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References
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 grammar 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

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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 Kimmensade (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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolar lateral</th>
<th>Post-alveolar/Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labial-velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosive</strong></td>
<td>p pʰ b</td>
<td>t tʰ d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k kʰ g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃ dl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ejective</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ts’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ejective affricate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃ’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>m m’</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tap</strong></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td>f s ₁</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral approximant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.2 Velaric consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless aspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced nasalised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, /tʃ/ is realised as [kʃ] 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 /tʃ/, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short oral</th>
<th>Long oral</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>iː</td>
<td>ĩː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>eː</td>
<td>ēː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aː</td>
<td>āː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>oː</td>
<td>ōː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td>ũː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /’/ and low /’/. 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 [˘] on the surface level. Also, at the surface level, a distinction exists between low level [˘] and low falling [˘] 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying</th>
<th>Surface</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>[sáná]</td>
<td>‘beeswax’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>[tʃʰá:]</td>
<td>‘cooking pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>[kʰwa:]</td>
<td>‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>[dɔ:]</td>
<td>‘tree (type)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>[tʃʰá:]</td>
<td>‘tears’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>[tʃʰa:]</td>
<td>‘run (sg.subj.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>[tʃʰa:]</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [tʰɭɪmɛ-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 [hʊmˈbʊ-a:] 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 [mɑntʃʰa] ‘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 [gɔwɔ] H-L ‘hill’ and [tʃɭbɪsɔ] L-H-H ‘stomach’ occur more frequently than those of [tɑtɔ] HL-L ‘tip, point’ and [kɛlɛmtɔ] 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. 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 /ų/ 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’âtànàsà], 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).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3pers.</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>third person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>add.</td>
<td>additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjectiviser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appl.</td>
<td>applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ben.</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caus.</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comp.</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conn.</td>
<td>connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decl.</td>
<td>declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem.</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des.</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dir.</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dist.</td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dur.</td>
<td>durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et.al.</td>
<td>et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]GEN</td>
<td>tonal genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear.</td>
<td>hearsay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp.PC</td>
<td>imperative pronominal clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrog.</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irr.</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iter.</td>
<td>iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mult.</td>
<td>multiple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>narrative conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg.</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nml.</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj.</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>(realis) pronominal clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pro.</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prox.</td>
<td>proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qu.</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>repetitive conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recip.</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ref.</td>
<td>referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reflex.</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>subjunctive conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>subject focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp.</td>
<td>specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj.</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub.cl.</td>
<td>subordinate clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj.PC</td>
<td>subjunctive pronominal clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb.</td>
<td>verbaliser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) ɗèrụ !’úā: l’è:kàwà
    ɗèrụ !’ù-á: l’è:kà-wà
    [chin hair]_{GEN-SF} be.heavy-{mult}
    The whiskers are heavy.

(2) h'ô n’?i: n’ètànö: n’à:i?
    h’-ò n?’-i: n’è-tà-nâ-ò n’è:-i?
    when-1pl.PC go-& bush-in-to-1pl.PC enter-sub.cl.
    When we went and entered into the bush,
    kò: kèutò mòkòndòqò |là:wà:
    kò: kèutò mòkòndò-?ò |là:-wà:
    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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low toned</th>
<th>High toned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>sì</td>
<td>sé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>pò</td>
<td>pó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.</td>
<td>Ø / è / ù / mù</td>
<td>é / é:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.</td>
<td>sù</td>
<td>sú / é:sú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>sù: / sà</td>
<td>sù:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>sì:</td>
<td>sì:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.pl.</td>
<td>sò</td>
<td>sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3i.pl.</td>
<td>¿wà</td>
<td>¿wá: / ¿wá:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine singular</th>
<th>Feminine singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nîlèmèsè: man</td>
<td>nîlèmèsú woman</td>
<td>nîlômósò people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxà: man</td>
<td>máxà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thámèt(hú) woman</td>
<td>thámèt(hù) women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ärè: male youth</td>
<td>k’ärè:sú female youth</td>
<td>k’ärè: youths (k’ärè:só)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîlô:ù: son</td>
<td>nîlô:sù daughter</td>
<td>nîlô:kó (nîlô:kósò) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wârâŋè: god</td>
<td>wârâŋè:sú goddess</td>
<td>wârâŋò gods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /-ú/ (masculine), /-sú/ (feminine) and /-só/ (plural) are also found in some of the examples given. Note, also, the presence of the plural morpheme /-kó/ in /nîlô: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.\(^6\)

\[(3) \ *
\begin{align*}
\text{hèwé } & \text{nỳ:ò:u} \\
\text{hèwé } & \text{nỳ:ò:ù} \\
[\text{he } \text{son}] & \text{GEN} \\
\end{align*}
\]*

His son.

Instead, the following forms are used in such constructions: \(/nỳ:ò:è/ \ ‘boy’, /nỳ:ò:sù/ \ ‘girl’ and /nỳ:ò:kò/ \ ‘children’. The following examples from the text corpus illustrate the differences between the two sets of forms:

\[(4) \ \begin{align*}
\text{nì: } & \text{nỳ:ò:ò:kò:ki} \quad \text{tj:ò:ìà máxà } \text{nỳ:ò:kò} \\
\text{nì: } & \text{nỳ:ò:kò-ò:ù} \quad \text{tj:ò:ìà máxà } \text{nỳ:ò:kò} \\
\text{and children-sp.-add. all } & \text{[male children]} \text{GEN} \\
\text{And the children were both boys.} \ ^7
\end{align*}\]

\[(5) \ \begin{align*}
\text{hèwè?gà: } & \quad \text{bà?ò:ò:è: } \quad \text{wàrò:nò?è: } \quad \text{bò:} \\
\text{hèwè? } & \text{gà-à } \quad \text{bà?ò-ò:sè-ò:è-ì: } \quad \text{wàrò:nò?è-ò: } \quad \text{bò-ì:} \\
\text{and. so-3m.sg.PC } & \text{[be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. god-sp. word]} \text{GEN-sp.} \\
\text{And so the word of the Lord} \\
\text{jònà } & \text{?àmitài } \quad \text{nỳ:ò:ò:gà } \quad !’ò:wè \\
\text{jònà } & \text{?àmitài } \quad \text{nỳ:ò:ò-ò:ù-à } \quad !’ò:è \\
\text{Jonah } & \text{[Amittai son]} \text{GEN-sp.-3m.sg.PC get-3m.sg.obj.} \\
\text{got Jonah, son of Amittai.}
\end{align*}\]

\[2.3 \text{ Grammatical gender in inanimate nouns}\]

Inanimate nouns in Sandawe are usually treated as masculine. Two exceptions to this tendency are /\text{lì:àkàsù}/ \ ‘sun’ and /\text{!ù:ò:sò}/ \ ‘moon’, which are treated as feminine nouns by many (but not all) speakers of Sandawe.\(^8\) An example of this is as follows:

\[(6) \ \begin{align*}
\text{lì:àkàsù:sù } & \text{sà: } \quad \text{télàsà } \quad \text{hì:\’ì:ò:sà } \quad \text{nà?} \\
\text{lì:àkàsù-ò:sù } & \text{sà: } \quad \text{télà-sà } \quad \text{hì:\’ì-ò:sà } \quad \text{nà?} \\
\text{sun-sp.-3f.sg. } & \text{NC(3f.sg.) completely-3f.sg.PC heat-with-3f.sg.PC shine} \\
\text{The sun shone completely with heat.}
\end{align*}\]

---

\(^6\) If the modifier in the genitive is an animal or an object rather than a person, the \(/nỳ:ò:-/\) forms may be used.

\(^7\) The context makes it clear that ‘both’ rather than ‘all’ is meant by /tj:ò:ìà/ 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 /mèlî/ ‘boat’ is marked as feminine and thus it is clear that a small boat is meant:

?
there(ref.)-loc. NC(3pl.) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

mèlī:sûts’ā?

dūrũnà?
!
èmô:ā?
\(n|\wè\):
mèlī-ț-sù-ts’ı-à?
dûrû-nà-ā?
!
èmë-ô-ā?
\(n|\wè\):
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 /-xē/ and /-xį/  
Nouns can be marked as plurals by means of the suffix /-xē/ together with the specificity suffix /-ț/:

(8) bóxè: hèwéxè: k̄w̄a:
bó-xē-ț: hèwéxè: k̄w̄a:
word-pl.-sp. dem.(ref.pl.) NC(3m.sg.)
ninewi m̄fâlmè ā !’ò:wèwà
ninewi m̄fâlmè-ā !’ò:-é-wà
[Nineveh king]GEN-3m.sg.PC get-3m.sg.obj.-mult.
These words reached the king of Nineveh.

The plural morpheme /-xē/ 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 /-xį/, 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) k̄w̄a: hèwéts’ā:
k̄w̄a: hèwé-ts’ı-ā
NC(3m.sg.) dem.(ref.3m.sg.)-at-3m.sg.PC
jàjàxī:sòā tîму:?ī:
jàjà-xį-ș-sò-ą tîmu:-țī:
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:  *nlō:kóxǐsō:* māntʃʰa
pó:  *nlō:kó-xǐ-sō:* māntʃʰa
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:  *nlō:kóxǐsǐgā:* māntʃʰa
pè:  *nlō:kó-xǐ-sǐ-á:* māntʃʰa
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 /-kʰ/ is used instead of a PGN morpheme and the resulting construction is not ambiguous:

(12) ʔà:  *nlō:kóxǐkìā:* māntʃʰa
ʔá:  *nlō:kó-xǐ-kì-á:* māntʃʰa
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 NP11 that is specific is marked by the suffix /-ʔ/, as shown in the following example:

(13) mà:kà tēʔ sànđawē:sú tēsùsì lā:
mà:kà tē-è-ts ’ì sànđawē:-sú té-sù-sì lā:
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 in this example would be /nlō:kó-xǐ-sǔ-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.
The morpheme /-ːʔ/ 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)  
\[n|wə:\] mé:  
\[n|wə:\] mé:  
elephant big  
The elephant is big.  
\(A\ text{\ space}generic\ text{\ space}statement\ text{\ space}about\text{\ space}elephants.\)

(15)  
\[n|wəːː\] mé:  
\[n|wəːː\] mé:  
elephant-sp. big  
The (specific) elephant is big.  
\(A\text{\ space}specific\text{\ space}statement\ text{\ space}about\text{\ space}elephants.\)

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 /-ːʔ/ 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 /-sʊː/:

(16)  
Pá:  \[h^b\acute{a}t\acute{u}^h:\hat{u}:gā:\]  \[\acute{a}k^h:\ddot{a}:gā:\]  \[t\acute{l}^\acute{a}k^h^w]\ddot{e}:\ddot{a}

Pá:  \[h^b\acute{a}t\acute{u}^h:\hat{u}:\acute{a}:\acute{a}:\]  \[\acute{a}k^h\ddot{a}:\acute{a}:\acute{a}:\]  \[t\acute{l}^\acute{a}k^h\ddot{u}:\acute{a}:\acute{a}:\]

\[NC(3m.\text{\ space}sg.)\text{\ space}lion\text{\ space}-\text{\ space}SF\text{\ space}tooth\text{\ space}-\text{\ space}3m.\text{\ space}sg.\text{\ space}PC\text{\ space}pull\text{\ space}out\text{\ space}3m.\text{\ space}sg.\text{\ space}obj\text{\ space}conn.\]

Then Lion pulled out a tooth and
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 /-ʔé/, rather than the inanimate form /-wá/: 

(17) à: |hí:ā n|ðːkōsāː: tū
á: |híːā n|ðːkō-ː-sāː: tū
NC(3pl.) [dik.dik children-sp.-3a.pl.]GEN-SF come.out
Then Dik-dik’s children came out
sà: tl’āːʔiːqā hǐk’i
sá: tl’āː-ʔiː-ā hǐk’i
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) kʷːā: rōː n|wːiʔyāːxį̕šēi
kʷːā: rōː n|wːiʔyā-xį̕-sē-ː
NC(3m.sg.) voice make(3m.sg.obj.)-ben.-1sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
He should make a voice for me
ʔēː |liː n|ðːkōxēː tǐmũ-wā:
ʔéː |li-ː n|ðːkō-xē-ː tǐmũ-wā:
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 /-xį̕/, the specificity morpheme follows this and precedes any PGN morpheme which is also attached:
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) he\textsuperscript{a} ýúmá:
    he\textsuperscript{u} ýúmá-\textsuperscript{̃}
    dem.(prox.3m.sg.) earth-sp.
    This earth.

(21) he\textsuperscript{a} ýúmá
    he\textsuperscript{u} ýúmá
    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) h̄g\textsuperscript{w} h\textsuperscript{u}mb\textsuperscript{w} g\textsuperscript{w}n\textsuperscript{u}d\textsuperscript{w}s\textsuperscript{w}e\textsuperscript{̃} l\textsuperscript{w}l\textsuperscript{w}l\textsuperscript{w}l\textsuperscript{w}i
    h̄g\textsuperscript{w} h\textsuperscript{u}mb\textsuperscript{w} g\textsuperscript{w}n\textsuperscript{u}d\textsuperscript{w}s\textsuperscript{w}e\textsuperscript{̃} l\textsuperscript{w}l\textsuperscript{w}l\textsuperscript{w}l\textsuperscript{w}i
    dem.(dist.3m.sg.) cow-sp.
    be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.
    baboon-pro.\textsuperscript{12}
    That thin cow is Baboon’s,
    h̄ b\textsuperscript{w} h\textsuperscript{u}mb\textsuperscript{w} t\textsuperscript{̃}f\textsuperscript{w}̂a\textsuperscript{w}k\textsuperscript{w}i\textsuperscript{w}s\textsuperscript{w}e\textsuperscript{̃} n\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{w}i
    h̄ b\textsuperscript{w} h\textsuperscript{u}mb\textsuperscript{w} t\textsuperscript{̃}f\textsuperscript{w}̂a\textsuperscript{w}k\textsuperscript{w}i\textsuperscript{w}s\textsuperscript{w}e\textsuperscript{̃} n\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{w}i
    and cow-sp.
    be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.
    elephant-pro.
    and the fat cow is Elephant’s.

\textsuperscript{12} The pronominal morpheme /-\textsuperscript{̃}l/ 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 /-\textsuperscript{̃}l/, the irrealis morpheme /-\textsuperscript{̃}l/, the subordinate clause morpheme /-\textsuperscript{̃}l/ and the low toned third person masculine singular PGN morpheme /-\textsuperscript{̃}l/. 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 \textit{syllable closures} /-\textsuperscript{̃}l/ and /-\textsuperscript{̃}w/.
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: mǐ:nd3ó /měmēsē:kìː/ hēwē kʰôtʰiːgā
pá: mǐ:nd3ó /měmēsēːʔ-kiː-áː/ hēwē kʰôtʰiʔ-ʔ-à
NC(3m.sg.) [journey man]GEN-sp.-add.-SF [he coat]GEN-sp.-3m.sg.PC
télà: n!àʔakà:
télà-à n!áʔakà-é
completely-3m.sg.PC clinging-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 /měmēsē/ ‘man’ and the modifier is the noun /mǐ:nd3ó/ ‘journey’. In the second, the head is the noun /kʰôtʰiː/ ‘coat’ and the modifier is the pronoun /hēwē/ ‘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) !ēkō: !ʰûmè rîŋgísō: Ṽlō: mántʃʰákysô
!ēkō: !ʰûmè rîŋgísō: Ṽlō: mántʃʰa-kû-i-sô
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) sì: dlànfi-sì kʰùʔsèʔà
sì: dlàn?-sì kʰùʔ-sé-á
NC(1sg.) arrow-sp.-1sg.PC spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then I threw the arrows away and

\[ tʰɛ: \ t’à:nà-sì \ kè \]
\[ tʰɛ: \ t’à:-nà-sì \ kè \]
[tree top-to] 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) géè l’à:nà: kè
géè l’à:-nà-a kè
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) géè l’à:nà: kè
géè l’à:-nà-a kè
[baobab top] 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 /-i/ and typically occurs pronominally, as in the following example:13

(28) h̥:gō hùmbũ: gàndâsè: I’ll’ól’âi
h̥:gō hùmbũ-𝑠̃ gàndâ-sf-sè-ϊ̇ I’ll’ól’á-ɪ̇
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.
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 /-sù/ follows the pronominal morpheme in each case.

When the possessor is ‘I’ and the possessed item is singular, the connective morpheme /-zé/ occurs before the pronominal morpheme /-ì/:

(29)  hùmbū:  tʃʰâ:kìsē:  tʃiː:qì
hùmbū-ì:  tʃʰâ:kì-sí-è-ì  tʃiː-ì-ì
and 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)  "!áŋk’ówâ:  hè:xʷé:
"!áŋk’ó-wà-à  hè:xʷé:
be.hard-mult.-3m.sg.  dem.(ref.pl.)
These are hard,

hàpú?wâ:  "!éŋkʰéwâsè
hàpú-ì, wà-ì:  "!éŋkʰé-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)  lâkí-kò  ?ò:  mì:ndʒò  súːqì:  bàːrâː
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)  hîâ    | lí:gi?:
      hî-à   | lí-č-i?:
when-3m.sg.PC  come-&-sub.cl.

It seemed to him that

kôŋkôrîːaː:    ?úsâː   bâ?è
kônkôrî ɪ-à-ː    ?ús-à    bâ?é
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’ː/ ‘at’:

(33)  hêwéʔgâː  bâ?é-èsːhː  wãrɔŋgêː  bõː  kõsâː
      hêwéʔ ̃ gâː  bâ?é-ísː-eːː  wãrɔngêː-ː  bõː-ː  kõsîː-à
and.so-3m.sg.  [be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.  god-sp.  word]GEN-sp.  again-3m.sg.PC

kõsõxîːɛːts’ːː  jônâː  ʻò:we
kõsɔxî ɪ-ː-ː-ː  ts’ː-ː  jônâː ʻò:ɛ
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)  pʰeːtɛːʔ  kʰâː  ʼdâkʷeːfː
tomorrow-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at  NC(3m.sg.)  come
donkey-sp.
The next day along came Donkey.

(35)  ”!e  bâːrsâts”tëts’ː  
bâːraːsâ-ts’ː-ː-ː-ː-ː  ts’ː
On the first day
jōnā  kʷáː:  mǐjītānāː  "nleː;
jōnā  kʷáː:  mǐjī-tā-nā-ā  "nleː;
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)  pāː  kəŋkőrīkìːaː;
pāː  kəŋkőrì-ʔ-ʊː-á:
NC(3m.sg.)  cockerel-sp.-add.-SF

hèwè  lɪb̥ˈatɑ̞ʔiːː;
hèwè  lɪb̥ˈatá-ts’ɪ-ɪ-ɛː-ː;
he+wè  lɪb̥ˈbèːq̥aː;
lɪb̥ˈbè-ɛː-ʔ-ɑː  kʰɔk’ɔsè-ɛː
[[[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)  bàʔɛs̥̆ː;
be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.  god-sp.  one-at-1sg.PC

hàl̥m̥s̥e  kɿ’uŋgûts’iː;
hàl̥m̥s̥e  tɿ’uŋgû-ts’ɪ-ɪ-ɛː-ː;
worship  sky-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.
I worship the one Lord, the one who is in heaven.

(38)  hèːu  tɿ’abís̥̆s̥̆ːtəj̥ː;
he+wù  tɿ’abís̥so-ʔ-tɑ̞-tə-ɪ-ɛː-ː;
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)  hìːs̥i  kʰimbà  jóna  ?àʔéː;
hiːs̥i  kʰimbá  jóna  ?àʔé-ː-
then  interj.(surprise)  Jonah  earlier-3m.sg.PC

mɛ̥ i  gûrà  lúkʊʔiːːtənːaː;
mɛ̥ i  gûrà  lúkʊ-təs’ɪ-ɪ-ɛː-ː-tə-nə-ː 
[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,
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal pronoun</th>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>3m.sg.</th>
<th>3f.sg.</th>
<th>1pl.</th>
<th>2pl.</th>
<th>3pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>t‘í</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>hàpú</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.</td>
<td>hèwé</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.</td>
<td>hèsú</td>
<td>(hùsú)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>sú:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>sí:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>hèsó</td>
<td>(hòsó)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(1) t‘í: ?útá:kí mě:nā: sè
    I-SF long.ago 14-add. love-3m.sg.-& take-3m.sg.obj.
    And even long ago I loved her and took her.

(2) hè:ù nì  t‘í táxì ?àmèjó:sì
    hè:ù nì t‘í táxì ?àmè-é-jó:-ì-sì
    dem.(prox.3m.sg.) child-sp. I just raise-3m.sg.obj.-dur.-irr.-1sg.
    This child, I will just raise him

14 /?útá:/ ‘long ago’ has the alternative tone pattern /?útá:/ (see example (49) in section 5.6.2).
hèwè ʔèʔò:  mʷiʃō:nà
hèwè ʔéʔò:  mʷiʃō-ᵂ-ₙà
[[the live-nml.  end]GEN end]GEN-sp.-to
until the end of his life.

(3) hàpú ṇlō:kó kísōxịwàsịpọ
hàpú ṇlō:kó kísōxị-wà-sị-pọ
you children two-muti.-poss.-2sg.
You have two children!

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

(4) pà: mǐ:ndʒō  ṇlēmēsē:kià:  hèwè kʰtʰiːgà
pà: mǐ:ndʒō  ṇlēmēsē:-ᵂ-kí-á:  hèwè kʰtʰiː-ᵂ-ᵂ-ₘₙ
NC(3m.sg.) [journey man]GEN-sp.-add.-SF [he coat]GEN-sp.-3m.sg.PC
télà: ṇlèʔà:ka:ka
completely-3m.sg.PC cling-com.-3m.sg.obj.
Then the traveller wrapped his coat more tightly around him.

(5) hàmbù: tʃʰapeutics:  tʃiːgì
hàmbù-ᵂ tʃʰapeutics-ᵂ-eːᵂ-ₘₙ tʃiː-ᵂ-ᵂ
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 /-ᵂ/. 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) sàndàwè:ṣụ  híó  !èkọ:  sòsòbè:i?
sàndàwè:-ṣụ:  hí-ó  !èkọ:  sòsòbè-ᵂ-ᵂ-i?
Sandawe-1pl. when-1pl.PC millet harvest-3m.sg.obj.-sub.cl.
When we Sandawe harvest millet,
we bring it together to a threshing place and sort

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

(7) kísósō:sō mòkóndō: l’ā:wā:sō
    kísósō:-ù-sō mòkóndō:-ù l’ā:wā:-i-sō
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 /máu:lé/: ‘someone (3m.sg.)’:

(8) máu:lé:  nıl’sú:kò sièsù
    máu:lé:  nıl-ù-sú-kò sf-èsú
    [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 /màsú:lél/. Another pronominal form is /hí:gé/ ‘some’. In the following example, it is used both as a noun modifier and as a pronominal form:

(9) mák’ô: hí:gé:xè:sì? tľ’ē:ts’í:wā:
be.troubled-nml.-sp. some-pl.-sp.-loc. diminish-reflex.-mult.-3m.sg.PC
As for some troubles, they have diminished

NC(3m.sg.) some-pl.-SF see-reflex.-mult.
but others have become apparent.
When suffixed with a high toned PGN morpheme, the quantifier /țʰâ/ ‘all’ can be used pronominally:

(10) ț[i]kí wărè máxâ:e:sì ț[ʰ]á:sū: hûk’wâkisū:
       t[i]-kí wăré máxâ-é:sì t[ʰ]á:sū: hûk’wâ-kí-i-sû:
     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:

       t[ʰ]á:sû:-sû: nî:-ë:k këtû: mànâwâ:-:ts’ì gîdë-ì-sû:
     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 toned15 PGN morphemes is /ts’êx’ì/ ‘alone’:

       ts’êx-sù-à: ?î-é:wà hûsû k[ʰ]-ô:-tà-sâ
     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: /-ts’ì/ ‘at’, /-t’à/ ‘in’, /-nà/ ‘to’, /-tànà/ ‘into’, /-tʃë/ ‘from’, /-tʃë/ ‘out of’, /-l’à(?)/ ‘belong’, /-ʔi/ ‘with’, /-xé/ ‘like’, and /-kîmë:/ ‘because’.

4.1 /-ts’ì/ ‘at’

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

     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 /ts’êx’ì-ê/ which has a low toned PGN morpheme.
Cockerel lay down at the doorway.

This suffix is commonly reduced to /-?/.

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

(2) hî-a hîk’i: }|i:â ts’â:kwa ñë;i? hî-à hîk’i: }|i:â ts’â:-kù-à ñë:-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,

hâxi rô: mé:

hâxi rô: mé:
again voice big
again the big voice.

This suffix is also found in /hâ-kû/ ‘where at’ (see section 10.2.1.4).

A further suffix with restricted distribution is /-kù/ ‘at’, which is illustrated in the following example:

when-3pl.PC [I friend]GEN-et.al.-sp.-3a.pl.-SF come-dur.-sub.cl.
When my friends came,

t’hê: }|i:kiši kê: ñè
t’hê: }|i:-kiši kê-ː ñè

*tree top-at-1sg.PC climb-& stay
I had climbed and was staying up in the tree.

The forms /ts’â:-kù/ ‘at home’ and /l’â:-kù/ ‘at the top, up, above’ can be contrasted with /ts’â:-nà/ ‘to home’ and /l’â:-nà/ ‘to the top, up, above’ (see examples (8) and (9)).

The postposition /-ts’/ ‘at’ is commonly used to derive adverbials:

(4) têlâsi hémbéts’isî 亮眼: têlâ-sî hémbé-ts’î-sî 亮眼-e:
completely-1sg.PC clearness-at-1sg.PC see-3m.sg.obj.
I see it completely clearly.
The form "/n!ê-::-ts’/ ‘today (day-sp.-at)’ is another of these adverbials. This form is often realised as [”n!ê:’]. The following examples show two other adverbials in which the postposition /-ts’/ ‘at’ occurs:

(5) hê:utfê:  nô:
  hê:ù-tfê-é::
  [dem.(prox.3m.sg.)-from-3m.sg.-sp. fear]GEN-sp.

NC(3m.sg.) sea-sp.  one-to-nml.-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC calm down
Then the sea calmed down at once.

4.2 /-tâ/ ‘in’

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

(7) kókó  kʰ:ò:tâ  l’hât’hú:kí  dʒâ:kʰátâ  sʷénâkì
  kókó  kʰ:ò-tâ  l’hât’hú-kí  dʒâ:kʰ-á-tâ  sʷè-nâ-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 /th˘é-ː-tâ/ ‘tree-in’ means ‘in the area close to the tree’.

4.3 /-nâ/ ‘to’

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

(8) kò:  ts’a:nô:  hâ:ngâ:  nîtì
  kò:  ts’a:nà-ː  hâ:ngà-ː  nîtì
NC(1pl.) home-to-1pl.PC leave.place-conn. come
Then we left and came home.

(9) sì:  dḷâ:nî:sî  kʰü?se:ː
  sì:  dḷâ:nî-ː-sî  kʰü?-se:ː-ː-ː
NC(1sg.) arrow-sp.-1sg.PC spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then I threw the arrows away and
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) hfó nówésámê:ôî? pò: là?sè:nô: tł’â: 
    hfô nówé-sà-kjmé:-ô-i? pò: là?sè:-nà-ô tł’â: 
    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 /"iłè:/, for example, means both ‘arrive’ and ‘enter’. When it is used with the postposition /-nà/ ‘to’, the meaning ‘enter’ is understood:

(11) pà: ǁ hàt’hwâ: là: 
    pà: ǁ hàt’hú-á: là-à 
    NC(3m.sg.) lion-SF come-conn.

Then a lion came and

hèsú k’tônà: ǁ ѝ ƚè: t’wè:â 
hèsú k’tô:-nà-à ǁ ѝ ƚè: t’wè:-à 
[she house]GEN-to-3m.sg.PC enter at.night-3m.sg.PC entered her house at night.

If the postposition /-ts’]/ ‘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 /-dô/, the meaning ‘towards the general vicinity of’ is understood:

(12) hèwè?ô:nà?ô ǁ ̀ àtì hínâmsë: 
    hèwè-ô:nà-ô? ǁ ̀ àtí hínâmsé-ô: 
    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 /-tì, tè/,
which results in the meaning ‘in the general direction of’:

(13) hàbà?sè: kùwámè: n|àtì sú?tènà?
    hàbà?sè:’ kùwámè:’ n|átì sú:’ tè-nà-à?
    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) hè:ù n|ùlò: t PSI tåxì jàmèjó:sì
    hè:ù n|ùlò:’ t PSI tåxì’ jàmè-é-jó:-ì-sì
    dem.(prox.3m.sg.) child-sp. I just raise-3m.sg.obj.-dur.-irr.-1sg.
    This child, I will just raise him
    hèwè ?iè:ò:j mìwíjò:nà
    hèwè ?iè-ì:j mìwíjò:-ì-nà
    [[he live-nml. GEN end]GEN-sp.-to
    until the end of his life.
    See also /ts’èxè-nà-sà:-ì-ts’ì/ ‘at once (one-to-nml.-sp.-at)’ in example (6) and /s’è-nà-kì/ ‘until now (now-to-add.)’ in example (7).

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

(15) s’è mònd3ò:qà: hì:là jìnkò:ì?
    s’è mònd3ò:-ì-à: hì-à jìnkò:-ì?
    now jackal-sp.-SF when-3m.sg.PC chew-sub.cl.
    Now when Jackal chewed,
    pà: ètì:nà: kùhè?èts’ì
    pà: ètìhà:nà-à kùhè?è-ts’ì
    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) hĩo nĩ?ĩ: nĩ|tánõ: nĩ|eĩ?
    hĩ-õ nĩ?-ĩ: nĩ|t-ñã-õ nĩ|e-ĩ?
    when-1pl.PC go-& bush-in-to-1pl.PC enter-sub.cl.
    When we went and entered into the bush,
    kõ: këutõ mõkõndõ:õõ ã|w¿:
    kõ: këutõ mõkõndõ-ã-õ ã|wá:
    NC(1pl.) [pig track]GEN-sp.-1pl.PC see-3i.pl.obj.
    we saw pig tracks.

(17) hĩšĩ tsâši sîeĩ?
    hĩ-sĩ tsâ-si sî-é-i?
    when-1sg.PC water-1sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-sub.cl.
    When I have taken the water,
    sî: tʃʰá:táñãši ká:
    sî: tʃʰá:-tã-ña-sí ká:
    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) kõŋgõ?dõsékʷe tľ̠ ū: !wǎ: tákätfũtânã
    kõŋgõ?dõsé-kʷe tľ̠ ū: !wǎ: tákätfũ-tã-ñã
    lift.up-2pl.Imp.PC hand place holy-in-to
    Lift up (your (pl)) hands towards the holy place.

4.5 /-tʃə/ ‘from’

The postposition /-tʃə/ ‘from’ is illustrated in the following elicited example:

(19) tʰẽ:tʃʰũ: tâ:sũɡũ
    tʰẽ:-tʃe-sũ: tâ:-sũ:-í
    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. A further elicited example, which illustrates this, is as follows:

(20) ॐvádātʰē īsì
 ॐvádā-tʃè-sé ʃ-i-sì
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) ॐvádåtʰã: īł
 ॐvádå-tʃè-sé-ã: ʃl
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 /-tʃè/ ‘out of’

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

(22) ḥëwëʔgã: ḥ̣átjʰû: kʰōtʃè t˚è:ā
ḥëwëʔ gã-ã ḥ̣átjʰû-ã kʰō-tà-tʃè-é t˚è:é-ã
and.so-3m.sg.PC lion-sp. house-in-from-3m.sg. at.night-3m.sg.PC
ṭû: ḥfḳ’î: ṇêtà: ʔëwà ṣ̀énàkî
ṭû-ż ḥfk’î-ż ṇê-tà-à ʔë-wà ṣ̀-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) dãkʷwē: kʷà: ts’ātáʃèà: ḥû: ḥfk’î:
dãkʷwē-ż kʷâ: ts’ā-tà-tʃè-é-ã: ḥû-ż ḥfk’î-ż
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

4.7 /-l’à(ʔ)/ ‘belong’

The postposition /-l’à(ʔ)/ ‘belong’ is used with animate NPs:

(24) kʰéʔé:kʰâ:kîʔâ kâ?
kʰéʔé:kù-wâ-t’kî-à? kâ?

They agreed that

bâːrâː: mî:ndʒó ʼì’èmèsè:ll’â?
bâːrâː-é:t’ mî:ndʒó ʼì’èmèsè:ll’â?

They agreed that

kʰôt’hî tuːkw’eːts’èː:
kʰôt’hî tuː-kû-é-t’sè-ší-è-t’.

the first one to remove the coat from the traveller,

hèwè ēsâmbôːsē:
hèwè ēsâmbô-sí-è-t’

he was the one with strength.

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

(25) nîkʰwâː kʰwâ bâʔèːsē: wàrâṅgè:ll’ânà
nî-kʰwâ kʰwâ bâʔè-sí-è-t’ wàrâṅgè:ll’â-nà

And he should return to the Lord.

If the preceding example contained the postpositional phrase /wàrâṅgè:ll’à-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’/ ‘to’. A less common variant of the ‘belong’ postposition is /-k’à(ʔ)/.
4.8 /-ʔii/ ‘with’

The postposition /-ʔii/ ‘with’ has an instrumental function:

(26)  pó:  hùmbù  tʃʰóʔii:ɡò  nli:mò:
Pó:  hùmbù  tʃʰó-ʔii:-ò  nli:mò-è
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)  hè:ù  bò:  sí:  tʃʰàntò:ʔii:ts’è
hè:ù  bò-i  sí:  tʃʰàntó:-ʔii:-ts’è
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) word-sp. [you(pl.) effort]GEN-with-neg.
This word was not by your (pl.) effort.

The postposition /-ʔii/ 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)  ?óʔsíʔ  mèːnáts’ʔii:  túsí:
?óʔ-síʔ  mèːnà-ts’-ʔii:  tús-i-sí:
there(ref.)-loc. like-reflex.-with come.out-irr.-2pl.
It is then you (pl.) will come out with joy,

pútl’úmáʔi:  xèsìgi;
pútl’úmà-ʔi:  xé-sí-ţi
peace-with lead-2pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
he will lead you (pl.) with peace.

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

(29)  sàː  ?árá:  hèsú  sàndàwè:sú:sù  hík’i
sàː  ?árá:  hèsú  sàndàwè:sú-ʔi-sú  hík’i
NC(3f.sg.) truly dem.(ref.3f.sg.) Sandawe-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg. go
And truly this Sandawe woman went,

sàː  nliːkó:  kísoxì:  pàsà:ʔii:sá  kʰwà  mèːnáts’i:
sàː  nliːkó:  kísoxì:  pàsà:-ʔii:-sá  kʰwà  mèːnà-ts’i:-è
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 /-k/ and not the postposition /-ʔi:/ would be used (see section 7.5).

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

(30)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pà:} & \quad \text{mòndʒoːgă:} & \quad \text{ts’ô:ts’íʃːgă} & \quad \text{kʰwā} \\
\text{pà:} & \quad \text{mòndʒoː-ʔ-á:} & \quad \text{ts’ô:ts’í-ʔi:-á} & \quad \text{kʰwā} \\
\text{NC(3m.sg.) jackal-sp.-SF hunger-with-3m.sg.PC return} \\
\text{Then Jackal returned hungry.}
\end{align*}
\]

4.9 /-xeʔé/ ‘like’

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

(31)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{heːxʷéxéʔ} & \quad ^{n|w}iʔyàpòsū: \\
\text{heːxʷé-xéʔé} & \quad ^{n|w}iʔyà-ts’è-pó-ì-sū: \\
\text{dem.(prox.pl.)-like do-appl.-2sg.obj.-irr.-1pl.} \\
\text{hfò} & \quad ?óʔt^hū:gă: & \quad tūiʔ? \\
\text{hf-ò} & \quad ?óʔ-xe-tsf:ș-á: & \quad tû-ìʔ? \\
\text{when-1pl.PC there(ref.)-from-1pl.-SF come.out-sub.cl.} \\
\text{We will do for you (things) like these, if we get out of here.}
\end{align*}
\]

The postposition /-xeʔé/ 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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sʷè} & \quad tʰékʰélèː: \quad \text{pà:} \quad ^{l|h}iːːa: \quad \text{bòxēʔá} \quad \text{kʰèʔè} \\
\text{sʷè} & \quad tʰékʰélɛː-ʔ: \quad \text{pà:} \quad ^{l|h}iːːa-á: \quad \text{bò-xéʔé-á} \quad \text{kʰéʔé} \\
\text{now hyena-sp. NC(3m.sg.) dik.dik-SF speak-like-3m.sg.PC hear} \\
\text{Now Hyena heard how Dik-dik spoke.}
\end{align*}
\]

(33)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hàpá:} & \quad \text{mèːnà:xéʔé} \quad ^{n|w}eː \\
\text{hàpú-á:} & \quad \text{mèːnà-é-xéʔé-ʔ-i} \quad ^{n|w}eː \\
\text{you-SF like-3m.sg.obj.-like-2sg. do} \\
\text{You do as you like.}
\end{align*}
\]

---

17 This postposition has also been elicited in the form /-xeʔiː/, which is an Eastern dialect variant. See (1) in section 8.1.1 for an example of this.
4.10 /-kîmê/ ‘because’

The postposition /-kîmê/ 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) ³hwàts’îmê: ³bêmò:sì? ³tlà:sì
³hwàts’-kîmê: ³bêmé-ô:sì? ³tlà:sì
sin-bec. pay-nml.-loc. death
The payment for sin is indeed death.

(35) "látîk"ê ³ò: ³hàlimsè ³bà?ésê: ³wàràngê:ts’î
"látî-k"ê ³ò: ³hàlimsè ³bà?é-sí-è-³ ³wàràngê:-³-ts’î
come-2pl.Imp.PC SC(1pl.) worship be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp god-sp.-at
Come, let’s worship the Lord,

³sì: ³hèwèmê: ³jà?bèsì:sì: ³tj³lásì:
³sì: ³hèwé-kîmê: ³jà?bè-sí-sí:-³-sì: ³tj³là-sì
you(pl.) he-bec. work-poss.-2pl.-sp.-2pl. all-2pl.
all you (pl.) who are workers for his sake.

The function of the /-kîmê/ 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 /-kîmê/ postposition is suffixed to /hôtfô/ ‘what’, the resulting form means ‘why’:

(36) hôtfô:kîmê: kipàlålà ³sì:i ³tûkù ³màkà:
hôtfô:-kîmê:-è kipàlålà ³sì:-i ³tû-kù ³màkà:
what-bec.-2pl.PC sweat you(pl.)-pro. come.out-caus. thing

l’ànàtsúkùsêts’è:kîmê:
l’ànà-tá-sí-kù-sí-è-ts’è:-³-kîmê:
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 /-kîmê/ 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) ³sà: ³ tôxì:sà ³bô ³n³ô:kô:sômèsà
³sà: ³ tôxì-sà ³bô ³n³ô:kô:-³-sô-kîmê:-sà
NC(3f.sg.) thus-3f.sg.PC say children-sp.-3a.pl.-bec.-3f.sg.PC
Then she spoke, thus, to her children,
mē:kʷē  kʰôːj  nʷə:wə
mē:-kʷē  kʰôː-ːj  nʷə:-e
neg.-2pl.Imp.PC  house-sp.  open-3m.sg.obj.
“Don’t open the door,

?àŋkʰá  hókēː:ā  lǐː  ?ǐmbǒi?
?àŋkʰá  hò-kêː-ā  lǐː-ːj  ?ǐmbǒ-ːi?
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Benefactive</th>
<th>Applicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td>xʲ-sé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>pó</td>
<td>xʲ-pó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.</td>
<td>é, é:</td>
<td>kù-è  [kʷe],  kù-ːè:  [kʷeː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.</td>
<td>éṣú, éːṣú</td>
<td>kù-ėsú  [kʷesu],  kù-ːé:sú  [kʷesu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>sũ:</td>
<td>xʲ-sũ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>sǐ:</td>
<td>xʲ-sǐ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.pl.</td>
<td>ŋǐː</td>
<td>xʲ-ŋǐː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3i.pl.</td>
<td>wáː</td>
<td>kù-wáː:  [kʷaː]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The benefactive morpheme is /-xʲ/ before a consonant-initial object morpheme and /-kù/ before a vowel-initial one and the third person inanimate plural object morpheme /-wáː/. Each of the third person singular morphemes has two forms, one containing a short /e/ and one a long /eː/. 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

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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 /-wáː/ preceding the applicative morpheme, which is followed by a 3m.sg. object agreement morpheme. This suggests that the 3i.pl. object morpheme /-wáː/ may in fact be derived from the multiple morpheme /-wáː/ plus the 3m.sg. object morpheme /-eː/ (Ed Elderkin, personal communication, 2006). However, /-wáː/ 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) sísékʷèː bāhārǐtānà łyèsè
   sì-sé-kʷèː bāhārǐ-tà-nà łyèsè
   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) màúlél: nęła₃šukò sìèsì
    màúlél: ñana₃-sù-kò sì-èsì
    [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 /-ésù/ is usually realised as a lengthened stem-final vowel, followed by [sù].

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

(3) pʰékò lì
    pʰè-kò lì
tomorrow-2sg.Imp.PC come
    Come tomorrow,
    ?èː kàlɛː pʰîl’ísè:xi̍pò
    ?éː kàlɛː-tè pʰîl’i-sé-xi̍-pò
    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:
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)  |
| à:  | | ò:  |
| à:  | ò:  |
| NC(3pl.) [dik.dik children-sp.-3a.pl.] GEN-SF come.out
Then Dik-dik’s children came out

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

(6)  |
| à:  | ò:  |
| à:  | ò:  |
| NC(3m.sg.) voice make(3m.sg .obj.)-ben.-1sg.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
He should make a voice for me

A similar phenomenon was noted by Vossen (1985) for ||ani. 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 ||ani 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 /-wá/: 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>3m.sgs. object</th>
<th>3i.pl. object</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(\text{n}^|\text{w}^|\text{äné})</td>
<td>(\text{n}^|\text{w}^|\text{äné}:)</td>
<td>(\text{n}^|\text{w}^|\text{änéwá}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(\text{n}^|\text{l}^|\text{ök}^|\text{ò})</td>
<td>(\text{n}^|\text{l}^|\text{ök}^|\text{ò}:)</td>
<td>(\text{n}^|\text{l}^|\text{ök}^|\text{òwá}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mënä</td>
<td>mënä:</td>
<td>mënäwá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tímë</td>
<td>tímë:</td>
<td>tímëwá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>dàk^|hwë</td>
<td>dàk^|hwë:</td>
<td>dàk^|hwëmá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>hök’ò</td>
<td>hök’ò:</td>
<td>hök’ómá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>bïk^|hë</td>
<td>bïk^|hë:</td>
<td>bïk^|hímá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>dëbë</td>
<td>dëbë:</td>
<td>dëbúmá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>dëmë</td>
<td>dëmë:</td>
<td>dëmëmá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dëmë</td>
<td>dëmë:</td>
<td>dëmëmá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>t'hëmë</td>
<td>t'hëmë:</td>
<td>t'hëwá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>n'amë</td>
<td>n'amë:</td>
<td>n'amëwá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>n'lëné</td>
<td>n'lëné:</td>
<td>n'lëwá:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /\(u8/\) vowel and have either H, L, HL or LHL tone melodies. The suffixation of the singular object morpheme /-e/ results in a lengthened final vowel of the quality of the stem vowel if it is voiced or a long [e:] if the stem vowel is /\(u8/\). 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 /-wá/ also follows these rules. Following is an example containing a verb which belongs to this group:

\[(7) \quad \text{tj}^\|\text{h}^\|\text{át}^\|\text{í}^\|\text{t}^\|\text{h}^\|\text{í}^\|\text{a}^\|\text{kisj}:mënàwá:k^\|\text{wë} \quad \text{tj}^\|\text{h}^\|\text{a}-\text{tj}^\|\text{h}^\|\text{a}-\text{­}-\text{ki}-\text{sì}:mënà-wá:-kù-è} \quad \text{all-all-sp.-add.-1sg.PC like-3i.pl.obj.-ben.-3m.sg.obj.} \]

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 (/\(\text{t}^\|\text{h}^\|\text{a}^\|\text{wá}/\ ‘dibble’). The final vowel in the verb stem is either /\(e/\), /\(o/\) or /\(a/\). Suffixing the singular object morpheme /-ë/ 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 /-wá/ 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 [-má:] 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 /-wá:/ 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 nuá kísôxìsà xʷàntìmà:řè
nuá kísôxì-sà xʷànté-mé-wá:-řè
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 /-wá:/ is suffixed and the /m/ is lengthened and becomes tone bearing (row 10).

The [-má:] ending can be interpreted as the assimilation of two suffixes: /-mé/ and the plural object morpheme /-wá:/ 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) hí: niʔi: ī'fâkʷe ī'ā
hí:e niʔ-ī ī'fâ-kʷe ī'ā
when-2pl.PC go-sub.cl. dance-2pl.Imp.PC dance
When you (pl.) go, dance the dance,

xàló: bikʰíméwâ:kʷè
xàlé-ó: bikʰé-mé-wâ:kʷè
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) pâ: !ʷwá: dēːtʰeː:ā ī'laːfâ ī'ákǐmē
pá: !ʷwá: dēː tʰéː-ā: ī'laːfī ī'ákí-mē
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 /e/. The second consonant in these stems is /m/, /n/ or /w/. When the singular object morpheme /-e/ 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 [ŋ]. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>3m.sg. object</th>
<th>3i.pl. object</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 báló:</td>
<td>[bálóːwé]</td>
<td>[bálóːʔwá:]</td>
<td>herd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 !áṭháː</td>
<td>[áṭháːgéː]</td>
<td>[áṭháːʔwá:]</td>
<td>spread out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ḥíːliː</td>
<td>[líːmèː]</td>
<td>[liːʔwáː:]</td>
<td>paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ḥíː!:</td>
<td>[íːmèː]</td>
<td>[íːfʔwáː:]</td>
<td>straighten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ḥólöː</td>
<td>[óːmèː]</td>
<td>[hólöːʔwáː:]</td>
<td>fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 héːwéː</td>
<td>[wéː]</td>
<td>[héːʔwáwáː:]</td>
<td>break</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the example in row 1, the verb stem ends in a long /oː/ 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 /âː/ ‘see’, as the following two examples illustrate:

(11) télláːsiː ḥémbėts’iː sáːgèː:
téllá:-siː ḥémbé-ts’i:-siː íː:-eː:
completely-1sg.PC clearness-at-1sg.PC see-3m.sg.obj.
I see it completely clearly.

(12) ḥfó níʔiː. níːétanòː níːfèːi?
ḥfː-ò níːè-tà-nà-ò níːèːːi?
when-1pl.PC go- & bush-in-to-1pl.PC enter-sub.cl.
When we entered into the bush,
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)  hewé?gà:  dórô:  dàk'wë:gà  nìf'wâ:jô:

      hewé?gà-à  dórô:-à  dàk'wë:-à  nìf:-wâ:-jô:

      and.so-3m.sg.PC zebra-sp. donkey-sp.-3m.sg.PC paint-3i.pl.obj.-dur.

And so Zebra painted (them on) Donkey

kwa:  tìënsé
kwa:  tìënsé
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 /-ë/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Obj.agr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h'o:</td>
<td>sé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hí:</td>
<td>[t'hí:sé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'o:</td>
<td>pó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hí:</td>
<td>[t'hí:pó]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'o:</td>
<td>é, é:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hí:</td>
<td>[t'hí:mé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'o:</td>
<td>é:sú, é:sú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hí:</td>
<td>[t'hí:mésú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'o:</td>
<td>sú:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hí:</td>
<td>[t'hí:sú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'o:</td>
<td>sí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hí:</td>
<td>[t'hí:sí]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'o:</td>
<td>ñí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hí:</td>
<td>[t'hí:ñí]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'o:</td>
<td>wá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'hí:</td>
<td>[t'hí:wá:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The iterative suffix /-mé/ is only found in the third person singular forms. In the other forms, the root vowel is nasalised. Note also that the high tone of the stem /hêmê/ ‘paint’ becomes a falling tone in the derived forms, whereas the falling tone of the stem /hôôô/ ‘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 /hêmê/ ‘paint’ and /hôôô/ ‘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 /têmê/ ‘cook(3m.sg.obj.)’ can be analysed as deriving from the affixation of the object morpheme /-ê/ 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 /-êsú/ being divided into a root-final /-ê/ and a stem-final /-sû/.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Object marked</th>
<th>3m.sg.obj.</th>
<th>3i.pl.obj.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'wê:</td>
<td>hûk'wâ</td>
<td>[hûk'wâ:]</td>
<td>[hûk'wâwâ:]</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wák'wâ</td>
<td>[wák'wâ:]</td>
<td>[wák'wâwâ:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'wê:</td>
<td>s'â</td>
<td>[s'â:]</td>
<td>[s'âsáwâwâ:]</td>
<td>peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'wê:</td>
<td>t'â</td>
<td>[t'â:]</td>
<td>[t'âwâ:]</td>
<td>pick, pluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ê:</td>
<td>ts'â</td>
<td>[ts'â:]</td>
<td>[ts'âwâ:]</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'wê:</td>
<td>l'â</td>
<td>[l'â:]</td>
<td>[l'âl'âwâ:]</td>
<td>hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'l'wê:</td>
<td>n'l'â</td>
<td>[n'l'â:]</td>
<td>[n'l'l'âwâ:]</td>
<td>take off heat/fire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs in this group have in common a stem-final long /e/ vowel. Thus, if the third person masculine singular object morpheme /-ê/ 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 /-ê/ 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 /lôôûts'î/ ‘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)  rèngísô:kì  dó:lò  mà?sèkà:ts’è
   rèngísò:-kì  dó:lò  mà?sè-ká-è-ts’è
porridge-sp.-add.  a.little  stir-com.-3m.sg.obj.-appl.
And the porridge is for stirring a little,

úrì:  tì:ts’ì:ts’è
úrì:  tì:ts’ì-i-ts’è
very  boil-irr.(-3m.sg.)-neg.
it wouldn’t boil a lot,

nì:  n”wà:sò  nì:  !”wákhwà:sò
nì:  n”wá-é-i-sò  nì:  !”wákhwà-í-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectless form</th>
<th>Stem for sg.obj.</th>
<th>3m.sg.obj.</th>
<th>Stem for pl.obj.</th>
<th>3i.pl.obj.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khù?ùmsé</td>
<td>l”è</td>
<td>[l”è:]</td>
<td>khù?</td>
<td>[khù?šè:]</td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[khù?ùmsé:]</td>
<td>[khù?ùmséwá:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khù?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâ:wà</td>
<td>pè:</td>
<td>[pè:]</td>
<td>kâ:</td>
<td>[kâ:]</td>
<td>put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[kâ:wà:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l”õ:</td>
<td>sí</td>
<td>[síé]</td>
<td>tl’ã:</td>
<td>[tl’ã:]</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hêtékà</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. /khù?ùmsé/ ‘throw’ can be analysed as deriving from the stem /khù?/ ‘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 /h’õròmsé/, ‘make holes’. /kâ:wà/ ‘put’ appears to be derived from the stem /kâ:/, 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 /-wá/.

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

49
(15) hëò nowësämë:öi?
hì-ò nowé-sâ-kjìmë:-ò-ì?
when-1pl.PC grind-nml.-bec.-1pl.-sub.cl.
When we want to grind,
pò: là?së:nô: tì’ì:
pò: là?së:-nà-ò tì’ì:
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 /kâ:wà:/ ‘put-3i.pl.obj.’ appears to be derived from the stem /kâ:/ plus the multiple morpheme /-wà/ and the third person masculine singular object morpheme /-ë/.

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”•›/:27

(16) pà: n|wë:a: kútú:mbî mé:à sfë:
pà: n|wë:-tì kútú:mbî mé:-à sfë-ë:-ë:
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. tree.trunk big-3m.sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-&
Then Elephant took a big tree trunk and

kôngò?së: l’òl’â:ts”â: tì’ìp”è
kôngò?-sé-ë:-ë: l’òl’á:-ë:-ts”ì-à tì’ìp”è
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) swë hëtjë: gùràts”à: n’ilinëwà
swë hëtjë: gùrà-ts”ì-à n’ilinë-wà
now lion-sp. room-at-3m.sg.PC lie.down-mult.
Now Lion lay down in the room,

kôngkô: tàngà?ts”à: n’ilinëwà
kôngkô:-ë: tàngà?-ts”ì-à n’ilinë-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’i/ 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’ásâ n!wànè
ts’à-sà n!wání
water-3f.sg.PC ask.for
She asked for water.

(19) ts’à:tsèsâ n!wànè
ts’â-ṣ-ts’i-sâ n!wání
water-sp.-at-3f.sg.PC ask.for
She asked for the water.

(20) ts’a:tsèsâ n!wànè
ts’â-ts’i-sà n!wání
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) dimè wàràŋgë: gâ: tʃi-ts’â: ||”è:
dimè wàràŋgë:-ː-ː-ː: tʃi-ts’i-ː-ː: ||”è:
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  nuá-ts’į  xwànté  
      hèsú  nuá-ts’į  xwànté  
      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)  hàbúsâ:  tʃá:  pò:wèːi:  
      hàbúsâ-ː  tʃí-ː:  pó-é-ː-i-ː:  
      condition-sp.  I-SF  2sg.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-pro.-sp.
      hàbúsènî:  hàbúsè-nè-ː  
      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)  ní:  mè:kò  žhwa’átās’į  tè:xjës’ū:  
      ní:  mè-kò  žhwa’átās’į  té:-xj-sú:  
      and  neg.-2sg.Imp.PC  sin  count-ben.-1pl.obj.
      And don’t count it as sin against us
      hê:ù  në’emësè:  l’èk’á  kû?sè:ʔò:mè:  
      hè:ù  në’emësè-ː  l’èk’á  kû?-së-ė-ʔò:-kımë:  
      [dem.(prox.3m.sg.)  man-sp.  blood]GEN  spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-nml.-bec.
      because of spilling the blood of this man,
      žhwa’átās’į:  žhwa’átās-ː  
      žhwa’átās’į-sf-è-ts’è-ː:  
      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 hèvešï? mônà kʰwáːxǐsūːgī  
ʔàmánà hève-šï? mó-nà kʰwà-é-xį-sůː-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.)

nì: pònàsūgī  ??ò: mè: tʃʰè:kì  
nì: póná-sū-ì  ??ó: mè: tʃʰè:-kí  
and heal-1pl.obj.-irr.(-3m.sg.) SC(1pl.) neg. absent-verb.  
and heal us so that we are not destroyed.

(26) kʷá: mòkúmà: lāxįʔī:  
kʷá: mòkúmúː-ą lā-šį-ʔī:  
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dë:wà</th>
<th>be many-mult.</th>
<th>dë:wàts’è</th>
<th>be too many for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dʒá:</td>
<td>touch (intrans.)</td>
<td>dʒáts’è</td>
<td>touch (trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?filmē:</td>
<td>shut (3m.sg.obj.)</td>
<td>?filmēts’è</td>
<td>shut (3m.sg.obj.) for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā:</td>
<td>put (pl.obj.)</td>
<td>kāts’è</td>
<td>put (pl.obj.) into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kè</td>
<td>climb</td>
<td>kèts’è</td>
<td>climb on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màʔsékā:</td>
<td>stir</td>
<td>màʔsékā:ts’è</td>
<td>be for stirring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /dë:wàts’è/ ‘be too many for’, or it may add a direct object, as in /dʒá:ts’è/ ‘touch (trans.)’. When the applicative morpheme is attached to a transitive verb, it adds an applied object, as in /?filmē:ts’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:
When it has finished getting lukewarm, then I take the flour and put it into (the water).

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:

And the porridge is for stirring a little, it wouldn’t boil a lot,

and they would take it off the heat and cool them down.

The applicative morpheme follows any direct object marking:

usually RC(3f.sg.) dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg. children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC
Usually Dik-dik shut the children in the house

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Ongoing</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>[sé?wàsà]</td>
<td>[sésà]</td>
<td>[sèsù]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sé-ʔ, wà-sà</td>
<td>sé-é-sà</td>
<td>sé-é-i-sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She gives me it</td>
<td>She gave me it</td>
<td>She will give me it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>[ pó?wàsà]</td>
<td>[pó:wésà]</td>
<td>[pó:wèsù]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pó-ʔ, wà-sà</td>
<td>pó-é-sà</td>
<td>pó-é-i-sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She gives you it</td>
<td>She gave you it</td>
<td>She will give you it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.</td>
<td>[ʔǐwàsà]</td>
<td>[ʔísà]</td>
<td>[ʔísù]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔǐ-ʔ, wà-sà</td>
<td>ʔǐ-é-sà</td>
<td>ʔǐ-é-i-sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She gives him it</td>
<td>She gave him it</td>
<td>She will give him it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.</td>
<td>[ʔǐwàsà]</td>
<td>[ʔísúsà]</td>
<td>[ʔísúsù]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔǐ-ʔ, wà-sà</td>
<td>ʔǐ-é-sú-sà</td>
<td>ʔǐ-é-sú-i-sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She gives her it</td>
<td>She gave her it</td>
<td>She will give her it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>[sú?wàsà]</td>
<td>[sú:gésà]</td>
<td>[sú:gèsù]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sú-ʔ, wà-sà</td>
<td>sú-é-sà</td>
<td>sú-é-i-sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She gives us it</td>
<td>She gave us it</td>
<td>She will give us it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>[sí?wàsà]</td>
<td>[sí:gésà]</td>
<td>[sí:gèsù]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sí-ʔ, wà-sà</td>
<td>sí-é-sà</td>
<td>sí-é-i-sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She gives you (pl.) it</td>
<td>She gave you (pl.) it</td>
<td>She will give you (pl.) it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>[ʔǐwàsà]</td>
<td>[ʔígélí:sà]</td>
<td>[ʔígélí:sù]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔǐ-ʔ, wà-sà</td>
<td>ʔíg-é-ʔǐ-sà</td>
<td>ʔíg-é-ʔǐ-i-sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She gives them it</td>
<td>She gave them it</td>
<td>She will give them it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Note the lengthened vowel in the second person recipient object morpheme.
Table 5.9 Third person feminine singular subject, plural object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Ongoing</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>[séʔwàsà]</td>
<td>[séʔwàːsà]</td>
<td>[séʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>séʔ wà-sà</td>
<td>séʔ wáː-sà</td>
<td>séʔ wàː-i-sʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>She gives me them</em></td>
<td><em>She gave me them</em></td>
<td><em>She will give me them</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>[ póʔwàsà]</td>
<td>[ póʔwàːsà]</td>
<td>[ póʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>póʔ wà-sà</td>
<td>póʔ wáː-sà</td>
<td>póʔ wàː-i-sʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>She gives you them</em></td>
<td><em>She gave you them</em></td>
<td><em>She will give you them</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàsà]</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàːsà]</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔìʔ wà-sà</td>
<td>ʔìʔ wáː-sà</td>
<td>ʔìʔ wàː-i-sʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>She gives him them</em></td>
<td><em>She gave him them</em></td>
<td><em>She will give him them</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàsà]</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔìʔ wà-sà</td>
<td>ʔìʔ wáː-sú-sà</td>
<td>ʔìʔ wáː-sú-i-sʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>She gives her them</em></td>
<td><em>She gave her them</em></td>
<td><em>She will give her them</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>[sùʔwàsà]</td>
<td>[sùʔwàːsà]</td>
<td>[sùʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súʔ wà-sà</td>
<td>súʔ wáː-sà</td>
<td>súʔ wàː-i-sʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>She gives us them</em></td>
<td><em>She gave us them</em></td>
<td><em>She will give us them</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>[sìʔwàsà]</td>
<td>[sìʔwàːsà]</td>
<td>[sìʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sìʔ wà-sà</td>
<td>sìʔ wáː-sà</td>
<td>sìʔ wàː-i-sʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>She gives you (pl.) them</em></td>
<td><em>She gave you (pl.) them</em></td>
<td><em>She will give you (pl.) them</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàsà]</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
<td>[ʔiʔwàːsʊʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔìʔ wà-sà</td>
<td>ʔìʔ wáː-ʔì-sà</td>
<td>ʔìʔ wáː-ʔì-i-sʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>She gives them them</em></td>
<td><em>She gave them them</em></td>
<td><em>She will give them them</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ʔìʔ – 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:   /-ʔì wà/, for both singular and plural

---

28 Elderkin (personal communication, 2005) analyses both /ʔì/ and the /-ʔì/ in /-ʔì wà/ and /-ʔì wá/ as third person.
Completed and irrealis: /-é/ for singular
/-ʔé wá/ for plural

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

(31) ?ǐwaśǐ:šà
    ʔǐ-ʔé wá-sí:-šà
    3pers.-3i.pl.obj.-2pl.obj.-3f.sg.PC
    She gave you (pl.) it/them.

(32)\(^{29}\) ʔí-ešù:šà
    ʔí-é-sú:-é-šà
    3pers.-3m.sg.obj.-1pl.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-3f.sg.PC
    She gave us it.

(33) ʔí-eśù:šà
    ʔí-é-ʔí-é-šà
    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) hábúsà pò:wěsì
    hábúsà pó-é-i-šì
    condition 2sg.obj.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-1sg.
    I will give you a condition.

(35) pà: ʔba:ší:ù-gà: ʔàkʰâ:qà: tλ’âkʰwèːë:
    NC(3m.sg.) lion-sp.-SF tooth-sp.-3m.sg.PC pull.out-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
    Then Lion pulled out a tooth and

dǐ:šë:sù:sʰâ:ʔìë:
    dǐ:šë:-sù:-ː-ː-ë-ː-à ʔì-ë
    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-kô  
3m.sg.obj.-2sg.Imp.PC  
Take it!

(37) éwákô  
é-wà-kô  
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-kô  
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular subject</th>
<th>Plural subject</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lí</td>
<td>^nâtef</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hík’á</td>
<td>nî?</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íé</td>
<td>nê:</td>
<td>stay, live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlä:sí</td>
<td>lâ’té</td>
<td>die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thá</td>
<td>ģirîbé</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’áwé</td>
<td>thô:</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^lúmé</td>
<td>lé:</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâ:kîts’í</td>
<td>hâ:màkí</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following examples from the text corpus illustrate the occurrence of some of these suppletive stems:

(39) hék’ísǐ: mindâtäsǐ |nāsị nî?wáːː
hék’-sì-ː mindâ-tâ-sî |wāsị nî:-wâː-ː

I go to the field and cut millet and

dí: kùnùtànäsǐ kâ:
dí-ː kùnù-tâ-nà-sî kâː-ː

I come and put them in the mortar

nisì: pûːéː bûrù?sèː
nî-sî pû-ː-ː bûrù?sè-ː

I come and put them in the mortar

and-1sg.PC pound-3m.sg.obj.-& winnow-3m.sg.obj.

and pound it and winnow it.30

(40) hěːsō kîsósōsō kʷámēː hàbâ?sèː nîlātisō
hěːsō kîsî-sō-ː-sō kʷámē-ː hàbâ?sèː-ː nîlātî-sō
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) nîlōkōː lâʔtēː ā\n
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) nîlōkôːsō lâʔtēː ā\n
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 /-wâ/, 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)  dürup  !’úā:  l’è:kàwà
derpū  !’ú-ā:  l’è:kà-wà

[chin hair]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)  hfsâ  |ði:áswà:  hà:ŋgā:  hìk”i?:
hfsâ  |ði:ás -sù-á:  hà:ŋgâ-:  hìk”i-

when-3f.sg.PC dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg.-SF get.up-& go-sub.cl.

When Dik-dik got up and went,

pàxi  òbhékèlè:  òbhà  kò:ñà:  hìk’á:
pàxi  òbhékèlè:-:  òbhà  kò:ñ-à-à  hìk’]-

RC(3m.sg.) hyena-sp.  [dik.dik house]GEN-to-3m.sg.PC go.conn.

then Hyena went to Dik-dik’s house and

nôlumewà:  mà?é  nôlòkòxèmè-à
nôlumè-wà-à  mà?é  nôlòkó-xè-:  kìmè-à

stand-mult.-3m.sg.PC go.around  [dik.dik children-pl.-sp.-bec.]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)  hóbè  jáʔabòi  jáʔbèwà
hóbè  jáʔabò-i  jáʔbé-wà
[what work]GEN-2sg.  do.work-mult.

What work do you do?

hótjò-kìmè-i  lô?nà  ?ifé-:  hìk’]-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 bálóːwáwài
    hùmbù bálóː-wà-wà-i
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 /-jóː/: 

(48) ?àː nèːwájðː
tàː nèː-wà-jóː
NC(3pl.) live-mult.-dur.
And then they lived
sàː nʊmṣːsʍːàː tɪɬːabíːsóːsâː!’ɔːwè
sáː nʊmɬ súː-ʔ-sʊː-ǎː tɪɬːabíːsóː-sâː!’ɔː-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 /-jóː/ morpheme.

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

(49) wékéː nìː l’akásù ñútãː ?àː kʊŋɡɔmɛwːʔːkì
wékéː nìː l’akásù ñútãː ?àː kʊŋɡɔmɛ-wà-ʔːkì
wind and sun long.ago NC(3pl.) argue-mult.-recip.
Long ago the wind and the sun argued.

(50) mëltà jàʔabɔ nʊmɔsɔːsɔː
mël-tà jàʔabɔ nʊmɔsɔː-ʔ-sɔː
ịaː ʔɪʃɔː bɔkʷàːkì
ịaː ʔɪʃj-àʔ bɔ-kù-wà-ʔkì
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 /-s’i/ which derives a verb from a noun:

(51)  
      |  
      |  
      |  
      |  
      |  

When they were hungry,

?á:    ?ísá-ó:-nà-à?    nì?
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)  
      |  
      |  
      |  
      |  
      |  

And then he ran and jumped into the water

Nì:    lá:          kʰòŋgò:ràwàts’ì
Nì:    lá:-à    kʰòŋgò:rà-ts’í
and well-3m.sg.PC scrub-mult.-reflex.
and scrubbed himself well

kʰà:    tʃʰú?wà    râŋgì:
kʰà:    tʃʰú?wà-    râŋgì-ì
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)  
      |  
      |  
      |  
      |  
      |  

As for some troubles, they have diminished

pà:    híŋgéxé::á:    lâ:ts’íwà
pà:    híŋgé-xé:-á:    lâ:-ts’í-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) **búrā**: /gitlê:  \[ h^b\text{örô}sè:\]
  búrį-á: /gitl'é-ː\[ h^b\text{örô}:sé-é\]
mouse-SF clothing-sp. have.hole-caus.-3m.sg.obj.
A mouse has made a hole in a piece of clothing.

(55) **búrā**: /gitlê:  \[ h^b\text{örō}mśè:\]
  búrį-á: /gitl'é-ː\[ h^b\text{örô}:m-sé-é\]
mouse-SF clothing-sp. have.hole-iter.-caus.-3m.sg.obj.
A mouse has made holes in a piece of clothing.

(56) **búrā**: /gitlê:  \[ h^b\text{örō}msimà:\]
  búrį-á: /gitl'é-ː\[ h^b\text{örô}:m-sé-mé-wá:\]
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 /bùrù؟sé/ ‘winnow’ has a singular object:

(57) **à**:  \[ t^b\text{ámēt}t^hāː\] bùrù?sè:
  **á**:  \[ t^b\text{ámēt}t^hū-á:\] bùrù?sè-é
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 /bùrù؟séwá/: ‘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 /bùrù؟sé/ ‘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 */buru?/.)

In the following example, the reduplicated verb form /tl’àp^bātl’àp^bâsè/ ‘pound’ has a singular object, but expresses multiple action:

(58) **swè** kàyā:  dór ô:
  **swè** kàyā:  dórō-ː
now NC(3m.sg.) zebra-sp.

\[ t^b\text{ē}:  t^l\text{w}^b\text{ē:sēā}  \]
\[ t^b\text{ē}:  t^l\text{w}^b\text{ē:-sē-ā}  \]

\[ ìt^f\text{āwā}:  nǐ:gà:\]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]

\[ t^b\text{ē}:  ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ t^b\text{ē}:  ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]

\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
\[ ìt^f\text{āwā:-̀}:  nǐ:̀  \]
There are no verb forms */t’apʰase/ or */t’apʰa/ in Sandawe, but the form in the example above can be analysed as being related to the verb /t’apʰɛ/ ‘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 /-ku8/, /-s’è-ku8/ or /-se/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kè</th>
<th>climb</th>
<th>kèkù</th>
<th>raise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mántʃʰà</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>mántʃʰakù</td>
<td>feed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thô:</td>
<td>move (intrans.)</td>
<td>thôkù</td>
<td>move (trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tô</td>
<td>come out, go away</td>
<td>tükù</td>
<td>remove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñlúmé</td>
<td>stand (sg.subj.)</td>
<td>ñlú:kù</td>
<td>make stand (sg.obj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dára</td>
<td>wait</td>
<td>dárasúkù</td>
<td>make wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fógógô:</td>
<td>be clear</td>
<td>fógógô:súkù</td>
<td>make clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa</td>
<td>be bad</td>
<td>xásúkù</td>
<td>make bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ’akí</td>
<td>descend</td>
<td>ñ’akí:súkù</td>
<td>make descend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ’ék’à</td>
<td>bleed</td>
<td>ñ’ék’ásúkù</td>
<td>make bleed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bè:bà</td>
<td>be near</td>
<td>bè:básé</td>
<td>move near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’wélé:</td>
<td>enter quickly</td>
<td>k’wélé:sé</td>
<td>make enter quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’a”ñ!á:</td>
<td>be lost</td>
<td>k’a”ñ!ásé</td>
<td>lose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná?:</td>
<td>burn, be alight</td>
<td>ná?sé</td>
<td>light fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’hôrô:</td>
<td>have holes</td>
<td>l’hôrômsé</td>
<td>make holes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following example from the text corpus contains an example of the causative suffix /-ku8/:

(59) !èkô: !ñumè ringisô: ñlô: mántʃʰákùsô
!èkô: !ñumè ringisô: ñlô: mántʃʰ-à-kù-i-sô
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)  hëwë  bâ?ò:  gîttê:  qâ:  têtë:kâ:  
[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 /ádûkù/ ‘help’, /tl’âkù/ ‘pull out’ and /lékù/ ‘put on a fire’.

The /-kù/ suffix commonly occurs with a preceding [-sû]. Elderkin follows Dempwolff (1916:37) in analysing [-sû] as the ‘nominalising’ suffix /-s”ô/ (glossed below as possessive), whose vowel is affected by the following /-kù/ (GS:M36):

      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,

      kà?  k”â:  më:  tl’âbísô:á:  kûmûkê:e:  
      ká?  k”á:  më:  tl’âbísô:-á:  kûmû-kù-é:  
      hear.  SC(3m.sg.)  neg.  stomach-SF  hurt-ben.-3m.sg.obj.  
      apparently so that the stomach would not hurt.

The combination of the /-s”ô/ and /-kù/ 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 /dlômô/ ‘buy’, the /-s”ô/ and /-kù/ suffixes result in a form which means ‘sell’:

(62)  ?üs”ê  wârë  hûmbû  ?üsû:wâi  kësô?  
      ?üs”ê  wârë  hûmbû  ?üsû:-?wâ-ì  këse-ô?  
      now  friend  cow  we-3i.pl.-pro.  drive-1pl.Subj.PC  
      dlômôsûkûsânà  mûnâdânà  
      dlômô-sû-kû-sà-nà  mûnâdà-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 /-kù/, is always the long /-ê/, 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) à: \( t^h\á\text{mé}t^h\á\): bûrû\(\text{sé}\): là\(\text{sé}\):?ï\(\text{gå}\)?
á: \( t^h\á\text{mé}t^h\á\û-á\): bûrû\(\text{sé-é}\) là\(\text{sé-}:?ï\(\text{-å}\)?
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 /k\(h\)û\(\text{sé}\)/ ‘throw away (pl.obj.)’, which is derived from /k\(h\)û\(\text{?i}\)/ ‘scatter, spill’:

(64) sì: dlàn\(\dot{\text{i}}\):s\(\dot{j}\):
sí: dlàn\(\dot{\text{i}}\)-s\(\dot{j}\):
NC(1sg.) arrow-sp.-1sg.PC spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then I threw the arrows away and
\( t^b\ê\):
\( t^b\ê\):
\([\text{tree top-to}]\text{GEN}-1\text{sg.PC climb}\)
climbed to the top of a tree.

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

(65) pò: k\(h\)ô:nô:
pò: k\(h\)ô:-nà-ô
NC(1pl.) house-to-1pl.PC enter-poss.-caus.-3i.pl.obj.
Then we bring them in the house
pò: tónqé-tánô:
pò: tónqé-tà-nà-ô
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 [-sé:]:

(66) h\(f\)á:
h\(f\)á:
when-3m.sg.PC dem.(ref.pl.) day-sp.-SF absent-verb.-sub.cl.
When these days have finished,
\( ?\á:\)
\( ?\á:\)
NC(3pl.) marriage.gift-3pl.PC return-caus.-3m.sg.obj.- neg.-3a.pl. -sub.cl.
if they have not returned the marriage gift,
?áː mènáː ká?

then they know that

\[ \text{tʰámé}\text{tʰɤː-sù} \quad \text{dó góː-só} \quad \text{mènáː?} \]
\[ \text{tʰámé}\text{tʰɤː-ᵻ-sù} \quad \text{dó góː-ᵻ-só} \quad \text{mènáː- pik} \]

The plural equivalent of /kʰwaː-sé-ɛ/ is /kʰwaːmíːsɛː/, /kʰwaːmísímːɛː/, or /kʰwaːmíséwáː/ ‘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 /kʰwaː-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’/X/ or /-ts’/X/. 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>?ámé</th>
<th>keep, raise</th>
<th>?áː-ts’ɪ</th>
<th>keep/raise oneself, be kept/raised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰíné</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>tʰí-ts’ɪ</td>
<td>be cooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰíné</td>
<td>sew</td>
<td>tʰí-ts’ɪ</td>
<td>be sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ilókʰò</td>
<td>wash</td>
<td>n’ilókʰò-ts’ɪ</td>
<td>wash oneself, be washed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ámé</td>
<td>split</td>
<td>?áː-ts’ɪ</td>
<td>be split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hínlí</td>
<td>straighten</td>
<td>n’í-ts’ɪ</td>
<td>be straightened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó!óö</td>
<td>fill</td>
<td>ló-ts’ɪ</td>
<td>be filled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màlē</td>
<td>choose</td>
<td>màlé-ts’ɪ</td>
<td>choose oneself, be chosen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’i/ or /-ts’/ morpheme is dependent on the meaning of the stem verb and on the context. In the following example, a reflexive meaning is understood:

(67) sì: tjà: kitôngétasi ||₃ats’i₃
sì: tjà-á: kitôngé-tà-sì ||₃á-ts’i₃
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’ô: hî:qéx:sìʔ t’à:ts’iwâ:
màk’é-ô-ʔ hî:qé-xé-ô-sìʔ t’à-ts’iwâ-à
be.troubled-nml.-sp. some-pl.-sp.-loc. diminish(caus.)-reflex.-mult.-3m.sg.PC
As for some troubles, they have diminished
pà: hî:qéxé:á: ₃â:ts’iwâ
pà: hî:qé-xé-á: ₃â-ts’iwâ
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:

sà: ?ará: hè:sù sàndàwè:-sú-ʔ-sú hîk’i
NC(3f.sg.) truly dem.(ref.3f.sg.) Sandawe-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg. go
And truly this Sandawe woman went,

sà: ñl̃okó kí:sòxì pa:sà:-ʔnì:sà khwà mě:nà-ts’i:-t’
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 /mě:nà/ ‘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 /tlîné/ ‘build’ and /tlî:ts’i/ ‘build oneself up, be steadfast’, and /isá/ ‘steal’ and /isáts’i/ ‘steal oneself away’.
### 5.7.3 Reciprocal

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kill</th>
<th>kill each other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>húk`wà</td>
<td>húk`wàkí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!ʾó:</td>
<td>meet, get</td>
<td>!ʾókí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bikʰé</td>
<td>bikʰékí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰé?è</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>kʰé?èwâ:kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mènà</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>mènàwâ:kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mànà</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>mànàwâ:kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰé?è</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>kʰé?èkʰí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mènà</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>mèná:kʰâ:kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lʰèmë</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>lʰè:kʰâ:kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dûbè</td>
<td>smash</td>
<td>dûbimë:kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màlé</td>
<td>choose</td>
<td>màlimë:kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wèrë</td>
<td>walk, visit</td>
<td>wèrimë:kí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /-èkí/ and follows either the multiple morpheme /-wà/, the combination of this morpheme with the benefactive morpheme /-kù/, or the iterative morpheme /-më/.³⁴

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

(70) tʃíkí wàrè máxàë:sì  tʃʰá:sù:  húk`wàkísù:  
I also, friend, am a male, we both will kill each other.

wind and sun long.ago NC(3pl.) argue-mult.-recip.  
Long ago the wind and the sun argued with each other.

(72) mêlítà jáʔàbò n่อยmósö:sö  
[boat-in] [work people]GEN[GEN-sp.-3a.pl.]

³⁴ Alternatively, the form /-èkí/ could be analysed as two morphemes: the connective morpheme /-è/ and the reciprocal morpheme /-kí/.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comitative Table 5.14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!ʰó:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nʰáʔá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰë:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(73) pà:  | hí:á | úrí:ğà | wékʰë:ğíʔ?
pá:  | hí-à | úrí:à | wékʰë:-íʔ?
NC(3m.sg.) when-3m.sg.PC very-3m.sg.PC blow-sub.cl.
But when he blew a lot,

pà:  | mǐndzó nʰëmësë:ki:à | hëwë | kʰótʰë:ğà
pá:  | mǐndzó nʰëmësë:-ʰ-kí-à | hëwë | kʰótʰë:-ʰ-à
NC(3m.sg.) [journey man]_{GEN-sp.-add.-SF [he coat]}_{GEN-sp.-3m.sg.PC

té:lá: | nʰáʔákà:
té:là-à | nʰáʔà-ká-é
completely-3m.sg.PC cling-com.-3m.sg.obj.
then the traveller wrapped his coat more tightly around him.

(74) k’á:ře:  | hí:ki hëwë türútà | l’ë:wàkà:nà
k’á:ře:  | hí:ki hëwë türútà | l’ë:-wà-ká:-nà
youth how [he life]_{GEN look-mult.-com.-irr.(-3m.sg.)-qu.
How will a youth attend to his life,

pà:  | lá:ùwài
pá:  | lá:ùwà-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)  tfē:  kʰʰà:kà:xiṵòsɨ
tfē:  kʰʰà:-kà-é-xɨ- pó-í-sɨ
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 /-jó/ 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)  ?ā:  nē:wájō:/ nē:wàjō:
?ā:  nē:-wà-jō:
NC(3pl.) live-mult.-dur.
And then they lived

sā:  n|úmsūsâ:  tl’ābíso:sâ  !’ō:wê
sā:  n|ūm, sû-ثقافة- sû-á:  tl’ābísō:-sâ  !’ō:wê
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 /-wâ/, which can be associated with a repetitive or habitual meaning. In the following example, the durative morpheme alone provides the durative interpretation:

(77)  sī:  lēbērâsɨ  sî  sī:  lēbērí:me:
sī:  lēbērâ-sî  sî-é  sī:  lēbērî:me-é
NC(1sg.) stirrer-1sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj. NC(1sg.) stir-sg.obj
Then I take the stirrer, and I stir it,

sī:  bîkʰé:  pâ:  tŕts’įjō:
sī:  bîkʰé-é  pâ:  tŕts’į-jō:
NC(1sg.) leave-3m.sg.obj. NC(3m.sg.) boil-dur.
then I leave it, and then it boils for a while,

sī:  n|wâ:
sī:  n|wâ-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) hísí há: !’ò:kʰài?
    hí-sí há-é-ì? !’ò:kʰà-ì?
when-1sg.PC plant-3m.sg.obj.- & stop-sub.cl.
After I have finished planting,

sí: íé-à dàrà-jó: pà: |*wãː-ʔ-á: 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 hûmàséájó:
    hûmà-sé-à-jó:
defeat-1sg.obj.-3m.sg.PC-dur.
He has defeated me!

(80) dâ:ʧʰè:jó:
    dâ:-ʧʰì-sé-jo:
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 /-mã:sé/ is attached to a verb, the meaning expressed is a desire or intention to perform the action of the verb:

(81) kʰwàmãséší
    kʰwà-mã së-sí
return-des.-1sg.PC
I want to return/ I’m about to return.

(82) sàndâwè:kiʔiší sàjòmèsè
    sàndâwè:ki-ʔi:-sí sàjò-mã së
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bútl‘į</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dżā:ngā</td>
<td>green/grey, wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hàmbē:</td>
<td>where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k‘ùrùk‘úrù:</td>
<td>round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k‘ánk’árà</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k‘ünk’ú</td>
<td>blunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lá:ù</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé:</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā</td>
<td>far off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nē</td>
<td>nearby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰó:</td>
<td>white, light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts‘į:ntʰè</td>
<td>infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts‘ôtó:</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃʰè:</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tla:kî:é</td>
<td>empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’a:mù</td>
<td>old, used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâ:è:</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ʰaʃᵗʰú  k’ążk’árà
    ʰaʃᵗʰú  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 /tla:kî:é/ ‘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.
A lion is black.

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

(3)  ñ4átʃhú tswà:
  ñ4átʃhú tswà:
    [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)  ñ4átʃhú tʃù:
  ñ4átʃhú tʃù:
    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)  ñ4átʃhú bàʔè
  ñ4átʃhú bàʔè
    [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)  ñ4átʃhú bàʔè
  ñ4átʃhú bàʔè
    lion be.big
    A lion is big!

When a noun is marked with the specificity morpheme /-ʔ/ , 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)  ñ4átʃhú: k’ánk’árà:
  ñ4átʃhú-ʔ k’ánk’árà-ʔ
  lion-sp. black-sp.
  The black lion.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3m.sg.</th>
<th>PGN</th>
<th>3f.sg.</th>
<th>PGN</th>
<th>3i.pl.</th>
<th>PGN</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>³láŋu</td>
<td>û</td>
<td>³lá:su</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>³lá:?wã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nã</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>nã:su</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>nã:?wã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>far off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nẽ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>nẽ:su</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>nẽ:?wã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>nearby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’õ?: tô</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ts’õ:ts’õs</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>ts’õ:ts’õ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³l’á:mũ</td>
<td>mũ</td>
<td>³l’âs:ũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>³l’á:?wã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>old, used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hãmbẽ:</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>hãmbẽ:sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>hãmbẽ:ïwã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ünk’ũ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>k’ünk’úsũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>k’ünk’ũ:ïwã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>blunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mẽ:</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mẽ:sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>mẽ:ïwã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰō:</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>pʰō:sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>pʰō:ïwã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>white, light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’i:nthʱẽ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ts’i:nthʱesis</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>ts’i:nthʱïwã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’hẽ:</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>t’hẽ:sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>t’hẽ:ïwã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlâškiẽ:</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>tlâškiẽ:sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>tlâškiẽ:ïwã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>empty37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llaẽ:</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>llaẽ:sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>llaẽ:ïwã</td>
<td>ïwã</td>
<td>new38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bútũ’₁</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>bútũ’₁sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>bútũ’₁</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>džãngã</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>džãngã:sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>džãngã</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>green, grey, wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ánk’ára</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>k’ánk’ára:sũ</td>
<td>sũ</td>
<td>k’ánk’ára</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| NS(3m.sg.) | be.big.-pos.-3m.sg.-sp. | god.-SF | sea.-in-to-3m.sg.PC |

37 The stem /tlâški/ is also used to express the meaning of not having something; thus, /t’hẽ/tlâški/ ‘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.
Then the Lord sent a big wind to the sea for them.

wind big-3m.sg.PC send-3m.sg.obj.-appl.-3a.pl.obj.

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 /-sɨ/, 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, /ʔúr̥ː/ or /ʔúr̥ɪ/, 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 /tʰérɛ́ pʰòː-sí-sí-sí-sí/ (pot white-poss.-3m.sg.-poss.-3m.sg.) to mean ‘he has a white pot’, whereas younger Sandawe would say /tʰérɛ́ pʰòː-sí-sí/ (pot white-poss.-3m.sg.) for the same meaning. The structure of the first variant treats /pʰòː/ as a noun, whereas that of the second treats this word as an adjective.
(10)  kʰímbà    bà?ésê:     wàròŋgē:
kʰímbá    bà?é-sí-ê-ʁ    wàròŋgē-ːʁ
interj.(surprise) be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. god-sp.
sómbá    ?ürǐː:      mèːa      kʰínsè:
sómbá    ?ürǐː:      mèː-ːa      kʰínsé-è
fish     very     big-3m.sg.PC  send-3m.sg.obj.
But₄₀ 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’ɛ/ and then adding the adjectiviser suffix /-ˈstHeː/ (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)  tʰérɛː  l’ːmùts’ːtʰèː:
tʰérɛː  l’ː-ːmù-ts’ː tʰèː:
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)  tʰɛː  mèːmèː:
tʰɛː  mèː-ːmèː:
tree     big-big
A quite big tree.

(13)  n’loːkó  ŋáː?familyː wàː wà
n’loːkó  ŋáː-ːʔ wà-láː-ʔ wà
children   good-3i.pl.-good-3i.pl.
Quite good children.

Alternatively, an adjective may be preceded by the adverb /dóːlò/, ‘a little’.

6.1.3 Comparatives
A comparative construction can be formed using an adjective together with the word /ʔontʃè/ ‘compared to’,₄¹ as in the following elicited example:₄²

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) gáwâ: ts’ô:tô gélê: ?õntʃè
gáwâ-ː ts’ô:tô gélé-ː ?õntʃè
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:

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 /-xeʔ/ ‘like’ can be suffixed to the standard in the comparison:

(16) hùmbû: më:sú ʃëuxèʔ
hùmbû-ː më:-sú ʃëú-xèʔ:
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 /-m kà/ followed by a high-toned PGN morpheme:

(17) tʃí kʰô: ʃàpú ʃàpú:kà:mkè:
tʃí kʰô: ʃàpú ʃàpú:kà:-m kà-ː;
[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’)è/:

(18) kʰô: më:ts’è
kʰô: më:-ts’è
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) kʰô: më:ts’ì:
kʰô: më:-ts’ì-ː
house-sp. big-verb.-irr.(-3m.sg.)
The house will 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 /-ʔ_wà/, or /-ʔ_wá:/.

The following example contains the quantifier /tʃʰá/ ‘all, both’:

\[(21)\] mántʃʰákójò: níkô:
mántʃʰá-kò-jó:-̀ ní:-kò
eat-2sg.Imp.PC-dur.-& and-2sg.Imp.PC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hē:xʷé: tʃʰá toʔ_wàːrè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hē:xʷé: tʃʰá to-ʔ_wáː-ːré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem.(prox.pl.) all finish-3i.pl.obj.-3pers.obj.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Eat and finish all these!

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

\[(22)\] ʔʃʰómósò tʃʰá
ʔʃʰómósò tʃʰá
people all
Together with people.

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

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

The verb /dēː/ ‘to be many’, is made into a quantifier by the addition of the adjectiviser suffix /-z tʰéː/:
It feels just like

frog be.many-adj.-3a.pl.-SF stay-& puddle-in-3pl.PC swim
many frogs are swimming in a puddle.

In contrast to /tʃʰˈfɑ/ ‘all/both’, but like other non-numeral quantifiers, such as /máːʔ tó/ ‘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 /ʰˈgɛ/ ‘other, some’ may be suffixed with the plural morpheme /-xé/, as in the following example:

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

The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

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 /-ʔwà/ or /-ʔwá:/.

6.3.1 Cardinal

The Sandawe numerical system is quintenary:

Table 6.3 Cardinal numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Inanimate plural</th>
<th>Optional animate plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>ts‘éxì-è (masc.)</td>
<td>ts‘éxì-sú (fem.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>kísò-xì</td>
<td>kísò-só</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>s‘ámkí-xì</td>
<td>s‘ámkí-sò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>hàká-xì</td>
<td>hàká-sò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná-só</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná dáːndà ts‘éxè</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná dáːndà ts‘éxè-só</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná dáːndà kísò-xì</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná dáːndà kísò-só</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná dáːndà swámkí-xì</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná dáːndà swámkí-sò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná dáːndà hàká-xì</td>
<td>k‘àʔáná dáːndà hàká-sò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten43</td>
<td>kómì</td>
<td>kómìsò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in table 6.3, the inanimate plural suffix /-xì/ 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) nuá kísòxìsà x‘àntìmàːrè
dúá kísòxì-sà x‘ànté-mé-wáːrè
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 /kómì/ is a Swahili loanword (from kumi ‘ten’).
Table 6.4 Ordinal numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>[bársåts'tè:] [bársãŗṭè:]</td>
<td>[bársåts'isãsû:] [bársãŗṭsû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá:ŗa-sâ-ts']-i-é:-ऽ</td>
<td>bá:ŗa-sâ-ts']-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>start-nml.-at-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tánq̧iː:]</td>
<td>[tánq̧isû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tãñq̧i-i-é:-ऽ</td>
<td>tãñq̧i-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at.front-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>at.front-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>[kísóx̧iː:] [kísóx̧'w̧eː:] [kísó̧eː:]</td>
<td>[kísóx̧isû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kísóx̧i]-i-é:-ऽ</td>
<td>kísóx̧i-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>two-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>[s'w̧ámkix̧iː:] [s'w̧ámkîː:]</td>
<td>[s'w̧ámkix̧isû:] [s'w̧ámkîsû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s'w̧ámkix̧i]-i-é:-ऽ</td>
<td>s'w̧ámkix̧i-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>three-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>three-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fourth</td>
<td>[hãkáxiː:] [hãkájàː:]</td>
<td>[hãkáxisû:] [hãkáșsû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hãkáxi-i-é:-ऽ</td>
<td>hãkáxî-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>four-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>four-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifth</td>
<td>[k'w̧a?ãnâj̧eː]</td>
<td>[k'w̧a?ãnâsû:] [k'w̧a?ãnâ-sû:-ऽ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'w̧a?ãnâ-î-é:-ऽ</td>
<td>k'w̧a?ãnâ-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>five-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>five-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixth</td>
<td>[k'w̧a?ãnâ dáândâ ts'êx̧eː:]</td>
<td>[k'w̧a?ãnâ dáândâ ts'êx̧esû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'w̧a?ãnâ dáândâ ts'êx̧e-i-é:-ऽ</td>
<td>k'w̧a?ãnâ dáândâ ts'êx̧e-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>five-and-one-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>five-and-one-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenth</td>
<td>[kõmîː:] [kõmuː:]</td>
<td>[kõmsû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kõm-î-ऽ</td>
<td>kõm-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ten-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>ten-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last</td>
<td>['o'kãsãsâts'êː] ['o'kãsãsâts'êː]</td>
<td>['o'kãsãsâts'isãsû:] ['o'kãsãsâts'esãsû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>!'o'kãsã'-sâ-sâ-ts']-i-é:-ऽ</td>
<td>!'o'kãsã'-sâ-ts']-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stop-nml.-at-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>stop-nml.-at-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>['o'kãsûts'êː]</td>
<td>['o'kãsûts'esû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>!'o'kãsû-â-ts'-e-ऽ</td>
<td>!'o'kãsû-ts'-sû:-ऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stop-appl.-3m.sg.-sp.</td>
<td>stop-appl.-3f.sg.-sp.-3f.sg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(27) hëwéʔgãː báʔèsèː wàrõngetː bû kósâː
hëwéʔgã-â báʔès-sî-e-ऽ wàrõngẹ-ऽ bû-ऽ kósj̧-â
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.
And the word of the Lord got Jonah again for the second time.

(28) nì: tl’abísô: hèwé kwa?ănâjê:
nì: tl’abísô-ː hèwé kwa?ănâ-ː-
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 /-i/ 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) kwa?ănâisû:sû
    kwa?ănâ-i-sûː-sû
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) "lè bâ:rsâts’îts’î
    "lè bâ:rs-ː-ts’î-ː-
    day start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at
On the first day
    jônâ kwâ: nîjîtânâ: "lè:
    jônâ kwâ: nîjî-tâ-nâ-ː "lè:
Jonah NC(3m.sg.) town-in-to-3m.sg.PC enter
    Jonah entered the town.

(31) tâ:ngîjekî sâxî tf^nîndówá:
tâ:ngîj-i-ː-ː-kî sâxî tf^nîndówá:
at.front-pro.-3m.sg-sp.-add. RC(3f.sg.) bury(3m.sg.obj.)
She buried the first one

83
hâxî  s˝ëiè:kì  nè
háxì  s˝ë-í-é:-ɬ-ki  nè
again  now-pro.-3.m.sg.-sp.-add.  dem.adj.(prox.3m.sg.)

kõnáwàts’išè
kõnà-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 /-xì/ or may omit it. In addition, there is an alternative pronunciation for ‘second’ which ends in the sequence /-wë:]. 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 of 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Inanimate plural</th>
<th>Animate plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>[bãːrsàts’ixê:]</td>
<td>[bãːrsàtsoxê:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last</td>
<td>!’òk’h́awàts’exê:]</td>
<td>!’òk’h́awàts’e’sòsò:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>!’òk’h́a-wà-ts’e-xé:-ì</td>
<td>stop-mult.-appl.-pl.-sp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural, animate</th>
<th>Plural, inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proximal</strong>&lt;br&gt; (near to hearer and speaker)</td>
<td>hĕ:ù</td>
<td>hĕ:šū</td>
<td>hĕ:sō</td>
<td>hĕ:xʷé:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[hĕː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Referential</strong>&lt;br&gt; (near to hearer only)</td>
<td>hĕwé</td>
<td>hĕsú</td>
<td>hĕsó</td>
<td>hĕwéxé:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hĕwéxè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distal</strong>&lt;br&gt; (far from hearer and speaker)</td>
<td>hȃ:ù</td>
<td>hȃ:sù</td>
<td>hȃ:sò</td>
<td>hȃ:xʷé:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[hȃː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hĩ:go</td>
<td>hĩ:sù</td>
<td>hĩ:sò</td>
<td>hĩ:xʷè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /iː/ 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) mántʃʰákôjòː nǐkōː<br>mántʃʰá-kô-joː-ɾ níː-kò<br>eat-2sg.Imp-PC-dur.-& and-2sg.Imp-PC<br>hĕ:xʷéː tʃʰīː tōʔwàːɾeː<br>hĕ:xʷéː tʃʰīː tō-ʁwàːɾe<br>dem.(prox.pl.) all finish-3i.pl.obj.-3pers.obj.<br>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)  hë:sù  dámâ:sù
    hë:sù  dámâ:-̀-sù
    dem.(ref.3f.sg.) calf-sp.-3f.sg.

    hà:pù  mà:mè  tù:kè:i
    hà:pù  mà:mè  tù-kù-è:-i
    [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)  hà:ŋgákô:  hìk’ì  nì:né:wìnà
    hà:ŋgà-kò:-̀  hìk’ì  nì:nè:wì-nà
    get.up-2sg.Imp.PC-& go Nineveh-to

    nìjì:  hà:ü  mà:tànà
    nìjì:-̀  hà:ü  mà:-̀-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:

    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:

    hà:ɡò  hùmù:bù:-̀  gàndà-sì-è:-̀  l’òl’â:-i
    dem.(dist.3m.sg.) cow-sp.  be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. baboon-pro.
That thin cow is Baboon’s,

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) mā:kā  tëʔ̌  sāndāwē:sū  tēsūši  lā:
  mā:kā  tē-è-ts’ı̥  sāndāwē:-sū  tē-sū-si̥  lā:
year  other-3m.sg.-at  Sandawe-3f.sg.  other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC  see
The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

tl’ābīsōsūșu
tl’ābīsō-sí-su
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

ñı̥:  tl’ābīsō:  hēwé  kʷāʔanąj̃ē:
ñı̥:  tl’ābīsō-ː̥  hēwé  kʷāʔaną-ː̥-ː̥:
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural, animate</th>
<th>Plural, inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>nê</td>
<td>nēsū</td>
<td>nēsō</td>
<td>nēʔwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>nāsū</td>
<td>nāsō</td>
<td>nāʔwà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(38) tāngi’ë:kì  sāxì  tʃʰíndówà:
  tāngi’-ɨ-ː̥-kì  sāxì  tʃʰíndówà:
at.front-pro.-3m.sg-sp.-add.  RC(3f.sg.)  bury(3m.sg.obj.)
She buried the first one
The following two examples are commonly heard in conversation:

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

(40)  gēlé  nā
gēlé  nā
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  xāi  màntʃʰà  tʃi  lāːsjī  màntʃʰà
hàpú  xà-ì  màntʃʰà  tʃi  ĭ-ːsjī  màntʃʰà
you  badly-2sg.PC  eat  I  well-1sg.PC  eat
You eat badly, I eat well.

(42)  dō:lōkī  ?āŋkʰá  l’ā:ntʃʰímàsūkēːsòts’ē
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:
Come tomorrow,

?è:  kàlè:  pʰi!ʼisè:xpò
?é:  kàlè:-ː  pʰi!ʼisé-é-xj-pó

so that I can change your appearance for you.

Then you will get what you want.

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

I got there an old cow

and I swallowed them and was satisfied.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Specific location</th>
<th>Approximate location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>ðó</td>
<td>ðóntè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referential</td>
<td>ðóʔ</td>
<td>ðóʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>wàʔ</td>
<td>hétł’ì</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, /pʰúl’úmá/ is both an adverb meaning ‘safely’ and a noun meaning ‘safety’. A further example is /xá/, 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 /há/, which means ‘usually’:

(46) há? sáxj hí:asúu nʃːo:kɔːsɔsá
    usually RC(3f.sg.) dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg. children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC

kɔːtánasá ʃíːmɛːtʃisjgá
kɔː-tà-nà-sà ʃíːmɛː-ts’è-ʃíː-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

mántʃhà ìʃhásànàsá hík’ì
mántʃhà ìʃhà-sà-nà-sà hík’ì
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 /dimè/, meaning ‘perhaps’:

(47) dimè wàràŋgɛː gá: tʃíts’á: ʃ”.ɛː:
dimè wàràŋgɛː-ː-á: tʃí-ts’í-à ʃ”.ɛː:
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 */?ámáná/* also meaning ‘perhaps’, is another example of a disjunct in Sandawe.

**7 Conjunctions**

**7.1 */nî/,* /hî/ ‘and’**

The coordinating conjunction */nî/* (Western dialect) or */hî/* (Eastern dialect) is used to conjoin NPs, as in the following example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(1)} & \quad \text{wéké: } nì: \quad l`akásù \quad ?ùtā: \quad ?à: \quad k^hòŋgòmàwà:kì \\
& \quad \text{wind and sun long.ago NC(3pl.) argue-mult.-recip.} \\
\text{Long ago the wind and the sun argued with each other.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2)} & \quad ?ùtā: \quad lò:o? \quad hèsú \quad k^hò:sùsù \\
& \quad \text{very.long.ago dik.dik [she house]GEN-poss.-3f.sg.} \\
\text{Very long ago Dik-dik had her house} \\
& \quad nì: \quad nỳ:ò:kó \quad s^wámkíxí:wà:sùsù \\
& \quad nì: \quad nỳ:ò:kó \quad s^wámkíxí-wà-sì-sù \\
\text{and had three children.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3)} & \quad lò-ts`ì \quad ñì:ò:sì \quad l`ò:wè \quad nì: \quad ñìŋgè: \\
& \quad ñì:ò-ts`ì \quad ñì:ò:sì \quad l`ò:-é \quad ñì: \quad ñìːŋ-é: \\
\text{On the way, I got meat and ate it.}
\end{align*}
\]

The conjunction */nî/* 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 */nî/*, 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.
And so they caught Jonah.

\[
\text{niʔà: bāhārīːtānàː? lē: nī-ʔà? bāhārī-ʔ-tā-nā-ʔ lē-ē and-3pl.PC sea-sp.-in-to-3pl.PC throw-3m.sg.obj.}
\]

and threw him into the sea.

In the preceding example, the connective morpheme \(-\mathring{\xi}/\), glossed here as ‘&’, is attached to the verb which precedes the conjunction. This morpheme can be analysed as a reduced form of the conjunction /nīː/ or /hīː/. 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 /nīː/ are usually suffixed with the connective morpheme \(-\mathring{\xi}/\).\footnote{The connective morpheme is not normally suffixed to the stem of a possessive construction that precedes the conjunction /nīː/, such as in example (2).}

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:

\[
\text{hāpū hīkā: ̊ìē hāpū hīkf-à ̊íē you how-3m.sg.PC stay You, how is it,}
\]

\[
\text{kʷi: ̊íē: ̊līnē: ̊l̃ō kʷi: ̊íē-ʔ ̊līnē-ʔ ̊l̃ō NC(2sg.) stay-& lie.down-& sleep you are lying down and sleeping?}
\]

\[(\text{Lit. You stay and lie down and sleep.})\]
When he had finished saying thus,
(Lit. When he said thus and finished)

pà: múréâ: "!à?i:
pá: múrè-á: "!á-?i:
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 /hèntè/ ‘limp’, is one of these non-locomotive verbs, as can be seen by the following elicited example, which is ungrammatical:

(7) * tʰɛtánâ: hèntè
tʰɛ:-tã-nà-à hènté
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’i/ ‘go’ is conjoined to /hèntè/ ‘limp’:

(8) tʰɛtánâ: hènté: hík’i
tʰɛ:-tã-nà-à hènté’í hík’i
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’èxénàs’:ts’ì pà: mǐndzó nỳèmèstâ: l’ùsùkù
ts’èxè-nà-sà-êt-ts’ì pá: mǐndzó nỳèmèsté-á: l’ùsùkù
one-to-nml.-sp.-at NC(3m.sg.) [journey man]GEN-SF pass
Suddenly a traveller passed by
k’hó’t’hà: hif’à:
k’hó’t’h-à hif’àn-è
cloak-3m.sg.PC wear-& wearing a cloak.
(10) \( t^h\dot{e}k^h\dot{e}l\dot{e}:a:\) lì
t^h\dot{e}k^h\dot{e}l\dot{e}:-á: lì
hyena-SF come
Hyena came,
pò: k\(h^o:\) gô \(n!ô:w\dot{e}k^w\dot{e}\) hàpûmsë:
pò: k\(h^o:-\dot{\imath}:-\dot{\imath}\) \(n!ô:-\dot{\imath}:-kû:-\dot{\imath}\) hàpû-mi së:-\(\dot{\imath}\)
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 /bârâ/ 'start' and used to mean the first one to do the action of the verb with which it is conjoined:

(11) k\(h\dot{e}\dot{\imath}?:k\dot{e}k^\dot{\imath}:-\dot{\imath}\):à:kì?â kà?
k\(h\dot{e}\dot{\imath}?:k\dot{e}k^\dot{\imath}:-kû-wà:-\dot{\imath}:-kì:-\dot{\imath}\)? kà?
hear-ben.-mult.-recip.-3pl.PC hear.
They agreed that
bârâ: mì:nd3ô \(n!êmësë:-l'â?\)
bârâ:-\(\dot{\imath}\) mì:nd3ô \(n!êmësë:-l'â?\)
start-3m.sg.obj.-& [journey man] GEN-sp.-belong
k\(h\dot{o}t\dot{h}i\) tûk\(w^\dot{e}t\dot{\imath}:s^\dot{e}se\):
k\(h\dot{o}t\dot{h}i\) tû-kû-\(\dot{\imath}\):-ts^\dot{e}:-sì:-\(\dot{\imath}\)
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...)

hèwë sàmbôsë:
hèwë sàmbô-sì:-\(\dot{\imath}\)
he strength-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.
he was the one with strength.

7.2 /há/, /hâ/ ‘nor’, ‘even’, ‘but’ and /hâxë/ ‘again’

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

(12) hë:ù bô: sî: t\(h\dot{a}ntô:-\dot{\imath}:-ts^\dot{e}\)
hë:ù bô:-\(\dot{\imath}\) sî: t\(h\dot{a}ntô:-\dot{\imath}:-ts^\dot{e}\)
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) word-sp. [you(pl.) effort] GEN-with-neg.
This word was not by your (pl.) effort,
he:u  tәxі  wәranә:  zәwәd增进
he:u  tәxі  wәranә:  zәwәd增进
this(prox.3m.sg.) just [god gift]GEN
this is just a gift of God,

hә:  sі:  lә:iʔwә  nәlәʔә?iʔә:  lɨtʃʰә:
hә:  sі:  lә:iʔ-ʔ wә  nәlәʔә-ʔә:  lɨ-ʃhʰ-ә:
nor [you(pl.) good-3i.pl. do]GEN-with come-neg.-3m.sg.
nor did it come by your (pl.) doing good things.

(13) tʃu:  nәltsʔiʃʰә:
гәтә
tʃu:  nәl-ʃiʃhʰ-ә:
гәтә
animal fear-reflex.-neg.-3m.sg. very
It was a very frightening animal

hә:  tʰәtsʔ̃в̚ оki  dә-tsʔ̃б:ʃhʰә:
hә:  tʰәtsʔ̃б-о:ʔ̃о-ʔ̃ kи  dә-tsʔ̃б-👋̃-ʃhʰ-ә:
nor shoot-nml.-sp.-add. be.able-reflex.-decl.-neg.-3m.sg.
and to shoot was not even possible.

When /hә:/ is used to conjoin two affirmative constructions, it can be translated as ‘even’ or ‘but’:

(14) tәlә  mә:kbo̱
гәлә  mә:kbo̱
completely taboo
It is completely taboo,

nәlәmәsә:  hә:  tʃu:  mәntʃʰәʔо:  nә:  tsʔ̃б:ʔо:
нәlәmәsә:  hә:  тʃu:  mәntʃʰә-ʔо:  нә:  тск:ʔо:
person even animal eat-nml and drink-nml.
(for) a person (or) even an animal to eat and drink.

(15) sә:  nәlә  hә:  nәlәkо̱:  тʃʰә-ʔwә:
sә:  nәlә  hә:  nәlәkо̱-ʔ  тʃʰә-ʔwә:
NC(3f.sg.) enter but children-sp. absent-3i.pl.
Then she entered, but the children were not there.

The occurrence of the conjunction /hә:/ between two affirmative constructions containing verbs has not been attested. In such cases, the third person masculine singular narrative conjunction /pa:/ is instead used as a contrasting conjunction (see the following section). The conjunction /hә:/ can, therefore, be described the functional equivalent of /pa:/ for the introduction of clauses which do not contain a verb (such as copulars or possessives).
Similarly, the conjunction /hâxì/ ‘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)  hfâ  hfk’î:  hî:a  ts’â:kʷâ  î:j:i?
hf-à  hfk’î:-z  hî:a  ts’â:-kû-à  î:j:-i?
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,

hâxì  rô:  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):

NC(3pl.) people very-3pl.PC laugh NC(3pl.) hear.
Then the people laughed a lot and said…

(18)  s”ê  ãxî  mîn:d3ô:gâ?  kósâ?  bâ:râ:
s”ê  ãxî  mîn:d3ô:-z-â?  kósî-â?  bâ:râ-ê
now RC(3pl.) journey-sp.-3pl.PC again-3pl.PC start-3m.sg.obj.
Now they started the journey again.

(19)  ë:ákîkô  ?ô:  nî?
ë:ákî-kô  ?ô:  nî?
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 /kós]/ ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Narrative</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>sːː</td>
<td>sɨxː</td>
<td>?ːː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>pːː</td>
<td>pɨxː</td>
<td>kːː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.</td>
<td>pːː</td>
<td>pâxː</td>
<td>kʷːːː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.</td>
<td>sːː</td>
<td>sâxː</td>
<td>sːː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>pːː</td>
<td>pɔxː</td>
<td>?ːː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>pːː</td>
<td>pɛxː</td>
<td>kʷːː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>?ːː</td>
<td>?ːːː</td>
<td>kʷːː?ːː:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)   pːː       tʰímé
      pːː       tʰímé
      NC(3m.sg.) cook
      And then he cooked.
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. 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:

\[ (22) \quad \text{NC(3pl.) gourd-in-to put-irr.-3a.pl.} \]

And then they would put it in a gourd

\[ \text{kỳ'à: dò:lò hônkô:i} \]

\[ \text{kỳ'à: dò:lò hônkô:-i} \]

so that it would become a little sour.

A SF marker may also follow a SC:

\[ (23) \quad \text{SC(3m.sg.) a.little. become sour-irr.(-3m.sg.)} \]

So that the stomach wouldn’t hurt him.

The third person masculine singular NCs /pà:/ and /kỳ’à:/ are usually interchangeable, but the text corpus contains one example in which these conjunctions are used to distinguish and contrast two participants:

\[ (24) \quad \text{NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp.} \]

\[ \text{SC(3m.sg.) neg. stomach-SF hurt-ben.-3m.sg.obj.} \]

What is referred to here as a non-lowered tone pattern corresponds to tone level 1 in Elderkin’s analysis.
Then Baboon chose a fat cow,

\[ \text{kwa}: n'wá: } \\
\[ \text{kwa}: n'wá: } \\

NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp.

whereas Elephant chose a thin cow.

This sentence is not acceptable if /kwa:/ is replaced by /pá:/.

The third person masculine singular NC /pá:/ 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':

(25) \[ ?ò?śi? \quad \text{?à: } \text{hòsó mèlità } \text{jà?bèsisò:sò} \]
\[ ?ò?śi? \quad \text{?à: } \text{hòsó mèli-tà } \text{jà?bè-sì-sò:̀-sò} \]
\[ \text{there(ref.-loc. NC(3pl.)) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.} \]
\[ \text{mèli:sùts’à? } \text{dùrùnà? } \text{!èmò:a? } \text{niliwè:} \]
\[ \text{mèli:̀-sù-ts’ì-à? } \text{dùrù:̀-nà-à? } \text{!èmé-ò:̀-à? } \text{niliwè:} \]
\[ \text{boat-sp.-3f.sg.-at-3pl.PC shore-to-3pl.PC take-nml.-3pl.PC try} \]
\[ \text{It was then that they who worked in the boat tried to take the boat to shore,} \]
\[ \text{pà: dà:tjö} \]
\[ \text{pà: dà:tfhi-só} \]
\[ \text{NC(3pl.) be.able.-neg.-3a.pl.} \]
\[ \text{but they could not.} \]

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) \[ ?àdúkúṣëtjö:pu \quad \text{pà: } \text{mè:násùsì} \]
\[ ?àdúkúṣ-së-tjöi-sú \quad \text{pà: } \text{mènà:sù-sì} \]
\[ \text{help-1sg.obj.-neg.-3f.sg. NC(3m.sg.) like-3f.sg.obj.-1sg.PC} \]
\[ \text{She didn’t help me, but I like her.} \]

---

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) "!ê ts’èxè kéutò !’inò:nàô ni?
"!ê ts’éxè kéutò !’iné-ó:-nà-ò nf?
day one pig hunt-nml.-to-1pl.PC go
One day we went hunting pigs,

wàré té mìndâ? màntʃhà: pò:
wàré té-è mìndà-à? màntʃhà-è pò:
[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) màʔékô: bókʷè:
màʔé-kô-ʔ bó-kú-é:
go.around-2sg.Imp.PC-& say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
Go and tell him,

kʷà: tû: hîk’î hûk’wàːʃî kò:
kʷà: tû-ʔ hîk’î hûk’wà-é-šî kò:
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) ?àʔá dòːlókô l’inkè k’héʔesô kò:
?àʔá dòːlô-kô l’inké k’héʔ-è-sô kò:
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 /dó/, ‘wait’:

(30)  dôk‘wê:  tši  dɛɾu  !‘u:  ?ì:e
   dô-kò-?ê:  tši  dɛɾu  !‘u-?  ?ì-e
wait-2sg.Imp.PC-SC(1sg.)  [I  chin]_{GEN}  hair_{GEN-sp.}  3pers.-3m.sg.obj.
Wait, let me give my whisker,

k‘wà:  là:ge:  tši  máxá:e:sìʔò:
k‘wà:  lâ:-e:  tši  máxá-é-sì-ʔò:
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)  sì:  dlà:n’sì  k’hùʔsè:à
sì:  dlà:ní-ʔ-sì  k’hùʔ-sé-é-à
NC(1sg.)  arrow-sp.-1sg.PC  spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then I threw the arrows away and

t’hê:  l’â:nàsì  kê
t’hê:  l’â:-nà-sì  kê
[tree  top-to]_{GEN-1sg.PC}  climb
climbed to the top of a tree.

(32)  h’à?  sàxì  l’hà:sì  n’il:ō:kò:sòsà
h’à?  sàxì  l’hà-ʔ-sì  n’il:ō:kò-ʔ-sò-sà
usually  RC(3f.sg.)  dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg.  children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC

k’hôtànàsà  n’Hîmè:t’sì:qâ
k’hô:-tà-nà-sà  n’Hîmè:-ts’è-ʔì:-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

mânt’hà  tʃ’hàsànàsà  hîk’ì
mânt’hà  tʃ’hà-sà-nà-sà  hîk’ì
food  look.for-nml.-to-3f.sg.PC  go
and went to look for food.
The connective morpheme /-˘ ñ/) 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 /-˘ ñ/) is preferred. The text corpus contains the following exception to this tendency:

(33) ã: në:wajõ: sâ: tël’ësë:â tël’âbìsõsì
â: në:-wâ-jõ: sâ: tël’ësë:-â tël’âbìsõ-sì
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) hêwê?gâ: kêtõ: lâ: têâ
hêwê? gâ-à kêtõ-˘ ñ/ lá-à têâ
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 /hêwê? gâ/ 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 /hîâ/ ‘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) sâ: lêi:â:sù ts’ôngõrâ: dlâ?
sâ: lêi:INCREMENT-â-sù ts’ôngõrî-â dlâ?
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 /-˘ ñ/) 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) tîf nël’mêsë: k’ê:seâ nê
tîf nël’mêsë: k’ê:-sf-ê-â nê
[I person]GEN cry-poss.-3m.sg.-conn. dawn(verb)
My person cries all day
Lit. My person has crying and dawns
The connective morpheme /-à/ cannot be replaced with /-ë/ 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||õ:õkó kõŋgõ:o:kí miríká? n|wè:
       n||õ:õkó kõŋgõ:o:kí miríkį:-ã? n|wè:
       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 /ní/. Thus, in the following example, it is more natural to use /-kí/ than /ní/ because the two referents are understood as a couple:

       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)  pã: mìkʰ:é: téľá:
       pã: mìkʰ:é:-é téľà-ã
       NC(3m.sg.) leave/stop-3m.sg.obj. completely-3m.sg.PC
       Then he stopped it completely.

lē?: hèsûLF-ã: nè:-wá pákã ?ã: là?té
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)  hà?  nìlàtí:qì?  hí-à?  nìlàtí-ì-i?
when-3pl.PC  come-&-sub.cl.

It became apparent to them that

hà:  nìì?:  kì  kò:nàwàts‘ìsè
há:  nìì?:-ì-kì  kò:ñà-wà-ts‘ì-sí-è
even  child-sp.-add.  spoil-mult.-reflex.-poss.-3m.sg.
even (this) child was handicapped as well.

tjè?:  kì  s“á:má?
tjè:-ì-kì  s“á:má?
head-sp.-add.  narrow
And the head was narrow.

|wè?:  kì  !á:wásè
|wè:-ì-kì  !á:-wà-sí-è
eye-sp.-add.  go.in.different.directions-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.
And the eyes were crossed.

|lì hàtâ:kì  xòrì:wásè
|lì hàtá-ì-kì  xòrì:-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:

and  I-add.  [be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.  god-sp.  home]GEN-at

?ìësì  làbànà
?ìë-ì-sì  làbà-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) māntʃháki ūršâ: mālê: māntʃhâ
māntʃhâ-kí ūrî-sâ mālê-ː māntʃhâ
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) tʃhátʃhâ:kîsî mē:nâwâ:kʷè
tʃhâ-tʃhâ-ː-kî-sî mē:nâ-wâ:kû-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, /-kî/ functions as a marker of emphasis:

(44) tʃá: ?ūtâ:kî mē:nâ: sîè
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) sândawē:sû hrô !èkô: sō:sōbê:î?
sândawē-sû: hrô !èkô: sō:sōbê-é-i?
Sandawe-1pl. when-1pl.PC millet harvest-3m.sg.obj.-sub.cl.
When we Sandawe harvest millet,
pô: tʰâ:mô: kʰi:kʰîʔsêːà
pô: tʰâ-nà-ò kʰi:kʰîʔsê-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
mâlê: lâ:â:kî dâ:ndâ
mâlê-kí lâ-ː-kî dâ:ndâ
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.
The additive morpheme is also commonly used in introducing speech in narratives (see section 12.5).

7.6 /hèwèʔ gâ/, /hèwèʔ gê/, /hèwè-ts’j/, /hèwè-kîmêj/ ‘and so, therefore’

The conjunction /hèwèʔ gâ/ ‘and so, therefore’ can be used to introduce a clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hèwèʔ gâ:} & \quad l^h\text{át}l^h\text{Þu:} & \quad k^h\text{ô:tát}l^j\text{ê} & \quad t^w\text{ê}:\bar{a} \\
\text{hèwèʔ gâ-à} & \quad l^h\text{át}l^h\text{û}-\text{j} & \quad k^h\text{ôr-tà-tf}ê-\text{ê-é} & \quad t^w\text{ê:-à} \\
\text{and.so-3m.sg.PC lion-sp.} & \quad \text{house-in-from-3m.sg.} & \quad \text{at.night-3m.sg.PC} \\
\text{tû:} & \quad \text{hf}k^j\text{i}: & \quad n^l\text{êtà:} & \quad ?i\text{èwà} & \quad s^w\text{énàkì} \\
\text{tû:-} & \quad \text{hf}k^j\text{i}: & \quad n^l\text{ê-tà-à} & \quad ?i\text{è-wà} & \quad s^w\text{ê-nà-kî} \\
\text{come.out-} & \quad \text{go-} & \quad \text{wilderness-in-3m.sg.PC} & \quad \text{live-mult.} & \quad \text{now-to-add.} \\
\text{And so Lion came out of the house at night and went and lived in the wilderness until now.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

/hèwèʔ gê/ is an alternative form of this conjunction. Both these forms can be analysed as deriving from the referential masculine demonstrative /hèwè/, 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 [ʔ_] as coming from the postposition /-ts’j/ ‘at’.

The referential masculine demonstrative is also the basis for another conjunction with the same meaning:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k^wà:} & \quad \text{hèwèts’å:} \\
k^wå: & \quad \text{hèwè-ts’j-å} \\
\text{NC(3m.sg.)} & \quad \text{dem.(ref.3m.sg.)-at-3m.sg.PC} \\
\text{jàjáxî:sòà} & \quad \text{tîmûʔî:} \\
\text{jàjá-xjî:-sò-à} & \quad \text{tîmû-ʔî:} \\
\text{brother-et.al.-sp.-3a.pl.-3m.sg.PC} & \quad \text{swallow-3a.pl.obj.} \\
\text{And so then he swallowed the brothers.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

This conjunction is analysed as containing the postpositional suffix /-ts’j/ ‘at’.

A third conjunction with the meaning ‘and so, therefore’ is derived from the demonstrative /hèwè/ by means of the postpositional suffix /-kîmêj/ ‘because’:
This conjunction differs slightly in its distribution and meaning from the other two conjunctions illustrated above. In the text corpus, /hèwè?-gà/ and /hèwè-ts'ì/ occur in narrative clauses, whereas /hèwè-kìmé:/ 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 /hèwè?-gà/, the Swahili verb form chosen is the narrative (-ka-). Recall how example (34) above also suggested that /hèwè?-gà/ has a narrative function as its occurrence in a clause licenses the use of the narrative connective /-à/.

7.7 /-sfì/ locative

The locative morpheme /-sfì/ is used in existential constructions like the following elicited example:

(49) kʰō:tà  nəlo:-sfì
   kʰō:-tà  nəlo:-sfì
   house-in child-loc.
   There is a child inside.

This construction is comparable with a locative construction which uses the possessive morpheme /-sfì/, as shown in the following elicited example:

(50) nəlo:sù  kʰō:tà  kó:súsù
    nəlo:-sù  kʰō:-tà  kó:-sfì-sù
    child-3f.sg. house-in present-poss.-3f.sg.
    A child is inside.

One function of the locative morpheme /-sfì/ is to join two clauses which describe simultaneous events:

(51) "nwánēk‟ē  ?áduk‟ò:  lõ:xì  bê:bà  kó:sésì?  
    "nwánē-k‟ē  ?áduk‟-ò:  lõ:xì  bê:bà  kó:-sf-è-sì?  
    pray-2pl.Imp.PC help-nml. still near present-poss.-3m.sg.-loc.
    Pray for help, while he is still near.
And the grinding, when the first cockerel crows,

hâ:ngâ: nòwèpògâ?

get up & grind irr. 2sg. decl.
you will get up and grind.

Thus, a construction using /-si/? 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 /-si?/, in which case the meaning ‘if there is/are…’ is understood:

(53) tàtà hàpú já?âbô: l’imó: lómó: !’ámó:
	fàter [you work] gen-sp. clear-nml. cultivate-nml. carve-nml.
	Father, your work is to clear, cultivate, carve,

"!á:mó: hónó: hâ hùmbùsì?:? bálo:  
"!ámé-ó: hònâ-a: hî-â hùmbù-sì?-i? bálò:-ó:  
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) màk’ô: hîgèxè:sì? t’ë:ts’ìwâ:  
bè.troubled-nml.-sp. some-pl.-sp.-loc. diminish(cause.)-reflex.-mult.-3m.sg.PC
As for some troubles, they have diminished

pà: hîgèxè:a: là:ts’ìwâ  
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) ṭʰʷᵃᵗᵃˢʼįᵐᵉ: ḧᵉᵐ⁻sǐ ṭḷᵃːsǐ
    ṭʰʷᵃᵗᵃˢʼį-kįᵐᵉ: ḧᵉᵐ⁻ő-sǐ ṭḷᵃːsǐ
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) ṭö̥-sǐ    mëⁿᵃᵗˢ’įʔː  tūsǐ:
    ṭö̥-sǐ    mëⁿà-ts’įʔː  tū-ì-sǐ:
there(ref.)-loc. like-reflex.-with come.out-irr.-2pl.
It is then you (pl.) will come out with joy,
    pūṭl’úṁāʔːi xèśiŋgĩ
    pūṭl’úṁà-ʔǐ xè-śì-ǐ
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’e/, as in the following elicited example:

(57) kà:kâsiʔ ts’e džàkʰá
    kà:kâ-sìʔ-ts’e džàkʰá
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:
These stripey things, which are like a house of wall sticks, are ribs.

Similarly, in the following example, the command follows the assertion:

What a woman,

Don’t open the door,

Unlike the expected pattern for OV language, Sandawe tends to order reason clauses after result clauses, as in the following example:

One day we went hunting pigs,
Another exceptional pattern seen in Sandawe is the tendency for purpose clauses to follow means clauses:

(5) 'wa tə:si ni: hək ‘i: 'wə:wəsi
! wə tə-è-i-si ni: hək ‘i: ‘o-è-i-si
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,

?ò: tòtò:kisū:
?ò: tòtò:ək-1-sū:
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) sʔè ṭsândh: gərəts ‘â: nʔinəwâ
sʔè ṭsândh: gərə-təs ‘â-1:
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) hèwéʔgà: dôrô: dàk ‘wə:e’gà nif wâ:jô:
 hèwéʔgà-à dôrô-è: dàk ‘wə:e-è-à nif wâ:jô:
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) dimè wàrəngé: gà: tʃîts ‘â: ‘wə:è:
 dimè wàrəngé-è:i-à: tʃî-ts ‘â-à ‘wə:è:
perhaps god-sp.-SF l-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) wāʔåsɨ kʰökʰôrósɨ ˈò:wè
wāʔ-ɾɨ kʰökʰôrô-sɨ ˈòː-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) ?âː mêlitâtʃèâʔ? mîzîgːts`âʔ?
  áː mêli-tà-tʃè-é-àʔ? mîzîgː-ʔ-ʔ-ï-ì-âʔ?
NC(3pl.) boat-in-from-3m.sg.-3pl.PC load-sp.-at-3pl.PC
ts`â-áranâʔ? kùʔùmsè
  ts`â-tà-nà-âʔ? kùʔùmsè
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) ?ôʔsîʔ? ʔâː hòsò mêlità jáʔbèsísò:sò
there(ref.)-loc. NC(3pl.) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.
mèlːsùts`ãʔ? dûrûnâʔ? ˈèmôːåʔ? ˈnː|wèː:
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) hèwèʔğèsì têlåsi ʔʃí kimâ:sìʔ
  hèwèʔ ɡè-sì têlà-sì ʔʃí kimâː-ʔ-ʔ-sìʔ
and.so-1sg.PC completely-1sg.PC [I poisonous.arrow]_ GEN-sp.-1sg.PC
  lá:sì ˈànì tʃèːːmâːsìʔ ʔèː:
  láː-sì ˈànì tʃèːːmāː-sìʔ ʔèː:
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:
On the first day

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) "lò: ts’ô?:tô ʔútà: bik’hë:sòts’ë
    "lô: ts’ô:-ʔ tô ʔútâ: bik’hë-é-i-sò-ts’ë
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) hèwéxè:  "lò:kô  "fïnsô
    hèwéxè:  "lô:kô  "fïnj-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) hèsù   dámâ:shù
    hèsù   dámâ-ʔ-sù
    dem.(ref.3f.sg.) calf-sp.-3f.sg.

hâpù mà̄më  tûkë:i
hâpù mà:më  tû-kù-é:-i
[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)  
P^hëiʔè
dâk^wë chants
p^hë-i-è-ts’è
dâk^wë-3m.sg.-sp.-at
tomorrow-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at NC(3m.sg.) come donkey-sp.
The next day along came Donkey.

(18)  
?áːrèts’íkò
ejèsù-ts’è
?áːrèts’í-kò
ejèsù-sí-è- rè
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)  
hè:u hàpú hùmbug: úrà: gândá
hé:u hàpú hùmbug- rè úrj-à gândá
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)  
mà:kà tè? sàndàwè:sú tèsúšì là:
mà:kà té-è-ts’è sàndàwè:sú tè-sú-sì là:
year other-3m.sg.-at Sandawe-3f.sg. other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC see
The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

tł’abíso:shì
stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.
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) kʰímbá bà?éšë: wàròŋgë:
kʰímbá bà?é-sf-è-ː wàròŋgë:-ː
interj. (surprise) be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. god-sp.

sómbá ?úrī: méːa kʰínsë:
sómbá ?úrī: méː-ːa kʰínsé-é fish very big-3m.sg.PC send-3m.sg.obj.
But the Lord sent a very large fish.

The order Noun-Adv-Adj 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 dógɔːsò nǐ: hàbáisɔːsò
hèwé dógɔ-ː sò nǐ: hàbá-ːsò-ː sò
[he relative] GEN-sp.-3a.pl. and give.birth-agent.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

hà:nàkìsò tʰífasò
hà:nàkì-ːsò tʰà-sò
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) lá: nɛːsò ?úrī:
lá: nɛː-ːsò ?úrī:
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 /?úrī:/ ‘very’ preceding /lá:/ ‘well’.
If two verbs are conjoined with the connective morpheme /-é/, the default order is for the verb which is suffixed with this morpheme to precede the other verb:

NC(3m.sg.) millet  stay-&  grow-dur. 
Then the millet keeps growing,
па:  ñлú?ú  па:  ñлú?ú  
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:

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 /-ё/ or /-а/: 

(1)  хатё:  хё:ü  тфимë:å  л’ётсё:  
хатё:  хё:ü  тф-кимё:-а  л’ё-тсё:  
be.bad-nml.  dem.(prox.3m.sg.)  I-bec.-3m.sg.PC  get-reflex.  
This badness happened because of me. 

(2)  хёве:  батё:  гитё:гё:  тётекь-а:  
хёве:  батё-ё:  гитё-ё:-а  тётекь-у-вà  
[[he be.big-nml.]GEN clothes]GEN-sp.-3m.sg.PC  take.off-3i.pl.obj.  
He took off his clothes of greatness. 

(3)  хё:  л’ёк-а  ñлë:гё:  ñлë:и?  
хё-а:  л’ёк-а  ñлë-ё-т-а:  ñлë:-и?  
when-3m.sg.PC  [dowry day]GEN-sp.-SF  arrive-sub.cl.  
When the dowry day arrives,
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)  s³ë  hë  lâ?wân:  tlêmsëi?
s³ë  hí-ô  lâ:-wâ:-ê  tlêmsë-ì?
now  when-1pl.PC  see-3i.pl.obj.-&  finish-sub.cl.
Now after we had seen them,

kô:  pângâts’ëò  bà:rà
kô:  pângâ-ts’ë-ô  bà:rà
NC(1pl.)  arrange-reflex-1pl.PC  start
then we started to arrange ourselves.

The suffixes /-?òì/ and /-sà/ are unrestricted in the choice of verbs to which they attach. The suffix /-ô/ 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 /ë/ vowel which is not part of the verb root, as in /t³íëì/ ‘cook’ and /lòëì/ ‘cultivate’. However, other verbs which allow the /-ô/ suffix, such as /hibà/ ‘weed’ and /lì’akì/ ‘descend’, do not fall into this category. Monosyllabic verbs and other multisyllabic verbs, such as /hùmà/ ‘defeat’ and /t³wârà/ ‘carry’, cannot be nominalised with /-ô/.

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)  ?  t³ímesàsà  bà:rà:
t³ímë-sà-sà  bà:rà-ë
cook-nml.-3f.sg.PC  start-3m.sg.obj.
?  She started to cook.

The three suffixes /-?òì/, /-ô/ and /-sà/ can nominalise a verb together with its object, as in (6) (see also examples (11) and (14)):

(6)  n³ëtënsëj  hìk’ë  këutò  !’inësànësëj
n³ë-të-nà-sëj  hìk’ë  këutò  !’inë-sà-nà-sëj
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  lòmê:gà?  dà:
mìndà  lòmé-t-à?
field  cultivate-sp.-3pl.PC  be.able
They can cultivate the field.

The two suffixes /-ʔò/ and /-ό/ are functionally equivalent. However, there is a tendency for
/-ό/ to be preferred where it is allowed, particularly when there is no object in the
nominalised VP:

(8)  lìantó:kí  !’ό:wésį
lìantá-ό:-kí  !’ό:-é-sį
be.satisfied-nml.-add.  get-3m.sg.obj.-1sg.PC
I have got satisfaction.

(9)  fáró:  lò:  ts’ό:ʔtò
fáré-ό:  lò:  ts’ό:-ʔ tò
[lie-nml.  path]GEN  be.short/small-adj.
The path of lying is short.

(10)  hèwéʔgà:  !’ínô:kîa:  tìː:
hèwéʔ  gà-à  !’îné-ό:-ʔ-kt-á:
and.so-3m.sg.PC  hunt-nml.-sp.-add.-SF  be.finished
And so the hunting was finished.

If the VP contains an object, /-ʔò/ is often preferred, even when /-ό/ is allowed, as in the
following example:

(11)  fò  hàpúkí  nòwò:  łómó:
fò  hàpú-kí  nòwé-ό:  łòmé-ό:
mother  you-add.  grind-nml.  cultivate-nml.

nànnį  tʷè:ʔò:  mántʃʰà  tʰîmèʔò:
vègètâles  gather-nml.  food  cook-nml.
Mother, as for you, (your job is) grinding, cultivating, gathering vegetables, cooking
food.
The /-ó/ 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
tʰímɛ-óː-áː hùmà-sé
cook-nml.-SF defeat-1sg.obj.
I couldn’t cook.
Lit. Cooking defeated me

(13) tʰímɔːɡāː hùmàsè
tʰímɛ-óː-ː-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) ?óʔsìʔ ?àː hòsò méliːtà jàʔbèsisò:sò
?óʔ -sìʔ ?àː hòsò méliːtα jàʔbè-sí-sò-ː-ː-
sò
there(ref.)-loc. NC(3pl.) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.
mèliːsùts’aʔ důrũnàʔ !èmòːʔ ?n[“è:
mèliː-ts’ː-ː-
sò důrũ-nà-ː !èmè-óː-ː-
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 dàː:tʰɔ
páː dàː-ː-tʰiː-sò
NC(3pl.) be.able.-neg.-3a.pl.
but they could not.

(15) híː nówèsámɛːɔʔiʔ
híː nówɛ-sà-kɛmɛː-ː-ː-
when-1pl.PC grind-nml.-bec.-1pl.-sub.cl.
When we want to grind,
pɔː làʔsɛːnɔː tʃ’ːː
pɔː làʔsɛː-nà-ː tʃ’ːː
NC(1pl.) winnowing.trough-to-1pl.PC take
then we take (them) to the winnowing trough
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 /-?ô:/ can nominalise a VP and its subject:

(16) hôa: mànà: ?àmànà wàrònggè: hèwé k’itl’ô:
    hò-à: mànà: ?àmànà wàrònggè: hèwé k’itl’e-o-?ô:
who-SF know maybe god [he be.angry]GEN-nml.-sp.

bik[hê]:i?ô:
    ?ô: mè: tî[hê]:kì
bik[hê]:-é-i-?ô:
    ?ô: mè: tî[hê]:-kì
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 /-?ô:/ 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’. /-?ô:/ can be replaced with the /-sà/ nominalising morpheme together with the specificity morpheme /-?ô:/ without changing the meaning, but this option is not attested in any texts.

/-?ô:/ can also nominalise adjectives and copular constructions. Example (17) is elicited and (18) comes from a text:

(17) kòlô: mè?-ô:
    kòlô: mè:-?ô:
    [hoe big]GEN-nml.
The bigness of the hoe.

(18) dôk’”wê:
    tsí dërû !’û: ?îè
dô-kó-?ê:
    tsí dërû !’û-?ô:
wait-2sg.Imp.PC-SC(1sg.) [[I chin]GEN hair]GEN-sp. 3pers.-3m.sg.obj.
Wait, let me give my whisker,

    k”â:
        lâ:ge: tsí máxâ:ési?ô:
    k”â:
        lâ:-é: tsí máxâ:-é-së-?ô:
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 /-ʔõ:/, /-õ:/ or /-sã:/ suffixes results in a PP. Examples of three postpositional suffixes, /-kímè:/ ‘because’, /-nà/ ‘to’ and /-ts’i/ ‘at’, are found in the text corpus.

9.1.1.1 /-kímè/ ‘because’

The function of the /-kímè:/ suffix depends on whether the NP to which it attaches has been nominalised by the /-ʔõ:/ or /-õ:/ morphemes, or by the /-sã:/ morpheme. In the former case, the action of the verb from which the NP is derived has usually been completed:

(19) źókõ ᵀarõŋgɛ:pò bãéšípõ:pò n̄w̄ánpõ:
    źókõ ᵀarõŋgɛ:pò bãé-sí-pò-ʔ:pò n̄w̄ánpõ-õ
    o god-2sg. be.big.-poss.-2sg.-sp.-2sg. beg-2sg.obj.-1pl.
O Lord, we beg you,

kò: mè: tòsù:
kò: mè: tò-sú:
SC(2sg.) neg. finish-1pl.obj.
do not make us perish,

hě:ù n̄lëmèsè: mò: tũk̄w̄ë:ʔõ:mè:
hě:ù n̄lëmèsè:-h mò-ʔ: tũ-kũ-é:-ʔõ:-kûmè:
[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

nì: mè:kò n̄w̄atâtx’i tè:xìsù:
nì: mè:-kò n̄w̄atâtx’i tè:-xì-sú:
and neg.-2sg.Imp.PC sin count-ben.-1pl.obj.
and don’t count it as sin against us

hě:ù n̄lëmèsè: ʔ’ék’á kũ?se:ʔõ:mè:
hě:ù n̄lëmèsè:-h ʔ’ék’á kũ?-sé-é:-ʔõ:-kûmè:
[dem.(prox.3m.sg.) man-sp. blood]GEN spill-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-nml.-bec.
because of spilling the blood of this man,

n̄w̄atâtx’iʃèts’ë:
 n̄w̄atâtx’i-sí-fà-ts’ë:-h
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 /-k金融市场:/, is used when the action expressed is yet to happen:

(20) mélià !’ò:we  thàrsìjìnà  hà:ŋgàsàmè:sà
méli-à !’ò:-é  thàrsìjì-nà  hà:ŋgà-sà-kìmè:-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 /-kìmè:/ 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:

hëù  kù:-ti:  kà:kà  hù:la-sà-kìmè:-sì
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 /-nà/ ‘to’

When the /-nò:/ or /-ò:/ nominalising suffixes are combined with the ‘to’ postpositional suffix /-nà/, the resulting PP usually occurs before a verb of locomotion as its complement:

(22) hìà?  ts’ò:ts’ìwàsì?:
hì-à?  ts’ò:ts’ì-wà-sì:-ì
when-3pl.PC hunger-mult.-verb.-sub.cl.
When they were hungry,

?à:  ?isó:nà?
?á:  ?isá-ò:-nà-à?
NC(3pl.) steal-nml.-to-3pl.PC go
they went to steal.

(23) "ñê ts’èxe këutò  !’ìnò:nàø  nì?
"ñê ts’èxe këutò  !’iné-ò:-nà-ò  nì?
day one pig hunt-nml.-to-1pl.PC go
One day we went hunting pigs,
wàré tè mìndāʔ màntʃʰàː pò:
wàré tè mìndā-àʔ màntʃʰà-é pò:
[frienď 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) ?ùśʷè wàré hùmbù ?ùsúʔwàʔ kèsòʔ?
?ùśʷè wàré hùmbù ?ùsúːʔ, wàː-ître kèsé-ðòʔ?
now friend cow we-3i.pl.-pro. drive-1pl.Subj.PC
dlòmósúkùsànà m̀nàdànà
dlòmò-sú-kù-sà-nà m̀nàdà-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 /-ʔòː/ plus /-kìmèː/, /-sà/ plus /- kìmèː/ and /-sà/ plus /-nà/ can be very slight, as illustrated by the following elicited examples:

(25) ts’aːnāsi hik’i thíméʔòːmēːsì
ts’aː-ndà-sì hīk’i thímé-ʔòː-kìmèː-sì
home-to-1sg.PC go cook-nml.-bec.-1sg.PC
I went home because of the cooking.

(26) ts’aːnāsi hik’i thímésámēːsì
ts’aː-ndà-sì hīk’i thímé-sà-kìmèː-sì
home-to-1sg.PC go cook-nml.-bec.-1sg.PC
I went home because of wanting to cook.

(27) ts’aːnāsi hik’i thímésánàsì
ts’aː-ndà-sì hīk’i thímé-sà-nà-sì
home-to-1sg.PC go cook-nml.-to-1sg.PC
I went home in order to cook.

The combination /-ʔòː/ plus /-nà/ is also used in temporal expressions:

(28) pʰàkà tʃʰèːkɪʔːnà wèkèː pàː l’áʔ?
pʰàkà tʃʰèː-kì-ʔòː-nà wèkèː-ʔ pàː l’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.)
The combination of the nominaliser /-ʔò:/ or /-ό:/ plus postposition suffix /-ts’)/ ‘at’ can be interpreted as meaning ‘at the time of…’, as in the following example:

\[(29)\] s’wè ts’a:nà k¹hwàsò:ts’i
s’wè ts’sà:nà k¹hwà-só-ts’i
now home-to return-nml.-at
Now at the time of returning home

lá:?ë:šu īʰíméšä: īʰwèŋkë: hík’i më:náts’i:
lá:?ë-ʔ-së īʰímé-sà-ʔ īʰwèŋkë-ʔ hík’i më:nà-ts’i-ʔ:
hare-sp.-3f.sg. sing-3f.sg.-& whistle-& go like-reflex.-&
Hare went happily singing and whistling.

/k¹hwàsò:/ is an irregular nominalisation of the verb /k¹hwà/ ‘return’. The meaning of /-sà:/ plus /-ts’)/ is similar to the meaning of /-ʔò:/ or /-ό:/ plus /-ts’)/:

\[(30)\] ára: ninéwò mídžë: ára: bàʔè
true [Nineveh town] GEN-sp. very-3m.sg.PC be.big
Truly the town of Nineveh is very big,

"!è s’wámkíxì tl’à:i rín gö:sà-ts’ì
"!è s’wámkíxì tl’à-ì rín gö:sa-ts’i
day three take-irr.(-3m.sg.) go.around-nml.-at
it will take three days to go around.

A difference between the use of /-ʔò:/ or /-ό:/ plus /-ts’)/ versus /-sà:/ plus /-ts’)/ can be seen in the elicited examples (31) and (32):

\[(31)\] hík’išàts’išì mà?
hík’i-sà-ts’i-sì mà?
go-nml.-at-1sg.PC be.tired
I was tired at the time of going.

\[(32)\] hík’iʔò:ts’išì mà?
hík’iʔ-ʔò:ts’i-sì mà?
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’i/ combination is interpreted as a temporal adjunct, whereas the /-ʔò/ plus /-ts’i/ 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’i/ is further modified by the addition of the specificity morpheme /-ʔ/; the meaning changes slightly:

(33) hík’ísâ:ts’isì mà?    hík’ís-sà-ʔ-ts’i-sì mà?
gǒ-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)  tômôtâsâ ìè
 tômé-ő-tâ-sà ìé
cultivate-nml.-in-3f.sg.PC stay
She is at the cultivating.

(35)  tômésâtâsì  !’ő:wè
 tômé-sà-tâ-sì  !’ő-é
cultivate-3f.sg.-in-1sg.PC meet-3m.sg.obj.
I found it where the cultivating was going on.

(36)  tômôtânâsì hík’ī ñɛ:    hík’i-ʔ ñɛ:    hík’i-ʔ ñɛ:
cultivate-nml.-in-to-1sg.PC go-& arrive
I went and arrived where the cultivating was going on.

(37)  mântʃ’a:sâtânâsì hík’ī ñɛ:    hík’i-ʔ ñɛ:    hík’i-ʔ ñɛ:
eat-nml.-in-to-1sg.PC go-& arrive
I went and arrived while the eating was going on.
9.1.2 Agentive nominalisation

Table 9.1 gives examples of the use of /-i/ in deriving agentive nouns from verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form(s)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báló:</td>
<td>herd</td>
<td>báló:i</td>
<td>shepherd, pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faré</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>faré:i</td>
<td>liar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëH“¤me@</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>ëH“¤me@</td>
<td>singer (masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëH“¤me@</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>ëH“¤me@isù</td>
<td>singer (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëH“¤me@</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>ëH“¤me@,wà</td>
<td>singers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëH“¤me@</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>ëH“¤me@,wà</td>
<td>singers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This process is productive. Note the alternative plural forms. The following example contains an agentive noun derived using /-i/:

(39) hèwé dògö:sò nì: hàbâisèsò sò
     hèwé dògö-ì-sò nì: hàbâ-ì-sò-ì-sò
     [he relative]GEN-sp.-3a.pl. and give.birth-agent.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.

     hà:nànìsò tìh“ásò
     hà:nànìsò tìh“ásò
     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 /-ì/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kê</td>
<td>climb</td>
<td>kêìi</td>
<td>something to climb with, e.g. ladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâ:</td>
<td>open, untie</td>
<td>tâ:tàìi</td>
<td>something to open with, e.g. key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’ùmè</td>
<td>hew</td>
<td>l’tùmèìi</td>
<td>something to hew with, e.g. axe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 /-á?/ 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 /-á?/, /-à/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form(s)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tèbèrè</td>
<td>stir (porridge)</td>
<td>tèbèrâ? tèbèrâ</td>
<td>stirrer (for porridge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 hêmê</td>
<td>sweep</td>
<td>hêmâ?</td>
<td>broom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 xorönts’imê</td>
<td>hollow out</td>
<td>xorönts’imà</td>
<td>tool for hollowing out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 bà?ê t’hê:</td>
<td>big (adj.)</td>
<td>bà?ê t’hê:ts‘í</td>
<td>become big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dê t’hê:</td>
<td>many (adj.)</td>
<td>dê t’hê:ts‘í</td>
<td>become many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 d’âk’hâ:</td>
<td>outside (adv.)</td>
<td>d’âk’hâts‘í</td>
<td>be/become an outsider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 k’ánk’ârâ:</td>
<td>black (adj.)</td>
<td>k’ánk’ârâts‘í</td>
<td>be/become black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, /bà?ê t’hê:ts‘í/ ‘become big’ differs in meaning from /bà?ê/ ‘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) nì: tè:térà-wàsè: sì: mánt’hâts’i-wài  
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 /-sɨ/ 

The suffix /-sɨ/ can be suffixed to nouns to derive verbs:

Table 9.5 Denominal verbs with /-sɨ/ 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 bē:bā</td>
<td>nearby</td>
<td>bē:bā:sɨ</td>
<td>draw near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 hē:mbe</td>
<td>clear area</td>
<td>hē:mbe:sɨ</td>
<td>be clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mā:ro</td>
<td>cleverness</td>
<td>mā:ro:sɨ</td>
<td>be clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tʰũ:</td>
<td>darkness</td>
<td>tʰũ:sɨ</td>
<td>be dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tsʻō:tsʻi</td>
<td>hunger</td>
<td>tsʻō:tsʻi:sɨ</td>
<td>be hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 lʻwá:</td>
<td>sore (n.)</td>
<td>lʻwá:sɨ</td>
<td>break out in sores</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following example from the text corpus illustrates the use of /-sɨ/:

(41) sWe^ da$kʻe)ũ˘ ^ kWa$˘ <éʻÊ˘ tSH"§a#˘ é'Wa$˘si•kWe$˘

now donkey-sp. NC(3m.sg.) body al l-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-kũ/ 

When the causative suffix /-kũ/ is used with a preceding possessive morpheme /-sɨ/, it can be found attached to verb stems (see section 5.7.1) or to noun stems, as in table 9.6:

Table 9.6 Denominal verbs with /-sí-kũ/ 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pʰẽ</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>pʰẽ:súkũ</td>
<td>put off until tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 má:ro:</td>
<td>cleverness</td>
<td>má:ro:súkũ</td>
<td>make someone clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tʰẽ:</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>tʰẽ:súkũ</td>
<td>stay the night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tsʻéxẽ</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>tsʻéxẽ:súkũ</td>
<td>unify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 n!ẽ</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>n!ẽ:súkũ</td>
<td>stay awake all night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the examples in table 9.6 show, the meaning of verbs derived by /-sí-kũ/ is not always transparent. The example below from the text corpus illustrates one such use:

(42) n̄l̄ō: tsʻō:ʔt̄ō ʔút̄a: bikh̄ế:sòtsʻè

n̄l̄ō: tsʻō-ʔ̄ to ʔút̄a: bikh̄ė-é-i-sò-tsʻè

child be.small-adj. long.ago leave-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.

Long ago they would not leave a small child,

51 /tʰẽ/ ‘night’ and /n!ẽ/ ‘day’ are both noun stems and verb stems.
so that he stayed the night at his companions’ house,

jâ?méî
jâ?mé-î
get.used.to-irr(-3m.sg.)
he would get used to it.

9.2.4 /-m̀sé/

The desiderative suffix /-m̀ sé/, 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 /-m̀ sé/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 íó:</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>íó:m̀sé</td>
<td>think it is a mother; say ‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kʰō:</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>kʰō:m̀sé</td>
<td>think it is a house; say ‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ts’ámaśú</td>
<td>giraffe</td>
<td>ts’ámaśú:m̀sé</td>
<td>think it is a giraffe; say ‘giraffe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 n’èmèsé:</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>n’èmèsé:m̀sé</td>
<td>think it is a man; say ‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 lá:ū</td>
<td>good-3m.sg.</td>
<td>lá:ū:m̀sé</td>
<td>think it is good; say ‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 bà?qé tʰé:</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>bà?qé tʰé:m̀sé</td>
<td>think it is big; say ‘big’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the following elicited example has two possible meanings:

(43) ts’ámaśú:m̀sèsíj
     ts’ámaśú-m̀ sé-síj
     giraffè-des.-1sg.
     I thought it was a giraffe./ I said ‘giraffe’.

The following example illustrates one of the meanings in context:

(44) ?à:  ʰi:á  n’hō:kό:sdó  hèsó  íó:m̀sèâ
     ?à:  ʰi:á  n’hō:kό-ʔ-sdó  hèsó  íó:-m̀ sé-ā
     Then Dik-dik’s children thought it was their mother, and
opened the house.

9.2.5 /-kí/, /-kí/, /-kí/

Table 9.8 gives some examples which appear to show the suffixes /-kí/, /-kí/, /-kí/ being used to derive verbs from non-verbal grammatical categories:

Table 9.8 Verbs derived with /-kí/, /-kí/, /-kí/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mā:má:</td>
<td>friend (n.)</td>
<td>mā:má:kí</td>
<td>be friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tjá:há:</td>
<td>oil, fat (n.)</td>
<td>tjá:há:kí</td>
<td>be fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tjá:hē:</td>
<td>absent (adj.)</td>
<td>tjá:hē:kí</td>
<td>be finished, destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ít:hā:</td>
<td>far (adv.)</td>
<td>ít:hā:kí</td>
<td>be long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

     NC(3pl.) very-3pl.PC friend-verb.
     And they were very good friends.

(46) ?āmānà hēwésâ? mònâ kʰwā:xışū:qâ
     ?āmānā hēwē-sâ? mō-nâ kʰwā-é-xış-sū-i
     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.)

     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 /-kí/ and /-kí/ are also reciprocal suffixes (see section 5.7.3).
9.3.1 /-tʰé/: 

The suffix /-tʰé/ is a productive means of deriving adjectives (and quantifiers) from intransitive verbs.53

**Table 9.9 Deverbal adjectives with /-tʰé/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bá?é</td>
<td>bá?é tʰé:</td>
<td>big, very big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dē:</td>
<td>dē: tʰé:</td>
<td>many, very many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tawé</td>
<td>tawé tʰé:</td>
<td>good, very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ts’ô:</td>
<td>ts’ô tʰé:</td>
<td>small, very small</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /-tʰé/ in deriving a quantifier:

(47)  

```
hi’sí | ’è:i? | téká? | táxí
hí-sí | ’è:-i? | téká? | táxí
```

when-1sg.PC see-sub.cl. like just

It feels just like

```
```

frog be.many-adj.-3a.pl.-SF stay-& puddle-in-3pl.PC swim

many frogs are swimming in a puddle.

9.3.2 /-tô/: 

The suffix has /-tô/ has a similar function to /-tʰé/ 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 /-tô/ suffix which have been attested so far:

**Table 9.10 Deverbal adjectives with /-tô/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>l’wë:</td>
<td>l’wë tô:</td>
<td>narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mâ:</td>
<td>mâ tô:</td>
<td>few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ts’ô:</td>
<td>ts’ô tô:</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53 The tone of the /-tʰé/ suffix may instead be analysed as a rising tone on the /e/. 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 $t^{h}\text{é}:/$ suffix, in which case an intensified meaning is expressed. See (42) in section 9.2.3 for an example of the suffix $t_{\text{o}}$ from the text corpus.

### 9.3.3 $-t\ddot{o}$/

The suffix $-t\ddot{o}$/ derives an adjective from a verb containing object marking: $^{54}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 húk$^{&quot;\text{w}a}$:</td>
<td>kill (3m.sg.obj.)</td>
<td>húk$^{&quot;\text{w}a}$:t\ddot{o}</td>
<td>killed (for sg. noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tl$^{&quot;\text{t}h\text{é}}$:</td>
<td>slaughter (3m.sg.obj.)</td>
<td>tl$^{&quot;\text{t}h\text{é}}$:t\ddot{o}</td>
<td>slaughtered (for sg. noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n$^{|\text{è}}$:</td>
<td>cut (3m.sg.obj.)</td>
<td>n$^{|\text{è}}$:t\ddot{o}</td>
<td>cut (for sg. noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 n$^{|\text{è}}$:wá:</td>
<td>cut (3i.pl.obj.)</td>
<td>n$^{|\text{è}}$:wá:t\ddot{o}</td>
<td>cut (for pl. noun)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. \( t^{h}\text{fmèsâ} \)
   \( t^{h}\text{ímê-sâ} \)
   \( \text{cook-3f.sg.PC} \)
   She cooks./ She cooked.

2. \( t^{h}\text{ímé-t}^{h}\text{ũ} \)
   \( t^{h}\text{ímé-t}^{h}\text{i-sû} \)
   \( \text{cook-neg.-3f.sg.} \)
   She did not cook.

3. \( t^{h}\text{fmèsû} \)
   \( t^{h}\text{ímê-i-sû} \)
   \( \text{cook-irr.-3f.sg.} \)
   She will cook./ She used to cook./ She would cook./ She would have cooked.

4. \( t^{h}\text{fmèsûts}^{\text{e}} \)
   \( t^{h}\text{ímê-i-sû-ts}^{\text{e}} \)
   \( \text{cook-irr.-3f.sg.-neg.} \)
   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 $-t\ddot{o}$/ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis pronominal clitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg. sì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg. ḗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg. à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg. sà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl. ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl. é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl. à?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) pá: n|wā:z kútú:mbH mé:ā sfe: 
pá: n|wā:z kútú:mbH mé:ā sfe:ë[
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).
When a realis verb is not marked with a PC, its tone pattern is lowered, as seen in /t’àp’hè/ ‘hit’ in the preceding example. However, this lowering process does not take place if the verb is suffixed with a connective morpheme (either /-a/ or /-à/) or the durative morpheme /-jó’/. 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) hëwë’qiší télàsí tʃí kìmâ:sĩ
hëwë’qiší télà-sí tʃí kìmáː?-sí
and.so-1sg.PC completely-1sg.PC [I poisonous.arrow]GEN-sp.-1sg.PC

lá:sí làní ts’eːdnâsí pè:
láː-ːsí làní ts’eːdnà-sí pè:
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) kʰɔːr’ n’ō:q’wëkèleːtʃh’ɔ
kʰɔːr’ n’ōː-ːkù-ː-ːtʃhî-sô
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,

bàʔaː àʔúrâ:
bàʔeː-ːà àʔúríː-ːà
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 /-˘/ è 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:


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 /-˘/ è. This morpheme is attached to the end of a subject NP, as shown in the following two examples:

(9) hà? tjì wàrèxì:sòà: nìàtfjó:i?

hà-à? tjí wàrè-xì:-jì:-sò-á: nìàth-jó:-ì?

when-3pl.PC [I friend] GEN-et.al-sp.-3a.pl.-SF come-dur.-sub.cl.

When my friends came,

tjʰè: l’à:kìsìj kë: ?ìè

tjʰè: l’à:kì-sìj kë:-tì ?ìè

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)  nǐ:  tʃʰiá:  ?ié:  kópókòpō
      nǐ:  tʃʰi-á:  ?ié-ː  kópókòpō
body  all-SF  stay-&  shake
The whole body was shaking.

Pronouns may also be followed by the SF marker:

      tʃí-á:  ?útá:-kí  mě:nà-é-ː  sì-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 /-só:/ may be used instead of /-sú:-á:/ ‘1pl.-SF’:

(12)  pó:  nů:kóxísō:  mántʃʰā
      pó:  nů:kó-xís-ó:  mántʃʰā
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 /-tʃʰi/, 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>PGN</th>
<th>Assimilated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>tʃʰi</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td>[tʃʰe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>tʃʰi</td>
<td>pó</td>
<td>[po]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.</td>
<td>tʃʰi</td>
<td>ē:</td>
<td>[tʃʰe:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.</td>
<td>tʃʰi</td>
<td>sú</td>
<td>[tʃʰu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>tʃʰi</td>
<td>sú:</td>
<td>[tʃʰû:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>tʃʰi</td>
<td>sǐ:</td>
<td>[tʃʰi:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>tʃʰi</td>
<td>só</td>
<td>[tʃʰo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following example illustrates the realis negative clause:
Nor did it come by your (pl.) doing good things.

The underlying form of the negative morpheme is analysed as /-tʃʰi/ because the following form from an older speaker of Sandawe has been attested:

(14) mënätʃʰetʃʰè
mënà-é-tʃʰi-sé
like-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-1sg.
I 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) mënätʃʰesè
mënà-é-tʃʰi-sé
like-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-1sg.
I didn’t like it.

(16) mënätʃʰesè
mënà-é-tʃʰi-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) kòlò:sà dlòmòtʃʰū
kòlò:-f-sà dlòmò-é-tʃʰi-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) tʃáa: tʰèré: ʔámêtʃʰè
tʃá-á: tʰérè-ʔámêtʃʰi-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 /táxì/ 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) tʃú: ʰi÷tsʰìɛ:  táxì
tʃú: ʰi÷tʃʰi-ɛ:  táxì
animal fear-reflex.-neg.-3m.sg. very
It was a very frightening animal.

(20) kʷátiʃʰì  táxì
kʷáti-ʃʰi-sé  táxì
be.startled-neg.-1sg. very
I was very startled.

This phenomenon is not evident with irrealis negatives, where the adverb /táxì/ 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 /-tʃʰi/ plus a high toned PGN morpheme that is used in the realis negative clause:

(21) dlomókʷè  ts₂ːwátsʰɛ:tsʰì  niː  dʒík’ékí
dlomó-kʷè  ts₂ː-wà-tsʰ-ɛ:-tsʰì  niː  dʒík’é-kí
buy-2pl.Imp.PC  drink-mult.-appl.-sp.-at and milk-add.
Buy things to drink and also milk,

pʰèśàːtʃʰìɛ:tsʰì  mɛhɛ:kí  tʊkèːtʃʰiːɡà:
pʰèśàː-tʃʰi-ɛː-ɛː-tsʰì  mɛhɛ:-kí  tʊ-kʊ-ɛː-tʃɛ-sí-a:
money-neg.-3m.sg.-at something(sp.)³⁸-add.  come.out- caus.-3m.sg.obj.-from-2pl.-SF
without money, without (you (pl.)) contributing a thing.

---
³⁸ The tone pattern of /mɛhɛː/ ‘something’ suggests that it contains the specificity morpheme /-ʃ/, 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. Table 10.3 lists the PGN morphemes which are used in this clause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low toned PGN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.    s̄i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.    pò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.  Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.  sû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.    sû; sà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.    sì:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.    sò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /-sû:/ is the more common of the two.

Following Elderkin (1986:132), the analysis is adopted here that the irrealis morpheme /-v/ 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. 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, /-s̄i/ (1sg.) and /-sû/ (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 /v/, presumably as a consequence of the presence of the irrealis morpheme. Thus, /nà?i-sû/ ‘shine-irr.-3f.sg.’ has two possible pronunciations: [nâ?ûς] and [nâ?ûς].

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.

Following Elderkin (1986:132), the analysis is adopted here that the irrealis morpheme /-v/ 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. 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, /-s̄i/ (1sg.) and /-sû/ (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 /v/, presumably as a consequence of the presence of the irrealis morpheme. Thus, /nà?i-sû/ ‘shine-irr.-3f.sg.’ has two possible pronunciations: [nâ?ûς] and [nâ?ûς].
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) šọ̀?si?: mè:nàts’ï̀: tọ̀?sí:
     šọ̀?-sí?: mè:nà-ts’ï̀: tọ̀-i-sí:
there(ref.)-loc. like-reflex.-with come.out-irr.-2pl.
It is then you (pl.) will come out with joy,
     pùṭl’úmàï̀: xẹ̀sị̀gì
     pùṭl’úmà-ï̀: xẹ̀-sị̀-i
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 /-ë/ , 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) šèkò: !hùmè ṭèngisò: ülò: mántʃháku8so
     šèkò: !hùmè ṭèngisò: ülò: mántʃhá-ku8-i-sò
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:

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) kísósô:sô  môkóndô:  ll’a:wâ:sô
    kísô-sô-í-sô  môkóndô-ì  ll’à-wá-ì-sô
    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’ê/ after the PGN morpheme on the verb:

(27) dà:sì茨’esê
    dà:ï-sì-茨’esê
    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) dò:lókì  ùňk’há  ll’à:ntj’hímàsûkê:sòts’ê
    dò:lò-kì  ùnk’há  ll’à:ntj’hìmà-sí-kù-ë:-ì-sò-ts’ê
    a.little-add. even be.sweet-poss.-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.
    They would not make it even a little sweet,
    kà?  k”à:  më:  tł’àbîsô:á:  kûmû:k”ê:
    kà?  k”à:  më:  tł’àbîsô:-á:  kûmû-kù-ë:
    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  hóbë  tûkêi
    hô  hóbë  tû-kù-ë:-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)  hóːa:    lì
       hô-áː:    lì
who-SF come
Who came?

(31)  hósā    tł’apʰûmè:
       hô-sā    tł’apʰûmé-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:    nìlātì
       hô-kó-áː:    nìlātī
who-pl.-SF come
Who (pl.) came?

(33)  hókósā    tł’apʰûmèʔī:
       hô-kósā    tł’apʰûmé-ʔī:
who-pl.-3f.sg.PC beat-3a.pl.obj.
Whom (pl.) did she beat?

(34)  hókīā:    nìlātì
       hô-kí-áː:    nìlātī
who-add.-SF come
Who else came?

(35)  hókóxīkīā:    nìlātì
       hô-kó-xī-kí-áː:    nìlātī
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’:
At whose home did you cook?

/ho:/ can also be followed by a postposition, the pronominal morpheme /-i/ or the postpositional morpheme /-ts’/ in its object marking function, as in the following elicited examples:

(37) hó:me’i tʰimè
hó-kimé:­i tʰimè
who-bec.-2sg.PC cook
For whom did you cook?

(38) hûmbû: hôi
hûmbû­: hô-­i
cow-sp. who-pro.
Whose is the cow?

(39) hûts’i: tʰárà
hû-ts’­i: tʰárà
who-at-2sg.PC carry
Whom are you carrying?

10.2.1.2 What
The words '/ho:t’ô/ (which has the alternative pronunciation '/ho:t’ô/62) and '/ho:bè/ 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 /ho:/ ‘who’, '/ho:t’ô/ and '/ho:bè/ 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) hût’ô: ?ixi: n’mè:?
ho:t’ô:­i ?ixi: n’mè:?
what-2sg.PC thus do
What did you do in this way?

61 The 2sg.PC /-i/ 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 /-i/, the irrealis morpheme /-i/, the subordinate clause morpheme /-i?/ and the low toned third person masculine singular PGN morpheme /-u/. Elderkin (1989:46–50) analyses the vowels in such morphemes as the syllable closures /-j/ and /-w/, respectively.

62 The tone pattern of this form suggested that it is a derived form.
Unlike /hô/, /hôťô/ and /hôbê/ do not vary in form according to number.

Both /hôťô/ and /hôbê/ can function as the modifier in a genitive NP, as in the following example:

(41) hôbê jà?àbôî jà?bèwà
    hôbê jà?àbô-î jà?bê-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.

/hôťô/ and /hôbê/ can also be followed by a postposition, as in the following elicited example:

(42) hôtô'îqîjî nîlè:
    hôtô-?î-î nîlè:-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 /-kîmê:/ ‘because’:

(43) hôtô'mî: lô?nà ?fé: hfk’wà
    hôtô-kîmê:-î lô?-nà ?fé:-ż hfk’î-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 /hôsî/ ‘why’:

(44) hôsînà kʷî: tʰè: kî"wé:sè nîlînsè
    hôsî-nā kʷî: tʰè: tî"wé:-sf-è nîlî-sè
    why-qu. NC(2sg.) tree be.bitter-poss.-3m.sg. paint-1sg.obj.
    Why did you paint me with a bitter tree,
    sî: mě:šî tłâ:šî
    sî: mě:-šî tłâ:šî
    NC(1sg.) neg.-1sg.PC die
    and then I nearly died?
Unlike other question-words, /hôsĩ/ 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) bókʷäː hôsĩ hfkā: ʔiē
bôː'kʷáː hôsĩ hfkí-ā ʔiē
say-2sg.Imp.PC why how-3m.sg.PC stay
Say, why is it thus?

Here, /hôsĩ/ 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 /hèː/, which must be followed by a high-toned PGN morpheme which agrees with the object of the clause:

(46) màmà hè:sìː ʔèːsè
màmá hè:-sé-i ʔè-sè
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 /-kù/ ‘at’ is used:

(47) hákũ tambůːpō |ʰiːː |ʰːkòː:
há-kũ tímũ-wáː-i-pó |ʰiːː |ʰːkóː-i:
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) hákũpāː ʃi
há-kũ-tʃè-pó-āː ʃi
where-at-from-2sg.-SF come
Where have you come from?

Movement to a place is expressed either by /há-ʔ, tè-nà/ ‘where-dir.-to’ or /há-nà/ ‘where-to’.

A locational interrogative can also be formed using the adjective stem /hàmbēː/ ‘where’ in a copular construction:
(49) hàpú hàmbé:pó
    hàpú hàmbé:-pó
you where-2sg.
Where are you?

10.2.1.5 When
The question-words /háʔ sè/, /háʔ lèsè/, and /háʔ sú:/ 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) námũ háʔ:sè:sà ⁿ‘è:
námũ háʔ sè-sà ⁿ‘è:
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 híkà: ʾè
    hàpú híká-á ʾè
you how-3m.sg.PC stay
You, how is it,
kʷi: ʾè: ⁿ‘ínè: ʾl”ò
kʷi: ʾè-ʾ ⁿ‘ínè-ʾ ʾl”ò
NC(2sg.) stay-& lie.down-& sleep
you are lying down and sleeping?

(52) híkí bò-su hí:sà ʾfí:?
híkí bò-i-sù hí-sà ʾfí-ʾ?
how say-irr.-3f.sg. when-3f.sg. come-sub.cl.
How will she speak, when she comes?

(53) híkíʔó ⁿ‖wɛpò kʷá:  báhári:  lâʔtè
    híkí-ʔó ⁿ‖wɛ-pó kʷá:  báhárí-ʔ  lâʔtè
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) hàwê: !’ùmâ:pà: lì
hàwê- tô !’ùmá- tô -tʃè-pó-á: lì
[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 /hàwêxé/. 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) nⅆō:kó hánèsâ: kʰwâ
nⅆō:kó hánès-şó-á: kʰwâ
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 /-xì/:

(56) ts’â hánèxì: hà?wà:
ts’â hánè-xì-i hà?wá:
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) såfbâ  hîkânà  ?îè
såfbâ  hîkî-à-nà  ?îé
friend  how-3m.sg.PC-qu.  stay
Friend, how is it

k”i:  "linè  hè:ù  sâ:ts’i
k”i:  "lînê  hè:ù  sâ:-t’-ts’i
SC(2sg.)  lie.down  dem.(prox.3m.sg.)  time-sp.-at
that you should lie down at this time?

(58) k’arê:  hîkî  hèwé  tûrûtà  l’è:wàkàïnà
k’arê:  hîkî  hèwé  tûrûtà  l’è:-wà-ká–i-nà
youth  how  [he  life]GEN  look-mult.-com.-irr.(-3m.sg.)-qu.
How will a youth attend to his life,

pà:  láuwâì
pá:  láuwâ-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 /-nê/:

(59) hàbûsâ:  tîsâ:  pò:weï:  hàbûsênî:
hàbûsà-t’  tji-á:  pó-ê-i-t’  hàbûsê-nê-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) gèléneà:  hîk’î
gèlé-nê-â:  hîk’î
Gele-interrog.-SF  go
Did Gele go?
In irrealis clauses, the interrogative morpheme is suffixed to the verb, following the PGN morpheme, as in the following elicited examples:

(64)  gélé  hík’înè
       gélé  hík’î-nè
 Gele   go-irr.-3m.sg.-interrog.
       Will Gele go?

(65)  xò?à  “bë:mmè
      xò?à  “bë:mmè
 Kho’a  house-interrog.-3f.sg. sweep(3m.sg.obj.)
       Did Kho’a sweep the house? / (Sentence focus)

(66)  nàmu  hík’ìts’ënè
      nàmu  hík’ì-sù-ts’ë-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:
Copular clauses may also contain the interrogative morpheme, as shown in the following elicited example:

(69)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hē:ū} & \quad \text{hāpū} \quad \text{kōkōnè} \\
\text{hē:ū} & \quad \text{hāpū} \quad \text{kōkō-nè}
\end{align*}
\]
\begin{align*}
\text{dem.(prox.3m.sg.)} & \quad \text{[you grandfather]} \quad \text{GEN-interrog.}
\end{align*}

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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nāmū} & \quad \text{kʰō:} \quad \text{|hč:métfʰū} \\
nāmū & \quad \text{kʰō:} \quad \text{|hč:mé-tjʰ1}-sú
\end{align*}
\]
\begin{align*}
\text{Namu} & \quad \text{house} \quad \text{sweep(3m.sg.obj.)-neg.-3f.sg.} \\
\text{Hasn’t Namu swept the house? /} \\
\text{Namu has not swept the house.}
\end{align*}

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative/subjunctive pronominal clitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>è?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>kò, k'wá:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg.</td>
<td>k'wà, xjà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg.</td>
<td>xisà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>ô?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>k'wè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>k'wà?à</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

(71) lìàkìkò ?ò: mì:ndòó sú:qì: bà:rà:
    lìàkì-kò ?ò: mì:ndòó sú:-i-? bà:rà-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 /-?/?:

(72) mà?ékò: bòk'wè:
    mà?é-kò-? bò-kù-é:
    go.around-2sg.Imp.PC- & say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.
    Go and tell him,

    k'wà: tû: hìk’? hìk’wà:sì kò:
    k'wá: tû-? hìk’? hìk’wà-é-sì kò:
    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.

---

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 /nê/ ‘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) mántʃhá-kòjô: níkô:
    mántʃhá-kò-jó-ː ní-kô
    eat-2sg.Imp.PC-dur.-& and-2sg.Imp.PC
    hê:xwé:  tʃhâ tò?wà:rè
    hê:xwé:  tʃhâ tò-wà-ré
    dem.(prox.pl.) all finish-3i.pl.obj.-3pers.obj.
    Eat and finish all these!

(74) kʰéʔé-kwé: níkʷé: túrútâ !ʔ:wè
    kʰéʔé-kwé ní-kʷé túrútâ !ʔ-ːé
    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) ?àʔá dò:lókô l’inkè kʰéʔé-sô kô:
    ?àʔá dò:ló-kô l’inkè kʰéʔé-i-sô kô:
    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, PPss 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) télákô  ṭá:kô  lʰèmè
    télá-kô  ṭá:-kô  lʰèmè
    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:
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 /-kwa/.\(^{64}\):

(78) bókwaː: hōsì hográf: ?iè
bōka kwaː: hōsì hográf-ì ?ié
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) ?arárè gwaːbósèː līkwaː ts’átànà
?arárè gwaːbósì ẹ̀-? līkwaː ts’átànà
truly thirst-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. come-3m.sg.Subj.PC water-in-to
Truly, he who has thirst should come to the water.

lókwaː ?ó: khr’á ẹ́pwaː-? ní?ó? lâ:-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) kwaː rô: n|wíyà:xíṣèi
kwaː rô: n|wíyà:xíṣè-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 /-kwa/, /-kwa/, or /-kù-á/.
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 /më:/ 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’amé mè:kʷè tsʾè: tókʷàkʷè tsʾè:
k’amé mè:-kʷè tsʾé: tókʷà-kʷè tsʾé:
beer neg.-2pl.Imp.PC drink sweet.beer-2pl.Imp.PC drink
Don’t drink (normal) beer, drink sweet beer.

(83) mè:kò bikʰèsè ?è: mè: ?íʰánà híkʾì
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 bóxè: bikʰímá:
hàpú bô-xé:-ì bikʰé-mé-wá:-ì
[you word] GEN-pl.-sp. leave-iter.-3i.pl.obj.-&
abandoning your words.

The negative particle /më:/ 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:kʷá mè: híkʾì
gélé-á:kʷá mè: híkʾì
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), /më:/ 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:lókí ?àŋkʰá lʾàntʃʰífásúkʰès:sòtsʾè
dó:ló-kí ?àŋkʰá lʾàntʃʰífámà-sí-kù-či-sò-tsʾé
a.little-add. even be.sweet-poss.-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-irr.-3a.pl.-neg.
They would not make it even a little sweet,
In the following example, the negative subjunctive is followed by an affirmative subjunctive:

(86) ʔáːrəts’ísēː  kʷáːː  mēː  k’àn!à

believe-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. SC(3m.sg.) neg. be.lost

He who believes shall not be lost

nikʷàːː  làbâːnàː  ñìèʔōːː  !’òːwè

and-3m.sg.Subj.PC [later-to stay]GEN-nml. get-3m.sg.obj.

and shall get eternal life.

The particle /mēː/ 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) hōsînâː  kʷíː  tʰâːː  kˡʷéːsèː  nⁿînsè

why-qu. NC(2sg.) tree be.bitter-poss.-3m.sg. paint-1sg.obj.

Why did you paint me with a bitter tree,

sīː  mēːsîː  tlâːsîː

sīː  mēːsîː  tlâːsîː

NC(1sg.) neg.-1sg.PC die

and then I nearly died?

(88) sâːː  mēłînsûkìːaːː  mēːsâː  ʔâːts’îː

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 /mēː/ to be suffixed to a verb before a PC and then the resulting meaning is ‘be about to’:

(89) kʰwâmēːsâː

kʰwâmēːsâː

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)  hëwë?gà?  jônâ?gà?  n!â:
       hëwë?  gà-à?  jônà?-àâ?  n!â-é-é
       and.so-3pl.PC Jonah-sp.-3pl.PC catch-3m.sg.obj.-&
       And so they caught Jonah

       nî?à:  bàhâr-i:tànà?:  lë:
       nî?:à  bàhâri-?-tà-nà-à?  lë-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’î/ as it is specific:

(91)  ?à:  mëlîtátʃeà?  mìzîgɔ:ts’à?
       ?à:  mèli-tà-tʃé-é-à?  mìzîgɔ-?-ts’llàà-
       NC(3pl.) boat-in-from-3m.sg.-3pl.PC load-sp.-at-3pl.PC

       ts’átànà?:  kù?ùnsè
       ts’à-tà-nà-à?  kù?ùnsè
       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) ̀ántó:kí !’ò:wésì
 ̀ántá-ó-kí !’ò:-é-sì
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) ̀ó?si? ̀å: hòsó méltà jà?bèsìsò:ò
there(ref.)-loc. NC(3pl.) they boat-in work-poss.-3a.pl.-sp.-3a.pl.
mèltì:suts”á? dùrùnà? !èmò:ò? n|wè:
mèlì-ò-sù-ts’ì-à? dúrù-nà-à? !èmè-ò:à? n|wè:
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 /!èmè/ ‘take’ is nominalised together its object and the PP. This nominalised VP is itself the object of the verb /n|wè/ ‘try’. The object of the verb within the nominalised VP is suffixed with the postpositional morpheme /-ts’ì/ 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) hèsu dàmâ:sù
hèsu dàmà-ò-sù
dem.(ref.3f.sg.) calf-sp.-3f.sg.
hàpù mà:mè tòkè:i
hàpù mà:mè tû-kù-é:-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 /-ts’ì/. 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) mā:kā tē? sāndāwē:sū tēsūsī ūā:
   má:kā tē-ē-ts’ī sāndāwē:-sū tē-sū-sī ūā:
   year other-3m.sg.-at Sandawe-3f.sg. other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC see
The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

   tl’ābīsósūsū
   tl’ābīsó-sí-sū
   stomach-poss.-3f.sg.
she was pregnant.

Note also how the postpositional morpheme /-ts’ī/ 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) kwa: dōrō:qā: dāk’wē:ts’ā kā?
kwa: dōrō-ē-a: dāk’wē-ē-ts’-ā kā?
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) pā: l’īf? ʔixā: bōk’wē:
pā: l’īf-ē? ʔix-ā bō-kū-ē:
NC(3m.sg.) snake-sp. thus-3m.sg.PC say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.

   tāmēsī n’ōsū:s’ā:
tāmēsī n’ō-sū-ē-sū-ā
[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.

65 Here the hearsay particle /kā?/ 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)  
\[ \text{hī:si:}\text{sī} \quad \text{mānā?}\text{ā}: \quad !’ò:k^h\text{ā} \]
\[ \text{hī:si:-}\text{sī} \quad \text{mānā-}\text{ē-}\text{ā-}^\ddagger \quad !’ò:k^h\text{ā} \]
then-loc. know-3m.sg.obj.-3pl.PC stop
At that point they already knew
\[(\text{Lit. At that point they knew it and stopped}…)\]
\[ \text{hī:gō} \quad \text{kā?} \quad \text{bā?ēsē}: \quad \text{wārōngē:mēā} \quad !’á:sǐī\ddagger: \]
\[ \text{hī:gō} \quad \text{kā?} \quad \text{bā?-ē-sī-ē-}^\ddagger \quad \text{wārōngē:-kǐmē-}\ddagger \quad !’á:sǐ-\ddagger: \]
dem.(dist.3m.sg.) hear. be.big-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. god-bec.-3m.sg.PC flee-nml.
of his flight from that Lord
\[ \text{bōxį?rī:gā} \quad !’ò:k^h\text{ā}-?ò:mē: \]
\[ \text{bō-}\text{xī-}\text{rī:-}^\ddagger \quad !’ò:k^h\text{ā}-?ò:-kǐmē: \]
say-ben.-3a.pl.obj.-3m.sg.PC stop-nml.-bec.
because of his already telling them so.
\[(…\text{because of his telling them and stopping}.)\]

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)  
\[ \text{hīsį} \quad \text{tʰǐmē}: \quad \text{tłeṁsēi}? \quad \text{sī}: \quad \text{ts’ā:nāsį} \quad k^h\text{wā} \]
\[ \text{hī-}\text{sį} \quad \text{tʰǐmē-}^\ddagger \quad \text{tłeṁsē-}^\ddagger \quad \text{sī}: \quad \text{ts’ā:nāsį} \quad k^h\text{wā} \]
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) hā̂ hōk’á: t𝑙ēmsēʔ
hī̀-ā hōk’á-ĩ t𝑙ēmsē-ĩ
when-3m.sg.PC be.lukewarm-& finish-sub.cl.

When it has finished getting lukewarm,
(Lit. When it is lukewarm and finishes...)

sī: lūmēsì sīā: kā’ts’ē
sī: lūmē-sì sī-ē-ā kā-t’s’ē
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’ (/sì-/) and the plural object form of ‘put’ (/kā-/). 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) sī: mātfkē: hēwēts’isī
sī: mātfkē-ĩ hēwē-ts’ĩ-sī
NC(1sg.) partially.ripe.millet-sp. dem.(ref.3m.sg.-at-1sg.PC

?īē: mānt’hăyō:
?īē-ĩ mánt’hă-yō:
stay- & eat-dur.

pā: lā: l’unī: sī: !ōmsē:
pā: lā-ā l’unī sī: !ōmsē-ē
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’ĩ/.

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.
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) hî-sî l’ê-i?  lëkâ? tâxî

It feels just like


frog be.many-adj.-3a.pl.-SF stay & 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) hôbè jà?âbôi jà?bëwâ

hôbè jà?âbô-ì jà?bê-wà


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 /në/ is the plural subject suppletive verb stem for ‘stay’, whereas /lë/ is the corresponding singular subject form.
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:

The cows ate./The cow (habitually) ate.

It is also possible to use the adverb /hâ?/ 'usually'68 to express habitual aspect:

Usually Dik-dik shut the children in the house

A third means of expressing habitual aspect is the possessive construction (see also section 11.4):

And she (habitually) didn’t like millet porridge

---

68 This form may be related to the /hâ-PC___?/ construction in subordinate clauses (see section 11.3).
she said thus, it made her feel nauseous.
(Lit. ...it made the spirit bad.)

10.5 Conditional
The conditional morpheme /-wà/ or /-wã/\(^{69}\) can be attached to the end of a realis clause and the resulting construction has a conditional meaning:

\[(109)\]  
\[
gàwà \ ^{n!à:}tè-sî \quad ?íé: \quad  \mid \ ^{wà:sî} \quad t{l}’àp\ ^{h}è-wà?  
gàwà \ ^{n!à:}tè-sî \quad ?íé-\^ {\dot{\imath}} \quad  \mid \ ^{wà:sî} \quad t{l}’àp\ ^{h}è-wà?  
\]

If I stayed behind the hill and threshed millet,

\[
k^{h}\dot{e}-\dot{\imath}pò-nè  
k^{h}\dot{e}-\dot{\imath}-i-pò-nè  
\]

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:

\[(110)\]  
\[
?útè \quad ts’ä:nà-sâ \quad k^{h}wà-wà?  \quad !’ô:sû:sû  
?útè \quad ts’ä:nà-sâ \quad k^{h}wà-wà?  \quad !’ô:sû:-i-sû  
\]

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:

\[(111)\]  
\[
hf{sà} \quad ^{n!ê:}sà \quad ts’ä:nà-sâ \quad k^{h}wà-i?  
hf{sà} \quad ^{n!è-\^ {\dot{\imath}}:ts’â} \quad ts’ä:nà-sâ \quad k^{h}wà-i?  
\]

If she returns home today,

\(^{69}\) Both tonal variants have been noted and no functional difference between them has been observed.
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) ¼änk+há táxį ¼”wá xáwät+hë:täkè:šį l’ùsùkuwà?
 ¼änk+há táxį ¼”wá xà-wà-’t’hé:-tä-ké:-šį l’úsùku-wà?
 ¼lónsìts’e xáʔò:kì
 ¼ló-è-i-sì-ts’es’è xà-ʔò:-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) xásà |hë:mè k’hó:sáwà?
xà-sà |hë:mé k’hó:-sà-wà?
badly-3f.sg.PC sweep(3m.sg.obj.) house-3f.sg.PC-cond.
If she swept the house badly,

ṭl’esé: |hë:mèsù
ṭl’esé:-f’ |hë:mé-ì-sù
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 /-xjàsà/ in the second clause of this example.
The conjunction /éʔé:/ or /áʔé:/ can occur clause-initially in conditional clauses. It can be glossed as ‘it would be’:

(114)  ēʔé: n!ēts’ē: kʰēʔèwà?
       ēʔé: n!ē-ts’ê-è kʰēʔè-wà?
  cond. day-at-2pl.PC hear-cond.
  lá:ù hèwé rô-ts’ē:wà?
  lá:ù hèwé rô-ts’ê-è-wà?
  good-3m.sg. [he voice]GEN-at-2pl.PC-cond.
It would be good if when you (pl.) heard his voice today,

  dʒiğidà sî:ʔwâi n!âk’ô n||vē>tʰi-gä:wà?
  dʒiğidà sî-ʔ wâ-ì n!âk’ô n||vē-tʃʰi-sî-á:wà?
  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)  xa kʰô: lʰē:mètʰûwà? bósòts’ê
       xa kʰô: lʰē:mè-tʃʰi-sû-wà? bô-i-sò-ts’ê
   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) tfí ?ibrànà bòjòṣì
    tfí ?ibrànì bòjó-sì
    I [Hebrew tribe]_{GEN}-1sg.
    I am (of) the tribe of Hebrew.

(2) lò:xi tfí rô: mé:
    lò:xi tfí rô: mé:
    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) l’ékhwá: hùmbù hàkáxi
    l’ékhwá:-sp. hùmbù hàkáxi
    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) tfí sàndàwè:se
    tfí sàndàwè:-se
    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) hèṣú ṭíó:
    hèṣú ṭíó:
    she mother
    She is a mother.
(6)  hèsó mā:má:
    hèsó mā: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)  hèwè ?índʒàsù:  hèwá:  bàlò:wàts’èxě: 
    hèwè ?índʒá-sù:  hèwé-a:  báló:-wà-ts’è-xé:-?
[he sheep]_{GEN-1pl.}  he-SF  herd-mult.-appl.-pl.-sp.
    We are his sheep which he herds.

(8)  nì:  hóbè  bójòwè:pò 
    nì:  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)  hìá  hèwé  k bà:ò:  lá:ùi? 
    hì-à  hèwé  k bà:ò:  lá:-ù-i?
    when-3m.sg.  [he house]_{GEN}  good-3m.sg.-sub.cl.
    If his house is good,
        k bà:ò:  lá:ù  mànà:?  bòkótáwàsèts’è 
        k bà:ò:  lá:-ù  mànà-é-à?  bòkótà-wà-sí-è-ts’è
    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’è/, as the following elicited example illustrates:

(10)  hèf  k bà:ò:ts’è 
    hè:ù  k bà:ò: ts’è 
    dem.(prox.3m.sg.)  house-neg.\textsuperscript{70}
    This is not a house.

\textsuperscript{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’i/ (Elderkin, GS:S9) and the verb must occur in without object marking, as shown in the following elicited example:

(11) ħèsú núá-ts’i xʷànté
    ħèsú núá-ts’i xʷànté
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’i/ 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:

(12) țá:sâ ǀbèmè
    țá:sà ǀbèmè
    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 /hì/72 ‘when, if, after’ marked with a realis PC in agreement with the subject of the clause and the subordinate clause morpheme /-i?/:

(13) hi-è nî?i?:? ǀ’íákʷè ǀ’ìà
    hi-è nî?-i? ǀ’íå-kʷè ǀ’ìå
    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.
xátó: bikʰíméwá:kʷè
xàlé-ô: bikʰé-mé-wá:-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) hë:xʷéxéʔ kʷ?iʔyàpòsù:
    hë:xʷé-xéʔ kʷ?iʔyá-ts’è-pó-ì-sù:
dem.(prox.pl.)-like do-appl.-2sg.obj.-irr.-1pl.
   hfô  ?ôʔtʃʰūːgā:  tûiʔ
   hf-ô  ?ôʔ-ːtʃe-sù:-ā:  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) Łô: hfâ  bâʔèbâʔèiʔ
    Łô: hf-â  bâʔè-bâʔè-iʔ
c child when-3m.sg.PC be.big-be.big-sub.cl.
When the child became quite big,
   hfâ  máxâè:iʔ
   hf-â  máxâ-è:-iʔ
when-3m.sg.PC male-3m.sg.-sub.cl.
if he was a male,
   ?à:  jáʔábôʔà  làdîʔmè:
   ?á:  jáʔábô-àʔ  làdîʔmè-è
NC(3pl.) work-3pl.PC show-3m.sg.obj.
they showed him work.

Example (15) also shows how /hî/ 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 /hî/:

(16) hfâ  hëwéxé: tʃʰè:gā: tʃʰè:kî:iʔ
    hf-â  hëwéxé: tʃʰè-ː-ā: tʃʰè:-kî-iʔ
when-3m.sg.PC dem.(ref.pl.) day-sp.-SF absent-verb.-sub.cl.
When these days have finished,
if they have not returned the marriage gift,

then they know that

the woman’s relatives agree
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) atótfè khà hàŋgàí?
atót-fèè khì-à hàŋgà-ì?
there(ref.)-from-3m.sg. when-3m.sg.PC leave-sub.cl.

After he left from there,

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) ǹhì: ǹlòts’ì: mèhègù ǹà:qè:i?
ǹhì ǹlò-ts’ì-ì mèhèf-ì ǹà:è-i?
when-2sg.PC path-at-2sg.PC something(sp.)-2sg.PC see-3m.sg.obj.-sub.cl.
If you see something on the path,
mē:kō  sìe
mē:-kō  sít-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) hī:sǐ  tō:mē:  !’ò:kʰâí?
hī-sǐ  tō:mē-ː  !’ō:kʰâ-í?
when-1sg.PC  cultivate(3m.sg.obj.)-&  stop-sub.cl.
After I have stopped cultivating,

pá:  |’wʰâ-ː-â:  ?îfê-à  lānā
NC(3m.sg.)  millet-SF  stay-conn.  grow
the millet continues to grow.

(20) hîâ  ?îfê:  lānâjô:i?
hî-â  ?îfê-ː  lānâ-jô-ːi?
when-3m.sg.PC  stay-&  grow-dur.-sub.cl.
While the millet is still growing,

sì:  tî’ësê:â  kîsôxʷː:kîsînhîbâ:
sî:  tî’ësê-ːâ  kîsôxî-ː-ː-kî-sînhîbâ-ː
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:

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) hîâ  l’èkʷːâ  "!è:qâ:  "lè:i?
hî-â  l’èkʷː-ː-â  "!è-ː-ː-ː-ː-i?
when-3m.sg.PC  [dowry  day]_GEN-sp.-SF  arrive-sub.cl.
When the dowry day arrives,
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) hôâ íxî nî:é:pôì?
ôâ íxî nî:é::tôhî-pô-î?
when-3m.sg.PC thus do-neg.-2sg.-sub.cl.
Since you didn’t do thus,

hâkù tîmû:wâ:pô | hô:â  nî:ô:kô:
hâ-kù tîmû-wâ:-î-pô | hô:â  nî:ô:kô:-ê
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) hôâ kôkô nî:ô:gî?
hî-à kôkô nî:ô-î?
when-3m.sg.PC [chicken meat]GEN-sub.cl.
If it is chicken meat,

dj içpôhâ nî:ônsô nî: kû:nû:ğûrû
dj içpôhâ nî:ôns-î-sô nî: kû:nû:ğûrû
thigh eat(meat)-irr.-3a.pl. and steak they would eat thigh and steak.

Father, your work is to clear, cultivate, carve,

```
"!ámó: hónó: hfã hûmbûśî̀î?: bálô:
"!ámé-ó: hòná-o: hf-à hûmbû-sf î?: bálô:-ó:

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)

hèsû dâmâ:sû
hèsû dâmà-̀-sù

dem.(ref.3f.sg.) calf-sp.-3f.sg.

This calf,

```
hfã tʰáméti|hû:sû mlâšùsùts’èi?
hf-à tʰámèt(ʲ)hù-̀-sù mlâ-sf-sù-ts’è-ì?

when-3m.sg.PC woman-sp.-3f.sg. virginity-poss.-3f.sg.-neg.-sub.cl.
if the woman is not a virgin,
```

?

?

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 /é”¤/ ‘come (sg.subj.)’ or /<éa$t”¤/ ‘come (pl.subj.)’ (according to whether the subject of the clause is singular or plural) is suffixed with the connective morpheme /-˘ )è/ and then the subordinate clause morpheme:

(27)

hfã li’gi’?    
hf-à li’-˘-ì?    
when-3m.sg.PC come-&-sub.cl.

It seemed to him that

kënkôréː: ?úrâ: bâ?è
kënôkôrì-à-˘ ?úrì-à bâ?é
cockerel-pro.-3m.sg.-sp. very-3m.sg.PC be.big
the cockerel’s was very big.

(28)

hâ? n̥látì’gi’?
lf-à? n̥látì˘-˘-ì?    
when-3pl.PC come-&-sub.cl.

It became apparent to them
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 /l’è:/ ‘see, feel’ and is used to show how an event feels or is thought about by the subject:

(29) hìsì |’è:i?  léká? táxì
hí-sì |’è:-i?  léká? táxì
when-1sg.PC see-sub.cl. like just
It feels just like
l’òròrò: dë:z l’hë:-sò:-á:  nē:-í  l’wà:-tā:-á?  pùndùsè
frog be.many-adj.-3a.pl.-SF stay-& puddle-in-3pl.PC swim
many frogs are swimming in a puddle.

(30) hìsì |’è:i?
hí-sì |’è:-i?
when-1sg.PC see-sub.cl.
As I see it,

hè:ù  tfūː:-?  ?úrī:-à  bà?é
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) hí-sì:?
when-1sg.PC-sub.cl.
As I watched,

k’wà:  tū  n’dà  ?á:mé:
k’wà:  tū  n’dè:-à  ?á:mé:-í
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 /hâʔ/ ‘usually’:

(32) hâʔ saxi | hâʔ saxi
     hâʔ tâ-ru- | hâʔ tâ-ru-
     usually  RC(3f.sg.) dik.dik-sp.-3f.sg. children-sp.-3a.pl.-3fsg.PC

kû:tâ-nâsâ  ?îmë:ts’ïgâ
kû:tâ-nâsâ  ?îmë:ts’ë-ŋâ
house-in-to-3f.sg.PC  shut(3m.sg.obj.-appl.-3a.pl.obj.-conn.
Usually Dik-dik shut the children in the house

mânt|hâ  itjë-asânâsâ  hik’ï
mânt|hâ  itjë-sâ-nâ-sâ  hik’ï
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:

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<td></td>
<td>hûmbû-sí-sû</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>hûmbûsúsû:</td>
<td>We have a cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hûmbû-sí-sû:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>hûmbûsisî:</td>
<td>You (pl.) have a cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hûmbû-sí-sî:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl. (anim.)</td>
<td>hûmbûsisô</td>
<td>They have a cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hûmbû-sí-sô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73 If the possessor is plural and inanimate, the third person masculine singular form is used.
As the table shows, the possessive suffix /-sì/ is realised as /-sù/ before /su/, or /sú:/. If the possessed item is plural, the multiple suffix /-wà/ precedes the possessive suffix:

very.long.ago dik.dik [she house]GEN-poss.-3f.sg. Very long ago Dik-dik had her house

and children three-mult.-poss.-3f.sg.
and had three children.

A possessive construction can be negated with the /-tsé/ morpheme:

(34) ñ|wà: |wɛ:sípós’té:nè
ñ|wà: |wɛ:-sí:pó-tsé-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 /-tsí/ 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) mátósusúts’e:ts’ì:sù
mático-sí-sù-ts’é-ts’í-sù
gourd-poss.-3f.sg.-neg.-verb.-irr.-3f.sg.
She will not have a gourd.

(36) mátósusúts’ixiësà
mático-sí-sù-ts’í-xiêsà
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) pà: l’ò:l’â:
pá: l’ò:l’á:ì-
NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp.
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) hè'tʃe:] :  ámb: o:] :  ñ:lo:] :  
[dem.(prox.3m.sg.)-from-3m.sg.-sp. fear] GEN-sp.

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

(39) làlán̩gá: nü:\:kí : mè:nà:sùsùts’e :  
And she (habitually) didn’t like millet porridge.

Another common use of the possessive morpheme is illustrated in the following example:

(40) hè: kʰō:tå  
Is there also another male in this house?

The form */kó/: 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 /nè/: 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 /kó:sè/ or /kó:sè:/.

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’itl’ésúsʷā: jà?bè
     k’itl’é-sí-sú-á: jà?bè
     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) mátósusʷā: ḫemè
     mátó-sí-sú-á: ḫemé
     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’a:kù t’hè: ànt’hásè
     ts’a:kù t’hè: ànt’há-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 /-ʔ/ 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 /e/ and /e:/ (the low and high toned PGN morphemes for third person masculine singular) is evident.
Who was the one who had strength

who strength-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 /Šúšùkù/ ‘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 /hò/ ‘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:

Truly, he who has thirst should come to the water.

Truly thirst-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. come-3m.sg.Subj.PC water-in-to

In the following example, the relative clause contains a PP:

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:

what-bec.-2pl. sweat you(pl.)-pro. come.out-cause. thing
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) \(^{1}\text{hw} \text{ata} \text{ts'ishets'ẽ}:
\(^{1}\text{hw} \text{ata} \text{ts'isi-é-ts'ẽ-}\)kβ
dsincosh-3m.sg.-neg.-sp.
The one who does not have sin.

(49) \(^{1}\text{hw} \text{ata} \text{ts'ishets'ẽ}
\(^{1}\text{hw} \text{ata} \text{ts'isi-é-}\)ts'ẽ
dsincosh-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 /-\)kβ/:

(50) hàbúshâ: tʃá: pò:wè\)kβ:
hàbúshëñî:
hàbúsga-\)kβ tʃí-á: pô-é-i-\)kβ
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) tʃá: !'õ:wèšũ:sũ
nàmũ
tʃí-á: !'õ-é-su-\)kβ-sũ
nàmũ
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'ỹ/.
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 /-xe:/ precedes the specificity morpheme (and follows the object marking):

(52) kò: bò?wà: bóxè: tfjá: pò?wà:xè:
kó: bò-wà: bó-xè:-? tfjí-á: pò-?wá-xè:-?
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 /-'ê:/ 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) tfjá: 'ô:?'ôsÔ:sô n'lô:kô
tfjí-á: 'ô:-'ô-sô:-? -sô n'lô:kô
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’e/ precedes the specificity morpheme:

(54) hî:si: hàpá: tàkàts’e: 'ô:werpô
hî:si: hàpú-á: tàkà-ts’e:-? 'ô:-é:-pô
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. The same position can, instead, be filled by the plural morpheme /-xe:/, as in the following example:

(55) hêwé ʔindʒâsû: hêwá: bàlô:wàts’êxè:
hêwé ʔindʒá-sû: hêwé-á: bàlô:-wà-ts’ê-xè:-?
[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 "/-ô˘/ ‘with’ is followed by the specificity morpheme functioning as a relativiser, although this is not evident at the surface level:

(56)  ̣èkō:  !ë:mëk“è  k“à:  lâ:qè:
é-kô-˘  !ë:më-kû-è  k“à:  lâ:-é:
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“wa?ä-˘  tfji-ä:  tfjù:-sì  n!ä:-wà-wà-?v:/-?
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 "/-xé?/ ‘like’:

(57)  k“à:  di?së:ä:  n!lõ:kòts”ä?
k“ä:  di?së:-ä:  n!lõ:kò-ts”ä?
NC(3m.sg.)  old.man-SF  children-at-3pl.PC

| bôa?  ânolòxè?èkì |
| bô-ä?  ânolò-xé?-˘-kì |
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,)

| ?ô?ä:  tfjë:ki |
| ?ô? -ä  tfjë:-kì |
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)  
\[ \text{tomorrow-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at NC(3m.sg.) come donkey-sp.} \]

The next day, along came Donkey.

Secondly, the presence of conjunctions other than the default narrative or repetitive conjunctions is often associated with the transition to a new thematic grouping:

(2)  
\[ \text{now hyena-sp. NC(3m.sg.) dik.dik-SF speak-like-3m.sg.PC hear} \]


The next day, along came Donkey.

In a narrative, the function of /\text{hí:sí}/ ‘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 /\text{hí:sí}/ 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:

(4)  
\[ \text{and then-loc. non.Sandawe-3f.sg. other-3f.sg. present-poss.-3f.sg.} \]

And, at that time, there was another non-Sandawe around.
But, at that time, Jonah had already gone down into the boat room at the bottom, 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:

\[(6) \quad hó \quad nì: \quad n|étànò: \quad n|ë: ì? \quad hó \quad nì: \quad n|ë-tà-nà-ò \quad n|ë:-ì? \]

\text{When we went and entered into the bush,}

\[kó: \quad këtò \quad mòkùndôgô \quad là:wà: \quad kó: \quad këtò \quad mòkùndô-ì-ò \quad là:-wà: \]

\[NC(1pl.) \quad \text{[pig track]} \quad \text{GEN-sp.-1pl.PC see-3i.pl.obj.} \quad \text{we saw pig tracks.} \]

\[s“è \quad hó \quad là:wà: \quad tlëmsëìi? \quad s“è \quad hó \quad là:-wà:-ì? \quad tlëmsë-ì? \]

\text{Now after we had seen them,}

\[kó: \quad pàngâts’ò \quad bà:rà \quad kó: \quad pàngâ-ts’ì-ò \quad bà:rà \quad NC(1pl.) \quad \text{arrange-reflex.-1pl.PC start} \quad \text{then we started to arrange ourselves.} \]

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:

\[(7) \quad hìsì \quad hèwé \quad hàbàs’ò:ts’ìsì \quad k宏ë: ì? \quad hì-sì \quad hèwé \quad hàbàs’è:ò:-ts’ì-sì \quad k宏ë:ë-ì? \]

\text{When I heard this sound,}
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:

    hëk’ë-sí:-È    minë-tà-sí:   lë:rà-sí:    në::wà:-È
    go-1sg.PC-& field-to-1sg.PC millet-1sg.PC cut-3i.pl.obj.-&
    I go and cut millet in the field and
    lë:    kùnùtànàsí:    kà:
    lë:-È    kùnù-tà-nà-sí:    kà:-È
    come-& mortar-in-to-1sg.PC put-&
    I come and put them in the mortar
    në:sí:    pùrë:    bùrù:sè:
    në:-sí    pùr:-È    bùrù:sè:-È
    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)  hë:    hëk’ë:    lë:rà:k:wà    në::ë:i?
    hë:-È    hëk’ë:-È    lë:à:-kù:-à    në::ë:-i?
    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,
    hàxí:    rô:    më:
    hàxí:    rô:    më:
    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:
Then she entered and fed her children.

12.2 Participant reference

Major participants are usually introduced in presentational sentences, such as the following:

Very long ago (there was) Pigeon and Frog.

They may also be introduced as the object of a verb like ‘meet’ or ‘see’:

The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

she was pregnant.

Minor participants can be introduced in topic-comment sentences:

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) hísá há dó?tásá ní:è:i?
hísá há dó?-tásá ní:è:i?
when-3f.sg.PC compound-in-3f.sg.PC arrive-sub.cl.
When she arrived in the compound,

sà: má lák'wá: !’àwé
sá: má lák'wá-à !’àwé
NC(3f.sg.) slip-conn. fall
she slipped and fell,

pà: l’í:qá: tʃh̥ou
pá: l’í-ʔ-á: tʃh̥ou
NC(3m.sg.) fire-sp.-SF go.out
and the fire went out.

sà: tl’èsé:á khwá l’í:nàsá
sá: tl’èsé-à khwá l’í:nà-sá
NC(3f.sg.) repeat-conn. return fire-to-3f.sg.PC
Then she returned again to the fire.

hí-sá ló:mé-ʔ lí-ʔ ló:ts’-sá ní:è:i?
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,

sàxj má lák’wá: !’àwè
sàxj má lák’wá-à !’awe
RC(3f.sg.) slip-conn. fall
she slipped and fell again,

pàxj l’í: tʃh̥ou
pàxj l’í-ʔ tʃh̥ou
RC(3m.sg.) fire-sp. go.out
and the fire went out again.
For the third time she returned to Frog's home.

The additive suffix /-k"¤/ 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) tfoot'k"¤ ts'k"¤ n\~emësë: hâ!â:šî
tfoot'k"¤ ts'k"¤ n\~emësë: hâ!â-é-i-sî
l-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)  sâ: !'örörôš sûňkâ:
sâ: !'örörô-\~s-û-kî-á:
NC(3f.sg.) frog-sp.-3f.sg.-add.-SF
hësû n\~emësë\~sâ hâ!â:
hësû n\~emësë:-\~sâ hâ!â-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)  sî: màtškësî pù:wè
sî: màtškësî pù:-é
NC(1sg.) partially.ripe.millet-1sg.PC pound-3m.sg.obj.
Then I pound the partially ripe millet […]
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:

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12.1 Focus patterns</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sentence focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Predicate focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Object focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verb focus</td>
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</table>

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:  l’hàtʃhǔ:qā:  !’àkʃhǔ:qā:  t’hékʰhēːnā
pá:  l’hàtʃhǔ-ʔ-ā:  !’àkʃhǔ-ʔ-ā:  t’hékʰhū-ʔ-ā
NC(3m.sg.) lion-sp.-SF tooth-sp.-3m.sg.PC pull.out-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then Lion pulled out a tooth and

dīʔsē:sū:s’tà  ?iē
dīʔsē::s-u-ʔ-sū-ā  ?ī-ē
do: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) sWe^ ñH$i:SHu)È Murray a$traj’ta$  nölínëwă
sWe^ ñH$i:SHu@  ñьте a$t“ “san“€
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) tʃá:  ?útákí më:nā:  sìé
tʃi-ā:  ?útákí më:nā-ʔ-ā  sī-ē
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:  l’òll’h:  NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp.
pá:  l’òll’h-ā-ʔ  NC(3m.sg.)

hùmbù tʃʷh:ksēː  māːlē:
cow be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
Then Baboon chose a fat cow,

kʷh:  n|wāːː ŋ
kʷh:  n|wāːː ŋ
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp.

hùmbù gândásēː  māːlē:
hùmbù gândas-sf-ē-ā  māːlē-ē
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:

\[(23)\] s\^{w}è shûlékî bâ:râ:ʔâ
s\^{w}è shûlé-kî bâ:râ-ě-â?
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:

\[(24)\] kôlô:sâ dlômôt\^{h}û
kôlô:-\^{h}-sâ dlômô-é-\^{i}-sû
hoe-sp.-3f.sg.PC buy-3m.sg.obj.-neg.-3f.sg.
She didn’t buy the hoe *(she bought something else instead)*.

\[(25)\] t\^{j}á: t\^{h}érê: ʔámé\^{h}è
t\^{j}-á: t\^{h}érê-\^{h}- ʔámé-\^{i}-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:

\[(26)\] kôlô: dlômô:sû
kôlô: dlômô-é-\^{i}-sû
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:

\[(27)\] kîsôsô-sô môkôndô: ʔl’\^{a}wâ:sô
kîsô-sô-\^{i}-sô môkôndô-\^{h}
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:
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

dórøqå xàts’èwàts’è: k’wà: kà?
dórø-ì-à xàts’èwà-tsè-è k’wà: kà?
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) s’wë dâk’wë: k’wà: nì worthless tfìhà: l’wà:sk’wë
s’wë dâk’wë:-ì k’wà: nì tfìhà-ì: l’wà:sk-ì-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) ?òqåsì tfsí ?àdì:sì: tòu
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 /-k’ì/ as in (23) above and, also, as in the following example:

(31) mäntìhàkì úrså: mäté: mäntìhå
mäntìhà-kì úrí:-så mäté-ì: mäntìhå
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:
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) pʰɛɛɨʔ kʷə:  lí dàkʷwɛː;
pʰɛɛ-iː-ʔ-ts’i kʷəː:  lí dàkʷɛː-ʔ-
tomorrow-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-at NC(3m.sg.) come donkey-sp.
The next day along came Donkey.

(34) ?áːrets’iːkò bàʔésè:  jɛsʊts’i;
?áːrets’iːkò bàʔé-sf-è-ʔ  jɛsʊ-ʔ-ts’i;
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) sì:  kòlōː sì sìː;
sì:  kòlōː-ʔ-sì sì-ɛ-ʔ
NC(1sg.) hoe-sp.-1sg.PC take-3m.sg.obj.-conn.
Then I take the hoe and

hík’á:  tɔːmè  mǐndàːsì
hík’ʔ-á  tɔːmè  mǐndà-ʔ-sì
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) kʷəː  dóróː  tʰə  nʲɛtànːá;
kʷəː  dóróː-ʔ  tʰə  nʲɛ-tà-nà-ʔ
NC(3m.sg.) zebra-sp. run bush-in-to-3m.sg.PC
Then Zebra ran into the bush,
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 /-s‘a/ or the durative morpheme /-jó/, an event can be marked as prominent by being introduced by the conjunction /hèwé? gà/- ‘and so’, and a speech can be marked as prominent by being introduced by the formula /?íxî- kí-kál?/ ‘thus saying’ (see the following section on reporting speech).

The following example shows how the locative suffix /-s‘i/ can be attached to NPs to mark them as thematically prominent; this is particularly common in copular constructions:

(37) !(hwátats‘imë: !bèmò:sì? tlà:sì
!(hwátats‘i-kimë: !bèmè-ô-sì? tlà:sì
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:

pá: warànqë:-sì? jònà-ts‘ì-à ?íxî-à bò
NC(3m.sg.) god-loc. Jonah-at-3m.sg.PC thus-3m.sg.PC say
But God said to Jonah thus.

The durative morpheme /-jó/ can be attached to a verb to mark emphatic prominence:

(39) hùmàsëajó:
hùmà-sé-à-jó:
defeat-1sg.obj.-3m.sg.PC-dur.
He has defeated me!

The following example contains the conjunction /hèwé? gà/- ‘and so’, which is used to introduce a thematically prominent event in a narrative:
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) mǎ:kà tê? sàndàwè:sù tèsùsì lâ:
mǎ:kà té-è-ts’ì sàndàwè:-sú té-sù-sì lâ:
year other-3m.sg.-at Sandawe-3f.sg. other-3f.sg.-1sg.PC see
The other year, I saw another Sandawe woman,

tl’âbísósúṣù

tl’âbísó-sí-sù

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: l’ři-f íxâ: bŏk“è:
pà: l’ři-ř íxî-à bŏ-kù-é:
NC(3m.sg.) snake-sp. thus-3m.sg.PC say-ben.-3m.sg.obj.

tâmèsì n’llôsù:s“à:
tâmèsì n’llô-sù-ř-sù-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) mà?ékô: bókʷē:
mà?é-kò-ː bô-kù-é:
go.around-2sg.Imp.PC-& say.ben.-3m.sg.obj.
Go and tell him,

kʷà: tû: hîk’jí hûk’wâ-síj kò:
kʷà: tû-ː hîk’jí hûk’wâ-é-síj kò:
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 /ká?/ alone may suffice, as in the following example:

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 /ímbô/ ‘say’ is used together with the formula /?íxì- kî-kâ?/ ‘thus saying’, the following speech is highlighted, as in the following example:

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 /kâ?/, which is glossed in the following example as hear. for ‘hearsay’:

\[(46)\] ?à: mì:ndʒò: gà? bà:rà:
NC(3pl.) journey-sp.-3pl.PC start-3m.sg.obj.
They began the journey,

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 /kâ?/, the morphemes /-gà?/, /-gâ/ or /-gê/ and /-kê:/ are bound. /-gà?/ can be described as a declarative evidential. It is particularly common in copular constructions:

\[(47)\] hèwèxè màrà?éwàsâ:
èwèxè màrà?é-wà-sí-é-à
dem.(ref.pl.) stripe-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.

s"wés"wè?mò kòxè?wà: wàsâ: ìè:gà?
s"wés"wè?mò kòxè?wà:sí-é-à ìè:gà?
[wall.stick house] 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:

grind-nml.-sp.-add. cockerel-sp. start-nml.-at-pro.-3m.sg.-sp.-SF cry-loc.
And the grinding, when the first cockerel crows,

hà:nígà: nóngè: gà?
hà:ní-gà: nóngè-i-pô-gà?
get.up-& grind-irr.-2sg.-decl.
you will get up and grind.
It does not appear to be possible to use the /-gá/ evidential with a realis verb.

The evidentials /-gâ/ and /-gê/ can be seen in the conjunctions /hèwèʔ, gâ/ and /hèwèʔ, gê/ respectively, which can both be translated ‘and so’:

(49)  hèwèʔgèsí  tèlâsí  tʃí  kimâːši
hèwèʔ  gè-sí  tèlâ-sí  tʃí  kimâː-ː-sí
and.so-1sg.PC  completely-1sg.PC [I poisonous.arrow]_GEN-sp.-1sg.PC

láːsí  lànî  ts’eːdnâsí  pè:
láː-ːsí  lànî  ts’eːd-ːnà-sí  pè:
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) ʔôʔgâːsí  tʃí  ʔàdî:síː  tôú
ʔôʔ  -gâ-sí  tʃí  ʔàdîšiː-ː  tôú
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)  nàmû-gêsâː  sómbâː  tʰiːmè
nàmû-gê-sû-ː  sómbâ-ː  tʰiːmè
Namu-decl.-3f.sg.-SF  fish-sp.  cook(3m.sg.obj.)
Namu 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)  hûmbûgê
hûmbû-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.  

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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 /-qá/, but it is used with negative verb forms and conditional constructions and conveys the meaning ‘not even’ or ‘even’, as appropriate:

(53) tʃu: ⁿlötś’itʃʰè: tàxɁ tʃu: ⁿló-ts’f-tʃʰ₁-é: tàxɁ animal fear-reflex.-neg.-3m.sg. very
It was a very frightening animal
hà: ᵗʰáts’ô:kì dâ-ts’ïké:tʃʰè: hà: ᵗʰâts’ô-ô:ï.-kì dâ-ts’ï-ké:-tʃʰ₁-é: nor shoot-nml.-sp.-add. be.able-reflex.-decl.-neg.-3m.sg. and to shoot was not even possible.

ⁿlöšt’è xáô:ô:kì
ⁿló-é-i-sì-ts’è xà-ô:ô-kì 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.


debn: n’in: l’öl’á
debn: l’öl’á

Elephant-and-and baboon Elephant and Baboon.


very.long.ago elephant-& and baboon cow-mult.-poss.-3a.pl.
Long ago Elephant and Baboon had cows.

debn: hèwé hùmbù-wàsè
debn: l’öl’á hùmbù-wà-sí-è

elephant-sp. [he cow]GEN-mult.-poss.-3m.sg.
Elephant had his cows,

l’öl’á:kì hèwé hùmbù-wásí só
l’öl’á hèwé hùmbù-wà-sí-sò
baboon [he cow]GEN-mult.-poss.-3a.pl.
and Baboon had his cows.

day one NC(3pl.) thus-3pl.PC talk
One day they talked thus,

?ùs’è wàrè hùmbù ?ùsú?wài kèsò? dlùmùsûkùsànà mànàndà
?ùs’è wàrè hùmbù ?ùsú?-? wà-ì kèsé-ò? dlùmù-sí-kù-sà-nà mànàndà-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.”

pà: l’öl’á: hùmbù tîhâ:kìsè à màlè:
pá: l’öl’á-ì hùmbù tîhâ:kì-sì-è-à màlé-è

NC(3m.sg.) baboon-sp. cow be.fat-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
Then Baboon chose a fat cow,

k’wà: debn: hùmbù gàndàsè à màlè:
k’wà: debn: hùmbù gàndà-sí-è-à màlè-è

NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. cow be.thin-poss.-3m.sg.-3m.sg.PC choose-3m.sg.obj.
whereas Elephant chose a thin cow.
Now they started the journey,

?ùsʷè ?à: mǐːndʒó?à? bàːr;rà:

now NC(3pl.) journey-3pl.PC start-3m.sg.obj.

Now they started the journey,

?ùsʷè hfâ? lōːts’â? ᵇëːi?

now when-3pl.PC path-at-3pl.PC arrive-sub.cl.

Now when they arrived at the path,

hēːu hàpú hũmbû?: ?ûrâ: gândâ
hēːu hàpú hũmbûː? tûrįː-gândâ
dem.(prox.3m.sg.) [you cow]GEN-sp. very-3m.sg.PC be.thin
“This cow of yours is so thin!”

paː: n.allocateː kiː:?
paː: n`allocateː -kîː:
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp.-add.-SF thus-3m.sg.PC say

And then Elephant said thus,

hî-à gândâi? tʃíːqî
hî-à gândâ-i? tʃíː-i
when-3m.sg.PC be.thin-sub.cl. I-pro.
“If he is thin, that’s my business.

tʃí màkâ:
[tʃí màkâ:]
[I thing]GEN
It’s my property.”

sʷè ?àxî mǐːndʒôːqâ? kôsâ? bàːr;râ:

now RC(3pl.) journey-sp.-3pl.PC again-3pl.PC start-3m.sg.obj.

Now they started the journey again,

paː: n|wː: ?íxâ: ?imbô
paː: n|wː:-ː? íxìː-à ?imbô
NC(3m.sg.) elephant-sp. thus-3m.sg.PC say
then Elephant spoke thus,
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,

hǐ:[húmbu:] gândàsê: l’ôl’âi
hǐ: húmbu-˘ gândâ-sí-ê-˘ l’ôl’â-i
dem.(dist.3m.sg.) cow-sp. be.thin.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. baboon-pro.
That thin cow is Baboon’s,

hì: húmbu: tʃhː:kí:šé: n|wː:i
hí: húmbu-˘ tʃhː:kí-sí-ê-˘ n|wː:i-ı
and cow-sp. be.fat.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. elephant-pro.
and the fat cow is Elephant’s.

hí-à? nfi-ì? ̀à: n|ò:mósó?-à !’ô:-wâ:
when-3pl.PC go-sub.cl. NC(3pl.) people-3m.sg.PC meet-3a.pl.obj.
When they went, they met some people.

pà: l’ôl’á ?řxà: ?имвó
pá: l’ôl’á ?řxi-à ?имвó
NC(3m.sg.) baboon thus-3m.sg.PC say
And Baboon spoke thus,

n|wː:i: húmbu: gândàsê:

[elephant cow]GEN-sp. be.thin.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp.
“Elephant’s cow is thin

hí: tʃhː:kí-sí-ê-˘ húmbu-˘ tʃí-ı
and be.fat.-poss.-3m.sg.-sp. cow-sp. I-pro.
and the fat one is my cow.”

NC(3pl.) people very-3pl.PC laugh NC(3pl.) hear.
Then the people laughed a lot and said,

n|wː:i: |wː:sípôts’enë
n|wː:i: |wː:-sí-pò-ts’ė-në
elephant eye.-poss.-2sg.-neg.-interrog.
“Elephant, don’t you have eyes?
These stripey things, which are like a house of wall sticks, are ribs.”

And then Elephant got very angry.

And when they had passed by, they went a little way,

then Elephant spoke thus,

“Earlier what did I say?

I said,

‘The fat cow is mine.’”

Then Elephant took a big tree trunk and
raise-caus.-3m.sg.obj.-& baboon-sp.-at-3m.sg.PC hit raised it up to hit Baboon.

But Baboon jumped and sat on Elephant’s back.

Then Baboon spoke thus laughing, saying,

“I’m on Elephant’s back like a chief.”

And Elephant said,

“You defeated me, Baboon.

Get down, and let’s start our journey.

I finish my story there.”
References


