



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

**A grammar of Sandawe : a Khoisan language of Tanzania**  
Steeman, S.

**Citation**

Steeman, S. (2012, February 2). *A grammar of Sandawe : a Khoisan language of Tanzania*. *LOT dissertation series*. LOT - Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics, Utrecht.  
Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18429>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18429>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

## Chapter 3

### Nouns and noun phrases

The present chapter deals with Sandawe nouns and noun phrases. The chapter is organised as follows: first, an overview of the structure of noun roots is given. In section 3.2 gender is discussed. Section 3.3 treats the morphological encoding of number, which is marginal for nouns. In section 3.4 nominal derivation is discussed. Section 3.5 discusses definiteness as marked by nominal suffixes. The final section presents a short overview of noun phrases and postpositional phrases.

#### 3.1. The structure of the noun root

The majority of Sandawe noun roots consists of one, two or three syllables. The following description presents an overview of structures of noun roots up to three syllables. It focuses on the common structures for each group and presents some remarkable forms.

##### 3.1.1. Monosyllabic noun roots

Monosyllabic root structures are of the following form: CV, CVV, CVN, and (exceptionally) CV(V)G. CV noun roots are illustrated below. There are no monosyllabic roots that contain a final glottal stop.

!ŋ	lice egg, nit
ŋ é	bush, shrubs
ts'é	hair on the arms
'á	foul smell
tshô	faeces
!'û	feather

CVV noun roots are illustrated below.

tshí	gums; mushroom, sp.
thèé	tree
ŋ wéé	thorn
!'wáá	pool
tsháá	cooking pot
khòó	household
tshùú	soft edible part of fruits

CVN roots have a final nasal consonant, **ŋ**. Note that there is no phonemically distinctive length contrast in the vowel preceding the nasal consonant. For more information on nasals and vowel length, see section 2.1.

<b>ts'õŋ</b>	rhinoceros
<b>ts'óŋ</b>	tree, sp.
<b>  'óŋ</b>	throat
<b>ʃŋ</b>	mucus
<b>  'ǎŋ</b>	1. well; 2. warthog
<b>!éŋ</b>	rib
<b>tʃ'úŋ</b>	hand

Finally, three monosyllabic nouns have an exceptional kind of noun root structure: CV(V)G. The final consonant of these roots is an approximant, **w** or **y**.<sup>20</sup>

<b> ééw</b>	buffalo
<b>  'éw</b>	soil, k.o.
<b>kwáây</b>	shoulder

The forms with a final **w** may be underlying disyllabic forms, which is also suggested by an alternative pronunciation of 'buffalo': **|ééwú**. The noun **kwáây** 'shoulder' is probably related to West Rift Southern Cushitic *\*kwaahha* (n.sg.f) 'shoulder blade' (Kießling and Mous 2003).

There is one example of a monosyllabic noun root with a long vowel and a final consonant **m**.

<b> wêém</b>	tree, sp.
--------------	-----------

### 3.1.2. Disyllabic noun roots

All Sandawe vowel types appear in disyllabic roots: short, long, and voiceless.

Short vowels may occur in the first or in the second syllable, or in both; long vowels may appear in the first or in the second syllable, but not in both. The examples below illustrate short and long vowels in disyllabic roots: CVCV, CVVCV, CVCVV.

<sup>20</sup> Note however that (polymorphemic) forms with a syllable-final approximant are not exceptional in Sandawe. Compare for example the demonstrative **hèéw** 'this (m.)' and constituents with a 2 SG realis or 3 non-realís clitic **-y**, e.g. **khwàà-y** '1. you returned; 2. he will return'.

<b>gìtí'é</b>	cloth, clothing
<b>sákhà</b>	carrying pole
<b>ts'òóts'í</b>	hunger
<b>!áákhô</b>	raised, open place
<b>?àlèé</b>	cactus
<b>ts'íròó</b>	top of tree

Voiceless vowels in disyllabic roots (**i** and **u**) appear in root-final position, as illustrated below: CVCV̥; CVVCV̥.

<b>nán̥</b>	side dish, vegetable
<b>tí'ík̥</b>	morning
<b>!húk̥</b>	umbilical cord
<b>báár̥</b>	rainy season
<b>ts'áák̥</b>	at home <sup>21</sup>

Most disyllabic roots which contain a closed syllable have nasal consonants in the coda: CVNCV(V), CVCVN.<sup>22</sup> Nasal consonants assimilate their place of articulation to a following consonant. Final nasal consonants are velar: **ŋ**.

<b>!'ámbá</b>	spleen
<b>kùŋgí</b>	fishing basket
<b>ts'áŋk'è</b>	guinea fowl
<b>tìàŋkáá</b>	partridge
<b>tí'òmbéé</b>	bird, sp.
<b>kòlǒŋ</b>	hoe
<b>ŋ íníŋ</b>	maize
<b>!'ákáŋ</b>	tooth
<b>ŋ ówáŋ</b>	star

<sup>21</sup> The vowel in this example is part of a frozen suffix **-k̥**, cf. **ts'áánà** '(towards) home'. **ts'áá** is a bound form, it cannot appear without either **-k̥**, or the postposition **-nà**.

<sup>22</sup> Vowels preceding nasal consonants have a longer duration than short oral vowels elsewhere. However, there is no contrastive vowel length distinction before nasal consonants, see 2.1.

In a few disyllabic noun roots, a glottal stop occurs as a coda consonant. The glottal stop only appears in this position in the first syllable of the root.

<b>kúʔúnà</b>	gourd
<b>!ʔéʔénáá</b>	warthog
<b>díʔírà</b>	animal, sp.
<b>!áʔáìò</b>	sparrow
<b>díʔisèé</b>	old man
<b>tsʔàʔàtá</b>	sterile animal
<b>yàʔàbé</b>	work

There is one example of a disyllabic root with a glottal stop in coda position after a long vowel (CVVCCV):

<b>!ááʔásò</b>	moon
----------------	------

w functions as a coda consonant in only a few disyllabic roots.

<b>ʔémáw</b>	big antelope, sp.
<b>kêwtò</b>	pig

Another coda consonant which occurs rarely, is **r**. Note that both examples are loans.

<b>gwàrtà</b>	he-goat	(cf. West-Rift * <b>gwereta</b> ~* <b>gwereti</b> ‘he-goat’)
<b>márkà</b>	age group	(cf. Swahili <b>rika</b> ‘age group’)

### 3.1.3. Trisyllabic noun roots

This section presents examples of noun roots which contain three syllables. The most common structures are: CVCVCV, CVCVCV<sub>o</sub>, CVCV(N)CVV, CV(N)CV(N)CV.

The following set of examples contains nouns of the form CVCVCV. All have short final vowels:

<b>tétérà</b>	seed
<b>súkʔútó</b>	calf
<b>kìtìbá</b>	cooking pot, k.o.

Alternatively, the final vowel of three-syllable noun roots may be voiceless (CVCVCV<sub>o</sub>):

<b>kàkúrù</b>	calabash
---------------	----------

Long vowels in three-syllable noun roots occur in root-final position:  
CVCV(N)CVV:

<b>mòpókáá</b>	potato
<b>góxómbéé</b>	shaft of arrow
<b>bègèràá</b>	large gourd

Nasal coda consonants appear in the first or second syllable of three-syllable noun roots, CVNCVCV and CVCVNCV:

<b>k'úŋk'úra</b>	dust
<b>ḥumbúru</b>	vegetable, k.o.
<b>mèkéntó</b>	spoon, used to stir mash
<b>wàròŋgò</b>	ancestral spirit, soul

A glottal stop in the coda position of the final syllable is possible, but very rare.

<b>kóŋgóràʔà</b>	axe
------------------	-----

The final example of a noun root with three syllables deviates from the previous root structures: it has a rare coda consonant **r** in the first syllable:

<b>!wárkáká</b>	molar, jaw <sup>23</sup>
-----------------	--------------------------

### 3.2. Gender

Sandawe distinguishes between masculine and feminine gender for singular number. Most morphological gender marking is found on subject clitics (section 5.1), conjunctions (sections 7.2, 7.4, and 7.5) and dependent elements, such as demonstratives and deictic elements (sections 4.2 and 4.3).

There is no regular, overt gender marking on the noun, although some feminine nouns contain frozen elements in which a gender marker **-sù** or **-sù** can be recognized (cf. 3fSG pronominal forms in section 4.4). The examples below are human nouns, except for 'sun'.

<b>ḥisù</b>	sister (of males) (f.)
<b>ŋ úmsù</b>	wife (f.)
<b>thámètshù</b>	woman (f.)
<b>thóʔótshù</b>	sister (of females) (f.)
<b>ŋ  ókótsú</b>	girl (f.)

<sup>23</sup> One consultant provided an alternative pronunciation **!wárakáká**, in which the consonant **r** occurs in the syllable onset and is followed by an additional vowel **a**.

<b>ŋ èmé sù</b>	female person (f.)	(cf. <b>ŋ èmé sé</b> male person (m.); <b>ŋ òm ó sò</b> people (PL) )
<b>  'ákásù</b>	sun (f.)	

Overt gender marking on nominal heads is restricted to definite feminine nouns, feminine agent nouns, and nouns denoting human(s) that are part of a certain group or category. As will be described in section 3.5, definite nouns have a definiteness marker at the end of the noun. Feminine definite nouns add to this marker the suffix **-sù**, which can be considered a gender marker. The following examples illustrate this.

**ŋ|úmsù-n-sù sàà      ?òòwéi nì-ŋ      k'ée**  
 wife-DEF-f      CNJ2.3fSG      scream      CNJ-CL      cry  
 And the wife screamed and cried.

**!'òròrò -n-sw=à      |âŋ**  
 frog-DEF-f=3      see  
 He saw the frog.

Agent nouns are deverbal nouns that are characterized by the agent suffix **-ŋ** (section 3.4.3). Feminine agent nouns contain an additional gender marker **-sù** after the agent suffix, as illustrated below. Note that masculine agent nouns have no overt morphological gender marking.

<b>nówé-ŷ</b>	<b>nówé-ŷ-sù</b>	<	<b>nówé</b>
grind-AG	grind-AG-f		grind
grinder (m.)	grinder (f.)		

Nouns that denote individuals of a certain group or category of humans, contain a gender marker **-é** (masculine) or **-sù** (feminine). Without these markers, the nouns denote a plural entity. For a further discussion of these forms and gender and number markers see section 3.3.

<i>masculine nouns</i>		<i>feminine nouns</i>	
<b>dí?isè-é</b>	old man	<b>dí?isé-sù</b>	old woman
<b>sàndàwè-é</b>	Sandawe (m.)	<b>sàndàwé-sù</b>	Sandawe (f.)
<b>gwàbè-é</b>	Maasai (m.)	<b>gwàbé-sù</b>	Maasai (f.)
<b>búróngè-é</b>	Burunge (m.)	<b>búróngè-sù</b>	Burunge (f.)
<b>thàthùrè-é</b>	Datooga (m.)	<b>thàthùrù-sù</b>	Datooga (f.)
<b>wàgìnè-é</b>	guest (m.)	<b>wàgìnì-sù</b>	guest (f.)
<b>wàgè-é</b>	stranger, non-Sandawe man	<b>wàgó-sù</b>	stranger, non-Sandawe woman

Gender assignment differs for human nouns and non-human animate and inanimate nouns. Human nouns display a natural gender system, in which the sex of the person determines its gender. Compare the examples below and note the example for ‘elder sibling’. Depending on the sex of the person, the gender of the noun is masculine or feminine.

<i>masculine nouns</i>		<i>feminine nouns</i>	
<b>tàtá</b>	father	<b>ʔiyóó</b>	mother
<b>kòkó</b>	grandfather	<b>mámá</b>	grandmother
<b>yàyá</b>	elder brother	<b>yàyá</b>	elder sister

Gender assignment to non-human animate nouns is unpredictable. Several generic terms for animals have either masculine or feminine gender, regardless of the sex of the animal.

<i>masculine nouns</i>		<i>feminine nouns</i>	
<b>ʔàá</b>	goat	<b>ts’òŋ</b>	rhinoceros
<b>  hàtsú</b>	lion	<b>dàk’wèé</b>	donkey

Moreover, gender marking on dependent elements and subject clitics referring to non-human animate nouns shows that sometimes the same non-human animate may be referred to by masculine and feminine gender within the same text.

This is illustrated by the following two sentences. Both are taken from the same story and refer to the same non-human animate, an eland. In the first sentence all elements referring to the eland have masculine gender (the coordinating conjunctions, the demonstrative and the pronoun). In the second sentence, the definiteness marker, conjunction and subject clitic, which refer to the eland, have feminine gender.

**pàà**      **hèéw**      **!wàʔâ-ŋ**      **pàà**      **hèwé**      **ŋ||úmé**      **gafla**  
 CNJ2.3      DEM1.m      eland-DEF      CNJ2.3      he      stand\_upright:SG      suddenly  
 This eland (m.) suddenly stands still.

**!wàʔâ-n-sù-siʔi**      **sàà**      **||ó-ʔò=sà**      **||’áʔà**  
 eland-DEF-f-???      CNJ2.3fSG      over\_there-LOC=3fSG      be\_blocked  
 As for the eland (f.), it remains there.

In a few suppletive forms, gender assignment to non-human animates reflects natural gender, as the examples below illustrate.

<i>masculine nouns</i>		<i>feminine nouns</i>	
<b>kòŋkóŋ</b>	rooster	<b>kókó</b>	chicken
<b>k’ám̀bà</b>	bull	<b>hùmbù</b>	cow

Gender assignment to inanimate nouns is largely unpredictable, but some generalizations can be made for three semantic domains:

- a) body part terminology
- b) botanical terminology
- c) technical terminology

a) All nouns for body parts have masculine gender, as illustrated below.

<b>tʃ'úŋ</b>	hand (m.)
<b>dzìphá</b>	upper leg (m.)
<b>tsèé</b>	head (m.)
<b> 'ínà</b>	breast (m.)
<b>!'ákáŋ</b>	tooth (m.)
<b>ŋ!úŋ</b>	mouth (m.)

b) In botanical terminology, both feminine and masculine nouns are found. Sandawe speakers pointed out that masculine nouns in this domain describe tall, massive trees, while the class of feminine nouns contains smaller trees, shrubs and flowers. Compare the examples below:

<i>masculine nouns</i>		<i>feminine nouns</i>	
<b>dégérà</b>	tree, sp. (Sw. <i>mtunduru</i> )	<b>gèlègélá</b>	tree, sp.
<b>gélé</b>	baobab	<b>k'ats'awá</b>	tree, sp.
<b>?àfà</b>	acacia, sp.	<b>ʃùbúbú</b>	plant, sp.
<b>!wèéyà</b>	African teak	<b>?án  húmà</b>	tree, sp.
<b>  hwàá</b>	tree, sp. (Sw. <i>suna</i> )	<b> ígídà</b>	shrub, sp.

Trees and plants are commonly used as proper names. Traditionally, naming takes place when the mother takes the newly born outside and buries the umbilical cord at the roots of a certain tree or plant. The baby is then named after this tree/plant. Feminine botanical terms are used for female proper names, while masculine terms are used for male proper names.

<i>masculine nouns</i>		<i>feminine nouns</i>	
<b>gélé</b>	Gele (m.)	<b>k'ats'awá</b>	K'ats'awa (f.)
<b>?àfà</b>	Afa (m.)	<b> ígídà</b>	igida (f.)

c) Technical terms and vocabulary items for machineries that were technological innovations for the Sandawe have feminine gender. Nouns in this domain are mainly borrowed from Swahili:

<b>phìkìphìkì</b>	motor cycle (f.)	(< Sw. <i>pikipiki</i> )
<b>tshèrèhànì</b>	sewing machine (f.)	(< Sw. <i>cherehani</i> )

déǵè	airplane (f.)	(< Sw. <i>ndege</i> ‘bird; airplane’)
ǵáǻ̀	car (f.)	(< Sw. <i>gari</i> )
tèrèǻ̀	train (f.)	(< Sw. <i>tereni</i> )
[màǻ̀ǻ̀nè]	(grinding) machine (f.)	(<Sw. <i>mashine</i> )
[réǻ̀ǻ̀yò]	radio (f.)	(<Sw. <i>rediyò</i> )

### 3.3. Number

In Sandawe most of the encoding of number takes place on subject clitics (section 5.1) and in the verbal paradigm, where plural number of participants is expressed morphologically (see section 6.4). This section deals exclusively with number marking on nouns.

Most nouns have no regular morphological encoding of number. However, there are three classes of nouns referring to humans in which number is expressed by some morphological encoding on the noun as well: first, a few human nouns with irregular plural marking, and second, agent nouns that are derived from verbs. A third class of human nouns consists of plural noun roots. Moreover, all definite plural nouns referring to humans contain an obligatory plural marker **-sò**, which follows the definiteness marker.

A few human nouns have irregular plural forms. The examples below illustrate the singular and plural forms. Note that the two feminine nouns have a singular form in which the frozen gender marker **-sù** can be recognized (section 3.2). **ǻ̀ǻ̀ókó** ‘children’ is the only noun containing a plural marker **-ko**.<sup>24</sup> The marker **-sò** in **ǻ̀ǻ̀òmósò** ‘people’ is a common plural marker for human nouns with overt number marking, but note the irregular vowel change in the noun root.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	
thámètshù	thámètshì <sup>25</sup>	women
ǻ̀ǻ̀ókótshú	ǻ̀ǻ̀ókótshí	girls
ǻ̀ǻ̀òó	ǻ̀ǻ̀ókó	children
ǻ̀ǻ̀èmésé, ǻ̀ǻ̀èmésù	ǻ̀ǻ̀òmósò	people

<sup>24</sup> The only other instances of **-ko** have been noticed in **ǻ̀ǻ̀ákòsò** ‘certain people’ and **hó-kó-(x-)** ‘who (pl.)?’. In **ǻ̀ǻ̀ákòsò** the marker is part of the following paradigm: **ǻ̀ǻ̀â-ǻ̀, ǻ̀ǻ̀â-n-sù, ǻ̀ǻ̀â-kò-sò** ‘certain (m., f., pl.)’. Its function as a plural marker appears to be doubled by the plural marker **-sò** at the end of the word. In the question word **hó-kó-x-** the plural marker is followed by the collective marker **-x**.

<sup>25</sup> An alternative pronunciation has been recorded once: **thámèsì**.

Derived agent nouns have regular morphological encoding of number for plural forms. Plural agent nouns always contain a plural marker. There are two types of number marking for this kind of nouns (with no difference in meaning):

- The plural marker **-sò**, which is added at the end of the agent noun after the derivational element **-ì**.
- The verbal plural marker **-wá**, which is added to the verb root. The plural agent noun, which is derived from the plural verb stem, consists of the verb root, the plural marker and the derivational element **-ì**.

The examples below illustrate the paradigm of derived agent nouns: masculine singular, feminine singular and the two plural forms.

<i>singular agent nouns</i>		<i>plural agent nouns</i>		
<i>(m.)</i>	<i>(f.)</i>			
<b>nówé-ỳ</b>	<b>nówé-ỳ-sù</b>	<b>nówé-ỳ-sò, nówé-wá-ỳ</b>		grinder (m., f.); grinders (PL)
<b>!^íné-ỳ</b>	<b>!^íné-ỳ-sù</b>	<b>!^íné-ỳ-sò, !^íné-wá-ỳ</b>		hunter (m., f.); hunters (PL)
<b>thímé-ỳ</b>	<b>thímé-ỳ-sù</b>	<b>thímé-ỳ-sò, thímé-wá-ỳ</b>		cook (m., f.); cooks (PL)

The third group of human nouns with number marking contains nouns that describe members of a group or category of humans. When used without a suffix, the noun root denotes a plural entity. The noun root can also be used as the basis for further number and gender marking. Singular nouns from this group contain a gender marker (section 3.2). Plural number can be marked explicitly by the plural marker **-sò**. The examples below show both the noun root, the plural and the corresponding singular forms.

<i>root</i>	<i>plural</i>		<i>singular</i>	
			<i>(m.)</i>	<i>(f.)</i>
<b>búruṅgè</b>	<b>búruṅgé-sò</b>	Burunge	<b>búruṅgè-é</b>	<b>búruṅgè-sù</b>
<b>gwàbé</b>	<b>gwàbé-sò</b>	Maasai	<b>gwàbè-é</b>	<b>gwàbé-sù</b>
<b>phólànṭhì</b>	<b>phólànṭhì-sò</b>	Polish, Dutch <sup>26</sup>	<b>phólànṭhì-yèé</b>	<b>phólànṭhì-sù</b>
<b>sàndàwé</b>	<b>sàndàwé-sò</b>	Sandawe	<b>sàndàwè-é</b>	<b>sàndàwé-sù</b>
<b>thàthùrù</b>	<b>thàthùrù-sò</b>	Datooga	<b>thàthùrè-é</b>	<b>thàthùrù-sù</b>
	<b>tswèé-sò</b>	Nyaturu	<b>tswèésè-é</b>	<b>tswèésù-sù</b>
<b>wààgógò</b>	<b>wààgógò-sò</b>	Gogo	<b>wààgógè-é</b>	<b>wààgógò-sù</b>
<b>wàgìṅì</b>	<b>wàgìṅì-sò</b>	guests	<b>wàgìṅè-é</b>	<b>wàgìṅì-sù</b>
<b>wàgó</b>	<b>wàgó-sò</b>	strangers, non- Sandawe	<b>wàgè-é</b>	<b>wàgó-sù</b>
<b>wàkìṅógò</b>	<b>wàkìṅógò-sò</b>	Sukuma, Nyamwezi	<b>wàkìṅógè-é</b>	<b>wàkìṅógò-sù</b>
<b>wàlàngí</b>	<b>wàlàngí-sò</b>	Rangi	<b>wàlàngí-yèé</b>	<b>wàlàngí-sù</b>
<b>wàràbù</b>	<b>wàràbù-sò</b>	Arabs	<b>wàràbù-yèé</b>	<b>wàràbù-sù</b>
<b>ʔiràmbà</b>	<b>ʔiràmbà-sò</b>	Nyiramba	<b>ʔiràmbà-yèé</b>	<b>ʔiràmbà-sù</b>

All definite plural human nouns contain a marker (section 3.5), which consists of the definiteness marker  $\text{̀n}$  and the plural marker  $\text{-sò}$ . Note that the plural marker is suffixed obligatorily to the definiteness marker with these nouns, even if the plural noun itself contains a fossilized plural marker.

**hèésò    ɲ|òmósò-n-sò    ɪàʔàtá=ʔà**

DEM1.PL    person.PL-DEF-PL    die:PL=3PL

These people have died.

Overt number marking on nominal heads is restricted to the above groups of human nouns. For nouns in these groups morphological number marking often coincides with overt gender marking on singular counterparts. The origin of the nominal gender and number markers is probably related to suffixes that encode person, gender, and number features in the verbal domain (e.g. the non-realis series of subject clitics; see section 4.4 for an overview of the morphology of pronominal forms). Compare also the following use of person/gender/number suffixes on the root **sàndàwé**:

<sup>26</sup> Polish were among the first missionaries in Kondo. The noun has also been used to denote Dutch, probably because people have confused Swahili *-holanzi* ‘Dutch’ with *-polanzi* ‘Polish’.

sàndàwé-sì	I am (a) Sandawe
sàndàwé-pò	you are (a) Sandawe
sàndàwè-é	he is (a) Sandawe
sàndàwé-sù	she is (a) Sandawe
sàndàwé-sùŋ	we are Sandawe
sàndàwé-sìŋ	you (PL) are Sandawe
sàndàwé-sò	they are Sandawe

### 3.4. Derivation

The following sections treat five types of nominal derivation. First, collective nouns are described. Sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 treat deverbal nouns and agent nouns. Language names and place names are dealt with in sections 3.4.4 and 3.4.5, respectively.

#### 3.4.1. Collective nouns

A collective noun is formed by adding the collective suffix  $-x̣$ . The suffix consists of the consonant  $x$  and a floating low tone, which determines the tone of any following toneless elements. The collective marker is rarely the final element of the noun. Usually, the collective suffix is followed by the definiteness marker (resulting in  $-x̣eŋ$ ), the (toneless) topic marker  $-ki$  and/or the (toneless) nominative marker  $-aa$ , or a subject clitic.

The collective suffix is used in different environments and may have slightly different meanings accordingly. The current section discusses the following forms of collective marking:

- collective marking on human nouns (on top of optional plurality marking)
- collective marking on definite non-human and inanimate nouns
- collective marking on proper names (associative plural)
- collective marking in additional sequences ('also')

Note that collectivity is also marked morphologically on pronominal elements such as independent personal pronouns, demonstratives, and question words. However, it does not form its own category of number elsewhere, as shown by corresponding verbal forms and subject clitics: for those parts of speech, collectivity is not marked, and either singular or plural verb forms and clitics are used with collective nouns and pronouns.

Collective human nouns denote groups of people. The meaning of collective nouns focuses on the group of humans and their common features, rather than on the individual members of the group. The examples below show that the collective

marker can be suffixed to noun roots with or without a gender marker, or a plural suffix.

<b>màríndò-x</b>	group of teachers	<	<b>màríndò</b>
<b>k'arèé-x</b>	group of young males	<	<b>k'arèé</b>
<b>k'aré-sù-x</b>	group of young females	<	<b>k'aré-sù</b>
<b>ŋ  ó-kó-x</b>	group of children	<	<b>ŋ  ó-kó</b> < <b>ŋ  dó</b>

As shown in the following example, the collective subject 'group of teachers' corresponds to a 3PL subject clitic, which is in this case attached to the postpositional phrase.

**màríndò-x-àà** |'ósáŋkí |'òŋ-tà=?à  
 teacher-COLL-SFOC rest shade-in=3PL  
 The group of teachers rests in the shade.

For non-human nouns, which never carry an explicit nominal plural marker, the collective marker is the only means to code non-singularity on the noun. Again the focus of the collective is on the group or set rather than on its members. As shown in the following examples, collective nouns may or may not co-occur with plural marking elsewhere in the sentence. In the first example there is no plural marking for the object, for example in the verb. In the second example however, the collective subject has a plural verb stem.

**nì-ŋ phúft'úmà sáyò-xê-ŋg=à?à** **tóó**  
 CNJ-CL peace (POSS.)conversation-COLL-DEF=3PL finish  
 And they finished the formal talks (set of greetings).

**gélé thèé-xê-ŋ** **ìà?àtá=à**  
 baobab (POSS.)tree-COLL-DEF die:PL=3  
 The baobabs have died.

Collective marking on non-human nouns always co-occurs with the marking of definiteness. In other words, indefinite collective non-human nouns are not overtly morphologically marked (see also section 3.5 on definiteness).

When the collective suffix is used with a proper name, the collective noun denotes the associative plural, i.e. the group of people associated with the person.

**k'ats'awá-x** K'ats'awa and the ones **<** **k'ats'awá**  
 around her, her family

**gélé-x-àà** **ìà?àté**  
 Gele-COLL-SFOC die:PL  
 Gele *cum suis* have died.

A special construction with an associative plural is formed when the associative plural is used as part of the sentence subject, see the example below. The associative plural **màtũndà-x** ‘Matuunda *cum suis*’ is followed by the independent personal pronoun **sũŋ** ‘we’, which corresponds to the subject clitic =ò.

**Ƴixĩ=gò=ò      màtũndà-x-sũŋ      nèé-wà**  
 thus=CONF=1PL    Matuunda-COLL-we    stay:PL-PL2  
 This is how we live with Matuunda.

The same construction may be formed with a personal pronoun instead of a noun:

**hèwé-x-’sũŋg-áá    ɲ|átí**  
 he-COLL-we-SFOC    come:PL  
 We (incl. him) came.

Finally, the collective suffix is used in additional sequences. It is most easily translated as ‘also’ or ‘as well’. An additional sequence is characterized by the collective marker and the topic marker **-ki**.

The following example of an additional sequence consists of two sentences. In the first sentence, the actors (Cat and Mouse) cut a trough in shape. In the second sentence, the narrator describes an additional instance of the same action: the actors also cut the trees in shape.

**ʔàà      !’ámé      màlám̀b̀ò-ŋ**  
 CNJ2.3PL    shape.IT    big\_trough-DEF  
 And they cut the trough in shape.

**thèé-xê-ŋ-k=àʔà      !’á-ʔáwá-á**  
 tree-COLL-DEF-TOP=3PL    shape-PL1-3O  
 And they also cut the trees in shape.

Another example of an additional sequence is given below. The sentence is part of a text on the relation between humans and God, angels and spirits. The narrator describes that if we, humans, do good things, we will receive good things by angels and, additionally, ancestral spirits.

**híy-ò      ɬáá-ʔáwá=yò      ɲ|wéé=ɪʔĩ**  
 SUB:CNJ-1PL    good-PL=1PL    do=SUB  
 If we do good things,

**ʔàà      léts’imà-x      wàròŋgò-x-kí      ɬáá-ʔáwá=ʔà    ɲ|átí-wà-ká-á-x-’sũŋ**  
 CNJ2.3PL    angel-COLL    spirit-COLL-TOP    good-PL=3PL    come:PL2-PL-COM-3O-BEN-1PL  
 angels and ancestral spirits also bring us good things,

**pòdò phútt'úmà kàté=yò nèé**  
 CNJ2.1PL peace (POSS.)amid=1PL stay:PL  
 and we live in peace.

### 3.4.2. Deverbal nouns

Sandawe has several types of deverbal nouns. Two types are described here: the infinitive and the deverbal noun as marked by **-ó**. At the end of the section, three other types are introduced only briefly, as the exact distribution and meaning of these forms are not yet clear.

The first type of deverbal nouns is formed by suffixing **-?òŋ** to the verb root or verb stem. This deverbal noun is the citation form of the verb and can be derived from any regular verb root. All deverbal nouns of this type have masculine gender.

<b>síyé-?òŋ</b>	<	<b>síyé</b>	to take, taking
<b>mântshà-?òŋ</b>	<	<b>mântshà</b>	to eat, eating
<b>!'òó-kí-?òŋ</b>	<	<b>!'òó-kí</b>	to meet each other, meeting

The suffix **-?òŋ** is glossed **INF** (infinitive). In natural texts this type of deverbal nouns occurs only rarely. Two examples are given below.

**pàà k'ée-?òŋ-ts'=à khé?é**  
 CNJ2.3 cry-INF-LOC=3 hear  
 He heard the crying.

**wàròŋgèé súŋ-mèé 'bò-?òŋ ŋ|wéé-?òŋ-tà=à màná-ts'í**  
 God we-sake POSS.say-INF do-INF-in=3 know-MID1  
 The speaking of God to us is known in deed(s).

The second type of deverbal nouns contains nouns that denote an act. They all have masculine gender. The exact semantics of this type, as compared to the first type of deverbal nouns, is unclear. The occurrence of this type of nouns is more frequent in texts. The deverbal noun is characterized by a final vowel **-ó**, which replaces the original final vowel. The tone pattern of the noun is all high. The examples below illustrate deverbal nouns and the verb root or stem from which they are derived.

<b>fáró</b>	act of lying, lie (n.)	<	<b>fàré</b>	lie
<b>máxó</b>	cleverness	<	<b>màxé</b>	be clever
<b>hónó</b>	(act of) collecting	<	<b>hóná</b>	collect (honey)
<b>phúmphúsó</b>	(act of) offering	<	<b>phùmphù-sé</b>	offer
<b>  'úúwánkó</b>	(act of) dancing	<	<b>  'úú-wánkí</b>	dance with each other

The deverbal marker **-ó** is glossed NMN (nominalization). The following examples illustrate the use of this type of deverbal noun in noun phrases and sentences.

In noun phrases, deverbal nouns may occur as a nominal head, or as a dependent element. Examine the following examples. In the first example, both deverbal nouns are head of the noun phrase. Together, the two phrases form the title of a procedural text.

**mìsíkóó '!'ám-ó                      hàà tshîŋ hón-ó**  
 beehive    POSS.shape.IT-NMN    and    honey    (POSS.)collect\_honey-NMN  
 The construction of a beehive and the collecting of honey.

In the examples below, the deverbal nouns are the dependent element of the possessive phrase. When the nominal head of the phrase denotes a human, the dependent deverbal noun expresses a characteristic of the person.

**hón-ó                      'ŋ!ê-ŋg-àà**  
 collect\_honey-NMN    POSS.day-DEF-SFOC  
 The day of collecting honey

**fár-ó    ŋ|òmósò**  
 lie-NMN    (POSS.)person.PL  
 Liars

**ŋís-ó    ŋ|èmésê-ŋ                      kwà mée                      ìbéténà hóná-ì**  
 steal-NMN    (POSS.)person.m-DEF    OPT.3    NEG:OPT    easily    collect\_honey-3:NR  
 The thief should not easily collect honey.

The following examples illustrate occurrences of the deverbal noun in sentences. The following example shows the noun as a direct object of the verb.

**láá?è-ŋ    máx-ó=à                      !'dówé**  
 hare-DEF    be\_clever-NMN=3    find.3O  
 The hare got clever.

A deverbal noun may also occur as a complement of the verbs 'start' and 'refuse', as shown below:

**nì-ŋ    sìphìtháŋ-nà    !ém-ó-ŋ                      ŋísá=à                      xaré**  
 CNJ-CL    hospital-LOC    accompany-NMN-VL    refuse=3                      or  
 And did he refuse to bring (him) to the hospital, or...?

**?àà    thòótàkì    ts'â-n-tà-nà=?à                      ?àà    púndús-ó=?à    bààrà**  
 CNJ2.3PL    jump:PL    water-DEF-in-LOC=3PL    CNJ2.3PL    swim-NMN=3PL    start  
 So they jumped into the water and they began to swim.

There are three other types of deverbal nouns, for which the exact distribution and meaning are not yet clear:

- nouns characterized by **-ts'í** (NMN2)
- nouns characterized by **-sà** (NMN3)
- nouns characterized by **-tò** (NMN:PAT)

The deverbal marker **-ts'í** (NMN2) can be attached to verb roots or complex verb forms, which results in abstract nouns in the following examples:

**mùthùgù-ts'í**    **màkàá**    **tàkí-ts'í**    **títèé-'ts'é**  
 be\_poor-NMN2    thing    (POSS.)be\_absent-NMN2    alone=NEG2  
 Poverty is not just the absence of wealth.

**hèwé**    **màrà-s-ê-ts'é-ts'í**    **ŋ|wéé-gá=à**  
 he    (POSS.)be\_knowledgeable-BE-3=NEG2-NMN2    do=CONF=3  
 His lack of knowledge has done it.

The deverbal marker **-sà** (NMN3) often occurs in combination with a postposition in our corpus, e.g. **-sà-nà**; **-sà-mèé** with the meaning ‘with the intention of’, ‘in order to’.

**láá?è**    **pàà**    **kòs=à**    **thâ**    **ŋ|í-ŋ**    **ŋ|imì-sà-nà=à**  
 hare    CNJ2.3    again=3    run:SG    meat    eat\_meat-NMN3-DIR=3  
 Hare then ran again with the intention of eating meat.

**|'èkhá**    **héŋ||àkì-ŋ**    **tútù-sà-mèé**  
 bee    enter:PL-VL    leave.RED-NMN3-sake  
 (For) the bees, in order to enter and leave.

The marker **-tò** (NMN:PAT) derives patient nouns from transitive verbs, e.g. **||wáá-tò** ‘mystery, something hidden’ (< **||wáá** ‘hide’); **hàŋsé-é-tò** ‘something praised’ (< **hàŋsé** ‘praise’). Note however that the marker also occurs in relative constructions:

**tshíyà=à**    **dzàdzàsé-wá-á-tò-ŋ**  
 all=3    roast.FACT-PL1-3O-NMN:PAT-DEF  
 He (ate) all (the meat) that had been roasted.

### 3.4.3. Agent nouns

Agent nouns are derived from action verbs and are characterized by the agent suffix  $-ì$ . For each agent noun there is a paradigm of feminine and masculine singular forms and two plural forms:

Masculine singular agent noun:	V-ì
Feminine singular agent noun:	V-ì-sù
Plural agent noun:	V-ì-sò, V-wá-ì

The masculine singular form consists of the verb root plus the agent suffix. Feminine singular agent nouns are derived from the masculine form by adding the feminine gender marker  $-sù$ . There are two alternative forms of plural agent nouns: one is formed by adding the (nominal) plural marker  $-sò$  to the masculine form; the other form consists of the plural verb stem (with the verbal plural marker  $-wá$ ) and the agent suffix.

The following examples illustrate paradigms of agent nouns.

<i>singular agent nouns</i>		<i>plural agent nouns</i>		
<i>(m.)</i>	<i>(f.)</i>			
fàré-ỳ	fàré-ỳ-sù	fàré-ỳ-sò, fàré-wá-ỳ		liar (m., f.); liars
hàbá-ỳ	hàbá-ỳ-sù	hàbá-ỳ-sò, hàbá-wá-ỳ		parent (m., f.); parents
nówé-ỳ	nówé-ỳ-sù	nówé-ỳ-sò, nówé-wá-ỳ		grinder (m., f.); grinders
thímé-ỳ	thímé-ỳ-sù	thímé-ỳ-sò, thímé-wá-ỳ		cook (m., f.); cooks
thìné-ỳ	thìné-ỳ-sù	thìné-ỳ-sò, thìné-wá-ỳ		sewer (m., f.); sewers
xwànté-ỳ	xwànté-ỳ-sù	xwànté-ỳ-sò, xwànté-wá-ỳ		stirrer (m., f.); stirrers (of mash)
!^né-ỳ	!^né-ỳ-sù	!^né-ỳ-sò, !^né-wá-ỳ		hunter (m., f.); hunters
η!àmé-ỳ		η!àmé-ỳ-sò, η!àmé-wá-ỳ		blacksmith (m.), blacksmiths

### 3.4.4. Language names

Language names are derived from noun roots that denote the ethnic group. The derivational suffix which marks language names is  $-kìʔη$ . Its tone pattern is all low, except when it is preceded by a root with low tones only. In the latter case, the first tone of the suffix is high, e.g.  $thàthùrù-kìʔη$ ,  $?ràmbà-kìʔη$ . The language name Sandawe has two variants:  $sàndawé-kìʔη$  and  $sàndawí-kìʔη$ .

<i>noun root</i>	<i>language name</i>	
sàndàwé	sàndàwé–kìʔiŋ, sàndàwí–kìʔiŋ	Sandawe
thàthùrù	thàthùrù–kìʔiŋ	Datooga
tswèésò	tswèésò–kìʔiŋ	Nyaturu
wààgógò	wààgógò–kìʔiŋ	Gogo
wàgó	wàgó–kìʔiŋ	strangers' language, Swahili
wàkìńóńgò	wàkìńóńgò–kìʔiŋ	Sukuma, Nyamwezi
wàlàńgí	wàlàńgí–kìʔiŋ	Rangi
ʔiràmbà	ʔiràmbà–kìʔiŋ	Nyiramba

### 3.4.5. Nouns denoting a place and place names

Several Sandawe nouns that denote a place consist of a noun and a suffix **–sê**. The following examples are all names of places in the Usandawe area.

<b>dòdómà–sê</b>	Dodomase (hill in between Kurio and Gumbu)
<b>dòn–sê</b>	Donse (place in between Farka and Dodoma)
<b>mòmbo–sê</b>	Mombose (1. place to the west of Farkwa; 2. place to the north of Farkwa)
<b>thùmàkóó–sê</b>	Thum(b)akose (place to the south-east of Farkwa)
<b>ʔílà–sê</b>	Ilase (place in between Ovada and Kwa Mtoro)
<b> wèém–sê</b>	weemse (hill in between Kurio and Kwa Mtoro)

The nouns that precede the suffix are mainly botanical terms and terms for natural products, e.g. **dòdómà** ‘tree, sp.’, **mòmbo** ‘calabash’, **thùmàkóó** ‘tobacco’. The place names provide a description of the place, which is based on a remarkable characteristic: a hill with several dodoma trees on it (Dodomase), places where good calabashes can be found (Mombose), a place where tobacco grows (Thum(b)akose), etc.

The origin of the suffix **–sê** is probably the special verb marker **–sí**, followed by the third person (masculine singular) subject marker **–è**. For more information on special verbs and their subject markers, see section 6.7.

### 3.5. Definiteness

Definiteness is morphologically marked by the suffix  $-\grave{\eta}$ . The suffix consists of a nasal and a low tone. The place of articulation of the nasal is determined by its following element: the suffix is realized as  $-\grave{\eta}$  before velar consonants and before pause; as  $-\grave{n}$  before dental and alveolar consonants; as  $-\grave{m}$  before labial consonants.

Definiteness is generally marked on the noun. The definite suffix stands after derivational markers, but before the topic and subject focus markers and clitics. In relative clauses, the marker may appear on dependent elements, e.g. on adjectival verbs and verbs. In these cases, the definiteness marker is co-referential with the head noun and functions as a relative marker at the end of the clause. The marker occasionally occurs twice in noun phrases (section 3.6); this has been observed for definite nouns that are followed by the adjective **méé** ‘big’ and the definiteness marker: **méé-η**.

The presence of the definiteness marker requires obligatory gender and number marking on feminine and human plural nouns respectively: definite feminine nouns are obligatorily followed by the feminine gender marker  $-s\grave{\eta}$ , definite plural human nouns by the plural marker  $-s\grave{o}$ . Masculine singular nouns have no overt gender marker.

The following examples give definite forms of masculine, feminine, and human plural nouns. Note that the obligatory feminine and plural markers on definite nouns can co-occur with (frozen) gender and number markers in the nominal.

<b>khòô-η</b>	the house (m.)	<	<b>khòó</b>	house (m.)
<b>η èméésê-η</b>	the man (m.)	<	<b>η èméésé</b>	man (m.)
<b>phúmphúsô-η</b>	the offering (m.)	<	<b>phúmphúsó</b>	offering (m.)
<b>!’òròrô-ñ-sù</b>	the frog (f.)	<	<b>!’òròrôη</b>	frog (f.)
<b>η èméésù-ñ-sù</b>	the woman (f.)	<	<b>η èméésù</b>	woman (f.)
<b>sàndàwésò-ñ-sò</b>	the Sandawe (PL)	<	<b>sàndàwésò</b>	Sandawe (PL)
<b>η òmósò-ñ-sò</b>	the people (PL)	<	<b>η òmósò</b>	people (PL)

Masculine nouns which end in a nasal consonant and a low or a falling tone cannot be distinguished from their definite forms. Examples of these forms can be categorized in three groups: first, several nouns referring to body parts and related terms have a final nasal (e.g. **tí’úη** ‘hand’, **||’òη** ‘throat’, **!èη** ‘rib’, **ñη** ‘mucus’).

Further, all language names (e.g. **sàndawé-kìη** ‘Sandawe’), and infinitives (e.g. **màntshà-?òη** ‘to eat’) have a final nasal consonant. The nasal is part of the derivational suffix. One analysis is to consider the nasal as an inherent definiteness marker for infinitives and language names.

The definiteness marker on collective nouns follows the collective suffix  $-x̣$ , which results in  $-x̣ɛŋ$ . Collective nouns (as marked by the derivational suffix  $-x̣$ ) show differences with respect to the marking of definiteness.

Collective nouns which denote non-humans are always definite.

<b> 'èkhá-x̣ɛŋ</b>	the group of bees (coll.)	<	<b> 'èkhá</b>	bee, (group of) bees
<b>sáyò-x̣ɛŋ</b>	the conversations (coll.)	<	<b>sáyò</b>	conversation(s)

Collective nouns denoting humans never occur with a definiteness marker.

The following table shows definiteness marking on nouns in definite and indefinite contexts:

	indefinite context	definite contexts
$N_{\text{non-human specific}}$	N	N-DEF
$N_{\text{human specific}}$	N	N-DEF
$N_{\text{non-human collective}}$	N	N-COLL-DEF
$N_{\text{human collective}}$	N-COLL	N-COLL

Note that there is no distinct form for a collective noun which denotes non-humans in indefinite contexts and that the collective marker is the only way of encoding non-singularity on the noun. However, in such cases number is usually marked on the verb. Thus, plural or collective indefinite non-humans may be expressed by the same noun that denotes a singular non-human; in order to signal the number of non-human participants, the verb carries a plural marker.

indefinite	<b>gìtí'è-ŋg-àà</b> <b>lǎn-ts'ɿ</b> cloth-DEF-SFOC    tear-MID2 Cloth has been torn
definite collective	<b>gìtí'é-x̣ɛ-ŋg-àà</b> <b>lǎnlá-ts'ɿ-wà</b> cloth-COLL-DEF-SFOC    tear:RED-MID2-PL2 The clothes have been torn
indefinite plural/coll.	<b>gìtí'-áá</b> <b>lǎnlá-ts'ɿ-wà</b> cloth-SFOC    (SV.)tear:RED-MID2-PL2 Clothes have been torn

The following examples show the use of the definiteness marker when modifiers are used as nominal heads. An additional gender marker (here:  $-yé$  or  $-sú$ ) is added before the definiteness marker.

<b>phê-yé-ŋ</b>	the next day (m.)	<	<b>phê</b>	tomorrow
<b>tê-ŋ</b>	the other one (m.)	<	<b>tê</b>	another

úkù-yê-ŋ	the lower one (m.)	<	úkù	under
'áŋkì-yê-ŋ	the upper one (m.)	<	'áŋkì	up, above
kísòx-sù-n-sù	the second one (f.)	<	kísòxì	two

Definite nouns refer to known entities, i.e. when an entity was introduced earlier in the conversation or when an entity is known by the participants in the dialogue. The following text sample demonstrates the definite noun **búrì-ŋ** ‘the mouse’ in the final line. The definite noun is used after the first introduction of the entity (mouse, indefinite) into the story in the first line.

**ʔútwa lóóólò, nǎŋ'gwé hàà búrì-kì-àà**  
 long\_ago INT cat and mouse-TOP-SFOC  
 A very long time ago, a cat and a mouse

**!'úmá ts'òntó bègèràá !'wàá mééé kàté=?à**  
 earth small big\_calabash pool big.ATT amid=3PL  
 lived in a small world, a huge calabash, in the middle of a huge pool,

**ʔúrì-ŋ ŋ!ê dèé'théé=?à nèé**  
 very-VL day many=3PL stay:PL  
 for very many days.

**ʔàà ʔ'úrà=?à-ŋ màámá-ŋkí**  
 CNJ2.3PL very=3PL-VL be\_friends-REC  
 And they had a strong friendship.

**pàà búrì-ŋg-àà ká?á sàibà ...**  
 CNJ2.3 mouse-DEF-SFOC that friend  
 And the mouse said: “My friend, ...”

In noun phrases with a demonstrative and a noun, the definiteness marker is used when the noun follows the demonstrative. The marker is never used when the demonstrative follows the noun.

**hàáw ŋ|èméé-ŋ**  
 DEM2.m man-DEF  
 That man

**ŋ|èméé hàáw**  
 man DEM2.m  
 That man

The two constructions have different meanings. Phrases with an initial demonstrative and a definiteness marker are pragmatically marked and express

either contrastive focus or specificity: ‘No, not this man, *that one*’ or ‘*That man* (out of the group)’.

### 3.6. Noun phrases and postpositional phrases

The following sections deal with Sandawe noun phrases and postpositional phrases. The general structure of these phrases is outlined below. Sub-sections 3.6.1 to 3.6.3 illustrate noun phrases with modifiers, possessive constructions, and postpositional phrases, respectively.

Sandawe word order is relatively free, but several generalizations can be made about the order of constituents in the noun phrase. On the one hand, head-final constituent order is found in possessive constructions (possessor-possesed) and in postpositional phrases, where the postposition is attached after the noun phrase. On the other hand, most modifiers follow the noun: this is for example the case with numerals and relative clauses. Demonstrative phrases with nouns have two alternative constituent orders: noun-demonstrative and demonstrative-definite noun.

#### Topic and focus markers

Noun phrases may be accompanied by topic and/or focus particles, which are attached to the end of the phrase. The examples below illustrate the topic marker **-ki** (TOP) and the subject focus marker **-aa** (SFOC), respectively.

**thèé-xê-ŋ-k=à?à**      **!’á-?áwá-á**  
 tree-COLL-DEF-TOP=3PL      shape-PL1-3O  
 As for the trees, they cut them in shape.

**pàà**      **hèsó màlambò-ŋg-àà**      **?úráá**      **?íthà-nà**      **hík’?**  
 CNJ2.3      they (POSS.)big\_trough-DEF-SFOC      very      far-DIR      go:SG  
 And *their trough* went very far.

Note that the combination of the topic and subject focus marker in one phrase is common in Sandawe:

**hàdísì-ŋ-kì-àà**      **?ó-?=à**      **tshèékì**  
 story-DEF-TOP-SFOC      here-LOC=3      finish  
 As for the story, it ends here.

Another topic marker which can be attached (among others) to nouns and noun phrases is the clitic **=si?i** (TOP2).

ŋŋ-ŋ kóó-s-ê, tsèè-n=sìŋ tshèé  
 meat-DEF be\_present:SG-BE-3 head-DEF=TOP2 not\_be:3  
 The body is here, but the head is not.

The exact function of this clitic needs to be investigated further, as it may also be used in presentational sentences:

|ŋn=sìŋ  
 snake=TOP2  
 It's a snake!

Further, the noun phrase may be accompanied by one or more sentence clitics. Although these markers have scope over a domain which is larger than the noun phrase, they belong to the same phonological domain as their host. The set of sentence clitics contains mediative markers (=gá, =gé, and =nè; section 5.4), the question marker =ná (section 5.5), and realis, optative, and hortative subject/modality markers (section 5.1). The subject/modality clitic marks the sentence subject and is not coreferential with the noun or phrase to which it is attached.

thèé méé-n-tà-nà=sà kê  
 tree big-DEF-in-DIR=3fSG climb  
 She climbs into the big tree.

### 3.6.1. Noun phrases

Generally, modifiers follow the noun. In simple modified noun phrases, nouns can be modified by adjectives, adjectival verbs (in a small relative clause), qualifiers, demonstratives and other deictic elements (sections 4.2 and 4.3), question words (section 8.1), and numerals (see below). Compare the following examples:

mùhógò mééé=?ò tí'á'kw-é  
 cassava big.EXCL=1PL:OPT dig\_out-3O  
 Let's dig out a huge cassava! (Noun Adjective=subj/mod)

hèsó 'màntshà bà?á-s-é-ŋ ŋŋŋ,  
 they POSS.food big-BE-3-DEF.ATT meat  
 Their major food was meat (Pronoun Noun Adjectival verb)

ŋ|òmósò hísôn-sò ?àà kékè, hísôn-sò ?àà ||'àkímé  
 person.PL other-PL CNJ2.3PL ascend.RED other-PL CNJ2.3PL descend.IT  
 Some people got on, others got off (the train). (Noun Qualifier)

**pì-ná háp-áá |ân-x-<sup>1</sup>sún ŋ||òó hèéw**  
 CNJ2.2SG-FOC you-SFOC see-BEN-1PL child DEM1.m  
 And then you see this child for us. (Noun Demonstrative)

**hùmbù kísòx-àà |útshúkù-wà**  
 cow two-SFOC pass-PL2  
 Two cows passed. (Noun Numeral-subj focus)

Modifiers that precede the noun are pragmatically marked, for example a demonstrative or question word.

**sàà hèésù ŋ||òó-n-sù hèsú-kí-áá ||'ákí**  
 CNJ2.3fSG DEM1.f child-DEF-f she-TOP-SFOC (SV.)descend  
 And as for this child, she descends as well. (Demonstrative Noun)

**hàwêŋ kitabu**  
 which\_one?.m book  
 Which book? (Question word Noun)

A complex nominal phrase is formed when a noun phrase or postpositional phrase is incorporated into a larger phrase. This type of phrase is characterized by a collective suffix or a gender/number marker after the incorporated noun phrase and a definiteness marker at the end of the larger phrase. The examples below show incorporation of the noun phrase **tí'ún íááw** 'right (lit. good hand)', as opposed to the single noun **||'ék'anàà** 'left'.

**tí'ún íáá-w -yê-ŋ=kò ||'áá**  
 hand good-m -m-DEF=2SG:OPT follow  
 Follow the right one. (Noun Adjective-m-DEF=subj/mod)

**||'ék'anàà -yê-ŋ=kò ||'áá**  
 left -m-DEF=2SG:OPT follow  
 Follow the left one. (Noun-m-DEF=subj/mod)

Even postpositional phrases may be incorporated:

**tí'ún íáá-w -tè-yê-n=sì màté-é**  
 hand good-m -area-m-DEF=1SG choose-3O  
 I have chosen the one (m.) of the right side. (Noun Adjective-PP-m-DEF=subj/mod)

**tí'ún íáá-w -tè-sù-n-sù=sì màté-é**  
 hand good-m -area-f-DEF-f=1SG choose-3O  
 I have chosen the one (f.) of the right side. (Noun Adjective-PP-f-DEF=subj/mod)

**tɬ'ũŋ ɬáá-w̃ -tè-sô-n-sò=sɿ məlé-ʒɿŋ**  
 hand good-m -area-PL-DEF-PL=1SG choose-3PL  
 I have chosen the ones of the right side. (Noun Adjective-PP-PL-DEF=subj/mod)

**tɬ'ũŋ ɬáá-w̃ -tè-xê-n=sɿ məl-ím-á-á**  
 hand good-m -area-COLL-DEF=1SG choose-IT-PL1-3O  
 I have chosen those (collective) of the right side.  
 (Noun Adjective-PP-COLL-DEF=subj/mod)

## Numerals

The remainder of this section is devoted to the form and position of numerals in the noun phrase. Sandawe numerals show a combination of a quinary and decimal system, as illustrated below. 'One' to 'five' and 'ten' are underived forms. All other numerals are formed by conjoining two or more of the basic numerals.

<b>tséxɿ</b>	one	
<b>kísòxɿ</b>	two	
<b>sòm-kíxɿ ~ swàm-kíxɿ</b>	three	
<b>hàkákɿ</b>	four	
<b>kwà?áná</b>	five	
<b>kwà?áná dándà tséxɿ</b>	six	(five plus one)
<b>kwà?áná dándà kísòxɿ</b>	seven	(five plus two)
<b>kwà?áná dándà sòm-kíxɿ</b>	eight	(five plus three)
<b>kwà?áná dándà hàkákɿ</b>	nine	(five plus four)
<b>kómɿ</b>	ten	
<b>kómɿ dándà tséxɿ</b>	eleven	(ten plus one)
<b>kómɿ dándà kísòxɿ</b>	twelve	(ten plus two)
<b>kómɿ dándà sòm-kíxɿ</b>	thirteen	(ten plus three)
<b>kómɿ dándà hàkákɿ</b>	fourteen	(ten plus four)
<b>kómɿ dándà kwà?áná</b>	fifteen	(ten plus five)
<b>kómɿ dándà kwà?áná dándà tséxɿ</b>	sixteen	(ten plus five plus one)
<b>kómɿ dándà kwà?áná dándà kísòxɿ</b>	seventeen	(ten plus five plus two)
<b>kómɿ dándà kwà?áná dándà sòm-kíxɿ</b>	eighteen	(ten plus five plus three)
<b>kómɿ dándà kwà?áná dándà hàkákɿ</b>	nineteen	(ten plus five plus four)
<b>kómɿ kísòxɿ</b>	twenty	(ten two)
<b>kómɿ sòm-kíxɿ</b>	thirty	(ten three)
<b>kómɿ hàkákɿ</b>	fourty	(ten four)
<b>kómɿ kwà?áná</b>	fifty	(ten five)
<b>kómɿ kwà?áná dándà kómɿ tséxɿ</b>	sixty	(ten five plus ten one)
<b>kómɿ kwà?áná dándà kómɿ kísòxɿ</b>	seventy	(ten five plus ten two)

<b>kómì kwà?áná dándà kómì sòmíkìxì</b>	eighty	(ten five plus ten three)
<b>kómì kwà?áná dándà kómì hàkákìxì</b>	ninety	(ten five plus ten four)
<b>kómì kómì ~ kómì títèé kómì</b>	hundred	(ten ten; ten times ten)

Complex forms usually contain the conjunction **dándà** ‘next, plus’; for example ‘six’ to ‘nine’; ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’. ‘Twenty’, ‘thirty’, ‘fourty’, and ‘fifty’ do not contain a conjunction: the two numerals are juxtaposed as in a possessive construction, e.g. **kómì hàkákìxì** ‘fourty (ten four)’. The tens ‘sixty’ to ‘ninety’ are composed by conjoining two (compound) tens by **dándà**, e.g. **kómì kwà?áná dándà kómì sòmíkìxì** ‘seventy (ten five plus ten two)’.

**dándà** is also used to add ‘one’ to ‘nine’ to tens, e.g.:

<b>kómì kísòxì dándà tséxì</b>	twenty-one	(ten two plus one)
<b>kómì kísòxì dándà kwà?áná dándà tséxì</b>	twenty-six	(ten two plus five plus one)

An alternative construction is formed when a basic numeral (‘one’ to ‘nine’) is added to a compound ten, as exemplified below. The final numeral is attached to the preceding phrase by the linker **-’ŋ** and the coordinating conjunction **hàà**.

<b>kómì kwà?áná dándà kómì kísòxìŋ</b>	seventy-two	(ten five plus ten two
<b>hàà kísòxì</b>		and two)

In noun phrases, numerals follow the noun. The numeral **tséxì** ‘one’ receives a gender marker: **-é** for masculine, and **-sù** for feminine nouns.

<b>ŋ èmé sé ts’é+x-é</b>	One man
<b>mátó ts’é+x-é</b>	One gourd
<b>ŋ èmé sù tséx-sù</b>	One woman
<b>thwí ts’éx-sù</b>	One bird

When a numeral modifies a (plural) noun that denotes humans, the plural suffix **-sò** is added. Note that the final string **xì** of the numeral is absent here.<sup>27</sup>

<b>ŋ òmósò kísò-sò</b>	Two people
------------------------	------------

<sup>27</sup> The string **xì** in numerals may be related to the collective suffix **-x̣** (see section 3.4.1). Note however that the numeral ‘one’, **tséxì**, also contains this string when it refers to a singular, non-collective referent.

Numerals after nouns that denote plural non-human entities (animate or inanimate) do not have a gender and/or number suffix.

**mátó hákáxi=sì màt-ím-á-á**  
 gourd four=1SG choose-IT-PL1-3O  
 I have chosen four gourds.

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals by an additional gender marker: **-(y)é** (m) or **-sú** (f). All ordinal numerals in our data are followed by a definiteness marker, as illustrated below. Note that the same derivation is used to form other nouns and complex nominals, e.g. |'áŋkìyêŋ 'the upper one' (section 3.5).

**kísòxì-yê-ŋ |'áŋkì-yê-ŋ ?àà hí|'á-wá**  
 two-m-DEF up-m-DEF CNJ2.3PL tie-PL1  
 The second one is the upper one, and they tie them together.

**!àá?áàsò kwà?áná dàndà hákáx-sù-n-sù**  
 moon five plus four-f-DEF-f  
 June (lit. the ninth moon (f.))

### 3.6.2. Possessive constructions

In possessive constructions, the nominal head, which is the possessed element, follows the possessor. The possessor may be a free pronoun or a noun. The possessive construction is characterized by a pitch downstep, which is only audible and marked if no low tone precedes or follows:

**!wà?á 'tíáná-xê-ŋ**  
 eland POSS.horn-COLL-DEF  
 The antlers of an eland

**hèsú !'òròrò -n-sù**  
 she (POSS.)frog-DEF-f  
 Her frog

There is an alternative possessive construction for free pronoun possessors in which the possessor follows the possessed noun. A possessive suffix **-ŋ**, which probably incorporates the definiteness marker, is attached to the free pronoun in this construction. There is no pitch downstep between the elements:

**?àà táné=yóóó málámbò hèsó-ŋ**  
 CNJ2.3PL pull=EXCL big\_trough they-POSS  
 And they pulled the big trough of theirs.

The semantics of possessive constructions are wider than strict possession, as exemplified below. There is a dependency relation between the possessor and the possessed element. The possessor may be the holder of the possessed:

**tshâŋ mátó**  
oil (POSS.)gourd  
A gourd of/with oil

Other examples show a more abstract dependency relation between the modifier and the head, e.g. in ‘by means of ...’ and in diminutive constructions ‘a small hole (lit. daughter of a hole)’:

**hèwé-mèé sún wàròŋgèé-x-sún !’dó-kí-?òŋ móthóómà ||dó-?iŋ**  
he-sake we God-COLL-we find-REC-INF intermediary (POSS.)way-INSTR  
Therefore the meeting of God and us is by means of an intermediary.

**!’wâ ŋ||dó-sù**  
hole (POSS.)child-f  
a small hole

### 3.6.3. Postpositional phrases

Postpositions are attached to the end of the phrase. The following postpositions are discussed here:

-tâ	locative ‘in’	gloss: in
-tè	locative ‘in the area of, near to’	gloss: area
-tsʔ	general locative ‘on’	gloss: LOC
-nà	directional ‘to(wards)’	gloss: DIR
-mèé	‘sake, reason’	gloss: sake
-?iŋ	instrumental ‘with, by, using’	gloss: INSTR

Most postpositions express spatial relations. Other spatial relations (e.g. |úkù ‘under’, |ánkù ‘above’, kítà ‘inside’) are expressed by unbound forms in a possessive construction (as marked by downstep). These constructions may also be accompanied by a postposition, e.g. !’wáá ‘dúru-tsʔ ‘on the other side of the pool’.

The locative postposition -tâ expresses a location inside the referent. This locative is often combined with the directional postposition -nà, as shown below.

**ts’â-tâ=?à pèé nà=?à-ŋ hánákì**  
water-in=3PL put:SG CNJ=3PL-CL sit\_down:PL  
They put it in the water and sat down.

The locative -tè is used to denote a vague location in the area of or near to the referent. -tè is often combined with the directional -nà.

**kwa mtoro-tè=sì wèré**

Kwa\_Mtoro-area=1SG stroll

I strolled in Kwa Mtoro (walked around, no exact endpoint).

–tsʔ is a general locative postposition, which denotes the location of the referent.

**níʔ=ʔò=yóóó nò=ʔò-ŋ héttʔ**

go:PL=1PL:OPT=EXCL CNJ=1PL:OPT-CL over\_there

Let's go, and ...

**!ʔwáá 'dúru-tsʔ níʔ-ŋ nèé-wà**

pool POSS.other\_side-LOC go:PL-VL stay:PL-PL2

go live over there on the other side of the water.

**kúriyò ŋ|òmósò mséra-ts'=àʔà hàwén**

Kurio (POSS.)person.PL Mséra-LOC=3PL fetch\_water

The people of Kurio fetched water in Mséra.

Next to denoting a spatial relationship, –tsʔ is also used to mark oblique objects.

**pàà wétshá=yóóó ŋ|úmsù-n-sù-ts'=à káʔá tsí wàré-ŋ**

CNJ2.3 NARR:INTJ=EXCL wife-DEF-f-LOC=3 that I (POSS.)friend-DEF

Hear! So he said to his wife: “My friend, ...

**k'ée-ʔòn-ts'=à khéʔé**

cry-INF-LOC=3 hear

He heard the crying.

The postposition –nà denotes a direction towards the referent.

**nì-ŋ thòó !'úamá-nà=à**

CNJ-CL jump earth-DIR=3

And he jumped down (to the ground).

**hèèw káákà-ŋ-kì m̀síkóó +'áá-nà=à ʔiyé-ŋ +'èé**

DEM1.m dog-DEF-TOP beehive POSS.up-DIR=3 stay:SG-VL look\_at

As for this dog, he is looking upwards to the beehive.

The directional postposition is often combined with another, locative, postposition e.g. –tá-nà ‘into’:

**ʔòò g̀r̀bè hàáw g̀lé-ŋ m̀éé-n-tà-nà**

CNJ2.1PL:OPT run:PL DEM2.m baoab-DEF big-DEF-in-DIR

And then we should run into that big baobab.

sàà      ŋ||òò-n-sù      !'àwé      ts'â-tà-nà=sà  
 CNJ2.3fSG child-DEF-f fall:SG water-in-DIR=3fSG  
 And the child falls into the water.

When **-nà** is used in combination with the locative postposition **-tè**, the complex is usually preceded by an additional glottal stop, which is assumed to be another locative marker. Our consultants suggested that the glottal stop is a variant of the locative postposition **-tsʔ**.

pàà      thâ      kìràŋgí-ʔí-tè-nà=à  
 CNJ2.3 run:SG rack-LOC-area-DIR=3  
 He ran towards the meat rack.

sàà      ||ò-ʔò-nà=sà      gógó-ʔò-tè-nà=sà      híkʔ  
 CNJ2.3fSG over\_there-LOC-DIR=3fSG log-LOC-area-DIR=3fSG go:SG  
 She goes to that place, near to the log.

Note that the glottal stop is also attested after unbound locatives, e.g. **||ò-ʔò-nà** ‘to that place’, and **ʔò-ʔò** ‘here, at this place’.

The postposition **-mèé** denotes a reason or ‘for the sake of’.

xòóxòrì-ŋ kwàà      kʔtʔé      mòndzó      dàá-ʔò-mèé  
 crow-DEF CNJ2.3 be\_angry jackal (POSS.)cheat-INF-sake  
 So the crow was angry because of the cheating by Jackal

The postposition is often used in combination with the personal pronoun **hèwé**: **hèwé-mèé** ‘therefore’ and the question word **hótsò**: **hótsò-mèé** ‘why, for what reason?’.

-ṽṽ is an instrumental postposition.

**hèsó 'yá?ábô-ṽ ṽrìn-sìṽ !'ín-ó dǵàní-ṽṽ**  
 they POSS.work-DEF very-??? hunt-NMN arrow-INSTR  
 Their work was mainly hunting with arrows.

**|âṽṽ-é=sṽ tsí |'wèé-ṽṽ=sṽ**  
 see-3O=1SG I (POSS.)eye-INSTR=1SG  
 I have seen it with my own eyes!

**hàáw gálàmà-ṽṽṽ=à?à hí'|'á**  
 DEM2.m galama-INSTR=3PL tie  
 They tie it with that galama rope.

**wétsháná=yóóó pàà thâ-ṽṽṽ=à khwàà**  
 NARR:INTJ=EXCL CNJ2.3 run:SG-INSTR=3 return  
 Hear! And he returned (by) running.