



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Ik (Icé-tód) : Northeast Uganda's last thriving Kuliak language

Schrock, T.B.

Citation

Schrock, T. B. (2014, December 16). *A grammar of Ik (Icé-tód) : Northeast Uganda's last thriving Kuliak language*. LOT dissertation series. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/30201>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/30201>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/30201> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Schrock, Terrill B.

Title: A grammar of Ik (Icé-tód) : Northeast Uganda's last thriving Kuliak language

Issue Date: 2014-12-16

4 Nouns

As one of language's 'evolutionary primitives' (Heine & Kuteva 2007:59), nouns comprise one of Ik's two large open word classes (the other being verbs). The present chapter begins with an overview of noun roots (§4.1) moving on then to nominal suffixes (§4.2), compounds (§4.3), and several types of onomastics (§4.4.-§4.5). Case marking, a crucial feature of the nominal system, is treated in Chapter 6 on the way to the wider grammar.

In Ik, a noun is any word whose primary function is to be the head of a noun phrase, which in turn functions as an argument of a verb. As the head of a noun phrase, a noun must be inflected for case to show its relation to other words. It may also take other nominal suffixes and may be joined to another noun or pronoun in a compound construction. A second function of an Ik noun is to be the head of the predicate. To fulfil this function, a noun must take the copulative case marker (§6.3.8), which is the functional equivalent of a copula and allows the noun to stand alone as a sentence.

Semantically, the prototypical Ik noun refers to inanimate and animate objects, people, and places—anything in the world that is viewed as an inherent non-event. However, the boundary between things named by nouns and events named by verbs is fuzzy. Many lexical event concepts can become nouns with noun morphology or verbs with verb morphology, e.g.:

(1) *Lexemes ambiguously nominal or verbal*

botá-	'migrate'	kódé-	'cry'
cooka-	'shepherd'	ɔfa-	'cough'
deku-	'quarrel'	ságo-	'snare'
ɔɔaní-	'weed'	supa-	'breathe'
epú-	'sleep'	taatsa-	'pay'
féi-	'bathe'	tajala-	'give up'

fekí-	‘laugh’	təkɔba-	‘farm’
ɪana-	‘talk’	təkɔra-	‘distribute’
ɪkɪra-	‘write’	tɔlɔka-	‘trap’
ɪrɛja-	‘slash grass’	tɛwɛa-	‘broadcast seed’
ɪruɓa-	‘chew hard foods’	tóda-	‘speak’
isira-	‘decorate’	tsuwaa-	‘run’
ɪtsɪka-	‘order’	wáána-	‘pray’
ɪwara-	‘plaster’	waté-	‘rain’
kaka-	‘hunt’	zɛkɔ-	‘sit/stay’

Ik nominal morphology is minimal—four being the maximum number of morphemes a single noun can have (outside of compounds). Compare this to Turkana nouns which may have up to eleven morphemes (Dimmendaal 1983:208)! Any Ik noun in a post-lexical grammatical context consists minimally of a lexical root plus a case marker. Besides the case marker, the only other nominal suffixes are number and possession markers. The order in which these occur is ROOT-(NUMBER)-(POSSESSION)-CASE. Unlike Turkana and Dhaasanac, Ik has no grammatical gender marked on nouns. Ik compensates for its minimal noun inflection by joining nouns and pronouns together in a variety of compounds. Thus, meanings expressed by affixes in other languages are expressed by a compound construction in Ik.

In their basic underlying forms, every Ik nominal root and suffix ends in a vowel, without exception. This final vowel is unpredictable since it can be any of the language’s nine contrastive vowels. Because of this, these final vowels are treated universally as part of the root in Ik. Similar ‘terminal vowels’ in the East Cushitic Dhaasanac are only viewed as part of the stem in some cases where they “are by and large meaningless elements...[maybe] ancient desemantized gender markers” (Tosco 2001:65). And like the Omotic language Dime (Mulugeta 2008), Ik has some nouns whose root-final vowel has two free variants, e.g. *kɔlá~kɔlé-* ‘goat’ and *zɪná~zɪnɔ-* ‘zebra’. Such cases seem to arise along the lines of chronolects and idiolects.

(2) *Nominal root-final vowels*

badi-	‘giant’			dakú-	‘wood’
cekí-	‘woman’			nébu-	‘body’
kurí-	‘shade’			ts’úbu-	‘plant sp.’
aji-	‘pestle’			damó-	‘brain’
kóní-	‘one’			jómó-	‘soil’
sísí-	‘mead’	awá-	‘home’	kafu-	‘thorn’
		ǫǫfá-	‘shrew’		
bóré-	‘corral’	tsútsá-	‘fly’	baro-	‘herd’
ǫíǫe-	‘donkey’			ǫéró-	‘mouse’
rébe-	‘millet’			gúró-	‘heart’
gǫné-	‘stump’			fiyǫǫ-	‘cattle’
ǫéǫe-	‘hunger’			kíǫ-	‘strap’
mése-	‘beer’			sǫkǫ-	‘hoof’

Root-final vowels like those shown above in (2) are deleted in three environments: 1) with the nominative case suffix {-a}, 2) with the instrumental case suffix {-ǫ}, and 3) with any of the number suffixes. The other six case markers preserve the stem-final vowel (see more in §6.2). This recalls the situation in the South Omotic language Dime, where any suffix beginning with a vowel first subtracts the noun-final vowel (Mulugeta 2008:38, 41). It is noteworthy that all but two Ik nominal suffixes that delete noun-final vowels also begin with a vowel. The two exceptions, the ablative {-ǫ} and the genitive {-ε}, may have lost their initial consonants.

As noted above, any post-lexical noun must have a case suffix. Six out of the eight Ik cases allow the stem-final vowel to persist. Only the nominative and the instrumental (as well as number suffixes) first subtract it. The practical problem is that the citation or isolation form of a noun in Ik takes the nominative case, thereby losing its final vowel. This means that unless a noun is given in one of the six non-subtractive cases, a non-native speaker

cannot guess the final vowel. For this reason, whenever the final vowel of a noun is relevant to a particular point or purpose (for example in Appendix B—Ik root lexicon), an abstract form of the noun is written with a hyphen.

4.1 Noun roots

The underived root of a noun is that basic part that cannot be analyzed into more than one morpheme based on current knowledge of Ik morphology. Most Ik nominal roots are comprised of two to four syllables. However, many Ik nouns that today have to be analyzed as monomorphemic were likely composed of more than one morpheme historically in the languages from which they were inherited or borrowed. These include the many nouns borrowed from Nilotic languages that still bear gender prefixes and are often polysyllabic. In addition to the older, shorter nouns and the newer, longer nouns, a number of partially and fully reduplicated forms are also attested. Each noun root type is examined below, starting with basic roots and then moving on to reduplicated and historically polymorphemic roots.

4.1.1 Basic roots

Basic noun roots in Ik include those that are shorter in length and those whose morphological composition, if there ever was one, is not currently recoverable. This section catalogues and gives examples of the syllable types and tone patterns found in a collection of roughly 1,900 noun roots.

Basic roots with a VV syllable shape are rare (<1%):

(3)	VV noun roots	
	LH	eí- 'chyme'
	LL	ɛoo- 'leather bag'

Basic roots with a VCV syllable shape are also sparse (1.5%):

(4) VCV noun roots

HH	ámá-	‘person’
	ínó-	‘animal’
HL	édi-	‘name’
	ído-	‘breast’
LH	akó-	‘inside’
	oní-	‘abandoned village’
LL	aj̄i-	‘pestle’
	ɔfa-	‘cough’

Basic roots with a CVV syllable shape make up roughly 1.5% of Ik nouns:

(5) CVV noun roots

HH	máó-	‘lion’
	séi-	‘quartz’
LH	cué-	‘water’
	tsoé-	‘wild hunting dog’
LL	ɖau-	‘knife’
	sea-	‘blood’

Basic roots with a CVCV syllable shape are considerably more plentiful (13%), so much so that Tucker was led to claim that “the overwhelming majority of words consist in CVC^v roots...” (1971:343):

(6) CVCV noun roots

HH	búré-	‘dust’
	móɖé-	‘ground-bee’
HL	dóba-	‘mud’
	ts’úde-	‘smoke’
LH	fetí-	‘sun’
	ɲorá-	‘cane rat’
LL	ɖíde-	‘donkey’
	kafu-	‘thorn’

Basic roots with a VCVV syllable shape are also relatively rare (<1%):

(7) VCVV noun roots

HHL	íséé-	'Ise River'
	íwáa-	'Iwa Place'
HLL	ódou-	'day'
	útɔɔ-	'oil'
LHH	aríé-	'small intestine'
	ɔtáí-	'rainy reason'
LHL	ɔlí-	'grass sp.'
	otí-	'divine mystery'
LLH	ekéú-	'muscle fiber'
LLL	anɛɛ-	' <i>Vigna frutescens</i> plant'

Basic roots with a VCVCV syllable shape are slightly more numerous than some of the shorter syllable types (3%):

(8) VCVCV noun roots

HLH	ópusí-	'Opus Mountain'
HLL	ídeme-	'snake'
	óbijɔ-	'rhinoceros'
LHH	akáró-	'palate'
	isérá-	'jackal'
LHL	ewédi-	'bitter wild tuber'
	ɔlíri-	'female hyrax'
LLH	akatí-	'nose, nostril'
	ɪɔakí-	' <i>Portulaca quadrifida</i> plant'
LLL	abɛta-	'Sitatunga antelope'
	oŋori-	'elephant'

Basic roots with a CVCVV syllable shape are just a little more numerous than the VCVCV ones (5%):

(9) CVCVV noun roots

HHL	híkó-	'chameleon'
	rórói-	'waist'
HLH	bíróó-	'bird sp.'
	lópeí-	'small liver lobe'
HLL	kídó-	'Tchagra bird'
	kórar-	'Wait-a-bit acacia'
LHH	ḍukáí-	'mead residue'
	timóí-	'tail'
LHL	girúu-	'locust'
	kulé-	'elbow'
LLH	mutú-	'needle'
	tsarió-	'weaver bird'
LLL	demio-	'Wild olive tree'
	serei-	'big calabash bowl'

Basic roots with a CVVCV syllable shape are also relatively rare (1%):

(10) CVVCV noun roots

HHL	tííri-	'Acacia tree sp.'
	tsúóra-	'White-thorn acacia'
HLH	míók-	'mamba (snake)'
	sító-	'Large-leafed albizia'
LHH	gwaíts'í-	'giraffe'
	kwaárá-	'baboon troupe'
LHL	keídzo-	'wild tuber sp.'
	leúzo-	'charcoal'
LLH	caalí-	'hearth-stone'
	seekó-	'broth'
LLL	meúra-	'Superb starling'

As mentioned, there are many roots with a CVCVCV syllable shape (19%):

(11) CVCVCV noun roots

HHL	cúrúku-	‘bull’
	tsówíri-	‘Speckled mousebird’
HLH	mókoló-	‘hardwood tree sp.’
	tábarí-	‘pool, puddle’
HLL	ḡókɔŋi-	‘bank, slope’
	tíkoŋu-	<i>Lantana trifolia</i> shrub’
LHH	dzibéri-	‘axe’
	mmítá-	‘wild cat’
LHL	duǎǎ-	‘water beetle’
	terégi-	‘work’
LLH	buboná-	‘hot coal’
	tabaní-	‘wing’
LLL	cemeri-	‘herb’
	dokira-	‘old honeycomb’

Basic roots with a VCVVCV syllable shape are relatively sparse (1%):

(12) VCVCVV noun roots

HLHL	ílekóo-	‘plant sp.’
	íwɔ́lɔ́-	‘Iwolo Place’
LHHL	aláláa-	‘Augur buzzard’
	isókói-	‘ <i>Euphorbia bussei</i> tree’
LHLL	amózaa-	‘rain termite’
	idéké-	‘airplane (< Swahili <i>ndege</i>)’
LLH	iboboí-	‘bird sp.’
	irɔ́rɔ́-	<i>Maerua triphylla</i> plant’
LLL	adabia-	‘plant sp.’
	emusia-	‘ <i>Euclea schimperi</i> tree’

Roots with a VCVCVCV syllable shape are also relatively sparse (1.5%):

(13) VCVCVCV noun roots

HHLH	ókírotí-	‘bird sp.’
HLHL	ílegúgu-	‘insect sp.’
LHHL	obóléni-	‘hip’
	imánáni-	‘Castor-oil plant’
LHLH	arágwaní-	‘moon’
LLHH	asonání-	‘African pencil cedar’
	eruméní-	‘spear shaft’
LLLH	aṅarasá-	‘gravel’
	oṅerepé	‘Rufous beaked snake’
LLLL	adenesa-	‘bird sp.’
	íkòlta-	‘uncovered gourd’

Basic roots with a VCVCVCV syllable shape are quite numerous (13%):

(14) CVCVCVCV noun roots

HHHH	másálúká-	‘mashed white-ants’
	mélékúrá-	‘wild cowpeas’
HLLL	cúkúǰumu-	‘male Mountain reedbuck’
	kílíṅita-	‘bull elephant’
HHLH	sáṅamátí-	‘sandstone’
	túkuléti-	‘small round gourd’
HLHL	fírítí-áři-	‘bird sp.’
HLLH	báritsoní-	‘small black ant’
LHHL	boṅóréni-	‘red-brown clay’
	tsarátáni-	‘cleft’
LHLL	rutúduma-	‘pigeon’
LLHH	bofókóré-	‘uncastrated goat’
	malakóri-	‘ <i>Vigna frutescens</i> plant’
LLHL	gaǰúkúṅu-	‘Gad’ukuny clan’
	poṛotéle-	‘Catholic friar’
LLLH	mozokodí-	‘tree sp.’
LLLL	gomojoji-	‘ <i>Cyperus distans</i> plant’

Only one example of noun root with a VCVCVCVV syllable shape has been found: *adɛŋelio-* ‘*Allophylus* plant sp.’. Those with a VCVCVCVCV syllable type are slightly more numerous (<1%) and exhibit two tone melodies. The other six known members of this syllable group either involve reduplication or are clear cognates shared with Teso-Turkana:

(15) VCVCVCVCV noun roots

LHHHH	okíloróró-	‘queen bee’
LLLHH	irutuméní-	‘animal foreleg’

Many of the nouns with a CVCVCVCVCV syllable shape (5%) involve reduplication, but those that do not include the following:

(16) CVCVCVCVCV noun roots

HLLLL	tíbolokopi-	‘fingernail’
	tígaramatsɪ-	‘elder child’
LLLHH	lelemukání-	‘handle-less tool’
	tíkorotótó-	‘aloe vera’
LLLLL	kimɔɔɔɔɔtsa-	‘tree sp.’
	talalidomo-	‘Black-tipped mongoose’

Finally, basic noun roots with the syllable shape CVCVCVCVCVV include such unanalyzable forms as *bílikertée-* ‘Yellow-necked spurfowl’ and *tsóɔtsónoó-* ‘bird species’. But most nouns with this many syllables or more fall into the other categories of nouns to which we now turn.

4.1.2 Partially reduplicated roots

A fair number of Ik nouns were formed by partially or fully reduplicating a CV or CVC base. Partial reduplication is not a productive noun-building strategy in today’s Ik. This is shown, for one, by the fact that non-reduplicated counterparts no longer exist for the reduplicated forms. As an example, though the Ik word *ɔrijoro-* ‘cricket’ has a cognate *c’ooro* in the

Cushitic language Ts'amakko, there is no current form like **ɟoro* or **ɟooro* in Ik. This suggests that at one time, reduplication may have had a variety of meaning-enhancing functions like diminutivization. This section, then, is simply a comment on the historical origin of some synchronic noun roots.

Ik partial reduplication involves copying the first two segments of a basic CVCV root and placing them before the basic root. So the now archaic (*) formula for partially reduplicating noun roots is as follows:

$$(17) \quad *C_1V_1C_2V_2 \quad \rightarrow \quad *C_1V_1-C_1V_1C_2V_2$$

The words in (18) below exemplify nouns reduplicated in this way:

(18) *Partially reduplicated noun roots*

*H-HL	bóbósa-	'Terminalia brownii perfume'
	fófóta-	'trail'
*H-LL	dódoku-	'malnutrition'
	múmuta-	'moss sp.'
*L-HH	titírí-	'forked pole'
	tsítsíná-	'dipstick'
	kekérá-	'grasshopper'
*L-LH	gogomó-	'chestbone'

In other instances, petrified affixes (borrowed from other languages) come a) before the reduplicated segments or b) after the reduplicated base. The proposed frozen affixes are shown in parentheses in the following table:

(19) *Partially reduplicated noun roots with frozen affixes*

*(H)-H-HL	(kí)bíbíta-	'brown lizard sp.'
*(H)-L-HH	(sí)lólójá-	'Dwarf mongoose'
*L-H(LL)	sosób(osi)-	'Sausage tree (<i>Kigelia africana</i>)'
*(L)-L-LH	(kɪ)rarápá-	'layer of slime'
*L-L-(LL)	kukus(ení)-	'underground storage hole'

4.1.3 Fully reduplicated roots

Neither is full reduplication a productive noun-building process in today's language. But historically, a fair number of Ik nouns look to have been formed by fully reduplicating a CV or CVC base. The copied segments are placed to the left of the base, and any resulting consonant cluster is broken up with an epenthetic vowel (EV). The default epenthetic vowel in Ik is /ɪ, i/ (as it is in Turkana; Dimmendaal 1983:30), but occasionally the epenthetic vowel is an exact copy of the vowel in the reduplicated base. The epenthetic vowel /ɪ, i/ is subject to vowel backness and roundness assimilation, meaning that /ʊ/ and /u/ are also common variants of this vowel. Lastly, if a petrified prefix is present, it remains at the beginning of the word, such that the copied segments come between it and the root:

- (20) $*(V-)C_1V_1V_2 \rightarrow *(V-)C_1V_1-C_1V_1V_2$
 $*(V-)C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow *(V-)C_1V_1C_2-I-C_1V_1C_2V_2$

Some examples of full CV(V) reduplication include these below:

(21) *Fully deplicated CV(V) noun roots*

*H-LL	dódóo-	'sheep'
*L-HL	koóko-	'big gourd'
*L-LH	cucué-	'moist chill'
*L-LL	babaa-	'armpit'
	didii-	'weather'
	jejei-	'leather mat'

And this next set of nouns exemplifies full CVC(V) reduplication:

(22) *Fully reduplicated CVC(V) noun roots*

*HL-HL	kárákára-	'Green wood hoopoe'
	náganága-	'monitor lizard'
*(L)-HL-LH	akónikóní-	'bird sp.'

*LL-LH	dorudurá-	‘black boring insect’
	sarisarí-	‘bridge of nose’
	təkətəkó-	‘snail’
*LL-LL	boliboli-	‘goiter’
	gafigafi-	‘lung’
*(L)-LL-LL	orikiriki-	‘large container’

4.1.4 Affixed roots

Like any language, Ik has borrowed vocabulary from neighboring languages over the centuries. In many cases, the morphology on borrowed words eroded and/or was lost completely. But in other cases, the origin of certain frozen affixes on Ik nouns can still be traced to their sources either in living languages or reconstructed ancestor languages. Among these affixes are Teso-Turkana gender prefixes, a Nilo-Saharan ‘definitizer’ prefix, a couple of singulative suffixes found areally in Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic, a handful of Cushitic singulatives, a couple of Surmic nominal suffixes, and a few other prefixes whose meaning and origin have yet to be discovered.

Many lexical parallels are found between Ik and Eastern Nilotic languages, particularly of the Teso-Turkana sub-group. These parallels account for up to fifty percent of the Ik nouns on record. Some of the parallels are only established through phonological reconstructions, while many others are evident from the now-frozen Teso-Turkana gender prefixes. Teso-Turkana languages have three gender prefixes in the singular and two in the plural:

(23) *Teso-Turkana gender prefixes*

Singular		Plural	
ɲa-	feminine	ɲa-	feminine
ɲe/ɲɛ-	masculine	ɲi/ɲɪ-	masculine
ɲi/ɲɪ-	neuter	ɲi/ɲɪ-	neuter

In some lects, like the central dialect of Turkana and Karimojong (e.g. the Dodoth dialect), the initial nasal of the singular prefixes is lost except in certain environments (Dimmendaal 1983:222). But in Northern Turkana and Toposa, all these nasals are retained, just as they are when Ik has borrowed from these languages over the generations. Ik absorbed so many nouns with these gender prefixes that it generalized the morphology into a synchronic marker of borrowing: Any noun borrowed into Ik today is given the prefixal syllable /ɲV-/ at the beginning (see ex. 28 below).

The prevalence of these gender prefixes in the Ik lexicon suggests the following historical scenarios: 1) Ik speakers interacted with and borrowed heavily from the more conservative members of the Teso-Turkana cluster (Toposa, Northern Turkana, Nyangatom?). This would rhyme with the oral tradition that Ik descended from Ethiopia by way of northwestern Kenya and southeastern Sudan. Or 2), Ik, like Toposa and Northern Turkana, retain the older Teso-Turkana prefixes that other members of the group have lost or are losing. Which scenario is more accurate depends, in large part, on the relative chronology of migrations for Teso-Turkana and the Kuliak group.

In any event, all the gender prefixes in (23), except the neuter singular, are attested in the Ik nominal lexicon. Despite the fact that many Ik speakers are bilingual in Ik and a Teso-Turkana language, words containing these gender prefixes are analyzed in this grammar as synchronically monomorphemic. This is because Ik grammar does not mark gender on other nouns, so it makes no sense to treat these prefixes as gender markers.

Below are some examples of the Teso-Turkana masculine singular *ɲe-* and feminine singular *ɲa-* on Ik nouns:

(24) *Ik noun roots with a Teso-Turkana singular gender prefix*

Masculine		Feminine	
ɲébwáli-	'lake'	ɲábaarátí-	'wrist-knife'
ɲéburuburí-	'lowland'	ɲaburaí-	'maize'

ɲedɛkɛɛ-	‘sickness’	ɲákaasóo-	‘robe’
ɲetíɲána-	‘crocodile’	ɲákápírítí-	‘whistle’
ɲélélí-	‘corpse’	ɲakaú-	‘bow’

And then here are some examples of nouns with the plural gender prefixes:

(25) *Ik noun roots with a Teso-Turkana plural gender prefix*

Masculine/Neuter		Feminine	
ɲíkísilá-	‘law’	ɲakíbókú-	‘fermented milk’
ɲiléétsi-	‘shame’	ɲalépána-	‘fresh milk’
ɲímúú-	‘twins’	ɲátɔɔsaá-	‘dried meat’
ɲísilí-	‘silky fibers’	ɲáturí-	‘flower’
ɲítsaní-	‘troubles’	ɲafábu-	‘placenta’

When one of these gender prefixes attaches to a noun root whose first vowel is /ɔ/ or /o/, the prefix vowel typically assimilates totally to the back vowel. This kind of assimilation also occurs in Dhaasanac where, for example, *ɲekor* ‘mongoose’ surfaces as *ɲɔkɔɔ* (Tosco 2001:29):

(26) *Vowel assimilation of Teso-Turkana gender prefixes on Ik roots*

ɲɛkɔkɔɔ-	→	ɲɔkɔkɔɔ-	‘chicken’
ɲékópɛɛ-	→	ɲókópɛɛ-	‘valley wall’
ɲemórótoto-	→	ɲomórótoto-	‘python’
ɲásomáa-	→	ɲósomáa-	‘education’
ɲétsoróni-	→	ɲótsoróni-	‘latrine’

Beyond the regular gender prefixes described above, Teso-Turkana also has locative forms for its singular gender prefixes. These are *lɔ-* for masculine and neuter and *na-* for feminine. They are common in place names like *Lotim* and *Nacakunet* and personal names like *Lolem* and *Nakiru*. These locative gender prefixes can be traced back to non-locative gender markers in earlier Eastern Nilotic; today they are still found in Lotuxo and Maa. Since the Teso-Turkana gender prefixes are a more recent innovation for

nominative and accusative cases, it seems that Ik absorbed some vocabulary in earlier times of contact with Eastern Nilotic (Dimmendaal, p.c.).

Though many Ik nouns with these older Eastern Nilotic prefixes are clearly borrowings, some may only coincidentally begin with the same sequence of segments (*l-* or *na-*). Without further etymological knowledge, it is not always possible to tell the origin of such nouns. But here are some examples:

(27) *Ik noun roots with Teso-Turkana locative gender prefixes*

Masculine/neuter		Feminine	
lobúrúji-	‘mold’	nadekwela	‘watermelon’
lobabalí-	‘drying rack’	nadépe-	‘flea’
lobúkején-	‘stunted growth’	nakaribá-	‘husks’
lkaudé-	‘weevil’	nakírórí-	‘sheath’
lonzeté-	‘black fly’	nalúlí-	‘sorghum variety’
lopérení-	‘ghost’	namedóo-	‘back of head’
lotsógoma-	‘plant sp.’	naréu-	‘viper sp.’
loupalí-	‘cobra’	natúku-	‘group discussion’

Despite the fact that the gender prefixes have no current grammatical meaning or function in Ik, they are markers of encyclopedic knowledge. Up until very recent times, knowledge of new, modern technologies and concepts only came to the Ik filtered through their Teso-Turkana neighbors. The table in (28) below presents a list of words borrowed into Ik from English and Swahili through Teso-Turkana, probably in the last 150 years:

(28) *Nouns borrowed into Ik from English or Swahili through Teso-Turkana*

From English		From Swahili	
ɲábáa-	‘bar’	ɲabááti-	‘luck’ (< bahati)
ɲábákete-	‘bucket’	ɲábataá-	‘duck’ (< bata)
ɲájálaá-	‘jail’	ɲákalámu-	‘pen’ (< kalamu)
ɲálaíni-	‘line’	ɲámakási-	‘scissors’ (< makasi)

ᵐááíni-	‘fine’	ᵐáámaá-	‘cotton’	(<mpama)
ᵐéáá-	‘beer’	ᵐéáí-	‘tea’	(<chai)
ᵐéáíᵐturiki-	‘district’	ᵐémaá-	‘tent’	(<hema)
ᵐéáíá-	‘guitar’	ᵐéááwée-	‘pig’	(<nguruwe)
ᵐómotokáa-	‘vehicle’	ᵐósukaríi-	‘sugar’	(<sukari)
ᵐóáá-	‘dollar’	ᵐóáá-	‘gravy’	(<mboga)

Besides the Teso-Turkana gender prefixes, the Ik nominal lexicon also exhibits a several singulative suffixes that have widespread areal parallels. The first pair of singulatives to be discussed have the form *-ita-* and *-iti-* (and their [-ATR] allomorphs *-ita-* and *-iti-*). An obvious parallel to these forms is found in Turkana (Dimmendaal 1983:227, 258), and Ik nouns borrowed from Teso-Turkana retain the singulative in the form of *-iti-*. But there seems to be some free variation between the two forms. For example, the word for ‘kind/type’ in Ik is *bonita-* in the singular, but in the variative plural it becomes *boniti-icíká-* where ***bonita-icíká-* would be expected (§4.3.7). For the {-ita-} form, distant Afroasiatic connection is suggested by the Lowland Cushitic language Afar’s singulative *-ta* (Mahaffy, 36). Whatever their etymology, neither singulative is productive in Ik, and so they are both treated as lexicalized affixes. Based on their respective forms, Ik nouns containing them can be divided into two groups:

(29) *Ik nouns with the frozen singulative suffixes -ita- and -iti-*

{-ita-}		{-iti-}	
agita-	‘metal bead’	ᵐííí-	‘bird sp.’
gííita-	‘razor’	íkíí-	‘head-pad’
kásíta-	‘Hooked-thorn acacia’	ᵐáááíí-	‘dawn’
kíííita-	‘bull elephant’	ᵐáááíííí-	‘soda ash’
kííííita-	‘Egyptian thorn tree’	ᵐéáííí-	‘tsetse fly’
lorítá-	‘plant sp.’	ᵐááááíííí-	‘long grass sp.’
míííita-	‘wild cat’	tsoriti-	‘vein’

This singulative is also found on an old, formulaic expression that introduces narratives: *kón-ít-ó ódowi*, analyzed as one-SING-INS day:GEN, or, in translation ‘one day’ or ‘once upon a time’. As the singulative is no longer productive, but presumably once was, this saying must be quite ancient .

A second pair of lexicalized singulatives have the forms *-ata-* and *-ati-* (with its [-ATR] allomorph *-at-*). These reflect the So singulative *-at* which Carlin claims is borrowed from Karimojong (1993:74). Indeed, it is also attested in Turkana as *-át* (Dimmendaal 1983:227). Possible Afroasiatic (Cushitic) parallels include the already mentioned *-ta/-yta* of Afar/Saho and the *-te/-at* of El Molo. Regardless of their provenance, this pair of singulatives is no longer productive in Ik today. Nouns containing them can be divided into two groups based on the form of the singulative:

(30) *Ik nouns with the frozen singulative suffixes -ata- and -ati-*

{-ata-}		{-ati-}	
akatátí-	‘gourd lid’	akatí-	‘nostril’
kapuratá-	‘vine sp.’	botsátí-	‘chisel, awl’
kwaatá-	‘frog’	gwalátí-	‘lip plug’
lɔkatata-	‘African wild date’	kukátí-	‘young primates’
nalɔɔɔɔzátá-	‘desert wilderness’	ɲelíráítí-	‘sword’
ɲóśóókatá-	‘hole trap’	sáɲamátí-	‘sand stone’
takata-	‘group prayer’	ts’úbulátí-	‘stopper, plug’

In addition to roots like those in (30), the singulative *-at-* also shows up in a rather unexpected place—between some roots and the plurative I {-íkó-}. In this environment, it may surface as *-ati-* or the reduced form *-a-*. This occurrence indicates that the singulative was at one time productive in Ik, was then lost, but was partially retained with some nouns and a particular plurative. This is analogous to the plurative II suffix {-ítíní-} which consisted historically of the dingulative *-it-* and the plurative {-iní-}. In the following table, note that for *koróbaiko* ‘calves’, the singulative allomorph *-a-* blocks vowel harmony from dominant [+ATR] pluralizer {-íkó-}:

(31) *Ik nouns with the frozen singulative -a(t)*

bɔnání-	→	bɔnán-á-iko-	‘orphans’
cúrukú-	→	cúruk-a-iko-	‘bulls’
kɔrɔ́bɛ-	→	kɔrɔ́b-a-iko-	‘calves’
lobáa-	→	lobá-át-iko-	‘grandchildren’

Finally, it is interesting that in So, a Kuliak sister language of Ik, *-at* is used to singularize nouns that are cognate in Ik where they have general number. For example, the transnumeral *síts^a* ‘hair’ and *tsúts^a* ‘fly (n.)’ in Ik are cognate with So *sij* and *cuc*, respectively. But unlike in Ik, the So ones can be singularized with *-at*, as in *sij-at* ‘hair (sg.)’ and *cuc-at* ‘fly’ (Carlin 1993:74).

Switching now from Nilo-Saharan to Afroasiatic, a couple of endings on Ik noun roots recall various Singulatives found in Dhaasanac. These include *-(V)c*, *-(V)ɲ*, *-ac*, and *-aɲ* (Tosco 2001:75). The next table shows two groups of Ik noun roots based on the general suffixal pattern of *-(V)ɲ* and *-(V)c*:

(32) *Ik noun roots with frozen Cushitic-like singulatives*

<i>-(V)ɲ</i>		<i>-(V)c</i>	
ɓókɔɲi-	‘slope, bank’	bakutsí-	‘chest’
gaɗúkúɲi-	‘Gad’ukuny clan’	baratsó-	‘morning’
iraɲí-	‘corn cob pieces’	buratsi-	‘Bat-eared fox’
kaɓaɲa-	‘oblong gourd’	burukutsi-	‘knee-cap’
lewɛɲi-	‘ostrich’	ɓolokotsi-	‘oblong gourd’
lósuaɲa-	‘stone anvil’	ɗeretsa-	‘kindling’
lɔɓɛɛɲí-	‘diseased millet’	galatsi-	‘Mt. Galats’
lɔwɪɲí-	‘small tree-bee’	iwótsí-	‘mortar’
nasoroɲí-	‘large intestine’	karatsi-	‘stool’
ɲémúkúɲi-	‘ant sp.’	komótsá-	‘elephant trunk’
saɲaɲí-	‘person’s name’	ɲégetsí-	‘leg hairs’
tɔrɔmɪɲa-	‘porcupine’	rúgetsí-	‘hard protrusion’

An alternative pathway for these frozen singulatives into Ik is through Didinga, a Surmic language that borders Ik to the northwest. Didinga has both a ‘rare nominalizer’ *-etf* and a singulative *-otf* (De Jong 2004:150-152). Since even today Surmic languages border Cushitic languages in southwest Ethiopia (not far from the present Ik homeland), the ultimate etymological origin of this type of singulative in Ik is not known. Both language groups have had substantial influence on the development of the Ik language.

Whether from Cushitic or Surmic (or both), what appear to be these singulatives show up in a few other Ik noun roots, but in glottalized form:

- (33) *Ik nouns with a frozen glottalized singulative (-Vts')*
- | | |
|-------------|---|
| dililits'á- | ‘bloodsucking gnat sp.’ |
| dololots'í- | ‘soaked sorghum’ |
| gwaíts'í- | ‘giraffe’ |
| kerets'ú- | ‘ant-hill dirt spread to prevent enemies’ |
| kálíts'i- | ‘jaw’ |
| kuts'ats'i- | ‘gland, lymph node’ |

Another likely historical prefix found on Ik noun roots is *ki-* or *kr-*. This frozen prefix may be related to the singulative-like prefix in contemporary Turkana that can be seen in the pair *e-ki-dor̩* ‘door’ versus *ŋi-dor-in* ‘doors’ and that has a potential origin in a Nilo-Saharan ‘definitizer’ (Dimmendaal 1983:252). Other regional parallels include the Proto-Southern-Nilotic deverbative marker **kr-* (Rottland 1980) and the Proto-Nilo-Saharan preposition/case marker **ki* (Dimmendaal, to appear):

- (34) *Ik nouns with the frozen Nilotic prefix /kI-/*
- | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|
| kííbíbita- | ‘lizard sp.’ |
| kɪɪɪɪɪbá- | ‘wood dove’ |
| kílootóró- | ‘bird sp.’ |
| kinoroti- | ‘peg’ |
| kíryooróo- | ‘White-crested helmet shrike’ |

Yet another frozen nominal prefix has the form *si-* or *sr-*. Besides in Ik, this ‘pre-Nilotic’ prefix is also attested in Turkana in words like *é-sí-dòḡóróḡ* ‘elbow’ and *é-sí-gìrígírìḡ* ‘baboon crest’ (Dimmendaal 1983:253). The following Ik nouns provide a representative sample:

(35) *Ik nouns with the frozen pre-Nilotic prefix /sI-/*

sídilée-	‘turtle’
símíídíí-	‘tiny thing’
sílólójá-	‘Dwarf mongoose’
sɪŋílá-	‘small black ant sp.’
síɔtɔ-	‘Large-leafed albizia’

Finally, three other likely frozen prefixes present themselves in the Ik nominal lexicon. These include /a-/, /o-, and /tI-/. Their source languages and original functions have yet to be discovered, but it seems like they may have been markers of gender or definiteness at some point:

(36) *Ik nouns with frozen prefixes of unknown origin*

<u>/a-/</u>	
abúba-	‘spider’
agita-	‘metal bead’
akínó-	‘Greater kudu’
aḡarasá-	‘gravel’
asunání-	‘African pencil cedar’
<u>/-o/</u>	
obóléni-	‘hip’
ódɔka-	‘gate’
ođómori-	‘male bushbuck’
okílónjóró-	‘queen bee’
oḡerepé-	‘Rufous beaked snake’

Plural:	roba- ‘people’	roba = ni	‘these people’
		**roba = na	‘this people’
General:	ínó- ‘animal’	ínwá = na	‘this animal’
		ínwá = ni	‘these animals’

Numeric values like the ones evident in (37) are not always obligatorily marked in the nominal system. Number is commonly marked inflectionally with singulatives or pluratives or grammatically with relative pronouns, demonstratives, and subject-agreement, but it is still optional. For example, without modifiers of any kind, the object *rié-* ‘goat’ in (38) has two interpretations with regard to its grammatical number:

- (38) *Tojolata naa riyek.*
 tɔŋól-át-a = naa rié-k^a
 slaughter-3PL-REAL = PST1 goat-ACC
 a) They slaughtered a goat.
 b) They slaughtered goats.

If the noun in question is the subject, its number is marked with subject-agreement suffixes (3SG being null), but this type of marking is defective. For example, in unmarked main clauses, where the verb comes before the subject, both 3SG and 3PL overt subjects are marked as 3SG (null) on the verb. This is true whether grammatical number is encoded generally (39) or with a plurative suffix (40):

- (39) *Bwaanukotaa inw.*
 buan-ukot-á-á ínw-^a
 disappear-COMP[3SG]-REAL-PRF animal(s)-NOM
 a) The animal has disappeared.
 b) The animals have disappeared.

- (40) *Bwaanukotaa ebitin.*
 buan-ukot-á-á éb-itín-Ø
 disappear-COMP[3SG]-REAL-PRF gun-PL-NOM
 The guns have disappeared.

But if the subject is left implicit (41), or if it is a pronoun (42), then subject-agreement marking must reflect the number of the subject:

- (41) *Bwaanukotak.* *Bwaanukotatak.*
 buan-ukot-á-k^a buan-ukot-át-a-k^a
 disappear-COMP[3SG]-REAL-PRF disappear-COMP-3PL-REAL-PRF
 It has disappeared. They have disappeared.

- (42) *Bwaanukotata nt.*
 buan-ukot-át-a-a ñt-^a
 disappear-COMP-3PL-REAL-PRF they-NOM
 They have disappeared.

Another interesting feature of Ik number-marking on verbs is what Serzisko called the ‘coordinated subject’ (1992:192). A coordinated subject is a singular subject marked as plural on the verb because it is extralinguistically accompanied by one or more other entities. For example in (43) below, the subject of the clause is semantically plural (Teko and his wife), and this is reflected by the plural marking on the verb. But syntactically, the subject is singular (*Tekoa*), the accompaniment of his wife being encoded by the oblique case noun phrase *ń¹da ntsí-cékⁱ*:

- (43) *Kaini Tekoa kedo kon nda ntsicek.*
 ka-ini tekó-a ké¹d-o kɔn-a ń¹da ntsí-cékⁱ
 go-SEQ[3PL] Teko-NOM unit-INS one-REAL with he-wife[OBL]
 And Teko went together with his wife.

The kind of inherent number ambiguity shown in (37) is only an issue with nouns that have a general or neutral numeric value. For most nouns, a bare form (or one with a singulative) implies singularity, while a plurative (or bare plural form opposite a singulative) implies plurality. This is where the language's nominal number-marking inflectional system comes into play.

Ik has a two-term inflectional system for marking number on nouns. At the notional level, this encodes singular and plural. Singular in this system means 'one', and plural means 'more than one'. The two terms—singular and plural—can be mapped on the surface level using three different strategies: 1) a zero-marked, basic singular and a plurative-marked plural, 2) a possessive singulative-marked singular and a possessive plurative-marked plural, or 3) a singulative-marked singular with a basic, zero-marked plural. The table in (44) show how these strategies are mapped out:

(44) *Ik nominal number-marking strategies*

	Singular	Plural
Strategy 1	-∅	-íkó-/ -ítíní-/ -ika-
Strategy 2	(-edε-)	-mɪ-
Strategy 3	-ŷma-	-∅

The plurative {-ika} in Strategy 1 is the only fully productive number-marking nominal suffix in the language. It pluralizes polymoraic roots, and any newly borrowed noun is polymoraic by virtue of its having the frozen prefix *nV*-. By the same token, the other two Strategy 1 pluratives are non-productive, since the nouns they pluralize are in a fixed lexical set. Strategy 2 is semi-productive in that it only applies to semantically specified subsets of nouns. The parentheses around the singular form of Strategy 2 signify that while the plural is always the plural of the singular, the plural forms do not always have a singularized counterpart. Lastly, Strategy 3, while still operative in Teso-Turkana, is also no longer productive in the Ik of today.

These singulatives and pluratives are described in the next several sections. They are shown mostly in their underlying and therefore hyphenated forms to expose their final vowels that may be deleted in the nominative case (isoation form). All the Ik pluratives have parallels in wider Nilotic, for example Turkana. Like in Turkana, all Ik number-marking suffixes delete the final vowel of the nominal stem (Dimmendaal 1983:229-232). By way of introduction, these suffixes are summarized in the following table:

(45) *Ik nominal number-marking suffixes*

Suffix	Abbrev.	Name	Comments
{-íkó-}	PL	Plurative I	[+ATR]-dominant
{-ítíní-}	PL	Plurative II	monomoraic stem
{-ika-}	PL	Plurative III	polymoraic stem
{-inɪ-}	POSS.PL	Possessive plurative	possession
{-ɛdɛ-}	POSS.SG	Possessive singulative	possession
{-Vma-}	SING	Human singulative	human nouns only

4.2.1 *Plurative I*

The Ik plurative I {-íkó-} is found pluralizing both monomoraic and polymoraic nominal stems. It is not productive: The nouns it pluralizes belong to a fixed lexical set that, as far as can be observed, does not admit new members. The plurative I seems to be a parallel of the Turkana pluralizer -íyó (Dimmendaal 1983:235), which if true, would suggest that the intervocalic /k/ was retained in Ik and lost in Turkana.

In both languages, these suffixes are dominantly [+ATR]. For Ik, this means that the [+ATR] harmony spreads leftward to the whole stem unless /a/ intervenes. In this case, the /a/ is an instance of the frozen singulative -á(t) (see ex. 31 above). The plurative I causes and undergoes tonal alternations. The tone changes it causes are due to replacive morphological tone, and the changes it undergoes are due to melodic template completion. For example, it changes the tones of *wɛla*- ‘small opening’ to H in *wél-íkwa*. And after the

noun *fátára-* with its HHL melody, the suffix surfaces as /-íkó-/. These and several other tone combinations are shown in the following table:

(46) *Plurative I {-iko-} according to tone melody*

#	Singular	→	Plural	
1	HH	→	HH-H	
	kóré-	→	kór-íkó-	‘ladle(s)’
	ɲérá-	→	ɲér-íkó-	‘mingling stick(s)’
2	HL	→	H-LH	
	fádo-	→	fád-íkó-	‘scale(s)’
	wázo-	→	wáz-íkó-	‘young female(s)’
3	LL	→	H-HH	
	pádo	→	pácf-íkó-	‘small cave(s)’
	wela-	→	wél-íkó-	‘small opening(s)’
4	LH	→	H-HH	
	kólá-	→	kól-íkó-	‘castrated goat(s)’
	rɔ́á-	→	ró-íkó-	‘desert(s)’
5	HHL	→	HH-(L)LH	
	cúríku-	→	cúrík-aikó-	‘bull(s)’
	fátára-	→	fátár-íkó-	‘vertical ridge(s)’
6	LHL	→	LH-(L)LH	
	kɔ́rɔ́be-	→	kɔ́rɔ́b-aikó-	‘calf(ves)’
	lokúu-	→	lokú-aikó-	‘drinking gourd(s)’
7	LLH	→	LH-HH	
	baratsó-	→	baráts-íkó-	‘morning(s)’
	ɔ́rɔ́rɔ́-	→	orór-íkó-	‘stream(s)’

Since the final vowel of {-íkó-} is non-low, it is susceptible to desyllabification in the nominative case (see §2.4.3 and §6.3.2). For example, this means that in the nominative case the word for ‘bulls’ surfaces as *cúríkaikw^a* and the word for ‘small openings’ as *wélíkw^a*.

4.2.2 Plurative II

The plurative II {-ítíní-} is made up etymologically of the archaic singulative *-it-* and the plurative {-mɪ-}, both of which have parallels in Nilotic languages. But synchronically, this plurative is analyzed as monomorphemic in Ik because the corresponding singular forms do not bear the singulative *-it-*. For example, though the plural of ‘dog’ is *ɲók-ítíní*, the singular is *ɲók^a*, not ***ɲók-ít^a*. At some point in the past, the once-productive singulative attached to the plurative and then later dropped out of usage. This habit of retaining an archaic singulative that only appears with a plurative was also noted in the case of *-a(t)* attaching to {-íkó-} (§4.2.1).

The plurative II suffix is recessive in terms of vowel harmony, making */-ítíní-/* an allomorph on [+ATR] stems. And in terms of tone behavior, {-ítíní-} combines with bisyllabic noun roots to produce the five composite tone melodies shown in (47) below. Like the plurative I, the plurative II both causes and undergoes tonal alternations. The tone changes it causes are due to replacive morphological tone, and the changes it undergoes are due to melodic template completion. For example, it changes the tones of *lara-* ‘tobacco pipe’ to H in *lár-ítíní*. And after the noun *ído-* ‘breast’ with its HL melody, the suffix surfaces as */-ítíní/*. An interesting distinction occurs below between #3 and #4: Although the root melody of the nouns in #4 are LL, they do not take a H tone with the plurative II as they do in #3, presumably because the depressor consonants /b/ and /g/ prevent H-tone docking. But this is excepted by *zót-ítíní* ‘chains’ which has both a H tone in the plural and begins with the depressor consonant /z/:

(47) *Plurative II {-ítíní-} according to tone melody*

#	Singular		Plural	
1	HH	→	H-HHH	
	ɲókí-	→	ɲók-ítíní-	‘dog(s)’
	ójá-	→	ój-ítíní-	‘wound(s)’
2	HL	→	H-LHH	

	ído-	→	íd-itíní-	‘breast(s)’
	nébu-	→	néb-itíní-	‘body(ies)’
3	LL	→	H-HHH	
	lara-	→	lár-ítíní-	‘tobacco pipe(s)’
	zɔta-	→	zót-ítíní-	‘chain(s)’
4	LL	→	L-LHH	
	bosi-	→	bos-itíní-	‘ear(s)’
	gura-	→	gur-itíní-	‘Sickle bush(es)’
5	LH	→	L-LHH	
	aká-	→	ak-itíní-	‘mouth(s)’
	rukú-	→	ruk-itíní-	‘hump(s)’

Plurative II is one of two Ik pluratives that is selected on the basis of mora-counting as a general principle. This principle stipulates that the pluralized stem have three moras in its isolation form (i.e. in the nominative case). The ‘stem’ in this case is a noun root minus its final vowel, since the final vowel is first subtracted by the plurative suffix. Plurative selection based on mora-counting is attested in wider Nilotic, for example in Dholuo and Turkana. But the mora-counting of Turkana pluratives differs from that of Ik in this regard: The plurative a Turkana nominal stem selects depends on the *input* of pluralization—the singular stem’s (root plus gender prefix) mora count (plus a few other factors; see Dimmendaal 1983:226). But in Ik, it is the *output*, not the input of pluralization that is constrained by the mora count (Maarten Mous, p.c.). In other words, Ik morpho-phonology tries to keep the plural form of shorter noun roots at three moras, no more, no less:

(48) *Mora-counting pluralization in Turkana and Ik*

Turkana		Ik	
Input	Output	Input	Output
2 moras	CV-CVC-ín	CVC-itín	3 moras
3 moras	CV-CVVC-à(-o)	CVVC-ik	3 moras
3 moras	CV-CVCVC-í`	CVCV(C)-ik	3 moras

With regard then to the Ik plurative II, it accords with the Turkana plurative *-ín* both in etymology and in producing plural nouns with three moras. What Ik lacks in terms of a mora-supplying gender prefix (that Turkana has), it makes up for by preserving the fossilized singulative *-it* along with *-ín*.

The table below presents a sample nouns with different syllable structures pluralized with *{-ítíní-}*. Recall that the statement about mora-counting applies only to the isolation forms of plural nouns (nominative case, final form). This is because in other cases and contexts, the number of moras a pluralized stem has varies. For example, the non-final ablative case form of ‘dogs’ is *ɲókítínío*, which has a total of five moras instead of three.

(49) *Plurative II {-ítíní-} according to syllable type*

	Singular	→	Plural	
VCV-	aká-	→	ak-ítíní-	‘mouth(s)’
	édi-	→	éd-itíní-	‘name(s)’
	oní-	→	on-ítíní-	‘abandoned village’
CVV-	ɗau-	→	ɗaw-ítíní-	‘knife(ves)’
	kíj-	→	kí-ítíní-	‘strap(s)’
	séí-	→	sé-ítíní-	‘quartz (pieces)’
CVCV-	baro-	→	bar-ítíní-	‘herd(s)’
	nébu-	→	néb-itíní-	‘body(ies)’
	ɲila-	→	ɲíl-ítíní-	‘gizzard(s)’

4.2.3 Plurative III

The plurative III *{-ika-}* is a likely reflex of both the Proto-Southern-Nilotic plurative *-ka* (Rottland 1980) and the Teso-Turkana *-à* (Dimmendaal 1983:235). As a counterpart of *{-ítíní-}*, *{-ika-}* is used to pluralize polysyllabic noun roots (minus final vowel), producing a nominative-case plural form with three moras (see ex. 48 above). Beyond this, it is the required plurative when pluralization yields an output with four or more moras. Since a) most words borrowed into Ik come through Teso-Turkana

and b) many Teso-Turkana words are polymoraic, the plurative III is the plurative of choice for borrowed words and therefore the only fully productive plurative in the Ik language today. The following table offers an overview of the syllable types of nouns that the plurative III pluralizes:

(50) *Plurative III {-ika-} according to syllable type*

	Singular	→	Plural	
VCVC	akátí-	→	ákát-ika	‘nostril(s)’
	itúbá-	→	itúb-íka-	‘trough(s)’
	ofurí-	→	ofúr-íka-	‘pouch(es)’
CVCV	gózou-	→	gózou-ika-	‘mist(s)’
	ƙófó-	→	ƙófó-ika-	‘calabash(es)’
	mutúú-	→	mutú-íka-	‘needle(s)’
CVCVC	karatsi-	→	káráts-ika-	‘stool(s)’
	kesení-	→	késén-ika-	‘shield(s)’
	tsírímú-	→	tsírím-íka-	‘metal(s)’
CVCVCV	cíkóroí-	→	cíkóro-ika-	‘boundary(ies)’
	nasémé-	→	nasémé-ika-	‘oblong gourd(s)’
	ɲétsúpaá-	→	ɲétsúpa-ika-	‘bottle(s)’
CVCVCVC	bolíboli-	→	bolíból-ika-	‘goiter(s)’
	ɲaɲalúra-	→	ɲaɲalúr-íka-	‘kidneys’
	ts’úbulátí-	→	ts’úbulát-íka-	‘plug(s)’

The plurative III is recessive in terms of vowel harmony, making /-ika-/ an allomorph on [+ATR] stems. In terms of tonal behavior, the plurative III exhibits both melodic template completion and replacive grammatical tone. For example, although the underlying tone of {-ika-} is LL, it becomes LH after a LHH noun, as when *títírí-* ‘forked pole’ → *títíríka-* in the plural. And as an example of replacive grammatical tone, the L-toned noun *cemeri-* ‘herb’ is pluralized with {-ika-} to produce *cemér-íka-*. These and several other plurative III melodies are presented below in (51):

(51) *Plurative III {-ika} according to tone melody*

#	Singular	Plural	
1	HHL	→	HH-LL
	ḃóḃúsa-	→	ḃóḃús-ika- 'Terminalia perfume(s)'
	lótḃa-	→	lótḃ-ika- 'tobacco(s)'
2	HLH	→	HL-LL
	ḡáturí-	→	ḡátur-ika- 'flower(s)'
	ḡámalí-	→	ḡámal-ika- 'bullet(s)'
3	HLL	→	HL-LL
	kúbura-	→	kúbur-ika 'big container(s)'
	gózou-	→	gózou-ika- 'mist(s)'
4	LHH	→	LH-HL
	iwótsí-	→	iwóts-íka- 'mortar(s)'
	lókódá-	→	lókód-íka- 'small granary(ies)'
5	LHL	→	LH-LL
	tsakúde-	→	tsakúd-ika- 'firestick(s)'
	ḡulé-	→	ḡulé-ika- 'elbow(s)'
6	LLH	→	HH-LL
	ḡyókumú-	→	ḡyókúm-ika- 'neck(s)'
	kupukú-	→	kúpúk-ika 'pestle(s)'
7	LLH	→	HL-LL
	ḡubesí-	→	ḡúbes-ika- 'thigh(s)'
	sugurá-	→	súgur-ika- 'wind(s)'
8	LLL	→	LH-HL
	cemeri-	→	cemér-íka 'herb(s)'
	tsoriti-	→	tsorít-íka- 'vein(s)'
9	LLL	→	HH-LL
	poroti-	→	pórót-ika- 'bent stick-tool(s)'
	ḡiróku-	→	ḡírók-ika- 'toy spear(s)'
10	LLL	→	HL-LL
	bubuu-	→	búbu-ika- 'belly(ies)'
	kabaḡa-	→	kábaḡ-ika- 'rag(s)'

Some exceptions occur as to the notion that {-ika-} pluralizes only nouns with more than two syllables in the base form. All the recorded exceptions are listed below. In a few of them, for example *gwasá-* ‘stone’, the semi-vowel /w/ is found, suggesting that in these cases /w/ is counted as one mora when the plurative is selected based on mora-counting. In others like *séda-* ‘garden’ and *hoo-* ‘hut’, the depressor consonants /d/ or /h/ may also be counted as moraic. In others, though, like *kíjǎ-* ‘land’, there is no synchronic hint as to why it is pluralized as *kíjǎk* instead of ***kíjǎtín*.

(52) *Plurative III {-ika} with bisyllabic noun roots*

Singular		Plural	
awá-	→	áw-ika-	‘home(s)’
gwasá-	→	gwas-ika-	‘stone(s)’
hoo-	→	ho-ika	‘hut(s)’
kíjǎ-	→	kij-ika-	‘land(s)’
kwará-	→	kwar-ika-	‘mountain(s)’
kwaza-	→	kwáz-ika-	‘item(s) of clothing’
kwetá-	→	kwet-ika-	‘arm(s)’
ríjǎ-	→	ríj-ika-	‘forest(s)’
séda-	→	séd-ika-	‘garden(s)’

4.2.4 Suppletive plurals

A handful of Ik plural nouns must be analyzed as suppletive in synchronic Ik grammar because the singular and plural terms are not derived from each other in any productive way. In the first, third, and fourth rows of (53), each term in the pair is unrelated to the other in any recognizable fashion. However, the second and fifth pairs suggest the following explanations: 1) The plural form of *cekí-* ‘woman’—*cikámá*—seems to have been formed historically by a plurative parallel to the Dhaasanac plurative *-ia(a)m* (Tosco 2001:83). And 2) the relationship between *kórǎbádi-* ‘thing’ and *kúríbádi-* ‘things’ is a kind of ablaut found elsewhere in the grammar only between the singular demonstrative pronoun *dí-* and the plural *dí-* (see §5.5).

(53) *Ik suppletive plural nouns*

ámá-	‘person’	→	roba-	‘people’
cekí-	‘woman’	→	cikámá-	‘women’
gakwá-	‘man’	→	ɲɔtɔ-	‘men’
imá-	‘child’	→	wicé-	‘children’
kóróbádi-	‘thing’	→	kúrúbádi-	‘things’

4.2.5 *Possessive plurative*

The Ik possessive plurative {-mɪ-} may be a parallel of the Teso-Turkana plurative -in (Dimmendaal 1983:225). It is the plurative operating under Strategy 2 introduced in (44) above, with {-eɛ-} as its singulative counterpart (see next section). The possessive plurative fuses plurality and possession into one morpheme. As a plurative, {-mɪ-} pluralizes the stem to which it attaches, not the implied possessing entity. That entity can be singular or plural. For example, the word *ak-m* can mean either a) ‘its den entrances’ or b) ‘their den entrances’. And since {-mɪ-} is a marker of possession, *ak-m* cannot simply mean ‘den entrances’ but rather ‘den entrances’ associated with some person, or in this case, some animal.

Although it connotes plurality, {-mɪ-} alone cannot pluralize just any noun. Nouns that are pluralized by {-ika} must retain that suffix before the possessive plurative is added. For example, the word meaning ‘its branches’ must appear as *kwet-ik-m* not ***kwet-m*. But nouns that are pluralized with {-ítíní-} must first drop that suffix before the possessive plurative is added. This seems to stem from a prohibition against having the morpheme {-mɪ-} occurring twice in the same word. For example, the word meaning ‘their den entrances’ must appear as *ak-m* rather than ***ak-itín-ín*.

The possessive plurative is only semi-productive in that it pluralizes nouns restricted to certain semantically specified sets. These include schemas of inalienable possession like 1) whole-part relationships (e.g. body parts, 2)

kinship (blood and marriage relations), and 3) associated persons or things. Examples of {-ini-} encoding a whole-part relationship include:

(54) Possessive plurative and a whole-part relationship

ak-in	‘its/their openings’
ekw-in	‘its/their seeds (lit. ‘eyes’)
ik-in	‘their heads’
jír-ín	‘its/their remainders’
kwa-in	‘its/their edges’

And examples of {-inɪ-} encoding kinship relations include:

(55) Possessive plurative and kinship relations

abáŋ-ín	‘my paternal uncles’
momó-ín	‘my maternal uncles’
ŋgó-ím-ín	‘our siblings’
táta-ín	‘my paternal aunts’
wik-in	‘his/her/their children’

And lastly, below are some examples of {-inɪ-} encoding associated persons. When the possessive plurative is used to pluralize terms of associated people, it is usually translated as ‘those of X’ in Ugandan colloquial English, since there is no British or American equivalent. Other possible translation options include ‘X’s people’ or ‘those associated with X’:

(56) Possessive plurative and associated persons

Ámba-ín	‘those of Amber’
Lomerí-ín	‘those of Lomeri’
Lotsul-ín	‘those of Lochul’
Nacwéŋ-ín	‘those of Nacweny’
Tekó-ín	‘those of Teko’

On the side of vowel harmony, the possessive plural is recessive, making /-ini-/ an allomorph on [+ATR] stems. The tone melodies it produces with noun stems are summarized in (57):

(57) *Possessive plural {-mɪ-} according to tone melody*

#	Singular		Plural	
1	LH	→	L-LL	
	iká-	→	ik-ini-	‘their heads’
	wicé-	→	wik-ini-	‘his/her/their children’
2	LL	→	H-HL	
	basa-	→	bás-íni-	‘its/their rays/spots’
	sowa-	→	sów-íni-	‘its/their barbs’
3	LHL	→	LH-LL	
	leúzo-	→	leúz-ini-	‘its/their charcoal’
4	LHL	→	LH-HH	
	abáŋɪ-	→	abáŋ-íni-	‘my fathers’
	tekóo-	→	tekó-íni-	‘those of Teko’
5	LLH	→	HL-LL	
	kabasá-	→	kábas-ini-	‘its/their flour’
6	HLL	→	HL-HH	
	tátaa-	→	táta-íni-	‘my paternal aunts’

4.2.6 Possessive singulative

The possessive singulative {-eɗɛ-} has Cushitic parallels in Dhaasanac *-íet*, Somali *eed*, and Somali/Arbore *-et'*—all of which are related to possession (Tosco 2001:97). Like its plurative counterpart, the possessive singulative fuses singularity and possession into one morpheme. Its singularizes the stem to which it attaches and encodes the notion that the stem is associated with some entity. That entity may be singular or plural. For example, the word *ak-ed^a* can mean either a) ‘its den entrance’ or b) ‘their den entrance’.

Also like the possessive plurative, {-ede-} is used to express a) whole-part relationships and b) relationships of association. Kinship relations are not as commonly encoded by {-ede-} as they are with {-ini}, but some forms are found, for example *dzak-ed^a* ‘small child’ and *jágw-ed^a* ‘his/her/their daughter’. In the whole-part semantic schema, the {-ede-} is often used in relational nouns (§4.3.8), for example in *gwaríéda ho^e* ‘the top of the house’.

(58) *Possessive singulative and semantic schemas*

Whole-Part	
ák ^w -éd ^a	‘its inner part’
de-ed ^a	‘its base (lit. ‘foot’)
ik-ed ^a	‘its head’
kan-ed ^a	‘its back (part)’
káts-éd ^a	‘its front part’
Association	
ám-éd ^a	‘its/their owner’
kíj-éd ^a	‘his/her/their land (i.e. nationality)’
legé-ed ^a	‘his/her madness (mental illness)’
mucé-éd ^a	‘its/their trail (animal tracks)’
taṅé-éd ^a	‘its/their companion’

The possessive singulative is recessive in terms of vowel harmony, making /-ede-/ an allomorph on a [+ATR] stem. Tonally, it undergoes melodic template completion, for example when its LL melody changes to HL in *ák^w-éde-* ‘inside it’. It may also replace tones, as in *nákáf-ede-* ‘its point’:

(59) *Possessive singulative {-ede} according to tone melody*

#	Singular		Plural	
1	HH	→	H-HL	
	kíj ^a -	→	kíj-éde-	‘his/her/their land’
2	HL	→	H-LL	
	óza-	→	óz-ede-	‘its bottom (part)’

3	LH	→	L-LL	
	dεá-	→	dε-εde-	‘its base’
	kaná-	→	kan-ede-	‘its back (part)’
4	LH	→	H-HL	
	akó-	→	ákʷ-édε-	‘its inside (part)’
5	LHL	→	LH-LL	
	gwarí-	→	gwarí-éde-	‘its top (part)’
	kɔfɔɔ-	→	kɔfɔɔ-ede-	‘its calabash (first harvest)’
6	LLH	→	LH-HL	
	muceé-	→	mucé-éde	‘its trail’
7	LLH	→	HH-LL	
	nakafú-	→	nákáf-ede-	‘its point (lit. ‘tongue’)
8	LHH	→	LL-HL	
	morókú-	→	morok-éde-	‘its throat (gun barrel)’
9	LHH	→		
	ɲabéri-	→	ɲáber-ede-	‘its side (lit. ‘rib’)
10	LL	→	H-HL	
	ǰiri-	→	ǰír-éde-	‘its remainder’
11	LL	→	L-LL	
	waʃi-	→	waʃ-ede-	‘its beginning point’
	bíba-	→	bíb-ede-	‘its egg-yolk’

4.2.7 Human singulative

The second singulative to be discussed is {-Vma-} and is called the ‘human singulative’ because it is found only with nouns referring to humans (Heine & König 1996:20). It seems to be related etymologically to the agentive (§4.3.4) and the patientive suffix (§7.2.4), both of which likely originate in the noun root *ámá-* ‘person’. The first vowel in {-Vma-} is usually /a/ but can also be /ɔ/ when immediately preceded by /ɔ/. The human singulative singularizes bare plural nouns like these four in (60):

(60) *Human singulative {-Vma-}*

Plural			Singular	
jáká-	‘elders’	→	ják-áma-	‘elder’
kéa-	‘soldiers’	→	ké-ama-	‘soldier’
lɔŋótá-	‘enemies’	→	lɔŋót-óma-	‘enemy’
ŋímókókaá-	‘young men’	→	ŋímókóká-áma-	‘young men’

Because underived plural counterparts exist for the singularized forms in (60), the human singulative is treated as a synchronic morpheme. However, *-Vma-* sequences like this suffix are found on a number of nouns in the Ik for which basic plural forms have not been found. It seems probable, then, that this singulative has also been lexicalized in nouns like the following:

(61) *{-Vma-} as a frozen suffix*

lɔtsóɔma-	‘grass sp.’
ɲékútama-	‘leather oil container’
ɲéɲamá-	‘cartilage’
rutúduma-	‘pigeon’
sakámá-	‘liver’
tatanáma-	‘what’s-his-name’
ts’ókómá-	‘ <i>Sclerocarya birrea</i> tree’
ts’úɔramá-	‘medicinal tree sp.’
ugwamá-	‘sibling-in-law’

4.2.8 *Non-countable mass nouns*

A further subset of Ik nouns are singular in form but lexically specified as plural. They are interpreted as plural by any plural modifiers that may accompany them. These are non-countable mass nouns that include liquids, powders, and other particulate elements. Some of the more commonly heard non-countable mass nouns include the following, where the plural demonstrative {=ni} indicates that the grammar treats them as plural:

(62) Noun-countable mass nouns

		Plural { = ni}	Sing. { = na}	
búré-	‘dust’	búrá = ni	**búrá = na	‘this dust’
cué-	‘water’	cua = ni	**cua = na	‘this water’
ído-	‘milk’	ídwá = ni	**ídwá = na	‘this milk’
kabasá-	‘flour’	kabasa = ni	**kabasa = na	‘this flour’
mesε-	‘beer’	mesa = ni	**mesa = na	‘this beer’
sea-	‘blood’	sea = ni	**sea = na	‘this blood’
ts’úde-	‘smoke’	ts’úda = ni	**ts’úda = na	‘this smoke’

4.2.9 General number nouns

Lastly, many Ik nouns naming things in the natural world, like plants, birds, and animals, fall under the category of general number nouns. That is, they are not specified for a numeric value in the lexicon. They can be used either as singular or plural and then take the appropriate modifiers for either number. In the following data set, three representative general number nouns are given with both singular and plural non-past demonstratives:

(63) General number nouns

áts’á = na	‘this Sycamore fig tree’
áts’á = ni	‘these Sycamore fig trees’
bíba = na	‘this egg’
bíba = ni	‘these eggs’
gwaa = na	‘this bird’
gwaa = ni	‘these birds’

Such number neutrality on nouns is characteristic of Cushitic languages (Mous 2012:361) and may reflect their ancient influence on Ik.

4.3 Compounds

Besides the number-marking suffixes described in §4.2 and the case suffixes described in §6.2, Ik has no other nominal affixes in the strict sense. The grammar compensates for this relative dearth of nominal morphology by making extensive use of compounds. The analytical division between suffixes and the second (or final of three) term in a compound (N₂) is made on the basis of the following points: 1) A suffix subtracts the stem-final vowel, while the N₂ does not. 2) A suffix may (and often does) cause tonal changes on the stem, while the N₂ never does. An exception to the suffix-N₂ distinction is found in those case suffixes that preserve the root-final vowel, thereby violating point (1) above. However, those same case suffixes do not cause tonal changes on the root (see §6.2). As discussed in §6.2.2, the case suffixes may in fact be eroded N₂ postpositions, now representing perhaps an intermediary point between an N₂ and a suffix.

And so the division drawn in this chapter on nouns between suffixed nouns (§4.2) and compounds (§4.3) is structural rather than semantic. Some semantic notions straddle the suffix-N₂ division. For example, plurality is encoded both by the plurative suffixes described in §4.2 and the plurative compound constructions described in this section. The semantic notions of diminutiveness and agentiveness, as two further examples, are encoded by compounds whose N₂ are the words for ‘child/children’ and ‘person/ik’, respectively. But it is difficult to tell whether and to what degree the diminutive ‘child’ is being grammaticalized since it also exists as a free lexeme on its own. That is why, instead of treating the diminutive as a suffix on the basis of possible grammaticalization, it and other constructions like it are all handled in this chapter devoted to compounds, formally defined.

4.3.1 *Formal properties*

As a noun-building strategy, Ik compounding involves joining two or more (pro)nominal elements together in an associative construction with special formal and semantic characteristics. The formal characteristics include the

following: 1) a phonological word profile with inter-nominal vowel harmony, 2) a tone melody applying over the whole compound rather than its individual elements, 2) a reversed word order—modifier before head—where head before modifier is the norm elsewhere, and 3) a unique case marking whereby the first noun (N_1) take the oblique case and the second noun (N_2) takes whatever case the syntax requires for the whole compound. These formal features show that the construction cannot be called mere ‘juxtaposition’ as it has been in the literature (e.g. Heine & König 1996:35).

The first formal property of compounds to be discussed is vowel harmony. A compound comprises a phonological word which, by definition, allows a degree of vowel harmony (see §3.1.7). The domain of vowel harmony in Ik compounds is across the boundary between N_1 and N_2 . If the first segment of N_2 is the [+ATR] vowel /i/, then it can harmonize the last vowel (if CV-) or the last two vowels (if CVV-) of the N_1 . This is a surface level condition and so is not represented elsewhere in the grammar unless particularly relevant:

(64) *Vowel harmony in compounds*

Lexical	Post-lexical	
ʒítíní-wík ^a	[ʒítíní-wíkə]	‘small sores’
kɔfɔ-ím	[k’ɔfó-ím]	‘small gourd’
ɲókəkɔrɔ-ím	[ɲókəkɔrɔ-ím]	‘chick’

Secondly, when two (pro)nominal elements are linked up in a compound, the compound as a whole takes on its own tone melody. Compound-induced tone changes are an instance of melodic template completion: A compound’s melody is determined by the tone melody of the N_1 and the changes its effects on the tone of the N_2 . Some of the different composite melodies that arise in compounds are exemplified in the following tables.

First, when the N_1 is a bisyllabic noun with a HH melody, any bisyllabic nouns it takes as its N_2 will have a LL melody, regardless of its input melody (HH, LH, LL, etc.). This is evidence of a HH-LL tonal template:

(65) *Compound tone melodies with a HH N₁ melody*

N ₁	N ₂		Compound
HH	HH	→	HH-LL
ínó- 'animal'	síts'á- 'hair'	→	ínó-síts'a- 'fur'
ηókí- 'dog'	tsútsá- 'fly'	→	ηókí-tsutsa- 'dog-fly'
HH	LH	→	HH-LL
kíjǎ- 'earth'	imá- 'child'	→	kíjǎ-ima- 'fairy'
ηókí- 'dog'	ets'í- 'feces'	→	ηókí-ets'i- 'ear-wax'
HH	LL	→	HH-LL
ínó- 'animal'	kwaza- 'clothing'	→	ínó-kwaza- 'leather'
dǎnjǎ- 'white-ant'	kítsa- 'heap'	→	dǎnjǎ-kítsa- 'ant-hill'

Second, when the N₁ is a bisyllabic noun with a LH melody, any bisyllabic nouns it takes as its N₂ will also have a HL melody, regardless of its input melody (HH, LH, LL, etc.). This is evidence of a LH-HL tonal template:

(66) *Compound tone melodies with a LH N₁ melody*

N ₁	N ₂		Compound
LH	HH	→	LH-HL
aká- 'mouth'	ámá- 'person'	→	aká-áma- 'talker'
ekú- 'eye'	síts'á- 'hair'	→	ekú-síts'a- 'eyelash'
LH	LH	→	LH-HL
dakú- 'tree'	kwetá- 'arm'	→	dakú-kwéta- 'branch'
fetí- 'sun'	ekú- 'eye'	→	fetí-éku- 'East'
LH	LL	→	LH-HL
dikwá- 'dance'	hoo- 'house'	→	dikwá-hóo- 'dance hall'
icé- 'Ik'	hoo- 'house'	→	icé-hóo- 'Ik house'

Third, when the N₁ is a bisyllabic noun with a LL melody, any bisyllabic nouns it takes as its N₂ will also have a LL melody, regardless of its input melody (HH, LH, LL, etc.). This is evidence of a LL-LL tonal template:

(67) *Compound tone melodies with a LL N₁ melody*

N ₁	N ₂		Compound
LL	HH	→	LL-LL
díde- ‘donkey’	ɲámá- ‘sorghum’	→	díde-ɲama- ‘sorgh. var.’
sea- ‘blood’	ámá- ‘person’	→	sea-ama- ‘murderer’
LL	LH	→	LL-LL
díde- ‘donkey’	kwatsí- ‘urine’	→	díde-kwatsi- ‘beer’
bosi- ‘ear’	ɔká- ‘bone’	→	bosi-ɔka- ‘ear-bone’
LL	LL	→	LL-LL
fɪyɔɔ- ‘cow’	baro- ‘herd’	→	fɪyɔɔ-baro- ‘cow herd’
dáda- ‘honey’	ɛoo- ‘bag’	→	dáda-ɛoo- ‘honey bag’

Lastly, when the N₁ is a bisyllabic noun with a HL(L) melody, any bisyllabic nouns it takes as its N₂ will have a LL melody, regardless of its input melody (HH, LH, LL, etc.). This is evidence of a HL-LL tonal template:

(68) *Compound tone melodies with a HL(L) N₁ melody*

N ₁	N ₂		Compound
HLL	HH	→	HL-LL
dódoo- ‘sheep’	síts’á- ‘hair’	→	dódoo-síts’a- ‘wool’
HLL	LH	→	HL-LL
dódoo- ‘sheep’	imá- ‘child’	→	dódoo-ima-
HLL	LL	→	HL-LL
dódoo- ‘sheep’	kwaza- ‘cloth’	→	dódoo-kwaza- ‘wool cloth’

The data shown above are only representative of a vast array of melodic combinations found in compounds. For a more detailed (but ultimately problematic) discussion of compound tone changes, see Schrock 2011a.

Moving on to compound structure: Compounds reverse the normal noun phrase word order in which modifiers follow the heads they modify. In compounds, the modifier appears as N₁ followed by the head as the N₂.

Take the compound in (69), for instance, where the noun *dakú*- ‘tree’ is used as the modifying N_1 . Then compare the word order of the compound with that of a normal noun phrase having the same meaning:

(69) *Compound versus noun phrase*

<i>dakú</i> _{MOD} - <i>ḡól</i> _{HEAD}	<i>ḡólá</i> _{HEAD} <i>dakwí</i> _{MOD}
tree-shin:NOM	shin:NOM tree:GEN
‘tree trunk’	‘trunk of the tree’

As a third structural feature, compounds involve a special case marking: The N_1 takes the oblique case while the N_2 takes whatever case the syntax requires for the whole construction. In the oblique case, the form of the N_1 is usually an exact representation of its underlying lexical form. An exception to this statement is that a noun ending in a VV sequence will lose its final vowel when joined to another noun in a compound. In the following examples, the noun *bubuu*- ‘belly’ is compounded with *akó*- ‘interior’. Observe that the final vowel of *bubuu*- is lost and that only the case of the N_2 , *akó*-, changes with different clausal argument structures:

(70) *Doda bubuakw.*

<i>dód</i> -a	<i>bubu-akw</i> - ^a
hurt-REAL	belly[OBL]-interior-NOM
(My) inner belly hurts.	

(71) *Iya bubuakok.*

<i>i-á</i>	<i>bubu-akó</i> -k ^e
be-REAL	belly[OBL]-interior-DAT
‘It’s inside the belly.’	

As a fourth structural feature, almost all Ik compounds are endocentric: The N_2 is always in the same grammatical category as the compound as a whole. This is true of its word class (nominal) as well as its syntactic function. That is, the morpho-syntactic function of the N_2 in a compound is always the

same as that of the whole compound. The N_1 , however, can be a pronoun, noun, or even a verb (in a special form), for example:

(72) *Word class of compound N_1*

Pronoun	jíci-kulé	‘my elbow’
Noun	tsórá-kóle	‘baboon’s elbow’
Verb	takani-kulé	‘Appearing-Elbow (place name)’

Two exceptional exocentric compounds are *ámá-ze* ‘big person (i.e. one in charge)’ and *roba-zeík* ‘big people (ones in charge)’. The N_2 of these compounds is the verb *ze-* ‘be big’; the *-ik* in *zeík* is the adjectival plural suffix (§7.10.5). These lexical compounds are so rare it is believed they are calques of the Teso-Turkana ‘positioner’ nouns *ékápólónj* ‘big person’ and *ηíkápólók* ‘big people’ (e.g. in Dimmendaal 1983:274-276). The Ik calque of *éká-pól-ónj* ‘big person’ has another instantiation as *ámá-ze-ám*, a tri-nominal compound with the structure PERSON-BIG-PERSON. This seems to be an even more direct, structurally identical, calque of the Teso-Turkana equivalent.

As a fifth structural feature, each term in an Ik compound can be pluralized. Semantics, though, may restrict which nouns this may apply to. For example, there are no recorded examples of a plural N_1 modifying a singular N_2 . Otherwise, the first, second, or both compounded nouns are pluralized with the same pluratives they have in non-compounded environments:

(73) *Pluralization of compound nouns*

SG-SG	dakú-kwét ^a	‘branch (tree-arm)’
SG-PL	dakú-kwétík ^a	‘branches (tree-arms)’
PL-PL	dakwitíní-kwétík ^a	‘branches (trees-arms)’
**PL-SG	**dakwitíní-kwét ^a	‘branch (trees-arm)’

4.3.2 *Semantic properties*

Compounds also have special semantic properties. The combined meaning of the two compounded elements is either 1) more specific or 2) completely different than the meanings of the individual constituents. For example, the compound *icé-ám* ‘Ik person’ narrows the reference of the compound head *ám* ‘person’. And the fact that the compound *fadí-gur* ‘bitter-heart’ refers to a type of pungent grass species is not automatically known from the meanings of the two component parts.

These semantic properties predispose Ik compounds to further semantic developments. For example, their ability to narrow the reference of the compound head has led to the (partial?) grammaticalization of *imá-* ‘child’ and *wicé-* ‘children’ into diminutive markers (§4.3.3), as well as the grammaticalization of *ámá-* ‘person’ and *icé-* ‘Ik/people’ into agentive markers (§4.3.4). And with a subset of compound heads, compounding has also led to several locative expressions used as general place names, to the gender specification of birds and animals, and to whole-part relationships including body parts and their semantic extension as relational nouns.

A limited subset of compound heads with locative meanings is used for general place names. These nouns, like *akó-* ‘interior’, *awá-* ‘home/place’, and *hoo-* ‘hut’, function like postpositions or even incipient case markers (indeed some Ik case markers may have arisen from compound heads or postpositions; see §6.4). Examples include the following:

(74) *Compound common place names*

<i>aṅarasá-ákw^a</i>	‘gravelly area’	(lit. ‘gravel-interior’)
<i>awá-ákw^a</i>	‘compound/yard’	(lit. ‘home-interior’)
<i>dzígw-aw^a</i>	‘market’	(lit. ‘commerce-home’)
<i>gírésí-aw^a</i>	‘storage place’	(lit. ‘storing-home’)
<i>wáána-ho</i>	‘church’	(lit. ‘prayer-hut’)

Another subset of compound heads act to specify the gender of birds and animals. These include words like *cikó-* ‘male’, *ɲwaa-* ‘female’, and others:

(75) *Compound gender specifications*

<i>dīde-cúrúk^a</i>	‘male donkey’	(lit. ‘donkey-bull’)
<i>dīde-ɲwa</i>	‘female donkey’	(lit. ‘donkey-female’)
<i>dīde-waz</i>	‘young female donkey’	(lit. ‘donkey-young fem.’)
<i>ɲókí-cikw^a</i>	‘male dog’	(lit. ‘dog-male’)
<i>ɲókí-ɲwa</i>	‘female dog’	(lit. ‘dog-female’)

Single body part terms can be combined with other body part terms or other nouns to create compounds with more specific anatomical references:

(76) *Compound anatomical specifications*

<i>aká-kwáǎ^a</i>	‘lip’	(lit. ‘mouth-tooth’)
<i>deá-mórók^a</i>	‘ankle’	(lit. ‘leg-throat’)
<i>ekú-síts^a</i>	‘eyelash, eyebrow’	(lit. ‘eye-hair’)
<i>gubesí-ǵk^a</i>	‘thighbone’	(lit. ‘thigh-bone’)
<i>sea-mucé</i>	‘blood vessel’	(lit. ‘blood-path’)

Some body part terms are also used extensively in compounds as whole-part locative expressions often called ‘relational nouns’ (e.g. in König 2002:73-75). These relational nouns are dealt with further below in §4.3.8.

The ability of compounds to express meanings greater or different than that of the sum of their parts has made possible 1) creative coinages for newly-encountered technologies, 2) the lexicalization of names for things like plants and animals, and 3) colorful idiomaticization.

As a productive word-building strategy, compounding is often used to coin new terms for new technology. For example, a tripod is called *leweɲí-de* ‘ostrich-foot’ due to its three-pronged structure. A small vehicle is colloquially called *kae-im* or ‘little tortoise’. And several modern tools like

pliers and prongs are given the colorful title *tilokotsi-ak*^a ‘hornbill-beak’. In a reverse process, sometimes newly borrowed words replace older compounds, for example *námáket*^a ‘market’ in place of *dzígw-aw*^a.

A fair number of plant and place names are made up of compounds. Though these compounds have been lexicalized, presumably in the past they were coinages with meanings referencing the meanings of each of the two compounded elements. Some examples include:

(77) *Compound plant names*

befá-cémér	‘ <i>Cissus rhodesiae</i> ’	(lit. ‘puff adder-herb’)
díde-ŋam	‘sorghum var.’	(lit. ‘donkey-sorghum’)
fadī-gur	‘ <i>Fadigura</i> ’	(lit. ‘bitter-heart’)
gasara-kwats ^a	‘ <i>Plectranthus</i> sp.’	(lit. ‘buffalo-urine’)
kulabá-kák ^a	‘ <i>Fuerstia africana</i> ’	(lit. ‘bushbuck-leaf’)

(78) *Compound place names*

caalí-ím	‘Little Hearthstone’	(lit. ‘hearthstone-child’)
icé-kíj ^a	‘Ikland’	(lit. ‘Ik-land’)
lera-akw ^a	‘Among White Thorns’	(lit. ‘Whitethorn-inside’)
oŋori-aw ^a	‘Elephant Place’	(lit. ‘elephant-home’)
takani-fulé	‘Appearing Elbow’	(lit. ‘appears-elbow’)

Lastly, some compounds take on the status as idioms once they are repeatedly used in creative, colorful ways. Here are a few examples:

(79) *Compound idioms*

dóba-am	‘Turkana person’	(lit. ‘mud-person’)
díde-kwats ^a	‘beer’	(lit. ‘donkey-piss’)
kae-taká’	‘rubber tire shoe’	(lit. ‘tortoise-shoe’)
lokú-ák ^a	‘beer drinking’	(lit. ‘gourd-mouth’)
loukú-éts ^a	‘ancestor’	(lit. ‘predator-shit’)

4.3.3 Diminutive

The nouns *imá-* ‘child’ and *wicé-* ‘children’ may convey the notion of diminutiveness when acting as the head (N₂) of a compound. But the degree to which these nouns have been grammaticalized as diminutive suffixes is difficult to ascertain. They can have both a grammaticalized diminutive sense, as in *ḡókí-im* ‘puppy (dog-child)’ or a normal lexical sense, as in *edé-im* ‘my brother’s child’—not ‘my little brother’. Examples of the semi-grammaticalized usage of these suffixes include the following:

(80) *Diminutive entities*

Singular	Plural	
baro-ima-	báritíní-wicé-	‘small herd(s)’
emútí-íma-	emútíka-wicé-	‘little story(ies)’
ké’dí-íma-	—	‘a little bit’
ƙófó-ima-	ƙófóika-wicé-	‘small gourd(s)’
ájá-ima-	ájítíní-wicé-	‘small sore(s)’

When compounded with terms for birds and animals, *imá-* ‘child’ or *wicé-* ‘children’ convey a sense somewhere between grammatical dimunitiveness and the lexical meaning of young offspring:

(81) *Diminutive animals*

Singular	Plural	
boroku-ima-	boroku-wicé-	‘bush-piglet(s)’
díde-ima-	díde-wicé-	‘donkey colt(s)’
dódo-ima-	dódo-wicé-	‘lamb(s)’
ḡókóƙóró-íma-	ḡókóƙóró-wicé-	‘chick(s)’
ḡókí-ima-	ḡókítíní-wicé-	‘puppy(ies)’

Some compounds containing *imá-* ‘child’ or *wicé-* ‘children’ as their head have been lexicalized as names for types of people or spirits, for example:

(82) *Diminutive animate beings*

dúné-im	‘old woman’	(lit. ‘age-child’)
ídeme-im	‘earth-worm’	(lit. ‘snake-child’)
kíjǎ-im	‘forest fairy’	(lit. ‘earth-child’)
pedéké-ím	‘evil spirit’	(lit. ‘sickness-child’)

4.3.4 *Agentive*

Like the diminutive, the agentive compound involves a pair of lexical nouns that seem to be on the way to being grammaticalized as agentive suffixes. These are *ámá-* ‘person’ for singular and *icé-* ‘Ik’ for plural. As an analogy with the diminutive, one might expect the plural agentive to be the lexical plural of ‘person’, which is *roba-* ‘people’, but it is not. That *icé-* is also the Ik’s name for themselves suggests that it may have once had a more general meaning like ‘people’. Heine has made the plausible suggestion that the agentive *icé-* is derived from the diminutive *wicé-* (Heine & König 1996:20). While in Dime and Sheko, both Omotic languages not so far from Ik, the agentive is derived from a form of the word for ‘father’ (Mulugeta 2008:59).

‘Agentive’ is used here in a broad sense, not just for the semantic role of ‘agent’ but for anyone characterized by the reference of the N₁. The equivalent of the Ik agentive in Turkana is called a ‘positioner noun’ and is divided up into such categories as ‘agentive’, ‘processor’, and ‘essive’ (Dimmendaal 1983:274), but this is not done here. In its most basic conception, the Ik agentive means ‘the X person’ or ‘the X-people’. It can also be translated as ‘the person/people who X’ or ‘X-er(s)’, depending on the compound’s N₁, which can be a noun or a nominalized verb. So the agentive, broadly defined, covers a range of nuances like 1) a person doing an action, 2) a person characterized by a state, 3) a person characterized by a thing, and 4) a person belonging to a group, particularly an ethnic group.

The N₁ of an agentive compound can be a noun or nominalized verb. The following are examples of agentives with nouns as the N₁:

(83) *Agentives with a nominal N₁*

Singular	Plural	
cooka-ama-	cooka-icé	'shepherd(s)'
dɛá-áma-	dɛá-ícé-	'messenger(s)'
dzú-áma-	dzú-íce-	'thief(ves)'
ésá-ama-	ésá-ice-	'drunkard(s)'
ƙaƙa-ama-	ƙaƙa-icé-	'hunter(s)'
tɔkɔba-ama-	tɔkɔba-icé-	'farmer(s)'

But in the majority of agentive compounds, the N₁ is a nominalized verb, either transitive or intransitive. In principle, there is no restriction on the number of affixes found on such N₁ verbs. For many deverbal agentives, the best English translation usually involves the suffix *-er(s)*:

(84) *Agentives with a deverbal N₁*

Singular	Plural	
asínítoni-ama-	asínítoni-icé-	'dreamer(s)'
búkóni-ama-	búkóni-icé	'adulterer(s)'
iritsésí-ama-	iritsésí-icé	'keeper(s)'
iwóróni-ama-	iwóróni-icé-	'wanderer(s)'
túbési-ama-	túbési-icé	'follower(s)'

For other intransitive verbs acting as N₁, especially adjectival ones, the best translation into English often involves adjective modifiers e.g.:

(85) *Agentives with an intransitive/adjectival deverbal N₁*

Singular	Plural	
baroni-ama-	baroni-icé-	'rich person(s)'
botibotosí-áma-	botibotosí-ícé-	'migrant(s)'
budámóni-ama-	budámóni-icé-	'black person(s)'
ƒets'oni-ama-	ƒets'oni-icé-	'white person(s)'
zeoni-ama-	zeoni-icé-	'big person(s)'

Many Ik ethnonyms for other groups are composed of agentive compounds:

(85) *Agentives as ethnonyms*

Singular	Plural	
Allá-áma-	Allá-íce-	'Muslim(s)'
Gwágwa-ama-	Gwágwa-íce-	'Dodoth(s)'
H'ɣɔ-ama-	H'ɣɔ-íce-	'foreigner(s)'
Icé-áma-	(Icé-)	'Ik(s)'
Pakó-áma-	Pakó-íce-	'Turkana(s)'

4.3.5 *Pronominal*

Compounds are also made with pronouns serving as N₁, N₂, or both. These pronominal compounds include the personal possessive (§5.1.2), the emphatic (§5.1.3), and the impersonal possessum (§5.2):

(86) *Pronominal compounds*

Personal possessive	jíci-rago-	I[OBL]-ox	'my ox'
Emphatic	jíci-nebu-	I[OBL]-body	'myself'
Impersonal possessum	ɲj-éńí-	I-PSSM	'mine'

4.3.6 *Internal plurative*

The internal plurative *-ajíká-* is a complex compound N₂ composed of the unknown root *aj-* and the plurative III {-ika-}. Because of its function as a plurative, a tempting analysis is to treat it as a suffix. However, because a) it does not delete the stem-final vowel, and b) it does not change the stem tone melody, it must be viewed as the N₂ of a compound construction.

The internal plurative expresses the meaning 'the interior of more than one X'. The root *aj-* has not been identified as an independent noun. But both form and meaning suggest a connection with the noun *akó-* 'inside/interior', which when pluralized (*akwíní-*) and used in compounds, has a similar

meaning as the internal plurative. The internal plurative is not often used, but three examples of it are given below:

(87) *Internal plurative compounds*

Plural			Internal Pl.	
áw-ík ^a	‘homes’	→	áw-íka-ajíká-	‘in/among homes’
ríj-ík ^a	‘forests’	→	ríj-íka-ajíká-	‘in/among forests’
séd-ík ^a	‘gardens’	→	séd-ika-ajíká-	‘in/among gardens’

4.3.7 *Variative plurative*

The variative plurative *-icíká-* is also a complex N₂ possibly composed of the sequence *-ic-* and the plurative III {-ika-}. Like the internal plurative, it may be tempting to view this N₂ as a suffix instead, but it does not a) subtract the stem-final vowel nor b) altern the stem tone melody. So for those reasons, it is analyzed here as (semi-) grammaticalized N₂.

The variative plurative expresses the meaning ‘kinds of X’ or ‘various X’. Structurally, it seems to be either a) a reduplication of the plurative III {-ika-} or b) a combination of the diminutive/agentive (*w*)*icé-* and the plurative III {-ika-}. Regardless of its etymology, *-icíká-* is often used to pluralize nouns not normally (re-)pluralizeable, for example 1) general number nouns, 2) nouns not pluralizeable with any other plurative, 3) inherently plural nouns, 4) nominalized verbs, 5) and pluralized nouns.

(88) *Variative plurative with general number nouns*

gwa	‘bird(s)’	→	gwa-icíká-	‘various (kinds of) birds’
ínw ^a	‘animal(s)’	→	ínó-icíká-	‘various (kinds of) animals’

(89) *Variative plurative with otherwise non-pluralized nouns*

cem	‘fight’	→	cemá-ícíka-	‘various fights (war)’
didi	‘weather’	→	dídi-icíká-	‘kinds of weather’
nakuj ^a	‘God’	→	nakují-ícíka-	‘(various) gods’

(90) *Variative plurative with inherently plural nouns*

men	'issues'	→	mená-íčíka-	'various issues'
se	'blood'	→	sea-icíká-	'various types of blood'

(91) *Variative plurative with nominalized verbs*

đod-et-és	'to point'	→	đod-et-ési-icíká-	'announcements'
wet-és	'to drink'	→	wet-ési-icíká-	'beverages'

Lastly, the variative plurative can add a variative meaning to nouns already pluralized with another plurative. (92) gives the only recorded example:

(92) *Variative plurative with already pluralized nouns*

dakú-	'tree'
dakw-ítíńí-	'trees'
dakw-ítíńí-icíká-	'various (kinds of) trees'

4.3.8 *Relational nouns*

A number of Ik body-part terms are used in whole-part expressions as 'relational' nouns (König 2002:73-75). These nouns are found in two morpho-syntactic positions: 1) as the N₂ of a compound (hence their being treated in this section on compounds) and 2) as a noun phrase head with a) the possessive singulative and b) a genitive modifier (which may be implied). Though synchronically they still function as full nouns (that can take any of the eight morphological cases), the relational nouns exhibit a very 'preposition-like' function, particularly as the noun phrase head. The following two tables compare singular and plural relational nouns:

(93) *Relational nouns, singular and plural*

'tooth'		Relational sense
Lexical	kwaǎá-	'edge'
As N2	mucé-kwáǎa-	'path-edge'
As NP head	kwe-eda mucéé	'edge of the path'

‘teeth’		
Lexical	kwa-ítíní-	‘edges’
As N2	mucé-kwá-íní-	‘path-edges’
As NP head	kwa-ina muceé	‘edges of the path’

(94) presents a full list of the known body-part relational nouns:

(94) *Body-part relational nouns*

	Lexical meaning	Relational meaning
aká-	‘mouth’	‘opening, entrance’
akatí-	‘nose’	‘stem, handle’
akó-	‘head?’	‘inside’
bakutsí-	‘chest’	‘front side’
bubuu-	‘belly, abdomen’	‘under, below’
bólé-	‘shin’	‘trunk, column’
déá-	‘foot, leg’	‘base, foot’
ekú-	‘eye’	‘point, center’
éba-	‘horn’	‘long, thin tool’
gúró-	‘heart’	‘core, essence’
gwaríi-	‘?’	‘top, above’
iká-	‘head’	‘top, head’
kaná-	‘back’	‘back’
komosí-	‘buttock’	‘back part’
kwaěá-	‘tooth’	‘edge, side’
kwaní-	‘penis’	‘sharp part’
kwetá-	‘hand, arm’	‘branch, appendage’
kóléé-	‘elbow’	‘bent, curved part’
morókú-	‘throat’	‘narrow part’
ɲabéri-	‘rib’	‘side’
ɔká-	‘bone’	‘hard part, shell’
óza-	‘bottom (pubic)’	‘back, bottom’
sókó-	‘hoof’	‘base, root’

For the word *gwarí*- ‘top’, with its common variant *gwaría*-, no original lexical meaning has been recovered. It has been lexicalized in the term *didi-gwarí* ‘weather-top’, an important cultural concept meaning ‘sky, heaven’ or ‘God’. And the only known possible lexical meaning for the commonly used relational noun *ákó*- ‘inside’ comes from Gumuz word *-(á)k’w(á)* ‘head’.

In principle, the terms listed in (94) are productive, but in practice, many of them have set up into lexicalized expressions like the following. Herein lies the main source—apart from borrowing—of Ik lexical nominal enrichment:

(95) *Relational compounds*

arágwané-éku-	‘full moon’
bubu-ákó-	‘inner abdomen’
dakú-sóko-	‘tree root’
dánjá-aka-	‘opening to white-ant hill’
dodí-eku-	‘cervix’
dómó-ɔza-	‘bottom of a pot’
fátára-bakutsí-	‘front side of the vertical ridge’
fetí-éku-	‘east’
gido-ɔka-	‘sky’
iwótsí-ɔza-	‘bottom of a mortar’
kaideí-ákátí-	‘pumpkin stem’
kuɓa-gwarí-	‘hilltop’
kwará-dɛa-	‘base of a mountain’
kwará-gwarí-	‘moutaintop’
kwaré-éku-	‘saddle between two mountain peaks’
óde-eku-	‘river ford’
simá-ákátí-	‘knot’
tabá-dɛa-	‘base of a rock’
tóde-eku-	‘word’
ts’adí-áka-	‘flame’
ts’adí-éku-	‘fireplace, nuclear family’
wídze-eku-	‘dusk, late evening’

4.4 Kinship terms

Kinship terms in Ik are affected by the structure of kinship relations. For example, Ik kinship relations are patrilocal: New wives are brought in from outside a man's clan to his parents' home area. They are also patrilineal: All one's relatives are understood in relation to one's father and paternal uncles. For instance, the term *abáŋi-* meaning 'my father' applies not only to one's birth father but also to any of the his brothers. So one may essentially have more than one 'father'. But the brother of one's birth mother is referred to as *momóo-* or 'uncle' rather than 'father'.

A second feature of the Ik kinship terminology is that it is based on reference to person (i.e. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person). The term needed to refer to a particular relative depends on whether it is the relative of the speaker, the addressee, or a third-person non-speech-act participant. For example, if the speaker names her father, she will call him *abáŋ* 'my father', but if she names her addressee's father, she will say *bábo* 'your father'. And if she refers to someone else's father, she will say *babat*^a 'his/her father'.

Morphologically, Ik kinship terms exhibit a couple of notable features. First, many of them are made up of compounds. They may join two nouns, as in *momó-cek*^a 'maternal aunt (lit. 'uncle-wife')' or *totó-im* 'maternal cousin (lit. 'maternal aunt's child')'. Others may join a pronoun and a noun, as in *ŋgó-ím* 'younger sibling (lit. 'our child')' or *bi-emetá* 'your in-law'. Secondly, in the Ik person-based kinship reference system, one can find traces of archaic person-marking morphology that has been completely lost in the rest of the grammar. Compare the following forms:

(96) *Archaic possessive suffixes on kinship terms*

Person	'father'	'mother'	'grandmother'
1SG	abáŋi-	yáŋi-	dadáŋi-
2SG	báboo-	ŋóo-	dádoo-
3SG	babatí-	ŋwaatí-	dadatí-

That the forms in (96) retain old possessive suffixes is most clearly seen in the words for ‘father’ and ‘grandmother’. These suffixes are **-áŋi-* for first person, **(o)o-* for second, and **-atí-* for third person (which may come from an old singulative; see (28) above)—all singular. With this in mind, these kinship terms can be re-analyzed as follows in order to highlight their historical morphology (which has now been lexicalized):

(97) *Archaic possessive suffixes in analysis*

Person	‘father’	‘mother’	‘grandmother’
1SG	(*b)ab-áŋi-	y-áŋi-	dad-áŋi-
2SG	báb-oo-	ŋó-o-	dád-oo-
3SG	bab-atí-	ŋw-aatí-	dad-atí-

The old root **bab*, meaning ‘father’, presumably lost its initial /b/ in the first-person reference at some point in time. In the case of ‘mother’, it seems that based on the second and third-person reference, the old root is **ŋo*. For second person, the possessive suffix *-(o)o-* is shortened, possibly due to Ik’s dislike for sequences of three vowels. And for third person, the root desyllabifies and causes compensatory lengthening on the suffix. When it comes to the first person, it is not clear how **ŋo* could be related to **y*.

The old possessive prefixes shown in (96) are found elsewhere in the kinship terminology but in an even more eroded form. Often the second and third-person suffixes are the only ones remaining:

(98) *Archaic possessive suffixes on other kinship terms*

Person	‘brother’	‘sister’	‘grandfather’
1SG	(edéé-)	ye-áa-	bob-áa-
2SG	lé-ó-	yá-óo-	bób-oo-
3SG	le-atí	ye-atí	bob-atí-

Before the loss of lateral fricatives in Ik, the root for ‘brother’ used to be **ɬ*- (Heine & König 1996:17). And if there ever was a proto-form **le-áŋi-* for ‘my brother’, it has been replaced by the unrelated *ɛdɛɛ-*. Elsewhere in (98), the first-person suffix *-áŋi-* has lost its velar nasal, giving rise to the variant *-áa*.

The following table presents a set of kinship terms including the ones shown in (96) and (98). These terms are from the point of view of *Ego* or ‘I’—that is, the first person. Second and third-person forms can be extrapolated from these. Moreover, they are all listed in the lexicon in Appendix B. To change person, either the archaic (frozen) possessive suffixes can be changed (as when going from *bobá* ‘my grandfather’ to *bóbo* ‘your grandfather’) or the N₁ pronouns in compounds (as in *ŋíci-cek^a* ‘my wife’ to *ntsí-cék^a* ‘his wife’). The literal meaning of compounded terms is also given when known:

(99) *Ik kinship terms from Ego’s (1SG) point-of-view*

Term	Natural sense	Literal sense
abáŋi-	‘my father’	
bobáa-	‘my grandfather, ancestor’	
dadáŋi-	‘my grandmother’	
ŋíci-emetáa-	‘my parent-in-law’	I-?
ɛdɛɛ-	1) ‘my older brother 2) ‘my older paternal cousin’	
ɛdɛ-ceki-	‘my older brother’s wife’	brother-wife
imá-céki-	‘my son’s wife’	child-wife
momóo-	1) ‘my maternal uncle’ 2) ‘son of my sister’	
momó-ceki-	‘my maternal uncle’s wife’	uncle-wife
momó-ima-	‘my maternal cousin’	uncle-child
ŋíci-ɣání-	1) ‘my husband’s other wife’ 2) ‘my husband’s brother’s wife’	
ŋíci-namúí-	1) ‘my husband’s sister’ 2) ‘my brother’s wife’	I-?
ŋíc-ugwámá-	‘my sibling-in-law’	I-?

jíci-ceki-	‘my wife’	I-woman
ɲci-ɛakwa-	‘my husband’	I-man
jíci-ima-	‘my child’	I-child
ɲgó-íma-	‘my younger sibling’	we-child
tátaa-	‘my paternal aunt’	
táta-ɛakwa-	‘my paternal aunt’s husband’	aunt-man
táta-ima-	‘my paternal aunt’s child’	aunt-child
totóo-	‘my maternal aunt’	
totó-ɛakwa-	‘my maternal aunt’s husband’	aunt-man
totó-íma-	‘my maternal aunt’s child’	aunt-child
yáɲ-	‘my mother’	
yeáa-	‘my sister’	

Ik kinship terms function grammatically as any other noun in the language. They inflect for all eight cases and can be modified and pluralized to a limited extent. A variety of pluralization strategies are used for kinship terms, depending on their morphological structure, semantics, etc., as in:

(100) *Pluralization strategies for kinship terms*

Strategy	Singular		Plural
Plurative I	namúí	‘brother’s wife’	namú-át-ikw ^a
Possessive Plurative	abáɲ	‘my father’	abáɲ-ín
Pluralize N ₂	jíci-im	‘my child’	jíci-wik ^a

Finally, when one wants to express the relation of a relative to more than one person (e.g. 1PL or 2PL)—and if the relevant term is one from above that takes the archaic possessive suffixes—then the 3SG form of the term is used. This is observed, for example, in *ɲjíní-leat^a* ‘our (inc.) brother’ and *biti-babát^a* ‘your (pl.) father’. The reason for this has yet to be discovered.

4.5 Proper Nouns

In addition to all the common nouns that have been the major topic of this chapter so far, Ik also has a full range of proper nouns. These include names for specific people, tribes, and places—entities in the world that have a unique reference. Proper nouns as names are discussed in the following sections: §4.5.1 on onomastics (people names), §4.5.2 on ethnonyms (tribal names), and §4.5.3 on toponyms (place names).

For the most part, Ik proper nouns function grammatically just like common nouns. They can function as a clause's core or peripheral argument, and they inflect for all of the eight cases. But they also differ grammatically from common nouns. For example, proper names for people cannot be pluralized:

- (101) *ɲorok*^a ***ɲórókik*^a
 Ngorok **Ngoroks

Due to the fact that Ik relative clauses are only the restrictive type, proper nouns can only be modified by relative clauses if it is very clear from the context that two or more entities/persons with the same name are involved:

- (102) *Nteenoo ɲorokui?* *ɲoroka na zikib.*
 ńté-énó-ɔ ɲorokwí-∅ ɲorok-a = na zikíḃ-∅
 which-PSSM-COP ɲorok-GEN ɲorok-NOM = REL.SG tall-REAL
 Which Ngorok? The Ngorok who is tall.

And though they can be modified by a possessor in the genitive case, the possessum and possessor must be separated by a relative pronoun:

- (103) *ɲoroka na ɲci.* ***ɲoroka ɲci.*
 ɲorok-a = na ɲci-∅ **ɲorok-a ɲci-∅
 ɲorok-NOM = REL.SG I-GEN **ɲorok-NOM I-GEN
 The Ngorok who is mine. **My Ngorok.

4.5.1 Onomastics

Most Ik people nowadays have three or four names each. They will have an Ik name, a Christian ('baptismal') name, and a nickname called *éda awáé* 'house name'. In addition, most men have a *rágw-ed^a* 'bull name' that goes along with their bull songs. Beyond this, many people seem to have several secret names that only their friends or in-members of the community know.

When filling out official forms or introducing themselves to outsiders, Ik people typically give two names: 1) an Ik name, and 2) a Christian name. The Ik names are the main topic of this section. Christian names are taken at birth or at baptism in the Roman Catholic or Anglican churches. They include names like Philip, Daniel, Peter, Simon, and Hillary for boys and men, and Cecilia, Maria, Esther, Rose, and Veronica for girls and women.

Bull names are totems chosen by young men for a bull whose color patterns they admire. This cultural practice is in line with that of the Teso-Turkana and may have been borrowed from them. Though the Ik no longer keep livestock, men still take bull names and sing their bull songs. Bull names usually consist of the Teso-Turkana word *apá* 'father' plus one or more words describing the color and patterns of a particular bull. Most bull names, even for the Ik, are actually Teso-Turkana names, like *Apá Lɔpusíkɔra* 'the father of the striped bull' and *Apá Lokiryon* 'the father of the black bull'. A few other bull-names heard among the Ik are listed here below. For more on this topic, see Dimmendaal (1983:300-302).

(104) *Some Ik (Teso-Turkana) bull-names*

Apá Kapélibók ^o	Apá Lolúk ^u
Apá Komólínɔɔ	Apá Lomarukɔ
Apá Lɔkamutɔ	Apá Lomerí
Apá Lokwáj	Apá Lɔɔɔ́r

Besides bull names, many other Ik names are Teso-Turkana in origin. This is evident from the Teso-Turkana gender prefixes *na-* for feminine gender and *lo-* for masculine (see Dimmendaal 1983:215), which are not productive morphemes in present-day Ik (see also §4.1.4). These names are formed with the prefix plus some feature in the environment that indicates what time of year or during what event the person bearing the name was born. For example, Lokiru (*lo* + *akiru* ‘rain’) was born during the rainy season. (105) provides a sampling of Ik people names with Teso-Turkana origins:

(105) *Some Ik (Teso-Turkana) personal names*

Masculine	Root meaning	Feminine	Root meaning
Locápu-	‘Weeding’	Nákíruu-	‘Rain’
Locómo-	‘Baboon’	Nakɔŋú-	‘Eye’
Lokwaŋá-	‘White’	Namóɪ-	‘Enemies’
Lolému-	‘Harvest’	Námɔŋɔ-	‘Ox’
Lómúria-	‘Star Grass’	Nájólii-	‘White Patch’
Lopáa-	‘Grass’	Nápíyoo-	‘Defeat’
Lopéyókó-	‘Guest’	Naróto-	‘Road’

A few other Ik names appear with the Teso-Turkana ‘associative linker’ *ka-* (Dimmendaal 1983:302), for example, *Kalmapúsi-* and *Kalɔyáŋɪ-*. And still others are Teso-Turkana parallels but have distinctively Ik phonology. For example, the phoneme /tʃ/ in Teso-Turkana names (written as <ch>) usually (but not obligatorily) appears as /ts/ in corresponding Ik names:

(106) *Teso-Turkana names with adapted phonology*

Teso-Turkana	Ik
Achok	Atsóko-/Acóko-
Machu	Matsúu-/Macúu-
Nachem	Natsíámu-/Nacíámu-
Chila	Tsiláa-/Ciláa-

Finally, the following smattering of Ik people names contains some with Teso-Turkana parallels and some with unknown origins:

(107) *Some other Ik personal names*

Aríkóo-	Ilókólí-	Maarukó-	Pulokólí-
Cegemú-	Kinimée-	Modíní-	Sañarí-
Dakái-	Kocíi-	ǀNakaleesí-	Sírée-
Erupeé-	Kusému-	ǀNeletsaá-	Tekóo-
Gutíi-	Lemúu-	Peléní-	Títoo-

4.5.2 *Ethnonyms*

The Ik language does not have a word that means ‘tribe’ specifically, except now for *ǀákabiláa-* which was borrowed from Swahili *kabila* ‘tribe’. Other words for this domain include *asaka-* ‘clan’ (also ‘door’) and *roba-icíká-* ‘kinds of people’ or ‘various peoples’. This lack of a generic word for ‘tribe’ is made up for by a versatile system of tribal names (ethnonyms).

Ik uses three morphological strategies for forming ethnonyms: 1) the Ik way, 2) the Teso-Turkana way, and 3) a hybrid Ik/Teso-Turkana way. The genuinely Ik way of making ethnonyms is to take a word characteristic of a certain ethnic group and make an agentive compound out of it.

So for instance, the Jie, a Karimojong sub-tribe to the southeast of the Ik, are called the *Fetí-ík^a* because they are from the East, where the sun comes up (*fetí-* means ‘sun’ and *fetí-éku-* ‘sun-eye’ means ‘east’). The Turkana, the tribe to the northeast of the Ik are called the *Pakó-ík^a* after *pakó-* ‘cave’ probably because the word *eturkan* means ‘cave’ in the Turkana language. Lastly, the Napore, who live in the mountains west of the Ik, are called the *Tǀbǀɛɛ́-ík^a* after *tǀbǀɛɛ́* - ‘maize mush’ because of all the food they have:

(108) *Ik agentive compound ethnonyms*

Fetí-áma-	'Jie person'	sun-person
Fetí-íce-	'Jie people'	sun-people
Icé-áma-	'Ik person'	Ik-person
Icé-	'Ik people'	Ik-people
Pakó-áma-	'Turkana person'	cave-person
Pakó-íce-	'Turkana people'	cave-people
Tɔ̀bɔ̀ŋɔ̀-áma-	'Napore person'	maize mush-person
Tɔ̀bɔ̀ŋɔ̀-íce-	'Napore people'	maize mush-people

A second way Ik has created ethnonyms is to borrow them directly from Teso-Turkana. These ethnonyms retain the plural grammatical gender prefix *ŋi-* that is a productive morphological marker in Teso-Turkana (but is no longer in Ik, if it ever was; see §4.1.4), as in the following:

(109) *Ik ethnonyms with a Teso-Turkana plural gender prefix*

ŋídiŋaá-	'Didinga'
ŋímaďi-	'Ma'di'
ŋítépesí-	'Tepeth'
ŋíbókɔ̀raá-	'Bokora'

The third way Ik has formed ethnonyms is to combine the Ik use of agentive compound with the Teso-Turkana plural forms, as in:

(110) *Ik agentive ethnonyms with a Teso-Turkana plural gender prefix*

ŋíjaluwói-íce-	'Luo people'
ŋíkátsolí-íce-	'Acholi people'
ŋímeniní-íce-	'Mening people'
ŋimólói-íce-	'Elmolo people'

4.5.3 Toponyms

Ik place names (toponyms) can be divided up between those that have Teso-Turkana origins and those that have an Ik origin. Those borrowed from Teso-Turkana are known by their lexicalized locative prefixes (see §4.1.4). Many original Ik place names are formed by compounds (see §4.3), while others consist of a single word or simple phrase. These place names may refer to areas, rivers, mountains, or other geographical features.

Most toponyms borrowed into Ik from Teso-Turkana languages consist of the lexicalized Teso-Turkana locative prefixes or associative marker plus a noun or verb that characterizes the named place in some way. For example, a volcanic plug in Kaabong District called *Locom*, ‘Baboon Place’, is made up of the masculine/neuter locative prefix *lo-* plus the noun root *-com* meaning ‘baboon’. (111) presents a sampling of this type of Ik place name:

(111) *Ik toponyms with Teso-Turkana origins*

Masculine/neuter	Feminine	Associative
Locótoó-	Náápṛṅṅó-	Kaikóbaa-
Loodói-	Nacákúneti-	Kámíóno-
Lóúsúnaa-	Nakalelee-	Kanaróo-
Lɔcárákwatí-	Naayakínjɔlɩ-	Kapalúu-
Lɔkitóɩ-	Narúkyeyí-	Kasilee-

Mountain names borrowed from Teso-Turkana are often formed with the root *-moru* ‘mountain/rock’ used in a compound with another root, as in:

(112) *Ik mountain names from Teso-Turkana*

Moru-aṅákinéi-	‘Goat Mountain’
Morú-atapá-	‘Bread Mountain’
Morú-érisá-	‘Leopard Mountain’
Moru-koyaní-	‘Tall Mountain’
Morú-ṛaṅá-	‘Revenge Mountain’

The Ik use Teso-Turkana place names for several possible reasons. First, some places, like Kaabong or Kasile, are far enough outside the Ik homeland not to warrant a name other than the Teso-Turkana name. Second, while interacting with Teso-Turkana neighbours, perhaps the Ik found it easier to use the more widely known toponyms. And third, though this would contradict some versions of Ik history in the literature, the Ik may have settled in their current homeland after the Teso-Turkana tribes had arrived and given names to the landscape (see Schrock 2009).

A fair number of Ik place names are made of compounds. For some, the compound N_2 is a general locative noun like *aká*- ‘mouth’, *akó*- ‘inside’, *awá*- ‘place/home’, or *kjá*- ‘land’, as in:

(113) *Ik compound toponyms with general locative N_2*

Borotsa-aka-	‘Borotsa Mouth’
Icé-kjá-	‘Ik Land’
Isókói-akó-	‘In the Euphorbia’
Lera-akó-	‘In the White-Thorn Acacia’
Lotókíka-awa-	‘Rain-Shelter Place’
Oŋjori-awa-	‘Elephant Place’
Tsutsuka-awa-	‘Tanning Place’

Other place names consisting of compounds involve an N_2 with more specific locative reference, as in:

(114) *Ik compound toponyms with more specific N_2*

Kakútá-kuríi-	‘Kakuta Shade’
Kwarika-bubúíka-	‘Lower Mountainsides’
Kurá-hoó-	‘Kura House’
Mileti-sabáa-	‘Mileti River’
Órí-ḥoo-	‘Ori’s Escarpment’
Séítíní-kokóró-	‘White Quartz Ridge’
Tiritiri-kwái-	‘Tiritiri Edge’

And still other places names consist of compounds that join two non-locative nouns, such as the ones in (115). Not all the meanings are known:

(115) *Other Ik compound toponyms*

Dumáná-mériſi-	‘Spotted <i>Duman</i> ’
Dúné-morókú-	‘ <i>Dune</i> Throat’
Kae-híkóó-	‘Tortoise Chameleon’
Nera-dzoga-	‘Girls Tree (sp.)’
Turkware-ekú-	‘Turkwara Eye’

Some place names have stories associated with them, for example, the name *Takani-kuléε-* from the verb *takán-* ‘be visible’ and *kuléε-* ‘elbow’. The story goes that at this place, an old woman tried to hide from enemies who were attacking her neighbourhood. But at the place where she hid, her elbow was visible, and the enemies spotted her because of that.

The Ik equivalent of the Teso-Turkana mountain names beginning with the root *-moru* are formed with the Ik roots *gwasá-* ‘rock’, *kokoró-* ‘ridge’, *kuḅa-* ‘hill’ or *kwará-* ‘mountain’. Such names include the following:

(116) *Ik mountain names*

Irika-kokoró-	‘ <i>Irika</i> Ridge’
Kṵpa-kwara-	‘Vulture Mountain’
Mṵkṵrṵ-gwasa-	‘Rock-Pool Stone’
Palúu-kuḅa-	‘Palu’s Hill’
Segeří-kwára-	‘Tree (sp.) Mountain’
Séítíní-kokoró-	‘White Quartz Ridge’
Tabá-kókóró-	‘Boulder Ridge’

Finally, many Ik place names are simply single words. For some of them, their meanings are still recoverable, while for others, they are not:

(117) *Single-word Ik toponyms*

Aḡatárr-	'Ang'atar'
Burukáí-	'Kenya'
Cerúbe-	'Cherub'
Cucueika-	'Damp Chills'
Dódofa-	'Dodof'
Dasóko-	'Uganda (lit. 'flatness')
Dómoko-	'D'omok'
Galatsı-	'Galats'
Íséε-	'Ise'
Íwóló-	'Iwolo'
Kétéla-	'Ketel'
Laatsoó-	'Laatso'
Mukei-	'Muk'e'
Nofo-	'Nof'
Oḡórıza-	'Ong'oriz'
Pudápúda-	'Pud'apud'
Seketé-	'Seket'
Sikák ^e	'In-the-Dew'
Tsígaka-	'Tsigak'
Wúsé-	'Wus'