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

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

Cover Page

5 Pronouns

The term 'pronoun' is used here rather loosely. This chapter describes words and affixes that truly represent missing or implied nouns. But it also includes certain nouns and affixes that have meanings like the pronouns in other languages (e.g. English). In some cases, it is not easy to tell whether a particular item is a grammatical word with a pronominal function or a full lexical noun with a pronoun-like meaning. For example, *saí-* means 'some more' or 'some other', although it inflects fully for case and can take a nominal complement as in *saa róɓaᵉ* 'some other people'. So is it a noun or a pronoun? The goal of this chapter is to describe anything identified as either a pronoun or noun with pronominal meanings or functions.

Ik pronominals comprise a) independent words, b) words found only in compounds, c) clitics, and d) suffixes. All pronominals inflect for case, except for relative pronouns, clitics and verbal suffixes. Some of the pronominals are invariable in terms of grammatical number, while others have suppletive plurals or can be pluralized with one of the language's pluratives. When it comes to personal pronouns, Ik is a pro-drop language, requiring minimally only bound pronominal subject-agreement suffixes.

5.1   Personal pronouns

The Ik personal pronominal system has a 1/2/3 personal reference. Each grammatical person can be either singular or plural. Like the neighboring Teso-Turkana languages, Ik makes a distinction between first person plural exclusive (excluding the addressee) and first person plural inclusive (including the addressee). But unlike in the Teso-Turkana languages, grammatical gender is not reflected in any part of the Ik pronominal system. Lastly, Ik has both free personal pronouns and bound pronominal suffixes on verbs. Both types are described in the following two sections.

5.1.1 Free personal pronouns

The Ik free personal pronouns are free grammatical words. The hyphenated forms in (1) signify not prefixation but rather roots in need of case suffixes:

(1)   *Ik free personal pronouns*

1SG	ɲci-
2SG	bi-
3SG	ntsí-
1PL.EXC	ŋgó-
1PL.INC	ɲjíní-
2PL	biti-
3PL	ńtí-

Case suffixation produces the inflectional variety shown in the next table. (2) presents a non-final form case paradigm for all seven free personal pronouns. The nominative and instrumental case forms for 1SG reflect the morpho-phonological de-affrication described in §2.5.2. And in the ablative and copulative cases, there is some variation in the degree to which the pronoun-final /i/ assimilates to the case suffix consisting of /o/ (§2.5.4):

(2)   *Case paradigm for Ik free personal pronouns*

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.EXC	1PL.INC	2PL	3PL
OBL	ɲci	bi	ntsi	ŋgo	ɲjíni	biti	ńti
NOM	ŋ́k-a	bi-a	nts-a	ŋgw-a	ɲjín-a	bit-a	ńt-a
INS	ŋ́k-o	bu-o	nts-o	ŋg-o	ɲjín-o	bit-o	ńt-o
ABL	ɲcu-o	bu-o	ntsú-ó	ŋgó-ó	ɲjíní-o	bitu-o	ńtú-o
GEN	ɲci-e	bi-e	ntsí-é	ŋgó-é	ɲjíní-e	biti-e	ńtí-e
ACC	ɲci-a	bi-a	ntsí-á	ŋgó-á	ɲjíní-a	biti-a	ńtí-a
DAT	ɲci-e	bi-e	ntsí-é	ŋgó-é	ɲjíní-e	biti-e	ńtí-e
COP	ɲcu-o	bu-o	ntsú-ó	ŋgó-ó	ɲjíní-o	bitu-o	ńtú-o

In terms of internal reconstruction, there appears to be a morphological relationship between the first person free pronouns: the singular *ńci-* 'I', and the plural *ŋgó-* and *ɲjíní-* 'we'. It looks like the 1PL.INC *ɲjíní-* is a pluralization of the first person singular *ńci-*. Recall from §4.2.5 that the possessive plurative {-ɪnɪ} may be used to pluralize a possessed or associated person or object. In light of this, the 1PL.INC *ɲjíní-* can be analyzed as *ɲc+ɪnɪ-* → *ɲc-íní-* → *ɲjíní-*. The change in voicing from /c/ to /j/ is seen in modern Ik in another pronominal form: *ɲj-ɛ́ní-* 'mine', where *-ɛ́ní* is an impersonal possessum marker (§5.2). Semantically, the first person plural inclusive pronoun may have grammaticalized from a word meaning something like 'my Xs' or 'those associated with me', i.e., including you the addressee(s).

Second, there also seems to be a morphological relationship between the first person plural exclusive *ŋgó-* and both *ńci-* and *ɲjíní-*. While the link between *ńci-* and *ɲjíní-* hinges on the voicing alternation /c/~/j/, a link between *ɲjíní-* and *ŋgó-* is suggested by the de-affrication described in §2.5.2. In short, affricates tend to surface as stops before the vowels /a/ or /ɔ, o/, and /j/~/g/ is a well-attested example. So the pronoun *ɲjíní-* could alternatively be a pluralization of *ŋgó-*, where *ɲj-* is the underlying morpheme, hardened to *ŋg-* before /o/. So although the evolutionary direction taken by these three first-person pronouns cannot yet be determined, it seems that a proto-morpheme *ɲj/ɲc/ŋg* underlies them all.

Then, in terms of areal and possibly genetic parallels, the 1SG pronoun *ńci-* recalls the 1SG possessive *cú* of Dhaasanac (Tosco 2001:64), and in its nominative form (*ŋ́k-*) the Eastern Semitic *anaku* and East Cushitic *ani/anu*. Tucker even suggested a link between Ik pronouns and 'Erythraic', using Middle Egyptian as a reference point (1967b:675). The Ik 1PL.EXC *ŋgó-* closely resembles the 1PL.INC *ŋwɔní* of Turkana (Dimmendaal 1983:207). Although these two pronouns differ in clusivity, their relationship looks promising. Otherwise, the Ik free pronouns most closely resemble those of the other Kuliak languages, as shown below (in comparison with Turkana):

(3)   *Kuliak free personal pronouns*

		Carlin 1993	Heine 1975a	Dimm. 1983
	Ik	So	Nyang'í	Turkana
1SG	ɲci-	aya	ay	áyɔ́ŋ
2SG	bi-	bia	bi	íyóŋ
3SG	ntsí-	ica	ikiet	ŋesí
1PL.EXC	ŋgó-	isia	mis	sʊá
1PL.INC	ɲjíní-	inia	gin	ŋwɔní
2PL	biti-	bita	biyô	eesí
3PL	ńtí-	itia	ít	kecí

Isomorphy among Kuliak free pronouns is indicated with encircling in (3). The paradigm shows significant unity among the Kuliak languages, but some marked influence from Teso-Turkana, particularly in 1SG and 1PL.EXC.

Syntactically, the free personal personal pronouns behave like full nouns. Their ability to inflect for case allows them to replace any noun operating as any clausal argument. As shown below, they can even be modified by demonstratives (3) and relative clauses (4):

(3)   *Kamie njinie nii,...*

ƙám-í-e   ɲjíní-e＝nií

like-3SG-SIML   we.INC-GEN＝DEM.PL

Like we here (for example)…

(4)   *Bita ni muɗukanaakit,...*

bit-a＝ni   múɗúk-án-aak-ít-ᵃ

you.PL-NOM＝REL.PL blind-STAT-DISTR-2PL-REAL

You who are blind,...

Ik is a pro-drop language, so the free personal pronouns are not required if their referent is a subject or object. They can be used in addition to the pronominal subject-agreement suffixes if more emphasis is needed.

5.1.2 Personal possessive pronouns

Ik has no other personal possessive pronouns than those presented in (1). Possession is expressed in two ways through those personal pronouns: 1) The first way is to mark possession by putting the pronoun (PRO) in the genitive case as an NP modifier, following the possessum NP head. 2) The second way is to put the pronoun in the oblique case as the first element in a possessive compound. Both ways are illustrated below. No semantic difference is known to exist between the two, though pragmatic, discursive or rhythmic preferences may lead a speaker to chose one over the other.

(5)   *Pronominal possessive strategies*

#1	#2	
OX PRO-GEN	PRO[OBL]-ox	
rágwa ɲci-ᵉ	ɲ́ci-ragwᵃ	'my ox'
rágwa bi-ᵉ	bi-rágwᵃ	'your (sg.) ox'
rágwa ntsí-ᵉ	ntsí-ragwᵃ	'his/her ox'
rágwa ŋgó-ᵉ	ŋgó-rágwᵃ	'our (exc.) ox'
rágwa ɲjíní-ᵉ	ɲjíní-ragwᵃ	'our (inc.) ox'
rágwa biti-ᵉ	biti-ragwᵃ	'your (pl.)'
rágwa ńtí-ᵉ	ńtí-ragwᵃ	'their ox'

5.1.3 Emphatic pronominal compound

An emphatic pronominal compound can be formed by combining any of the personal pronouns with the words *nébu-* 'body' or *nébitíní-* 'bodies'. Such compounds draw special emphasis to the person referenced by the pronoun. Although these compounds are glossed in English as '-self/selves', they do not have a reflexive meaning. Reflexivity in Ik is expressed by the pronoun *así-* which is covered below in §5.7. The paradigm of emphatic pronominal compounds for all person and numbers is presented in (6):

(6)   *Emphatic pronominal compounds*

ɲ́ci-nebu-	'myself'
bi-nébu-	'yourself'
ntsí-nébu-	'his/herself'
ŋgó-néb-itíní-	'ourselves (EXC)'
ɲjíní-neb-itíní-	'ourselves (INC)'
biti-neb-itíní-	'yourselves'
ɲ́tí-neb-itíní-	'themselves'

In the following example, the Emphatic compound *ɲ́ci-neb°* 'with my body' emphasizes the fact that it is 'I' who am going, not you, or anyone else. The context may be that the addressee or someone else had refused to go:

(7)   *Keesia ncineb.*
        ƙe-es-í-á   ɲ́ci-neb-°
        go-INT-1SG-REAL I[OBL]-body-INS
        I will go myself (with my own body)!

Although usually formed with personal pronouns, emphatic compounds may also involve full nouns. In the following example, the compound *roɓa-nebitíní* 'people themselves (people-bodies)' adds a certain degree of finality and/or concreteness to the fact of people dying:

(8)   *Naƙwaa riyee nda roɓanebitini ts'eatik.*
        naƙwa-a   rié-é   ńda   roɓa-neb-itíní   ts'é-áti-kᵉ
        even-NOM   goats-GEN   and   people-body-PL[OBL]   die[PL]-3PL-SIML
        Even goats…and people themselves dying.

5.1.4 Bound personal pronouns

The Ik bound personal pronouns are verbal suffixes. For this reason, they are also treated under §7.4, where their verbal properties are discussed. They have the same person and number distinctions as their free

counterparts. They are viewed as suffixes because 1) they cannot stand alone as a word, and 2) they can be preceded or followed by other verbal suffixes (unlike most clitics). Their grammatical function is to cross-reference the subject of the clause. (9) presents the Ik bound personal pronouns in the unmarked [-ATR] and marked [+ATR] allomorphs:

(8)   *Ik bound pronominal suffixes*

	[-ATR]	[+ATR]
1SG	-íí	-íí
2SG	-ídɪ	-ídi
3SG	-ɪ	-i
1PL.EXC	-ímí	-ímí
1PL.INC	-ísínɪ	-ísíni
2PL	-ítí	-ítí
3PL	-áti	—

A few comments are in order for the forms in (8). First, the 2SG pronominal suffix {-ídɪ} has the tone melody HL due to the presence of the depressor consonant /d/. Depending on the verb stem it attaches to, it can surfaces as LL but never as HH. Along the same lines, the 3PL suffix {-áti-} also has a HL tone melody. It can surface as LL but never as HH. Although it does not contain a depressor consonant currently, it seems quite likely that the /t/ in {-áti-} has developed historically from /d/ as in *-ádi. This cannot be proven, but such a development would help explain the HL tone melody. The 3PL suffix is also dominantly [+ATR] as described back in §3.1.3.

As is common cross-linguistically, the Ik bound pronominal suffixes are probably eroded forms of (at least some of) the free forms shown in (1). The devolution of *ɲci-* to {-íí}, for example, may have involved the reinterpretation of /ɲ/ as the high front vowel /i/ leading to [íci]. (In this vein, compare the Ik free form *ntsí-* 'he/she/it' to the So oblique 3SG pronominal *ici-* (Carlin 1993:79)). The loss of /c/ from *ɲci-* could then have happened as a result of a process similar to the '/c/ to [i]' variation found in

So (McKinney 2009). This would have then created a form like [íi] which then could have become [-íí]. The change in [ATR] in this speculative scenario, if true, would have to be explained by other means.

Secondly, the correlation between the 2PL free form *biti-* and the bound form {-ítí} is suggestive, apart from the problem of tone difference. If the bound pronoun is an eroded remnant of the free form, then this would reflect an historical '/b/-drop' sound change (*biti* → *-iti*) that must have affect the 2SG form as well (*bi(d)i* → *-idi*). The latter postulation, of course, requires positing a lost /d/ as well as a lost /b/ for the 2SG pronoun. Historical /b/-dropping is elsewhere attested among archaic kinship terms (see §4.4.).

The current shape of the 1PL.EXC pronominal {-ímí} bears noteworthy resemblance to the Nyang'ía 1PL.EXC pronoun *mis* (Heine 1975a), the loss of /s/ notwithstanding. And in the case of the Ik 1PL.INC pronominal {-ísínɪ}, a simple change of /j/ to /s/ could have produced it from the free form *ɲjíní-* (with changes in tone and [ATR]). The plausability of these proposals will have to be judged as further comparative evidence comes to light.

5.2   Impersonal possessum pronoun

In addition to the personal possessive pronouns shown above in (5), Ik also has a pronoun that expresses possession without reference to grammatical person. This impersonal possessum pronoun (PSSM) has the form *-ɛní-* (no plural). It occurs as the second element (N₂) of a compound, where the N₁ is the possessing entity. The pronoun itself is used to reference a possessum that may or may not also be explicitly mentioned, as in *bi-ɛn* 'yours' versus *bi-ɛna awáᵉ* 'your home'. If the possessum is explicitly mentioned, as in *bi-ɛna awáᵉ* 'your home', it comes after impersonal possessive compound and takes the genitive case (as in 'you-PSSM home-GEN').

In combination with a personal pronoun, the impersonal possessum is roughly equivalent in translation to the independent English possessive pronouns, like 'mine', 'yours', 'its', as in:

(9)   *Ik impersonal possessum pronoun*

ɲj-ɛ́ní-	'mine'
bi-ɛ́ní-	'yours (sg.)'
nts-ɛ́ní-	'his/hers/its'
ŋgó-ɛ́ní-	'ours (exc.)'
ɲjíní-ɛnɪ-	'ours (inc.)'
biti-ɛní-	'yours (pl.)'
ńtí-ɛnɪ-	'theirs'

The tone of *-ɛní-* changes according to the melody of the compound's N_1. But because it is in a compound, the dominant [+ATR] value of the N_1 does not spread across the morpheme boundary. The impersonal possessum is analyzed as an N_2 instead of a suffix because, as a general rule: a) It does not alter the tone of the N_1, b) it does not delete the final vowel of the N_1, and c) is it not harmonized for [ATR] by the N_1. Nevertheless, it remains somewhat of a hybrid between suffix and N_2 in that: a) It accompanies a tone change of the N_1 in the case of the 1SG (*ńci-* → *ɲj´-*) and b) it deletes the final vowel of the 1SG and 3SG N2 pronouns (*ńci-* → *ɲj´-* and *ntsí-* → *nts´-*).

The impersonal possessum pronominal also combines with full nouns, as in:

(10)   *Impersonal possessum with nouns/nominalized verbs*

aɗ-oni-ɛní-	the third time (lit. 'to be three's)
cɪkámá-ɛ́nɪ-	the womens'
icé-ɛ́nɪ-	the Iks' (language, customs, etc.
ɲɔtɔ́-ɛnɪ-	the mens'
wicé-ɛ́nɪ-	the children's

5.3   Indefinite pronouns

Ik has eight indefinite pronouns, listed in (11). But most of the indefinite pronouns are bimorphemic or compounds. The first four in the table are formed on the basis of *kɔní-* 'some, another' which is related to the verb *kɔn-* 'be one'. The next three are based on *kíní-* 'some (pl.)', the plural counterpart to *kɔní-*. The last pronoun in the table (*saí-*) is the only free form apart from *kɔní-*. All these indefinite pronouns can a) be fully inflected for case, and b) some can occur with or without explicit nominal complements.

(11)   *Ik indefinite pronouns*

kɔní-	'some, another'	
kɔ́n-áí-	'somewhere'	(some-side)
kɔ́n-ɔ́ma-	'somebody (strange)'	(some-SING)
kɔ́ní-ɛ́ní-	'a, some (sg.)'	(some-PSSM)
kíní-ɛ́ní-	'some (pl.)'	(some.PL-PSSM)
kíní-mɛna-	'some (strange) issues'	(some-issues)
kíní-roɓa-	'some (strange) people'	(some-people)
saí-	'some more, some other'	

The indefinite notion of 'any' is conveyed in Ik with the invariable quantifier *muɲu*, as in *ódowa muɲ^u* 'any day'.

Four of the eight pronouns listed in (11) can occur with or without a nominal complement. These are *kɔní-*, *kɔ́ní-ɛ́ní-*, *kíní-ɛ́ní-*, and *saí-*. The other four do not take complements because, as compounds, they already contain a head and modifier (with the exception of *kɔ́n-ɔ́ma-*, which because of its morphological structure, must be analyzed as a singulative form):

(12)   *Atsaa kon.*
       ats-á-á   kɔn-∅
       come-REAL-PRF   one-NOM
       Another has come.

(13) *Atsa kona amae.*
    ats-á-á   kɔn-a   ámá-ᵉ
    come-REAL-PRF one-NOM   person-GEN
    Another person has come.

(14) *Beɗa koneenik.*
    béɗ-á   kɔ́ní-ɛ́ní-kᵃ
    want-REAL   one-PSSM-ACC
    She wants some(thing).

(15) *Beɗa koneenia ƙwazae.*
    béɗ-á   kɔ́ní-ɛ́ní-a   ƙwaza-ᵉ
    want-REAL   one-PSSM-ACC   clothing-GEN
    She wants some (piece of) clothing.

(16) *Atsaa sa.*
    ats-á-á   sa-∅
    come-REAL-PRF some.others-NOM
    Some others have come.

(17) *Atsaa saa roɓae.*
    ats-á-á   sa-a   roɓa-ᵉ
    come-REAL-PRF some.others-NOM   people-GEN
    Some other people have come.

The pronouns *kɔ́n-ɔ́ma-* 'somebody', *kíní-mɛna-* 'some issues', and *kíní-roɓa-* 'somebodies' are not equivalent in meaning to their English glosses. They denote a referent that is unknown and often malevolent—strangers and strange things. The English 'somebody' is usually rendered in Ik just as *ám* 'person' or *kɔ́né-éna ámáᵉ* 'some person'. Examples of the strangeness nuance of these indefinite pronominal compounds include the following two:

(18) *Kawa konoma riɟaa ntia, roɓa?*

kaw-a	kɔ́n-ɔ́m-a	ríɟá-a	ńtía	róɓa
cut-REAL	some-SING-NOM	forest-ACC	how	people[OBL]

Is some unknown person cutting the forest like that, folks?

This second example, taken from Text 5 in Appendix A, comes from an animal fable where a sick lion is eating the animals that go to visit him. Witnessing the carnage, a rabbit on the outside thinks to himself:

(19) *Iya kinimena itiyoosa pakwaaƙo.*

i-a	kíní-mɛn-a	itíyá-ós-á	pakó-áƙɔ-∅
be-REAL	some-issues-NOM	do-PASS-REAL	cave-inside-ABL

There are some strange things being done inside the cave.

5.4 Interrogative pronouns

Ik makes use of five interrogative ronouns that all inflect fully for case:

(20) *Ik interrogative pronouns*

isi-	'what?'
ńt-/ndaí-	'where?'
ndo-	'who?'
ńtɛ́-ɛ́ní-	'which (sg.)?'
ńtí-ɛ́ní-	'which (pl.)?'

Apart from *isi-*, these interrogative pronouns all are built on a proto-interrogative particle like **nd(V)-* or **nt(V)-*. This particle combined historically with a variety of other morphemes to produce the interrogative pronouns of today. For example, the word *ndaí-* 'where' combines **ndV-* with the nominal root *aí-* 'side'. And *ńtɛ́-ɛ́ní-* 'which (sg.)' and *ńtí-ɛ́ní-* 'which (pl.)' combine the particle with the impersonal possessum pronominal.

Two interrogative concepts are conspicuously absent from (20): 'when?' and 'why?'. As Serzisko observed (1992:200), the word translated into Ik as 'when?' (ńt-ódo-o) is a combination of the proto-interrogative *ntV- with the nominal root ódou- 'day' in the instrumental case. This is in itself a shorter version of the phrase ńté-énɔ́ ódoue 'on which day'. Actually, when translated into Ik, the word 'when' must be specified for the intended time span, as in 'which day?' (ńté-énɔ́ ódoue), 'which hour?' (ńté-énɔ́ ɲásáatí), etc.

As for the concept 'why?', it is expressed through the word isi- 'what' in the dative case (for what?) or ablative case (from what?). It is often combined with the impersonal possessum particle, as in isi-ɛní-kᵉ. When left-dislocated as in (21), isi- 'what' leaves a trace in the form of the dummy pronoun (DP) which marks the movement of a non-core argument. As a non-core argument, isi- could signify purpose (dative) or cause (ablative):

(21)   *Isio naa moo wicea ƙoɗati*
     isi-o=náa   mo-o   wicé-á   ƙɔ́ɗ-áti
     what-COP=PST1   not-SEQ:DP children-ACC cry-3PL
     Why did the children not cry?

(22)   *Biraa kiɗa atsa biyak. Isienik?*
     bɪra-a   kí=ɗ-a   ats-a   biá-kᵉ   isi-ɛní-kᵉ
     lack-REAL   DEF=one-NOM come-REAL outside-DAT what-PSSM-DAT
     Not a one comes back out. Why?

The normal position for these interrogative pronouns is in a left-dislocated, clause-initial slot where they take the copulative case. But they may also occur in the slot where their referent would appear. (23)-(26) exemplify this flexibility. Note once again that when a fronted pronoun presents a non-core argument, as in (24), the dummy pronoun must mark its absence:

(23)   *Isio beɗid?*
isi-o   béɗ-íd-∅
what-COP   want-2SG-REAL
What do you want?

(24)   *Beɗida is?*
béɗ-íd-a   is-∅
want-2SG-REAL   what-NOM
You want what?

(25)   *Ndayoo ƙeesidad?*
ndai-ó   ƙe-es-íd-a = dᵉ
where-COP   go-INT-2SG-REAL = DP
Where are you going?

(26)   *Ƙeesida ndaik?*
ƙe-es-íd-a   ndaí-kᵉ
go-INT-2SG-REAL where-DAT
You are going where?

The pronouns *isi-* 'what', *ńtɛ́-ɛ́ní-* 'which (sg.)', and *ńtí-ɛ́ní-* 'which (pl.)' all can occur alone or with nominal complements, as in (27)-(30) below:

(27)   *Isiemutio iy?*
isi-emútí-o   i-ᵃ
what-story-COP be-REAL
What news is there?

(28)   *Isiicoo ɗan?*
isi-icó-ó   ɗ-a = n
what-AGT.PL-COP   PRO.PL-NOM = DEM.PL
What (kind of) people are these?

(29)   *Nteenoo amee ɗa?*
       ńté-énɔ́-ɔ   ámé-e   ɗ-a
       which-PSSM-COP person-GEN PRO.SG-NOM
       Which person is this?

(30)   *Ntienoo roɓee ɗa?*
       ńtí-énɔ́-ɔ   roɓé-é   ɗ-a
       which[PL]-PSSM-COP people-GEN PRO.PL-NOM
       Which people are these?

Only *ndo-* can be pluralized and is done so as *ndo-íní-* 'who (pl.)?':

(31)   *Ndoo kiɗaa?*
       ndo-o   kɪ = ɗá-á
       who-COP   DIST = PRO.SG-NOM
       Who is that?

(32)   *Ndoinio kiɗaa?*
       ndo-íní-o   ki = ɗá-á
       who-COP   DIST = PRO.PL-NOM
       Who are those?

In the ablative case, the pronoun *ndaí-* 'where?' takes the unexpected form *nᵗdɛ́ɛ́* 'from where?'. The historical changes that yielded *nᵗdɛ́ɛ́* as the ablative form of *ndaí-* are not really understood. A form closer to what one would expect—*ndóó*—is instead used in the sense of 'what about', as in *ndóó ŋkᵃ* 'what about me?'. The following two sentences illustrate the suppletive form *nᵗdɛ́ɛ́* compared with the normal left-dislocated form of *ndaí-* 'where?':

(33)   *Atsida ndee?*
       ats-íd-a   nᵗdɛ́ɛ́
       come-2SG-REAL where.ABL
       You're coming from where?

(34)   *Ndayoo atsidad?*
       ndaí-ó   ats-íd-a = dᵉ
       where-COP   come-2SG-REAL = DP
       From where are you coming?

When the question 'Where?' is asked in isolation, the interrogative pronoun *ńt-* is used instead of *ndaí-*, in its nominative case form as *ńt-á*. For example, if someone yells *ntsúó kɪɗá* 'There it is!', a questioning reply would be *ńtá* 'Where?' rather than *ndaíkᵉ* 'where:DAT?'.

5.5   Demonstrative pronouns

Ik has a suite of demonstrative pronouns based on the forms *ɗí´-* for singular and *ɗî´-* for plural. The only phonological difference between them is their [ATR] value. This is one of the rare instances in the language when contrast is made strictly with [ATR]. And based on their underlying forms, the tone melody posited for these pronouns is LH. But, high-tone anticipation changes this to HH in five out of the eight cases. Combined with a proclitic and tone changes, the demonstrative pronouns have three deictic points of reference: proximal, medial, and distal. The table in (35) presents the full case paradigm for the singular demonstrative *ɗí´-*:

(35)   *Ik singular demonstrative pronouns*

	Proximal	Medial	Distal
OBL	ɗí´	kɪ = ɗí	kɪ = ɗí´
NOM	ɗ-a´	kɪ = ɗ-á	kɪ = ɗ-a´
INS	ɗ-ɔ´	kɪ = ɗ-ɔ́	kɪ = ɗ-ɔ´
ABL	ɗɔ́-ɔ́	kɪ = ɗɔ́-ɔ́	kɪ = ɗɔ́-ɔ́
GEN	ɗɛ́-ɛ́	kɪ = ɗɛ́-ɛ́	kɪ = ɗɛ́-ɛ́
ACC	ɗĭ-á	kɪ = ɗĭ-á	kɪ = ɗĭ-á
DAT	ɗɛ́-ɛ́	kɪ = ɗɛ́-ɛ́	kɪ = ɗɛ́-ɛ́
COP	ɗɔ́-ɔ́	kɪ = ɗɔ́-ɔ́	kɪ = ɗɔ́-ɔ́

The trait distinguishing the medial and distal forms of *ɗí´-* is tone: Medial forms have a LH melody in the nominative, instrumental, and oblique cases, while the distal forms have LL instead. Both medial and distal forms have the singular distal demonstrative *kɛ* attached as a proclitic. In this unstressed position, the vowel /ɛ/ changed to /ɪ/. (35) also exhibits vowel assimilatory processes at work, for example *ɗi-ɔ́ → ɗɔ́-ɔ́* and *ɗi-ɛ́ → ɗɛ́-ɛ́*.

The next table presents the case paradigm for the plural demonstrative pronoun *ɗí´-* in its proximal, medial, and distal forms:

(36)   *Ik plural demonstrative pronouns*

	Proximal	Medial	Distal
NOM	ɗ-a´	ki = ɗ-á	ki = ɗ-a´
INS	ɗ-o´	ki = ɗ-ó	ki = ɗ-o´
ABL	ɗú-ó	ki = ɗú-ó	ki = ɗú-ó
GEN	ɗí-é	ki = ɗí-é	ki = ɗí-é
ACC	ɗí-á	ki = ɗí-á	ki = ɗí-á
DAT	ɗí-é	ki = ɗí-é	ki = ɗí-é
COP	ɗú-ó	ki = ɗú-ó	ki = ɗú-ó
OBL	ɗí´	ki = ɗí	ki = ɗí´

As with the singular demonstrative pronoun, the medial and distal forms of the plural *ɗí´-* are distinguished on the basis of tone alone. And they are also built off the proximal base by adding the plural distal demonstrative *ki* as a proclitic. The paradigm in (36) also shows partial vowel assimilation in the ablative and copulative cases, when *ɗi-ó* becomes *ɗú-ó* for both.

The demonstrative pronouns can stand alone, without determiners, as in:

(37)   *J'eja bee kiɗa jii.*
         ɟeɟ-á = ⁺bee   kɪ = ɗ-á = ɟɪɪ
         stay-REAL = PST2   MED = one-NOM = also
         That one also stayed yesterday.

(38) *Epuƙoituo kiɗio.*

ep-úƙó-itu-o   ki = ɗí-ó

sleep-COMP-2PL-SEQ   DIST/MED = ones-ABL

And then you sleep in those (ones, i.e. 'huts').

But they are often also modified by various spatial determiners such as the singular proximal demonstrative =*na* and plural distal =*ki* (§8.2.1):

(39) *Xeɓa ɗoo na.*

ʃɛɓ-a   ɗɔ-ɔ́ = na

fear-REAL   one-ABL = DEM.SG

She's afraid of this (one).

(40) *Beɗia kiɗa ki.*

béɗ-í-a   ki = ɗ-a = ki

want-1SG-REAL   DIST = ones-NOM = DIST.DEM.PL

I want those (ones).

If the demonstrative pronouns are modified by a relative clause, the usual relative pronouns (see §5.4) are not used. This may be due to a prohibition against two pronouns occurring one after another, for example:

(41) *Mita ɗi zea aƙwedoo ngoe.*

mɪt-á   ɗɪ   ze-a   áƙw-ɛ́dɔ-ɔ   ŋgó-ᵉ

be-REAL one[OBL]   big-REAL   inside-PSSR.SG-ABL   we.EXC-GEN

It's the important one from among us.

Normally, in a sentence like (41), a singular relative pronoun like *na* would be required between *ɗi* and *zea*, as in *ámá na ze* 'person who (is) big'.

Ik has another demonstrative pronoun, *kiɗiásaí-*, which is a combination of three elements: 1) the distal plural demonstrative *ki*, 2) the plural demonstrative pronoun in the accusative case (*ɗiá*), and 3) the indefinite

pronoun *saí-*. As with the distal demonstrative pronouns listed in (36), the distal demonstrative *ki* is analyzed here as a proclitic. By contrast, the combination of *ɗiá* and *saí-* can be treated as a sort of compound.

As mentioned in §5.3, the pronoun *saí-* has the indefinite sense of 'some others'. However, when it comes to *kiɗiásaí-*, the distal demonstrative *ki* (which is inherently definite) has the effect of making this complex pronoun more definite. This accords well with the cross-linguistically attested grammaticalization of a demonstrative to a definite marker (Heine & Kuteva 2007:88). And so a reasonable gloss of *kiɗiásaí-* seems to be 'the others':

(42)   *Taɓoletini kiɗiasaik.*
       taɓól-ét-ini   ki = ɗiásaí-kᵉ
       celebrate-VEN-SEQ   the = others-DAT
       And they celebrated to (i.e. in front of) the others.

(43)   *Na kiɗiasayaa iwatie ɲakaloaa,...*
       na = ki = ɗiásaí-á   iw-áti-e   ɲakalo-áá
       CONJ = the = others-ACC   hit-3PL-SIML alarm-ACC
       When the others sounded the alarm,…

5.6   Relative pronouns

The Ik relative pronouns are identical in form to the non-final demonstratives (see §8.2). Since demonstratives have a more basic and non-recursive function than relative pronouns, it is assumed that the Ik relative pronouns are a grammaticalization of the demonstratives (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2007:89). One possible chain of grammaticalization for Ik relative pronouns is shown in (44), where there is evolution going from simple noun phrase to stative relative clause to transitive relative clause:

(44)   *Grammaticalization from demonstratives → relative pronouns*

ámá=na	'this person'
ámá=na maráŋ	'person who (is) good'
ámá=na bɛ́ɗá ŋkáƙák^a	'person who wants food'

Ik relative pronouns are analyzed as enclitics attaching to the main clause argument they are relativizing. This analysis is based on the lexical (§3.1.6) and the post-lexical (§3.1.7) vowel harmony that occurs between the relativized argument and the relative pronoun. More specifically, a lexically [+ATR] relativized argument spreads harmony to the singular remote past relative pronouns =nɔɔ, as in *ámoo=noo baduƙot^a* 'the person who died'. Then, at the post-lexical level, all the plural relative pronouns harmonize the last phonetic syllable of the preceding word if [-ATR], for example when *mɛsɛɛ=ni ɓar* 'the beer that is sour' surfaces as [mɛsee=ni ɓar].

The Ik relative pronouns not only introduce relative clauses but also fill the slot of the common argument (CA) shared by the main clause and relative clause. They convey the grammatical number of the CA as well as the tense of the relative clause. Tensed relative pronouns may be rare but are not unheard of (Dixon 2010:346). It is no accident that the recent past and remote past demonstratives and relative pronouns are identical in form to the recent and remote past tense clitics (see §7.10.1 and §8.2.2).

The relative pronouns are presented in (45):

(45)   *Ik relative pronouns*

	Singular	Plural
Non-past	=na	=ni
Recent past	=náa	=níi
Removed past	=sɪna	=sini
Remote past	=nɔɔ	=nuu

As (45) shows, the relative pronouns express the grammatical number of their referent, as well as the tense of the relative clause. Besides a general non-past, the pronouns also flesh out the whole three-term past tense sytem: recent, removed, and remote past. This system of tensed relative pronouns allows the grammar to communicate nuances like the following:

(46) *Tensed relative clauses*

ámá na tóda zukᵘ	'person who talks a lot (now or generally)'
ámá náa tóda zukᵘ	'person who talked a lot (earlier today)'
ámá sɪna tóda zukᵘ	'person who talked a lot (yesterday)'
ámá noo tóda zukᵘ	'person who talked a lot (a while ago)'

In a synchronic description of these relative pronouns, it does little good to analyze them further morphologically. And it is not known whether Ik speakers think of them as including more than one unit of meaning. Nevertheless, at least historically, relative pronouns (singular and plural) at three of the four tense levels do contain more than one morpheme.

To begin with a some background information, consider the non-final and final forms of Ik singular and plural tensed demonstratives (cf. §8.2.1):

(47) *Ik tensed demonstratives*

	SG		PL	
	NF	FF	NF	FF
Non-past	na	n(a)	ni	n(i)
Recent past	ná-a	ná-kᵃ	ní-i	ní-kⁱ
Removed past	sɪ-na	sɪ-n	si-ni	si-n
Remote past	nɔ-ɔ	nɔ-kᵓ	nu-u	nu-kᵘ

Note from (47) that the non-final forms for both singular and plural are identical to the relative pronouns in (45) above. Also note that the element *na* (*nɔ* with vowel assimilation) in the non-past tense forms a base for all the

other tenses in the singular, just as *ni* (or *nu*) does in the plural. In the final forms of singular recent and remote past, the *-kᵃ* and *-kᵒ* remind one of the accusative and copulative case suffixes, respectively. Looking at the basic elements *na/nɔ* in the singular and *ni/nu* in the plural, along with what appear to be grammaticalizations of case suffixes (§6.4.2), it seems likely that the tensed demonstratives involve more than one morpheme.

In light of this, the following analysis of the relative pronouns should prove more useful for someone undertaking historical-comparative research. See §8.2.1 for further comments on the morphological makeup of these forms:

(48)   *Ik relative pronouns in diachronic analysis*

	Singular	Plural
Non-past	na	ni
Recent past	ná-a	ní-i
Removed past	sɪ-na	si-ni
Remote past	nɔ-ɔ	nu-u

5.7   Reflexive pronoun

Ik expresses reflexivity with the special free pronoun *así-* which is undoutedly related the So word *as* 'body' (cf. the Ik word for body, *nébu-*). This form has been analyzed as a verbal particle (Heine & König 1996:47), but the fact that it inflects for case discounts this view. The Ik reflexive pronoun is 'informative' in that it communicates the grammatical number (but not person) of its 'controller' (Dixon 2012:154). Its controller can be of any grammatical person (1-2-3). If the controller is plural, then the pronoun reflects this by being pluralized with the plurative III {-ɪka}. Being a free pronoun, the reflexive is inflected for all cases in the singular and plural:

(49)   *Case inflection of the Ik reflexive pronoun*

	así- (sg.)		ás-íka- (pl.)	
	NF	FF	NF	FF
NOM	as-a	as-ᵃ	ás-ík-a	ás-ík-ᵃ
INS	as-ɔ	as-ᵓ	ás-ík-ɔ	ás-ík-ᵓ
ABL	asú-ɔ́	asú-ᵓ	ás-íkɔ-ɔ	ás-íka-ᵓ
GEN	así-ɛ́	así-ᵋ	ás-íkɛ-ɛ	ás-íka-ᵋ
ACC	así-á	así-kᵃ	ás-íka-a	ás-íka-kᵃ
DAT	así-ɛ́	así-kᵋ	ás-íkɛ-ɛ	ás-íka-kᵋ
COP	asú-ɔ́	asú-kᵓ	ás-íkɔ-ɔ	ás-íka-kᵓ
OBL	asɪ	asᶦ	ás-íka	ás-íkᵃ

In a reflexive transitive clause, the controller and the reflexive pronoun are co-referential semantically. At the surface level, the controller is encoded as an agent (A) in the nominative case, while the reflexive can be an object or peripheral argument, depending on the verb. Then the O is encoded by the reflexive pronoun *así-*. It always follows the verb and any overt subject in the clause but may be followed itself by peripheral arguments or adverbs:

(50)   *Iŋaɗaikotoo ntsa asik.*

ŋáɗá-ɪƙɔt-ɔ-ɔ   nts-a   así-kᵃ

put.aside-AND-3SG-SEQ   he-NOM   self-ACC

And he put himself aside.

(51)   *Eja kawuƙoida asa ɲemeleku.*

ɛɟ-á   kaw-uƙó-íd-a   as-a   ɲémɛlɛkú-∅

not-REAL   cut-AND-2SG-REAL   self-NOM   hoe-INS

Don't cut yourself with the hoe.

(52)   *Iturata asikak.*

itúr-út-át-a   ás-íka-kᵃ

praise-CAUS-3PL-REAL   self-PL-ACC

They praise themselves.

As seen in these examples, any transitive verb can be given a reflexive meaning with this pronoun. To show this lexically, the following verb pairs are given in the infinitive with the reflexive object in the genitive:

(53)   *Non-reflexive and reflexive verb pairs*

balɛ́s	'to ignore'
balɛ́sá así	'to ignore oneself'
daitetés	'to make to look nice'
daitetésá así	'to make oneself look nice'
ɗɔtsɛtés	'to join'
ɗɔtsɛtésá así	'to join oneself'
hoɗetés	'to free'
hoɗetésá así	'to free oneself'
ɪrɪtsɛ́s	'to take care'
ɪrɪtsɛ́sá así	'to take care of oneself'

5.8   Distributive pronouns

Ik has two distributive pronouns, the free pronoun *ŋana-* and the bound pronoun *ké-*. The first, *ŋana-*, can be roughly glossed as 'each one', while the second can be glossed as 'each' since it must take a nominal complement. The pronoun *ké-* is odd in that it behaves like a nominal prefix (which present-day Ik does not have) or a proclitic. But since it can change the tone on the nominal complement, it is treated here as a reduced noun functioning as the N_1 of special nominal compound, glossed as 'each X'. Examples of both distributive pronouns include the following few sentences:

(54) *Kayuo ŋana nayee yeati.*

ƙa-i-o   ŋan-a   naí-é   yeatí-ᵉ

go-3SG-SEQ   each-NOM   place-DAT   his.sibling-GEN

Each one should go to his brother/sister.

(55) *Atsa noo keŋana ngwee itsumuk.*

ats-a=noo   ké-ŋán-a   ŋgó-é   ɪtsʊm-ʊ-kᵓ

come-REAL=PST3   each-each.one-NOM   we.PL.EXC-GEN   pierce-3SG-SEQ

Each one of us came and took a stab (at a bull).

(56) *Keesa keama muɲu ikiraakok.*

ƙe-es-á   ké-ám-a   muɲu   ɪƙɪra-aƙɔ-kᵋ

go-INT-REAL   each-person-NOM   all   writing-inside-DAT

Each and every person will go for the census.

(57) *Keeakwaa tirie ntsenia ɓisae.*

ké-ȩakw-aa   tír-í-e   nts-έní-a   ɓɪsá-ᵋ

each-man-ACC   hold-3SG-SIML   his-PSSM-ACC   spear-GEN

Each man holding his own spear.

5.9   Cohortative pronouns

The Ik cohortative pronouns are complex: *taŋέ-έdɛ-* in the singular and *taŋá-ík-mɪ-* in the plural. They consist of the root *taŋá-* plus the singular and plural possessive suffixes (§4.2.5-4.2.6). The root *taŋá-* does not occur alone anywhere else in the language. This pronoun is called 'cohortative' because it refers to any other member of some group, or even just a pair. As such, the best single gloss for it in English would be 'co-' or 'cohort', although that obviously does not fit all contexts. Better glosses may be 'colleague', 'age-mate', 'mate', 'sibling', etc. depending on circumstances.

The two sentences below illustrate the use of the cohortative pronouns:

(58) *Isio minidee iɲitiesia taŋeede?*

isi-o   mín-íd-ɛ = ɛ   iɲit-i-esí-a   taŋɛ́-ɛ́dɛ-∅

what-COP   love-2SG-REAL = DP imitate-PLUR-INF-ACC cohort-PSSR-GEN

Why do you love to imitate your sister (i.e. co-child)?

(59) *Atsuo taŋaikin.*

ats-u-o   taŋá-ík-ɪn-∅

come-3SG-SEQ   cohort-PL-PSSR.PL-NOM

And their relatives (i.e. co-people) came.

5.10 Dummy pronoun

Ik uses the pronominal enclitic = ´*dɛ* to stand in as a 'dummy' for a peripheral argument that is missing from its expected place in a clause. Heine was the first to identify this morpheme and give it its current label (1983:§2.3.5). In form and function, the dummy pronoun (DP) largely coincides with the Turkana subjunctive marker *-rɛ̀* (Dimmendaal 1983:189), though other parallels have been found in Cushitic and Omotic (see §7.5). The dummy pronoun is underlyingly [-ATR] but is harmonized by [+ATR] stems. Its floating H tone is posited on the basis of the tone changes it causes on the preceding stem. The floating H may be a lexicalization of high-tone insertion meant to counteract the effects of the depressor /d/.

The dummy pronoun (DP) attaches to the end of verbs and is analyzed as a clitic rather than a suffix because it always comes last, regardless of preceding verbal suffixes. But in any case, it could just as well be treated as a suffix without any problems. Because it attaches to verbs, the dummy pronoun is also discussed ahead in §7.5. This enclitic can be difficult to recognize because its non-final form / = ´*ɛ*/ is highly susceptible to vowel harmony and assimilation. Two of its many allomorphs are shown below:

(60)   *Atsinii kot.*
     ats-iní=i=kotº
     come-SEQ=DP=then
     Then they came with it.

(61)   *Cemetukoo roɓa wuo wuo wuo...*
     cɛ́m-ɛ́t-ʊ-kɔ́=ɔ   roɓ-a   wúó   wúó   wúó
     fight-INCH-3SG-SEQ=DP people-NOM IDEO   IDEO   IDEO
     And people started (saying) woo, woo, woo...

The dummy pronoun refers anaphorically back to a non-core argument mentioned earlier in the discourse, either in the same clause or in one or more clauses earlier. Heine & König state that the DP marks any missing verbal complement (1996:53), but my data show that it only marks *non-core* arguments. Moreover, a 'core argument' in Ik is defined in this grammar as an argument that does not leave behind the DP upon syntactic movement.

Speakers may use the DP to avoid having to repeat an understood argument, or the syntax may simply require it when an argument has been fronted for syntactic reasons. In examples (62) and (64) below, there are simple clauses with a peripheral locative (*sédakᵉ*) and a comitative argument (*ɗaɗo ɲci*). In (63) and (65), note how the DP is used to fill in for the missing argument:

(62)   *Nta ƙaiii sedak.*
     ńt-á   ƙa-í-íí   séda-kᵉ
     not-REAL   go-PLUR-1SG   garden-DAT
     I don't go to the garden regularly.

(63)   *Nta ƙaiiid.*
     ńt-á   ƙa-í-íí=dᵉ
     not-REAL g   go-PLUR-1SG=DP
     I don't go (there, i.e. the garden) regularly.

(64)   *Kaataa ɗaɗo nci.*
       ƙá-át-a-a   ɗaɗ-o   ɲci-∅
       go-3PL-REAL-PRF honey-INS I-GEN
       They have gone with my honey.

(65)   *Kaatakad.*
       ƙá-át-a-ka = dᵉ
       go-3PL-REAL-PRF = DP
       They have gone (with it, i.e. the honey).

But there are also instances where the syntax of subordinate clauses rearranges the usual order of clausal constituents. Temporal subordinate clauses in Ik have the form of a relative clause (§9.9.1), and Ik time expressions are often encoded in the instrumental case (i.e. as a non-core argument). These two factors combined mean that a temporal subordinate clause without an overt time word marks its verb with the DP. This is because the syntax is interpreting the temporal conjunction as a relative pronoun whose common argument is peripheral argument that in fact does not exist. So in the following two examples, the DP is present on the verb to show that the missing argument—a time expression—is accounted for:

(66)   *Noo kwatsiad,...*
       noo   kwáts-í-á = dᵉ
       CONJ.PST3   small-1SG-REAL = DP
       When I was small,…

(67)   *Sina iyanee Kamionok,...*
       sɪ-na   i-an-é = e   kámíóno-kᵉ
       CONJ.PST2   be-IPS-REAL = DP Kamion-DAT
       When people were in Kamion yesterday,…

Likewise, if the common argument (CA) or head of a normal relative clause is a peripheral argument in the relative clause, then the dummy pronoun

must be attached to the verb. This is because the relative pronoun representing the CA of the relative clause comes before the verb in Ik, meaning it has been fronted from what would be its normal position after the verb. This fulfills the requirements for the use of the dummy pronoun:

(68) *Ɗuo nuu didia watad.*
   ɗu-ó = nuu   didi-a   wat-á = dᵉ
   PRO.PL-COP = REL.PL.PST3 weather-ACC   rain-REAL = DP
   It's the ones (i.e. reasons) which it rained for.
   'That's why it rained.'

(69) *Odoiciko ni atsiimad.*
   ódo-icík-ó = ni   ats-í-ím-a = dᵉ
   day-PL-INS = REL.PL   come-PLUR-1PL.EXC-REAL = DP
   During the days which we usually come on.
   'The days when we usually come.'

(70) *Da nuu biraad, mayuode emuti dee.*
   ɗ-a = nu-u   bɪrá-á = dᵉ |
   ones-NOM = REL.PL.PST3 lack-REAL = DP
   Those it was missing from,

   ma-íó = ꞁde   emuti = ꞁdéé
   give-IMP.PL = DP story[OBL] = ANPH.SG
   give them that story!

In (68), the CA of the main clause (a copular cleft construction) and the relative clause is the cause or reason for rain. Since it is left-dislocated out of the relative clause, it is marked with the DP. In (69), the CA of main and relative clauses is a time expression. In (70), the DP is used twice: 1) First, it marks the source object of the verb *bɪraa* 'it lacks' that has been fronted (things lack *from* in Ik), and 2) second, it marks the recipient object of the imperative verb *maíó* 'give (pl.)' that is in the previous clause (*ɗa = nuu*).