



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

Smits, H.J.; Smits H.J.

Citation

Smits, H. J. (2017, September 21). *A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan*. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/57165>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/57165>

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

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/57165> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Smits, H.J.

Title: A grammar of Lumun : a Kordofanian language of Sudan

Issue Date: 2017-09-21

15. čĭk ‘place(s)’: noun and grammaticalizations

There is a noun **čĭk** ‘place(s)’, functioning as a common noun, and there are grammaticalizations of this noun. I distinguish two grammaticalizations: 1) a “vague-reference” particle **čĭk** and 2) a pragmatic marker **čĭk-** ‘just, exactly’ which is proclitic to locative constituents.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the noun **čĭk** ‘place(s)’, then the “vague-reference particle” **čĭk**, then the locative proclitic **čĭk-**. I’ll end with a few remarks on the lexical item **ɲčĭk**.

15.1. The noun **čĭk** ‘place(s)’

čĭk ‘place(s)’ functions as a regular noun. It can have modifiers agreeing with it (first and second example below), and it can function as subject (first example), object (second example), or be preceded by a prepositional proclitic (third example).

čĭk **éɲ-c-í** **c-ś-tuk**
 place DEM-C-NEARSP C-of-dog

this is the place of the dog (the place where the dogs always stays, for example in a corner of the compound)

a-áppó **śt-í.at** **čĭk** **c-ɔnnókkwakɔt.e** **appĭk**
 CONJ-Tocho IT:DEPINCOMPL-find:DEPPRFV place C-be_closed.PLUR:COMPL all

and the Tocho found all places closed (fr. written story)

ul **w-ɔ-nɔ-čĭk** **ɪ-c-ɔnó** **kəɾan** **itti** **ɬáɾu**
 people C-of-on-place RES-C-have name that ɬaɾu

people of the place which is called ɬaɾu

čĭk ‘place(s)’ can often be replaced by the more commonly used noun **kaɾən/aɾən** ‘place’:

ɔ-kín **ɬ-akkakáɬe** **nɔ-čĭk** **ɪ-c-éllá** **tácó nán**
 PERS-3A C-come:PST on-place RES-C-not_have:INCOMPL grass on:ABS

they came to a place where there was no grass (which does not have grass on it)

ɔ-kín **t-akkakáɛ** **nɔ-kaɾən** **í-k-éllá** **tácó** **nán**
PERS-3A C-come:PST on-place RES-C-not_have:INCOMPL grass on:ABS

they came to a place where there was no grass (which does not have grass on it)

cĩk can be directly preceded by **ń-** in its reading ‘(away) from’, which is only possible for locative constituents (see 16.5):

ámmá **w-és.t** **ana** **w-íɔt** **ól** **ɲ-cĩk** **áppík**
if PRO.C-go:COMPL and PRO.C-find:INCOMPL people with-place all

when they go they will find people from everywhere (i.e. from all places) (fr. written story)

Unlike **cĩk** ‘place’, **kaɾən/ɹɹən** ‘place(s)’ cannot be immediately preceded by **ń-** expressing ‘from’. In order for **ń-** to express ‘from’, a PPC must precede **kaɾən/ɹɹən** turning it into a locative phrase first:

ámmá **w-és.t** **ana** **w-íɔt** **ól** **n-n-ɹɹən** **appík**
if PRO.C-go:COMPL and PRO.C-find:INCOMPL people with-on-places all

and when they go (lit.: have gone) they find people from all places

cĩk relates here paradigmatically to the prepositional phrase **n-ɹɹên** ‘on places’, not to the noun. The reference of **cĩk** seems somewhat more abstract than the reference of **(k)ɹɹən**. The translation ‘everywhere’ versus ‘from all places’) tries to reflect this.

cĩk lacks a singular/plural opposition, but can have singular or plural reference, as shown in the example with **ń-** interpreted as ‘from’. It has also plural reference in the earlier given example about the Tocho, as can be seen from the Pluractional verb modifying **cĩk**. Replacement of **cĩk** in this clause is by the plural noun **ɹɹən**:

a-áppó **óɹí.at** **ɹɹən** **w-ɔnnókkwakɔɹ.ɛ** **appík**
CONJ-Tocho find:DEPPRFV places C-be_closed.PLUR:COMPL all

and the Tocho found that all places were closed

In the examples below, the English translations have an expletive subject where Lumun has **cĩk**. Replacement by **kaɾən** is not possible

here. Though perhaps slightly vaguer, the reference of **čĭk** is still close to the notion of ‘place’ or also ‘time’:

m-p-əkɪɾá.t **ana** **čĭk** **c-a.ɪk** **c-íɾimat**
 1-become_tired:COMPL and place C-be:PR C-become_dark:INCOMPL

I am tired and it is getting dark (i.e.: the place is getting dark)

čĭk **c-ǎnn-óká** **c-áŋkə** **ɪppa** **nə.ppan-ĩ**
 place C-NEG-be:DEPCOMPL C-be_hot:INCOMPL hotly inside-Q

is it not terribly hot inside? (i.e.: is the place not terribly hot inside?)

čĭk **c-εó.t** **ana** **m-p-əkɪɾá.t**
 place C-go:COMPL and 1-C-become_tired:COMPL

it is late and I am tired (lit.: the time has gone)

Unlike English expletive ‘it’, **čĭk** cannot be used in other contexts. For example, English ‘it is raining’ does not make use of **čĭk** in Lumun, but is expressed as **kaɾɪk kaɾɪk káɾə** ‘the rain is falling’. I therefore regard the sentences above as containing the noun **čĭk** ‘place(s)’, not the vague reference particle.

15.2. The vague-reference particle **čĭk**

Morpho-phonologically and tonally, the vague-reference particle deviates from the noun. The particle will be referred to as ‘VREF **čĭk**’.

*Morpho-phonology and tone of VREF **čĭk***

After a vowel-final verb (or adjective) the initial consonant of VREF **čĭk** can be articulated as a soft palatal fricative, which is regular, but it can also be entirely omitted, which is not regular. The latter realization is represented below:

mpallá čĭk	‘I will sweep’	[mbal:á-ɪkʰ]
mpaɾəkó čĭk	‘I will eat’	[mbaɾʰəpó-ɪkʰ]
ɔɾəkʊ čĭk	‘eat!’	[ɔɾʰəpʊ-ɪkʰ]
mpɔɾəkəkáɾɛ čĭk	‘I ate’	[mbɔɾʰəkáɾɛ-ɪkʰ]

In case of adjacent **r**’s a small glide is inserted after **r**:

ikkɪ cɪk ‘sit down!’ [ɪkɪ-ɭɪkʰ]

Elision of **c** is particularly common in frequently occurring items, such as **ɔkák cɪk** ‘be’ and **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’. In the Present of ‘be’, **c-áɪk**, **c** can no longer be realized. Its remnant (**ɪk**) has become a fixed part of the verb.

Tone

The particle is tonally irregular, as will be exemplified below. Because of this, I represent it without tone. The absence of tone marking does not imply that I regard it as a low-toned item.

In the citation form with the verb, **cɪk** is realized with a low tone, e.g. **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’ and **ɔkák cɪk** ‘be’. In the case of **ikkɔ cɪk** this is unexpected, since the incomplete TAM-stem **ikkɔ** has a floating high tone. It may, however, point at a rising tone, since, in final position a rising tone may be realized low (see 3.2.2). In other environments, **cɪk** can receive a high tone from a preceding element (resulting in a prepausal falling tone). This is compatible only with a low tone:

ɔ-kakká p-ɪcéɣ.ɛ ɔ-lótti cɪk
PERS-Kakka c-lay_down:COMPL PERS-Lótti VREF

Kakka has laid Lótti down

pɔɣɔpé p-ɔɣɛ cɪk
bird c-red VREF

the bird is reddish

Apart from cases like afore-mentioned **ikkɔ cɪk** ‘sit, stay’, there are other cases in which **cɪk** does not receive a high tone from a preceding verb with floating high tone. For example:

k-kw-ɔɣɔɣ-ín ɔɣákka itti á-ɪmma cɪk
3-c-send:COMPL-O1 become:DEPINCOMPL that SUBJ-(2-)see:DEPINCOMPL VREF

he sent me so that you will be able to see (Acts 9:17)

čík itself brings a high tone to a following element. The high tone on **akká** comes from **čík**:

ɔ-kín t̩-á-ík t̩-íkkɔt pól čík ákka p-óŋó
PERS-3A C-be-VREF C-sit_up_with:INCOMPL person VREF that C-sick

they sit up with the man because he is ill

čík modifying an adjective can have a prepausal falling tone, as shown above, but also a prepausal high tone:

ɔ-paŋ ɪ-p-ópaɪ ɪ-p-ótte čík
PERS-sibling RES-C-female RES-C-small VREF

the youngest sister (i.e. the youngest of three or more sisters)

There is no underlying tone pattern that can account for all these different tonal realizations. I therefore represent VREF **čík** without tone.

Environments of VREF čík

VREF **čík** occurs in two environments:

- in combination with a verb;
- in combination with an adjective.

In combination with a verb, three types can be distinguished:

1. **čík** as fixed part of the verb, functioning as part of the verbal lexeme. These combinations typically have lexicalized semantics as compared to the verb without it, but a notion of ‘place’ (or ‘time’) can often still be recognized;
2. In combination with certain transitive verbs with which an object is expected, **čík** functions as a non-referential element that marks that the verb is used without object;
3. In combination with verbs which are expected to co-occur with a locative constituent, **čík** functions as a non-referential element that changes the focus of the clause (that is, the part which is understood as the main new information) from the locative

constituent to the verb itself. There can still be a locative constituent in the clause, but this constituent is now somewhat more “backgrounded”.

In combination with an adjective **ɕɪk** functions as a modifier. It tends to make the reference of the adjective somewhat vaguer, semantically comparable to the English suffix ‘-ish’. In one case it makes the reference more precise or absolute. Only a few adjectives can co-occur with **ɕɪk**.

Whether or not a verb or adjective can or must co-occur with **ɕɪk** is lexically determined. In fact, with verbs, the boundary between **ɕɪk** as common noun denoting ‘place’ and **ɕɪk** as VREF particle is not always so clear-cut.

15.2.1. **ɕɪk** as part of the verbal lexeme

In several cases, **ɕɪk** is part of the verbal lexeme. Next to a verb with **ɕɪk** there is often a verb without it, and the verb with **ɕɪk** has acquired lexicalized semantics. A notion of ‘place(s)’ (or time) can in several cases still be recognized, but synchronically **ɕɪk** as fixed part of the verb is better regarded as VREF particle, also because it is tonally different from the noun. **ɕɪk** as part of the noun can paradigmatically relate to different constituents. Some examples with **ɕɪk** paradigmatically relating to an object of the verb without it follow here:

ɕllâ ‘wipe (something) away’
 ɕllá ɕɪk ‘sweep’ (combines with a locative phrase, not an object)

ɕccô ‘take, receive (something)’
 ɕccó ɕɪk ‘be late’ (lit.: take time)

m-p-ɕccó.t kəran ittĩ ...
 1-C-receive:COMPL name that

I have received the name ... (my name is ...)

m-p-əccó.t **čik** ...

1-C-receive:COMPL VREF

I am late

In other cases, **čik** paradigmatically relates to a locative phrase:

əkkó 'pass' (typically followed by a locative phrase)

əkkó čik 'be/remain alive, survive'

m-p-a.kkə **ɪ-kaɬəɾ**

1-C-pass:INCOMPL in-road

I will pass through the road

m-p-a.kkó **čik**

1-C-pass:INCOMPL VREF

I will survive

In again other cases, the counterpart without **čik** is an intransitive verb, which can easily occur alone. Note in the third example that the verb with **čik** has the locative-applicative **t**, but not its counterpart without it.

ɨrrə 'jump, fly'

ɨrrə čik 'bow'

aŋkə 'be hot, boil' (INTR.)

aŋkə čik 'be silent'

ura 'escape'

urat čik 'become lost'

The following verb with **čik** is a passive derivation, relating to a transitive verb without it. Compare:

əkúccət 'prepare (something)'

əkúccəttat 'be prepared' (by somebody)

əkúccəkət čik 'be ready, be prepared' (by one's own doing)

In a few cases the verbs with and the verb without it have developed quite different semantics (assuming that there is a relationship, which is actually not certain):

ɪt ‘find’
ɪt cɪk ‘disappear’

ɪkkə ‘may’
ɪkkə cɪk ‘sit, stay’

Finally, some verbs with **cɪk** have no counterpart without it:

ɪntat cɪk ‘disappear’
ɔccɔ́kkət cɪk ‘get leprosy’

cɪk as part of the verbal lexeme does not always immediately follow the verb. In derivations of verbs with increased valency the added object comes between the verb and **cɪk**. Compare the two examples below. In the second, which was given earlier in this chapter but is repeated here, the verb **ɪkkə cɪk** has the locative-applicative derivation (**t**) which introduces an extra argument (**pól**). This argument comes before **cɪk**.

ɔ-kín **ɥ-á.ík** **ɥ-íkkə** **cɪk** **ɪ-cuɾé** **c-ɔ-pira**
PERS-3A C-be:PR C-sit:INCOMPL VREF in-buttock C-of-tree

they are sitting under the tree

ɔ-kín **ɥ-á.ík** **ɥ-íkkət** **pól** **cɪk** **ákka** **p-óŋó**
PERS-3A C-be:PR C-sit_up_with:INCOMPL person VREF that C-sick

they sit up with the man because he is ill

15.2.2. **cɪk** marking the absence of an expected object

With transitive verbs, the absence of an overt object establishes object reference to something or someone mentioned earlier in the text or otherwise understood from the context. In combination with some verbs with which an object is expected, the vague reference particle **cɪk** marks that the verb is used without an object.

Compare the following three examples with **ma** ‘know’, and also the next three with **ɔɾəkɔ̌** ‘eat’:

kəllán **k-ma** **lón** **l-əppót**
 old_woman C-know:INCOMPL words C-many
 the old woman knows many things

kəllán **k-má**
 old_woman C-know:INCOMPL
 the old woman knows it / these things

kəllán **k-ma** **ĉik**
 old_woman C-know:INCOMPL VREF
 the old woman is wise

m-p-a.ik **p-a.ɾəkɔ̌** **pa-p-əɾek**
 1-C-BE:PR C-eat:INCOMPL thing-C-some
 I am eating something

m-p-a.ik **p-a.ɾəkɔ̌**
 1-C-BE:PR C-eat:INCOMPL
 I am eating it

m-p-a.ik **p-a.ɾəkɔ̌** **ĉik**
 1-C-BE:PR C-eat:INCOMPL VREF
 I am eating

The verb **mma** ‘see’ implies an object. With **ĉik**, **mma** refers to the ability to see, as opposed to being blind (whether literally or metaphorically):

k-kw-óttjɔ̌-ín **óttəkka** **itti** **á-mma** **ĉik**
 3-C-send:COMPL-O1 become:DEPINCOMPL that SUBJ-(2-)see:DEPINCOMPL VREF
 he sent me so that you will be able to see (Acts 9:17)

ĉik is not used for substitution of an argument that is introduced through the (valency-increasing) application of a Benefactive or Causative derivation. These derivations imply the presence of a beneficiary or a causee, respectively – whether overtly mentioned or

understood from the context. In such cases the use of **ɕɪk** marking that the verb lacks this additional object would be contradictory to the application of the derivation. The second object in these derivations (the object required by the non-derived verb), however, can be replaced by **ɕɪk**. An example:

k-kw-ímmíɛ.t **pul** **ɕɪk**
 3-C-make_{see}:COMPL person VREF

s/he made the person see (the person was blind before)

Some verbs which can take an object can also be used alone. These verbs typically have a certain object by default. An example is **ɛrɛ** ‘speak’. Its default object **lon** ‘words’ can, but needs not be mentioned:

k-kw-á-ík **p-éɛ**
 3-C-be-VREF C-speak:DEPINCOMPL

s/he is speaking

Other examples are **ɔrâ** ‘cultivate’ and **ɔkákɔ** ‘grind’. **ɔrâ** can be combined with different objects (for example onions, tobacco), but its object by default is **mɪl** ‘sorghum’. **mɪl** is also the default object of **ɔkákɔ**, though other things can be ground, particularly also **məkəl** ‘sesame’. With both verbs **mɪl** can be explicitly mentioned, but also left out: in the latter case it is still understood as the object. Several examples of **ɔrâ** can be found in ‘The story of the jackal’. The animals cultivate in that story, but what they cultivate (sorghum) is, throughout the story, never explicitly mentioned.

... **a-kɪn** **ɔrâ**
 CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL

and they cultivated (the usual crop, namely sorghum) (‘The story of the jackal’)

ɔrâ can also take the noun **ɕɪk** ‘place(s)’ as object. **ɔrá ɕɪk** does not mean ‘cultivate’ (the action alone), but ‘cultivate the piece of land’:

... **a-kin** **ɔrá** **ɕik**
 CONJ.PERS-3A cultivate:DEPINCOMPL place

and they cultivated the piece of land

15.2.3. **ɕik** marking the absence of an expected locative constituent

Locative ‘be’ (**ɔká**) co-occurs with a locative constituent. When VREF **ɕik** replaces the locative constituent, **ɔká** takes on an existential reading. Compare the following examples:

pól **p-ɔ-nɔppət** **p-ɔká.t** **ɪ-pírâ**
 person C-of-Nɔppət C-be:COMPL in-tree

the person of Nɔppət was in the forest

pól **p-ɔ-nɔppət** **p-ɔká.t** **ɕik**
 person C-of-Nɔppət C-be:COMPL VREF

the person of Nɔppət existed

***pól** **p-ɔ-nɔppət** **p-ɔká.t**
 person C-of-Nɔppət C-be:COMPL

In the following clause with the Past TAM of **ɔká** ‘be’ **ɕik** gives an existential reading of the verb (first example below). Here, however, **ɕik** can also be absent. In that case, ‘be’ rather functions as a copular verb, with the clause introduced by **ámakka** as the predicate complement of the copula (second example below):

ɛl-l-ɪ **l-ɔka.káɛ** **ɕik** **ámakka** **pól** **p-ɪɛ.t**
 DEM-C-NEARSP C-be:PST VREF like person C-say:COMPL

these things happened just like the man had said

ɛl-l-ɪ **l-ɔka.káɛ** **ámakka** **pól** **p-ɪɛ.t**
 DEM-C-NEARSP C-be:PST like person C-say:COMPL

these things happened just like the man had said

In chapter 12 on verbal inflection it was shown that the auxiliary verb ‘be’ can also be combined with **ɕik**. For example, TAMs expressing continuous action typically have **ɕik**. They draw the hearer’s attention towards the action having some duration:

kəllán **k-əká.t** **cɪk** **a-k-ɔkəttaccé-k**
 old_woman C-be:COMPL VREF CONJ-C-watch:INCOMPL-O3

the old woman was watching him / the old woman was there, watching him

In some cases, there seems to be a pragmatic difference between absence and presence of **cɪk** in combination with **əkâ**. Compare the following examples. The first, with **cɪk**, is a general (unsolicited) piece of information, the second a confirmative answer:

ṭ-əkwarəttikət **kápík** **ṭ-á.ká** **cɪk** **nó-kamotǽ**
 NOM-remember.PLUR God C-be:INCOMPL VREF on-celebration

there will be remembering God at the celebration (general information about what will happen at the (Christmas) celebration) (fr. written essay)

ṭ-əkwarəttikət **kápík** **ṭ-á.ká** **nə-kamotǽ**
 NOM-remember.PLUR God C-be:INCOMPL on-celebration

remembering God will be there at the celebration (answer to the question if God will be remembered at the celebration)

ɔɾɔ ‘land, alight’ is another verb that must co-occur with a locative constituent but can take **cɪk** instead:

puɾupé **p-ɔɾɔ.t** **nə-pirâ**
 bird C-land:COMPL on-tree

the bird has alighted in the tree

puɾupé **p-ɔɾɔ.t** **cɪk**
 bird C-land:COMPL VREF

the bird has alighted

Unlike Benefactives and Causatives, productively applied Locative-applicative derivations can take VREF **cɪk**. Apart from conveying an awareness that there is a spatial component to the action, there seems to be no difference between a clause with underived verb and a clause with derived Locative-applicative and **cɪk**. Compare the following examples with **ɔɾɪa** ‘become red, ripe’ (the first) and its Locative applicative derivation **ɔɾɪat** ‘become red, ripe at’ (the second and third). **nə-pirâ** ‘on the tree’ is replaced by **cɪk**:

aɾəpʊ w-ɔɾiá.t 'the fruits have become ripe'
aɾəpʊ w-ɔɾiá.ɬe nɔ-pirâ 'the fruits have become ripe on the tree'
aɾəpʊ w-ɔɾiá.ɬe cik 'the fruits have become ripe'

The next examples contrast the transitive verbs **utte** 'vomit' and **uttet cik** 'vomit at'. The third example contains a spatial notion though it remains unspecified.

ʊkʊl w-a.ik w-útte **ɬɔɾít**
 child C-be:PR C-vomit:INCOMPL food
 the child is vomiting the food

ʊkʊl w-a.ik w-úttet **ɬɔɾít** **nɔ-capó**
 child C-be:PR C-vomit_at:INCOMPL food on-ground
 the child is vomiting the food on the ground

ʊkʊl w-a.ik w-úttet **ɬɔɾít** **cik**
 child C-be:PR C-vomit_at:INCOMPL food VREF
 the child is vomiting the food

The content of the stomach is the object of **utte** understood by default. This means that the verb can be used without object and that the object cannot be replaced by **cik**.

ʊkʊl w-a.ik w-útte
 child C-be:PR C-vomit:INCOMPL
 the child is vomiting

***ʊkʊl w-a.ik w-útte cik**
 child C-be:PR C-vomit:INCOMPL VREF
 the child is vomiting

Whether or not verbs allow for replacement of the object or a locative constituent by **cik** is lexically determined.

15.2.4. **ci**k modifying adjectives

As mentioned in chapter 10 on adjectives, certain colours can be combined with **ci**k. Colours with **ci**k refer to a resembling colour. In such cases, **ci**k paradigmatically relates to adverbs. Compare:

puʒu**pe** **p-ɔ**ʒe **iti**ʔŋ
bird C-red very

the bird is very red

puʒu**pe** **p-ɔ**ʒe **ci**k
bird C-red VREF

the bird is reddish

cik can also be combined with at least some verbs related to colour terms, for example with **u**pu**ka** ‘become white’, which is related to the adjective C-**ip**ok ‘white’:

pul **i-p-ɔ**ká.t **p-u**pu**ká**ʔ.ε **ci**k
person RES-C-be:COMPL C-become_white_at:COMPL VREF

a man who was whitish (for example from disease)

ɔttê / **ɔ**ttê ‘small’ is another adjective that can be collocated with **ci**k. In this case, **ci**k makes the adjective more precise or absolute. The combination with **ci**k refers only to the youngest sibling. Compare:

ɔ-paŋ **i-p-ɔ**paŋi **i-p-ɔ**tte
PERS-sibling RES-C-female RES-C-small

a small sister / a younger sister (i.e. the youngest of two sisters, or a younger, but not the youngest in a family with more sisters)

ɔ-paŋ **i-p-ɔ**paŋi **i-p-ɔ**tte **ci**k
PERS-sibling RES-C-female RES-C-small VREF

the youngest sister

In the next example, the sentence in which **ci**k is absent expresses that the person is still relatively young (for a certain purpose, for example for marriage). The second sentence, with **ci**k, makes a statement in a more absolute sense: ‘s/he is still a child’.

k-kw-árə̀tək **p-ə̀ttê**
 3-c-be_still c-small

s/he is still young (implication for example: she can still get married)

k-kw-árə̀tək **p-ə̀ttê** **čík**
 3-c-be_still c-small VREF

s/he is still a child

p-ə̀ttê 'small' forms part of the expression **papə̀ttê** 'a little, a little time', which derives from **papə̀** **pə̀ttê** 'small thing'. **papə̀ttê** can be used with and without **čík**. In the first example below, without **čík**, it denotes a period of time of short duration. In the second, with **čík**, it refers to a moment shortly before (or after) the moment of speech.

m-p-a.ík **p-â.ŋəkə̀** **pá.p.ə̀ttê**
 1-c-be c-rest:INCOMPL short_time

I am resting a little

m-p-aa.t **pá.p.ə̀ttê** **čík**
 1-c-come:COMPL short_time VREF

I just arrived

15.3. Locative proclitic **čík**- 'just, precisely'

Proclitic **čík**- can be attached to a prepositional phrase or a noun with locative semantics. It typically functions as a confirmative particle, expressing that something (indeed) happens or happened on that very spot. The use of proclitic **čík**- presupposes that the place is known (identifiable) for the hearer. Proclitic **čík**- can also be used when the locative constituent is a further precision of a preceding statement or question. Examples will be given after some remarks about morpho-phonological and tonal properties of the proclitic.

*Morpho-phonological and tonal properties of proclitic **čík**-*

The realization of proclitic **čík**- is determined by the initial sound of the word to which it is attached. It assimilates to a following consonant resulting in a (short) voiceless plosive or a short sonorant,

or is realized as a soft fricative/approximant before a vowel: this is all fully regular. For example:

cɪ-nə-pərrɔ́k ‘on the very chair’ (glossed: LOC-on-chair)

The clitic differs from the noun and the vague reference particle when it comes to slow or careful (cut up) speech: the final **k** of the clitic will not be pronounced as [kʰ]. The clitic is either rendered as [cɪ] or, when followed by the positional proclitic **ɪ-**, as [cɪɪ], showing its clitic nature. Before **a** some speakers fully elide **k**:

cɪ-akkómân ‘since (precisely) then’

Proclitic **cɪk-** brings a high tone to a following element, but cannot itself receive a high tone unless through tone bridge, which is compatible with either a rising or a high tone. Unlike the noun **cɪk** it has no prepausal realization. As I do in such cases (see 3.8), I assign it a high tone.

cɪk- procliticizes to locative phrases. Its use assumes that the place is identifiable for the hearer and it tends to convey a sense of ‘precisely’, ‘especially’ or ‘only’ at that place. In the example below, it is assumed that the hearer knows the chair of the speaker:

m-p-a.ɪk	p-ɪkkɔ	cɪk	cɪ-nə-pərrɔ́k	p-m
1-C-be:PR	C-sit:INCOMPL	VREF	LOC-on-chair	C-POSS1

I am sitting on this very chair of mine (in a telephone conversation, the chair is known to the addressee)

The difference between presence and absence of the clitic is generally subtle and can be rather difficult to capture in English translation. ‘Just’, ‘precisely’ or ‘the very’ actually tend to be somewhat too strong.

A typical situation in which **cɪk-** will be used is the following:

ŋ-kw-a.ik p-a.éś karə-ʔa / m-p-a.ik p-a.éś tɔumâŋ /
 2-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL where-QW 1-C-be:PR C-go:INCOMPL Tɔumâŋ

kərən tɔumâŋ / cɪ-ʔ-tɔ-niméri-ŋn
 where Tɔumâŋ / LOC-at.PERS-Nimeri-PL

where are you going? / I am going to Tɔumâŋ / where in Tɔumâŋ? / to Nimeri’s house

Two further examples follow here:

... a-kw-ɪɽikɔ.t cɪ-nɔ-cúɽâŋ
 CONJ-3-tie_at:DEPINCOMPL LOC-on-stick(k.o.)

and she tied it onto the stick (In the story, the stick has already been introduced. **cɪk-** draws extra attention to the ornament being put in place)

arriɽ.ɛ wɛk w-əɽɛk cɪc-cénəkɛt ána w-əɽɛk cɪc-cénəkɛt
 make_cross:IMP leg C-some LOC-there_not_far and C-some LOC-there_not_far

put one foot just there and the other one just there! (the speaker points at the places, the addressee should put his feet precisely at those places) (fr. written story)

cɪk- can be used on a constituent that has a locative role in a certain context, though it lacks prepositional marking or inherently locative semantics. Compare the following examples:

k-kw-ɔkkottá.t círí c-ɔ-wék
 3-C-be_hit:COMPL joint C-of-leg

s/he was hit at the ankle

k-kw-ɔkkottá.t cɪc-círí c-ɔ-wék
 3-C-be_hit:COMPL LOC-joint C-of-leg

s/he was hit precisely at the ankle

The presence of VREF **cɪk** does not stand in the way of addition of **cɪk-** to the locative phrase:

m-p-a.ik p-íkkɔ cɪk cɪc-cənɛ
 1-C-be:PR C-sit:INCOMPL VREF LOC-here

I am sitting right here

ɔ-kín t-ɔɾəkk.áɛ cik ci-nóɾá w-ɔ-káncāŋ
 PERS-3A C-eat:PST VREF LOC-on_top C-of-big_flat_stone

they ate right on the big flat stone (the hearer is assumed to know the stone)

cík- cannot be used before a question word. The knowledge that **cík-** presupposes on the part of the hearer is incompatible with the question word. Compare:

n-t-ɔká.t kárə-tá máí
 2A-C-be:COMPL where-QW just_before

where have you (PL) been just now?

***n-t-ɔká.t cik-kárə-tá máí**
 2A-C-be:COMPL LOC-where-QW just_before

cík- can be proclitic to a temporal prepositional phrase (first example below), but not to every time-adverbial word (third example below):

k-kw-ânn-aŋkət itti k-kw-ítta ci-nə-tupút éñ-t-í
 3-C-NEG-want:DEPCOMPL that 3-C-get_married:INCOMPL LOC-on-year DEM-C-NEARSP

she does not want to get married this year

m-p-aa.t máí
 1-C-come:COMPL just_before

I have just arrived

***m-p-aa.t ci-máí**
 1-C-come:COMPL LOC-just_before

Prepositional **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ can precede locative phrases, expressing ‘from’. In such cases **ń-** comes before proclitic **cík-**:

m-p-ɪcántɛt mɛccɪn ɲ-cík-i-cɪŋkî
 1-C-lie_down_for:PST yesterday with-LOC-in-sun

I slept yesterday from sunrise

m-p-ɪcántɛt mɛccɪn *ci-n.ti-i-cɪŋkî
 1-C-lie_down_for:PST yesterday LOC-from-in-sun

Proclitic **cík-** is a fixed part of the following adverbs:

cɪt.tó.kít ‘firstly, at first’ (< **cík-** + **tó** ‘up at’ + **kít** ‘eyes’)
cɪn.nó.môn ‘firstly, at first’ (< **cík-** + **nó** ‘on’ + ?)
cɪt.tán ‘far, far away’ (< **cík-** + **tán** ‘there’ (see 16.6 and 17.1.2))

Two examples:

ana kɪt k-akkakáɛ cɪt.tó.kít
 and wild_chicken C-come:PST firstly
 and the wild chicken arrived first

ɛɛ kɔɾɪ cɪt.tán
 stab:IMP cry far
 cry out loudly!

15.4. The lexical item **ɲcɪk**

There is an item **ɲcɪk** consisting of prepositional **ń-** ‘with, by, (away) from’ and VREF **cɪk**. It behaves like a single low-toned item, not like clitic **ń-** + another element, since **ń-** cannot receive a high tone, but here it can. **ɲcɪk** is part of fixed lexical combinations. Lacking a clear meaning, but often still containing some notion of ‘place’, I gloss it as a single lexical item ‘from_VREF’. **ɲcɪk** must be distinguished from **ɲ-cík** ‘from place(s)’. An example with **ɲcɪk** is given in chapter 16.5. Some examples with **ɲcɪk** follow here:

ɔkóɛ man jí.cɪk
 make_move_up:DEPINCOMPL house from_VREF
 to make a house rise up from nothing (when the building was started there was nothing)

ɔkóɛ kɪt jí.cɪk
 make_move_up:DEPINCOMPL wild_chicken from_VREF
 to make a wild chicken appear from nothing (typical situation: the chicken could not be seen, you throw something to where you think it is, then it suddenly flies up and appears as if from nowhere).

ŋ-kw-a.kkwín-ǝk kunu ǰ.cɪk
 2-c-hit_for:INCOMPL-O3 ear from_VREF

you fix your ear to him/her (you must listen to him/her carefully. Lit.: you hit for him/her the ear (...). The picture is that somebody holds his ear turned to the sound, concentrating to catch it)

m-p-ǝkwɛɾǝ.t kuŋku ɲ.cɪk
 1-c-graze:COMPL knee from_VREF

I have grazed my knee (through quick contact with a rough place)