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## **A grammar of Sandawe : a Khoisan language of Tanzania**

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## Chapter 7

# Coordinating and subordinating elements

The following sections discuss five types of coordinating and subordinating elements:

- the linker **-ŋ**
- coordinating conjunctions based on **nì-**
- the coordinating conjunction **hàà**
- narrative (coordinating) conjunctions
- the subordinating conjunction **hí-** and the subordinate clause marker **ɛŋ**.

There is overlap between the coordinating conjunctions. Further, **nì(ŋ)** and **hàà** are used to conjoin both phrases and clauses.

Except for **nì(ŋ)** and **hàà**, all conjunctions show some kind of pronominal marking, which is coreferential with the clausal subject. In narrative coordinating conjunctions, the pronominal element has merged with the conjunction; in the other conjunctions the subject marker can easily be distinguished from the conjunction (see section 4.4 for an overview of the morphology of pronominal forms).

### 7.1. The linker **-ŋ**

The linker **-ŋ** encompasses three types of linking elements:

- the verb linker **-ŋ** (VL)
- the coordinating linker **-ŋ** (CL), which is attached to the conjunction **nì**
- the linker **-ŋ** (L) in enumerations.

The verb linker **-ŋ** (VL) is used to link two or more verbs in a sentence (see also Eaton (2003) for a discussion of multi-verb constructions in Sandawe). It can link two or more main verbs to each other or an operator verb to a main verb. In both cases, the multi-verb constructions share the same subject.

The following six sentences exemplify linked main verbs. The examples show that linked verbs generally express separate actions that are carried out consecutively, e.g. ‘dice+spread out’; ‘meet+grab’. For some cases however, the actions can be interpreted as part of one event, e.g. ‘go round+move’; ‘get up+run’.

**nà=ʔà-ŋ ɲ!átháŋg-é-ŋ ʔàànákhà-á**  
 CNJ=3PL-CL dice-3O-VL (VV.)spread\_out-3O  
 And they diced it and spread it out.

**xòóxòrì-ŋ pàà thâ, hèwé wàʔàmèé=à !'òówé-ŋ 'sìyé**  
 crow-DEF CNJ2.3 run:SG he (POSS.)companion=3 meet.3O-VL VV.take:SG  
 And the crow ran, met his companion and grabbed him.

**lááʔè-ŋ kèlèmbâ-ŋg=à síyé-ŋ '||wáá tàná-ʔà-tè=à**  
 hare-DEF (POSS.)skin-DEF=3 take:SG-VL VV.hide.3O elsewhere-LOC-area=3  
 He took the hare's skin and hid it somewhere else.

**níʔi=ʔò-yóóó nò=ʔò-ŋ hétʔi**  
 go:PL=1PL:OPT=EXCL CNJ=1PL:OPT-CL over\_there  
 Let's go, and let's go over there,

**!'wáá 'dúrù-tsʔi níʔi-ŋ nèé-wà**  
 pool POSS.other\_side-LOC go:PL-VL stay:PL-PL2  
 on the other side of the water and live there.

**nì-ŋ káákà hèwé-kí ríngó=à-ŋ màʔé ʔàʔé=síʔi kè-ì**  
 CNJ-CL dog he-TOP go\_round=3-VL move later\_on=TOP2 climb-3:NR  
 And the dog is walking round as if he will climb it.

**pàà hèwé tsùú-ŋ háŋgà=à-ŋ thâ**  
 CNJ2.3 he animal-DEF get\_up=3-VL run:SG  
 And this animal gets up and runs.

The verb linker is also used in constructions that consist of an operator verb and a main verb. First, it links the verbs **bààrà** 'start', **!'òókhà** 'finish', and **dàá** 'be able' to their (preceding) complements.

**súŋ ||ò-ʔò ɲ||èé-ŋ dàá=sùŋ=ts'é**  
 we over\_there-LOC enter-VL be\_able=1PL:NR=NEG2  
 We won't be able to get over there.

**hí-ì ɲ||èé-ŋ !'òókhà=ìʔi**  
 SUB:CNJ-2SG cut-VL finish=SUB  
 When you have finished cutting, ...

Second, the linker is used to link the operator verb **ʔiyé** 'stay (SG)' or **nèé** 'stay (PL)' to a main verb in a construction which expresses progressive aspect. The operator verb usually precedes the main verb and serves as the host for the linker.



**nè=ʔè-ŋ**      **ŋ||ókhò-ts'í-ŋ**      **nè=ʔè-ŋ**      |í  
 CNJ=1SG:OPT-CL    wash\_oneself-MID1-VL    CNJ=1SG:OPT-CL    come:SG  
 and wash myself and come back.

**ʔútè**    **màákhà**    **kúrìyò ŋ|òmósò**    **msérà-ts'=àʔà hàwé-ŋ**    **nì-ŋ**    **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.

The linking clitic **-ŋ** (L) links elements when they are listed in an enumeration. It is attached to nouns, proper names or verbs. An enumeration consists of two or more equivalent elements (nouns, proper names, or verbal clauses). All elements except the final one contain the linker. The final item in the list may be preceded by the coordinating conjunction **nì**.

The clitic which is used in enumerations has, as opposed to the verb linker and the coordinating linker, a high tone, which may be realized on an extra high pitch. Further, in lists of nouns and proper names the final element is realized on a lower pitch level.

**mátó-ŋ**    **kàkúrù=kò**      **síyé**  
 gourd-L    calabash=2SG:OPT take:SG  
 Take a gourd and a calabash!

**nàtálí-ŋ**    **ʔàfá-ŋ**    **nì**    **nàngílé**  
 Nathali-L    Afa-L    and    Nangile  
 Nathali, Afa, and Nangile

When verbal clauses are linked, the linking clitic is attached to the (clause-final) verbs. The verbs are realized on the same or a higher pitch level as the preceding constituents (as opposed to the standard verbal clause). In the example below the speaker enumerates four activities which are all part of the set of actions that were carried out. The three linking clitics and the glosses are underlined. The final clause is introduced by the conjunction **pòdò**:

**dèéthèé=sí**    **ʔŋ|úʔŋ|ú-wá-á**      **wákháá=sí**      **||'òʔó-wá-á-ŋ**  
 many=1SG    SV.do.RED-PL1-3O    firewood=1SG    (SV.)collect-PL1-3O-L  
 I have done many things:      I collected firewood,

**ts'áá-nà=sí**      **hík'í-ŋ**      **núwá=sí**    **xwànté-ŋ**  
 home-DIR=1SG    go:SG-L      mash=1SG    stir-L  
 I went home, I cooked mash,

**pòdò**      **tsí**    **ʔŋ||ókó-x-sò=ò**      **mântshà**  
 CNJ2.1PL    I    POSS.child.PL-COLL-PL=1PL    eat  
 and then I ate together with my children.

## 7.2. Coordinating conjunctions based on *nì-*

The conjunction *nì-* forms the basis of two types of conjunctions:

- the coordinating conjunction *nì* as the final conjoining element in enumerations
- the conjunction *nì(-SBJ)-ŋ* which conjoins verbs and clauses.

The coordinating conjunction *nì* is used as a final conjunction in enumerations. The preceding elements in the list are conjoined by the linker *-ŋ*. Examine the following enumeration:

**lèébǎ-ŋ k'ats'awǎ-ŋ nì gélé**

Leeba-L K'ats'awa-L and Gele

Leeba, K'ats'awa, and Nangile.

The coordinating conjunction *nì(-SBJ)-ŋ* conjoins verbs and clauses. The final element is a coordinating linker *-ŋ* (CL). The conjunction may occur with a subject/modality marker, which precedes the linker. The following table demonstrates series of short and long forms of the coordinating conjunction with realis subject markers:

Table 32: Short and long forms of the coordinating conjunctions

	realis CNJ (short)	realis CNJ (long)
1SG	<b>nìsì-ŋ</b>	
2SG	<b>nì-ŋ</b>	<b>nì-ŋg-ì-ŋ</b>
3	<b>nà-ŋ</b>	<b>nì-ŋg-à-ŋ</b>
3fSG	<b>nìsà-ŋ</b>	
1PL	<b>nò-ŋ</b>	<b>nì-ŋg-ò-ŋ</b>
2PL	<b>nè-ŋ</b>	<b>nì-ŋg-è-ŋ</b>
3PL	<b>nà?à-ŋ</b>	<b>nì-ŋg-à?à-ŋ</b>

The coordinating conjunction usually conjoins verbs or clauses with a shared subject.<sup>78</sup>

**hàpú 'ŋ!úŋ-kì màŋgàdzà-s-ê nì-ŋ tòmbò-s-ê**

you POSS.mouth-TOP long-BE-3 CNJ-CL curve-BE-3

Your beak is long and has a curve.

<sup>78</sup> There is overlap between the use of the coordinating conjunction and the verb linker in multi-verb constructions (see section 7.1).

**pàà thâ=yóóó nì-ŋ gélé |'ánkì=à ||àkí nì-ŋ ʔiyé-ŋ màntshà**  
 CNJ2.3 run:SG=EXCL CNJ-CL baobab up=3 land CNJ-CL stay:SG-VL eat  
 He ran!!! And landed on a baobab, and was eating.

In a few examples the coordinating conjunction conjoins clauses that do not share the subject.

**ʔèè ʔòò ||òmé-ŋ +'án, nì=kò-ŋ hìsí m̀r̀g̀s̀é ŋ||òó**  
 yes CNJ2.1PL:OPT illuminate-VL VV.see CNJ=2SG:OPT-CL indeed treat child  
 Yes, let's shed light on it and see; and you indeed should treat the child.

### 7.3. The coordinating conjunction **hàà**

The coordinating conjunction **hàà** conjoins nouns, phrases, and clauses. It does not carry a pronominal element. The examples below show conjoined nouns and noun phrases.

**xòóxòr̀i hàà m̀ndzò hàd̀is̀ì**  
 crow and jackal (POSS.)story  
 The story of Crow and Jackal

**m̀s̀ikóó +'ám-ó hàà tsh̀ŋ hón-ó**  
 beehive POSS.shape.IT-NMN and honey (POSS.)collect\_honey-NMN  
 The construction of a beehive and the collection of honey.

When clauses are linked by this conjunction, they have different subjects. Generally, the conjunction expresses a contrast:

**d̀àrà=yóóó hàà t̀u=tshèé**  
 wait=EXCL and come\_out=NEG1.3  
 He (Cat) waited a long time, but he (Mouse) did not come out.

**pàà káákà hewé-kí-áá |'dé hàà ʔáá ʔiyé=tshèé**  
 CNJ2.3 dog he-TOP-SFOC (SV.)look\_at and good stay:SG=NEG1.3  
 And the dog watches too, but it is not right.

Finally, the conjunction is used in combination with the adverb **ʔéʔé** 'later'. The conjunction is used to introduce a new sentence in story-telling (cf. the narrative conjunction in section 7.4 for this function).

**hàà ʔéʔé ʔáá t̀u=tshú !'òròrò -n-s̀ù**  
 and later good come\_out=NEG1.3fSG frog-DEF-f  
 And later she does not nicely come out, this frog.

## 7.4. Narrative conjunctions

Narrative conjunctions carry a pronominal element which is coreferential with the subject. The table below presents the paradigms of two series of narrative coordinating conjunctions (CNJ2): a realis and an optative series. The subject markers have merged with the conjunction (for an overview of pronominal forms, see section 4.4).

Table 33: Realis and optative narrative conjunctions

	realis CNJ2	OPT CNJ2
1SG	sì	?èè
2SG	pì	kòò
3	pàà, kwàà	kwàà
3fSG	sàà	sàà
1PL	pòò, kòò	?òò
2PL	pèè	kwèè
3PL	?àà	kwà?àà, ?àà

The narrative conjunction introduces a new main clause. The subject marker in the conjunction agrees with the clausal subject, which is either identical to the previous subject or introduces a new referent. Sometimes the subject marker in the conjunction provides the only reference to the clausal subject.

ts'úts'ù-ŋg=ì síyé-ŋ pàràré=yóóó pì tété'kw-é  
 charcoal-DEF=2SG take:SG-VL draw=EXCL CNJ2.2SG take\_out-3O

You take the charcoal and you draw; and then you take it out (i.e. the wood of the opening).

The conjunction is most frequently used in story-telling. It introduces a new utterance (after a pause) and links this to what happened before.

pàà nǎŋ'gwè-ŋg-àà ká?á ?é, híkí ní?ŋ-sùn=ná ||ò-nà  
 CNJ2.3 cat-DEF-SFOC that INTJ how? go:PL-1PL:NR=Q over\_there-DIR  
 And the cat said: "Eh? How shall we get there?"

pàà búrí-ŋg-àà ká?á  
 CNJ2.3 mouse-DEF-SFOC that  
 And the mouse said: ...

The conjunction can also introduce a main clause after a subordinate clause.

híy-à?à tsùú=?à húk'wà=ì?ŋ ?àà dzàdzàsé-é nì-ŋ ŋ|ìŋ  
 SUB:CNJ-3PL animal-3PL kill=SUB CNJ2.3PL roast.FACT-3O CNJ-CL eat\_meat  
 When they killed an animal, they roasted it and ate meat.



Finally, the narrative conjunction also occurs conjoining two main clauses. As for this use, there is much overlap with the other coordinating conjunctions. Occasionally, two types of conjunctions are combined:

**sàà thàkéé-yé nì-ŋ sàà há!à !'òròròm-pò hákw=ì Yiyé**  
 CNJ2.3fSG put\_on\_lap-3O CNJ-CL CNJ2.3fSG call frog-2SG where?=2SG stay:SG  
 And she holds him on her lap and she calls: “Frog where are you?”

### 7.5. The subordinating elements **hí-** and **=ìŋ?**

Two elements are used in subordinate clause marking:

- the subordinating conjunction **hí-** (which is not obligatory)
- the obligatory subordinate marker **=ìŋ?**.

The subordinating conjunction introduces the subordinate clause and consists of the element **hí-** and a subject marker that refers to the subject of the subordinate clause. The forms of the subject marker are similar to those in the paradigm of realis subject clitics:

Table 34: Subordinating conjunctions

	SUB:CNJ
1SG	<b>hî-sî</b>
2SG	<b>hí-ì</b>
3	<b>híy-à, yyâ</b>
3fSG	<b>hí-sà</b>
1PL	<b>híy-ò</b>
2PL	<b>híy-è</b>
3PL	<b>híy-à?à, yyâ?à</b>

The subordinate marker **=ìŋ?** is a clitic which is attached to the final element of the subordinate clause. When the clitic complex is part of the final element, the subordinate marker is attached at the end of the complex, e.g. **|ì=yóóó=ìŋ?**:

**tèrèni-n-sù hí-sà hé?é-tshwáá |ì=yóóó=ìŋ? ...**  
 train-DEF-f SUB:CNJ-3fSG far\_away-from.3fSG come:SG=EXCL=SUB  
 When the train came from far away, ...

The two subordinating elements mark both temporal and conditional subordinate clauses, as exemplified below:

**híy-à?à tû=ìŋ? pàà ká?á ...**  
 SUB:CNJ-3PL come\_out=SUB CNJ2.3 that  
 And when they came out, he (Cat) said: ...

**nì-ŋ híy-à !'úmá-nà=à thòó=ìŋ pàà chupa-ŋg-àà ?ǎn-ts'ŋ**  
 CNJ-CL SUB:CNJ-3 earth-DIR=3 jump=SUB CNJ2.3 bottle-DEF-SFOC (SV.)break-MID2  
 And when he jumped down, the bottle broke.

**?ǎŋkò fìbèté híy-ò níŋ-ŋ !'òówé=ìŋ sún-kí ...**  
 come\_on quickly SUB:CNJ-1PL go:PL-VL meet.3O=SUB we-TOP  
 Come on, if we find him quickly, we as well ....

**hí-ì k'ámé-nì=ì tû=ìŋ k'ámé=kò ||'áá**  
 SUB:CNJ-2SG beer-DIR=2SG come\_out=SUB beer=2SG:OPT follow  
 If you go out for beer, go after beer only.

Note that the subordinating conjunction is common, but it may be absent:

**!'úmá-nà-kì ||òóxì !'àwé=tshèé=ìŋ mòndzó pàà ...**  
 land-DIR-TOP yet fall=NEG1.3=SUB jackal CNJ2.3  
 It had not yet fallen on the ground, or Jackal...

Generally, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, but this is not obligatory:

**?àà nèé-ŋ 'níŋ=yóóó híy-à ŋ!ê mánéx-àà tshèékì**  
 CNJ2.3PL stay:PL-VL VV.go:PL=EXCL SUB:CNJ-3 day some-SFOC end  
 And they were going, while some days passed.

