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A grammar of Sandawe : a Khoisan language of Tanzania

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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>

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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 portmanteau 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.

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

Table 15: Subject/modality markers

SBJ	realis	non-realis	optative	hortative
1SG	sɪ	ˈsɪ	ɛʔɛ, ʔɛ	
2SG	ɪ	pò	kò	ˈkwáá
3	à	ɪ	kwà	kwàrà
3fSG	sà	sɪ	xsà	xsàrà
1PL	ò	sùŋ	òʔò, ʔò	
2PL	è	sìŋ	kwè	kwèrà
3PL	àʔà, ʔà	sò	kwàʔà	

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-x`-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 ⇒ (2SG realis and 3 non-realises) are attached to a host with a final vowel, a glide results. The final vowel of the host may be short or long.

mântshàÿ < **mântshà=ÿ**
eat=2SG/3:NR

You ate/He will eat

ŋ||èéÿ < **ŋ||èé=ÿ**
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. =àʔà; 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|àtáʔà < **ŋ|àtí=àʔà**
come:PL=3PL

They came

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

bôxsúngàʔà < **bô-x̣-súŋ=àʔà**
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=àʔà**)
come:PL=3PL

They came

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

$\eta\|\text{éé}^{\text{H}}\text{à}$ < $\eta\|\text{éé}^{\text{H}}\text{=}\text{à}$
 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 (=‘kwáá). The 1SG realis clitic =s₁ 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 =s₁

	=s ₁	=s ₁
after high tone (H)	í=s ₁	‘I came’
after rising tone (R)	$\eta\ \text{éé}^{\text{H}}\text{=s}_1$	‘I arrived’
after low tone (L)		mântshà=s ₁ ‘I ate’
after falling tone (F)		’ô=s ₁ ‘I slept’

The tonal properties of the 1SG realis clitic differ from those of the 1SG non-realis clitic.³⁰ The latter, -s₁, 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 -s₁

	-s ₁	
after high tone (H)	í-s ₁	‘I will come’
after rising tone (R)	$\eta\ \text{éé}^{\text{H}}\text{-s}_1$	‘I will arrive’
after low tone (L)	mântshà-s ₁	‘I will eat’
after falling tone (F)	’ô-s ₁	‘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

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.)

|'útshúkù=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'ée=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'ée-wà=à

drink-PL2=3

They drank (e.g. cows, unidentified group of people)

hùmbù tǎ?ǎtǎ=à

cow die:PL=3

The cows died

vs.

hùmbù tǎáasǎ=à

cow die:SG=3

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

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.

 'útshúkù=ʔà	* 'útshúkù-wà=ʔà
pass=3PL	pass-PL2=3PL
They passed	

ʔàʔàt=àʔà	* ʔàás=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.

mírígì !'dówé-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.

ʔixì=sì bô káʔá ...
 thus=1SG say that
 I said/say thus: ...

ʔútè ʔixì=sì bô káʔá ...
 yesterday thus=1SG say that
 Yesterday I said thus: ...

swê ʔixì=sì bô káʔá ...
 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’ámé-nì=ì tú=ìʔi k’ámé=kò ||’áá
 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)

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.

híkí !'ámé-sùn=ná

how? shape-1PL:NR=Q

How will we cut (the beehive) into shape?

kóngórà?à bà?átè síyé-pò pù thèé=ì ɲ|dèé
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-ɲg-àà t̥dèé=ì? pù thóónò?=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=sì h́k'ŋ-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 (**ŋiyé / nèé** ‘stay SG/PL’), the verbal linker **-ɲ**, and a subject/modality clitic (see also section 7.1).

gùt'ê-ɲ ɲ||ŋn-ts'á=à ŋiyé-ɲ
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

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-real subject clitic (→ *sì* 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=wâʔà ʔi-sì=gáʔà tɛ'wân ||'óó-tshèé=wâʔà
 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-real clauses illustrate propositions that are likely to be true in the (near) future.

ʔáʔá ʔiswê=sìʔi wàrèé-ŋ ɲim-pô-sì=gáʔà
 INTJ now=TOP2 friend.m-ATT eat_meat-2SG-1SG:NR=CONF
 Ah, now, my friend, I will eat you.

hèwé-xé-ʔiŋ ts'á-ŋ dʒòʔi-nà táné-sùŋ
 he-COLL-INSTR water-DEF (POSS.)back-DIR pull-1PL:NR
 With these, we will pull the water backward,

pàà súŋ màlám̀bò tán-ŋ hík'í-ì
 CNJ2.3 we (POSS.)big_trough front-DIR go:SG-3:NR
 and our trough will go forward.

In the non-real 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.

ʔàmàà 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 tɛáásì-ʔòŋ
 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-real 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.

tlaàsɿ mǎrɿkà-s-ê=ts'é mǎnàákhè tlaàsɿ bàʔé ||'áá=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=wáʔǎ tlaàsɿ-ì, k'arèé-kí=wáʔǎ tlaàsɿ-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,

dɪʔsèé-kí=wáʔǎ tlaàsɿ-ì, tɪ'ábísóó-kí=wáʔǎ !'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 =ts'é (section 5.3.2). The negation marker follows the non-realis clitic.

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

sún ||ó-ʔò 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 (ʔiyé / nèé 'stay SG/PL') and the verbal linker -ŋ.

ŋ!ê nèé-ŋ |'útshúkù-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 =sùn.

sún-kí máx-óó-kí-ŋŋ tsí 'ŋ|in-ts'ǎ 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 ɲ|èé-x-¹sé rògò-ŋŋ
 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.

sìphìtháŋ-n=ò?ò xéé
 hospital-DIR=1PL:OPT bring:3O
 Let's get him to the hospital.

ŋixì=kwà ŋiyé
 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 ŋiyé-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=¹kwáá
 come:SG=2SG:HORT
 Please come, do come!

ɲ|àí=kwèrà
 come:PL=2PL:HORT
 Please come, do come (PL)

!wàwé='kwáá

???=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='kwáá

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?à**, is attached to the postpositional phrase **msérà-ts'ǎ** '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 η|òmósò msérà-ts'ǎ?à hàwé-η nì-η ts'â-kù
 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.

hèéw màákhà msérà η|òmós-àà kúrìyò-?ò hàwé-η nì-η ts'â-kù
 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.

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 tíàás=íŋ hàpú màkàá tsí tí'ââ-sì
 later SUB:CNJ-2SG you-SFOC die=SUB you (POSS.)wealth I take:PL-1SG:NR
 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 complementizer **káʔá**; 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. **ʔèèè** ‘yes’; **ʔàʔá** ‘no’; **ʔàmànà** ‘perhaps’; **dímè**, ‘perhaps’, **ʔàŋkhákí** ‘definitely’.

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

k'wàwá=à

be_ill=3

He is ill

(host: verb)

káákà-ŋ-kì chupa-tà-nà=à tsèè-ŋg=à 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=ɿ ŋ|wéé

what?=2SG do

What did you do?

(host: question word)

sàndàwé ʔix=àʔà ʔàáréts'í káʔá ...

Sandawe thus=3PL believe that

Thus, the Sandawe believe that ...

(host: adverb of manner)

ʔútè=sì |ɿ

yesterday=1SG come:SG

I came yesterday

(host: temporal adverb)

hèéxwè ŋ!ê-xê-n-tà ʔúr=àʔà m̀nìk̀

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 **káʔá** and to negation markers is different from the attachment to the other types of hosts.

The subordinating conjunction **hí(ɿ)**– 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.

hîn-sì hàpú hùmbù=sì ŋ|íng-é-ŋ !'òóká=ɿʔ , ...

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 **káʔá** is irregular, because the subject clitic precedes the complementizer.

ʔix̀=̀k̀ò b̀ò-'kw-é ̀k̀ò káʔá ...

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 **káʔá**:

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

sàà hínsònsò-?ò=sà kà=sà ká?á ní?í=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!”

sì kà=sì ká?á ||òóxì ɲ||èé-ká-á='tshún
 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-ts'í
 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=ʔà ||'èé
 goat=3PL skin
 They skinned a goat.

||hôn-tà-nà=sà sóóxì
 cave-in-DIR=3fSG examine
 She examines inside the cave.

?útè mìnà-tà-nà=sì hík'í
 yesterday field-in-DIR=1SG go:SG
 I went to the field yesterday.

||hàtá-ʔŋg=òʔò níʔ
 leg-INSTR=1PL.OPT 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 ɲ|òmósò dèé=gá=ʔà
 yes person.PL be_many=CONF=3PL
 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=sí tsí |'wèé-ʔn=sì
 see-3O=1SG I (POSS.)eye-INSTR=1SG
 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 léŋgí-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 'ròŋ khéʔé='tshé
 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 complementizer **káʔá**, which are typically clause-initial and clause-final elements, respectively.

n=òʔò-ŋ súŋkíʔŋ súŋ sàyò
 CNJ=1PL.OPT-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.

ʔixì=kò bô-'kw-é kò-káʔá ...
 thus=2SG:PT say-BEN-3O 2SG:OPT-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=à thòó=ìʔí pàà chupa-ŋg-àà ʔǎn-ts'í
 CNJ-CL SUB:CNJ-3 earth-DIR=3 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.

ʔàá=ʔà ||'èé
 goat=3PL skin
 They skinned a goat; They skinned a goat.

ʔàá ||'èé=ʔà
 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=à=ná **ʔíyé-ŋ** **n|wée**
 what=3=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=nì=ì**
 gourd-DEF take:SG=Y/NQ=2SG
 Did you take the gourd?

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

mátô=nì=ì **síyé**
 gourd=Y/NQ=2SG 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:

tsùŋ-ŋ |'áŋkí=sí 'Yiyé tʃáná-tà-nà kàté=sí
 animal-DEF (POSS.)up=1SG SV.stay:SG horn-in-DIR (POSS.)amid=1SG
 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=à síyè-ŋ 'wáá tʃáná-ʔà-tè=à
 hare-DEF (POSS.)skin-DEF=3 take:SG-VL VV.hide.3O elsewhere-LOC-area=3
 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 gùúʔù, sóóxì bîrì tʃhíná-tà-nà=à
 hare-DEF CNJ2.3 kneel_down inspect bed (POSS.)buttocks-in-DIR=3
 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 xóóxórì-ŋg=à |áŋg-é Yiy=à-ŋ ŋhŋg=à ŋ|ínì
 CNJ2.3 crow-DEF=3 see-3O stay:SG=3-VL meat=3 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:

ŋhŋg=à Yiyé-ŋ 'ŋ|ínì
 meat=3 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): =**ts'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	*tshé
2SG	*pó
3	tshèé
3fSG	*tshú
1PL	*tshúnj
2PL	*tshínj, *tshí-sínj
3PL	*tshó, *tshó-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, ***tshí-sínj** may be used instead of ***tshínj**, and ***tshó-sò** can be used instead of ***tshó**.

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

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-initial 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	* tshé	<	* *tsh-sé	<	* tshè-sé
2SG	* pó	<	* *tsh-pó	<	* tshè-pó
3	tshèé	<	* tshè-é		
3fSG	* tshú	<	* *tsh-sú	<	* tshè-sú
1PL	* tshúnj	<	* *tsh-súnj	<	* tshè-súnj
2PL	* tshínj	<	* *tsh-sínj	<	* tshè-sínj
3PL	* tshó	<	* *tsh-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 'rôŋ kʰéʔé=tshé
 you POSS.voice hear=NEG1.1SG
 I didn’t hear your voice.

||ðóxì ŋ||èé-ká-á=tshúnj
 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 mǵàŋgàyê-ŋ fàré=tshèé=ìŋi ...
 SUB:CNJ-3 healer-DEF lie=NEG1.3=SUB
 When this healer does not lie, ...

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 **ts’é** (NEG2 in the present description).

5.3.2. The negative clitic ^hts'é

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

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

Non-realis clauses are negated by the negative clitic ^hts'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 ^hts'éʔé in the second example is a free variant of the negation marker.

sún kama sàndàwé-sùn tēʔèsiʔi máná-ts'i-sùn=^hts'é
 we as Sandawe-1PL otherwise know-MID1-1PL:NR=NEG2
 Otherwise, we as Sandawe, we won't be known.

||'wèé=ʔò, hùmà-súng-ì=^hts'éʔé
 try=1PL:OPT overcome-1PL-3:NR=NEG2
 Let's try, it won't defeat us.

ʔixi hewé-ts'ʔi ||'wèé-sʔi=^hts'é ʔàŋkhákí
 thus he-LOC try-1SG:NR=NEG2 definitely
 I will never try (and do) something like this!

Secondly, the negative clitic ^hts'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 ^hsí. 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 ^hts'é is attached to the verb after the subject marker.

The following two examples illustrate negated verbs of possession.

kòlón-sí-sʔi=^hts'é
 hoe-BE-1SG=NEG2
 I don't have a hoe.

tàásʔi máníkà-s-è=^hts'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 ^hts'é.

hàpú-xé?é thwíí fàwé-s-ê-ŋ |ân-sí-sì=ts'é
 you-like bird be_good-BE-3-DEF see-BE-1SG=NEG2
 I have never seen (such) a nice bird like you.

màtũndà-ŋ |ân-ts'í-s-ê=ts'é=gâ?à
 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'é-ŋ khòô-n-ts'ŋ búŋ ʔiyé-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 =**ts'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 =**ts'é**.

ɖimè thèé, hàà khimbá thèé=ts'é
 maybe tree and EXPR:INTJ tree=NEG2
 Maybe it's a tree, but hey: it's not a tree!

ʔútáá mìsíkoó thèé dōŋ hàà mápín, mápín=ts'é, !wèéyà
 long_ago beehive (POSS.)tree dong and mapping mapping=NEG2 !weeya
 Long ago, the trees for beehives were the dong tree and the mapping tree, (no) not the mapping 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 'mántshà]=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.

mùthùgù-ts'í **[màkàá tʰàkí-ts'í títèé]=+ts'é**
 be_poor-NMN2 thing (POSS.)be_absent-NMN2 alone=NEG2
 Poverty is not just the absence of wealth.

[hèwé-xé títèé]=+ts'é nì-ŋ híngé-xê-ŋ-kì ʔúrì 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**–/=**gâʔà** (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; =**gâʔà** 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.: ʔixì=sì 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 distribution 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	=V/NQ=Realis SUBJECT
1SG	gásí	gésí	nèsí
2SG	gñ	gêy	nì
3	gáà	géà	nàà
3fSG	gásà	gésà	nèsà
1PL	gódò	géò	nòò
2PL	géeè	gèè	nèè
3PL	gá?à	gé?à	nà?à

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'ê-ts'í ñ|wéé=gá=à
 he (POSS.)be_knowledgeable-BE-3-NEG2-NMN2 do=CONF=3
 His lack of knowledge has done it.

ʔixí=gó=ò màtũndà-xí-súnj nèé-wà
 thus=CONF=1PL Matuunda-COLL-1PL stay:PL-PL2
 This is how we live with Matuunda.

hàdísí-ñ ʔô-ʔò=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.

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

ʔáʔá ʔiswê=sìʔi wàrèé-ŋ ɲim-pô-sì=gâʔà
 INTJ now=TOP2 friend.m-ATT eat_meat-2SG-1SG:NR=CONF
 Ah, now, my friend, I will certainly eat you.

màná-wà-sí-sò=gâʔà 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 **-gâʔà** in the negative clause is attached after the negation marker.

hèwé-xé tshíyà !hùúk'ù ||wâ=ts'é=gâʔà
 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:

thwí=gé thwí-xéʔé=gá=sà hík'í=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=sí=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.

ɲ||òó ||hàtâ-ŋ swàkú-wà-ʔôŋ |ân=nè=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'áá-nà níŋ-sùŋ kóyòwà=nè xàré ʔàsmânì
 who? (POSS.)home-DIR go:PL-1PL:NR Koyowa=Y/NQ or Asmani
 Whom will we go to? Koyowa? Or Asmani?

au ɡìŋɡíyò ɡáwà-tà-yê-ŋ ts'áá-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):

lááʔè pàà káʔá nì-ŋ tsí wàré=ná kóó-s-ê=nè
 hare CNJ.2.3 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.

ʔô=ɡá=sí ʔhíkʔ
 here=CONF=1SG SV.go:SG
 I went here

ʔô=ɡá=sí ʔ'útshúkù
 here=CONF=1SG SV.pass
 I passed here

ʔô=ɡé=sí ʔhíkʔ
 here=MIR=1SG SV.go:SG
 Apparently I went here!

!'àwé=ɡé=sí ʔô
 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’.

thwĩ=gé thwĩ-xé?é=gá=sà híkʼ=yóóó ?àká?á 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?!

?èèè nèé-sì=gâ?à
 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.

níŋ=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.

|í-pò=nè

come:SG-2SG:NR=Y/NQ

Will you (really) come?

?èèè |í-sì=gâ?à

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?

?èhèéé ?áráá=gé ŋ|í-ŋ kóó-s-ê, tsèè-n=sìŋ 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 ?ix=à ŋ|wé-ts'=ìŋ k'atí'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?

gìngíyò=ná
 Gíngíyo=Q
 (And what about) Gíngíyo?

?ǎŋ hɛɛw=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=síŋ=ná, híkí=ì |ǎŋ
 INTJ you=TOP2=Q how?=2SG see
 Hmm, and, you, how do you see it?

phútí'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 !'òówé-sò=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 tsèè-ŋ ||'íyà-sà-nà hík'ŋ wétsháná=yóóó sàà kwáŋ ...
 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|úmsù-n-sù-ts'=à ká?á ...
 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=ʔò=yóóó
 go:PL=1PL:OPT=EXCL
 Let's go!

k'wàw=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.

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 orthography by an additional upstep: =^hyóóó.

pìì kóngórà?à mée=ì síyé
CNJ2.2SG axe big=2SG take:SG
Then you take a big axe ...

hiy-aʔa níʔi=yóóó=íʔi ʔaa wétshá=yóóó ʔaa !'óówé
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)!

nǎŋ'gwé-áá búrí khòó=à !'óówé=ìŋ dára=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!

ŋ||óó hɛ́ɛ́w=yóóó ts'ík'á=nè ts'ík'-áá
child DEM1.m=EXCL ts'ík'a=Y/NQ ts'ík'a-sFOC
This child! Is it ts'ík'a's disease? It is ts'ík'a's disease.

dàrà=yóóó hàà 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 bààrà. púndúsé=yóóó
 CNJ2.3PL swim-NMN=3PL begin swim=EXCL
 And they began to swim. And they swam! (they swam and swam!)

pàà thā=yóóó nì-ŋ gélé |'ánkì=à ||àkí nì-ŋ ʔiyé-ŋ 'māntshà
 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 síyé-ŋ pàràré=yóóó pù 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.

ʔi-sì=gâʔà
 come:SG-1SG:NR=CONF
 I will certainly come!

mànà-ts'í-ì=ts'é=gâʔà
 know-MID1-3:NR=NEG2=CONF
 It certainly won't be known.

nì-ŋ káʔá hété'ŋ 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?"

níʔi=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-realistic 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 =**ts'è**. The third position in the complex may either be the confirmative marker =**gâ?à**, mirative marker =**gè**, 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 wàrè=ná kóósè=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-realistic 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 realistic clitic complexes are always attached to the verb.

thàthùrù-nà níŋ-wà=tshó

Datooga-DIR go:PL-PL2=NEG1.3PL

They usually do not go to the Datooga. (Saying)

hàpú 'rôn khé?é=tshé

you POSS.voice hear=NEG1.1SG

I didn't hear your voice.

hèwé '||hôn-tà-nà khwàà=tshèé=gâ?à

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 realistic, 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-realistic 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 realistic 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 realistic, 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:

Yixì=gó=ò màtũndà-xì-sún nèé-wà
 thus-CONF-1PL Matuunda-COLL-we stay:PL-PL2
 This is how we live with Matuunda.

mátó=nì=ì=ná 'síyé
 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.

