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

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8 Other Word Classes

In addition to nouns and verbs—Ik's large open word classes—the language also has several other, closed word classes. These include quantifiers (§8.1), demonstratives (§8.2.), adverbs (§8.3), conjunctions (§8.4), prepositions (§8.5), interjections (§8.6), ideophones (§8.7), and infantile imperatives (§8.8). Time expressions, while technically nouns, are discussed as a lexical subset in §8.9. And though greetings do not make up a separate class in and of themselves, they are used in a ritualized way that transcends whatever word classes they consist of. For that reason, they are discussed in §8.10.

8.1 Quantifiers

One of the ways the grammatical number of a noun phrase is encoded is through quantifiers. Ik has both non-numeral and numeral quantifiers. With a few exceptions, Ik quantifiers are verbs in the surface structure. So, like the Adjectival verbs described in the last chapter, quantifier verbs might not be analyzed as a separate word class. However, since some quantifiers are not verbs and others are becoming less verb-like, they are all treated here under one general category. The verbal nature of quantifiers is shown in the following four examples where they take a variety of verbal suffixes such as subject-agreement, modal, and aspectual markers:

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|--|
| (1) | kom-ím-∅
many-1PL.EXC-REAL
We are many. | (2) | kom-ukot-ím-á-k ^a
many-COMP-1PL.EXC-REAL-PRF
We have become many. |
| (3) | lebets-át- ^a
two-3PL-REAL
They are two. | (4) | lebets-i-áti-k ^e
two-PLUR-3PL-SIML
...they (being) two by two. |

In these four clauses, the quantifier fills the syntactic slot for an intransitive verb. Quantifiers can also follow the noun they modify in a relative clause (RC). Examples (5)-(6) illustrate the non-numeral quantifiers *kom-* ‘be many’ and *kwad-* ‘be few’ acting as the verb in relative clauses:

- (5) *Kutese hakwesie daŋee ni kom.*
 küt-εse hakw-ésí-e dáŋé-e = [ni kom-∅]_{RC}
 say-SPS gather-INF-DAT white.ant(s)-GEN = REL.PL many-REAL
 And it was decided to gather many white ants.
- (6) *kots-et-í-á = naa jékiloró-ik-a = [ni kwad-∅]_{RC}*
 fetch-VEN-1SG-REAL PST1 jerrycan-PL-NOM = REL.PL few-REAL
 I fetched a few jerrycans.

Quantifiers in relative clauses may also appear without a relative pronoun:

- (7) *Hoese oŋora odoiciko leβets.*
 ho-ese oŋor-a ódo-icík-ó leβets^e
 cut-SPS elephant(s)-NOM day-PL-INS two
 And the elephants are cut up over two days.
- (8) *Hyeyia kida kwad.*
 fiye-í-á ki = d-a kwad^e
 know-1SG-REAL DIST = ones-NOM few
 I know a few (e.g. words of Ik).

Not only is there no relative pronouns in (7) and (8), but the quantifiers exhibit no verbal morphology at all. In fact, the words for numbers 1-5, as well as the non-numeral quantifiers *kwadé* ‘few’ and *koma* ‘many’, can function as full verbs or adjective-like words without verbal morphology. In their non-verbal function, the numbers 2-5 and *kwad* end in the vowel /e/, while the number 1 and *kom* end in /a/:

(9) *Quantifiers with some non-verbal properties*

Numeral		Non-numeral	
kona	'one'	kwade	'few'
lebetse	'two'	koma	'many'
ade	'three'		
ts'agúsé	'four'		
tude	'five'		

The unverblikeness seen among the quantifiers in (9) indicates one of two things: Either a) numbers used to be a separate word class and then became more verb-like, or b) they used to be full verbs are gradually losing verb-like characteristics and becoming more of a separate word class.

8.1.1 *Non-numeral quantifiers*

Ik non-numeral quantifiers are limited to two lexical verbs (also as adjective-like particles) and three invariable adjective-like particles:

(10) *Ik non-numeral quantifiers*

kom-oni-	'to be many'
kwad-oni-	'to be few'
'gái	'both'
mupu	'all, whole'
tsídi	'all, whole'

The next few sentences provide some examples from various contexts:

(11) *Atsituo komitikee?*

ats-itu-o kom-ítí-keé
 come-2PL-SEQ many-2PL-SIML

Then you come when there are many of you, ok?

- (12) *Kwadukotaa inwa kijoo na.*
 ƙwadƙ-ukot-á-á ínw-á kíjó-o = na
 few-COMP-REAL-PRF animals-NOM land-ABL = DEM.SG
 Animals have become few in this land.
- (13) *J'ejitoo bita gai.*
 jɛj-ɪɔ-ɔ bit-a 'gáí
 stay-2PL-SEQ you.PL-NOM both
 And both of you stay.
- (14) *Ats'ese ema naruetikoo muɲ.*
 áts'-ése em-a narúét-iko-o muɲ
 eat-SPS meat-NOM village-PL-ABL all
 And meat was eaten in all the villages.
- (15) *Nakujuo fiyea menaa ni tsíd.*
 nakují-ó fiye-a mená-á = ni tsíd'
 god-COP know-REAL issues-ACC = DEM.PL all
 It's God who knows all these issues.

8.1.2 Numeral quantifiers

Ik has a quinary or base-5 counting system: There are lexical number words for the numbers 1-5, and then numbers 6-9 are formed by saying 'five and one', 'five and two', etc. The word *kɔní-* 'one' functions as noun elsewhere in the language, and the number 10 is the noun *to(o)míní-*, related to *tomon* 'ten' which has widespread areal parallels in both Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan. Other etymological hints are presented with numbers 1-5 in (16).

As already noted, number words can function as verbs with verbal morphology or as a distinct adjective-like word class in which numbers 2-5 end in the vowel /e/. Both types are given here:

(16) *Ik numbers 1-5*

#	Verb	Numeral	Some areal parallels
1	kɔn-	kɔna	Lango (WNil) <i>kén</i> 'alone'
2	leβets-	leβetse	Saho (LowCush) <i>lamma</i> 'two'
3	ad-	adɛ	Lwo (WNil) <i>adek</i> 'three' Saho (LowCush) <i>adooxa</i> 'three'
4	ts'agús-	ts'agúsé	—
5	tud-	tude	Shabo (Nilo-Saharan?) <i>tuula</i> 'five'

Number 6-9 are formed with the quinary base 5 *tud-/tude* plus the singular (for 6) and plural (for 7-9) pronouns *kɪ = dɪ* (sg.) and *ki = dɪ* (pl.):

(17) *Ik numbers 6-9*

6	tude nída kɪ = dɪ kɔn
7	tude nída ki = dɪ leβets ^e
8	tude nída ki = dɪ ad ^e
9	tude nída ki = dɪ ts'agús

When something is being counted in sequence, the numbers 1-9 can be treated as verbs taking the sequential suffixes {-kɔ} (sg.) and {-mɪ} (pl.):

(18) *Ik verbal counting*

kɔnɔ-k ^ɔ	'And it is one.'
leβets-in	'And they are two.'
ad-in	'And they are three.'
ts'agus-in	'And they are four.'
tud-in	'And they are five.'
tud-ini nída kidɪ kɔn	'And they are six.'
tud-ini nída kidɪ leβets ^e	'And they are seven.'
tud-ini nída kidɪ ad ^e	'And they are eight.'
tud-ini nída kidɪ ts'agús	'And they are nine.'

The numbers 10, 100, 1000, 100,000, 1,000,000, and 1,000,000,000 are all nouns. The larger denominations—hundred thousand, million, billion—have names borrowed from English as well as indigenous labels:

(19) *Numbers 10-1,000,000,000*

#	Borrowed	Indigenous	Meaning/Source
10	to(o)míní-		(cf. Trk. <i>tomon</i>)
100	ɲamíá-		(< Swahili <i>mia</i>)
1,000	álifu-		(< Swahili <i>elfu</i>)
100,000	álifika ɲamíá kɔn	kɔrɔká kɔn	'one finger'
1,000,000	ɲémílioni-	dakwa kɔn	'one tree'
1,000,000,000	ɲéǎílioni-	ǎola kɔn	'one old hive'

Multiples of ten are formed with the nouns *to(o)míní-* 'ten' and *ekú-* 'eye':

(20) *Multiples of ten*

20	tomín-ékw-a leǎets ^e	'ten-eye two'
30	tomín-ékw-a ad ^e	'ten-eye three'
40	tomín-ékw-a ts'agús	'ten-eye four'
50	tomín-ékw-a túd ^e	'ten-eye five'
60	tomín-ékw-a túde ńda kɔn	'ten-eye six'
70	tomín-ékw-a túde ńda kɔn	'ten-eye seven'
80	tomín-ékw-a túde ńda kɔn	'ten-eye eight'
90	tomín-ékw-a túde ńda kɔn	'ten-eye nine'

The numbers between multiples of 10 can be formed in two ways. Both ways start with the relevant multiple of 10 (20, 50, 70, etc.) followed by the connective *ńda* 'and'. For numbers like 11, 21, 31, etc., this connective can be followed by either *kɔn* 'and that one, one' or *ńéǎe kɔn*. The precise meaning of *ńéǎe-* is not currently known, though a possible connection is with the word *ńébu-* 'body'. For numbers like 12/22, 13/23, and above, the connective *ńda* can be followed either by *kɔn* 'the ones' or by *ɲɔr-mu* 'its remainders' and the appropriate number word. The word *ɲɔr-mu* consists of

the noun *jiri-* ‘behind’ and the possessive pluralive {-*ni*-}, not the 3PL sequential aspect marker {-*ni*} as supposed by Heine & König (1996:42):

(21) *Numbers 11-19*

11	tomíní náda kídi/néβεε kɔn
12	tomíní náda kídi/jírni léβets ^e
13	tomíní náda kídi/jírni ad ^e
14	tomíní náda kídi/jírni ts’agús
15	tomíní náda kídi/jírni túd ^e
16	tomíní náda kídi/jírni túde náda kídi kɔn
17	tomíní náda kídi/jírni túde náda kídi léβets ^e
18	tomíní náda kídi/jírni túde náda kídi ad ^e
19	tomíní náda kídi/jírni túde náda kídi ts’agús

Ik counting can get quite complicated, as the following numbers show:

(22) *Complicated Ik counting*

66	tomínékwa túde náda kídi kɔn náda jírni túd náda kídi kɔn
999,999	álifika ŋamíá tude náda kídi ts’agúsé náda tomínéku tude náda kídi ts’agúsé náda jírni tude náda kídi ts’agúsé náda ŋamíá tude náda kídi ts’agúsé náda tomínéku tude náda kídi ts’agúsé náda jírni tude náda kídi ts’agús

Ik ordinal numbers are formed with relative pronouns or demonstrative pronouns plus the relevant number verb in the infinitive form, as in:

(23) *Ik ordinal numbers 1-5*

1 st	na/ɗa kón-ɔni
2 nd	na/ɗa leβéts-óni
3 rd	na/ɗa áɗ-ɔni
4 th	na/ɗa ts’agús-óni
5 th	na/ɗa túd-ɔni

8.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are words that point to or ‘demonstrate’ nouns in the discourse (and real entities extralinguistically). The demonstrative word class in Ik is made up of eleven nominal demonstratives, three locative adverbial demonstratives, and four special anaphoric demonstratives: two nominal and two locative adverbial ones. Five of the nominal demonstratives have spatial reference, while six others have temporal reference. The tensed demonstratives are based on the singular and plural proximal spatial demonstratives. Both spatial and temporal nominal demonstratives follow their referent and reflect the grammatical number of their referent(s). Ik nominal demonstratives have a deictic function of specifying the relative spatial location of a referent and the syntactic function of modifying an NP in any core or peripheral argument.

8.2.1 Spatial nominal demonstratives

In its spatial demonstrative system, Ik exhibits a three-term distance distinction in the singular and a two-term distinction in the plural. The singular spatial demonstratives are recessively [-ATR], while the plural ones are dominantly [+ATR], post-lexically harmonizing only one preceding syllable. All the spatial nominal demonstratives are analyzed as enclitics based on their forming a phonological word with vowel harmony.

(24) *Ik spatial demonstratives*

	Singular	Plural
Proximal	= na	= ni
Medial	= ne	
Distal	= ke	= ki

For the singular demonstratives in (23), Proximal refers to distances relatively near to the speaker, medial to a distance slightly farther from the speaker, and distal to a distance relatively far from the speaker. The distinction between proximal and medial is collapsed among the plural

demonstratives: =*ni* covers any non-distal location from the speaker and is referred to simply as proximal in opposition to distal.

The Ik spatial nominal demonstratives follow the argument they modify. They can occur with nouns and pronouns but cannot stand alone as an NP (except possibly where the NP head is pragmatically implied). Cases of demonstratives with personal pronouns are restricted to a vocative-type situations like the one shown in (25). The sentence in (26) shows how a demonstrative cannot stand alone as an NP, in this case the complement of a copula. The independent usage in (26) is only grammatical if the implicit referent is understood. For example, it could be uttered along with a pointing gesture to clarify which entity was referred to by another speaker. But the usual way of referring pronominally to a 3-person referent is with the demonstrative pronouns *dī* (sg.) and *dī* (pl.).

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (25) | <i>awa na</i> | <i>Bia na!</i> |
| | aw-a = na | bi-a = na |
| | home-NOM = DEM.SG.PROX | you.SG-NOM = DEM.SG.PROX |
| | this home (here) | You! (lit. 'This you (here)') |
| (26) | ** <i>Mita na.</i> | <i>Na?</i> |
| | **mit-a na | na |
| | **be-REAL DEM.SG.PROX | DEM.SG.PROX |
| | **It's this. | This? |

8.2.2 Temporal nominal demonstratives

Ik also has temporal or 'tensed' nominal demonstrative clitics. They are based on the spatial demonstratives but not on an analogy of time as distance. Rather, the proximal forms in (24)—*na* (sg.) and *ni* (pl.)—are used as the non-past form and the base for the three-term past demonstratives. The singular remote past demonstrative =*nɔ* is recessive, while all four plural temporal demonstratives are dominantly [+ATR] post-lexically:

(27) *Temporal nominal demonstratives*

	Singular		Plural	
	Non-final	Final	Non-final	Final
Non-Past	=na	=na (=n)	=ni	=ni (=n)
Recent Past	=náa	=nák ^a	=níi	=ník ⁱ
Removed Past	=sina	=sin	=sini	=sin
Remote Past	=nɔɔ	=nɔk ^ɔ	=nuu	=nuk ^u

The non-past demonstratives in their final forms can optionally lose their final (and sole) vowel, firmly attaching them to the preceding noun. As is discernable from (27), =na for singular and =ni for plural form the basis for the other tensed demonstratives. Although it seems they were bimorphemic historically, these forms will be henceforth treated as single morphemes. The frozen suffix *-ka seen on the singular recent past demonstrative in (27) is related to the present perfect morpheme formally and semantically. The frozen suffix *-kɔ attached to the singular remote past demonstrative is likewise linkable to the synchronic copulative case and sequential aspect morpheme {-kɔ}. A clue to the origin of the frozen prefix *si/si- in the removed past members of the paradigm in (27) comes from the South Omotic language Dime's 'feminine demonstrative' *siná* that contains the prefix *si-* denoting 'nearness' (Mulugeta 2008:72-73).

In the remote past forms for both singular and plural, vowel assimilation occurs. The combination *na + (k)ɔ* leads to *nɔ-(k)ɔ* in the singular, and the combination *ni + (k)u* leads to *nu-(k)u* in the plural.

The Ik temporal demonstratives are identical to both the relative pronouns (which are tensed; §5.6) and the temporal subordinating conjunctions (§8.4.1). It seems that historically they were all part of one system, though synchronically they must be treated as separate. The relationship between these identical forms in disparate systems can be represented as follows:

(28) *Interrelationship of na-(k)a in three grammatical systems*

Demonstrative	ámá = nak ^a	‘that person (earlier)’
Relative pronoun	ámá = naa...	‘the person who...(earlier)’
Subordinating CONJ	náa ámáa...	‘When the person...(earlier)’

Heine & Kuteva describe two grammaticalization pathways that could apply to (28): 1) demonstrative > relativizer, and 2) relativizer > subordinator (2007:89, 95). In light of this, it seems likely that the Ik tensed relative pronouns developed out of the tensed demonstratives, and that the tensed subordinating conjunctions developed from the tensed relative pronouns.

8.2.3 *Anaphoric demonstratives*

The anaphoric demonstrative clitics =^hdéé (sg.) and =^hdíí (pl.) are used to refer to any bit of information already identified at least once in a discourse. The singular form is recessive and can occur as =^hdéé after a [+ATR] morpheme. The plural form is dominantly [+ATR], capable of harmonizing the preceding phonetic syllable post-lexically (§3.1.7). The downstep (‘) is posited to account for the following two tonal effects caused by the depressor consonant /d/ (see §3.2.3): 1) The lowering of the anaphoric demonstratives’ own pitch to mid (see 29) and 2) the lowering of pitch ceiling that occurs after them (see 30). Consider the following examples:

(29) *Takanetesa kwetoo dee.*

takan-et-és-á	kwetó-ś = ^h déé	[- - - - - \ - -]
appear-VEN-INT-REAL	hand-ABL = ANPH.SG	

It will appear on that side (lit. ‘hand’).

(30) *Dukwee ima dee awak.*

d-uko-e	ámá = ^h déé	awá-k ^e [- - \ - - -]
take-AND-IMP.SG	person[OBL] = ANPH.SG	home-DAT

Take that person home.

The information referenced by the anaphoric demonstratives is either a) encoded at least once before in the discourse or b) inferred pragmatically or extralinguistically from the physical or cognitive environment shared between the speech-act participants. That is, the anaphorics refer to discursively and/or pragmatically old information. For example, if someone says *keésíá awéé 'déé bie* 'I'm going to that home of yours', it can mean either that a) the house was already mentioned at least once in the conversation or b) that the speaker believes that the particular home is a topic found in the immediate cognitive environments of both speech-act participants.

Any old information, whether noun phrases or whole clauses, can be anaphorically referenced by these demonstratives. In (31) below, the core argument *fiyo* 'cow', underlined in the first main clause, is referred to anaphorically three clauses (two lines) later (where it is underlined again):

- (31) *Na koto ts'edoo nee, koyaa*
 na = kótó ts'é'dó-ó = néé kó-ia-a
 CONJ = then there-ABL = DEM.SG.MED go-1SG-SEQ
- dzigwetiaa fiyo.*
 dzígw-et-ia-a {fiyo-Ø}
 buy-VEN-1SG-SEQ COW-NOM
- Koyaa ceyaa ntsirobak.*
 kó-ia-a ce-ia-a ntsí-róba-k^e
 go-1SG-SEQ kill-1SG-SEQ she-people-DAT
- Ceyaa fiyoa dee.*
 ce-ia-a {fiyo-a = 'déé}
 kill-1SG-SEQ COW-NOM = ANPH.SG
-

So then from there, I went and bought a cow. And I went and killed it for her people. I killed *that cow*.

By contrast, in (32), the anaphoric noun phrase *emuta* ‘*dée* ‘that story’ refers back to two full clauses each introduced by *naítá* (and underlined), that are both functioning as complements of the imperative verb *tóde* ‘tell’:

(32) *Tode*
 tód-e
 tell-IMP.SG

naíta noo dukotanee bia ngok,
naítá = noo d-ufkot-an-é = e bi-a ngó-k^e
 way[OBL] = REL.SG.PST3 take-AND-IPS-REAL = DP you.SG-ACC we.EXC-DAT

naíta noo tataekwaa sít's'ee bia
naít-á = noo táta-ekwa-a sít's'-é = e bi-a
 way[OBL] = REL.SG.PST3 aunt-man-ACC engage-REAL = DP you.SG-ACC

paka iyudukwee ts'oo ti.
 páka i-idu-kó = e ts'oo tí
 until be-2SG-SEQ = DP now ADV

Emuta dee jík!
 {emut-a = 'dée} jík
 story-NOM = ANPH.SG ADV

Tell a) how you were taken to us, b) how my uncle engaged you until from then you are here right now—that whole story!

Lastly, Ik nominal demonstratives—spatial, temporal, and anaphoric—are not mutually exclusive. They can occur singly or in combination with one or two other types. This is possible because they all have different functions, indicating the location, place in time, and discourse topicality, respectively, of their referents. Whichever types coincide in one noun phrase, the order in which they occur is: NP.HEAD = (anaphoric) = (spatial/temporal) = (spatial):

(33) *Cooccurring nominal demonstratives*

ámá = 'dée'	'that person (already mentioned)'
ámá = nak ^a	'that person (from earlier)'
ámá = na	'this person'
ámá = 'dée = naa	'that person (mentioned, from earlier)'
ámá = 'dée = na	'this person (already mentioned)'
ámá = 'dée = náa = ne	'that person (there, mentioned, earlier)'
ámá = ke = náa = ke	'that person (over there, from earlier)'

8.2.4 *Locative adverbial demonstratives*

In addition to nominal demonstratives that point to objects, and anaphoric demonstratives that point to known information, Ik also has several locative adverbial demonstratives that point to a place. These also include deictics and anaphorics. The deictics comprise a three-term system distinguishing proximal, medial, and distal distances, just like nominal demonstratives. The anaphorics include two demonstratives that refer to a place or metaphorically to a time already known from the discourse context.

Even though they adverbially specify a location or direction, the Ik locative adverbial demonstratives exhibit the structure and behavior of nouns. That is, they can be inflected for all eight nominal cases and can be modified by deictic demonstratives as well as relative clauses. When they are modified by relative clauses, they fulfill the language's need for locative adverbial clauses. For example in (34), the locative demonstrative *naí-* acts as a peripheral argument (encoding a Destination role) of the verb *ká-* 'go'. It is then modified by a relative clause (RC) introduced by the relative pronoun = *noo*. The whole construction acts as a locative adverbial clause (LOC ADV):

(34) *Kaa nayee noo itsyaketad.*

ká-a [naí-é = [noo itsyak-et-á = d^e]_{REL}]_{LOC ADV}
 go-REAL where-DAT = REL.SG.PST3 begin-INCH-REAL = DP
 She's going to where she started.

The whole system of the first set of Ik locative demonstratives is apparently based on the noun *aí-* ‘location, side’. This noun, combined with the nominal spatial demonstratives, produces a system of locative reference that shows various degrees of grammaticalization and phonological erosion. Because the noun *aí-* ‘location, side’ is at the heart of this system, in principle all members of the paradigm should inflect for all eight Ik nominal cases. In reality, though, some of the case suffixes have been lexicalized as part of the noun base and substantially eroded, resulting in case conflation. (35) shows the synchronic system of locative demonstratives, their hypothetical diachronic development being discussed below:

(35) *Deictic locative adverbial demonstratives (Set 1)*

Case	Proximal	Medial	Distal
OBL	naí (=na)	naí (=ne)	kóó (=ke)
NOM	nay-á (=na)	nay-á (=ne)	kóó (=ke)
INS	nó-ó (=na)	nó-ó (=ne)	kóó (=ke)
ABL	naí-ó (=na)	naí-ó (=ne)	kóó (=ke)
GEN	naí-é (=na) néé (=na)	naí-é (=ne) néé (=ne)	kóó (=ke)
ACC	naí-á (=na)	naí-á (=ne)	kóó (=ke)
DAT	naí-é (=na) néé (=na)	naí-é (=ne) néé (=ne)	kóó (=ke)
COP	naí-ó (=na)	naí-ó (=ne)	kóó (=ke)

First of all, the proximal and medial forms in (35) are made up of the noun *aí-* plus the proximal demonstrative *na=* as a proclitic. The same demonstrative is then an optional enclitic for the proximal forms, while the medial demonstrative *=ne* is an optional enclitic for the medial forms. The proclitic *na=* has apparently undergone phonological reduction. Then, once *na=* and *aí-* were conflated into *naí-*, it became subject to vowel assimilation. In the instrumental case, marked by the suffix {-ɔ}, the resulting form is *nóó*. This vowel assimilation is expected since the instrumental case deletes the stem-final vowel. However, in the genitive and

dative cases, both of which are marked with the suffix $\{-(k)\varepsilon\}$, the resulting form is *née*. This form involves further phonological reduction:

- (36) Instrumental: $na = +aí- + \text{ɔ} \rightarrow n\acute{o}\acute{o}$
 Genitive/dative: $na = +aí- + \varepsilon \rightarrow naí-é \rightarrow née$

As for the distal locative demonstrative, it appears to have undergone grammaticalization and phonological reduction to the point that it has the same form in all nominal cases: $k\acute{o}\acute{o} = (k\varepsilon)$. In years past, the distal locative demonstrative comprised a regular part of the paradigm in which the noun *aí-* was flanked on both sides by the distal nominal demonstrative $k\varepsilon$, as in $ke = aí-é = ke$, for example, in the genitive and dative cases. At some point, the preceding $ke =$ merged with the base noun, and at a later point, the instrumental case form $k\acute{o}\acute{o}$ was substituted for all the cases. Since it has undergone phonological reduction and morphological conflation to this degree, the form $k\acute{o}\acute{o}$ is analyzed here as a single morpheme synchronically.

Ik also has plural locative adverbial demonstratives: *nií-* for proximal and medial and *kií-* for distal. If the diachronic analysis of the forms in (35) is correct, then it would seem these plural forms were created by analogy with the demonstratives *na* (sg.) ~ *ni* (pl.) for proximal/medial and $k\varepsilon$ (sg.) ~ *ki* (pl.) for distal. These plural locative demonstratives pattern as follows:

(37) *Plural deictic locative adverbial demonstratives*

Case	Proximal/medial	Distal
OBL	<i>nií</i> (= <i>ni</i>)	<i>kií</i> (= <i>ki</i>)
NOM	<i>ni-á</i> (= <i>ni</i>)	<i>ki-á</i> (= <i>ki</i>)
INS	<i>ni-ó</i> (= <i>ni</i>)	<i>ki-ó</i> (= <i>ki</i>)
ABL	<i>nió-ó</i> (= <i>ni</i>)	<i>kió-ó</i> (= <i>ki</i>)
GEN	<i>nií-é</i> (= <i>ni</i>)	<i>kií-é</i> (= <i>ki</i>)
ACC	<i>nií-á</i> (= <i>ni</i>)	<i>kií-á</i> (= <i>ki</i>)
DAT	<i>nií-é</i> (= <i>ni</i>)	<i>kií-é</i> (= <i>ki</i>)
COP	<i>nió-ó</i> (= <i>ni</i>)	<i>kió-ó</i> (= <i>ki</i>)

Another set of locative adverbial demonstratives is based on the noun *ǰána-* ‘direction, location’. In this function, *ǰána-* is preceded by a proclitic demonstrative and followed optionally by another demonstrative. These locative demonstratives can be proximal or distal, as shown in (38). In the distal column, the /e/ in the distal demonstrative *ke* has been shortened to /i/ in *ki* = as a result of it being in an unstressed position:

(38) *Deictic locative adverbial demonstratives (Set 2)*

Case	Proximal	Distal
OBL	ná = ǰána (= na)	kí = ǰána (= ke)
NOM	ná = ǰán-a (= na)	kí = ǰán-a (= ke)
INS	ná = ǰán-o (= na)	kí = ǰán-o (= ke)
ABL	ná = ǰáno-o (= na)	kí = ǰáno-o (= ke)
GEN	ná = ǰáne-e (= na)	kí = ǰáne-e (= ke)
ACC	ná = ǰána-a (= na)	kí = ǰána-a (= ke)
DAT	ná = ǰáne-e (= na)	kí = ǰáne-e (= ke)
COP	ná = ǰáno-o (= na)	kí = ǰáno-o (= ke)

The noun *ǰána-* is also used to build compounds that signify geographical locations or directions. These may correspond to their absolute navigational referents, but they are often skewed somewhat by local topography:

(39) *Navigational terms*

East	Fetí-éku-ǰaná-	‘sun-eye-direction’
West	Tábai-ǰaná-	‘?-direction’
North	Gwáριο-ǰaná	‘top-direction’
South	Gígiro-ǰaná-	‘down-direction’

Finally, the words *nédi-* (medial) and *kédi-* (distal) also function as locative adverbial demonstratives. Because *kédi-* has the lexical meaning of ‘way, means’ and *nédi-* has none such, it is suspected that *nédi-* was introduced by analogy with the deictic demonstratives *ne* (medial) and *ke* (distal). As full nouns, they make up a fully regular case paradigm as shown in (40):

(40) *Deictic locatives (Set 3)*

Case	Medial	Distal
OBL	nédi (=ne)	kédi (=ke)
NOM	néd-a (=ne)	kéd-a (=ke)
INS	néd-o (=ne)	kéd-o (=ke)
ABL	nédi-o (=ne)	kédi-o (=ke)
GEN	nédi-e (=ne)	kédi-e (=ke)
ACC	nédi-a (=ne)	kédi-a (=ke)
DAT	nédi-e (=ne)	kédi-e (=ke)
COP	nédi-o (=ne)	kédi-o (=ke)

Besides the three sets of deictic locative demonstratives outlined above, Ik also has two anaphoric locative demonstratives: *tumɛ'dé-* and *ts'édé-*. The downstep posited for both forms is based on the fact that the H tone after the depressor consonant /d/ is lowered to mid pitch (actually a low-to-mid rise phonetically). As mentioned in §3.2.3, this is typical tonal behavior whenever a depressor consonant is followed or flanked by H tones.

(41) *Anaphoric locative demonstratives*

OBL	tumɛ'dé	ts'édé
NOM	tumɛd-a	ts'éd-a
INS	tumɛd-ɔ	ts'éd-ɔ
ABL	tumɛ'dɔ-ɔ	ts'édɔ-ɔ
GEN	tumɛ'dé-é	ts'édé-é
ACC	tumɛ'dé-á	ts'édé-á
DAT	tumɛ'dé-é	ts'édé-é
COP	tumɛ'dɔ-ɔ	ts'édɔ-ɔ

The fact that both anaphoric locative demonstratives contain the segment /d/ suggests that they are linked formally as well as functionally with the anaphoric nominal demonstrative =*d'ée* described above (as well as the singular possessive suffix *-ede-*). The demonstrative *ts'édé-* has two

frequently encountered allomorphs varying in the first segment: *jé'dé-* and *ké'dé-* and. This type of glottalic allophony is described back in §2.3.3.

The two anaphoric locative demonstratives are close in meaning and function in that they both refer anaphorically to a previously mentioned place, whether near or far away. However, though *tumé'dé-* can refer only to physical locations, *ts'é'dé-* can also refer metaphorically to circumstantial and even temporal 'locations', giving it a slightly broader usage.

In (42) below, *tumé'dé-* is used twice to refer back to the location 'Usake', marked with the dative case. Note the different case endings on the demonstrative according to which case the clause's syntax requires:

(42) *Kayuo saa jii Usakeek.*

ka-i-o sa-a=jii {usakee-k^e}
go-3SG-SEQ others-NOM = also Usake-DAT

Pelemoo saa tumedoo,

peI-ém-ó-ó sa-a {tumé'dó-ó}
appear-MID-3SG-SEQ others-NOM ANPH.LOC-ABL

kayukwee bobaina jii tumedee.

ka-i-kó=e bobá-ín-á=jii {tumé'dé-é}
go-3SG-SEQ = DP grandfather-POSS.PL-NOM = also ANPH.LOC-DAT

Others also went *to Usake*. Others came out *from there*. (My) grandparents also went *there*.

And in (43) below, *ts'é'dé-* is also used to refer to the location 'Moroto':

(43) *Na itayee Morotoa,*

na = ita-i-ε {moroto-á}
CONJ = reach-3SG-SIML moroto-ACC

ibamukotoo roba ts'edoo.

ibám-úkət-ɔ-ɔ roḅ-a {ts'é'dó-ɔ}
 free-COMP-3SG-SEQ people-NOM ANPH.LOC-ABL

When he reached *Moroto*, people became free *from there*.

(44), on the other hand, is an example of *ts'édé-* used to refer to a set of temporal circumstances, in this case how the weather affected agriculture:

(44) *Tokobeese koto eda dii,*

təkób-ε-εε = kótó eɗ-a = 'dii
 dig-INCH-SPS = then grain-NOM = ANPH.PL

itetuo koto didia dita noo kowee nabo.

it-ét-u-o = koto didi-a dí'tá = noo kɔwé-é naḅó
 come-VEN-3SG-SEQ = then rain-NOM like = PST3 old-REAL-GEN again

Marankoo, gaanukoo,

marán-ú-ko = o gaan-u-kó = o
 good-3SG-SEQ = DP bad-3SG-SEQ = DP

kama noo koto mena ts'edee.

kám-á = noo = kótó men-a ts'édé-é
 like-REALPST3 = then issues-NOM ANPH.LOC-GEN

Then that grain started getting farmed, and the rain came back again like it used to long ago. And then from there it was good, and then from there it was bad...So that's how things were *at the time*.

8.3 Adverbs

Ik has a small, closed class of words that can be called ‘adverbs’ on the basis that they are mostly monomorphemic and can modify whole clauses. Some adverbs convey the manner of an action, while others relate the epistemic attitude of the speaker. Other still defy any semantic characterization.

The Ik manner adverbs include the following:

(45) *Ik manner adverbs*

dɛmusu	‘quickly’	(also <i>damusu</i>)
híjɔ	‘slowly, carefully’	
jíkí	‘totally, really’	
jíiki	‘always’	
kóntíák ^e	‘straightaway’	(cf. <i>kɔní-</i> ‘one’)
muka	‘completely, forever’	(also a noun <i>muka-</i>)
páka	‘until, indefinitely’	(fr. Swahili <i>mpaka</i>)
zuku	‘very, especially’	(also in Nyang’í)

A few of the adverbs in (45) undergo the deletion of their final consonant segment in clause-medial environments. For example, *dɛmusu* ‘quickly’ may be pronounced as *dɛmu* and *kóntíák^e* ‘straightaway’ as *kóntíéé*.

Other adverbs relate the epistemic attitude of the speaker, for example:

(46) *Ik epistemic adverbs*

=já	‘just, then’	(an enclitic)
tsábo	‘apparently’	
tsamu	‘exactly, of course’	(also a noun <i>tsamú-</i> ‘freeness’)
ts’ɔɔ	‘probably’	(marker of distended present)

A handful of other adverbial particles fall together into the following group unmarked by any particular semantic cohesiveness:

(47) *Other Ik adverbs*

edá	‘only, alone’
=jike	‘also, too’
kíná	‘and then’
naó	‘again’
=ná(k)a	‘just’
toni	‘even’

The adverb *jike* ‘also, too’ undergoes non-final deletion and vowel assimilation such that *ju* is an allomorph commonly heard in the language. The adverb *naó* ‘again’ is cognate with Teso-Turkana *nabo* of the same meaning. In both languages, it can also be used in the sense of ‘moreover’.

Adverbial functions are often handled in Ik by nouns and verbs. For example, nouns in the instrumental or dative cases can be used to modify a predicate. In (48) below, the nominalized verb *isílon* ‘to be peaceful’ is given the instrumental case to elaborate on the manner in which the person was settled down. Then in (49), the noun *kédi-* ‘way’ is put in the dative case, also to express the manner in which it was getting cloudy:

(48) *Zekwitetesa bia isilon.*

zekw-it-et-és-á	bi-a	isíl-ón ^w
sit-CAUS-INCH-INT-REAL	you.SG-ACC	be.peaceful-INF-INS
He will settle you down peacefully (i.e. with peace).		

(49) *Kupetaa kedia gaan.*

kup-et-á-á	kédi-e	gaan-∅
cloudy-INCH-REAL-PRF	way-DAT	bad-REAL
It's getting dangerously cloudy (i.e in a bad way).		

Many time expressions used adverbially are in fact nouns in the instrumental case with the suffix {-ɔ}, for example those in (50). For more on Ik time expressions, skip ahead to §8.9.

(50) *Nominal time expressions.*

barats- ^o	'in the morning'
mukú-∅	'at night'
ɲabáít- ³	'at dawn'
ód-atu-∅	'all day'
ódo- ^o	'during the day'
tso-ík- ^o	'all night'
wídz- ^o	'in the evening'
wídz-ek- ^o	'in the evening'
ʃɪɲat- ³	'at dusk'

Other adverbial meanings are expressed through the use of verbs in the simultaneous aspect, marked by the suffix {-ke}. For a simultaneous verb to be used adverbially, it must follow the main verb without a subordinating conjunction. And it must also have an impersonal 3SG subject, for example:

(51) *Waakuo maraɲik!*

wáák-úó maráɲ-í-ke^e
 play-IMP.PL good-3SG-SIML
 Play well (lit. 'You play, it being well.')

(52) *Todia Icetoda gaanik.*

tód-i-a icé-tód-a gaan-i-ke^e
 speak-1SG-REAL Ik-speech-NOM bad-3SG-SIML
 I speak Ik badly (lit. 'I speak Ik, it being bad').

Though the subject of the sentence in (51) is 2PL, and the subject of the one in (52) 1SG, in both cases the post-posed simultaneous verb is 3SG.

8.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions form that small set of words that link one syntactic unit—be it a phrase or clause—to another. Ik has numerous subordinating conjunctions that introduce dependent clauses, as well as a few coordinating conjunctions that join two syntactic units of the same type. These are described below.

8.4.1 Subordinating conjunctions

Ik exhibits a fairly complicated set of subordinating conjunctions. One cause of the complexity is that different categories like ‘conditional’ and ‘hypothetical’ include the Ik three-tier past tense depth. The subordinating conjunctions can be divided into groups according to the type of verb that follows them in the subordinate clause. These include 1) realis, 2) sequential, 3) simultaneous, and 4) miscellaneous.

Temporal subordinate clauses coincide with verbs in the realis modality. They are tensed, their tense specification coming from tensed subordinating conjunctions. A dummy pronoun on the verb marks the fact that a temporal adjunct is part of the clause’s semantic schema. These conjunctions are actually grammaticalizations of relative pronouns that themselves were grammaticalized from demonstratives. Ik temporal subordinating conjunctions are all based on the proto-demonstrative **na*. Compare this with nearby Turkana, where the ‘feminine agreement marker’ *na-* also introduces preposed temporal adverbial clauses (Dimmendaal 1983:392).

(53) Temporal subordinating conjunctions

CONJ	Clause type	Gloss
náa	PST1	‘When...,’
sina	PST2	‘When...,’
noo	PST3	‘When...,’
na = náa	PST1 Perfect	‘When...had...,’
na = samu	PST2 Perfect	‘When...had...,’
na = noo	PST3 Perfect	‘When...had...,’

Two other subordinating conjunctions combine notions of temporality with conditionality. These are shown in (54). They also cooccur with verbs in the realis modality joined to the dummy pronoun. The particle *néé* ‘if/when’ also functions elsewhere as a locative (ablative) preposition meaning ‘from X’ (see §8.5). Compare this with the Turkana conjunction *a ní* ‘from’ which also doubles as a conjunction meaning ‘if/when’ (Dimmendaal 1983:395-396). The two functions of *néé* thus appear to be a calque of similar functors in Turkana. Then the second Ik conjunction shown in (54) is just a combination of the recent past conjunction from (53) and *néé*:

(54) *Conditional-temporal subordinating conjunctions*

<i>néé</i>	Conditional/non-past	‘If/when...,’
<i>náa néé</i>	Conditional/non-past	‘If/when...,’

Subordinate clauses with sequential verbs encode conditional and hypothetical statements. Conditional clauses are introduced by the proclitic particle *na’=* (the floating H being posited to account for H tones may put on the first next syllable). Used alone, *na’=* conveys a non-past or gnomic sense, while in combination with tensed conjunctions, it communicates past perfect conditionals. The conditional conjunctions are shown below in (55):

(55) *Conditional subordinating conjunctions*

CONJ	Clause type	Gloss
<i>na’=</i>	Gnomic conditional	‘If...,’
<i>na = náá</i>	Conditional PST1 perfect	‘If...had...,’
<i>ná = bee</i>	Conditional PST2 perfect	‘If...had...,’
<i>na = noo</i>	Conditional PST3 perfect	‘If...had...,’

The hypothetical subordinating conjunctions consist in the first place of the general subordinator *na’=* procliticized to the auxiliary *ka* which is in turn modified by tense clitics. The particle *ka* is isomorphic with the verb root *ka-* ‘go’. It would be interesting to investigate cross-linguistically whether a motion verb is elsewhere grammaticalized as a hypothetical marker. The

removed past form =*samu* is used instead of =*bee*. The PST1 perfect form *na = ká = naa* can also convey a general, gnomic hypotheticality:

(56) *Hypothetical subordinating conjunctions*

CONJ	Clause type	Gloss
<i>na = ká = naa</i>	Hypothetical PST1 (perfect)	'If...would (have),'
<i>na = ká = samu</i>	Hypothetical PST2 perfect	'If...would have,'
<i>na = ká = noo</i>	Hypothetical PST2 perfect	'If...would have,'

Subordinate clauses with simultaneous verb forms are introduced by three different conjunctions: 1) The conjunction *áta* (from Swahili *hata* 'even') introduces concessive clauses. 2) The conjunction *na =* introduces narrative clauses with relative rather than absolute tense. 3) And the conjunction *náa* introduces hypothetical-temporal clauses. The form *náa* is obviously linked to the PST1 conjunction, but its function is nearer to that of *néé*.

(57) *Mixed subordinating conjunctions with simultaneous verbs*

CONJ	Clause type	Gloss
<i>áta</i>	Concessive	'Even though/if...,'
<i>na =</i>	Narrative relative temporal	'When...,'
<i>náa</i>	Hypothetical-temporal	'If/when...,'

Four miscellaneous conjunctions remain: 1) *naítá* also takes verbs in the realis modality with the dummy pronoun enclitic. In translation it means 'Since...', 'Given that...', and 'Due to the fact that...'. It is morphologically complex, being made up of the subordinating conjunction *na* plus the 3sg verb form *ít-á* 'It amounts to...'. As such, *naítá* can more accurately be glossed as 'To the degree that...'. 2) *demusú*—used elsewhere as an adverb—coincides with verbs in either the realis modality or the subjunctive mood (irrealis). As a conjunction, it communicates the idea of 'Unless/until...'. 3) *dítá*—used elsewhere as a preposition—cooccurs with verbs in the realis modality with the dummy pronoun. As a conjunction, it introduces a

similative dependent clause with the meaning ‘Like (when)...’. 4) *térútsu*— used to convey a perfect aspectual sense for either present perfect or past tenses. It may be related to the verb *erúts-* ‘be new’, possibly in connection with an emphatic particle *te*. The conjunction *térútsu* is usually translated as ‘After/when...had already...’.

(58) *Miscellaneous subordinating conjunctions*

CONJ	Clause type	Gloss
naítá	Resultative	‘Since...,’
ǀemosu	Concessive	‘Even if/though...,’
ǀítá	Similative	‘Like (when)...,’
térútsu	Perfective	‘After/when...had already...,’

The reader is referred ahead to §9.8 for real-language examples of all these subordinating conjunctions being used to introduce dependent clauses.

8.4.2 Coordinating conjunctions

The coordinating conjunctions conjoin any two syntactic constituents of the same type, for example noun phrases with noun phrases or independent clauses with independent clauses. The semantic relationship implied by the conjunction may be a logical one or a temporal one. The table in (59) presents the Ik coordinating conjunctions and their various meanings. The word *kede* is cognate with Teso-Turkana *kori* also meaning ‘or’, while *ńda* ‘and’ may be related to the Turkana ‘second linker’ *tá* (Dimmendaal 1983:411). When followed by another H tone in the same tonal phrase, the conjunction *ńda* causes downstep and may so also be represented as *ń¹da*.

(59) *Coordinating conjunctions*

	Logical	Temporal
kede	‘or’	—
(=)kɔtɔ	‘then, but’	‘then’
ńda	‘and’	‘and’

Below, two examples of *kede* ‘or’ are provided, one with the conjunction (underlined) linking noun phrases and one with it linking clauses:

(60) *Atsa Fetiekuo kede Tabayu?*

ats-a [fetí-éku-o]_{NP1} kede [tábayu-∅]_{NP2}
 come-REAL sun-eye-ABL or west-ABL
 Does she come from the East or the West?

(61) *Daiya noo kede gaaniya nok?*

[da-í-a = noo]_{CLAUSE1} kede [gaan-i-á = nok^o]_{CLAUSE2}
 good-PLUR-REAL = PST3 or bad-PLUR-REAL = PST3
 Was it (usually) good or was it (usually) bad?

The conjunction *kede* ‘or’ is also part of a special construction that can be translated for the first person as “I thought maybe...” or “I wondered whether...”. This construction consists of the verb *kut-* ‘say’ followed by *kede* followed by a complement clause, for example:

(62) *Kutia kede atsidaa nkanes.*

kut-í-á kede [ats-íd-a-a ŋkan-és-∅]_{COMPL}
 say-1SG-REAL or come-2SG-REAL-PRF get-INF-NOM
 I thought maybe you’ve come to get (it).

(63) *Kwüida kede ncuo bee?*

ku-íd-a kede [jícú-ó = bee]_{COMPL}
 say-2SG-REAL or I-COP = PST2
 Do you think it was me (yesterday)?

The conjunction (=) *kwɔ* can occur clause-initially followed by a brief pause, but it often attaches to the first clausal element as enclitic. As an enclitic, it is susceptible to vowel harmony coming from a [+ATR] host. This conjunction does not conjoin noun phrases but only clauses. Its meaning is vague enough to cover such notions as ‘then’, ‘so’, ‘therefore’, and even ‘but’.

In (64), (=)kɔtɔ links two verbless copular clauses (VC) where it can be translated as ‘but’. Then in (65), (=)kɔtɔ links the clause temporally to the previous clause in a text talking about grains being harvested, brought home, piled up, and then cooked for the elders:

(64) *Benia ncuk, buo kot.*

[beni-á jícu-k^e]_{VC} [bu-o]_{VC} = kót
 not.be-REAL I-COP you.SG-COP = but
 It’s not me, but it’s you.

(65) *Koḡesee koto jak.*

kóḡ-ésɛ = ɛ = kɔtɔ jáká-k^e
 cook-SPS = DP = then elders-DAT
 Then it’s cooked with it (i.e. grain) for the elders.

Moving on to *ńda*: When noun phrases are linked by *ńda* in a series, the NP heads before *ńda* take whatever case the verb calls for, while the final NP head after *ńda* usually appears in the oblique case. For example, in (66), the first noun in the series (*Ika*) is in the nominative case, while the second (*Pakóíce*) is in the oblique case. Then in (67), the multiple objects of the verb *detini* ‘and they brought’ (some of which have been left out) take the accusative case except for the last one, which has the oblique case (*sai*):

(66) *Ika nda Pakoíce*

[ik-a]_{NP1} ńda [pakó-íce]_{NP2}
 Ik-NOM and cave-AGT.PL[OBL]
 The Ik and the Turkana

(67) *Detini riyek, kwazikak, nda...sai menaicikae.*

det-ini [rié-k^a] [kwáz-íka-k^a]...ńda [sai mená-íčíká-^e]_{NP}
 bring-SEQ goats-ACC cloth-PL-ACC and other[OBL] things-PL-GEN
 And they brought goats, clothing,...and other things.

Two or more independent clauses may also be joined by *nda*. In (68), two sequential clauses are linked with it in a compound sentence:

- (68) *Atsini nda meese nkaka ntik.*
 [ats-ini]_{CLAUSE1} nda [me-ese ηkáá-á ní-tí-k^e]_{CLAUSE2}
 come-SEQ and give-SPS food-NOM they-DAT
 They came, and food was given to them.

A verb form often found following *nda* in a series of two or more clauses is the infinitive, as in the last clause of the following complex sentence :

- (69) *Bunutoo Pakoika Icek,*
 [bun-út-ǝ-ǝ pakó-ík-a icé-k^a]_{CLAUSE 1}
 scatter-CAUS-3SG-SEQ cave-AGT.PL-NOM Ik-ACC

itsujini awikaa,

[itsúŋ-íni aw-ika-a]_{CLAUSE 2}
 burn-SEQ home-PL-ACC

tobini nkakak,

[tob-ini ηkáá-k^a]_{CLAUSE 3}
 plunder-SEQ food-ACC

nda itsunesukoti menaicikee muŋ

nda [itsún-és-ókoti mená-ícíké-e muŋ]_{CLAUSE 4}
 and gather-INF-AND[OBL] things-PL-GEN all

The Turkana scattered the Ik, burned [their] homes, plundered [their] food, and gathered up all [their] things.

8.5 Prepositions

The ‘preposition’ category is used here as a catch-all for eight random words that are nonetheless found pre-posed before nouns. The meanings and functions of prepositions in other languages are in large part handled by the Ik relational nouns listed back in §4.3.8. Ik prepositions come from a variety of sources, and each require a particular case on the noun that follows them. Of the eight prepositions shown in (70), only *naakwaa* is properly considered a noun as evidenced by its ability to take case suffixes:

(70) *Ik prepositions*

	Gloss	Case	Note
dítá	‘like’	GEN	—
naakwaa	‘even’	GEN	cf. Ik <i>aká</i> - ‘inside’
néé	‘from, through’	GEN	cf. Teso-Turkana <i>aní</i>
akıɓ	‘instead of’	OBL	fr. Teso-Turkana ‘to defeat’
gone	‘until, up to’	OBL	fr. Ik <i>gon</i> - ‘to look’?
kóteré	‘because of’	OBL	fr. Teso-Turkana <i>ikóteré</i>
ńda	‘with’	OBL	cf. Teso-Turkana <i>tá</i>
páka	‘until, up to’	OBL	fr. Swahili <i>mpaka</i>

These eight prepositions are each exemplified with one example below:

(71) *Gogosese dita riye.*

góg-os-ese dítá rié-∅
 peg-PASS-SPS like goat-GEN

It (i.e. a rat skin) was pegged like (that of) a goat.

(72) *Ee, naakwaa jotee tsitsikimik.*

ee naakwaa-a jóté-é tsitsik-ímí-k^e
 yes even-NOM sisal.root-GEN roll-1PL.EXC-SIML

Yes, (we) rolling even sisal root (i.e. as kids practicing spearing).

- (73)
- Hyeida dikwitina nii nee karoŋoe?*

fīye-íd-a dikw-itín-á = nii néé karoŋó-e
 know-2SG-REAL song-PL-NOM = DEM.PL.PST1 from harvest.season-GEN
 Do you know these songs from harvest season?

- (74)
- Akilo bi ibeleesi kijae,*

akilo bi íbélé-ésí kǐjá-^e
 instead.of you.SG[OBL] change-INF[OBL] land-GEN

ibelea kija bik.

íbélé-a kǐj-á bi-k^a
 change-REAL land-NOM you.SG-ACC

Instead of you changing the world, the world changes you.

- (75)
- Toriikweese gone dziŋa ke.*

torí-íko-ese gone dziŋá = ke
 lead-AND-SPS up.to base[OBL] = DEM.SG.DIST
 And they were led away to that base of the slope.

- (76)
- Iryametia fiyekesie ncie kotere kiroti nci.*

iryam-et-í-á fiyek-esí-é jíci-e kóteré kirotí jíci-^o
 get-VEN-1SG-REAL live-INF-DAT I-GEN b'se.of sweat[OBL] I-GEN
 I get my livelihood because of my own sweat.

- (77)
- Tomore emutika nda ngo.*

tómór-é emút-íká nda ngo
 share-IMP.SG story-PL[OBL] with we.EXC[OBL]
 Share stories with us!

- (78)
- Beberese paka Lokoŋude.*

béber-ese páka lókóŋu-de
 pull-SPS until sacred.tree-foot[OBL]

And it was pulled all the way to the foot of the Sacred Tree.

8.6 Interjections

A number of words may be uttered in Ik that express a speaker's state of mind in response to something strongly felt. Such 'interjections' are of two types: 1) Those that have no other meaning and 2) those that do:

(79) *Interjections with no other meanings*

aaii/ái	expression of pain (like 'ouch!')
báas	expression of conclusion (fr. Swahili <i>basi</i>)
ee/éé	'yes'
ha	expression of strong disagreement or protest
héé?	expression of disbelief
ńtódó	'no'
wói	expression of pain or fear
wúlu	expression of surprise (like 'yikes!')
yweé	when someone has made a mistake
yóói	expression of good-natured disbelief or protest

(80) *Interjections with other meanings*

	Expressive meaning	Literal meaning
ábaŋ/ábaŋ	expression of surprise	'My father!'
hóítá kwí	expression of surprise	fr. Teso-Turkana
ima = na	expression of surprise	'This child!'
ndéé	expression of disbelief	'From where?'
ŋakuŋ	expression of strong emotion	'God!'
ŋɔɔ = ni	expression of surprise	'These men!'
roba	attention-getting device	'People!'
wice = ni	expression of surprise	'These children!'
yáŋ	expression of surprise	'My mother!'

8.7 Ideophones

Like many African languages, Ik has a class of expressive words that may be called ‘ideophones’, forms “characterized by phonological structures that tend to be peculiar” (Matthews 2007:183). In Ik, this phonological peculiarity may entail extra-long vowels and multiple reduplications, as well as expressive tonal and intonational patterns. Ik has three types of ideophones: 1) Those that are onomatopoeic or symbolic of the sound made by an action, 2) those that add extra vividness to a stative verb, and 3) those paired with the verb *kut-* ‘say’ to form special phrasal verbs. Examples of the first type—onomatopoeic—include the following:

(81) *Onomatopoeic ideophones*

buluk	sound of stone landing in water
buúu	sound of cow lowing
dereðereðer	sound of saucepan rolling
di	sound small sticks make when hitting or breaking
dił	sound body makes when hitting the ground
fiuꞰ	sound of bullet whizzing by
guluꞰ	sound made when swallowing a big piece of meat
hyea	sound of a tree falling
fiyom	sound of a stick breaking easily
kurukurukur	sound of a gourd rolling
mééé	sound made by goats bleating
piš	sound of sharp object piercing flesh
puot ^u	sound of spear going through a body
raaraar	sound of many hands clapping
riırrı	sound of a flame
te	sound of firewood breaking
tseꞰf	sound of an animal stepping
tud ^u	sound made when spear fails to penetrate
wuoo	sound of a Euphorbia tree falling
ziııı	sound of a vehicle going by

The second type of ideophone—those not obviously onomatopoeic—simply add some semantic vividness to the verb’s meaning. These ideophones are often paired with a particular verb, for example:

(82) *Non-onomatopoeic ideophones*

duu	boʔa duu	‘It’s very deep.’
ɖuk ^u	masána ɖuk ^u	‘It’s rotten stinky.’
hel	tsáá hel	‘It’s very dry.’
pak ⁱ	ʔets’a pak ⁱ	‘It’s very white.’
pic	ɛ́óda pic	‘It’s very full.’
tík ⁱ	budámá tík ⁱ	‘It’s very black.’
tson	dīwa tson	‘It’s very red.’

The third type of Ik ideophone are those that are paired with the verb *kut-ɔn* ‘to say’ to form special phrasal verbs with highly expressive overtones:

(83) *Ideophones paired with kut- ‘say’*

ɖi	kutɔna ɖi	‘to hit something’
ɖii	kutɔna ɖii	‘to beat down (of hot sun)’
kɪmɪa	kutɔna kɪmɪa	‘to be dead silent’
lioo	kutɔna lioo	‘to be dead silent’
líʊ	kutɔna líʊ	‘to make sound of a bullet or beating’
ɲɛɖ	kutɔna ɲɛɖ	‘to stop suddenly (of one’s heart)’
pel	kutɔna pel	‘to make first appearance (of the moon)’
pir	kutɔna pir	‘to appear’
píʊ	kutɔna píʊ	‘to refuse to catch fire’
puas	kutɔna puas	‘to shatter or burst’
rit ⁱ	kutɔna rit ⁱ	‘to run and collapse suddenly’
tusss	kutɔna tusss	‘to ricochet’

8.8 Infantile imperatives

Ik has a collection of short words that are used to encourage young children to perform certain actions. These ‘baby-talk’ particles are inherently imperative but involve no verbal morphology. Examples include these:

(84) *Infantile imperatives*

ḃá	used to call a child to come eat
bubú	‘night-night’, used to encourage a child to go to sleep
dí	‘poo-poo’, used to encourage a child to defecate
ko	children’s word for ‘water’
kókó	used to warn a child not to touch something
kukú	used to encourage a child to climb on one’s back
kwaa	‘pee-pee’, used to encourage a child to urinate
mamá	used to encourage a child to eat
nuunú	used to encourage a child to nurse

8.9 Time expressions

Time expressions in Ik do not make up a distinct word class. However, they do form a special lexical subset worth taking note of. All time expressions are nouns with case suffixes and other modifiers like demonstratives and post-posed subordinate clauses. Their being formed from nouns recalls Turkana adverbs of time which also originate in nouns (Dimmendaal 1983:360). As mentioned back in §6.3.3, the instrumental case is used in Ik to mark time expressions in the context of sentences. In their isolation forms, however, the time expressions may take the nominative case.

The names for the weekdays Monday-Friday in Ik are formed with the word *nákásií* ‘work’—from Swahili *kazi* ‘work’—coupled with a numeral quantifier in a simultaneous clause. For example, the word for ‘Monday’ translates literally as ‘work(day) being one’. The words for ‘Saturday’ and ‘Sunday’ are borrowed from Teso-Turkana. The term of ‘Sunday’ (*násabéti*-) originates from Italian through the influence of the Catholic church:

(85) *Ik days of the week*

1	Nákásíá Kɔnik ^e	'Monday'
2	Nákásíá Leβetsik ^e	'Tuesday'
3	Nákásíá Adik ^e	'Wednesday'
4	Nákásíá Ts'agúsík ^e	'Thursday'
5	Nákásíá Tudik ^e	'Friday'
6	Nárámíram	'Saturday'
7	Násabét ^a	'Sunday'

The names for the months of the year are borrowed from Teso-Turkana because the Ik have no indigenous alternative. At times the Teso-Turkana names are translated directly into Ik, but these calques receive little usage.

(86) *Ik Months of the Year*

1	Lomuk´	'January'
2	Lokwaŋ´	'February'
3	Lɔ́dóŋe´	'March'
4	Lomaruk´	'April'
5	Titímá	'May'
6	Yelyél	'June'
7	Lɔmɔ́dɔ́kɔ́gec´	'July'
8	Lɔ́sóbán	'August'
9	Lotyak´	'September'
10	Lɔ́lɔ́bá ^e	'October'
11	Lopóo	'November'
12	Lorára´	'December'

Ik also has time expressions used to refer to days or years removed from the present either in the past or the future. For the day-terms, Ik combines the proto-temporal root **tso*, the word *ódou-* 'day', or the word *baratsó-* 'morning' with demonstratives in proclitic and/or enclitic positions. Some of these demonstratives exhibit phonological reduction, maybe to the point of

lexicalization. Not all the morphology in these terms is fully understood. The day terms in (87) are presented with Wednesday acting as ‘today’:

(87) *Day-Terms, Past and Future*

Saturday	ké = tsóítá ke = noo = ke	‘four days ago’
Sunday	ké = tsóítá = nok ^o	‘three days ago’
Monday	nó = tsóo = nok ^o	‘two days ago’
Tuesday	sáá = tso = sin	‘yesterday’
Wednesday	nó = ódwáá (= ne)	‘today’
Thursday	táá barats- ^o	‘tomorrow’
Friday	ké = tsói barats- ^o	‘two days from now’
▼ Saturday	ké = tsóítá = ke	‘three days from now’

Time expressions used to refer to years removed in the past or future are built on the root *kamí-* ‘year’. This is also modified by proclitic and enclitic demonstratives and exhibits phonological reduction and lexicalization. The proclitic or prefix *sá(á)-* seen in both (87) and (88) no doubt is a parallel with Dime’s (South Omotic) distal prefix *sa-* (Mulugeta 2008:73). In (88), the term *keináts* contains the verb root *ats-* ‘come’, as in ‘the coming year’:

(88) *Year-terms, past and future*

Year	Grammatical	(Partly) Lexicalized
2010	kama = noo = ke	nókéma ke = noo = ke
2011	kama nó = tso	nókéma = ke
2012	kama = nok ^o	nókéma (= nok ^o)
2013	kama = sin	sákema (= sin)
2014	kamɔ = na	nákáíná (= na)
2015	kama = na táa	keináts
2016	kama = na tsó	nákáíná tso
2017	kama = ke	nákáíná = ke
▼ 2018	kama = na far	nákáíná far

8.10 Greetings

Ik greetings do not constitute a separate grammatical word class *per se*. But they do consist of a variety of verb phrases and noun phrases used ritually so as to take on pragmatic meaning beyond grammar and semantics. Given the cultural importance of Ik greetings, they are presented below.

The most general greeting and the one usually first taught to outsiders is in the form of a question:

- | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------------|
| (89) | <i>Iyida?</i> | <i>Iyita?</i> |
| | i-íd-a | i-ít-a |
| | be-2SG-REAL | be-2PL-REAL |
| | Are you there? | Are you all there? |

In answer to this question, one typically responds with another question:

- (90) *(Iyida) bia jii?*
 (i-íd-a) bi-a=jii
 be-2SG-REAL you.SG.NOM = also
 (Are you there) you also?

The standard greetings in (89)-(90) mirror exactly those in Teso-Turkana languages where the phrase is rendered *Iyai a?* ‘Are you (sg.) there?’ or *Iyakasi a?* ‘Are you (pl.) there?’ A variation on this greeting in the northern Dodoth dialect of Karimojong is set in the subsecutive mood as *Toyai/Toyakas* ‘And you be there’ which can also have imperative overtones, as in ‘You be there’. The grammatical form of these greetings has seeped into Ik as *Iyiduk/Iyituk* ‘(And) you be there’ in the sequential aspect, though this form is less frequently heard. This reflects the fact that most Ik greetings are grammatical replications of those found in Teso-Turkana.

A number of other Ik greetings are specific to certain times of the day. In the morning, generally up till about 9 or 10 am, the following greetings may be used in place of those described above:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| (91) | <i>Epidaa?</i> | | <i>Epitaa?</i> |
| | ep-íd-a-a | | ep-ít-á-a |
| | sleep-2SG-REAL-PRF | | sleep-2PL-REAL-PRF |
| | Have you slept? | | Have you all slept? |
| (92) | <i>Goneseidaa?</i> | | <i>Goneseitaa?</i> |
| | gon-es-é-íd-a-a | | gon-es-é-ít-á-a |
| | awake-IPFV-INCH-2SG-REAL-PRF | | awake-IPFV-INCH-2SG-REAL-PRF |
| | Have you awoken? | | Have you all awoken? |

The answer to both of these greetings, as well as the one presented next in (93), is the refrain given in (90) above.

From mid-morning until the evening, the greetings in (93) are also heard:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| (93) | <i>Iryaida?</i> | | <i>Iryaitaa?</i> |
| | iryá-íd-a-a | | iryá-ít-á-a |
| | pass.the.day-2SG-REAL-PRF | | pass.the.day-2PL-REAL-PRF |
| | Have you passed the day? | | Have you all passed the day? |

After these initial greetings used to initiate a social interaction, any of the following questions may be posed in a polite bid for more information:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------|----------------------|
| (94) | <i>Kutana is?</i> | | <i>Isiemutio iy?</i> |
| | kut-an-a | is-Ø | isi-emutí-ó |
| | say-IPS-REAL | what-OBL | what-story/news-COP |
| | What is said? | | What news is there? |
| | | | i-Ø |
| | | | be-REAL |

Of course, like greeting questions in any language, the ones in (94) are more like rhetorical questions than information questions. There is handful of standard replies that may be alternated according to the weather, the relative hunger felt in that land, or the current mood in the neighborhood:

(95) *Biraa emuta iy.*

bira-a émut-a i-∅
 not.be-REAL story/news-NOM be-REAL
 There is no news.

(96) *Neke eda.*

ɲék-a ɛdá
 hunger-NOM only
 Only hunger.

(97) *Maraŋa zuk!*

maráŋ-á zuk^u
 good-REAL very
 Very good.

Chronic hunger, especially in the second and third quarters of the year, has been part of the Ik people's normal existence. Over time, the conditions of hunger have shaped the culture, and this is reflected in another series of greetings. The following greetings, having to do with hunger and food, are often quite startling to newcomers in the area. This is because they sound very direct and are interpreted literally as requests for food, when more often the people saying them do not actually expect food to be given:

(98) *Isio nkan?*

isi-o ɲk-an-∅
 what-COP eat-IPS-REAL
 What is (being) eaten?

Isio nki?

isi-o ɲk-í-∅
 what-COP eat-1SG-REAL
 What do I eat (here)?

The standard reply to both of these questions is *bra* ‘Nothing’. But if persistent, one may further inquire:

- (99) *Ayukotaa toboŋa?*
 aě-íkót-á-á tɔbɔŋ-a
 ready-COMP-REAL-PRF maize.mush-NOM
 Has the *posho* gotten ready?

One can respond to (99) with *sár* ‘Not yet’, *máá aěíkótí* ‘It hasn’t got ready’, or *máá naa ŋwéesí* ‘I didn’t grind (flour)’.

Another type of initial greeting, involving the imperative verb *bíré*, became something of a symbol of Ik beggarliness in Colin Turnbull’s (1972) infamous book about the Ik called *The Mountain People*. A phrase often repeated in the book—*brinji lotop* in his orthography (e.g., p. 56)—is usually translated as ‘Give me tobacco’. Both in translation and in actual pronunciation, this phrase sounds abrupt and a bit rude to a foreigner unaccustomed to a begging/sharing culture. Though the stark intonation of the phrase is unavoidable, there is a better translation than ‘Give me’.

The imperative *bíré* should not be translated simply as ‘Give me’ because there is already another verb that means ‘give’: *ma-*, or *me-et-* in the venitive. ‘Give me’ is the correct translation for the phrase *meete jícik^e*, where *jícik^e* ‘to me’ is the dative case form of the first person singular pronoun. So ‘Give me tobacco’ would be *Meete lótóba jícik^e*. As discussed back in §6.3.3, in the phrase *brinji lotop*—more accurately written as *bíré jící lótó^b*—the object of the imperative is *jící* ‘me’ in the oblique case, while *lótó^b* ‘tobacco’ is an adjunct argument in the instrumental case. If the grammar is any indication, then the phrase means ‘X me *with* tobacco’. As best as can be gathered from its singular use in this greeting of request, the verb *bíré jící* approximates to something like ‘Help me’, ‘Relieve me’, or ‘Avail me’.

- (104) *Kae jaa?* *Koyuo kotoo?*
 ka-e = jaaá kóy-úo = kotoó
 go-IMP.SG = ADV go-IMP.PL = ADV
 Alright, go! You go then!
- (105) *Itae marajidik!*
 ita-ε maráj-ídi-k^e
 reach-IMP.SG good-2SG-SIML
 Reach well!
- (106) *Epu kotuo marajitik!*
 ep-ukot-úo maráj-íti-k^e
 sleep-COMP-IMP.PL good-2PL-SIML
 Sleep well!

At any point of a social interaction, the liberal usage of *maráj* ‘good/okay’ is typically appropriate. And if one is particularly happy about what has transpired during the interaction, it is suitable to add the following:

- (107) *Ilakasukotiaak!*
 ilák-ás-ukot-í-a-k^a
 happy-ABST-COMP-1SG-REAL-PRF
 Thank you (lit. ‘I have become happy’)!
- (108) *Ilakasukotimak!*
 ilák-ás-ukot-ím-á-k^a
 happy-ABST-COMP-1PL.EXC-REAL-PRF
 Thank you (lit. ‘We have become happy’)!