

# Icétôd: the Ik language

*Dictionary and grammar sketch*

For Amber Dawn

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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 Iudā Lokauwa, Locham Gabriel, and ????? 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.

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Finally, I want to thank God for making me a linguistic being in a linguistic universe where my mind and the Ik language could collide, sending out bright rays of new knowledge into the world.

## **Preface**

When I first heard about the Ik back in September 2005, their story gripped 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, slavery, starvation, and slaughter. And yet, somehow, here they were, limping into the 21<sup>st</sup> century as survivors of human and subhuman conditions most of 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 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 world 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 again.

## **1. Introduction**

## 1.1. The Ik language

Icétôd is the native language of the Ik people who live on a narrow swath of land in the extreme northeastern corner of Uganda. The language name *Icétôd* means ‘Ik-speech’ or ‘Ik-talk’ and is pronounced ee-CHAY-TOad or [itʃétôd] in phonetic symbols. Icétôd belongs to a small cluster of languages called ‘Kuliak’, which also includes Nyang’ia of Lobalangit and Sɔɔ/Tepeth of Mounts Moroto, Napak, and Kadam—all in Uganda’s beautiful Karamoja Region. It is absolutely *not true* that Icétôd is a dialect of Karimojong, nor is it even Nilotic or ‘Hamitic’. And it is certainly not Bantu. If it is related to Karimojong at all—scholars still disagree on this point—then it is no closer to it than would be, say, English to Russian or even Hindi.

One reason people think Icétôd is a dialect of Karimojong is that the Ik have long been surrounded and dominated by the pastoralist Dodoth, Toposa, Turkana, and Jie peoples. These, as well as the Karimojong proper, all speak mutually intelligible dialects of an abstract language called ‘Ateker’, ‘Teso-Turkana’, or ‘Tunga’. Another reason Icétôd seems similar to Karimojong is that it has borrowed many hundreds of words from Teso-Turkana over the centuries. Such borrowing is completely natural and especially common in situations where there is an imbalance in power. The close contact the Ik have had with Teso-Turkana peoples has also induced Icétôd grammar to become more like Teso-Turkana in certain ways.

But despite many superficial similarities one may see between Icétôd and Teso-Turkana, their grammatical systems are quite different. For instance, while their vowel systems are similar, Icétôd has many more consonants than Teso-Turkana, including ejectives /k/ and /ts’/. It also has an elaborate case system with eight cases all marked with suffixes, whereas Teso-Turkana languages mark only four cases, some using only tone. And although both Icétôd and Teso-Turkana order their words as Verb-Subject-Object in main clauses, in subordinate clauses, Icétôd changes the order to Subject-Verb-Object. These examples show that when one digs a little deeper linguistically, the profound differences between Icétôd and Teso-Turkana come to light.

## 1.2. The dictionary

I am certain there can be no comprehension of the present without the past, just as I am certain the past is not past. And there can be no comprehension of the present without all the tribes, human, animal, floral, and stones...at the table taking part in the talk.—Charles Bowden

This book contains a bilingual Icétôd-English dictionary and an English-Icétôd index. The dictionary section lists all the Ik words I have collected and recorded and offers English definitions for them. Including proper names, there are roughly 8,500 entries in the dictionary. Although I have done all I could to collect as many words as possible within the limits of time and resources, no doubt many other words still lurk out there in the recesses of Ik minds. It will not be until many more texts are written in Icétôd that these may be gently coaxed out onto the page and into more books like the present one.

Although the presumed purpose of a dictionary is to propound the current meanings of words, I fear that purpose is only partly achieved in this volume. The true meanings of words are lived meanings, intended by living beings in a living world. To capture them on a page is to freeze-dry them in black rock and white ice. A native speaker of Icétôd will recognize in my English definitions familiar traces of true meaning but never all of it. As a foreigner, a non-native speaker of Icétôd, my grasp of the living meanings of Icétôd words is severely limited. The only way to learn living linguistic meanings is to experience life linguistically, *through* a language, through its words and phrases and tropes. I have been fortunate enough to have had a few real-life experiences in Icétôd, for instance, when I learned the living meaning of the verb *isēs* ‘to miss’ by actually missing a bushpig boar as I tried to spear it when it charged toward me. The young Ik hunters never let me forget that, and as they retold the story with glee, they always used that verb. So when I hear it, I not only know what it means in terms of ‘missing’ but I also *feel* the living overtones that include shame, regret, loss of opportunity, diminution of manhood, etc. *That* is how one learns the meanings of words.

Despite such exceptions, for the vast majority of Icétôd words in this dictionary, I have had to find definitions extrinsically, from the outside. As a foreign lexicographer, *I do not inhabit the words*. Because of that, all I could do—given the time and resources I had—was to try to understand the words’ meanings as best I could and render them in perspicacious English as a felicitous meeting place between two very different modes of linguistic being-in-the-world. To the degree that I succeeded, to the degree that it is useful, this is what I hope to be an adequate first comprehensive Icétôd-English lexicon.

As well as being a record of modern Icétôd to be used for modern purposes, this dictionary also provides much data for historical research. Because Ik culture has left little in the way of archaeology, and because oral histories tend to be vague, inconsistent, and undated, language is one of the few lenses through which to investigate prehistory. Already the Icétôd lexicon gives some tantalizing hints as to the ancient northern East African origins of the Ik, for example in the link between words like *sɔkɔ́*- ‘hoof’ and Arabic *saaq* ‘foot’ and Gumuz *tʃagw* ‘foot’, or between *kídɔ́*- ‘bite’ and Maltese Arabic *gidem* ‘bite’ and Uduk *k’ūcūr* ‘suck’. Every Ik word is a cultural relic, a linguistic artifact sticking out of the red clays of time and memory. Each one has been molded by a million mouthings, much as water and wind grind down grains of sand. Each one has its own history, an origin and a tortuous path of descent to its present form, the same path, we can assume, that its many speakers have taken. This is where the fields of etymology, historical linguistics, or ‘paleolinguistics’ can provide some evidence on which to build identity and cultural history.

A rooted sense of history and identity can give the Ik sure footing as they transition into a nationally and globally minded society. The future beckons them. As I ponder the future of the Ik language, I see two possible paths it could take. One is that it could be totally assimilated by Karimojong much like Nyang’ia and Sɔɔ/Tepeth already have, or it could succumb to the dazzling promise of upward mobility that English makes to the young people. If either of these forms of language death should happen, at least this book would remain as a monument to a once noble language-mediated worldview.

The second path Icétôd could take into the future is the one I dream of. It is the one that would fulfill all my scholarly strivings and confirm my greatest hopes for the Ik. In this path, Icétôd would go on to become the language of a fully literate populace. With explicit knowledge of their grammar and lexicon, educated Ik people would harness the expressive power of their native-born tongue and make it a language of music, poetry, fiction, philosophy, theology, medicine, lower and higher education—literature of all types. This language that, with its speakers, has barely scraped by countless threats to its existence but somehow managed to pull through, this language that contains the linguistic genes of so many other languages from unrelated stocks, this small language of a small people in small place, could go on to become an enduring symbol of the Icean spirit.

As shown in Figure 1.1, Icétôd can be seen from an ‘Ik-centric’ perspective as a heart of East Africa. There it lies near the convergence of four East Africa nations: Uganda, South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Kenya. Over the centuries the Ik have migrated through and around each of those four nations. While they did so, their language absorbed words and grammar from the languages spoken in those nations. So in a very real sense, Icétôd embodies the linguistic heritage of northern East Africa. Therefore, could it be that Icétôd is uniquely and providentially situated to blossom into a language that can serve the full range of communicative needs of a modernized Ik society, and then extend its fruited branches over the escarpment in four directions to become a blessing to the neighboring nations? Time will tell, but it is to the fulfillment of that dream that this dictionary and grammar sketch of Icétôd is wholeheartedly dedicated.

### **1.3. Using the dictionary**

#### **1.3.1. Writing system**



The Icétôd portions of this dictionary and grammar sketch are written in what is called the Linguistic Orthography (LingO) as described in Schrock 2015. The LingO is a compromise between the easier Popular Orthography (PopO) and a more scientific writing system. The main reason for choosing the LingO over the PopO is that the LingO includes three very important features of the Icétôd sound system: voiceless vowels, vowel harmony, and tone. Although these three features are difficult to remember and write, they are indispensable for the correct pronunciation of Icétôd. Therefore it was decided that for this book to be an accurate and enduring record of the language, the proper pronunciations would have to be reflected in the spellings.

The alphabetical order of Icétôd letters is given in (1) below. Note that the vowel pairs E/ɛ, I/ɪ, O/ɔ, and U/ʊ--whose members differ only in terms of a linguistic feature called Advanced Tongue Root [ATR]—are alphabetized as if they were the same letter. This is done to assist non-native speaker to find words with vowels they might not be able to distinguish at first. Also note that the letter (ʒ) is in parentheses because even though it belongs to the alphabet, no recorded Ik word begins with that letter. For the pronunciation of these letters, the reader is referred to §2.1 of the grammar sketch in Appendix A.

(1) Icétôd alphabetical order:

A B B̃ C D D̃ Dz E/ɛ F G H H' y I/ɪ J J' K L M N Ñ D O/ɔ  
P R S T Ts Ts' U/ʊ W X Y Z (ʒ)

### 1.3.2. Structure of entries

The Icétôd-English dictionary section contains entries of the following kinds of Icétôd words: nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, prepositions, verbs, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, nursery words, complementizers, and connectives (or conjunctions). For a brief description of each word class, the reader is referred to §3 of the grammar sketch in Appendix A. The goal of the present section is to explain to the user the structure of lexicographical entries. To do this, an example of noun entry and a verb entry are discussed.

A typical noun entry has several components. To identify them, match the numbered components in this explanatory paragraph with the superscript number in the model entry below. 1) The lexical headword is in bold typeface. It is the citation form of the noun, that is, the form of the noun spoken in isolation. As such, it is in the nominative case (see §7.2 in Appendix A). 2) The root or lexical form is in parentheses. It is hyphenated to show that it needs a case ending, and it is the form on which to base all other case forms of this noun. This particular noun is hyphenated in the middle also to signify that it is a compound noun made of two parts (see §4.3 in Appendix A). 3) This is an abbreviation of the grammatical category of the word, in this case *n.* for ‘noun’. 4) This is an abbreviation for ‘plural’, indicating that the next item is the plural form of the headword. 5) This is the plural form of the singular headword *bàdiàm*. 6) This number (1) indicates that what follows is the first and primary sense or meaning of the headword. 7) After the primary sense, one or more other senses of the word may be added. 8) After the senses, further cultural or encyclopedic information about the headword may be given in a note.

<sup>1</sup>**bàdiàm** <sup>2</sup>(bàdi-àmà-) <sup>3</sup>*n.* <sup>4</sup>PL <sup>5</sup>badiik<sup>a</sup> <sup>6</sup>1) sorcerer, wizard <sup>7</sup>2) anything spooky, weird, or uncanny | <sup>8</sup>The concept of *bàdiàm* includes nocturnal animals like bats, hyenas, and owls that have strange characteristics... tobacco is also called *bàdiàm* because its strong physiological effects are not attributable to human agency.

A typical verb entry has similar components: 1) The headword is shown in bold typeface. This is the citation form of the verb, in the infinitive construct and nominative case (see §8.2 in Appendix A). 2) The form in parentheses is the lexical form of the headword, the one that is the base for all other case-inflected forms. To get the root of the verb from the infinitive, simply strip off the infinitive suffix (either *oni-* or *ésí-*). 3) This is an abbreviation of the grammatical category of the headword, in this case *v.* for ‘verb’. 4) This number (1) indicates that what follows is the first and primary sense or meaning of the headword. 5) After the primary sense, one or more other senses of the headword may be added. 6) This short note directs the user to a synonym or near-synonym of the headword.

<sup>1</sup>**betsínón** <sup>2</sup>(betsínóni-) <sup>3</sup>*v.* <sup>4</sup>1) to be awkward, gauche, inept <sup>5</sup>2) to be left-handed, sinistral | <sup>6</sup>See also *ibəŋíbəŋɔ̀n*.

### 1.3.3. Tips for finding words

Because many Icétôd words have two forms and because many of them can be spelled multiple ways, let me offer the reader a few tips for locating words in the dictionary:

If you are looking up a verb beginning with /i/ or /ĩ/ and cannot find it, remove the /i/ or /ĩ/ and try again. Conversely, if you are looking up any verb and cannot find it, try adding an /i/ or /ĩ/ to see if that takes you to a listed word.

If you are looking up a word beginning with /w/ and cannot find it, try replacing the /w/ with /ɔ/, /o/, /ʌ/, or /u/. Conversely, if you are looking up a word beginning with /ɔ/, /o/, /ʌ/, or /u/ and cannot find it, try substituting /w/.

If you are looking up a noun beginning with /ɲa/ and cannot find it, try replacing it with /ɲe/ and vice versa.

If you are looking up a noun beginning with /ɲe/ and cannot find it, try replacing it with /ɲo/ and vice versa.

If you are looking up a word beginning with /ts/ and cannot find it, try replacing it with /ts'/ and vice versa.

If you are looking up a word beginning with /dz/ and cannot find it, try replacing it with /ts/ or /ts'/ and vice versa.

If you are looking up a word beginning with /g/ and cannot find it, try replacing it with /k/ or /ŋ/ and vice versa.

## Icétôd-English dictionary...

English-Icétôd index...

# **Appendix A: Grammar sketch**

## **1. Introduction**

Although the bulk of this book is given to the Icétôd-English dictionary, the present section offers a sketch of Icétôd grammar. The sketch covers most salient features of the grammatical system but only to a shallow depth. Those who wish to dig deeper are encouraged to consult the full-length treatment published as *A grammar of Icétôd: Northeast Uganda's last thriving Kuliak language* (Schrock 2014), which is freely available for download on the internet.

Linguistic structures are most easily defined with linguistic terminology. 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](mailto: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 short 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 not ideal. Ideally, every learner would have the opportunity to soak up language naturally as children do. Sadly, most adult learners do not have that luxury. I recommend mixing a variety of approaches to suit personality, learning style, and one's schedule and responsibilities. Studying grammar from a book like this one will not appeal to everyone, yet all learners will get stuck on a point of grammar sometime during their course of learning. Just as the dictionary can help you fill in gaps where specific words need to be, this grammar sketch can fill in hole in your understanding of how Icétôd works. If it should succeed in that regard, all my efforts will have been worthwhile.

## 2. Phonology: the sound system

### 2.1. Consonants and vowels

Icétôd has an array of thirty CONSONANTS and nine VOWELS. These are presented in Table 2.1 below. In the first column are shown the alphabetic letters used to represent the 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 an explanation of how the sound is made if there is no English approximation:

**Table 2.1: Icétôd sound inventory**

Alphabetic	Phonetic	English equivalent
c		
Aa	[a]	as in ' <b>f</b> ather'
Bb	[b]	as in ' <b>b</b> oy'
ᵀᵇ	[ᵇ]	as an English <b>b</b> but with air sucked in
Cc	[tʃ]	as in ' <b>ch</b> ild'
Dd	[d̥]	as in ' <b>d</b> aughter'
ᵀᵈ	[d̥]	as an English <b>d</b> but with air sucked in
Dzdz	[d͡z]	as in ' <b>adze</b> '
Ee	[e]	as in ' <b>bait</b> ' with a shorter, crisper sound
ƐƐ	[ɛ]	as in ' <b>bet</b> '
Ff	[f]	as in ' <b>f</b> ood'
Gg	[g]	as in ' <b>g</b> ood'
Hh	[h]	as in ' <b>h</b> appy'
H'yhy	[h̥]	as an English <b>h</b> but with a raspy sound
Ii	[i]	as in ' <b>beat</b> ' with a shorter, crisper sound
ɪ	[ɪ]	as in ' <b>bit</b> '
Jj	[d͡ʒ]	as in ' <b>j</b> oy'
J'j	[ʃ]	as a <b>dy</b> sound but with air sucked in
Kk	[k]	as in ' <b>k</b> arma'
K'k	[k̠]	1) as an English <b>k</b> with a popping release
	[g]	

Ll	[l]	2) as an English <b>g</b> with air sucked in as in ' <b>love</b> '
Mm	[m]	as in ' <b>man</b> '
Nn	[ŋ]	as in ' <b>nature</b> '
Nn	[n]	as in ' <b>onion</b> '
ŋŋ	[ŋ]	as in ' <b>sing</b> '
Oo	[o]	as in ' <b>boat</b> ' with a shorter, crisper sound
ƆƆ	[ɔ]	as in ' <b>bought</b> '
Pp	[p]	as in ' <b>play</b> '
Rr	[r]	1) as a Spanish or Swahili flapped <b>r</b>
	[r]	2) as a Spanish or Swahili trilled <b>r</b>
Ss	[s]	as in ' <b>sorrow</b> '
Tsts	[ts]	as in ' <b>blitz</b> '
Ts'ts'	[ts']	as an English <b>ts/tz</b> with a hissing release
Tt	[t̚]	as in ' <b>terror</b> '
Uu	[u]	as in ' <b>boot</b> '
ƮƮ	[ʊ]	as in ' <b>put</b> '
Ww	[w]	as in ' <b>wonder</b> '
Xx	[ʃ]	as in ' <b>shoulder</b> '
Yy	[j]	as in ' <b>yes</b> '
Zz	[z]	as in ' <b>zebra</b> '
ƷƷ	[ʒ]	as in ' <b>pleasure</b> '



Those sounds in Table 2.1 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 [ɖ], [ɳ], and [ɽ] are affected; sometimes they are fronted so much they touch the back of the front teeth. It is important not to pronounce [ɖ] exactly like an English ‘d’ as this sounds more like the Icétôd sound [ɖ̟] which contrasts with [ɖ]. The sounds [ɓ, ɗ, ɟ, ɲ] are called IMPOSIVES because they are made by ‘imploding’ or sucking air into the mouth rather than expelling air from the lungs. The sounds [kʰ] and [tsʰ] are called EJECTIVES because they are made by ejecting air from the throat cavity instead of from the lungs. Lastly, the sound [h̥ʲ], 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.

## 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 [ê̥t] or when *hèg* ‘marrow’ sounds like [hè̥k].

## 2.3. Vowel devoicing

Icétôd vowels are also devoiced before silence, before a pause of any length. In fact, the voiced consonants mentioned in §2.2. are only devoiced if the vowel after them has already been devoiced. 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 devoiced or whispered. After certain consonants, namely /f, m, n, ɲ, r, s, z, ʒ/, the vowel may be totally inaudible. This is not a hard-and-fast rule but rather a general tendency. It has become a tradition in scholarly writing on Icétôd to write whispered vowels with the raised symbols <<sup>i</sup>, <sup>i</sup>, <sup>e</sup>, <sup>ɛ</sup>, <sup>a</sup>, <sup>ɔ</sup>, <sup>u</sup>, <sup>u</sup>>.

## 2.4. Morphophonology

### 2.4.1. Deaffrication

The AFFRICATES /c/ and /j/ are sometimes deaffricated or ‘hardened’ to 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 *mucée-* ‘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 *ɲǰíní-* ‘we all (including addressees)’ is pronounced indiosyncratically as *ɲǰíní-* 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 2.2 below. Note that, as explained in §2.4.3, cases have non-final and final forms:

**Table 2.2: Case declension of *Icé-* ‘Ik’ and *wicé-* ‘children’**

	‘Ik’		‘children’	
	Nonfinal	Final	Nonfinal	Final
Nominative	<i>lka</i>	<i>lk<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>wika</i>	<i>wik<sup>a</sup></i>
Accusative	<i>lcéá</i>	<i>lcéka</i>	<i>wicéá</i>	<i>wicéka</i>
Dative	<i>lcéé</i>	<i>lcéke</i>	<i>wicéé</i>	<i>wicéke</i>
Genitive	<i>lcéé</i>	<i>lcé</i>	<i>wicéé</i>	<i>wicé</i>
Ablative	<i>lcóó</i>	<i>lcé<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>wicóó</i>	<i>wicé<sup>o</sup></i>
Instrumental	<i>lco/lko</i>	<i>lc<sup>o</sup>/lk<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>wico/wiko</i>	<i>wic<sup>o</sup>/wik<sup>o</sup></i>
Copulative	<i>lcóó</i>	<i>lcék<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>wicóó</i>	<i>wicék<sup>o</sup></i>
Oblique	<i>lce</i>	<i>lce</i>	<i>wice</i>	<i>wice/wic<sup>e</sup></i>

### 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 consonants. For example, both the venitive suffix {-ét-} and the andative suffix {-uǰot-} end in /t/. If a suffix containing /t/, /d/, or /s/ is attached to either of these, their final /t/ is omitted. To illustrate this, Table 2.3 below presents a conjugation of the verb *ɲatétón* ‘to run this way’. Note how the /t/ in {-ét-} disappears from {-ét-} in the forms for 2SG (‘you’), 1PL.INC (‘we all’), and 2PL (‘you all’).

**Table 2.3: Haplology in *ɲatétón* ‘to run this way’**

1SG	ηat-εt-í		ηat-εt-í	'I run this way.'
2SG	ηat-ét-îd	→	ηat-é-îd	'You run this way.'
3SG	ηat-εt		ηat-εt	'S/he runs this way.'
1PL.EXC	ηat-εt-ím		ηat-εt-ím	'We run this way.'
1PL.INC	ηat-εt-ísín	→	ηat-ε-ísín	'We all run this way.'
2PL	ηat-ét-ít	→	ηat-é-ít	'You all run this way.'
3PL	ηat-εt-át		ηat-εt-át	'They run this way.'

A second example of haplology presents itself when a verb root ending in /g/, /k/, or /k̥/ is followed directly by the andative suffix {-uḱot-}. When this happens, the final (velar) consonant of the verb root gets omitted in anticipation of the /k̥/ in {-uḱot-}. Table 2.4 illustrates this by listing a few verbs ending in /g/, /k/, or /k̥/, all of which disappear when the next morpheme is the andative suffix {-uḱot-}:

**Table 2.4: Haplology in verbs ending in a velar consonant**

h̥yɔtɔg- uḱot-	→	h̥yɔtɔ-ɔḱot-	'go near'
iβók-uḱot-	→	iβó-óḱot-	'shake off'
ipák-uḱot-	→	ipá-áḱot-	'swipe off'
kɔk-uḱot-	→	kɔ-ɔḱot-	'close up'
ηkáḱ-uḱot-	→	ηká-áḱot-	'eat up'
ók-uḱot-	→	o-óḱot-	'put aside'
torík-uḱot-	→	torí-íḱot-	'lead away'

### 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, with nothing immediately following. This basic distinction was already shown to affect the voicing of vowels in §2.3 above. And in the case of a small number of morphemes, it also affects consonants. Table 2.5 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 found in the final forms:

**Table 2.5: Consonant deletion in non-final forms**

UF	NF	FF	Description
-ka	-a	-k <sup>a</sup>	accusative case suffix
-ke	-e	-k <sup>e</sup>	dative case suffix
-ko	-o	-k <sup>o</sup>	copulative case suffix
-'ka	-'a	-'k <sup>a</sup>	present perfect suffix
-'de	-'e	-'d <sup>e</sup>	dummy pronoun suffix
nákà	náà	nák <sup>a</sup>	'earlier today'
bàtsè	bèè	bàts <sup>e</sup>	'yesterday'
nòkò	nòò	nòk <sup>o</sup>	'long ago'
jàkè	jà	jàk <sup>e</sup>	'also, too'
ṇákà	ṇáà	ṇák <sup>a</sup>	'just'

#### 2.4.4. Vowel assimilation

Icétôd vowels also undergo phonological changes at the boundaries of morphemes. Specifically, when two dissimilar vowels come in contact with each other as a result of two forms joining, there is a powerful urge for them to become more like each other. This VOWEL ASSIMILATION was already seen in Table 4, for instance when putting *torík-* ‘lead’ and *-ukot-* ‘away’ led to *torííkot-* instead of *\*toríúkot-*. It is also seen in Table 5 where the ‘yester-’ adverb *bàtsè* becomes *bèè* in its non-final form instead of *\*bàè*. Icétôd vowel harmony only takes place between morphemes and not inside morphemes. Inside morphemes, many combinations of dissimilar vowels are allowed, for example in *kain* ‘year’, *mèùr* ‘drongo’, and *kóín* ‘scent’.

Icétôd vowel harmony can be clearly seen in the LEXICON 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 2.6 below offers a few examples of vowel assimilation in verbal infinitives:

**Table 2.6: Vowel assimilation in verbal infinitives**

Transitive			
fá-és	→	féés	‘to boil’
isá-és	→	isεεs	‘to miss’
itíhjá-és	→	itíhjéés	‘to force’
tamá-és	→	tamεεs	‘to extol’
wa-és	→	weés	‘to harvest’
Intransitive			
e			
kà-òn	→	kòòn	‘to go’
ηká-ón	→	ηκόón	‘to stand up’
tsá-ón	→	tsóón	‘to be dry’
tsè-òn	→	tsòòn	‘to dawn’
zè-òn	→	zòòn	‘to be big’

Another environment vowel harmony can be clearly seen is in the case declension of Icétôd 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, in Table 2.7 below, the /o/ in the ablative case suffix {-o} and the copulative case suffix {-ko} partially assimilates the final /i/ to /u/ in the declension of the noun root *ηókí-* ‘dog’.

**Table 2.7: Vowel assimilation in the declension of *ηókí-* ‘dog’**

Case	NF	FF
Nominativ e	<i>ηók-á</i>	<i>ηók-a</i>
Accusative	<i>ηókí-à</i>	<i>ηókí-k<sup>a</sup></i>
Dative	<i>ηókí-è</i>	<i>ηókí-k<sup>e</sup></i>
Genitive	<i>ηókí-è</i>	<i>ηókí-<sup>ø</sup></i>
Ablative	<i>ηókú-ò</i>	<i>ηókú-<sup>ø</sup></i>
Instrument al	<i>ηók-ó</i>	<i>ηók-o</i>
Copulative	<i>ηókú-ò</i>	<i>ηókú-k<sup>o</sup></i>
Oblique	<i>ηókí</i>	<i>ηók<sup>i</sup></i>

Different vowel harmony effects are seen in the case declension of a noun like *ηḡrá-* ‘cane rat’. As shown in Table 2.8 below, the final /a/ of *ηḡrá-* is susceptible to being assimilated by the dative, genitive, ablative, and copulative case suffixes in their non-final forms:

**Table 2.8: Vowel assimilation in the declension of *ηḡrá-* ‘cane rat’**

Case	NF	FF
Nominativ e	<i>ηḡr-a</i>	<i>ηḡr-<sup>ø</sup></i>
Accusative	<i>ηḡrá-á</i>	<i>ηḡrá-k<sup>a</sup></i>
Dative	<i>ηḡré-é</i>	<i>ηḡrá-k<sup>e</sup></i>
Genitive	<i>ηḡré-é</i>	<i>ηḡrá-<sup>e</sup></i>
Ablative	<i>ηḡró-ó</i>	<i>ηḡrá-<sup>o</sup></i>
Instrument al	<i>ηḡr-ó</i>	<i>ηḡr-<sup>o</sup></i>
Copulative	<i>ηḡró-ó</i>	<i>ηḡrá-k<sup>o</sup></i>
Oblique	<i>ηḡra</i>	<i>ηḡr</i>

Icétôd vowel assimilation may be partial, as when the form *ηókí-k<sup>o</sup>* ‘It is a dog’ is rendered as *ηókú-k<sup>o</sup>*. There, the /i/ at the end of *ηókí-* ‘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 *ηurá-é* ‘of the cane rat’ becomes *ηuré-é*. In that case, the /a/ at the end of *ηurá-* 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-úk<sup>o</sup>t-* becoming *torí-ík<sup>o</sup>t-*, where the /i/ acts ahead on the /u/.

## 2.4.5. Vowel desyllabification

When the back-of-the-mouth vowels /ɔ/, /o/, /ʊ/ 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 2.9 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 2.9: Vowel desyllabification in verbs**

tʊtsʊ-εs	→	tʊtswεεs	‘to wring’
ró-é	→	rwéées	‘to string’
ho-és	→	hweées	‘to cut’
ó-és	→	wéées	‘to call’
ru-és	→	rweées	‘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 2.10 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 2.10: 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		

## 2.5. Vowel harmony

Icétôd vowels participate in a system of VOWEL HARMONY. This means that the language's sound system seeks '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 /i̥, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ/ 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 proven with hard evidence. What is clear is that in Icétôd, it 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 2.11:

**Table 2.11: Icétôd vowel classes**

[+ATR]		[-ATR]	
i	u	i̥	ʊ
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 2.11. 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 2.12 shows an opposing set of such verbs:

**Table 2.12: Vowel harmony in the lexicon**



[+ATR]	
béberés	‘to pull’
béberetés	‘to pull this way’
béberésúko	‘to pull that way’
[-ATR]	
bédés	‘to want’
bédetés	‘to look for’
bédésukot <sup>a</sup>	‘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 2.13 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 13: Vowel harmony blocking of /a/**

akwétékwét <b>án</b> ón	‘to writhe around’
ðeíðéí <b>án</b> ón	‘to be cracked’
gólógol <b>án</b> ón	‘to be crooked’
ilódí <b>án</b> ón	‘to be discriminatory’
ɣúz <b>án</b> 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 2.14. 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 2.14: Icétôd dominant suffixes**

abute	‘to sip’	→	abutiés	‘to sip’
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s				continuously
kòhòn	'to be one'	→	kón <b>í</b> ón	'to be one-by-one'
		→		
ìlɔɛs	'to defeat'	→	ilo <b>im</b> étòn	'to be defeated'
kɔkɛ́s	'to close'	→	kok <b>im</b> étò n	'to close (alone)'
		→		
ɔɔɔɔ́-	'stream'	→	oró <b>rikw</b> <sup>a</sup>	'streams'
wèlà-	'opening'	→	wél <b>ikw</b> <sup>a</sup>	'openings'

Two other applications of vowel harmony deserve mention. First, even though two nouns can be joined together to form a compound word, vowel harmony does not occur between them. For example, the noun roots *rébè*- ‘millet’ and *mèsè*- ‘beer’ can be joined into the compound *rébè mèsè*- ‘millet beer’, in which, notice, the vowels belong 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 *ɲókɔkɔrɔ-ímà*- ‘chick’ becomes *ɲókɔkɔró-ímà*- (where the first noun’s /ɔ/ is harmonized to /o/). A second application of vowel harmony has to do with the language’s clitics (affix-like particles). Many of Icétôd’s clitics take on the [ATR] value of their host word, for example when the anaphoric pronoun *dée* becomes *déeé* in the phrase *mɔkɔrɔée déeé* ‘in that rock pool’. Again, the exception is when the clitic contains the vowel /i/, in which case it becomes dominant, harmonizing its host, as when *báritínúó díí* ‘from those corrals’ becomes *báritínúo díí* (where the vowels /úó/ become /úo/).

## 2.6. Tone

### 2.6.1. Tone inventory

Icétôd is a tonal language. At the level of pronunciation, 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 pronounced. 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 and LOW. All other tones that one hears can be traced back to these two. However, for more practical applications like orthography and language learning, four sub-tones are recognized. These include: HIGH, HIGH-FALLING, MID, and LOW. Table 2.15 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:

**Table 2.15: Icétôd tones**

Tone	Pitch	Symbol
HIGH	[4]	Á á
HIGH-FALLING	[j]	À à
MID	[3]	A a

LOW

[2]/[a]

A à

## 2.6.2. Lexical tone

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 but also on their tone pattern, which must be learned. Since every vowel and therefore 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 2.16 gives a sample of the many lexical tone patterns of the language:

**Table 2.16: Icétôd lexical tone patterns**

Nouns		
HH	ámá-	‘person’
HL	ébà-	‘horn’
LH	cekí-	‘woman’
LL	ɲèrà-	‘girls’
Verbs		
H	ɲájɲ-	‘open’
H(L)	éd’ -	‘carry on back’
L	àts-	‘come’

### 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 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 *kólikw<sup>a</sup>*. Similarly, when the venitive suffix {-ét-} is added to a verb stem, it often changes the overall tone pattern, as when *bédḑés* ‘to want’ becomes *bédḑetḑés* ‘to look for’, whereby the tone of the root *bédḑ-* goes from HIGH to MID. Indeed, many of the nominal and verbal suffixes of the language involve significant tone changes to the stem. For more information Icétôd semi-grammatical and tone at the phrase level, the reader is encouraged to consult §3.2 in Schrock 2014.

### 2.6.4. Depressor consonants

In Icétôd, the class of voiced consonants /b, d, dz, g, j, z, ʒ/ plus /h/ act as DEPRESSOR 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: *dégèḑm-* ‘crouch’, *gúgùr-* ‘hunched’, *íbòt-* ‘jump’, *kídžim-* ‘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’, *éḑà-* ‘horn’, *éḑi-* ‘name’, *nébù-* ‘body’, *wídžò-* ‘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 *dòb<sup>a</sup>* ‘mud’, *éḑ<sup>a</sup>* ‘horn’, *éḑ<sup>a</sup>* ‘name’, *wídž<sup>a</sup>* ‘evening’, etc.

Whenever a depressor consonant comes between two high tones, the second high tone is lowered or ‘downstepped’ to a mid tone level. From the point of view of articulation, 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 *dée* and *ḑíí*, as in *ámá* ‘*dée* that person’ *ínwá* ‘*ḑíí* those animals’.

## 3. Word classes

### 3.1. Overview

Between the phoneme and the phrase, Icétôd exhibits three types of organizational unit: word, clitic, and affix. A **WORD** is defined as a free morpheme that can stand alone, self-contained. 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 somewhere in between: in some structures it acts like a word in standing alone, while in other structures, it attaches to a word. Clitics are marked in this grammar by an equals sign, for example in {=kì} ‘those’.

Thirteen **WORD CLASSES** are recognized in Icétôd. These include: nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, prepositions, verbs, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, nursery words, complementizers, and connectives (or conjunctions). Each of these word classes is briefly introduced in the following subsections.

### 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 approximately 47% of the total Icétôd lexicon. Noun roots can be short, like *éí-* ‘chyme’, or long like *ᵐákabɔ́wáátá-* ‘finger ring’, but they must all have at least two syllables. This is because some case suffixes, namely the nominative and instrumental, 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.

### 3.3. Pronouns

Pronouns form a closed word class, admitting no new members. They ‘stand in’ for nouns whose specific names need not be mentioned. 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.

### 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 like separate words, and yet in terms of vowel harmony, they act like suffixes. As clitics, they are written connected to words in linguistic writing, whereas in non-linguistic writing, they are written separately. For example, the phrase ‘these trees’ would be written as *dakwítina=ni* in linguistic publications and as *dakwítina ni* elsewhere. Icétôd has four kinds of demonstrative: spatial, temporal, anaphoric, and locative adverbial—all of which are covered in more detail in §6.

### 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, 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 kwad<sup>e</sup>* ‘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 kwad<sup>e</sup>* ‘children that (are) few’. In the former function as numerals, they have a distinct, perhaps more ancient root, as in *kwàdê*, whereas in their function as adjectival verbs, they have a truncated root in a verbal infinitive, in this case *kwàd-òn* ‘to be few’. The eight known Icétôd quantifiers are given below in Table 3.1:

**Table 3.1: Icétôd quantifiers**





To form numbers 11-19, Icétôd builds off the noun *toomíní*- ‘ten’ and then repeats the quinary system shown above in Table 3.2. For example, the number 17 is expressed as *toomín nda kidí túde nda kidí lébèts<sup>e</sup>* ‘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 lébèts<sup>e</sup>* ‘ten-eye two’, which is 20. The numbers for 100 and 1,000, *ɲamɛ́áì*- and *álífù*-, are borrowed from Swahili.

### 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 3.3 presents all the known Icétôd prepositions with their meanings and the cases they require on nouns:

**Table 3.3: Icétôd prepositions**

Preposition	Meaning	Case required
<i>nàpèì</i>	‘from, since’	ABLATIVE
<i>ɔ́tá</i>	‘as, like’	GENITIVE
<i>néé</i>	‘from, through’	GENITIVE
<i>akání</i>	‘until, up to’	OBLIQUE
<i>àkìlò</i>	‘instead of’	OBLIQUE
<i>gònè</i>	‘until, up to’	OBLIQUE
<i>ikóteré</i>	‘because of’	OBLIQUE
<i>ndà</i>	‘and, with’	OBLIQUE
<i>pákà</i>	‘until, up to’	OBLIQUE
<i>tònǐ</i>	‘even’	OBLIQUE

### 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 *gwerɛjɛj-* 'be coarse', or reduplicated like *diridír-* 'be sugary' and *ipírípír-* 'to 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 *sokórítíísínàk<sup>a</sup>* 'we all have clawed' and *zeikáákotinîd<sup>e</sup>* '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 topics are treated more fully later on in §8.

### 3.9. Adverbs

Adverbs form 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 *híjój* 'slowly' and *zúkù* 'very', epistemic adverbs like *tsábò* 'apparently' and *tsamɛ* 'of course', and general adverbs like *ɛdʔá* 'only' and *naβó* '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 in §9.

### 3.10. Ideophones

Ideophones form a word class that is characterized by highly expressive words that denote physical realities 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*<sup>u</sup> means ‘the sound something makes when dropping into water’, like ‘splash!’ or ‘kersplunk!’ in English. At present, one hundred forty Icétoð 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 3.4 offers a sample of the variety of Icétoð ideophones that are recognized:

**Table 3.4: Icétoð ideophones**

Animal sounds	
bèrrr	‘baaa!’
buúù	‘mooo!’
kútú	‘cluck!’
Other sounds	
ðeke	‘snap!’
gùlùjù	‘gulp!’
pùsù	‘plop!’
Colors	
pàkì	‘pure white’
tíkí	‘pitch black’
tsòñì	‘blood red’
Attributes	
ða	‘unliftably heavy’
dùù	‘very deep’
tsèkè	‘completely full’

### 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 Icétoḍ interjections that have been recorded make up less than 1% of the total lexicon. Icétoḍ 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 *tíḱ jǒḱ* ‘there, there (it’s okay)!’. Several other interjections are provided below in Table 3.5:

**Table 3.5: Icétoḍ interjections**

ee Nakuj <sup>a</sup>	‘oh my God!’
ee/éé	‘yeah, yes’
hà	‘whatever!’
maráŋ	‘fine, okay!’
ŋoto ni	‘these guys (I tell you)!’
ne	‘here you go!’
ńtóo(n)d	‘nah, no’
ó	
otí	‘whoa!’
wóí	‘aahh!’
yóói	‘uh-huh..sure!’

### 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 Icétoḍ nursery words on record are laid out below in Table 3.6 with English approximations:

**Table 3.6: Icétoḍ nursery words**

bubú	‘nighty-night’	for going to sleep
ḃá	‘yummy’	for eating
dí	‘poo’	for defecating
dṣṣdṣ	‘sitty-sit’	for sitting down
kó	‘wa-wa’	for drinking water
kṱkṱ	‘no-no’	for not touching
kukú	‘up-up’	for riding on mother’s

kwàà	'pee'	back
mamá	'yum-yum'	for urinating
nũnũ	'yum-yum'	for eating
		for breastfeeding

### 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 such complementizers. One of them, *tòimènà*- ‘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 *tòimènà*-, a compound of the verb *tód*- ‘speak’ and *mená*- ‘words’, is used with a variety of speaking and thinking verbs. The second Icétôd complementizer, *tàà*, is a probably a form of the verb *kùta* ‘s/he says’ that has been reduced over time. Even now it is usually used after the verb *kùt*- ‘say’. Example (1) below shows how *tòimènà*- is used in a sentence to introduce the clause *mítída bɔnán* ‘you are an orphan’. And example (2) shows the complementizer *tàà* introducing the clause *iya njíníkija kóókε* ‘our land is over there’:

(1) *Hyéiá      toimεna      mítída      bɔnán.*

know:1SG    that:NOM    be:2SG    orphan:OBL

‘I know that you are an orphan.’

(2) *Kùta      jície   taa      iya      njíníkija      kóókε.*

say:3SG    I:DAT    that    be:3SG    we:land:NOM    there

‘He says to me that our land is over there.’

### 3.14. Connectives

Connectives (also known as conjunctions) are words whose function is to join other words, phrases, or clauses. If they are COORDINATING connectives like *nda* ‘and’, then they join grammatical units of equal status, like a word to a word, or an independent clause to another independent one. Then 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 seven coordinating connectives and thirty subordinating ones—making up less than 1% of the lexicon. The coordinating connectives are presented in Table 3.7, while Table 3.8 follows this up with a sampling of subordinating connectives:

**Table 3.7: Icétôd coordinating connectives**

kèdè	‘or’
kíná	‘and then, so then, then’
kòtò	‘and, but, so, then, therefore’
mísi...mísi..	‘either...or...’
.	
náàtì	‘and then’
na bó	‘furthermore, moreover’
ndà	‘and’

**Table 3.8: Icétôd subordinating connectives**

átà	‘even (if)’
ḍēmùs	‘unless, until’
ḡ	
ikóteré	‘because’
kánì	‘in order that, so that’
mísi	‘if, whether’
na=	‘if’
naà	‘when (earlier today)’
nàpèì	‘since’
néé	‘if, when’
nòò	‘when (long ago)’
nótsò	‘when (a while ago)’
pákà	‘until’
sìnà	‘when (yester-)’
tònì	‘even’

## 4. Nouns

## 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 (discussed later in §7). The rest of this chapter is given to expounding the other nominal suffixes used in Icétôd.

Besides case, two other types of nominal suffix exist. One is the INFINITIVE suffixes, the transitive {-és-} and the intransitive {-òn-}. For a limited number of nouns, these suffixes can be used to denominalize them, turning them into verbs. For example, the noun *tòlòkà*- 'trapping' can be made into the verb *tòlòkēs* by adding the transitive suffix {-és-}. Even in such cases, one could argue that the root was originally a verb and later acquired the status of a noun.

The third type of nominal suffix is the NUMBER suffix (discussed next in §4.2). For Icétôd, this means 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. Some others are MASS nouns, naming entities in the world perceived as inherently plural unities. These take no suffixes but are treated grammatically as plurals. Finally, some nouns are TRANSDENUMERAL, meaning they can be construed as singular or plural and given the appropriate singular or plural modifiers, if needed.

Lastly, the primary way Icétôd acquires new nouns—besides borrowing them from other languages—is through COMPOUNDING (discussed in §4.3). Icétôd compounds are made by putting two or three nouns together into a new compound word. The first noun describes or specifies the second noun to make an aggregate meaning that is 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.

## 4.2. Number



### 4.2.1. Pluratives

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 4.1 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. Note also that in some cases the suffix alters the tone of the singular root:

**Table 4.1: The plurative suffix {-íkó-}**

Singular		Plural	
abéri-	→	áberaikó-	'active termite colonies'
baratsó-	→	barátsíkó-	'mornings'
cúrukù-	→	cúrukaikó-	'bulls'
kɔ́rɔ́bɛ̀-	→	kɔ́rɔ́baikó-	'calves'
kweséé-	→	kwéséikó-	'broken gourds'
mɔ́kɔ́rɔ́-	→	mokóríkó-	'rock wells'
taḃá-	→	taḃíkó-	'boulders'

The second plurative, {-ítíní-}, is used to pluralize nouns that have only two syllables in their lexical root. Table 4.2 provides a sample of bisyllabic nouns pluralized with {-ítíní-}. Notice that if the singular noun has [-ATR] vowels, then the plurative suffix harmonizes to {-ítíní-}. Unlike the suffix {-íkó-}, {-ítíní-} never alters the tone of the root, though its own tone may conform to the tone of the root:

**Table 4.2: The plurative suffix {-ítíní-}**

Singular		Plural	
aká-	→	akitíní-	'mouths'
bòšì-	→	bositíní-	'ears'
újá-	→	újítíní-	'sores'

ḍòlì	→	ḍólítíní-	‘carcasses’
ekú-	→	ekwítíní-	‘eyes’
ídò-	→	íditíní-	‘breasts’
ts’úbà-	→	ts’úbítíní-	‘stoppers’

The third plurative, {-ìkà-}, is used primarily to pluralize nouns with three or more syllables in their lexical root. Table 4.3 provides a sample of polysyllabic nouns pluralized with {-ìkà-}. Notice that if the singular noun has [-ATR] vowels, then the plurative suffix harmonizes to {-ìkà-}. Unlike {-ítíní-} but like {-íkó-}, {-ìkà-} sometimes alters the tone of the singular noun as well as having its own tone altered:

**Table 4.3: The plurative suffix {-ìkà-} with polysyllabic nouns**

Singular		Plural	
àgìtā-	→	ágìtìkà-	‘metal ringlets’
arírā-	→	arírìkà-	‘flames’
bàbàà-	→	bábàìkà-	‘armpits’
ɔ́ɔ́rɔ́kɔ́-	→	ɔ́ɔ́rɔ́kìkà-	‘dry honeycombs’
kútúnjù-	→	kútúnjìkà-	‘knees’
ṇánìnɔ́ɔ́-	→	ṇánìnɔ́ìkà-	‘leather whips’
ṇékúrumo	→	ṇékúrùmòtìk	‘gullies’
tí-		à-	

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 must invoke the notion of MORA or the unit of syllable weight. Among the seven examples shown in Table 4.4, 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 (*kíj́á-* and *ríj́á-*), the /j/ used to be a depressor. Regardless of the historical explanation, Table 4.4 presents a few examples of {-ìkà-} being used to pluralize bisyllabic nouns:

**Table 4.4: The plurative suffix {-ìkà-} with bisyllabic nouns**

Singular		Plural	
awá-	→	àwìkà-	‘homes’

gwasá-	→	gwàsìkà-	‘stones’
hòò-	→	hòìkà-	‘huts’
kíjá-	→	kíjìkà-	‘lands’
kwetá-	→	kwètìkà-	‘arms’
ríjá-	→	ríjìkà-	‘forests’
sédà-	→	sédìkà-	‘gardens’

#### 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 4.5. The last three examples in Table 4.5 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 4.5: Icétôd suppletive plurals**

Singular		Plural	
ámá-	↔	ròbà-	‘people’
eakwá-	↔	ɲɔtɔ́-	‘men’
imá-	↔	wicé-	‘children’
cekí-	↔	cikámá-	‘women’
ďi-	↔	ďi-	‘ones’
kóróbáďi-	↔	kúrúbáďi-	‘things’

#### 4.2.3. Singulatives

In contrast to pluratives, SINGULATIVES convert an inherently plural noun root to a derived singular. Icétôd has one such suffix that may be considered a true singulative in the synchronic grammar of the language today, and that is {-àmà-} or {-òmà-}. Since this singulative is only used with personal entities, it seems likely that it is related to the word *ámá-* ‘person’. Table 4.6 gives the only four unambiguous examples of when this singulative is used. Note that its tone pattern may be alterned by the tone of the plural root:

**Table 4.6: The Icétôd singulative {-àmà-}**

Plural		Singular	
jáká-	→	jákámà-	‘elder’
kéà-	→	kéàmà-	‘soldier’

lɔŋótá-	→	lɔŋótómà-	‘enemy’
ŋímókókáá	→	ŋímókóká-	‘young
-		ámà-	man’

#### 4.2.4. Possessive number suffixes

In addition to simple pluratives and a singulative, Icétôd also has what may be called POSSESSIVE number suffixes. These possessive suffixes, {-èdè-} in the singular and {-ìnì-} in the plural, fuse the notions of number and possession into one morpheme. When they are affixed to a noun stem, they specify a) the number of the noun stem and b) its association with another entity (hence the possession). They do not specify the number of the possessing entity. For example, the word *aked<sup>a</sup>*, a stem consisting of *aká-* ‘den’ and {-èdè-} (in the nominative case) can mean both ‘its den’ or ‘their den’. And the word *akìn*, 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 be seen as signifying more specific semantic relationships like part-whole, kinship, and association. Table 4.7 gives some examples of the singular {-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 4.7: 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 {-ìní-} 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 4.8 illustrates both of these nuances, showing the singular root in the first column, and in the second, the root inflected with {-ìní-}:

**Table 4.8: The Icétôd plural possessive {-ìní-}**

Kinship			
abáŋì-	→	abáŋíní-	'my fathers (uncles)'
dádòò-	→	dádoíní-	'your grandmothers'
ŋóò-	→	ŋóíní-	'your mothers'
tátàà-	→	tátaíní-	'my aunts'
wicé-	→	wikini-	'his/her/their/its children'
Association			
Aḍùpàà-	→	Aḍupaíní-	'the people of Aḍupa'
Dakáì-	→	Dakáíní-	'the people of Dakai'
Lójérèè-	→	Lójéreíní-	'the people of Lojere'
Ŋirikoó-	→	Ŋirikoíní-	'the people of Ŋiriko'
Tsiláà-	→	Tsiláíní-	'the people of Tsila'

#### 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 4.9 presents seven examples of mass nouns. The roots are in the first column, followed in the third column by the noun in a phrase with the plural demonstrative *ni* 'those'. Note that in the English, the equivalent is provided but with a singular interpretation.

**Table 4.9: Icétôd non-countable mass nouns**

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

ts'údè- 'smoke' ts'úda ni 'this  
smoke'

#### 4.2.6. Transnumeral nouns

Another small group of Icétôd noun roots are inherently TRANSDUMERAL, 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 4.10 presents three examples of Icétôd transnumeral nouns with their singular, plural, and distributive interpretations:

**Table 4.10: Icétôd transnumeral nouns**

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

### 4.3. Compounds

As a word-building strategy, 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<sup>a</sup>* ‘goat kids’, the first root *rié-* ‘goat’ keeps its lexical form, while the second, *wicé-* ‘children’, has been modified by the nominative case suffix {-<sup>a</sup>}. 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 *Icémórídókàkà-* ‘cowpea leaves’, a compound of *Icé-* ‘Ik’, *mòridò-* ‘beans’, and *kaká-* ‘leaves’. In *Icé-mórídó-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 *bubunóǵǵà-* ‘ember-wound’ or ‘bullet wound’ where the first noun *bubuná-* ‘ember’ narrows down the possible references of *ǵǵà-* ‘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.

#### 4.3.1. Agentive

Icétôd forms AGENTIVE compounds by using the root *ámá-* ‘person’ (for singular) or *íce-* (for plural) as the last element in a compound. Although the root *íce-* 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 *dεά-ámà-* ‘messenger, literally ‘foot-person’, or a verb as in *ηwàxòñ-ámà-* ‘lame person’, literally ‘to be lame person’. Note, however, that even though *ηwàxòñ* is a verb semantically, it has been deverbalized into a noun by the infinitive suffix {-òñ}. Icétôd agentive compounds can be translated into English in various ways, depending on what is appropriate. Table 4.11 presents several example of singular and plural agentive compounds:

**Table 4.11: Icétôd agentive compounds**

Singular	Plural		
aká-ámà-	aká-íce-	mouth-person	‘talker’
βεκέσί-ámà-	βεκέσί-íce-	walking-person	‘traveler’
itelesí-ámà-	itelesí-íce-	watching-person	‘watchman’
κῶηέσί-ámà-	κῶηέσί-íce-	cooking-person	‘cook’
νόςomá-ámà-	νόςomá-íce-	studies-person	‘student’
sisiká-ámà-	sisiká-íce-	middle-person	‘middle child’
yué-ámà-	yué-íce-	lie-person	‘liar’



### 4.3.2. Diminutive

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 *dódò-wicé-* ‘lambs’. But when the first element is inanimate, the diminutive construction conveys a sense of ‘a small X’ or ‘small Xs’, for example *kófó-ìmà-* ‘a small gourd bowl’ and *kófó-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 4.12 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 *roba-wicé-* ‘someone’s (pl.) children’.

**Table 4.12: Icétôd diminutive compounds**

Singular	Plural		
<i>ámá-ìmà-</i>	<i>roba-wicé-</i>	person-child	‘someone’s child’
<i>bàrò-ìmà-</i>	<i>báritíní-wicé-</i>	herd-child	‘small herd’
<i>ḃisá-ìmà-</i>	<i>ḃísítíní-wicé-</i>	spear-child	‘dart’
<i>dómá-ìmà-</i>	<i>dómítíní-wicé-</i>	pot-child	‘small pot’
<i>gwá-ìmà-</i>	<i>gwá-wicé-</i>	bird-child	‘chick’
<i>ḡókí-ìmà-</i>	<i>ḡókítíní-wicé-</i>	dog-child	‘puppy’
<i>ójá-ìmà-</i>	<i>ójítíní-wicé-</i>	sore-child	‘small sore’

### 4.3.3. Internal

So-called INTERNAL compounds are made with the bound nominal root *ajíká-* ‘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 illustrated in Table 4.13:

**Table 4.13: Icétôd internal compounds**

Plural			Internal plural	
<i>àwìkà-</i>	‘homes’	→	<i>awika-ajíká-</i>	‘in/among homes’
<i>ríjìkà-</i>	‘forests’	→	<i>ríjika-ajíká-</i>	‘in/among forests’

sédikà- ‘gardens’ → sédika- ‘in/among  
ajíkà- gardens’

#### 4.3.4. Variative

So-called VARIATIVE compounds are made with the bound nominal root *icíkà-* ‘various (kinds of)’. When appended to a noun, singular or plural, this nominal communicates a sense of variety or the multiplicity of type. As a kind of pluralizer itself, *icíkà-* may be called upon to pluralize five kinds of nouns: 1) transnumeral nouns, 2) nouns not usually pluralizable in the usual sense, 3) inherently plural nouns, 4) already pluralized nouns, and 5) verb infinitives. Table 4.14 presents one example for each of these five kinds of nouns that the variative bound nominal *icíkà-* can be used to pluralize:

**Table 4.14: Icétôd variative compounds**

Singular/Plural		Variative plural
gwaá-	‘bird(s)’ →	gwa-icíkà- ‘kinds of birds’
cɛmá-	‘fights’ →	cɛmá-icíkà- ‘war’
mɛná-	‘issues’ →	mɛná-icíkà- ‘various issues’
dakwítíní-	‘trees’ →	dakwítíní-icíkà- ‘kinds of trees’
wetési-	‘to drink’ →	wetési-icíkà- ‘drinks’

#### 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 4.15 presents some of the Icétôd body-part terms used metaphorically:

**Table 4.15: Icétôd body-part terms with extended meanings**

Root	Lexical meaning	Relational meaning
aká-	‘mouth’	‘entrance, opening’
akatí-	‘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’
ṣabẹ́rí-	‘rib’	‘side’

So, in a relational compound, terms like those in Table 4.15 are the second 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 4.16 displays a handful of such ‘whole-part’ compounds:

**Table 4.16: Icétòd relational compounds**

Roots	Lexical meaning	Relational meaning
aká-kwáyó-	mouth-tooth	‘lip’
dánjá-àkà-	termite-mouth	‘termite mound hole’
dòdĩ-èkù-	vagina-eye	‘cervix’
fátára-	ridge-chest	‘front of vertical ridge’
bakutsí-		
fetí-ékù-	sun-eye	‘east’
kaidẹ́í-ákátí-	pumpkin-nose	‘pumpkin stem’
kwará-dẹ̀à-	mountain-foot	‘base of mountain’
kwaré-ékù-	mountain-eye	‘saddle b/w peaks’
taḃá-dẹ̀à-	boulder-foot	‘base of boulder’
ts’adĩ-ákà-	fire-mouth	‘flame’

## 5. Pronouns

## 5.1. Overview

Most Icétôd pronouns are free (separate) words, but the subject-agreement pronominals and the dummy pronominal are bound verbal suffixes (and are thus treated in §8 on verbs). 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.

## 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) signifies whether the addressee of the speech is *excluded* from or *included* in the reference of ‘we’. Table 5.1 presents the seven Icétôd personal pronouns in their lexical forms, while Table 5.2 offeres a full case declension of them:

**Table 5.1: Icétôd personal pronouns**

1SG	jčĩ-	‘I’
2SG	bĩ-	‘you’
3SG	ntsĩ-	‘s/he/it’
1PL.EXC	ɲgó-	‘we’
1PL.INC	ɲjĩnĩ-	‘we all’
2PL	bĩtĩ-	‘you all’
3PL	ńtĩ-	‘they’

**Table 5.2: Case declension of Icétođ 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	ńkà	ńk <sup>a</sup>	bìà	bì	ntsà	nts <sup>a</sup>	ngw a	ngw <sup>a</sup>	ńjíná	ńjín	bìtá	bìt <sup>a</sup>	ńtá	ńt <sup>a</sup>
ACC	ńcìà	ńcìk <sup>a</sup>	bìà	bìk <sup>a</sup>	ntsí á	ntsík <sup>a</sup>	ngó á	ngók <sup>a</sup>	ńjíníà	ńjíník <sup>a</sup>	bìtìà	bìtìk <sup>a</sup>	ńtìà	ńtìk <sup>a</sup>
DAT	ńcìè	ńcìk <sup>e</sup>	bìè	bìk <sup>e</sup>	ntsí é	ntsík <sup>e</sup>	ngó é	ngók <sup>e</sup>	ńjíníè	ńjíník <sup>e</sup>	bìtìè	bìtìk <sup>e</sup>	ńtìè	ńtìk <sup>e</sup>
GEN	ńcìè	ńcì	bìè	bì	ntsí é	ntsí	ngó é	ngó <sup>e</sup>	ńjíníè	ńjíní	bìtìè	bìtì	ńtìè	ńtì
ABL	ńcù ò	ńcù	bùò	bù	ntsú ó	ntsú	ngó ó	ngó	ńjínú ò	ńjínú	bìtù ò	bìtù	ńtùò	ńtù
INS	ńkò	ńk <sup>o</sup>	bùò	bù	ntso	nts <sup>o</sup>	ngò	ng <sup>o</sup>	ńjínó	ńjín <sup>o</sup>	bìtò	bìt <sup>o</sup>	ńtó	ńt <sup>o</sup>
COP	ńcù ò	ńcùk <sup>o</sup>	bùò	bùk <sup>o</sup>	ntsú ó	ntsú k <sup>o</sup>	ngó ó	ngók <sup>o</sup>	ńjínú ò	ńjínúk <sup>o</sup>	bìtù ò	bìtùk <sup>o</sup>	ńtùò	ńtùk <sup>o</sup>
OBL	ńcì	ńc <sup>i</sup>	bì	bì	ntsi	nts <sup>i</sup>	ngò	ng <sup>o</sup>	ńjíní	ńjín	bìtì	bìt <sup>i</sup>	ńtì	ńt <sup>i</sup>

### 5.3. Impersonal possessum pronoun

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. This special pronoun has the form *ɛní-* and is bound to another nominal in a compound construction. It is IMPERSONAL in that it communicates absolutely nothing about the possessor or the possessee except for the relationship of possession itself. The impersonal possessum pronoun can be in a compound with personal pronouns or other nouns. Table 5.3 shows *ɛní-* with all seven personal pronouns:

**Table 5.3: Icétôd impersonal possessum with pronouns**

nj-ɛní-	I-POSSESSUM	'mine'
bi-ɛní-	you-POSSESSUM	'yours'
nts-ɛní-	s/he/it-POSSESSUM	'hers/his/its'
ngó-ɛní-	we-POSSESSUM	'ours'
njíní-ènì-	we all-POSSESSUM	'all of ours'
biti-ɛní-	you all-POSSESSUM	'all of yours'
ńtí-ènì-	they-POSSESSUM	'theirs'

The impersonal possessum pronoun *ɛní-* 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 5.4:

**Table 5.4: Icétôd impersonal possessum with nouns**

aḏoni-ɛní-	to be three- POSSESSUM	'the third time'
cikámé-ɛní-	women-POSSESSUM	'the women's'
ḥyɔ-ɛní	cattle-POSSESSUM	'the foreigners''
lké-ɛní-	lk-POSSESSUM	'the lks''
nɔtɔ́-ɛní-	men-POSSESSUM	'the men's'
roḃe-ɛní-	people-POSSESSUM	'the people's'
wicé-ɛní-	children-POSSESSUM	'the children's'

## 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 based on the root *kɔ́nɛ́-* ‘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 5.5 provides a run-down of the main Icétôd indefinite pronouns.

**Table 5.5: Icétôd indefinite pronouns**

<i>kɔ́nɛ́-</i>	one	‘another, some (sg.)’
<i>kɔ́n-áí-</i>	one-place	‘somewhere (else)’
<i>kɔ́nɛ́-énɛ́-</i>	one-POSSESSUM	‘a(n), some (sg.)’
<i>kɔ́nɛ́-ámà-</i>	one-person	‘somebody, someone’
<i>kɔ́n-ɔ́mà-</i>	one-SINGULATIVE	‘some unknown person’
<i>kíní-ámá-</i>	many-person	‘some unknown people’
<i>kíní-énɛ́-</i>	many-POSSESSUM	‘some (pl.)’
<i>saí-</i>	some	‘some more, some other’

## 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 in questions. All but one of the Icétôd interrogative pronouns are based on the ancient northeastern African interrogative particle *\*nd-/nt-*, and the one that is not has the form *ìsì-* ‘what’. The small handful of Icétôd interrogative pronouns are provided below in Table 5.6:

**Table 5.6: Icétôd interrogative pronouns**

<i>ìsì-</i>	what	‘what?’
<i>nd-áí-</i>	?-place	‘where?’
<i>ndò-</i>	who	‘who?’
<i>ńt-</i>	?	‘where?’
<i>ńtɛ́-énɛ́-</i>	?-possessum	‘which (sg.)’
<i>ńtí-énɛ́-</i>	?-possessum	‘which (pl.)’

## 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 *ɖĩ-* ‘this (one)’ or the plural form *ɖi-* ‘these (ones)’ that differ formally only in regard to their vowel (/ĩ/ 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, meaning a short 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 *ɖĩ-/ɖi-* preceded by the cliticized distal demonstratives *kĩ* ‘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 5.7 presents the Icétôd demonstrative pronouns in their lexical forms, while Table 5.8 shows the case declensions of the proximal forms on which the other two are based:

**Table 5.7: Icétôd demonstrative pronouns**

	Singula r		Plural	
Proximal	ɖĩ-	‘this’	ɖi-	‘these’
Medial	kĩɖĩ-	‘that’	kĩɖĩ-	‘those’
Distal	kĩɖi-	‘that’	kĩɖi-	‘those’

**Table 5.8: Case declensions of the demonstrative pronouns**

	Singular	Plural
NOM	ɖa	ɖa
ACC	ɖíá	ɖíá
DAT	ɖéé	ɖíé
GEN	ɖéé	ɖíé
ABL	ɖóó	ɖúó
INS	ɖɔ	ɖo
COP	ɖóó	ɖúó
OBL	ɖĩ	ɖi



## 5.7. Relative pronouns

The function 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. An amazing thing about the Icétôd relative pronoun system is that it is tensed. That is, it is capable of encoding 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) remoter past (long ago).

The Icétôd relative pronouns are all enclitics based on the proto-demonstratives *na* ‘this’ and *ni* ‘these’. These forms are identical to non-past relative pronouns *na* ‘that/which’ and *ni* ‘that/which (pl.)’. To create the other tensed versions of these pronouns, the language has employed one prefix and several suffixes that are affixed to the base form. Table 5.9 presents the whole relative pronoun paradigm:

**Table 5.9: Icétôd relative pronouns**

	Singular	Plural	
Non-past	=na	=ni	‘that/which... ,
Recent past	=náa	=níi	‘that/which... ,
Removed past	=sina	=sini	‘that/which... ,
Remote past	=nótso	=núts u	‘that/which... ,
Remoter past	=noo	=nuu	‘that/which... ,

## 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 is the same entity. The Icétôd reflexive pronoun has the form *así-* in the singular and *ásíkà-* 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 kawukóídee binébùk<sup>a</sup>* ‘Why did you chop yourself (lit. ‘your body’)?’.

The reflexive *así-* is used extensively as a way to make ‘middle’ verbs, that is, verbs somewhere 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 así* ‘to shoot across (lit. to ‘shoot -self’)’ is ‘middle’ because the subject and object of the shooting are the same entity.

The full case declensions of the reflexives is given in Table 5.10:

**Table 5.10: Case declensions of the reflexive pronouns**

	Singular		Plural	
	NF	FF	NF	FF
NOM	asa	as	ásíkà	ásík <sup>a</sup>
ACC	asíá	asík <sup>a</sup>	ásíkàà	ásíkàk <sup>a</sup>
DAT	asíé	asík <sup>é</sup>	ásíkèè	ásíkàk <sup>é</sup>
GEN	asíé	así	ásíkèè	ásíkà <sup>é</sup>
ABL	asúó	asú	ásíkòò	ásíkà <sup>ó</sup>
INS	asó	as <sup>ó</sup>	ásíkó	ásík <sup>ó</sup>
COP	asúó	asúk <sup>ó</sup>	ásíkòò	ásíkàk <sup>ó</sup>
OBL	así	as	ásíkà	ásík <sup>a</sup>

## 6. Demonstratives

## 6.1. Overview

Icétôd's DEMONSTRATIVES grammatically point to a referent. In the case of NOMINAL demonstratives, the referent is an entity named by a noun, whereas ADVERBIAL 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.

## 6.2. Spatial demonstratives

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 (somewhat distant), and DISTAL (more distant). For plural referents, the language only distinguishes only proximal and distal. The singular demonstratives are usually translated into English as 'this' and 'that' and the plural ones as 'these' or 'those'. Table 6.1 below presents the whole set of spatial nominal demonstratives:

**Table 6.1: Icétôd spatial demonstratives**

	Singular		Plural	
	NF	FF	NF	FF
Proximal	=nà	=n	=nĩ	=n
Medial	=nè	=n		
Distal	=kè	=k <sup>e</sup>	=kĩ	=k <sup>i</sup>

## 6.3. Temporal demonstratives

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 language has both singular and plural temporal nominal demonstratives, and these are listed below in Table 6.2. 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.

**Table 6.2: Icétôd temporal demonstratives**

Singular	Plural
----------	--------

	NF	FF	NF	FF
Non-past	=nà	=n	=nĩ	=n
Recent past	=náà	=ná <sup>a</sup>	=nĩĩ	=ní <sup>i</sup>
Removed past	=sìnà	=sìn	=sĩnĩ	=sìn
Remote past	=nótsò	=nótsò	=núts ù	=núts ù
Remotest past	=nòò	=nòk <sup>o</sup>	=nùù	=nùk <sup>u</sup>

## 6.4. Anaphoric demonstratives

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. These anaphorical demonstratives, usually translated into English as ‘that’ in the singular and ‘those’ in the plural, are shown below in Table 6.3:

**Table 6.3: Icétôd anaphoric demonstratives**

Singular	Plural
=déé	=díĩ

## 6.5. Adverbial demonstratives

### 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.

### 6.5.2. Locative adverbial demonstratives

The first type of adverbial demonstrative, the LOCATIVE ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVE, locates the state or even 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 6.4 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 6.4: Icétôd locative adverbial demonstratives**

	Set 1	Set 2
Proximal		náxánà- (=nà)
Medial	nédĩ- (=nè)	
Distal	kédĩ- (kè)	kíxánà- (=kè)
Set 3	Singular	Plural
Proximal	naí- (=nà)	níí- (=ní)
Medial	naí- (=nè)	
Distal	kóó (=kè)	kíí- (=kĩ)

### 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'édéd-* and *tɛmɛdéd-* ‘there/then’. Because these are actually nouns, Table 6.5 presents a case declension of them:

**Table 6.5: Case declension of anaphoric locative demonstratives**

	‘there’	‘there’
NOM	ts'édə	tɛmɛdə
ACC	ts'édédá	tɛmɛdédá
DAT	ts'édédé	tɛmɛdédé
GEN	ts'édédé	tɛmɛdédé
ABL	ts'édódó	tɛmɛdódó
INS	ts'édó	tɛmɛdó
COP	ts'édódó	tɛmɛdódó
OBL	ts'édédé	tɛmɛdédé

## 7. Case

## 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 a suffix. In the following examples, notice how the word *ηókí*- ‘dog’ at the end of each sentence has a different ending depending on the case for which it is marked:

- (1) *Atsa*            *ηókí<sup>a</sup>*.  
come:3SG    dog:NOM  
‘The dog comes.’
- (2) *Cεa*            *boroka*            *ηókíkí<sup>a</sup>*.  
kill:3SG    bushpig:NOM    dog:ACC  
‘The bushpig kills the dog.’
- (3) *Maa*            *eméá*            *ηókíkí<sup>e</sup>*.  
give:3SG    meat:ACC    dog:DAT  
‘He gives meat to the dog.’
- (4) *Míta*            *ima*            *ηókí*.  
be:3SG    child:NOM    dog:GEN  
‘It is the child of the dog.’
- (5) *Xεθα*            *ηókú*.  
fear:3SG    dog:ABL  
‘He fears the dog.’
- (6) *Kaa*            *ηókí<sup>o</sup>*.  
go:3SG    dog:INS  
‘He goes with the dog.’
- (7) *Benía*            *ηókúkí<sup>o</sup>*.  
not.be:3SG    dog:COP

‘It is not a dog.’

(8) *Mita*            *ηók<sup>i</sup>*.

be:3SG        dog:OBL

‘It is a dog.’

Eight examples are above given because Icétôd has eight cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, ablative, instrumental, copulative, and oblique. Table 7.1 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 7.1: Icétôd case suffixes**

Case	Abbreviation	Non-final	Final
Nominative	NOM	-a	- <sup>a</sup> / <sub>-Ø</sub>
Accusative	ACC	-a	-k <sup>a</sup>
Dative	DAT	-e	-k <sup>e</sup>
Genitive	GEN	-e	-e/ <sub>-Ø</sub>
Ablative	ABL	-o	- <sup>o</sup> / <sub>-Ø</sub>
Instrumental	INS	-o	- <sup>o</sup> / <sub>-Ø</sub>
Copulative	COP	-o	-k <sup>o</sup>
Oblique	OBL	-Ø	-Ø



From Table 7.1, 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 *ηókí-* 'dog' becomes *ηók-á* 'dog:NOM'; by contrast, the accusative suffix is non-subtractive, as in *ηókí-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, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, ʊ, 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 7.2 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/.

**Table 7.2: Case declension of *fetí-* 'sun'**

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

While Table 7.2 shows partial vowel assimilation caused by case suffixation, Table 7.3 shows an instance of total assimilation. In this table, the noun *kíjǎ́*- ‘land’ is declined for all the eight cases. Specifically, see how the final /a/ of *kíjǎ́*- gets totally assimilated by the non-final dative, genitive, ablative, and copulative suffixes.

**Table 7.3: Case declension of *kíjǎ́*- land’**

Case	Non-final	Final
NOM	<i>kíjǎ́</i>	<i>kíj<sup>a</sup></i>
ACC	<i>kíjǎ̀à</i>	<i>kíjǎ́k<sup>a</sup></i>
DAT	<i>kíjǎ̀éè</i>	<i>kíjǎ́k<sup>e</sup></i>
GEN	<i>kíjǎ̀éè</i>	<i>kíjǎ́e<sup>e</sup></i>
ABL	<i>kíjǎ̀óò</i>	<i>kíjǎ́o<sup>o</sup></i>
INS	<i>kíjǎ́ó</i>	<i>kíj<sup>o</sup></i>
COP	<i>kíjǎ̀óò</i>	<i>kíjǎ́k<sup>o</sup></i>
OBL	<i>kíjǎ́</i>	<i>kíj<sup>a</sup></i>

## 7.2. Nominative

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 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects (‘I’, ‘we’, ‘you’). Three examples 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 Içetôd object-marking is SPLIT. That is, objects after 3<sup>rd</sup>-person subjects take the accusative case, while 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup>-person subjects take objects in the nominative case.

- (9) Subject of a main clause

*Atsáá lɔŋɔt-a.*

come:PRF enemies-NOM

‘The enemies have come!’

- (10) Subject of a sequential clause

*Toɓuo kaakaam-a kulábák-a.*

spear:SEQ hunter-NOM bushbuck:ACC

‘And the hunter speared the bushbuck.’

- (11) Object of a clause with a 1/2-person subject

(a) *ɪkíá tɔbɔŋ-a na.*

eat:1SG mush-NOM this

‘I eat this meal mush.’

(b) *ɪkída tɔbɔŋ-a na.*

eat:2SG mush-NOM this

‘You eat this meal mush.’

(c) *ɪka tɔbɔŋɔ́-a na.*

eat:3SG mush-ACC this

‘She eats this meal mush.’

(d) *ɪkímá tɔbɔŋ-a na.*

eat:1PL.EXC mush-NOM this

‘We eat this meal mush.’

- (e) *Ḑkísína tɔbɔŋ-a na.*  
eat:1PL.INC mush-NOM this

‘We all this meal mush.’

- (f) *Ḑkítá tɔbɔŋ-a na.*  
eat:2PL mush-NOM this

‘You all eat this meal mush.’

- (g) *Ḑkáta tɔbɔŋ-á na.*  
eat:3pl mush-ACC this

‘They eat this meal mush.’

### 7.3. Accusative case

The ACCUSATIVE case, marked by the suffix {-ka}, is 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:

- (12) Direct object of a clause with a 3-person subject

- (a) *Wetésátà mèsè-à mùŋ.*  
drink:FUT:3PL beer-ACC all

‘They will drink all the beer.’

- (b) *Wetésimà mès-à mùŋ.*  
drink:FUT:1PL.EXC beer-NOM all

‘We will drink all the beer.’

- (13) Subject and object of a subordinate clause

- (a) *Mee kóróbadi*  
give:IMP thing:OBL

[náa      ʃcia    detí.]

that      I-ACC bring:1SG

‘Give me the thing that I brought earlier.’

(b) [Noo      ɲgó-á      bédʒimɛɛ      bi-a],...

when      we-ACC      want:1PL.EXC      you-ACC

‘When we were looking for you,...’

## 7.4. Dative

The DATIVE case, marked by the suffix {-ke}, is the ‘to’ or ‘in’ case whose role is to mark indirect or secondary objects. These secondary 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:

(14) Destination

*Keesíá      awá-ke.*

go:FUT:1SG    home-DAT

‘I’m going home.’

(15) Location

*Ia      sédà-ke.*

be:3SG      garden-DAT

‘She’s in the garden.’

(16) Reception

*Tɔkɔráta    kabasáá    ròbà-ke.*

divide:3PL    flour:ACC    people-DAT

‘They are dividing out flour to people.’

(17) Perception

*Íbálá      ʃcì-è    zùk<sup>u</sup>.*

appall:3SG    I-DAT    very

‘It really appalls me.’ (Lit: ‘It is very appalling to me.’)

- (18) Possession  
*Ia h̥yɔa ntsí-k<sup>e</sup>.*  
 be:3SG cattle:NOM he-DAT  
 ‘He has cattle.’ (Lit: ‘There are cattle to him.’)

- (19) Purpose  
*Kaa ɲera dakúákò-k<sup>e</sup>.*  
 go:3SG girls:NOM wood-inside-DAT  
 ‘The girls go for firewood.’

## 7.5. Genitive

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:

- (20) Ownership  
*Hónini h̥yɔa níí-e ðórék<sup>e</sup>.*  
 drive:SEQ cattle:ACC they-GEN corral:DAT  
 ‘And they drove their cattle to the corral.’

- (21) Part-whole relationship  
*Wasá dɛɛdɛɛ kwará-e.*  
 stand:3SG foot:DAT mountain-GEN  
 ‘He’s standing at the foot of the mountain.’

- (22) Kinship  
*Míná cekíá ntsí-é zùk<sup>u</sup>.*  
 love:3SG wife:ACC he-GEN very  
 ‘He loves his wife very much.’

- (23) Attribution

*Maráŋá      muceá      bì-<sup>ø</sup>.*

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 reduced to noun phrase that can be used as a subject or object in another clause. For example, the clause *Cεĩkɔta náa eakwa ídèmèk<sup>a</sup>* ‘The man killed the snake’ can be compressed into the nominalized *cέsúkɔta eakwée 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 ròbèè mùŋ* ‘He’s like all people’, where *ròbèè-è* is parsed as ‘people-GEN’.

## 7.6. Ablative

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 with one example apiece below:

- (24) Origin/source

*Atsía      awá-<sup>o</sup>.*

come:1SG      home-ABL

‘I come from home.’

- (25) Cause

*Badukota      noo      jékè-<sup>o</sup>.*

die:3SG      past      hunger-ABL

‘He died from hunger.’

- (26) Stimulus

*Xεba      jérà-<sup>o</sup>.*

fear:3SG      girls-ABL

‘He’s shy of girls.’

- (27) Source of judgment

*Daa*            *ǰcù-<sup>o</sup>*.

nice:3SG      I-ABL

‘It’s nice to me.’

- (28) Location of activity

*Cemáta*        *sédikà-<sup>o</sup>*.

fight:3PL      gardens-ABL

‘They are fighting in the gardens.’

## 7.7. Instrumental

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 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:

- (29) Instrument/means

*Toǰíá*            *noo*    *gasoa*                    *ǰís-<sup>o</sup>*.

spear:1SG    past    warthog:NOM            spear-INS

‘I speared a warthog with a spear.’

- (30) Pathway

*Kaini*            *fots-o*            *ǰígìròk<sup>e</sup>*.

go:3PL            ravine-INS      downside:DAT

‘And they went down by way of the ravine.’

- (31) Accompaniment

*Atsímá*            *naa*    *kúrúǰád-o*    *ǰgó<sup>e</sup>*.

come:1PL    past    things-INS    we:GEN

‘We came with our things.’



(32) Manner

*Raǵétuo      ꞑcie    gáánàs-³.*

answer:3SG    I:DAT    badness-INS

‘He answered me with hostility.’

(33) Time

*Bíraa      ꞑɛka      ódoicik-ó      ní.*

lack:3SG      hunger:NOM    days-INS      these

‘There is no hunger these days.’

(34) Occupation

*Cɛma      fítés-o      kʷázìkàᵉ.*

fight:3SG      washing-INS    clothes:GEN

‘She’s washing clothes.’ (Lit. ‘She is fighting with the washing of clothes.’)

## 7.8. Copulative

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 (identity) clause, and 3) the complement of a negative copula of identity clause. These different uses of the copulative are demonstrated in the following sentences.

(35) Fronted noun

(a) Fronted subject

*Ŋgó-ó      naa      wɛtím.*

we-COP    past    drink:1PL.EXC

‘It was we (who) drank (it).’

(b) Fronted object

*Emó-ó      bédǵí.*

meat-COP      want:1SG

‘It is meat (that) I want.’

(c) Fronted secondary object

*Ŋɛkɔ-ɔ      kaiátèè      kàkààkòk<sup>ɛ</sup>.*

hunger-COP      go:PLUR:3PL hunt:inside:DAT

‘It is (due to) hunger (that) they keep going hunting.’

(36) Verbless copula complement

*Ìsù-k<sup>o</sup>?      Ámó-o      kede...?      Ámá-k<sup>o</sup>.*

what-COP      person-COP      or      person-COP

‘What is it? A person or...? It’s a person.’

(37) Negative copula complement

*Bɛna      náá      jícù-k<sup>o</sup>.*

not.be:3SG      past      I-COP

‘It was not me!’

## 7.9. Oblique

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:

(38) Subject and/or object of an imperative clause

*Deté      bi      cue      díí!*

bring:IMP      you:OBL      water:OBL      those

‘You bring that water!’

(39) Subject and/or object of an optative clause

*Ŋci      nesíbine      emuti      ntsí.*

I:OBL listen:1SG:OPT      story:OBL      he:GEN

‘Let me listen to her story.’

(40) Object of a preposition

(a) *Túbia*                      *ima*                      *jícia páka aw<sup>a</sup>.*  
follow:3SG            child:NOM    I:ACC until    home:OBL

‘The child follows me up to home.’

(b) *Kirotáníakóteré*            *hyekesí*            *bì.*  
sweat:1SG            for                      life:OBL            you:GEN

‘I sweat for your survival.’

(41) Vocative

(a) *Éé*                      *wice,*                      *atsú!*  
hey                      children:OBL come:IMP

‘Hey children, come!’

## 8. Verbs

## 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 *ábùbùk-* ‘bubble’ or the /i/ in *ibóóóór-* ‘hollow out’. Reduplicating a verb root, partially or totally, has long been a strategy for creating a sense of continuousness or repetitiveness, as when *ítsán-* ‘disturb’ becomes *ítsánítsán-* ‘torment relentlessly’.

The language 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 affixes. Icétôd also boasts 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 variety of verbal paradigm 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 (yet). 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.

## 8.2. Infinitives

### 8.2.1. Intransitive

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 {-òñ-}. It converts an intransitive verb to a morphological noun that can be used as a noun in a noun phrase. As such, it can be fully declined for case. The infinitive is the citation form of a verb, the form one cites in a dictionary or in isolation. Table 8.1 gives a few examples of intransitive infinitives from the lexicon:

**Table 8.1: Icétôd intransitive infinitives**

Root	Intransitive infinitive	
ákáf-	ákáfòn	‘to yawn’
bòt-	bòtòn	‘to migrate’
cì-	cìòn	‘to be satiated’
dód-	dódòn	‘to hurt’
èf-	èfòn	‘to be tasty’
gwìr-	gwìròn	‘to squirm’
íkú-	íkúón	‘to howl’

Because the infinitive is a morphological noun, it can be fully declined for case. Table 8.2 gives the case declension of the verb *wàtònì-* ‘to rain’ which shows the vowel harmony effects on [+ATR] vowels. Table 8.3 does the same for the [-ATR] verb *wédònì-* ‘to detour’.

**Table 8.2: Case declension of *wàtònì-* ‘to rain’**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wàtònà	wàtòn
ACC	wàtònǎ	wàtònǐ <sup>a</sup>
DAT	wàtònǐè	wàtònǐk <sup>e</sup>
GEN	wàtònǐè	wàtònǐ
ABL	wàtònùò	wàtònù
INS	wàtònò	wàtòn <sup>o</sup>
COP	wàtònùò	wàtònùk <sup>o</sup>
OBL	wàtònì	wàtòn

**Table 8.3: Case declension of *wédònì-* ‘to detour’**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wédònà	wédòn

ACC	wédònìà	wédònìk <sup>a</sup>
DAT	wédònìè	wédònìk <sup>ε</sup>
GEN	wédònìè	wédònì
ABL	wédònùò	wédònù
INS	wédònò	wédòn <sup>ɔ</sup>
COP	wédònùò	wédònùk <sup>ɔ</sup>
OBL	wédònì	wédòn

## 8.2.2. Transitive

TRANSITIVE verbs are those that admit a subject *and* a direct object into its semantic schema. 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. As such, it can be fully declined for case. Table 8.4 provides a few examples of transitive infinitives:

**Table 8.4: Icétôd transitive infinitives**

Root	Transitive infinitive	
ágùj-	ágùjés	‘to gulp’
ban-	banés	‘to sharpen’
céb-	cébès	‘to roughen’
dód-	dódés	‘to point at’
erég-	erégè	‘to employ’
gíj-	gíjés	‘to shave’
ìlók-	ìlókés	‘to dissolve’

Because the infinitive is a morphological noun, it can be fully declined for case. Table 8.5 gives the case declension of the verb *wetésí-* ‘to drink’ that shows the vowel harmony effects on [+ATR] vowels. Table 8.6 does the same for the [-ATR] verb *wets’ésí-* ‘to knap’.

**Table 8.5: Case declension of *wetésí-* ‘to drink’**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wetésá	wetés
ACC	wetésíà	wetésík <sup>a</sup>

DAT	wetésiè	wetési <sup>e</sup>
GEN	wetésiè	wetési
ABL	wetésúò	wetésú
INS	wetésó	wetés <sup>o</sup>
COP	wetésúò	wetésúk <sup>o</sup>
OBL	wetési	wetés

**Table 8.6: Case declension of wets'ési- 'to knap'**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wets'ésá	wets'és
ACC	wets'ésíà	wets'ésík <sup>a</sup>
DAT	wets'ésíè	wets'ésík <sup>e</sup>
GEN	wets'ésíè	wets'ési
ABL	wets'ésúò	wets'ésú
INS	wets'ésó	wets'és <sup>o</sup>
COP	wets'ésúò	wets'ésúk <sup>o</sup>
OBL	wets'ési	wets'és

### 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 *así*- '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 8.7 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 8.7: Icétôd semi-transitive infinitives**

Root	Semi-transitive infinitive
bal- 'ignore'	balésá así 'to neglect -self'
hod- 'free'	hodésá así 'to get freed'
iríts- 'keep'	irítsesa así 'to control -self'
iróts- 'fling'	irútsesa 'to race across'

		así	
itíŋ-	‘force’	itíŋesa así	‘to force -self’
kɔk-	‘close’	kɔkésá así	‘to cover -self’
toɔ-	‘spear’	toɔésá así	‘to shoot across’

## 8.3. Deverbalizers

### 8.3.1. Abstractive

The ABSTRACTIVE suffix {-así-} can be used to replace the intransitive suffix {-òní-} to convert an intransitive verb to an abstract noun, for example when *hábòn* ‘to be hot’ becomes *hábàs* ‘heat’. Table 8.8 gives examples of abstract nouns derived from intransitive verbs:

**Table 8.8: Icétòd abstract nouns derived from verbs**

Intransitive infinitive	Abstract noun
ɔ̀àŋòŋ ‘to be loose’	ɔ̀aŋás ‘looseness’
èfòŋ ‘to be tasty’	éfás ‘(tasty) fat’
gaanó ‘to be bad’	gaánàs ‘badness’
hyètòŋ ‘to be fierce’	hyetás ‘fierceness’
kòmòŋ ‘to be many’	komás ‘manyness’
ŋwàxòŋ ‘to be disabled’	ŋwaxás ‘disability’
xèbòŋ ‘to be shy’	xebás ‘shyness’

Because verbs deverbalized by the abstractive suffix are morphological nouns, they are fully declined for case. Table 8.9 gives one such case declension of the abstract noun *kuḏásí*- ‘shortness’:

**Table 8.9: Case declension of *kuḏásí*- ‘shortness’**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	kuḏásá	kuḏás
ACC	kuḏásíà	kuḏásík <sup>a</sup>
DAT	kuḏásíè	kuḏásík <sup>ε</sup>
GEN	kuḏásíè	kuḏásí
ABL	kuḏásúò	kuḏású



INS	kuḏásó	kuḏás <sup>o</sup>
COP	kuḏásúḏ	kuḏásúk <sup>o</sup>
OBL	kuḏásí	kuḏás

### 8.3.2. Behaviorative

The BEHAVIORATIVE suffix {-nànéšì-} 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 *ámánànéš* ‘personhood’ or ‘personality’. Table 8.10 provides a few example of the behaviorative abstract noun:

**Table 8.10: Icétôd behaviorative abstract nouns**

Noun root	Behaviorate noun
babatí ‘his/her father’	babatinán ‘fatherhood’
-	ès
cekí- ‘woman’	cekínánès ‘womanhood’
dzɔɔ́át ‘rectum’	dzɔɔ́átínàn ‘grabusiness’
í-	ès
dzúú- ‘theft’	dzúnánès ‘thievery’
imá- ‘child’	imánánès ‘childhood’
lɔ́ɔ́tá- ‘enemy’	lɔ́ɔ́tánànè ‘enmity’
	s
ɲókí- ‘dog’	ɲókínánès ‘poverty’

Because behavioratives are nouns, they are declined for case. Table 8.11 gives the case declension for the word *eakwánánèšì-* ‘manhood’.

**Table 8.11: Case declension of *eakwánánèšì-* ‘manhood’**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	eakwánánèsà	eakwánánès
ACC	eakwánánèšì	eakwánánèšìk
	à	a
DAT	eakwánánèšì	eakwánánèšìk

	è	e
GEN	eakwánánèsĩ	eakwánánèsĩ
	è	
ABL	eakwánánèsù	eakwánánèsù
	ò	
INS	eakwánánèsò	eakwánánèsò
COP	eakwánánèsù	eakwánánèsù
	ò	k <sup>o</sup>
OBL	eakwánánèsĩ	eakwánánès

### 8.3.3. Patientive

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 8.12 gives some examples of patientive nouns from the lexicon.

**Table 8.12: Icétôd patientive nouns**

Verb root		Patientive noun	
áts-	‘chew’	ats’amá-	‘chewy food’
ḃek-	‘provoke’	ḃekamá-	‘provocation’
dub-	‘knead’	dubamá-	‘dough’
dzígw	‘buy/sell’	dzígwamá	‘merchandise’
-		-	
gam-	‘kindle’	gamamá-	‘kindling’
isúḃ-	‘distort’	isúḃamá-	‘falsehood’
ŋk-	‘eat’	ŋkamá-	‘eatable’

Because patientives are nouns, they are declined for case. Table 8.13 gives the full declension of the noun *wetamá-* ‘drink’.

**Table 8.13: Case declension of *wetamá-* ‘drink’**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	wetama	wetam
ACC	wetamáá	wetamák
		a
DAT	wetamée	wetamák
		e

GEN	wetamée	wetamá <sup>e</sup>
ABL	wetamóó	wetamá <sup>o</sup>
INS	wetamo	wetam <sup>o</sup>
COP	wetamóó	wetamák <sup>o</sup>
OBL	wetama	wetam

## 8.4. Directionals

### 8.4.1. Venitive

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 perfectly. The venitive suffix comes between the verb root and the verbal infinitive, whether intransitive or transitive. It can be used to augment any verb whose meaning includes motion or movement of any kind. Table 8.14 gives a few examples:

**Table 8.14: Icétôd venitive verbs**

Intransitive		Transitive	
arétón	‘to cross this way’	bébereté s	‘to pull this way’
h̥yotógètòn	‘to approach here’	d̥w̥etetés	‘to pull out’
iléétòn	‘to come visit’	futetés	‘to blow this way’
irímétòn	‘to rotate this way’	h̥onetés	‘to drive out’
ŋkéétòn	‘to get up’	ir̥ŋetetés	‘to turn this way’
téétòn	‘to fall down’	iteletés	‘to watch here’
t̥wétón	‘to sprout up’	sebetés	‘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 case declensions.

### 8.4.2. Andative

The ANDATIVE suffix {-u<sub>k</sub>ot-} 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 perfectly. Unlike the venitive suffix, the andative comes after both the verbal root and the infinitive suffix (in an infinitive). It can be used to augment any verb whose meaning includes motion or movement of any kind. Table 8.15 provides a few examples of andative verbs:

**Table 8.15: Icétôd andative verbs**

Intransitive		Transitive	
aronukot <sup>a</sup>	‘to cross that way’	hɔnɛ́súko	‘to drive off/away’
botonukot <sup>a</sup>	‘to move away’	t <sup>a</sup>	
		idɛ́ésu <sub>k</sub> ot	‘to hide way’
		<sup>a</sup>	
bɛrɔnu <sub>k</sub> ot <sup>a</sup>	‘to fly off/away’	idzesu <sub>k</sub> ot	‘to shoot (away)’
		<sup>a</sup>	
ibákɔnu <sub>k</sub> ot	‘to go next to’	igorésúko	‘to cross over’
<sup>a</sup>		t <sup>a</sup>	
isépónuko	‘to flow away’	kanésúko	‘to take away’
t <sup>a</sup>		t <sup>a</sup>	
kúbonukot	‘to go out of sight’	makésúk	‘to give away’
<sup>a</sup>		ot <sup>a</sup>	
tɛlɛ́ɔnu <sub>k</sub>	‘to storm off’	tɔrésú <sub>k</sub> ot <sup>a</sup>	‘to toss away’
ɔt <sup>a</sup>			

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 8.16 gives a declension of the [+ATR] andative verb *sébésu<sub>k</sub>otí*- ‘to sweep off’, while Table 8.17 gives a similar declension for the [-ATR] verb *sɛkɛ́sú<sub>k</sub>otí*- ‘to scrub off’:

**Table 8.16: Case declension of *sébésu<sub>k</sub>otí*- ‘to sweep off’**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	sébésukota	sébésukot <sup>a</sup>
ACC	sébésukotí á	sébésukotík <sup>a</sup>
DAT	sébésukotí é	sébésukotík <sup>e</sup>
GEN	sébésukotí é	sébésukotí
ABL	sébésukotú ó	sébésukotú
INS	sébésukoto	sébésukot <sup>o</sup>
COP	sébésukotú ó	sébésukotú k <sup>o</sup>
OBL	sébésukoti	sébésukoti

**Table 8.17: Case declension of *sekésúkoti*- ‘to scrub off’**

	Non-final	Final
NOM	sekésúkota	sekésúkot <sup>a</sup>
ACC	sekésúkotíá	sekésúkotík <sup>a</sup>
DAT	sekésúkotíé	sekésúkotík <sup>e</sup>
GEN	sekésúkotíé	sekésúkotí
ABL	sekésúkotú ú	sekésúkotú
INS	sekésúkoto	sekésúkot <sup>o</sup>
COP	sekésúkotú ú	sekésúkotúk <sup>o</sup>
OBL	sekésúkoti	sekésúkoti

## 8.5. Aspectuals

### 8.5.1. Inchoative

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 8.18 gives a few examples of intransitive and transitive verbs in the inchoative aspect:

**Table 8.18: Icétôd inchoative verbs**

Intransitive		Transitive	
aeétón	‘to start ripening’	baletés	‘to ignore’
dikwétón	‘to start dancing’	ewaneté	‘to take note of’
εkwétón	‘to start early’	s	
ießétón	‘to grow cold’	hodetés	‘to liberate’
		inákúeté	‘to destroy’
		s	
léjétón	‘to catch fire’	ræetés	‘to coerce’
tsekétón	‘to grow bushy’	tājaletés	‘to relinquish’
wasétón	‘to refuse’	tametés	‘to ponder’

### 8.5.2. Completive

The COMPLETIVE suffix {-ukot-} 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 8.19 gives a few examples of lexical verbs in the completive aspect:

**Table 8.19: Icétôd completive verbs**

Intransitive		Transitive	
aeonukot <sup>a</sup>	‘to become ripe’	anésúkót <sup>a</sup>	‘to remember’
barɔnukót <sup>a</sup>	‘to become rich’	dɔxésúkót	‘to reprimand’

hábonukot <sup>a</sup>	‘to become hot’	h̥yeésúkot <sup>a</sup>	‘to learn’
hédónukot <sup>a</sup>	‘to shrivel up’	kurésúkot <sup>a</sup>	‘to defeat’
m̥itónukot <sup>a</sup>	‘to become’	ḡábɛsúkot <sup>a</sup>	‘to finish up’
sɛkónukot <sup>a</sup>	‘to fade away’	ḡkákésuk <sup>a</sup>	‘to devour’
zoonukot <sup>a</sup>	‘to become big’	ot <sup>a</sup>	
		toḃésúkot <sup>a</sup>	‘to plunder’

### 8.5.3. Pluractional

The PLURACTIONAL suffix {-í-} denotes an action or state that is construed as *plural*. This 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 8.20 gives a few examples of intransitive and transitive pluractional verbs:

**Table 8.20: Icétôd pluractional verbs**

Intransitive		Transitive	
kónión	‘to be one-by-one’	abutié	‘to sip continually’
ḡatión	‘to run (of many)’	esetiés	‘to interrogate’
ḡkáiión	‘to get up (of many)’	gafarié	‘to stab repeatedly’
toḃéión	‘to be usually right’	nesíbié	‘to obey habitually’
tatión	‘to drip constantly’	tirifiés	‘to investigate’

## 8.6. Voice and valence

### 8.6.1. Passive

The Icétôd PASSIVE suffix {-óśí-} has the unusual distinction of being able to modify both transitive and intransitive verbs. 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. With intransitive verbs, the passive adds the nuance of characteristicness to the meaning of the verb, often with the help of root reduplication.

Table 21 gives examples of both intransitive and transitive passives:

**Table 8.21: Icétôd passives**

Intransitive		Transitive	
botibotos	'to be migratory'	búdòs	'to be hidden'
ḃekesòs	'to be mobile'	cookós	'to be guarded'
dekwidekòs	'to be quarrelsome'	ḃòtsòs	'to be joined'
ḃenḃekòs	'to be restless'	jə́s	'to be roasted'
gúránòs	'to be hot-tempered'	ḃáḃòs	'to be open'
ḃəḃiməḃòs	'to be gossipy'	ógoós	'to be left'
tsuwoós	'to be active'	tsánòs	'to be anointed'



Another quirky feature of the Icétôd passive {-óśí-} is that it can function both as a passive infinitive suffix (taking case) and as a regular inflectional suffix that can take subject-agreement pronouns. When it is declined for case, it declines just like the transitive suffix {-ésí-} in §8.2.2, and so its declension is not included here. Refer ahead to §8.7 to see what the subject-agreement pronominal suffixes are.

### 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 {-óśí-} 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 *Tódiàn* ‘People say (it)’. The impersonal passive is a morpheme that does not exist in the lexicon, and so it must be illustrated in speech context, as in these examples:

(1) *Ínómésánà bì.*

beat:FUT:IPS you:NOM

‘You will be beaten.’

(2) *Kaíánà kàkààkòk<sup>ε</sup>.*

go:PLUR:IPS hunt:inside:DAT

‘People go hunting.’ (Lit. ‘It is gone for hunting.’)

### 8.6.3. Middle

Icétôd has two MIDDLE suffixes: {-m-} and {-ím-}. Like the semi-transitive construction discussed in §8.2.3, the 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 an explicit agent. They 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 *dusés* ‘cut’ yields *dusúmòn* ‘to cut (alone)’, but it can also have a non-copy vowel as in *bokímòn* ‘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 8.22 below gives some examples of these two suffixes converting transitive verbs to middle verbs:

**Table 8.22: Icétòd middle verbs**

Transitive		Middle with {-m-}	
ḡánés	‘to open’	ḡánámòn	‘to open (alone)’
pakés	‘to split’	pakámòn	‘to split (alone)’
pulés	‘to pierce’	pulúmòn	‘to go out’
rajés	‘to return’	rajámòn	‘to return (alone)’
terés	‘to divide’	terémòn	‘to divide (alone)’
Transitive		Middle with {-ímét-}	
áts’és	‘to chew’	ats’ímètòn	‘to wear out (alone)’
ibéléés	‘to overturn’	ibéléímètòn	‘to overturn (alone)’
kókés	‘to close’	kokíméton	‘to close (alone)’
rébès	‘to deprive’	rébímètòn	‘to be deprived (alone)’
tɔɾɛɛs	‘to coerce’	toreimétòn	‘to be coerced (alone)’

#### 8.6.4. Reciprocal

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 *así-* ‘-self’. Table 8.23 provides a few examples of reciprocals derived from other verbs:

**Table 8.23: Icétòd reciprocal verbs**

Intransitive		Reciprocal	
ḡekés	‘to walk’	ḡekésínós	‘to walk together’
ibákón	‘to be next to’	ibákínós	‘to be next to each other’

tódòn    ‘to speak’	tódínós    ‘to speak to each other’
Transitive	Reciprocal
h̃yeés    ‘to know’	h̃yeínós    ‘to be related’
ɪ̃jaaré    ‘to help’	ɪ̃jáárínós    ‘to help each other’
s mínés    ‘to love’	mínínós    ‘to love each other’

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 cohabit’ is shown below in Table 24, while for subject-agreement markers, the reader is referred ahead to §8.7.

**Table 8.24: Case declension of *ínínósí-* ‘to cohabit’**

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

### 8.6.5. Causative

Icétòd 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 pluracational. If the last vowel of the verb root is /u/, the causative may be assimilated to {-ùt-}. Table 8.25 gives several examples of causativized verbs:

**Table 8.25: Icétòd causative verbs**

Intransitive	Causative
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bùkòn	‘to be prostrate’	bukites	‘to lay prostrate’
itúrón	‘to be proud’	itúrútés	‘to praise’
xěḃòn	‘to be timid’	xεḃites	‘to intimidate’
Transitive			
dimés	‘to refuse’	dimités	‘to prohibit’
nakwé	‘to suckle’	nakwité	‘to give suckle’
s		s	
zízòn	‘to be fat’	zízités	‘to fatten’

## 8.7. Subject-agreement

Whenever Icétôd grammar calls for subject-agreement on the verb, one of the seven pronominal suffixes in Table 8.26 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 8.26:

**Table 8.26: Icétôd subject-agreement suffixes**

	Irrealis		Realis	
	Non-final	Final	Non-final	Final
1SG	-íí	-í	-íá	-í
2SG	-ídì	-íd <sup>i</sup>	-ídà	-íd <sup>a</sup>
3SG	-ì	- <sup>i</sup>	-a	- <sup>a</sup>
1PL.EXC	-ímí	-ím	-ímá	-ím
1PL.INC	-ísínì	-ísín	-ísínà	-ísín
2PL	-ítí	-ít <sup>i</sup>	-ítá	-ít <sup>a</sup>
3PL	-átì	-át <sup>i</sup>	-átà	-át <sup>a</sup>

## 8.8. Dummy pronoun

Icétôd has a special verbal affix called the DUMMY PRONOUN because it represents an peripheral 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 a peripheral argument 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 8.27 below is given to illustrate its diverse allomorphy:

**Table 8.27: Allomorphs of the dummy pronoun {-’dè}**

	Non-final	Final
{-’dè}	-’è	-’d <sup>e</sup>
	-’è	-’d <sup>ε</sup>
	-’ĩ	
	-’ı̄	
	-’ò	
	-’ò	

## 8.9. Mood

### 8.9.1. Irrealis (with negation)

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—all of which are discussed in §8.10 below.

### 8.9.2. Realis

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 8.26). 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 inexplicably, negative imperatives (which one would see as irrealis).

## 8.10. Verb paradigms

### 8.10.1. Intentional-imperfective

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 Icéôtôd?” 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 8.28 below, {-és-} is illustrated with the verb *àts-* ‘come’ in its imperfective sense with a recent past tense marker (*nák<sup>a</sup>*) and then in its intentional sense, translated with English as future tense ‘will’:

**Table 8.28: Icéôtôd intentional-imperfective aspect**

Imperfective		
1SG	Atsésìà <i>nák<sup>a</sup></i> .	‘I was coming.’
2SG	Atsésìdà <i>nák<sup>a</sup></i> .	‘You were coming.’
3SG	Atsesa <i>nák<sup>a</sup></i> .	‘She was coming.’
1PL.EXC	Atsésímà <i>nák<sup>a</sup></i>	‘We were coming.’
1PL.INC	Atsésísìnà <i>nák<sup>a</sup></i> .	‘We all were coming.’
2PL	Atsésítà <i>nák<sup>a</sup></i> .	‘You all were coming.’
3PL	Atsésátà <i>nák<sup>a</sup></i> .	‘They were all coming.’
Intentional		
1SG	Atsésì.	‘I will come.’
2SG	Atsésìd <sup>a</sup>	‘You will come.’
3SG	Atsés.	‘She will come.’
1PL.EXC	Atsésím.	‘We will come.’
1PL.INC	Atsésísìn.	‘We all will come.’
2PL	Atsésít <sup>a</sup> .	‘You all will come.’
3PL	Atsésát <sup>a</sup> .	‘They all will come.’

### 8.10.2. Present perfect

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 *Nabukɔ́táka* 'It is finished'. And the /k/ in {-ka} disappears in non-final environments. Table 8.29 offers the paradigm of the present perfect with the verb *àts-* 'come' in both non-final and final environments:

**Table 8.29: Icétôd present perfect aspect**

	Non-final	Final	
1SG	Atsiaà...	Atsiàka <sup>a</sup> .	'I have come.'
2SG	Atsidàà...	Atsidàka <sup>a</sup> .	'You have come.'
3SG	Atsáá...	Atsáka <sup>a</sup> .	'She has come.'
1PL.EXC	Atsimáà..	Atsimáka <sup>a</sup> .	'We have come.'
1PL.INC	Atsisínàà. ..	Atsisínàka <sup>a</sup> .	'We all have come.'
2PL	Atsitáà...	Atsitáka <sup>a</sup> .	'You all have come.'
3PL	Atsátàà...	Atsátàka <sup>a</sup> .	'They have come.'



### 8.10.3. Optative

The Icétôd OPTATIVE mood is used to express wishes, even sarcastic ones like ‘Let the enemies come!’. Optative verbs are often introduced with supporting imperatives like *Ógoe...* or *Taláké*, both of which mean ‘Let...’. And all Icétôd 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. Specifically, 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). Another peculiarity of the Icétôd optative is that there is no difference between its non-final and final forms. Table 8.30 presents the paradigm of the optative with the verb *àts-* ‘come’:

**Table 8.30: 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.’

### 8.10.4. Subjunctive

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 8.26 above. The optative is usually introduced either by *dɛmɛsɛ* ‘unless, until’ or *damu (koja)* ‘may’. Table 8.31 gives the full subjunctive paradigm with *àts-* ‘come’:

**Table 8.31: Icétôd subjunctive mood**

	Non-final	Final	
1SG	ḑemʊsʊ atsíi...	ḑemʊsʊ atsíi	'unless I come'
2SG	ḑemʊsʊ atsídi...	ḑemʊsʊ atsídi	'unless you come'
3SG	ḑemʊsʊ atsi...	ḑemʊsʊ atsɪ	'unless she comes'
1PL.EXC	ḑemʊsʊ atsímí...	ḑemʊsʊ atsím	'unless we come'
1PL.INC	ḑemʊsʊ atsísínì...	ḑemʊsʊ atsísín	'unless we all come'
2PL	ḑemʊsʊ atsítì...	ḑemʊsʊ atsítɪ	'unless you all come'
3PL	ḑemʊsʊ atsátì...	ḑemʊsʊ atsátɪ	'unless they come'

### 8.10.5. Imperative

The IMPERATIVE mood is used to issue commands or instructions. If the recipient of the command is singular, then the suffix used is {-é'}, and if the recipient is plural, the suffix is {-úó}. The singular{-é'} 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 8.32:

**Table 8.32: Icétôd imperative mood**

Singular			Plural		
NF	FF		NF	FF	
Atse..!	Ats <sup>é</sup> !	'Come!'	Atsúó..!	Atsú!	'Come!'
Kae..!	Ka <sup>é</sup> !	'Go!'	Koyúó..!	Koyú!	'Go!'
ŋkɛ..!	ŋk <sup>é</sup> !	'Eat!'	ŋkúó..!	ŋkú!	'Eat!'
Zɛkwɛ..!	Zɛkw <sup>é</sup> !	'Sit!'	Zɛkúó..!	Zɛkú!	'Sit!'

### 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 8.26). To make all this more concrete, Table 8.33 gives example of the different negator particles used with different types of clauses:

**Table 8.33: Icétôd negative mood**

Realis		
1SG	Ntá hyeí.	‘I don’t know.’
2SG	Ntá hyeĩdì.	‘You don’t know.’
3SG	Ntá hyèì.	‘She doesn’t know.’
Sequential		
1SG	...moo hyeí.	‘and I don’t know.’
2SG	...moo hyeĩdì.	‘and you don’t know.’
3SG	...mòò hyèì.	‘and she doesn’t know.’
Past realis		
1SG	Máa naa hyeí.	‘I didn’t know.’
2SG	Máa naa hyeĩdì.	‘You didn’t know.’
3SG	Máà nàà hyèì.	‘She didn’t know.’

### 8.10.7. Sequential

The Içétôd 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 Içétôd sequential aspect is the language's most frequently used verb form.

Morphologically, Içétôd sequential verbs are recognized by a combination of tone, irregular subject-agreement suffixes, and the sequential aspect suffix {-ko}. Specifically, all 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>-person sequential verbs high-tone leveling in their subject-agreement suffixes which pushes a high tone out to the right. 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 8.34. 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 8.34: Içétôd sequential aspect**

	Non-final	Final	
1SG	...atsiaa...	...atsiak <sup>o</sup>	'and I come'
2SG	...atsiduo...	...atsiduk <sup>o</sup>	'and you come'
3SG	...àtsùò...	...àtsùk <sup>o</sup>	'and she comes'
1PL.EXC	...atsimaa...	...atsimak <sup>o</sup>	'and we come'
1PL.INC	...atsisinuo..	...atsisinuk <sup>o</sup>	'and we all come'
2PL	...atsituo...	...atsituk <sup>o</sup>	'and you all come'
3PL	...àtsĩnĩ...	...àtsĩn	'and they come'
PASS	...atsese...	...atses	'and it was come'

### 8.10.8. Simultaneous

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 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 8.35 presents the simultaneous paradigm of *àts-* ‘come’:

**Table 8.35: Icétôd simultaneous aspect**

	Non-final	Final	
1SG	...atsííkè...	...atsíík <sup>e</sup>	‘while I was coming’
2SG	...atsídǐè...	...atsídǐk <sup>e</sup>	‘while you were coming’
3SG	...àtsǐè...	...àtsǐk <sup>e</sup>	‘while she was coming’
1PL.EXC	...atsímíè...	...atsímík <sup>e</sup>	‘while we were coming’
1PL.INC	...atsísínǐè..	...atsísínǐk <sup>e</sup>	‘while we all were coming’
2PL	...atsítíè...	...atsítík <sup>e</sup>	‘while you all were coming’
3PL	...atsátíè...	...atsátík <sup>e</sup>	‘while they were coming’

## 8.11. Adjectival verbs

### 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 is in the specific adjectival suffixes they can have. The next four subsections offer brief descriptions of these special adjectival suffixes.

### 8.11.2. Physical property I

The PHYSICAL PROPERTY I adjectival suffix {-d-} is found in 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 {-òní-}. Table 8.36 gives a sample of these descriptive terms:

**Table 8.36: Icétôd physical property I adjectival verbs**

bufúdòn	'to be spongy'
ḑómódò	'to be gluey'
n	
dirídòn	'to be compacted'
jamúdòn	'to be velvety'
lets'édòn	'to be bendy'
pid'ídòn	'to be sleek'
tsakádò	'to be watery'
n	

### 8.11.3. Physical property II

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 {-òní}. Table 8.37 gives a sample of these descriptive adjectival verbs:

**Table 8.37: Icétôd physical property II adjectival verbs**

Bisyllabic	
buḍámòn	‘to be black’
dúgùmòn	‘to be hunched’
fírímòn	‘to be clogged’
kíkímòn	‘to be stocky’
kwets’émòn	‘to be damaged’
Trisyllabic	
bulúkúmòn	‘to be bulbous’
jurútúmòn	‘to be slippery’
peléremòn	‘to be squinty’
ságwàrà mò n	‘to be shadeless’
tékézèmòn	‘to be shallow’

#### 8.11.4. Stative

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 from spreading between the verbal root and any suffixes that follow the stative suffix (for example, infinitive or subject-agreement suffixes).

Table 8.38 presents a few examples of stative adjectival verbs derived from noun roots:

**Table 8.38: Icétôd stative verbs derived from nouns**

Noun		Stative verb	
cué-	‘water’	cuanón	‘to be liquid’
ésá-	‘drunkenness’	esánón	‘to be drunk’
kirotí-	‘sweat’	kirotánón	‘to be sweaty’
nèkè-	‘hunger’	nekánón	‘to be hungry’
nèrà-	‘girls’	inéráánón	‘to be girl-crazy’

Table 8.39 gives a few stative verbs derived from transitive verbs:

**Table 8.39: Icétôd stative verbs derived from transitive verbs**

Transitive		Stative	
ðekés	‘to provoke’	ðekánón	‘to be provocative’
dzerés	‘to tear’	dzeredzeránón	‘to be torn in shreds’
itáléés	‘to forbid’	itáléánón	‘to be forbidden’
itukes	‘to heap’	itukánón	‘to be congregated’
iran̩es	‘to spoil’	iran̩énánón	‘to be spoiled’

### 8.11.5. Distributive

Icétôd has two DISTRIBUTIVE adjectival suffixes: {-aák-} and {-ik-}. These suffixes have the function of distributing the meaning of the adjectival verb to more than one subject. The suffix {-aák-} can be used with all kinds of adjectival verbs, including the physical property and stative varieties, while the suffix {-ik-} 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 8.40 gives a sampling of adjectival verbs with the distributive suffix:

**Table 8.40: Icétôd distributive adjectival verbs**

budúdaakón	‘to be soft (of many)’
ðets’aakón	‘to be white (of many)’
gaanaakón	‘to be bad (of many)’
kúðaakón	‘to be short (of many)’
maráŋaakón	‘to be good (of many)’
notsódaakón	‘to be adhesive (of many)’
semélémaakón	‘to be elliptical (of many)’

## 9. Adverbs



## 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.

## 9.2. Manner adverbs

MANNER ADVERBS modify whole clauses by commenting on the manner in which a state comes across or an action is done. Manner adverbs usually come near or at the end of the clause they modify. Table 9.1 presents a sampling of Icétôd manner adverbs:

**Table 9.1: Icétôd manner adverbs**

ḏēmùsù	‘fast, quickly’
hiǰó	‘carefully, slowly’
jĩĩkĩ	‘always’
jíkà	‘really, totally’
kóntiák	‘straightaway’
e	
mùkà	‘completely, forever’
pákà	‘indefinitely’
zùkù	‘very’

### 9.3. Temporal adverbs

#### 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 or at the end of the clause they modify.

#### 9.3.2. Past tense adverbs

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 9.2 illustrates the Icétôd tense markers in all their forms:

**Table 9.2: Icétôd past tense markers**

	NF	FF	
Recent	=náà	=nák <sup>a</sup>	‘earlier today’
Removed	=bèè	=bàt <sup>s<sup>e</sup></sup>	‘yester-’
Remote	=nót sò	=nót sò	‘a while ago’
Remotes <sup>t</sup>	=nòò	=nòk <sup>o</sup>	‘long ago’

#### 9.3.3. Past perfect tense adverbs

The past tense can be combined with a perfect aspect to yield the PAST PERFECT TENSE. Unlike the 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 9.3 presents the Icétôd past perfect tense adverbs:

**Table 9.3: Icétôd past perfect tense markers**

	NF	FF
--	----	----

Recent	=nanáà	=nanák <sub>a</sub>	'had...earlier today'
Removed	=nàtsàm ù	=nàtsà m	'had...yester-'
Remote	=nànòò	=nànòk <sub>o</sub>	'had...a while ago'

#### 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 after the present and is expressed by the adverb *ts'òò*, 2) the removed future that includes the *next* 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*. Table 9.4 puts these three non-past markers together for closer observation:

**Table 9.4: Icétôd non-past tense markers**

	NF	FF	
Distended present	ts'òò	ts'òò	'recently/soon n'
Removed	táà	táà	'next____'
Remote	fàrà	fàrà	'in the future'

## 9.4. Epistemic adverbs

### 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.

### 9.4.2. Inferential adverbs

Icétôd can express 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 *tsamɛ*. Table 9.5 presents the three inferential adverbial particles in their final and non-final forms. Note that compared to the past-tense markers above in Table 9.2, the inferential time-scale is moved up one notch more recent.

**Table 9.5: Icétôd inferential adverbs**

	NF	FF	
Recent	nábèè	nábàt s <sup>e</sup>	‘apparently earlier today’
Removed	nátsà mɛ	nátsà m	‘apparently yester-’
Remote	nánòò	nánòk o	‘apparently long ago’

### 9.4.3. Confirmational adverbs

Icétôd can also express a confirmation of a state or event by means of a set of CONFIRMATIONAL adverbs that are derived from the tensed relative pronouns described way 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 9.6 and then demonstrated with a few pairs of sentences in the examples below:

**Table 9.6: Icétôd confirmational markers**

Recent	náa	‘Of course____earlier today.’
Removed	sina	‘Of course____yester-.’
Remote	noo	‘Of course____long ago.’

#### 9.4.4. Conditional-hypothetical adverbs

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 9.7:

**Table 9.7: Icétôd conditional-hypothetical adverbs**

	NF	FF	
Non-past	kánàà	kánàà	‘would’
Recent			‘would have...earlier today’
Removed	kàsàm	kàsàm	‘would have...yester-’
	ù		
Remote	kánòò	kánòk°	‘would have...a while ago’

## 10. Basic syntax

## 10.1. Noun phrases

The Icéôtôd NOUN PHRASE consists first and foremost of a noun head, either a lexical noun or a nominalized lexical verb. As a head-initial language, Icéôtôd 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 Icéôtôd noun phrase structure can be formalized as follows, where elements in parentheses are optional:

(1) Icéôtôd NP structure:

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

The syntactical structure formalized in (1) can be clearly seen amidst the real Icéôtôd noun phrases presented below in examples (2)-(10):

(2) HEAD

*wik<sup>a</sup>*

‘children’

(3) HEAD ANAPH

*wika dʒíí*

‘those known children’

(4) HEAD POSS

*wika jícì*

‘my children’

(5) HEAD ANAPH POSS

*wika dʒíí jícì*

‘those known children of mine’

(6) HEAD ANAPH POSS NUM

*wika dʒíí jícìè lèbètse*

‘those two known children of mine’

(7) HEAD ANAPH POSS REL

*wika dʒíí jície [ni lèbetse]<sub>REL</sub>*

‘those two known children of mine’

(8) HEAD ANAPH POSS NUM REL

*wika dʒí jície lebetse [ní dà]<sub>REL</sub>*

‘those two nice known children of mine’

(9) HEAD ANAPH POSS NUM REL DEM

*wika dʒí jície lebetse [ní daa]<sub>REL</sub> ni*

‘those two nice known children of mine, these’

(10) HEAD ANAPH POSS NUM TEMP DEM

*wika dʒí jície lebetse níi ni*

‘those two known children of mine from earlier today, these’

## 10.2. Clause structure

### 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):

- (11) *Epa<sub>v</sub>      ηók<sup>a</sup><sub>s</sub>.*  
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):

- (12) *Epá<sub>v</sub>      bee<sub>TENSE</sub>      ηóká<sub>s</sub>      kurú<sub>E</sub>.*  
sleep:3SG    yester-      dog:NOM    shade:ABL  
‘The dog slept in the shade yesterday.’

### 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. The object may also be dropped, in which case it is inferred from the context. Example (13) below illustrates basic transitive clause structure:

- (13)     *Áts'á<sub>v</sub>        ηóká<sub>A</sub>        ɔkák<sup>a</sup><sub>o</sub>.*  
              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):

- (14)     *Áts'á<sub>v</sub> bee<sub>TENSE</sub>        ηóká<sub>A</sub>        ɔkák<sub>o</sub>*  
              gnaw:3SG    yester-        dog:NOM    bone:ACC  
  
              *ódàtù<sub>E</sub>.*  
              day:INS  
              ‘The dog gnawed the bone all day yesterday.’

### 10.2.3. Ditransitive

Icétôd DISTRANSITIVE clauses consist minimally of a distransitive 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 on the verb. The object and even extended object may be left implicit but will be understood from context. The basic distransitive clause structure is illustrated below in (15):

- (15)     *Maa<sub>v</sub>        kaKaama<sub>A</sub>    ɔkák<sub>o</sub>        ηókík<sup>e</sup><sub>E</sub>.*  
              give:3SG    hunter:NOM   bone:ACC    dog:DAT  
              ‘The hunter gives a bone to the dog.’

### 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 distransitive VAOE. The following two examples show causative verbs making these structural changes:

(16) Intransitive VS → Causative VAO

(a) *Fekîà<sub>v</sub>*            *ɲk<sup>a</sup><sub>v</sub>*.  
 laugh:1SG            I:NOM  
 ‘I laugh’.

(b) *Fekitéídà<sub>va</sub>*        *ɲk<sup>a</sup><sub>o</sub>*.  
 laugh:CAUS:2SG I:NOM  
 ‘You make me laugh.’

(17) Transitive VAO → Causative VAOE

(a) *Wetîa<sub>v</sub>*            *ɲka<sub>A</sub>*            *cue<sub>o</sub>*.  
 drink:1SG            I:NOM            water:NOM  
 ‘I drink water.’

(b) *Wetitéída<sub>va</sub>*        *ɲka<sub>o</sub>*            *cuék<sup>e</sup><sub>E</sub>*.  
 drink:CAUS:2SG I:NOM            water:DAT  
 ‘You make me drink water.’

## 10.2.5. Auxiliary

Icétôd has both true auxiliary verbs and pseudo-auxiliary verbs. Both types create special syntactic structures. The true auxiliaries, shown in Table 10.1, function as the main syntactic verb in VS intransitive clauses. The semantically main verb then follows the subject in a morphologically defective form that consist of the bare verb root plus a suffix {-a} (which may or may not be the realis marker from §8.9.2). This means the constituent order of clauses with true auxiliary verbs is AuxSV, where the Aux fills the main verb syntactic slot, but the defective V carries the main semantic content of the verb schema.

The true auxiliaries have both lexical and aspectual meanings:

**Table 10.1: Icétôd true auxiliary verbs**

Root	Lexical	Aspectual
erúts-	‘be fresh, new’	RECENTIVE
ḡór-	‘do early’	ANTICIPATIVE
sár-	‘be already/not yet’	DURATIVE

To illustrate the AuxSVE constituent order of these true auxiliary clauses, example (18) presents a sentence with the recentive erúts-:

- (18) *Erútsíma*<sub>AUXS</sub> *atsa*<sub>V</sub> *sédà*<sub>E</sub>.  
 RECENT:1PL.EXC    come    garden:ABL  
 ‘We just came from the garden.’

By contrast, the pseudo-auxiliary verbs mimic true auxiliaries in that they are lexical verbs potentially aspectual meanings. But because they are not syntactically auxiliary, they take verbal complements as extended objects as any intransitive verb might take a modifier. The pseudo-auxiliaries are presented in Table 10.2 with their aspectual meanings and the cases required by their verbal complements:

**Table 10.2: Icétôd pseudo-auxiliary verbs**

Stem	Lexical	Aspectual	Case required
náb- uḡót-	‘end, finish’	COMPLETIVE	NOM/ACC
itsyák-ét-	‘begin, start’	INCHOATIVE	NOM/ACC
toḡó-	‘alight, land’	INCHOATIVE	NOM/ACC
isé-ét-	‘begin, start’	INCHOATIVE	NOM/ACC
cèm-	‘fight, struggle’	OCCUPATIVE	INS

Each of the aspectual meanings listed in Table X are given one example in the following sentences. The brackets in (19) signify that the bracketed noun phrase as a whole is the object of the verb.

- (19) Completive  
*Nábukotíáa<sub>VA</sub>*                      [*isoméésá nábúkwi*]<sub>O</sub>.  
 finish:1SG:PRF            to.read:NOM book:GEN  
 ‘I have finished reading the book.’
- (20) Inchoative  
*Itsyaketátaa<sub>VA</sub>*            *wáánàk<sup>a</sup><sub>O</sub>*.  
 begin:3PL:PRF            praying:ACC  
 ‘They have begun praying.’
- (21) Occupative  
*Cεma<sub>V</sub>*                      *wika<sub>S</sub>*                      *wáák<sup>o</sup><sub>E</sub>*.  
 fight:3            children:NOM            playing:INS  
 ‘The children are busy playing.’

### 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 a person, place, thing, 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 10.3 below, along with the case markings their subjects and complements are obligated to have:

**Table 10.3: Icétôd copular verbs**

Verb	Meaning	CS case	CC case
ĩ-	Existence	NOM	–
	Location	NOM	DAT
ĩr-	Attribution	NOM	(adverb)

mìt-	Identity	NOM	OBL
	Possessio	NOM	GEN
	n		

The three copular verbs in Table 10.3 and their five potential meaning are exemplified briefly in the sentences below:

(22) Existence

*Ia<sub>v</sub>*            *didigwarí<sub>CS</sub>*.

be:3SG        rain.top:NOM

‘Heaven [i.e. God] is (there).’

(23) Location

*Ia<sub>v</sub>*    *lɔŋʒá<sub>CS</sub>*            *muceék<sup>e</sup><sub>CC</sub>*.

be:3    enemies:NOM        way:DAT

‘Enemies are on the way.’

(24) Attribution

*Ira<sub>VCS</sub>*        *tíyé<sub>ADV</sub>*.

be:3SG        like.this

‘It is like this.’

(25) Identity

*Mítáá<sub>v</sub>*        *ŋka<sub>CS</sub>*            *bábò<sub>CC</sub>*.

be:1SG        I:NOM            father.your:OBL

‘I am your father.’

(26) Possession

*Míta<sub>v</sub>*        [awa        na]<sub>CS</sub>    *ngó<sup>e</sup><sub>CC</sub>*.

be:3SG        home:NOM    this    we:GEN

‘This house is ours.’

### 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 put in the copulative case. This puts it in a copular 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]<sub>CS</sub> [CLAUSE]<sub>CC</sub>. To make this more concrete, the next example show the cleft construction with a simple transitive clause (27a) whose object then gets fronted (28b):

(27) Cleft construction

- (a) *Bédĩmà<sub>v</sub> ñgwà<sub>A</sub> mès<sub>o</sub>.*  
 want:1PL.EXC we:NOM beer:NOM  
 ‘We want beer.’
- (b) *Mesɔɔ<sub>CC</sub> [ñgóá bédĩm.]<sub>CS</sub>*  
 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, 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]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>, where the double vertical line symbolized a short pause. Icétôd left-dislocation is illustrated in the following two example sentences:

(28) Left-dislocation

- (a) *Mée eníi kaúdzá dǐi.*  
 not:PRF see:1SG money:NOM ANAPH  
 ‘I haven’t seen that money.’
- (b) *Kaúdzá dǐi, mée ení.*  
 money:NOM ANAPH not:PRF see:1SG

‘That money, I haven’t seen (it).’

## 10.3. Subordinate clauses

### 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 AVO order with transitives, and an AVOE order with ditransitives—in short ‘SVO’ rather than ‘VSO’. 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).

### 10.3.2. Relative clauses

RELATIVE CLAUSES are subordinate clauses that modify a noun. Icétôd relative clauses are restrictive, meaning they narrow the reference of their head noun rather than merely adding extra details about it. Relative clauses are introduced by the tensed relative pronouns discussed back in (§5.7) and have the typical syntactic structure of Icétôd subordinate clauses: SV for intransitive and AV for transitive. All core arguments of the verb have accusative case marking. The next two examples illustrate Icétôd relative clause structure:

(29) Intransitive (SV)

Nesíbimaa                  emuta                  [nɛ      ɛ́f<sub>SV</sub>]<sub>REL</sub>.  
hear:1PL.EXC:PRF    story:NOM    REL    sweet:3SG  
‘We’ve heard a story that is funny.’

(30) Transitive (AV)

Atsáá                          ima    [náa    ɲcia<sub>A</sub>    takí<sub>V</sub>]<sub>REL</sub>.  
come:3SG:PRF            child    REL    I:ACC    mention:1SG  
‘The child I mentioned earlier has come.’

### 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. Like relative clauses, Icétôd adverbial clauses also typify subordinate clauses in that they have SV and AVO core constituent orders and accusative case marking on all three core nouns (S/A/O). Among the main kinds of adverbial clause in Icétôd are the following: temporal, simultaneous, conditional, hypothetical, manner, reason/cause, , and concessive. Each of these is exemplified in the following sentences:

(31) Temporal

[Noo ntsíá badúkótáde]<sub>TEMP</sub>, kódfiak°.  
 when he:3SG die:3SG:DP cry:1SG:SEQ  
 ‘When he died, I cried.’

(32) Simultaneous

[Náa ntsíá badúkótíkè]<sub>SIMUL</sub>, kódfésiak°.  
 as he:3SG die:3SG:SIM cry:ipf:1SG:SEQ  
 ‘As he was dying, I was crying.’

(33) Conditional

[Na ntsa badúkótúk°]<sub>COND</sub>, kódfiak°.  
 if he:NOM die:3SG:SEQ cry:1SG:SEQ  
 ‘If he dies, I’ll cry.’

(34) Hypothetical

[Na kánoo ntsa badúkótúk°]<sub>HYP</sub>,  
 if would’ve he:3SG die:3SG:SEQ

kódfiaa kánòk°.

cry:1SG:SEQ would’ve

‘If he would’ve died, I would’ve cried.’

(35) Manner



Badúkótuo [tisílik<sup>e</sup>]<sub>MANNER</sub>.

die:3SG:SEQ peaceful:3SG:SIM

‘And he died peacefully (Lit. ‘he being peaceful’).’

(36) Reason/cause

Badukotáá [dúó ídzanâd<sup>e</sup>]<sub>REASON</sub>.

die:3SG:PRF because shoot:IPS:3SG:DP

‘He has died because he was shot.’

(37) Concessive

[Áta ntsíá badúkótik<sup>e</sup>]<sub>CONCESS</sub>, ntá kódí.

even he:ACC die:3SG:SIM not cry:1SG

‘Even if he dies, I will not cry.’

## 10.4. Clause combining

### 10.4.1. Clause coordination

Two or more independent clauses can be linked through clause COORDINATION. This can result in clause ADDITION (‘and’), CONTRAST (‘but’), or DISJUNCTION (‘or’). The following three sentences illustrate these three basic types of Icéôd clause coordination:

(38) Addition

Atsíá naa awá<sup>o</sup>,

come:1SG past home:ABL

nda itsyaketíá nàà tókòb<sup>a</sup>.

and begin:1SG past hoeing:NOM

‘I came from home, and I started hoeing.’

(39) Contrast

Atsíá naa awá<sup>o</sup>,

come:1SG past home:ABL

koto máá naa tókóbesí.

but not past hoe:1SG

‘I came from home, but I did do any hoeing.’

(40) Disjunction

Atsída naa awóò,

come:2SG past home:ABL

kefe sédoo atsídeè?

or garden:ABL come:2SG:DP

‘Did you come from home, or is it the garden you came from?’

### 10.4.2. Clause chaining

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 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. In (41) below, the clause chain is anchored by the initial adverbial phrase *Na kónító ódoue baratsoó* which puts the whole sentence in a temporal frame. Thenceforth, the clause chain proceeds clause by clause, each marked as SEQ1, SEQ2, etc.:

(41) [Na kónító ódoue baratsoó]<sub>ADV</sub>  
when one day:GEN morning:INS  
‘One day, in the morning,

[ipuo ta<sup>káí</sup>kak<sup>a</sup>]<sub>SEQ1</sub>  
cast:3SG:SEQ shoes:ACC  
he cast (his) shoes (in divination),

[e<sup>guo</sup> ta<sup>káí</sup>ka ébak<sup>a</sup>]<sub>SEQ2</sub>  
put:3SG:SEQ shoes:NOM gun:ACC  
and the shoes made (the shape of) a gun,

[ipuo na<sup>bo</sup>]<sub>SEQ3</sub>  
cast:3SG:SEQ again

and he cast (them) again,

[e <b>gini</b>	ébak <sup>a</sup> ] <sub>SEQ4</sub>
put:3PL:SEQ	gun:ACC
and they made a gun.'	