Icétôd

The Ik language
Dictionary and grammar sketch

Terrill Schrock

language
science
press

African Language Grammars and Dictionaries

Chief Editor: Adams Bodomo (Chief Editor, University of Vienna)

Editors:
Ken Hiraiwa (Meiji Gakuin University, Japan)
Firmin Ahoua (University of Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire)

In this series:

1. Brindle, Jonathan A. Chakali.

2. Friesen, Dianne. Moloko.

Icétôd

The Ik language
Dictionary and grammar sketch

Terrill Schrock

Freie Universität Berlin

For Amber Dawn

Contents

Contents

Preface

When I first heard about the Ik back in September 2005, what I heard captivated me. Here was a people just emerging from the mists of time, from that now dark and shrouded country of African prehistory. Judging by appearances, their journey had not been easy. Their story spoke of great human suffering in the form of sickness, suppression, starvation, and slaughter. And yet, somehow, there they were, limping into the 21st century as survivors of human and subhuman conditions most of us cannot imagine. Having grown up in a safe and secure community in the American South, I thought the Ik seemed stranger than fiction. People like this actually exist out there? I found myself wanting to know more about them, wanting to know who they are. Subconsciously I sensed that anyone who could survive what they had survived could perhaps teach me something about being truly human.

My quest to know the Ik has led me down a winding path to the present. Over the years I've often been frustrated at my inability to enter their world, to see the universe through their eyes. More than once I wished I were an anthropologist, as if by being so I could get a better grasp of their essence as a people. But time and time again, life steered me right back to the language—to Icétôd. I gradually learned to accept that their language is a doorway to their spirit, and that as a linguist, I could only open the door for others, and point the way to the Promised Land while I remain at the threshold. This dictionary and grammar sketch can be a key to that door, a key that has been lovingly shaped and smoothened by hands tired but trembling with purpose.

Living in Ikland has taught me a lot about being human, but not in the way I would have expected. It was not by becoming 'one with the people' that I learned what it is like to endure subhuman conditions. And it was not physical starvation, or sickness, or slaughter that I was forced to endure. No, I was spared those things. Yet all the same, in Ikland I became acquainted with spiritual starvation, social sickness, and the wholesale slaughter of my cultural, religious, and intellectual idols. And just as the Ik have learned that life does not consist in 'bread alone', nor in health, nor in security—but can carry on living with dignity and humanity—I have learned that at the rock bottom of my soul, at that place where

my self ends and the world begins, there is where Life resides. That realization is my 'pearl of great price' for which I have sold everything else and would do it all over again.

Acknowledgements

Compiling a dictionary is a massive undertaking, far more so than I had imagined it would be. Although I myself spent many hours, days, and months working alone on this project, a whole host of people put me in a position to do so. And here I wish to acknowledge them all.

First, I want to express a heartfelt *Ɨlákásʉkɔtɨàà zùkᵉ* to all the Ik people of Timu for welcoming us into their community and patiently enduring the long process of a foreigner trying to learn their language. To the following Ik men and women, I give thanks for their participation in a word-collecting workshop in October 2009 during which roughly 7,000 Ik words were amassed: Ariko Hillary, Kunume Cecilia, Lochul Jacob, Lokure Jacob, Longoli Philip, Losike Peter, Lotuk Vincent, Nakiru Rose, Nangoli Esther, †Ngiriko Fideli, Ngoya Joseph, Ochen Simon Peter, Sire Hillary, and Teko Gabriel.

A second group of Ik men are sincerely thanked for giving me a clearer view of the Ik sound system and for helping me edit several hundred words during an orthography workshop in April 2014: Amida Zachary, Dakae Sipriano, Lokauwa Simon, Lokwameri Sylvester, Lomeri John Mark, Longoli Philip, Longoli Simon, Lopeyok Simon, †Lopuwa Paul, and Lotuk Paul. One of those men, Longoli Philip, deserves special thanks for the years he spent as my main guide into the grammar and lexicon of his mother tongue. The number and quality of entries in this book are owed in large part to his skillful labors. Four other men—Lojere Philip, †Lochiyo Gabriel, Lokwang Hillary, and †Lopuwa Paul—also deserve my thanks for patiently teaching me bits of the language at various points along the journey.

But it is another group of Ik men that I wish to give special honor. These are the ones who for an entire year went with me through every word in this dictionary, slowly and painstakingly, to refine their spellings and define their meanings. They include the respectable elders Iuɗa Lokauwa, Locham Gabriel, and Lemu Simon, as well as our translators Kali Clement, Lotengan Emmanuel, and Lopeyok Simon. The three elders not only shared their intimate knowledge of the language with me but also befriended me with a grace and humility that can only come with age. Every moment I spent with them was a blessing I will

never forget. As they said, if I ever come back, I should ask if those old men are still around. I pray they are.

Although teaching foreigners Icétôd has traditionally been the domain of men, I wish to bring special attention to two Ik women who, through their friendship and conversation, greatly enhanced my grasp of the language. These are Nachem Esther and Nakiru 'Akóóro' Rose.

Next, I want to gratefully mention those in the long line of linguists who worked on Icétôd and—in person or publication—passed their knowledge down to me: Fr. J. P. Crazzolara who wrote the first recorded grammatical description of the language; A. N. Tucker whose series of articles on Icétôd expanded my knowledge considerably; Fritz Serzisko who penned several insightful articles and books on Icétôd and Kuliak; Bernd Heine who wrote numerous works on Icétôd and Kuliak and authored a grammar sketch and dictionary of the language (1999); Richard Hoffman who studied the grammar and lexicon, devised an orthography, and tirelessly supported language development efforts on behalf of the Ik; Christa König who wrote several articles and an entire book on the Icétôd case system; Ron Moe who helped me lead a word-collection workshop; Keith Snider who trained me in tone analysis; Kate Schell who collected dozens of hours of recorded Ik texts; and Dusty Hill who supervised me.

Another group I wish to thank are our friends and family whose generous donations have made it possible to live and work in Uganda since 2008. It has been a privilege to be financially supported in doing long-term work on the Ik language, and I don't take that for granted.

I also want to thank my dear family: my two adopted Ik daughters, Kaloyang Mercy and Lemu Immaculate, and my wife Amber Dawn. Their loving presence enabled me to carry out this long work in an otherwise isolated and often very lonely environment. The existence of this book is owed in large measure to Amber's innumerable sacrifices big and small. It came into being at great cost to her. For that and many other reasons, I thank her from the bottom of my heart.

Lastly, I want to praise the God whose Word became flesh – ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο – making a linguistic cosmos where my mind and Icétôd could permeate each other and radiate new knowledge into the world.

Part I

Introduction

Part II

Ik-English dictionary

Part III

English-Ik reversal index

Part IV

Grammar sketch

0.1 Introduction

Although the bulk of this book is dedicated to the Icétôd-English dictionary and English-Icétôd reversal index, the following section offers an overview sketch of Icétôd grammar. The sketch covers most important features of the grammatical system but only to a shallow depth. Those who wish to dig deeper are encouraged to consult the fuller treatment published as *A grammar of Icé-tód: Northeast Uganda's last thriving Kuliak language* (**Schrock2014**), which is freely available for download from several websites on the internet.

Linguistic concepts are most easily defined with linguistic terminology. Thus, due to limitations of time and space, this sketch of Icétôd grammar is geared in style toward the general linguist. That said, an aim has been to clearly define some of the key terms used and to describe the grammatical structures in simple, clear language. Unfortunately, some of the discussion may remain opaque to any non-linguist readers. For this, I offer my sincere apologies. I am very willing to clarify or explain in layman's terms any point raised in this grammar sketch. Feel free to contact me at: betsoniik@gmail.com.

The grammar sketch begins with a description of the language's sound system (phonology) and then proceeds to words and word-building strategies (morphology). It ends with a very shallow dip into syntax. Because of its length, technical discussion, and many sections and subsections, the sketch is probably most useful as a reference tool. However, should the reader (especially the language-learner) have time, it may prove beneficial to read the sketch from front to back. Doing so would provide a bird's-eye view of the whole system.

Learning any language from printed sources alone is rarely ideal. Ideally, every learner would have the chance to soak up language naturally as children do. Sadly, most adult learners do not have that luxury. I recommend mixing approaches to suit one's personality, learning style, schedule, and responsibilities. Studying grammar from a book like this one will not appeal to everyone, yet all learners will occasionally get stuck on points of grammar during the course of their learning. Just as the foregoing dictionary can help you fill in gaps where specific words need to be, this grammar sketch can help fill in holes in your understanding of how Icétôd works. If it should succeed at all in that regard, all my efforts will have been proven worthwhile.

0.2 Phonology: the sound system

0.2.1 Consonants and vowels

Icétôd has an array of thirty consonants and nine vowels. These are presented in Table 0.16.1 below. In the table's first column are shown the alphabetical letters used to represent these sounds. The second column shows the phonetic symbol for the sound used by the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Then in the third column, an approximate English equivalent is given in bold typeface, or else an explanation of how the sound is made if there is no English approximation: Those sounds in Table 0.16.1 that have a small square under the IPA symbol are pronounced with the tip of the tongue a bit farther forward than in English. Especially [d̪], [n̪], and [t̪] are affected; sometimes they are fronted so much they touch the back of the front teeth. It is important not to pronounce [d̪] exactly like and an English 'd' as this sounds more like the Icétôd sound [ɗ] which contrasts with [d̪]. The sounds [ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ʝ] are called IMPOSIVES because they are made by 'imploding' or sucking air into the mouth rather than expelling air from the lungs. The sounds [k'] and [ts'] are called EJECTIVES because they are made by ejecting air from the throat cavity instead of from the lungs. Lastly, the sound [ɦʲ], unlike an [h], is made with the vocal chords vibrating, giving it a raspy, throaty sound. It only occurs at the beginning of words. The nine Icétôd vowels—[a, e, ɛ, i, ɪ, ɔ, o, ʊ, u]—operate in a vowel harmony system, which is discussed in §2.5.

0.2.2 Consonant devoicing

At the end of an Icétôd word, if silence immediately follows, voiced consonants are slightly devoiced. In other words, they sound more like unvoiced consonants in that environment. This is similar to German, where the word *Tag* 'day' is pronounced as [tak]. Consonant devoicing most noticeably affects /d/ and /g/ in Icétôd, as when *êd* 'name' sounds like [êt] or when *hɛg* 'marrow' sounds like [hɛk].

0.2.3 Vowel devoicing

Icétôd vowels are also devoiced before silence (a pause of any significant length). This is important to keep in my since every Icétôd word in every grammatical context—without exception—ends in a vowel. If that final vowel is not immediately followed by another sound, then it is pronounced in a whispered way. After certain consonants, namely /f, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, s, z, ʒ/, the vowel may be totally inaudible. The latter is not a hard-and-fast rule but rather a general tendency. It

Table 0.1: 1: Icétôd sound inventory

Alphabetic	Phonetic	English equivalent
Aa	[a]	as in 'f**a**ther'
Bb	[b]	as in '**b**oy'
Ɓɓ	[ɓ]	as an English **b** but with air sucked in
Cc	[tʃ]	as in '**ch**ild'
Dd	[d̪]	as in '**d**aughter'
Ɗɗ	[ɗ]	as an English **d** but with air sucked in
Dzdz	[d̠z]	as in 'a**dz**e'
Ee	[e]	as in 'b**ai**t' with a shorter, crisper sound
Ɛɛ	[ɛ]	as in 'b**e**t'
Ff	[f]	as in '**f**ood'
Gg	[ɡ]	as in '**g**ood'
Hh	[h]	as in '**h**appy'
Hyɦy	[ɦʲ]	as an English **h** but with a raspy sound
Ii	[i]	as in 'b**ea**t' with a shorter, crisper sound
Ɨɨ	[ɪ]	as in 'b**i**t'
Jj	[dʒ]	as in '**j**oy'
Ɉɉ	[ʄ]	as a **dy** sound but with air sucked in
Kk	[k]	as in '**k**arma'
Kƙ	[kʼ]	1) as an English **k** with a popping release
	[ɠ]	2) as an English **g** with air sucked in
Ll	[l]	as in '**l**ove'
Mm	[m]	as in '**m**an'
Nn	[n̪]	as in '**n**ature'
Ɲɲ	[ɲ]	as in 'o**ni**on'
Ŋŋ	[ŋ]	as in 'si**ng**'
Oo	[o]	as in 'b**oa**t' with a shorter, crisper sound
Ɔɔ	[ɔ]	as in 'b**ough**t'
Pp	[p]	as in '**p**lay'
Rr	[ɾ]	1) as a Spanish or Swahili flapped **r**
	[r]	2) as a Spanish or Swahili trilled **r**

11

has become a tradition in scholarly writing on Icétôd to write whispered vowels with the raised symbols < ͥ, ⊠, ᵉ, ⊠, ᵃ, ᵓ, ⊠, ᵘ >.

0.2.4 Morphophonology

0.2.4.1 Deaffrication

The affricates /c/ and /j/ are sometimes deaffricated or 'hardened' into their non-affricate counterparts /k/ and /g/, respectively. This is not a general phonological tendency in the language but is, rather, limited to a small handful of words. Moreover, the principle is applied in different ways to different words. For instance, in the word *muceé-* 'path, way', the /c/ is hardened to /k/ when the word is used in the instrumental case (see §7.7): *muko* 'on the way'. The plural inclusive pronoun *ɲíní-* 'we all (including addressees)' is pronounced idiosyncratically as *ŋíní-* by a minority of speakers. Thirdly, when the words *Icé-* 'Ik people' and *wicé-* 'children' are declined for the nominative or instrumental cases, their /c/ hardens to /k/. This can be clearly seen in a case declension, like the one in Table 0.16.2 below. Note that, as explained later in §2.4.3, cases have non-final and final forms:

Table 0.2: 2: Case declension of *Icé-* 'Ik' and *wicé-* 'children'

	'Ik'		'children'	
	Non-final	Final	Non-final	Final
Nominative	Ika	Ikᵃ	wika	wikᵃ
Accusative	Icéá	Icékᵃ	wicéá	wicékᵃ
Dative	Icéé	Icékᵉ	wicéé	wicékᵉ
Genitive	Icéé	Icé	wicéé	wicé
Ablative	Icóó	Icéᵒ	wicóó	wicéᵒ
Instrumental	Ico/Iko	Icᵒ/Ikᵒ	wico/wiko	wicᵒ/wikᵒ
Copulative	Icóó	Icékᵒ	wicóó	wicékᵒ
Oblique	Ice	Ice	wice	wice/wicᵉ

0.2.4.2 Haplology

In Icétôd, when a consonant in one morpheme is made at the same place of articulation as a consonant in the next morpheme, HAPLOLOGY may occur—the deletion of the first of the two similar consonants. One example of this involves the venitive suffix {-ét-} and the andative suffix {-uƙot-}, both of which end in /t/. If

another suffix containing alveolar /t/, /d/, or /s/ is attached to either of these, their final /t/ may be omitted. To illustrate this, Table 0.16.3 below presents a conjugation of the verb *ŋatɛtɔn* 'to run this way'. Notice how the /t/ in {-ét-} disappears from the suffix in the forms for 2SG ('you'), 1PL.INC ('we all'), and 2PL ('you all'). The 3PL form ('they') is an exception as it does not drop its final /t/ in the same environment:

Table 0.3: 3: Haplology in *ŋatɛtɔn* 'to run this way'

1SG	ŋat-ɛt-ɨ		ŋat-ɛt-ɨ	'I run this way.'
2SG	ŋat-ɛt-ɨd	$\longrightarrow$	ŋat-ɛ-ɨd	'You run this way.'
3SG	ŋat-ɛt		ŋat-ɛt	'S/he runs this way.'
1PL.EXC	ŋat-ɛt-ɨm		ŋat-ɛt-ɨm	'We run this way.'
1PL.INC	ŋat-ɛt-ɨsɨn	$\longrightarrow$	ŋat-ɛ-ɨsɨn	'We all run this way.'
2PL	ŋat-ɛt-ɨt	$\longrightarrow$	ŋat-ɛ-ɨt	'You all run this way.'
3PL	ŋat-ɛt-át		ŋat-ɛt-át	'They run this way.'

A second example of haplology occurs when a verb root ending in /g/, /k/, or /ƙ/ is followed directly by the andative suffix {-uƙot-}. When this happens, the final (VELAR) consonant of the verb root gets omitted in anticipation of the velar /ƙ/ in {-uƙot-}. Table 0.16.4 illustrates this by listing a few verbs ending in /g/, /k/, or /ƙ/, consonants which disappear when the next morpheme is the andative suffix {-uƙot-}:

0.2.4.3 Non-final consonant deletion

Icétôd makes a clear distinction between NON-FINAL and FINAL forms of all morphemes and words. Presumably this is to delineate syntactic boundaries, often with stylistic overtones. Non-final forms are those that occur within a string of speech, with at least one element immediately following them. Final forms, by contrast, are those that occur at the end of a string of speech, before a pause,

Table 0.4: 4: Haplology in verbs ending in a velar consonant

ɦyɔtɔg-ʉƙɔt-	→	ɦyɔtɔ-ɔƙɔt-	'go near'
iɓók-uƙot-	→	iɓó-óƙot-	'shake off'
ɨpák-ʉƙɔt-	→	ɨpá-áƙot-	'swipe off'
kɔk-ʉƙɔt-	→	kɔ-ɔƙɔt-	'close up'
ŋƙáƙ-uƙot-	→	ŋƙá-áƙot-	'eat up'
oƙ-uƙot-	→	o-oƙot-	'put aside'
torík-uƙot-	→	torí-íƙot-	'lead away'

with nothing immediately following. This basic distinction was already shown to affect the voicing of vowels in §2.3 above. In the case of a small number of morphemes, it also affects consonants. Table 0.16.5 presents a few of these morphemes whose final forms contain consonants that are omitted in their non-final forms. The first column of the table shows the underlying form (UF) of the morpheme in question. This is followed in the next two columns by the non-final (NF) and final (FF) forms that actually occur in speech. Notice how the non-final forms are missing one consonant that is fully present in the UF and the FF:

0.2.4.4 Vowel assimilation

In addition to consonants, Icétôd vowels also undergo phonological changes at the boundaries of morphemes. For instance, when two dissimilar vowels come in contact with each other as a result of two morphemes joining together, there is a powerful urge for them to become more like each other. This VOWEL ASSIMILATION was already seen at work in Table 0.16.4, as when putting the root *torík-* 'lead' and affix *-uƙot-* 'away' together led to *torííƙot-* instead of *toríúƙot-*. It is also seen in Table 0.16.5 where the 'yester-' adverb *bàtsè* becomes *bèè* in its non-final form instead of *bàè*. Icétôd vowel assimilation only takes place between morphemes and not inside morphemes. Inside morphemes, many combinations of dissimilar vowels are allowed, for example in *kaɨn* 'year', *mɛʉr* 'drongo', and *kɔɨn* 'scent'.

Icétôd vowel assimilation can be clearly seen throughout the lexicon, as when the transitive infinitive suffix {-és} and the intransitive infinitive suffix {-òn} are affixed to verb roots. If the verb root ends in /a/ or /e/, the vowel of the suffix fully assimilates it. Table 0.16.6 below offers a few examples of vowel assimilation in verbal infinitives:

Table 0.5: 5: Consonant deletion in non-final forms

UF	NF	FF	Morpheme description
-ka	-a	-kᵃ	accusative case suffix
-ke	-e	-kᵉ	dative case suffix
-ko	-o	-kᵒ	copulative case suffix
-´ ka	-´ a	-´ kᵃ	present perfect suffix
-´ de	-´ e	-´ dᵉ	dummy pronoun suffix
nákà	náà	nákᵃ	'earlier today'
bàtsè	bèè	bàtsᵉ	'yesterday'
nòkò	nòò	nòkᵒ	'long ago'
jɨkɛ	jɨɨ	jɨk⊠	'also, too'
ɲákà	ɲáà	ɲákᵃ	'just'

Table 0.6: 6: Vowel assimilation in verbal infinitives

Transitive			
fá-és	→	féés	'to boil'
ɨsá-és	→	ɨsɛɛs	'to miss'
itɨɲá-és	→	itɨɲɛɛs	'to force'
tamá-és	→	tamɛɛs	'to extol'
wa-és	→	weés	'to harvest'
Intransitive			
ƙà-òn	→	ƙòòn	'to go'
ŋká-ón	→	ŋkóón	'to stand up'
tsá-ón	→	tsóón	'to be dry'
tsè-òn	→	tsòòn	'to dawn'
zè-òn	→	zòòn	'to be big'

Another environment illustrating Icétôd vowel assimilation is the case declension of nouns. Since all Icétôd nouns end in a vowel, and since seven of the eight case suffixes consist of or contain a vowel, case suffixation creates a fertile ground for vowel assimilation. For example, as Table 0.16.7 shows below, in the declension of the noun root *ŋókí-* 'dog', the /o/ in the ablative case suffix {-o} and the copulative case suffix {-ko} partially assimilate the final /i/ of *ŋókí-* to /u/:

Table 0.7: 7: Vowel assimilation in the declension of *ŋókí-* 'dog'

Case	NF	FF
Nominative	ŋók-á	ŋók-ᵃ
Accusative	ŋókí-à	ŋókí-kᵃ
Dative	ŋókí-è	ŋókí-kᵉ
Genitive	ŋókí-è	ŋókí-Ø
Ablative	ŋókú-ò	ŋókú-Ø
Instrumental	ŋók-ó	ŋók-ᵒ
Copulative	ŋókú-ò	ŋókú-kᵒ
Oblique	ŋókí	ŋókⁱ

Further vowel assimilation effects are seen in the case declension of a noun like *ŋʉrá-* 'cane rat'. As shown in Table 0.16.8 below, the final /a/ of *ŋʉrá-* is susceptible to being assimilated by the dative, genitive, ablative, and copulative case suffixes in their non-final forms:

Table 0.8: 8: Vowel assimilation in the declension of *ŋʉrá-* 'cane rat'

Case	NF	FF
Nominative	ŋʉr-a	ŋʉr-Ø
Accusative	ŋʉrá-á	ŋʉrá-kᵃ
Dative	ŋʉrɛ-ɛ	ŋʉrá-k⊠
Genitive	ŋʉrɛ-ɛ	ŋʉrá-⊠
Ablative	ŋʉrɔ-ɔ	ŋʉrá-ᵓ
Instrumental	ŋʉr-ɔ	ŋʉr-ᵓ
Copulative	ŋʉrɔ-ɔ	ŋʉrá-kᵓ
Oblique	ŋʉra	ŋʉr

Icétôd vowel assimilation may be partial, as when the form *ŋókí-k⊠* 'It is a dog'

is rendered as *ŋókú-k*⊠. There, the /i/ at the end of *ŋókí-* 'dog' only moves back in the mouth to become /u/; it does not fully assimilate to become identical to the /o/ in the suffix. But vowel assimilation can also be total, as when *ŋʉrá-ɛ* 'of the cane rat' becomes *ŋʉrɛ-ɛ*. In that case, the /a/ at the end of *ŋʉrá-* becomes identical to the vowel in the suffix. Icétôd vowel harmony can also be regressive as in both of these examples, where a vowel exerts pressure on a preceding noun. But it can also be progressive, as in the example of *torí-úkot-* becoming *torí-íkot-*, where the /i/ acts ahead on the /u/.

0.2.4.5 Vowel desyllabification

When the back-of-the-mouth vowels /ɔ/, /o/, /ʉ/ or /u/ wind up next to another vowel across a morpheme boundary, the back vowel may lose its status as the nucleus of a syllable and become the semi-vowel /w/ instead. When this vowel DESYLLABIFICATION occurs, the syllabic 'weight' of the vowel gets transferred to the following vowel in a process called COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING. This is evident, for example, in the transitive infinitives of verbs ending in a back vowel. Table 0.16.9 depicts how the back vowel at the end of the verb root changes to /w/ and then lengthens the vowel in the suffix {-és}.

Table 0.9: 9: Vowel desyllabification in verbs

tʉtsʉ-ɛs	→	tʉtswɛɛs	'to wring'
rɔ-ɛ	→	rwɛɛs	'to string'
ho-és	→	hweés	'to cut'
ó-és	→	wéés	'to call'
ru-és	→	rweés	'to uproot'

Vowel desyllabification also takes place in the case declensions of nouns. Any noun root that ends in a back vowel can have that vowel desyllabified to /w/, with the result that the case suffix is lengthened. As Table 0.16.10 demonstrates, this happened with a noun like *dakú-* 'plant, tree' that ends with the back vowel /u/. In five of the eight cases—accusative, dative, genitive, ablative, copulative—the final /u/ of *dakú-* changes to /w/ and then lengthens the case suffix. Note that in the nominative case, the /u/ of *dakú-* is desyllabified but does not lengthen the nominative suffix {-a}. This is a peculiarity of the nominative case only and is seen in many other noun declensions.

Table 0.10: 10: Vowel desyllabification in nouns

Case	Non-final		
Nominative	dakw-a		
Accusative	dakú-á	→	dakw-áá
Dative	dakú-é	→	dakw-éé
Genitive	dakú-é	→	dakw-éé
Ablative	dakú-ó	→	dakw-óó
Instrumental	dak-o		
Copulative	dakú-ó	→	dakw-óó
Oblique	daku		

0.2.5 Vowel harmony

Icétôd vowels participate in a system of VOWEL HARMONY. This means that the language's sound system seeks vocalic 'harmony' by ensuring that all vowels in a single word belong to the same vowel class. The vowel classes involved are the following: 1) the [+ATR] or 'heavy' vowels /i, e, o, u/ that are made with a larger cavity in the throat, giving them a 'heavier', more resonant sound, and 2) the [-ATR] or 'light' vowels /ɨ, ɛ, ɔ, ʉ/ that are made with a smaller cavity in the throat, giving them a 'lighter', less resonant sound. Where the ninth vowel /a/ fits in with these two classes is a theoretical question that has not been conclusively resolved. However, it is clear is that in Icétôd, /a/ sometimes behaves as a [+ATR] vowel and other times as a [-ATR] vowel. And it certainly is found together with vowels from both classes within a single word. The Icétôd vowel classes anchored by the low vowel /a/ are depicted below in Table 0.16.11:

Table 0.11: 11: Icétôd vowel classes

[+ATR]		[-ATR]	
i	u	ɨ	ʉ
e	o	ɛ	ɔ
	a		

Generally speaking, because of vowel harmony, all the vowels in a single word will belong to one of the vowel classes shown in Table 0.16.11. This is clearly evident in the lexicon where verbs consisting of multiple syllables and morphemes

contain either [+ATR] or [-ATR] vowels, but not both. Table 0.16.12 shows an opposing set of such verbs. Notice how all the vowels in each word belong to one vowel class:

Table 0.12: 12: Vowel harmony in the lexicon

[+ATR]	
béberés	'to pull'
béberetés	'to pull this way'
béberésúƙotᵃ	'to pull that way'
[-ATR]	
bɛɗɛs	'to want'
bɛɗɛtɛs	'to look for'
bɛɗɛsʉƙɔtᵃ	'to go look for'

In some situations though, /a/ blocks vowel harmony from spreading to all the morphemes in a word. For example, when the stative suffix {-án-} falls between a verb with [-ATR] vowels and the intransitive suffix {-òn-}, the /a/ in {-án-} prevents the spread of harmony to the whole word. Table 0.16.13 gives a few examples of the harmony-blocking behavior of /a/. Notice how [-ATR] vowels are found to the left of {-án-} (in bold), while the [+ATR] /o/ in {-òn-} comes after it:

Table 0.13: Vowel harmony blocking of /a/

akwɛtɛkwɛt**án**ón	'to writhe around'
ɓɛlɛɓɛl**án**ón	'to be cracked'
gɔlɔgɔl**án**ón	'to be crooked'
ilɔɗiŋ**án**ón	'to be discriminatory'
ŋʉzʉm**án**ón	'to bicker'

Icétôd has three suffixes which are said to be DOMINANT in that they always spread their [+ATR] value as far as they can within a word. These include the pluractional suffix {-í-}, the middle suffix {-ím-}, and the plurative suffix {-íkó-}, all of which contain the vowel /i/. Unless an /a/ blocks the way, these three suffixes will cause all the vowels in the word they are found in to harmonize to [+ATR]. This dominant behavior is illustrated below in Table 0.16.14. Notice how the [-ATR] vowels in the first column all become [+ATR] in the third column as

a result of the dominance of the suffixes (in bold typeface):

Table 0.14: 14: Icétôd dominant suffixes

abʉtɛs	'to sip'	→		abuti**é**s	'to sip contin-uously
kɔnɔn	'to be one'	→		kón**í**ón	'to be one-by-one'
		→			
ɨlɔɛs	'to defeat'	→		ilo**im**étòn	'to be de-feated'
kɔkɛs	'to close'	→		kok**ím**étòn	'to close (alone)'
		→			
ɔrɔr	'stream'	→		oró**r**í**kw**ᵃ	'streams'
wɛl	'opening'	→		wél**í**k**w**ᵃ	'openings'

Two other instances of vowel harmony deserve mention. First, when two nouns are joined together to form a compound word (§4.3), vowel harmony does not occur between them. For example, the noun roots *rébè-* 'millet' and *mɛsɛ-* 'beer' can be joined into the compound *rébèmɛsɛ-* 'millet beer', in which, notice, the vowels belong to two different [ATR] vowel classes. An exception to this rule is when the second noun in the compound begins with the vowel /i/, in which case /i/ harmonizes the last vowel of the first noun, as when *ɲɔkɔkɔrɔ-ímà-* 'chick' becomes *ɲɔkɔkɔró-ímà-* (where the first noun's /ɔ/ is harmonized to /o/). Second, many of Icétôd's clitics take on the [ATR] value of their host word, for example when the anaphoric pronoun *déé* becomes *dɛɛ* in the phrase *mɔkɔrɔɛ=dɛɛ* 'in that rock pool'. Again, the exception is when the clitic contains /i/, in which case it becomes dominant, harmonizing its host, as when *bárɨtɨnʉɔ=díí* 'from those corrals' becomes *bárɨtɨnúo=díí* (where the vowels /ʉɔ/ become /úo/).

0.2.6 Tone

0.2.6.1 Tone inventory

Icétôd is a tonal language. In terms of acoustics, this means that every vowel is identified not only by where it is formed in the vocal chamber but also by the PITCH with which it is uttered. This further entails the every syllable, morpheme,

word, and phrase exhibits a specific and indispensable TONE pattern. At a phonological (or psychological) level, Icétôd has just two tones: HIGH (H) and LOW (L). All other tones that one hears can be traced back to these two. However, for more practical applications like orthography and language learning, four subtones must be recognized. These include: HIGH, HIGH-FALLING, MID, and LOW. High tone is pronounced with a level, relatively high pitch. High-falling tone falls quickly from relatively high to relatively low pitch, often in the presence of a depressor consonant (see §2.6.4 below). Mid tone is a level, relatively medium-height pitch, while low tone is either relatively low and flat or tapering off before a pause. Table 0.16.15 presents the Icétôd tones with their names in the first column, pitch profiles in the second, and the orthographic diacritics for writing them in the third (the same diacritics employed throughout the foregoing dictionary sections):

Table 0.15: 15: Icétôd tones

Tone	Pitch	Symbol
HIGH	[4]	Á á
HIGH-FALLING	[j]	Â â
MID	[3]	A a
LOW	[2]/[a]	À à

0.2.6.2 Lexical tone

As mentioned above, every word in the Icétôd lexicon has a tone pattern or 'melody'. That is, Icétôd words are not identified solely on the basis of consonants and vowels (as in non-tonal languages) but also on their tone pattern, which must be learned. Since every vowel and therefore every syllable bears a tone, the combination of many syllables in words produces a large variety of tone patterns. And since the tone pattern of a word is totally unpredictable, language learners must resort to memorizing the pattern with the word. Table 0.16.16 gives a sample of the lexical tone patterns on some short words in Icétôd:

0.2.6.3 Grammatical tone

Icétôd does not have grammatical tone in the sense that tone alone can carry out a grammatical function. But tone often accompanies other grammatical signals, thereby reinforcing them. So in that regard, it could be said that Icétôd has

Table 0.16: 16: Icétôd lexical tone patterns

Nouns		
HH	ámá-	'person'
HL	ɛbà-	'horn'
LH	cekí-	'woman'
LL	ɲèrà-	'girls'
Verbs		
H	ŋáɲ-	'open'
H(L)	éd`-	'carry on back'
L	àts-	'come'

'semi-grammatical' tone. For example, when the suffix {-íkó-} is used to pluralize a single noun, the tone of the single noun usually changes, as when *kɔl* 'ram' becomes *kólíkʷ*⊠. Similarly, when the venitive suffix {-ét-} is added to a verb STEM, it often changes the overall tone pattern, as when *bɛdɛs* 'to want' becomes *bɛdɛtɛs* 'to look for', whereby the tone of the root *bɛd-* goes from HIGH to MID. Indeed, many of the nominal and verbal suffixes of the language are associated with significant tone changes to the stem. So even if one learns the tonal melodies of nouns and verbs on their own, these melodies may change in particular grammatical contexts. This tone changeability is one of the system's more difficult aspects.

The Icétôd tone system is challenging for foreigners and is not yet fully understood from an analytical point of view. Still, the good news is that with lots of practice, language learners can reasonably expect to develop a certain degree of communicative competency. For the most complete description of the tone system to date, the reader is invited to consult §3.2 in *A grammar of Icé-tód* (**Schrock2014**). That section expands on what has been presented here and includes more detailed discussions of other features of the Icétôd tone system.

0.2.6.4 Depressor consonants

In Icétôd, the class of voiced consonants /b, d, dz, g, j, z, ʒ/ plus /h/ act as DE-PRESSOR CONSONANTS. Depressors are so-called because they 'depress' or pull down the pitch of neighboring vowels. In doing so, they act almost as if they had a very low tone of their own. The effect of Icétôd depressors is so strong that, over time, it led to the creation of a whole new set of lexical tone patterns. For

instance, all Icétôd verbs with a HL pattern in their roots have a depressor as the first consonant after the initial high tone: *dɛgɛm-* 'crouch', *gʉgʉr-* 'hunched', *íbòt-* 'jump', *kídzìm-* 'descend', and *ts'ágwà-* 'be raw'. This is because, in anticipation of the extra-low pitch of the depressor, the language compensated by putting a high tone before it where there used to be none. As another example, all nouns with the root tone pattern HL have a depressor as their only consonant: *dóbà-* 'mud', *ɛbà-* 'horn', *édì-* 'name', *nébù-* 'body', *wídzò-* 'evening', etc. And when these types of nouns lose their final vowel due to vowel devoicing, that is when the HIGH-FALLING contour tone comes into play, as in *dɔb⊠* 'mud', *ɛb⊠* 'horn', *êd⊠* 'name', *wîdz⊠* 'evening', etc.

Whenever a depressor consonant falls immediately between two high tones, the second high tone is lowered or 'downstepped' to a mid tone level (indicated by the symbol ⊠ followed by a high tone). From the point of view of pronunciation, this is because the speaker's pitch cannot make it from the pitch depression all the way back up to a high pitch. This happens, for example, with the anaphoric pronouns *déé* and *díí*, as in *ámá=⊠déé* 'that person' *ínwá=⊠díí* 'those animals'.

0.3 Morphology—the making of words

0.3.1 Overview

MORPHOLOGY is the system by which a language grammar makes words. While the preceding chapter introduced meaningful sound units (phonemes), the present chapter describes larger meaningful units called MORPHEMES. Icétôd exhibits three types of morpheme: word, affix, and clitic. A WORD is defined as a free morpheme that can meaningfully stand alone. An AFFIX is a bound morpheme that must attach to a word to maintain its integrity. Affixes are indicated in this grammar by a hyphen before (and sometime after) them, as in {-án-}, the stative adjectival suffix. A CLITIC is a hybrid: in some constructions it acts like a word standing alone, while in other constructions, it attaches to a word like an affix. Clitics are sometimes marked in this grammar by an equals sign, as in {=kì} 'those'.

Traditionally, languages are described as having WORD CLASSES, that is, categories of morphemes that have certain characteristics. These classes include the familiar major ones like 'nouns' and 'verbs' but often several others as well. For the purposes of this grammar sketch, free-standing words and clitics are considered 'words', while affixes are not. In Icétôd, thirteen word classes are recognized and include the following: nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numer-

als, prepositions, verbs, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, nursery words, complementizers, and connectives (or conjunctions). Each of these word classes is briefly introduced in the following subsections, while a full list of Icétôd affixes can be found later in Appendix A.

0.3.2 Nouns

Nouns and verbs make up the language's only two open word classes, meaning that they may have new members continually added to them. Nouns make up roughly 47% of the total Icétôd lexicon. Noun roots can be short, like *eí-* 'chyme', or long like *ɲákaɓɔɓwáátá-* 'finger ring', but they must all have at least two syllables. This is because some case suffixes delete the last vowel of the noun root when they affix to it. Noun roots are represented throughout this book with hyphenated forms, indicating that in actual Icétôd speech, any noun must have at least a case suffix. In addition to case, nouns may take singulative or plurative suffixes and may be joined with other nouns to make compound nouns. §4 is devoted to expounding on Icétôd nouns.

0.3.3 Pronouns

Pronouns form a closed word class, admitting no new members. They 'stand in' for nouns whose specific names need not always be mentioned or repeated. Pronouns make up less than 1% of the Icétôd lexicon and yet have great grammatical importance. Most Icétôd pronouns are free, capable of standing on their own, while others are bound to verbs. They may be personal, capable of specifying grammatical person, or impersonal. Other categories of pronoun include: indefinite, interrogative, demonstrative, relative, and reflexive. §5 is devoted to describing the pronouns of Icétôd.

0.3.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives form another closed word class, admitting no new members. They 'demonstrate' nouns by 'pointing them out', referring to them spatially, temporally, or discursively. They too make up less than 1% of the lexicon. Many Icétôd demonstratives have been analyzed as clitics: They seem sometimes to act like separate words, and yet in terms of vowel harmony, they act like suffixes. As clitics, they may be written connected to words in linguistic writing (with =), whereas in non-linguistic writing, they are written separately. For example, the phrase 'these trees' would be written as *dakwítína=ni* in linguistic publications

and as *dakwítína ni* elsewhere. Icétôd has four kinds of demonstrative: spatial, temporal, anaphoric, and locative adverbial—all of which are covered in more detail in §6.

0.3.5 Quantifiers

As their name implies, QUANTIFIERS 'quantify' the nouns that precede them. That is, they are separate words that follow nouns and convey the general quantity of the noun in terms of allness, bothness, fewness, or manyness. Specific, numeric quantity is expressed by the numerals which are the topic of the next subsection. Icétôd quantifiers sometimes act more like numerals by directly following the noun they modify without an intervening relative pronoun, as in *wika ƙwaɗ⌧* 'few children'. But other times they act more like adjectival verbs by taking a relative pronoun between them and the noun they modify, for example, *wika ni ƙwaɗ⌧* 'children that (are) few'. In the former function as numerals, they have a distinct, perhaps more ancient root, as in *ƙwàɗè*, whereas in their function as adjectival verbs, they have a truncated root in a verbal infinitive, in this case *ƙwàɗ-òn* 'to be few'. The eight known Icétôd quantifiers are given below in Table 0.24.1:

Table 0.17: 1: Icétôd quantifiers

Non-final	Final	
ɗàŋìɗàŋì	ɗàŋìɗàŋ	'all, entire, whole'
mùŋù	mùŋ	'all, entire, whole'
mùŋùmùŋù	mùŋùmùŋ	'all, entire, whole'
tsìɗì	tsìɗ⌧	'all, entire, whole'
tsìɗìtsìɗì	tsìɗìtsìɗ⌧	'all, entire, whole'
gáí	gáí	'both'
ƙwàɗè	ƙwàɗᵉ	'few'
kòmà	kòm	'many'

0.3.6 Numerals

NUMERALS convey the specific number of the noun they modify. Icétôd has a quinary or 'base-5' counting system, meaning that it has words for the numbers 1-5 and then builds numbers 6-9 by adding the appropriate number to 5, as in

tude ńda kidi ts'agús 'five and those four', which is 9. The number 10 is not a numeral, but the noun *toomíní-*. Icétôd numerals directly follow the noun they modify, without an intervening relative pronoun. Just as the quantifiers *kwàdè* 'few' and *kòmà* 'many' can function as verbs, the numerals 1-5 can also function as verbs. Table 0.24.2 presents Icétôd numerals 1-9:

Table 0.18: 2: Icétôd numerals

#	Non-final	Final	
1	kɔnà	kɔn	'one'
2	lèɓètsè	lèɓètsᵉ	'two'
3	àɗè	àɗᵉ	'three'
4	ts'agúsé	ts'agús	'four'
5	tùdè	tùdᵉ	'five'
6	tude ńdà kɛɗɨ kɔn	...ńdà kɛɗɨ kɔn	'five and one'
7	tude ńda kiɗi léɓètsè	...ńda kiɗi léɓètsᵉ	'five and two'
8	tude ńdà kìɗì àɗè	...ńdà kìɗì àɗᵉ	'five and three'
9	tude ńda kiɗi ts'agúsé	...ńda kiɗi ts'agús	'five and four'

To form numbers 11-19, Icétôd builds off the noun *toomíní-* 'ten' and then repeats the quinary system shown above in Table 0.24.2. For example, the number 17 is expressed as *toomín ńda kiɗi túde ńda kiɗi léɓèts⊠* 'ten and those five and those two'. Then, after 19, the numbers 20, 30, 40, etc. are based on the compound *toomín-ékù-* 'ten-eye', as in *toomínékwa léɓèts⊠* 'ten-eye two', which is 20. The numbers for 100 (*ŋamɨáɨ-*) and 1,000 (*álìfù-*) have both been borrowed from Swahili.

0.3.7 Prepositions

Prepositions are usually small particles 'pre-posed', that is, put in front of a noun to indicate what its relationship is to another noun or to the wider sentence in which it occurs. Many of the functions that prepositions fulfill in other languages are handled by cases in Icétôd (see §7). However, Icétôd still has a very small, closed group of prepositions that somehow have survived the hegemony of case. Still, they interact with case as each preposition selects the case

that its noun head (or host) must take. Table 0.24.3 presents all the known Icétôd prepositions with their meanings and the cases they require on nouns:

Table 0.19: 3: Icétôd prepositions

Preposition	Meaning	Case required
nàpèì	'from, since'	ABLATIVE
dɨtá	'as, like'	GENITIVE
nɛɛ	'from, through'	GENITIVE
akánɨ	'until, up to'	OBLIQUE
àkɨlɔ	'instead of'	OBLIQUE
gònè	'until, up to'	OBLIQUE
ikóteré	'because of'	OBLIQUE
ńdà	'and, with'	OBLIQUE
pákà	'until, up to'	OBLIQUE
tònì	'even'	OBLIQUE

The following example sentences offer an opportunity to see the prepositions from Table 0.24.3 above in natural language contexts:

napei Kaaɓɔŋꜜɔ páka aw⊠ from Kaabong:ABL up.to home:OBL 'from Kaabong up to home'

Gógese tufúlá dɨtá rié. peg:PASS field.rat:NOM like goat:GEN 'And the field rat is pegged up like a goat.'

Atsía nɛɛ Tímuakwɛɛ nɛ. come:1SG from Timu:inside:GEN that 'I'm coming from within Timu there.'

Hoɗukot⊠, akɨlɔ cɛɛsꜣkɔt⊠. set.free:IMP instead.of killing:OBL 'Set (him) free instead of killing (him).'

Dukotuo gone hoo déé. take:SEQ up.to hut:OBL that 'And she took (it) up to that hut.'

Káátaa Tábayɛɛ ikóteré ɲɛk⊠. go:3PL:PRF West:DAT because.of hunger:OBL 'They've gone west because of hunger.'

tɛwɛɛsa kɔlɨlɨɛ ńda lomuke^i sow:INF:NOM cucumber:GEN and squash:OBL 'the sowing of cucumber and squash'

toni Pakóíce jɨk, gókánɨkɛd⊠ even Turkanas:OBL also seated:IPS:SIM:DP 'even the Turkanas as well, (were) staying there'

0.3.8 Verbs

Verbs comprise the second of Icétôd's two large open word classes. Like nouns, Icétôd verbs make up approximately 48% of the lexicon. Verb roots can be short like *ó-* 'call', long like *gwɛrɛjɛj-* 'be coarse', or reduplicated like *diridír-* 'be sugary' and *ipiripir-* 'drill'. Verb roots are represented throughout this book with hyphenated forms, indicating that in actual Icétôd speech, any verb must have at least one suffix. That minimal suffix may be a subject-agreement suffix or a tense-aspect-mood (TAM) suffix like an imperative or optative. Icétôd verb stems can stand alone as an independent, self-contained clause and can have many suffixes strung together, as in *sokórítiísínàk⬚* 'we all have clawed' and *zeikáákotinîd⬚* 'and they all grew large there'. Among the many suffixes that can derive nouns from verbs or inflect verbs for different meanings, there are: deverbatives, subject-agreement markers, directionals, the dummy pronominal, modals, aspectuals, voice and valency changers, and adjectivals. All these verb-related topics (and others) are treated more fully later on in §8.

0.3.9 Adverbs

Adverbs make up a catch-all category of words that modify verbs or whole clauses. The roughly sixty Icétôd adverbs make up less than 1% of the total lexicon. They include 'manner' adverbs like *hɨɨjɔ* 'slowly' and *zùkù* 'very', epistemic adverbs like *tsábò* 'apparently' and *tsamʉ* 'of course', and general adverbs like *ɛdá* 'only' and *nabó* 'again'. Other important categories of adverbs are the tense-marking adverbs, certainty and contingency markers, and the conditional-hypothetical adverbs. All these types of Icétôd adverb are described further in §9.

0.3.10 Ideophones

Ideophones form a word class that is characterized by highly expressive words that denote physical phenomena like color, motion, sound, shape, volume, etc. They are often 'sound-symbolic' or onomatopoeic. That means just the sound of them as they are pronounced evokes the physical perception they signify. For example, the ideophone *bùlùk⬚* means 'the sound something makes when dropping into water', like 'splash!' or 'kersplunk!' in English. At present, one hundred forty Icétôd ideophones (1.6% of total) have been recorded, but there are most certainly many more in the language. And they are probably continually created. Table 0.24.4 offers a sample of the variety of Icétôd ideophones that are

recognized:

Table 0.20: 4: Icétôd ideophones

Animal sounds	
bèrrr	'baaa!'
buúù	'mooo!'
ƙútú	'cluck!'
Other sounds	
ɓɛkɛ	'snap!'
gɨlɨjɨ	'gulp!'
pùsù	'plop!'
Colors	
pàkì	'pure white'
tíkí	'pitch black'
tsònì	'blood red'
Attributes	
ɓa	'unliftably heavy'
dùù	'very deep'
tsɛkɛ	'completely full'

0.3.11 Interjections

Like adverbs, INTERJECTIONS form a bit of a catch-all word class. Interjections include any word expressing emotions or mental states of any kind, usually outside the grammar of the sentence. The roughly thirty Icétôd interjections that have been recorded make up less than 1% of the total lexicon. Icétôd interjections may consist of a single word like *aaii* 'ouch!' or *wúlù* 'yikes!' or a short phrase like *wika ni* 'these kids (I tell you)!' or *tɨɔ jɔɔ* 'there, there (it's okay)!'. Several other interjections are provided below in Table 0.24.5:

0.3.12 Nursery words

NURSERY WORDS make up a small class of one-word expressions—only ten recorded so far—that act as commands or encouragements to babies or toddlers to do something. The ten Icétôd nursery words on record are lain out below in Table 0.24.6 with English approximations:

Table 0.21: 5: Icétôd interjections

ee Ɲakuɟᵃ	'oh my God!'
ee/éé	'yeah, yes'
hà	'whatever!'
maráŋ	'fine, okay!'
ɲɔto ni	'these guys (I tell you)!'
ne	'here you go!'
ńtóo(n)dó	'nah, no'
otí	'whoa!'
wóí	'aahh!'
yóói	'uh-huh..sure!'

Table 0.22: 6: Icétôd nursery words

bubú	'nighty-night'	for going to sleep
ɓá	'yummy'	for eating
dɪ	'poo'	for defecating
dʊʊdʊ	'sitty-sit'	for sitting down
kó	'wa-wa'	for drinking water
kɔkɔ	'no-no'	for not touching
kukú	'up-up'	for riding on mother's back
kwàà	'pee'	for urinating
mamá	'yum-yum'	for eating
nʊʊnʊ	'yum-yum'	for breastfeeding

0.3.13 Complementizers

COMPLEMENTIZERS are words that introduce reported speech or thought. For example, in the English sentence 'She said that she agrees', the word *that* is the complementizer that introduces that reported statement *she agrees*. Icétôd has only two complementizers. One of them, *tòìmènà-* 'that', is technically a noun and thus belongs in the noun word class. But because of its function, it is dealt with here. The word *tòìmɛnà-*, a compound of the verb *tód-* 'speak' and *mɛná-* 'words', is used with a variety of speaking and thinking verbs. The second Icétôd complementizer, *tàà*, is a probably a derivative of the verb *kʉta* 's/he says' that has been reduced over time. Even now it is usually used after the verb *kʉt-* 'say'. Example (9) below shows how *tòìmɛnà-* is used in a sentence to introduce the clause *mɨtɨda bɔnán* 'you are an orphan'. And example (10) shows the complementizer *tàà* introducing the clause *iya ɲjíníkɨja kɔɔkɛ* 'our land is over there':

Hyeíá toimɛna mɨtɨda bɔnán. know:1SG that:NOM be:2SG orphan:OBL 'I know that you are an orphan.'

Kʉta ɲcie taa iya ɲjíníkɨja kɔɔkɛ. say:3SG I:DAT that be:3SG we:land:NOM there 'He says to me that our land is over there.'

0.3.14 Connectives

CONNECTIVES (also known as 'conjunctions') are words whose function is to join together other words, phrases, or clauses. If they are COORDINATING connectives like *ńdà* 'and', then they join grammatical units of equal status, like a word to a word, or an independent clause to another independent one. Whereas if they are SUBORDINATING connectives like *na* 'if', they join grammatical units of unequal status, usually a dependent clause to an independent one. Even though their role is to link grammatical units, not all of them come between the units they link. Many come before both, often as the first word in the sentence. Icétôd has roughly eight coordinating connectives and thirty subordinating ones—making up less than 1% of the lexicon. The coordinating connectives are presented in Table 0.24.7, while Table 0.24.8 offers a representative sampling of the subordinating connectives:

The following natural-language examples illustrate three of the more commonly used coordinating connectives: *kèɗè*, *kòtò*, and *ńdà*. In example (11), the connective *kèɗè* 'or' joins two equal constituents, the nouns *Tábayɔɔ* and *Fetíékù*. In (12), the connective *kòtò* 'and, but, then,' links two independent but semantically related clauses, and in (13), the connective *ńdà* 'and' connects two equal passive clauses:

Table 0.23: 7: Icétôd coordinating connectives

kèɗè	'or'
kɨná	'and then, so then, then'
kòrì	'or'
kòtò	'and, but, so, then, therefore'
mɨsɨ…mɨsɨ…	'either…or…'
náàtì	'and then'
naɓó	'furthermore, moreover'
ńdà	'and'

Tábayɔɔ keɗe Fetíékù? West:ABL or East:ABL 'From the West or from the East?'
Ɨɨmʉkɔtɨakôɗ…. marry.forcibly:1SG:SEQ:DP 'And from there I took (her) away as my wife….'
Moo koto sáɓánɨ ínóà? not:SEQ but kill:IPS animal:NOM 'But was an animal not killed (as a nuptial offering)?'
Sáɓese basaúr ńda kotsana cue. kill:SPS eland:NOM and fetch:IPS water:NOM 'Elands were killed, and water was fetched.'

In contrast to the coordinating connectives shown in Table 0.24.7 and examples (11)-(13), *sub*ordinating connectives join units of unequal status, usually a subordinate (dependent) clause to a main one. Table 0.24.8 provides a representative sample of the thirty Icétôd subordinating connectives, while examples (14)-(16) below illustrate the function of some of these connectives in a few natural-language environments.

In (14) below, the subordinating connective *ɗɛmʉsʉ* 'before, unless, until' introduces a dependent clause that connects semantically to the following one. The same grammatical structure is also evident in (15) and (16), where the connectives *mɨsɨ* 'if, whether' and *na* 'if, when' set off short dependent clauses that logically lead into main clauses:

Ɗɛmʉsʉ Pakóíce deti riék꞉, before Turkanas:OBL bring goats:ACC 'Before the Turkanas brought goats,
isio noo ŋábìàn? what:COP PST3 wear:PLUR:IPS what was typically worn (as clothing)?'

Mɨsɨ ɨtáána basaúrék꞉, sáɓes. if reach:IPS eland:DAT kill:SPS 'If they reach the eland, it is killed.'

Na átsik꞉, zɛkwɛtɔɔ nayéé na. when come:3SG:SIM sit:3SG:SEQ here this 'When she came, she sat down here.'

Table 0.24: 8: Icétôd subordinating connectives

átà	'even (if)'
ɗɛmʉsʉ	'before, unless, until'
ikóteré	'because'
kánɨ	'in order that, so that'
mɨsɨ	'if, whether'
na=	'if, when'
náà	'when (earlier today)'
nàpèɨ	'since'
nɛɛ	'if, when'
nòò	'when (long ago)'
nótsò	'when (a while ago)'
pákà	'until'
sɨnà	'when (yester-)'
tònì	'even'

0.4 Nouns

0.4.1 Overview

Single Icétôd NOUNS in a speaker's mental lexicon consist of a ROOT. Roots are words that cannot be analyzed into smaller parts from the perspective of modern Icétôd. (Historical research may in many cases reveal how roots were put together over time, but that is the domain of etymology.) When plucked from the lexicon and put into actual Icétôd speech, every noun root must receive at least one suffix, which must be a CASE suffix. In addition to case suffixes, an Icétôd noun may take on a NUMBER suffix or may be joined with one or two other nouns to form a COMPOUND. Case suffixes are fully explained later in §7, while number suffixes and compounds are covered in the rest of this chapter.

Icétôd number suffixes include PLURATIVES and SINGULATIVES. Many noun roots can be pluralized if they are inherently singular in number. A few others can be singularized because they are inherently plural. In addition to these standard number-markers, Icétôd also has special POSSESSIVE number suffixes that combine the notions of number and possession into one suffix—singular or plural. And yet other nouns are MASS NOUNS, naming entities in the world perceived as inherently plural unities (like dust or water). These take no suffixes but are

treated grammatically as plurals. Finally, some nouns are TRANSNUMERAL, meaning they can be construed as singular or plural and given the appropriate singular or plural modifiers, if needed.

Compounding (discussed below in §4.3) is the primary way Icétôd acquires or makes new nouns—besides borrowing them from other languages. Icétôd compounds are made by putting two or three nouns together into a new compound word with special characteristics. The first noun describes or specifies the second noun to make an aggregate meaning that is often different than that of the two separate nouns.

Icétôd nominal suffixes differ in how they affix to noun roots. With the exception of five case suffixes, all nominal suffixes first delete the final vowel of the noun to which they attach. This is known as SUBTRACTIVE morphology. The case suffixes that preserve the final vowel are the accusative, dative, genitive, ablative, and oblique. For more on how case suffixes attach to nouns, refer ahead to §7.

0.4.2 Number

0.4.2.1 Pluratives (PLUR)

Icétôd has four ways to show that a noun is plural: three PLURATIVE suffixes and suppletive plurals. The three plurative suffixes are: 1) {-íkó-}, 2) {-ítíní-}, and 3) {-ìkà-}. The first plurative suffix, {-íkó-}, is dominant in terms of vowel harmony, meaning it changes the vowels of a [-ATR] noun to [+ATR] unless /a/ intervenes and blocks it. For example, in some instances, the vowel /a/ spontaneously appears between the singular root and the suffix {-íkó-}. (This /a/ is a relic of an ancient singulative suffix *-at- that is no longer in use in Icétôd.)

The use of {-íkó-} is strictly limited to a relatively small number of nouns (roughly 100); it is not applied to newly borrowed nouns. Table 0.40.1 presents several examples of nouns pluralized with this suffix. Note how the suffix harmonizes the vowels of the singular root except where the vowel /a/ blocks the leftward spread of harmony. Notice also that in some cases the suffix alters the tone of the singular root:

The second plurative, {-ítíní-}, is used to pluralize nouns that have only two syllables in their lexical root. Table 0.40.2 provides a sample of disyllabic nouns pluralized with {-ítíní-}. Notice that if the singular noun has [-ATR] vowels, then the plurative suffix harmonizes to {-ɨtɨnɨ-}. Unlike the suffix {-íkó-}, {-ítíní-} never alters the tone of the root, though its own tone may conform to the tone of the root:

The third plurative, {-ìkà-}, is used primarily to pluralize nouns with three or

Table 0.25: 1: The plurative suffix {-íkó-}

Singular		Plural	
abérí-	→	áberaikó-	'active termite colonies'
baratsó-	→	barátsíkó-	'mornings'
cúrúkù-	→	cúrúkaikó-	'bulls'
kɔrɔbɛ-	→	kɔrɔbaikó-	'calves'
ƙwɛsɛɛ-	→	ƙwéséikó-	'broken gourds'
mɔkɔrɔ-	→	moƙóríkó-	'rock wells'
taɓá-	→	taɓíkó-	'boulders'

Table 0.26: 2: The plurative suffix {-ítíní-}

Singular		Plural	
aká-	→	akɨtɨnɨ-	'mouths'
bòsì-	→	bositíní-	'ears'
ɔjá-	→	ɔjɨtɨnɨ-	'sores'
ɗòlì	→	ɗólítíní-	'carcasses'
ekú-	→	ekwitíní-	'eyes'
ídò-	→	íditíní-	'breasts'
ts'ʉbà-	→	ts'ʉbɨtɨnɨ-	'stoppers'

more syllables in their lexical root. Table 0.40.3 provides a sample of polysyllabic nouns pluralized with {-ìkà-}. Notice that if the singular noun has [-ATR] vowels, then the plurative suffix harmonizes to {-ɨkà-}. Unlike {-ítíní-} but like {-íkó-}, {-ìkà-} sometimes alters the tone of the singular noun as well as having its own tone altered:

Secondarily, the plurative {-ìkà-} is used to pluralize a handful of nouns that have only two syllables in their lexical root. Why these nouns do not take {-ítíní-} instead is not known. A bit of speculation might invoke the notion of MORA or the unit of syllable weight. Among the seven examples shown in Table 0.40.4, three of them contain the semi-vowel /w/ which may be thought to contain its own mora, as a vowel would. Likewise, two of the examples (*hòò-* and *sédà-*) contain depressor consonants which may also count for one mora. Perhaps in the remaining two (*kíjá-* and *ríjá-*), the /ʝ/ used to be a depressor. Regardless of

Table 0.27: 3: The plurative suffix {-ìkà-} with polysyllabic nouns

Singular		Plural	
àgɨtà-	→	ágɨtìkà-	'metal ringlets'
arírá-	→	aríríkà-	'flames'
bàbàà-	→	bábàìkà-	'armpits'
ɔfɔrɔƙɔ-	→	ɔfɔrɔƙìkà-	'dry honey-combs'
kútúŋù-	→	kútúŋìkà-	'knees'
ɲánɨnɔɔ-	→	ɲánɨnɔìkà-	'leather whips'
ɲéƙúrumotí-	→	ɲéƙúrùmòtìkà-	'gullies'

the historical explanation, Table 0.40.4 presents a few examples of {-ìkà-} being used to pluralize disyllabic nouns:

Table 0.28: 4: The plurative suffix {-ìkà-} with disyllabic nouns

Singular		Plural	
awá-	→	àwìkà-	'homes'
gwasá-	→	gwàsìkà-	'stones'
hòò-	→	hòìkà-	'huts'
kíjá-	→	kíjíkà-	'lands'
kwɛtá-	→	kwɛtɨkà-	'arms'
ríjá-	→	ríjíkà-	'forests'
sédà-	→	sédìkà-	'gardens'

0.4.2.2 Suppletive plurals

Icétôd also has a handful of singular nouns cannot be pluralized in a productive way with any of the three suffixes discussed above. Three of these nouns on record are truly SUPPLETIVE in that their singular and plural forms bear absolutely no resemblance to each other. These are the first three in Table 0.40.5. The last three examples in Table 0.40.5 represent nouns that are semi-suppletive; even though one can discern a similarity between the singular and plural forms, the way the two forms are derived from each other is not productive in the language.

Table 0.29: 5: Icétôd suppletive plurals

Singular		Plural	
ámá-	↔	ròɓà-	'people'
eakwá-	↔	ɲɔtɔ-	'men'
imá-	↔	wicé-	'children'
cekí-	↔	cɨkámá-	'women'
ɗɨ-	↔	ɗɨ-	'ones'
kɔrɔɓádì-	↔	kúrúɓádì-	'things'

0.4.2.3 Singulatives (sɪɴɢ)

In contrast to pluratives, sɪɴɢᴜʟᴀᴛɪᴠᴇs convert an inherently plural noun root to a derived singular. Icétôd has one such suffix that may be considered a true singulative in the contemporary grammar of the modern language, and that is {-àmà-} or {-ɔmà-}. Since this singulative is only used with personal entities, it seems likely that it is related etymologically to the word *ámá-* 'person'. Table 0.40.6 gives the only four unambiguous examples of when this singulative is used. Note that its tone pattern may be altered by the tone of the plural root:

Table 0.30: 6: The Icétôd singulative {-àmà-}

Plural		Singular	
jáká-	→	jákámà-	'elder'
kéà-	→	kéàmà-	'soldier'
lɔŋɔtá-	→	lɔŋɔtɔmà-	'enemy'
ŋɨmɔkɔkaá-	→	ŋɨmɔkɔká-ámà-	'young man'

0.4.2.4 Possessive number suffixes (ᴘᴏss)

In addition to standard pluratives and a singulative, Icétôd also has what may be called ᴘᴏssᴇssɪᴠᴇ number suffixes. These possessive suffixes—{-èdè-} in the singular and {-ìnì-} in the plural—each fuse the notions of number and possession into one morpheme. When they are affixed to a noun stem, they specify a) the grammatical number of the noun stem and b) its association with another entity (hence the 'possession'). They do not specify the number of the possessing en-

tity. For example, the word *aked◻*, a stem consisting of *aká-* 'den' and {-èdè-} (in the nominative case) can mean both 'its den' or 'their den'. And the word *akɨn*, consisting of *aká-* 'den' and {-ìnì-} (in the nominative case), can mean either 'its dens' or 'their dens'.

Within the broad notion of 'possession', the possessive number suffixes {-èdè-} and {-ìnì-} can signify more specific semantic relationships like part-whole, kinship, and association. Table 0.40.7 gives some examples of {-èdè-} expressing a part-whole relationship with the unnamed entity. Note how the meanings of the noun roots are extended metaphorically to denote structural parts of things. Note also that the tone of the root may be altered in the presence of {-èdè-}:

Table 0.31: 7: The Icétôd singular possessive {-èdè-}

Root meaning			Extended part-whole meaning	
bakutsí-	'chest'	→	bakútsédè-	'its middle part'
bùbùì-	'belly'	→	búbùèdè-	'its underside'
ekú-	'eye'	→	ekwede-	'its essence'
kwayó-	'tooth'	→	kweede-	'its edge'
ŋabérí-	'rib'	→	ŋábèrèdè-	'its side'

The plural possessive suffix {-ìnì-} has two special applications with human possessors. In the first, it is used to pluralize kinship terms, where a kinship association is explicitly implied. In the second, it refers to people associated with a certain person in general terms. Table 0.40.8 illustrates both of these nuances, showing the singular root in the first column, and in the second, the root inflected with {-ìnì-}:

0.4.2.5 Mass nouns

A small group of Icétôd noun roots are classified as non-count MASS NOUNS. These nouns are inherently, lexically plural. As such, they require plural demonstratives and relative pronouns. This group includes words for powders, liquids, and gases—particulate substances. Table 0.40.9 presents seven examples of mass nouns. The roots are in the first column, followed in the third column by the noun

Table 0.32: 8: The Icétôd plural possessive {-ìnì-}

Kinship			
abáɲi-	→	abáɲini-	'my fathers (uncles)'
dádòò-	→	dádoíní-	'your grandmothers'
ŋɔɔ-	→	ŋɔɨni-	'your mothers'
tátàà-	→	tátaíní-	'my aunts'
wicé-	→	wikini-	'his/her/their/its children'
Association			
Àɗùpàà-	→	Aɗupaíní-	'the people of Aɗupa'
Dakáɨ-	→	Dakáɨni-	'the people of Dakai'
Lójérèè-	→	Lójéreíní-	'the people of Lojere'
Ŋirikoó-	→	Ŋirikoíní-	'the people of Ŋiriko'
Tsɨláà-	→	Tsɨláɨni-	'the people of Tsila'

in a phrase with the plural demonstrative *ni* 'those'. Note that in the English, the equivalent is provided but with a singular interpretation.

Table 0.33: 9: Icétôd non-countable mass nouns

búré-	'dust'	búrá ni	'this dust'
cué-	'water'	cua ni	'this water'
kabasá-	'flour'	kabasa ni	'this flour'
sèà-	'blood'	sea ni	'this blood'
ts'údè-	'smoke'	ts'úda ni	'this smoke'

0.4.2.6 Transnumeral nouns

Another small group of Icétôd noun roots appear as inherently TRANSNUMERAL, meaning that they can be singular or plural depending on what the speaker wants to communicate. Whatever number is imputed to them must be reflected in the grammar of the rest of the sentence, for example in subject-agreement on the verb or in any demonstratives or relative pronouns used to modify them. Icétôd transnumeral nouns cannot be pluralized in any of the ways discussed up to this point. But with the bound nominal morpheme *-icíká-* (see §4.3.4), they can be given a sense of distributiveness or variation. Table 0.40.10 presents three examples of Icétôd transnumeral nouns with their singular, plural, and distributive interpretations:

Table 0.34: 10: Icétôd transnumeral nouns

Root	ɓìɓà-	'egg(s)'
Singular	ɓiɓa na	'this egg'
Plural	ɓiɓa ni	'these eggs'
Distributive	ɓiɓaicíká-	'various kinds of eggs'
Root	gwaá-	'bird(s)'
Singular	gwaa na	'this bird'
Plural	gwaa ni	'these birds'
Distributive	gwaicíká-	'various kinds of birds'
Root	ínó-	'animal(s)'
Singular	ínwá na	'this animal'
Plural	ínwá ni	'these animals'
Distributive	ínóicíká-	'various kinds of animals'

0.4.3 Compounds

For word-building purposes, Icétôd relies heavily on COMPOUNDING, joining two or more nouns together into a composite word. The first noun (or pronoun) in a compound retains its lexical root form (that is hyphenated throughout this book), including its lexical tone. The last noun in a compound takes whichever case ending the syntactic context calls for. For example, in the compound *riéwík⊠* 'goat kids', the first root *rié-* 'goat' keeps its lexical form, while the second, *wicé-* 'children', has been modified by the nominative case suffix {-ᵃ}. If compounding

changes the tone of its constituent parts, it will be the first noun that affects the others. In the rare compound with three constituent nouns, the first two stay in their lexical form (not counting tone), while the third is inflected for case, for example in *Icémóríɗókàkà-* 'cowpea leaves', a compound of *Icé-* 'Ik', *mòrìɗò-* 'beans', and *kaká-* 'leaves'. In *Icé-móríɗó-kàkà-*, note that while the last two elements retain their lexical segments, their tone patterns have changed dramatically due to the influence of *Icé-* in spreading H tone.

Icétôd compounds create two kinds of new meaning: 1) a narrower, more specific meaning in which the first noun specifies the second, or 2) a completely novel, unpredictable meaning. An example of the first type would be *bʉbʉnɔɔjà-* 'ember-wound' or 'bullet wound' where the first noun *bʉbʉná-* 'ember' narrows down the possible references of *ɔjá-* 'wound' to a wound caused by a bullet. And an example of the second type of compounded meaning might be *óbijoets'í-* that literally means 'rhino urine' but is actually the name of a species of vine (that nonetheless was apparently the favorite urination spot of rhinos). Through both types of meaning, Icétôd compounds add a considerable amount of expressiveness and color to the language's vocabulary.

In addition to the two broader semantic categories of compounds discussed above, five other categories of Icétôd compounds are recognized. These include the agentive, diminutive, internal, variative, and relational. Each of these is briefly touched on below.

0.4.3.1 Agentive (AGT)

Icétôd forms AGENTIVE compounds by using the root *ámá-* 'person' (for singular) or *icé-* (for plural) as the last element in a compound. Although the root *icé-* simply means 'Ik people' when standing on its own, in the agentive construction it denotes plural agents. Here 'agent' is understood broadly as any person or thing that does or is whatever is characterized by the first element in the compound. The first element may be a noun, as in *dɛâ-ámà-* 'messenger', literally 'foot-person', or a verb as in *ŋwàxɔnɨ-àmà-* 'lame person', literally 'to be lame-person'. Note, however, that even though *ŋwàxɔn* is a verb semantically, it has been deverbalized into a noun by the infinitive suffix {-òn}. Icétôd agentive compounds can be translated into English in various ways, depending on what is appropriate. Table 0.40.11 presents several example of singular and plural agentive compounds:

Table 0.35: 11: Icétôd agentive compounds

Singlar	Plural		
aká-ámà-	aká-ícé-	mouth-person	'talker'
ɓɛƙɛsɨ-àmà-	ɓɛƙɛsí-ícé-	walking-person	'traveler'
itelesí-ámà-	itelesí-ícé-	watching-person	'watchman'
kɔŋɛsɨ-àmà-	kɔŋɛsí-ícé-	cooking-person	'cook'
ɲósomá-ámà-	ɲósomá-ícé-	studies-person	'student'
sɨsɨká-ámà-	sɨsɨká-ícé-	middle-person	'middle child'
yʉɛ-ámà-	yué-ícé-	lie-person	'liar'

0.4.3.2 Diminutive (DIM)

Icétôd forms DIMINUTIVE compounds by using the root *imá-* 'child' (for singular) and *wicé-* 'children' (for plural) as the second element in a compound. In the more literal interpretation, the first element is the animate being (animal or human) of which the second element is the 'child' or 'children', as in *dódò-ìmà-* 'lamb' or *dódo-wicé-* 'lambs'. But when the first element is inanimate, the diminutive construction conveys a sense of 'a small X' or 'small Xs', for example *kɔfó-ìmà-* 'a small gourd bowl' and *kɔfó-wicé-* 'small gourd bowls'. Lastly, the two interpretations can also get blurred, as when an animate being is perceived as smaller than normal but not as the child of anything. This can be seen, for instance, in the compound *ídèmè-ìmà-* 'earthworm', literally 'snake-child'. Table 0.40.12 offers several more examples of the diminutive compound. Notice that when the whole construction is pluralized, both elements may get pluralized, as when *ámá-ìmà-* 'someone's child' becomes *roɓa-wicé-* 'someone's (pl.) children'.

0.4.3.3 Internal (INT)

So-called INTERNAL compounds are made with the bound nominal root *ajɨká-* 'among/inside'. When appended to plural noun, this nominal conveys a sense of interiority or internality to the noun. The internal compound, which is quite rare, is exemplified in Table 0.40.13:

0.4.3.4 Variative (VAR)

So-called VARIATIVE compounds are made with the bound nominal root *icíká-* 'various (kinds of)'. When appended to a noun—singular or plural—this nomi-

Table 0.36: 12: Icétôd diminutive compounds

Singular	Plural		
ámá-ìmà-	roɓa-wicé-	person-child	'someone's child'
bàrò-ìmà-	bárítíní-wicé-	herd-child	'small herd'
ɓɪsá-ímà-	ɓɪsɪtɪní-wicé-	spear-child	'dart'
dómá-ìmà-	dómítíní-wicé-	pot-child	'small pot'
gwá-ímà-	gwá-wícé-	bird-child	'chick'
ŋókí-ìmà-	ŋókítíní-wicé-	dog-child	'puppy'
ɔjá-ìmà-	ɔjɪtɪnɪ-wicé-	sore-child	'small sore'

Table 0.37: 13: Icétôd internal compounds

Plural			Interal plural	
àwìkà-	'homes'	→	awika-ajɪká-	'in/among homes'
ríjíkà-	'forests'	→	ríjíka-ajɪká-	'in/among forests'
sédìkà-	'gardens'	→	sédika-ajɪká-	'in/among gardens'

nal communicates a sense of variety or the multiplicity of a type. As a kind of pluralizer itself, *icíká-* is may be called upon to pluralize five kinds of nouns: 1) transnumeral nouns, 2) nouns not usually pluralizeable in the usual sense, 3) inherently plural nouns, 4) already pluralized nouns, and 5) verb infinitives. Table 0.40.14 presents one example for each of these five kinds of nouns that the variative bound nominal *icíká-* can be used to pluralize:

0.4.3.5 Relational

Icétôd compounding is also used to create RELATIONAL NOUNS that express the spatial or structural relationship one thing has to another. As many languages do, Icétôd metaphorically extends body-part terminology to other non-bodily structural relationships. Table 0.40.15 presents some of the Icétôd body-part terms used metaphorically:

So, in a relational compound, terms like those in Table 0.40.15 are the second

Table 0.38: 14: Icétôd variative compounds

Singular/Plural			Variative plural		
gwaá-	'bird(s)'	→	gwa-icíká-	'kinds of birds'	
cɛmá-	'fights'	→	cɛmá-ícíká-	'war'	
mɛná-	'issues'	→	mɛná-ícíká-	'various issues'	
dakwítíní-	'trees'	→	dakwítíní-icíká-	'kinds of trees'	
wetésí-	'to drink'	→	wetésí-icíká-	'drinks'	

Table 0.39: 15: Icétôd body-part terms with extended meanings

Root	Lexical meaning	Relational meaning
aká-	'mouth'	'entrance, opening'
aƙatí-	'nose'	'handle, stem'
bakutsí-	'chest'	'front part'
bùbùì-	'belly'	'underside'
dɛá-	'foot'	'base, foot'
ekú-	'eye'	'center, point'
gúró-	'heart'	'core, essence'
iká-	'head'	'head, top'
kwayó-	'tooth'	'edge'
ŋabérí-	'rib'	'side'

element in the compound, a position in which they denote the 'part' in a 'whole-part' semantic relationship. Accordingly, the first element in the compound represents the 'whole' in the relationship. Table 0.40.16 displays a handful of such 'whole-part' compounds:

Table 0.40: 16: Icétôd relational compounds

Roots	Lexical meaning	Relational meaning
aká-kwáyó-	mouth-tooth	'lip'
dáŋá-àkà-	termite-mouth	'termite mound hole'
dòdî-èkù-	vagina-eye	'cervix'
fátára-bakutsí-	ridge-chest	'front of vertical ridge'
fetí-ékù-	sun-eye	'east'
kaiɗeí-áƙátí-	pumpkin-nose	'pumpkin stem'
kwará-dɛà-	mountain-foot	'base of mountain'
kwaré-ékù-	mountain-eye	'saddle between peaks'
taɓá-dɛà-	boulder-foot	'base of boulder'
ts'aɗí-ákà-	fire-mouth	'flame'

0.5 Pronouns

0.5.1 Overview

Pronouns 'stand in' for nouns that are not explicitly mentioned. Most Icétôd pronouns are free-standing words, but the subject-agreement pronominals and the dummy pronominal are suffixes that are bound to verbs (and so are treated in §8 on verbs). In a sentence, free pronouns are handled just like nouns in that they take case. The free pronouns discussed in this section fall into the following nine categories: personal, the impersonal possessum, indefinite, interrogative, demonstrative, relative, reflexive, distributive, and cohortative.

0.5.2 Personal pronouns

Icétôd personal pronouns represent the various grammatical persons that can be referred to in a sentence. The name is slightly misleading in that the pronouns can also denote nonpersonal, inanimate entities expressed by 'it' and 'they' (when referring to things). The Icétôd personal pronoun system operates along

three axes: person (1, 2, 3), number (SG, PL), and clusivity (EXC, INC). The 'first person' refers to 'I' and 'we', the second to 'you', and the third to 'she', 'he', 'it', and 'they'. 'Number' (singular or plural) obviously has to do with whether the entity is one or more than one. And 'clusivity' (EXCLUSIVE or INCLUSIVE) tells whether the addressee of the speech is *ex*cluded from or *in*cluded in the reference of 'we'. Table 0.50.1 presents the seven Icétôd personal pronouns in their lexical forms, while Table 0.50.2 on the next page offers a full case declension of them:

Table 0.41: 1: Icétôd personal pronouns

1SG	ɲcì-	'I'
2SG	bì-	'you'
3SG	ntsí-	's/he/it'
1PL.EXC	ŋgó-	'we'
1PL.INC	ɲjíní-	'we all'
2PL	bìtì-	'you all'
3PL	ńtí-	'they'

Table 0.42: 2: Case declension of Icétôd personal pronouns

	'I'		'you'		's/he/it'		'we'		'we all'		'you all'		'they'	
	NF	FF	NF	FF	NF	FF	NF	FF	NF	FF	NF	FF	NF	FF
NOM	ŋ́kà	ŋ́kᵃ	bìà	bì	ntsa	ntsᵃ	ŋgwa	ŋgwᵃ	ɲjíná	ɲjín	bìtà	bìtᵃ	ńtá	ńtᵃ
ACC	ɲcìà	ɲcìkᵃ	bìà	bìkᵃ	ntsíá	ntsíkᵃ	ŋgóá	ŋgókᵃ	ɲjíníá	ɲjíníkᵃ	bìtìà	bìtìkᵃ	ńtíà	ńtíkᵃ
DAT	ɲcìè	ɲcìkᵉ	bìè	bìkᵉ	ntsíé	ntsíkᵉ	ŋgóé	ŋgókᵉ	ɲjíníè	ɲjíníkᵉ	bìtìè	bìtìkᵉ	ńtíè	ńtíkᵉ
GEN	ɲcìè	ɲcì	bìè	bì	ntsíé	ntsí	ŋgóé	ŋgó	ɲjíníè	ɲjíní	bìtìè	bìtì	ńtíè	ńtí
ABL	ɲcùò	ɲcù	bùò	bù	ntsúó	ntsú	ŋgóó	ŋgó	ɲjínúó	ɲjínú	bìtùò	bìtù	ńtúò	ńtú
INS	ŋ́kò	ŋ́kᵒ	bùò	bù	ntso	ntsᵒ	ŋgo	ŋgᵒ	ɲjínó	ɲjínᵒ	bìtò	bìtᵒ	ńtó	ńtᵒ
COP	ɲcùò	ɲcùkᵒ	bùò	bùkᵒ	ntsúó	ntsúkᵒ	ŋgóó	ŋgókᵒ	ɲjínúó	ɲjínúkᵒ	bìtùò	bìtùkᵒ	ńtúò	ńtúkᵒ
OBL	ɲcì	ɲcⁱ	bì	bì	ntsi	ntsⁱ	ŋgo	ŋgᵒ	ɲjíní	ɲjín	bìtì	bìtⁱ	ńtí	ńtⁱ

0.5.3 Impersonal possessum pronoun (PSSM)

Icétôd also has a special pronoun whose only function is to represent a POSSESSUM, that is, an entity associated with another entity (a POSSESSOR) through a

general relationship of possession or association. This pronoun has the form *ɛnɨ-* and is bound to another noun or pronoun in a compound construction. It is IM-PERSONAL in that it communicates nothing about the possessor or the possessum except for the relationship of possession itself. The impersonal possessum pronoun can be in a compound with personal pronouns or other nouns. Table 0.50.3 shows *ɛnɨ-* with all seven personal pronouns:

Table 0.43: 3: Icétôd impersonal possessum with pronouns

ɲj-ɛnɨ-	I-POSSESSUM	'mine'
bi-ɛnɨ-	you-POSSESSUM	'yours'
nts-ɛnɨ-	s/he/it-POSSESSUM	'hers/his/its'
ŋgó-ɛni-	we-POSSESSUM	'ours'
ɲjíní-ɛni-	we all-POSSESSUM	'all of ours'
biti-ɛni-	you all-POSSESSUM	'all of yours'
ńtí-ɛnɨ-	they-POSSESSUM	'theirs'

The impersonal possessum pronoun *ɛnɨ-* can also be used with full nouns (even deverbalized verbs) as the compound's first element. This type of possessive construction is illustrated below in Table 0.50.4:

Table 0.44: 4: Icétôd impersonal possessum with nouns

aɗoni-ɛnɨ-	to be three-POSSESSUM	'the third time'
cɨkámɛ-ɛnɨ-	women-POSSESSUM	'the women's'
ɦyɔ-ɛnɨ	cattle-POSSESSUM	'the foreigners''
Icé-ɛnɨ-	Ik-POSSESSUM	'the Ik's'
ɲɔtɔ-ɛnɨ-	men-POSSESSUM	'the men's'
roɓe-ɛnɨ-	people-POSSESSUM	'the people's'
wicé-ɛnɨ-	children-POSSESSUM	'the children's'

0.5.4 Indefinite pronouns

Pronouns that are INDEFINITE stand for other entities but with a certain degree of indefiniteness or vagueness. All but one of the Icétôd indefinite pronouns are based on the root *kɔnɨ-* 'one' or its plural counterpart *kíní-* 'more than one'. The

one that is not based on these roots is *saí-* 'some more/other', a root that may not actually belong with this set but is included on the basis of its English translation. Table 0.50.5 provides a run-down of the main Icétôd indefinite pronouns:

Table 0.45: 5: Icétôd indefinite pronouns

kɔnɨ-	one	'another, some (sg.)'
kɔn-áí-	one-place	'somewhere (else)'
kɔnɨ-ɛnɨ-	one-POSSESSUM	'a(n), some (sg.)'
kɔnɨ-ámà-	one-person	'somebody, someone'
kɔn-ɔmà-	one-SINGULATIVE	'some unknown person'
kíní-ámá-	many-person	'some unknown people'
kíní-ɛnɨ-	many-POSSESSUM	'some (pl.)'
saí-	some	'some more, some other'

0.5.5 Interrogative pronouns

The role of INTERROGATIVE pronouns is to query the identity of the entity they represent. As a result, they are used to form questions. All but one of the Icétôd interrogative pronouns incorporate the ancient northeastern African interrogative particle **nd-/nt-*, and the one that is not has the form *ìsì-* 'what'. The small handful of six Icétôd interrogative pronouns are provided below in Table 0.50.6.

Table 0.46: 6: Icétôd interrogative pronouns

ìsì-	what	'what?'
ndaí-	?-place	'where?'
ǹdò-	who	'who?'
ńt-	?	'where?'
ńtɛɛnɨ-	?-possessum	'which (sg.)'
ńtíɛnɨ-	?-possessum	'which (pl.)'

In a question, Icétôd interrogative pronouns take the same slot as the nouns they are representing. But it is also common for the interrogative pronoun to be 'fronted': moved to the first place in the sentence for emphasis. When this

happens, the pronoun is given the copulative case (see §7.8). Example sentences (1)-(2) are provided below to illustrate fronting. Both orders are perfectly acceptable. For more on how questions are formed in Icétôd, please refer to §10.4.3.

Bɛdɨdà ìs? Isio bɛdɨd⊠? want:2SG what:NOM what:COP want:2SG 'You want what?' 'What do you want?'

Ia ndaík⊠? Ndaíó iâd⊠? be:3SG where:DAT where:COP be:3SG:DP 'It is where?' 'Where is it?'

0.5.6 Demonstrative pronouns

Icétôd has a set of DEMONSTRATIVE pronouns that referentially 'demonstrate' or point to an entity. They are all based on the singular form *dɨ-* 'this (one)' or the plural form *di-* 'these (ones)' that differ formally only in regard to their vowel (/ɨ/ versus /i/). The Icétôd demonstrative pronoun system is divided in three categories based on spatial distance from the speaker: 1) PROXIMAL, meaning near the speaker, 2) MEDIAL, a relatively medium distance from the speaker, and 3) DISTAL, meaning relatively far from the speaker. The medial and distal forms, for both singular and plural, consist of the root *dɨ-/di-* preceded by the cliticized distal demonstratives *kɨ* 'that' (derived from *ke*) for singular and *ki* 'those' for plural. Note further that the only difference between the medial and distal pronouns in the tone pattern whereby the medial form has a high tone on the last syllable, while the distal form does not. Table 0.50.7 presents the Icétôd demonstrative pronouns in their lexical forms, while Table 0.50.8 gives the full case declensions of all six base forms. Note that the medial and distal forms are indistinguishable except in the NOM, INS, and OBL cases:

Table 0.47: 7: Icétôd demonstrative pronouns

	Singular		Plural	
Proximal	dɨ-	'this'	di-	'these'
Medial	kɨdɨ-	'that'	kidi-	'those
Distal	kɨdɨ-	'that'	kidi-	'those'

0.5.7 Relative pronouns (REL)

The role of RELATIVE pronouns is to introduce a relative clause: a clause embedded in a main clause to specify the reference of an entity in the main clause. A

Table 0.48: 8: Case declensions of the demonstrative pronouns

	Proximal		Medial		Distal	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
NOM	ɗa	ɗa	kɨɗá	kiɗá	kɨɗa	kiɗa
ACC	ɗɨá	ɗíá	kɨɗɨá	kiɗíá	kɨɗɨá	kiɗíá
DAT	ɗɛɛ	ɗíé	kɨɗɛɛ	kiɗíé	kɨɗɛɛ	kiɗíé
GEN	ɗɛɛ	ɗíé	kɨɗɛɛ	kiɗíé	kɨɗɛɛ	kiɗíé
ABL	ɗɔɔ	ɗúó	kɨɗɔɔ	kiɗúó	kɨɗɔɔ	kiɗúó
INS	ɗɔ	ɗo	kɨɗɔ	kiɗó	kɨɗɔ	kiɗo
COP	ɗɔɔ	ɗúó	kɨɗɔɔ	kiɗúó	kɨɗɔɔ	kiɗúó
OBL	ɗɨ	ɗi	kɨɗɨ	kiɗí	kɨɗɨ	kiɗi

fascinating thing about the Icétôd relative pronoun system is that it is tensed. That is, it is able to encode the time period at which the statement contained in the relative clause holds or held true. The five time periods covered by these pronouns are 1) NON-PAST, 2) RECENT PAST (earlier today), 3) REMOVED PAST (yester-), 4) REMOTE PAST (a while ago), and 5) REMOTEST PAST (long ago).

The Icétôd relative pronouns are all enclitics based on the proto- demonstratives *na* 'this' and *ni* 'these' (see §6.2 below). Those forms are identical to the non-past relative pronouns *na* 'that/which' and *ni* 'that/which (pl.)'. To create the other tensed versions of these relative pronouns, the language has employed one prefix and several suffixes that are affixed to the base form. Table 0.50.9 shows the whole paradigm:

Table 0.49: 9: Icétôd relative pronouns

	Singular	Plural	
Non-past	=na	=ni	'that/which…'
Recent past	=náa	=níi	'that/which…'
Removed past	=sɨna	=sini	'that/which…'
Remote past	=nótso	=nútsu	'that/which…'
Remotest past	=noo	=nuu	'that/which…'

In sentence, no matter where an Icétôd relative clause (RC) appears, the relative pronoun will introduce it as the first element in the clause. The entity in

the main clause that the relative clause is modifying—called the COMMON ARGU-
MENT—must be the last word before the relative clause. As a clitic, the relative
pronoun attaches to the common argument. Examples (3)-(4) are given below
to illustrate the syntactic position of relative pronouns and clauses. But to learn
more about the syntax of relative clauses, please refer to §10.3.2.

*Atsáá ceka [náa ƙwaatet⊠]*_{RC}. come:3SG:PRF woman:NOM =REL:SG give.birth:3SG
'The woman [who gave birth today] has come.'

*Tɔŋɔlano rie [sini detí]*_{RC}. slaughter:HORT goats:OBL =REL:PL bring:1SG 'Let's slaugh-
ter the goats [that I brought yesterday].'

0.5.8 Reflexive pronoun

Icétôd has a REFLEXIVE pronoun that 'reflects' the impact of a verb back onto
the subject of the verb. In other words, with the reflexive, the subject and object
of an action are the same entity. The Icétôd reflexive pronoun has the form *asɨ-*
in the singular and *ásɨkà-* in the plural which can be translated as '-self' and '-
selves', respectively. Mostly likely, this pronoun is related to the word *as* 'body' in
Sɔɔ/Tepeth, one of Icétôd's sister Kuliak languages. This link is further supported
by the fact that another way Icétôd expresses reflexivity is by using its own word
for 'body', *nébù-*, as in *Isio náa kawuƙóídee binébùk⊠* 'Why did you chop yourself
(lit. 'your body')?'.

The reflexive pronouns are used extensively to make SEMI-TRANSITIVE verbs: verbs
falling between transitive and intransitive. For example, while the verb *ídzòn*
'to discharge, emit' is intransitive and the verb *ídzès* 'to discharge, emit, shoot'
is transitive, the verb *ídzesa asɨ* 'to shoot across (lit. to 'shoot -self')' is 'semi-
transitive' because the subject and object of the shooting are the same entity. The
full case declensions of the reflexive pronouns are given below in Table 0.50.10.
But first, examples sentences (5)-(6) are provided to illustrate the reflexive and
semi-transitive usages of these special pronouns:

Kwatsítúƙoe as. small:CAUS:COMP:IMP self:OBL 'Humble yourself (lit: make your-
self small).'

Kaio dzúíka ɨtɨdɨdátie ásɨkàk⊠. go:SEQ thieves:NOM sneak:3PL:SIM selves:ACC 'The
thieves went slinking away.'

Table 0.50: 10: Case declensions of the reflexive pronouns

	Singular		Plural	
	NF	**FF**	**NF**	**FF**
NOM	asa	as	ásɨkà	ásɨkᵃ
ACC	asɨá	asɨkᵃ	ásɨkàà	ásɨkàkᵃ
DAT	asɨɛ	asɨk⊠	ásɨkɛɛ	ásɨkàk⊠
GEN	asɨɛ	asɨ	ásɨkɛɛ	ásɨkà⊠
ABL	asʉɔ	asʉ	ásɨkɔɔ	ásɨkàˀ
INS	asɔ	asˀ	ásɨkɔ	ásɨkˀ
COP	asʉɔ	asʉkˀ	ásɨkɔɔ	ásɨkàkˀ
OBL	asɨ	as	ásɨkà	ásɨkᵃ

0.6 Demonstratives

0.6.1 Overview

Icétôd's DEMONSTRATIVES grammatically point to a referent. In the case of NOM-INAL demonstratives, the referent is an entity named by a noun, whereas ADVER-BIAL demonstratives point to scene or situation of some sort. The Icétôd nominal demonstratives are all ENCLITICS that come just after their host (the referent), as in *ámá=nà* 'this person'. Because the locative adverbial demonstratives function as adverbs, they tend to come at the end of the clause they are modifying. Unlike demonstrative pronouns (see §5.6), spatial and temporal demonstratives are not nouns and therefore never take case endings.

0.6.2 Spatial demonstratives (DEM)

Icétôd's SPATIAL demonstratives locate their referent in physical space in degrees of distance from the speaker. For singular referents, there are three degrees of distance: PROXIMAL (near), MEDIAL (relatively near/far), and DISTAL (more distant). For plural referents, the language only distinguishes between proximal and distal. The singular demonstratives are usually translated into English as 'this' and 'that' and the plural ones as 'these' or 'those'. Table 0.55.1 below presents the whole set of spatial nominal demonstratives. Notice that in their final forms (FF), their final vowels *may* be whispered or omitted altogether:

Spatial demonstratives usually directly follow their referent, as in:

Eakwóó ɗa n. man:COP this.one:NOM=DEM.SG.PROX 'This one is a *man*.'

Table 0.51: 1: Icétôd spatial demonstratives

	Singular		Plural	
	NF	FF	NF	FF
Proximal	=nà	=na (=n)	=nì	=ni (=n)
Medial	=nè	=na (=n)		
Distal	=kè	=ke (=kᵉ)	=kì	=ki (=kⁱ)

Káwese koto ríjá ke. cut:sps then forest=DEM.SG.DIST 'And then that forest over there was cut down.'

0.6.3 Temporal demonstratives (DEM.PST)

The TEMPORAL demonstratives locate their referent in five periods of time: NON-PAST (present and future), RECENT past (earlier today), REMOVED past (yester-), REMOTE past (a while ago before yesterday), and REMOTEST past (long ago). The Ik language has both singular and plural temporal nominal demonstratives, and these are listed below in Table 0.55.2. These temporal demonstratives are usually translated into English as 'this' and 'that' in the singular, and 'these' and 'those' in the plural, but with a sense of time rather than location. Recall that Icétôd's relative pronouns (Table 0.50.9) are identical in form to the temporal demonstratives in Table 0.55.2 below, only that because relative pronouns never occur before a pause, they lack the final forms (FF).

Table 0.52: 2: Icétôd temporal demonstratives

	Singular		Plural	
	NF	FF	NF	FF
Non-past	=nà	=n	=nì	=n
Recent past	=náà	=nákᵃ	=níì	=níkⁱ
Removed past	=sɨnà	=sɨn	=sìnì	=sìn
Remote past	=nótsò	=nótsò	=nútsù	=nútsù
Remotest past	=nòò	=nòkᵒ	=nùù	=nùkᵘ

Just like spatial demonstratives, temporal demonstratives directly follow the noun

they refer to, as the following examples illustrate:

Rájéte dɨ nákª. return:VEN:IMP one:OBL=DEM.SG.REC 'Give back the earlier one.'

Gaana kaɨna nótso Lopíariɛ zùk⊠. bad:3SG year:NOM=DEM.SG.REM Lopiar.GEN very That year (a while back) of Lopiar was very bad.'

0.6.4 Anaphoric demonstratives (ANPH)

The ANAPHORIC demonstratives locate their referent not in space or time *per se* but in *shared communicative context*. In other words, they point back to a referent that has either been mentioned already in the same discourse or is already known by both speaker and hearer by some other means. Icétôd has a singular and a plural anaphoric demonstrative which are clitics that have the same form in both non-final and final environments (i.e., their final vowels are not omitted). These anaphoric demonstratives, translated into English as 'that' in the singular and 'those' in the plural, are shown below in Table 0.55.3:

Table 0.53: 3: Icétôd anaphoric demonstratives

Singular	Plural
=déé	=díí

Ik anaphoric demonstratives also directly follow their referents, as in:

Itíóna ɲatala déé. be.important:3SG tradition:NOM=ANAPH.SG 'That tradition (already discussed) is important.'

Atsa noo roɓa díí Sópìà⊠. come:3SG=PST people:NOM=ANAPH.PL Ethipia:ABL 'Those people (already mentioned) came from Ethiopia.'

0.6.5 Adverbial demonstratives

0.6.5.1 Overview

Besides the three types of nominal demonstratives described above, Icétôd also has a complex system of ADVERBIAL demonstratives that involve both locative and anaphoric locative reference. Unlike the nominal demonstratives, the adverbial demonstratives are technically nouns themselves in that they are marked for case and can take their own nominal demonstratives. Their function, however, is adverbial.

0.6.5.2 Locative adverbial demonstratives

The first type of adverbial demonstrative, the LOCATIVE ADVERBIAL demonstrative, locates the state or event expressed in a clause in physical space. Icétôd has three sets of such demonstratives. Sets 1 and 2 are built on degree of distance (see Table 0.55.4 below), while Set 3, in addition to degree of distance, is also split into singular and plural. These demonstratives are usually translated into English as 'here', 'there', 'over there', etc., depending on relative distance.

Table 0.54: 4: Icétôd locative adverbial demonstratives

	Set 1	Set 2
Proximal		náxánà- (=nà)
Medial	nédì- (=nè)	
Distal	kédì- (kè)	kɨxánà- (=kè)
Set 3	Singular	Plural
Proximal	naí- (=nà)	nií- (=nì)
Medial	naí- (=nè)	
Distal	kɔɔ (=kè)	kií- (=kì)

Examples (7)-(8) illustrate the locative adverbial demonstratives:
Ɨtáia bee kɨxánee k⊠. reach:1SG=PST there=DEM.SG.DIST 'I reached there yesterday.'
Kaini dzígwaa naíé ne. go:SEQ trade:ACC there=DEM.SG.MED 'And they went to do trade just right there.'

0.6.5.3 Anaphoric locative demonstratives

The second type of Icétôd adverbial demonstratives is ANAPHORIC LOCATIVE. Like the locative nominal demonstratives, these point to a specific place—or metaphorically, a specific time—while also signifying anaphorically that that place or time is already known, either from earlier in the discourse or for some other reason. Icétôd has two such demonstratives with roughly the same meaning, and these are *ts'ɛdɛ-* and *tɨmɛdɛ-* 'there/then'. Because these are actually nouns, Table 0.55.5 presents a case declension of them:
Examples (9)-(10) illustrate the locative adverbial demonstratives:
Kaa noo óŋora jɨɨ ts'ɛdɛɛ. go:3SG=PST elephant:NOM=also there:DAT 'Even the elephants went there (already mentioned).'
Pɛlɛmɨɔ saa tɨmɛdɔɔ. appear:SEQ others:NOM there:ABL 'And others appeared from there (already known).'

Table 0.55: 5: Case declension of anaphoric locative demonstratives

	'there'	'there'
NOM	ts'ɛda	tʉmɛda
ACC	ts'ɛdɛá	tʉmɛdɛá
DAT	ts'ɛdɛɛ	tʉmɛdɛɛ
GEN	ts'ɛdɛɛ	tʉmɛdɛɛ
ABL	ts'ɛdɔɔ	tʉmɛdɔɔ
INS	ts'ɛdɔ	tʉmɛdɔ
COP	ts'ɛdɔɔ	tʉmɛdɔɔ
OBL	ts'ɛdɛ	tʉmɛdɛ

0.7 Case

0.7.1 Overview

Icétôd has a CASE system. This means that every noun has a special marking to show what role it has in the sentence. Icétôd marks this role by means of a set of case SUFFIXES (endings). Four of the cases are marked with suffixes consisting of a single vowel, while for three others, the suffix consists of /k/ plus a vowel. Another case, the oblique, is marked by the absence of any suffix. In the following examples, notice how the word *ŋókí-* 'dog' at the end of each sentence has a different ending depending on the case for which it is marked:

Atsa ŋók⊠. come:3SG dog:NOM 'The dog comes.'

Cɛa boroka ŋókík⊠. kill:3SG bushpig:NOM dog:ACC 'The bushpig kills the dog.'

Maa eméá ŋókík⊠. give:3SG meat:ACC dog:DAT 'He gives meat to the dog.'

Mita ima ŋókí. be:3SG child:NOM dog:GEN 'It is the child of the dog.'

Xɛba ŋókú. fear:3SG dog:ABL 'He fears the dog.'

Kaa ŋók⊠. go:3SG dog:INS 'He goes with the dog.'

Bɛna ŋókúk⊠. not.be:3SG dog:COP 'It is not a dog.'

Mita ŋókⁱ. be:3SG dog:OBL 'It is a dog.'

Eight examples are given above because Icétôd has eight cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, ablative, instrumental, copulative, and oblique. Table 0.58.1 below presents the non-final and final forms of the suffixes that mark all eight of these cases. Keep in mind that the null symbol <Ø> signifies either 1) that the case suffix is inaudible or, for the oblique case, 2) that there is no case suffix.

Table 0.56: 1: Icétôd case suffixes

Case	Abbreviation	Non-final	Final
Nominative	NOM	-a	-ᵃ/-Ø
Accusative	ACC	-a	-kᵃ
Dative	DAT	-e	-kᵉ
Genitive	GEN	-e	-e/-Ø
Ablative	ABL	-o	-ᵒ/-Ø
Instrumental	INS	-o	-ᵒ/-Ø
Copulative	COP	-o	-kᵒ
Oblique	OBL	-Ø	-Ø

From Table 0.58.1, there may appear to be significant ambiguity in the Icétôd case system. For instance, the non-final forms of the nominative and accusative suffixes, the dative and genitive suffixes, and the ablative, instrumental, and copulative suffixes all look the same. In most cases, the key to disambiguating the suffixes is something called 'subtractive' morphology. Some of the Icétôd case suffixes are subtractive in that they subtract or delete the final vowel of the noun to which they attach. The subtractive cases are the nominative and the instrumental. So, for example, while the non-final forms of the nominative and accusative are identical, their morphological behavior is not: the nominative {-a} subtracts the noun's final vowel, as when *ŋókí-* 'dog' becomes *ŋók-á* 'dog:NOM'; by contrast, the accusative suffix is non-subtractive, as in *ŋókí-à* 'dog:ACC'. Other case ambiguities like genitive versus dative and ablative versus copulative in their non-final forms can be resolved in the context of the sentence. Different verbs require different cases.

Since every Icétôd noun ends in a vowel, and since that vowel can be any of the nine (/i, ɨ, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, ʉ, u/), the collision of nouns and case suffixes gives rise to all kinds of vowel assimilation (see §2.4.4). The next two tables present declensions of two nouns illustrating vowel assimilation. Table 0.58.2 shows the noun *fetí-* 'sun' declined for all eight cases. In particular, notice how the vowel /o/ in the ablative and copulative suffixes partially assimilate the /i/ in *fetí-* to become /u/. While Table 0.58.2 shows partial vowel assimilation caused by case suffixation, Table 0.58.3 shows an instance of total assimilation. In this table, the noun *kíjá-* 'land' is declined for all the eight cases. Note specifically how the final /a/ of *kíjá-* gets totally assimilated by the non-final dative, genitive, ablative, and copulative suffixes.

Table 0.57: 2: Case declension of *fetí-* 'sun'

Case	Non-final	Final
NOM	feta	fet[a]
ACC	fetíá	fetík[a]
DAT	fetíé	fetík[e]
GEN	fetíé	fetí
ABL	fetúó	fetú
INS	feto	fet[o]
COP	fetúó	fetúk[o]
OBL	feti	fet[i]

Table 0.58: 3: Case declension of *kíjá-* 'land'

Case	Non-final	Final
NOM	kíjá	kíj[a]
ACC	kíjáà	kíják[a]
DAT	kíjéè	kíják[e]
GEN	kíjéè	kíjá[e]
ABL	kíjóò	kíjá[o]
INS	kíjó	kíj[o]
COP	kíjóò	kíják[o]
OBL	kíjá	kíj[a]

0.7.2 Nominative (NOM)

The NOMINATIVE case, marked by the suffix {-a}, is the 'naming' case whose role is to do the following: 1) mark the subject of main clauses, 2) mark the subject of sequential clauses (see §8.10.7), and 3) mark the direct object of clauses with 1st and 2nd person subjects ('I', 'we', 'you'). Three example are provided below, each one illustrating one of the three grammatical roles of the nominative case. The third example contains seven sentences to show how Icétôd object-marking is SPLIT: objects after 3rd-person subjects take the accusative case, while 1st or 2nd-person subjects take objects in the nominative case.

Subject of a main clause *Atsáá lɔŋɔt-⊠.* come:PRF enemies-NOM 'The enemies have come!'

Subject of a sequential clause *Toɓuo kakaam-a kʉlábák⌧.* spear:SEQ hunter-NOM bushbuck:ACC 'And the hunter speared the bushbuck.'
Object of a clause with a 1/2-person subject
Ŋkɨá tɔbɔŋ-a na. eat:1SG mush-NOM=this 'I eat this meal mush.'
Ŋkɨda tɔbɔŋ-a na. eat:2SG mush-NOM=this 'You eat this meal mush.'
Ŋka tɔbɔŋɔ-á na. eat:3SG mush-ACC=this 'She eats this meal mush.'
Ŋkɨmá tɔbɔŋ-a na. eat:1PL.EXC mush-NOM=this 'We eat this meal mush.'
Ŋkɨsɨna tɔbɔŋ-a na. eat:1PL.INC mush-NOM=this 'We all this meal mush.'
Ŋkɨtá tɔbɔŋ-a na. eat:2PL mush-NOM=this 'You all eat this meal mush.'
Ŋkáta tɔbɔŋɔ-á na. eat:3pl mush-ACC=this 'They eat this meal mush.'

0.7.3 Accusative case (ACC)

The ACCUSATIVE case, marked by the suffix {-ka}, is also split with regard to its basic function. One of its basic functions, that for which it is named, is to mark the direct object of any clause with a 3-person subject. Its other common function is to mark the subject *and* any object of several kinds of subordinate (dependent) clauses (including relative and temporal clauses). Each of these functions is exemplified by one of the following example sentences. In the first example, a sentence with a 1-person subject is also given to show the contrast:
Direct object of a clause with a 3-person subject *Wetésátà mɛsɛ-à mùɲ.* drink:FUT:3PL beer-ACC all 'They will drink all the beer.'
Wetésímà mɛs-à mùɲ. drink:FUT:1PL.EXC beer-NOM all 'We will drink all the beer.'
Subject and object of a subordinate clause *Mee kɔrɔɓadi* give:IMP thing:OBL
[náa ɲci-a detí.] that I-ACC bring:1SG 'Give me the thing that I brought earlier.'
[Noo ŋgó-á bɛdɨmɛɛ bi-a],... when we-ACC want:1PL.EXC you-ACC 'When we were looking for you,...'

0.7.4 Dative (DAT)

The DATIVE case, marked by the suffix {-ke}, is the 'to' or 'in' case whose role is to mark indirect objects (also called 'extended' or 'secondary'). These indirect objects may encode semantic 'roles' like: destination, location, reception, perception, possession, and purpose. Each of these is illustrated by one of the following example sentences:
Destination *Keesíá awá-k⌧.* go:FUT:1SG home-DAT 'I'm going home.'
Location *Ia sédà-k⌧.* be:3SG garden-DAT 'She's in the garden.'
Reception *Tɔkɔráta kabasáá ròɓà-k⌧.* divide:3PL flour:ACC people-DAT 'They are dividing out flour to people.'

Recipient?

14

Perception*Iɓálá ɲcì-è zùk⊠*. appall:3SG I-DAT very 'It really appalls me.' (Lit: 'It is Eexperience very appalling to me.')

Possession *Ia hyɔa ntsí-k⊠*. be:3SG cattle:NOM he-DAT 'He has cattle.' (Lit: 'There are cattle to him.')

Purpose *Kaa ɲera dakúákɔ-k⊠*. go:3SG girls:NOM wood:inside-DAT 'The girls go for firewood.'

0.7.5 Genitive (GEN)

The GENITIVE case, marked by the suffix {-e}, is the 'of' case whose role is to encode a possessive or associative relationship a noun has with another noun (or, in rare cases, with a verb). Within the broad notions of possession and association are finer nuances like: ownership, part-whole relationship, kinship, and attribution. These nuances are each illustrated with an example sentence below:

Ownership *Hɔnɨnɨ hyɔa ńtí-e ɓórék⊠*. drive:SEQ cattle:ACC they-GEN corral:DAT 'And they drove their cattle to the corral.'

Part-whole relationship *Wasá dɛɛdɛɛ kwará-⊠*. stand:3SG foot:DAT mountain-GEN 'He's standing at the foot of the mountain.'

Kinship *Mɨná cekíá ntsí-é zùk⊠*. love:3SG wife:ACC he-GEN very 'He loves his wife very much.'

Attribution *Maráɲá muceá bì-ᵠ*. good:3SG way:NOM you-GEN 'Your luck is good.' (lit: Your way is good.)

The genitive case has two further roles. One is the NOMINALIZATION of clauses, that is, when a whole clause is changed into a noun phrase that can be used as a subject or object in another clause. For example, the clause *Cɛɨkɔta náa eakwa ídèmèk⊠* 'The man killed the snake' can be compressed into the nominalized *cɛɛsɨkɔta eakwéé ídèmè* 'the killing of the man of the snake' or 'the man's killing of the snake'. The other secondary role of the genitive has to do with verb *kámón* 'to be like'. For unknown historical reasons, this verb requires genitive case marking on its complement, as in *Kámá ròɓèè mùɲ* 'He's like all people', where *ròɓè-è* is analyzed as 'people-GEN'.

0.7.6 Ablative (ABL)

The ABLATIVE case, marked by the suffix {-o}, is the 'from' case whose function is to mark objects with the following semantic roles: origin/source, cause, stimulus, source of judgment, location of activity (versus static location covered by the dative case). Each of these concepts are illustrated below with one example apiece:

Origin/source *Atsía awá-⊠.* come:1SG home-ABL 'I come from home.'

Cause *Baɗukota noo ɲɛkɛ-⊠.* die:3SG=PST hunger-ABL 'He died from hunger.'

Stimulus *Xɛɓa ɲérà-⊠.* fear:3SG girls-ABL 'He's shy of girls.'

Source of judgment *Daa ɲcù-ᴼ.* nice:3SG I-ABL 'It's nice to me.'

Location of activitiy *Cɛmáta sédìkà-⊠.* fight:3PL gardens-ABL 'They are fighting in the gardens.'

0.7.7 Instrumental (INS)

The INSTRUMENTAL case, marked by the suffix {-o}, is the 'by' or 'with' case. Unlike the ablative suffix {-o}, the instrumental suffix is subtractive, meaning that it first deletes the noun's final vowel. The function of the instrumental case is to mark secondary objects with such semantic roles as: instrument/means, pathway, accompaniment, manner, time, and occupation. Each of these nuances is illustrated by one sentence each in the following examples:

Instrument/means *Toɓíá noo gasoa ɓɨs-⊠.* spear:1SG=PST warthog:NOM spear-INS 'I speared a warthog with a spear.'

Pathway *Kaini fots-o gígìròk⊠.* go:3PL ravine-INS downside:DAT 'And they went down by way of the ravine.'

Accompaniment *Atsímá naa kúrúɓád-o ŋgó⊠.* come:1PL=PST things-INS we:GEN 'We came with our things.'

Manner *Rájétuo ɲcie gáánàs-⊠.* answer:3SG I:DAT badness-INS 'He answered me with hostility.'

Time *Bɨraa ɲɛka ódoicik-ó ni.* lack:3SG hunger:NOM days-INS=these 'There is no hunger these days.'

Occupation *Cɛma fítés-o kwázìkà⊠.* fight:3SG washing-INS clothes:GEN 'She's washing clothes.' (lit: 'She is fighting with the washing of clothes.')

0.7.8 Copulative (COP)

The COPULATIVE case, marked by the suffix {-ko}, is the 'is' or 'coupling' case whose function is to link one noun to another in a relationship of exact identity. In this function, the copulative marks three kinds of nouns: 1) a focused (fronted) noun, 2) the complement of a verbless COPULA (linking verb) clause, and 3) the complement of a negative copula of identity clause. These different uses of the copulative are illustrated in the following sentences.

Fronted noun

Fronted subject

Ŋgó-ó naa wetím. we-COP=PST drink:1PL.EXC 'It was we (who) drank (it).'

16

Fronted object *Emó-ó bɛɗɨ.* meat-COP want:1SG 'It is meat (that) I want.'

Fronted secondary object *Nɛkɔ-ɔ kaiátèè kàkààkɔk⌷.* hunger-COP go:PLUR:3PL hunt:inside:DAT 'It is (due to) hunger (that) they keep going hunting.'

Verbless copula complement *Ìsù-k⌷? Ámó-o keɗe...? Ámá-k⌷.* what-COP person-COP or person-COP 'What is it? A person or...? It's a person.'

Negative copula complement *Bɛna náá ɲcù-k⌷.* not.be:3SG=PST I-COP 'It was not me!'

0.7.9 Oblique (OBL)

The OBLIQUE case, marked by the absence of any suffix, is the 'leftover' case. As such, it is employed to mark nouns in a variety of disparate grammatical roles and functions. Among these are the following: 1) The subject and/or object of an imperative clause, 2) the subject and/or object of an optative clause, 3) the object of a preposition, and 3) a vocative noun. Each of these are demonstrated by at least one sentence in the examples below:

Subject and/or object of an imperative clause *Deté bi cue díí!* bring:IMP you:OBL water:OBL=those 'You bring that water!'

Subject and/or object of an optative clause *N´ ci nesíbine emuti ntsí.* I:OBL listen:1SG:OPT story:OBL he:GEN 'Let me listen to her story.'

Object of a preposition *Túbia ima ɲcia páka aʍ⌷.* follow:3SG child:NOM I:ACC until home:OBL 'The child follows me up to home.'

Kirotánía kóteré ɦyekesí bì. sweat:1SG for life:OBL you:GEN 'I sweat for your survival.'

Vocative *Éé wice, atsú!* hey children:OBL come:IMP 'Hey children, come!'

0.8 Verbs

0.8.1 Overview

Icétôd verbs consist of a verbal root (written in this book with a hyphen, as in *wèt-* 'drink') and a variety of available derivational and inflectional suffixes. The language has no prefixes except those borrowed centuries ago that no longer have any active function, for example the /a/ in *ábɨbɨk-* 'bubble' or the /i/ in *iɓóɓór-* 'hollow out'. Reduplicating a verb root, partially or totally, has long been a strategy for creating a sense of continuousness or repetitiveness, as when *ɨtsán-* 'disturb' becomes *ɨtsanɨtsán-* 'torment relentlessly'.

Icétôd employs a large number of suffixes to create longer verb stems. Among these are the INFINITIVE and other deverbalizing suffixes that change a verb into a

morphological noun that can take case endings, demonstratives, relative clauses, etc. One very key verb-building strategy of Icétôd is the so-called DIRECTIONAL suffixes that signify the direction of the verb's movement to or away from the speaker. These two directionals have also been extended metaphorically to express the beginning or completion of actions or processes. Another set of verbal suffixes deal with VOICE and VALENCY, that is, the number of objects the verb requires. Among these are the PASSIVE, IMPERSONAL passive, MIDDLE, CAUSATIVE, and RECIPROCAL.

Once a verb is taken from the mental lexicon and used in speech, it often requires SUBJECT-AGREEMENT marking, which Icétôd does with pronominal suffixes. Icétôd also has a special verbal suffix, the DUMMY PRONOUN, that goes on the verb whenever a peripheral argument, like a place or time designation, has been (re)moved.

The Icétôd verbal system has a variety of verbal paradigms based on MOOD and ASPECT. The basic distinction in mood is between REALIS and IRREALIS, or things that have happened and things that have not, respectively. Other modal distinctions include the OPTATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, IMPERATIVE, and NEGATIVE. As for aspect, the specification of the internal structure of a verb—complete or incomplete—Icétôd has suffixes that mark PRESENT PERFECT, INTENTIONAL-IMPERFECTIVE, PLURACTIONAL, SEQUENTIAL, and SIMULTANEOUS. Lastly, Icétôd exhibits a special set of ADJECTIVAL suffixes to cover the language's need to express adjectival concepts.

0.8.2 Infinitives

0.8.2.1 Intransitive (INF)

INTRANSITIVE verbs are those that allow only a subject—a direct object does not figure into its semantic schema. The Icétôd intransitive INFINITIVE suffix is {-ònì-}. It converts an intransitive verb to a morphological noun that can be used as a noun in a noun phrase. The infinitive is the CITATION FORM of a verb, the form one cites in a dictionary or in isolation from other words. Table 0.93.1 gives a few examples of intransitive infinitives from the lexicon:

Because the infinitive is technically a morphological noun, it can be fully declined for case as all nouns can. Table 0.93.2 gives the case declension of the verb *wàtònì-* 'to rain', which shows some vowel assimilation effects on [+ATR] vowels, as when /io/ becomes /uo/ in the ablative and copulative cases. Table 0.93.3 does the same for the [-ATR] verb *wɛdɔnɨ-* 'to detour'. Note /ɨɔ/ becoming /ʉɔ/ there as well:

Table 0.59: 1: Icétôd intransitive infinitives

Root	Intransitive infinitive	
áƙáf-	áƙáfòn	'to yawn'
bòt-	bòtòn	'to migrate'
cɨ-	cɨɔn	'to be satiated'
dód-	dódòn	'to hurt'
ɛf-	ɛfɔn	'to be tasty'
gwɨr-	gwɨrɔn	'to squirm'
iƙú-	iƙúón	'to howl'

Table 0.60: 2: Case declension of *wàtònì-* 'to rain'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wàtònà	wàtòn
ACC	wàtònìà	wàtònìkᵃ
DAT	wàtònìè	wàtònìkᵉ
GEN	wàtònìè	wàtònì
ABL	wàtònùò	wàtònù
INS	wàtònò	wàtònᵒ
COP	wàtònùò	wàtònùkᵒ
OBL	wàtònì	wàtòn

Table 0.61: 3: Case declension of *wɛdɔnɨ-* 'to detour'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wɛdɔnà	wɛdɔn
ACC	wɛdɔnɨà	wɛdɔnɨkᵃ
DAT	wɛdɔnɨɛ	wɛdɔnɨk⊠
GEN	wɛdɔnɨɛ	wɛdɔnɨ
ABL	wɛdɔnʉɔ	wɛdɔnʉ
INS	wɛdɔnɔ	wɛdɔnˀ
COP	wɛdɔnʉɔ	wɛdɔnʉkˀ
OBL	wɛdɔnɨ	wɛdɔn

0.8.2.2 Transitive (INF)

TRANSITIVE verbs are those that admit a subject *and* a direct object into its schematic of an active event. The Icétôd transitive infinitive suffix is {-ésí-}. It converts a transitive verb to a morphological noun that can be used as a noun in a noun phrase. Table 0.93.4 provides a few examples of transitive infinitives from the lexicon:

Table 0.62: 4: Icétôd transitive infinitives

Root	Transitive infinitive	
águj-	águjɛs	'to gulp'
ban-	banɛs	'to sharpen'
cɛb-	cɛbɛs	'to roughen'
ɗóɗ-	ɗóɗés	'to point at'
erég-	erégès	'to employ'
gɨj-	gɨjɛs	'to shave'
ɨlɔƙ-	ɨlɔƙɛs	'to dissolve'

Table 0.63 gives the case declension of the deverbalized noun *wetésí-* 'to drink', which shows vowel assimilation effects on [+ATR] vowels. Table **??** does the same for the [-ATR] verb *wɛts'ɛsɨ-* 'to knap'.

Table 0.63: Case declension of *wetésí-* 'to drink'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wetésá	wetés
ACC	wetésíà	wetésík[a]
DAT	wetésíè	wetésík[e]
GEN	wetésíè	wetésí
ABL	wetésúò	wetésú
INS	wetésó	wetés[o]
COP	wetésúò	wetésúk[o]
OBL	wetésí	wetés

Table 0.64: 6: Case declension of *wɛts'ɛsɨ-* 'to knap'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wɛts'ɛsá	wɛts'ɛs
ACC	wɛts'ɛsɨà	wɛts'ɛsɨkᵃ
DAT	wɛts'ɛsɨɛ	wɛts'ɛsɨk⊠
GEN	wɛts'ɛsɨɛ	wɛts'ɛsɨ
ABL	wɛts'ɛsʉɔ	wɛts'ɛsʉ
INS	wɛts'ɛsɔ	wɛts'ɛsˀ
COP	wɛts'ɛsʉɔ	wɛts'ɛsʉkˀ
OBL	wɛts'ɛsɨ	wɛts'ɛs

0.8.2.3 Semi-transitive

So-called SEMI-TRANSITIVE verbs fall between transitive and intransitive in that they take an object, but the object is the reflexive pronoun *asɨ-* '-self'. This means that semi-transitive verbs are morphologically transitive but almost intransitive semantically. Another name for this is 'middle' (although see another Icétôd middle verb in §8.6.3). Table 0.93.7 provides a sample of semi-transitive verbs from the lexicon. No case declension is given for these because they decline the same way as the transitive infinitives above in §8.2.2.

Table 0.65: 7: Icétôd semi-transitive infinitives

Root		Semi-transitive infinitive	
bal-	'ignore'	balɛsá asɨ	'to neglect -self'
hoɗ-	'free'	hoɗésá asɨ	'to get freed'
irɨts-	'keep'	irɨtsɛsa asɨ	'to control -self'
irʊts-	'fling'	irʊtsɛsa asɨ	'to race across'
itiŋ-	'force'	itiŋɛsa asɨ	'to force -self'
kɔk-	'close'	kɔkɛsá asɨ	'to cover -self'
toɓ-	'spear'	toɓésá asɨ	'to shoot across'

0.8.3 Deverbalizers

0.8.3.1 Abstractive (ABST)

The ABSTRACTIVE suffix {-ásɨ-} can be used to replace the intransitive suffix {-ònì-} to convert an intransitive verb to an abstract noun, for example when *hábòn* 'to be hot' becomes *hábàs* 'heat'. Table 0.93.8 gives examples of abstract nouns derived from intransitive verbs:

Table 0.66: 8: Icétôd abstract nouns derived from verbs

Intransitive infinitive		Abstract noun	
ɓàŋɔn	'to be loose'	ɓaŋás	'looseness'
ɛfɔn	'to be tasty'	ɛfás	'(tasty) fat'
gaanón	'to be bad'	gaánàs	'badness'
ɦyɛtɔn	'to be fierce'	ɦyɛtás	'fierceness'
kòmòn	'to be many'	komás	'manyness'
ŋwàxɔn	'to be disabled'	ŋwaxás	'disability'
xɛɓɔn	'to be shy'	xɛɓás	'shyness'

Because verbs deverbalized by the abstractive suffix are morphological nouns, they are fully declined for case. Table 0.93.9 gives one such case declension of the abstract noun *kuɗásɨ-* 'shortness':

Table 0.67: 9: Case declension of *kuɗásɨ-* 'shortness'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	kuɗásá	kuɗás
ACC	kuɗásìà	kuɗásɨk[a]
DAT	kuɗásìɛ	kuɗásɨk⌗
GEN	kuɗásìɛ	kuɗásɨ
ABL	kuɗásʉɔ	kuɗásʉ
INS	kuɗásɔ	kuɗásˀ
COP	kuɗásʉɔ	kuɗásʉkˀ
OBL	kuɗásɨ	kuɗás

0.8.3.2 Behaviorative (BHVR)

The BEHAVIORATIVE suffix {-nànèsì-} first converts a noun to a verb and then
the verb back into an abstract noun. (It is probably a complex suffix in which {-
(n)an-} is the denominalizing element related to the stative suffix from §8.11.4 and
{-esi-} the deverbalizing element related to the transitive suffix from §8.2.2. or the
abstractive suffix from §8.3.1). Regardless of its composition, the suffix as a whole
gives a noun-based stative concept the meaning of an abstract noun, as when
ámá- 'person' becomes *ámánànès* 'personhood' or 'personality'. Table 0.93.10
provides a few examples of behavioratives:

Table 0.68: 10: Icétôd behaviorative abstract nouns

Noun root		Behaviorate noun	
babatí-	'his/her father'	babatínánès	'fatherhood'
cekí-	'woman'	cekínánès	'womanhood'
dzɔɗáti-	'rectum'	dzɔɗátɨnànès	'grabbiness'
dzúú-	'theft'	dzúnánès	'thievery'
imá-	'child'	imánánès	'childhood'
lɔŋtá-	'enemy'	lɔŋtánánès	'enmity'
ŋókí-	'dog'	ŋókínànès	'poverty'

Because behavioratives are nouns, they are declined for case. Table 0.93.11 gives
the case declension for the word *eakwánánèsì-* 'manhood':

Table 0.69: 11: Case declension of *eakwánánèsì-* 'manhood'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	eakwánánèsà	eakwánánès
ACC	eakwánánèsìà	eakwánánèsìk[a]
DAT	eakwánánèsìè	eakwánánèsìk[e]
GEN	eakwánánèsìè	eakwánánèsì
ABL	eakwánánèsùò	eakwánánèsù
INS	eakwánánèsò	eakwánánès[o]
COP	eakwánánèsùò	eakwánánèsùk[o]
OBL	eakwánánèsì	eakwánánès

0.8.3.3 Patientive (PAT)

The PATIENTIVE suffix {-amá-} converts a verb to a noun that is characterized by the meaning of the verb. It is called 'patientive' because the derived noun usually fulfills the role of 'patient' or object of the original verb, as when *meetés* 'to give' produces *meetam* 'gift'. Table 0.93.12 gives some examples of patientive nouns from the lexicon:

Table 0.70: 12: Icétôd patientive nouns

Verb root		Patientive noun	
áts-	'chew'	ats'amá-	'chewy food'
ɓɛk-	'provoke'	ɓɛkamá-	'provocation'
dʉb-	'knead'	dʉbamá-	'dough'
dzígw-	'buy/sell'	dzígwamá-	'merchandise'
gam-	'kindle'	gamamá-	'kindling'
isúɗ-	'distort'	isuɗamá-	'falsehood'
ŋƙ-	'eat'	ŋƙamá-	'eatable'

Because patientives are nouns, they are fully declined for case. Table 0.93.13 gives the full declension of the noun *wetamá-* 'drink(able)':

Table 0.71: 13: Case declension of *wetamá-* 'drink(able)'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wetama	wetam
ACC	wetamáá	wetamák[a]
DAT	wetaméé	wetamák[e]
GEN	wetaméé	wetamá[e]
ABL	wetamóó	wetamá[o]
INS	wetamo	wetam[o]
COP	wetamóó	wetamák[o]
OBL	wetama	wetam

0.8.4 Directionals

0.8.4.1 Venitive (VEN)

The VENITIVE suffix {-ét-} denotes a direction *toward* a deictic center, usually (but not always) the speaker. It can be translated variously as 'here', 'this way', 'out', or 'up', but it is the Middle English word 'hither' that captures its essence nicely. The venitive suffix comes between the verb root and the infinitive suffix, whether intransitive or transitive. It can be used to augment any verb whose meaning includes motion or movement of any kind. Table 0.93.14 gives a few examples:

Table 0.72: 14: Icétôd venitive verbs

Intransitive		Transitive	
arétón	'to cross this way'	béberetés	'to pull this way'
ɦyɔtɔgɛtɔn	'to approach here'	ɖʉrɛtɛs	'to pull out'
iɫɛɛtɔn	'to come visit'	futetés	'to blow this way'
irímétòn	'to rotate this way'	hɔnɛtɛs	'to drive out'
ŋkéétòn	'to get up'	iriɲɛtɛs	'to turn this way'
tɛɛtɔn	'to fall down'	iteletés	'to watch here'
tʉwɛtɔn	'to sprout up'	seɓetés	'to sweep up'

Venitive infinitives are morphological nouns and thus are declined for case. But since they end with intransitive or transitive suffixes, the reader is referred to §8.2.1 and §8.2.2 for similar case declensions.

0.8.4.2 Andative (AND)

The ANDATIVE suffix {-uƙot-} denotes motion *away from* a deictic center, usually the speaker (but not always). It can be translated variously as 'away', 'off', 'out', 'that way', or 'there', but it is the Middle English word 'thither' that captures its essence nicely. Unlike the venitive suffix, the andative comes after both the verbal root and the infinitive suffix (in an infinitival construction). It can be used to augment any verb whose meaning includes motion or movement of any kind. Table 0.93.15 provides a few examples of andative verbs:

Table 0.73: 15: Icétôd andative verbs

Intransitive		Transitive	
aronuƙotᵃ	'to cross that way'	hɔnɛsʉƙɔtᵃ	'to drive off/away'
botonuƙotᵃ	'to move away'	iɗɛɛsʉƙɔtᵃ	'to hide way'
bʉrɔnʉƙɔtᵃ	'to fly off/away'	ídzesuƙotᵃ	'to shoot (away)'
iɓákɔnʉƙɔtᵃ	'to go next to'	ígorésúƙotᵃ	'to cross over'
isépónuƙotᵃ	'to flow away'	ƙanésúƙotᵃ	'to take away'
kúbonuƙotᵃ	'to go out of sight'	maƙésúƙotᵃ	'to give away'
tʉlʉŋɔnʉƙɔtᵃ	'to storm off'	tɔrɛsʉƙɔtᵃ	'to toss away'

Because the andative suffix comes after infinitive suffixes, whenever an andative infinitive is declined for case, it is the andative suffix that takes case endings. Table 0.93.16 gives a declension of the [+ATR] andative verb *séɓésuƙotí-* 'to sweep off', while Table 0.93.17 gives a similar declension for the [-ATR] verb *sɛƙɛsʉƙɔti-* 'to scrub off':

Table 0.74: 16: Case declension of *séɓésuƙotí-* 'to sweep off'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	séɓésuƙota	séɓésuƙotᵃ
ACC	séɓésuƙotíá	séɓésuƙotíkᵃ
DAT	séɓésuƙotíé	séɓésuƙotíkᵉ
GEN	séɓésuƙotíé	séɓésuƙotí
ABL	séɓésuƙotúó	séɓésuƙotú
INS	séɓésuƙoto	séɓésuƙotᵒ
COP	séɓésuƙotúó	séɓésuƙotúkᵒ
OBL	séɓésuƙoti	séɓésuƙotⁱ

Table 0.75: 17: Case declension of *sɛkɛsʉkɔtɨ-* 'to scrub off'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	sɛkɛsʉkɔta	sɛkɛsʉkɔtᵃ
ACC	sɛkɛsʉkɔtiá	sɛkɛsʉkɔtikᵃ
DAT	sɛkɛsʉkɔtiɛ	sɛkɛsʉkɔtik⊠
GEN	sɛkɛsʉkɔtiɛ	sɛkɛsʉkɔtɨ
ABL	sɛkɛsʉkɔtʉɔ	sɛkɛsʉkɔtʉ
INS	sɛkɛsʉkɔtɔ	sɛkɛsʉkɔtˀ
COP	sɛkɛsʉkɔtʉɔ	sɛkɛsʉkɔtʉkˀ
OBL	sɛkɛsʉkɔtɨ	sɛkɛsʉkɔt⊠

0.8.5 Aspectuals

0.8.5.1 Inchoative (INCH)

The INCHOATIVE suffix {-ét-} is identical to the venitive suffix described in §8.4.1, and this is because its meaning is a metaphorical extension of the meaning of the venitive. That is, the venitive meaning of 'hither' was extended to mean the beginning of a state or activity (for intransitives) or the starting up of some action or process (for transitives). The inchoative behaves morphologically (including case declensions) exactly the same as the venitive. Table 0.93.18 gives a few examples of intransitive and transitive verbs in the inchoative aspect:

Table 0.76: 18: Icétôd inchoative verbs

Intransitive		Transitive	
aeétón	'to start ripening'	balɛtɛs	'to ignore'
dikwétón	'to start dancing'	ewanetés	'to take note of'
ɛkwɛtɔn	'to start early'	hoɗetés	'to liberate'
iɛɓɛtɔn	'to grow cold'	inákúetés	'to destroy'
lɛjɛtɔn	'to catch fire'	rɛɛtɛs	'to coerce'
tsekétón	'to grow bushy'	tajaletés	'to relinquish'
wasɛtɔn	'to refuse'	tamɛtɛs	'to ponder

0.8.5.2 Completive (COMP)

The COMPLETIVE suffix {-uƙot-} is identical to the andative suffix described in §8.4.2, and this is because its meaning is a metaphorical extension of the meaning of the andative. That is, the andative meaning of 'thither' was extended to mean the completion of a change of state or activity (for intransitives) or the fulfillment of some action or process (for transitives). The completive behaves morphologically (including case declensions) exactly the same as the andative. Table 0.93.19 gives a few examples of lexical verbs in the completive aspect:

Table 0.77: 19: Icétôd completive verbs

Intransitive		Transitive	
aeonuƙot[a]	'to become ripe'	anɛsʉƙɔt[a]	'to remember'
barɔnʉƙɔt[a]	'to become rich'	dɔxɛsʉƙɔt[a]	'to reprimand'
hábonuƙot[a]	'to become hot'	ɦyeésúƙot[a]	'to learn'
hɛɗɔnʉƙɔt[a]	'to shrivel up'	kurésúƙot[a]	'to defeat'
mɨtɔnʉƙɔt[a]	'to become'	ŋábɛsʉƙɔt[a]	'to finish up'
sɛkɔnʉƙɔt[a]	'to fade away'	ŋƙáƙésuƙot[a]	'to devour'
zoonuƙot[a]	'to become big'	toɓésúƙot[a]	'to plunder'

0.8.5.3 Pluractional (PLUR)

The PLURACTIONAL suffix {-í-} denotes an action or state that is construed as inherently *plural*. This notion of plurality can mean any of the following: 1) an intransitive action done more than once or done by more than one subject, 2) a state attributed more than once or of more than one subject, 3) a transitive action done more than once, done by more than one subject, or done to more than one object. In short, the pluractional suffix conveys the idea that the application of the verb is multiple. The pluractional suffix comes just before the infinitive suffix and is a dominant [+ATR] suffix. Table 0.93.20 gives a few examples of intransitive and transitive pluractional verbs:

0.8.6 Voice and valence

0.8.6.1 Passive (PASS)

The Icétôd PASSIVE suffix {-ósí-} has the unusual distinction of being able to modify both intransitive and transitive verbs. With intransitive verbs, the passive

Table 0.78: 20: Icétôd pluractional verbs

Intransitive		Transitive	
kóníón	'to be one-by-one'	abutiés	'to sip continually'
ŋatíón	'to run (of many)'	esetiés	'to interrogate'
ŋꞥáíón	'to get up (of many)'	gafariés	'to stab repeatedly'
toɓéíón	'to be usually right'	nesíbiés	'to obey habitually'
tatíón	'to drip constantly'	tirifiés	'to investigate'

adds the nuance of characteristicness to the meaning of the verb, often with the help of root reduplication. With transitive verbs, it has the usual function of a passive, which is to convert the object of a transitive verb into the subject of an intransitive verb. Table 0.93.21 gives examples of both intransitive and transitive passives:

Table 0.79: 21: Icétôd passives

Intransitive		Transitive	
botibotos	'to be migratory'	búdòs	'to be hidden'
ɓɛkɛsɔs	'to be mobile'	cookós	'to be guarded'
deꞣwideꞣos	'to be quarrelsome'	ɗɔtsɔs	'to be joined'
ɗɛɲɨɗɛɲɔs	'to be restless'	jɥɔs	'to be roasted'
gúránós	'to be hot-tempered'	ŋáɲɔs	'to be open'
mɔɲɨmɔɲɔs	'to be gossipy'	ógoós	'to be left'
tsuwoós	'to be active'	tsáŋós	'to be anointed'

Another quirky feature of the Icétôd passive {-ósí-} is that it can function both as a passive infinitive suffix (taking case) and as a regular inflectional suffix followed by subject-agreement pronouns. When it is declined for case, it declines just like the transitive suffix {-ésí-} in §8.2.2. Example (1) below illustrates this in a

sentence where the passive infinitive *búdòsì-* 'to be hidden' gets the accusative case. Then, example (2) shows the same passive acting as a verb proper, taking the 3PL subject-agreement pronominal suffix {-át}:

Bɛɗáta búdòsì-k⊠. want:3PL hidden:PASS-ACC 'They want to be hidden.'
Búdos-át⊠. hidden:PASS-3PL:REAL 'They are hidden.'

0.8.6.2 Impersonal passive (IPS)

The IMPERSONAL PASSIVE suffix {-àn-} behaves like a typical passive in that it eliminates the agent of a transitive verb and promotes the object to subject. However, unlike the passive {-ósí-} described above, the impersonal passive cannot be specified for the person or number of its subject. Instead, it remains marked for 3SG regardless of who or what the subject may be. Another strange property of {-an-} is that it can be used with intransitive verbs as well (just like the passive). When used with intransitive verbs, it has the function of downplaying the identity of the subject. For this reason, it can often be translated as 'People...' or 'One...', as in *Tódian* 'People say (it)'. The impersonal passive is a sentence-level morpheme that does not exist in the lexicon, and so it must be illustrated in examples like (3)-(4):

� Ɩnɔmɛsánà bì. beat:FUT:IPS you:NOM 'You will be beaten.'
Kaíánà kàkààkɔk⊠. go:PLUR:IPS hunt:inside:DAT 'People go hunting.' (Lit. 'It is gone for hunting.')

0.8.6.3 Middle (MID)

Icétôd has two MIDDLE suffixes: {-m-} and {-ím-}. Like the semi-transitive construction discussed in §8.2.3, the middle suffixes convert simple transitive verbs into something in the 'middle' of transitive and intransitive. That is, the Icétôd middle verbs convey that idea that if an action is done to an entity, it is the entity itself—if anything—doing it to itself alone, apart from any other explicit agent. The middles eliminate a clear agent and promote the patient to the subject position.

The middle suffix {-m-} always has a vowel between it and the preceding verb root. This vowel is usually a copy of the root vowel, as when *ɗusés* 'cut' becomes *ɗusúmón* 'to cut (alone)', but it can also have a non-copy vowel as in *bokímón* 'to get caught'. For its part, the middle suffix {-ím-}—a dominant [+ATR] suffix—is always paired with the inchoative suffix {-ét-}, thereby forming the complex morpheme {-ímét-}. Table 0.93.22 below gives some examples of these two suffixes converting transitive verbs to middle verbs:

Table 0.80: 22: Icétôd middle verbs

Transitive		Middle with {-m-}	
ŋáɲɛs	'to open'	ŋáɲámòn	'to open (alone)'
pakés	'to split'	pakámón	'to split (alone)'
pulés	'to pierce'	pulúmón	'to go out'
rajés	'to return'	rajámón	'to return (alone)'
terés	'to divide'	terémón	'to divide (alone)'
Transitive		Middle with {-ímét-}	
áts'ɛs	'to chew'	ats'ímétòn	'to wear out (alone)'
iɓéléés	'to overturn'	iɓéléìmètòn	'to overturn (alone)'
kɔkɛs	'to close'	kokíméton	'to close (alone)'
rébès	'to deprive'	rébìmètòn	'to be deprived (alone)'
tɔrɛɛs	'to coerce'	toreimétòn	'to be coerced (alone)'

0.8.6.4 Reciprocal (RECIP)

The RECIPROCAL suffix {-ínósí-} denotes a reciprocal relationship that a verb's subject has with itself. That is, the reciprocal collapses the subject and direct object of a transitive verb, or the subject and a secondary object of an intransitive verb, into just the subject of a reciprocal verb. In this regard, it is similar to the semi-transitive verbs from §8.2.3 that make use of the reflexive pronoun *asɨ-* '-self'. Table 0.93.23 provides a few examples of reciprocals derived from other verbs:

Like the passive {-ósí-} discussed in §8.6.1, the reciprocal suffix can take either case endings (as a morphological noun) or subject-agreement endings (as a morphological verb). A case declension of *ínínósí-* 'to cohabitate' is shown in Table 0.93.24, and in example (5) below, the reciprocal verb *iɓákɨnɔsɨ-* 'to be next to each other' gets the accusative case. Then, example (6) shows the same verb acting as a verb proper, with the 3PL subject-agreement marker {-át-}:

Bɛdáta iɓákɨnɔsɨ-k⌧. want:3PL:REAL next.to:RECIP-ACC 'They want to be next to

Table 0.81: 23: Icétôd reciprocal verbs

Intransitive		Reciprocal	
ɓɛƙɛs	'to walk'	ɓɛƙɛsɨnɔs	'to walk to-gether'
ɨɓákɔn	'to be next to	ɨɓákɨnɔs	'to be next to each other'
tódòn	'to speak'	tódinós	'to speak to each other'
Transitive		Reciprocal	
ɦyeés	'to know'	ɦyeínós	'to be related'
iŋaarɛs	'to help'	iŋáárɨnɔs	'to help each other'
mɨnɛs	'to love'	mɨnɨnɔs	'to love each other'

Table 0.82: 24: Case declension of *ínínósí-* 'to cohabitate'

	Non-final	Final
NOM	ínínósá	ínínós
ACC	ínínósíà	ínínósík[a]
DAT	ínínósíè	ínínósík[e]
GEN	ínínósíè	ínínósí
ABL	ínínósúò	ínínósú
INS	ínínósó	ínínós[o]
COP	ínínósúò	ínínósúk[o]
OBL	ínínósí	ínínós

each other.'
Ɨɓákɨnɔs-átⵂ. next.to:RECIP-3PL:REAL 'They are next to each other.'

0.8.6.5 Causative (CAUS)

Icétôd expresses causativity with a morphological causative, the CAUSATIVE suffix {-ìt-}. When this suffix is added to a verb with meaning X, it changes the meaning of the verb to 'cause/make (to) X'. This suffix can be used to causativize intransitive and transitive verbs and comes right after the verb root, before the infinitive marker (if present) and any other suffixes like an inchoative or pluractional. If the last vowel of the verb root is /u/, the causative may be assimilated to {-ùt-}. Table 0.93.25 gives several examples of causativized verbs:

Table 0.83: 25: Icétôd causative verbs

Intransitive		Causative	
bùkòn	'to be prostrate'	bukites	'to lay prostrate'
itúrón	'to be proud'	itúrútés	'to praise'
xɛɓɔn	'to be timid'	xɛɓɨtɛs	'to intimidate'
Transitive			
dimés	'to refuse'	dimités	'to prohibit'
naƙwɛs	'to suckle'	naƙwɨtɛs	'to give suckle'
zízòn	'to be fat'	zízités	'to fatten'

0.8.7 Subject-agreement

Whenever Icétôd grammar calls for verbs to agree with subjects, one of the seven pronominal suffixes in Table 0.93.26 are used. Just like the free pronouns described back in §5.2, these bound pronominal suffixes are organized along three axes: 1) person (1/2/3), 2) number (singular/plural), and 3) clusivity (exclusive/inclusive). The form these pronominals ultimately take depends on the grammatical mood of the verb to which they attach. If the verb is in the irrealis mood (see §8.9.1 below), the suffixes appear with their underlying forms. Whereas if they are in the realis mood (see §8.9.2 below), the realis suffix {-a} first subtracts or deletes their final vowel. The difference in the two mood-based paradigms is illustrated below in Table 0.93.26:
To see instances of the Icétôd subject-agreement suffixes in actual language use, you may refer back to example (11) in §7.2.

Table 0.84: 26: Icétôd subject-agreement suffixes

	Irrealis (underlying)		Realis (modified)	
	Non-final	Final	Non-final	Final
1sg	-íí	-í	-íá	-í
2sg	-ídì	-îd^i	-ídà	-îd^a
3sg	-ì	-^{i}	-a	-^{a}
1pl.exc	-ímí	-ím	-ímá	-ím
1pl.inc	-ísínì	-ísín	-ísínà	-ísín
2pl	-ítí	-ít^i	-ítá	-ít^a
3pl	-átì	-át^i	-átà	-át^a

0.8.8 Dummy pronoun (DP)

Icétôd has a special verbal affix called the DUMMY PRONOUN because it represents a secondary (indirect) object that has been (re)moved. That is, the dummy pronoun is a form of object-marking on the verb, but not of direct object marking. For example, if an indirect object expressing location or time or means is moved to the front of a clause for emphasis, it leaves a trace on the verb in the form of the dummy pronoun. Seen from another perspective, the dummy pronoun is always a clue that there is a missing syntactic constituent in the clause.

The dummy pronoun has the form {-´ dè} and is very volatile in terms of allomorphy, changing its form in different environments. Once the /d/ is lost in non-final forms, vowel assimilation and vowel harmony so distort the dummy pronoun as to make it almost unrecognizable at times. Table 0.93.27 below is given to illustrate its diverse allomorphy:

Examples (7)-(8) illustrate the dummy pronoun in two different morphological forms. Note that the tones associated with the pronoun in these examples do not match what is shown in Table 0.93.27; this is because of local tonal interference. In terms of function, the dummy pronoun in (7) indicates that an indirect object—the destination of the verb *káátà* 'they go (went)'—has been displaced from its usual spot after the verb to a place of focus at the beginning of the sentence (*Ntsúó*). Then in (8), the dummy pronoun marks an indirect object—the location of staying—that is missing from the clause entirely. Since this sentence was taken out of context from a story, most likely the missing object had been already mentioned earlier in the discourse:

Table 0.85: 27: Allomorphs of the dummy pronoun {-ˊ dè}

	Non-final	Final
{-ˊ dè}	-ˊ è	-ˊ dᵉ
	-ˊ ɛ	-ˊ d⊠
	-ˊ ì	
	-ˊ ɨ	
	-ˊ ò	
	-ˊ ɔ	

Ntsúó noo Icéá kǎátà-d⊠. it:COP=PAST Ik:ACC go:3PL:REAL-DP 'It's where the Ik went (to).'

Ɉʼɛjɨkɔ-ɔ sàà ròɓà⊠. stay:3SG:SEQ-DP other:NOM people:GEN 'And other people stayed (there).'

0.8.9 Mood

0.8.9.1 Irrealis

A basic distinction in grammatical MOOD cleaves Icétôd verbal aspects and modalities right down the center, and this distinction is between IRREALIS and REALIS. As it applies to Icétôd, the irrealis mood includes states and events whose *actuality* or *reality* are not expressly encoded in the grammar. Another way of saying this is that irrealis verbs in Icétôd can say anything *but* whether a state or event has happened, is happening, or will happen. The morphological manifestation of the irrealis is that the final suffix of an irrealis verb—a subject-agreement pronoun—surfaces with its underlying form.

The verbal aspects and modalities that fall under the irrealis mood include the OPTATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, IMPERATIVE, NEGATIVE, SEQUENTIAL, and SIMULTANEOUS, which are discussed in §8.10 below.

0.8.9.2 Realis (REAL)

In contrast to irrealis, the REALIS mood includes states and events whose actuality or reality *are* encoded in the grammar. That is to say, realis verbs in Icétôd include in their meaning the fact that something has taken place, is taking place, or will take place in the real world. The morphological manifestation of the realis mood is seen in the realis suffix {-a} that subtracts or deletes the final vowel of the

subject-agreement suffix to which it attaches (see Table 0.93.26). In terms of verb types, the realis mood includes declarative statements in the past or non-past, questions about the past or non-past, and, rather paradoxically, negative imperatives (which one would see as irrealis).

0.8.10 Verb paradigms

0.8.10.1 Intentional-imperfective (INT/IPFV)

The INTENTIONAL-IMPERFECTIVE aspect suffix {-és-} has two basic functions, hence its hyphenated title. One function is to denote either an intention on the part of animate subjects or an imminence on the part of inanimate subjects. And it is in this role that it finds use as the usual translation for the English future tense. It is also the answer to the question, "How do you express future tense in Icétôd?" A second function is to denote grammatical imperfectivity, that is, a sense that a state or event is ongoing, incomplete. The two concepts collapse into one when intention/imminence is viewed as the incomplete coming-to-be of a future state or event. And even though intention or imperfectivity may seem to fall under an irrealis mood, {-és-} can actually be used with verbs in either the realis or irrealis mood.

In Table 0.93.28 below, {-és-} is illustrated with the verb *àts-* 'come' in its imperfective sense with a recent past tense marker (*nák*⊠) and then in its intentional sense, translated with English as future tense 'will':

0.8.10.2 Present perfect (PRF)

The Icétôd PRESENT PERFECT aspect suffix {-´ ka} denotes a state or event recently completed ('perfected') but still relevant in the present. The suffix has a 'floating' high tone that shows up on the preceding syllable of 3SG verbs, for example in *Nabʉkɔták*⊠ 'It is finished'. And the /k/ in {-´ ka} disappears in non-final environments, making {-´ a} an allomorph. Table 0.93.29 presents the paradigm of the present perfect with the verb *àts-* 'come' in both non-final and final environments:

0.8.10.3 Optative (OPT)

The Icétôd OPTATIVE mood is used to express wishes, even sarcastic ones like 'Let the enemies come!'. Optative verbs are often introduced with supporting imperative verbs like *Ógoe* or *Taláké*, both of which mean 'Let…'. And all Icétôd

Table 0.86: 28: Icétôd intentional-imperfective aspect

Imperfective		
1SG	Atsésíà nàkᵃ.	'I was coming.'
2SG	Atsésídà nàkᵃ.	'You were coming.'
3SG	Atsesa nákᵃ.	'S/he/it was coming.'
1PL.EXC	Atsésímà nàkᵃ	'We were coming.'
1PL.INC	Atsésísìnà nàkᵃ.	'We all were coming.'
2PL	Atsésítà nàkᵃ.	'You all were coming.'
3PL	Atsésátà nàkᵃ.	'They were all coming.'
Intentional		
1SG	Atsésí.	'I will come.'
2SG	Atsésîdᵃ.	'You will come.'
3SG	Atsés.	'S/he/it will come.'
1PL.EXC	Atsésím.	'We will come.'
1PL.INC	Atsésísìn.	'We all will come.'
2PL	Atsésítᵃ.	'You all will come.'
3PL	Atsésátᵃ.	'They all will come.'

Table 0.87: 29: Icétôd present perfect aspect

	Non-final	Final	
1SG	Atsíaà...	Atsíàkᵃ.	'I have come'
2SG	Atsídàà...	Atsídàkᵃ.	'You have come'
3SG	Atsáá...	Atsákᵃ.	'She has come'
1PL.EXC	Atsímáà...	Atsímákᵃ.	'We have come'
1PL.INC	Atsísínàà...	Atsísínàkᵃ.	'We all have come'
2PL	Atsítáà...	Atsítákᵃ.	'You all have come'
3PL	Atsátàà...	Atsátàkᵃ.	'They have come'

optative verbs are translated into English with a sentence beginning with 'Let…' or 'May…'.

Morphologically, the optative is marked by a combination of tone and special irregular suffixes. All optative verbs except 3PL show a kind of high-tone 'leveling' in the subject-agreement suffixes. The leveled high tone is pushed out to the end, creating a floating high tone. This high tone is not seen except in the fact that the last syllable of the subject-agreement suffixes remains at mid-tone level (instead of low). In addition to tone, suffixes mark the optative. Special irregular ones are used for 1SG, 1PL.EXC, and 1PL.INC, while standard irrealis ones are used for the other members of the paradigm. Note that the 1PL.INC may also be called the 'hortative'. Another peculiarity of the Icétôd optative is that there is no difference between its non-final and final forms. Table 0.93.30 presents the optative on the verb *àts-* 'come':

Table 0.88: 30: Icétôd optative mood

1SG	Atsine.	'Let me come.'
2SG	Atsidi.	'May you come.'
3SG	Atsi.	'Let her come.'
1PL.EXC	Atsima.	'Let us come.'
1PL.INC	Atsano.	'Let us all come.'
2PL	Atsiti.	'May you all come.'
3PL	Atsáti.	'Let them come.'

0.8.10.4 Subjunctive (SUBJ)

The Icétôd SUBJUNCTIVE mood is used to encode statements that are contingent or temporally unrealized. In that regard, it is an essentially irrealis verb form because it captures states or events that have not yet happened. It is also essentially irrealis in that it is marked simply by the absence of any marking. In other words, the subject-agreement suffixes surface with their underlying forms in the subjunctive mood, just as they appear in Table 0.93.26 above. The subjunctive is usually introduced either by *dɛmʉsʉ* 'unless, until' or *damu (koja)* 'may'. Table 0.93.31 gives the full subjunctive paradigm with *àts-* 'come':

Table 0.89: 31: Icétôd subjunctive mood

	Non-final	Final	
1SG	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsíí…	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsí.	'unless I come'
2SG	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsídì…	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsîdⁱ.	'unless you come'
3SG	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsi…	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsⁱ.	'unless she comes'
1PL.EXC	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsímí…	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsím.	'unless we come'
1PL.INC	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsísíní…	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsísín.	'unless we all come'
2PL	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsítí…	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsítⁱ.	'unless you all come'
3PL	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsátì…	ɗɛmʉsʉ atsátⁱ.	'unless they come'

0.8.10.5 Imperative (IMP)

The IMPERATIVE mood is used to issue commands or instructions. If the recipient of the command is singular, then the suffix used is {-e´ }, and if the recipient is plural, the suffix is {-úó}. The singular {-e´ } has a floating high tone that raises any preceding low tones to mid. Both imperative suffixes are appended to the end of the verb stem, and no subject-agreement markers are needed. Both imperative suffixes are subject to vowel devoicing before a pause, as shown in Table 0.93.32:

Table 0.90: 32: Icétôd imperative mood

Singular			Plural		
NF	FF		NF	FF	
Atse..!	Atsᵉ!	'Come!'	Atsúó..!	Atsú!	'Come!'
Kae..!	Kaᵉ!	'Go!'	Koyúó..!	Koyú!	'Go!'
Ŋƙɛ..!	Ŋƙ⊠!	'Eat!'	Ŋƙʉɔ..!	Ŋƙʉ!	'Eat!'
Zɛƙwɛ..!	Zɛƙw⊠!	'Sit!'	Zɛƙʉɔ..!	Zɛƙʉ!	'Sit!'

0.8.10.6 Negative

Icétôd negates clauses by means of verblike particles that come first in the negative clause. If the negated clause has a realis verb, then the negator particle used is *ńtá* 'not'. If the negated clause has an irrealis verb like the sequential (see §8.10.7), then the negator particle is *mòò* or *nòò*. Lastly, if the negated clause is past tense realis or present perfect realis, then the negator particle used is *máà* or *náà*. In the negated clause, the negator particle comes first, followed by the subject, followed by the verb. Any negated verb takes the irrealis mood with the appropriate form of subject-agreement suffixes (see Table 0.93.26). To make all this more concrete, Table 0.93.33 gives example of the different negator particles used with different types of clauses:

Table 0.91: 33: Icétôd negative mood

Realis		
1SG	Ńtá ɦyeí.	'I don't know.'
2SG	Ńtá ɦyeîdⁱ.	'You don't know.'
3SG	Ńtá ɦyèⁱ.	'She doesn't know.'
Sequential		
1SG	...moo ɦyeí.	'...and I don't know.'
2SG	...moo ɦyeîdⁱ.	'...and you don't know.'
3SG	...mòò ɦyèⁱ.	'...and she doesn't know.'
Past realis		
1SG	Máa naa ɦyeí.	'I didn't know.'
2SG	Máa naa ɦyeîdⁱ.	'You didn't know.'
3SG	Máà nàà ɦyèⁱ.	'She didn't know.'

0.8.10.7 Sequential (SEQ)

The Icétôd SEQUENTIAL aspect expresses states or events that happen in sequence. Usually a sequence of verbs starts with an anchoring non-sequential verb, and then a CLAUSE CHAIN begins in the sequential aspect. For example, when someone tells a story, they may start with one or two past tense realis verbs to set the stage and then continue the narrative with sequential verbs. Or if someone is giving a set of instructions, they may start with one or two imperative verbs followed by

a chain of sequential verbs. Because of its versatility, the Icétôd sequential aspect is the language's most frequently used verb form.

Morphologically, Icétôd sequential verbs are recognized by a combination of tone, irregular subject-agreement suffixes, and the sequential aspect suffix {-ko}. Specifically, all 1st and 2nd-person sequential verbs exhibit high-tone leveling in their subject-agreement suffixes, which pushes a high tone out to the right of the verb. This floating high raises the preceding low tones to mid. These tone effects, plus the irregular suffixes, and the sequential marker {-ko} are shown in Table 0.93.34. Note that the sequential paradigm also has an impersonal passive marked with the suffix {-ese}. Its function is identical to that of the impersonal passive described back in §8.6.2.

Table 0.92: 34: Icétôd sequential aspect

	Non-final	Final	
1SG	...atsiaa...	...atsiakº.	'and I come'
2SG	...atsiduo...	...atsidukº.	'and you come'
3SG	...àtsùò...	...àtsùkº.	'and she comes'
1PL.EXC	...atsimaa...	...atsimakº.	'and we come'
1PL.INC	...atsisinuo...	...atsisinukº.	'and we all come'
2PL	...atsituo...	...atsitukº.	'and you all come'
3PL	...àtsìnì...	...àtsìn.	'and they come'
PASS	...atsese...	...atses.	'and it was come'

For more on how the sequential aspect works in actual language contexts, skip ahead to the discussion of clause-chaining in §10.8.2.

0.8.10.8 Simultaneous (SIM)

The Icétôd SIMULTANEOUS aspect is used to express states or events that are happening simultaneously to another state or event. In contrast to the sequential, the simultaneous aspect can only be used in subordinate clauses. That is to say, simultaneous clauses usually cannot stand alone without a main clause (with some exceptions). Because of its role of supporting sequential clauses, the simultaneous aspect is also commonly found in narratives and other longer discourses. It can be given a perfective interpretation as in 'when I came' or an imperfective one as in 'while I was coming'.

Morphologically, the simultaneous aspect is marked by the suffix {-ke}, which is affixed to the subject-agreement suffixes in their irrealis forms. Table 0.93.35 presents the simultaneous paradigm of *àts-* 'come':

Table 0.93: 35: Icétôd simultaneous aspect

	Non-final	Final	
1SG	...atsííkè...	...atsíík^e.	'while I was coming'
2SG	...atsídìè...	...atsídìk^e.	'while you were coming'
3SG	...àtsìè...	...àtsìk^e.	'while she was coming'
1PL.EXC	...atsímíè...	...atsímík^e.	'while we were coming'
1PL.INC	...atsísínìè...	...atsísínìk^e.	'while we all were coming'
2PL	...atsítíè...	...atsítík^e.	'while you all were coming'
3PL	...atsátìè...	...atsátìk^e.	'while they were coming'

0.8.11 Adjectival verbs

0.8.11.1 Overview

Since Icétôd does not have a separate word class of adjectives, it conveys adjectival concepts with ADJECTIVAL VERBS. These verbs have adjectival meanings but otherwise mostly behave like intransitive verbs. One way they do differ from normal intransitive verbs, though, is in the specific adjectival suffixes they can take. The next four subsections offer brief descriptions of these special adjectival suffixes.

0.8.11.2 Physical property I (PHYS1)

The PHYSICAL PROPERTY I adjectival suffix {- d-} is found on adjectival verbs that express physical properties like appearance, size, shape, consistency, texture, and other tangible attributes. As a result, Physical Property I verbs are some of the

language's most colorful adjectivals. Physical Property I verbs all contain two syllable with LH tone pattern, and in the infinitive, they take the intransitive suffix {-ònì-}. Table 0.93.36 gives a sample of these colorful descriptive terms:

Table 0.94: 36: Icétôd Physical Property I adjectival verbs

bufúdòn	'to be spongy'
ɗɔmɔdɔn	'to be gluey'
dirídòn	'to be compacted'
jamúdòn	'to be velvety'
lɛts'ɛdɔn	'to be bendy'
pɨɗɨdɔn	'to be sleek'
tsakádòn	'to be watery'

0.8.11.3 Physical property II (PHYS2)

The PHYSICAL PROPERTY II adjectival suffix {-m-} is found in adjectival verbs that also express physical properties like appearance, color, consistency, posture, shape, and texture. It can also express less physical attributes like strength, weakness, or personality traits. Physical Property II verbs usually contain two syllables with a LH tone pattern or three syllables with a LHH tone pattern, and in the infinitive, they take the intransitive suffix {-ònì}. Table 0.93.37 gives a sample of these descriptive adjectival verbs:

0.8.11.4 Stative (STAT)

The STATIVE adjectival suffix {-án-} forms adjectival verbs that express an ongoing state characterized by the meaning of a noun or a transitive verb. Because {-án-} contains the vowel /a/, it prevents vowel harmony from spreading between the verbal root and any suffixes that follow the stative suffix (for example, infinitive or subject-agreement suffixes). Table 0.93.38 presents a few examples of stative adjectival verbs derived from noun roots:

Table ?? gives a few stative verbs derived from transitive verbs:

0.8.11.5 Distributive (DISTR)

Icétôd has two DISTRIBUTIVE adjectival suffixes: {-aák-} and {-ìk-}. These suffixes have the function of distributing the meaning of the adjectival verb to more than

Table 0.95: 37: Icétôd Physical Property II adjectival verbs

Bisyllabic	
buɗámón	'to be black'
dɨgɨmɔn	'to be hunched'
firímón	'to be clogged'
kikímón	'to be stocky'
kwɛts'ɛmɔn	'to be damaged'
Trisyllabic	
bulúƙúmòn	'to be bulbous'
jɨrɨtɨmɔn	'to be slippery
pelérémòn	'to be squinty'
ságwàràmòn	'to be shadeless'
tɛƙɛzɛmɔn	'to be shallow

Table 0.96: 38: Icétôd stative verbs derived from nouns

Noun		Stative verb	
cué-	'water'	cuanón	'to be liquid'
ɛsá-	'drunkenness'	ɛsánón	'to be drunk'
kirotí-	'sweat'	kirotánón	'to be sweaty'
ɲɛƙɛ-	'hunger'	ɲɛƙánón	'to be hungry'
ɲèrà-	'girls'	iɲéráánón	'to be girl-crazy'

Table 0.97: Icétôd stative verbs derived from transitive verbs

Transitive		Stative	
ɓɛkɛs	'to provoke'	ɓɛƙánón	'to be provocative'
dzɛrɛs	'to tear'	dzɛrɛdzɛránón	'to be torn in shreds'
itáléés	'to forbid'	itáléánón	'to be forbidden'
itukes	'to heap'	itukánón	'to be congregated'
ɨraŋɛs	'to spoil'	ɨráŋɨnánón	'to be spoiled'

one subject. The suffix {-aák-} can be used with all kinds of adjectival verbs, including the physical property and stative varieties, while the suffix {-ìk-} has been found only with the two verbs of size, *kwáts-* 'small' and *zè-* 'large'. Moreover, it commonly occurs together with {-aák-}, as in *kwátsíkaakón* 'to be small (of many)' and *zeikaakón* 'to be large (of many)'. Table 0.93.40 gives a sampling of adjectival verbs with the distributive suffix:

Table 0.98: 40: Icétôd distributive adjectival verbs

buɗúdaakón	'to be soft (of many)'
ɓetsʼaakón	'to be white (of many)'
gaanaakón	'to be bad (of many)'
kúɗaakón	'to be short (of many)'
maráŋaakón	'to be good (of many)'
nɔtsɔdaakón	'to be adhesive (of many)'
semélémaakón	'to be elliptical (of many)'

0.9 Adverbs

0.9.1 Overview

The word class called ADVERBS is a catch-all category that includes words and clitics of various sorts that say something about a whole clause, for example, 'how' or 'when' it takes place, or how the speaker feels about the certainty or contingency of the clause. Accordingly, Icétôd adverbs can be divide up into MANNER adverbs, TEMPORAL adverbs, and EPISTEMIC adverbs. The following subsections take up each of these adverbial categories in a brief discussion.

0.9.2 Manner adverbs

MANNER adverbs modify whole clauses by commenting on the manner in which a state comes across or in which an action is done. Manner adverbs come near or at the end of the clause they modify, as shown in (1)-(2) below. Table ??.1 presents a sampling of these adverbs:

Gaana mɛna díí zuku jɨk⊠. bad:3SG issues:NOM=those ADV ADV 'Those issues are really bad!'

Table 0.99: 1: Icétôd manner adverbs

ɗɛmʉsʉ	'fast, quickly'
hɨɨjɔ	'carefully, slowly'
jíìkì	'always'
jɨkɨ	'really, totally'
kɔntɨákᵉ	'straightaway'
mʉkà	'completely, forever'
pákà	'indefinitely'
zùkù	'very'

Zízaakótùò ròɓà mʉkà. fat:DIST:COMP:3SG:SEQ people:NOM ADV 'And the people fattened up completely!'

0.9.3 Temporal adverbs

0.9.3.1 Overview

The Icétôd TEMPORAL adverbs situate their clause somewhere in the course of time. Icétôd has sets of temporal adverbs that deal with past tense, past perfect tense, and non-past (including future) tense. The past and past perfect tense adverbs are enclitics that come directly after the verb they modify. The future tense adverbs are free adverbs that come near the end or at the end of the clause they modify.

0.9.3.2 Past tense adverbs (PST)

Icétôd divides PAST TENSE into four time periods and marks them with special adverbial enclitics. They are: 1) RECENT PAST that covers the current day and is marked with =*nákà*, 2) REMOVED PAST that covers yesterday (or any last or 'yester-' time period) and is marked with =*bàtsè*, 3) REMOTE PAST that covers a few days or weeks before yesterday and is marked with =*nótsò*, and finally, 4) REMOTEST PAST that covers everything before the remote past and is marked with =*nòkò*. Each of these tense enclitics has a non-final and final form, and as enclitics, they always come directly after the verb in a clause. Table ??.2 illustrates the Icétôd tense markers in all their forms, and examples (3)-(4) illustrate their position in a sentence:

Table 0.100: 2: Icétôd past tense markers

	NF	FF	
Recent	=náà	=nák^a	'earlier today'
Removed	=bèè	=bàts^e	'yester-'
Remote	=nótsò	=nótsò	'a while ago'
Remotest	=nòò	=nòk^o	'long ago'

Ƙaá bee abáŋa sáásɔsɨ̀ǹ. go:3SG=PST my.father:NOM yesterday 'My father went yesterday.'

Maráŋa noo ɦyekesa Icé. good:3SG=PST life:NOM Ik:GEN 'The life of the Ik was good (back then).'

0.9.3.3 Past perfect tense adverbs (PST.PRF)

The past tense can be combined with a perfect aspect to yield the PAST PERFECT tense. Unlike the simple past tense adverbs, Icétôd past perfect tense adverbs operate along only three periods of time: RECENT (earlier today), REMOVED (yester-), and REMOTE (before yester-). Table ??.3 presents the Icétôd past perfect tense adverbs, and example sentences (5)-(6) illustrate their use in natural language situations:

Table 0.101: 3: Icétôd past perfect tense markers

	NF	FF	
Recent	=nanáà	=nanák^a	'had...earlier today'
Removed	=nàtsàmʉ	=nàtsàm	'had...yester-'
Remote	=nànòò	=nànòk^o	'had...a while ago'

Náa atsíâd⊠, ƙaa nanák⊠. when come:1SG:DP go:3SG PST.PRF 'When I came earlier, she had (already) gone.'

Ts'ɛdɔɔ nɛ, ts'éíƙotátà nànòk⊠. then:INS that die.3PL:COMP PST.PRF 'By that (time), they had died out a while ago.'

0.9.3.4 Non-past tense adverbs

Icétôd divides the NON-PAST tense into three rather vaguely defined time periods suggested by three adverbs. They are: 1) the DISTENDED PRESENT that includes just before and just after the present and is expressed by the adverb *ts'ɔɔ*, 2) the REMOVED FUTURE that includes the *next* future time period (next hour, next day, next year) and is expressed by the adverb *táà*, and 3) the REMOTE FUTURE expressed by the adverb *fàrà* (occasionally *fàrò*). Table **??**.4 arranges these adverbs in a paradigm, while (7)-(8) below illustrates them in real sentences:

Table 0.102: 4: Icétôd non-past tense markers

	NF	FF	
Distended present	ts'ɔɔ	ts'ɔɔ	'just/recently/soon'
Removed	táà	táà	'next____'
Remote	fàrà	fàr	'in the future'

Atsíá nàà ts'ɔɔ. Atsésíà ts'ɔɔ. come:1SG=PAST just come:INT:1SG soon 'I just came.' 'I will come soon.'
Atsésíma táa barats⊠. come:1PL.EXC next morning:INS 'We will come tomorrow (i.e., next morning).'

0.9.4 Epistemic adverbs

0.9.4.1 Overview

The Icétôd EPISTEMIC adverbs express how the speaker feels or thinks about the certainty or contingency of the clause. Accordingly, this set of adverbs can be divided into the categories of INFERENTIAL, CONFIRMATIONAL, and CONDITIONAL-HYPOTHETICAL. All of the epistemic adverbs are enclitics that follow the verb in normal main clauses, but some of them can also be moved in front of the verb.

0.9.4.2 Inferential adverbs (INFR)

Icétôd can communicate a degree of uncertainty about a situation by means of a set of INFERENTIAL tense-based adverbs. This sense of making a tentative inference based on an observation can be translated into English with such turns of phrase as 'Apparently...', 'Maybe...', 'It seems that...', 'must have', etc. Two of

these inferential particles consist of the proclitic *ná* plus a past-tense particle, while the third combines *ná* with the adverb *tsamʉ*. Table ??.5 presents the three inferential adverbial particles in their final and non-final forms. Note that compared to the past-tense markers above in Table ??.2, the inferential time-scale is moved up one notch more recent.

Table 0.103: 5: Icétôd inferential adverbs

	NF	FF	
Recent	nábèè	nábàtsᵉ	'apparently earlier today'
Removed	nátsàmʉ	nátsàm	'apparently yester-'
Remote	nánòò	nánòkᵒ	'apparently long ago'

Examples (9)-(10) show the Icétôd inferential adverbs in context. Note that they can be placed before or after the main verb, as in (9):

Badukota nábàts⊠. Nábee badukot⊠. die:COMP:3SG INFR INFR die:COMP:3SG 'It died, apparently.' 'Apparently, it died.'

Nanoo teremát⊠. INFR separate:3PL 'It looks like they separated.'

0.9.4.3 Confirmational adverbs (CONF)

Icétôd can also issue a confirmation of a state or event by means of a set of CONFIRMATIONAL adverbs that are derived from the tensed relative pronouns described back in §5.7. When these particles are used, they are placed before the verb, and the verb surfaces in its non-final form, almost like a question rendered in English 'Why yes, did X *not* happen?'—meaning that, of course, it *did* happen. The confirmational suffixes first presented in Table ??.6 and then demonstrated below in example sentences (11)-(12):

Ŋkákóídà bèè? Sina ŋkákótíà. eat:COMP:2SG=PST CONF eat:COMP:1SG 'Did you eat (it) up? 'Yes, of course I did.'

Dètà nòò? Nòò dètà. bring:3SG=PST CONF bring:3SG 'Did she bring (it)?' 'Yes, of course she did.'

Table 0.104: 6: Icétôd confirmational markers

Recent	náa	'Of course____earlier today.'
Removed	sɨna	'Of course____yester-.'
Remote	noo	'Of course____long ago.'

0.9.4.4 Conditional-hypothetical adverbs (COND/HYPO)

If a state or event has not taken place but *could* or *would* take place, Icétôd can express that contingency with its CONDITIONAL-HYPOTHETICAL adverbs. There are three of these adverbs, but they are used to cover four periods of time. The first adverb covers non-past and recent past, the second removed past, and third remote past. These conditional-hypothetical adverbs are presented below in Table ??.7:

Table 0.105: 7: Icétôd conditional-hypothetical adverbs

	NF	FF	
Non-past	ƙánàà	ƙánàkᵃ	'would'
Recent	ƙánàà	ƙánàkᵃ	'would have…earlier today'
Removed	ƙásàmʉ	ƙásàm	'would have…yester-'
Remote	ƙánòò	ƙánòkᵒ	'would have…a while ago'

The conditional-hypothetical adverbs come after the main verb:
Tóída kánaa ɲcìè? tell:2SG HYPO I:DAT 'You would tell me?'
Cɛmɨsɨna kánòkⱫ. fight:1PL.INC COND 'We all would have fought.'

0.10 Basic syntax

0.10.1 Noun phrases

The Icétôd NOUN PHRASE consists first and foremost of a noun 'head', either a lexical noun or a nominalized lexical verb. As a head-initial language, Icétôd places its noun phrase head first in the phrase. Any subordinate, supporting elements follow the head. These optional elements may include anaphoric demonstratives, possessive markers, relative pronouns/temporal demonstratives, number markers, and spatial demonstratives. The Icétôd noun phrase structure can be formalized as follows, where elements in parentheses are optional:

Icétôd NP structure:

HEAD (ANPH)(POSS)(NUM)(REL/TEMP) (DEM)

The syntactical structure formalized in (1) is fleshed out among the real Icétôd noun phrases presented below in examples (2)-(10):

HEAD *wik⊠* 'children'

HEAD ANPH *wika díí* 'those (specific) children'

HEAD POSS *wika ɲcì* 'my children'

HEAD ANPH POSS *wika díí ɲcì* 'those (specific) children of mine'

HEAD ANPH POSS NUM *wika díí ɲcìè lèɓètsè* 'those two (specific) children of mine'

HEAD ANPH POSS REL *wika díí ɲcie [ni leɓetse]*_{REL} 'those (specific) children of mine, two in number'

HEAD ANPH POSS NUM REL *wika díí ɲcie leɓetse [ní dà]* _{REL} 'those two nice (specific) children of mine'

HEAD ANPH POSS NUM REL DEM *wika díí ɲcie leɓetse [ní daa]* _{REL} *ni* 'those two nice (specific) children of mine, these'

HEAD ANPH POSS NUM TEMP DEM *wika díí ɲcie leɓetse níi ni* 'those two (specific) children of mine from earlier, these'

0.10.2 Clause structure

0.10.2.1 Intransitive

Icétôd INTRANSITIVE clauses consist minimally of a verb (V) and a subject (S) in a VS constituent order. The subject may be explicit, in which case it follows the verb, or it may be merely marked on the verb. Basic intransitive clause structure is illustrated in example (11):

*Epa*_V *ŋók⊠*_S. sleep:3SG dog:NOM 'The dog sleeps.'

When a tense adverb is needed, it comes directly after the verb and before any explicit subject. And any other adverbial elements like extended objects (E) or

adverbs, in that order, come after the subject. This elaborated intransitive clause structure is illustrated in (12):

Epá~V~ *bee*~TENSE~ *ŋóká*~S~ *kurú*~E~. sleep:3SG=yester- dog:NOM shade:ABL 'The dog slept in the shade yesterday.'

0.10.2.2 Transitive

Icétôd TRANSITIVE clauses consist minimally of a transitive verb (V), an agent (A), and an object (O) in a VAO constituent order. The subject may be explicit, in which case it comes between the verb and object, or it may merely be marked on the verb with a suffix. The object may also be dropped, in which case it is inferred from the context. Example (13) below illustrates basic transitive clause structure:

Áts'á~V~ *ŋóká*~A~ *ɔkák*⊠~O~. gnaw:3SG dog:NOM bone:ACC 'The dog gnaws the bone.'

When a tense adverb is needed, it comes directly after the verb and before any explicit subject. And any other adverbial elements like extended objects (E) or adverbs, in that order, come after the subject. This elaborated transitive clause structure is illustrated in (14):

Áts'á~V~ *bee*~TENSE~ *ŋóká*~A~ *ɔkáá*~O~ *ódàtù*~E~ gnaw:3SG=yester- dog:NOM bone:ACC day:INS 'The dog gnawed the bone all day yesterday.'

0.10.2.3 Ditransitive

Icétôd DITRANSITIVE clauses consist minimally of a ditransitive verb (V), an agent (A), an object (O), and an extended object (E) in a VAOE constituent order. If the agent is not mentioned explicitly, then it will still be marked with a suffix on the verb. The object and even extended object may be left implicit but will be understood from context. The basic ditransitive clause structure is illustrated in (15):

Maa~V~ *kakaama*~A~ *ɔkáá*~O~ *ŋókík*⊠~E~. give:3SG hunter:NOM bone:ACC dog:DAT 'The hunter gives a bone to the dog.'

0.10.2.4 Causative

By adding an extra element in the form of a causing agent, Icétôd CAUSATIVE verbs change the structure of a clause. If the original clause was a VS intransitive one, then the causative changes it to a transitive VAO. If the original clause was a transitive VAO, then the causative changes it to a ditransitive VAOE. The following two examples show causative verbs making these structural changes:

Intransitive VS → Causative VAO *Fekíà*~V~ *ŋk*⊠~V~. laugh:1SG I:NOM 'I laugh'.

*Fekitéídà*_{VA} *ŋk*☒_O. laugh:CAUS:2SG I:NOM 'You make me laugh.'
Transitive VAO → Causative VAOE *Wetía*_V *ŋka*_A *cue*_O. drink:1SG I:NOM water:NOM
'I drink water.'
*Wetitéída*_{VA} *ŋka*_O *cuék*☒_E. drink:CAUS:2SG I:NOM water:DAT 'You make me drink water.'

0.10.2.5 Auxiliary

Icétôd has both true AUXILIARY verbs and PSEUDO-AUXILIARY verbs. Both types create modified syntactic structures. The true auxiliaries, shown in Table ??.1, function as the syntactic main verb in a clause, while the *semantic* main verb follows the subject (S/A) in a morphologically defective form that consists of the bare verb stem plus a suffix {-a} (which may be the realis marker from §8.9.2). This means the constituent order of clauses with true auxiliary verbs is AUXSV for intransitives, AUXAVO for transitives, and AUXAVOE with extended objects. Again, in all these constructions, the AUX acts as the main verb from a syntactic perspective, while the defective verb carries the main meaning of the verbal schema. Another way to analyze this construction would be to say that the auxiliary verb and the defective verb *together* fill the verb slot of the clausal syntax. The true auxiliaries have both lexical and aspectual meanings, which are nevertheless practically identical in their semantics. However, in their lexical function, the verbs in Table ??.1 do not require a second, morphologically defective verb to augment them; they stand alone.

Table 0.106: 1: Icétôd true auxiliary verbs

Root	Lexical	Aspectual
erúts-	'be fresh, new'	RECENTIVE
ŋɔr-	'do already/early'	ANTICIPATIVE
sár-	'be still/not yet'	DURATIVE

Example (18) illustrates the use of the recentive aspectual auxiliary verb *erúts-* in an intransitive clause with the structure AUXSVE:

*Erútsíma*_{AuxS} *atsa*_V *sédà*☒_E. RECENT:1PL.EXC come garden:ABL 'We just came from the garden.'
Example (19), on the other hand, shows the use of the anticipative verb *ŋɔr-* in a transitive clause with the structure AUXAVOE:

*Ŋɔrá*_{AuxA} *naa cɛa*_V *riá*_O *baratso*_E *nákⵯ*. ANTICIP:3SG=PST kill goat:ACC morn:INS=DEM.PST 'He already killed the goat earlier this morning.'

Lastly, sentence (20) exemplifies the durative aspectual verb *sár-* in a simple transitive clause working with the defective verb *ts'ágwa-*:

*Sárá*_{AUX} *séda*_S *ts'ágwà*_V. dur:3SG garden:NOM unripe 'The garden is still unripe.'

In contrast, the pseudo-auxiliary verbs only mimic true auxiliaries in that they are fully lexical verbs yet ones with potentially aspectual meanings, including the completive, inchoative, and occupative. However, because they are not *syntactically* auxiliary, they take complements as any lexical verb would (direct objects for the transitive ones and extended objects for the intransitive one). The pseudo-auxiliaries are presented in Table ??.2 with their lexical and aspectual meanings and the cases required in their complements:

Table 0.107: 2: Icétôd pseudo-auxiliary verbs

Stem	Lexical	Aspectual	Case required
náb-ʉkɔt-	'end, finish'	COMPLETIVE	NOM/ACC
itsyák-ét-	'begin, start'	INCHOATIVE	NOM/ACC
toɗó-	'alight, land'	INCHOATIVE	NOM/ACC
isé-ét-	'begin, start'	INCHOATIVE	NOM/ACC
cɛm-	'fight, struggle'	OCCUPATIVE	INS

Each of the aspectual meanings listed in Table ??.2 are given one example in the following sentences. The brackets in (21) signify that the bracketed noun phrase as a whole is the object of the verb.

Completive *Nábʉkɔtɨáa*_{VA} *[isóméésá ɲábúkwi]*_O. finish:1SG:PRF to.read:NOM book:GEN 'I have finished reading the book.'

Inchoative *Itsyaketátaa*_{VA} *wáánàkⵯ*_O. begin:3PL:PRF praying:ACC 'They have begun praying.'

Occupative *Cɛma*_V *wika*_S *wáákⵯ*_E. fight:3 children:NOM playing:INS 'The children are busy playing.'

0.10.2.6 Copular

Icétôd COPULAR clauses have relational rather than referential meanings. They link a COPULAR SUBJECT (CS) to a COPULAR COMPLEMENT (CC) which represents an entity or attribute, depending on the specific copular verb involved. The constituent order of copular clauses is therefore V-CS-CC. Icétôd has three distinct

copular or 'be' verbs that can express five copular relationships between them. These copular verbs are presented in Table **??**.3 below, along with the case markings their subjects and complements are obligated to have:

Table 0.108: 3: Icétôd copular verbs

Verb	Meaning	CS case	CC case
ì-	Existence	NOM	–
	Location	NOM	DAT
ìr-	Attribution	NOM	(adverb)
mɨt-	Identity	NOM	OBL
	Possession	NOM	GEN

The three copular verbs in Table **??**.3 and their five potential meaning are each exemplified briefly in the sentences below:

Existence *Ia*$_V$ *didigwarí*$_{CS}$. be:3SG rain.top:NOM 'Heaven [i.e. God] is (there).'

Location *Ia*$_V$ *lɔŋɔtá*$_{CS}$ *muceék*⊠$_{CC}$. be:3 enemies:NOM way:DAT 'Enemies are on the way.'

Attribution *Ira*$_{VCS}$ *tíyé*$_{ADV}$. be:3SG like.this 'It is like this.'

Identity Mɨtɨá$_V$ ŋka$_{CS}$ bábò$_{CC}$. be:1SG I:NOM father.your:OBL 'I am your father.'

Possession Mɨta$_V$ [awa na]$_{CS}$ ŋgó^e$_{CC}$. be:3SG home:NOM this we:GEN 'This house is ours.'

0.10.2.7 Fronted

Icétôd can put special emphasis on any core nominal element by moving it to the front of the clause, before the verb, subject, and other constituents. Doing so obviously disrupts the usual syntactic structure of main clauses. Two kinds of fronting are observed in the language: 1) a CLEFT construction and 2) LEFT-DISLOCATION. In a cleft construction, the emphasized noun is moved to the front and given the copulative case. This puts it in an identifying relationship with the original clause out of which it just came. As a result, the newly arranged clause can be viewed as a kind of copular clause where the fronted element is the copular subject and the original clause the copular complement. This can in turn be formulized as: [NP:COP]$_{CS}$ [CLAUSE]$_{CC}$. To make this more concrete, the next examples show the cleft construction with a simple transitive clause (29a) whose object (*mɛs*) gets fronted and marked with the copulative case (29b).

Cleft construction *Bɛɗɨmà*ᵥ *ŋ̀gwà*ₐ *mɛs*ₒ. want:1PL.EXC we:NOM beer:NOM 'We want beer.'

*Mɛsɔɔ*_CC *[ŋóá bɛɗɨm.]*_CS beer:COP we:ACC want:1PL.EXC 'It is beer (that) we want.' Whereas the cleft construction involves removing a clausal element from a clause and building a new clause, left-dislocation simply relocates the element to the front of the clause, but still within the same clause. In this fronted position it is given the nominative case. This type of fronting can be formulized as: [NP:NOM ‖ CLAUSE]_CLAUSE, where the double vertical line symbolized a short pause. Icétôd left-dislocation is illustrated in the following two example sentences:

Left-dislocation *Mée eníí kaúdza díí.* not:PRF see:1SG money:NOM=ANPH 'I haven't seen that money.'

Kaúdza díí, mée ení. money:NOM=ANPH not:PRF see:1SG 'That money, I haven't seen (it).'

0.10.3 Subordinate clauses

0.10.3.1 Overview

The constituent order of Icétôd SUBORDINATE clauses differs from that of MAIN clauses. Specifically, Icétôd subordinate clauses exhibit an SV order with intransitive verbs, an AV order with transitives, and an AVE order with ditransitives—in short 'sv' instead of the usual 'vs'. Case marking in subordinate clauses is also different: The fronted subject/agent and *every* direct object take the accusative case.

The next two subsection deal with two key kinds of subordinate clause, the relative (§10.3.2) and the adverbial (§10.3.3).

0.10.3.2 Relative clauses

RELATIVE CLAUSES are subordinate clauses that modify a noun. Icétôd relative clauses are restrictive, meaning they can only narrow the reference of their head noun rather than adding extra details about it. Relative clauses are introduced by the tensed relative pronouns discussed back in (§5.7), which, within the relative clause, stand in for a noun in the main clause called the COMMON ARGUMENT (CA). As such, the common argument is a full verbal argument in the main clause, while in the relative clause, the relative pronoun fills its slot.

As a subordinate clause, an Icétôd relative clause exhibits a different constituent order than typical main clauses. That is, an intransitive relative clause has the order SV (instead of VS), and a transitive relative clause has the order OAV (instead

of VAO). In the former (intransitive), the subject slot (S) is filled by the relative pronoun, and in the latter (transitive), it is the object (O) that is represented by the relative pronoun. Furthermore, apart for the relative pronouns themselves, all subjects and direct objects in relative clauses are marked with the accusative case—another sign of subordination.

These various attributes of Icétôd relative clauses are illustrated in examples (31)-(32) below. In (31), the common argument in the main clause is *emuta* 'story', which is modified by the relative clause *nɛ ɛf* 'that is funny'. Note how the subject slot of the relative clause is filled by the relation pronoun *nɛ* (actually *na* with its vowel assimilated). Then, in (32), the common argument of the main clause is *ima* 'child', modified by the relative clause *náa ɲcia takí* 'that I mentioned'. Observe that since the verb of the relative clause is transitive (*takés* 'to mean, mention'), it requires a direct object, which in this instance is fulfilled by the relative pronoun *náa* representing the noun *ima*:

[Warning: Draw object ignored]Intransitive (SV)

*Nesíbimaa emuta*_{CA} *[nɛ*_S *ɛf*_V*]*_{REL}. hear:1PL.EXC:PRF story:NOM =REL sweet:3SG 'We've heard a story that is funny.'

[Warning: Draw object ignored]Transitive (OAV) *Atsáá ima*_{CA} *[náa*_O *ɲcia*_A *takí*_V*]*_{REL}. come:3SG:PRF child =REL I:ACC mention:1SG 'The child I mentioned earlier has come.'

0.10.3.3 Adverbial clauses

The category of ADVERBIAL CLAUSES is rather broad as it includes any subordinate clause that modifies a main clause adverbially. Adverbial clause are subordinate or 'dependent' precisely because they cannot stand alone but must be linked to an independent main clause. As subordinate clauses, adverbial clauses exhibit a constituent order that differs from both main clauses and relative clauses. Specifically, intransitive adverbial clauses have the order SV, while transitive adverbial clauses have the order AVO. Another correlate of subordination seen in most adverbial clauses—with the exception of the conditional and hypothetical ones—is accusative case-marking on all core constituents (S/A/O) if they are explicitly mentioned.

Among the main kinds of adverbial clause in Icétôd are the following: TEMPORAL, SIMULTANEOUS, CONDITIONAL, HYPOTHETICAL, MANNER, REASON/CAUSE, and CONCESSIVE. Most types of adverbial clause—except for the manner type—have their own dedicated connective (or 'conjunction') or set of connectives, many of which are listed back in Table 0.24.8 under §3.14. Without exception, the subordinating connectives come first in the adverbial clause. Lastly, Icétôd adverbial

clauses may come before or after the main clause they modify.

Each type of adverbial clause is given one example apiece below:

Temporal *[Noo ntsíá badukotâd□]*_{TEMP}, *kɔdɨak□.* when he:3SG die:3SG:DP cry:1SG:SEQ 'When he died, I cried.'

Simultaneous *[Náa ntsíá badúkótìk□]*_{SIMUL}, *kɔdɛsɨak□.* as he:3SG die:3SG:SIM cry:IPFV:1SG:SEQ 'As he was dying, I was crying.'

Conditional *[Na ntsa badúkótùk□]*_{COND}, *kɔdɨak□.* if he:NOM die:3SG:SEQ cry:1SG:SEQ 'If he dies, I'll cry.'

Hypothetical *[Na kánoo ntsa badúkótùk□]*_{HYPO}, if would've he:3SG die:3SG:SEQ *kɔdɨaa kánòk□.* cry:1SG:SEQ would've 'If he would've died, I would've cried.'

Manner *Badúkótuo [(ntsíá) tisílík□]*_{MANNER}. die:3SG:SEQ (he:ACC) peaceful:3SG:SIM 'And he died peacefully (lit. 'he being peaceful').'

Reason/cause *Badukotáá [dúó ídzanâd□]*_{REASON}. die:3SG:PRF because shoot:IPS:3SG:DP 'He has died because he was shot.'

Concessive *[Áta ntsíá badúkótìk□]*_{CONCESS}, *ńtá kɔdɨ.* even he:ACC die:3SG:SIM not cry:1SG 'Even if he dies, I will not cry.'

0.10.4 Questions

0.10.4.1 Overview

Questions in Icétôd can be formed in two mutually exclusive ways: 1) by leaving the final word in the question in its non-final form (along with special a special questioning intonation) or 2) by rearranging the syntax of the sentence. The first method is employed with what is called POLAR or yes/no questions: those whose answer is either 'yes' or 'no'. The second method is used for CONTENT or wh-questions: those whose answer is a substantive response to such interrogative pronouns as *who?*, *what?*, *when?*, *where?*, etc. These two types of question are briefly described in the following two subsections.

0.10.4.2 Polar questions

Polar questions are those that elicit a 'yes' or 'no' in response. In Icétôd, they are formed by leaving the last word or particle in the question in its non-final form (revisit §2.3 and §2.4.3 for a review). This open-endedness of form is a fascinating way the grammar reflects the open-endedness of a question—open to a response. Besides the non-final form of the last word, polar questions are often identified by a change in intonation. This interrogative intonation is enacted by what is called a BOUNDARY low tone: a low tone that attaches to the final syllable. If the

final syllable already has a low tone, then the boundary tone is not audible. But if the final syllable has a high tone, the boundary tone manifests as a high-low glide.

The following two examples illustrate these features of polar questions. Note in the first part of (40) how the present perfect suffix {-´ ka} shows up in its non-final form (-´ à), while in the second part, the final form is used (-´ k⊠). Then, (41) shows the interrogative boundary low tone attaching to the high tone on the final syllable of *cekúó* 'is a woman', creating a high-low down-glide (*cekúô*):

Nábʉkɔtáà? Ee, nábʉkɔták⊠. finish:COMP:3SG:PRF[NF] yes finish:COMP:3SG:PRF[FF] 'Is it finished?' 'Yes, it is finished.'

Cekúô? Ee, cekúó ntsa⊠. woman:COP[NF] yes woman:COP she:NOM 'Is it a woman?' 'Yes, she's a woman.'

0.10.4.3 Content questions

In contrast to polar questions, content questions cannot logically take 'yes' or 'no' for an answer. Rather, answers to content questions—as their name implies—must contain content relevant to the specific interrogative pronoun used to make the inquiry (Icétôd interrogative pronouns are listed in §5.5). So if the question contains the pronoun *ǹdò-* 'who?', the answer must include a person. Or if the question contains the pronoun *ndáí-* 'where?', the response must refer to a specific location, and so on. Icétôd forms content questions by placing an interrogative pronoun in the syntactic slot of the unknown entity being queried (i.e. a person, place, time, manner, etc.). For example, in (42) below, the interrogative pronoun *ndaí-* 'where?' is filling the normal place where an object encoding the destination of *kà-* 'go' would go. The same is true in (43), where the pronoun *ìsì-* 'what?' fills the direct object slot required by the verb *bɛd-* 'want':

Keesída ndaík⊠? go:INT:2SG:REAL where:DAT 'You are going where?'

Bɛdá ìsìk⊠? want:3SG:REAL what:NOM 'He wants what?'

However, what is more common is for the interrogative pronoun to be fronted for emphasis (see §10.2.7). As in other instances of fronting in Icétôd, the fronted element is given the copulative case marker {-ko}. In the sentences below, examples (42)-(43) are repeated in their fronted (focused) forms, and two other pronouns are illustrated:

Ndaíó keesídàd⊠? where:COP go:2SG:REAL:DP 'Where are you going?'

Isio bɛd⊠? what:COP want:3SG:REAL 'What does he want?'

Ndoo óá ɲcìk⊠? who:COP call:3SG:REAL I:ACC 'Who calls me?'

Ńtɛɛnɔɔ tákîd⊠? which:COP mean:2SG:REAL 'Which (one) do you mean?'

0.10.5 Quotations

Quotations involve reporting someone's speech (or thought)—the speaker's own or someone else's—directly or indirectly. Icétôd fulfills this communicative need through the use of the verb *kʉt-* 'say' followed by the actual quotation treated as an add-on clause. That is, unlike complements described below in §10.6, a quoted sentence in Icétôd is *not* an object of the verb *kʉt-*. Instead, it is tacked on 'extra-syntactically' and given the oblique case (the 'leftover' case). This is proven by the fact that when the pronoun *ìsì-* 'what?' appears to be the object of *kʉt-* with a 3SG or 3PL subject, *ìsì-* takes the oblique case instead of the accusative case as one would expect otherwise (§7.3):

Kʉtà ìs? NOT **Kʉta ísìk?* say:3SG what[OBL] say:3SG what:ACC 'He says what?' 'He says what?'

Many languages, English included, distinguish between direct and indirect quotative formulas, for example the direct "I said, 'I will come'" or the indirect "I said I will come". By contrast, Icétôd does not distinguish the two grammatically. Instead, the proper sense has to be discerned from the context (and possibly from intonation). So the statement *Kʉtɨá naa atsésí* could mean either "I said 'I will come'" or "I said I will come", depending on factors other than syntax.

In Icétôd quotative sentences, if there is an addressee of the quotation, they will appear in the dative case. And the quotative particle *tàà* 'that' is often inserted just before the quotation, though it is optional. Sentences (49)-(50) below provide some examples of Ik quotations:

*Kʉtɨá bie [Pakóícéo noo dzígwì]*_{QUOTATION} say:1SG you:DAT Turkana:COP=PST buy:PLUR 'I'm telling you it was the Turkana who used to buy.'

*Kʉtana taa [atsúó ɗɛmʉs]*_{QUOTATION} say:IPS that come:IMP quickly 'They are saying, 'Come quickly!'."

0.10.6 Complements

COMPLEMENTS are individual clauses that function as an 'argument' of the verb—as either subject or object. In other words, they are clauses within clauses: unlike subordinate clauses which are added *onto* main clauses, complement clauses are added *into* other clauses. Icétôd complement clauses are introduced by the COMPLEMENTIZER *tòìmɛnà-* 'that', which is combination of a form of the verb *tód-* 'speak' and the noun *mɛná-* 'issues, words'. This compound word gives some evidence that Icétôd complement clauses (of this particular type) evolved from quotative clauses like those described above in §10.5.

Because a complement clause fits within the grammar of a clause, it must some-how be declined for case (because all arguments of a verb in Icétôd take case, without exception). To meet this requirement, the complementizer *tòìmɛnà-* bears the burden of case on behalf of the whole complement clause it is introducing. So technically, it is the complementizer—not the complement clause alone—that is the verbal argument. But because *tòìmɛnà-* plus the complement is a frozen quotative formula, the whole construction can be seen as an argument.

To illustrate this, (51) presents a simple complement clause governed by the cog-nitive verb *èn-* 'see'. The {curly brackets} indicate the boundaries of the main clause from the point of view of the syntax, in which the verb *èn-* 'see' selects its object *tòìmɛnà-* 'that' for the accusative case. The [square brackets] mark the boundary of the complement clause seen from the point of view of semantics, for the actual content of 'seeing' is the clause *that we have become very rich*:

*{Enáta [toimɛnaa]*_{OBJ} *barɨkɔtɨmáà zùk⊠]*_{COMPL} see:3PL that:ACC rich:COMP:1PL:PRF very 'They see that we have become very rich.'

In addition to a direct object, an Ik complement clause can also function as an indirect object or even the 'complement' of a copular clause. For instance, in (52) below, *tòìmɛnà-* and by extension the whole complement clause is acting as the indirect object of the verb *xɛɓ-* 'be afraid of, fear', which requires the ablative case. Then, in (53), the verb is the copular verb *mɨt-* 'be', which requires its nominal compliment to be in the oblique case, as is seen with *tòìmɛnà-*:

*Xɛɓɨá [toimɛnɔɔ maíá sílím]*_{COMPL} fear:1SG that:ABL ill:1SG AIDS:nom 'I am afraid that I'm ill with AIDS.'

*Mɨta ja [toimɛna ńtá nesíbi mɛnák⊠]*_{COMPL} be:3SG=just that[OBL] not hear:3SG words:ACC 'It is just that she doesn't understand instructions.'

0.10.7 Comparatives

COMPARATIVES are grammatical constructions that allow the comparison of two entities on the basis of some characteristic. Icétôd has two strategies for doing this: 1) the mono-clausal, which involves one simple clause, and 2) the bi-clausal, which involves a complex clause. Mono-clausal comparatives place the COMPA-REE (entity being compared) in the nominative case and the STANDARD (entity the comparee is being compared to) in the ablative case. Since most comparable attributes are expressed as intransitive verbs in Icétôd, the PARAMETER (attribute) of the comparison is also an adjectival verb in such constructions. For example, in (54)-(55) below, the intransitive verbs *zè-* 'big' and *dà-* 'nice' are acting as the parameters, while their subjects are the comparees in the nominative case and their extended objects the standards in the ablative case:

Zeíá ŋ́kà bù. big:1SG I:NOM you:ABL 'I am bigger than you.'

Daa ɗa na kɨɗɔɔ nice:3SG this.one:NOM=this that.one:ABL 'This one is nicer than that one.'

Bi-clausal comparatives, on the other hand, combine a main clause with a subordinate or 'co-subordinate' clause (§10.8.2). Both types are introduced by the verb *ilɔ-* 'exceed, surpass', which acts as the INDEX of the comparison (the gauge of the degree of difference between compared entities). If the indexical verb introduces a subordinate clause, it takes the simultaneous aspect, while if it introduces a co-subordinate clause, it takes the sequential aspect. In such bi-clausal comparatives, the comparee is still the subject of the main clause, while the standard is the object of the dependent clause. And the parameter remains with the main clause verb (as in mono-clausal comparatives). But unlike mono-clausals, bi-clausal comparatives can have intransitive or transitive parametric verbs. In other words, actions as well as attributes can be compared in this type of construction.

In (56) below, the parameter lies with the verb *tɔkɔb-* 'cultivate', and 'he' (marked as 3SG on the verb) is being compared with 'us' (*ŋgó-*). The index of the comparison is the verb *ilɔɨɛ* 'he surpassing', which reveals the inequality of the compared actions of the two entities. Example (57) follows the exact same logic, only that the indexical verb *ilɔɨnɨ* is in the sequential aspect instead of the simultaneous:

*Tokobia edɨ́á [ɪlɔɨɛ ŋgók⊠]*_{SIM} cultivate:PLUR:3SG grain:ACC surpass:3SG:SIM we:ACC 'He cultivates grain more than us.'

*Sábúmósáta [ɪlɔɨnɨ toni ɲeryaŋ]*_{SEQ} kill:RECIP:3PL exceed:3PL:SEQ even government[OBL] 'They're killing each other even more than the feds.'

0.10.8 Clause combining

0.10.8.1 Clause coordination

Two or more clauses can be linked in Icétôd through clause COORDINATION. This can result in clause ADDITION ('and'), which joins two independent clauses of equal status. It can result in CONTRAST ('but'), which joins clauses of equal syntactic status, the second of which is a counterexpectation to the first. And thirdly, clause coordination can result in DISJUNCTION ('or'), in which two clauses of equal status are presented as different possible options.

Clause addition is achieved in two primary ways: 1) simply adjoining the clauses with a pause in between (represented by a period in writing) or 2) linking the clauses with a coordinating connective like *koto* 'and, but, then' or *ńdà* 'and'. A third way to add a clause that alters its syntactic profile is to nominalize it—

change all its main parts to nouns, put them in a noun phrase, and link it up to the first with *ńdà*. Note from (42) that with this third method, because the word *ńdà* 'and' is acting as a sort preposition, it requires its head noun(s) to be in the oblique case. Its head nouns in example (42) are the nominalized subject (*ŋgo*) and verb (*ŋkɛsɨ*)—both in the oblique case.

Each of above three ways of adding clauses are illustrated below:

Mɨnɨa ɲécáy▢. Mɨná ntsa mɛsɛk▢. love:1sg tea:nom love:3sg she:nom beer:acc 'I love tea. She loves beer.'

Kakɨésána noo ńtí, hunt:plur:ipfv:ips:real=pst how 'How did people used to go hunting,

ńda kaɨána noo waa waicíkée ńti? and go:plur:ips:real=pst pick:nom greens:gen how and how did they used to go picking greens?'

Itétimaa awák▢, return:1sg:seq home:dat 'We returned home,

ńda ŋgo ŋkɛsɨ tɔbɔŋɔ▢. and we:obl to.eat:obl mush:gen and we ate mealmush.'

Clause contrast in Icétôd can be expressed in two primary ways: 1) by simply adjoining the two clauses with a pause in between (marked with by a comma or period in writing) or 2) by linking the two clauses with the contrastive connective *kòtò*, which can mean 'but' as well as 'and, then, therefore, etc.'. Both types are exemplified below:

Bɛna ɲcùk▢. Bùk▢. not:3sg I:cop you:cop 'It's not me. It's you.

Bɛdʉkɔtɨa naa ɲɛmɛlɛkʉ, search:*comp:1sg=pst* hoe:*nom* 'I went and looked for the hoe,

koto máa naa ŋunetí. but not=*pst* find:*1sg* but I did not find (it).'

Lastly, the idea of disjunction is expressed in Icétôd through the use of the connectives *kèɗè* 'or' or *kòrì* 'or', as illustrated in (43)-(44) below:

Tɔkɔbɛsɨda eɗa, farm:ipfv:2sg:real grain:nom 'Are you farming grain,

keɗe ńtá tɔkɔbɛsɨd▢? or not farm:ipfv:2sg:real or are you not farming (it)?'

Enída mɛna gaanaakátìk▢, see:2sg:real things:nom bad:distr:3pl:sim 'Do you see things being bad all around,

kori maráŋaakátìk▢? or good:distr:3pl:sim or as being good all around?

0.10.8.2 Clause chaining

But in fact, the most common way Icétôd links independent clauses is through clause 'co-subordination' or clause chaining. To create a chain of clauses, the grammar starts with an anchoring phrase or clause to set the stage modally or temporally, and then it puts all the following mainline verbs in the sequential aspect (see §8.10.7), creating a chain of two or more clauses. When clause chaining is used in a story, the temporal 'anchor' can be a simple time expression like

kaɩnɩkò nùk☐ 'in those years' or a tensed statement like *Atsa noo ámá ntanée taa Apáálɔrɛŋ* 'There came a man named Apaaloreng'. In (47) below, the clause chain is anchored by the initial adverbial phrase *Na kónító ódoue baratsoó* 'One day, in the morning', which puts the whole sentence in a temporal frame. Thenceforth, the clause chain proceeds clause by clause, each marked as SEQ1, SEQ2, etc.:

*[Na kónító ódoue baratsoó]*_{ADV} when one day:GEN morning:INS 'One day, in the morning,

[ipuo takáɩkak☐*]*_{SEQ1} cast:3SG:SEQ shoes:ACC he cast (his) shoes (in divination),

[eguo takáɩka ɛbak☐*]*_{SEQ2} put:3SG:SEQ shoes:NOM gun:ACC and the shoes made (the shape of) a gun,

*[ipuo naɓó]*_{SEQ3} cast:3SG:SEQ again and he cast (them) again,

*[eg**ini** ɛbak*☐*]*_{SEQ4} put:3PL:SEQ gun:ACC and they made a gun.'

Although the sequential aspect and clause chains are very common in narrative discourse, they are also used extensively for other types of discourse, for example, exposition and instruction. The following expository clause chain in (48) details some of the steps taken in the cultural activity of grinding tobacco leaves. Note that there are two anchoring adverbial clauses, one at the beginning and one in the third line. After each one, there is a string of one or more verbs (and clauses) set in the sequential aspect.

[Náa iryámétanɩɛ gwasák☐*]*_{ADV1} when get:IPS:SIM stone:DAT 'When a stone is acquired,

[ŋɔɛɛsɛ ɲaɓáláŋɩɩ☐*]*_{SEQ1} grind:INCH:SPS soda.ash:NOM soda ash is ground up.

[náa ɲaɓáláŋɩtiá iwídímètɩk☐*]*_{ADV2} when soda.ash:ACC pulverize:MID:SIM When the soda ash is ground to powder,

[egesée lɔtɔɓ☐*]*_{SEQ2} put:SPS:DP tobacco:NOM tobacco is put into it,

*[ŋɔɛsɛ]*_{SEQ3} grind:SPS and it is ground

[páka ɲapúdúmùkòtùk☐*]*_{SEQ4} until powdery:COMP:SEQ until it becomes fine powder....'

Finally, the sequential aspect and clause chaining is often found operating in a set of consecutive instructions. As instructions, the clause chain may begin with one or more imperative verbs, followed by the sequential verbs in a chain of further commands or instructions.

*[Na bɛdɩdɔɔ bɛresá hoe]*_{ADV} if want:2SG:SEQ to.build:NOM house:GEN 'If you want to build a house,

*[bɛrɛ tí]*_{IMP1} build:IMP like.this build (it) like this:

[Kawete titírík☐*, kɛdɩtɩn, ńda sim]*_{IMP2} cut:IMP pole:PL reed:P and fiber Cut poles, reeds, and fiber,

[iréɲukoiduo bácɩk☐*]*_{SEQ1} clear:COMP:2SG:SEQ area:NOM clear away the area,

*[úgiduo ripitín]*_{SEQ2} dig:2SG:SEQ hole:PL:NOM dig holes,
*[otídukwéé titírík⊠]*_{SEQ3} pour:2SG:SEQ:DP pole:PL:NOM and put the poles into them...'

0.10.9 Appendix A: Icétôd affixes

All of the affixes discussed in the preceding sketch are listed in the table below for easy reference. When looking for an affix in the list, keep in mind that if it has two forms (for example the {-e} and {-ɛ} of the genitive case), both forms are given their own separate entry.

Table 0.109: Full list of Icétôd affixes

Non-final	Final	Name	Section
-Ø	-Ø	Irrealis modality	§8.9.1
-Ø	-Ø	Oblique case	§7.9
-a	-ᵃ	Nominative case	§7.2
-a	-ᵃ	Realis modality	§8.9.2
-a	-kᵃ	Accusative case	§7.3
-a	-kᵃ	Present perfect aspect	§8.10.2
-aák-	–	Distributive adjectival	§8.11.5
-am(a)-	-am	Singulative	§4.2.3
-am(á)-	-am	Patientive	§8.3.3
-án-	–	Stative adjectival	§8.11.4
-an(ɨ)-	–	Impersonal passive mood	§8.6.2
-ano´	-ano´	First plural incl. optative	§8.10.3
-ás(ɨ)-	-ás	Abstractive	§8.3.1
-át(ì)-	-át(ì)	Third person plural	§8.7
´d-	–	Physical property I	§8.11.2
-e	-ᵉ	Genitive case	§7.5
-e	-kᵉ	Dative case	§7.4
-e	-kᵉ	Simultaneous aspect	§8.10.8
´è	´dᵉ	Dummy pronoun	§8.8
-e´	-ᵉ´	Imperative singular	§8.10.5
-ed(e)-	-edᵉ	Possessive singular	§4.2.4
-és-	–	Imperfective aspect	§8.10.1
-és-	–	Intentional modality	§8.10.1

Non-final	Final	Name	Section
-és(í)-	-és	Transitive infinitive	§8.2.2
-ese´	-es^(e´)	Sequential imp. passive	§8.10.7
-èt-	–	Venitive directional	§8.4.1
-èt-	–	Inchoative aspect	§8.5.1
-ɛ	-⊠	Genitive case	§7.5
-ɛ	-k⊠	Dative case	§7.3
-ɛ	-k⊠	Simultaneous aspect	§8.10.8
´ɛ	´-d^e	Dummy pronoun	§8.8
-ɛ´	-⊠´	Imperative singular	§8.10.5
-ɛd(ɛ)-	-ɛd⊠	Possessive singular	§4.2.4
-ɛs-	–	Imperfective aspect	§8.10.1
-ɛs-	–	Intentional modality	§8.10.1
-ɛs(ɨ)-	-ɛs	Transitive infinitive	§8.2.2
-ɛsɛ´	-ɛs⊠´	Sequential imp. passive	§8.10.7
-ɛt-	–	Venitive directional	§8.4.1
-ɛt-	–	Inchoative aspect	§8.5.1
-ì	´-^i	Third person singular	§8.7
´ì	´-d^e	Dummy pronoun	§8.8
-í-	–	Pluractional aspect	§8.5.3
-í(í)-	-í(í)	First person singular	§8.8
-ia´ -	–	First singular sequential	§8.10.7
-íd(ì)-	-íd(ì)	Second person singular	§8.8
-ìk-	–	Distributive adjectival	§8.11.5
-ìk(à)-	-ìk^a	Plurative	§4.2.1

Non-final	Final	Name	Section
-ìn(ì)-	-ìn	Possessive plural	§4.2.4
-ineˊ	-ineˊ	First singular optative	§8.10.3
-ìnì	-ìn	Third plural sequential	§8.10.7
-ínós(í)-	-ínós	Reciprocal	§8.6.4
-ísín(ì)-	-ísín(ì)	First plural inclusive	§8.7
-ìt-	–	Causative mood	§8.6.5
-ít(í)-	-ít(í)	Second person plural	§8.7
-ítín(í)-	-ítín	Plurative	§4.2.1
-ɨ	-⊠	Third person singular	§8.7
ˊɨ	ˊdᵉ	Dummy pronoun	§8.8
-ɨ(ɨ)-	-ɨ(ɨ)	First person singular	§8.7
-ɨaˊ -	–	First singular sequential	§8.10.7
-ɨd(ɨ)-	-ɨd(ɨ)	Second person singular	§8.7
-ɨk-	–	Distributive adjectival	§8.11.5
-ɨk(à)-	-ɨkᵃ	Plurative	§4.2.1
-ɨm(ɨ)-	-ɨm(ɨ)	First plural exclusive	§8.7
-ɨmaˊ -	-ɨmaˊ	First pl. exc. optative	§8.10.3
-ɨmaˊ -	–	First pl. exc. sequential	§8.10.7
-ɨn(ɨ)-	-ɨn	Possessive plural	§4.2.4
-ɨnɔs(ɨ)-	-ɨnɔs	Reciprocal	§8.6.4
-ɨnɛˊ	-ɨnɛˊ	First singular optative	§8.10.3
-ɨnɨ-	-ɨn	Third plural sequential	§8.10.7
-ɨsɨn(ɨ)-	-ɨsɨn(ɨ)	First plural inclusive	§8.7
-ɨt-	–	Causative	§8.6.5
-ɨt(ɨ)-	-ɨt(ɨ)	Second person plural	§8.7
-ɨtɨn(ɨ)-	-ɨtɨn	Plurative	§4.2.1
ˊm-	–	Middle I mood	§8.6.3

Non-final	Final	Name	Section
-o	-ᵒ	Ablative case	§7.6
-o	-ᵒ	Instrumental case	§7.7
-o	-kᵒ	Copulative case	§7.8
-o	-kᵒ	Sequential aspect	§8.10.7
´-ò	´-dᵉ	Dummy pronoun	§8.8
-òn(ì)-	-òn	Intransitive infinitive	§8.2.1
-ós(í)-	-ós	Passive mood	§8.6.1
-ɔ	-ᵓ	Ablative case	§7.6
-ɔ	-ᵓ	Instrumental case	§7.7
-ɔ	-kᵓ	Copulative case	§7.8
-ɔ	-kᵓ	Sequential aspect	§8.10.7
´-ɔ	´-dᵉ	Dummy pronoun	§8.8
-ɔm(a)-	-ɔm	Singulative	§4.2.3
-ɔn(ɨ)-	-ɔn	Intransitive infinitive	§8.2.1
-ɔs(ɨ)-	-ɔs	Passive mood	§8.6.1
-uƙot(í)-	-uƙotⁱ	Andative directional	§8.4.2
-uƙot(í)-	-uƙotⁱ	Completive aspect	§8.5.2
-úó	-ú	Imperative plural	§8.10.5
-ʉƙɔt(ɨ)-	-ʉƙɔt⊠	Andative directional	§8.4.2
-ʉƙɔt(ɨ)-	-ʉƙɔt⊠	Completive aspect	§8.5.2
-ʉɔ	-ʉ	Imperative plural	§8.10.5

0.11 Bibliography

Schrock, Terrill. 2014. \textit{A grammar of Ik (Icé-tód): Northeast Uganda's last

Schrock, Terrill. 2015. \textit{A guide to the developing orthography of Icetod}.

70

Change your backtitle in localmetadata.tex

Change your blurb in localmetadata.tex