A grammar of Sandawe : a Khoisan language of Tanzania
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Chapter 5

Clitics

Sandawe clitics are bound elements which attach to different parts of speech and which do not necessarily have a direct syntactic relation to the host. All clitics follow their host. The following types of clitics are described in the current chapter:[29]

- subject/modality markers; section 5.1
- negation markers; section 5.3
- the mediative markers =**gá** (confirmative), =**gé** (mirative), and =**nè** (yes/no-questions); section 5.4
- the general question marker =**ná**; section 5.5
- the exclamatory marker =**yóóó**; section 5.6

Note that some of the markers do not fully fit the definition of a clitic. For example, the subject marker of the non-realis series and negation markers have a fixed (post-verbal) position. Formally, these markers might be considered as verbal affixes. The main reason for including them in the current description is the relation between the different markers: two or more of them may form a clitic complex together. Clitic complexes centre around the subject/modality marker and attach to the host (see section 5.7). An additional reason for treating these markers together is that all have scope over the clause or the sentence.

Several subordinating and coordinating elements are also clitics. They are never part of the clitic complex and discussed separately in chapter Chapter 7.

5.1. Subject/modality

In Sandawe, pronominal subject marking and mood are encoded in one port-manteau morpheme in the form of a clitic. The clitic marks person, gender, and number of the clausal subject and the modality of a clause. Four modalities are distinguished, table 15 gives an overview of the forms of the four series. For an overview of the morphology of all pronominal forms in Sandawe, see section 4.4.

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[29] Clitic types that are discussed elsewhere are the clause-final subordinate marker =**íʔà** (section 7.5), and the linker –**ŋ** (section 7.1).

Table 15: Subject/modality markers

SBJ	realis	non-realis	optative	hortative
1SG	sį̀	`sį̀	è?ę̀, ?è	
2SG	ì	pò	kò	ꜛkwáá
3	à	ì	kwà	kwàrà
3fSG	sà	sų̀	xsà	xsàrà
1PL	ò	sùŋ	ò?ò̧, ?ò	
2PL	è	sìŋ	kwè	kwèrà
3PL	à?ą̀, ?à	sò	kwà?ą̀	

These clitics have the following general (morpho-)phonological properties:

Except for the hortative series, the clitics are monosyllables that consist either of a single vowel (V), a (labialized) consonant and a vowel (C(w)V), or a consonant and a vowel followed by a nasal (CVN). The 3fSG optative and hortative forms, =xsà and =xsàrà have an additional consonant x.

Generally the clitics do not undergo morphophonological changes when they are attached to a preceding host. The vowel of the clitic always retains its quality. When a clitic is preceded by a nasal consonant, an epenthetic consonant g is inserted between the nasal and the clitic.

bôxsúŋgà   <   bô–x̀–súŋ=à
                             say-BEN-1PL=3
He told us

When the preceding host ends in a short vowel, the vowel quality either assimilates to the vowel quality of the clitic, or both vowels retain their quality. In the former case, a long vowel results. In the latter case the clitic forms a separate syllable, sometimes with a slight additional glide. The two realizations are in free variation. Consider the examples below:

mântshòò, mântshàò   <   mântshà=ò
                             eat=1PL
We ate

|íyà, |áà   < |í=à
                             come:SG=3
He came

After a long vowel, the vowel of the clitic is always realized in a separate syllable. There is no assimilation of long vowels to the vowel of the clitic.

ŋ‖èéyò   <   ŋ‖èé=ò
                                enter=1PL

We arrived

When clitics of the form =ì (2SG realis and 3 non-realis) are attached to a host with a
final vowel, a glide results. The final vowel of the host may be short or long.

mântshàỳ   <   mântshà=ì
                                eat=2SG/3:NR

You ate/He will eat

ŋ‖èéỳ   <   ŋ‖èé=ì
                                enter=2SG/3:NR

You arrived/He will arrive

The following clitics have two allomorphs: 3PL realis, 1SG optative, and 1PL
hortative. One allomorph consists of a vowel which is followed by a released glottal
stop in the coda position, e.g. =à̰ʔà̰; the other allomorph consists of an initial glottal
stop with a voiced vowel, e.g. =ʔà.

The first allomorph affects the preceding host most. When the initial vowel is
attached to a preceding host with a final vowel, the final vowel is replaced by the
vowel of the clitic. If the host has a final high tone, this tone merges with the low
tone of the clitic, which results in a falling tone.

ŋ|àtâʔà̰   <   ŋ|àtí=à̰ʔà̰
                                come:PL=3PL

They came

If the host ends in a nasal consonant, an epenthetic consonant, **g**, is inserted.

bôxsúŋgàʔà̰   <   bô–x̀–súŋ=à̰ʔà̰
                                say-BEN-1PL=3PL

They told us

The second allomorph, which has an initial glottal stop and a voiced vowel (e.g.
=ʔà), is used in two environments. First it is used as a free variant of the first
allomorph in environments where two different vowel qualities come together.

ŋ|àtíʔà   <   ŋ|àtí=ʔà   (~ ŋ|àtí=à̰ʔà̰)
                                come:PL=3PL

They came

Second, it is used after final long vowels, which cannot be deleted. In this context
the allomorph =à̰ʔà̰ is not allowed.

ŋ‖èéʔà   <   ŋ‖èé=ʔà
                                  enter=3PL

They arrived

The tone of the subject/modality clitics is low, except for the 2SG hortative and 1SG realis clitic. The 2SG hortative has a high tone, but after high tones it is realized on a downstepped high level (=ꜜkwáá). The 1SG realis clitic =sį̥ does not have underlying tone. The clitic is realized on the same pitch level as the end of the preceding tone: i.e. high after high or rising, low after low or falling.

Table 16: Tonal realization of 1SG realis =sį̥

	=sį́		=sį̀	
after high tone (H)	ǀí=sį̥	'I came'		
after rising tone (R)	ŋ‖èé=sį̥	'I arrived'		
after low tone (L)			mântshà=sį̥	'I ate'
after falling tone (F)			‖'ô=sį̥	'I slept'

The tonal properties of the 1SG realis clitic differ from those of the 1SG non-realis clitic.[30] The latter, –ˋsį̥, has a low tone on the voiceless vowel, and a floating low tone preceding the clitic. The floating tone merges with the final tone of the host, which results in a final falling contour or a final low tone on the host.

Table 17: Tonal realization of 1SG non-realis –ˋsį̥

	–ˋsį̥	
after high tone (H)	ǀî–sį̥	'I will come'
after rising tone (R)	ŋ‖èê–sį̥	'I will arrive'
after low tone (L)	mântshà–sį̥	'I will eat'
after falling tone (F)	‖'ô–sį̥	'I will sleep'

There are four paradigms of subject/modality markers. Three series contain full paradigms, viz. the realis, non-realis, and optative series. The paradigm of the hortative modality contains four forms, viz. the clitics for second person singular, third person and third person feminine singular, and second person plural subjects. Formally and semantically, the hortative modality constitutes a sub-set of the optative series (see below).

The following person, gender, and number distinctions are made for series with a full paradigm. There are three person distinctions. First and second person subjects only have a number distinction: singular or plural. Gender is not coded in first and second person markers. Third person singular subjects distinguish between

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[30] Tone is not the only characteristic which distinguishes 1SG realis from 1SG non-realis; the two clitics also have different morphosyntactic properties, see below.

masculine and feminine gender. The gender distinction is absent for third person plural subjects.

The forms for third person subjects are labelled 3, 3fSG, and 3PL. Clitics labelled 3fSG code person, gender and number of third person feminine singular subjects. The referents are either female humans or referents of feminine gender, as shown in the following example.[31] (Unless indicated otherwise, subject clitics in the following examples have all been taken from the realis series.)

|'útshúkų̀=sà
pass=3fSG
She/it passed (i.e. female human or feminine referent, e.g. car)

Third person masculine singular subjects are coded by a form from the row labelled '3' in table 15. The referents are either male humans or referents of masculine gender.

ts'éé=à
drink=3
He drank (i.e. male human or masculine referent, e.g. cow)

The forms labelled '3' also code third person plural non-human and non-specific (collective) human subjects, either in combination with the verbal plurality morpheme –wà or with a suppletive plural verb stem, e.g.

ts'éé–wà=à
drink-PL2=3
They drank (e.g. cows, unidentified group of people)

hùmbù	ɬà?ą̀tá=à	vs.	hùmbù	tɬàásį̀=à
cow	die:PL=3		cow	die:SG=3
The cows died			The cow died	

Thus, the label '3' covers the use of the clitic in marking both masculine singular and a set of non-singular third person subjects (gender-neutral).[32]

Third person plural subjects with (non-collective) human referents have separate forms that are glossed '3PL'.[33] These clitics cannot be combined with the verbal

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[31] The group of nouns of feminine gender is small, compared to the nouns of masculine gender, see section 3.2.
[32] Note that the third person subject clitics ('3') cannot be used with feminine referents, different from the use of the 3O object suffix –é (section 6.3).
[33] A similar distinction between types of third person plural referents is found with verbal object pronouns (section 6.3).

plurality morpheme –**wà**; however, in combination with a verb of the set of suppletive singular/plural stems, they can only occur after a plural stem.

ǀ'útshúkṵ̀=ʔà̰   * ǀ'útshúkṵ̀–wà=ʔà̰
pass=3PL   pass-PL2=3PL
They passed

ɬàʔà̰t=â̰ʔà̰   * tɬàásḭ̀=ʔà
die:PL=3PL   die:SG=3PL
They died (specific humans)

Out of context, a 3PL subject clitic is interpreted as referring to specific human subjects. However, 3PL pronominal subject markers may also be used for non-human animate referents if the subject has been clearly identified in the preceding discourse or if the animate subjects act as human beings (e.g. in animal stories). Consider the following example from a procedural text on the collection of honey, in which the non-human subjects (bees) are known from preceding discourse. The subject clitic is from the non-realis series.

mùrígì   ǃ'ò̰ówé–sò
medicine   find:3O–3PL:NR
They (bees) will find medicine.

The morphosyntactic status of the clitics differs for the four series. First, the non-realis clitics differ from the clitics in the realis, optative and hortative paradigms: while non-realis clitics are always attached to verbs, clitics from the other three series can be attached to non-verbal constituents as well (except subject constituents).

Second, the subject clitics in the realis series differ from the clitics in the non-realis, optative and hortative series. While the latter series occur only once per clause, the clitics of the realis series may occur several times per clause. A summary is given in the table below. The syntax of subject/modality clitics is further discussed and exemplified in section 5.2.

Table 18: Morphosyntactic status of subject/modality clitics

	realis	non-realis	optative	hortative
position	all constituents, except S	verb only	all constituents, except S	all constituents, except S
occurrence per clause	multiple allowed	once	once	once

The four series of Sandawe subject/modality clitics encode three kinds of propositions:

- propositions about actual events (realis)
- propositions about non-real and future events (non-realis)
- commands, wishes, and incentives (optative and hortative).

The terms 'realis' and 'non-realis' correspond to 'realis' and 'irrealis', as used for Sandawe by Elderkin (1989) and Eaton (2002).

5.1.1. Realis

Clauses which are marked by realis subject clitics express propositions about real situations, i.e. descriptions of actual events and imaginary situations which are presented by the speaker as real. The realis subject clitics are only used with affirmative clauses.[34] Negative realis clauses are formed with a dedicated negative realis marker, cf. section 5.3.1.

Realis clauses which describe actual events can refer to the present or the past. Reference to time is not expressed by the realis modality markers, but by additional temporal adverbs or phrases.

Ɂíxì=sḭ̀   bô   káɁá̰ …
thus=1SG   say   that
I said/say thus: …

Ɂútè   Ɂíxì=sḭ̀   bô   káɁá̰ …
yesterday   thus=1SG   say   that
Yesterday I said thus: …

swê   Ɂíxì=sḭ̀   bô   káɁá̰ …
now   thus=1SG   say   that
Today/now I say thus: …

Other examples of realis-marked clauses include (sub-ordinate) conditional clauses and instructions in procedural texts. For these realis clauses, the speaker presents the situation as being real, even though the clause may describe an event which has not been realized (yet). The following example illustrates a conditional realis clause, which precedes the main clause. The condition ('if you go out for beer') is an imaginary situation, but it can be realized.

hí–ì   k'àmé–ǹì=ì   tú=ìɁ̰   k'àmé=kò   ‖'àá
SUB:CNJ-2SG   beer-DIR=2SG   go_out=SUB   beer=2SG:OPT   follow
If/once you go out for beer, go after beer only. (Saying)

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[34] The obligatory subject marker on the conjunction in negative subordinate clauses forms an exception.

In procedural texts 2SG realis clitics can be used to give instructions on how a procedure should be followed. The following clauses illustrate fragments of a procedural text in which the speaker describes how a beehive is constructed. After an initial question and an affirmative clause with non-realis subject clitics, the speaker starts to use realis subject clitics for his instructions and continues using them for the rest of the text.[35] The speaker thus presents the situation as an actual event. Reference to time is absent in these instructions.

híkɪ́	!'àmé–sùn=ná
how?	shape-1PL:NR=Q

How will we cut (the beehive) into shape?

kóŋgóràʔà̰	bàʔátè	síyé–pò	pʉ̀	thèé=ì	ŋ|èé
axe	big	take-2SG:NR	CNJ2.2SG	tree=2SG	cut

You will take a big axe and then you cut a tree.

hí–à	!'wâ–ŋg–àà	tɬèé=ìʔ̰	pʉ̀	thóónòʔ=ì	síyé
SUB:CNJ-3	hole-DEF-SFOC	be_finished=SUB	CNJ2.2SG	adze=2SG	take:SG

When the hole (i.e. the hollow space) is ready, you take an adze.

Realis clitics do not code aspect, but two aspectual distinctions can be made in combination with them. First, habitual aspect is expressed by the plural marker **–wà**, which is combined with a realis subject marker (see also section 6.4.2).

mìndà–tà–nà=sɪ̰̀	híkʔ̰–wà
field-in-DIR=1SG	go:SG-PL2

I usually go to the field.

Second, realis clitics can be used in constructions that express progressive aspect. These constructions consist of a lexical verb, an auxiliary verb (**ʔíyé** / **nèé** 'stay SG/PL'), the verbal linker **–ŋ**, and a subject/modality clitic (see also section 7.1).

gìtɬ'ê–ŋ	ŋ‖ǔn–ts'á=à	ʔíyé–ŋ
cloth-DEF	wash-MID1=3	(VV.)stay:SG-VL

The garment is being washed.

5.1.2. Non-realis

Non-realis clauses are propositions about situations that are presented by the speaker as non-real. While realis clauses give a clear semantic statement (the situation is real at the time of reference, or is presented as real), the semantics of non-realis clauses are broader: the propositions are not true (irrealis), may be true, or may prove to be

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[35] Note that 2SG optative clitics are not used for the instructions in this text.

true in the immediate or distant future. Therefore translations in English make use of different modal verbs, e.g. can, may, will.

The example below illustrates the irrealis semantics of a clause with a non-realis subject clitic (–̀sì̧ 1SG) The counterfactual proposition expresses what would have happened if the condition were true. Note that the conditional clause at the end of the sentence has a negative realis marker.

ʔútè=wâʔą̀	ǀì–sì̧=gâʔą̀	tɬ'wâŋ	‖'óó–tshèé=wâʔą̀
yesterday=CND	come:SG-1SG:NR=CONF	rain	rain=NEG1.3=CND

Yesterday I would certainly have come if it had not rained (but it did rain, so I didn't come).

The following non-realis clauses illustrate propositions that are likely to be true in the (near) future.

ʔáʔą́	ʔìswê=sì̧ʔį̀	wàrèé–ŋ	ŋǀím–pô–sì̧=gáʔą̀
INTJ	now=TOP2	friend.m-ATT	eat_meat-2SG-1SG:NR=CONF

Ah, now, my friend, I will eat you.

hèwé–xé–ʔìŋ	ts'â–ŋ	dʒòʔì–nà	táné–sùŋ
he-COLL-INSTR	water-DEF	(POSS.)back-DIR	pull-1PL:NR

With these, we will pull the water backward,

pàà	súŋ	màlámbò	táŋ–nà	híkʔì–ì
CNJ2.3	we	(POSS.)big_trough	front-DIR	go:SG-3:NR

and our trough will go forward.

In the non-realis clauses below, the propositions express situations that may be true, but which are not true at the time of reference. For the speaker it is irrelevant whether these situations will become real in the future.

ʔàmànà	phê	!'òó–pó–ì
maybe	tomorrow	get-2SG-3:NR

It (poverty) may find you tomorrow (i.e. tomorrow you might be poor).

mànàá–pò=ts'é	hó	bàárà–ŋ	tɬàásì–ʔôŋ
know-2SG:NR=NEG2	who?	start-VL	die-INF

You can't know who will die first.

In the following saying (realis clause) and its explanation (one negative realis clause followed by four non-realis clauses), the speaker presents some imaginary, non-real situations which illustrate that 'death does not have age groups'. The speaker imagines a child, who may die young, or an adolescent, who can die. An elder may die, but even an unborn child. All are propositions that may be true.

tɬàásɪ̀   márɪ́kà–s–ê=ts'é   mànàákhè tɬàásɪ̀ bà?é   ‖'àá=tshèé
death   age_group-BE-3=NEG2   its_meaning death be_big follow=NEG1.3
Death doesn't have age groups.   It means, death doesn't follow the big (old) ones.

ŋ‖ òó–kí=wâ?ą̀ tɬàásɪ̀–ì,   k'àrèé–kí=wâ?ą̀   tɬàásɪ̀–ì,
child-TOP=CND   die-3:NR   youth-TOP=CND   die-3:NR
Would it be for a child, it may die;   for a youth, he may die,

dɪ̀?ɪ̀sèé–kí=wâ?ą̀ tɬàásɪ̀–ì,   tɬ'àbísóó–kí=wâ?ą̀ !'àwí–ì
elder-TOP=CND   die-3:NR   stomach-TOP=CND   fall-3:NR
for an elder, he may die;   a pregnancy may fail.

Negative non-realis clauses are marked by the non-realis subject clitic in combination with the invariable negation marker =ꜝts'é (section 5.3.2). The negation marker follows the non-realis clitic.

dóró   hèwé   ꜝmípándà mɪ̀khé–ì=ts'é
zebra   he   POSS.route leave-3:NR=NEG2
A zebra won't leave his route. (Proverb)

súŋ   ‖ó–?ǫ̀   ŋ‖èé–ŋ   dàá–sùn=ts'é
we   over_there-LOC   enter-VL   be_able-1PL:NR=NEG2
We won't be able to arrive at that place.

Non-realis clauses can express progressive aspect by the use of an auxiliary verb (?íyé / nèé 'stay SG/PL') and the verbal linker –ŋ.

ŋ!ê   nèé–ŋ |'útshúkɪ̀–wá=ì
day   stay:PL-VL   (VV.)pass-PL2-3:NR
Days will be passing.

Besides the paradigm of non-realis subject clitics, there is an additional 1PL verbal subject marker –sà. This morpheme is occasionally used in affirmative non-realis clauses as a variant of the 1PL non-realis clitic =sùŋ.

súŋ–kí máx–óó–kí–?ɪ̀ŋ   tsí ꜝŋ|ìn–tsɪ̀   síyé–ts'è–é–sà
we-TOP   be_smart-NMN-TOP-INSTR I   POSS.meat-LOC   take:SG-APPL-3O-1PL:NR
We as well, by smartness, will deprive him from my meat.

5.1.3. Optative

Optative clauses express commands, wishes, and incentives. As second person commands are part of the same paradigm as first and third person incentives, there is no reason to distinguish a special category imperative. Second person optatives are roughly equivalent to imperatives in other languages.

k'wêŋ=kò   ŋ|èé–x–ˈsé   ròg̈ó–ʔìŋ
neck=2SG:OPT   cut-BEN-1SG   knife-INSTR
Cut my neck with a knife!

First and third person optative clitics are used in wishes and incentives.

sìph̥̀thár̥̀–n=ò̀ʔò̀   xéé
hospital-DIR=1PL:OPT   bring:3O
Let's get him to the hospital.

ʔìx̥̀=kwà   ʔìyé
thus=OPT.3   stay:SG
Let it be so!

A command can be used in progressive aspect, in order to express that the addressee should continue a certain action.

wàré   dzàdzàsé=kò   ʔìyé–ŋ
friend.m   roast.FACT=2SG:OPT (VV.)stay:SG-VL
My friend, go on roasting!

5.1.4. Hortative

The hortative expresses wishes and incentives. Compared to the optative, hortative propositions are less imperative; the speaker expresses a (real) wish or incentive, and tries to convince the addressee of his/her intentions. Note that there are no 1SG, 1PL, and 3PL hortative forms.

|í=ˈkwáá
come:SG=2SG:HORT
Please come, do come!

ŋ|àtí=kwèrà
come:PL=2PL:HORT
Please come, do come (PL)

!wàwé=ꜜkwáá
???=2PL:HORT
I am sorry for you; my condolences

There is one specific use of the hortative in a non-verbal utterance. The following phrase is used in riddling for example and urges the addressee to take his/her turn:

hàpú–kí–áá=ꜜkwáá
you-TOP-SFOC=2SG:HORT
Your turn!

5.2. The syntax of subject/modality clitics

Sandawe has a relatively free word order. Therefore many different constituent orders and occurrences of subject/modality clitics are possible. The following description does not seek to give a complete overview of the syntax of these clitics, but sketches an outline of common patterns. An overview of Sandawe constituent orders and the relation to information structure is provided by Eaton (2002).

The basic constituent order in Sandawe verbal clauses is OV. Subjects, either in the form of a full pronoun or a noun phrase, generally precede the object. In most verbal clauses a subject/modality clitic is present which codes person, gender, and number of the subject, in addition to the modality of the clause. However in realis clauses, a full pronominal or lexical subject can be accompanied by the subject focus marker –aa, in which case the subject/modality clitic may be absent. The presence and absence of the realis subject clitic in verbal clauses are illustrated below.[36]

In the first clause the 3PL subject clitic of the realis series, –à?à̰, is attached to the postpositional phrase msérà–ts'ḭ̀ 'in Msera'. It codes person and number of the subject 'people of Kurio'. In the second clause the lexical subject, 'people of Msera', carries the subject focus marker, which codes contrastive focus. There is no subject/modality clitic in this clause. The presence of a subject with a subject focus marker can thus exclude a realis subject clitic elsewhere in the clause.

?útè   màákhà   kúrìyò ŋ|òmósò   msérà–ts'=à?à̰ hàwé–ŋ nì–ŋ   ts'â–kṵ̀
yesterday (POSS.)year Kurio (POSS.)people Msera-LOC=3PL fetch-VL CNJ-CL drink-CAUS1
Last year, the people of Kurio fetched water and drenched in Msera.

hèéw̰   màákhà msérà ŋ|òmós–àà   kúrìyò–?ò̰ hàwé–ŋ nì–ŋ   ts'â–kṵ̀
DEM1.m year   Msera (POSS.)people-SFOC Kurio-LOC fetch-VL CNJ-CL drink-CAUS1
This year, the people of Msera fetch water and drench in Kurio.

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[36] All subjects in the examples, whether lexical or pronominal, are underlined in the first and second lines.

The distribution of subject/modality markers is different for non-realis subject clitics on the one hand and realis, optative and hortative subject clitics on the other hand. Non-realis subject clitics are invariably marked on the verb and occur only once per clause. They are obligatorily present and cannot be omitted if (focused) lexical or pronominal subjects are present.

làbá   hí–ì   hàp–áá   tɬàás=î?ɨ   hàpú màkàá   tsí tɬ'àâ–sɨ̀
later   SUB:CNJ-2SG you–SFOC   die=SUB   you   (POSS.)wealth I   take:PL-<u>1SG:NR</u>
Later, when you die, I will take (inherit) your properties.

The syntax of subject clitics of the other modalities is more complex: different constituents can serve as a host for these subject clitics. Moreover, multiple occurrences of a subject clitic are observed for realis subject clitics, especially in spontaneous speech. Optative and hortative subject clitics occur only once per clause. The following description first discusses possible hosts for realis, hortative and optative subject clitics; second, the position in the sentence of these clitics is discussed.

5.2.1. Hosts for subject/modality clitics

Subject/modality clitics (with the exception of non-realis clitics) may be attached to one or more of the following hosts:

- verbs
- noun phrases/independent pronouns (object)
- postpositional phrases
- question words (non-subject)
- adverbs of manner, time, and degree
- conjunctions
- the complentizer **ká?ą́**; or the topic marker **kì–** when it precedes the complementizer
- negation markers

Interjections and epistemic modal adverbs never serve as a host for subject clitics, e.g. **?èèè** 'yes'; **?à?á** 'no'; **?àmànà** 'perhaps'; **dìmè**, 'perhaps', **?àŋkhákí** 'definitely'.

The clauses below illustrate the attachment of realis subject clitics to the various hosts:

k'wàwá=à
be_ill=<u>3</u>
He is ill   (host: verb)

káákà–ŋ–kì   chupa–tà–nà=à̀   tsèê–ŋg=à̀   ŋ‖èé–sú⁺k–é
dog-DEF-TOP   bottle-in-DIR=3   head-DEF=3   enter-CAUS2-3O
As for the dog, he has entered his head inside the bottle.
                                        (hosts: postpositional phrase; object)

hóts=ì̀   ŋ|wéé
what?=2SG   do
What did you do?   (host: question word)

sàndàwé   ʔíx=à̀ʔà̰   ʔàáréts'í   ká̰ʔá̰ ...
Sandawe   thus=3PL   believe   that
Thus, the Sandawe believe that …   (host: adverb of manner)

ʔútè=sḭ̀ |í
yesterday=1SG   come:SG
I came yesterday   (host: temporal adverb)

hèéxwè   ŋ!ê–xê–n–tà   ʔúr=à̀ʔà̰   mìníkì
DEM1.COLL   day-COLL-DEF-in   very=3PL   understand
Nowadays they understand a lot   (host: adverb of degree)

The syntax of subject/modality cliticization to subordinating conjunctions, the
complementizer **ká̰ʔá̰** and to negation markers is different from the attachment to the
other types of hosts.

The subordinating conjunction **hí(ì)–** is always followed by the realis subject clitic.[37]
In the following example, both the conjunction and the lexical object are hosts for a
realis subject clitic.

hî–sḭ̀   hàpú hùmbù=sḭ̀   ŋ|íŋg–é–ŋ   !'òókhá=ì̀ʔḭ , ...
SUB:CNJ-1SG   you   (POSS.)cow=1SG   eat-3O-VL   finish=SUB
Once I have finished eating your cow's meat, … (riddling phrase)

The attachment of subject/modality clitics to the complementizer **ká̰ʔá̰** is irregular,
because the subject clitic precedes the complementizer.

ʔíxḭ̀=kò   bô–⁺kw–é   kò ká̰ʔá̰ ...
thus=2SG:PT   say-BEN-3O   2SG:OPT that
Tell him this: …

The subject clitic can also follow the topic marker **ki–**, but only when it occurs in
combination with the complementizer **ká̰ʔá̰**:

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[37] Other conjunctions either have an optional realis clitic (cf. **m̀(ŋ)**, section 7.2), or a special
kind of subject marking (see the realis and optative narrative conjunctions in section 7.4).

sàà   hínsònsò–ʔò̰=sà   kì=sà káʔá̰   níʔḭ̀=gó=ò=yóóó
CNJ.3fSG   other. PL-LOC=3fSG   TOP=3fSG that   go:PL=CONF=1PL=EXCL
And she says to the others: "Hear, we are leaving!"

sìì   kì=sḭ̀ káʔá̰   ‖òóxḭ̀   ŋ‖èé–ká–á̰=ᴸtshúŋ
CNJ.1SG   TOP=1SG that   yet   enter-COM-3O=NEG1.1PL
And I said "We did not bring him yet".

Negation markers also serve as a host for subject/modality marking. Negative realis clauses have a dedicated negation marker, which has an incorporated subject marker (section 5.3.1). Negative optative and negative hortative clauses have a free-standing negation marker **mèé** which serves as a host for the optative or hortative subject clitic.

mèé=kò   hàlé–tsʼí
NEG:OPT=2SG:OPT   glorify-MID1
Don't glorify yourself!

5.2.2. The position of subject/modality clitics in the clause

The description in this section starts with simple clauses and then illustrates more complex sentences and occurrences of optative and realis clitics in spontaneous speech, which show most variation. There is one rule which applies to all clauses: subjects, whether lexical or pronominal, *never* host a subject/modality clitic.

In affirmative clauses, subject/modality clitics are most frequently marked on a preverbal non-subject constituent. Often the immediate preverbal element serves as a host for the clitic, which may be a lexical or pronominal object or postpositional phrase. Both transitive ((S) (PP) O V) and intransitive clauses ((S) PP V) display this type.

ɬàá=ʔà̰   ‖ʼèé
goat=3PL   skin
They skinned a goat.

‖hôn–tà–nà=sà   sóóxḭ̀
cave-in-DIR=3fSG   examine
She examines inside the cave.

ʔútè   mìndà–tà–nà=sḭ̀   hík̚ḭ̀
yesterday   field-in-DIR=1SG   go:SG
I went to the field yesterday.

‖hàtá–ʔŋg=ò̰ʔò̰   nḭ́ʔ̰ı
leg-INSTR=<u>1PL:OPT</u>   go:PL
Let's go on foot.

In affirmative clauses the verb may also be the host for the subject/modality clitic, but this type of marking is less frequent. Most of the examples lack a suitable preverbal host. The clauses may contain a lexical or full pronominal subject, but this constituent is never a host for the subject/modality clitic.

ʔèèè   ŋ|òmósò   dèé=gá=ʔà̰
yes   person.PL   be_many=CONF=<u>3PL</u>
Yes, people were many.

In the example below, there are two instances of the subject/modality clitic (1SG): both on the verb and on the postpositional phrase, which occurs after the verb. The presence of an (additional) subject/modality clitic on postpositional phrases after the verb is common.

|âŋg–é=sḭ́   tsí |'wèé–ʔın=s̰ı̀
see-3O=<u>1SG</u>   I   (POSS.)eye-INSTR=<u>1SG</u>
I have seen it with my own eyes!

In negative clauses, subject/modality marking always attaches to the negation marker. No subject clitics are present on other constituents. Optative and hortative negative clauses have a free-standing negation marker which precedes the verb.

sógóró   léŋgḭ́–s–ê–ŋ   mèé=kò   lòk'ò–sé–é
stick   get_stuck-BE-3-REL   NEG:OPT=2SG:OPT   touch-FACT-3O
Don't touch a stick that got stuck!

Negative realis clauses contain a dedicated negative realis clitic, which is invariably attached after the verb.

hàpú   ꜜrôŋ   khéʔé=ꜜtshé
you   POSS.voice   hear=NEG1.1SG
I didn't hear your voice.

Other elements that are automatically selected as host for the subject/modality clitics are conjunctions and the complentizer ká̰ʔá̰, which are typically clause-initial and clause-final elements, respectively.

n=ò̰ʔò̰–ŋ   súŋkíʔŋ   súŋ   sàyò
CNJ=<u>1PL:OPT</u>-CL   our_language   we   converse
And let's talk in our language,

ʔòò súŋ–kí–áá ⁺máná–ts'í !'úmá–tà
CNJ2.1PL:OPT we-TOP-SFOC SV.know-MID1 earth-in
let us be known in the world.

ʔíxį̀=<u>kò</u> bô–⁺kw–é <u>kò</u>–káʔą́ ...
thus=<u>2SG:PT</u> say-BEN-3O <u>2SG:OPT</u>-that
Tell him this: …

In subordinate realis clauses, the subject/modality clitic is obligatorily attached to the subordinating conjunction. The same clitic can be present elsewhere in the clause, for example on the postpositional phrase:

nì–ŋ hí–à !'úmá–nà=<u>à</u> thòó=ì?į pàà chupa–ŋg–àà ʔăn–ts'į
CNJ-CL SUB:CNJ-<u>3</u> earth-DIR=<u>3</u> jump=SUB CNJ2.3 bottle-DEF-SFOC break-MID2
And when he jumped down, the bottle broke.

The common patterns, which were outlined above, have many exceptions. Most of these concern the position of the realis subject clitic and the number of occurrences per clause. A main factor in the positioning of the subject/modality markers is information structure. As Eaton (2002) shows, constituent order and the presence of the subject/modality clitic on a host (an "inflected constituent") are indicators for focus marking in Sandawe.

According to her, the results of three focusing tasks "provide clear evidence of a relationship between sentence form variation and focus. The major generalisation to be made is that a focused constituent in a Sandawe realis sentence is usually inflected and an unfocused one is usually uninflected. The exceptions to this pattern can be characterised in terms of the type of constituent involved and whether other constituents are also focused in the same sentence. […] [T]here is also a tendency for focused material to occur preverbally and unfocused material to occur postverbally, but a strong preference for SOV often overrules these tendencies. […] The grammaticality judgement tasks show that the relationship between focus and sentence form is played out within the limits imposed by certain grammatical restrictions." (Eaton 2002:179-180)

Our data confirm these generalizations. Changing the position of the subject/modality clitic usually shifts the focus to the new host. The following two clauses contrast the preverbal and the verbal position of the 3PL realis clitic.

ɬàá=<u>ʔą̀</u> ‖'èé
goat=<u>3PL</u> skin
They skinned a goat; They skinned a *goat*.

ɬàá ‖'èé=<u>ʔà</u>
goat skin=3PL
A goat was skinned; They *skinned* a/the goat.

Both clauses were elicited as sentences to be translated from Swahili. They were also checked by asking to what question (in Swahili) they could reply. The prompt for the first clause was *wamechuna mbuzi* 'they skinned a goat'; the clause may be used as a reply to questions like: *wamefanya nini?* 'what did they do?'; *wamechuna nini?* 'what did they skin?' or *wamechuna ng'ombe?* 'did they skin *a cow*?'. Thus, the preverbal position of the subject/modality clitic is not only a default position for a clause without focus, but also a way to mark (contrastive) object focus.

The second clause was a translation of *mbuzi imechunwa* 'a goat was skinned'. Note that a direct translation of the passive Swahili sentence is not possible, as Sandawe does not have passive voice. The result is an active, realis clause in which the 3PL realis clitic is used as a non-specific subject. The object 'goat' which corresponds to the patient subject in the Swahili sentence, remains unmarked. The clause may also be used as a reply to *wamechinja mbuzi?* 'did they slaughter a/the goat?', where it expresses contrastive verb focus.

Similar interaction between the preferred preverbal position of the subject/modality clitic and focus marking is found in interrogatives. In question word questions, question words are in focus and precede the verb. The subject/modality clitic (or for subject question words; the subject focus marker) is usually attached to the question word. The general question marker **ná** is optional.

hóts=à̱=ná   ꜜʔíyé–ŋ   n|wéé
what=<u>3</u>=Q   VV?.stay:SG-VL   do
What is he doing?

Yes/no-questions show variation in the position of the clitic complex, which contains the yes/no-question marker **=nè** and the subject/modality clitic. The clitic complex may be attached to the clause-final verb, in which case there is no focus on a single constituent. The example below illustrates this type.

mátô–ŋ   síyé=n̄ì=ì̱
gourd-DEF   take:SG=Y/NQ=<u>2SG</u>
Did you take the gourd?

When the clitic complex is attached to the preverbal object, this constituent is in focus.

mátó=n̄ì=ì̱   síyé
gourd=Y/NQ=<u>2SG</u>   take:SG
Did you take *a gourd*?

The constituent order often varies and there may be two subject/modality clitics present in one clause. The interpretation in terms of focus or grammatical restrictions is therefore much more complex than described above.

In several examples, a postpositional phrase follows the verb and hosts a subject/modality marker. The postverbal position could be interpreted as a way of focusing the adjunct:

tsùû–ŋ |ʼáŋkí=sį́   ⁺ʔíyé   tɬáná–tà–nà kàté=sį́
animal-DEF   (POSS.)up=<u>1SG</u> SV.stay:SG horn-in-DIR   (POSS.)amid=<u>1SG</u>
I am on top of the animal, *in between the antlers*!

Alternatively, the postpositional phrase may be considered an afterthought, which requires additional subject marking in order to link it to the preceding clause.

lááʔè–ŋ   kèlèmbâ–ŋg=<u>à</u>   síyé–ŋ   ⁺‖wáá   tàná–ʔ<u>à</u>–tè=<u>à</u>
hare-DEF   (POSS.)skin-DEF=<u>3</u>   take:SG-VL VV.hide.3O elsewhere-LOC-area=<u>3</u>
He took the skin of the hare and hid it somewhere else.

The example below consists of two coordinated clauses. The first clause contains a lexical subject, a narrative conjunction which includes subject reference, and a verb; the second clause has an initial verb and a postpositional phrase which hosts the realis subject clitic.

lááʔè–ŋ   pàà   gùúʔ<u>ù</u>,   sóóx<u>ì</u>   bìr<u>ì</u>   tshìná–tà–nà=<u>à</u>
hare-DEF   CNJ2.<u>3</u>   kneel_down   inspect bed   (POSS.)buttocks-in-DIR=<u>3</u>
Then the hare knelt down and inspected under the bed.

The following example consists of two separate clauses. In the second clause both the initial auxiliary verb and the object, which precedes the main verb, host a subject/modality clitic.

pàà   xòóxór<u>ì</u>–ŋg=<u>à</u> |âŋg–é   ʔíy=<u>â</u>–ŋ   ŋ|ìŋg=<u>à</u>   ŋ|ín<u>ì</u>
CNJ2.<u>3</u>   crow-DEF=<u>3</u>   see-3O   stay:SG=<u>3</u>-VL   meat=<u>3</u>   eat_meat
And he saw the crow.   It was (still) eating meat.

In elicitation, a progressive realis clause has only one subject/modality clitic. Further the auxiliary is adjacent to the main verb:

ŋ|ìŋg=<u>à</u>   ʔíyé–ŋ   ⁺ŋ|ín<u>ì</u>
meat=<u>3</u>   stay:SG-VL VV.eat_meat
It is/was eating meat.

The question remains why these sentences contain two clitics. The clitic on the fronted auxiliary verb probably expresses focus on the progressive aspect (the crow *continues* eating). The position of the second clitic corresponds to the preferred preverbal position.

In summary, Sandawe subject/modality clitics are preferably attached to preverbal non-subject hosts in SOV clauses. The position of subject/modality clitics is one of the ways to express focus. When the variation in constituent orders is also taken into account (cf. Eaton 2002:265-288), it is clear that the syntax of subject/modality clitics is a complex interplay of factors.

5.3. Negation

There are two types of negation markers in the form of a clitic:

- a series of port-manteau negative realis clitics (NEG1) that include subject marking
- an invariable negative clitic (NEG2): =ꜝts'é

Negative optative and negative hortative clauses are marked by a free-standing negation marker **mèé**, which hosts the following optative/hortative subject clitic.

5.3.1. The negative realis clitic

The negation marker for realis clauses (NEG1) is a clitic which includes pronominal subject marking. Negative realis clitics mark negation at clause level. Table 19 illustrates the forms:

Table 19: Negative realis clitics

NEG1	
1SG	ꜝtshé
2SG	ꜝpó
3	tshèé
3fSG	ꜝtshú
1PL	ꜝtshúŋ
2PL	ꜝtshíŋ, ꜝtshí–sìŋ
3PL	ꜝtshó, ꜝtshó–sò

The 2PL and 3PL negative realis clitics have an alternative form in which the negative realis clitic is followed by an extra subject marker. Thus, ꜝtshí–sìŋ may be used instead of ꜝtshíŋ, and ꜝtshó–sò can be used instead of ꜝtshó.

Except for the 2SG form, all negative realis clitics have an initial consonant **tsh**. Historically, the clitics seem to be fused forms, which consist of a negation marker and a marker that codes person, gender and number of the subject.[38] On the basis of

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[38] Note that the markers that code person, gender, and number of the subject do not resemble the realis subject clitics, but rather the forms of the non-realis subject markers (section 5.1.2) and other pronominal forms. For an overview of the morphology of pronominal forms, see section 4.4.

the third person form **tshèé** (<***tshè–é** ?), one may reconstruct the negation marker as ***tshè**. [39] Apparently, with consonant-intial subject markers the vowel of the negation marker was deleted. The cluster ***tsh–s** was simplified to **tsh**, while ***tsh–p** (2SG) apparently became **p**. The tonal downstep preceding the clitic can be considered a trace of the original low tone on ***tshè**.

1SG	ꜜtshé	<	* ꜜtsh–sé	<	* tshè–sé
2SG	ꜜpó	<	* ꜜtsh–pó	<	* tshè–pó
3	tshèé	<	* tshè–é		
3fSG	ꜜtshú	<	* ꜜtsh–sú	<	* tshè–sú
1PL	ꜜtshúŋ	<	* ꜜtsh–súŋ	<	* tshè–súŋ
2PL	ꜜtshíŋ	<	* ꜜtsh–síŋ	<	* tshè–síŋ
3PL	ꜜtshó	<	* ꜜtsh–só	<	* tshè–só

The negation marker is related historically to the negative verb **tshèé** 'not be (present)'. This verb is combined with obligatory verbal subject markers, which are identical to the subject markers of the negative realis clitics except for the low tone. The third person form has no extra subject marker: **tshèé** 'he is not present' and is formally identical to the third person form of the negative realis clitic. For a full paradigm, see section 6.7.1.

The negative realis clitic is attached to verbs only. It is added after the verb form, i.e. after the verb root plus any derivational morphemes and verbal object pronouns.

hàpú ꜜrôŋ   khéʔé=ꜜtshé
you   POSS.voice   hear=NEG1.1SG
I didn't hear your voice.

‖òóxį̀   ŋ‖èé–ká–á=ꜜtshúŋ
yet   enter-COM-3O=NEG1.1PL
We didn't bring him in yet.

There are no further subject/modality clitics present in negative realis clauses, except for the obligatory subject marker on the subordinating conjunction.

hí–à   mgàŋgàyê–ŋ   fàré=tshèé=ḭ̀ʔ̰   ...
SUB:CNJ-3   healer-DEF   lie=NEG1.3=SUB
When this healer does not lie, …

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[39] According to Elderkin (1989:222-226) **tshè** is a "privative morph" which encompasses both the negation marker and a postposition meaning 'from'. Moreover, he posits a historical development from **tshè** to the negative morpheme ꜜ**ts'é** (NEG2 in the present description).

5.3.2. The negative clitic ˡts'é

The negative clitic =ˡts'é (NEG2) is used to code three types of negative clauses:

a) Negation of non-realis (verbal) clauses
b) Negation of verbs of possession and adjectival verbs
c) Negation of non-verbal clauses (negative copula)

Non-realis clauses are negated by the negative clitic =ˡts'é. The marker is attached to the non-realis verb form, i.e. it comes after the non-realis subject marker. The following examples illustrate negative non-realis clauses. The realisation =ts'éʔé in the second example is a free variant of the negation marker.

súŋ	kama	sàndàwé–sùŋ	têʔḛ̀sìʔḛ	máná–ts'í-sùn=ts'é
we	as	Sandawe-1PL	otherwise	know-MID1-1PL:NR=NEG2

Otherwise, we as Sandawe, we won't be known.

‖'wèé=ʔò,	hùmà–súŋg–ì=ts'éʔé
try=1PL:OPT	overcome-1PL-3:NR=NEG2

Let's try, it won't defeat us.

ʔíxı̰	hèwé–tsˀḭ	‖'wèê–sḭ=ts'é	ʔàŋkhákí
thus	he-LOC	try-1SG:NR=NEG2	definitely

I will never try (and do) something like this!

Secondly, the negative clitic =ˡts'é is a negation marker for special verbs (e.g. 'to have' and adjectival verbs, section 6.7). Special verbs are characterized by the verb marker –sí. The verbs do not code modality: there is a fixed set of verbal subject markers, which formally resembles the series of non-realis subject clitics. The negative clitic =ˡts'é is attached to the verb after the subject marker.

The following two examples illustrate negated verbs of possession.

kòlŏn–sî–sḭ=ts'é
hoe-BE-1SG=NEG2

I don't have a hoe.

tɬàásḭ	márḭ́kà–s–ê=ts'é
death	age_group-BE-3=NEG2

Death doesn't have age groups.

Negative forms of adjectival verbs are similarly marked by the negative clitic =ˡts'é.

hàpú–xéʔę́   thwìí   ɫáwé–s–ê–ŋ |ân–sî–sì̧=ts'é
you-like   bird   be_good-BE-3-DEF   see-BE-1SG=NEG2
I have never seen (such) a nice bird like you.

màtŭndà–ŋ |ân–ts'í–s–ê=ts'é=gâʔà̧
Matuunda-DEF   see-MID1-BE-3=NEG2=CONF
This Matuunda is invisible.

The negation marker may also be incorporated in deverbal nouns, which are derived
from verbs of possession and adjectival verbs.

mántshà–s–ê=ts'ê–ŋ   khòô–n–ts'ì̧   búrì̧   ʔíyé–ì=ts'é
food-BE-3-NEG2-DEF   (POSS.)house-DEF-LOC   mouse   stay:SG-3:NR=NEG2
A mouse won't stay in a household that has no food.

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.

Thirdly, the negation marker =ˡts'é functions in non-verbal clauses. The following
examples contrast affirmative and negative non-verbal clauses. The affirmative
clause is non-verbal. The second, negative clause is marked by the negation marker
=ˡts'é.

dìmè   thèé,   hàà   khìmbá   thèé=ˡts'é
maybe   tree   and   EXPR:INTJ tree=NEG2
Maybe it's a tree, but hey: it's not a tree!

ʔútáá   mìsíkóó   thèé   dôŋ   hàà   màpíŋ,   màpín=ˡts'é,   !wèéyà
long_ago beehive   (POSS.)tree dong and   maping   maping=NEG2   !weeya
Long ago, the trees for beehives were the dong tree and the maping tree, (no) not the
maping tree, the !weeya tree.

The scope of the negation may be wider than a single noun (cf. the negative deverbal
nouns above). In the following examples, the clitic has scope over a noun phrase. In
the following example, the possessor noun is preceded by a pronoun.

[hèwé ˡmántshà]=ts'é
he   POSS.food=NEG2
This was not his (type of) food.

In the following examples, the clause includes a noun phrase and an adverb. The
negation marker is always the final element of the clause.

mùthùgʉ̀–ts'í   [màkàá   tɬàkí–ts'í   títèé]=ˡts'é
be_poor-NMN2   thing   (POSS.)be_absent-NMN2 alone=NEG2
Poverty is not just the absence of wealth.

[hèwé–xé   títèé]=ˡts'é   nì–ŋ   híŋgé–xê–ŋ–kì   ʔúr̩̀   dèéthèé
he-COLL   alone=NEG2   and-CL   other-COLL-DEF-TOP very   many
It's not these things only, there are so many others.

5.4. Mediativity: confirmative, mirative, yes/no-questions

The present section deals with the grammatical marking of epistemics. In Sandawe three epistemic clitics are used, which lend either a confirmative, mirative, or uncertainty reading to a clause. The confirmative marker expresses the speaker's certainty with regard to the information (s)he is presenting. The mirative marker expresses inferential knowledge and/or surprise by the speaker regarding the presented information. The yes/no-question marker expresses the speaker's uncertainty about the presented information: the speaker checks the information by asking the listener(s) for a (positive or negative) reply.

There is debate on the definition of categories such as evidentiality and mirativity (e.g. DeLancey 1997; 2001 and Lazard 1999). The description of the semantics of the three clitics in Sandawe shows that the markers are not pure evidential markers. Although several instances of confirmative and mirative marking may be interpreted as coding the source of evidence, the semantics of the markers are broader: they express the attitude of the speaker towards the information in an utterance. The term which is used here for the category that covers both mirative, confirmative, and yes/no question markers, is mediative (cf. Lazard 1956; 1999).

Sandawe has three mediative markers in the form of a clitic:

-    The confirmative marker =gá–/=gâʔà̩ (CONF)
-    The mirative marker =gé(−) (MIR)
-    The yes/no question marker =nè(−) (Y/NQ)

The confirmative marker has two forms: =gá is used when the clitic itself is part of a clitic complex; =gâʔà̩ is used elsewhere. The mirative marker =gé and the yes/no-question marker =nè have one form for both uses.

Based on its semantics, the clitic =ké may be grouped in the mediative category as well. =ké expresses an indulgent attitude by the speaker, e.g.: ʔíxì=sì̩ kòsègà=ké 'This is how I thought it was (but it's not, so be it)'. The marker is not further included in the description, as its exact distibution is unclear.

Mediative clitics appear in verbal and non-verbal clauses. For verbal clauses with modality marking, mediative marking is possible in realis and non-realis clauses.

The position of the mediative markers is closely related to the position of the subject/modality markers (see section 5.2 on the syntax of subject/modality clitics).

In realis clauses the markers are part of a clitic complex in which the mediative marker is the first element and the realis subject clitic follows the mediative clitic (see section 5.7). The forms are illustrated in table 20. The vowel of the confirmative and yes/no-question markers takes over the quality of the following vowel.

Table 20: Mediative clitics with realis subject clitics

	=CONF=Realis Subject	=MIR=Realis SUBJECT	=Y/NQ=Realis SUBJECT
1SG	gásį́	gésį́	nèsį̀
2SG	gî	gêy	ǹì
3	gáà	géà	nàà
3fSG	gásà	gésà	nèsà
1PL	góò	géò	nòò
2PL	géè	géè	nèè
3PL	gâʔą̀	géʔà	nàʔą̀

The position of the clitic complex with the mediative marker in realis clauses is variable (cf. the variable position of the realis subject clitic, section 5.2.2). The complex may be attached to a verb, but also to other pre-verbal non-subject elements, as illustrated below.[40]

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.

ʔìxį̀=gó=ò   màtŭndà–xį̀–súŋ   nèé–wà
thus=CONF=1PL   Matuunda-COLL-1PL   stay:PL-PL2
This is how we live with Matuunda.

hàdísî–ŋ   ʔô–ʔǫ̀=gá=à   tshèékì
story-DEF   here-LOC=CONF=3   end
Here ends the story.

The position of mediative markers is different when the subject/modality marker is obligatorily attached to the verb (viz. non-realis clauses, verbs of possession, adjectival verbs). In this case the mediative clitic has a fixed position after the verb.

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[40] Note however that, although the realis subject clitic may appear more than once, mediative markers occur only once per clause.

ʔáʔą̂   ʔìswê=sìʔį̀   wàrèé–ŋ   ŋǀím–pô–sį̀=gâʔą̀
INTJ   now=TOP2   friend.m-ATT   eat_meat-2SG-1SG:NR=CONF
Ah, now, my friend, I will certainly eat you.

mànà–wà–sí–sò=gâʔą̀   kô   màkàá màkàá
know-PL2-BE-3PL=CONF   just   thing.RED
They just know these things.

Non-verbal clauses with a mediative clitic are rare. In the following two examples
the mediative clitic appears as the final element of the non-verbal clause. The
confirmative clitic –gâʔą̀ in the negative clause is attached after the negation marker.

hèwé–xé   tshíyà   ǃhùúk'ų̀   ǁwâ=ts'é=gâʔą̀
he-COLL   all   navel   (POSS.)name=NEG2=CONF
All these are not original names.

The example below consists of a non-verbal and a verbal clause. The non-verbal
clause with the mirative clitic –gé has only one word:

thwǐí=gé   thwǐí–xéʔę́=gá=sà   híkʼì=yóóó
bird=MIR   bird-like=CONF=3fSG   go:SG=EXCL
It seems like a bird, it certainly moves like a bird!

The sentence below, which consists of two conjoined clauses, displays an
exceptional form of mediative marking in a non-verbal clause. The confirmative
marker occurs in a clitic complex with a realis subject clitic (1SG) and is attached to
a free personal pronoun (1SG). The occurrence of the subject marker remains
unexplained, because it is the only example in which a subject/modality clitic is
attached to a full subject pronoun (cf. section 5.2).

tsí=gá=sį́=yóóó   wàré   kòò   mèé   thâ
I=CONF=1SG=EXCL   friend   CNJ2.2SG:OPT NEG:OPT   run:SG
It's me, my friend, don't run!

The remainder of this section discusses the semantics of the three mediative clitics.
The yes/no-question marker =nè codes closed questions, for which a confirmative or
negative answer is expected. The question expresses doubt by the speaker about the
presented information. The speaker asks for a reply from the listener in order to
check the proposition.

ŋǁòó   ǁhàtâ–ŋ   swàkú–wà–ʔôŋ   ǀân=nì=ì
child   (POSS.)leg-DEF (POSS.)swell-PL2-INF see=Y/NQ=2SG
Have you seen the swellings of the legs of the child?

hó   ts'àá–nà   ní?ɩ̰–sùŋ   kóyòwà=nè   xàré ?àsmân̰ɩ̰
who?   (POSS.)home-DIR   go:PL-1PL:NR   Koyowa=Y/NQ   or   Asmani
Whom will we go to?   Koyowa? Or Asmani?

au   gìŋgíyò   gáwà–tà–yê–ŋ   ts'àá–nà   xéé–sùŋ=nè
or   Gingiyo   mountain-in-m-DEF   (POSS.)home-DIR   bring-1PL:NR=Y/NQ
Or will we get him to Gingiyo, from the mountain?

The yes/no question may be accompanied by the general question marker =ná
(section 5.5):

láá?è pàà ká?ą́   nì–ŋ   tsí wàré=ná   kóó–s–ê=nè
hare   CNJ2.3 that   CNJ-CL I   (POSS.)friend=Q be_present:SG-BE-3=Y/NQ
Then Hare said: "Is my friend around?"

The following clauses contrast the semantics of the confirmative and mirative
markers. The examples form a short report by the speaker on how he went back
home after consuming alcoholic drinks at a bar. The speaker pictures the situation in
which the addressee is imagined to be with him, following the same route as the
speaker did before. The speaker is explaining what happened at certain points on the
route.

?ô=gá=sɩ̰́   ǂhík'ɩ̰
here=CONF=1SG   SV.go:SG
I went here

?ô=gá=sɩ̰́   ǂ|'útshúkɩ̰̀
here=CONF=1SG   SV.pass
I passed here

?ô=gé=sɩ̰́   ǂhík'ɩ̰
here=MIR=1SG   SV.go:SG
Apparently I went here!

!'àwé=gé=sɩ̰́   ?ô
fall:SG=MIR=1SG   here
Apparently I fell here!

The speaker is certain about the information he is giving in the first two clauses. He
remembers the route he took and where he passed. However, at a certain point he
can't remember what he did. The information he gives is inferred from the footsteps
and marks in the sand. This is where the mirative marker appears in the third and
fourth clause.

The next example also contrasts the mirative and confirmative marker. The utterance describes what happened when Sandawe first encountered an airplane. The Sandawe word that was finally used for airplane was derived from Swahili *ndege* 'bird, airplane'.

thwìí=gé   thwìí–xéʔę́=gá=sà   híkˀì=yóóó   ʔàkáʔą́ dégè
bird=MIR   bird-like=CONF=3fSG   (SV.)go:SG=EXCL   3PL.that plane
"It seems like a bird, it certainly moves like a bird!" So they said: "dege".

Seeing an airplane in the air, people inferred that it could be a bird: 'it seems to be a bird'. This clause contains a mirative marker. The evidence for the information in the first clause follows and is based on general knowledge: 'it certainly moves like a bird'. This clause is marked by a confirmative clitic.

Based on the preceding examples, mediative marking could be analysed as evidentiality marking. The confirmative and mirative clitics would encode first-hand (or general) versus second-hand (or inferred) knowledge, respectively. The system of evidentiality marking would not be fully grammaticalized, since clauses may well appear without an evidential marker.

However, other instances of mediative marking show that the clitics encode more than the source of evidence only. The example below is a common start of a conversation when two people meet. The dialogue takes place before the actual greeting starts.

nèé–pò=gé
be:SG-2SG=MIR
So you are present?!

ʔèèè   nèê–sị̀=gâʔą̀
yes   be:SG-1SG=CONF
Yes I am around!

In this dialogue the speaker in the first clause shows his surprise to meet the addressee. Rather than inference or second-hand knowledge, the use of the mirative clitic expresses the attitude about the information in the utterance. The information is true ('you are present') and first-hand knowledge, but the speaker wants to express his surprise about the facts.

In the second clause the other participant reconfirms the information of the first clause: 'I am present indeed'. This clause is marked by the confirmative clitic. The mediative marker does not comment on the source of evidence for this utterance, but it gives information on the attitude of the speaker: he commits himself to the validity of the information he is presenting.

The same certainty about the information by speakers is expressed in the utterance below. It is a common way of announcing that the speakers leave the addressee.

níʔà̰=gó=ò=yóóó
go:PL=CONF=1PL=EXCL
We leave now, we really go now!

The confirmative marker is also used in affirmative clauses, which reply to yes/no-questions. A yes/no-question may indicate that someone is in doubt. Instead of a simple yes or no, the other may reply by using a clause with a confirmative marker. In this way the answer shows the speaker is certain about the information. The reply may be more convincing to the addressee.

ǀí–pò=nè
come:SG-2SG:NR=Y/NQ
Will you (really) come?

ʔèèè   ǀì–sḭ̀=gâʔà̰
yes   come:SG-1SG:NR=CONF
Yes, I will definitely come!

Two further examples of mirative-marked clauses show the surprise by the speaker. Both clauses are part of the story of Hare and Rooster in which Rooster pretends to have left the house, leaving his body behind. In the following sentence Hare wonders if it can be true: did Rooster really cut off his head, as his wife said?

ʔèhèéé ʔáráá=gé ŋǀì–ŋ   kóó–s–ê,   tsèê–n=sḭ̀ʔ   tshèé
INTJ   real=MIR   meat-DEF   be_present:SG-BE-3 head-DEF=TOP2   not_be:3
Ehee, so it's true!? The body is here, but the head is not.

Later on, Hare tries to cut off his head and leave the body himself but dies. Rooster discovers his dead friend and is surprised that, apparently, his friend must be stupid.

hí–à   ʔíx=à   ŋǀwé–ts'=ḭ̀ʔ   k'àtɬ'é=gé=à
SUB:CNJ-3   thus=3   do-MID1=SUB   be_stupid=MIR=3
If he has done this to himself, he must be stupid!

The examples show that the mediative category in Sandawe is more than the encoding of pure evidentiality. The mirative marker is used to express surprise about the information presented. The speaker almost wonders whether it is really true, but apparently, to his/her surprise, there is evidence that it must be true. Confirmative-marked clauses on the other hand express the certainty with which the speaker presents the information. At least for the speaker there is no doubt about the truth of the utterance.

5.5. The general question marker =ná

Apart from question words (section 8.1), Sandawe has two clitics to mark interrogatives:

-   the general question marker =**ná**
-   the marker =**nè** which codes yes/no-questions

The yes/no-question marker =**nè** is treated in section 5.4. The clitic is part of the set of mediative clitics.

The question marker =**ná** is used in most interrogatives and marks the clause as a question. It occurs both in questions with and without question words.

hótsò   !'òówé–sò=ná
what?   find.3O-3PL:NR=Q
What will they find?

gìŋgíyò=ná
Gingiyo=Q
(And what about) Gingiyo?

ʔǎŋ   hèéẁ=ná   hóbè
INTJ   DEM1.m=Q   what?
Ah, what is this?

The general question marker is a clitic which attaches to different parts of speech such as noun phrases, pronouns, question words and verbs. The clitic is attached to the very end of the phonological phrase, after any clitics of the clitic complex. It is not necessarily part of the clitic complex, as opposed to the yes/no question marker, see section 5.7.

mmm,   hàpú=síʔĩ=ná,   híkí=ì |âŋ
INTJ   you=TOP2=Q   how?=2SG   see
Hmm,   and, you,   how do you see it?

phútɬ'úmà=nè=ná
peace=Y/NQ=Q
Is there peace? (Introductory greeting)

The variable position of the general question marker in the clause indicates its relation to the marking of information structure. The presence of the marker on non-question words seems to lend extra prominence to the element. This analysis cannot explain all occurrences of the marker, for example the post-verbal position in **hótsò !'òówésò=ná** 'What will they find?'. In this case, the fact that it is attached to an element at the end of the clause may indicate that the marker is a clause-final

clitic with scope over the clause; as opposed to the phrase-final position in other examples where the marked phrase is given extra prominence.

5.6. The exclamatory marker =yóóó

The clitic **=yóóó** is a narrative device which is used by the speaker to attract the attention of the listener(s) to the utterance and to keep a story going.[41] The marker is mainly used in story-telling, where it appears frequently.

The position of the clitic is almost free. The exclamatory marker is commonly used in combination with the narrative interjection **wétshá(ná)**. The narrative interjection is used either in between clauses (optionally followed by a co-ordinating conjunction), or after a co-ordinating conjunction, at the second position of the clause.

...kwàà   tsèê–ŋ ‖ʼíìyà–sà–nà híkʼ̨ wétsháná=yóóó sàà   kwáȶ̨ ...
 CNJ2.OPT.3 head-DEF dance-NMN3-DIR go:SG NARR:INTJ=EXCL   CNJ2.3fSG be_shocked
… so that the head goes to dance." Hear! And she was shocked…

pàà   wétshá=yóóó   ŋ‖ûmsù–n–sὺ–tsʼ=à káʔ̨á ...
CNJ2.3 NAR:INTJ=EXCL   wife-DEF-f-LOC=3   that
Hear! So he said to his wife: ...

In clauses without narrative interjection, the exclamatory marker can be part of the clitic complex. In these instances it appears as the final element of the complex (after the subject clitic).

ní=ʔò̀=yóóó
go:PL=1PL:OPT=EXCL
Let's go!

kʼwàw=â=yóóó
be_ill=3=EXCL
He is ill!

Most frequently however, the marker does not form a complex with the subject clitic and is put immediately after the verb.

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[41] The marker is consistently transcribed with three vowel symbols with high tones. Being a narrative device, the length of the marker is variable and may be extended by the speaker. The three vowel symbols therefore represent the extra long duration of the vowel. The pitch on which the particle is realized is also variable. This is represented in the orthograpy by an additional upstep: =ꜜyóóó.

ʔàà   táné=yóóó   màlámbò   hèsó–ìŋ
CNJ2.3PL pull=EXCL   big_trough   they-POSS
And they pulled their big trough!

pìì   kóŋgóràʔą̀   méé=ì   síyé
CNJ2.2SG   axe   big=2SG   take:SG
Then you take a big axe …

háà   thèé   méé=ì   pìì   xòxò–sé=yóóó
and   tree   big=2SG   CNJ2.2SG hammer-FACT=EXCL
and a big piece of wood and then you hammer!

híy–àʔą̀   níʔì=yóóó=ìʔį   ʔàà   wétshá=yóóó   ʔàà   !'òówé
SUB:CNJ-3PL go:PL=EXCL=SUB   CNJ2.3PL   NAR:INTJ=EXCL   CNJ2.3PL find.3O
When they go (to the beehive), hear!, they find it (smelling substance)!

Occasionally the exclamatory marker is attached to the verb before the subject clitic:

nǎŋꞋgwé–áá búrị̀   khòó=à   !'òówé=ìʔį   dàrà=yóóó–ì
cat-SFOC   mouse   (POSS.)home=3 find.3O=SUB   wait=EXCL-3:NR
If a cat finds the home of a mouse, he will wait!

Finally, there are two examples in which the exclamatory clitic is neither part of a clitic complex, nor attached to a verb.

łèéʔę̀=yóóó   pàà   kòŋkórì–ŋg–àà máx–óo=à   tĭŋgé–Ꞌkw–é
so_then=EXCL   CNJ2.3   rooster-DEF-SFOC   be_smart-NMN=3   set_trap.3O-BEN-3O
One day Rooster set him a trap of smartness.

ŋ‖òó   hèéẁ=yóóó   ts'ik'á=nè   ts'ik'–áá
child   DEM1.m=EXCL   ts'ik'a=Y/NQ   ts'ik'a-SFOC
This child! Is it ts'ik'a's disease? It is ts'ik'a's disease.

The exclamatory marker serves to attract the attention of the listener(s). In narrative settings, the marker is a device that keeps the story going. When the exclamatory clitic is attached to a verb (without being part of a clitic complex), the marker may add intensity or duration to the verbal semantics. The verb that carries the exclamatory clitic is sometimes a repetition of the verb in a preceding clause.

dàrà=yóóó   háà   tû=tshèé
wait.EXCL   and   come_out=NEG1.3
He waited a long time, but it didn't come out! (he waited and waited!)

ʔàà   púndús–ó=ʔà   bàárà.   púndúsé=yóóó
CNJ2.3PL swim-NMN=3PL   begin   swim=EXCL
And they began to swim.   And they swam! (they swam and swam!)

pàà   thâ=yóóó   ǹì–ŋ   gélé |'áŋ k̰̀=à   ‖àkí   ǹì–ŋ   ʔíyé–ŋ   ⁺mântshà
CNJ2.3 run:SG=EXCL CNJ-CL   baobab up=3   land   and-CL stay:SG-VL VV.eat
He ran! And landed on a baobab, and was eating (he flew for a long time, at high
speed)

ts'úts'û–ŋg=ì   sĩ́yé–ŋ   pàràré=yóóó   pìì   tété⁺kw–é
charcoal-DEF=2SG take:SG-VL draw=EXCL   CNJ2.2SG remove-3O
You take the charcoal and you draw! Then you take it (the wood) out (you draw and
draw, the whole outline)

5.7. The clitic complex

The clitics which are described in the previous sections, viz. subject/modality
markers, negation markers, mediative markers, the general question marker and the
exclamatory marker, are frequently combined to form a clitic complex. The clitic
complex consists of two or three elements and attaches to a host. The
subject/modality clitic is almost always part of the complex in verbal clauses. This
clitic may be accompanied by a negation marker, a mediative marker, and/or the
general question marker and exclamatory marker.

|ì–s̰̀=gâʔ ̰̀
come:SG-1SG:NR=CONF
I will certainly come!

mà.nà–ts'í–ì=ts'é=gâʔ ̰̀
know-MID1-3:NR=NEG2=CONF
It certainly won't be known.

ǹì–ŋ   káʔ ̰́   hétɬ̰̀   ŋ‖èé–ká–á=nè=è
CNJ-CL   that   there   enter-COM-3O=Y/NQ=2PL
And he asked: "Did you bring him in there?"

níʔ ̰̀=gó=ò=yóóó
go:PL=CONF=1PL=EXCL
Hear, we leave now!

The subject marker is a central element in the complex: the type of subject/modality
clitic determines the variation in the order of the clitics. Furthermore, the type of
subject marker determines the position of the complex in the clause.

Depending on the type of subject/modality clitic in the complex, two basic orders are distinguished. The first pattern is found when the subject/modality clitic is of the non-realis series:

Clitic complex pattern I:

   -**non-realis subject**   =**NEG2**   =**CONF | MIR | Y/NQ**   =**Q | EXCL**

Non-realis clitic complexes always attach to a verbal host. The subject marker is the first element of the complex and may be followed by the negation marker =ˈts'é. The third position in the complex may either be the confirmative marker =ɡâʔa̰, mirative marker =ɡè, or the yes/no-question marker =nè, which exclude each other. The final position may be occupied by the question marker =ná or the exclamatory marker =yóóó, which do not co-occur in one clitic complex. These two clitics are distinct from the other elements, because both may also occur outside the clitic complex. When used outside the clitic complex, the markers may be attached to a different host in the sentence, e.g. **tsí wàrê=ná kóósê=nè** 'Is my friend around?' (for more information, see also sections 5.5 and 5.6).

Pattern I also applies to clauses containing a special verb (section 6.7). The initial subject marker for these verbs is of a dedicated series of subject markers, which is formally almost identical to the non-realis series.

A variant of pattern I applies to the clitic complexes in negative *realis* clauses. The subject marker is incorporated in the negation marker (NEG1) on the first position:

   =**NEG1**   =**CONF | MIR | Y/NQ**   =**Q | EXCL**

Similar to pattern I, negative realis clitic complexes are always attached to the verb.

thàthùrṵ̀–nà   **níʔḭ–wà=tshó**
Datooga-DIR   go:PL-PL2=NEG1.3PL
They usually do not go to the Datooga. (Saying)

hàpú   **ˈrôŋ**   **khéʔé=ˈtshé**
you   POSS.voice hear=NEG1.1SG
I didn't hear your voice.

hèwé   **ǁhôn–tà–nà**   **khwàà=tshèé=ɡâʔa̰**
he   POSS.cave-in-DIR return=NEG1.3=CONF
He surely didn't return in his cave.

The second pattern summarizes the structure of clitic complexes with a realis, optative or hortative clitic.

Clitic complex pattern II:

   =**CONF | MIR | Y/NQ**   =**subject/modality**   =**Q | EXCL**

One important difference between this type of complex and the non-realis clitic complex is the position of the subject/modality marker, which occurs after the mediative marker.

Note that pattern II complexes only occur in affirmative clauses. Negative realis clauses contain pattern I complexes; negative optative and negative hortative clauses have a free-standing negation marker (**mèé**), with an attached subject/modality clitic. No further clitics are attached to this negation marker.

The position of the clitic complex in the clause depends on the type of subject/modality clitic in the complex. Pattern I clitic complexes always attach to the verb. The position of the complex in realis, optative and hortative clauses (pattern II) is more variable. It is determined by the syntactic properties of the subject/modality clitic which may be influenced by the grammatical marking of focus (see also section 5.2.2). The complex is attached to non-subject constituents. The complex is most frequently attached to a preverbal position (object constituents, postpositional phrases, or adverbs preceding the verb), but it can also occur on the verb. Compare the following examples:

ʔíxı̧̀=gó=ò   màtŭndà–xı̧̀–súŋ   nèé–wà
thus-CONF-1PL   Matuunda-COLL-we stay:PL-PL2
This is how we live with Matuunda.

mátó=nı̀=ì=ná   ꜝsíyé
gourd=Y/NQ=2SG=Q SV.take:SG
Did you take *the gourd?*

mátó   síyé=nì=ì
gourd   take:SG=Y/NQ=2SG
Did you take the gourd?

The difference between the preverbal and verbal position of the complex in the latter two clauses signals a shift in question focus: in the clause where the complex is attached to the object constituent (with the question marker –**ná**), the focus is on the object, the gourd. The clause with the clitic complex on the verb has no constituent focus.