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Chapter 4

Pronouns, demonstratives, and other deictic elements

The following sections present the Sandawe pronominal system. A first distinction can be made between free and bound pronominal forms. The group of free pronouns consists of personal pronouns (section 4.1), demonstratives (section 4.2), and other deictic elements (section 4.3). Bound personal pronouns (object suffixes, series of subject clitics, and subject markers on conjunctions) are described in detail in sections 6.3, 5.1, and 7.2, 7.4, 7.5, respectively. In section 4.4, an overview of the morphology of all pronominal forms is provided.

4.1. Free personal pronouns

Table 7 below lists the free personal pronouns. The third person forms show close formal correspondences to demonstrative pronouns (section 4.2), as discussed in section 4.4.

Table 7: Free personal pronouns

Person	Gender	Singular		Plural		Collective
1.		tsí	I	súŋ	we	
2.		hàpú	you	síŋ	you	
3.	m	hèwé	he; it	hèsó	they	hèwé-xé they,
	f	hèsú	she; it			the group of

There are three distinctions for the category person, as indicated in the first column. There are two genders: feminine and masculine. The distinction is only made for third person singular forms. **hèwé** refers to a male animate or to a masculine noun; **hèsú** refers to a female animate or to a feminine noun.

There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural pronouns are **súŋ** ‘we’, **síŋ** ‘you (PL)’, and **hèsó** ‘they’, which is only used for animate referents (see below). An additional form, **hèwé-xé**, which is the collective free pronoun, is used to refer to collective entities and to non-human, non-singular referents. The pronoun is composed of the third person masculine singular pronoun **hèwé** and the collective formative **-xé** (cf. the collective suffix **-x̣** and the collective definite suffix **-xé-ŋ** on nouns, section 3.4.1).

Whereas the collective marker may be suffixed to nouns denoting both human and non-human referents, the free pronoun with the collective formative is only used to refer to non-human referents.

ʔútáá hí-à hèwé-xé-áá tshèékí-wá-ìʔí
 long_ago SUB:CNJ-3 he-COLL-SFOC finish-PL2=SUB

When long ago these (i.e. tree types) were all finished,

ʔiswé ʔ!ê-xê-n-tà ʔàtèé, màpíŋ hàà séŋ||á
 now day-COLL-DEF-in cactus maping and sen||a
 nowadays, it's the cactus, the maping and the sen||a (that are used).

Human referents are always referred to by the third person plural pronoun **hèsó**. This is also the case for collective nouns that denote human referents, e.g.:

màríndò-x-àà héŋ||àkí. hèsó-áá (*hèwéxé-áá) fundisha-súŋ
 teacher-COLL-SFOC enter:PL they-SFOC (SV.)teach-1PL
 The group of teachers came in. They taught us.

The use of the third person plural pronoun **hèsó** extends to non-human, animate referents, for example when referring to animal characters in story-telling, and when the pronoun refers to a human plus an animal. However, when referring to other animate referents such as 'spirits' and 'bees', both **hèsó** and **hèwé-xé** can be used.

Two personal pronouns, one singular and one plural form, can be combined to form a derived, inclusive subject pronoun. The singular form is followed by the collective marker **-x**, which functions here as an associative plural marker (see 3.4.1 on the collective marker). The following plural pronoun, denotes the actual sentence subject, which 'includes' the singular referent.

hèsú-x-ʔsúŋ-áá ʔ|àtí
 she-COLL-we-SFOC (SV.)come:PL
 We, including her, came; we came with her.

hèwé-x-ʔsúŋ-áá ʔ|àtí
 he-COLL-you:PL-SFOC (SV.)come:PL
 You, including him, came; you came with him.

A free personal pronoun can function as a head or a dependent element of a nominal phrase. When the pronoun is a head, it is often accompanied by one or more particles and clitics and/or a non-coreferential subject clitic (see section 5.2). Particles include the topic marker and subject focus marker; clitics include mediative markers and question markers.

tsí-áá ***mântshà**
 I-SFOC SV.eat
 I ate.

tsí-kí **wàrèéé** **?úŋ̀=ǵà=sì** **má?à**
 I-TOP friend:m.EXCL very=CONF=1SG be_tired
 As for me, my friend, I am very tired.

A free personal pronoun can function as a possessive pronoun or as a pronominal element to which a postposition is attached. The possessive relation between the elements in the possessive construction is marked by a pitch downstep.

hèwé **tsèè-ŋg=à** **pàà** **kòbá-tà-nà=à** **||wáá**
 he (POSS.)head-DEF=3 CNJ2.3 wing-in-DIR=3 hide.3O
 And he hid his head under (lit. into) his wing.

tsí-mèé=à **|í**
 I-sake=3 come:SG
 He came for me.

Third person personal pronouns are occasionally used as a modifier of a noun (cf. demonstrative pronouns in section 4.2). In all examples, the referent is known because it has been mentioned before in the discourse. Therefore the modifying personal pronoun can be translated as ‘same, the very’.

!’wáá **hèwé-nà** **kòs=à** **thâ**
 pool he-DIR again=3 run:SG
 Again he ran to the same pool.

hí-ì **dùbé=ìŋ̀** **khimbà** **thèé** **hèwé** **ǵán-ts’í-ì**
 SUB:CNJ-2SG bang=SUB hey! tree he tear-MID2-3:NR
 When you bang, hey, this very tree will split!

Free personal pronouns are used both in verbal and non-verbal clauses. When a personal pronoun is used in a verbal clause, it may function as a subject, object, or oblique object constituent. In non-verbal phrases or clauses, the pronoun may be an argument of a zero-copula construction, or part of a topicalised phrase.

hàpú **faré-ÿ**
 you lie-AG.m
 You are a liar.

hèsú **lèébà** **ŋ||dó-sù**
 she Leeba (POSS.)child-f
 She is Leeba’s daughter.

hàpú-kí-áá 'kwáá
 you-TOP-SFOC 2SG:HORT
Your turn!; You, come on!

4.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The Sandawe demonstrative pronoun system codes referents according to distance. There are two series of demonstratives: one for near referents (glossed DEM1), and one for remote referents (glossed DEM2).

Table 8: Demonstrative pronouns

	Near (DEM1)	Remote (DEM2)
masculine singular	hèéw̃	hàáw̃
feminine singular	hèésù	hàásù
plural (human)	hèésò	hàásò
collective	hèéxwè	hàáxwè

The plural demonstrative forms are used for human referents only. Non-human referents cannot be marked by plural demonstrative forms. In order to code the non-singularity of these referents, the collective demonstrative can be used. Non-singularity of the participants is further coded in the verbal domain, by a plural marker, or a plural verb stem (see 6.4).

thèé hèéxwè
 tree DEM1.COLL
 This group of trees

hàáxwè hùmbù-xê-ŋg-à dʒòmó
 DEM2.COLL cow-COLL-DEF=3 buy
 He bought that group of cows

The structure of demonstratives can be summarized as follows:

Near: **h-èé-** person/gender/number
 Remote: **h-àá-** person/gender/number

All demonstratives have a LHL tone pattern. After the initial **h**, a long vowel with a rising tone follows. The quality of this vowel codes the near-far parameter. Note that the same vowel alternation is used to code the near/far parameter in the deictic forms **né-** and **ná-** (section 4.3). The final element of the demonstrative is a low-toned port-manteau morpheme, that gives information on person, gender, and number of the referent.

Demonstrative pronouns are primarily used as modifiers of a nominal. Usually, the demonstrative follows the head. When the demonstrative precedes the noun, the

noun is followed by a definiteness marker. In the latter case (contrastive) focus is expressed.

mátó **hèéw̃**
gourd DEM1.m
This gourd

hèéw̃ **mátô-ŋ**
DEM1.m gourd-DEF
This gourd

If the referent is known to the listener, demonstrative pronouns can be used independently. In these cases the referent has been mentioned in a prior utterance, or the referent is pointed at directly.

fumbo **||wáá-tò.** **hèéw̃** **màná-sú-sùŋ=ts'é** **ʔútaaá**
mystery hide-NMN:PAT DEM1.m know-BE-1PL:NR=NEG2 long_ago
[The Swahili word] *fumbo* ['mystery'] is *||waato* [in Sandawe]. We didn't have knowledge about this long ago.

In the example above, a Sandawe equivalent is given for the Swahili word *fumbo*, namely *||wáátò*. In the second clause the demonstrative **hèéw̃** is used independently. It refers to its antecedent in the preceding clause: *||wáátò*. The demonstrative is the object argument of the second clause.

The independent use of a demonstrative in a presentational verbless sentence is illustrated below:

hàásù **thámètsù**
DEM2.f woman
That one there is a woman

In this construction, **hàásù** and **thámètsù** constitute separate phrases (as opposed to **hèéw̃ mátôŋ** 'this gourd').

4.3. Other deictic elements

The deictic elements **né-** and **ná-** are used to refer to individual persons or objects at a certain location. The vowel quality codes the near/far parameter: **né-** for near referents (DEI1) and **ná-** for remote referents (DEI2) (cf. the demonstrative formatives **hèé-** and **hàá-**). The elements can modify a noun or function as the head of a presentational verbless sentence. Each use has its own set of person/gender/number markers which are suffixed to the deictic element. Table 9 presents the deictic forms when used as nominal modifiers.

Table 9: Modifying deictic elements

	Near (DE1)	Remote (DE2)
masculine singular	nê	nâ
feminine singular	nésù	násù
plural	né?éwá	ná?áwá

Modifying deictic elements follow the noun. They refer to individual persons or objects, which are selected from a group at a certain location.

thèé nâ

tree DEI2.m

That tree there (out of several)

thèé né-?éwá

tree DEI1-PL

These trees here (out of several)

thámèshù né-sù

girl DEI1-f

This girl here (out of a group of girls)

thámèsù ná-?áwá

girl:PL DEI2-PL

Those girls there (out of a group of girls)

Note that the plural forms can refer both to human and to non-human referents and that there are no collective forms. The deictic forms differ from the series of demonstrative pronouns in this respect.

The series of deictic elements which are used in presentational verbless sentences are presented below. There are separate forms for 3PL human referents and other (non-human) plural referents.

Table 10: Deictic elements in presentational sentences

	Near (DE1)	Remote (DE2)
1SG	nê-sù	nâ-sù
2SG	né-pò	ná-pò
3MSG	né-è ~ nêngò	ná-à ~ nângò
3fSG	né-sù	ná-sù
1PL	né-sùŋ	ná-sùŋ
2PL	né-sùŋ	ná-sùŋ
3PL (hum)	né-sò	ná-sò
PL	né-?éwá	ná-?áwá

Table 11: Basic sets for Sandawe pronouns (I and II)

	I (non-realis SBJ)	II (realis SBJ)
1SG	ṣ̀ì	sì
2SG	pò	ì
3	ì	à
3fSG	sù	sà
1PL	sùŋ	ò
2PL	sìŋ	è
3PL	sò	à?à, ?à

All series of pronouns contain forms that correspond to one of these two sets, with additional affixes. However, there are several irregularities and exceptions. Therefore no morpheme boundaries are given for most of the forms presented below.

The series in set I are (next to the non-realis subject clitics): subject markers for special verbs, (bound) object pronouns, negative realis clitics, free personal pronouns, demonstratives, and deictic elements.

Table 12: Pronominal forms based on set I

	I (non-realis SBJ)	special verbs	OBJ	NEG1
1SG	ṣ̀ì	ṣ̀ì	sé	ṽtshé
2SG	pò	pò	pó	ṽpó
3(MSG)	ì	è	é	tshèé
3fSG	sù	sù	(é)-sú	ṽtshú
1PL	sùŋ	sùŋ	súŋ	ṽtshúŋ
2PL	sìŋ	sìŋ	síŋ	ṽtshíŋ ~ ṽtshí-sìŋ
3PL	sò	sò	ŋíŋ	ṽtsho ~ ṽtshó-sò
COLL/PL				

PPr	DEM1	DEM2	DEI1	DEI2
tsí			nēs̀ì	nâs̀ì
hàpú			népò	nápò
hèwé	hèéw	hàáw	nê, nêé ~ nêŋgò	nâ, nââ ~ nâŋgò
hèsú	hèés̀ù	hàás̀ù	nés̀ù	nâs̀ù
súŋ			nés̀ùŋ	nâs̀ùŋ
síŋ			nés̀ìŋ	nâs̀ìŋ
hèsó	hèés̀ò	hàás̀ò	nés̀ò	nâs̀ò
hèwé-xé	hèéxwè	hàáxwè	né?éwá	nâ?áwá

Subject markers for special verbs are formally identical to the non-realis subject marker, except for the third person masculine singular form –è.

The paradigm of verbal object suffixes (OBJ) is characterized by a high tone (as opposed to the low tone of the forms in I). Except for **-é** and **-ʔɪŋ**, the object suffixes closely resemble the forms in I. The third person object form **-é** deviates from the I-series, but corresponds to the subject marker for special verbs, the form in the negation marker and probably the free personal pronoun. The third person plural object suffix **-ʔɪŋ** does not correspond to any other pronominal forms.

The realis negative clitic (NEG1) consists of a negation marker (***tshè**) and a high-toned subject marker, which closely resembles set I.

The personal pronouns (PPr) and demonstratives (DEM1, DEM2) also display close formal correspondences to set I. The personal pronoun forms are characterized by a high tone, except for the initial formative **hè** in the third person forms and **hà** for the second person singular pronoun. In the demonstrative paradigms, similar formatives (**hèé** and **hàá**) are found. The demonstratives further contain a low-toned subject marker, which resembles the forms in set I, with the exception of **w̃** in the masculine singular demonstratives.

Person/gender/number markers on the deictic elements **né-** and **ná-** (DEI1; DEI2) are identical to the forms of set I, except for the 3MSG forms. The plural forms **néʔéwá** and **náʔáwá**, which are used as plural nominal modifiers, contain a plural marker **-ʔwá** which is identical to the verbal plural marker.

The series of pronominal forms in set II are (next to the realis subject clitics): optative and hortative subject clitics, and subject markers incorporated in conjunctions. Examine tables 13 and 14 below.

Table 13: Pronominal forms based on set II

	II (realis SBJ)	OPT	HORT
1SG	sɪ	èʔè, ʔè	
2SG	ɪ	kò	ʔkwáá
3(mSG)	à	kwà	kwàrà
3fSG	sà	xsà	xsàrà
1PL	ò	òʔò, ʔò	
2PL	è	kwè	kwèrà
3PL	àʔà, ʔà	kwàʔà	

For the optative and hortative series, the following patterns exist: **kw+II** (optative) and **kw+II+rà**. Note however, that several forms deviate from these structures: **èʔè, ʔè** (1SG:OPT), **òʔò, ʔò** (1PL:OPT), and **ʔkwáá** (2SG:HORT).

Table 14: Pronominal forms in conjunctions, based on set II

II	SUB:CNJ	realis CNJ (short)	realis CNJ (long)	realis CNJ2	OPT CNJ2
sɪ	hɪ-sɪ	nɪsɪ-ŋ		sɪ	ʔɛɛ
ɪ	hɪ-ɪ	nɪ-ŋ	nɪ-ŋg-ɪ-ŋ	pɪ	kɔɔ
à	hɪy-à	nà-ŋ	nɪ-ŋg-à-ŋ	pàà, kwàà	kwàà
sà	hɪ-sà	nɪsà-ŋ		sàà	sàà
ò	hɪy-ò	nò-ŋ	nɪ-ŋg-ò-ŋ	pòò, kòò	ʔòò
è	hɪy-è	nè-ŋ	nɪ-ŋg-è-ŋ	pèè	kwèè
àʔà, ʔà	hɪy-àʔà	nàʔà-ŋ	nɪ-ŋg-àʔà-ŋ	ʔàà	kwàʔàà, ʔàà

Several conjunctions contain pronominal (subject) elements of set II. For some of these series, the conjunctions incorporate (both formally and semantically) the subject/modality clitic rather than just the pronominal element. This is reflected in the labels for the conjunctions, e.g. realis coordinating conjunction and optative coordinating conjunction.

The subordinating conjunction consists of the formative **hɪ-** and the pronominal subject marker from set II.

The short and long forms of the realis coordinating conjunction have an incorporated subject marker which is similar to the forms of set II. Short forms have the following structure: **nɪ+II-ŋ**, where **nɪ** is the conjunction and **-ŋ** is a coordinating linker. Long forms of the conjunction contain an additional nasal element: **nɪ-ŋ+II-ŋ**. Note that the coordinating conjunction also occurs without further pronominal subject marking: **nɪ-ŋ**.²⁸

The realis narrative conjunction (CNJ2) has the structure **p/kw+II+V**, where V indicates lengthening of the preceding vowel of the subject marker. The initial consonant is different when the forms are based on a pronominal form with its own initial consonant: **sɪ, sàà, ʔàà**.

The optative narrative conjunction is based on the optative subject clitic. The conjunction has a lengthened vowel when compared to the optative subject clitic. The general structure can thus be summarized as follows: **kw+II+V**, but note again that some forms are irregular.

²⁸ Moreover, there are single occurrences of the form **n-ɛʔɛ-ŋ**, and **n-òʔò-ŋ** (cf. 1SG and 1PL optative subject clitics **ʔɛ** and **ʔò**), which suggests an additional paradigm of optative conjunctions. This paradigm would fit in the table of pronominal forms (II) in conjunctions.