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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 **–íŋ**.

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 ŋ!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, hewé wàʔàmèé=à !'òówé-ŋ 'síyé
 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 'dúúrù-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 hewé-kí ríŋgó=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 hewé tsùù-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 ŋ||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 ŋ||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.

ʔàà nɛ́ɛ-ŋ ʔníʔ=yóóó
 CNJ2.3PL stay:PL-VL VV.go:PL=EXCL
 And they were going/continued going.

ʔix=àʔà nɛ́ɛ-ŋ ʔdára-wáŋki
 thus=3PL stay:PL-VL VV.wait-REC
 Thus they were waiting for each other.

The verb linker is usually attached directly after the verb, but it may be preceded by a subject/modality clitic.

ʔiyé=sí-ŋ núwá=sí mântshà
 stay:SG=1SG-VL mash=1SG eat
 I sit down and eat mash.

ʔiyé=kò-ŋ mântshà
 stay:SG=2SG-VL eat
 Go on eating!

The linker **-ŋ** (CL) is attached to the coordinating conjunction **nì**. The linker remains the final element when a realis or optative subject clitic is attached after the conjunction. **nì** is most frequently used to conjoin clauses. In enumerations it can conjoin phrases as well, in which case it precedes the final phrase of a list (see below at the linker **-ʔ**):

ʔèèè ʔòò ||òmé-ŋ ʔ|àn, nì=kò-ŋ hùsí mìnṛgùsé 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.

hèsó málámbô-ŋ pàà |hòrõŋ pàà ts'â-àà ŋ||èé nì-ŋ !'òóomé
 they (POSS.)big_trough-DEF CNJ2.3 be_pierced CNJ2.3 water-SFOC enter CNJ-CL fill.3O
 Their trough was pierced, and water entered and filled it.

As the examples above show, the coordinating conjunction with the linker **nì-ŋ** conjoins both clauses with shared and different subjects. There is thus some overlap between the coordinating conjunction with the linker and the verb linker in linked verbs: both can conjoin verbs with shared subjects, which express consecutive actions. This is confirmed by a few examples which contain both a verb linker **-ŋ** (VL) and the coordinating conjunction with the linker **nì-ŋ** (CL).

dó='kwáá ʔèè hík'í=yóóó
 wait=2SG:HORT CNJ2.1SG:OPT go:SG=EXCL
 Please wait, so that I go ...

nè=ʔè-ŋ **ŋ||ókò-ʔs'í-ŋ** **nè=ʔè-ŋ** |í
 CNJ=1SG:OPT-CL wash_one-self-MID1-VL CNJ=1SG:OPT-CL come:SG
 and wash myself and come back.

ʔútè **màákhà** **kúrìyò ŋ||òmósò** **msérà-ʔs'=àʔà hàwé-ŋ** **nì-ŋ** **ʔs'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** **nàngílè**
 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,

ʔs'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 **ʔs'í** **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	nìsì-ŋ	
2SG	nì-ŋ	nì-ŋg-ì-ŋ
3	nà-ŋ	nì-ŋg-à-ŋ
3fSG	nìsà-ŋ	
1PL	nò-ŋ	nì-ŋg-ò-ŋ
2PL	nè-ŋ	nì-ŋg-è-ŋ
3PL	nà?à-ŋ	nì-ŋg-à?à-ŋ

The coordinating conjunction usually conjoins verbs or clauses with a shared subject.⁷⁸

hàpú 'ŋ!ŋ-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.

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

pàà thā=yóóó nì-ŋ gélé |'ánkì=a ||ákí nì-ŋ ʔiyé-ŋ mântshà
 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.

ʔèèè ʔòò ||òmé-ŋ +'ân, nì=kò-ŋ hùsí mìnìgùsé 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.

xòóxòrì **hàà** mòndzó hàdísì
 crow and jackal (POSS.)story
 The story of Crow and Jackal

mìsíóóó +'ám-ó **hàà** tshín 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:

dàrà=yóóó **hàà** tû=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 |'èé **hàà** íáá 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 **íèʔè** '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 íèʔè íáá tû=tshú !'òròrò -n-sù
 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	sìì	?èè
2SG	pìì	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-ηg=ì síyé-η pàràré=yóóó pìì 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-ηg-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 búrì-ηg-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=?ŋ ?àà dzàdzàsé-é nì-η ŋ|ìŋì
 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	hî-sî
2SG	hî-ì
3	hîy-à, yyâ
3fSG	hî-sà
1PL	hîy-ò
2PL	hîy-è
3PL	hîy-à?à, yyâ?à

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. |í=yóóó=ìŋ:

tèrénì-n-sù hí-sà hé?é-tshwáá |í=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:

hîy-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 ɸibèté híy-ò níŋ-ŋ !'dówé=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 ||dóxì !'áwé=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.

