking it was you.

In the following example, the connective morpheme is suffixed to /bă:rà/ 'start' and used to mean the first one to do the action of the verb with which it is conjoined:

(11) kʰé?ékʷâ:kì?à kà?
kʰé?é-kù-wà-ɨ́-kí-à? ká?
hear-ben.-mult.-recip.-3pl.PC hear.
They agreed that

bă:rɛ̄: mĭ:ndʒó ⁿ|èmèsɛ̃̀:‖'à?
bă:rà-é-ɨ́ mĭ:ndʒó ⁿ|èmésé:-ɨ̀-‖'à?
start-3m.sg.obj.-& [journey man]$_{GEN}$-sp.-belong

kʰótʰì tùkʷè:ts'èsɛ̃̀:
kʰôtʰì tû-kṵ-é:-ts'è-sí-è-ɨ̀
coat come.out-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-appl.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.
the first one to remove the coat from the traveller,
(Lit. … the one who started it and removed the coat…)

hèwé sàmbòsɛ̃̂:
hèwé sàmbò-sí-è-ɨ̀
he strength-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.
he was the one with strength.

7.2 /há:/, /hǎ:/ 'nor', 'even', 'but' and /hâxꭓ̀/ 'again'

The meaning of the conjunction /há:/ or /hǎ:/ depends on the context of its occurrence. If it is found between two negative constructions, it can be translated as 'nor':

(12) hĕ:û bɔ̃̂: sɨ́: tʰàntò:?ɛ̃̀:ts'è
hĕ:ù bô-ɨ̀ sɨ́: tʰántó:-?ɛ̃̀:-ts'é
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) word-sp. [you(pl.) effort]$_{GEN}$-with-neg.
This word was not by your (pl.) effort,

hě:û tàxi̯ wàràŋgě: zàwàđì
hě:ù táxi̯ wàràngě: zàwâđì
this(prox.3m.sg.) just [god gift]$_{GEN}$
this is just a gift of God,

hà: sḯ: ɬá:ʔwà ⁿ|ʷè:ʔĩ̀: |ítʃʰē:
há: sḯ: ɬá:-ʔ̰ wà ⁿ|ʷé:-ĩ̀: |í-tʃʰì-é:
nor [you(pl.) good-3i.pl. do]$_{GEN}$-with come-neg.-3m.sg.
nor did it come by your (pl.) doing good things.

(13) tʃǔ: ⁿ|òts'ìtʃʰè: tàxi̯
tʃǔ: ⁿ|ó-ts'í-tʃʰì-é: táxi̯
animal fear-reflex.-neg.-3m.sg. very
It was a very frightening animal

hà: tʰáts'ô̰:kì dǎ:ts'íké:tʃʰē:
há: tʰàts'é-ó:-ḭ̃-kí dǎ:-ts'í-ké:-tʃʰì-é:
nor shoot-nml.-sp.-add. be.able-reflex.-decl.-neg.-3m.sg.
and to shoot was not even possible.

When /há:/ is used to conjoin two affirmative constructions, it can be translated as 'even' or 'but':

(14) téɬâ mǒ:kʰô
téɬà mǒ:kʰò
completely taboo
It is completely taboo,

ⁿ|èmésé: hà: tʃǔ: mántʃʰáʔõ̀: nĩ̀: ts'é:ʔô̰:
ⁿ|èmésé: há: tʃǔ: mántʃʰà-ʔõ̀: nḯ: ts'é:-ʔõ̀:
person even animal eat-nml and drink-nml.
(for) a person (or) even an animal to eat and drink.

(15) sà: ⁿ‖ě: hà: ⁿ‖ǒ:kô̰: tʃʰè:ʔwá:
sá: ⁿ‖ě: há: ⁿ‖ǒ:kó-ḭ̃ tʃʰě:-ʔwá:
NC(3f.sg.) enter but children-sp. absent-3i.pl.
Then she entered, but the children were not there.

The occurrence of the conjunction /há:/ between two affirmative constructions containing verbs has not been attested. In such cases, the third person masculine singular narrative conjunction /pá:/ is instead used as a contrasting conjunction (see the following section). The conjunction /há:/ can, therefore, be described the functional equivalent of /pá:/ for the introduction of clauses which do not contain a verb (such as copulars or possessives).

Similarly, the conjunction /hâxi̯/ ‘again’ is the functional equivalent of the repetitive conjunction (as illustrated in the next section) for the introduction of clauses which do not contain a verb:

(16)

híâ	hík’ĩ:	|ʰĭ:â	ts’à:kʷà	ⁿǁè:i?
hí-à	hík’i̯-ɾ́	|ʰĭ:à	ts’ă:-kṵ-à	ⁿǁĕ:-ì?
when-3m.sg.PC	go-&	[dik.dik		home]$_{GEN}$-at-3m.sg.PC	arrive-sub.cl.

When he went and arrived at Dik-dik’s home,

hà̀xi̯	rõ̀:	mé:
hâxi̯	rõ̀:	mé:
again	voice	big

again the voice was big.

7.3 Narrative, repetitive and subjunctive conjunctions

There are three types of conjunctions in Sandawe which are marked in agreement with the subject of the clause they introduce.[47] They are referred to here as the narrative conjunction (NC, following Elderkin, 1989:109, from ten Raa), the repetitive conjunction (RC) and the subjunctive conjunctive (SC):

(17)

ʔà:	ⁿ|òmósô	ʔúrâʔ	ⁿ!è:	ʔà:	kàʔ
ʔá:	ⁿ|òmósò	ʔúri̯-àʔ	ⁿ!ĕ:	ʔá:	káʔ
NC(3pl.)	people	very-3pl.PC	laugh	NC(3pl.)	hear.

Then the people laughed a lot and said…

(18)

sʷê	ʔà̀xi̯	mĭ:ndʒõ̀:gà̀ʔ	kósâʔ	bà:rà:
sʷê	ʔâxi̯	mĭ:ndʒó-ɾ̂-àʔ	kósi̯-àʔ	bă:rà-é
now	RC(3pl.)	journey-sp.-3pl.PC	again-3pl.PC	start-3m.sg.obj.

Now they started the journey again.

(19)

ǁàkíkô	ʔò:	nìʔ
ǁàkí-kò	ʔó:	níʔ
get.down-2sg.Imp.PC	SC(1pl.)	go

Get down, let’s go!

The NC may be translated as ‘(and) then’. However, its frequent occurrence in narratives suggests that it does not necessarily have the same force as English ‘then’. The NC tends to link clauses within sections of a narrative, rather than across sections. It does not often occur at the beginning of main narrative sections.

[47] These conjunctions, therefore, only introduce clauses containing a verb and as such cannot introduce possessive or copular clauses.

The RC has a similar function to that of the narrative conjunction, but also shows that the action expressed by the following clause is happening again. As in example (18), the clause may also contain a further indication of the repetition, such as the adverb /kósi̩/ ‘again’.

The SC differs from the other two conjunction types in that it introduces a subjunctive clause and not an indicative one.

Table 7.1 gives the different forms of the three conjunctions:

Table 7.1 Narrative, repetitive, and subjunctive conjunctions

	Narrative	*Repetitive*	*Subjunctive*
1sg.	sí꞉	sîxi̩	ʔé꞉
2sg.	pí꞉ kʷí꞉	pîxi̩	kó꞉ (kʷí꞉)
3m.sg.	pá꞉ kʷá꞉	pâxi̩ kʷâxi̩	kʷá꞉ (pá꞉)
3f.sg.	sá꞉	sâxi̩	sá꞉
1pl.	pó꞉ kó꞉	pôxi̩	ʔó꞉
2pl.	pé꞉	pêxi̩	kʷé꞉
3pl.	ʔá꞉	ʔâxi̩	kʷáʔá꞉ (ʔá꞉)

As shown in table 7.1, some of the conjunctions have alternative forms. In the case of the NCs, all the forms given occur with similar levels of frequency in the text corpus. In contrast, the alternative subjunctive conjunctions (shown in parentheses) occur less commonly.

Where NCs and SCs have identical forms, disambiguation is often achieved by the presence of other morphemes in the clause or by means of the preceding clause. For example, the presence of realis pronominal clitics in the clause introduced by a conjunction indicates that the conjunction is a narrative one, as in (17), and SCs frequently follow imperative clauses, as in (19).

In the absence of these contextual clues, it is still possible to distinguish between a NC and a SC one by means of the tone of the following verb. A realis verb following a NC retains its lexical tone pattern when the clause does not contain any realis pronominal clitics or the SF marker, whereas following a SC, the tone pattern of a verb is realised as low toned. The following two elicited examples illustrate this contrast:

(20) pà꞉ tʰímé
pá꞉ tʰímé
NC(3m.sg.) cook
And then he cooked.

(21) pà: t^{h}ìmè
pá: t^{h}ímé
SC(3m.sg.) cook
And then he should cook.

Following a NC, subjects may be marked with the SF marker, and non-subjects, with the exception of the verb, may be marked with realis pronominal clitics and thus marked as focused. As noted by Elderkin (1989:112), the verb is instead marked as focused by being fronted to a position immediately after the conjunction (and any temporal adverbs) and occurring with its non-lowered tone pattern.[48] Furthermore, if no other constituent following the NC is followed by a realis PC or the SF marker, the verb must occur with its non-lowered tone pattern.

It is usual for a clause following a SC to contain no imperative or subjunctive PCs. It may, however, contain an irrealis verb:

(22) ʔà: bòbǒ:rítànà kǎ:sò
ʔá: bòbǒ:rì-tà-nà kǎ:-ì-sò
NC(3pl.) gourd-in-to put-irr.-3a.pl.
And then they would put it in a gourd

k^{w}à: dó:lô hònkǒ:î
k^{w}á: dó:lò hònkǒ:-ì
SC(3m.sg.) a.little. become sour-irr.(-3m.sg.)
so that it would become a little sour.

A SF marker may also follow a SC:

(23) k^{w}à: mě: tɬ'àbísóá: kûmk^{w}è:
k^{w}á: mě: tɬ'àbísó-á: kúmu̯-kù-é:
SC(3m.sg.) neg. stomach-SF hurt-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
So that the stomach wouldn't hurt him.

The third person masculine singular NCs /pá:/ and /k^{w}á:/ are usually interchangeable, but the text corpus contains one example in which these conjunctions are used to distinguish and contrast two participants:

(24) pà: ‖'ò‖'ə̂:
pá: ‖'ò‖'á-ə̌:
NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp.

[48] What is referred to here as a non-lowered tone pattern corresponds to tone level 1 in Elderkin's analysis.

hùmbù tʃʰâːkị̀sèà màɬèː
hùmbù tʃʰâːkị̀-sí-è-à màɬé-é
cow be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
Then Baboon chose a fat cow,

kʷàː ⁿ|ʷǎːˆ
kʷáː ⁿ|ʷǎː-ˆ
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp.

hùmbù gàndàséà màɬèː
hùmbù gàndà-sí-è-à màɬé-é
cow be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
whereas Elephant chose a thin cow.

This sentence is not acceptable if /kʷáː/ is replaced by /páː/.

The third person masculine singular NC /páː/ can be used to introduce a clause of which the subject is not third person masculine singular. In such cases, the conjunction expresses a contrast and can be translated as 'but'.[49]

(25) ʔóʔsìʔ ʔàː hòsó mélìtà jàʔbèsìsɔ̃̀ːsɔ̀
ʔóʔ̰-síʔ ʔáː hòsó mêlì-tà jàʔbé-sí-sò-ˆ-sò
there(ref.)-loc. NC(3pl.) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

mélɔ̃̀ːsụ̰ts'àʔ dûrụ̰nàʔ !èmòːàʔ ⁿ‖ʷèː
mêlì-ˆ-sṵ̀-ts'ḭ̀-àʔ dúrṵ̀-nà-àʔ !èmé-óː-àʔ ⁿ‖ʷěː
boat-sp.-3f.sg.-at-3pl.PC shore-to-3pl.PC take-nml.-3pl.PC try
It was then that they who worked in the boat tried to take the boat to shore,

pàː dǎːtʃʰō
páː dǎː-tʃʰì-só
NC(3pl.) be.able.-neg.-3a.pl.
but they could not.

When the third person masculine NC is used in this way, the verb in the following clause may be followed by a realis PC, as in the following elicited example:

(26) ʔádúkụ̰sētʃʰū pàː měːnásūsị̰
ʔádúkṵ̀-sé-tʃʰì-sú páː měːnà-sú-sḭ̀
help-1sg.obj.-neg.-3f.sg. NC(3m.sg.) like-3f.sg.obj.-1sg.PC
She didn't help me, but I like her.

[49] Elderkin (personal communication, 2005) analyses the NC in such examples as agreeing with the following clause as a whole.

Recall that a verb following a NC may not normally be followed by a realis PC.

The NC may be used to link two clauses by occurring at the end of the second clause. In such cases, it refers back to the subject of the first clause and expresses a causal relationship between the two clauses, as in the following example:

(27)

^{n}!ê	ts'èxȅ̀	kêutȍ̀	!'ìnò:nàȍ̀	nìʔ
^{n}!ê	ts'éxè	kéùtò	!'ìné-ó:-nà-ò	níʔ
day	one	pig	hunt-nml.-to-1pl.PC	go

One day we went hunting pigs,

wàré	tê	mìnd̪àʔ	màntʃ^{h}à:	pò:
wàré	té-è	mìndà-àʔ	mántʃ^{h}à-é	pó:
[friend	other-3m.sg.	field]$_{GEN}$-3pl.PC	eat-3m.sg.obj.	NC(1pl.)

because they had eaten the field of another friend.

In a similar way, the SC may occur at the end of a clause, linking it to the previous clause. The causal relationship expressed may be translated in English by the word 'otherwise':

(28)

màʔékõ̃:	bók^{w}ē:
màʔé-kò-ĩ̃	bô-kù-é:
go.around-2sg.Imp.PC-&	say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.

Go and tell him,

k^{w}à:	tû̃:	hìk'i̯	húk'wȁ:si̯		kò:
k^{w}á:	tû-ĩ́	hík'i̯	húk'wà-é-si̯		kó:
NC(3m.sg.)	leave-&	go	kill-3m.sg.obj.-1sg.		SC(2sg.)

he should leave and go, otherwise I will kill him.

In this example, the final conjunction refers back to the subject of the verb 'say' and, therefore, the meaning of the sentence can be paraphrased as, 'If you do not go and tell him that he should leave and go into the bush, I will kill him'. If the final conjunction were third person masculine singular rather than second person singular, it would refer back to the subject of the verbs 'leave' and 'go'. The meaning of the sentence could then be paraphrased as, 'Tell him that he should leave and go into the bush, if he doesn't, I will kill him'.

A further example of this use of the SC can be seen in the next example:

(29)

ʔàʔá	dó:lókò		ǀ'ìnkè	k^{h}éʔésȍ̀	kò:
ʔàʔá	dó:lò-kò		ǀ'ìnké	k^{h}éʔé-ì-sò	kó:
no	slowly-2sg.Imp.PC		chew	hear-irr.-3a.pl.	SC(2sg.)

No, chew slowly, otherwise they will hear!

It can also be noted here that the first person singular SC may be assimilated into the singular imperative form of the verb /dô/, ‘wait’:

(30) dók’ʷēː tʃí ɗèru̥ !’ȕː ʔìè
dô-kò-ʔéː tʃí dèrù̥ !’û-ɨ̏ ʔí-é
wait-2sg.Imp.PC-SC(1sg.) [[I chin]$_{\text{GEN}}$ hair]$_{\text{GEN}}$-sp. 3pers.-3m.sg.obj.
Wait, let me give my whisker,

kʷàː ǀȁːgèː tʃí máxáēːsi̥ʔȍː
kʷáː ǀȃː-éː tʃí máxà-éː-sì̥-ʔȍː
SC(3m.sg.) see-3m.sg.obj. I male-3m.sg.-1sg.-nml.
so that he shall see I am a male.

7.4 /-à/ narrative connective

If a clause contains a NC or a RC, its verb may be conjoined to a verb in a following clause by means of the suffix /-à/, abbreviated in the following examples as ‘conn.’:

(31) sìː dlànɨ̂ːsi̥ kʰùʔsèːȁ
síː dlàní-ɨ̏-sì̥ kʰúʔ-sé-é-à
NC(1sg.) arrow-sp.-1sg.PC spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then I threw the arrows away and

tʰěː ǀ’ȁːnȁsi̥ kȅ
tʰěː ǀ’ȃː-nà-sì̥ kê
[tree top-to]$_{\text{GEN}}$-1sg.PC climb
climbed to the top of a tree.

(32) híâʔ sȁxi̥ ǀʰɣĭːȃːsu̥ ⁿǁŏːkȏːsòsȁ
híàʔ sáxì̥ ǀʰɣĭːà-ɨ̏-sù̥ ⁿǁŏːkò-ɨ̏-sò-sà
usually RC(3f.sg.) dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg. children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC

kʰŏːtánàsȁ ʔíɬímēːts’ȉːgȁ
kʰŏː-tà-nà-sà ʔíɬímēː-ts’è-ʔĭː-à
house-in-to-3f.sg.PC shut(3m.sg.obj.)-appl.-3a.pl.obj.-conn.
Usually Dik-dik shut the children in the house

mántʃʰâ ìtʃʰàsànàsȁ hìk’i̥
mántʃʰà ítʃʰà-sà-nà-sà hík’ì̥
food look.for-nml.-to-3f.sg.PC go
and went to look for food.

The connective morpheme /-ː́/ may be used instead in examples such as the above, but it is more common for /-à/ to be used, unless the actions expressed by the conjoined verbs are to be interpreted as happening simultaneously or expressing different facets of the same event, in which case /-ː́/ is preferred. The text corpus contains the following exception to this tendency:

(33)	ʔàː	nĕːwájōː	sàː	tɬ’èséːâ	tɬ’àbísósi̯
	ʔáː	nĕː-wà-jóː	sáː	tɬ’èséː-à	tɬ’àbísó-si̯
	NC(3pl.)	live-mult.-dur.	NC(3f.sg.)	repeat-conn.	stomach-verb.

Then they lived for a time, and then she became pregnant again.

The text corpus also contains one example of the narrative connective morpheme /-à/ in a clause which does not contain a NC or a RC:

(34)	hèwéʔgàː	kêutõ̀ː	ǀâː	tʰâ
	hèwéʔ̯ gâ-à	kéùtò-ː̃	ǀí-à	tʰâ
	and.so-3m.sg.PC	pig-sp.	come-conn.	run

And so the pig came running.

See the discussion following example (48) below for a further example of how the presence of the conjunction /hèwéʔ̯ gà/ is associated with a narrative meaning. It is also grammatical for the narrative verb connective morpheme to occur in a clause which contains the form /híâʔ/ ‘usually’ but neither a NC nor a RC, but this has not been attested in a text.

The text corpus contains one example of an ideophone being connected to a verb by means of the narrative connective morpheme /-à/:

(35)	sàː	ǀʰĭːẫːsu̯	tsʼóŋgórâː	dláʔ
	sáː	ǀʰĭːà-ː̃-sù̯	tsʼóngórì̯-à	dláʔ
	NC(3f.sg.)	dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg.	jump.up.and.down-conn.	ideo.

And then Dik-dik jumped up and down, boing!

The connective morpheme /-à/ could be replaced with /-ː́/ in this example, but this is not preferred.

The next example shows how /-à/ may also be used to conjoin a possessive construction and a verb:

(36)	tʃí	ⁿǀèmèsèː	kʼéːséà	ⁿǃè
	tʃí	ⁿǀèmésé	kʼéː-sí-è-à	ⁿǃê
	[I	person]$_{GEN}$	cry-poss.-3m.sg.-conn.	dawn(verb)

My person cries all day

Lit. My person has crying and dawns

nɪ̀ː k’éːséə̀ tʷèː
nɪ́ː k’éː-sí-è-à tʷěː
and cry-poss.-3m.sg.-conn. be.night
and cries all night.
and has crying and becomes night.

The connective morpheme /-à/ cannot be replaced with /-ɪ́ː/ in this type of construction.

7.5 /-kí/ additive

The additive morpheme /-kí/ is attached to NPs and can be translated ‘and’, ‘as well’, ‘and as for’ or ‘even’, depending on the context of its occurrence. In the following elicited example, the additive morpheme conjoins the two NPs which form the subject of the clause:

(37) ⁿ‖ǒːkó kǒːŋgóːkí mìríkâʔ ⁿ|ʷèː
ⁿ‖ǒːkó kǒːŋgóː-kí mìríkə̀-àʔ ⁿ|ʷéː
children Gkoongoo-add. medicine-3pl.PC make
The children and Gkoongoo made medicine.

The use of the additive morpheme in this way does not necessarily imply that the two referents of the subject NP acted together, although this implication is more likely to be understood when /-kí/ is used as opposed to the conjunction /nɪ́ː/. Thus, in the following example, it is more natural to use /-kí/ than /nɪ́ː/ because the two referents are understood as a couple:

(38) ʔútáː lóːlóʔõ̂ː ⁿ|èméséː ⁿ|ûmsùkì
ʔútáː lóːlóʔõ̀ː ⁿ|èméséː ⁿ|úmə̀sú-kí
very.long.ago man wife-add.
Very long ago there was a man and (his) wife.

A subject NP which is followed by /-kí/ may also be followed by the SF marker, as in the following example:

(39) pàː mìkʰéː téɬâː
páː mìkʰé-é téɬà-à
NC(3m.sg.) leave/stop-3m.sg.obj. completely-3m.sg.PC
Then he stopped it completely.

ɬěːʔ hèsúkíáː nèːwà pákâ ʔàː ɬàʔté
ɬěːʔ hèsú-kí-áː něː-wà pákà ʔáː ɬàʔté
now she-add.-SF live-mult. until NC(3pl.) die
Now he and she lived until they died.

This example also shows how the additive morpheme can be used to conjoin a subject NP to the subject NP of the previous clause without an overt reference to the subject of the first clause in the second clause.

It is common to find the additive morpheme when a general topic has been introduced and specific information is then being added to this topic. The following example illustrates this:

(40) hâʔ ⁿ|àtī́ːgîʔ
hí-àʔ ⁿ|àtí-ːˊ-ìʔ
when-3pl.PC come-&-sub.cl.
It became apparent to them that

hàː ⁿ‖ǒːˆkì kǒːnáwàtsʼìsə̀
há: ⁿ‖ǒː-ːˋ-kí kǒːnà-wà-tsʼí-sí-è
even child-sp.-add. spoil-mult.-reflex.-poss.-3m.sg.
even (this) child was handicapped as well.

tʃə̌ːˆkì sʷáːmáʔ
tʃəː-ːˋ-kí sʷáːmáʔ
head-sp.-add. narrow
And the head was narrow.

|ʷə̌ːˆkì !áːwásə̀
|ʷəː-ːˋ-kí !áː-wà-sí-è
eye-sp.-add. go.in.different.directions-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.
And the eyes were crossed.

‖ʰàtâ̰ːkì xòrǐːwásə̀
‖ʰàtá-ːˋ-kí xòrǐː-wà-sí-è
leg-sp.-add. bend-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.
And the legs were bent.

Another common function of the additive morpheme is to indicate a change of subject:

(41) nǐː tʃíkí bàʔésə̃ː wàràŋgə̃ː tsʼàːkᵾ
nḯː tʃí-kí bàʔé-sí-è-ːˋ wàràngəːˋ-ːˋ tsʼáː-kᵾ̀
and I-add. [be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. god-sp. home]$_{GEN}$-at

ʔìèsi̯ làbánà
ʔíé-ì-sì làbâ-nà
live-irr.-1sg. later-to
…and as for me, I will live in the home of the Lord forever.

This example follows a clause in which the subject is third person.

Objects which are topics are often marked with the additive morpheme and as such tend not to be also marked with a PC in realis clauses:[50]

(42) mántʃʰákī ûrsā̄ː màɬɛ́ː mántʃʰâ
mántʃʰà-kí úrɪ́ː-sà màɬé-ːɪ́ mántʃʰà
food-add. very-3f.sg.PC choose-& eat
And as for food, she only ate what she liked.
(Lit. And food, she chose very much and ate)

However, it is grammatical for a realis PC to follow the additive morpheme:

(43) tʃʰíátʃʰīə̀ːkìsi̯ mèːnàwàːkʷè
tʃʰíà-tʃʰíà-ːɪ̀-kí-si̯ mɛ̌ːnà-wáː-kù-è
all-all-sp.-add.-1sg.PC like-3i.pl.obj.-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
And I consented to her in all things.

In this example, and in the one below, /-kí/ functions as a marker of emphasis:

(44) tʃáː ʔútáːkí mɛ̌ːnā̄ː sìè
tʃí-áː ʔútáː-kí mɛ̌ːnà-é-ːɪ́ sí-é
I-SF long.ago-add. love-3m.sg.-& take-3m.sg.obj.
And even long ago I loved her and took her.

A further function of the additive morpheme is to mark two NPs which are objects of the same verb, as in the following example:

(45) sàndàwɛ̌ːsʊ̂ híô !èkʊ̌ː sòsòbɛ̀ːiʔ
sàndàwɛ̌ː-sʊ̀ː hí-ò !èkʊ̌ː sòsòbé-é-ìʔ
Sandawe-1pl. when-1pl.PC millet harvest-3m.sg.obj.-sub.cl.
When we Sandawe harvest millet,

pòː !ʰə̂ːnʊ̀ː kʰìkʰìʔsèːà
póː !ʰə̂ː-nà-ò kʰìkʰìʔsé-é-à
NC(1pl.) threshing.place-to-1pl.PC bring.together-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
we bring it together to a threshing place and sort

màɬéː ɬáːʊ̂kì dáːndâ
màɬé-é ɬáː-ù-ːɪ̀-kí dáːndà
sort-3m.sg.obj. good-3m.sg.-sp.-add. one.side
the good to one side

[50] See section 12.3 for an analysis of the relationship between realis PCs and focus and topic marking.

nȉː	bǔːdâ̂ːkì	dáːndâ
nî́ː	bǔːdà-ȉ-kí	dáːndà
and	bad.millet-sp.-add.	one.side

and the bad to one side.

The additive morpheme is also commonly used in introducing speech in narratives (see section 12.5).

7.6 /hèwéʔ̥gâ/, /hèwéʔ̥gê/, /hèwé-ts'i̥/, /hèwé-kì̥méː/ 'and so, therefore'

The conjunction /hèwéʔ̥gâ/ 'and so, therefore' can be used to introduce a clause:

(46)

hèwéʔgȁː	ǁʰàtʃʰû̂ː	kʰǒːtátʃē	tʷěːâ
hèwéʔ̥gâ-à	ǁʰàtʃʰú-ȉ	kʰǒː-tà-tʃè-é	tʷěː-à
and.so-3m.sg.PC	lion-sp.	house-in-from-3m.sg.	at.night-3m.sg.PC

tû̂ː	hík'ī̄ː	ⁿǀétȁː	ʔìèwȁ	sʷénàkì
tûː-́	hík'i̥-́	ⁿǀê-tà-à	ʔíé-wà	sʷê-nà-kí
come.out-&	go-&	wilderness-in-3m.sg.PC	live-mult.	now-to-add.

And so Lion came out of the house at night and went and lived in the wilderness until now.

/hèwéʔ̥gê/ is an alternative form of this conjunction. Both these forms can be analysed as deriving from the referential masculine demonstrative /hèwé/, which refers to what precedes the conjunction. The /-gâ/ and /-gê/ parts of these forms can be analysed as evidential morphemes (see section 12.6) and the [ʔ̥] as coming from the postposition /-ts'i̥/ 'at'.

The referential masculine demonstrative is also the basis for another conjunction with the same meaning:

(47)

kʷàː	hèwéts'âː
kʷáː	hèwé-ts'i̥-à
NC(3m.sg.)	dem.(ref.3m.sg.)-at-3m.sg.PC

jàjáxî̂ːsòȁ	tȉmu̥ʔȉː
jàjá-xi̥-ȉ-sò-à	tímù̥-ʔí̋ː
brother-et.al.-sp.-3a.pl.-3m.sg.PC	swallow-3a.pl.obj.

And so then he swallowed the brothers.

This conjunction is analysed as containing the postpositional suffix /-ts'i̥/ 'at'.

A third conjunction with the meaning 'and so, therefore' is derived from the demonstrative /hèwé/ by means of the postpositional suffix /-kì̥méː/ 'because':

(48) hèwémēːsi̯ ⁿǁìnè
hèwé-kì̯méː-sì̯ ⁿǁíné
dem.(ref.3m.sg.)-bec.-1sg.PC lie.down
And so I lay down.

This conjunction differs slightly in its distribution and meaning from the other two conjunctions illustrated above. In the text corpus, /hèwéʔ̯ gà/ and /hèwé-tsʼì̯/ occur in narrative clauses, whereas /hèwé-kì̯méː/ occurs in speech, including in irrealis clauses with a future time reference. When (48), for example, is translated into Swahili, the verb form used is the perfect (*-me-*), whereas, if the conjunction is replaced with /hèwéʔ̯ gà/, the Swahili verb form chosen is the narrative (*-ka-*). Recall how example (34) above also suggested that /hèwéʔ̯ gà/ has a narrative function as its occurrence in a clause licenses the use of the narrative connective /-à/.

7.7 /-síʔ/ locative

The locative morpheme /-síʔ/ is used in existential constructions like the following elicited example:

(49) kʰǒːtâ ⁿǁǒːsíʔ
kʰǒː-tà ⁿǁǒː-síʔ
house-in child-loc.
There is a child inside.

This construction is comparable with a locative construction which uses the possessive morpheme /-sí/, as shown in the following elicited example:

(50) ⁿǁǒːsu̯ kʰǒːtâ kóːsúsu̯
ⁿǁǒː-sù̯ kʰǒː-tà kóː-sí-sù̯
child-3f.sg. house-in present-poss.-3f.sg.
A child is inside.

One function of the locative morpheme /-síʔ/ is to join two clauses which describe simultaneous events:

(51) ⁿǃʷánékʷê ʔádúku̯ʔõ̀ː ǁǒːxi̯ béːbâ kóːséséìʔ
ⁿǃʷáné-kʷè ʔádúkù̯-ʔõ̀ː ǁǒːxì̯ béːbà kóː-sí-è-síʔ
pray-2pl.Imp.PC help-nml. still near present-poss.-3m.sg.-loc.
Pray for help, while he is still near.

(52)	nówôːkì	kòŋkórîː	băːrsàtsʼ̏ìẽgàː	ʔìmèsìʔ
	nòwé-óː-ː̂-kí	kònkórḭ-ː̂	băːrà-sà-tsʼḭ-ì-éː-ː̂-áː	ʔímé-síʔ
	grind-nml.-sp.-add.	cockerel-sp.	start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-SF	cry-loc.

And the grinding, when the first cockerel crows,

hăːŋgā̄ː	nòwèpògàʔ
hăːngà-ː́	nówé-ì-pò-gáʔ
get.up-&	grind-irr.-2sg.-decl.

you will get up and grind.

Thus, a construction using /-síʔ/ differs in meaning from the subordinate clause construction, which tends to be used to express successive events (see section 11.3).

It is possible for a subordinate clause construction to contain the locative morpheme /-síʔ/, in which case the meaning 'if there is/are…' is understood:

(53)	tàtà	hàpú	jàʔàbȍː	ǀʼímóː	ɬómóː	!ʼámóː
	tàtá	hàpú	já̋ʔá̋bò-ː̂	ǀʼ̏ımé-óː	ɬòmé-óː	!ʼàmé-óː
	father	[you	work]$_{GEN}$-sp.	clear-nml.	cultivate-nml.	carve-nml.

Father, your work is to clear, cultivate, carve,

ⁿ!ámóː	hónóː	híâ	hùmbùsíʔîːʔ	bálóː
ⁿ!àmé-óː	hòná-oː	hí-à	hùmbù-síʔ-ìʔ	bálóː-óː
forge-nml.	harvest.honey-nml.	when-3m.sg.	cow-loc.-sub.cl.	herd-nml.

forge, harvest honey, if there are cows, to herd.

As in example (49) above, the locative morpheme is not a conjunction in this type of construction.

A further function of the locative morpheme is to join two parts of a clause. When it is used in this way, it marks the constituent to which it is suffixed as prominent:

(54)	mákʼôː	hĩ́ːgéxêːsīʔ	tɬʼĕːtsʼíwâː
	màkʼé-óː-ː̂	hĩ́ːgé-xéː-ː̂-síʔ	tɬʼĕː-tsʼí-wà-à
	be.troubled-nml.-sp.	some-pl.-sp.-loc.	diminish(caus.)-reflex.-mult.-3m.sg.PC

As for some troubles, they have diminished

pàː	hĩ́ːgéxéːáː	ǀâːtsʼìwâ
páː	hĩ́ːgé-xéː-áː	ǀâː-tsʼí-wà
NC(3m.sg.)	some-pl.-SF	see-reflex.-mult.

but others have become apparent.

The following example provides an illustration of the locative morpheme's function as a marker of prominence in a copular:

(55) !^{hw}àtáts'i̥mēː ǁ^{h}èmòːsìʔ tɬǎːsi̥
!^{hw}àtáts'i̥-kì̥méː ǁ^{h}èmé-óː-síʔ tɬǎːsì̥
sin-bec. pay-nml.-loc. death
The payment for sin is indeed death.

If the morpheme is omitted in this example, the construction remains grammatical, but does not have any prominence marking.

The locative morpheme can also be attached to an adverb to give it prominence:

(56) ʔóʔsīʔ mĕːnáts'īʔĩ̀ː tùsĩ̀ː
ʔóʔ̥-síʔ mĕːnà-ts'í-ʔĩ̀ː tû-ì-sĩ̀ː
there(ref.)-loc. like-reflex.-with come.out-irr.-2pl.
It is then you (pl.) will come out with joy,

pútɬ'úmáʔĩ̀ː xèsĩ̀ːgì
pútɬ'úmà-ʔĩ̀ː xé-sĩ́ː-ì
peace-with lead-2pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
he will lead you (pl.) with peace.

The negative equivalent of the locative construction uses the negative morpheme /-ts'é/, as in the following elicited example:

(57) káːkásìʔts'è dʒàk^{h}á
káːkà-síʔ-ts'é dʒàk^{h}á
dog-loc.-neg. outside
There is no dog outside.

8 Word order

Word order in Sandawe is influenced by information structure, as will be seen in section 12.3. In the following sections, the most common word orders for different combinations of propositions, words, and phrases will be illustrated and the most frequently occurring of the marked orders will be mentioned.

8.1 Proposition level

As is to be expected with an OV language, Sandawe tends to order nuclear propositions after support propositions. This can be seen in the following example, where the comparison precedes the nucleus:

(1) hèwéxê màràʔéwásɛ̃̀ː
hèwéxè màràʔé-wà-sí-è-ɨ̀
dem.(ref.pl.) stripe-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.

sʷésʷéʔmɔ̀ kʰɔ̀ːxèʔɪ̃̀ːwàsɛ̃̀ː !ɛ̌ːgáʔ
sʷésʷéʔ̰ mɔ̀ kʰɔ̌ː-xéʔɪ̃̀ː-wà-sí-è-ɨ̀ !ɛ̌ː-gáʔ
[wall.stick house]$_{GEN}$-like-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. rib-decl.
These stripey things, which are like a house of wall sticks, are ribs.

Similarly, in the following example, the command follows the assertion:

(2) hóbê ⁿ|èmèsù
hóbè ⁿ|émèsú
[what woman]$_{GEN}$
What a woman,

kʰʷàséːkɔ̃̄ː !ɛ̌ːmésú hòsó ts'àːnà̀
kʰʷà-sé-é-kò-ɨ́ !ɛ̌ːmésú hòsó ts'ǎː-nà
return-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-2sg.Imp.PC-& send(3f.sg.obj.) [they home]$_{GEN}$-to
return her and send her to their home.

The following example illustrates how a positive statement tends to follow a negative one:

(3) mɛ̌ːkʷê kʰɔ̌ːˆ ⁿ!òːwè
mɛ̌ː-kʷè kʰɔ̌ː-ɨ̀ ⁿ!ǒː-é
neg.-2pl.Imp.PC house-sp. open-3m.sg.obj.
Don't open the door,

ʔàŋkʰá hókēːāː |ɪ́ː ʔìmbɔ̀ìʔ
ʔànkʰá hô-kéː-áː |í-ɨ́ ʔìmbô-ìʔ
even who-decl.-SF come-& say-sub.cl.
even if someone comes and speaks.

Unlike the expected pattern for OV language, Sandawe tends to order reason clauses after result clauses, as in the following example:

(4) ⁿ!ê ts'èxɛ̀ kêutɔ̀ !'ìnòːnàɔ̀ nìʔ
ⁿ!ê ts'éxè kéùtò !'ìné-óː-nà-ò níʔ
day one pig hunt-nml.-to-1pl.PC go
One day we went hunting pigs,

wàré tê mìnɗàʔ màntʃʰàː pòː
wàré tê mìndà-àʔ mántʃʰà-é póː
[friend other field]$_{GEN}$-3pl.PC eat-3m.sg.obj. NC(1pl.)
because they had eaten the field of another friend.

Another exceptional pattern seen in Sandawe is the tendency for purpose clauses to follow means clauses:

(5)

!’ʷâ	tʷȁːsi̥	nȉː	híkʼī̄ː	!’òːwȅsi̥
!’ʷâ	tʷá-é-ì-sì̥	nű́ː	híkʼì̥-ːˊ	!’ǒː-é-ì-sì̥
hole	dig-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.	and	go-&	get-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.

I will dig a hole and go and get him,

ʔòː	tʰòːtʰòːkìsȕ̏ː
ʔóː	tʰǒːtʰǒːkí-ì-sȕː
SC(1pl.)	jump-irr.-1pl.

so that we can jump.

8.2 Clause level

The unmarked order of constituents in a clause can be summarised by the following schema:

Temporal (Adv or PP) /	Subject	Object /	Verb
Conjunction /		PP /	
Disjunct		Adverb	

The following example exhibits the order Temp(Adv)-S-PP-V:

(6)

sʷê	ǁʰàtʃʰû̄ː	gùràtsʼȁː	ⁿǁìnèwȁ
sʷê	ǁʰàtʃʰú-ːˋ	gùrà-tsʼì̥-à	ⁿǁíné-wà
now	lion-sp.	room-at-3m.sg.PC	lie.down-mult.

Now Lion lay down in the room.

The word order of the following example is Conj.-S-O-V:

(7)

hèwéʔgȁː	dórȏː	dàkʼʷě̌ːgȁ	ⁿǁíʔwāːjóː
hèwéʔ̥ gâ-à	dóró-ːˋ	dàkʼʷěː-ːˋ-à	ⁿǁî-wáː-jóː
and.so-3m.sg.PC	zebra-sp.	donkey-sp.-3m.sg.PC	paint-3i.pl.obj.-dur.

And so Zebra painted (them on) Donkey.

And, in the following example, the word order is Disj.-S-O-V:

(8)

dìmȅ	wàràŋgě̌ːˆ gāː	tʃítsʼâː	ǁ’ʷèː
dìmè	wàràngěː-ːˋ-áː	tʃí-tsʼì̥-à	ǁ’ʷěː
perhaps	god-sp.-SF	I-at-3m.sg.PC	test

Perhaps God is testing me.

The relative order of objects, PPs and adverbs is flexible, as the following examples illustrate:

Adv(location)-O-V:

(9) wáʔâsi̯ kʰòkʰòrósi̯ !’ò꞉wè
wáʔ-si̯ kʰòkʰòró-si̯ !’ǒ꞉-é
there(dist.)-1sg.PC old.cow-1sg.PC get-3m.sg.obj.
I got there an old cow.

NC-PP(source)-O-PP(goal)-V:

(10) ʔà꞉ mélìtàtʃèàʔ mìzígô꞉ts’àʔ
ʔá꞉ mêlì-tà-tʃè-é-àʔ mìzígò-ɨ̀-ts’ì-àʔ
NC(3pl.) boat-in-from-3m.sg.-3pl.PC load-sp.-at-3pl.PC

ts’átànà꞉ʔ kùʔùm̀sè
ts’â-tà-nà-àʔ kùʔùm̀sé
water-in-to-3pl.PC throw
Then they threw the loads out of the boat into the water.

NC-S-PP(goal)-O-V:

(11) ʔóʔsìʔ ʔà꞉ hòsó mélìtà̀ jàʔbèsìsõ꞉sò
ʔóʔ̯-síʔ ʔá꞉ hòsó mêlì-tà jàʔbé-sí-sò-ɨ̀-sò
there(ref.)-loc. NC(3pl.) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

mélĩ꞉su̯ts’àʔ dûru̯nà̀ʔ !èmò꞉à̀ʔ ⁿǁʷè꞉
mêlì-ɨ̀-su̯-ts’i̯-àʔ dúru̯-nà-àʔ !èmé-ó꞉-àʔ ⁿǁʷé꞉
boat-sp.-3f.sg.-at-3pl.PC shore-to-3pl.PC take-nml.-3pl.PC try
It was then that they who worked in the boat tried to take the boat to shore.

Conj-Adv(manner)-O-Adv(manner)-PP(goal)-V:

(12) hèwéʔgèsi̯ téɬâsi̯ tʃí kìmã̃꞉si̯
hèwéʔ̯ gê-si̯ téɬà-si̯ tʃí kímã́꞉-ɨ̀-si̯
and.so-1sg.PC completely-1sg.PC [I poisonous.arrow]$_{GEN}$-sp.-1sg.PC

ɬá꞉si̯ ǀàní ts’è꞉ònà̀si̯ pè꞉
ɬá꞉-si̯ ǀàní ts’é꞉ò-nà-si̯ pě꞉
well-1sg.PC [bow string]$_{GEN}$-to-1sg.PC put
And so, I put my poisonous arrow completely well on the bow string.

The position of the narrative conjunction (NC) relative to the subject is also flexible. As in (11), the subject may follow the NC, or it may precede it, as in the following example:

(13) ^{n}!ê bǎːrsàts’̀ìẽts’i̥
^{n}!ê bǎːrà-sà-ts’ì̥-ì-éː-ʔ̃̀-ts’ì̥
day start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at
On the first day

jónȁ k^{w}àː m̀jìtànȁː ^{n}ǁèː
jônà k^{w}áː m̂jì-tà-nà-à ^{n}ǁěː
Jonah NC(3m.sg.) town-in-to-3m.sg.PC enter
Jonah entered the town.

The discourse function of this variation is discussed in section 12.3.

As in (6) and (13), a temporal adverb is commonly initial in an utterance. It may also occur elsewhere in the clause, as in the following example:

(14) ^{n}ǁǒː ts’ǒːʔtō ʔùtàː bìk^{h}éːsòts’è
^{n}ǁǒː ts’ǒː-ʔ̥ tó ʔútáː bìk^{h}é-é-ì-sò-ts’é
child be.small-adj. long.ago leave-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.
Long ago they would not leave a small child.

All six logically possible orders of subject, object and verb are grammatical in Sandawe, but SOV predominates. SOV, OSV, VS and VO are attested in the text corpus, but there are no examples of SVO, OVS, VSO or VOS.

The order OSV topicalises the object:

(15) hèwéxéː ^{n}ǁǒːkô ^{n}ǀ̂ìnsȍ
hèwéxéː ^{n}ǁǒːkò ^{n}ǀíni̥-ì-sò
dem.(ref.pl.) children eat(meat)-irr.-3a.pl.
These, the children would eat.

The demonstrative in this example refers to the various meats which are listed in the preceding sentence. Similarly, in the following example, the initial object NP is a topic which has been mentioned in the preceding sentence of the discourse:

(16) hèsú dámâ̂ːsu̥
hèsú dámà-ʔ̃̀-sù̥
dem.(ref.3f.sg.) calf-sp.-3f.sg.

hàpú màːmȅ tùkȅːi
hàpú máːmè tû-kù̥-éː-ì
[you maternal.uncle]$_{GEN}$ come.out-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
This calf, your maternal uncle will contribute.

The following two examples illustrate the order VS and VO respectively:

(17)	pʰêìẽːʔ	kʷàː	ǀí	dàk'ʷẽ̌ːʔ̂
	pʰê-ì-éː-ʔ̀̂-ts'ḭ̀	kʷáː	ǀí	dàk'ʷěː-ʔ̀̂
	tomorrow-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at	NC(3m.sg.)	come	donkey-sp.
	The next day along came Donkey.			

(18)	ʔáːréts'īkȍ	bàʔésê̂ː	jèsȕːts'ḭ
	ʔáːrêts'í-kò	bàʔé-sí-è-ʔ̀̂	jêsù-ʔ̀̂-ts'ḭ̀
	believe-2sg.Imp.PC	be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	Jesus-sp.-at
	Believe in the Lord Jesus!		

The discourse function of marked orders such as these is discussed in section 12.3.

8.3 *Phrase level*

The unmarked order of constituents in a NP can be summarised by the following schema:

Demonstrative	Genitive modifier	Noun	Adverb	Adjective / Numeral / Quantifier

The following example contains a NP with the default constituent order Dem-Gen.Mod-Noun:

(19)	hěːû	hàpú	hùmbȕː	ʔúrâː	gàndȁ
	hěːù	hàpú	hùmbù-ʔ̀̂	ʔúrḭ̀-à	gàndà
	dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	[you	cow]GEN-sp.	very-3m.sg.PC	be.thin
	This cow of yours is so thin!				

The order Gen.Mod-Noun is fixed, but the demonstrative may occur after the noun, as in the third clause of the following example:

(20)	mǎːkâ	têʔ	sàndàwěːsú	tésúsḭ	ǀȁ̂ː
	mǎːkà	té-è-ts'ḭ̀	sàndàwěː-sú	té-sú-sḭ̀	ǀâː
	year	other-3m.sg.-at	Sandawe-3f.sg.	other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC	see
	The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,				

tɬ'àbísósúsṵ
tɬ'àbísó-sí-sṵ̀
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

nɪ̀ː tɬ’àbísɔ̂ː hèwé kʷàʔa̰nájɛ̂ː
nɪ́ː tɬ’àbísó-ɪ̀ hèwé kʷàʔà̰ná-é-ɪ̀
and stomach-sp. dem.(ref.3m.sg.) five-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.
And this pregnancy was the fifth.

The order Noun-Dem. is used when the noun has previously been established in the discourse.

The second NP in the following example exhibits the unmarked order Noun-Adv-Adj:

(21) kʰìmbà bàʔésɛ̂ː wàrɔ̀ŋgɛ̀ː
kʰímbá bàʔé-sí-è-ɪ̀ wàrɔ̀ngɛ̌ː-ɪ̀
interj.(surprise) be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. god-sp.

sómbá ʔúrɪ́ː mèːà kʰìnsèː
sómbá ʔúrɪ́ː méː-à kʰìnsé-é
fish very big-3m.sg.PC send-3m.sg.obj.
But the Lord sent a very large fish.

The order Noun-Adj-Adv is also acceptable.

The following example illustrates how it is possible for another constituent (in this case, a verb) to intervene between a quantifier and the NP which it modifies:

(22) hèwé dɔ̀gɔ̀̃ːsɔ̀ nɪ̀ː hàbâisɔ̀̃ːsɔ̀
hèwé dɔ̀gɔ́-ɪ̀-sɔ̀ nɪ́ː hàbá-ì-sɔ̀-ɪ̀-sɔ̀
[he relative]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3a.pl. and give.birth-agent.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

hàːnàkìsɔ̀ tʃʰíásɔ̄
hǎːnâkí-ì-sɔ̀ tʃʰíà-só
sit-irr.-3a.pl. all-3a.pl.
His relatives and parents will sit down, all of them.

Another marked order is illustrated by the following example:

(23) ɬáː nɛ̀ːsɔ̀ ʔúrɪ́ː
ɬáː nɛ̌ː-ì-sɔ̀ ʔúrɪ́ː
well live-irr.-3a.pl. very
They would live very well.

The unmarked order for this clause would have the verb in clause-final position and /ʔúrɪ́ː/ ‘very’ preceding /ɬáː/ ‘well’.

If two verbs are conjoined with the connective morpheme /-ː́/, the default order is for the verb which is suffixed with this morpheme to precede the other verb:

(24) pàː ǀʼʷǎː ʔíéː ǁànájóː
páː ǀʼʷǎː ʔíé-ː́ ǁàná-jóː
NC(3m.sg.) millet stay-& grow-dur.
Then the millet keeps growing,

pàː ⁿǁúʔú
páː ⁿǁúʔú
NC(3m.sg.) blossom
then it blossoms.

However, if the actions described by the two verbs happen simultaneously, it is also possible for the verb suffixed with the connective morpheme to occur after the verb to which it is conjoined:

(25) pàː ǁʼòǁʼâː ʔíxâː ʔìmbɔ̀ ⁿǃɛ̌ː kìàkàʔ
páː ǁʼòǁʼá-ː̌ ʔíxì̩-à ʔìmbô ⁿǃɛ̌ː-ː́ kí-à-káʔ
NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp. thus-3m.sg.PC say laugh-& add.-3m.sg.PC-hear.
Then Baboon spoke thus laughing, saying…

9 Derivation

9.1 Deriving nouns

9.1.1 Action nominalisation and PPs derived from nominalised VPs

A verb or VP may be nominalised by means of the suffixes /-ʔɔ̃ː/, /-óː/ or /-sà/:

(1) xáʔɔ̃ː hɛ̌ːû tʃímēːà̀ ǃʼòːtsʼì
xâ-ʔɔ̃ː hɛ̌ːù tʃí-kì̩méː-à ǃʼɔ̌ː-tsʼí
be.bad-nml. dem.(prox.3m.sg.) I-bec.-3m.sg.PC get-reflex.
This badness happened because of me.

(2) hèwé bàʔòː gìtɬʼɛ̃̀ːgà̀ tètèkʷàː
hèwé bàʔé-óː gìtɬʼé-ː̂ː-à tétékù̩-wá
[[he be.big-nml.]$_{GEN}$ clothes]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3m.sg.PC take.off-3i.pl.obj.
He took off his clothes of greatness.

(3) híâ ǁʼékʷâ ⁿǃɛ̃̀ːgàː ⁿǁɛ̀ːìʔ
hí-à ǁʼékʷà ⁿǃê-ː̂-aː ⁿǁɛ̌ː-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC [dowry day]$_{GEN}$-sp.-SF arrive-sub.cl.
When the dowry day arrives,

ʔà: hă:nákī ǁ'ékʷásànà̰ʔ
ʔá: hă:nàkí ǁ'ékʷà-sà-nà-àʔ
NC(3pl.) sit give.dowry-nml.-to-3pl.PC
they sit down in order to give the dowry.

A verb may also function as a NP without the addition of suffix, but this is unusual. The text corpus contains only one such example:

(4) sʷê híô ǀáʔwã̄: tɬèm̀sè̀iʔ
sʷê hí-ò ǀâ̄:-wá:-ː́ tɬèm̀sé-ìʔ
now when-1pl.PC see-3i.pl.obj.-& finish-sub.cl.
Now after we had seen them,

kò: pàŋgáts'íô bà:rà̰
kó: pàngá-ts'í-ò bă:rà
NC(1pl.) arrange-reflex-1pl.PC start
then we started to arrange ourselves.

The suffixes /-ʔõ̀:/ and /-sà/ are unrestricted in the choice of verbs to which they attach. The suffix /-ó:/ replaces the final vowel in the verb to which it attaches and the resulting form has all high tones. The distribution of this suffix is restricted to certain verbs. These verbs tend to be transitive and have a final /é/ vowel which is not part of the verb root, as in /tʰímé/ 'cook' and /ɬòmé/ 'cultivate'. However, other verbs which allow the /-ó:/ suffix, such as /hìbà/ 'weed' and /ǁ'àkí/ 'descend', do not fall into this category. Monosyllabic verbs and other multisyllabic verbs, such as /hùmà/ 'defeat' and /tʷárà/ 'carry', cannot be nominalised with /-ó:/.

In texts, the nominalising suffix /-sà/ is only found with a following postpositional suffix, as in (3). It is marginally acceptable to use this suffix without a following postpositional suffix:

(5) ? tʰímésásà̰ bà:rà:
tʰímé-sà-sà bă:rà-é
cook-nml.-3f.sg.PC start-3m.sg.obj.
? She started to cook.

The three suffixes /-ʔõ̀:/, /-ó:/ and /-sà/ can nominalise a verb together with its object, as in (6) (see also examples (11) and (14)):

(6) ⁿǀétànà̰sị̰ hìk'ị̰ kêutò̰ !'ìnèsànà̰sị̰
ⁿǀê-tà-nà-sị̰ hík'ị̰ kéùtò !'ìné-sà-nà-sị̰
bush-in-to-1sg.PC go pig hunt-nml.-to-1sg.PC
I went into the bush in order to hunt pigs.

In a nominalisation that contains one or more constituents besides the verb, the tone pattern of the verb is lowered unless it follows a L melody word (example (7)), or is suffixed with a PGN morpheme for the subject (example (16)), or is a HL melody word following a final H tone.

A verb and its object can be nominalised without one of the three suffixes, providing the phrase is suffixed with the specificity morpheme. This is not attested in the text corpus, but is illustrated by the following elicited example:

(7) mìndà ɬòmə̂ːgàʔ dàː
mìndà ɬòmé-ːə̀-àʔ dǎː
field cultivate-sp.-3pl.PC be.able
They can cultivate the field.

The two suffixes /-ʔɔ̀ː/ and /-óː/ are functionally equivalent. However, there is a tendency for /-óː/ to be preferred where it is allowed, particularly when there is no object in the nominalised VP:

(8) ǁántóːkí !’ǒːwési̯
ǁàntá-óː-kí !’ǒː-é-si̯
be.satisfied-nml.-add. get-3m.sg.obj.-1sg.PC
I have got satisfaction.

(9) fáróː ǁòː ts’ǒːʔtō
fàré-óː ǁǒː ts’ǒː-ʔ̯ tó
[lie-nml. path]$_{GEN}$ be.short/small-adj.
The path of lying is short.

(10) hèwéʔgàː !’ínɔ̂ːkīāː tɬèː
hèwéʔ̯ gâ-à !’ìné-óː-ə̀ː-kí-áː tɬéː
and.so-3m.sg.PC hunt-nml.-sp.-add.-SF be.finished
And so the hunting was finished.

If the VP contains an object, /-ʔɔ̀ː/ is often preferred, even when /-óː/ is allowed, as in the following example:

(11) íô hàpúkí nówóː ɬómóː
íò hàpú-kí nòwé-óː ɬòmé-óː
mother you-add. grind-nml. cultivate-nml.

nâni̯ tʷèːʔɔ̀ː mántʃʰâ tʰìmèʔɔ̀ː
nánì̯ tʷěː-ʔɔ̀ː mántʃʰà tʰímé-ʔɔ̀ː
vegetables gather-nml. food cook-nml.
Mother, as for you, (your job is) grinding, cultivating, gathering vegetables, cooking food.

The /-óː/ morpheme can be suffixed with the specificity morpheme, as in (10). The function of this is illustrated by the following two elicited examples:

(12) tʰímóːáː hùmàsè
tʰímé-óː-áː hùmà-sé
cook-nml.-SF defeat-1sg.obj.
I couldn't cook.
Lit. Cooking defeated me

(13) tʰímɔ̃̀ːgāː hùmàsè
tʰímé-óː-ɨ̀-áː hùmà-sé
cook-nml.-sp.-SF defeat-1sg.obj.
I couldn't do the cooking.
(Lit. The specific instance of cooking defeated me.)

A nominalised verb or VP can be followed by a realis PC under the same conditions as other NPs or PPs:

(14) ʔóʔsìʔ ʔàː hòsó mélìtà jàʔbèsìsɔ̃̀ːsò
ʔóʔ̰-síʔ ʔáː hòsó mêlì-tà jàʔbé-sí-sò-ɨ̀-sò
there(ref.)-loc. NC(3pl.) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

mélɛ̃̀ːsu̯ts'àʔ dûru̯nàʔ !èmòːàʔ ⁿǁʷèː
mêlì-ɨ̀-sù̯-ts'ì̯-àʔ dúrù̯-nà-àʔ !èmé-óː-àʔ ⁿǁʷěː
boat-sp.-3f.sg.-at-3pl.PC shore-to-3pl.PC take-nml.-3pl.PC try
It was then that they who worked in the boat tried to take the boat to shore,

pàː dǎːtʃʰō
páː dǎː-tʃʰì-só
NC(3pl.) be.able.-neg.-3a.pl.
but they could not.

(15) híô nówésámēːòiʔ
hí-ò nówé-sà-kì̯méː-ò-ìʔ
when-1pl.PC grind-nml.-bec.-1pl.-sub.cl.
When we want to grind,

pòː làʔsěːnôː tɬ'àː
póː làʔsěː-nà-ò tɬ'ǎː
NC(1pl.) winnowing.trough-to-1pl.PC take
then we take (them) to the winnowing trough

pòː	sòkórāː	kùnùts'ȍː
póː	sòkórà-é	kùnù-ts'ɪ̥̀-ò
NC(1pl.)	grind-3m.sg.obj.	mortar-at-1pl.PC

and we grind it in the mortar.

Note how in (15), the PP derived from a nominalised verb acts as the verb in the subordinate clause.

The suffix /-ʔȍː/ can nominalise a VP and its subject:

(16)	hóāː	mànàː	ʔàmànà	wàròŋgěː	hèwé	k'ìtɬ'ȍː
	hô-áː	mànǎː	ʔámáná	wàròngěː	hèwé	k'itɬ'e-oː-̏ː
	who-SF	know	maybe	god	[he	be.angry]$_{\text{GEN}}$-nml.-sp.

bìkʰêːiʔȍː	ʔòː	měː	tʃʰèːkì
bìkʰé-é-ì-ʔȍː	ʔóː	měː	tʃʰěː-kí
leave-3m.sg.obj.-irr(-3m.sg.)-nml.	SC(1pl.)	neg.	absent-verb

Who knows whether God will abandon his anger, so that we will not be destroyed.

The object of the 'know' verb is 'maybe God will abandon his anger'. If the /-ʔȍː/ suffix is omitted, the example remains grammatical, but is composed of three clauses rather than two and means 'who knows, maybe God will abandon his anger, so that we will not be destroyed'. /-ʔȍː/ can be replaced with the /-sà/ nominalising morpheme together with the specificity morpheme /-ː̏/ without changing the meaning, but this option is not attested in any texts.

/-ʔȍː/ can also nominalise adjectives and copular constructions. Example (17) is elicited and (18) comes from a text:

(17)	kòlǒ̏ː	méːʔȏː
	kòlǒ̏ː	méː-ʔȏː
	[hoe	big]$_{\text{GEN}}$-nml.

The bigness of the hoe.

(18)	dók'ʷēː	tʃí	dȅrṳ	!'ȕː	ʔìè
	dô-kò-ʔéː	tʃí	dèrṳ̀	!'û-ː̏	ʔí-é
	wait-2sg.Imp.PC-SC(1sg.)	[[I	chin]$_{\text{GEN}}$	hair]$_{\text{GEN}}$-sp.	3pers.-3m.sg.obj.

Wait, let me give my whisker,

kʷàː	lȁːgèː	tʃí	máxáēːsɪ̥ʔȍː
kʷáː	lȃː-éː	tʃí	máxà-éː-sɪ̥̀-ʔȍː
SC(3m.sg.)	see-3m.sg.obj.	I	male-3m.sg.-1sg.-nml.

so that he shall see I am a male.

Adding a postpositional suffix to a verb or VP which has been nominalised by the /-ʔȍ̃ː/, /-óː/ or /-sà/ suffixes results in a PP. Examples of three postpositional suffixes, /-kı̥̀méː/ 'because', /-nà/ 'to' and /-ts'ı̥̀/ 'at', are found in the text corpus.

9.1.1.1 /-kı̥̀méː/ 'because'

The function of the /-kı̥̀méː/ suffix depends on whether the NP to which it attaches has been nominalised by the /-ʔȍ̃ː/ or /-óː/ morphemes, or by the /-sà/ morpheme. In the former case, the action of the verb from which the NP is derived has usually been completed:

(19)

ʔókʰô	wàròŋgèːpȍ	bàʔésípỗːpȍ	^{n}!ʷánépôː
ʔókʰò	wàròngěː-pò	bàʔé-sí-pò-ȉ̃ː-pò	^{n}!ʷáné-pó-ò
o	god-2sg.	be.big.-poss.-2sg.-sp.-2sg.	beg-2sg.obj.-1pl.

O Lord, we beg you,

kòː	měː	tósū̃ː
kóː	měː	tô-sű̃ː
SC(2sg.)	neg.	finish-1pl.obj.

do not make us perish,

hěːû	^{n}ǀèmésễː	mȍ̃ː	tùkʷèːʔȍ̃ːmèː
hěːù	^{n}ǀèmésé-ȉ̃ː	mô-ȉ̃ː	tû-kù̥-éː-ʔȍ̃ː-kı̥̀méː
[dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	man-sp.	spirit]$_{GEN}$-sp.	come.out-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-nml.-bec.

because of taking the life of this man

nȉ̃ː	měːkô	!ʰʷàtáts'ı̥	tèːxı̥sū̃ː
nı̋̃ː	měː-kò	!ʰʷàtáts'ı̥̀	téː-xı̥̀-sű̃ː
and	neg.-2sg.Imp.PC	sin	count-ben.-1pl.obj.

and don't count it as sin against us

hěːû	^{n}ǀèmésễː	ǁ'èk'á	kùʔsèːʔȍ̃ːmèː
hěːù	^{n}ǀèmésé-ȉ̃ː	ǁ'èk'á	kúʔ-sé-é-ʔȍ̃ː-kı̥̀méː
[dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	man-sp.	blood]$_{GEN}$	spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-nml.-bec.

because of spilling the blood of this man,

!ʰʷàtáts'ı̥sèts'ȅ̃ː
!ʰʷàtáts'ı̥̀-sí-è-ts'è-ȉ̃ː
sin-poss.-3m.sg.-neg.-sp.

who does not have sin.

In this example, the ‘taking the life of this man’ and the ‘spilling the blood of this man’ are treated as if they have already taken place. In contrast, the /-sà/ nominaliser, when followed by the postpositional suffix /-kı̥mé:/, is used when the action expressed is yet to happen:

(20)

mélìȁ	!’ò:wè	t^{h}àrʃíʃı̥nȁ	hà:ŋgàsàmè:sȁ
mêlì-à	!’ǒ:-é	t^{h}àrʃíʃı̥-nà	hǎ:ŋgà-sà-kı̥mé:-sà
boat-3m.sg.PC	get-3m.sg.obj.	Tarshish-to	leave-nml.-bec.-3f.sg.PC

He got a boat, which was about to leave for Tarshish.

The precise meaning of the /-sà/ and /-kı̥mé:/ combination depends on the context. In (20), it expresses something which is about to happen. In the following example, volition on the part of the subject can be understood:

(21)

hě:ˆ	kû̂:ʔȉ̀:	ká:kâ	hìǀ’àsàmè:sı̥
hě:ù	kû-ː̏-ʔȉ̀:	ká:kà	híǀ’á-sà-kı̥mé:-sı̥̀
dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	rope-sp.-with	dog	tie-nml.-bec.-1sg.PC

I want to tie the dog with this rope./
I am about to tie the dog with this rope.

Example (21) also shows how a NP formed in this way has a realis PC, but no verb. Note also how the tone pattern of the nominalised verb is lowered.

9.1.1.2 /-nȁ/ ‘to’

When the /-ʔȍ:/ or /-ó:/ nominalising suffixes are combined with the ‘to’ postpositional suffix /-nà/, the resulting PP usually occurs before a verb of locomotion as its complement:

(22)

híâʔ	ts’ò:ts’ìwàsȉ:ʔ
hí-àʔ	ts’ǒ:ts’í-wà-sı̥-ìʔ
when-3pl.PC	hunger-mult.-verb.-sub.cl.

When they were hungry,

ʔà:	ʔísó:nâʔ	nìʔ
ʔá:	ʔìsá-ó:-nà-àʔ	níʔ
NC(3pl.)	steal-nml.-to-3pl.PC	go

they went to steal.

(23)

ⁿ!ê	ts’èxȅ	kêutȍ	!’ìnò:nàȍ	nìʔ
ⁿ!ê	ts’éxè	kéùtò	!’ìné-ó:-nà-ò	níʔ
day	one	pig	hunt-nml.-to-1pl.PC	go

One day we went hunting pigs,

wàré	tê	mìnd̀à?	màntʃʰà:	pò:
wàré	tê	mìndà-à?	mántʃʰà-é	pó:
[friend	other	field]$_{GEN}$-3pl.PC	eat-3m.sg.obj.	NC(1pl.)

because they had eaten the field of another friend.

When /-sà/ and /-nà/ are combined, the resulting PP is usually an adjunct expressing purpose and often occurs after the verb:

(24)

ʔùsʷê	wàrè	hùmbù	ʔùsű̀ʔwàì	kèsô?
ʔùsʷê	wàré	hùmbù	ʔùsű:-ʔ̰ wà-ì	kèsé-ò?
now	friend	cow	we-3i.pl.-pro.	drive-1pl.Subj.PC

dlòmósúkᵚsànà̀	m̀nádánà̀
dlòmó-sú-kᵚ̀-sà-nà	m̀nádà-nà
buy-poss.-caus.-nml.-to	market-to

Now, friend, let's drive our cows to the market in order to sell them.

The differences between /-ʔɔ̀:/ plus /-kᵚ́mé:/, /-sà/ plus /- kᵚ́mé:/ and /-sà/ plus /-nà/ can be very slight, as illustrated by the following elicited examples:

(25)

ts'ă:násᵚ	hìk'ᵚ	tʰímé?ɔ̀:mē:sᵚ	
ts'ă:-nà-sᵚ	hík'ᵚ	tʰímé-ʔɔ̀:-kᵚ́mé:-sᵚ	
home-to-1sg.PC	go	cook-nml.-bec.-1sg.PC	

I went home because of the cooking.

(26)

ts'ă:násᵚ	hìk'ᵚ	tʰímésámē:sᵚ	
ts'ă:-nà-sᵚ	hík'ᵚ	tʰímé-sà-kᵚ́mé:-sᵚ	
home-to-1sg.PC	go	cook-nml.-bec.-1sg.PC	

I went home because of wanting to cook.

(27)

ts'ă:násᵚ	hìk'ᵚ	tʰímésánà̀sᵚ	
ts'ă:-nà-sᵚ	hík'ᵚ	tʰímé-sà-nà-sᵚ	
home-to-1sg.PC	go	cook-nml.-to-1sg.PC	

I went home in order to cook.

The combination /-ʔɔ̀:/ plus /-nà/ is also used in temporal expressions:

(28)

pʰákâ	tʃʰĕ:kíʔɔ̂:nà	wékɛ̃̂:	pà:	‖'áʔ
pʰákà	tʃʰĕ:-kí-ʔɔ̀:-nà	wékɛ̃́:- ̃̀	pá:	‖'áʔ
until	absent-verb.-nml.-to	wind-sp.	NC(3m.sg.)	be.stuck

Until in the end, the wind was stuck.

(Lit. Until the being absent/finished, the wind was stuck.)

9.1.1.3 /-ts'ḭ̀/ 'at'

The combination of the nominaliser /-ʔõ̏ː/ or /-óː/ plus postposition suffix /-ts'ḭ̀/ 'at' can be interpreted as meaning 'at the time of…', as in the following example:

(29)	sʷê	ts'ǎːnâ	kʰʷàsòːts'ḭ
	sʷê	ts'ǎː-nà	kʰʷà-sóː-ts'ḭ̀
	now	home-to	return-nml.-at
	Now at the time of returning home		

láːʔȇ̃ːsṵ	ǀʰímésā̄ː	ǁʰʷèŋkẽ́ː	hík'ḭ	měːnátsʼ̄ī̄ː
láːʔè-̃̏ː-sṵ̀	ǀʰímé-sà-̃́ː	ǁʰʷènké-̃́ː	hík'ḭ̀	měːnà-ts'í-̃́ː
hare-sp.-3f.sg.	sing-3f.sg.-&	whistle-&	go	like-reflex.-&
Hare went happily singing and whistling.				

/kʰʷàsóː/ is an irregular nominalisation of the verb /kʰʷà/ 'return'. The meaning of /-sà/ plus /-ts'ḭ̀/ is similar to the meaning of /-ʔõ̏ː/ or /-óː/ plus /-ts'ḭ̀/:

(30)	ʔáráː	nìnéwı̏	ḿdʒı̏̃ː	ʔúrâː	bàʔè
	ʔáráː	nìnêwì	m̂dʒì-̃̏ː	ʔúr̥ì-à	bàʔé
	truly	[Nineveh	town]$_{GEN}$-sp.	very-3m.sg.PC	be.big
	Truly the town of Nineveh is very big,				

ⁿ!ê	sʷámkíxḭ	tɬ'ȁːi	ríŋgóːsâts'ḭ
ⁿ!ê	sʷámkíxḭ	tɬ'ǎː-ì	ríngóː-sà-ts'ḭ̀
day	three	take-irr.(-3m.sg.)	go.around-nml.-at
it will take three days to go around.			

A difference between the use of /-ʔõ̏ː/ or /-óː/ plus /-ts'ḭ̀/ versus /-sà/ plus /-ts'ḭ̀/ can be seen in the elicited examples (31) and (32):

(31)	hík'ḭsàtsʼ̏ìsḭ	màʔ
	hík'ḭ̀-sà-tsʼ̏ì-sḭ̀	máʔ
	go-nml.-at-1sg.PC	be.tired
	I was tired at the time of going.	

(32)	hík'ḭʔõ̏ːtsʼ̏ìsḭ	màʔ
	hík'ḭ̀-ʔõ̏ː-tsʼ̏ì-sḭ̀	máʔ
	go-nml.-at-1sg.PC	be.tired
	I was tired of going./	
	I was tired at the time of going.	

Example (31) is not ambiguous, but example (32) is. The /-sà/ plus /-ts'ḭ̀/ combination is interpreted as a temporal adjunct, whereas the /-ʔȍː/ plus /-ts'ḭ̀/ combination can either be interpreted as a temporal adjunct or as a complement to the verb 'be tired'.

If a temporal adjunct derived by /-sà/ plus /-ts'ḭ̀/ is further modified by the addition of the specificity morpheme /-ː̏/, the meaning changes slightly:

(33) hík'ḭsȁːts'ȉsḭ mà?
hík'ḭ̀-sà-ː̏-ts'ȉ-sḭ̀ máʔ
go-nml.-sp.-at-1sg.PC be.tired
I was tired after going.

The placement in the word order of a nominalised phrase depends on its function and on information structure. Thus, temporals tend to occur initially (examples (28) and (29)), complements usually occur before the verb (examples (22) and (23)) and adjuncts usually occur after the verb (example (24)).

9.1.1.4 Other postpositions

Other combinations of nominalising suffixes and postpositional suffixes are possible, but no examples have been found in any text. The following elicited examples illustrate some of the possibilities:

(34) ɬómóːtàsȁ ìè
ɬòmé-óː-tà-sà íé
cultivate-nml.-in-3f.sg.PC stay
She is at the cultivating.

(35) ɬòmésátȁsḭ !'òːwè
ɬòmé-sà-tà-sḭ̀ !'ǒː-é
cultivate-3f.sg.-in-1sg.PC meet-3m.sg.obj.
I found it where the cultivating was going on.

(36) ɬómóːtánȁsḭ hík'ī̄ ⁿǁèː
ɬòmé-óː-tà-nà-sḭ̀ hík'ḭ̀-ː́ ⁿǁěː
cultivate-nml.-in-to-1sg.PC go-& arrive
I went and arrived where the cultivating was going on.

(37) mántʃʰásàtànȁsḭ hík'ī̄ ⁿǁèː
mántʃʰà-sà-tà-nà-sḭ̀ hík'ḭ̀-ː́ ⁿǁěː
eat-nml.-in-to-1sg.PC go-& arrive
I went and arrived while the eating was going on.

(38) ɬómó:tátʃʰʷā: |ì
ɬòmé-ó:-tà-tʃè-sú-á: |í
cultivate-nml.-in-from-3f.sg.-SF come
I came from cultivating.

9.1.2 Agentive nominalisation

Table 9.1 gives examples of the use of /-ì/ in deriving agentive nouns from verbs:

Table 9.1 Deverbal nominalisations with /-ì/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form(s)*	*Gloss*
1	báló:	*herd*	báló:ì	*shepherd, pastor*
2	fàré	*lie*	fàréì	*liar*
3	|ʰímé	*sing*	|ʰíméì	*singer (masc.)*
4	|ʰímé	*sing*	|ʰíméìsṵ̀	*singer (fem.)*
5	|ʰímé	*sing*	|ʰímé?̰ wà |ʰímé?̰ wàì	*singers*

This process is productive. Note the alternative plural forms. The following example contains an agentive noun derived using /-ì/:

(39) hèwé dògõ̰:sò nḭ̀: hàbâisõ̰:sò
hèwé dògó-ḭ̀-sò nḯ: hàbá-ì-sò-ḭ̀-sò
[he relative]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3a.pl. and give.birth-agent.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

hà:nàkìsõ̰ tʃʰíásō
hă:nâkí-ì-sò tʃʰía-só
sit-irr.-3a.pl. all-3a.pl.
His relatives and parents will sit down, all of them.

9.1.3 Instrumental nominalisation

Nouns with an instrumental meaning can be derived from verbs by means of the suffix /-ʔḭ̀:/:

Table 9.2 Deverbal nominalisations with /-ʔḭ̀:/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	kê	*climb*	kêʔḭ̀:	*something to climb with, e.g. ladder*
2	tă:	*open, untie*	tă:táʔḭ̀:	*something to open with, e.g. key*
3	!'àmé	*hew*	!'àméʔḭ̀:	*something to hew with, e.g. axe*

This process is also productive. Note the reduplication of the verb root in row (2), which expresses multiple action and is required so that the derived noun refers to an object which is regularly used for opening something.

The suffixes /-áʔ/ and /-à/ may also derive nouns with an instrumental meaning from verbs, but these suffixes are limited in their productivity. Only the following examples have been attested:

Table 9.3 Deverbal nominalisations with /-áʔ/ , /-à/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form(s)*	*Gloss*
1	ɬèbèré	*stir (porridge)*	ɬébéráʔ ɬébérà	*stirrer (for porridge)*
2	lʰèmé	*sweep*	lʰèmáʔ	*broom*
3	xòrònts'ìmé	*hollow out*	xòrònts'ìmà	*tool for hollowing out*

9.2 *Deriving verbs*

For verbs which are derived from other verbs, see section 5.7 on verbal extensions. This section considers the ways in which verbs are derived from nouns, adjectives, and adverbs.

9.2.1 /-ts'í/

The suffix /-ts'í/ derives verbs from adjectives and adverbs:

Table 9.4 Verbs derived with /-ts'í/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	bàʔê̥ tʰéː	*big (adj.)*	bàʔê̥ tʰéːts'í	*become big*
2	děː̥̀ tʰéː	*many (adj.)*	děː̥̀ tʰéːts'í	*become many*
3	dʒàkʰá	*outside (adv.)*	dʒàkʰáts'í	*be/become an outsider*
4	k'ánk'árà	*black (adj.)*	k'ánk'áràts'í	*be/become black*

This derivational process is productive. As in row 1 and 2 in table 9.4, the suffix /-ts'í/ can be used to derive verbs from adjectives which themselves have been derived from verbs. The use of verbs derived in this way is often associated with an emphasis on the process that has occurred, in order for something to be described in the way indicated by the verb. Thus, for example, /bàʔê̥ tʰéːts'í/ 'become big' differs in meaning from /bàʔé/ 'be big'.

/-ts'í/ can also be used to derive verbs from possessive constructions (as will be seen in section 11.4) and from NPs, as in the following example:

(40)	nĩ̀ː	těːtéràwàsɛ̃̀ː	sĩ́ː	mántʃʰáts'īwȁi
	nĩ́ː	těːérà-wà-sí-è-ː̃̀	sĩ́ː	mántʃʰà-ts'í-wà-ì
	and	seed-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	[you(pl.)	food]GEN-verb.-mult.-irr.(-3m.sg.)

And the ones with seeds will be your (pl.) food.

9.2.2 /-sɻ̩/

The suffix /-sɻ̩/ can be suffixed to nouns to derive verbs:

Table 9.5 Denominal verbs with /-sɻ̩/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	bé꞉bà	*nearby*	bé꞉bàsɻ̩	*draw near*
2	hémbé	*clear area*	hémbésɻ̩	*be clear*
3	máró꞉	*cleverness*	máró꞉sɻ̩	*be clever*
4	t^{h}ŭ꞉	*darkness*	t^{h}ŭ꞉sɻ̩	*be dark*
5	ts'ŏ꞉ts'í	*hunger*	ts'ŏ꞉ts'ísɻ̩	*be hungry*
6	ǀ'^{w}á꞉	*sore (n.)*	ǀ'^{w}á꞉sɻ̩	*break out in sores*

The following example from the text corpus illustrates the use of /-sɻ̩/:

(41) s^{w}ê dàk'^{w}ĕ꞉ˆ k^{w}à꞉ ^{n}ǀî꞉ tʃ^{h}íā꞉ ǀ'^{w}à꞉sɻ̩k^{w}è
s^{w}ê dàk'^{w}ĕ꞉-ˆ̀ k^{w}á꞉ ^{n}ǀî꞉ tʃ^{h}íà-á꞉ ǀ'^{w}á꞉-sɻ̩-kù-è
now donkey-sp. NC(3m.sg.) body all-SF sore-verb.-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
Now as for Donkey, his whole body broke out in sores.
(Lit. Now Donkey, the whole body broke out in sores to him.)

9.2.3 /-sí-kʊ̀/

When the causative suffix /-kʊ̀/ is used with a preceding possessive morpheme /-sí/, it can be found attached to verb stems (see section 5.7.1) or to noun stems,[51] as in table 9.6:

Table 9.6 Denominal verbs with /-sí-kʊ̀/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	p^{h}ê	*tomorrow*	p^{h}êsúkʊ̀	*put off until tomorrow*
2	máró꞉	*cleverness*	máró꞉súkʊ̀	*make someone clever*
3	t^{w}ĕ꞉	*night*	t^{w}ĕ꞉súkʊ̀	*stay the night*
4	ts'éxè	*one*	ts'éxèsúkʊ̀	*unify*
5	^{n}!ê	*day*	^{n}!êsúkʊ̀	*stay awake all night*

As the examples in table 9.6 show, the meaning of verbs derived by /-sí-kʊ̀/ is not always transparent. The example below from the text corpus illustrates one such use:

(42) ^{n}‖ŏ꞉ ts'ŏ꞉ʔtō ʔùtà꞉ bìk^{h}é꞉sòts'è
^{n}‖ŏ꞉ ts'ŏ꞉-ʔ̩tó ʔútá꞉ bìk^{h}é-é-ì-sò-ts'é
child be.small-adj. long.ago leave-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.
Long ago they would not leave a small child,

[51] /t^{w}ĕ꞉/ 'night' and /^{n}!ê/ 'day' are both noun stems and verb stems.

k^{w}à: wáʔmá   k^{h}ò:ʔ   t^{w}ě:súkî:ts'è
k^{w}á: wáʔmá   k^{h}ǒ:-ts'ì̥   t^{w}ě:-sí-kù̥-ì-ts'é
SC(3m.sg.)   [companions   house]$_{GEN}$-at   night-poss.-caus.-irr.(-3m.sg.)-neg.
so that he stayed the night at his companions' house,

jàʔméî
jàʔmé-ì
get.used.to-irr(-3m.sg.)
he would get used to it.

9.2.4 /-m̥̀sé/

The desiderative suffix /-m̥̀sé/, which may be attached to verbs (see section 5.7.6), may also be attached to nouns and adjectives. The resulting form is a verb with two possible meanings, depending on the context:

Table 9.7 Denominal verbs with /-m̥̀sé/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	íó:	*mother*	íó:m̥̀sé	*think it is a mother; say 'mother'*
2	k^{h}ǒ:	*house*	k^{h}ǒ:m̥̀sé	*think it is a house; say 'house'*
3	ts'ámâsú	*giraffe*	ts'ámâsúm̥̀sé	*think it is a giraffe; say 'giraffe'*
4	^{n}ǀèmèsé:	*man*	^{n}ǀèmèsé:m̥̀sé	*think it is a man; say 'man'*
5	ɬá:ù	*good-3m.sg.*	ɬáûm̥̀sé	*think it is good; say 'good'*
6	bàʔḛ̂t^{h}é:	*big*	bàʔḛ̂t^{h}é:m̥̀sé	*think it is big; say 'big'*

Thus, the following elicited example has two possible meanings:

(43) ts'ámásūm̥̄sèsi̥
ts'ámâsú-m̥̀sé-sì̥
giraffe-des.-1sg.
I thought it was a giraffe./ I said 'giraffe'.

The following example illustrates one of the meanings in context:

(44) ʔà: ǀ^{h}ĭ:â ^{n}ǁò:kȍ:sȍ   hèsó   ìò:m̥̀sèȁ
ʔà: ǀ^{h}ĭ:à ^{n}ǁǒ:kó-ȉ-sò   hèsó   íó:-m̥̀sé-à
NC(3pl.)   [dik.dik   children]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3a.pl.   [they   mother]$_{GEN}$-des.-conn.
Then Dik-dik's children thought it was their mother, and

kʰŏ̃ːgã̀ʔ ^{n}!òːwè
kʰŏː-ː̃̀ -àʔ ^{n}!ŏː-é
house-sp.-3pl.PC open-3m.sg.obj.
opened the house.

9.2.5 /-ː̃́kí/, /-kí/, /-kì̥/

Table 9.8 gives some examples which appear to show the suffixes /-ː̃́kí/, /-kí/,[52] /-kì̥/ being used to derive verbs from non-verbal grammatical categories:

Table 9.8 Verbs derived with /-ː̃́kí/, /-kí/, /-kì̥/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	mǎːmáː	*friend (n.)*	mǎːmã́ːkí	*be friends*
2	tʃʰã̂ː	*oil, fat (n.)*	tʃʰã̂ːkì̥	*be fat*
3	tʃʰěː	*absent (adj.)*	tʃʰěːkí	*be finished, destroyed*
4	ítʰà	*far (adv.)*	ítʰã́ːkí	*be long*

These are the only examples of this kind that have been found. Two of these examples are illustrated in the following examples from the text corpus:

(45) ʔàː ʔúrâʔ màːmã̀ːkì
ʔáː ʔúrì̥-àʔ mǎːmáː-ː̃́kí
NC(3pl.) very-3pl.PC friend-verb.
And they were very good friends.

(46) ʔàmànà hèwésíʔ mònã̀ kʰʷǎːxi̥sũ̄ːgì̏
ʔámáná hèwé-síʔ mò-nà kʰʷà-é-xì̥-sṹː-ì
perhaps he-loc. spirit-to return-3m.sg.obj.-ben.-1pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
Perhaps he will have mercy on us
(Lit. Perhaps he will return for us the spirit.)

nĩ̀ː pònàsũ̀ːgì̏ ʔòː měː tʃʰèːkì
nĩ́ː póná-sṹ-ì ʔóː měː tʃʰěː-kí
and heal-1pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.) SC(1pl.) neg. absent-verb.
and heal us so that we are not destroyed.

9.3 *Deriving adjectives*

(Also see section 11.4 for examples of how the possessive construction can be used in the same way as an adjective.)

[52] Note that /-ː̃́kí/ and /-kí/ are also reciprocal suffixes (see section 5.7.3).

9.3.1 /-̤̀ tʰéː/

The suffix /-̤̀ tʰéː/ is a productive means of deriving adjectives (and quantifiers) from intransitive verbs:[53]

Table 9.9 Deverbal adjectives with /-̤̀ tʰéː/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	bàʔé	*be big*	bàʔé̤̀ tʰéː	*big, very big*
2	dě̤ː	*be many*	dě̤ː̀ tʰéː	*many, very many*
3	ɬáwé	*be good,*	ɬáwé̤̀ tʰéː	*good, very good*
4	tsʼǒ̤ː	*be small*	tsʼǒ̤ː̀ tʰéː	*small, very small*

On some occasions, the translation of this suffix has indicated that it may also have an intensifying function, as indicated by the glosses given in the table.

The following example shows the use of the suffix /-̤̀ tʰéː/ in deriving a quantifier:

(47)

hîsì̤	lʼè̤ːiʔ	ɬékáʔ	táxì̤	
hî-sì̤	lʼě̤ː-ìʔ	ɬékáʔ	táxì̤	
when-1sg.PC	see-sub.cl.	like	just	
It feels just like				

!ʼòròrǒ̤ː	dě̤ːtʰēːsāː	nǎ̤ː	!ʼʷă̤ːtâʔ	pùndùsè
!ʼòròrǒ̤ː	dě̤ː-̤̀ tʰéː-sò-áː	ně̤ː-́	!ʼʷă̤ː-tà-àʔ	pùndùsé
frog	be.many-adj.-3a.pl.-SF	stay-&	puddle-in-3pl.PC	swim

many frogs are swimming in a puddle.

9.3.2 /-ʔ̤ tó/

The suffix has /-ʔ̤ tó/ has a similar function to /-̤̀ tʰéː/ in that it derives adjectives from intransitive verbs. However, it is not associated with an intensifying function and it is restricted in its productivity. The three examples in table 9.10 are the only ones containing the /-ʔ̤ tó/ suffix which have been attested so far:

Table 9.10 Deverbal adjectives with /-ʔ̤ tó/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	lʼʷě̤ː	*be narrow*	lʼʷě̤ːʔ̤ tó	*narrow*
2	má̤ː	*be few*	má̤ːʔ̤ tó	*few*
3	tsʼǒ̤ː	*be small*	tsʼǒ̤ːʔ̤ tó	*small*

[53] The tone of the /-̤̀ tʰéː/ suffix may instead be analysed as a rising tone on the /eː/. Both these underlying tone patterns result in the same surface tone patterns after suffixation.

Adjectives may also be derived from these three verbs by means of the /-̀ ̥tʰéː/ suffix, in which case an intensified meaning is expressed. See (42) in section 9.2.3 for an example of the suffix /-ʔ̥tó/ from the text corpus.

9.3.3 /-tò/

The suffix /-tò/ derives an adjective from a verb containing object marking:[54]

Table 9.11 Deverbal adjectives with /-tò/

	Stem	*Gloss*	*Derived form*	*Gloss*
1	húkʼʷāː	*kill (3m.sg.obj.)*	húkʼʷāːtò	*killed (for sg. noun)*
2	tlʼìtʰéː	*slaughter (3m.sg.obj.)*	tlʼìtʰéːtò	*slaughtered (for sg. noun)*
3	ⁿǀěː	*cut (3m.sg.obj.)*	ⁿǀěːtò	*cut (for sg. noun)*
4	ⁿǀèʔwáː	*cut (3i.pl.obj.)*	ⁿǀèʔwáːtò	*cut (for pl. noun)*

This process is productive and applies to verbs with either singular or plural objects.

10 Mood, reality, and aspect

10.1 Declaratives

There are four types of declarative in Sandawe, as illustrated by the following elicited examples:

(1) tʰímésâ
tʰímé-sà
cook-3f.sg.PC
She cooks./ She cooked.

(2) tʰímétʃʰū
tʰímé-tʃʰì-sú
cook-neg.-3f.sg.
She did not cook.

(3) tʰímêsu̥
tʰímé-ì-sù̥
cook-irr.-3f.sg.
She will cook./ She used to cook./ She would cook./ She would have cooked.

(4) tʰímésu̥tsʼē
tʰímé-ì-sù̥-tsʼé
cook-irr.-3f.sg.-neg.
She does not cook./ She will not cook./ She used not to cook./ She would not cook./ She would not have cooked.

[54] Van de Kimmenade (1936:26) refers to the form derived by /-tò/ as a past participle.

In the analysis adopted here, the clause type represented by (1) and (2) is referred to as the *realis* and the clause type represented by the remaining two examples as the *irrealis*. The *realis/irrealis* distinction is one of mood. It has been defined as 'the grammaticalised expression of the location of an event or state in either the real world or in some hypothesised, but not real, world' (Elliott, 2000:81). In Sandawe, the realis clause type is used to describe events which are happening now, habitually happen, or have already happened. The irrealis clause type is used to describe possible future events, events which once happened habitually but no longer do so and hypothetical or counterfactual events.

The realis and irrealis clause types will now be discussed in greater detail.

10.1.1 Realis affirmative

As example (1) indicates, the realis affirmative is used for clauses with a present or past time reference. The distinction between present and past time reference is usually made clear by context, the use of time adverbs or by aspectual marking (see section 10.4).

10.1.1.1 Pronominal clitics (PCs)

In realis clauses, constituents may be followed by a morpheme indicating the person, gender and number of the subject. This morpheme is referred to here as a realis *pronominal clitic* (*PC*).[55] The PC is attached to non-subject clause constituents, such as objects and adverbs, as well as, or instead of, to the verb. The following table lists the set of realis PCs:

Table 10.1 Realis pronominal clitics

	Realis pronominal clitic
1sg.	sì̥
2sg.	ì
3m.sg.	à
3f.sg.	sà
1pl.	ò
2pl.	è
3pl.	àʔ

The choice of which constituents are marked with a realis PC depends on the information structure of the clause (see section 12.3). It is common for objects and not verbs to be marked:

(5) pàː $^{n}|^{w}$ǎːˆ kútúːmbî méːâ síə́ːˊ
páː $^{n}|^{w}$ǎː-ːˇ kútúːmbì méː-à sí-é-ːˊ
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. tree.trunk big-3m.sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-&
Then Elephant took a big tree trunk and

[55] This set of morphemes is termed the 'suffixed subject PGN' series by Elderkin (1989:25).

kòŋkòʔsɛ́ː ǁ’òǁ’âːts’àː tɬ’àp^{h}è
kòŋkòʔsé-é-ːˊ ǁ’òǁ’á-ːˆ-ts’i̯-à tɬ’àp^{h}é
raise-3m.sg.obj.-& baboon-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC hit
raised it up to hit Baboon.

Note also how the PC is attached to the end of the NP ‘big tree trunk’.

When a realis verb is not marked with a PC, its tone pattern is lowered, as seen in /tɬ’àp^{h}é/ ‘hit’ in the preceding example. However, this lowering process does not take place if the verb is suffixed with a connective morpheme (either /-ːˊ/ or /-à/) or the durative morpheme /-jóː/. An example of this can be seen in the tone pattern of /síé/ ‘take’ in the first clause of the example. Two further exceptions are that the verb tone pattern is not lowered if the verb is a HL melody word which follows a H tone, or if the verb follows a word which does not contain any H tone. These exceptions also hold for the tone lowering process seen in genitives (see section 2.6.1). A final exception for verbs is that a realis verb following a NC retains its lexical tone pattern when the clause does not contain any realis pronominal clitics or the SF marker (see section 7.3).

Adverbs (with the exception of those referring to time)[56] are also commonly marked with the relevant PC in realis clauses and thus it is possible for one clause to contain many marked constituents, as the following example illustrates:

(6) hèwéʔgèsi̯ téɬâsi̯ tʃí kìmɑ̃̀ːsi̯
hèwéʔ̯gê-sì̯ téɬà-sì̯ tʃí kímɑ́ː-ːˆ-sì̯
and.so-1sg.PC completely-1sg.PC [I poisonous.arrow]$_{GEN}$-sp.-1sg.PC

ɬáːsi̯ ǀàní ts’èːònàsi̯ pèː
ɬáː-sì̯ ǀàní ts’éːò-nà-sì̯ pěː
well-1sg.PC [bow string]$_{GEN}$-to-1sg.PC put
And so I put my poisonous arrow completely well on the bow string.

It is rare for a verb to be marked with a PC if there are other constituents in the clause which could be marked instead. The third clause of the following example contains a marked verb:

(7) k^{h}ɔ̌ːˆ ⁿǃǒːwékʷēːtʃ^{h}ō rɔ̃̂ːgāː xà
k^{h}ǒː-ːˆ ⁿǃǒː-é-kù-éː-tʃ^{h}ì-só rɔ̃̂ː-áː xâ
house-sp. open-3m.sg.obj.-ben.-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-3a.pl. voice-SF be.bad
They didn’t open the house for him, the voice was bad,

bàʔâː ʔúrâː
bàʔé-à ʔúri̯-à
be.big-3m.sg.PC very-3m.sg.PC
it was very big.

[56] Time adverbs may be marked with a realis PC, but this is not the default option.

The distribution of realis PCs in a clause is not unrestricted. The following constituent order conditions must be met (see also Elderkin 1989:106 and Kagaya 1990:3–5):

1. A verb without a PC must not precede the first PC or SF marker of a clause.
2. A verb with a PC must not be preceded by another PC or a SF marker in the same clause.

(The SF (subject focus) marker will be discussed in the following section.)

The second restriction above does not apply if a verb which is followed by both a realis PC and the connective morpheme /-ː́/ is preceded by another verb followed by a realis PC. In such an example, the two verbs are thus considered as belonging to separate clauses.

The realis is mainly used for describing events which have a present or past time reference. However, it is possible to use the realis for describing future events, as in the following example:

(8) ⁿǃê ʔàròbàínāː híâʔ ǀ'ùsùkʷ̀ìːʔ nìnéwì̀ tʃʰěːkíâ
ⁿǃê ʔàròbàînì-áː hí-àʔ ǀ'úsúkʊ̀-ìʔ nìnêwì tʃʰěː-kí-à
day forty-SF when-3pl.PC pass-sub.cl. Nineveh absent-verb.-3m.sg.PC
When forty days have passed, Nineveh will have been destroyed.

Without the preceding context, this example could equally well be understood as describing past events and, thus, glossed 'When forty days had passed, Nineveh was destroyed'. Using the realis, rather than the irrealis, for this example, gives added weight to the proclamation that the event in question will happen.

10.1.1.2 Subject focus (SF) marker

The subject in a realis clause is optionally followed by the *subject focus (SF) marker* /-áː/.[57] This morpheme is attached to the end of a subject NP, as shown in the following two examples:

(9) híâʔ tʃí wàrèxɪ̃̀ːsòàː ⁿǀàtíjôːiʔ
hí-àʔ tʃí wàré-xɪ̰̀-ːˆ̃-sò-áː ⁿǀàtí-jóː-ìʔ
when-3pl.PC [I friend]$_{GEN}$-et.al-sp.-3a.pl.-SF come-dur.-sub.cl.
When my friends came,

tʰěː ǀ'ɐ̃̀ːkìsɪ̰̀ kɛ̃̂ː ʔìè
tʰěː ǀ'ɐ́ː-kɪ̰̀-sɪ̰̀ kê-ːˊ ʔíé
tree top-at-1sg.PC climb-& stay
I had climbed and was staying up in the tree.

[57] This morpheme is labelled as a *nominative morpheme* by Elderkin (1986:133) and as a *subject emphasis affix* by Kagaya (1990:4).

(10) ^{n}|ɪ̂ː tʃʰíāː ʔíɛ́ː kópókòpò
^{n}|ɪ̂ː tʃʰíà-áː ʔíé-ːˊ kópòkópò
body all-SF stay-& shake
The whole body was shaking.

Pronouns may also be followed by the SF marker:

(11) tʃáː ʔútáːkí mɛ̌ːnā̀ː sìè
tʃí-áː ʔútáː-kí mɛ̌ːnà-é-ːˊ sí-é
I-SF long.ago-add. love-3m.sg.-& take-3m.sg.obj.
And even long ago I loved her and took her.

If the subject of a realis clause is first person plural, the alternative form /-sóː/ may be used instead of /-sṹː-áː/ '1pl.-SF':

(12) pòː ^{n}‖ǒːkóxi̥sōː māntʃʰà
póː ^{n}‖ǒːkó-xi̥-sóː mántʃʰà
NC(1pl.) children-et.al.-1pl.SF eat
Then I/we eat with the children.

As with realis PCs, the choice to use a SF marker is influenced by discourse structure (see section 12.3). The SF marker can also be used in imperative and subjunctive constructions, as will be seen in section 10.3.1.

10.1.2 Realis negative

In the realis negative clause, the verb is marked with the negative morpheme /-tʃʰì/, which is followed by a high toned PGN morpheme in agreement with the subject of the clause. Table 10.2 gives the assimilated forms which result from the combination of these two morphemes:

Table 10.2 Assimilation of negative morpheme and high toned PGN morphemes

	Negative	*PGN*	*Assimilated form*
1sg.	tʃʰì	sé	[tʃʰe]
2sg.	tʃʰì	pó	[po]
3m.sg.	tʃʰì	éː	[tʃʰeː]
3f.sg.	tʃʰì	sú	[tʃʰu]
1pl.	tʃʰì	sṹː	[tʃʰũː]
2pl.	tʃʰì	sɪ́ː	[tʃʰĩː]
3pl.	tʃʰì	só	[tʃʰo]

The following example illustrates the realis negative clause:

(13)	hàː	sĩ́ː	ɬáːʔwȁ	^{n}|ʷèːʔȉ̃ː	|ítʃʰēː
	háː	sĩ́ː	ɬáː-ʔ̥ wà	^{n}|ʷéː-ȉ̃ː	|í-tʃʰì-éː
	nor	[you(pl.)	good-3i.pl.	do]$_{GEN}$-with	come-neg.-3m.sg.

Nor did it come by your (pl.) doing good things.

The underlying form of the negative morpheme is analysed as /-tʃʰì/ because the following form from an older speaker of Sandawe has been attested:

(14) měːnāːtʃʰìpò
měːnà-é-tʃʰì-pó
like-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-2sg.
You didn’t like it.

Two other attested forms from older speakers of Sandawe contain the segment /-tʃʰe-/, in which the vowel of the negative morpheme has assimilated to the quality of the following PGN morpheme:

(15) měːnāːtʃʰètʃʰè
měːnà-é-tʃʰì-sé
like-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-1sg.
I didn’t like it.

(16) měːnāːtʃʰèsè
měːnà-é-tʃʰì-sé
like-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-1sg.
I didn’t like it.

Note also the repetition of the /-tʃʰ-/ segment in (15).

It is grammatical for constituents in a realis negative clause which are neither subjects nor verbs to be followed by a realis PC in agreement with the subject of the clause. It is also grammatical for the subject in such a clause to be followed by the SF marker. The following two elicited examples illustrate this:

(17)	kòlõ̌ːsȁ	dlòmóːtʃʰū
	kòlõ̌ː-ʔ̃̏ -sà	dlòmó-é-tʃʰì-sú
	hoe-sp.-3f.sg.PC	buy-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-3f.sg.

She didn’t buy the hoe *(she bought something else instead)*.

(18)	tʃáː	tʰérȇː	ʔáːmétʃʰē
	tʃí-áː	tʰérè-ʔ̃̏	ʔáːmé-tʃʰì-sé
	I-SF	pot-sp.	break(3m.sg.obj.)-neg.-1sg.

I didn’t break the pot *(someone else did)*.

This phenomenon has not been attested in the text corpus and it is unclear how common it is. On the basis of the way in which the elicited examples were translated into Swahili by a speaker of Sandawe, it seems likely that the distribution of realis PCs and the SF marker in the realis negative clause type corresponds in function to the distribution of these morphemes in realis affirmative clauses, in that it is influenced by information structure (see section 12.3).

When the adverb /táxɪ̰̀/ modifies an affirmative verb (either realis or irrealis), it can be glossed as 'just, only'. However, when this adverb modifies a realis negative verb, it instead has the function of changing the negative to an affirmative and adding the meaning 'very':

(19) tʃŭː ⁿǀòtsʼìtʃʰèː tàxɪ̰
tʃŭː ⁿǀó-tsʼí-tʃʰì-éː táxɪ̰̀
animal fear-reflex.-neg.-3m.sg. very
It was a very frightening animal.

(20) kʷátɪ̰tʃʰē tàxɪ̰
kʷátɪ̰-tʃʰì-sé táxɪ̰̀
be.startled-neg.-1sg. very
I was very startled.

This phenomenon is not evident with irrealis negatives, where the adverb /táxɪ̰̀/ cannot be used to modify the verb.

The following example appears to contain a noun which is suffixed with the same combination of the negative morpheme /-tʃʰì/ plus a high toned PGN morpheme that is used in the realis negative clause:

(21) dlòmókʷê tsʼéːwáts'ə̏ːtsʼɪ̰ nɪ̏ː dʒík'ékí
dlòmó-kʷè tsʼéː-wà-tsʼè-ɨ̏-tsʼɪ̰ nɪ́ː dʒík'é-kí
buy-2pl.Imp.PC drink-mult.-appl.-sp.-at and milk-add.
Buy things to drink and also milk,

pʰèsǎːtʃʰēːtsʼɪ̰ mèhə̌ːkī tùkèːtʃʰɪ̏ːgàː
pʰèsǎː-tʃʰì-éː-tsʼɪ̰ mèhə̌ːˆ-kí tû-kʊ̰-éː-tʃè-sɪ́-aː
money-neg.-3m.sg.-at something(sp.)[58]-add. come.out-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-from-2pl.-SF
without money, without (you (pl.)) contributing a thing.

[58] The tone pattern of /mèhə̌ːˆ/ 'something' suggests that it contains the specificity morpheme /-ɨ̏ː/, but it is not possible to separate this morpheme from the word.

10.1.3 Irrealis affirmative

In the irrealis affirmative clause, the verb is suffixed with a low toned PGN morpheme in agreement with the subject of the clause.[59] Table 10.3 lists the PGN morphemes which are used in this clause:

Table 10.3 Low-toned PGN morphemes

	Low toned PGN
1sg.	sə̀
2sg.	pò
3m.sg.	Ø
3f.sg.	sù
1pl.	sṵ̀ː, sà
2pl.	sɪ̀ː
3pl.	sò

Note that the third person masculine PGN morpheme is zero, rather than any of the segmental forms of this morpheme as used in other constructions (see table 2.1 in section 2.2). It should also be noted that the first person plural PGN morpheme has two variants. The variant /-sṵ̀ː/ is the more common of the two.

Following Elderkin (1986:132), the analysis is adopted here that the irrealis morpheme /-ì/ precedes the PGN morpheme in the clause under discussion. In all but the third person masculine form, the irrealis morpheme is reduced to a floating low tone.[60] This can be seen in the following example, where the falling tones in both /tʷə̀ːsə̀/ 'Iwill dig it' and /!'òːwɛ̀sə̀/ 'I will get him' are caused by the floating low tone of the irrealis morpheme.

(22) !'ʷâ tʷə̀ːsə̀ nɪ̀ː hík'ɪ̄ː !'òːwɛ̀sə̀
!'ʷâ tʷá-é-ì-sə̀ nɪ́ː hík'ə̀-ɪ́ !'ǒː-é-ì-sə̀
hole dig-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg. and go-& get-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.
I will dig a hole and go and get him,

ʔòː tʰòːtʰòːkìsṵ̀ː
ʔóː tʰǒːtʰǒːkí-ì-sṵ̀ː
SC(1pl.) jump-irr.-1pl.
so that we can jump.

[59] The tone pattern of the irrealis verb may undergo the tone lowering process. The application of this process is determined by discourse factors discussed in section 12.3.

[60] An exception to this statement can be seen in verbs which end in a glottal stop and are suffixed with either of the two low-toned PGN morphemes that contain a voiceless vowel (namely, /-sə̀/ (1sg.) and /-sù/ (3f.sg.)). Under such circumstances, the vowel which surfaces after the glottal stop and before the PGN morpheme is either a copy of the vowel which precedes the glottal stop, or /ì/, presumably as a consequence of the presence of the irrealis morpheme. Thus, /náʔ-ì-sù/ 'shine-irr.-3f.sg.' has two possible pronunciations: [náʔâsu̯] and [náʔîsu̯].

In the third person masculine singular, the irrealis morpheme occurs in its full form (before the zero PGN morpheme). This is shown in the second clause of the following example:

(23) ʔóʔsīʔ mĕːnáts'īʔĩ̀ː tùsĩ̀ː
ʔóʔ̰-síʔ mĕːnà-ts'í-ʔĩ̀ː tû-ì-sĩ̀ː
there(ref.)-loc. like-reflex.-with come.out-irr.-2pl.
It is then you (pl.) will come out with joy,

pútɬ'úmáʔĩ̀ː xèsĩ̀ːgì
pútɬ'úmà-ʔĩ̀ː xé-sĩ́ː-ì
peace-with lead-2pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
he will lead you (pl.) with peace.

If two verbs in the irrealis affirmative clause are conjoined by the connective morpheme /-ː́/, the verb which is not suffixed with this morpheme must be suffixed with the irrealis and PGN morphemes (as in example (22)). The relative order of the two verbs does not affect which must be suffixed with these morphemes.

The two examples given so far in the section use the irrealis clause in a way which corresponds to a future tense. As Elderkin (1989:28) noted, the clause type under discussion here 'frequently serves as a future tense', but has other functions as well. One of these functions is to describe events which habitually took place in the past, but no longer do so now. The following example comes from a text which describes how Sandawe children were raised in the past:

(24) !èkŏ̃ː !^{h}ùmè rìŋgìsòː ^{n}‖ŏː mántʃ^{h}ákᵚsò
!èkŏ̃ː !^{h}ùmé rìngísóː ^{n}‖ŏː mántʃ^{h}à-kᵚ̀-ì-sò
[[millet flour]$_{GEN}$ porridge]$_{GEN}$ child eat-caus.-irr.-3a.pl.
They would feed the child millet flour porridge.

If this example were taken out of its context, it could equally well be translated with the future tense as 'they will feed the child millet flour porridge'. The two possible translations have in common that they do not describe events which happen or are happening now. Such events would instead be described using a realis clause.

In some examples, the past habitual meaning of the irrealis clause is made clear by the addition of adverbs which refer to past time:

(25) ^{n}‖ŏː ts'ŏːʔtō ʔùtàː bìk^{h}éːsòts'è
^{n}‖ŏː ts'ŏː-ʔ̰tó ʔútáː bìk^{h}é-é-ì-sò-ts'é
child small long.ago leave-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.
Long ago they would not leave a small child.

The irrealis affirmative is also used to describe events which have already happened, but which are yet to come from a perspective within a narrative. The following example comes

from a narrative about a pig hunting trip, which is mainly described using the realis, but uses the irrealis for events which are described before their actual occurrence:

(26) kísósõ̀ːsò mòkóndõ̀ː ǁ’àʔwàːsò
kísò-sò-ɾ̀-sò mòkóndó-ɾ̀ ǁ’ǎː-wáː-ì-sò
two-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl. track-sp. follow-3i.pl.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.
Two were to follow the tracks.

Also see section 10.5 for examples of the use of the irrealis clause following a conditional clause.

10.1.4 Irrealis negative

The negative of the irrealis clause discussed in the preceding section is formed by suffixing the negative morpheme /-ts’é/ after the PGN morpheme on the verb:

(27) dǎːsi̥ts’ē
dǎː-ì-si̥-ts’é
be.able-irr.-1sg.-neg.
I can’t./ I won’t be able to.

As example (27) shows, this form is ambiguous between a present and a future meaning. Like the corresponding affirmative, the negative form can also have a past habitual meaning:

(28) dóːlókī ʔàŋkʰá ǁ’ǎːntʃʰímásūkɛ̀ːsòts’è
dóːlò-kí ʔànkʰá ǁ’ǎːntʃʰímà-sí-ku̥-éː-ì-sò-ts’é
a.little-add. even be.sweet-poss.-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.
They would not make it even a little sweet,

kàʔ kʷàː mɛ̌ː tɬ’àbísóːáː kûmu̥kʷēː
káʔ kʷáː mɛ̌ː tɬ’àbísóː-áː kûmu̥-kù-éː
hear. SC(3m.sg.) neg. stomach-SF hurt-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
apparently so that the stomach would not hurt.

10.2 Interrogatives

10.2.1 Question-word interrogatives

10.2.1.1 Who

The Sandawe word /hô/ can be glossed as ‘who’:

(29) hô hóbê tùkɛ̀i
hô hóbè tû-ku̥-èː-ì
who what come.out-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
Who will contribute what?

When the subject in an irrealis clause is unknown, such as in the example above, the PGN morpheme attached to the verb is third person masculine singular. In realis clauses, it is usual for /hô/, as a focused constituent, to be followed by either a SF marker or a realis PC, according to whether it is a subject or object. The following elicited examples illustrate this:

(30) hóā꞉ ǀì
hô-á꞉ ǀí
who-SF come
Who came?

(31) hósà tɬ’àp^{h}ùmè꞉
hô-sà tɬ’àp^{h}ùmé-é
who-3f.sg.PC beat-3m.sg.obj.
Whom did she beat?

The following are more elicited examples to show how /hô/ can be suffixed with different morphemes to indicate its number:

(32) hókā꞉ ^{n}ǀàtì
hô-kó-á꞉ ^{n}ǀàtí
who-pl.-SF come
Who (pl.) came?

(33) hókósâ tɬ’àp^{h}ùmè?ɪ̀꞉
hô-kó-sà tɬ’àp^{h}ùmé-?ɪ́꞉
who-pl.-3f.sg.PC beat-3a.pl.obj.
Whom (pl.) did she beat?

(34) hókīā꞉ ^{n}ǀàtì
hô-kí-á꞉ ^{n}ǀàtí
who-add.-SF come
Who else came?

(35) hókóxi̥kīā꞉ ^{n}ǀàtì
hô-kó-xɪ̥̀-kí-á꞉ ^{n}ǀàtí
who-pl.-et.al.-add.-SF come
Who (pl.) else came?

Note how in (34) a plural verb is used, although the subject is singular.

The following elicited example shows how /hô/ can function as the modifier in a genitive and thus be glossed ‘whose’:

(36) hô ts'àːkʷì t^{h}ìmè
hô ts'ǎː-kʊ̀-ì t^{h}ímé
[who home]$_{GEN}$-at-2sg.PC cook
At whose home did you cook?

/hô/ can also be followed by a postposition, the pronominal morpheme /-ì/ or the postpositional morpheme /-ts'ɪ̀/ in its object marking function, as in the following elicited examples:

(37) hómɛ̀ːi t^{h}ìmè
hô-kɪ̀méː-ì t^{h}ímé
who-bec.-2sg.PC[61] cook
For whom did you cook?

(38) hùmbɯ̃̀ːˀ hôi
hùmbù-ːˀ hô-ì
cow-sp. who-pro.
Whose is the cow?

(39) hótsˀìː t^{w}àrà̀
hô-ts'ɪ̀-ì t^{w}árà
who-at-2sg.PC carry
Whom are you carrying?

10.2.1.2 What

The words /hótʃò/ (which has the alternative pronunciation /hótʃōː/[62]) and /hóbè/ both mean 'what'. Both words are used throughout the Sandawe speaking area, but the first is more common. The second word is more likely to be heard in the Eastern dialect.

As with /hô/ 'who', /hótʃò/ and /hóbè/ are usually followed by a PC or SF marker in realis clauses, according to whether they are the subject or object of the verb:

(40) hótʃîː ʔíxɪ̀ $^{n|w}$èː
hótʃò-ì ʔíxɪ̀ $^{n|w}$éː
what-2sg.PC thus do
What did you do in this way?

[61] The 2sg.PC /-ì/ is not shown with a surface tone mark because, when the tone pattern of this word is whistled by a Sandawe speaker, the final vowel is not whistled separately, as would be usual. Other morphemes which are not given separate whistles are the pronominal morpheme /-ì/, the irrealis morpheme /-ì/, the subordinate clause morpheme /-ìʔ/ and the low toned third person masculine singular PGN morpheme /-ù/. Elderkin (1989:46–50) analyses the vowels in such morphemes as the *syllable closures* /-j̀/ and /-ẁ/, respectively.

[62] The tone pattern of this form suggested that it is a derived form.

Unlike /hô/, /hótʃò/ and /hóbè/ do not vary in form according to number.

Both /hótʃò/ and /hóbè/ can function as the modifier in a genitive NP, as in the following example:

(41) hóbê jàʔàbòì jàʔbèwà
hóbè jáʔábò-ì jàʔbé-wà
[what work]$_{GEN}$-2sg.PC do.work-mult.
What work do you do?
(Lit. Work of what do you do?)

Also see example (2) in section 8.1.1.

/hótʃò/ and /hóbè/ can also be followed by a postposition, as in the following elicited example:

(42) hótʃóʔĩ̀ːgì ⁿ|èː
hótʃò-ʔĩ̀ː-ì ⁿ|ěː-é
what-with-2sg.PC cut-3m.sg.obj.
With what did you cut it?

10.2.1.3 Why

Sandawe has several different means of asking 'why'. Perhaps the most common is to use one of the words meaning 'what', as illustrated in the preceding section, and suffix the postpositional morpheme /-kɪ̀méː/ 'because':

(43) hótʃómìː ǁóʔnà ʔíe̋ː hík'wà
hótʃò-kɪ̀méː-ì ǁóʔ-nà ʔíé-ːˊ hík'ɪ̀-wà
what-bec.-2sg.PC there-to stay-& go-mult.
Why do you keep going there?
(Lit. Because of what…)

It is also possible to use the question-word /hôsɪ̀/ 'why':

(44) hôsɪ̀nà kʷìː tʰěː kɬ'ʷéːsê ⁿǁìnsè
hôsɪ̀-ná kʷíː tʰěː tɬ'ʷéː-sí-è ⁿǁî̀ː-sé
why-qu. NC(2sg.) tree be.bitter-poss.-3m.sg. paint-1sg.obj.
Why did you paint me with a bitter tree,

sìː mĕːsɪ̀ tɬàːsɪ̀
síː mĕː-sɪ̀ tɬăːsɪ̀
NC(1sg.) neg.-1sg.PC die
and then I nearly died?

Unlike other question-words, /hôsi̯/ is not followed by a PC in a realis clause. Instead, it must be followed by either a NC, as above, or a RC or a SC, in order to identify the subject of the clause. One exception to this has been attested in the text corpus:

(45)	bók^{w}āː	hôsi̯	híkâː	ʔìè
	bô-̰ k^{w}áː	hôsi̯	híkí-à	ʔíé
	say-2sg.Imp.PC	why	how-3m.sg.PC	stay
	Say, why is it thus?			

Here, /hôsi̯/ is instead followed by another question-word, to which a realis PC in agreement with the subject of the clause is attached.

A third means of expressing 'why' in Sandawe involves the form /hə̂ːː/, which must be followed by a high-toned PGN morpheme which agrees with the object of the clause:

(46)	màmà	hə̂ːsìːː	ǁèsè
	màmá	hə̂ːː-sé-ì	ǁê-sé
	grandmother	why-1sg.-2sg.PC	throw-1sg.obj.
	Grandmother, why have you thrown me?		

This construction can therefore only be used in clauses in which the verb has an object. The preceding example is the only instance of this construction in the text corpus and it is unclear how commonly it is used.

10.2.1.4 Where

Locational question-words in Sandawe are derived from the form /há-/ and the appropriate postpositional suffix. If no movement is involved, the postposition /-kṵ/ 'at' is used:

(47)	hákṵ	tìmṵwàːpò	ǀʰǐːâ	ⁿǁòːkə̃̀ːː
	há-kṵ	tímṵ-wáː-ì-pò	ǀʰǐːà	ⁿǁǒːkó-̰
	where-at	swallow-3i.pl.obj.-irr.-2sg.	[dik.dik	children]$_{GEN}$-sp.
	Where will you swallow Dik-dik's children?			

This postposition is also used in order to express 'where from', in which case it is followed by the postposition /-tʃè/ 'from':

(48)	hákṵpāː	ǀì
	há-kṵ-tʃè-pó-áː	ǀí
	where-at-from-2sg.-SF	come
	Where have you come from?	

Movement to a place is expressed either by /há-ʔ̰ tè-nà/ 'where-dir.-to' or /há-nà/ 'where-to'.

A locational interrogative can also be formed using the adjective stem /hàmbĕː/ 'where' in a copular construction:

(49) hàpú hàmbĕːpó
hàpú hàmbĕː-pó
you where-2sg.
Where are you?

10.2.1.5 When

The question-words /háʔ̰ sè/, /háʔ̰ ìèsè/, and /háʔ̰ sṵ̋ː/ can all be translated ‘when’. Like other question-words, they tend to be followed by a PC in realis clauses, as the following elicited example shows:

(50) nâmu̱ háʔsèsà ⁿ‖èː
námù̱ háʔ̰ sè-sà ⁿ‖ĕː
Namu when-3f.sg.PC arrive
When did Namu arrive?

10.2.1.6 How

/híkí/ in Sandawe can be translated as ‘how, in what way’:

(51) hàpú híkâː ìè
hàpú híkí-à íé
you how-3m.sg.PC stay
You, how is it,

kʷìː íɛ̋ː ⁿ‖íné̋ː ‖’ò
kʷíː íé-ːˊ ⁿ‖íné-ːˊ ‖’ô
NC(2sg.) stay-& lie.down-& sleep
you are lying down and sleeping?

(52) híkí bôsu̱ hísâ ǂìːʔ
híkí bô-ì-sù̱ hí-sà ǀí-ìʔ
how say-irr.-3f.sg. when-3f.sg. come-sub.cl.
How will she speak, when she comes?

(53) híkíʔô ⁿǀʷèpò kʷàː bàhárɪ̃ːˇ làʔtè
híkí-òʔ ⁿǀʷé-pó kʷáː bàhârì-ːˇ làʔté
how-1pl.Subj.PC do-2sg.obj. SC(3m.sg.) sea-sp. calm.down
What shall we do to you, so that the sea calms down?
(Lit. How shall we do you…)

It is also possible to use /híkí/ as an adverb with the meaning ‘how, thus’, as in example (45).

10.2.1.7 Which

The Sandawe interrogative demonstrative resembles the referential demonstrative in form (see section 6.4.1). The difference between the two sets of forms is found in the first vowel, which is /a/ for the interrogative set and /e/ for the referential set. The following example contains the masculine form of the interrogative demonstrative:

(54)	hàwə̂ː	!'ùmə̃ːpàː	ǀì
	hàwé-ɨ̰̀	!'úmá-ɨ̰̀-tʃè-pó-áː	ǀí
	[which(3m.sg.)-sp.	earth]$_{GEN}$- sp.-from-2sg.-SF	come
	Which country have you come from?		
	(Lit. Country of which…)		

The feminine form is /hàsú/, the animate plural form is /hàsó/ and the inanimate plural form is /hàwéxéː/. All these forms must be suffixed with the specificity morpheme (and the appropriate low-toned PGN morpheme).

10.2.1.8 How many/much

The question-word /hánè/ means 'how many' or 'how much'. When referring to animates, it is suffixed with the third person plural high-toned PGN morpheme, as in the following elicited example:

(55)	^{n}‖ǒːkó	hánésāː	k^{hw}à
	^{n}‖ǒːkó	hánè-só-áː	k^{hw}à
	children	how.many-3a.pl.-SF	return
	How many children returned?		

The following elicited example illustrates how when referring to inanimates, /hánè/ is suffixed with the *et al.* suffix /-xɪ̀/:

(56)	ts'â	hánéxɪ̀ː	hàʔwàː
	ts'â	hánè-xɪ̀-ì	hàʔwáː
	water	how.much-et.al.-2sg.	collect(3i.pl.obj.)
	How much water did you collect?		

10.2.1.9 /-ná/ Question suffix

The question suffix /-ná/ (glossed below as 'qu.') is sometimes found in both question-word interrogatives and yes/no interrogatives. It can occur on a question-word itself or on another constituent in the clause, following any morphemes which agree with the subject of the clause:

(57)	sàíbâ	híkâːnà	ʔìè	
	sàíbà	híkí-à-ná	ʔíé	
	friend	how-3m.sg.PC-qu.	stay	
	Friend, how is it			
	kʷìː	^{n}ǁìnè	hěːû	sâ̂ːts’i̥
	kʷíː	^{n}ǁíné	hěːù	sâː-ʔ̏-ts’ì̥
	SC(2sg.)	lie.down	dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	time-sp.-at
	that you should lie down at this time?			

(58)	k’àrěː	híkí	hèwé	tùru̥tà̏	ǀ’èːwàkà̏ȉnà̏
	k’àrěː	híkí	hèwé	túrù̥tà	ǀ’ěː-wà-ká-ì-nà
	youth	how	[he	life]$_{GEN}$	look-mult.-com.-irr.(-3m.sg.)-qu.
	How will a youth attend to his life,				
	pàː	ɬàùwà̏i			
	páː	ɬáúwà-ì			
	SC(3m.sg.)	be.good(pl.subj.)-irr.(-3m.sg.)			
	so that it is good?				

In both of these examples, the question suffix can be omitted without altering propositional meaning. It may be appropriate to analyse it as a marker of prominence.

10.2.2 Yes/no interrogatives

In Sandawe, questions which expect the answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ include the interrogative morpheme /-nè/:

(59)	hábúsâ̂ː	tʃáː	pòːwèȉː	hàbùsénîː
	hábúsà-ʔ̏	tʃí-áː	pó-é-ì-ʔ̏	hàbùsé-nè-ì
	condition-sp.	I-SF	2sg.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-pro.-sp.	keep.condition-interrog.-2sg.PC
	Did you keep the condition which I gave you?			

In realis clauses, the interrogative morpheme is suffixed to a focused constituent and followed by the SF marker or a PC, as appropriate. The following elicited examples illustrate this:

(60)	gélénéāː	hīk’i̥
	gélé-nè-áː	hík’ì̥
	Gele-interrog.-SF	go
	Did *Gele* go?	

(61) gélé hík'i̯nà:
gélé hík'i̯-nè-à
Gele go-interrog.-3m.sg.PC
Did Gele *go*? /
Did Gele go? *(Sentence focus)*

(62) xò?â $k^hǒ$:nésà̀ $|^hè$:mè
xò?â $k^hǒ$:-nè-sà $|^hě$:mé
Kho'a house-interrog.-3f.sg.PC sweep(3m.sg.obj.)
Did Kho'a sweep the *house*? /
Did Kho'a sweep the house? *(Sentence focus)*

(63) xò?â $k^hǒ$: $|^hě$:ménésà̀
xò?â $k^hǒ$: $|^hě$:mé-nè-sà
Kho'a house sweep-interrog.-3f.sg.PC
Did Kho'a *sweep* the house? / *(Verb focus)*
Did Kho'a sweep the house? *(Polarity focus)*

In irrealis clauses, the interrogative morpheme is suffixed to the verb, following the PGN morpheme, as in the following elicited examples:

(64) gélé hík'î:nè̀
gélé hík'i̯-ì-nè
Gele go-irr.(-3m.sg.)-interrog.
Will Gele go?

(65) xò?â $^n‖$ě:t$ʃ^h$ūnè̀
xò?â $^n‖$ě:-t$ʃ^h$ì-sú-nè
Kho'a arrive-neg.-3f.sg.-interrog.
Didn't Kho'a arrive?

(66) nâmu̯ hík'îsu̯ts'ènè̀
námù̯ hík'i̯-ì-sù̯-ts'é-nè
Namu go-irr.-3f.sg.-neg.-interrog.
Won't Namu go?

It is grammatical for the interrogative morpheme to be attached to a constituent other than the verb in a realis negative clause, such as (65), for example. However, this is not a common strategy.

The interrogative morpheme can also be attached after the possessive morpheme in a possessive clause:

(67) hěːˆ kʰǒːtà̀
hěːù kʰǒː-ɨ̀-tà
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) house-sp.-in

máxáēː tékī kóːsénɛ̀̀
máxà-éː té-è-kí kóː-sí-è-nè
male-3m.sg. other-3m.sg.-add. present-poss.3m.sg.-interrog.
Is there also another male in this house?

(68) ⁿ|ʷàː |ʷěːsípóts'ēnɛ̀̀
ⁿ|ʷǎː |ʷěː-sí-pò-ts'é-nè
elephant eye-poss.-2sg.-neg.-interrog.
Elephant, don't you have eyes?

Copular clauses may also contain the interrogative morpheme, as shown in the following elicited example:

(69) hěːû hàpú kòkònɛ̀̀
hěːù hàpú kòkó-nè
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) [you grandfather]$_{GEN}$-interrog.
Is this your grandfather?

As noted by Elderkin (1989:131), the overall pitch of yes/no questions in Sandawe may be raised slightly. If this is done, it is possible for the interrogative morpheme to be omitted and, therefore, the pitch raise alone distinguishes the interrogative from a declarative. Thus, the following elicited example can be understood as a question or a statement, depending on the overall pitch level of the utterance:

(70) nâmu̥ kʰǒː |ʰěːmétʃʰū
námù̥ kʰǒː |ʰěːmé-tʃʰì-sú
Namu house sweep(3m.sg.obj.)-neg.-3f.sg.
Hasn't Namu swept the house? /
Namu has not swept the house.

10.3 Imperatives and subjunctives

The following table lists the set of pronominal clitics used in forming imperatives and subjunctives:

Table 10.4 Imperative and subjunctive pronominal clitics

	Imperative/subjunctive pronominal clitic
1sg.	èʔ
2sg.	kò, ̥̀kʷáː
3m.sg.	kʷà, xì̥à
3f.sg.	xì̥sà
1pl.	òʔ
2pl.	kʷè
3pl.	kʷàʔà

Like realis PCs, the imperative/subjunctive PCs may be attached to the verb or to other non-subject clause constituents, but unlike the realis, it is usual for only one imperative/ subjunctive PC to occur per clause and it is possible for the PC to be attached to the subject, if it follows a SF marker.

10.3.1 Affirmative

The preceding PC set is described as *imperative/subjunctive* because the second person forms can be understood either as commands or wishes:[63]

(71)

ǁàkíkô	ʔòː	mǐːndʒó	sű̋ːgî̂ː	bàːràː
ǁàkí-kò	ʔóː	mǐːndʒó	sű̋ː-ì-ː̏	bǎːrà-é
descend-2sg.Imp.PC	SC(1pl.)	journey	we-pro.-sp.	start-3m.sg.obj.

Get down, and let's start our journey./
You should get down, and then we can start our journey.

If the imperative/subjunctive clause contains two verbs, the first is followed by the relevant PC (if no preceding constituent is marked instead) and the connective morpheme /-ː̋/:

(72)

màʔékō̄ː	bókʷēː
màʔé-kò-ː̏	bô-kù-éː
go.around-2sg.Imp.PC-&	say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.

Go and tell him,

kʷàː	tû̂ː	hìk'i̥	húk'wȁːsi̥	kòː
kʷáː	tû-ː̋	hík'ì̥	húk'wà-é-sì̥	kóː
NC(3m.sg.)	leave-&	go	kill-3m.sg.obj.-1sg.	SC(2sg.)

he should leave and go, otherwise I will kill him.

It is not acceptable to follow both verbs with the PC, nor to follow only the second.

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[63] Following common usage, the second person forms are glossed 'Imp.' for imperative and the other person forms 'Subj.' for subjunctive.

It is possible to place the conjunction /nɨ́ː/ ‘and’ between two verbs in an imperative construction. This is particularly common when the second clause contains other constituents, as well as the verb. The conjunction is usually marked with the imperative PC:

(73) mántʃʰákòjɔ̃ː nìkɔ̃ː
mántʃʰà-kò-jó-ː́ nɨ́ː-kò
eat-2sg.Imp.PC-dur.-& and-2sg.Imp.PC

hěːxʷéː tʃʰíâ tòʔwàːrè
hěːxʷéː tʃʰíà tô-wáː-ré
dem.(prox.pl.) all finish-3i.pl.obj.-3pers.obj.
Eat and finish all these!

(74) kʰéʔékʷê nìkʷɛ̃̀ː túrụ̊tâ !’òːwè
kʰéʔé-kʷè nɨ́ː-kʷè túrụ́̊tà !’ǒː-é
hear-2pl.Imp.PC and-2pl.Imp.PC life get-3m.sg.obj.
Listen and get life!

As mentioned above, non-verbs can be marked with imperative/subjunctive PCs:

(75) ʔàʔá dóːlókò |’ìnkè kʰéʔésò kòː
ʔàʔá dóːlò-kò |’ìnké kʰéʔé-ì-sò kóː
no slowly-2sg.Imp.PC chew hear-irr.-3a.pl. SC(2sg.)
No, chew slowly, otherwise they will hear!

As is the case with clauses containing realis PCs, it is common for objects, PPs and adverbs to be marked with an imperative/subjunctive PC. Unlike the realis, it is usual for only one imperative/subjunctive PC to occur per clause. The text corpus contains no examples of multiple imperative/subjunctive PCs in a single clause, but the following elicited example is acceptable:

(76) téɬákò̀ ɬáːkô |ʰèmè
téɬà-kò ɬáː-kò |ʰèmé
completely-2sg.Imp.PC well-2sg.Imp.PC sweep
Sweep completely well!

However, it would be more usual to omit one of these morphemes. Furthermore, if the subject in the preceding example is first or third person, it is considered unacceptable for the construction to have two subjunctive PCs.

The SF marker can be found in an imperative/subjunctive clause:

(77)	páːŋkíáːkʷâ	ǀȁːts’ì
	páːnkí-áː-kʷà	ǀâ̂ː-ts’í
	light-SF-3m.sg.Subj.PC	see-reflex.
	Let there be light.	

Note here how the PC then follows the SF marker.

The second person singular imperative/subjunctive PC has the alternative form /-̥̀ kʷáː/[64]:

(78)	bókʷāː	hôsi̥	híkâː	ʔìè
	bô-̥̀ kʷáː	hôsì̥	híkí-à	ʔíé
	say-2sg.Imp.PC	why	how-3m.sg.PC	stay
	Say, why is it thus?			

This variant occurs less commonly than /-kò/. No functional difference between the two morphemes has been discerned.

The first and third person imperative/subjunctive PCs are used to construct subjunctives:

(79)	ʔáːrê	gʷáːbósȅː	ǀíkʷâ	ts’átànȁ
	ʔáːrè	gʷáːbò-sí-è-ʔ̏	ǀí-kʷà	ts’â-tà-nà
	truly	thirst-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	come-3m.sg.Subj.PC	water-in-to
	Truly, he who has thirst should come to the water.			

(80)	ǁóʔkʷȅ	ʔòː	kʰúrâ	tɬ’àpʰɛ̋ː	nìʔȍː	ǀȁːgèː
	ǁôʔ-kʷè	ʔóː	kʰúrà	tɬ’àpʰé-ʔ̋	nɪ̋ː-òʔ	ǀâ̂ː-éː
	interj.-2pl.Imp.PC	SC(1pl.)	lot	cast-&	and-1pl.Subj.PC	see-3m.sg.obj.
	Hey, let’s cast lots, and then we shall see it.					

In example (80), the second clause is introduced by a subjunctive conjunction (SC) and the third clause contains a subjunctive PC. Both clauses are thus subjunctives, but are constructed differently. It is not possible for a clause to contain both a SC and a subjunctive PC.

A clause which is introduced with a NC, may contain an irrealis verb and the resulting construction is understood as a subjunctive, as in the following example:

(81)	kʷàː	rô̂ː	^{n}ǀʷìʔyàːxi̥sȅi
	kʷáː	rô̂ː	^{n}ǀʷíʔyáː-xì̥-sé-ì
	NC(3m.sg.)	voice	make(3m.sg.obj.)-ben.-1sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
	He should make a voice for me		

[64] When this morpheme is attached to a stem ending in a high tone, it has a mid-level tone, showing that its underlying tone pattern includes both a low and a high tone. Its underlying form may therefore be /-̥̀ kʷáː/, /-kʷǎː/, or /-kù-áː/.

ʔè:	ǁĩ́:	^{n}ǁŏ:kóxê̂:	tìmu̥wà:
ʔé:	ǁí-:̃̀	^{n}ǁŏ:kó-xé:-:̃̀	tímù̥-wá:
SC(1sg.)	come-&	children-pl.-sp.	swallow-3i.pl.obj.

so I can come and swallow the children.

This is the only example of this construction in the text corpus. If this example contained a SC and the verb was not marked as irrealis, the same meaning would be understood.

10.3.2 Negative

Negative imperatives and subjunctives are formed using the negative particle /mě:/. In a clause which does not contain a SC, this particle is usually followed by an imperative/subjunctive PC in agreement with the subject of the clause:

(82)	k’àmé	mě:kʷê	ts’è:	tókʷàkʷè	ts’è:
	k’àmé	mě:-kʷè	ts’é:	tôkʷà-kʷè	ts’é:
	beer	neg.-2pl.Imp.PC	drink	sweet.beer-2pl.Imp.PC	drink

Don’t drink (normal) beer, drink sweet beer.

(83)	mě:kô	bìkʰèsè	ʔè:	mě:	ʔítʰán̏à	hìk’i̥
	mě:-kò	bìkʰé-sé	ʔé:	mě:	ʔítʰà-nà	hík’ì̥
	neg.-2sg.Imp.PC	leave-1sg.obj.	SC(1sg.)	neg.	far-to	go

Don’t leave me so that I don’t go far,

hàpú	bóxȅ:	bìkʰímá̃:
hàpú	bô-xé:-:̃̀	bìkʰé-mé-wá:-:̃́
[you	word]$_{GEN}$-pl.-sp.	leave-iter.-3i.pl.obj.-&

abandoning your words.

The negative particle /mě:/ may occur without a following PC if the subject of the clause is focused and is followed by the SF marker and then a PC, as in the following elicited example:

(84)	géléá:kʷâ	mě:	hík’i̥
	gélé-á:-kʷà	mě:	hík’ì̥
	Gele-SF-3m.sg.Subj.PC	neg.	go

Gele should not go *(someone else should go).*

In a clause introduced by a SC, such as the second one in (83), /mě:/ is not followed by a PC. If such a clause contains a subject NP, this NP may be followed by the SF marker:

(85)	dó:lókī	ʔàŋkʰá	ǁ’ă:ntʃʰímásūkȅ:sòts’è
	dó:lò-kí	ʔànkʰá	ǁ’ă:ntʃʰímà-sí-kù̥-é:-ì-sò-ts’é
	a.little-add.	even	be.sweet-poss.-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.

They would not make it even a little sweet,

kàʔ kʷàː mĕː tɬ’àbísóːáː kûmu̯kʷēː
káʔ kʷáː mĕː tɬ’àbísóː-áː kûmù̯-kù-éː
hear. SC(3m.sg.) neg. stomach-SF hurt-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
apparently, so that the stomach would not hurt.

In the following example, the negative subjunctive is followed by an affirmative subjunctive:

(86) ʔáːréts’īsə̃̀ː kʷàː mĕː k’àⁿ!à
ʔáːrêts’í-sí-è-ɨ̃́ kʷáː mĕː k’áⁿ!á
believe-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. SC(3m.sg.) neg. be.lost
He who believes shall not be lost

nìkʷə̃̀ː làbánà ʔìèʔə̀̃ː !’òːwè
nɪ̃́ː-kʷà lábâ-nà ʔíé-ʔə̀̃ː !’ŏː-é
and-3m.sg.Subj.PC [later-to stay]$_{GEN}$-nml. get-3m.sg.obj.
and shall get eternal life.

The particle /mĕː/ can also be found in realis clauses, where it is followed by a realis PC in agreement with the subject of the clause and means ‘nearly, almost’:

(87) hôsi̯nà kʷìː tʰĕː kɬ’ʷéːsê ⁿǁìnsè
hôsì̯-ná kʷíː tʰĕː tɬ’ʷéː-sí-è ⁿǁî̃ː-sé
why-qu. NC(2sg.) tree be.bitter-poss.-3m.sg. paint-1sg.obj.
Why did you paint me with a bitter tree,

sìː mĕːsi̯ tɬàːsi̯
síː mĕː-sì̯ tɬăːsì̯
NC(1sg.) neg.-1sg.PC die
and then I nearly died?

(88) sàː mélə̃̀ːsu̯kìàː mĕːsâ ə̃̀ːtsʼi̯
sáː mêlì-ɨ̃́-sù̯-kí-áː mĕː-sà ə̃́ː-tsʼì̯
NC(3f.sg.) boat-sp.-3f.sg.-add.-SF neg.-3f.sg.PC break-reflex.
And then the boat nearly broke up.

It is also possible for /mĕː/ to be suffixed to a verb before a PC and then the resulting meaning is ‘be about to’:

(89) kʰʷàmĕːsâ
kʰʷàmĕːsà
return-neg.-3f.sg.PC
She is about to return.

10.4 Aspect

Sandawe has no independent formal means of marking aspect. Instead, object marking, verb conjunction, and the multiple morpheme /-wà/ can be variously used to indicate the aspectual status of a verb.

10.4.1 Perfective and imperfective

Sandawe does not formally mark a verb as perfective or imperfective. However, a verb which is marked for an object shares some important functions that are usually associated with a perfective verb, and a verb which is not marked for an object behaves in ways normally associated with an imperfective verb. The following subsections show how the object marked/non-object marked distinction parallels the perfective/imperfective distinction in three particular ways.

10.4.1.1 Completed versus ongoing

One function of the distinction between object marked and non-object marked verbs in Sandawe is to express the difference between a completed action viewed in its entirety and an action which is viewed as ongoing. In (90), both transitive verbs contain object agreement morphemes and the events they express are therefore viewed as completed, entire actions:

(90) hèwéʔgàʔ jónã̀ːgàʔ ⁿǃáːˊ
hèwéʔ̰ gà-àʔ jônà-ːˆ-àʔ ⁿǃá-é-ːˊ
and.so-3pl.PC Jonah-sp.-3pl.PC catch-3m.sg.obj.-&
And so they caught Jonah

nìʔã̀ː bàhárĩ̀ːtànàːʔ ǁèː
nĺːʔà bàhârì-ːˆ-tà-nà-àʔ ǁê-é
and-3pl.PC sea-sp.-in-to-3pl.PC throw-3m.sg.obj.
and threw him into the sea.

In contrast, in (91), the verb is not object marked and the object NP is suffixed with the postpositional morpheme /-ts'ḭ̀/ as it is specific:

(91) ʔàː mélìtàtʃèàʔ mìzígõ̂ːtsʼàʔ
ʔáː mêlì-tà-tʃè-é-àʔ mìzígò-ːˆ-tsʼì-àʔ
NC(3pl.) boat-in-from-3m.sg.-3pl.PC load-sp.-at-3pl.PC

tsʼátànã̀ːʔ kùʔùm̀sè
tsʼâ-tà-nà-àʔ kùʔùm̀sé
water-in-to-3pl.PC throw
Then they threw the loads out of the boat into the water.

Thus, the throwing of the loads is viewed as an ongoing action, which continues as the next part of the narrative unfolds.

10.4.1.2 Achieved versus intended

If an action to be described has been successfully achieved, it is appropriate for a verb to occur with object marking, as in the following example:

(92) ǁántóːkí !ʼŏːwési̯
ǁàntá-óː-kí !ʼŏː-é-si̯
be.satisfied-nml.-add. get-3m.sg.obj.-1sg.PC
I have got satisfaction.

As previously noted, with respect to example (15) in section 5.2, a non-object marked verb can function as an indicator that an intended event was not actually achieved. A further instance of this is shown in the following example:

(93) ʔóʔsìʔ ʔàː hòsó mélìtà jàʔbèsìsõ̀ːsò̀
ʔóʔ-síʔ ʔáː hòsó mêlì-tà jàʔbé-sí-sò-ɨ̂-sò
there(ref.)-loc. NC(3pl.) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

mélĩ̀ːsu̯tsʼàʔ dûru̯nàʔ !èmòːàʔ ⁿǁʷèː
mêlì-ɨ̂-sù̯-tsʼi̯-àʔ dúrù̯-nà-àʔ !èmé-óː-àʔ ⁿǁʷěː
boat-sp.-3f.sg.-at-3pl.PC shore-to-3pl.PC take-nml.-3pl.PC try
It was then that they who worked in the boat tried to take the boat to shore.

Here the verb /!èmé/ ‘take’ is nominalised together its object and the PP. This nominalised VP is itself the object of the verb /ⁿǁʷěː/ ‘try’. The object of the verb within the nominalised VP is suffixed with the postpositional morpheme /-tsʼi̯/ and this makes it clear that the sailors failed in their efforts to take the boat to shore.

It is important to note that although in clauses which have a future time reference the event described is yet to be realised, a transitive verb can still be used with object marking:

(94) hèsú dámɑ̂ːsu̯
hèsú dámà-ɨ̂-sù̯
dem.(ref.3f.sg.) calf-sp.-3f.sg.

hàpú màːmɛ̀ tùkɛ̀ːi
hàpú máːmè tû-kù̯-éː-ì
[you maternal.uncle]$_{GEN}$ come.out-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
This calf, your maternal uncle will contribute.

It is also possible to use a non-object marked verb with a future time reference, in which case any specific object would be marked with the postpositional suffix /-tsʼi̯/. However, no text examples of this have yet been attested.

10.4.1.3 Default versus background

As noted by Payne (1997:239), it is common for languages to use the perfective as the default means of describing the main events of a narrative. The imperfective is often used for describing collateral, explanatory, or descriptive information. This pattern holds for Sandawe, if we equate an object marked verb with the perfective and a non-object marked verb with the imperfective. The following example, which is the introductory sentence of a narrative, illustrates the use of the imperfective in setting the scene:

(95)	mǎːkâ	têʔ	sàndàwěːsú	tésûsi̥	ǀȁː
	mǎːkà	té-è-ts'ì̥	sàndàwěː-sú	té-sù̥-sì̥	ǀâː
	year	other-3m.sg.-at	Sandawe-3f.sg.	other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC	see

The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

tɬ'àbísósúsu̥
tɬ'àbísó-sí-sù̥
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

Note also how the postpositional morpheme /-ts'ì̥/ does not occur on the object, since the object is not marked as specific.

The non-object marked verb form is commonly used in narratives to introduce speech:

(96)	kʷàː	dórȏːgāː	dàk'ʷě̆ːts'ȁ	kàʔ
	kʷáː	dóró-ȉ̌-áː	dàk'ʷěː-ȉ̌-ts'ì̥-à	káʔ
	NC(3m.sg.)	zebra-sp.-SF	donkey-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC	hear.[65]

Then Zebra said to Donkey…

If the object marked verb form is used to introduce a speech, that speech is marked as a main event:

(97)	pàː	ǀ'ǐ̆ːˆ	ʔíxâː	bòkʷèː
	páː	ǀ'ǐ̆ː-ȉ̌	ʔíxì̥-à	bô-kù-éː
	NC(3m.sg.)	snake-sp.	thus-3m.sg.PC	say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.

támêsi̥ ⁿǁòsȕːsʷàː
támèsì̥ ⁿǁô-sù̥-ȉ̌-sù̥-à
[female child-3f.sg.]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3f.sg.-3m.sg.PC
Then the snake spoke thus to the woman…

The speech which is introduced by this example begins, 'No, you will not die!', and is a main event in the narrative.

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[65] Here the hearsay particle /káʔ/ acts as a speech-introducing verb.

One important way in which the object marked/non-object marked distinction does not parallel the perfective/imperfective distinction is that the former is obviously necessarily restricted to transitive verbs, whereas the latter need not be restricted in this way. The aspectual properties of intransitive verbs can be expressed in other ways, as will be seen in the following sections.

10.4.2 Completive

A functional distinction can be made between perfective aspect and completive aspect. Whereas, in perfective aspect a described event is viewed in its entirety, in completive aspect, the completion of the event is expressed (Payne, 1997:239–240). This functional distinction is a helpful one for Sandawe, where object marking as a means of showing perfective aspect is limited to transitive verbs, but completive aspect can be expressed for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

The expression of completive aspect in Sandawe is achieved by conjoining a verb with the meaning of ‘stop’ or ‘finish’ to the main verb by means of a connective morpheme attached to the main verb:

(98)	hĭːsíːsíʔ	mànăːʔā̄ː	!’òːkʰȁ
	hĭːsíː-síʔ	mànà-é-ʔà-ː́	!’ŏːkʰà
	then-loc.	know-3m.sg.obj.-3pl.PC-&	stop

At that point they already knew
(Lit. At that point they knew it and stopped…

hĭ̌ːgô	kàʔ	bàʔésȇː	wàròŋgèːmèːȁ	ǁ’áːsi̥ʔȍː
hĭ̌ːgò	káʔ	bàʔé-sí-è-ː̏	wàròngĕː-kì̥méː-à	ǁ’áːsì̥-ʔȍː
dem.(dist.3m.sg.)	hear.	be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	god-bec.-3m.sg.PC	flee-nml.

of his flight from that Lord

bôxi̥ʔȉːgȁ	!’òːkʰàʔȍːmèː
bô-xì̥-ʔíː-à	!’ŏːkʰà-ʔȍː-kì̥méː
say-ben.-3a.pl.obj.-3m.sg.PC	stop-nml.-bec.

because of his already telling them so.
(…because of his telling them and stopping.)

Both main verbs in the preceding example are object marked, but it is also possible for a non-object marked verb to be used in a completive construction. The following elicited example illustrates this:

(99)	hîsi̥	tʰímḗː	tlèm̀sȅiʔ	sìː	ts’ăːnâsi̥	kʰʷȁ
	hî-sì̥	tʰímé-ː́	tlèm̀sé-ìʔ	síː	ts’ăːnàsì̥	kʰʷà
	when-1sg.PC	cook-&	finish-sub.cl.	NC(1sg.)	home-to-1sg.PC	return

When I had finished cooking, I returned home.

The following example shows how this same completive construction can be used with an intransitive verb:

(100) híâ hòk'ā́ː tɬèmsèi?
hí-à hòk'á-ːˊ tɬèmsé-ì?
when-3m.sg.PC be.lukewarm-& finish-sub.cl.
When it has finished getting lukewarm,
(Lit. When it is lukewarm and finishes…)

sìː !^{h}ùmési̯ síâː kǎːts'ê
síː !^{h}ùmé-si̯ sí-é-à kǎː-ts'è
NC(1sg.) flour-1sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-conn. put-appl.
then I take the flour and put it into (the water).

Note also here the use of the singular object form of 'take' (/sí-/) and the plural object form of 'put' (/kǎː-/). The flour is first treated as a singular object, when it is 'taken', and then as it is gradually 'put' into the lukewarm water, it is treated as a plural object.

10.4.3 Progressive

Like completive aspect, progressive aspect can be expressed by verb conjunction:

(101) sìː màtíkɛ̂ː hèwéts'îsi̯
síː màtíkè-ːˇ hèwé-ts'ì̯-si̯
NC(1sg.) partially.ripe.millet-sp. dem.(ref.3m.sg.)-at-1sg.PC

ʔíɛ́ː mántʃ^{h}áyōː
ʔíé-ːˊ mántʃ^{h}à-yóː
stay-& eat-dur.

pàː ɬâː |'ùnìː sìː !òm̀séː
páː ɬáː-à |'únì̯ síː !òm̀sé-é
NC(3m.sg.) well-3m.sg.PC ripen NC(1sg.) harvest-3m.sg.obj.
Then I keep eating this partially ripe millet, and then it ripens well, and then I harvest it.
(Lit. Then I stay and eat this partially ripe millet…)

The verb in this progressive construction does not contain object marking and, therefore, the specific object NP is suffixed with the postpositional morpheme /-ts'ì̯/. If the same construction is used with a transitive verb marked for an object, the result no longer expresses progressive aspect, but rather the partial completion of the action of the verb, as the following elicited example shows:[66]

[66] The order of the two verbs in this example does not affect the semantic interpretation of the examples.

(102) łǒːmési̯ ʔíə́ːˊ tʃʰíâsi̯
łǒːmé-sì̯ ʔíé-ːˊ tʃʰíà-sì̯
cultivate(3m.sg.obj.)-1sg.PC stay-& all-1sg.PC
I have almost cultivated it all.
(Lit. I stay and cultivate it all.)

This construction can only be used when there is the possibility that the action of the verb may yet be completed.

When the construction under discussion is used with an intransitive verb, the result is the expression of progressive aspect, as when it is used with a non-object marked verb:

(103) hîsi̯ |ʼèːiʔ łékáʔ táxi̯
hî-sì̯ |ʼěː-ìʔ łékáʔ táxì̯
when-1sg.PC see-sub.cl. like just
It feels just like

!ʼòròrǒː dě:tʰēːsāː nə̌ːˊ !ʼʷǎːtâʔ pùndùsè
!ʼòròrǒː děː-̰ tʰéː-sò-áː nəːˊ-ːˊ !ʼʷǎː-tà-àʔ pùndùsé
frog be.many-adj.-3a.pl.-SF stay[67]-& pond-in-3pl.PC swim
many frogs are swimming in a pond.
(Lit. …many frogs stay and swim in a pond.)

10.4.4 Habitual

Habitual aspect in Sandawe can be expressed by means of the multiple morpheme /-wà/:

(104) hóbê jàʔàbə̀ì jàʔbèwə̀à
hóbè jáʔábò-ì jàʔbé-wà
[what work]$_{GEN}$-2sg.PC do.work-mult.
What work do you do?

The lack of object marking in the verb in this example is important. When the multiple morpheme is used to express habitual aspect, it is incompatible with an object marked verb. However, it is possible for the multiple morpheme to occur with an object marked verb if its function is to mark the subject as plural, rather than the action as habitual:

[67] /nə̌ː/ is the plural subject suppletive verb stem for ‘stay’, whereas /ʔíé/ is the corresponding singular subject form.

(105) hùmbùǎː mántʃʰāːwȁ
hùmbù-áː mántʃʰà-é-wà
cow-SF eat-3m.sg.obj.-mult.
The cows ate it./*The cow (habitually) ate it.

This example can be contrasted with the same verb used intransitively. The multiple morpheme can then be interpreted as either marking a plural subject or habitual action:

(106) hùmbùǎː mántʃʰáwȁ
hùmbù-áː mántʃʰà-wà
cow-SF eat-mult.
The cows ate./The cow (habitually) ate.

It is also possible to use the adverb /híàʔ/ 'usually'[68] to express habitual aspect:

(107) híâʔ sȁxi̥ |ʰĭːȃːsu̥ ⁿ‖ŏːkȏːsòsȁ
híàʔ sáxì̥ |ʰĭːà-ː̏-sù̥ ⁿ‖ŏːkò-ː̏-sò-sà
usually RC(3f.sg.) dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg. children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC

kʰŏːtánàsȁ ʔíɬímēːts'ȉgȁ
kʰŏː-tà-nà-sà ʔíɬímēː-ts'è-ʔi̋-à
house-in-to-3f.sg.PC shut(3m.sg.obj.)-appl.-3a.pl.obj.-conn.
Usually Dik-dik shut the children in the house

mántʃʰâ ìtʃʰàsànàsȁ hìk'i̥
mántʃʰà ítʃʰà-sà-nà-sà hík'ì̥
food look.for-nml.to-3f.sg.PC go
and went to look for food.

A third means of expressing habitual aspect is the possessive construction (see also section 11.4):

(108) làláŋgáː nùȁːkì mĕːnāːsūsuts'ē
làlángáː núá-ː̏-kí mĕːnà-é-sí-sù-ts'é
[millet stiff.porridge]$_{\text{GEN}}$-sp.-add. like-3m.sg.obj.-poss.-3f.sg.-neg.
And she (habitually) didn't like millet porridge

[68] This form may be related to the /hí-PC___ìʔ/ construction in subordinate clauses (see section 11.3).

íxi̯sà	kàʔ	mòà	xásù̀ku̯
íxì̯-sà	káʔ	mò-à	xâ-sí-kù̯
thus-3f.sg.PC	hear.	spirit-3m.sg.PC	be.bad-poss.-caus.

she said thus, it made her feel nauseous.
(Lit. …it made the spirit bad.)

10.5 Conditional

The conditional morpheme /-wàʔ/ or /-wáʔ/[69] can be attached to the end of a realis clause and the resulting construction has a conditional meaning:

(109)	gáwâ	ⁿǃàːʔtèsi̯	ʔíɛ̋ː	ǀʼʷǎːsi̯	tɬʼàpʰèwàʔ
	gáwà	ⁿǃǎːʔ̯ tè-sì̯	ʔíé-ɾ́	ǀʼʷǎː-sì̯	tɬʼàpʰé-wàʔ
	[hill	behind]$_{GEN}$-1sg.PC	stay-&	millet-1sg.PC	thresh-cond.

If I stayed behind the hill and threshed millet,

kʰéʔépònɛ̀
kʰéʔé-ì-pò-nè
hear-irr.-2sg.-interrog.
would you hear?

This construction can have a hypothetical meaning, as in the preceding example, or a counterfactual meaning, as in the following elicited example:

(110)	ʔútê	tsʼǎːnásà	kʰʷàwà̀ʔ	ǃʼǒːsű̂ːsu̯	
	ʔútè	tsʼǎːnà-sà	kʰʷà-wàʔ	ǃʼǒː-sű́ː-ì-sù̯	
	yesterday	home-to-3f.sg.PC	return-cond.	meet-1pl.-irr.-3f.sg.	

If she had returned home yesterday, she would have met us.

Context and temporal adverbials (such as the one in the preceding example) determine whether a conditional clause is interpreted as a hypothetical or a counterfactual.

The hypothetical function of the conditional clause can also be fulfilled by the subordinate clause, as in the following elicited example:

(111)	hísâ	ⁿǃêːʔsà	tsʼǎːnásà̀	kʰʷà̀iʔ
	hí-sà	ⁿǃê-ɾ̂-tsʼì̯-sà	tsʼǎː-nà-sà	kʰʷà-ìʔ
	when-3f.sg.PC	day-sp.-at-3f.sg.PC	home-to-3f.sg.PC	return-sub.cl.

If she returns home today,

[69] Both tonal variants have been noted and no functional difference between them has been observed.

!’ǒːsṵ̂ːsu̯
!’ǒː-sṵ̋ː-ì-su̯
meet-1pl.-irr.-3f.sg.
she will meet us.

It is not clear whether there is a functional difference between the conditional clause and the subordinate clause when they are used in this way. However, it is possible that using the subordinate clause implies a greater likelihood that the events described will actually happen as the subordinate clause is also used for non-conditionals (see section 11.3). It seems likely that a conditional clause would be chosen to express a hypothetical when using a subordinate clause might result in misinterpretation as a non-conditional. Similarly, it is to be expected that a subordinate clause would be chosen to express a hypothetical when using a conditional clause might result in misinterpretation as a counterfactual.

The main clause on which the conditional clause depends is either an irrealis affirmative (as in (109)) or an irrealis negative:

(112) ʔànk^{h}á táxi̯ !’^{w}â xáwàt^{h}èːtàkèːsi̯ |’ùsùku̯wə̀ʔ
ʔànk^{h}á táxì̯ !’^{w}â xâ-wà-˰t^{h}éː-tà-kéː-sì̯ |’úsúkù̯-wàʔ
even just valley bad-mult.-adj.-in-decl.-1sg.PC pass-cond.
Even if I pass through bad valleys

^{n}|ôːsi̯ts’è xáʔə̏̀ːkì
^{n}|ó-é-ì-sì̯-ts’é xâ-ʔə̏̀ː-kí
fear-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.-neg. be.bad-nml.-add.
I will not fear badness.

When the irrealis is used in a main clause on which a conditional clause is dependent, it can function as an imperative or subjunctive, as in the following elicited example:

(113) xásə̀ |^{h}èːmè k^{h}ǒːsáwə̀ʔ
xâ-sà |^{h}ěːmé k^{h}ǒː-sà-wàʔ
badly-3f.sg.PC sweep(3m.sg.obj.) house-3f.sg.PC-cond.
If she swept the house badly,

tɬ’èsə̋̀ː |^{h}èːmə̀̀su̯
tɬ’èséː-ˀ́ |^{h}ěːmé-ì-sù̯
do.again-& sweep(3m.sg.obj.)-irr.-3f.sg.
she should sweep it again.

It is not acceptable to instead use the third person feminine singular subjunctive PC /-xi̯sà/ in the second clause of this example.

The conjunction /éʔéː/ or /áʔéː/ can occur clause-initially in conditional clauses. It can be glossed as ‘it would be’:

(114)	èʔèː	^{n}!êts’èː	kʰèʔèwàʔ
	éʔéː	^{n}!ê-ts’i̥-è	kʰéʔé-wàʔ
	cond.	day-at-2pl.PC	hear-cond.

ɬáːû	hèwé	rỗːts’èːwàʔ
ɬáː-ù	hèwé	rỗː-ts’i̥-è-wàʔ
good-3m.sg.	[he	voice]$_{GEN}$-at-2pl.PC-cond.

It would be good if when you (pl.) heard his voice today,

dʒìgídâ	sĩ́ːʔwà̃i	^{n}!à̃ːk’ò	^{n}|ʷétʃʰĩ̄ːgāːwāʔ
dʒìgídà	sĩ́ː-ʔ̥ wà-ì	^{n}!ã́ːk’ó	^{n}|ʷé-tʃʰì-sĩ́ː-áː-wàʔ
heart	you(pl.)-3i.pl.-pro.	be.hard	do-neg.-2pl.-SF-cond.

you (pl.) would not harden your (pl.) hearts.

Note here, also, how the conditional morpheme occurs three times in this example. The unmarked pattern is for the conditional morpheme to attach to whatever constituent is clause-final. However, when a verb is suffixed with the conditional morpheme, it is also acceptable for a post-verbal constituent belonging to the same clause to also be suffixed with this morpheme.

The conditional morpheme can also be attached to irrealis verbs, but this has not been attested in the text corpus. When the morpheme is attached to a realis negative verb, only the counterfactual interpretation, and not the hypothetical interpretation, is allowed. The following elicited example illustrates this:

(115)	xâ	kʰǒː	|ʰěːmétʃʰūwà̃ʔ	bósòts’è
	xâ	kʰǒː	|ʰěːmé-tʃʰì-sú-wàʔ	bô-ì-sò-ts’é
	badly	house	sweep(3m.sg.obj.)-neg.-3f.sg.-cond.	say-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.

If she hadn’t swept the house badly, they wouldn’t have said.

11 Other clause types

11.1 Copular

There is no copula in Sandawe. A copular clause consists of an NP followed by another NP, an adjective or a quantifier. The second constituent is marked with a PGN morpheme which agrees with the first NP. This PGN morpheme is usually from the low toned series, as illustrated by the following examples:

(1) tʃí ʔìbràníâ bòjòsi̯
tʃí ʔìbràníà bójó-sì̯
I [Hebrew tribe]$_{GEN}$-1sg.
I am (of) the tribe of Hebrew.

(2) ‖ǒːxi̯ tʃí rô̰ː méː
‖ǒːxi̯ tʃí rô̰ː méː
still [I voice]$_{GEN}$ big
My voice is still big.

As example (2) shows, the third person masculine singular low toned PGN morpheme is zero in this construction. Therefore, it is possible for two juxtaposed third person masculine singular NPs to be ambiguous between interpretation as a copular clause and as a tonal genitive clause. In the following example, the two NPs ‘dowry’ and ‘four cows’ are understood as forming a copular clause:

(3) ‖ʼék^{hw}â̰ː hùmbù hàkáxi̯
‖ʼék^{hw}à-ː̃ hùmbù hàkáxì̯
dowry-sp. cow four
The dowry is four cows.

It is also possible to understand this example as one in which the first two constituents form a tonal genitive construction (‘cow of dowry’) and the third constituent is the second part of the copular clause. Thus, the gloss would be ‘the cows of the dowry are four’. Such ambiguity is only possible when the tonal properties of the constituents involved do not provide a means of distinguishing between different interpretations.

The PGN morphemes found in copular clauses are usually from the low toned series, but it is possible for the high toned series to be used instead, as in the following elicited example:

(4) tʃí sàndàwěːsé
tʃí sàndàwěː-sé
I Sandawe-1sg.
I am a Sandawe.

It is also possible for the PGN morphemes to be omitted in certain instances, such as in the following elicited examples:

(5) hèsú ʔíóː
hèsú ʔíóː
she mother
She is a mother.

(6) hèsó mă:má:
hèsó mă:má:
they friends
They are friends.

The presence of the PGN morpheme on the second constituent in a copular clause means that it is possible for the first NP to be omitted altogether if it is simply a pronoun. The following two examples illustrate this:

(7) hèwé ʔìndʒàsṹ: hèwá: bàlò:wàts'èxɛ̃̀:
hèwé ʔìndʒá-sṹ: hèwé-á: báló:-wà-ts'è-xé:-ɨ̃̀
[he sheep]$_{GEN}$-1pl. he-SF herd-mult.-appl.-pl.-sp.
We are his sheep which he herds.

(8) nɨ̀: hóbê bòjòwè:pò
nɨ́: hóbè bójó-é:-pò
and [what tribe-3m.sg.]$_{GEN}$ -2sg.
And you are (one of) what tribe?

The following example shows how a copular clause may occur within a subordinate clause:

(9) híâ hèwé k^{h}ò: ɬá:ûiʔ
hí-à hèwé k^{h}ǒ: ɬá:-ù-ìʔ
when-3m.sg. [he house]$_{GEN}$ good-3m.sg.-sub.cl.
If his house is good,

k^{h}ǒ: ɬá:û mànǎ:ʔ bòkótáwàsèts'è
k^{h}ǒ: ɬá:-ù mànà-é-àʔ bòkótà-wà-sí-è-ts'é
house good-3m.sg. know-3m.sg.obj.-3pl.PC be.jealous-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-neg.
they know the house is good, no jealous ones.

The copular clause is negated by the morpheme /-ts'é/, as the following elicited example illustrates:

(10) hɛ̌:ˆ k^{h}ǒ:ts'ē
hɛ̌:ù k^{h}ǒ:-̰ ts'é
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) house-neg.[70]
This is not a house.

[70] The origin of the floating low tone, which causes the downstep before the negative morpheme, is not known.

11.2 Exclamatory

The term *exclamatory clause* comes from Elderkin (1989:119), where it is defined as a clause without 'any pgn [PC] or nominative suffix [SF marker], (except where there is both an adverbial and no overt subject) and, secondly, by having every element of its structure realised on tone level 1'. (In the phonological analysis adopted here, 'tone level 1' corresponds to a lack of tone lowering in the verb.) The function of such a clause is to imply surprise or appreciation.

The object in an exclamatory clause must be suffixed with the postpositional morpheme /-ts'į̣/ (Elderkin, GS:S9) and the verb must occur in without object marking, as shown in the following elicited example:

(11)	hèsú	núáts'į̣	x^{w}ànté
	hèsú	núá-ts'į̣	x^{w}ànté
	dem.(ref.3f.sg.)	stiff.porridge-at	cook
	This one can really cook stiff porridge!		

Note how this differs from a realis clause, in which an object is only suffixed with the postpositional morpheme /-ts'į̣/ when it is specific (see section 5.2).

The following elicited example shows how if an adverb is present, it is followed by a realis PC:[71]

(12)	ɬáːsâ	$\lvert^{h}$èmé
	ɬáː-sà	$\lvert^{h}$èmé
	well-3f.sg.	sweep
	She sweeps well!	

11.3 Subordinate

What is described here as a subordinate clause is constructed using the conjunction /hí/ or /hî/[72] 'when, if, after' marked with a realis PC in agreement with the subject of the clause and the subordinate clause morpheme /-ìʔ/:

(13)	híê	nìʔìːʔ	‖'íák^{w}è	‖'ìà
	hí-è	níʔ-ìʔ	‖'íà-k^{w}è	‖'íà
	when-2pl.PC	go-sub.cl.	dance-2pl.Imp.PC	dance
	When you (pl.) go, dance the dance,			

[71] Contrary to Elderkin (1989:19), the data elicited for this research showed that an adverb must still be marked with a realis PC, even if an overt subject occurs in the clause.
[72] Both tone patterns have been noted. No functional difference has been discerned.

xáɬóː bìkʰímέwáːkʷê
xàɬé-óː bìkʰé-mé-wáː-kʷè
tease-nml. leave-iter.-3i.pl.obj.-2pl.Imp.PC
leave off the teasing.

The subordinate clause must be followed or preceded by a main clause or another subordinate clause:

(14) hěːxʷéxéʔ ⁿ|ʷìʔyàpòsṵ̃ː
hěːxʷé-xéʔ̰ ⁿ|ʷíʔyá-tsʼè-pó-ì-sṵ̃ː
dem.(prox.pl.)-like do-appl.-2sg.obj.-irr.-1pl.

híô ʔóʔtʃʰṹːgāː tùiʔ
hí-ò ʔóʔ̰-tʃè-sű́ː-áː tû-ìʔ
when-1pl.PC there(ref.)-from-1pl.-SF come.out-sub.cl.
We will do for you (things) like these, if we get out of here.

(15) ⁿ‖ǒː híâ bàʔèbàʔèìʔ
ⁿ‖ǒː hí-à bàʔé-bàʔé-ìʔ
child when-3m.sg.PC be.big-be.big-sub.cl.
When the child became quite big,

híâ máxáə̀ːiʔ
hí-à máxà-éː-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC male-3m.sg.-sub.cl.
if he was a male,

ʔàː jáʔábóʔà làdìʔmèː
ʔáː jáʔábò-àʔ làdìʔmé-é
NC(3pl.) work-3pl.PC show-3m.sg.obj.
they showed him work.

Example (15) also shows how /hí/ can be translated as ‘when’ or ‘if’, according to the context of its occurrence.

The following is a similar example, but here there is only one occurrence of /hí/:

(16) híâ hèwéxéː ⁿ!ễːgāː tʃʰèːkìːʔ
hí-à hèwéxéː ⁿ!ê-ɨ̃́-áː tʃʰěː-kí-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC dem.(ref.pl.) day-sp.-SF absent-verb.-sub.cl.
When these days have finished,

ʔàː	pʰálâʔ	kʰʷàséːtʃʰôiʔ
ʔáː	pʰálâ-àʔ	kʰʷà-sé-é-tʃʰì-só-ìʔ
NC(3pl.)	marriage.gift-3pl.PC	return-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-3a.pl.-sub.cl.

if they have not returned the marriage gift,

ʔàː	mànǎː	káʔ
ʔáː	mànǎː	káʔ
NC(3pl.)	know	hear.

then they know that

tʰámétʃʰȕ̃ːsȕ	dògȍ̃ːsȍ	mě̌ːnâːʔ
tʰámétʃʰū-ː̏-sù	dògó-ː̏-sò	měːnà-àʔ
[woman-sp.-3f.sg.	relative-sp.-3a.pl.]$_{\text{GEN}}$	agree-3pl.PC

the woman's relatives agree

^{n}‖ŏːkȏːsȍ	hètèkàwȁːkȉː
^{n}‖ŏːkó-ː̏-sò	hétékà-wà-ː̋kí-ː̏
[children-sp.-3a.pl.	marry-mult.-recip.]$_{\text{GEN}}$-sp.

to the marriage of the children.

The precise meaning of the subordinate clause is often determined by the mood or aspect of the main clause on which it is dependent. In (14), for example, the main clause is irrealis and, therefore, the subordinate clause is translated as 'if…'. This can be contrasted with the following example, in which the main clause is realis and the subordinate clause can be translated as 'after…' (or 'when…'):

(17)	ʔóʔtʃè	híâ	hàːŋgȁiʔ
	ʔóʔ̥-tʃè-è	hí-à	hǎːŋgà-ìʔ
	there(ref.)-from-3m.sg.	when-3m.sg.PC	leave-sub.cl.

After he left from there,

kʷàː	jópȁ	m̀jìtànȁː	‖'àkì
kʷáː	jôpà	m̂jì-tà-nà-à	‖'àkí
NC(3m.sg.)	[Joppa	town]$_{\text{GEN}}$-in-to-3m.sg.PC	descend

he descended into the town of Joppa.

A subordinate clause can be dependent on an imperative main clause and in such circumstances, can be translated as 'if…' or 'when…':

(18)	hîː	‖ŏːts'îː	mèhě̌ːgȉ	l̏ȁːgèːiʔ
	hí-ì	‖ŏː-ts'ḭ̊-ì	mèhě̌ː̂-ì	l̂âː-éː-ìʔ
	when-2sg.PC	path-at-2sg.PC	something(sp.)-2sg.PC	see-3m.sg.obj.-sub.cl.

If you see something on the path,

mě:kô sìè
mě:-kò sí-é
neg.-2sg.Imp.PC take-3m.sg.obj.
don't take it.

Aspect marking in the main clause on which a subordinate clause is dependent also helps to disambiguate its precise meaning and relation to this main clause, as the following two examples illustrate:

(19) hîsi̯ ɬǒ:mɛ́: !'ò:kʰàiʔ
hî-si̯ ɬǒ:mé-ɨ́ !'ǒ:kʰà-ìʔ
when-1sg.PC cultivate(3m.sg.obj.)-& stop-sub.cl.
After I have stopped cultivating,

pà: |'ʷǎ:gá: ʔíâ: ǁàná
pá: |'ʷǎ:-á: ʔíé-à ǁàná
NC(3m.sg.) millet-SF stay-conn. grow
the millet continues to grow.

(20) hîà ʔíɛ́: ǁànájô:iʔ
hî-à ʔíé-ɨ́ ǁàná-jó:-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC stay-& grow-dur.-sub.cl.
While the millet is still growing,

sì: tɬ'èsé:â kísóxʷɛ̂:kìsi̯ hìbà:
sí: tɬ'èsé:-à kísóxi̯-ì-é:-ɨ̂-kí-si̯ hìbà-é
NC(1sg.) repeat-conn. two-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-add.-1sg.PC weed-3m.sg.obj.
then I weed again for the second time.

The context of the following example makes it clear that the events described will happen in the future, even though both clauses are realis:

(21) ⁿ!ê ʔàròbàínā: híâʔ |'ùsùkʷì:ʔ nìnéwì tʃʰé:kíâ
ⁿ!ê ʔàròbàînì-á: hí-àʔ |'úsúkṵ-ìʔ nìnêwì tʃʰé:-kí-à
day forty-SF when-3pl.PC pass-sub.cl. Nineveh absent-verb.-3m.sg.PC
When forty days have passed, Nineveh will have been destroyed.

The subordinate clause is also commonly used to form a time adverbial:

(22) híâ ǁ'ékʷâ ⁿ!ɛ̀:gà: ⁿǁè:iʔ
hí-à ǁ'ékʷà ⁿ!ê-ɨ̂-a: ⁿǁě:-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC [dowry day]$_{GEN}$-sp.-SF arrive-sub.cl.
When the dowry day arrives,

ʔà: hă:nákī ‖’ék^{w}ásànà̰ʔ
ʔá: hă:nàkí ‖’ék^{w}à-sà-nà-àʔ
NC(3pl.) sit give.dowry-nml.-to-3pl.PC
they sit down in order to give the dowry.

As the previous examples have shown, the subordinate clause commonly begins with /hí/, but it is possible for an adverb (as in (17)) or the subject (as in (15)) to precede it. In terms of realis PC and SF marker distribution, the rules apply in the subordinate clause as in main clauses (see section 10.1.1.1). Thus, since /hí/ itself is always marked with a realis PC if the subordinate clause is realis, the verb is never also marked (as the verb always follows /hí/).

If the subordinate clause is realis negative, the verb is marked in the normal way before the subordinate clause morpheme and /hí/ is marked with a third person singular masculine realis PC:

(23) híâ íxi̯ ^{n}|^{w}é:pò̰iʔ
híà íxì̯ ^{n}|^{w}é:-tʃ^{h}ì-pó-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC thus do-neg.-2sg.-sub.cl.
Since you didn’t do thus,

hákṵ tìmṵwà:pò̰ |^{h}ĭ:â ^{n}‖ò:kõ̰:
há-kṵ tímṵ-wá:-ì-pò̰ |^{h}ĭ:à ^{n}‖ŏ:kó-ḭ̃
where-at swallow-3i.pl.obj.-irr.-2sg. [dik.dik children]$_{GEN}$-sp.
where will you swallow Dik-dik’s children?

In this example, /hí/ is best glossed as ‘since’.

/hí/ is also followed by a third person masculine singular realis PC, if the clause in which it occurs is a copular, locative, or possessive construction:

(24) hîà kókó ^{n}|î̂:gìʔ
hî-à kókó ^{n}|î̂:-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC [chicken meat]$_{GEN}$-sub.cl.
If it is chicken meat,

dʒìp^{h}á ^{n}|însò̰ nĩ̀: k^{h}ùŋgùrú
dʒìp^{h}á ^{n}|ínṵ̀-ì-sò̰ nĩ́: k^{h}ùngùrú
thigh eat(meat)-irr.-3a.pl. and steak
they would eat thigh and steak.

(25) tàtà hàpú jàʔàbɔ̃̀ː ǀ’ímóː ɬómóː !’ámóː
tàtá hàpú jáʔábò-ːˀ ǀˀìmé-óː ɬòmé-óː !’àmé-óː
father [you work]$_{GEN}$-sp. clear-nml. cultivate-nml. carve-nml.
Father, your work is to clear, cultivate, carve,

^{n}!ámóː hónóː híâ hùmbùsíʔîːʔ báló:
^{n}!àmé-óː hòná-oː hí-à hùmbù-síʔ-ìʔ báló:-óː
forge-nml. harvest.honey-nml. when-3m.sg.PC cow-loc.-sub.cl. herd-nml.
forge, harvest honey, if there are cows, to herd.

(26) hèsú dámɑ̂ːsu̯
hèsú dámà-ːˀ-sù̯
dem.(ref.3f.sg.) calf-sp.-3f.sg.
This calf,

híâ tʰámétʃʰɯ̃̀ːsu̯ mílásùsu̯ts’èiʔ
hí-à tʰámètʃʰú-ːˀ-sù̯ mílà-sí-sù̯-ts’é-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC woman-sp.-3f.sg. virginity-poss.-3f.sg.-neg.-sub.cl.
if the woman is not a virgin,

ʔàː kʰʷàséːsúsɔ̀
ʔáː kʰʷà-sé-ésú-ì-sɔ̀
NC(3pl.) return-caus.-3f.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.
then they would return it (the calf).

The subordinate clause has a further function as the basis of three idiomatic constructions. In the first, the verb /lí/ ‘come (sg.subj.)’ or /^{n}làtí/ ‘come (pl.subj.)’ (according to whether the subject of the clause is singular or plural) is suffixed with the connective morpheme /-ːˊ/ and then the subordinate clause morpheme:

(27) híâ ǀĩ́ːgîʔ
hí-à ǀí-ːˊ-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC come-&-sub.cl.
It seemed to him that

kòŋkórɪ̀ɪ̃ãː ʔúrâː bàʔè
kònkórɪ̀u̯-ì-à-ːˀ ʔúrɪ̀u̯-à bàʔé
cockerel-pro.-3m.sg.-sp. very-3m.sg.PC be.big
the cockerel’s was very big.

(28) hâʔ ^{n}làtĩ́ːgîʔ
hí-àʔ ^{n}làtí-ːˊ-ìʔ
when-3pl.PC come-&-sub.cl.
It became apparent to them

hà: ^{n}‖ǒ:ˆ kì kǒ:náwàts'ìsɛ̀
há: ^{n}‖ǒ:-:̀ -kí kǒ:nà-wà-ts'í-sí-è
even child-sp.-add. spoil-mult.-reflex.-poss.-3m.sg.
that even (this) child was handicapped as well.

As these examples show, this construction is used to show how an event appears to the subject.

A second similar construction uses the verb /|'ě:/ 'see, feel' and is used to show how an event feels or is thought about by the subject:

(29) hîsi̩ |'è:iʔ ɬékáʔ táxi̩
hî-sì̩ |'ě:-ìʔ ɬékáʔ táxì̩
when-1sg.PC see-sub.cl. like just
It feels just like

!'òròrǒ: dě:t^{h}ē:sā: nǎ: !'^{w}ă:tâʔ pùndùsè
!'òròrǒ: dě:-ì̩ t^{h}é:-sò-á: ně:-:́ !'^{w}ă:-tà-àʔ pùndùsé
frog be.many-adj.-3a.pl.-SF stay-& puddle-in-3pl.PC swim
many frogs are swimming in a puddle.

(30) hîsi̩ |'è:iʔ
hî-sì̩ |'ě:-ìʔ
when-1sg.PC see-sub.cl.
As I see it,

hě:û tʃǔ:ˆ ʔúrā̄: bàʔè
hě:ù tʃǔ:-:̀ ʔúrī́:-à bàʔé
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) animal-sp. very-3m.sg.PC be.big
this animal is very big.

A third idiomatic construction, based on the subordinate clause, consists simply of /hí/ followed by a realis PC and then the subordinate clause morpheme. Although there is no verb, the meaning of 'seeing' or 'watching' is understood:

(31) hísì̩:ʔ
hî-sì̩-ìʔ
when-1sg.PC-sub.cl.
As I watched,

k^{w}à: tû ^{n}|éà̀ ʔá:mɛ́:
k^{w}á: tû ^{n}‖ê-à ʔá:mé-:́
NC(3m.sg.) come.out bush-3m.sg.PC break(3m.sg.obj.)-&
it came out, breaking the bush.

A form which resembles this construction and may have a similar derivation is /híâʔ/ ‘usually’:

(32) híâʔ sàxi̯ |ʰǐːâ̂ːsu̯ ⁿ‖ǒːkô̂ːsòsà
híàʔ sáxì̯ |ʰǐːà-ɨ̃-sù̯ ⁿ‖ǒːkò-ɨ̃-sò-sà
usually RC(3f.sg.) dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg. children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC

kʰǒːtánàsà ʔíɬímēːtsʼì̃gà
kʰǒː-tà-nà-sà ʔíɬímēː-tsʼè-ʔǐ-à
house-in-to-3f.sg.PC shut(3m.sg.obj.)-appl.-3a.pl.obj.-conn.
Usually Dik-dik shut the children in the house

mántʃʰâ ìtʃʰàsànàsà hìkʼi̯
mántʃʰà ítʃʰà-sà-nà-sà híkʼì̯
food look.for-nml.-to-3f.sg.PC go
and went to look for food.

The possible clausal origin of this word is supported by the fact that it cannot be followed by a PC in agreement with the subject of the clause in which it occurs.

11.4 Possession

The Sandawe possessive construction consists of the suffix /-sí/ followed by a low toned PGN morpheme which agrees with the possessor:

Table 11.1 PGN marking in the possessive construction

PGN	*Example*	*Gloss*
1sg.	hùmbùsísi̯ hùmbù-sí-sì̯	*I have a cow*
2sg.	hùmbùsípô hùmbù-sí-pò	*You have a cow*
3m.sg.	hùmbùsê hùmbù-sí-è	*He has a cow*
3f.sg.	hùmbùsúsu̯ hùmbù-sí-sù̯	*She has a cow*
1pl.	hùmbùsúsû: hùmbù-sí-sǔ:	*We have a cow*
2pl.	hùmbùsísî: hùmbù-sí-sǐ:	*You (pl.) have a cow*
3pl. (anim.)[73]	hùmbùsísô hùmbù-sí-sò	*They have a cow*

[73] If the possessor is plural and inanimate, the third person masculine singular form is used.

As the table shows, the possessive suffix /-sí/ is realised as /-sú/ before /su/, or /sũː/. If the possessed item is plural, the multiple suffix /-wà/ precedes the possessive suffix:

(33) útáː lóːlôʔ ǀʰǐːâ hèsú kʰòːsùsu̯
útáː lóːlòʔ ǀʰǐːà hèsú kʰǒː-sí-sù̯
very.long.ago dik.dik [she house]$_{GEN}$-poss.-3f.sg.
Very long ago Dik-dik had her house

nı̀̃ː ⁿǁǒːkó sʷámkíxì̯wàsùsu̯
nı́̃ː ⁿǁǒːkó sʷámkíxì̯-wà-sí-sù̯
and children three-mult.-poss.-3f.sg.
and had three children.

A possessive construction can be negated with the /-ts'é/ morpheme:

(34) ⁿǀʷàː ǀʷě̀ːsípóts'ēnè̀
ⁿǀʷǎː ǀʷě̀ː-sí-pò-ts'é-nè
elephant eye-poss.-2sg.-neg.-interrog.
Elephant, don't you have eyes?

A verb can be derived from the possessive construction by suffixing the morpheme /-ts'í/ after the possessive morpheme and, if it is also present, the negative morpheme. The resulting verb can then be conjugated in the same way as a regular verb, as the following two elicited examples illustrate:

(35) mátósúsu̯ts'ētsʔìsu̯
mátó-sí-sù̯-ts'é-ts'í-ì-sù̯
gourd-poss.-3f.sg.-neg.-verb.-irr.-3f.sg.
She will not have a gourd.

(36) mátósúsu̯ts'ìxi̯sà
mátó-sí-sù̯-ts'í-xì̯sà
gourd-poss.-3f.sg.-verb.-3f.sg.Subj.PC
She should have a gourd.

The possessive construction described here is commonly used with verb stems to create a form which functions as an adjective:

(37) pàː ǁ'òǁ'ẫː
páː ǁ'òǁ'á-ı̃̀
NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp.

hùmbȕ	tʃ^{h}ȃːki̥sèȁ	màɬèː
hùmbù	tʃ^{h}ȃːkì̥-sí-è-à	màɬé-é
cow	be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC	choose-3m.sg.obj.

Then Baboon chose a fat cow.

If a verb which cannot be interpreted as describing an attribute of the possessor is used in a possessive construction, the resulting meaning expresses either ‘to have ever done X’ or habitual aspect:

(38)

hěːutʃȅː	^{n}ǀȍː
hěːù-tʃè-é-ː̂̀	^{n}ǀó-ː̂̀
[dem.(prox.3m.sg.)-from-3m.sg.-sp.	fear]$_{\text{GEN}}$-sp.

ʔútáːsȃːʔ	ǀȃːsūsȕts’è
ʔútáː-sà-ː̂̀-ts’ì̥	ǀȃː-sí-sȕː-ts’é
long.ago-nml.-sp.-at	see-poss.-1pl.-neg.

Since long ago we haven’t seen fearing of this kind.

(39)

làláŋgáː	nùȁːkì	měːnāːsūsu̥ts’ē
làlángáː	núá-ː̂̀-kí	měːnà-é-sí-sù̥-ts’é
[millet	stiff.porridge]$_{\text{GEN}}$-sp.-add.	like-3m.sg.obj.-poss.-3f.sg.-neg.

And she (habitually) didn’t like millet porridge.

Another common use of the possessive morpheme is illustrated in the following example:

(40)

hěː̂	k^{h}ȍ̌ːtȁ
hěːù	k^{h}ǒː-ː̂̀-tà
dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	house-sp.-in

máxáēː	tékī	kóːsénȅ
máxaˋ-éː	té-è-kí	kóː-sí-è-nè
male-3m.sg.	other-3m.sg.-add.	present-poss.3m.sg.-interrog.

Is there also another male in this house?

The form */kóː/ has not been attested in any other kind of construction and, therefore, it is not clear whether it is a noun or a verb stem. If the possessor in the construction illustrated above is plural, the stem /něː/ is used, which is a plural subject verb meaning ‘be, live, stay’. The third person masculine form of this particular possessive construction may be realised as

either /kóːsê/ or /kóːséː/.[74] This alternation is not allowed in other possessive constructions, where the form with a short vowel must be used.

One use of the possessive construction which is not attested in the text corpus expresses the simultaneity of two events, as illustrated in the following elicited example:

(41) k'ìtɬ'ésúsʷāː jàʔbè
k'ìtɬ'é-sí-sṵ̀-áː jàʔbé
be.angry-poss.-3f.sg.-SF work
She was angry and worked.

A noun may occur in a possessive construction used in this way:

(42) mátósúsʷāː ǀʰèmè
mátó-sí-sṵ̀-áː ǀʰèmé
gourd-poss.-3f.sg.-SF sweep
She had a gourd and swept.

A further use of the possessive construction is to refer to a container and its contents. When the construction is used in this way, the noun referring to the container is suffixed with the possessive morpheme:

(43) ts'ăːkṵ tʃʰîː ànt^{h}ásê
ts'ăːkṵ̀ tʃʰîː ànt^{h}á-sí-è
home-at honey honey.gourd-poss.-3m.sg.
At home there is a honey gourd full of honey.
(Lit. At home, the honey has a honey gourd.)

The possessive construction is also used to form relative clauses, as will be seen in the following section.

11.5 Relative

What is described here as a 'relative clause' is constructed using the specificity morpheme /-ɨ̀/ as a relativiser. Such clauses occur postnominally in Sandawe.

11.5.1 Subject relative

Relative clauses in which the modified NP is the subject of the relative clause verb are based on the possessive construction. The following example contains one such clause:

[74] Note the similarity between this alternation and that of plural referential demonstratives (section 6.4.1) and the third person singular benefactive object form (see section 5.1). In all three cases, an alternation between /è/ and /éː/ (the low and high toned PGN morphemes for third person masculine singular) is evident.

(44)

hô	sàmbòsȇː	
hô	sàmbò-sí-è-ːᷭ	
who	strength-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	
Who was the one who had strength		
wáʔméː	sàmbȍ̥ːʔ	ǀ’ùsùkṳsȅ̏ː
wáʔméː	sàmbò-ːᷭ-ts’ḭ	ǀ’úsúkṳ̀-sí-è-ːᷭ
[companion	strength]$_{GEN}$-sp.-at	surpass-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.
which surpassed the strength of his companion.		

The NP /sàmbò/ ‘strength’ in the first clause is modified by the possessive construction which follows it. The possessive construction contains the verb stem /ǀ’úsúkṳ̀/ ‘surpass’, of which the modified NP is the subject. This relative clause is also part of a second relative clause, which modifies the head NP /hô/ ‘who’ and contains the noun stem /sàmbò/ ‘strength’ in a possessive construction. Thus, the same construction is used for a NP that is the subject of the relative clause verb which modifies it, and for a NP which is the possessor of the possessed noun stem in the relative clause.

Relative clauses may be headless, as in the following example:

(45)

ʔáːrê	gʷáːbósȅ̏ː	ǀíkʷâ	ts’átàn̏à
ʔáːrè	gʷáːbò-sí-è-ːᷭ	ǀí-kʷà	ts’â-tà-nà
truly	thirst-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	come-3m.sg.Subj.PC	water-in-to
Truly, he who has thirst should come to the water.			

In the following example, the relative clause contains a PP:

(46)

ʔóʔsìʔ	ʔàː	hòsó	mélìt̏à	jàʔbèsìsȍ̏ːsò
ʔóʔ̥-síʔ	ʔáː	hòsó	mêlì-tà	jàʔbé-sí-sò-ːᷭ-sò
there(ref.)-loc.	NC(3pl.)	they	boat-in	work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

mél̏ȉːsṳts’ȁʔ	dûrṳn̏àʔ	!èmòːȁʔ	ⁿǁʷèː
mêlì-ːᷭ-sṳ̀-ts’ḭ-àʔ	dúrṳ̀-nà-àʔ	!èmé-óː-àʔ	ⁿǁʷěː
boat-sp.-3f.sg.-at-3pl.PC	shore-to-3pl.PC	take-nml.-3pl.PC	try
It was then that they who worked in the boat tried to take the boat to shore.			

A relative clause may be derived from a negative possessive construction, as the following example illustrates:

(47)

hótʃōːkḭm̏èː	kìpàlàlà	sȉ́ːgî	tȕkṳ	màkǎː
hótʃōː-kḭméː-è	kìpàlàlà	sȉ́ː-ì	tû-kṳ̀	màkǎː
what-bec.-2pl.	sweat	you(pl.)-pro.	come.out-caus.	thing

ǁ’àntásúkụ̀sèts’ɛ̃̀ːkị̀mèː
ǁ’àntá-sí-kù̀-sí-è-ts’é-ɨ̃̀-kì̀méː
be.satisfied-poss.-caus.-poss.-3m.sg.-neg.-sp.-bec.
Why do you (pl.) contribute your (pl.) sweat for something which does not satisfy?

The order of the negative morpheme and the relativising specificity morpheme determines the meaning of such a construction, as can be seen when the following two elicited examples are contrasted:

(48) !^{hw}àtáts’ị̀sèts’ɛ̃̀ː
!^{hw}àtáts’ì̀-sí-è-ts’è-ɨ̃̀
sin-poss.-3m.sg.-neg.-sp.
The one who does not have sin.

(49) !^{hw}àtáts’ị̀sɛ̃̀ːts’è
!^{hw}àtáts’ì̀-sí-è-ɨ̃̀-ts’è
sin-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.-neg.
Not the one who has sin.

11.5.2 Object relative

Relative clauses in which the modified NP is the object of the relative clause verb, differ in form, according to the PGN status of the object and the object marking of the verb. If the verb is marked for the object and the object is third person masculine singular, the pronominal morpheme /-ì/ precedes the relativiser /-ɨ̃̀/:[75]

(50)	hábúsɑ̃̂ː	tʃáː	pòːwɛ̀ɛ̃̀ː	hàbùsénîː
	hábúsà-ɨ̃̀	tʃí-áː	pó-é-ì-ɨ̃̀	hàbùsé-nè-ì
	condition-sp.	I-SF	2sg.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-pro.-sp.	keep.condition-interrog.-2sg.PC

Did you keep the condition which I gave you?

If the object is not third person masculine singular, a low toned PGN morpheme corresponding to the PGN status of the object precedes the specificity marker. The following elicited example illustrates this for a third person feminine object:

(51)	tʃáː	!’òːwèsʉ̃̀ːsụ̀	nâmụ̀
	tʃí-áː	!’ǒː-é-su-ɨ̃̀-sù̀	námù̀
	I-SF	meet-3m.sg.obj.-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.	Namu

The one I met was Namu.

[75] Note here that although the main clause verb in (50) is imperfective, the object relative clause is not suffixed with the imperfective morpheme /-ts’ì̀/.

Note that two low toned PGN morphemes are, therefore, suffixed to the verb. The occurrence of the second of these morphemes is part of the normal behaviour of the specificity morpheme (see section 2.5).

If the object in the relative clause is marked as an inanimate plural, the morpheme /-xéː/ precedes the specificity morpheme (and follows the object marking):

(52)	kòː	bòʔwàː	bóxɛ̀ː	tʃáː	póʔwàːxɛ̀ː
	kóː	bô-wáː	bô-xéː-ɨ̀	tʃí-áː	pó-ʔ̰ wáː-xéː-ɨ̀
	SC(2sg.)	say-3i.pl.obj.	word-pl.-sp.	I-SF	2sg.obj.-3i.pl.obj.-pl.-sp.
	You should say the words I gave you.				

An object, which is marked as an animate plural by means of the object suffix /-ʔɪ́ː/ in the verb, is also marked by a following third person plural low toned PGN morpheme, and then the specificity morpheme, and a second PGN morpheme of the same type. The following elicited example illustrates this:

(53)	tʃáː	!’òːʔɪ̀ːsɔ̀ːsɔ̀	ⁿǁǒːkó
	tʃí-áː	!’ǒː-ʔɪ́ː-sò-ɨ̀ -sò	ⁿǁǒːkó
	I-SF	meet-3a.pl.obj.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.	children
	The ones I met were the children.		

If the relative clause verb is not marked for the object, the applicative morpheme /-ts’è/ precedes the specificity morpheme:

(54)	hɨ̌ːsíː	hàpáː	tákàts’ɛ̀ː	!’òːwèpɔ̀
	hɨ̌ːsíː	hàpú-áː	tâkà-ts’è-ɨ̀	!’ǒː-é-ì-pò
	then	you-SF	want-appl.-sp.	get-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-2sg.
	Then you will get what you want.			

If, as in the preceding example, the object is third person singular, no PGN agreement morpheme is required. For other PGN values, the relevant low toned PGN morpheme occurs after the applicative morpheme and before the specificity morpheme.[76] The same position can, instead, be filled by the plural morpheme /-xéː/, as in the following example:

(55)	hèwé	ʔìndʒàsɯ̃ːɛ̀ː	hèwáː	bàlòːwàts’èxɛ̀ː
	hèwé	ʔìndʒá-sɯ̃ː	hèwé-áː	báló:-wà-ts’è-xéː-ɨ̀
	[he	sheep]$_{GEN}$-1pl.	he-SF	herd-mult.-appl.-pl.-sp.
	We are his sheep which he herds.			

Note how, in all of the examples of object relative clauses in this section, the subject of the relative clause verb is followed by the SF marker. It is possible, instead, to attach a realis PC

[76] Unlike the combination of the applicative morpheme followed by an object morpheme (see table 5.1 in section 5.1), there is no assimilation between the applicative morpheme and the low toned PGN morpheme.

to the verb, after any object marking and before the relative clause marking, but this is not a preferred option and has not been attested in texts.

The text corpus contains two examples of relative clauses with postpositional objects. In the following example, we may assume that the postposition /-ʔĭ̀ː/ 'with' is followed by the specificity morpheme functioning as a relativiser, although this is not evident at the surface level:

(56) ékȭː !èːmèkʷè kʷàː ǀâ̂ːgèː
é-kò-ɾ́ !ěːmé-kù-è kʷáː ǀâ̂ː-éː
take-2sg.Imp.PC-& deliver(3m.sg.obj.)-ben.-3m.sg.obj. SC(3m.sg.) see-3m.sg.obj.
Take it and deliver it to him so that he shall see

ts'ʷáʔâ̂ː tʃáː tʃŭːsi̯ ⁿ!àʔwàwàʔĭ̀
ts'ʷáʔá-ɾ̃ tʃí-áː tʃŭː-sì̯ ⁿ!áː-wà-wà-ʔĭ̀ː-ɾ̃
claw-sp. I-SF animal-1sg.PC catch-mult.-mult.-with-sp.
the claw with which I (habitually) catch animals.

The relativiser may be clearly seen in the second example, which contains the postposition /-xéʔ̯/ 'like':

(57) kʷàː dìʔsĕːáː ⁿǁŏːkóts'àʔ
kʷáː dìʔsĕː-áː ⁿǁŏːkó-ts'i̯-àʔ
NC(3m.sg.) old.man-SF children-at-3pl.PC

bóà̀ʔ ànòlòxèʔ̯ɛ̀̀kì
bô-àʔ ánólò-xéʔ̯-ɾ̃-kí
word-3pl.PC show-like-sp.-add.
But as for how the old people set rules for the children,
(Lit. But as for how the old people showed children the word,)

ʔóʔâː tʃʰèːkì
ʔóʔ̯-à tʃʰěː-kí
there(ref.)-3m.sg.PC absent-verb.
there it is finished.

12 Discourse

A detailed analysis of discourse features in Sandawe does not fall within the scope of this grammar, but some key features will be briefly discussed in the following sections. For further discussion of the relationship between discourse features and core grammar in Sandawe, see Eaton (2002). An analysis of information structure marking in oral texts is found in Elderkin (1994) and one of information structure marking in written texts in Eaton (2005).

12.1 Narrative structure

If a Sandawe narrative is divided into thematic groupings, it can be seen that there are two features which commonly mark the start of a new thematic grouping: Firstly, it is common for a temporal PP or adverb to precede a narrative conjunction at the start of a thematic grouping:

(1)

pʰə́ìɛ̃ːʔ	kʷàː	ǀí	dàkʼʷɛ̌ːˆ	
pʰê-ì-éː-ːˇ-tsʼi̯	kʷáː	ǀí	dàkʼʷɛ̌ː-ːˇ	
tomorrow-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at	NC(3m.sg.)	come	donkey-sp.	

The next day, along came Donkey.

(2)

sʷê	tʰékʰélɛ̃ː	pàː	ǀʰɪ̌ːāː	bòxèʔà	kʰèʔè
sʷê	tʰékʰélé:-ːˇ	páː	ǀʰɪ̌ːà-áː	bô-xéʔ̯-à	kʰéʔé
now	hyena-sp.	NC(3m.sg.)	dik.dik-SF	speak-like-3m.sg.PC	hear

Now Hyena heard how Dik-dik spoke.

Secondly, the presence of conjunctions other than the default narrative or repetitive conjunctions is often associated with the transition to a new thematic grouping:

(3)

hèwéʔgàː	‖ʰàtʃʰûː	kʰǒːtátʃē	tʷěːâ
hèwéʔ̯ gâ-à	‖ʰàtʃʰú-ːˇ	kʰǒː-tà-tʃè-é	tʷěː-à
and.so-3m.sg.PC	lion-sp.	house-in-from-3m.sg.	at.night-3m.sg.PC

tɯ̂ː	hík'ɪ̄ː	ⁿǀétàː	ʔìèwà	sʷénàkì
tûː-ˊˇ	hík'i̯-ːˊˇ	ⁿǀê-tà-à	ʔíé-wà	sʷê-nà-kí
come.out-&	go-&	wilderness-in-3m.sg.PC	live-mult.	now-to-add.

And so Lion came out of the house at night and went and lived in the wilderness until now.

(4)

nɪ̀ː	hɪ̌ːsísíʔ	wàgósú	tésu̯	kóːsúsu̯
nɪ́ː	hɪ̌ːsí-síʔ	wàgó-sú	té-sù	kóː-sí-sù
and	then-loc.	non.Sandawe-3f.sg.	other-3f.sg.	present-poss.-3f.sg.

And, at that time, there was another non-Sandawe around.

In a narrative, the function of /hɪ̌ːsí/ 'then' or 'at that time' is to introduce an event which does not follow chronologically from the previous event. Thus, it contrasts with the NC, which is typically used to introduce events that follow in sequence. An event introduced by /hɪ̌ːsí/ may be background information, as in (4), or it may be a flashback, as in (5), where it is appropriate to use the pluperfect in the English gloss:

(5)

hɪ̌ːsí	kʰìmbà	jónà	ʔàʔéːâ
hɪ̌ːsí	kʰímbá	jônà	ʔàʔéː-à
then	interj.(surprise)	Jonah	earlier-3m.sg.PC

méǀ̀ì	gùrà	ǀúkṳʔìẽːtànà̀ː	ǁàkíː̃
mêlì	gùrà	ǀúkṳ̀-ts’ḭ̀-ì-éː-ː́-tà-nà-à	ǁàkí-ː́
[boat	room]$_{GEN}$	bottom-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-in-to-3m.sg.PC	descend-&

But, at that time, Jonah had already gone down into the boat room at the bottom,

nì̃ːgà̃ː	ⁿǁíné̃ː	ǁ’ô	téɬâː
nī́ː-à	ⁿǁíné-ː́	ǁ’ô	téɬà-à
and-3m.sg.PC	lie.down-&	sleep	completely-3m.sg.PC

and had lain down and was sleeping soundly.

The subordinate clause can be used to show tail-head linkage in a narrative, as in the following example:

(6)	híô	níʔī̃ː	ⁿǀétànò̀ː	ⁿǁè̀ːiʔ
	hí-ò	níʔ-ː́	ⁿǀê-tà-nà-ò	ⁿǁěː-ìʔ
	when-1pl.PC	go-&	bush-in-to-1pl.PC	enter-sub.cl.

When we went and entered into the bush,

kòː	kêutò̀	mòkòndő̀gò̀	ǀàʔwàː
kóː	kêutò	mòkóndó-ː̀̃-ò	ǀẫː-wáː
NC(1pl.)	[pig	track]$_{GEN}$-sp.-1pl.PC	see-3i.pl.obj.

<u>we saw pig tracks.</u>

sʷê	híô	ǀáʔwā̃ː	tɬèm̀sè̀iʔ
sʷê	hí-ò	ǀẫː-wáː-ː́	tɬèm̀sé-ìʔ
now	when-1pl.PC	see-3i.pl.obj.-&	finish-sub.cl.

<u>Now after we had seen them</u>,

kòː	pàŋgáts’íô	bàːrà̀
kóː	pàngá-ts’í-ò	bǎːrà
NC(1pl.)	arrange-reflex.-1pl.PC	start

then we started to arrange ourselves.

This use of the subordinate clause is more common in a procedural text than in a narrative. Another common function of the subordinate clause is illustrated by the first clause of the preceding example, that of moving the action to a new location. A third function of the subordinate clause is the expression of simultaneous events, as in the following example:

(7)	hîsḭ	hèwé	hábáʔső̃ːts’ìsḭ	kʰèʔè̀iʔ
	hî-sḭ̀	hèwé	hàbàʔsé-óː-ː̀̃-ts’ḭ̀-sḭ̀	kʰéʔé-ìʔ
	when-1sg.PC	dem.(ref.3m.sg.)	make.sound-nml.-sp.-at-1sg.PC	hear-sub.cl.

When I heard this sound,

sìː	téɬâsi̯	ɬáːsi̯	ⁿ‖ùmè
síː	téɬà-sì̯	ɬáː-sì̯	ⁿ‖úmé
NC(1sg.)	completely-1sg.PC	well-1sg.PC	stand

I stood completely well.

A further feature of narrative structure in Sandawe is the use of the directional verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ to express movement to and from the deictic centre:

(8)

híkʼi̯sɪ̄ː	mìndàtàsi̯	|ʷắːsi̯	ⁿ|èʔwā́ː
híkʼì̯-sì̯-ɪ́	mìndà-tà-sì̯	|ʷắː-sì̯	ⁿ|ěː-wáː-ɪ́
go-1sg.PC-&	field-to-1sg.PC	millet-1sg.PC	cut-3i.pl.obj.-&

I <u>go</u> and cut millet in the field and

|ɪ́ː	kùnùtànàsi̯	kắː
|íː-ɪ́	kùnù-tà-nà-sì̯	kăː-ɪ́
come-&	mortar-in-to-1sg.PC	put-&

I <u>come</u> and put them in the mortar

nìsɪ̄ː	pŭːé́ː	bùrùʔsèː
nɪ́ː-sì̯	pŭː-é-ɪ́	bùrùʔsé-é
and-1sg.PC	pound-3m.sg.obj.-&	winnow-3m.sg.obj.

and pound it and winnow it.

The deictic centre here is the home of the speaker, from where she goes to get to the field and to where she returns to put millet in the mortar.

When the next event in a narrative takes place in a new location, a verb of directional movement must be used, either alone or in conjunction with another verb:

(9)

híâ	híkʼɪ́ː	|ʰĭːâ	tsʼàːkʷà	ⁿ‖èːiʔ
hí-à	híkʼì̯-ɪ́	|ʰĭːà	tsʼăː-kù̯-à	ⁿ‖ěː-ìʔ
when-3m.sg.PC	go-&	[dik.dik	home]$_{GEN}$-at-3m.sg.PC	arrive-sub.cl.

When he (Hyena) went and arrived at Dik-dik’s home,

hàxi̯	rô̰ː	méː
hâxì̯	rô̰ː	méː
again	voice	big

again the big voice.

Hyena has moved from the path where he found a bone, to arriving at Dik-dik’s home and, thus, ‘go’ is used. This can be contrasted with the following example, where Dik-dik simply ‘enters’, without any need for a directional verb, since in the previous clause, she was standing outside the house:

(10) sà: ⁿ‖ě:â
sá: ⁿ‖ě:-à
NC(3f.sg.) enter-conn.

mántʃʰákʊ̀ʔĩ̀: hèsú ⁿ‖ókʊ̃̀ːsòsà
mántʃʰà-kʊ̀-ʔí̋: hèsú ⁿ‖ôkò-ĩ̋-sò-sà
eat-caus.-3a.pl.obj. [she children]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3a.pl.-3f.sg.PC
Then she entered and fed her children.

12.2 Participant reference

Major participants are usually introduced in presentational sentences, such as the following:

(11) ʔútá: ló:lóʔõ̀: !'ʷá: nĩ̀: !'òròrõ̀:
ʔútá: ló:lóʔõ̀: !'ʷá:-ĩ́ nĩ́: !'òròrõ̌:
very.long.ago pigeon-& and frog
Very long ago (there was) Pigeon and Frog.

They may also be introduced as the object of a verb like 'meet' or 'see':

(12) mă:kâ têʔ sàndàwě:sú tésûsʊ̀ |ã̀:
mă:kà té-è-ts'ʊ̀ sàndàwě:-sú té-sʊ̀-sʊ̀ |â:
year other-3m.sg.-at Sandawe-3f.sg. other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC see
The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

tɬ'àbísósúsʊ̀
tɬ'àbísó-sí-sʊ̀
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

Minor participants can be introduced in topic-comment sentences:

(13) mélìtà jàʔàbò̀ ⁿ|òmòsõ̀:sò
mêlì-tà jáʔábò ⁿ|òmósò-ĩ̋-sò
[[boat-in work]$_{GEN}$ people]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3a.pl.

ʔà: ʔúrâʔ kʷàtʊ̀wà
ʔá: ʔúrʊ̀-àʔ kʷátʊ̀-wà
NC(3pl.) very-3pl.PC be.startled-mult.
The sailors were very startled.
(Lit. The people of the work of the boat were very startled.)

The general pattern for participant reference in Sandawe is for same subject references to rely on agreement only, whereas, all change of subject references use full NPs. An exception to the latter part of the rule can be made if gender differentiates the subjects (and, therefore, agreement is enough for disambiguation), particularly if one is a major participant and one is a minor participant:

(14) hísâ hádóʔtàsà ⁿǁèːiʔ
hísà hádòʔ-tà-sà ⁿǁěː-ìʔ
when-3f.sg.PC compound-in-3f.sg.PC arrive-sub.cl.
When she arrived in the compound,

sàː málák'ʷâː !'àwé
sáː málák'ʷà-à !'àwé
NC(3f.sg.) slip-conn. fall
she slipped and fell,

pàː ǁ'îːgāː tʃʰòu
páː ǁ'îː-ɨ̀-áː tʃʰóù
NC(3m.sg.) fire-sp.-SF go.out
and the fire went out.

sàː tɬ'èséːâ kʰʷà ǁ'îːnàsà
sáː tɬ'èséː-à kʰʷà ǁ'îː-nà-sà
NC(3f.sg.) repeat-conn. return fire-to-3f.sg.PC
Then she returned again to the fire.

hísâ ɬǒːmɛ́ː ǀíː ǁǒːʔsà ⁿǁèːiʔ
hí-sà ɬǒːmé-ɨ́ ǀí-ɨ́ ǁǒː-ts'ḭ̀-sà ⁿǁěː-ìʔ
when-3f.sg.PC pick.up(3m.sg.obj.)-& come-& path-at-3f.sg.PC arrive-sub.cl.
When she picked up fire and came and arrived on the path,

sàxḭ málák'ʷâː !'àwè
sàxḭ̀ málák'ʷà-à !'awe
RC(3f.sg.) slip-conn. fall
she slipped and fell again,

pàxḭ ǁ'îː tʃʰôu
pàxḭ̀ ǁ'îː-ɨ̀ tʃʰóù
RC(3m.sg.) fire-sp. go.out
and the fire went out again.

sʷámkíə̂ːtsʼi̯	sàː	kʰʷà	!ʼòròrə̌ː	tsʼàːnàsà
sʷámkí-ì-éː-ɨ̂-tsʼi̯	sáː	kʰʷà	!ʼòròrə̌ː	tsʼăː-nà-sà
three-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at	NC(3f.sg.)	return	[frog	home]$_{GEN}$-to-3f.sg.PC

For the third time she returned to Frog's home.

Here Pigeon ('she') is a major participant and the fire is a minor participant. On two occasions, the change of subject from the fire to Pigeon is not shown by a full NP referring to Pigeon. If it had been, then Pigeon and the fire would have (inappropriately) appeared to have equal status as participants.

The additive suffix /-kí/ is often attached to a subject NP when it differs from the subject of the previous clause. In particular, it seems to be used to show a contrast between the similar actions of two participants. The following example comes after another participant in the narrative says, 'I will call my people':

(15)

tʃíkí	tʃí	ⁿ|èmèsèː	hà!àːsi̯
tʃí-kí	tʃí	ⁿ|èméséː	há!à-é-ì-si̯
I-add.	[I	person]$_{GEN}$	call-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.

And I will call my person.

Slightly later in the same narrative, the first participant calls her people and then a similar action is undertaken by another participant:

(16)

sàː	!ʼòròrə̌ːˆ	sụ̯kīāː
sáː	!ʼóróə̌ː-ɨ̂	-sù̯-kí-áː
NC(3f.sg.)	frog-sp.-3f.sg.	-add.-SF

hèsú	ⁿ|èmèsə̃̂ːsà	hà!àː
hèsú	ⁿ|èméséː-ɨ̂	-sà há!à-é
[she	person]$_{GEN}$	-sp.-3f.sg.PC call-3m.sg.obj.

And then Frog called her person.

Referential demonstratives are commonly used to refer to participants in narratives. They precede the noun which they modify when the noun is introduced and then, afterwards, may follow it, as shown in (17):

(17)

sìː	màtíkêsi̯	pùːwè
síː	màtíkèsì̯	pŭː-é
NC(1sg.)	partially.ripe.millet-1sg.PC	pound-3m.sg.obj.

Then I pound the partially ripe millet […]

sìː	màtíkə̂ː	hèwéts'îsi̯	íə́ː
síː	màtíkè-ɨ̂	hèwé-ts'ì̯-sì̯	íé-ɨ́
NC(1sg.)	partially.ripe.millet-sp.	dem.(ref.3m.sg.)-at-1sg.PC	stay-&

mántʃʰáyōː	pàː	ɬâː	ǀ'ùnìː	sìː	!òm̀séː
mántʃʰà-yóː	páː	ɬáː-à	ǀ'úni̯	síː	!òm̀sé-é
eat-dur.	NC(3m.sg.)	well-3m.sg.PC	ripen	NC(1sg.)	harvest-3m.sg.obj.

Then I keep eating this partially ripe millet, and then it ripens well, and then I harvest it.

The text corpus contains no examples of distal demonstratives used in narratives (except in speech) and only a few examples of proximal demonstratives:

(18)

hə̌ːsô	kísósə̃̀sò	kʷámə́ː	hàbàʔsə́ː	ⁿǀàtìsò
hə̌ːsò	kísò-sò-ɨ̂-sò	kʷámé-ɨ́	hàbàʔsé-ɨ́	ⁿǀàtí-sò
dem.(prox.3pl.)	two-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.	drive.out-&	make.noise-&	come-3a.pl.

These two were to come, driving out and making noise.

The function of proximal demonstratives in narratives is currently unclear.

12.3 Focus and topic

In Sandawe, the marking of focused constituents depends on the type of clause. In a realis clause, constituents are marked as focused by attaching either a realis PC or a SF marker, according to whether the constituent in question is a non-subject or a subject.[77] The exception to this rule is that a verb tends to be attached with a PC only if it alone is focused in a sentence.

The preceding rule can be translated into the following focus patterns:

Table 12.1 Focus patterns

Sentence focus	S-$_{SF}$	O-$_{PC}$	Adv/PP-$_{PC}$	V
Predicate focus	S	O-$_{PC}$	Adv/PP-$_{PC}$	V
Subject focus	S-$_{SF}$	O	Adv/PP	V
Object focus	S	O-$_{PC}$	Adv/PP	V
Verb focus	S	O	Adv/PP	V-$_{PC}$

In natural discourse, however, the three single constituent focus patterns are unlikely to occur in the preceding form as it would be unusual for so many unfocused constituents to occur in one clause.

The first clause of the following example illustrates the use of the pattern S-$_{SF}$ O-$_{PC}$ V for expressing sentence focus:

[77] Elderkin refers to any constituent which is followed by either of these morphemes as a *marked* constituent (1989:27), which has 'prominence in the information structure of the clause' (1986:108).

(19) pà: ǁʰàtʃʰû̂ːgāː !'àkʰă̋ːgà tɬ'àkʰʷèːà
pá: ǁʰàtʃʰú-ɨ̀-áː !'àkʰă̋ː-ɨ̀-à tɬ'ákʰù̯-é-à
NC(3m.sg.) lion-sp.-SF tooth-sp.-3m.sg.PC pull.out-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then Lion pulled out a tooth and

dìʔsěːsû̂ːsʷà ʔìè
dìʔsěː-sú-ɨ̀-sù̯-à ʔí-é
old.person-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.-3m.sg.PC 3pers.-3m.sg.obj.
gave it to the old woman.

The following example uses the pattern S PP-$_{PC}$ V to express predicate focus:

(20) sʷê ǁʰàtʃʰû̂ː gùràtsʼàː ⁿǁìnèwà
sʷê ǁʰàtʃʰú-ɨ̀ gùrà-tsʼì̯-à ⁿǁíné-wà
now lion-sp. room-at-3m.sg.PC lie.down-mult.
Now Lion lay down in the room.

The subject focus marker is shown in the following example, which follows the pattern S-$_{SF}$ Adv V+V:

(21) tʃáː ʔútáːkí měːnā̋ː sìè
tʃí-áː ʔútáː-kí měːnà-é-ɨ́ sí-é
I-SF long.ago-add. love-3m.sg.-& take-3m.sg.obj.
And even long ago I loved her and took her.

The following example illustrates object focus. The object NPs in both clauses are contrastively focused and the pattern S O-$_{PC}$ V is used:

(22) pà: ǁʼòǁʼâ̂ː
pá: ǁʼòǁʼá-ɨ̀
NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp.

hùmbù tʃʰâ̂ːkì̯sèà màɬèː
hùmbù tʃʰâ̂ːkì̯-sí-è-à màɬé-é
cow be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
Then Baboon chose a fat cow,

kʷàː ⁿǀʷă̋ːˆ
kʷáː ⁿǀʷă̋ː-ɨ̀
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp.

hùmbù gàndàséà màɬèː
hùmbù gàndà-sí-è-à màɬé-é
cow be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
whereas Elephant chose a thin cow.

Finally, the following example illustrates the use of the pattern Adv O V-$_{PC}$ with verb focus:

(23) sʷê shúlékī bǎːrāːʔà
sʷê shúlè-kí bǎːrà-é-àʔ
now school-add. start-3m.sg.obj.-3pl.PC
And now they have even started school.

Elicited examples show that it is also possible to use realis PCs and the SF marker to focus non-verb constituents in a realis negative clause:

(24) kòlǒːsà dlòmóːtʃʰū
kòlǒː-r̂-sà dlòmó-é-tʃʰì-sú
hoe-sp.-3f.sg.PC buy-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-3f.sg.
She didn't buy the hoe *(she bought something else instead)*.

(25) tʃáː tʰérê̂ː ʔáːmétʃʰē
tʃí-áː tʰérè-r̂ ʔáːmé-tʃʰì-sé
I-SF pot-sp. break(3m.sg.obj.)-neg.-1sg.
I didn't break the pot *(someone else did)*.

However, no examples of this have as yet been found in texts.

As first noted by Elderkin (1991:110), in an irrealis clause (both affirmative and negative), the verb is focused if it occurs with a non-lowered tone pattern. The following elicited example illustrates this:

(26) kòlǒː dlòmôːsu̯
kòlǒː dlòmó-é-ì-su̯
hoe buy-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3f.sg.
She *will* buy a hoe *(contrary to expectation)*.

If the tone pattern of an irrealis verb is lowered, the constituent which occurs immediately before it is focused:

(27) kísósǒːsò mòkóndǒː ‖ʼàʔwàːsò
kísò-sò-r̂-sò mòkóndó-r̂ ‖ʼǎː-wáː-ì-sò
two-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl. track-sp. follow-3i.pl.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.
Two were to follow the tracks.

When a subject in a realis sentence does not occur with a following SF marker, it can be analysed as a topic. Subject topics may occur after a conjunction (as in (22)), or before a conjunction, as in the following example, in which case they can be analysed as points of departure:

(28)	dàk’ʷě̃ːˀ	kʷàː	ts’átàtʃèàː	tû̃ː	hík’ĩ̄ː
	dàk’ʷěː-ː̃̀	kʷáː	ts’â-tà-tʃè-é-áː	tû-ː̃́	hík’ì̥-ː̃́
	donkey-sp.	NC(3m.sg.)	water-in-from-3m.sg.-SF	come.out	go-&
	As for Donkey, then he came out of the water and went and				

dórȍ̂ːgȁ	xàts’èwàts’èː	kʷàː	kàʔ
dóró-ː̃̀-à	xàts’éwà-ts’è-é	kʷáː	káʔ
zebra-sp.-3m.sg.PC	scold-appl.-3m.sg.obj.	NC(3m.sg.)	hear.
scolded Zebra saying…			

When a NP occurs in such a position, it is usual for it to be followed by an intonational pause. A NP which precedes a conjunction may be an external topic, and not the subject of the clause, as in the following example:

(29)	sʷê	dàk’ʷě̃ːˀ	kʷàː	ⁿǀĩ̂ː	tʃʰíāː	ǀ’ʷàːsi̥kʷè
	sʷê	dàk’ʷěː-ː̃̀	kʷáː	ⁿǀĩ̂ː	tʃʰíà-áː	ǀ’ʷáː-sì̥-kù-è
	now	donkey-sp.	NC(3m.sg.)	body	all-SF	sore-verb.-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
	Now as for Donkey, his whole body broke out in sores.					

When an object NP is a topic in a realis clause, it occurs without a following PC. If the NP conveys established information, it is suffixed with the specificity morpheme:

(30)	ʔóʔgȁsi̥	tʃí	ʔàdìːsȉ̃ː	tȍu
	ʔóʔ̥-gâ-sì̥	tʃí	ʔàdǐːsì̥-ː̃̀	tóù
	there(ref.)-decl.-1sg.PC	[I	story]$_{GEN}$-sp.	finish
	I finish my story there.			

If the object topic is non-established within the discourse, it is followed by the additive morpheme /-kí/, as in (23) above and, also, as in the following example:

(31)	mántʃʰákī	ûrsā̃ː	màɬɛ̃́ː	mántʃʰâ
	mántʃʰà-kí	úrĩ́ː-sà	màɬé-ː̃́	mántʃʰà
	food-add.	very-3f.sg.PC	choose-&	eat
	And as for food, she only ate what she liked.			

Although constituent order in Sandawe is flexible, in natural discourse the following default order is common:

Temporal (Adv or PP) /	Subject	Object /	Verb
Conjunction /		PP /	
Disjunct		Adverb	

Departures from the basic SOV order can be in order to topicalise the object, as in the following example:

(32) hèwéxéː	^{n}ǁŏːkô	^{n}ǀ̀ìnsò̀
hèwéxéː	^{n}ǁŏːkò	^{n}ǀínì̥-ì-sò
dem.(ref.pl.)	children	eat(meat)-irr.-3a.pl.

These, the children would eat.

This order is more common in irrealis clauses than in realis clauses. A possible reason for this is that, in a realis clause, simply omitting the PC from the object indicates that it is a topic, whereas this option is not available in the irrealis. The default position for an object is immediately preverbal and this is the focus position in the irrealis. Therefore, when the object is a topic, the order OSV can be employed so that it does not occupy the focus position.

Verb-initial orders are rare. The following examples illustrate VS and VO orders, respectively:

(33) pʰềì̃ẽːʔ	kʷàː	ǀí	dàk’ʷẽ̌ːˆ
pʰê-ì-éː-ʔ̏-ts’ì̥	kʷáː	ǀí	dàk’ʷẽ̌ː-ʔ̏
tomorrow-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at	NC(3m.sg.)	come	donkey-sp.

The next day along came Donkey.

(34) ʔáːréts’īkò̀	bàʔésê̏ː	jèsũ̏ːts’ì̥
ʔáːrêts’í-kò	bàʔé-sí-è-ʔ̏	jêsù-ʔ̏-ts’ì̥
believe-2sg.Imp.PC	be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	Jesus-sp.-at

Believe in the Lord Jesus!

In both examples, the verb is focused.

PPs are more flexible in their positioning than other constituents. A PP may occur after a verb when it is an afterthought, a correction, or an explanation of ambiguity (Elderkin, 1994:4):

(35) sìː	kòlõ̌ːˆsì̥	síâː
síː	kòlõ̌ː-ʔ̏-sì̥	sí-é-à
NC(1sg.)	hoe-sp.-1sg.PC	take-3m.sg.obj.-conn.

Then I take the hoe and

hík’âː	ɬŏːmé	mìndã̏ːsì̥
hík’ì̥-à	ɬŏːmé	mìndà-ʔ̏-sì̥
go-conn.	cultivate(3m.sg.obj.)	field-sp.-1sg.PC

go and cultivate it, the field.

A PP may also be positioned after a verb, in order to contrast it with a preverbal PP in a following clause:

(36) kʷàː	dórỗː	tʰà̏	^{n}ǀétànà̏ː
kʷáː	dóró-ʔ̏	tʰâ	^{n}ǀê-tà-nà-à
NC(3m.sg.)	zebra-sp.	run	bush-in-to-3m.sg.PC

Then Zebra ran into the bush,

kʷáː	dàkʼʷěːˆ	tsʼǎːnâː	kʰʷà
kʷáː	dàkʼʷěː-ɨ̌	tsʼǎː-nà-à	kʰʷà
NC(3m.sg.)	donkey-sp.	home-to-3m.sg.PC	return

(whereas) Donkey returned home.

12.4 Prominence

A constituent can be marked as prominent independently of other information structure statuses, such as focus and topic. The means of marking this prominence depends on the type of unit involved. That is, a constituent can be marked as prominent by the addition of the locative suffix /-síʔ/ or the durative morpheme /-jóː/, an event can be marked as prominent by being introduced by the conjunction /hèwéʔ̰ gà-/ ‘and so’, and a speech can be marked as prominent by being introduced by the formula /ʔíxi̯- kí-káʔ/ ‘thus saying’ (see the following section on reporting speech).

The following example shows how the locative suffix /-síʔ/ can be attached to NPs to mark them as thematically prominent; this is particularly common in copular constructions:

(37)

!ʰʷàtáts’i̯mēː	ǁʰèmòːsìʔ	tɬǎːsi̯	
!ʰʷàtáts’i̯-ki̯méː	ǁʰèmé-óː-síʔ	tɬǎːsi̯	
sin-bec.	pay-nml.-loc.	death	

The payment for sin is indeed death.

The locative morpheme is commonly used in this way together with a preceding third person masculine singular narrative conjunction. This combination marks a contrast with the preceding part of the discourse:

(38)

pàː	wàràŋgěːsíʔ	jónàtsʼàː	ʔíxâː	bồ
páː	wàràngěː-síʔ	jônà-tsʼi̯-à	ʔíxi̯-à	bô
NC(3m.sg.)	god-loc.	Jonah-at-3m.sg.PC	thus-3m.sg.PC	say

But God said to Jonah thus.

The durative morpheme /-jóː/ can be attached to a verb to mark emphatic prominence:

(39)

hùmàséàjóː
hùmà-sé-à-jóː
defeat-1sg.obj.-3m.sg.PC-dur.

He has defeated me!

The following example contains the conjunction /hèwéʔ̰ gà-/ ‘and so’, which is used to introduce a thematically prominent event in a narrative:

(40) hèwéʔgà: ǁʰàtʃʰû: kʰǒ:tátʃē tʷě:â
hèwéʔ̰ gâ-à ǁʰàtʃʰú-ɾ̂ kʰǒ:-tà-tʃè-é tʷě:-à
and.so-3m.sg.PC lion-sp. house-in-from-3m.sg. at.night-3m.sg.PC

tû: hík'ī: ⁿ|étà: ʔìèwà sʷénàkì
tû:-ˊ hík'ḭ̀-ˊ ⁿ|ê-tà-à ʔíé-wà sʷê-nà-kí
come.out-& go-& wilderness-in-3m.sg.PC live-mult. now-to-add.
And so Lion came out of the house at night and went and lived in the wilderness until now.

In addition to these means of marking prominence, Sandawe uses object marking in transitive verbs to show the relative prominence of sentences within a discourse. A verb marked for an object is the default verb form for the main events of a narrative, whereas, a verb that is unmarked for object is used to mark information as backgrounded. This can be seen in the following example, which is the introductory sentence to a story and sets the scene for what follows:

(41) mă:kâ tê? sàndàwě:sú tésûsḭ |ǎ̀:
mă:kà té-è-ts'ḭ sàndàwě:-sú té-sṵ̀-sḭ |ǎ̀:
year other-3m.sg.-at Sandawe-3f.sg. other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC see
The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

tɬ'àbísósúsṵ
tɬ'àbísó-sí-sṵ̀
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

A verb without object marking is also commonly used in clauses which introduce speech. When an object marked form of the verb is used instead, the speech that follows is marked as a main event. The following example illustrates this:

(42) pà: |'ɪ̌:̂ íxâ: bòkʷè:
pá: |'ɪ̌:-ɾ̂ íxḭ̀-à bô-kù-é:
NC(3m.sg.) snake-sp. thus-3m.sg.PC say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.

támêsḭ ⁿǁòsṵ̌:sʷà:
támèsḭ̀ ⁿǁô-sṵ̀-ɾ̂-sṵ̀-à
[female child-3f.sg.]$_{GEN}$-sp.-3f.sg.-3m.sg.PC
Then the snake spoke thus to the woman.

The speech which is introduced by this clause begins, 'No, you will not die!'. The making of this claim by the snake is a main event in the narrative.

It is important to remember, however, that often the choice of using an object marked or non-object marked verb form in a narrative is determined by grammar rather than discourse. That is, the object marked form shows that an action has been completed and the non-object marked form describes an ongoing action or an action which is intended, but not achieved (see sections 10.4.1.1 and 10.4.1.2).

12.5 Reporting speech

Sandawe allows both direct and indirect speech, but the text corpus only contains examples of indirect speech as reported by a participant in a narrative, and not by the narrator:

(43)

màʔékɔ̄ː		bókʷēː
màʔé-kò-ɨ̃		bô-kù-éː
go.around-2sg.Imp.PC-&		say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.

Go and tell him,

kʷàː	tû̃ː	hìkʼi̯	húkʼwàːsi̯	kòː
kʷáː	tû-ɨ́	híkʼì̯	húkʼwà-é-sì̯	kóː
NC(3m.sg.)	leave-&	go	kill-3m.sg.obj.-1sg.	SC(2sg.)

he should leave and go, otherwise I will kill him.

Elicitation work suggests that indirect speech reported by the narrator is not acceptable in a Sandawe narrative.

Clauses which introduce speech vary in complexity in Sandawe. The hearsay particle /káʔ/ alone may suffice, as in the following example:

(44)

ʔàː	ⁿǀòmósô	ʔúrâʔ	ⁿǃèː	ʔàː	kàʔ
ʔáː	ⁿǀòmósò	ʔúrì̯-àʔ	ⁿǃěː	ʔáː	káʔ
NC(3pl.)	people	very-3pl.PC	laugh	NC(3pl.)	hear.

Then the people laughed a lot and said…

The people referred to here are minor participants in the story from which the example is taken. Their speech is not highlighted and this is indicated by the simple way in which it is introduced. In contrast, if a full verb like /ʔìmbô/ ‘say’ is used together with the formula /ʔíxì̯- kí-káʔ/ ‘thus saying’, the following speech is highlighted, as in the following example:

(45)

pàː	ǁʼòǁʼâː	ʔíxâː	ʔìmbò	ⁿǃěː	kìàkàʔ
páː	ǁʼòǁʼá-ɨ̃	ʔíxì̯-à	ʔìmbô	ⁿǃěː-ɨ́	kí-à-káʔ
NC(3m.sg.)	baboon-sp.	thus-3m.sg.PC	say	laugh-&	add.-3m.sg.PC-hear.

Then Baboon spoke thus laughing, saying…

This example comes from the same story as the previous one. Baboon is a major participant and the speech which is introduced by the example above comes at the climax of the story.

12.6 Evidentials

Sandawe has a number of morphemes that can be described as evidentials, in that they express something about how the speaker feels regarding the information he is presenting. One very common morpheme of this kind is the particle /káʔ/, which is glossed in the following example as *hear*. for 'hearsay':

(46)	ʔàː	mǐːndʒô̂ːgàʔ	bàːràː
	ʔáː	mǐːndʒó-ː̂-àʔ	bǎːrà-é
	NC(3pl.)	journey-sp.-3pl.PC	start-3m.sg.obj.

They began the journey,

ʔíxi̥sìʔ	kàʔ	bàʔésê̂ː	wàròŋgèːmèːȁ	ǁàːsi̥
ʔíxì̥-síʔ	káʔ	bàʔé-sí-è-ː̂	wàròngěː-kì̥méː-à	ǁáːsì̥
thus-loc.	hear.	be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	god-bec.-3m.sg.PC	flee

it was thus he apparently thought he was fleeing from the Lord.

Use of the hearsay evidential indicates that the information being conveyed comes from a source other than the speaker. As such, it is commonly used in introducing direct speech, as exemplified in (44) in section 12.5.

In contrast to /káʔ/, the morphemes /-gáʔ/, /-gâ/ or /-gê/ and /-kéː/ are bound. /-gáʔ/ can be described as a declarative evidential. It is particularly common in copular constructions:

(47)	hèwéxê	màràʔéwásȅː
	hèwéxè	màràʔé-wà-sí-è-ː̂
	dem.(ref.pl.)	stripe-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.

sʷésʷéʔmȍ	kʰòːxèʔȉːwàsȅː	!ẽ̌ːgáʔ
sʷésʷéʔ̥ mò	kʰǒː-xéʔȉː-wà-sí-è-ː̂	!ẽ̌ː-gáʔ
[wall.stick	house]$_{GEN}$-like-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	rib-decl.

These stripey things, which are like a house of wall sticks, are ribs.

This evidential can also be found following the PGN morpheme attached to an irrealis verb, as in the following example:

(48)	nówô̂ːkì	kòŋkórî̂ː	bǎːrsàtsʼȉẽgàː	ʔìmèsìʔ
	nòwé-óː-ː̂-kí	kònkórì̥-ː̂	bǎːrà-sà-tsʼì̥-ì-éː-ː̂-áː	ʔímé-síʔ
	grind-nml.-sp.-add.	cockerel-sp.	start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-SF	cry-loc.

And the grinding, when the first cockerel crows,

hǎːŋgā̄ː	nòwèpògàʔ
hǎːngà-ː́	nówé-ì-pò-gáʔ
get.up-&	grind-irr.-2sg.-decl.

you will get up and grind.

It does not appear to be possible to use the /-gáʔ/ evidential with a realis verb.

The evidentials /-gâ/ and /-gê/ can be seen in the conjunctions /hèwéʔ̥ gâ/ and /hèwéʔ̥ gê/ respectively, which can both be translated ‘and so’:

(49)	hèwéʔgȅsi̥	téɬâsi̥	tʃí	kìmȁːsi̥
	hèwéʔ̥ gê-sì̥	téɬà-sì̥	tʃí	kímấː-ː̏ -sì̥
	and.so-1sg.PC	completely-1sg.PC	[I	poisonous.arrow]$_{GEN}$-sp.-1sg.PC

ɬáːsi̥	ǀàní	ts’èːònȁsi̥	pèː
ɬáː-sì̥	ǀàní	ts’éːò-nà-sì̥	pěː
well-1sg.PC	[bow	string]$_{GEN}$-to-1sg.PC	put

And so I put my poisonous arrow completely well on the bow string.

The /-gâ/ evidential has also been attested following a locative adverb:

(50)	ʔóʔgȁsi̥	tʃí	ʔàdìːsȉː	tȍu
	ʔóʔ̥ -gâ-sì̥	tʃí	ʔàdǐːsì̥-ː̏	tóù
	there(ref.)-decl.-1sg.PC	[I	story]$_{GEN}$-sp.	finish

I finish my story there.

Either of the /-gâ/ and /-gê/ evidentials can be attached to a subject NP before a low toned PGN morpheme and the SF marker. This is shown in the following elicited example:

(51)	námu̥gēs^{w}àː	sómbȃː	t^{h}ìːmè
	námù̥-gê-sù̥-áː	sómbá-ː̏	t^{h}íːmé
	Namu-decl.-3f.sg.-SF	fish-sp.	cook(3m.sg.obj.)

Nam cooked the fish.

Here the meaning added by the evidential is one of definiteness. An alternative gloss would be, ‘It is indeed Namu who cooked the fish’. In contrast, /-gê/ has a different meaning in the following elicited example:

(52)	hùmbùgê
	hùmbù-gê
	cow-decl.

It’s (only) a cow.

Here, the meaning is expressed as one of surprise. It would be appropriate to make such an utterance when hearing a noise in the bushes while hunting, and realising that it did not come from a wild animal, but just a cow.[78]

[78] The main language consultant for this grammar did not accept /-gâ/ as an alternative form in this example.

The third bound evidential morpheme, /-ké:/, has a similar declarative function to /-gáʔ/, but it is used with negative verb forms and conditional constructions and conveys the meaning ‘not even’ or ‘even’, as appropriate:

(53) tʃŭ: ⁿ|òts’ìtʃʰè: tàxi̯
tʃŭ: ⁿ|ó-ts’í-tʃʰì-é: táxì̯
animal fear-reflex.-neg.-3m.sg. very
It was a very frightening animal

hà: tʰáts’ô̰:kì dă:ts’íké:tʃʰē:
há: tʰàts’é-ó:-ɨ̰̃-kí dă:-ts’í-ké:-tʃʰì-é:
nor shoot-nml.-sp.-add. be.able-reflex.-decl.-neg.-3m.sg.
and to shoot was not even possible.

(54) ʔànkʰá táxi̯ !’ʷâ xáwàtʰè:tàkè:si̯ |’ùsùku̯wà̰ʔ
ʔànkʰá táxì̯ !’ʷâ xâ-wà-˳tʰé:-tà-ké:-sì̯ |’úsúkù̯-wàʔ
even just valley bad-mult.-adj.-in-decl.-1sg.PC pass-cond.
Even if I pass through bad valleys

ⁿ|ô:si̯ts’è xáʔõ̰:kì
ⁿ|ó-é-ì-sì̯-ts’é xâ-ʔõ̰:-kí
fear-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.-neg. be.bad-nml.-add.
I will not fear badness.

This morpheme is also found suffixed to /hô/ ‘who’ in order to derive a form meaning ‘someone’, as in example (37) in section 4.10.

Appendix

The following text was written by Fabiani Kasiani of the village of Bugenika in the Eastern part of the Sandawe-speaking area.

ⁿǀʷǎː nǐː ǁ’òǁ’á
ⁿǀʷǎː-ʔ́ nǐ́ː ǁ’òǁ’á
elephant-& and baboon
Elephant and Baboon.

ʔútáː lóːlôʔ ⁿǀʷǎː nǐː ǁ’òǁ’á hùmbùwàsísô
ʔútáː lóːlòʔ ⁿǀʷǎː-ʔ́ nǐ́ː ǁ’òǁ’á hùmbù-wà-sí-sò
very.long.ago elephant-& and baboon cow-mult.-poss.-3a.pl.
Long ago Elephant and Baboon had cows.

ⁿǀʷǎːˆ hèwé hùmbùwàsɛ̀
ⁿǀʷǎː-ʔ̀ hèwé hùmbù-wà-sí-è
elephant-sp. [he cow]$_{GEN}$-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.
Elephant had his cows,

ǁ’òǁ’ɑ̂ːkī hèwé hùmbùwàsísô
ǁ’òǁ’á hèwé hùmbù-wà-sí-sò
baboon [he cow]$_{GEN}$-mult.-poss.-3a.pl.
and Baboon had his cows.

ⁿǃê tsʼèxɛ̀ ʔàː ʔíxâʔ sàyò
ⁿǃê tsʼéxè ʔáː ʔíxi̯-àʔ sàyò
day one NC(3pl.) thus-3pl.PC talk
One day they talked thus,

ʔùsʷê wàrè hùmbù ʔùsű́ʔwàì kèsôʔ dlòmósúku̯sànà mnádánà
ʔùsʷê wàré hùmbù ʔùsű́ː-ʔ̰ wà-ì kèsé-òʔ dlòmó-sí-ku̯-sà-nà mnádà-nà
now friend cow we-3i.pl.-pro. drive-1pl.Subj.PC buy-poss.-caus.-nml.-to market-to
“Now, friend, let’s drive our cows to the market in order to sell them.”

pàː ǁ’òǁ’ɑ̂ː hùmbù tʃʰɑ̂ːki̯sɛ̀à màɬɛ̀ː
páː ǁ’òǁ’á-ʔ̀ hùmbù tʃʰɑ̂ːkì̯-sí-è-à màɬé-é
NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp. cow be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
Then Baboon chose a fat cow,

kʷàː ⁿǀʷǎːˆ hùmbù gàndàsɛ́à màɬɛ̀ː
kʷáː ⁿǀʷǎː-ʔ̀ hùmbù gàndà-sí-è-à màɬé-é
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. cow be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
whereas Elephant chose a thin cow.

ʔùsʷê	ʔàː	mǐːndʒóâʔ	bàːràː
ʔùsʷê	ʔáː	mǐːndʒó-àʔ	bǎːrà-é
now	NC(3pl.)	journey-3pl.PC	start-3m.sg.obj.

Now they started the journey,

ʔùsʷê	híâʔ	ǁǒːtsʼâʔ	ⁿǁèːiʔ
ʔùsʷê	hí-àʔ	ǁǒː-tsʼɪ̥̀-àʔ	ⁿǁěː-ìʔ
now	when-3pl.PC	path-at-3pl.PC	arrive-sub.cl.

now when they arrived at the path,

pàː	ǁʼòǁʼáː	pàː	kìàkàʔ
páː	ǁʼòǁʼá-áː	páː	kí-à-káʔ
NC(3m.sg.)	baboon-SF	NC(3m.sg.)	add.-3m.sg.PC-hear.

then Baboon said,

hěːû	hàpú	hùmbȕː	ʔúrâː	gàndȁ
hěːù	hàpú	hùmbù-ˀ̏	ʔúrɪ̥̀-à	gàndà
dem.(prox.3m.sg.)	[you	cow]GEN-sp.	very-3m.sg.PC	be.thin

“This cow of yours is so thin!”

pàː	ⁿ|ʷǎ̆ːkīāː	ʔíxâː	bȍ
páː	ⁿ|ʷǎː-ˀ̏-kí-áː	ʔíxɪ̥̀-à	bô
NC(3m.sg.)	elephant-sp.-add.-SF	thus-3m.sg.PC	say

And then Elephant said thus,

híâ	gàndȁiʔ	tʃíːgî
hí-à	gàndà-ìʔ	tʃí-ì
when-3m.sg.PC	be.thin-sub.cl.	I-pro.

“If he is thin, that’s my business.

tʃí	màkàː
tʃí	màkǎː
[I	thing]GEN

It’s my property.”

sʷê	ʔȁxɪ̥	mǐːndʒȍ̂ːgȁʔ	kósâʔ	bàːràː
sʷê	ʔâxɪ̥̀	mǐːndʒó-ˀ̏-àʔ	kósɪ̥̀-àʔ	bǎːrà-é
now	RC(3pl.)	journey-sp.-3pl.PC	again-3pl.PC	start-3m.sg.obj.

Now they started the journey again,

pàː	ⁿ|ʷǎ̆ˀ̂	ʔíxâː	ʔìmbȍ
páː	ⁿ|ʷǎː-ˀ̏	ʔíxɪ̥-̀à	ʔìmbô
NC(3m.sg.)	elephant-sp.	thus-3m.sg.PC	say

then Elephant spoke thus,

ɬéʔ	híô	ⁿ|òmósôː	!’òːʔwàːiʔ	ʔíxɪ́ːgôʔ	ʔìmbɔ̀
ɬéʔ	hí-ò	ⁿ|òmósò-ò	!’ǒː-wáː-ìʔ	ʔíxɪ́ː-òʔ	ʔìmbô
later	when-1pl.PC	people-1pl.PC	meet-3i.pl.obj.-sub.cl.	thus-1pl.Subj.PC	say

“Later, if we meet people, let’s speak thus,

hɪ̌ːgó	hùmbɯ̃ː	gàndàsɛ̃ː	‖’ò‖’âi
hɪ̌ːgó	hùmbù-ːˆ	gàndà-sí-è-ːˆ	‖’ò‖’á-ì
dem.(dist.3m.sg.)	cow-sp.	be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	baboon-pro.

“That thin cow is Baboon’s,

hɪ̀ː	hùmbɯ̃ː	tʃʰɑ̃̂ːkɪ̰sɛ̃̀ː	ⁿ|ʷă:î
hɪ́ː	hùmbù-ːˆ	tʃʰɑ̃̂ːkɪ̰-sí-è-ːˆ	ⁿ|ʷă:-ì
and	cow-sp.	be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	elephant-pro.

and the fat cow is Elephant’s.”

híâʔ	nìʔìːʔ	ʔàː	ⁿ|òmósóʔà	!’òːʔwàː	
hí-àʔ	níʔ-ìʔ	ʔáː	ⁿ|òmósò-ʔà	!’ǒː-wáː	
when-3pl.PC	go-sub.cl.	NC(3pl.)	people-3m.sg.PC	meet-3a.pl.obj.	

When they went, they met some people.

pàː	‖’ò‖’á	ʔíxâː	ʔìmbô
páː	‖’ò‖’á	ʔíxɪ̰̀-à	ʔìmbô
NC(3m.sg.)	baboon	thus-3m.sg.PC	say

And Baboon spoke thus,

ⁿ|ʷăː	hùmbɯ̃ː	gàndàsɛ̃ː
ⁿ|ʷăː	hùmbù-ːˆ	gàndà-sí-è-ːˆ
[elephant	cow]$_{GEN}$-sp.	be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.

“Elephant’s cow is thin

hɪ̀ː	tʃʰɑ̃̂ːkɪ̰sɛ̃̀ː	hùmbɯ̃ː	tʃɪ́ːgî	
hɪ́ː	tʃʰɑ̃̂ːkɪ̰-sí-è-ːˆ	hùmbù-ːˆ	tʃí-ì	
and	be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.	cow-sp.	I-pro.	

and the fat one is my cow.”

ʔàː	ⁿ|òmósô	ʔúrâʔ	ⁿ!èː	ʔàː	kàʔ
ʔáː	ⁿ|òmósò	ʔúrɪ̰̀-àʔ	ⁿ!ěː	ʔáː	káʔ
NC(3pl.)	people	very-3pl.PC	laugh	NC(3pl.)	hear.

Then the people laughed a lot and said,

ⁿ|ʷàː	|ʷěːsípóts’ēnɛ̀
ⁿ|ʷăː	|ʷěː-sí-pò-ts’é-nè
elephant	eye-poss.-2sg.-neg.-interrog.

“Elephant, don’t you have eyes?

hèwéxê màràʔéwásɛ̃̀ː
hèwéxè màràʔé-wà-sí-è-ː̀
dem.(ref.pl.) stripe-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.

sʷésʷéʔmɔ̀ kʰɔ̀ːxèʔɪ̀ːwàsɛ̃̀ː !ɛ̌ːgáʔ
sʷésʷéʔ̰ mɔ̀ kʰɔ̌ː-xéʔɪ̀ː-wà-sí-è-ː̀ !ɛ̌ː-gáʔ
[wall.stick house]$_{GEN}$-like-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. rib-decl.
These stripey things, which are like a house of wall sticks, are ribs."

pàː ⁿ|ʷǎːˆ ʔúrâː kʼìtɬʼé
páː ⁿ|ʷǎː-ː̀ ʔúrɪ̰̀-à kʼìtɬʼé
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. very-3m.sg.PC be.angry
And then Elephant got very angry.

ʔàː |ʼótʃʰúkʊ̰ dóːlâʔ wàrɛ̃̀ː
ʔáː |ʼótʃʰúkʊ̰̀ dóːlò-àʔ wárɛ̋ː
NC(3pl.) pass a.little-3pl.PC go.far
And when they had passed by, they went a little way,

pàː ⁿ|ʷǎːˆ ʔíxâː ʔìmbô
páː ⁿ|ʷǎː-ː̀ ʔíxɪ̰̀-à ʔìmbô
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. thus-3m.sg.PC say
then Elephant spoke thus,

ʔàʔèː híkísɪ̰ ʔìmbɔ̀̀
ʔàʔé híkí-sɪ̰̀ ʔìmbô
earlier how-1sg.PC say
"Earlier what did I say?

kìsɪ̰kàʔ
kí-sɪ̰̀-káʔ
add.-1sg.PC-hear.
I said,

hùmbʊ̃̀ː tʃʰɜ̂ːkɪ̰sɛ̃̀ː tʃɜ́ːgî
hùmbù-ː̀ tʃʰɜ̂ːkɪ̰̀-sí-è-ː̀ tʃɜ́-ː́-ì
cow-sp. be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. I-&-pro.
'The fat cow is mine.'"

pàː ⁿ|ʷǎːˆ kútúːmbî méːâ síɛ́ː
páː ⁿ|ʷǎː-ː̀ kútúːmbì méː-à sí-é-ː́
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. tree.trunk big-3m.sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-&
Then Elephant took a big tree trunk and

kòŋgòʔsɛ́ː	ǁ’òǁ’âːts’àː	tɬ’àpʰè
kóngóʔ-sé-é-ˊ	ǁ’òǁ’á-ˆ-ts’i̯-à	tɬ’àpʰé
raise-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-&	baboon-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC	hit

raised it up to hit Baboon.

pàː	ǁ’òǁ’âː	gírɪ̄ː	ⁿ|ʷǎːˆ	m̀gòːŋgòts’àː	hàːkìts’i̯
páː	ǁ’òǁ’á-ˆ	gírì̯-ˊ	ⁿ|ʷǎː-ˆ	m̀gǒːngò-ts’i̯-à	hǎːkíts’i̯
NC(3m.sg.)	baboon-sp.	jump-&	[elephant-sp.	back]$_{GEN}$-at-3m.sg.PC	sit

But Baboon jumped and sat on Elephant’s back.

pàː	ǁ’òǁ’âː	ʔíxâː	ʔìmbò	ⁿ!ɛ̌ː	kìàkàʔ	
páː	ǁ’òǁ’á-ˆ	ʔíxi̯-à	ʔìmbô	ⁿ!ɛ̌ː-ˊ	kí-à-káʔ	
NC(3m.sg.)	baboon-sp.	thus-3m.sg.PC	say	laugh-&	add.-3m.sg.PC-hear.	

Then Baboon spoke thus laughing, saying,

ⁿ|ʷǎːˆ	m̀gòːŋgòtsʼìsi̯	m̀tèmíxéʔîːsi̯	ʔìè
ⁿ|ʷǎː-ˆ	m̀gǒːngò-ts’i̯-si̯	m̀tèmí-xéʔî̀ː-si̯	ʔíé
[elephant-sp	back]$_{GEN}$-at-1sg.PC	chief-like-1sg.PC	stay

“I’m on Elephant’s back like a chief.”

pàː	ⁿ|ʷǎːˆ	kìàkàʔ
páː	ⁿ|ʷǎː-ˆ	kí-à-káʔ
NC(3m.sg.)	elephant-sp.	add.-3m.sg.PC-hear.

And Elephant said,

hùmàsîː	ǁ’òǁ’à
hùmàsé-ì	ǁ’òǁ’á
defeat-1sg.obj.-2sg.PC	baboon

“You defeated me, Baboon.

ǁàkíkô	ʔòː	mɪ̌ːndʒó	sű̱ːgî̀ː	bàːràː
ǁàkí-kò	ʔóː	mɪ̌ːndʒó	sű̱ː-ì-ˆ	bǎːrà-é
descend-2sg.Imp.PC	SC(1pl.)	journey	we-pro.-sp.	start-3m.sg.obj.

Get down, and let’s start our journey.

ʔóʔgàsi̯	tʃí	ʔàdìːsɪ̃̀ː	tòu
ʔóʔ̯-gâ-si̯	tʃí	ʔàdɪ̌ːsi̯-ˆ	tóù
there(ref.)-decl.-1sg.PC	[I	story]$_{GEN}$-sp.	finish

I finish my story there.”

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