For Amber Dawn

**Acknowledgements**

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

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

**Preface**

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

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

Living in Ikland has taught me a lot about being human, but not in the way I would have expected. It was not by becoming ‘one with the people’ that I learned what it is like to endure subhuman conditions. And it was not physical starvation, or sickness, or slaughter that I was forced to endure. No, I was spared those things. Yet all the same, in Ikland I became acquainted with spiritual starvation, social sickness, and the wholesale slaughter of my cultural, religious, and intellectual idols. And just as the Ik have learned that life does not consist in ‘bread alone’, nor in health, nor in security—but can carry on living with dignity and humanity—I have learned that at the rock bottom of my soul, at that place where my self ends and the world begins, there is where Life resides. That realization is my ‘pearl of great price’ for which I have sold everything else and would do it all over again.

1. Introduction
   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 [ītʃétôd̻] in phonetic symbols. Icétôd belongs to a small cluster of languages called ‘Kuliak’, which also includes Nyang’ía of Lobalangit and Soo/Tepeth of Mounts Moroto, Napak, and Kadam—all in Uganda’s beautiful Karamoja Region.

Let the record be set straight: Icétôd is definitely *not* a dialect of Karimojong, nor is it even Nilotic or ‘Hamitic’. And it is certainly not Bantu (as some have asked me). Scholars disagree as to whether it is related to Karimojong at all, but if it is, it would be a distant relationship within the great Nilo-Saharan language family, much as English is related to Russian or Hindi within Indo-European.

One reason people assume Icétôd is a dialect of Karimojong is that the Ik people have long been surrounded and dominated politically by the pastoralist Dodoth, Toposa, Turkana, and Jie peoples. These, as well as the Karimojong proper, all speak mutually intelligible dialects of a language cluster 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 is especially common in situations where there is an imbalance in power. Besides the lexicon, the close contact between the Ik and Teso-Turkana peoples has caused 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 /ƙ/ and /tsʼ/. 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, some of the profound differences between Icétôd and Teso-Turkana come to light.

* 1. The dictionary

This book contains a bilingual Icétôd-English dictionary and an English-Icétôd index. The dictionary section lists all the Ik words I have recorded and offers English definitions for them. Including proper names, there are roughly 8,700 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 Icean 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 encase 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 foreign, non-native speaker of Icétôd, my grasp of the living meanings of Icétôd words is severely limited. For the only way to learn living linguistic meanings is to experience life linguistically, *through* a language, through its words and phrases and tropes. Still, 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 *ɨsɛɛs* ‘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 miss, and as they retold the story with glee, they always used that particular 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 most of the Icétôd words in this volume, I have had to discover definitions extrinsically, from the outside. Unfortunately, as a foreign lexicographer, *I do not inhabit the words*. All I could really do was try to understand the words as best I could, and render them in perspicacious English, marking out a felicitous meeting place between two very different modes of linguistic being-in-the-world. To the degree that I succeeded in this endeavor, this is what I hope to be an adequate first full Icétôd-English lexicon.

The English definitions the reader will find are of various types. Some Icétôd words lend themselves easily to one-word, entirely accurate glosses, for example, *gʉɓɛ́rá-* as ‘leopard’. Others require a short phrase in English, for instance, *ƙóré-* as the ‘back of the knee’. Still others, the ones that are conceptually more distant from English, call for longer descriptions, as when *makúlí-* is defined as a ‘round grass beehive cover that goes over the end of a hollow beehive’.

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 *ƙɨ́dz-* ‘bite’ and Maltese Arabic *gidem* ‘bite’ and Uduk *kʼūcūr* ‘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 grains of sand are ground down by wind and water. Each 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 deeply rooted sense of history and identity can help give the Ik a sure footing as they transition into a nationally and globally minded society. As I ponder the future fate 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’ía and Soo/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 take place, at least this book would remain as a monument to a once noble language-mediated worldview.



Figure 1.1: Ik language area from an ‘Ik-centric’ perspective

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 scrappy 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 suggested by Figure 1.1, Icétôd can be viewed imaginatively from an ‘Ik-centric’ perspective as a ‘heart’ of East Africa. There it lies near the convergence of four East African nations: Uganda, South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Kenya. Over the centuries the Ik have migrated through and around each of these four nations. While they did so, their language absorbed words and grammar from the languages spoken there. So in a very real sense, Icétôd embodies the linguistic heritage of northern East Africa. Therefore, could it possibly 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 boughs over the Rift Valley escarpment in four directions to become a blessing to the neighboring nations? Only time will tell, but it is toward the fulfillment of that dream that this work on Icétôd has been expectantly brought forth.

* 1. Using the dictionary
     1. Writing system

The Icétôd script used in this dictionary and grammar sketch is based on what is called the Linguistic Orthography (LingO) as described in Schrock 2015. The LingO is a compromise between the simpler Popular Orthography (PopO) and a more scientific writing system. The main reason for choosing the LingO over the PopO is that the LingO encodes 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. LingO writing can easily be converted to PopO, but the reverse is not true, since it requires greater linguistic awareness.

The alphabetical order of Icétôd letters is given in (1) below. Note that the vowel pairs E/Ɛ, I/Ɨ, O/Ɔ, and U/Ʉ—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 speakers in finding 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 it. For the pronunciation of these letters, the reader is referred to §2.1 of the grammar sketch section.

1. Icétôd alphabetical order:

A B Ɓ C D Ɗ Dz E/Ɛ F G H Hy I/Ɨ J Jʼ K Ƙ L M N Ɲ Ŋ O/Ɔ P R S T Ts Tsʼ U/Ʉ W X Y Z (Ʒ)

* + 1. 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 at the back of the book. 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. In Icétôd, the citation form takes the nominative case (see §7.2). 2) The root or lexical form is in parentheses. It is hyphenated to show that it still needs a case ending, and it is the form on which to base all other case forms of this noun. This particular noun is also hyphenated in the middle to signify that it is a compound noun made of two parts (see §4.3 of the grammar). 3) This is an abbreviation for ‘plural’, indicating that the next item is the plural form of the headword. 4) This is the plural form of the singular headword *bàdìàm*. 5) This number (1) indicates that what follows is the first and primary sense or meaning of the headword. 6) This is an abbreviation of the grammatical category of the word, in this case *n.* for ‘noun’. 7) After the primary sense, one or more other senses of the word may be added. 8) After the senses, one or more notes may mention further information about the entry, for example cultural details or suggestions for synonyms or near-synonyms.

**1bàdìàm** 2(bàdì-àmà-)3*pl.* 4badiikᵃ 51) 6*n.* sorcerer, wizard 72) anything spooky, weird, or uncanny | 8The concept of *bàdìàm* includes nocturnal animals like bats, hyenas, and owls that have strange characteristics... tobacco is also called *bàdìàm* because its strong physiological effects are not attributable to human agency.

A typical verb entry has similar components but also some different ones: 1) Same as nouns, the verbal headword is shown in bold typeface. This is the citation form of the verb, which in Icétôd appears in the infinitive form and nominative case (see §8.2 in the grammar). As an infinitive, the verb is acting as a noun at this point, much like ‘to go’ or ‘going’ in English. To use an Icétôd infinitive as a verb, simply remove the infinitive suffix (either *ònì-* or *ésí-*) and use the appropriate suffixes (see §8.7). 2) Then, the form in the parentheses is the lexical form of the infinitival headword, the one that is the base for all other case-inflected forms of the verb. 3) This number (1) indicates that what follows is the first and primary sense or meaning of the headword. 4) This is an abbreviation of the grammatical category of the headword, in this case *v.* for ‘verb’. 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.

**1betsínón** 2(betsínónì-) 31) 4*v.* to be awkward, gauche, inept 52) to be left-handed, sinistral | 6See also *ɨɓaŋɨ́ɓáŋɔ̀n*.

Over a hundred Icétôd verb roots end in /a/, /e/, or /ɛ/, meaning that when an infinitive suffix is added to the root, these root-final vowels are assimilated (see §2.4.4). For example, though the root for ‘miss’ is *ɨsá-*, the infinitive form is *ɨsɛɛs*, obscuring the root-final vowel. Lest the dictionary user hear a form of the root *ɨsá-* in speech and then fail to deduce its infinitive *ɨsɛɛs*, both root and infinitive have been listed in the dictionary. The entry for *ɨsá-* includes the formulism (<ɨsɛɛs) which indicates that *ɨsɛɛs* is the entry the user should go to for the definition. Conversely, the entry for *ɨsɛɛs* ‘to miss’ includes both the lexical form of the infinitive and the bare root, as in **ɨsɛɛs**(ɨsɛɛsɨ́-/ɨsá-).

* + 1. Tips for finding words

Finally, because many Icétôd words have more than one form and because many of them can be spelled in multiple ways, let me offer the user a few tips for locating polymorphous words in the dictionary:

* If you are looking up a verb beginning with /i/ or /ɨ/ and cannot find it, remove the /i/ or /ɨ/ and try again. Conversely, if you are looking up a verb and cannot find it, try adding an /i/ or /ɨ/ 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/, /ʉ/, or /u/. Conversely, if you are looking up a word beginning with /ɔ/, /o/, /ʉ/, or /u/ and cannot find it, try adding a /w/ before the vowel.
* 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 /tsʼ/ and vice versa.
* If you are looking up a word beginning with /dz/ and cannot find it, try replacing it with /ts/ or /tsʼ/ and vice versa.
* If you are looking up a word beginning with /d/ and cannot find it, try replacing it with /ɗ/ or /t/ and vice versa.
* If you are looking up a word beginning with /g/ and cannot find it, try replacing it with /ƙ/ or /ŋ/ and vice versa.
* If you are looking up a word containing the vowels /e, i, o, u/ and cannot find it, try replacing the vowel with /ɛ, ɨ, ɔ, ʉ/.

1. Introduction

Although the bulk of this book is dedicated to the Icétôd-English dictionary and English-Icétôd reversal index, the following section offers an overview sketch of Icétôd grammar. The sketch covers most important features of the grammatical system but only to a shallow depth. Those who wish to dig deeper are encouraged to consult the fuller treatment published as *A grammar of Icé-tód: Northeast Uganda’s last thriving Kuliak language* (Schrock 2014), which is freely available for download from several websites on the internet.

Linguistic concepts are most easily defined with linguistic terminology. Thus, due to limitations of time and space, this sketch of Icétôd grammar is geared in style toward the general linguist. That said, an aim has been to clearly define some of the key terms used and to describe the grammatical structures in simple, clear language. Unfortunately, some of the discussion may remain opaque to any non-linguist readers. For this, I offer my sincere apologies. I am very willing to clarify or explain in layman’s terms any point raised in this grammar sketch. Feel free to contact me at: [betsoniik@gmail.com](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 shallow dip into syntax. Because of its length, technical discussion, and many sections and subsections, the sketch is probably most useful as a reference tool. However, should the reader (especially the language-learner) have time, it may prove beneficial to read the sketch from front to back. Doing so would provide a bird’s-eye view of the whole system.

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

1. Phonology: the sound system
   1. Consonants and vowels

Icétôd has an array of thirty consonants and nine vowels. These are presented in Table 2.1 below. In the table’s first column are shown the alphabetical letters used to represent these sounds. The second column shows the phonetic symbol for the sound used by the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Then in the third column, an approximate English equivalent is given in bold typeface, or else an explanation of how the sound is made if there is no English approximation:

Table 2.1: Icétôd sound inventory

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Alphabetic | Phonetic | English equivalent |
| Aa | [a] | as in ‘f**a**ther’ |
| Bb | [b] | as in ‘**b**oy’ |
| Ɓɓ | [ɓ] | as an English **b** but with air sucked in |
| Cc | [tʃ] | as in ‘**ch**ild’ |
| Dd | [d̻] | as in ‘**d**aughter’ |
| Ɗɗ | [ɗ] | as an English **d** but with air sucked in |
| Dzdz | [ʣ̻] | as in ‘a**dz**e’ |
| Ee | [e] | as in ‘b**ai**t’ with a shorter, crisper sound |
| Ɛɛ | [ɛ] | as in ‘b**e**t’ |
| Ff | [f] | as in ‘**f**ood’ |
| Gg | [ɡ] | as in ‘**g**ood’ |
| Hh | [h] | as in ‘**h**appy’ |
| Hyɦy | [ɦʲ] | as an English **h** but with a raspy sound |
| Ii | [i] | as in ‘b**ea**t’ with a shorter, crisper sound |
| Ɨɨ | [ɪ] | as in ‘b**i**t’ |
| Jj | [ʤ] | as in ‘**j**oy’ |
| Jʼʝ | [ʄ] | as a **dy** sound but with air sucked in |
| Kk | [k] | as in ‘**k**arma’ |
| Ƙƙ | [kʼ]  [ɠ] | 1) as an English **k** with a popping release  2) as an English **g** with air sucked in |
| Ll | [l] | as in ‘**l**ove’ |
| Mm | [m] | as in ‘**m**an’ |
| Nn | [n̻] | as in ‘**n**ature’ |
| Ɲɲ | [ɲ] | as in ‘o**ni**on’ |
| Ŋŋ | [ŋ] | as in ‘si**ng**’ |
| Oo | [o] | as in ‘b**oa**t’ with a shorter, crisper sound |
| Ɔɔ | [ɔ] | as in ‘b**ough**t’ |
| Pp | [p] | as in ‘**p**lay’ |
| Rr | [ɾ]  [r] | 1) as a Spanish or Swahili flapped **r**  2) as a Spanish or Swahili trilled **r** |
| Ss | [s] | as in ‘**s**orrow’ |
| Tsts | [ʦ] | as in ‘bli**tz**’ |
| Tsʼtsʼ | [ʦʼ] | as an English **ts**/**tz** with a hissing release |
| Tt | [t̻] | as in ‘**t**error’ |
| Uu | [u] | as in ‘b**oo**t’ |
| Ʉʉ | [ʊ] | as in ‘p**u**t’ |
| Ww | [w] | as in ‘**w**onder’ |
| Xx | [ʃ] | as in ‘**sh**oulder’ |
| Yy | [j] | as in ‘**y**es’ |
| Zz | [z] | as in ‘**z**ebra’ |
| Ʒʒ | [ʒ] | as in ‘plea**s**ure’ |

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 [d̻], [n̻], and [t̻] are affected; sometimes they are fronted so much they touch the back of the front teeth. It is important not to pronounce [d̻] exactly like and an English ‘d’ as this sounds more like the Icétôd sound [ɗ] which contrasts with [d̻]. The sounds [ɓ, ɗ, ɠ, ʝ] are called imposives because they are made by ‘imploding’ or sucking air into the mouth rather than expelling air from the lungs. The sounds [kʼ] and [tsʼ] are called ejectives because they are made by ejecting air from the throat cavity instead of from the lungs. Lastly, the sound [ɦʲ], unlike an [h], is made with the vocal chords vibrating, giving it a raspy, throaty sound. It only occurs at the beginning of words. The nine Icétôd vowels—[a, e, ɛ, i, ɪ, ɔ, o, ʊ, u]—operate in a vowel harmony system, which is discussed in §2.5.

* 1. Consonant devoicing

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

* 1. Vowel devoicing

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

* 1. Morphophonology
     1. Deaffrication

The affricates /c/ and /j/ are sometimes deaffricated or ‘hardened’ into their non-affricate counterparts /k/ and /g/, respectively. This is not a general phonological tendency in the language but is, rather, limited to a small handful of words. Moreover, the principle is applied in different ways to different words. For instance, in the word *muceé-* ‘path, way’, the /c/ is hardened to /k/ when the word is used in the instrumental case (see §7.7): *muko* ‘on the way’. The plural inclusive pronoun *ɲjíní-* ‘we all (including addressees)’ is pronounced idiosyncratically as *ŋgíní-* 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 later in §2.4.3, cases have non-final and final forms:

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

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

* + 1. Haplology

In Icétôd, when a consonant in one morpheme is made at the same place of articulation as a consonant in the next morpheme, haplology may occur—the deletion of the first of the two similar consonants. One example of this involves the venitive suffix {-ét-} and the andative suffix {-uƙot-}, both of which end in /t/. If another suffix containing alveolar /t/, /d/, or /s/ is attached to either of these, their final /t/ may be omitted. To illustrate this, Table 2.3 below presents a conjugation of the verb *ŋatɛ́tɔ́n* ‘to run this way’. Notice how the /t/ in {-ét-} disappears from the suffix in the forms for 2sg (‘you’), 1pl.inc (‘we all’), and 2pl (‘you all’). The 3pl form (‘they’) is an exception as it does not drop its final /t/ in the same environment:

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

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1sg | ŋat-ɛt-ɨ́ |  | ŋat-ɛt-ɨ́ | ‘I run this way.’ |
| 2sg | ŋat-ɛ́t-ɨ̂d | → | ŋat-ɛ́-ɨ̂d | ‘You run this way.’ |
| 3sg | ŋat-ɛt |  | ŋat-ɛt | ‘S/he runs this way.’ |
| 1pl.exc | ŋat-ɛt-ɨ́m |  | ŋat-ɛt-ɨ́m | ‘We run this way.’ |
| 1pl.inc | ŋat-ɛt-ɨ́sɨ́n | → | ŋat-ɛ-ɨ́sɨ́n | ‘We all run this way.’ |
| 2pl | ŋat-ɛ́t-ɨ́t | → | ŋat-ɛ́-ɨ́t | ‘You all run this way.’ |
| 3pl | ŋat-ɛt-át |  | ŋat-ɛt-át | ‘They run this way.’ |

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

Table 2.4: Haplology in verbs ending in a velar consonant

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

* + 1. 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. 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 that is fully present in the uf and the ff:

Table 2.5: Consonant deletion in non-final forms

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| uf | nf | ff | Morpheme description |
| -ka | -a | -kᵃ | accusative case suffix |
| -ke | -e | -kᵉ | dative case suffix |
| -ko | -o | -kᵒ | copulative case suffix |
| - ́ka | - ́a | - ́kᵃ | present perfect suffix |
| - ́de | - ́e | - ́dᵉ | dummy pronoun suffix |
| nákà | náà | nákᵃ | ‘earlier today’ |
| bàtsè | bèè | bàtsᵉ | ‘yesterday’ |
| nòkò | nòò | nòkᵒ | ‘long ago’ |
| ʝɨ̀kɛ̀ | ʝɨ̀ɨ̀ | ʝɨ̀kᵋ | ‘also, too’ |
| ɲákà | ɲáà | ɲákᵃ | ‘just’ |

* + 1. Vowel assimilation

In addition to consonants, Icétôd vowels also undergo phonological changes at the boundaries of morphemes. For instance, when two dissimilar vowels come in contact with each other as a result of two morphemes joining together, there is a powerful urge for them to become more like each other. This vowel assimilation was already seen at work in Table 2.4, as when putting the root *torík-* ‘lead’ and affix *-uƙot-* ‘away’ together led to *torííƙot-* instead of \**toríúƙot-*. It is also seen in Table 2.5 where the ‘yester-’ adverb *bàtsè* becomes *bèè* in its non-final form instead of \**bàè*. Icétôd vowel assimilation only takes place between morphemes and not inside morphemes. Inside morphemes, many combinations of dissimilar vowels are allowed, for example in *kaɨn* ‘year’, *mɛ̀ʉ̀r* ‘drongo’, and *kɔɨ́n* ‘scent’.

Icétôd vowel assimilation can be clearly seen throughout the lexicon, as when the transitive infinitive suffix {-és} and the intransitive infinitive suffix {-òn} are affixed to verb roots. If the verb root ends in /a/ or /e/, the vowel of the suffix fully assimilates it. Table 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’ |
| ɨsá-és | → | ɨsɛɛs | ‘to miss’ |
| ɨtɨ́ŋá-és | → | ɨtɨ́ŋɛ́ɛ́s | ‘to force’ |
| tamá-és | → | tamɛɛs | ‘to extol’ |
| wa-és | → | weés | ‘to harvest’ |
| Intransitive |  |  |  |
| ƙà-òn | → | ƙòòn | ‘to go’ |
| ŋká-ón | → | ŋkóón | ‘to stand up’ |
| tsá-ón | → | tsóón | ‘to be dry’ |
| tsè-òn | → | tsòòn | ‘to dawn’ |
| zè-òn | → | zòòn | ‘to be big’ |

Another environment illustrating Icétôd vowel assimilation is the case declension of nouns. Since all Icétôd nouns end in a vowel, and since seven of the eight case suffixes consist of or contain a vowel, case suffixation creates a fertile ground for vowel assimilation. For example, as Table 2.7 shows below, in the declension of the noun root *ŋókí-* ‘dog’, the /o/ in the ablative case suffix {-o} and the copulative case suffix {-ko} partially assimilate the final /i/ of *ŋókí-* to /u/:

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

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

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

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Case | nf | ff |
| Nominative | ŋʉr-a | ŋʉr-Ø |
| Accusative | ŋʉrá-á | ŋʉrá-kᵃ |
| Dative | ŋʉrɛ́-ɛ́ | ŋʉrá-kᵋ |
| Genitive | ŋʉrɛ́-ɛ́ | ŋʉrá-ᵋ |
| Ablative | ŋʉrɔ́-ɔ́ | ŋʉrá-ᵓ |
| Instrumental | ŋʉr-ɔ | ŋʉr-ᵓ |
| Copulative | ŋʉrɔ́-ɔ́ | ŋʉrá-kᵓ |
| Oblique | ŋʉra | ŋʉr |

Icétôd vowel assimilation may be partial, as when the form *ŋókí-kᵒ* ‘It is a dog’ is rendered as *ŋókú-kᵒ*. There, the /i/ at the end of *ŋókí-* ‘dog’ only moves back in the mouth to become /u/; it does not fully assimilate to become identical to the /o/ in the suffix. But vowel assimilation can also be total, as when *ŋʉrá-ɛ́* ‘of the cane rat’ becomes *ŋʉrɛ́-ɛ́*. In that case, the /a/ at the end of *ŋʉrá*- becomes identical to the vowel in the suffix. Icétôd vowel harmony can also be regressive as in both of these examples, where a vowel exerts pressure on a preceding noun. But it can also be progressive, as in the example of *torí-úƙot-* becoming *torí-íƙot*-, where the /i/ acts ahead on the /u/.

* + 1. Vowel desyllabification

When the back-of-the-mouth vowels /ɔ/, /o/, /ʉ/ or /u/ wind up next to another vowel across a morpheme boundary, the back vowel may lose its status as the nucleus of a syllable and become the semi-vowel /w/ instead. When this vowel desyllabification occurs, the syllabic ‘weight’ of the vowel gets transferred to the following vowel in a process called compensatory lengthening. This is evident, for example, in the transitive infinitives of verbs ending in a back vowel. Table 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

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| tʉtsʉ-ɛs | → | tʉtswɛɛs | ‘to wring’ |
| rɔ́-ɛ́ | → | rwɛ́ɛ́s | ‘to string’ |
| ho-és | → | hweés | ‘to cut’ |
| ó-és | → | wéés | ‘to call’ |
| ru-és | → | rweés | ‘to uproot’ |

Vowel desyllabification also takes place in the case declensions of nouns. Any noun root that ends in a back vowel can have that vowel desyllabified to /w/, with the result that the case suffix is lengthened. As Table 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 |  |  |

* 1. Vowel harmony

Icétôd vowels participate in a system of vowel harmony. This means that the language’s sound system seeks vocalic ‘harmony’ by ensuring that all vowels in a single word belong to the same vowel class. The vowel classes involved are the following: 1) the [+ATR] or ‘heavy’ vowels /i, e, o, u/ that are made with a larger cavity in the throat, giving them a ‘heavier’, more resonant sound, and 2) the [-ATR] or ‘light’ vowels /ɨ, ɛ, ɔ, ʉ/ that are made with a smaller cavity in the throat, giving them a ‘lighter’, less resonant sound. Where the ninth vowel /a/ fits in with these two classes is a theoretical question that has not been conclusively resolved. However, it is clear is that in Icétôd, /a/ sometimes behaves as a [+ATR] vowel and other times as a [-ATR] vowel. And it certainly is found together with vowels from both classes within a single word. The Icétôd vowel classes anchored by the low vowel /a/ are depicted below in Table 2.11:

Table 2.11: Icétôd vowel classes

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| [+ATR] | |  | [-ATR] | |
| i | u |  | ɨ | ʉ |
| e | o |  | ɛ | ɔ |
|  |  | a |  |  |

Generally speaking, because of vowel harmony, all the vowels in a single word will belong to one of the vowel classes shown in Table 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. Notice how all the vowels in each word belong to one vowel class:

Table 2.12: Vowel harmony in the lexicon

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| [+ATR] |  |
| béberés | ‘to pull’ |
| béberetés | ‘to pull this way’ |
| béberésúƙotᵃ | ‘to pull that way’ |
| [-ATR] |  |
| bɛ́ɗɛ́s | ‘to want’ |
| bɛɗɛtɛ́s | ‘to look for’ |
| bɛ́ɗɛ́sʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘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/

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| akwɛ́tɛ́kwɛ́t**án**ón | ‘to writhe around’ |
| ɓɛlɛ́ɓɛ́l**án**ón | ‘to be cracked’ |
| gɔ́lɔ́gɔl**án**ón | ‘to be crooked’ |
| ɨlɔ́ɗɨ́ŋ**án**ón | ‘to be discriminatory’ |
| ŋʉ́zʉm**án**ón | ‘to bicker’ |

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

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| abʉtɛs | ‘to sip’ | → | abut**i**és | ‘to sip continuously |
| kɔ̀nɔ̀n | ‘to be one’ | → | kón**í**ón | ‘to be one-by-one’ |
|  |  | → |  |  |
| ɨlɔɛs | ‘to defeat’ | → | ilo**im**étòn | ‘to be defeated’ |
| kɔkɛ́s | ‘to close’ | → | kok**ím**étòn | ‘to close (alone)’ |
|  |  | → |  |  |
| ɔrɔr | ‘stream’ | → | orór**íkw**ᵃ | ‘streams’ |
| wɛ̀l | ‘opening’ | → | wél**íkw**ᵃ | ‘openings’ |

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

* 1. Tone
     1. Tone inventory

Icétôd is a tonal language. In terms of acoustics, this means that every vowel is identified not only by where it is formed in the vocal chamber but also by the pitch with which it is uttered. This further entails the every syllable, morpheme, word, and phrase exhibits a specific and indispensable tone pattern. At a phonological (or psychological) level, Icétôd has just two tones: high (H) and low (L). All other tones that one hears can be traced back to these two. However, for more practical applications like orthography and language learning, four sub-tones must be recognized. These include: high, high-falling, mid, and low. High tone is pronounced with a level, relatively high pitch. High-falling tone falls quickly from relatively high to relatively low pitch, often in the presence of a depressor consonant (see §2.6.4 below). Mid tone is a level, relatively medium-height pitch, while low tone is either relatively low and flat or tapering off before a pause. Table 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 (the same diacritics employed throughout the foregoing dictionary sections):

Table 2.15: Icétôd tones

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Tone | Pitch | Symbol |
| high | [4] | Á á |
| high-falling | [j] | Â â |
| mid | [3] | A a |
| low | [2]/[a] | À à |

* + 1. Lexical tone

As mentioned above, every word in the Icétôd lexicon has a tone pattern or ‘melody’. That is, Icétôd words are not identified solely on the basis of consonants and vowels (as in non-tonal languages) but also on their tone pattern, which must be learned. Since every vowel and therefore every syllable bears a tone, the combination of many syllables in words produces a large variety of tone patterns. And since the tone pattern of a word is totally unpredictable, language learners must resort to memorizing the pattern with the word. Table 2.16 gives a sample of the lexical tone patterns on some short words in Icétôd:

Table 2.16: Icétôd lexical tone patterns

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

* + 1. 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 *kólíkwᵃ*. Similarly, when the venitive suffix {-ét-} is added to a verb stem, it often changes the overall tone pattern, as when *bɛ́ɗɛ́s* ‘to want’ becomes *bɛɗɛtɛ́s* ‘to look for’, whereby the tone of the root *bɛ́ɗ-* goes from high to mid. Indeed, many of the nominal and verbal suffixes of the language are associated with significant tone changes to the stem. So even if one learns the tonal melodies of nouns and verbs on their own, these melodies may change in particular grammatical contexts. This tone changeability is one of the system’s more difficult aspects.

The Icétôd tone system is challenging for foreigners and is not yet fully understood from an analytical point of view. Still, the good news is that with lots of practice, language learners can reasonably expect to develop a certain degree of communicative competency. For the most complete description of the tone system to date, the reader is invited to consult §3.2 in *A grammar of Icé-tód* (Schrock 2014). That section expands on what has been presented here and includes more detailed discussions of other features of the Icétôd tone system.

* + 1. 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: *dɛ́gɛ̀m-* ‘crouch’, *gʉ́gʉ̀r-* ‘hunched’, *íbòt-* ‘jump’, *kídzìm-* ‘descend’, and *tsʼágwà-* ‘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’, *ɛ́bà-* ‘horn’, *édì-* ‘name’, *nébù-* ‘body’, *wídzò-* ‘evening’, etc. And when these types of nouns lose their final vowel due to vowel devoicing, that is when the high-falling contour tone comes into play, as in *dɔ̂bᵃ* ‘mud’, *ɛ̂bᵃ* ‘horn’, *êdᵃ* ‘name’, *wîdzᵃ* ‘evening’, etc.

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

1. Morphology—the making of words
   1. Overview

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

Traditionally, languages are described as having word classes, that is, categories of morphemes that have certain characteristics. These classes include the familiar major ones like ‘nouns’ and ‘verbs’ but often several others as well. For the purposes of this grammar sketch, free-standing words and clitics are considered ‘words’, while affixes are not. In Icétôd, thirteen word classes are recognized and include the following: nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, 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, while a full list of Icétôd affixes can be found later in Appendix A.

* 1. Nouns

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

* 1. Pronouns

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

* 1. Demonstratives

Demonstratives form another closed word class, admitting no new members. They ‘demonstrate’ nouns by ‘pointing them out’, referring to them spatially, temporally, or discursively. They too make up less than 1% of the lexicon. Many Icétôd demonstratives have been analyzed as clitics: They seem sometimes to act like separate words, and yet in terms of vowel harmony, they act like suffixes. As clitics, they may be written connected to words in linguistic writing (with =), whereas in non-linguistic writing, they are written separately. For example, the phrase ‘these trees’ would be written as *dakwítína=ni* in linguistic publications and as *dakwítína ni* elsewhere. Icétôd has four kinds of demonstrative: spatial, temporal, anaphoric, and locative adverbial—all of which are covered in more detail in §6.

* 1. Quantifiers

As their name implies, quantifiers ‘quantify’ the nouns that precede them. That is, they are separate words that follow nouns and convey the general quantity of the noun in terms of allness, bothness, fewness, or manyness. Specific, numeric quantity is expressed by the numerals which are the topic of the next subsection. Icétôd quantifiers sometimes act more like numerals by directly following the noun they modify without an intervening relative pronoun, as in *wika ƙwaɗᵉ* ‘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 ƙwaɗᵉ* ‘children that (are) few’. In the former function as numerals, they have a distinct, perhaps more ancient root, as in *ƙwàɗè*, whereas in their function as adjectival verbs, they have a truncated root in a verbal infinitive, in this case *ƙwàɗ-òn* ‘to be few’. The eight known Icétôd quantifiers are given below in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Icétôd quantifiers

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Non-final | Final |  |
| ɗàŋɨ̀ɗàŋɨ̀ | ɗàŋɨ̀ɗàŋ | ‘all, entire, whole’ |
| mùɲù | mùɲ | ‘all, entire, whole’ |
| mùɲùmùɲù | mùɲùmùɲ | ‘all, entire, whole’ |
| tsɨ́ɗɨ̀ | tsɨ́ɗᶤ | ‘all, entire, whole’ |
| tsɨ́ɗɨtsɨ́ɗɨ̀ | tsɨ́ɗɨtsɨ́ɗᶤ | ‘all, entire, whole’ |
| ɡáí | ɡáí | ‘both’ |
| ƙwàɗè | ƙwàɗᵉ | ‘few’ |
| kòmà | kòm | ‘many’ |

* 1. Numerals

Numerals convey the specific number of the noun they modify. Icétôd has a quinary or ‘base-5’ counting system, meaning that it has words for the numbers 1-5 and then builds numbers 6-9 by adding the appropriate number to 5, as in *tude ńda kiɗi tsʼagús* ‘five and those four’, which is 9. The number 10 is not a numeral, but the noun *toomíní-*. Icétôd numerals directly follow the noun they modify, without an intervening relative pronoun. Just as the quantifiers *ƙwàɗè* ‘few’ and *kòmà* ‘many’ can function as verbs, the numerals 1-5 can also function as verbs. Table 3.2 presents Icétôd numerals 1-9:

Table 3.2: Icétôd numerals

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| # | Non-final | Final |  |
| 1 | kɔ̀nà | kɔ̀n | ‘one’ |
| 2 | lèɓètsè | lèɓètsᵉ | ‘two’ |
| 3 | àɗè | àɗᵉ | ‘three’ |
| 4 | tsʼagúsé | tsʼagús | ‘four’ |
| 5 | tùdè | tùdᵉ | ‘five’ |
| 6 | tude ńdà kɛ̀ɗɨ̀ kɔ̀n | ...ńdà kɛ̀ɗɨ̀ kɔ̀n | ‘five and one’ |
| 7 | tude ńda kiɗi léɓètsè | ...ńda kiɗi léɓètsᵉ | ‘five and two’ |
| 8 | tude ńdà kìɗì àɗè | ...ńdà kìɗì àɗᵉ | ‘five and three’ |
| 9 | tude ńda kiɗi tsʼagúsé | ...ńda kiɗi tsʼagús | ‘five and four’ |

To form numbers 11-19, Icétôd builds off the noun *toomíní-* ‘ten’ and then repeats the quinary system shown above in Table 3.2. For example, the number 17 is expressed as *toomín ńda kiɗi túde ńda kiɗi léɓètsᵉ* ‘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 léɓètsᵉ* ‘ten-eye two’, which is 20. The numbers for 100 (*ŋamɨ́áɨ̀-*) and 1,000 (*álìfù-*) have both been borrowed from Swahili.

* 1. 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 |
| nàpèì | ‘from, since’ | ablative |
| ɗɨ́tá | ‘as, like’ | genitive |
| nɛ́ɛ́ | ‘from, through’ | genitive |
| akánɨ́ | ‘until, up to’ | oblique |
| àkɨ̀lɔ̀ | ‘instead of’ | oblique |
| gònè | ‘until, up to’ | oblique |
| ikóteré | ‘because of’ | oblique |
| ńdà | ‘and, with’ | oblique |
| pákà | ‘until, up to’ | oblique |
| tònì | ‘even’ | oblique |

The following example sentences offer an opportunity to see the prepositions from Table 3.3 above in natural language contexts:

1. *napei Kaaɓɔ́ŋʉɔ páka awᵃ*

from Kaabong:abl up.to home:obl

‘from Kaabong up to home’

1. *Gógese tufúlá ɗɨ́tá rié.*

peg:pass field.rat:nom like goat:gen

‘And the field rat is pegged up like a goat.’

1. *Atsía nɛ́ɛ́ Tímuaƙwɛɛ nɛ.*

come:1sg from Timu:inside:gen that

‘I’m coming from within Timu there.’

1. *Hoɗuƙotᵉ, akɨlɔ cɛɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtᶤ.*

set.free:imp instead.of killing:obl

‘Set (him) free instead of killing (him).’

1. *Duƙotuo gone hoo déé.*

take:seq up.to hut:obl that

‘And she took (it) up to that hut.’

1. *Ƙáátaa Tábayɛɛ ikóteré ɲɛ̀ƙᵋ.*

go:3pl:prf West:dat because.of hunger:obl

‘They’ve gone west because of hunger.’

1. *tɛwɛɛsa kɔlɨlɨ́ɛ́ ńda lomuƙeⁱ*

sow:inf:nom cucumber:gen and squash:obl

‘the sowing of cucumber and squash’

1. *toni Pakóíce ʝɨk, góƙánɨkɛ̂dᵋ*

even Turkanas:obl also seated:ips:sim:dp

‘even the Turkanas as well, (were) staying there’

* 1. 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 *gwɛrɛʝɛ́ʝ-* ‘be coarse’, or reduplicated like *diridír-* ‘be sugary’ and *ɨpɨrɨ́pɨ́r-* ‘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 *soƙórítiísínàkᵃ* ‘we all have clawed’ and *zeikááƙotinîdᵉ* ‘and they all grew large there’. Among the many suffixes that can derive nouns from verbs or inflect verbs for different meanings, there are: deverbatives, subject-agreement markers, directionals, the dummy pronominal, modals, aspectuals, voice and valency changers, and adjectivals. All these verb-related topics (and others) are treated more fully later on in §8.

* 1. Adverbs

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

* 1. Ideophones

Ideophones form a word class that is characterized by highly expressive words that denote physical phenomena like color, motion, sound, shape, volume, etc. They are often ‘sound-symbolic’ or onomatopoeic. That means just the sound of them as they are pronounced evokes the physical perception they signify. For example, the ideophone *bùlùƙᵘ* means ‘the sound something makes when dropping into water’, like ‘splashǃ’ or ‘kersplunkǃ’ in English. At present, one hundred forty Icétôd ideophones (1.6% of total) have been recorded, but there are most certainly many more in the language. And they are probably continually created. Table 3.4 offers a sample of the variety of Icétôd ideophones that are recognized:

Table 3.4: Icétôd ideophones

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Animal sounds |  |
| bèrrr | ‘baaaǃ’ |
| buúù | ‘moooǃ’ |
| ƙútú | ‘cluckǃ’ |
| Other sounds |  |
| ɓɛkɛ | ‘snapǃ’ |
| gʉ̀lʉ̀ʝʉ̀ | ‘gulpǃ’ |
| pùsù | ‘plopǃ’ |
| Colors |  |
| pàkì | ‘pure white’ |
| tíkí | ‘pitch black’ |
| tsònì | ‘blood red’ |
| Attributes |  |
| ɓa | ‘unliftably heavy’ |
| dùù | ‘very deep’ |
| tsɛ̀kɛ̀ | ‘completely full’ |

* 1. Interjections

Like adverbs, interjections form a bit of a catch-all word class. Interjections include any word expressing emotions or mental states of any kind, usually outside the grammar of the sentence. The roughly thirty Icétôd interjections that have been recorded make up less than 1% of the total lexicon. Icétôd interjections may consist of a single word like *aaii* ‘ouchǃ’ or *wúlù* ‘yikesǃ’ or a short phrase like *wika ni* ‘these kids (I tell you)ǃ’ or *tɨ́ɔ ʝɔ́ɔ̀* ‘there, there (it’s okay)ǃ’. Several other interjections are provided below in Table 3.5:

Table 3.5: Icétôd interjections

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| ee Ɲakuʝᵃ | ‘oh my Godǃ’ |
| ee/éé | ‘yeah, yes’ |
| hà | ‘whateverǃ’ |
| maráŋ | ‘fine, okayǃ’ |
| ɲɔto ni | ‘these guys (I tell you)ǃ’ |
| ne | ‘here you goǃ’ |
| ńtóo(n)dó | ‘nah, no’ |
| otí | ‘whoaǃ’ |
| wóí | ‘aahhǃ’ |
| yóói | ‘uh-huh..sureǃ’ |

* 1. Nursery words

Nursery words make up a small class of one-word expressions—only ten recorded so far—that act as commands or encouragements to babies or toddlers to do something. The ten Icétôd nursery words on record are lain out below in Table 3.6 with English approximations:

Table 3.6: Icétôd nursery words

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| bubú | ‘nighty-night’ | for going to sleep |
| ɓá | ‘yummy’ | for eating |
| dɪ́ | ‘poo’ | for defecating |
| dʊʊdʊ́ | ‘sitty-sit’ | for sitting down |
| kó | ‘wa-wa’ | for drinking water |
| kɔkɔ́ | ‘no-no’ | for not touching |
| kukú | ‘up-up’ | for riding on mother’s back |
| kwàà | ‘pee’ | for urinating |
| mamá | ‘yum-yum’ | for eating |
| nʊʊnʊ́ | ‘yum-yum’ | for breastfeeding |

* 1. Complementizers

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

1. *Hyeíá toimɛna mɨtɨ́da bɔnán.*

know:1sg that:nom be:2sg orphan:obl

‘I know that you are an orphan.’

1. *Kʉta ɲ́cie taa iya ɲjíníkiʝa kɔ́ɔ́kɛ.*

say:3sg I:dat that be:3sg we:land:nom there

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

* 1. Connectives

Connectives (also known as ‘conjunctions’) are words whose function is to join together other words, phrases, or clauses. If they are coordinating connectives like *ńdà* ‘and’, then they join grammatical units of equal status, like a word to a word, or an independent clause to another independent one. Whereas if they are subordinating connectives like *na* ‘if’, they join grammatical units of unequal status, usually a dependent clause to an independent one. Even though their role is to link grammatical units, not all of them come between the units they link. Many come before both, often as the first word in the sentence. Icétôd has roughly eight coordinating connectives and thirty subordinating ones—making up less than 1% of the lexicon. The coordinating connectives are presented in Table 3.7, while Table 3.8 offers a representative sampling of the subordinating connectives:

Table 3.7: Icétôd coordinating connectives

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| kèɗè | ‘or’ |
| kɨ́ná | ‘and then, so then, then’ |
| kòrì | ‘or’ |
| kòtò | ‘and, but, so, then, therefore’ |
| mɨ́sɨ...mɨ́sɨ... | ‘either...or...’ |
| náàtì | ‘and then’ |
| naɓó | ‘furthermore, moreover’ |
| ńdà | ‘and’ |

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

1. *Tábayɔɔ keɗe Fetíékù?*

West:abl or East:abl

‘From the West or from the East?’

1. *Ɨʉ́mʉƙɔtɨakôdᵉ....*

marry.forcibly:1sg:seq:dp

‘And from there I took (her) away as my wife....’

*Moo koto sáɓánɨ ínóà?*

not:seq but kill:ips animal:nom

‘But was an animal not killed (as a nuptial offering)?’

1. *Sáɓese basaúr ńda kotsana cue.*

kill:sps eland:nom and fetch:ips water:nom

‘Elands were killed, and water was fetched.’

In contrast to the coordinating connectives shown in Table 3.7 and examples (11)-(13), *sub*ordinating connectives join units of unequal status, usually a subordinate (dependent) clause to a main one. Table 3.8 provides a representative sample of the thirty Icétôd subordinating connectives, while examples (14)-(16) below illustrate the function of some of these connectives in a few natural-language environments.

Table 3.8: Icétôd subordinating connectives

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| átà | ‘even (if)’ |
| ɗɛ̀mʉ̀sʉ̀ | ‘before, unless, until’ |
| ikóteré | ‘because’ |
| kánɨ̀ | ‘in order that, so that’ |
| mɨ́sɨ̀ | ‘if, whether’ |
| na= | ‘if, when’ |
| náà | ‘when (earlier today)’ |
| nàpèì | ‘since’ |
| nɛ́ɛ́ | ‘if, when’ |
| nòò | ‘when (long ago)’ |
| nótsò | ‘when (a while ago)’ |
| pákà | ‘until’ |
| sɨ̀nà | ‘when (yester-)’ |
| tònì | ‘even’ |

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

1. *Ɗɛmʉsʉ Pakóíce deti riékᵃ,*

before Turkanas:obl bring goats:acc

‘Before the Turkanas brought goats,

*isio noo ŋábìàn?*

what:cop pst3 wear:plur:ips

what was typically worn (as clothing)?’

1. *Mɨ́sɨ ɨtáána basaúrékᵉ, sáɓes.*

if reach:ips eland:dat kill:sps

‘If they reach the eland, it is killed.’

1. *Na átsikᵉ, zɛ́ƙwɛ́tɔɔ nayéé na.*

when come:3sg:sim sit:3sg:seq here this

‘When she came, she sat down here.’

1. Nouns
   1. Overview

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

Icétôd number suffixes include pluratives and singulatives. Many noun roots can be pluralized if they are inherently singular in number. A few others can be singularized because they are inherently plural. In addition to these standard number-markers, Icétôd also has special possessive number suffixes that combine the notions of number and possession into one suffix—singular or plural. And yet other nouns are mass nouns, naming entities in the world perceived as inherently plural unities (like dust or water). These take no suffixes but are treated grammatically as plurals. Finally, some nouns are transnumeral, meaning they can be construed as singular or plural and given the appropriate singular or plural modifiers, if needed.

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

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

* 1. Number
     1. Pluratives (plur)

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

The use of {-íkó-} is strictly limited to a relatively small number of nouns (roughly 100); it is not applied to newly borrowed nouns. Table 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. Notice also that in some cases the suffix alters the tone of the singular root:

Table 4.1: The plurative suffix {-íkó-}

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Singular |  | Plural |  |
| abérí- | → | áberaikó- | ‘active termite colonies’ |
| baratsó- | → | barátsíkó- | ‘mornings’ |
| cúrúkù- | → | cúrúkaikó- | ‘bulls’ |
| kɔrɔ́bɛ̀- | → | kɔrɔ́baikó- | ‘calves’ |
| ƙwɛsɛ́ɛ̀- | → | ƙwéséikó- | ‘broken gourds’ |
| mɔƙɔrɔ́- | → | moƙóríkó- | ‘rock wells’ |
| taɓá- | → | taɓíkó- | ‘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 disyllabic nouns pluralized with {-ítíní-}. Notice that if the singular noun has [-ATR] vowels, then the plurative suffix harmonizes to {-ɨ́tɨ́nɨ́-}. 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- | → | akɨtɨ́nɨ́- | ‘mouths’ |
| bòsì- | → | bositíní- | ‘ears’ |
| ɔ́ʝá- | → | ɔ́ʝɨ́tɨ́nɨ́- | ‘sores’ |
| ɗòlì | → | ɗólítíní- | ‘carcasses’ |
| ekú- | → | ekwitíní- | ‘eyes’ |
| ídò- | → | íditíní- | ‘breasts’ |
| tsʼʉ́bà- | → | tsʼʉ́bɨtɨ́nɨ́- | ‘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 {-ɨ̀kà-}. 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 |  |
| àgɨ̀tà- | → | ágɨ̀tɨ̀kà- | ‘metal ringlets’ |
| arírá- | → | aríríkà- | ‘flames’ |
| bàbàà- | → | bábàìkà- | ‘armpits’ |
| ɔfɔrɔƙɔ́- | → | ɔfɔ́rɔ́ƙɨ̀kà- | ‘dry honeycombs’ |
| kútúŋù- | → | kútúŋìkà- | ‘knees’ |
| ɲánɨnɔ́ɔ̀- | → | ɲánɨnɔ́ɨ̀kà- | ‘leather whips’ |
| ɲéƙúrumotí- | → | ɲéƙúrùmòtìkà- | ‘gullies’ |

Secondarily, the plurative {-ìkà-} is used to pluralize a handful of nouns that have only two syllables in their lexical root. Why these nouns do not take {-ítíní-} instead is not known. A bit of speculation might invoke the notion of mora or the unit of syllable weight. Among the seven examples shown in Table 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 (*kíʝá-* and *ríʝá-*), the /ʝ/ used to be a depressor. Regardless of the historical explanation, Table 4.4 presents a few examples of {-ìkà-} being used to pluralize disyllabic nouns:

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

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Singular |  | Plural |  |
| awá- | → | àwìkà- | ‘homes’ |
| gwasá- | → | gwàsìkà- | ‘stones’ |
| hòò- | → | hòìkà- | ‘huts’ |
| kíʝá- | → | kíʝíkà- | ‘lands’ |
| kwɛtá- | → | kwɛ̀tɨ̀kà- | ‘arms’ |
| ríʝá- | → | ríʝíkà- | ‘forests’ |
| sédà- | → | sédìkà- | ‘gardens’ |

* + 1. 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- | ↔ | ròɓà- | ‘people’ |
| eakwá- | ↔ | ɲɔtɔ́- | ‘men’ |
| imá- | ↔ | wicé- | ‘children’ |
| cekí- | ↔ | cɨkámá- | ‘women’ |
| ɗɨ- | ↔ | ɗi- | ‘ones’ |
| kɔ́rɔ́ɓádì- | ↔ | kúrúɓádì- | ‘things’ |

* + 1. Singulatives (sing)

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 contemporary grammar of the modern language, and that is {-àmà-} or {-ɔ̀mà-}. Since this singulative is only used with personal entities, it seems likely that it is related etymologically 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 altered by the tone of the plural root:

Table 4.6: The Icétôd singulative {-àmà-}

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Plural |  | Singular |  |
| ʝáká- | → | ʝákámà- | ‘elder’ |
| kéà- | → | kéàmà- | ‘soldier’ |
| lɔŋɔ́tá- | → | lɔŋɔ́tɔ́mà- | ‘enemy’ |
| ŋɨ́mɔ́kɔ́kaá- | → | ŋɨ́mɔ́kɔká-ámà- | ‘young man’ |

* + 1. Possessive number suffixes (poss)

In addition to standard 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—each fuse the notions of number and possession into one morpheme. When they are affixed to a noun stem, they specify a) the grammatical number of the noun stem and b) its association with another entity (hence the ‘possession’). They do not specify the number of the possessing entity. For example, the word *akedᵃ*, a stem consisting of *aká-* ‘den’ and {-èdè-} (in the nominative case) can mean both ‘its den’ or ‘their den’. And the word *akɨn*, consisting of *aká-* ‘den’ and {-ìnì-} (in the nominative case), can mean either ‘its dens’ or ‘their dens’.

Within the broad notion of ‘possession’, the possessive number suffixes {-èdè-} and {-ìnì-} can signify more specific semantic relationships like part-whole, kinship, and association. Table 4.7 gives some examples of {-èdè-} expressing a part-whole relationship with the unnamed entity. Note how the meanings of the noun roots are extended metaphorically to denote structural parts of things. Note also that the tone of the root may be altered in the presence of {-èdè-}:

Table 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 {-ìnì-} has two special applications with human possessors. In the first, it is used to pluralize kinship terms, where a kinship association is explicitly implied. In the second, it refers to people associated with a certain person in general terms. Table 4.8 illustrates both of these nuances, showing the singular root in the first column, and in the second, the root inflected with {-ìnì-}:

Table 4.8: The Icétôd plural possessive {-ìnì-}

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Kinship |  |  |  |
| abáŋɨ̀- | → | abáŋɨ́nɨ́- | ‘my fathers (uncles)’ |
| dádòò- | → | dádoíní- | ‘your grandmothers’ |
| ŋɔ́ɔ̀- | → | ŋɔ́ɨ́nɨ́- | ‘your mothers’ |
| tátàà- | → | tátaíní- | ‘my aunts’ |
| wicé- | → | wikini- | ‘his/her/their/its children’ |
| Association |  |  |  |
| Àɗùpàà- | → | Aɗupaíní- | ‘the people of Aɗupa’ |
| Dakáɨ̀- | → | Dakáɨnɨ́- | ‘the people of Dakai’ |
| Lóʝérèè- | → | Lóʝéreíní- | ‘the people of Loʝere’ |
| Ŋirikoó- | → | Ŋirikoíní- | ‘the people of Ŋiriko’ |
| Tsɨláà- | → | Tsɨláɨnɨ́- | ‘the people of Tsila’ |

* + 1. 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 ni | ‘this flour’ |
| sèà- | ‘blood’ | sea ni | ‘this blood’ |
| tsʼúdè- | ‘smoke’ | tsʼúda ni | ‘this smoke’ |

* + 1. Transnumeral nouns

Another small group of Icétôd noun roots appear as inherently transnumeral, meaning that they can be singular or plural depending on what the speaker wants to communicate. Whatever number is imputed to them must be reflected in the grammar of the rest of the sentence, for example in subject-agreement on the verb or in any demonstratives or relative pronouns used to modify them. Icétôd transnumeral nouns cannot be pluralized in any of the ways discussed up to this point. But with the bound nominal morpheme *-icíká-* (see §4.3.4), they can be given a sense of distributiveness or variation. Table 4.10 presents three examples of Icétôd transnumeral nouns with their singular, plural, and distributive interpretations:

Table 4.10: Icétôd transnumeral nouns

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

* 1. Compounds

For word-building purposes, Icétôd relies heavily on compounding, joining two or more nouns together into a composite word. The first noun (or pronoun) in a compound retains its lexical root form (that is hyphenated throughout this book), including its lexical tone. The last noun in a compound takes whichever case ending the syntactic context calls for. For example, in the compound *riéwíkᵃ* ‘goat kids’, the first root *rié-* ‘goat’ keeps its lexical form, while the second, *wicé-* ‘children’, has been modified by the nominative case suffix {-ᵃ}. If compounding changes the tone of its constituent parts, it will be the first noun that affects the others. In the rare compound with three constituent nouns, the first two stay in their lexical form (not counting tone), while the third is inflected for case, for example in *Icémóríɗókàkà-* ‘cowpea leaves’, a compound of *Icé-* ‘Ik’, *mòrìɗò-* ‘beans’, and *kaká-* ‘leaves’. In *Icé-móríɗó-kàkà-*, note that while the last two elements retain their lexical segments, their tone patterns have changed dramatically due to the influence of *Icé-* in spreading H tone.

Icétôd compounds create two kinds of new meaning: 1) a narrower, more specific meaning in which the first noun specifies the second, or 2) a completely novel, unpredictable meaning. An example of the first type would be *bʉbʉnɔ́ɔ́ʝà-* ‘ember-wound’ or ‘bullet wound’ where the first noun *bʉbʉná-* ‘ember’ narrows down the possible references of *ɔ́ʝá-* ‘wound’ to a wound caused by a bullet. And an example of the second type of compounded meaning might be *óbiʝoetsʼí-* 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.

* + 1. Agentive (agt)

Icétôd forms agentive compounds by using the root *ámá-* ‘person’ (for singular) or *icé-* (for plural) as the last element in a compound. Although the root *icé-* simply means ‘Ik people’ when standing on its own, in the agentive construction it denotes plural agents. Here ‘agent’ is understood broadly as any person or thing that does or is whatever is characterized by the first element in the compound. The first element may be a noun, as in *dɛá-ámà-* ‘messenger’, literally ‘foot-person’, or a verb as in *ŋwàxɔ̀nɨ̀-àmà-* ‘lame person’, literally ‘to be lame-person’. Note, however, that even though *ŋwàxɔ̀n* is a verb semantically, it has been deverbalized into a noun by the infinitive suffix {-òn}. Icétôd agentive compounds can be translated into English in various ways, depending on what is appropriate. Table 4.11 presents several example of singular and plural agentive compounds:

Table 4.11: Icétôd agentive compounds

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Singlar | Plural |  |  |
| aká-ámà- | aká-ícé- | mouth-person | ‘talker’ |
| ɓɛƙɛ́sɨ́-àmà- | ɓɛƙɛ́sí-ícé- | walking-person | ‘traveler’ |
| itelesí-ámà- | itelesí-ícé- | watching-person | ‘watchman’ |
| kɔŋɛ́sɨ́-àmà- | kɔŋɛ́sí-ícé- | cooking-person | ‘cook’ |
| ɲósomá-ámà- | ɲósomá-ícé- | studies-person | ‘student’ |
| sɨsɨká-ámà- | sɨsɨká-ícé- | middle-person | ‘middle child’ |
| yʉɛ́-ámà- | yué-ícé- | lie-person | ‘liar’ |

* + 1. Diminutive (dim)

Icétôd forms diminutive compounds by using the root *imá-* ‘child’ (for singular) and *wicé-* ‘children’ (for plural) as the second element in a compound. In the more literal interpretation, the first element is the animate being (animal or human) of which the second element is the ‘child’ or ‘children’, as in *ɗóɗò-ìmà-* ‘lamb’ or *ɗóɗo-wicé-* ‘lambs’. But when the first element is inanimate, the diminutive construction conveys a sense of ‘a small X’ or ‘small Xs’, for example *ƙɔfó-ìmà-* ‘a small gourd bowl’ and *ƙɔfó-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 *roɓa-wicé-* ‘someone’s (pl.) children’.

Table 4.12: Icétôd diminutive compounds

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Singular | Plural |  |  |
| ámá-ìmà- | roɓa-wicé- | person-child | ‘someone’s child’ |
| bàrò-ìmà- | bárítíní-wicé- | herd-child | ‘small herd’ |
| ɓɨsá-ímà- | ɓɨ́sɨ́tɨ́ní-wicé- | spear-child | ‘dart’ |
| dómá-ìmà- | dómítíní-wicé- | pot-child | ‘small pot’ |
| gwá-ímà- | gwá-wícé- | bird-child | ‘chick’ |
| ŋókí-ìmà- | ŋókítíní-wicé- | dog-child | ‘puppy’ |
| ɔ́ʝá-ìmà- | ɔ́ʝɨ́tɨ́nɨ́-wicé- | sore-child | ‘small sore’ |

* + 1. Internal (int)

So-called internal compounds are made with the bound nominal root *aʝɨ́ká-* ‘among/inside’. When appended to plural noun, this nominal conveys a sense of interiority or internality to the noun. The internal compound, which is quite rare, is exemplified in Table 4.13:

Table 4.13: Icétôd internal compounds

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Plural |  |  | Interal plural |  |
| àwìkà- | ‘homes’ | → | awika-aʝɨ́ká- | ‘in/among homes’ |
| ríʝíkà- | ‘forests’ | → | ríʝíka-aʝɨ́ká- | ‘in/among forests’ |
| sédìkà- | ‘gardens’ | → | sédika-aʝɨ́ká- | ‘in/among gardens’ |

* + 1. Variative (var)

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

Table 4.14: Icétôd variative compounds

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

* + 1. 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’ |
| aƙatí- | ‘nose’ | ‘handle, stem’ |
| bakutsí- | ‘chest’ | ‘front part’ |
| bùbùì- | ‘belly’ | ‘underside’ |
| dɛá- | ‘foot’ | ‘base, foot’ |
| ekú- | ‘eye’ | ‘center, point’ |
| gúró- | ‘heart’ | ‘core, essence’ |
| iká- | ‘head’ | ‘head, top’ |
| kwayó- | ‘tooth’ | ‘edge’ |
| ŋabérí- | ‘rib’ | ‘side’ |

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: Icétôd relational compounds

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

1. Pronouns
   1. Overview

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

* 1. Personal pronouns

Icétôd personal pronouns represent the various grammatical persons that can be referred to in a sentence. The name is slightly misleading in that the pronouns can also denote nonpersonal, inanimate entities expressed by ‘it’ and ‘they’ (when referring to things). The Icétôd personal pronoun system operates along three axes: person (1, 2, 3), number (sg, pl), and clusivity (exc, inc). The ‘first person’ refers to ‘I’ and ‘we’, the second to ‘you’, and the third to ‘she’, ‘he’, ‘it’, and ‘they’. ‘Number’ (singular or plural) obviously has to do with whether the entity is one or more than one. And ‘clusivity’ (exclusive or inclusive) tells whether the addressee of the speech is *ex*cluded from or *in*cluded in the reference of ‘we’. Table 5.1 presents the seven Icétôd personal pronouns in their lexical forms, while Table 5.2 on the next page offers a full case declension of them:

Table 5.1: Icétôd personal pronouns

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 1sg | ɲ́cì- | ‘I’ |
| 2sg | bì- | ‘you’ |
| 3sg | ntsí- | ‘s/he/it’ |
| 1pl.exc | ŋgó- | ‘we’ |
| 1pl.inc | ɲjíní- | ‘we all’ |
| 2pl | bìtì- | ‘you all’ |
| 3pl | ńtí- | ‘they’ |

Table 5.2: Case declension of Icétôd personal pronouns

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ‘I’ | | ‘you’ | | ‘s/he/it’ | | ‘we’ | | ‘we all’ | | ‘you all’ | | ‘they’ | |
|  | nf | ff | nf | ff | nf | ff | nf | ff | nf | ff | nf | ff | nf | ff |
| nom | ŋ́kà | ŋ́kᵃ | bìà | bì | ntsa | ntsᵃ | ŋgwa | ŋgwᵃ | ɲjíná | ɲjín | bìtà | bìtᵃ | ńtá | ńtᵃ |
| acc | ɲ́cìà | ɲ́cìkᵃ | bìà | bìkᵃ | ntsíá | ntsíkᵃ | ŋgóá | ŋgókᵃ | ɲjíníà | ɲjíníkᵃ | bìtìà | bìtìkᵃ | ńtíà | ńtíkᵃ |
| dat | ɲ́cìè | ɲ́cìkᵉ | bìè | bìkᵉ | ntsíé | ntsíkᵉ | ŋgóé | ŋgókᵉ | ɲjíníè | ɲjíníkᵉ | bìtìè | bìtìkᵉ | ńtíè | ńtíkᵉ |
| gen | ɲ́cìè | ɲ́cì | bìè | bì | ntsíé | ntsí | ŋgóé | ŋgóᵉ | ɲjíníè | ɲjíní | bìtìè | bìtì | ńtíè | ńtí |
| abl | ɲ́cùò | ɲ́cù | bùò | bù | ntsúó | ntsú | ŋgóó | ŋgó | ɲjínúò | ɲjínu | bìtùò | bìtù | ńtúò | ńtú |
| ins | ŋ́kò | ŋ́kᵒ | bùò | bù | ntso | ntsᵒ | ŋgo | ŋgᵒ | ɲjínó | ɲjínᵒ | bìtò | bìtᵒ | ńtó | ńtᵒ |
| cop | ɲ́cùò | ɲ́cùkᵒ | bùò | bùkᵒ | ntsúó | ntsúkᵒ | ŋgóó | ŋgókᵒ | ɲjínúò | ɲjínúkᵒ | bìtùò | bìtùkᵒ | ńtúò | ńtúkᵒ |
| obl | ɲ́cì | ɲ́cⁱ | bì | bì | ntsi | ntsⁱ | ŋgo | ŋgᵒ | ɲjíní | ɲjín | bìtì | bìtⁱ | ńtí | ńtⁱ |

* 1. Impersonal possessum pronoun (pssm)

Icétôd also has a special pronoun whose only function is to represent a possessum, that is, an entity associated with another entity (a possessor) through a general relationship of possession or association. This pronoun has the form *ɛnɨ́-* and is bound to another noun or pronoun in a compound construction. It is impersonal in that it communicates nothing about the possessor or the possessum except for the relationship of possession itself. The impersonal possessum pronoun can be in a compound with personal pronouns or other nouns. Table 5.3 shows *ɛnɨ́-* with all seven personal pronouns:

Table 5.3: Icétôd impersonal possessum with pronouns

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| ɲj-ɛ́nɨ́- | I-possessum | ‘mine’ |
| bi-ɛ́nɨ́- | you-possessum | ‘yours’ |
| nts-ɛ́nɨ́- | s/he/it-possessum | ‘hers/his/its’ |
| ŋgó-ɛ́nɨ́- | we-possessum | ‘ours’ |
| ɲjíní-ɛ̀nɨ̀- | we all-possessum | ‘all of ours’ |
| biti-ɛnɨ́- | you all-possessum | ‘all of yours’ |
| ńtí-ɛ̀nɨ̀- | they-possessum | ‘theirs’ |

The impersonal possessum pronoun *ɛnɨ́-* 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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| aɗoni-ɛnɨ́- | to be three-possessum | ‘the third time’ |
| cɨkámɛ́-ɛ́nɨ́- | women-possessum | ‘the women’s’ |
| ɦyɔ-ɛnɨ́ | cattle-possessum | ‘the foreigners’’ |
| Icé-ɛ́nɨ́- | Ik-possessum | ‘the Ik’s’ |
| ɲɔtɔ́-ɛ́nɨ́- | men-possessum | ‘the men’s’ |
| roɓe-ɛnɨ́- | people-possessum | ‘the people’s’ |
| wicé-ɛ́nɨ́- | children-possessum | ‘the children’s’ |

* 1. Indefinite pronouns

Pronouns that are indefinite stand for other entities but with a certain degree of indefiniteness or vagueness. All but one of the Icétôd indefinite pronouns are based on the root *kɔnɨ́-* ‘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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| kɔnɨ́- | one | ‘another, some (sg.)’ |
| kɔ́n-áí- | one-place | ‘somewhere (else)’ |
| kɔ́nɨ́-ɛ́nɨ́- | one-possessum | ‘a(n), some (sg.)’ |
| kɔnɨ́-ámà- | one-person | ‘somebody, someone’ |
| kɔ́n-ɔ́mà- | one-singulative | ‘some unknown person’ |
| kíní-ámá- | many-person | ‘some unknown people’ |
| kíní-ɛ́nɨ́- | many-possessum | ‘some (pl.)’ |
| saí- | some | ‘some more, some other’ |

* 1. Interrogative pronouns

The role of interrogative pronouns is to query the identity of the entity they represent. As a result, they are used to form questions. All but one of the Icétôd interrogative pronouns incorporate the ancient northeastern African interrogative particle *\*nd-/nt-*, and the one that is not has the form *ìsì-* ‘what’. The small handful of six Icétôd interrogative pronouns are provided below in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Icétôd interrogative pronouns

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| ìsì- | what | ‘what?’ |
| ndaí- | ?-place | ‘where?’ |
| ǹdò- | who | ‘who?’ |
| ńt- | ? | ‘where?’ |
| ńtɛ́ɛ́nɨ́- | ?-possessum | ‘which (sg.)’ |
| ńtíɛ́nɨ́- | ?-possessum | ‘which (pl.)’ |

In a question, Icétôd interrogative pronouns take the same slot as the nouns they are representing. But it is also common for the interrogative pronoun to be ‘fronted’: moved to the first place in the sentence for emphasis. When this happens, the pronoun is given the copulative case (see §7.8). Example sentences (1)-(2) are provided below to illustrate fronting. Both orders are perfectly acceptable. For more on how questions are formed in Icétôd, please refer to §10.4.3.

1. *Bɛ́ɗɨ́dà ìs? Isio bɛ́ɗɨ̂dᵃ?*

want:2sg what:nom what:cop want:2sg

‘You want what?’ ‘What do you want?

1. *Ia ndaíkᵉ? Ndaíó iâdᵉ?*

be:3sg where:dat where:cop be:3sg:dp

‘It is where?’ ‘Where is it?’

* 1. 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 *ɗɨ-* ‘this (one)’ or the plural form *ɗi-* ‘these (ones)’ that differ formally only in regard to their vowel (/ɨ/ versus /i/). The Icétôd demonstrative pronoun system is divided in three categories based on spatial distance from the speaker: 1) proximal, meaning near the speaker, 2) medial, a relatively medium distance from the speaker, and 3) distal, meaning relatively far from the speaker. The medial and distal forms, for both singular and plural, consist of the root *ɗɨ-/ɗi-* preceded by the cliticized distal demonstratives *kɨ* ‘that’ (derived from *ke*) for singular and *ki* ‘those’ for plural. Note further that the only difference between the medial and distal pronouns in the tone pattern whereby the medial form has a high tone on the last syllable, while the distal form does not. Table 5.7 presents the Icétôd demonstrative pronouns in their lexical forms, while Table 5.8 gives the full case declensions of all six base forms. Note that the medial and distal forms are indistinguishable except in the nom, ins, and obl cases:

Table 5.7: Icétôd demonstrative pronouns

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Singular |  | Plural |  |
| Proximal | ɗɨ- | ‘this’ | ɗi- | ‘these’ |
| Medial | kɨɗɨ́- | ‘that’ | kɨɗɨ́- | ‘those |
| Distal | kɨɗɨ- | ‘that’ | kɨɗɨ- | ‘those’ |

Table 5.8: Case declensions of the demonstrative pronouns

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Proximal | | Medial | | Distal | |
|  | sg | pl | sg | pl | sg | pl |
| nom | ɗa | ɗa | kɨɗá | kiɗá | kɨɗa | kiɗa |
| acc | ɗɨ́á | ɗíá | kɨɗɨ́á | kiɗíá | kɨɗɨ́á | kiɗíá |
| dat | ɗɛ́ɛ́ | ɗíé | kɨɗɛ́ɛ́ | kiɗíé | kɨɗɛ́ɛ́ | kiɗíé |
| gen | ɗɛ́ɛ́ | ɗíé | kɨɗɛ́ɛ́ | kiɗíé | kɨɗɛ́ɛ́ | kiɗíé |
| abl | ɗɔ́ɔ́ | ɗúó | kɨɗɔ́ɔ́ | kiɗúó | kɨɗɔ́ɔ́ | kiɗúó |
| ins | ɗɔ | ɗo | kɨɗɔ́ | kiɗó | kɨɗɔ | kiɗo |
| cop | ɗɔ́ɔ́ | ɗúó | kɨɗɔ́ɔ́ | kiɗúó | kɨɗɔ́ɔ́ | kiɗúó |
| obl | ɗɨ | ɗi | kɨɗɨ́ | kiɗí | kɨɗɨ | kiɗi |

* 1. Relative pronouns (rel)

The role of relative pronouns is to introduce a relative clause: a clause embedded in a main clause to specify the reference of an entity in the main clause. A fascinating thing about the Icétôd relative pronoun system is that it is tensed. That is, it is able to encode the time period at which the statement contained in the relative clause holds or held true. The five time periods covered by these pronouns are 1) non-past, 2) recent past (earlier today), 3) removed past (yester-), 4) remote past (a while ago), and 5) remotest past (long ago).

The Icétôd relative pronouns are all enclitics based on the proto- demonstratives *na* ‘this’ and *ni* ‘these’ (see §6.2 below). Those forms are identical to the non-past relative pronouns *na* ‘that/which’ and *ni* ‘that/which (pl.)’. To create the other tensed versions of these relative pronouns, the language has employed one prefix and several suffixes that are affixed to the base form. Table 5.9 shows the whole paradigm:

Table 5.9: Icétôd relative pronouns

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Singular | Plural |  |
| Non-past | =na | =ni | ‘that/which...’ |
| Recent past | =náa | =níi | ‘that/which...’ |
| Removed past | =sɨna | =sini | ‘that/which...’ |
| Remote past | =nótso | =nútsu | ‘that/which...’ |
| Remotest past | =noo | =nuu | ‘that/which...’ |

In sentence, no matter where an Icétôd relative clause (RC) appears, the relative pronoun will introduce it as the first element in the clause. The entity in the main clause that the relative clause is modifying—called the common argument—must be the last word before the relative clause. As a clitic, the relative pronoun attaches to the common argument. Examples (3)-(4) are given below to illustrate the syntactic position of relative pronouns and clauses. But to learn more about the syntax of relative clauses, please refer to §10.3.2.

1. *Atsáá ceka [náa ƙwaatetᵃ]rc.*

come:3sg:prf woman:nom =rel:sg give.birth:3sg

‘The woman [who gave birth today] has come.’

1. *Tɔŋɔ́lano rie [sini detí]rc.*

slaughter:hort goats:obl =rel:pl bring:1sg

‘Let’s slaughter the goats [that I brought yesterday].’

* 1. Reflexive pronoun

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

The reflexive pronouns are used extensively to make semi-transitive verbs: verbs falling between transitive and intransitive. For example, while the verb *ídzòn* ‘to discharge, emit’ is intransitive and the verb *ídzès* ‘to discharge, emit, shoot’ is transitive, the verb *ídzesa asɨ́* ‘to shoot across (lit. to ‘shoot -self’)’ is ‘semi-transitive’ because the subject and object of the shooting are the same entity. The full case declensions of the reflexive pronouns are given below in Table 5.10. But first, examples sentences (5)-(6) are provided to illustrate the reflexive and semi-transitive usages of these special pronouns:

1. *Kwatsítúƙoe as.*

small:caus:comp:imp self:obl

‘Humble yourself (lit: make yourself small).’

1. *Ƙaio dzúíka ɨtɨ́ɗɨ́ɗátie ásɨ́kàkᵃ.*

go:seq thieves:nom sneak:3pl:sim selves:acc

‘The thieves went slinking away.’

Table 5.10: Case declensions of the reflexive pronouns

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Singular |  | Plural |  |
|  | nf | ff | nf | ff |
| nom | asa | as | ásɨ́kà | ásɨ́kᵃ |
| acc | asɨ́á | asɨ́kᵃ | ásɨ́kàà | ásɨ́kàkᵃ |
| dat | asɨ́ɛ́ | asɨ́kᵋ | ásɨ́kɛ̀ɛ̀ | ásɨ́kàkᵋ |
| gen | asɨ́ɛ́ | asɨ́ | ásɨ́kɛ̀ɛ̀ | ásɨ́kàᵋ |
| abl | asʉ́ɔ́ | asʉ́ | ásɨ́kɔ̀ɔ̀ | ásɨ́kàᵓ |
| ins | asɔ | asᵓ | ásɨ́kɔ | ásɨ́kᵓ |
| cop | asʉ́ɔ́ | asʉ́kᵓ | ásɨ́kɔ̀ɔ̀ | ásɨ́kàkᵓ |
| obl | asɨ | as | ásɨ́kà | ásɨ́kᵃ |

1. Demonstratives
   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. Unlike demonstrative pronouns (see §5.6), spatial and temporal demonstratives are not nouns and therefore never take case endings.

* 1. Spatial demonstratives (dem)

Icétôd’s spatial demonstratives locate their referent in physical space in degrees of distance from the speaker. For singular referents, there are three degrees of distance: proximal (near), medial (relatively near/far), and distal (more distant). For plural referents, the language only distinguishes between proximal and distal. The singular demonstratives are usually translated into English as ‘this’ and ‘that’ and the plural ones as ‘these’ or ‘those’. Table 6.1 below presents the whole set of spatial nominal demonstratives. Notice that in their final forms (ff), their final vowels *may* be whispered or omitted altogether:

Table 6.1: Icétôd spatial demonstratives

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Singular |  | Plural |  |
|  | nf | ff | nf | ff |
| Proximal | =nà | =na (=n) | =nì | =ni (=n) |
| Medial | =nè | =na (=n) |
| Distal | =kè | =ke (=kᵉ) | =kì | =ki (=kⁱ) |

Spatial demonstratives usually directly follow their referent, as in:

1. *Eakwóó ɗa n.*

man:cop this.one:nom=dem.sg.prox

‘This one is a *man*.’

1. *Káwese koto ríʝá ke.*

cut:sps then forest=dem.sg.dist

‘And then that forest over there was cut down.’

* 1. Temporal demonstratives (dem.pst)

The temporal demonstratives locate their referent in five periods of time: non-past (present and future), recent past (earlier today), removed past (yester-), remote past (a while ago before yesterday), and remotest past (long ago). The Ik language has both singular and plural temporal nominal demonstratives, and these are listed below in Table 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. Recall that Icétôd’s relative pronouns (Table 5.9) are identical in form to the temporal demonstratives in Table 6.2 below, only that because relative pronouns never occur before a pause, they lack the final forms (ff).

Table 6.2: Icétôd temporal demonstratives

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Singular |  | Plural |  |
|  | nf | ff | nf | ff |
| Non-past | =nà | =n | =nì | =n |
| Recent past | =náà | =nákᵃ | =níì | =níkⁱ |
| Removed past | =sɨ̀nà | =sɨ̀n | =sìnì | =sìn |
| Remote past | =nótsò | =nótsò | =nútsù | =nútsù |
| Remotest past | =nòò | =nòkᵒ | =nùù | =nùkᵘ |

Just like spatial demonstratives, temporal demonstratives directly follow the noun they refer to, as the following examples illustrate:

1. Ráʝéte ɗɨ nákᵃ.

return:ven:imp one:obl=dem.sg.rec

‘Give back the earlier one.’

1. *Gaana kaɨna nótso Lopíarɨ́ɛ́ zùkᵘ.*

bad:3sg year:nom=dem.sg.rem Lopiar.gen very

That year (a while back) of Lopiar was very bad.’

* 1. Anaphoric demonstratives (anph)

The anaphoric demonstratives locate their referent not in space or time *per se* but in *shared communicative context*. In other words, they point back to a referent that has either been mentioned already in the same discourse or is already known by both speaker and hearer by some other means. Icétôd has a singular and a plural anaphoric demonstrative which are clitics that have the same form in both non-final and final environments (i.e., their final vowels are not omitted). These anaphoric demonstratives, translated into English as ‘that’ in the singular and ‘those’ in the plural, are shown below in Table 6.3:

Table 6.3: Icétôd anaphoric demonstratives

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Singular | Plural |
| =déé | =díí |

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

1. *Itíóna ɲatala déé.*

be.important:3sg tradition:nom=anaph.sg

‘That tradition (already discussed) is important.’

1. *Atsa noo roɓa díí Sópìàᵒ.*

come:3sg=pst people:nom=anaph.pl Ethipia:abl

‘Those people (already mentioned) came from Ethiopia.’

* 1. Adverbial demonstratives
     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.

* + 1. Locative adverbial demonstratives

The first type of adverbial demonstrative, the locative adverbial demonstrative, locates the state or event expressed in a clause in physical space. Icétôd has three sets of such demonstratives. Sets 1 and 2 are built on degree of distance (see Table 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 | nédì- (=nè) |  |
| Distal | kédì- (kè) | kɨ́xánà- (=kè) |
| Set 3 | Singular | Plural |
| Proximal | naí- (=nà) | nií- (=nì) |
| Medial | naí- (=nè) |  |
| Distal | kɔ́ɔ́ (=kè) | kií- (=kì) |

Examples (7)-(8) illustrate the locative adverbial demonstratives:

1. *Ɨtáɨ́a bee kɨ́xánee kᵉ.*

reach:1sg=pst there=dem.sg.dist

‘I reached there yesterday.’

1. *Ƙaini dzígwaa naíé ne.*

go:seq trade:acc there=dem.sg.med

‘And they went to do trade just right there.’

* + 1. 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 *tsʼɛ́dɛ́-* and *tʉmɛdɛ́-* ‘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 | tsʼɛ́da | tʉmɛda |
| acc | tsʼɛ́dɛ́á | tʉmɛdɛ́á |
| dat | tsʼɛ́dɛ́ɛ́ | tʉmɛdɛ́ɛ́ |
| gen | tsʼɛ́dɛ́ɛ́ | tʉmɛdɛ́ɛ́ |
| abl | tsʼɛ́dɔ́ɔ́ | tʉmɛdɔ́ɔ́ |
| ins | tsʼɛ́dɔ | tʉmɛdɔ |
| cop | tsʼɛ́dɔ́ɔ́ | tʉmɛdɔ́ɔ́ |
| obl | tsʼɛ́dɛ́ | tʉmɛdɛ́ |

Examples (9)-(10) illustrate the locative adverbial demonstratives:

1. *Ƙaa noo óŋora ʝɨɨ tsʼɛ́dɛ́ɛ́.*

go:3sg=pst elephant:nom=also there:dat

‘Even the elephants went there (already mentioned).’

1. *Pɛlɛ́mʉɔ saa tʉmɛdɔ́ɔ́.*

appear:seq others:nom there:abl

‘And others appeared from there (already known).’

1. Case
   1. Overview

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

1. *Atsa* *ŋókᵃ.*

come:3sg dog:nom

‘The dog comes.’

1. *Cɛa* *boroka* *ŋókíkᵃ.*

kill:3sg bushpig:nom dog:acc

‘The bushpig kills the dog.’

1. *Maa* *eméá ŋókíkᵉ.*

give:3sg meat:acc dog:dat

‘He gives meat to the dog.’

1. *Mɨta ima* *ŋókí.*

be:3sg child:nom dog:gen

‘It is the child of the dog.’

1. *Xɛɓa* *ŋókú.*

fear:3sg dog:abl

‘He fears the dog.’

1. *Ƙaa* *ŋókᵒ.*

go:3sg dog:ins

‘He goes with the dog.’

1. *Bɛna* *ŋókúkᵒ.*

not.be:3sg dog:cop

‘It is not a dog.’

1. *Mɨta* *ŋókⁱ.*

be:3sg dog:obl

‘It is a dog.’

Eight examples are given above because Icétôd has eight cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, ablative, instrumental, copulative, and oblique. Table 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 | -ᵃ/-Ø |
| Accusative | acc | -a | -kᵃ |
| Dative | dat | -e | -kᵉ |
| Genitive | gen | -e | -e/-Ø |
| Ablative | abl | -o | -ᵒ/-Ø |
| Instrumental | ins | -o | -ᵒ/-Ø |
| Copulative | cop | -o | -kᵒ |
| Oblique | obl | -Ø | -Ø |

From Table 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 *ŋókí-* ‘dog’ becomes *ŋók-á* ‘dog:nom’; by contrast, the accusative suffix is non-subtractive, as in *ŋókí-à* ‘dog:acc’. Other case ambiguities like genitive versus dative and ablative versus copulative in their non-final forms can be resolved in the context of the sentence. Different verbs require different cases.

Since every Icétôd noun ends in a vowel, and since that vowel can be any of the nine (/i, ɨ, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, ʉ, u/), the collision of nouns and case suffixes gives rise to all kinds of vowel assimilation (see §2.4.4). The next two tables present declensions of two nouns illustrating vowel assimilation. Table 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 | fetᵃ |
| acc | fetíá | fetíkᵃ |
| dat | fetíé | fetíkᵉ |
| gen | fetíé | fetí |
| abl | fetúó | fetú |
| ins | feto | fetᵒ |
| cop | fetúó | fetúkᵒ |
| obl | feti | fetⁱ |

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 *kíʝá-* ‘land’ is declined for all the eight cases. Note specifically how the final /a/ of *kíʝá-* gets totally assimilated by the non-final dative, genitive, ablative, and copulative suffixes.

Table 7.3: Case declension of *kíʝá-* ‘land’

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Case | Non-final | Final |
| nom | kíʝá | kíʝᵃ |
| acc | kíʝáà | kíʝákᵃ |
| dat | kíʝéè | kíʝákᵉ |
| gen | kíʝéè | kíʝáᵉ |
| abl | kíʝóò | kíʝáᵒ |
| ins | kíʝó | kíʝᵒ |
| cop | kíʝóò | kíʝákᵒ |
| obl | kíʝá | kíʝᵃ |

* 1. Nominative (nom)

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

1. Subject of a main clause

*Atsáá lɔŋɔ́t-ᵃ.*

come:prf enemies-nom

‘The enemies have come!’

1. Subject of a sequential clause

*Toɓuo ƙaƙaam-a kʉláɓákᵃ.*

spear:seq hunter-nom bushbuck:acc

‘And the hunter speared the bushbuck.’

1. Object of a clause with a 1/2-person subject
2. *Ŋƙɨ́á tɔbɔŋ-a na.*

eat:1sg mush-nom=this

‘I eat this meal mush.’

1. *Ŋƙɨ́da tɔbɔŋ-a na.*

eat:2sg mush-nom=this

‘You eat this meal mush.’

1. *Ŋƙa tɔbɔŋɔ́-á na.*

eat:3sg mush-acc=this

‘She eats this meal mush.’

1. *Ŋƙɨ́má tɔbɔŋ-a na.*

eat:1pl.exc mush-nom=this

‘We eat this meal mush.’

1. *Ŋƙɨ́sɨ́na tɔbɔŋ-a na.*

eat:1pl.inc mush-nom=this

‘We all this meal mush.’

1. *Ŋƙɨ́tá tɔbɔŋ-a na.*

eat:2pl mush-nom=this

‘You all eat this meal mush.’

1. *Ŋƙáta tɔbɔŋɔ́-á na.*

eat:3pl mush-acc=this

‘They eat this meal mush.’

* 1. Accusative case (acc)

The accusative case, marked by the suffix {-ka}, is also split with regard to its basic function. One of its basic functions, that for which it is named, is to mark the direct object of any clause with a 3-person subject. Its other common function is to mark the subject *and* any object of several kinds of subordinate (dependent) clauses (including relative and temporal clauses). Each of these functions is exemplified by one of the following example sentences. In the first example, a sentence with a 1-person subject is also given to show the contrast:

1. Direct object of a clause with a 3-person subject
2. *Wetésátà mɛ̀sɛ̀-à mùɲ.*

drink:fut:3pl beer-acc all

‘They will drink all the beer.’

1. *Wetésímà mɛ̀s-à mùɲ.*

drink:fut:1pl.exc beer-nom all

‘We will drink all the beer.’

1. Subject and object of a subordinate clause
2. *Mee kɔ́rɔ́ɓadi*

give:imp thing:obl

*[náa ɲ́ci-a detí.]*

that I-acc bring:1sg

‘Give me the thing that I brought earlier.’

1. *[Noo ŋgó-á bɛ́ɗɨ́mɛɛ bi-a],...*

when we-acc want:1pl.exc you-acc

‘When we were looking for you,...’

* 1. Dative (dat)

The dative case, marked by the suffix {-ke}, is the ‘to’ or ‘in’ case whose role is to mark indirect objects (also called ‘extended’ or ‘secondary’). These indirect objects may encode semantic ‘roles’ like: destination, location, reception, perception, possession, and purpose. Each of these is illustrated by one of the following example sentences:

1. Destination

*Ƙeesíá awá-kᵉ.*

go:fut:1sg home-dat

‘I’m going home.’

1. Location

*Ia sédà-kᵉ.*

be:3sg garden-dat

‘She’s in the garden.’

1. Reception

*Tɔkɔráta kabasáá ròɓà-kᵉ.*

divide:3pl flour:acc people-dat

‘They are dividing out flour to people.’

1. Perception

*Ɨɓálá ɲ̀cì-è zùkᵘ.*

appall:3sg I-dat very

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

1. Possession

*Ia ɦyɔa ntsí-kᵉ.*

be:3sg cattle:nom he-dat

‘He has cattle.’ (Lit: ‘There are cattle to him.’)

1. Purpose

*Ƙaa ɲera dakúáƙɔ̀-kᵋ.*

go:3sg girls:nom wood:inside-dat

‘The girls go for firewood.’

* 1. Genitive (gen)

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

1. Ownership

*Hɔ́nɨnɨ ɦyɔa ńtí-e ɓórékᵉ.*

drive:seq cattle:acc they-gen corral:dat

‘And they drove their cattle to the corral.’

1. Part-whole relationship

*Wasá dɛɛdɛɛ kwará-ᵉ.*

stand:3sg foot:dat mountain-gen

‘He’s standing at the foot of the mountain.’

1. Kinship

*Mɨ́ná cekíá ntsí-é zùkᵘ.*

love:3sg wife:acc he-gen very

‘He loves his wife very much.’

1. Attribution

*Maráŋá muceá bì-Ø.*

good:3sg way:nom you-gen

‘Your luck is good.’ (lit: Your way is good.)

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

* 1. Ablative (abl)

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

1. Origin/source

*Atsía awá-ᵒ*.

come:1sg home-abl

‘I come from home.’

1. Cause

*Baduƙota noo ɲɛ́ƙɛ̀-ᵓ.*

die:3sg=pst hunger-abl

‘He died from hunger.’

1. Stimulus

*Xɛɓa ɲérà-ᵒ*.

fear:3sg girls-abl

‘He’s shy of girls.’

1. Source of judgment

*Daa ɲ́cù-Ø.*

nice:3sg I-abl

‘It’s nice to me.’

1. Location of activitiy

*Cɛmáta sédìkà-ᵒ.*

fight:3pl gardens-abl

‘They are fighting in the gardens.’

* 1. Instrumental (ins)

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

1. Instrument/means

*Toɓíá noo gasoa ɓɨs-ᵓ.*

spear:1sg=pst warthog:nom spear-ins

‘I speared a warthog with a spear.’

1. Pathway

*Ƙaini fots-o gígìròkᵉ.*

go:3pl ravine-ins downside:dat

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

1. Accompaniment

*Atsímá naa kúrúɓád-o ŋgóᵉ.*

come:1pl=pst things-ins we:gen

‘We came with our things.’

1. Manner

*Ráʝétuo ɲcie gáánàs-ᵓ.*

answer:3sg I:dat badness-ins

‘He answered me with hostility.’

1. Time

*Bɨraa ɲɛƙa ódoicik-ó ni.*

lack:3sg hunger:nom days-ins=these

‘There is no hunger these days.’

1. Occupation

*Cɛma fítés-o ƙwázìkàᵉ.*

fight:3sg washing-ins clothes:gen

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

* 1. Copulative (cop)

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

1. Fronted noun
2. Fronted subject

*Ŋgó-ó naa wetím.*

we-cop=pst drink:1pl.exc

‘It was we (who) drank (it).’

1. Fronted object

*Emó-ó bɛ́ɗɨ́.*

meat-cop want:1sg

‘It is meat (that) I want.’

1. Fronted secondary object

*Ɲɛƙɔ-ɔ ƙaiátèè ƙàƙààƙɔ̀kᵋ.*

hunger-cop go:plur:3pl hunt:inside:dat

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

1. Verbless copula complement

*Ìsù-kᵒ? Ámó-o keɗe...? Ámá-kᵒ.*

what-cop person-cop or person-cop

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

1. Negative copula complement

*Bɛna náá ɲ́cù-kᵒ.*

not.be:3sg=pst I-cop

‘It was not me!’

* 1. Oblique (obl)

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

1. Subject and/or object of an imperative clause

*Deté bi cue dííǃ*

bring:imp you:obl water:obl=those

‘You bring that water!’

1. Subject and/or object of an optative clause

*Ɲ́ci nesíbine emuti ntsí.*

I:obl listen:1sg:opt story:obl he:gen

‘Let me listen to her story.’

1. Object of a preposition
2. *Túbia ima ɲ́cia páka awᵃ.*

follow:3sg child:nom I:acc until home:obl

‘The child follows me up to home.’

1. *Kirotánía kóteré ɦyekesí bì.*

sweat:1sg for life:obl you:gen

‘I sweat for your survival.’

1. Vocative
2. *Éé wice, atsúǃ*

hey children:obl come:imp

‘Hey children, come!’

1. Verbs
   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 *ábʉ̀bʉ̀ƙ-* ‘bubble’ or the /i/ in *iɓóɓór-* ‘hollow out’. Reduplicating a verb root, partially or totally, has long been a strategy for creating a sense of continuousness or repetitiveness, as when *ɨtsán-* ‘disturb’ becomes *ɨtsanɨ́tsán-* ‘torment relentlessly’.

Icétôd employs a large number of suffixes to create longer verb stems. Among these are the infinitive and other deverbalizing suffixes that change a verb into a morphological noun that can take case endings, demonstratives, relative clauses, etc. One very key verb-building strategy of Icétôd is the so-called directional suffixes that signify the direction of the verb’s movement to or away from the speaker. These two directionals have also been extended metaphorically to express the beginning or completion of actions or processes. Another set of verbal suffixes deal with voice and valency, that is, the number of objects the verb requires. Among these are the passive, impersonal passive, middle, causative, and reciprocal.

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

The Icétôd verbal system has a variety of verbal paradigms based on mood and aspect. The basic distinction in mood is between realis and irrealis, or things that have happened and things that have not, respectively. Other modal distinctions include the optative, subjunctive, imperative, and negative. As for aspect, the specification of the internal structure of a verb—complete or incomplete—Icétôd has suffixes that mark present perfect, intentional-imperfective, pluractional, sequential, and simultaneous. Lastly, Icétôd exhibits a special set of adjectival suffixes to cover the language’s need to express adjectival concepts.

* 1. Infinitives
     1. Intransitive (inf)

intransitive verbs are those that allow only a subject—a direct object does not figure into its semantic schema. The Icétôd intransitive infinitive suffix is {-ònì-}. It converts an intransitive verb to a morphological noun that can be used as a noun in a noun phrase. The infinitive is the citation form of a verb, the form one cites in a dictionary or in isolation from other words. Table 8.1 gives a few examples of intransitive infinitives from the lexicon:

Table 8.1: Icétôd intransitive infinitives

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Root | Intransitive infinitive | |
| áƙáf- | áƙáfòn | ‘to yawn’ |
| bòt- | bòtòn | ‘to migrate’ |
| cɨ̀- | cɨ̀ɔ̀n | ‘to be satiated’ |
| dód- | dódòn | ‘to hurt’ |
| ɛ̀f- | ɛ̀fɔ̀n | ‘to be tasty’ |
| gwɨ̀r- | gwɨ̀rɔ̀n | ‘to squirm’ |
| iƙú- | iƙúón | ‘to howl’ |

Because the infinitive is technically a morphological noun, it can be fully declined for case as all nouns can. Table 8.2 gives the case declension of the verb *wàtònì-* ‘to rain’, which shows some vowel assimilation effects on [+ATR] vowels, as when /io/ becomes /uo/ in the ablative and copulative cases. Table 8.3 does the same for the [-ATR] verb *wɛ́dɔ̀nɨ̀-* ‘to detour’. Note /ɨɔ/ becoming /ʉɔ/ there as well:

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | wàtònà | wàtòn |
| acc | wàtònìà | wàtònìkᵃ |
| dat | wàtònìè | wàtònìkᵉ |
| gen | wàtònìè | wàtònì |
| abl | wàtònùò | wàtònù |
| ins | wàtònò | wàtònᵒ |
| cop | wàtònùò | wàtònùkᵒ |
| obl | wàtònì | wàtòn |

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | wɛ́dɔ̀nà | wɛ́dɔ̀n |
| acc | wɛ́dɔ̀nɨ̀à | wɛ́dɔ̀nɨ̀kᵃ |
| dat | wɛ́dɔ̀nɨ̀ɛ̀ | wɛ́dɔ̀nɨ̀kᵋ |
| gen | wɛ́dɔ̀nɨ̀ɛ̀ | wɛ́dɔ̀nɨ̀ |
| abl | wɛ́dɔ̀nʉ̀ɔ̀ | wɛ́dɔ̀nʉ̀ |
| ins | wɛ́dɔ̀nɔ̀ | wɛ́dɔ̀nᵓ |
| cop | wɛ́dɔ̀nʉ̀ɔ̀ | wɛ́dɔ̀nʉ̀kᵓ |
| obl | wɛ́dɔ̀nɨ̀ | wɛ́dɔ̀n |

* + 1. Transitive (inf)

transitive verbs are those that admit a subject *and* a direct object into its schematic of an active event. The Icétôd transitive infinitive suffix is {-ésí-}. It converts a transitive verb to a morphological noun that can be used as a noun in a noun phrase. Table 8.4 provides a few examples of transitive infinitives from the lexicon:

Table 8.4: Icétôd transitive infinitives

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Root | Transitive infinitive | |
| ágʉ̀ʝ- | ágʉʝɛ́s | ‘to gulp’ |
| ban- | banɛ́s | ‘to sharpen’ |
| cɛ́b- | cɛ́bɛ̀s | ‘to roughen’ |
| ɗóɗ- | ɗóɗés | ‘to point at’ |
| erég- | erégès | ‘to employ’ |
| gɨ́ʝ- | gɨ́ʝɛ́s | ‘to shave’ |
| ɨlɔ́ƙ- | ɨlɔƙɛs | ‘to dissolve’ |

Table 8.5 gives the case declension of the deverbalized noun *wetésí-* ‘to drink’, which shows vowel assimilation effects on [+ATR] vowels. Table 8.6 does the same for the [-ATR] verb *wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́-* ‘to knap’.

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | wetésá | wetés |
| acc | wetésíà | wetésíkᵃ |
| dat | wetésíè | wetésíkᵉ |
| gen | wetésíè | wetésí |
| abl | wetésúò | wetésú |
| ins | wetésó | wetésᵒ |
| cop | wetésúò | wetésúkᵒ |
| obl | wetésí | wetés |

Table 8.6: Case declension of *wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́-* ‘to knap’

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | wɛtsʼɛ́sá | wɛtsʼɛ́s |
| acc | wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́à | wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́kᵃ |
| dat | wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́ɛ̀ | wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́kᵋ |
| gen | wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́ɛ̀ | wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́ |
| abl | wɛtsʼɛ́sʉ́ɔ̀ | wɛtsʼɛ́sʉ́ |
| ins | wɛtsʼɛ́sɔ́ | wɛtsʼɛ́sᵓ |
| cop | wɛtsʼɛ́sʉ́ɔ̀ | wɛtsʼɛ́sʉ́kᵓ |
| obl | wɛtsʼɛ́sɨ́ | wɛtsʼɛ́s |

* + 1. 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 *asɨ́-* ‘-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’ | | balɛ́sá asɨ́ | ‘to neglect -self’ |
| hoɗ- | | ‘free’ | hoɗésá asɨ́ | ‘to get freed’ |
| ɨrɨ́ts- | | ‘keep’ | ɨrɨtsɛsa asɨ́ | ‘to control -self’ |
| ɨrʊ́ts- | | ‘fling’ | ɨrʉtsɛsa asɨ́ | ‘to race across’ |
| ɨtɨ́ŋ- | | ‘force’ | ɨtɨŋɛsa asɨ́ | ‘to force -self’ |
| kɔk- | | ‘close’ | kɔkɛ́sá asɨ́ | ‘to cover -self’ |
| toɓ- | | ‘spear’ | toɓésá asɨ́ | ‘to shoot across’ |

* 1. Deverbalizers
     1. Abstractive (abst)

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

Table 8.8: Icétôd abstract nouns derived from verbs

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intransitive infinitive | | | Abstract noun | |
| ɓàŋɔ̀n | ‘to be loose’ | | ɓaŋás | ‘looseness’ |
| ɛ̀fɔ̀n | | ‘to be tasty’ | ɛfás | ‘(tasty) fat’ |
| gaanón | | ‘to be bad’ | gaánàs | ‘badness’ |
| ɦyɛ̀tɔ̀n | | ‘to be fierce’ | ɦyɛtás | ‘fierceness’ |
| kòmòn | | ‘to be many’ | komás | ‘manyness’ |
| ŋwàxɔ̀n | | ‘to be disabled’ | ŋwaxás | ‘disability’ |
| xɛ̀ɓɔ̀n | | ‘to be shy’ | xɛɓás | ‘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 *kuɗásɨ́-* ‘shortness’:

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | kuɗásá | kuɗás |
| acc | kuɗásɨ́à | kuɗásɨ́kᵃ |
| dat | kuɗásɨ́ɛ̀ | kuɗásɨ́kᵋ |
| gen | kuɗásɨ́ɛ̀ | kuɗásɨ́ |
| abl | kuɗásʉ́ɔ̀ | kuɗásʉ́ |
| ins | kuɗásɔ́ | kuɗásᵓ |
| cop | kuɗásʉ́ɔ̀ | kuɗásʉ́kᵓ |
| obl | kuɗásɨ́ | kuɗás |

* + 1. Behaviorative (bhvr)

The behaviorative suffix {-nànèsì-} first converts a noun to a verb and then the verb back into an abstract noun. (It is probably a complex suffix in which {-(n)an-} is the denominalizing element related to the stative suffix from §8.11.4 and {-esi-} the deverbalizing element related to the transitive suffix from §8.2.2. or the abstractive suffix from §8.3.1). Regardless of its composition, the suffix as a whole gives a noun-based stative concept the meaning of an abstract noun, as when *ámá-* ‘person’ becomes *ámánànès* ‘personhood’ or ‘personality’. Table 8.10 provides a few examples of behavioratives:

Table 8.10: Icétôd behaviorative abstract nouns

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Noun root | | Behaviorate noun | |
| babatí- | ‘his/her father’ | babatínánès | ‘fatherhood’ |
| cekí- | ‘woman’ | cekínánès | ‘womanhood’ |
| dzɔɗátɨ́- | ‘rectum’ | dzɔɗátɨ́nànès | ‘grabbiness’ |
| dzúú- | ‘theft’ | dzúnánès | ‘thievery’ |
| imá- | ‘child’ | imánánès | ‘childhood’ |
| lɔŋɔ́tá- | ‘enemy’ | lɔŋɔ́tánànès | ‘enmity’ |
| ŋókí- | ‘dog’ | ŋókínànès | ‘poverty’ |

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

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | eakwánánèsà | eakwánánès |
| acc | eakwánánèsìà | eakwánánèsìkᵃ |
| dat | eakwánánèsìè | eakwánánèsìkᵉ |
| gen | eakwánánèsìè | eakwánánèsì |
| abl | eakwánánèsùò | eakwánánèsù |
| ins | eakwánánèsò | eakwánánèsᵒ |
| cop | eakwánánèsùò | eakwánánèsùkᵒ |
| obl | eakwánánèsì | eakwánánès |

* + 1. Patientive (pat)

The patientive suffix {-amá-} converts a verb to a noun that is characterized by the meaning of the verb. It is called ‘patientive’ because the derived noun usually fulfills the role of ‘patient’ or object of the original verb, as when *meetés* ‘to give’ produces *meetam* ‘gift’. Table 8.12 gives some examples of patientive nouns from the lexicon:

Table 8.12: Icétôd patientive nouns

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

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

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | wetama | wetam |
| acc | wetamáá | wetamákᵃ |
| dat | wetaméé | wetamákᵉ |
| gen | wetaméé | wetamáᵉ |
| abl | wetamóó | wetamáᵒ |
| ins | wetamo | wetamᵒ |
| cop | wetamóó | wetamákᵒ |
| obl | wetama | wetam |

* 1. Directionals
     1. Venitive (ven)

The venitive suffix {-ét-} denotes a direction *toward* a deictic center, usually (but not always) the speaker. It can be translated variously as ‘here’, ‘this way’, ‘out’, or ‘up’, but it is the Middle English word ‘hither’ that captures its essence nicely. The venitive suffix comes between the verb root and the infinitive suffix, whether intransitive or transitive. It can be used to augment any verb whose meaning includes motion or movement of any kind. Table 8.14 gives a few examples:

Table 8.14: Icétôd venitive verbs

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intransitive |  | Transitive | |
| arétón | ‘to cross this way’ | béberetés | ‘to pull this way’ |
| ɦyɔtɔ́gɛ̀tɔ̀n | ‘to approach here’ | ɗʉrɛtɛ́s | ‘to pull out’ |
| ɨlɛ́ɛ́tɔ̀n | ‘to come visit’ | futetés | ‘to blow this way’ |
| irímétòn | ‘to rotate this way’ | hɔnɛtɛ́s | ‘to drive out’ |
| ŋkéétòn | ‘to get up’ | ɨrɨŋɛtɛ́s | ‘to turn this way’ |
| tɛ́ɛ́tɔ̀n | ‘to fall down’ | iteletés | ‘to watch here’ |
| tʉwɛ́tɔ́n | ‘to sprout up’ | seɓetés | ‘to sweep up’ |

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

* + 1. Andative (and)

The andative suffix {-uƙot-} denotes motion *away from* a deictic center, usually the speaker (but not always). It can be translated variously as ‘away’, ‘off’, ‘out’, ‘that way’, or ‘there’, but it is the Middle English word ‘thither’ that captures its essence nicely. Unlike the venitive suffix, the andative comes after both the verbal root and the infinitive suffix (in an infinitival construction). It can be used to augment any verb whose meaning includes motion or movement of any kind. Table 8.15 provides a few examples of andative verbs:

Table 8.15: Icétôd andative verbs

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intransitive |  | Transitive | |
| aronuƙotᵃ | ‘to cross that way’ | hɔnɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtᵃ | ‘to drive off/away’ |
| botonuƙotᵃ | ‘to move away’ | ɨɗɛ́ɛ́sʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to hide way’ |
| bʉrɔnʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to fly off/away’ | ídzesuƙotᵃ | ‘to shoot (away)’ |
| ɨɓákɔ́nʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to go next to’ | ígorésúƙotᵃ | ‘to cross over’ |
| isépónuƙotᵃ | ‘to flow away’ | ƙanésúƙotᵃ | ‘to take away’ |
| kúbonuƙotᵃ | ‘to go out of sight’ | maƙésúƙotᵃ | ‘to give away’ |
| tʉlʉ́ŋɔ́nʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to storm off’ | tɔrɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtᵃ | ‘to toss away’ |

Because the andative suffix comes after infinitive suffixes, whenever an andative infinitive is declined for case, it is the andative suffix that takes case endings. Table 8.16 gives a declension of the [+ATR] andative verb *séɓésuƙotí-* ‘to sweep off’, while Table 8.17 gives a similar declension for the [-ATR] verb *sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɨ́-* ‘to scrub off’:

Table 8.16: Case declension of *séɓésuƙotí-* ‘to sweep off’

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | séɓésuƙota | séɓésuƙotᵃ |
| acc | séɓésuƙotíá | séɓésuƙotíkᵃ |
| dat | séɓésuƙotíé | séɓésuƙotíkᵉ |
| gen | séɓésuƙotíé | séɓésuƙotí |
| abl | séɓésuƙotúó | séɓésuƙotú |
| ins | séɓésuƙoto | séɓésuƙotᵒ |
| cop | séɓésuƙotúó | séɓésuƙotúkᵒ |
| obl | séɓésuƙoti | séɓésuƙotⁱ |

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔta | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtᵃ |
| acc | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɨ́á | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɨ́kᵃ |
| dat | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɨ́ɛ́ | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɨ́kᵋ |
| gen | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɨ́ɛ́ | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɨ́ |
| abl | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtʉ́ɔ́ | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtʉ́ |
| ins | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɔ | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtᵓ |
| cop | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtʉ́ɔ́ | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtʉ́kᵓ |
| obl | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtɨ | sɛkɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtᶤ |

* 1. Aspectuals
     1. Inchoative (inch)

The inchoative suffix {-ét-} is identical to the venitive suffix described in §8.4.1, and this is because its meaning is a metaphorical extension of the meaning of the venitive. That is, the venitive meaning of ‘hither’ was extended to mean the beginning of a state or activity (for intransitives) or the starting up of some action or process (for transitives). The inchoative behaves morphologically (including case declensions) exactly the same as the venitive. Table 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’ | balɛtɛ́s | ‘to ignore’ |
| dikwétón | ‘to start dancing’ | ewanetés | ‘to take note of’ |
| ɛkwɛ́tɔ́n | ‘to start early’ | hoɗetés | ‘to liberate’ |
| ɨɛ́ɓɛ́tɔ̀n | ‘to grow cold’ | ináƙúetés | ‘to destroy’ |
| lɛ́ʝɛ́tɔ̀n | ‘to catch fire’ | rɛɛtɛ́s | ‘to coerce’ |
| tsekétón | ‘to grow bushy’ | taʝaletés | ‘to relinquish’ |
| wasɛ́tɔ́n | ‘to refuse’ | tamɛtɛ́s | ‘to ponder |

* + 1. Completive (comp)

The completive suffix {-uƙot-} is identical to the andative suffix described in §8.4.2, and this is because its meaning is a metaphorical extension of the meaning of the andative. That is, the andative meaning of ‘thither’ was extended to mean the completion of a change of state or activity (for intransitives) or the fulfillment of some action or process (for transitives). The completive behaves morphologically (including case declensions) exactly the same as the andative. Table 8.19 gives a few examples of lexical verbs in the completive aspect:

Table 8.19: Icétôd completive verbs

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intransitive |  | Transitive | |
| aeonuƙotᵃ | ‘to become ripe’ | anɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtᵃ | ‘to remember’ |
| barɔnʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to become rich’ | dɔxɛ́sʉ́ƙɔtᵃ | ‘to reprimand’ |
| hábonuƙotᵃ | ‘to become hot’ | ɦyeésúƙotᵃ | ‘to learn’ |
| hɛ́ɗɔ́nʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to shrivel up’ | kurésúƙotᵃ | ‘to defeat’ |
| mɨtɔnʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to become’ | ŋábɛsʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to finish up’ |
| sɛkɔnʉƙɔtᵃ | ‘to fade away’ | ŋƙáƙésuƙotᵃ | ‘to devour’ |
| zoonuƙotᵃ | ‘to become big’ | toɓésúƙotᵃ | ‘to plunder’ |

* + 1. Pluractional (plur)

The pluractional suffix {-í-} denotes an action or state that is construed as inherently *plural*. This notion of plurality can mean any of the following: 1) an intransitive action done more than once or done by more than one subject, 2) a state attributed more than once or of more than one subject, 3) a transitive action done more than once, done by more than one subject, or done to more than one object. In short, the pluractional suffix conveys the idea that the application of the verb is multiple. The pluractional suffix comes just before the infinitive suffix and is a dominant [+ATR] suffix. Table 8.20 gives a few examples of intransitive and transitive pluractional verbs:

Table 8.20: Icétôd pluractional verbs

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

* 1. Voice and valence
     1. Passive (pass)

The Icétôd passive suffix {-ósí-} has the unusual distinction of being able to modify both intransitive and transitive verbs. With intransitive verbs, the passive adds the nuance of characteristicness to the meaning of the verb, often with the help of root reduplication. With transitive verbs, it has the usual function of a passive, which is to convert the object of a transitive verb into the subject of an intransitive verb. Table 8.21 gives examples of both intransitive and transitive passives:

Table 8.21: Icétôd passives

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intransitive |  | Transitive | |
| botibotos | ‘to be migratory’ | búdòs | ‘to be hidden’ |
| ɓɛkɛsɔs | ‘to be mobile’ | cookós | ‘to be guarded’ |
| deƙwideƙos | ‘to be quarrelsome’ | ɗɔtsɔ́s | ‘to be joined’ |
| ɗɛɲɨɗɛɲɔs | ‘to be restless’ | ʝʉɔ́s | ‘to be roasted’ |
| gúránós | ‘to be hot-tempered’ | ŋáɲɔ́s | ‘to be open’ |
| mɔɲɨmɔɲɔs | ‘to be gossipy’ | ógoós | ‘to be left’ |
| tsuwoós | ‘to be active’ | tsáŋós | ‘to be anointed’ |

Another quirky feature of the Icétôd passive {-ósí-} is that it can function both as a passive infinitive suffix (taking case) and as a regular inflectional suffix followed by subject-agreement pronouns. When it is declined for case, it declines just like the transitive suffix {-ésí-} in §8.2.2. Example (1) below illustrates this in a sentence where the passive infinitive *búdòsì-* ‘to be hidden’ gets the accusative case. Then, example (2) shows the same passive acting as a verb proper, taking the 3pl subject-agreement pronominal suffix {-át-}:

1. *Bɛ́ɗáta búdòsì-kᵃ.*

want:3pl hidden:pass-acc

‘They want to be hidden.’

1. *Búdos-átᵃ.*

hidden:pass-3pl:real

‘They are hidden.’

* + 1. Impersonal passive (ips)

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

1. *Ɨnɔ́mɛ́sánà* *bì*.

beat:fut:ips you:nom

‘You will be beaten.’

1. *Ƙaíánà* *ƙàƙààƙɔ̀kᵋ.*

go:plur:ips hunt:inside:dat

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

* + 1. Middle (mid)

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

The middle suffix {-m-} always has a vowel between it and the preceding verb root. This vowel is usually a copy of the root vowel, as when *ɗusés* ‘cut’ becomes *ɗusúmón* ‘to cut (alone)’, but it can also have a non-copy vowel as in *bokímón* ‘to get caught’. For its part, the middle suffix {-ím-}—a dominant [+ATR] suffix—is always paired with the inchoative suffix {-ét-}, thereby forming the complex morpheme {-ímét-}. Table 8.22 below gives some examples of these two suffixes converting transitive verbs to middle verbs:

Table 8.22: Icétôd middle verbs

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Transitive |  | Middle with {-m-} | |
| ŋáɲɛ́s | ‘to open’ | ŋáɲámòn | ‘to open (alone)’ |
| pakés | ‘to split’ | pakámón | ‘to split (alone)’ |
| pulés | ‘to pierce’ | pulúmón | ‘to go out’ |
| raʝés | ‘to return’ | raʝámón | ‘to return (alone)’ |
| terés | ‘to divide’ | terémón | ‘to divide (alone)’ |
| Transitive |  | Middle with {-ímét-} | |
| átsʼɛ́s | ‘to chew’ | atsʼímétòn | ‘to wear out (alone)’ |
| iɓéléés | ‘to overturn’ | iɓéléìmètòn | ‘to overturn (alone)’ |
| kɔkɛ́s | ‘to close’ | kokíméton | ‘to close (alone)’ |
| rébès | ‘to deprive’ | rébìmètòn | ‘to be deprived (alone)’ |
| tɔrɛɛs | ‘to coerce’ | toreimétòn | ‘to be coerced (alone)’ |

* + 1. Reciprocal (recip)

The reciprocal suffix {-ínósí-} denotes a reciprocal relationship that a verb’s subject has with itself. That is, the reciprocal collapses the subject and direct object of a transitive verb, or the subject and a secondary object of an intransitive verb, into just the subject of a reciprocal verb. In this regard, it is similar to the semi-transitive verbs from §8.2.3 that make use of the reflexive pronoun *asɨ́-* ‘-self’. Table 8.23 provides a few examples of reciprocals derived from other verbs:

Table 8.23: Icétôd reciprocal verbs

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intransitive | | Reciprocal | |
| ɓɛƙɛ́s | ‘to walk’ | ɓɛƙɛ́sɨ́nɔ́s | ‘to walk together’ |
| ɨɓákɔ́n | ‘to be next to | ɨɓákɨ́nɔ́s | ‘to be next to each other’ |
| tódòn | ‘to speak’ | tódinós | ‘to speak to each other’ |
| Transitive | | Reciprocal |  |
| ɦyeés | ‘to know’ | ɦyeínós | ‘to be related’ |
| ɨŋaarɛ́s | ‘to help’ | ɨŋáárɨ́nɔ́s | ‘to help each other’ |
| mɨ́nɛ́s | ‘to love’ | mɨ́nɨ́nɔ́s | ‘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 cohabitate’ is shown in Table 8.24, and in example (5) below, the reciprocal verb *ɨɓákɨ́nɔ́sɨ́-* ‘to be next to each other’ gets the accusative case. Then, example (6) shows the same verb acting as a verb proper, with the 3pl subject-agreement marker {-át-}:

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| nom | ínínósá | ínínós |
| acc | ínínósíà | ínínósíkᵃ |
| dat | ínínósíè | ínínósíkᵉ |
| gen | ínínósíè | ínínósí |
| abl | ínínósúò | ínínósú |
| ins | ínínósó | ínínósᵒ |
| cop | ínínósúò | ínínósúkᵒ |
| obl | ínínósí | ínínós |

1. *Bɛ́ɗáta ɨɓákɨ́nɔ́sɨ́-kᵃ.*

want:3pl:real next.to:recip-acc

‘They want to be next to each other.’

1. *Ɨɓákɨ́nɔ́s-átᵃ.*

next.to:recip-3pl:real

‘They are next to each other.’

* + 1. Causative (caus)

Icétôd expresses causativity with a morphological causative, the causative suffix {-ìt-}. When this suffix is added to a verb with meaning X, it changes the meaning of the verb to ‘cause/make (to) X’. This suffix can be used to causativize intransitive and transitive verbs and comes right after the verb root, before the infinitive marker (if present) and any other suffixes like an inchoative or pluractional. If the last vowel of the verb root is /u/, the causative may be assimilated to {-ùt-}. Table 8.25 gives several examples of causativized verbs:

Table 8.25: Icétôd causative verbs

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intransitive | | Causative | |
| bùkòn | ‘to be prostrate’ | bukites | ‘to lay prostrate’ |
| itúrón | ‘to be proud’ | itúrútés | ‘to praise’ |
| xɛ̀ɓɔ̀n | ‘to be timid’ | xɛɓɨtɛs | ‘to intimidate’ |
| Transitive | |  |  |
| dimés | ‘to refuse’ | dimités | ‘to prohibit’ |
| naƙwɛ́s | ‘to suckle’ | naƙwɨtɛ́s | ‘to give suckle’ |
| zízòn | ‘to be fat’ | zízités | ‘to fatten’ |

* 1. Subject-agreement

Whenever Icétôd grammar calls for verbs to agree with subjects, 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 (underlying) | | Realis (modified) | |
|  | Non-final | Final | Non-final | Final |
| 1sg | -íí | -í | -íá | -í |
| 2sg | -ídì | -îdⁱ | -ídà | -îdᵃ |
| 3sg | -ì | -i | -a | -a |
| 1pl.exc | -ímí | -ím | -ímá | -ím |
| 1pl.inc | -ísínì | -ísín | -ísínà | -ísín |
| 2pl | -ítí | -ítⁱ | -ítá | -ítᵃ |
| 3pl | -átì | -átⁱ | -átà | -átᵃ |

To see instances of the Icétôd subject-agreement suffixes in actual language use, you may refer back to example (11) in §7.2.

* 1. Dummy pronoun (dp)

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

The dummy pronoun has the form {- ́dè} and is very volatile in terms of allomorphy, changing its form in different environments. Once the /d/ is lost in non-final forms, vowel assimilation and vowel harmony so distort the dummy pronoun as to make it almost unrecognizable at times. Table 8.27 below is given to illustrate its diverse allomorphy:

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

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |
| {- ́dè} | - ́è | - ́dᵉ |
|  | - ́ɛ̀ | - ́dᵋ |
|  | - ́ì |  |
|  | - ́ɨ̀ |  |
|  | - ́ò |  |
|  | - ́ɔ̀ |  |

Examples (7)-(8) illustrate the dummy pronoun in two different morphological forms. Note that the tones associated with the pronoun in these examples do not match what is shown in Table 8.27; this is because of local tonal interference. In terms of function, the dummy pronoun in (7) indicates that an indirect object—the destination of the verb *ƙáátà* ‘they go (went)’—has been displaced from its usual spot after the verb to a place of focus at the beginning of the sentence (*Ntsúó*). Then in (8), the dummy pronoun marks an indirect object—the location of staying—that is missing from the clause entirely. Since this sentence was taken out of context from a story, most likely the missing object had been already mentioned earlier in the discourse:

1. *Ntsúó noo Icéá ƙáátà-dᵉ.*

it:cop=past Ik:acc go:3pl:real-dp

‘It’s where the Ik went (to).’

1. *Jʼɛʝʉkɔ́-ɔ́ sàà ròɓàᵉ.*

stay:3sg:seq-dp other:nom people:gen

‘And other people stayed (there).’

* 1. Mood
     1. Irrealis

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

The verbal aspects and modalities that fall under the irrealis mood include the optative, subjunctive, imperative, negative, sequential, and simultaneous, which are discussed in §8.10 below.

* + 1. Realis (real)

In contrast to irrealis, the realis mood includes states and events whose actuality or reality *are* encoded in the grammar. That is to say, realis verbs in Icétôd include in their meaning the fact that something has taken place, is taking place, or will take place in the real world. The morphological manifestation of the realis mood is seen in the realis suffix {-a} that subtracts or deletes the final vowel of the subject-agreement suffix to which it attaches (see Table 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 paradoxically, negative imperatives (which one would see as irrealis).

* 1. Verb paradigms
     1. Intentional-imperfective (int/ipfv)

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

In Table 8.28 below, {-és-} is illustrated with the verb *àts-* ‘come’ in its imperfective sense with a recent past tense marker (*nákᵃ*) and then in its intentional sense, translated with English as future tense ‘will’:

Table 8.28: Icétôd intentional-imperfective aspect

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Imperfective | |  |
| 1sg | Atsésíà nàkᵃ. | ‘I was coming.’ |
| 2sg | Atsésídà nàkᵃ. | ‘You were coming.’ |
| 3sg | Atsesa nákᵃ. | ‘S/he/it was coming.’ |
| 1pl.exc | Atsésímà nàkᵃ | ‘We were coming.’ |
| 1pl.inc | Atsésísìnà nàkᵃ. | ‘We all were coming.’ |
| 2pl | Atsésítà nàkᵃ. | ‘You all were coming.’ |
| 3pl | Atsésátà nàkᵃ. | ‘They were all coming.’ |
| Intentional | |  |
| 1sg | Atsésí. | ‘I will come.’ |
| 2sg | Atsésîdᵃ. | ‘You will come.’ |
| 3sg | Atsés. | ‘S/he/it will come.’ |
| 1pl.exc | Atsésím. | ‘We will come.’ |
| 1pl.inc | Atsésísìn. | ‘We all will come.’ |
| 2pl | Atsésítᵃ. | ‘You all will come.’ |
| 3pl | Atsésátᵃ. | ‘They all will come.’ |

* + 1. Present perfect (prf)

The Icétôd present perfect aspect suffix {- ́ka} denotes a state or event recently completed (‘perfected’) but still relevant in the present. The suffix has a ‘floating’ high tone that shows up on the preceding syllable of 3sg verbs, for example in *Nabʉƙɔtákᵃ* ‘It is finished’. And the /k/ in {- ́ka} disappears in non-final environments, making {- ́a} an allomorph. Table 8.29 presents 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 | Atsíaà... | | Atsíàkᵃ. | ‘I have come’ |
| 2sg | Atsídàà... | | Atsídàkᵃ. | ‘You have come’ |
| 3sg | Atsáá... | | Atsákᵃ. | ‘She has come’ |
| 1pl.exc | Atsímáà... | | Atsímákᵃ. | ‘We have come’ |
| 1pl.inc | Atsísínàà... | | Atsísínàkᵃ. | ‘We all have come’ |
| 2pl | Atsítáà... | | Atsítákᵃ. | ‘You all have come’ |
| 3pl | Atsátàà... | | Atsátàkᵃ. | ‘They have come’ |

* + 1. Optative (opt)

The Icétôd optative mood is used to express wishes, even sarcastic ones like ‘Let the enemies comeǃ’. Optative verbs are often introduced with supporting imperative verbs 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. All optative verbs except 3pl show a kind of high-tone ‘leveling’ in the subject-agreement suffixes. The leveled high tone is pushed out to the end, creating a floating high tone. This high tone is not seen except in the fact that the last syllable of the subject-agreement suffixes remains at mid-tone level (instead of low). In addition to tone, suffixes mark the optative. Special irregular ones are used for 1sg, 1pl.exc, and 1pl.inc, while standard irrealis ones are used for the other members of the paradigm. Note that the 1pl.inc may also be called the ‘hortative’. Another peculiarity of the Icétôd optative is that there is no difference between its non-final and final forms. Table 8.30 presents the optative on 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.’ |

* + 1. Subjunctive (subj)

The Icétôd subjunctive mood is used to encode statements that are contingent or temporally unrealized. In that regard, it is an essentially irrealis verb form because it captures states or events that have not yet happened. It is also essentially irrealis in that it is marked simply by the absence of any marking. In other words, the subject-agreement suffixes surface with their underlying forms in the subjunctive mood, just as they appear in Table 8.26 above. The subjunctive is usually introduced either by *ɗɛmʉsʉ* ‘unless, until’ or *damu (koʝa)* ‘may’. Table 8.31 gives the full subjunctive paradigm with *àts-* ‘come’:

Table 8.31: Icétôd subjunctive mood

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |  |
| 1sg | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsíí... | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsí. | ‘unless I come’ |
| 2sg | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsídì... | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsîdⁱ. | ‘unless you come’ |
| 3sg | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsi... | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsⁱ. | ‘unless she comes’ |
| 1pl.exc | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsímí... | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsím. | ‘unless we come’ |
| 1pl.inc | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsísínì... | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsísín. | ‘unless we all come’ |
| 2pl | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsítí... | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsítⁱ. | ‘unless you all come’ |
| 3pl | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsátì... | ɗɛmʉsʉ atsátⁱ. | ‘unless they come’ |

* + 1. Imperative (imp)

The imperative mood is used to issue commands or instructions. If the recipient of the command is singular, then the suffix used is {-e ́}, and if the recipient is plural, the suffix is {-úó}. The singular {-e ́} has a floating high tone that raises any preceding low tones to mid. Both imperative suffixes are appended to the end of the verb stem, and no subject-agreement markers are needed. Both imperative suffixes are subject to vowel devoicing before a pause, as shown in Table 8.32:

Table 8.32: Icétôd imperative mood

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Singular |  |  | Plural |  |  |
| nf | ff |  | nf | ff |  |
| Atse..ǃ | Atsᵉǃ | ‘Comeǃ’ | Atsúó..ǃ | Atsúǃ | ‘Comeǃ’ |
| Ƙae..ǃ | Ƙaᵉǃ | ‘Goǃ’ | Ƙoyúó..ǃ | Ƙoyúǃ | ‘Goǃ’ |
| Ŋƙɛ..ǃ | Ŋƙᵋǃ | ‘Eatǃ’ | Ŋƙʉ́ɔ́..ǃ | Ŋƙʉ́ǃ | ‘Eatǃ’ |
| Zɛƙwɛ..ǃ | Zɛƙwᵋǃ | ‘Sitǃ’ | Zɛƙʉ́ɔ́..ǃ | Zɛƙʉ́ǃ | ‘Sitǃ’ |

* + 1. 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 | Ńtá ɦyeí. | ‘I don’t know.’ |
| 2sg | Ńtá ɦyeîdⁱ. | ‘You don’t know.’ |
| 3sg | Ńtá ɦyèⁱ. | ‘She doesn’t know.’ |
| Sequential |  |  |
| 1sg | ...moo ɦyeí. | ‘...and I don’t know.’ |
| 2sg | ...moo ɦyeîdⁱ. | ‘...and you don’t know.’ |
| 3sg | ...mòò ɦyèⁱ. | ‘...and she doesn’t know.’ |
| Past realis |  |  |
| 1sg | Máa naa ɦyeí. | ‘I didn’t know.’ |
| 2sg | Máa naa ɦyeîdⁱ. | ‘You didn’t know.’ |
| 3sg | Máà nàà ɦyèⁱ. | ‘She didn’t know.’ |

* + 1. Sequential (seq)

The Icétôd sequential aspect expresses states or events that happen in sequence. Usually a sequence of verbs starts with an anchoring non-sequential verb, and then a clause chain begins in the sequential aspect. For example, when someone tells a story, they may start with one or two past tense realis verbs to set the stage and then continue the narrative with sequential verbs. Or if someone is giving a set of instructions, they may start with one or two imperative verbs followed by a chain of sequential verbs. Because of its versatility, the Icétôd sequential aspect is the language’s most frequently used verb form.

Morphologically, Icétôd sequential verbs are recognized by a combination of tone, irregular subject-agreement suffixes, and the sequential aspect suffix {-ko}. Specifically, all 1st and 2nd-person sequential verbs exhibit high-tone leveling in their subject-agreement suffixes, which pushes a high tone out to the right of the verb. This floating high raises the preceding low tones to mid. These tone effects, plus the irregular suffixes, and the sequential marker {-ko} are shown in Table 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: Icétôd sequential aspect

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |  |
| 1sg | ...atsiaa... | ...atsiakᵒ. | ‘and I come’ |
| 2sg | ...atsiduo... | ...atsidukᵒ. | ‘and you come’ |
| 3sg | ...àtsùò... | ...àtsùkᵒ. | ‘and she comes’ |
| 1pl.exc | ...atsimaa... | ...atsimakᵒ. | ‘and we come’ |
| 1pl.inc | ...atsisinuo... | ...atsisinukᵒ. | ‘and we all come’ |
| 2pl | ...atsituo... | ...atsitukᵒ. | ‘and you all come’ |
| 3pl | ...àtsìnì... | ...àtsìn. | ‘and they come’ |
| pass | ...atsese... | ...atses. | ‘and it was come’ |

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

* + 1. Simultaneous (sim)

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

Morphologically, the simultaneous aspect is marked by the suffix {-ke}, which is affixed to the subject-agreement suffixes in their irrealis forms. Table 8.35 presents the simultaneous paradigm of *àts-* ‘come’:

Table 8.35: Icétôd simultaneous aspect

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-final | Final |  |
| 1sg | ...atsííkè... | ...atsííkᵉ. | ‘while I was coming’ |
| 2sg | ...atsídìè... | ...atsídìkᵉ. | ‘while you were coming’ |
| 3sg | ...àtsìè... | ...àtsìkᵉ. | ‘while she was coming’ |
| 1pl.exc | ...atsímíè... | ...atsímíkᵉ. | ‘while we were coming’ |
| 1pl.inc | ...atsísínìè... | ...atsísínìkᵉ. | ‘while we all were coming’ |
| 2pl | ...atsítíè... | ...atsítíkᵉ. | ‘while you all were coming’ |
| 3pl | ...atsátìè... | ...atsátìkᵉ. | ‘while they were coming’ |

* 1. Adjectival verbs
     1. Overview

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

* + 1. Physical property I (phys1)

The physical property i adjectival suffix {- d-} is found on adjectival verbs that express physical properties like appearance, size, shape, consistency, texture, and other tangible attributes. As a result, Physical Property I verbs are some of the language’s most colorful adjectivals. Physical Property I verbs all contain two syllable with LH tone pattern, and in the infinitive, they take the intransitive suffix {-ònì-}. Table 8.36 gives a sample of these colorful descriptive terms:

Table 8.36: Icétôd Physical Property I adjectival verbs

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| bufúdòn | ‘to be spongy’ |
| ɗɔmɔ́dɔ̀n | ‘to be gluey’ |
| dirídòn | ‘to be compacted’ |
| ʝamúdòn | ‘to be velvety’ |
| lɛtsʼɛ́dɔ̀n | ‘to be bendy’ |
| pɨɗɨ́dɔ̀n | ‘to be sleek’ |
| tsakádòn | ‘to be watery’ |

* + 1. Physical property II (phys2)

The physical property ii adjectival suffix {-m-} is found in adjectival verbs that also express physical properties like appearance, color, consistency, posture, shape, and texture. It can also express less physical attributes like strength, weakness, or personality traits. Physical Property II verbs usually contain two syllables with a LH tone pattern or three syllables with a LHH tone pattern, and in the infinitive, they take the intransitive suffix {-ònì}. Table 8.37 gives a sample of these descriptive adjectival verbs:

Table 8.37: Icétôd Physical Property II adjectival verbs

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Bisyllabic |  |
| buɗámón | ‘to be black’ |
| dʉ́gʉ̀mɔ̀n | ‘to be hunched’ |
| firímón | ‘to be clogged’ |
| kikímón | ‘to be stocky’ |
| kwɛtsʼɛ́mɔ́n | ‘to be damaged’ |
| Trisyllabic |  |
| bulúƙúmòn | ‘to be bulbous’ |
| ʝʉrʉ́tʉ́mɔ̀n | ‘to be slippery |
| pelérémòn | ‘to be squinty’ |
| ságwàràmòn | ‘to be shadeless’ |
| tɛ́ƙɛ́zɛ̀mɔ̀n | ‘to be shallow |

* + 1. Stative (stat)

The stative adjectival suffix {-án-} forms adjectival verbs that express an ongoing state characterized by the meaning of a noun or a transitive verb. Because {-án-} contains the vowel /a/, it prevents vowel harmony from spreading between the verbal root and any suffixes that follow the stative suffix (for example, infinitive or subject-agreement suffixes). Table 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’ |
| ɛ́sá- | ‘drunkenness’ | ɛsánón | ‘to be drunk’ |
| kirotí- | ‘sweat’ | kirotánón | ‘to be sweaty’ |
| ɲɛ̀ƙɛ̀- | ‘hunger’ | ɲɛƙánón | ‘to be hungry’ |
| ɲèrà- | ‘girls’ | iɲéráánón | ‘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 |  |
| ɓɛkɛ́s | ‘to provoke’ | ɓɛkánón | ‘to be provocative’ |
| dzɛrɛ́s | ‘to tear’ | dzɛrɛdzɛránón | ‘to be torn in shreds’ |
| itáléés | ‘to forbid’ | itáléánón | ‘to be forbidden’ |
| itukes | ‘to heap’ | itukánón | ‘to be congregated’ |
| ɨraŋɛs | ‘to spoil’ | ɨráŋʉ́nánón | ‘to be spoiled’ |

* + 1. Distributive (distr)

Icétôd has two distributive adjectival suffixes: {-aák-} and {-ìk-}. These suffixes have the function of distributing the meaning of the adjectival verb to more than one subject. The suffix {-aák-} can be used with all kinds of adjectival verbs, including the physical property and stative varieties, while the suffix {-ìk-} has been found only with the two verbs of size, *kwáts-* ‘small’ and *zè-* ‘large’. Moreover, it commonly occurs together with {-aák-}, as in *kwátsíkaakón* ‘to be small (of many)’ and *zeikaakón* ‘to be large (of many)’. Table 8.40 gives a sampling of adjectival verbs with the distributive suffix:

Table 8.40: Icétôd distributive adjectival verbs

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| buɗúdaakón | ‘to be soft (of many)’ |
| ɓetsʼaakón | ‘to be white (of many)’ |
| gaanaakón | ‘to be bad (of many)’ |
| kúɗaakón | ‘to be short (of many)’ |
| maráŋaakón | ‘to be good (of many)’ |
| nɔtsɔ́daakón | ‘to be adhesive (of many)’ |
| semélémaakón | ‘to be elliptical (of many)’ |

1. Adverbs
   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.

* 1. Manner adverbs

manner adverbs modify whole clauses by commenting on the manner in which a state comes across or in which an action is done. Manner adverbs come near or at the end of the clause they modify, as shown in (1)-(2) below. Table 9.1 presents a sampling of these adverbs:

Table 9.1: Icétôd manner adverbs

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| ɗɛ̀mʉ̀sʉ̀ | ‘fast, quickly’ |
| hɨɨ́ʝɔ́ | ‘carefully, slowly’ |
| ʝíìkì | ‘always’ |
| ʝɨ́kɨ̀ | ‘really, totally’ |
| kɔ́ntɨ́ákᵉ | ‘straightaway’ |
| mʉ̀kà | ‘completely, forever’ |
| pákà | ‘indefinitely’ |
| zùkù | ‘very’ |

1. *Gaana mɛna díí zuku ʝɨ́kᶤ.*

bad:3sg issues:nom=those adv adv

‘Those issues are really bad!’

1. *Zízaaƙótùò ròɓà mʉ̀kà.*

fat:dist:comp:3sg:seq people:nom adv

‘And the people fattened up completely!’

* 1. Temporal adverbs
     1. Overview

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

* + 1. Past tense adverbs (pst)

Icétôd divides past tense into four time periods and marks them with special adverbial enclitics. They are: 1) recent past that covers the current day and is marked with =*nákà*, 2) removed past that covers yesterday (or any last or ‘yester-’ time period) and is marked with =*bàtsè*, 3) remote past that covers a few days or weeks before yesterday and is marked with =*nótsò*, and finally, 4) remotest past that covers everything before the remote past and is marked with =*nòkò*. Each of these tense enclitics has a non-final and final form, and as enclitics, they always come directly after the verb in a clause. Table 9.2 illustrates the Icétôd tense markers in all their forms, and examples (3)-(4) illustrate their position in a sentence:

Table 9.2: Icétôd past tense markers

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | nf | ff |  |
| Recent | =náà | =nákᵃ | ‘earlier today’ |
| Removed | =bèè | =bàtsᵉ | ‘yester-’ |
| Remote | =nótsò | =nótsò | ‘a while ago’ |
| Remotest | =nòò | =nòkᵒ | ‘long ago’ |

1. *Ƙaá bee abáŋa sáásɔ̀sɨǹ.*

go:3sg=pst my.father:nom yesterday

‘My father went yesterday.’

1. *Maráŋa noo ɦyekesa Icé.*

good:3sg=pst life:nom Ik:gen

‘The life of the Ik was good (back then).’

* + 1. Past perfect tense adverbs (pst.prf)

The past tense can be combined with a perfect aspect to yield the past perfect tense. Unlike the simple past tense adverbs, Icétôd past perfect tense adverbs operate along only three periods of time: recent (earlier today), removed (yester-), and remote (before yester-). Table 9.3 presents the Icétôd past perfect tense adverbs, and example sentences (5)-(6) illustrate their use in natural language situations:

Table 9.3: Icétôd past perfect tense markers

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | nf | ff |  |
| Recent | =nanáà | =nanákᵃ | ‘had...earlier today’ |
| Removed | =nàtsàmʉ̀ | =nàtsàm | ‘had...yester-’ |
| Remote | =nànòò | =nànòkᵒ | ‘had...a while ago’ |

1. *Náa atsíâdᵉ, ƙaa nanákᵃ.*

when come:1sg:dp go:3sg pst.prf

‘When I came earlier, she had (already) gone.’

1. *Tsʼɛ́dɔ́ɔ́ nɛ, tsʼéíƙotátà nànòkᵒ.*

then:ins that die.3pl:comp pst.prf

‘By that (time), they had died out a while ago.’

* + 1. Non-past tense adverbs

Icétôd divides the non-past tense into three rather vaguely defined time periods suggested by three adverbs. They are: 1) the distended present that includes just before and just after the present and is expressed by the adverb *tsʼɔɔ*, 2) the removed future that includes the *next* future time period (next hour, next day, next year) and is expressed by the adverb *táà*, and 3) the remote future expressed by the adverb *fàrà* (occasionally *fàrò*). Table 9.4 arranges these adverbs in a paradigm, while (7)-(8) below illustrates them in real sentences:

Table 9.4: Icétôd non-past tense markers

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | nf | ff |  |
| Distended present | tsʼɔ̀ɔ̀ | tsʼɔ̀ɔ̀ | ‘just/recently/soon’ |
| Removed | táà | táà | ‘next\_\_\_\_’ |
| Remote | fàrà | fàr | ‘in the future’ |

1. *Atsíá nàà tsʼɔ̀ɔ̀. Atsésíà tsʼɔ̀ɔ̀.*

come:1sg=past just come:int:1sg soon

‘I just came.’ ‘I will come soon.’

1. *Atsésíma táa baratsᵒ.*

come:1pl.exc next morning:ins

‘We will come tomorrow (i.e., next morning).’

* 1. Epistemic adverbs
     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.

* + 1. Inferential adverbs (infr)

Icétôd can communicate a degree of uncertainty about a situation by means of a set of inferential tense-based adverbs. This sense of making a tentative inference based on an observation can be translated into English with such turns of phrase as ‘Apparently...’, ‘Maybe...’, ‘It seems that...’, ‘must have’, etc. Two of these inferential particles consist of the proclitic *ná* plus a past-tense particle, while the third combines *ná* with the adverb *tsamʉ*. Table 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 | nábàtsᵉ | ‘apparently earlier today’ |
| Removed | nátsàmʉ̀ | nátsàm | ‘apparently yester-’ |
| Remote | nánòò | nánòkᵒ | ‘apparently long ago’ |

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

1. *Baduƙota nábàtsᵉ.* *Nábee baduƙotᵃ.*

die:comp:3sg infr infr die:comp:3sg

‘It died, apparently.’ ‘Apparently, it died.’

1. *Nanoo teremátᵃ.*

infr separate:3pl

‘It looks like they separated.’

* + 1. Confirmational adverbs (conf)

Icétôd can also issue a confirmation of a state or event by means of a set of confirmational adverbs that are derived from the tensed relative pronouns described back in §5.7. When these particles are used, they are placed before the verb, and the verb surfaces in its non-final form, almost like a question rendered in English ‘Why yes, did X *not* happen?’—meaning that, of course, it *did* happen. The confirmational suffixes first presented in Table 9.6 and then demonstrated below in example sentences (11)-(12):

Table 9.6: Icétôd confirmational markers

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Recent | náa | ‘Of course\_\_\_\_earlier today.’ |
| Removed | sɨna | ‘Of course\_\_\_\_yester-.’ |
| Remote | noo | ‘Of course\_\_\_\_long ago.’ |

1. *Ŋƙáƙóídà bèè? Sɨna ŋƙáƙótíà.*

eat:comp:2sg=pst conf eat:comp:1sg

‘Did you eat (it) up? ‘Yes, of course I did.’

1. *Dètà nòò? Nòò dètà.*

bring:3sg=pst conf bring:3sg

‘Did she bring (it)?’ ‘Yes, of course she did.’

* + 1. Conditional-hypothetical adverbs (cond/hypo)

If a state or event has not taken place but *could* or *would* take place, Icétôd can express that contingency with its conditional-hypothetical adverbs. There are three of these adverbs, but they are used to cover four periods of time. The first adverb covers non-past and recent past, the second removed past, and third remote past. These conditional-hypothetical adverbs are presented below in Table 9.7:

Table 9.7: Icétôd conditional-hypothetical adverbs

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | nf | ff |  |
| Non-past | ƙánàà | ƙánàkᵃ | ‘would’ |
| Recent | ƙánàà | ƙánàkᵃ | ‘would have...earlier today’ |
| Removed | ƙásàmʉ̀ | ƙásàm | ‘would have...yester-’ |
| Remote | ƙánòò | ƙánòkᵒ | ‘would have...a while ago’ |

The conditional-hypothetical adverbs come after the main verb:

1. *Tóída ƙánaa ɲ́cìè?*

tell:2sg hypo I:dat

‘You would tell me?’

1. *Cɛmɨ́sɨ́na ƙánòkᵒ.*

fight:1pl.inc cond

‘We all would have fought.’

1. Basic syntax
   1. Noun phrases

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

1. Icétôd NP structure:

head (anph)(poss)(num)(rel/temp) (dem)

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

1. head

*wikᵃ*

‘children’

1. head anph

*wika díí*

‘those (specific) children’

1. head poss

*wika ɲ́cì*

‘my children’

1. head anph poss

*wika díí ɲ́cì*

‘those (specific) children of mine’

1. head anph poss num

*wika díí ɲ́cìè lèɓètsè*

‘those two (specific) children of mine’

1. head anph poss rel

*wika díí ɲ́cie [ni leɓetse]rel*

‘those (specific) children of mine, two in number’

1. head anph poss num rel

*wika díí ɲ́cie leɓetse [ní dà] rel*

‘those two nice (specific) children of mine’

1. head anph poss num rel dem

*wika díí ɲ́cie leɓetse [ní daa] rel ni*

‘those two nice (specific) children of mine, these’

1. head anph poss num temp dem

*wika díí ɲ́cie leɓetse níi ni*

‘those two (specific) children of mine from earlier, these’

* 1. Clause structure
     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):

1. *Epav* *ŋókᵃs.*

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):

1. *Epáv* *beetense ŋókás kurúe.*

sleep:3sg=yester- dog:nom shade:abl

‘The dog slept in the shade yesterday.’

* + 1. Transitive

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

1. *Átsʼáv* *ŋókáa ɔkákᵃo.*

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):

1. *Átsʼáv beetense ŋókáa ɔkááo ódàtùe*

gnaw:3sg=yester- dog:nom bone:acc day:ins

‘The dog gnawed the bone all day yesterday.’

* + 1. Ditransitive

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

1. *Maav*  *ƙaƙaamaa ɔkááo ŋókíkᵉe.*

give:3sg hunter:nom bone:acc dog:dat

‘The hunter gives a bone to the dog.’

* + 1. Causative

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

1. Intransitive vs → Causative vao
2. *Fekíàv* *ŋkᵃv.*

laugh:1sg I:nom

‘I laugh’.

1. *Fekitéídàva* *ŋ̀kᵃo.*

laugh:caus:2sg I:nom

‘You make me laugh.’

1. Transitive vao → Causative vaoe
2. *Wetía v* *ŋkaa cueo.*

drink:1sg I:nom water:nom

‘I drink water.’

1. *Wetitéídava*  *ŋkao cuékᵉE.*

drink:caus:2sg I:nom water:dat

‘You make me drink water.’

* + 1. Auxiliary

Icétôd has both true auxiliary verbs and pseudo-auxiliary verbs. Both types create modified syntactic structures. The true auxiliaries, shown in Table 10.1, function as the syntactic main verb in a clause, while the *semantic* main verb follows the subject (s/a) in a morphologically defective form that consists of the bare verb stem plus a suffix {-a} (which may be the realis marker from §8.9.2). This means the constituent order of clauses with true auxiliary verbs is auxSV for intransitives, auxAVO for transitives, and auxAVOE with extended objects. Again, in all these constructions, the aux acts as the main verb from a syntactic perspective, while the defective verb carries the main meaning of the verbal schema. Another way to analyze this construction would be to say that the auxiliary verb and the defective verb *together* fill the verb slot of the clausal syntax.

The true auxiliaries have both lexical and aspectual meanings, which are nevertheless practically identical in their semantics. However, in their lexical function, the verbs in Table 10.1 do not require a second, morphologically defective verb to augment them; they stand alone.

Table 10.1: Icétôd true auxiliary verbs

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Root | Lexical | Aspectual |
| erúts- | ‘be fresh, new’ | recentive |
| ŋɔ́r- | ‘do already/early’ | anticipative |
| sár- | ‘be still/not yet’ | durative |

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

1. *ErútsímaAuxS* *atsav sédàᵒe.*

recent:1pl.exc come garden:abl

‘We just came from the garden.’

Example (19), on the other hand, shows the use of the anticipative verb *ŋɔ́r-* in a transitive clause with the structure auxAVOE:

1. *Ŋɔ́ráAuxA naa cɛav riáo baratsoe nákᵃ.*

anticip:3sg=pst kill goat:acc morn:ins=dem.pst

‘He already killed the goat earlier this morning.’

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

1. *SáráAux sédas tsʼágwàv.*

dur:3sg garden:nom unripe

‘The garden is still unripe.’

In contrast, the pseudo-auxiliary verbs only mimic true auxiliaries in that they are fully lexical verbs yet ones with potentially aspectual meanings, including the completive, inchoative, and occupative. However, because they are not *syntactically* auxiliary, they take complements as any lexical verb would (direct objects for the transitive ones and extended objects for the intransitive one). The pseudo-auxiliaries are presented in Table 10.2 with their lexical and aspectual meanings and the cases required in their complements:

Table 10.2: Icétôd pseudo-auxiliary verbs

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Stem | Lexical | Aspectual | Case required |
| náb-ʉƙɔt- | ‘end, finish’ | completive | nom/acc |
| itsyák-ét- | ‘begin, start’ | inchoative | nom/acc |
| toɗó- | ‘alight, land’ | inchoative | nom/acc |
| isé-ét- | ‘begin, start’ | inchoative | nom/acc |
| cɛ̀m- | ‘fight, struggle’ | occupative | ins |

Each of the aspectual meanings listed in Table 10.2 are given one example in the following sentences. The brackets in (21) signify that the bracketed noun phrase as a whole is the object of the verb.

1. Completive

*Nábʉƙɔtɨ́áava [isóméésá ɲáɓúkwi]o.*

finish:1sg:prf to.read:nom book:gen

‘I have finished reading the book.’

1. Inchoative

*Itsyaketátaava wáánàkᵃo.*

begin:3pl:prf praying:acc

‘They have begun praying.’

1. Occupative

*Cɛmav  wikas wáákᵒe.*

fight:3 children:nom playing:ins

‘The children are busy playing.’

* + 1. Copular

Icétôd copular clauses have relational rather than referential meanings. They link a copular subject (cs) to a copular complement (cc) which represents an entity or attribute, depending on the specific copular verb involved. The constituent order of copular clauses is therefore v-cs-cc. Icétôd has three distinct copular or ‘be’ verbs that can express five copular relationships between them. These copular verbs are presented in Table 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 |
| ì- | Existence | nom | – |
|  | Location | nom | dat |
| ìr- | Attribution | nom | (adverb) |
| mɨ̀t- | Identity | nom | obl |
|  | Possession | nom | gen |

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

1. Existence

*Iav didigwarícs.*

be:3sg rain.top:nom

‘Heaven [i.e. God] is (there).’

1. Location

*Iav lɔŋɔ́tács muceékᵉcc.*

be:3 enemies:nom way:dat

‘Enemies are on the way.’

1. Attribution

*Iravcs tíyéadv.*

be:3sg like.this

‘It is like this.’

1. Identity

Mɨtɨ́áv ŋka*cs* bábòcc.

be:1sg I:nom father.your:obl

‘I am your father.’

1. Possession

Mɨtav [awa na]*cs* ŋgóᵉcc.

be:3sg home:nom this we:gen

‘This house is ours.’

* + 1. Fronted

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

1. Cleft construction
2. *Bɛ́ɗɨ́màv* *ŋ̀gwàa mɛ̀so.*

want:1pl.exc we:nom beer:nom

‘We want beer.’

1. *Mɛsɔɔcc* *[ŋgóá bɛ́ɗɨ́m.]cs*

beer:cop we:acc want:1pl.exc

‘It is beer (that) we want.’

Whereas the cleft construction involves removing a clausal element from a clause and building a new clause, left-dislocation simply relocates the element to the front of the clause, but still within the same clause. In this fronted position it is given the nominative case. This type of fronting can be formulized as: [NP:nom ‖ clause]clause, where the double vertical line symbolized a short pause. Icétôd left-dislocation is illustrated in the following two example sentences:

1. Left-dislocation
2. *Mée* *eníí kaúdza díí.*

not:prf see:1sg money:nom=anph

‘I haven’t seen that money.’

1. *Kaúdza* *díí, mée ení.*

money:nom=anph not:prf see:1sg

‘That money, I haven’t seen (it).’

* 1. Subordinate clauses
     1. Overview

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

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

* + 1. Relative clauses

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

As a subordinate clause, an Icétôd relative clause exhibits a different constituent order than typical main clauses. That is, an intransitive relative clause has the order sv (instead of vs), and a transitive relative clause has the order oav (instead of vao). In the former (intransitive), the subject slot (s) is filled by the relative pronoun, and in the latter (transitive), it is the object (o) that is represented by the relative pronoun. Furthermore, apart for the relative pronouns themselves, all subjects and direct objects in relative clauses are marked with the accusative case—another sign of subordination.

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

1. Intransitive (sv)

*Nesíbimaa emutaca [nɛs ɛ́fv]rel.*

hear:1pl.exc:prf story:nom =rel sweet:3sg

‘We’ve heard a story that is funny.’

1. Transitive (oav)

*Atsáá imaca [náao ɲciaa takív]rel.*

come:3sg:prf child =rel I:acc mention:1sg

‘The child I mentioned earlier has come.’

* + 1. Adverbial clauses

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

Among the main kinds of adverbial clause in Icétôd are the following: temporal, simultaneous, conditional, hypothetical, manner, reason/cause, and concessive. Most types of adverbial clause—except for the manner type—have their own dedicated connective (or ‘conjunction’) or set of connectives, many of which are listed back in Table 3.8 under §3.14. Without exception, the subordinating connectives come first in the adverbial clause. Lastly, Icétôd adverbial clauses may come before or after the main clause they modify.

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

1. Temporal

*[Noo ntsíá baduƙotâdᵉ]temp, ƙɔ́ɗɨakᵒ.*

when he:3sg die:3sg:dp cry:1sg:seq

‘When he died, I cried.’

1. Simultaneous

*[Náa ntsíá badúƙótìkᵉ]simul, ƙɔ́ɗɛ́sɨakᵒ.*

as he:3sg die:3sg:sim cry:ipfv:1sg:seq

‘As he was dying, I was crying.’

1. Conditional

*[Na ntsa badúƙótùkᵒ]cond, ƙɔ́ɗɨakᵒ.*

if he:nom die:3sg:seq cry:1sg:seq

‘If he dies, I’ll cry.’

1. Hypothetical

*[Na ƙánoo ntsa badúƙótùkᵒ]hypo,*

if would’ve he:3sg die:3sg:seq

*ƙɔ́ɗɨaa ƙánòkᵒ.*

cry:1sg:seq would’ve

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

1. Manner

*Badúƙótuo [(ntsíá) tisílíkᵉ]manner.*

die:3sg:seq (he:acc) peaceful:3sg:sim

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

1. Reason/cause

*Baduƙotáá [ɗúó ídzanâdᵉ]reason.*

die:3sg:prf because shoot:ips:3sg:dp

‘He has died because he was shot.’

1. Concessive

*[Áta ntsíá badúƙótìkᵉ]concess, ńtá ƙɔ́ɗɨ́.*

even he:acc die:3sg:sim not cry:1sg

‘Even if he dies, I will not cry.’

* 1. Questions
     1. Overview

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

* + 1. Polar questions

Polar questions are those that elicit a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ in response. In Icétôd, they are formed by leaving the last word or particle in the question in its non-final form (revisit §2.3 and §2.4.3 for a review). This open-endedness of form is a fascinating way the grammar reflects the open-endedness of a question—open to a response. Besides the non-final form of the last word, polar questions are often identified by a change in intonation. This interrogative intonation is enacted by what is called a boundary low tone: a low tone that attaches to the final syllable. If the final syllable already has a low tone, then the boundary tone is not audible. But if the final syllable has a high tone, the boundary tone manifests as a high-low glide.

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

1. *Nábʉƙɔtáà? Ee, nábʉƙɔtákᵃ.*

finish:comp:3sg:prf[nf] yes finish:comp:3sg:prf[ff]

‘Is it finished?’ ‘Yes, it is finished.’

1. *Cekúô? Ee, cekúó ntsaᵃ.*

woman:cop[nf] yes woman:cop she:nom

‘Is it a woman?’ ‘Yes, she’s a woman.’

* + 1. Content questions

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

1. *Ƙeesída ndaíkᵉ?*

go:int:2sg:real where:dat

‘You are going where?

1. *Bɛ́ɗá ìsìkᵃ?*

want:3sg:real what:nom

‘He wants what?’

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

1. *Ndaíó ƙeesídàdᵉ?*

where:cop go:2sg:real:dp

‘Where are you going?’

1. *Isio bɛ́ɗᵃ?*

what:cop want:3sg:real

‘What does he want?’

1. *Ndoo óá ɲ̀cìkᵃ?*

who:cop call:3sg:real I:acc

‘Who calls me?’

1. *Ńtɛ́ɛ́nɔ́ɔ tákîdᵃ?*

which:cop mean:2sg:real

‘Which (one) do you mean?’

* 1. Quotations

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

1. *Kʉ̀tà ìs?* NOT *\*Kʉta ísìk?*

say:3sg what[obl] say:3sg what:acc

‘He says what?’ ‘He says what?’

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

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

1. *Kʉtɨ́á bie [Pakóícéo noo dzígwì]quotation*

say:1sg you:dat Turkana:cop=pst buy:plur

‘I’m telling you it was the Turkana who used to buy.’

1. *Kʉtana taa [atsúó ɗɛ̀mʉ̀s]quotation*

say:ips that come:imp quickly

‘They are saying, ‘Come quickly!’.”

* 1. Complements

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

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

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

1. *{Enáta [toimɛnaa}obj barʉƙɔtɨ́máà zùkᵘ]compl*

see:3pl that:acc rich:comp:1pl:prf very

‘They see that we have become very rich.’

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

1. *Xɛɓɨ́á [toimɛnɔɔ maíá sílím]compl*

fear:1sg that:abl ill:1sg AIDS:nom

‘I am afraid that I’m ill with AIDS.’

1. *Mɨta ʝa [toimɛna ńtá nesíbi mɛnákᵃ]compl*

be:3sg=just that[obl] not hear:3sg words:acc

‘It is just that she doesn’t understand instructions.’

* 1. Comparatives

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

1. *Zeíá ŋ́kà bù.*

big:1sg I:nom you:abl

‘I am bigger than you.’

1. *Daa ɗa na kɨɗɔ́ɔ́*

nice:3sg this.one:nom=this that.one:abl

‘This one is nicer than that one.’

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

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

1. *Tokobia eɗi̊á [ɪlɔ́ɨ́ɛ ŋgókᵃ]sim*

cultivate:plur:3sg grain:acc surpass:3sg:sim we:acc

‘He cultivates grain more than us.’

1. *Sáɓúmósáta [ɨlɔ́ɨnɨ toni ɲeryaŋ]seq*

kill:recip:3pl exceed:3pl:seq even government[obl]

‘They’re killing each other even more than the feds.’

* 1. Clause combining
     1. Clause coordination

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

Clause addition is achieved in two primary ways: 1) simply adjoining the clauses with a pause in between (represented by a period in writing) or 2) linking the clauses with a coordinating connective like *koto* ‘and, but, then’ or *ńdà* ‘and’. A third way to add a clause that alters its syntactic profile is to nominalize it—change all its main parts to nouns, put them in a noun phrase, and link it up to the first with *ńdà*. Note from (42) that with this third method, because the word *ńdà* ‘and’ is acting as a sort preposition, it requires its head noun(s) to be in the oblique case. Its head nouns in example (42) are the nominalized subject (*ŋgo*) and verb (*ŋƙɛ́sɨ́*)—both in the oblique case.

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

1. *Mɨ́nɨ́a ɲécáyᵃ. Mɨ́ná ntsa mɛ́sɛ̀kᵃ.*

love:1sg tea:nom love:3sg she:nom beer:acc

‘I love tea. She loves beer.’

1. *Ƙaƙiésána noo ńtí,*

hunt:plur:ipfv:ips:real=pst how

‘How did people used to go hunting,

*ńda ƙaíána noo waa waicíkée ńti?*

and go:plur:ips:real=pst pick:nom greens:gen how

and how did they used to go picking greens?’

1. *Itétimaa awákᵉ,*

return:1sg:seq home:dat

‘We returned home,

*ńda ŋgo ŋƙɛ́sɨ́ tɔbɔŋɔ́ᵉ.*

and we:obl to.eat:obl mush:gen

and we ate mealmush.’

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

1. *Bɛna ɲ́cùkᵒ. Bùkᵒ.*

not:3sg I:cop you:cop

‘It’s not me. It’s you.

1. *Bɛɗʉƙɔtɨ́a naa ɲɛ́mɛlɛkʉ́,*

search:*comp:1sg=pst* hoe:*nom*

‘I went and looked for the hoe,

*koto máa naa ŋunetí.*

but not=*pst* find:*1sg*

but I did not find (it).’

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

1. *Tɔkɔ́bɛsɨ́da eɗa,*

farm:ipfv:2sg:real grain:nom

‘Are you farming grain,

*keɗe ńtá tɔkɔ́bɛsɨ̂dᶤ?*

or not farm:ipfv:2sg:real

or are you not farming (it)?’

1. *Enída mɛna gaanaakátìkᵉ,*

see:2sg:real things:nom bad:distr:3pl:sim

‘Do you see things being bad all around,

*kori maráŋaakátìkᵉ?*

or good:distr:3pl:sim

or as being good all around?

* + 1. Clause chaining

But in fact, the most common way Icétôd links independent clauses is through clause ‘co-subordination’ or clause chaining. To create a chain of clauses, the grammar starts with an anchoring phrase or clause to set the stage modally or temporally, and then it puts all the following mainline verbs in the sequential aspect (see §8.10.7), creating a chain of two or more clauses. When clause chaining is used in a story, the temporal ‘anchor’ can be a simple time expression like *kaɨ́nɨ́kò nùkᵘ* ‘in those years’ or a tensed statement like *Atsa noo ámá ntanée taa Apáálɔrɛ́ŋ* ‘There came a man named Apaaloreng’. In (47) below, the clause chain is anchored by the initial adverbial phrase *Na kónító ódoue baratsoó* ‘One day, in the morning’, which puts the whole sentence in a temporal frame. Thenceforth, the clause chain proceeds clause by clause, each marked as seq1, seq2, etc.:

1. *[Na kónító ódoue baratsoó]adv*

when one day:gen morning:ins

‘One day, in the morning,

*[ipu****o*** *taƙáɨ́kakᵃ]seq1*

cast:3sg:seq shoes:acc

he cast (his) shoes (in divination),

*[eɡu****o*** *taƙáɨ́ka ɛ́bakᵃ]seq2*

put:3sg:seq shoes:nom gun:acc

and the shoes made (the shape of) a gun,

*[ipu****o***  *naɓó]seq3*

cast:3sg:seq again

and he cast (them) again,

*[eɡ****ini*** *ɛ́bakᵃ]seq4*

put:3pl:seq gun:acc

and they made a gun.’

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

1. *[Náa iryámétanɨ́ɛ́ gwasákᵉ]adv1*

when get:ips:sim stone:dat

‘When a stone is acquired,

*[ŋɔɛ́ɛsɛ ɲaɓáláŋɨ̀tᵃ]seq1*

grind:inch:sps soda.ash:nom

soda ash is ground up.

*[náa ɲaɓáláŋɨtɨ́á iwíɗímètìkᵉ]adv2*

when soda.ash:acc pulverize:mid:sim

When the soda ash is ground to powder,

*[egesée lɔ́tɔ́ɓᵃ]seq2*

put:sps:dp tobacco:nom

tobacco is put into it,

*[ŋɔɛsɛ]seq3*

grind:sps

and it is ground

*[páka ɲapúɗúmùƙòtùkᵒ]seq4*

until powdery:comp:seq

until it becomes fine powder....’

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

1. *[Na bɛ́ɗɨdɔɔ bɛrɛ́sá hoe]adv*

if want:2sg:seq to.build:nom house:gen

‘If you want to build a house,

*[bɛrɛ tí]imp1*

build:imp like.this

build (it) like this:

*[Kawete titíríkᵃ, kɛɗɨtɨ́n, ńda sim]imp2*

cut:imp pole:pl reed:p and fiber

Cut poles, reeds, and fiber,

*[iréɲuƙoiduo bácɨ́kᵃ]seq1*

clear:comp:2sg:seq area:nom

clear away the area,

*[úgiduo ripitín]seq2*

dig:2sg:seq hole:pl:nom

dig holes,

*[otídukwéé titíríkᵃ]seq3*

pour:2sg:seq:dp pole:pl:nom

and put the poles into them...’

Appendix A: Icétôd affixes

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

Table: Full list of Icétôd affixes

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

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Non-final | Final | Name | Section |
| -és(í)- | -és | Transitive infinitive | §8.2.2 |
| -ese ́ | -esᵉ ́ | Sequential imp. passive | §8.10.7 |
| -èt- | – | Venitive directional | §8.4.1 |
| -èt- | – | Inchoative aspect | §8.5.1 |
| -ɛ | -ᵋ | Genitive case | §7.5 |
| -ɛ | -kᵋ | Dative case | §7.3 |
| -ɛ | -kᵋ | Simultaneous aspect | §8.10.8 |
| -́ɛ̀ | -́dᵉ | Dummy pronoun | §8.8 |
| -ɛ ́ | -ᵋ ́ | Imperative singular | §8.10.5 |
| -ɛd(ɛ)- | -ɛdᵋ | Possessive singular | §4.2.4 |
| -ɛ́s- | – | Imperfective aspect | §8.10.1 |
| -ɛ́s- | – | Intentional modality | §8.10.1 |
| -ɛ́s(ɨ́)- | -ɛ́s | Transitive infinitive | §8.2.2 |
| -ɛsɛ ́ | -ɛsᵋ ́ | Sequential imp. passive | §8.10.7 |
| -ɛ̀t- | – | Venitive directional | §8.4.1 |
| -ɛ̀t- | – | Inchoative aspect | §8.5.1 |
| -ì | -ⁱ | Third person singular | §8.7 |
| -́ì | -́dᵉ | Dummy pronoun | §8.8 |
| -í- | – | Pluractional aspect | §8.5.3 |
| -í(í)- | -í(í) | First person singular | §8.8 |
| -ia ́- | – | First singular sequential | §8.10.7 |
| -íd(ì)- | -íd(ì) | Second person singular | §8.8 |
| -ìk- | – | Distributive adjectival | §8.11.5 |
| -ìk(à)- | -ìkᵃ | Plurative | §4.2.1 |
| -íkó/-íkw- | -íkᵒ | Plurative | §4.2.1 |
| -ím(í)- | -ím(í) | First plural exclusive | §8.7 |
| -ima ́- | -ima ́ | First pl. exc. optative | §8.10.3 |
| -ima ́- | – | First pl. exc. sequential | §8.10.7 |
| -ímét- | – | Middle II mood | §8.6.3 |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Non-final | Final | Name | Section |
| -ìn(ì)- | -ìn | Possessive plural | §4.2.4 |
| -ine ́ | -ine ́ | First singular optative | §8.10.3 |
| -ìnì | -ìn | Third plural sequential | §8.10.7 |
| -ínós(í)- | -ínós | Reciprocal | §8.6.4 |
| -ísín(ì)- | -ísín(ì) | First plural inclusive | §8.7 |
| -ìt- | – | Causative mood | §8.6.5 |
| -ít(í)- | -ít(í) | Second person plural | §8.7 |
| -ítín(í)- | -ítín | Plurative | §4.2.1 |
| -ɨ̀ | -ᶤ | Third person singular | §8.7 |
| -́ɨ̀ | -́dᵉ | Dummy pronoun | §8.8 |
| -ɨ́(ɨ́)- | -ɨ́(ɨ́) | First person singular | §8.7 |
| -ɨa ́- | – | First singular sequential | §8.10.7 |
| -ɨ́d(ɨ̀)- | -ɨ́d(ɨ̀) | Second person singular | §8.7 |
| -ɨ̀k- | – | Distributive adjectival | §8.11.5 |
| -ɨ̀k(à)- | -ɨ̀kᵃ | Plurative | §4.2.1 |
| -ɨ́m(ɨ́)- | -ɨ́m(ɨ́) | First plural exclusive | §8.7 |
| -ɨma ́- | -ɨma ́ | First pl. exc. optative | §8.10.3 |
| -ɨma ́- | – | First pl. exc. sequential | §8.10.7 |
| -ɨ̀n(ɨ̀)- | -ɨ̀n | Possessive plural | §4.2.4 |
| -ɨ́nɔ́s(ɨ́)- | -ɨ́nɔ́s | Reciprocal | §8.6.4 |
| -ɨnɛ ́ | -ɨnɛ ́ | First singular optative | §8.10.3 |
| -ɨ̀nɨ̀- | -ɨ̀n | Third plural sequential | §8.10.7 |
| -ɨ́sɨ́n(ɨ̀)- | -ɨ́sɨ́n(ɨ̀) | First plural inclusive | §8.7 |
| -ɨ̀t- | – | Causative | §8.6.5 |
| -ɨ́t(ɨ́)- | -ɨ́t(ɨ́) | Second person plural | §8.7 |
| -ɨ́tɨ́n(ɨ̀)- | -ɨ́tɨ́n | Plurative | §4.2.1 |
| -́m- | – | Middle I mood | §8.6.3 |
| -́m- | – | Physical property II | §8.11.3 |
| -nànès(ì)- | -nànès | Behaviorative | §8.3.2 |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Non-final | Final | Name | Section |
| -o | -ᵒ | Ablative case | §7.6 |
| -o | -ᵒ | Instrumental case | §7.7 |
| -o | -kᵒ | Copulative case | §7.8 |
| -o | -kᵒ | Sequential aspect | §8.10.7 |
| -́ò | -́dᵉ | Dummy pronoun | §8.8 |
| -òn(ì)- | -òn | Intransitive infinitive | §8.2.1 |
| -ós(í)- | -ós | Passive mood | §8.6.1 |
| -ɔ | -ᵓ | Ablative case | §7.6 |
| -ɔ | -ᵓ | Instrumental case | §7.7 |
| -ɔ | -kᵓ | Copulative case | §7.8 |
| -ɔ | -kᵓ | Sequential aspect | §8.10.7 |
| -́ɔ̀ | -́dᵉ | Dummy pronoun | §8.8 |
| -ɔm(a)- | -ɔm | Singulative | §4.2.3 |
| -ɔ̀n(ɨ̀)- | -ɔ̀n | Intransitive infinitive | §8.2.1 |
| -ɔ́s(ɨ́)- | -ɔ́s | Passive mood | §8.6.1 |
| -uƙot(í)- | -uƙotⁱ | Andative directional | §8.4.2 |
| -uƙot(í)- | -uƙotⁱ | Completive aspect | §8.5.2 |
| -úó | -ú | Imperative plural | §8.10.5 |
| -ʉƙɔt(ɨ́)- | -ʉƙɔtᶤ | Andative directional | §8.4.2 |
| -ʉƙɔt(ɨ́)- | -ʉƙɔtᶤ | Completive aspect | §8.5.2 |
| -ʉ́ɔ́ | -ʉ́ | Imperative plural | §8.10.5 |

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