Chapter 7

Coordinating and subordinating elements

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

- the linker η
- coordinating conjunctions based on m–
- the coordinating conjunction hàà
- narrative (coordinating) conjunctions
- the subordinating conjunction hi– and the subordinate clause marker = qi.

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

Except for m(η) 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 η

The linker η encompasses three types of linking elements:

- the verb linker η (VL)
- the coordinating linker η (CL), which is attached to the conjunction m
- the linker η (L) in enumerations.

The verb linker η (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’.
And they diced it and spread it out.

And the crow ran, met his companion and grabbed him.

He took the hare’s skin and hid it somewhere else.

Let’s go, and let’s go over there,
on the other side of the water and live there.

And the dog is walking round as if he will climb it.

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

Second, the linker is used to link the operator verb ‘stay (SG)’ or ‘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.
And they were going/continued going.

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.

I sit down and eat mash.

Go on eating!

The linker –ŋ (CL) is attached to the coordinating conjunction ռ. The linker remains the final element when a realis or optative subject clitic is attached after the conjunction. ռ 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 –ŋ):

Yes, let’s shed light on it and see; and you indeed should treat the child.

Their trough was pierced, and water entered and filled it.

As the examples above show, the coordinating conjunction with the linker ռ–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 ռ–ŋ (CL).

Please wait, so that I go …
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 ní.

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.

máto-ŋ kákúři=kó siyé
gourd-L calabash=2SG:OPT take:SG
Take a gourd and a calabash!

nátáli-ŋ ʔafá-ŋ ní nángi lié
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 pò:

dëthëe=sí ʔí|áŋ|ú–wá–á wákhhá=sí ʔí|óŋ–wá–á–ŋ
many=1SG SV.do.RED.PL-3O firewood=1SG (SV.)collect-PL-3O-L
I have done many things: I collected firewood,

ts’á–ná=sí hík’í–ŋ núbwá=sí xwànte–ŋ
home-DIR=1SG go:SG-L mash=1SG stir-L
I went home, I cooked mash,

pò ʔí|ókó=x–sò=ð màntshá
CN2.1PL I POSS.chil.PL-COLL-PL=1PL eat
and then I ate together with my children.
7.2. Coordinating conjunctions based on ǹ–

The conjunction ǹ– forms the basis of two types of conjunctions:
- the coordinating conjunction ǹ as the final conjoining element in enumerations
- the conjunction ǹ(–SBJ)–ŋ which conjoins verbs and clauses.

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

Leebà–ŋ k’ats’awà–ŋ ǹ gélé
Leeba-L K’ats’awa-L and Gele
Leeba, K’ats’awa, and Nangile.

The coordinating conjunction ǹ(–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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>realis CNJ (short)</th>
<th>realis CNJ (long)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG nìsà–ŋ</td>
<td>nì–ŋg–l–ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG nì–ŋ</td>
<td>nì–ŋg–à–ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG nìsà–ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL nò–ŋ</td>
<td>nì–ŋg–ô–ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL nè–ŋ</td>
<td>nì–ŋg–ê–ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL nàfà–ŋ</td>
<td>nì–ŋg–a?à–ŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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.

The story of Crow and Jackal

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:

He (Cat) waited a long time, but he (Mouse) did not come out.

And the dog watches too, but it is not right.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>realis CNJ2</th>
<th>OPT CNJ2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>sù</td>
<td>?èè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>pû</td>
<td>kòò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pàà, kwàà</td>
<td>kwàà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>sàà</td>
<td>sàà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>pòò, kòò</td>
<td>?òò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>pèè</td>
<td>kwèè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>?àà</td>
<td>kwàà?àà, ?àà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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.

And the cat said: “Eh? How shall we get there?”

And the mouse said: …

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

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:

\[
\text{sàà th̀àk̀éé–yé nù–nù sàà há!à }' \text{ôr̀ôr̀ôm–pò hákw= hôyé}
\]

And she holds him on her lap and she calls: “Frog where are you?”

**7.5. The subordinating elements hí– and =ŋò?ì**

Two elements are used in subordinate clause marking:
- the subordinating conjunction hí– (which is not obligatory)
- the obligatory subordinate marker =ŋò?ì.

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUB:CNJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG  hí–šì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG  hí–û</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SG  híy–à, yyâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f SG hí–sà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL   híy–û</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL   híy–è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL   híy–à?ì, yyâ?ì</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subordinate marker =ŋò?ì 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. [f=ŋò?ì].

\[
\text{tèrèn–n–sù hí–sà hé?è–tshwàá [f=ŋò?ì]} \ldots
\]

When the train came from far away, …

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

\[
\text{híy–à?ì tû=ŋò?ì pàà kà?ì} \ldots
\]

And when they came out, he (Cat) said: …
And when he jumped down, the bottle broke.

And when he jumped down, the bottle broke.

Come on, if we find him quickly, we as well ….

Come on, if we find him quickly, we as well ….

If you go out for beer, go after beer only.

If you go out for beer, go after beer only.

It had not yet fallen on the ground, or Jackal…

It had not yet fallen on the ground, or Jackal…

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

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