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17 Ventive, associated motion and aspect in Jóola Fóóñi (Atlantic)

Abstract: Like the other Atlantic languages for which the relevant information is available, Jóola Fóóñi (aka Diola-Fogny) uses verb morphology to encode deictic orientation of motion events and associated motion. Jóola Fóóñi has a single marker fulfilling these two functions, a verbal suffix with two allomorphs -ʊlɔ and -ul. With motion verbs, this suffix indicates that the motion is oriented towards the deictic center, but in combination with verbs that do not encode movement, it acts as an associated movement marker, with a wide range of possible interpretations. Moreover, it is also used to encode aspectual meanings. This paper describes the uses of this suffix on the basis of a corpus of naturalistic texts.

Keywords: deictic directionals, ventive / centripetal, associated motion, atlantic languages, jóola / diola.

1 Introduction

Jóola Fóóñi (aka Diola-Fogny), spoken in south western Senegal by approximately half a million speakers, belongs to the Bak group of languages included in the Atlantic family.1

The Atlantic languages for which the relevant information is available do not have non-deictic directionals of the type found among others in English (such as back, up, etc.), but use verb morphology to encode deictic directionality and/or associated motion (Voisin 2013, Forthcoming, this volume), and Jóola Fóóñi is no exception.

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1 Jóola languages can be divided into Central Jóola, a dialect continuum within the limits of which it is difficult (if not impossible) to decide what is a language and what is a dialect, and peripheral Jóola varieties whose status as separate languages is hardly disputable, in spite of their close relationship to Central Jóola, such as Karon, Kwaataay, Mulomp-North, or Bayot. Jóola Fóóñi is part of the Central Jóola dialect continuum.

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As discussed by Voisin (this volume), among Atlantic languages, systems similar to that described in this paper are found, not only in the other Jóola varieties, but also in their closest relatives within the Bak branch of Atlantic (Manjaku, Mankanya, Balant), and in the languages of the North branch that are in close contact with Bak languages (Nyun-Buy).

In Jóola Fóoñi, morphological encoding of deictic directionality is restricted to ventive (or centripetal) direction. In contrast to Australian or Amazonian languages having a variety of associated motion markers (see among others Koch 1984, this volume; Wilkins 1991; Guillaume 2016; Rose 2015), Jóola Fóoñi has a single associated motion marker coinciding with the marker encoding ventive (or centripetal) direction with movement verbs. This marker, henceforth designated as ‘VEN marker’, is widely used as an associated motion marker adding a motion component to verbs whose lexical meaning does not imply movement, with a very wide range of possible interpretations. In some cases, the movement implied by the presence of the VEN marker cannot be viewed as really ‘associated’ with the event encoded by the verbal lexeme, and the meaning is rather ‘do something else somewhere than at deictic center’ (sometimes called ‘altrilocative’ or ‘distantiative’). Moreover, as in many other languages, the same VEN marker also has uses in which no movement is implied, and the semantic contribution of the VEN marker must be analyzed as purely aspectual.2

The importance of the uses of the VEN marker other than that of deictic directional with movement verbs follows from the observation that, in our corpus, about 60% of the verbal lexemes occurring in combination with this marker are not movement verbs, and the second most frequent among the verbs attested in combination with the VEN marker (ŋar ‘take’) is not a movement verb.

Example (1) illustrates the use of the VEN marker to encode ventive direction with the movement verb pur ‘get out’; example (2) illustrates its use as an associated motion marker with nɔɔm ‘buy’, example (3) illustrates its ‘do away from here’ use with the verb kʊr ‘educate’, and example (4) illustrates its use as an aspectual marker expressing the meaning ‘development of a process in the direction of some outcome’ in combination with jamɔ ‘be famous’.3

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2 The choice of the label VEN marker does not imply that we analyze the polysemy of this marker as having necessarily developed from an original ventive meaning. This is a possibility, but a scenario of parallel developments from a common lexical source can also be imagined. As will be commented in the conclusion, we leave open the question of the historical scenario responsible for the polysemy pattern we observe in the present state of the language.

3 Our transcription of Jóola Fóoñi differs from the official orthography in the notation of vowels, for which we use the IPA symbols, whereas the official orthography uses the acute accent to distinguish +ATR from −ATR vowels. As regards the consonants, we use the same letters as the
(1) a. Aseɛɛkaw nepu[pur di elu[p ey.
   SG-woman-D-CLa PPF-sI:CLa-get.out-RDPL PREP SG-house-D-CLe
   ‘The woman got out from the house.’ (I was inside)

   b. Aseɛɛkaw nepuru[lopur di elu[p ey.
   SG-woman-D-CLa PPF-sI:CLa-get.out-VEN-RDPL PREP SG-house-D-CLe
   ‘The woman got out from the house.’ (I was outside)

(2) a. Aseɛɛkaw nanɔnnɔɔm siwɔlas.
   A-sɛɛk-a-w n-a-nɔn-nɔɔm sɩ-wɔl-a-s.
   SG-woman-D-CLa PPF-sI:CLa-buy-RDPL PL-fish-D-CLs
   ‘The woman bought fish.’

   b. Aseɛɛkaw nanɔɔmʊlɔnɔɔm siwɔlas.
   A-sɛɛk-a-w n-a-nɔɔm-ulɔ-nɔɔm sɩ-wɔl-a-s.
   SG-woman-D-CLa PPF-sI:CLa-buy-VEN-RDPL PL-fish-D-CLs
   ‘The woman went to buy fish (and came back).’

(3) a. Akʊrʊtɩ.
   A-kʊr-ʊt-ɩ.
   sI:CLa-educate-NEG-PASS
   ‘She has not been well-educated.’

   b. A young bride has left her family to settle in her husband’s house. In her
   new house, she doesn’t behave properly. People say about her:
   Akʊroɓɔtɪ bɑaabɑ siɗeey.
   sI:CLa-educate-VEN-NEG-PASS CLb-DEM-CLb-DIST home-D-CLe
   ‘She has not been well-educated [when she was] there in her family.’

(4) a. Najamɔjamɔ.
   N-a-jamɔ-jamɔ.
   PPF-sI:cla-be.famous-RDPL
   ‘He is famous.’

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official orthography, since the phonetic values of the consonant letters in the official orthography do not depart from those usually found in West African orthographies.
b. *Najamɔulɔjamɔ waataay ṭye.*

\[N-a-jamɔ-ulɔ-jamɔ\] \[waat-t-a-y\] \[v-y-ɛ.\)

PPF-sl:CLA-be.famous-VEN-RDPL time-D-CLe DEM-CLe-PROX

‘His reputation has been increasing lately.’

In previous descriptions of Jóola Fóóñi (Sapir 1965; Hopkins 1995), and more generally in descriptions of Jóola languages, this morpheme has been identified as a ventive marker, but its functions of associated motion marker and aspectual marker have not been clearly acknowledged so far, although descriptions of Jóola languages sometimes provide examples suggesting that the function of the VEN marker is not limited to the expression of orientation towards the deictic center with movement verbs. This is certainly due to the fact that, in elicitation sessions, deictic directionality is much easier to manipulate than associated motion or aspect.

The present paper analyzes the uses of this morpheme on the basis of a corpus of naturalistic texts. All the examples we quote have been extracted from our corpus, with the only exceptions being (1) and (2) above, (5) in section 2.3, and (40) in section 7. As observed by a reviewer, the (almost) exclusive use of examples extracted from the corpus may make reading difficult, but this decision was motivated by a problem we had to face throughout this investigation. The point is that the use of the VEN marker as encoding ventive direction with movement verbs is the only one that speakers identify without hesitation, and about which they express clear judgments. As regards the uses of the VEN marker with non-movement verbs, most of the time, speakers show considerable hesitation about the possible semantic implications of the presence of the VEN marker as opposed to its absence. Moreover, the more we progressed in the study of the VEN marker, the more we became aware that there is considerable ambiguity in its possible meanings with non-movement verbs, and that even the context from which the examples are extracted is often insufficient to solve the ambiguity. In such conditions, it is more prudent to rely as far as possible on naturalistic data found in contexts that make it possible to reconstruct the intended meaning.

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4 The corpus on which the present study is based consists of about twelve hours of recorded naturalistic texts of various genres (narratives, discussions about Jóola tradition, discussions on themes relating to present-day society, procedural texts). Most of the recordings were kindly provided by two local radio stations that have programs in Jóola Fóóñi: Radio Awaña (Bignona) and Chaîne 4 (Ziguinchor). The corpus includes 1,689 occurrences of the VEN marker. The texts were transcribed by Boubacar Sambou (a graduate student in linguistics who is also a native speaker of the language), and then analyzed by Alain Christian Bassène and Denis Creissels with the assistance of Boubacar Sambou.
The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the morphological identity and the morphological properties of the VEN marker of Jóola Fóoñi. Section 3 describes its use as a ventive marker with movement verbs. Section 4 describes its use as an associated motion marker. Section 5 describes the shift from associated motion proper to ‘do elsewhere than at deictic center’. Section 6 discusses the use of the VEN marker as an aspectual marker. Section 7 analyzes the particular case of the verb jok ‘see’. Section 8 summarizes the conclusions. An appendix provides the list of the 20 most frequent verbs occurring in combination with the VEN marker in our corpus.

2  Morphological properties of the VEN marker

--ul / -ʊlɔ

2.1  Morphological structure of the verb forms of Jóola Fóoñi

With the exception of the imperative, in which the 2nd person prefix may optionally be deleted, the verb forms of Jóola Fóoñi consist minimally of a stem and a prefix. The stem may be a root (irreducible lexical element), or a root enlarged by one or more derivational suffixes. According to the nature of the prefix, verb forms can be characterized morphologically as finite or non-finite:

- in finite verb forms, the obligatory prefix preceding the root is a subject index\(^5\) expressing the person (and in the third person, the gender and number)\(^6\) of the subject argument;

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\(^5\) Like most of the languages of Subsaharan Africa, Jóola Fóoñi has a straightforward ‘nominative-accusative’ alignment system making it possible to define a grammatical relation ‘subject’ on the basis of a set of properties shared by A in the basic transitive construction and the sole argument of semantically monovalent verbs. The most obvious of the properties in question is obligatory indexation by means of the same set of verbal prefixes.

\(^6\) In Jóola Fóoñi, each noun form is associated with one of thirteen possible agreement patterns, and genders can be defined as sets of nominal lexemes that are associated with the same agreement pattern both in the singular and the plural. Agreement patterns and genders are designated here by labels that evoke the phonological form of the agreement markers. For example, ‘dog’ as a lexeme belongs to gender E/S, which means that the singular form e-yen ‘dog’ is associated with the agreement pattern E (cf. e-yen e-ceen ‘some dog’), whereas the corresponding plural form si-yen is associated with the agreement pattern S (cf. si-yen si-ceen ‘some dogs’). The term ‘class’ refers to agreement patterns and their characteristic markers.
non-finite verb forms do not include a subject index, and their obligatory prefix characterizes them as belonging to one of the following three types of non-finite forms: infinitive, participle, or converb.

Finite verb forms divide into independent verb forms, having the ability to act as the nucleus of independent clauses in which no noun phrase or adverb is focalized, and relative verb forms, whose use is restricted to relative clauses and clauses in which a noun phrase or adverb is focalized. Independent and relative verb forms have the same prefixes indexing the subject argument (with in particular a zero prefix expressing class D agreement), but differ in the details of their TAM and polarity inflection. In particular, independent verb forms may include TAM markers preceding the subject index, whereas the inflection of relative verb forms is purely suffixal. Moreover, the inflection of relative verb forms includes a special paradigm of three ‘actualizers’ (glossed ACT) that have no equivalent in the inflection of independent verb forms.7

There are, however, verbal suffixes that can be found in verb forms of any of the five sub-types (independent finite verb forms, relative finite verb forms, infinitive, participle, and converb), and that freely combine with all the suffixes involved in TAM-polarity inflection. The VEN marker belongs to this category, alongside with non-subject indexes.

2.2 The position of -ul / -ʊlɔ in relation to the other verbal suffixes

In the independent and relative verb forms of Jóola Fóoñi including one or more TAM-polarity markers and/or indexes suffixed to the stem, TAM-polarity markers and indexes are ordered according to the following template:8

7 The actualizers characterize the event to which the relative verb form refers as irrealis (ACT0), realis (ACT1), or having a close relationship with the time of utterance (ACT2). The ACT2 marker -ñaa results from the grammaticalization of the adverb ñaa ‘now’. In its presence, the incomplete aspect is interpreted as expressing present progressive, and the completive aspect is interpreted as expressing recent past.

8 CPL = completive, hl = human index, ICPL = incompletive, INCL = inclusive, indep. = independent, neg. = negative, NEG = negative marker, nhl = non-human index, NONDUM = suffix found only in combination with the negative marker -ot with the meaning ‘not yet’, pos. = positive, PST = past, RDPL = reduplicative suffix. Note that: (a) NONDUM refers to a morpheme only found in negative verb forms, whose combination with the negative marker in slot 3 expresses ‘not yet’, (b) INCL ‘inclusive’ implies a 1st person plural subject, and (c) the reduplicative suffix
As regards the VEN marker -ul / -ʊlɔ, the general rule is that it immediately follows the stem, preceding the TAM-polarity suffixes and the non-subject indexes. There are however exceptions to this general rule:

- in the positive verb forms including the incompletive suffix -ɛ, the VEN suffix immediately follows the incompletive suffix occupying slot 3, as in e-tye-e-
  uu-ñaa /(CLa)PTCP-run-ICPL-VEN-ACT2/ ‘running towards here’;

- in the negative verb forms expressing the meaning ‘not yet’, the VEN suffix is inserted between the NONDUM marker -ɔɔr (slot 2) and the negative marker -ʊt (slot 3), and the sequence -ɔɔr-ʊlɔ-ʊt surfaces as -ɔɔrulɔɔt, as in ajawɔɔrʊlɔɔt, segmentable as a-jaw-ɔɔr-ʊlɔ-ʊt /sI:CLa-go-NONDUM-VEN-NEG/ ‘he has not come yet’;

- in the relative verb forms including the ‘irrealis’ actualizer -ɛ, the VEN marker may optionally follow the actualizer occupying slot 7, as in ejeeul, segmentable as e-jew-e-ul /(CLa)PTCP-go-ACT0-VEN/ ‘having come’.

2.3 The allomorphs of the VEN marker

The VEN marker of Jóola Fóoñi has two main allomorphs, -ul and -ʊlɔ. No other morpheme of Jóola Fooñi shows a similar allomorphy pattern, and consequently there would be no point in trying to posit a single underlying form and to describe the relationship between -ul and -ʊlɔ in terms of morphophonological processes. By contrast, regular phonological processes explain the existence of several variants for each of the two main allomorphs of the VEN marker: depending on the phonological context, -ul may surface as -ul, -uu, or -u, and -ʊlɔ may surface as -ulo, -ul, -ulɔ, -lo, or -l.

RDPL is an obligatory element of some finite verb forms, but cannot be analyzed as expressing a TAM value by itself.

9 We are aware of no comparative data that could suggest a historical explanation of this situation.
In conformity with the general rules governing ATR harmony, -ul is consistently +ATR, and may spread its +ATR feature to the neighboring formatives, whereas -ʊlɔ undergoes ATR harmony in combination with +ATR roots (as in example (1b) above, where -ʊlɔ surfaces as -ulo), or in the presence of a +ATR suffix.10

As regards the distribution of -ul and -ʊlɔ, the general rule is that the VEN marker occurs as -ul if it is not followed by any other verbal suffix, whereas the presence of another verbal suffix after the VEN marker triggers the choice of -ʊlɔ. There is no variation in this distribution that could be related to differences in the functions fulfilled by -ul / -ʊlɔ.

Interestingly, there is a tendency to use -ul rather than -ʊlɔ when the VEN marker is followed by morphemes whose status as suffixes or enclitics is unclear: the non-human indexes, the hypothetical marker -jaa, sometimes also (but more rarely) the actualizers -mi and -ña. However, the only true exception to the general rule accounting for the distribution of -ul and -ʊlɔ is that, when the VEN marker follows the incompletive marker -e, it invariably occurs as -ul, even if it is followed by other suffixes.

There is also an apparent exception to the distribution of -ul and -ʊlɔ, which, however, can be explained by a rule according to which, as illustrated in (5), two suffixes (the completive marker -ɛ and the ‘irrealis’ actualizer -ɛ) have a zero allomorph in some contexts, in particular (but not only) when they immediately follow the VEN marker.11 Comparison with (5a) shows that, in (5b), the VEN marker is underlyingly followed by the ACT₀ suffix. In this context, ACT₀ is realized as a zero-suffix, but its presence in the underlying string triggers the choice of the -ʊlɔ allomorph of the VEN marker (realized -ulo because of the +ATR feature of the root -riiŋ).

(5) a. biriŋ nan kuriĩŋe taata
   biriŋ n-an ku-riiŋ-e t-aa-t-a
   since CLn-REL sl:CLbk-arrive-ACT₀ CLt-DEM-CLt-DIST
   ‘since they arrived there’

10 In the vowel harmony system of Jóola Fóoni, each morpheme (either root or affix) is lexically specified as +ATR or not. The morphemes underlyingly specified as +ATR (such as the allomorph -ul of the VEN marker) always surface as +ATR, and spread their +ATR feature to the neighboring formatives, whereas the realization of those that lack an underlying ATR specification (such as the allomorph -ʊlɔ) depends on the presence of a morpheme underlyingly specified as +ATR in their neighborhood. The spreading of the +ATR feature operates in both directions, but its precise scope cannot be specified in a straightforward way, since there is some variation depending on elocution speed.

11 The same markers also have a zero variant when they immediately follow a human index.
b. *biriŋ nan kuriŋulo taate*

\[
\text{biriŋ } n\text{-an } \text{kariŋ-ulo } t\text{-aa-tɛ}
\]

since CLn-REL sI:CLbk-arrive-VEN-0 CLt-DEM-CLt-PROX

‘since they arrived here’

### 2.4 The VEN marker -ul / -ulo and the separative suffix -ul

One of the two allomorphs of the VEN marker is homonymous with the separative suffix -ul (sometimes also called ‘inversive’ or ‘reversive’). The separative suffix can be identified in verb pairs such as *kambɛn* ‘close / kəmbul’ ‘open’, *kɔtɛn* ‘glue’ / *kotul* ‘unglue’, *lɔɔp* ‘tie’ / *loopul* ‘untie’. The hypothesis of a historical link between the VEN marker and the separative suffix can be considered, but whatever the historical scenario responsible for this coincidence, synchronically, they must be analyzed as two distinct although partially homonymous morphemes, for several reasons:

- the separative suffix does not show the allomorphy pattern described above for the VEN marker;
- in the morphological structure of verb forms, the VEN marker follows some TAM-polarity suffixes, whereas the separative suffix consistently precedes all TAM-polarity suffixes, which can be viewed as evidence of its derivational status;
- in the forms involving reduplication of the verb stem,\(^{12}\) the separative suffix is repeated, in the same way as the other derivational suffixes, cf. for example *n\text{-e-kemb-ulo-kemb-ul* ‘he opened’; by contrast, in the same tenses, the VEN marker is not repeated, which can be viewed as evidence of its inflectional status, cf. for example *n\text{-e-pur-ulo-pur* ‘he came out’;
- in the infinitive, with monosyllabic stems, the addition of the separative suffix triggers the replacement of the infinitive prefix *ɛ*- (the default infinitive suffix for monosyllabic stems)\(^{13}\) by the infinitive prefix *ka*- (the default infinitive suffix for non-monosyllabic stems), cf. *ɛ-loop* ‘to tie’ / *ka-loop-ul* ‘untie’ whereas the addition of the VEN suffix does not trigger any change in the infinitive prefix, cf. *ɛ-tey* ‘run / e-tey-ul* ‘come running’; this provides addi-

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\(^{12}\) As already mentioned above, the reduplicative suffix is an obligatory element of some finite verb forms, but cannot be analyzed as having a TAM value by itself, since it occurs in completive and incompletive forms as well. What marks the *completive vs. incompletive* distinction is the contrast between the incompletive marker \(-ɛ\) and its absence in a given morphological slot.

\(^{13}\) In Jóola Fóóni, as in other Jóola varieties, several prefixes which are basically number prefixes of nouns can be used with verbal stems as infinitive prefixes, but statistically, the default choice is quite clearly *ɛ*- with monosyllabic stems, and *ka*- with non-monosyllabic stems.
tional evidence of the inflectional status of the VEN suffix, as opposed to the derivational status of the separative suffix.

Moreover, the separative suffix can only be found in a very limited set of verbs (ten or so), and is not productive anymore, whereas the VEN marker is productively used with all semantic kinds of verbs: in the corpus of naturalistic texts used for this study, 165 different verbs are attested in combination with the VEN marker.\(^\text{14}\)

3  -ul / -ʊlɔ as a ventive marker

3.1  -ul / -ʊlɔ combined with movement verbs

With movement verbs, -ul / -ʊlɔ encodes that the movement of the figure is oriented towards the deictic center. As usual in deictic directional systems, in conversation, the deictic center consistently coincides with the location of the conversation, whereas in narration, the choice of the deictic center as evidenced by the use of the VEN marker is very flexible, producing ‘camera effects’ by suggesting the choice of one of the characters as the origin of perspective (Zubin & Hewitt 1995).

Depending on the verbs, the figure may be the referent of the subject (with intransitive verbs expressing spontaneous motion) or the object (with transitive verbs expressing caused motion). In example (6), both possibilities are illustrated by jaw ‘go’ and boñ ‘send’, respectively:

(6) The king’s daughter has been captured by a dragon. A boy has been sent to liberate her. After finding the girl, he tells her:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inje man } & \text{i}ja\text{a'l}ñaa, \text{ paam } i\text{ya } aboñ\text{laam, } naane ijoon \etaari. \\
\text{Inje } & \text{m-an } i\text{-jaa-}b\text{-}ñaa, \text{ paam } i\text{ya} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG CLm-REL } & \text{sI:1SG-go-VEN-FACT2 } \text{father } \text{(CLa)POSS.2SG} \\
\text{a-boñ-}u&\text{laam, } n-aane \text{ i-j}\text{e-u } i\text{-}n\text{ar-}i. \\
\text{sl:CLa-send-VEN-I:1SG } & \text{PPF-sI:CLa.tell } \text{sl:1SG-go-VEN } \text{sl:1SG-take-I:2SG} \\
\text{I who am coming, it’s your father who sent me, he told me to come and take you.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^\text{14}\) The productivity of the VEN marker is confirmed by its ability to combine with verbs borrowed from French, as in (14) below.
In Jóola Fóoñi, morphological expression of the deictic orientation of motion verbs is restricted to ventive orientation. Nothing similar exists for itive orientation, which means that itive orientation constitutes the default interpretation of motion verbs not marked by the suffix -ul / -ʊl in situations where deictic orientation cannot be inferred from the context.

Jóola Fóoñi does not have a verb root meaning ‘come’.15 As illustrated by example (6) above, the language encodes this meaning as jaw ‘go’ plus the VEN marker. In fact, this combination accounts for more than one third of the total number of occurrences of the VEN marker in the corpus (597 out of 1,689). Other movement verbs whose combination with the VEN marker is particularly frequent in the corpus include laaŋ ‘return (intr.)’, riιŋ ‘arrive’, pur ‘go out’, tey ‘run’, and their causative derivatives (laaŋɛn ‘return (tr.)’, etc.).

Examples (7) to (10) provide additional illustrations of the VEN marker encoding ventive direction with movement verbs.

(7) Hyena and Hare are in their field. They see Ground Squirrel running towards them. Hare says to Hyena:

\[
\text{Jɐmunuŋo, Jɐmɐɐp ɐ-tey-e-uuñaa n-aanɛ b'ɛɛtɛk bʊtʊmab bɩɩya b-a-ɛ-m.}
\]

Hyena Ground Squirrel (CLa)PTCP-run-ICPL-VEN-ACT₂ PPF-sI:CLa.say 
bee e-tek bo-tom-a-b b-uyə b-a-rɩ-ɛ-m. 
DIR INF-hit SG-mouth-D-CLB CLb-POSS.i:2SG CLb-PTCP-ache -ICPL-ACT₁
‘Hyena, Ground Squirrel who is running towards us said he is going to hit your mouth which is aching.’

(8) Dog and Hyena are collecting honey. Dog has climbed a tree, he is filling the pot with honey, while Hyena has remained under the tree. Hyena says to Dog:

\[
\text{Kɐrumbɐ-ɐk kʊ-mɛm-mɛɛŋ, naa u-wəloul m'ʊʊjaal!}
\]

Ke-rumbe-ek ku-mem-meen, nəaa u-welo-ul 
SG-pot-D-CLk sl:CLk-be.full-RDPL now sl:2SG-go.down-VEN 
man u-ja-al. 
CSC sl:1PL-go-INCL
‘The pot is full, now come down and let’s go!’

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15 An entry bil ‘come’ can be found in Sapir & al.’s (1993) dictionary of Jóola Fóoñi, without further details, but in our corpus, bil is exclusively used in combination with other verbs as an aspectual auxiliary. In other Central Jóola varieties, for example, in the Kaasa variety described by P.M. Sambou (1979: 186), bil occurs independently as a movement verb meaning ‘come’, but this is not the case in the Fóoñi variety described in the present article.
A woman is pounding. A bird comes flying and drops something in her mortar. The woman says to her neighbor:

\[ \text{Jɩcɛr ɛsoa-a-y m-an e-far- ulb- ɲaa salte-a-y yumbɐ!} \]

‘Look at the bird, how it threw some dirty thing into my flour!’

(from a text about malaria transmission and prophylaxis)

\[ \text{Mʊmɛlam mamɛcɛnam muñɐkeuuñɐ bawɔlab.} \]

‘Dirty water attracts mosquitos.’

### 3.2 -ul / -ulb and abstract motion

The etymology of light verb compounds such as French \textit{jeter son regard sur} lit. ‘throw one’s gaze on’ > ‘have a look at’ or English \textit{give a ring to} constitutes a decisive proof that some events that do not involve physical movement or transfer of a concrete entity can be conceptualized as involving a kind of abstract (or fictive) motion or transfer, and the notion of abstract motion may also prove useful in the analysis of deictic directionals.\(^{16}\)

In the Jóola Fóóni corpus, the notion of abstract motion accounts in particular for the use of the VEN marker with \textit{wonk} ‘call’ in the sense of ‘do a phone call’: in (11), there is no overt indication of first person, but \textit{wonk-ul} is interpreted as ‘give us a ring’.

\(^{16}\) On fictive motion, see Vidal & Payne (this volume), Kawachi (this volume), Belkadi (this volume) and references therein.
(11) (announcement made by the host of a radio show)

Anɔɔsan amaŋʊm b’eewonkuley, nɐwonkuu di nʊmɛr oye yalakɔm 339911048.

Anɔɔsan a-maŋ-ʊ-m bɛɛ e-wonk-ul-e-y,
(CLa)DISTR sI:CLa-want-EP-ACT, DIR- INF-call-VEN-D-CLe
n-e-wonk-uu di nʊmɛr o-y-ɛ
PPF-sI:CLa-call-VEN PREP number DEM-CLe-PROX
y-a-lakɔ-m 339911048.
CLE-PTCP-be-ACT, 339911048

‘Any person who wants to call us, they may call the following number: 339911048.’

The notion of abstract motion can also be invoked to explain the use of pur-ul, ventive form of pur ‘get out’, in the sense of ‘become’. As illustrated in example (1) at the beginning of the present paper, the VEN marker combined with pur ‘get out’ may carry its basic meaning of ventive orientation with reference to physical movement, but the same combination is also found with the meaning ‘become’, without any idea of physical movement, as in example (12).

(12) Dɩ kʊñɩɩlak kɔɔla, babaj añɩɩl ɐpurulo alʊñoora.

Dɩ kʊ-ñɩɩl-a-k k-ɔɔl-a, ba-baj a-ñɩɩl
PREP PL-child-D-CLbk CLbk-POSS-I:CLa (sI:CLd)have-RDPL SG-child
v-pur-ulo a-loñɔɔra.
(CLa)PTCP-go.out-VEN(ACT,0) SG-hunter

‘Among his children, there is one who became a hunter.’

The co-lexification of ‘get out’ and ‘become’, cross-linguistically common, can be explained by viewing ‘become’ as a kind of abstract movement (i.e. a metaphorical extension of ‘get out’ to the expression of transition from a former state to a new one). In the case of Jóola Fóoñi, the use of the VEN marker in this metaphorical extension of ‘get out’ can be viewed as motivated by the fact that the present state of the world (as opposed to previous states) is construed as the deictic center.17

The same explanation can be considered for the use of the VEN marker with cere ‘create’ (borrowed from French) in example (13), since ‘create’ can be paraphrased as ‘make come into existence’.

17 Note that this is also consistent with the etymology of English be-come or French de-venir.
The notion of abstract motion also accounts for the possibility of using jicer-ul (from jicer ‘look’) with the meaning ‘look towards the deictic center’. This possibility is not attested in the corpus, but was confirmed in elicitation.

4 -ul / -ulɔ as an associated motion marker

4.1 Introductory remarks

As already illustrated by example (2), in addition to its use as a ventive directional marker with movement verbs, -ul / -ulɔ is productively used as an associated motion marker with verbs whose lexical meaning does not imply movement. In the use of the VEN marker as an associated motion marker, the movement it refers to is always performed by the referent of the subject, regardless of the transitive vs. intransitive distinction.

The temporal relationship between the event denoted by the verbal lexeme and the associated motion is very flexible.

4.2 ‘Do and come’, ‘do while coming’, ‘come and do’

In many occurrences of the VEN marker with non-motion verbs, it is clear from the context that the movement associated to the event encoded by the verbal lexeme is a one-way trip (i.e. a movement whose destination does not coincide with the point of departure) whose destination is the deictic center. The event may occur at any point of the path: it may coincide with the departure (subsequent motion), or with the arrival (prior motion), and it may also occur at some point in between (concurrent motion). (14) illustrates the possibility that the transitive verb event ‘leave (something)’ coincides with the departure.18

18 kat is the equivalent of French ‘laisser’ or Spanish ‘dejar’, and corresponds only to the non-motion meaning of English ‘leave’.
(14) An old woman is providing advice to a young bride who has just arrived at her husband’s place:

_Wan okatolbm dee paam uya, wɔɔ ɔkaawɔbo!_  
\[W-an \ ɔ-kat-\text{ulb}-m \ \text{dee \ paam \ uya, \ w-ɔɔ} \]

CLu-REL sl:2SG-leave-VEN-ACT, LOC father (CLa)POSS.I:2SG CLu-PRO  
\[ɔ-kaa-wo-ɔbo! \]

sl:2SG-leave-I:CLu-I:CLb  
‘What you left [behind you] when leaving your father’s place, forget it!’  
(lit. ‘... leave it there!’)

In (15), the same verb _kat_ ‘leave’ refers to an event occurring at some point during a journey whose destination is the deictic center.

(15) Samba and Maaria have fled their village. During the journey, under the effect of witchcraft, Samba forgets the existence of Maaria and leaves her. He arrives alone in another village where he settles. Later in the same village, a rooster is engaging sexual intercourse with a hen, and the hen says:

_Tam ʊkaan nɛn Samba akatolbm Maarɩa dɩ karambaak!_  
\[Tamʊ-kaan \ nɛn \ Samba \ a-kat-ʊlɔ \ Maarɩa \ dɩ \ ka-ramba-a-k. \]

PROH sl:2SG-do like Samba (CLa)PTCP-leave-VEN-ACT, Maaria  
PREP SG-bush-D-CLk  
‘Don’t do like Samba who left Maaria in the bush!’

This configuration is particularly frequent in the narrative texts of our corpus. Examples (16) and (17) provide further illustrations.

(16) Two strangers arrive in a village. They look for a woman for whom they have a message. They say to her:

_Babaj eniine an oy añɔɔrulb di karambaak, naane ataï._  
\[Ba-baj \ eniine \ an \ oy-yaɲɔɔr-ulb \ di \]

(sI:ClD)have-RDPL SG-man (CLa)REL sl:1PL-meet-VEN(ACT,0) PREP  
\[ka-ramba-a-k, \ n-aane \ a-ta-ti. \]

SG-bush-D-CLk PPF-sl:CLa.say SG-husband-I:2SG  
‘There’s a man we met in the bush, he said he was your husband.’
Later in the same story, the woman becomes aware that her husband was killed by the two strangers. She says:

\[ Ataɔm, \textit{jibojolɔɔbuj \text{di} boŋarab}. \]

\[ A-ta-ɔm, jɩ-bʊj-ʊl-ɔɔ-bʊj \text{di} bo-ŋar-a-b. \]


‘My husband, you killed him on the way.’

In the corpus, coincidence between the event and the arrival at deictic center is mainly attested with \textit{tɔɔk} ‘find’. As illustrated by (18) and (19), depending on the context, \textit{tookul} can be interpreted either as ‘come in search of’, ‘come to visit’ or as ‘find upon arrival’.

The mother of a boy complains that nowadays girls are not ashamed to chase after boys, and even to go to their parents’ place to harass them:

\[ Añɩɩlaw iyaa anaaraaw e̓tokuuijaajaa añɩɩlaw umbe eniineɛɛw, nɛɛɛɛɛɛ. \]

\[ A-ñɩɩl-a-w ɩɩya a-naarɛ-a-w ɐ-took-uul-jaa \]


SG-child-D-CLA (CLA)POSS.I:1SG CLa-male-D-CLa PPF-sl:1SG-drive.out-I:CLA

‘If your daughter comes to visit my son, I’ll drive her out.’

(When they marry, women leave their family’s home and settle in the house of their husband’s family)

\[ kʊbɛtɩ kan ʊtɔɔkʊlɔdo \text{di} e̓toupej mbaa katɔɔkʊlɛm. \]

\[ kʊ-bɛ-t-ɩ k-an o-tɔɔk-ʊl-ɛdo \text{di} \]


SG-house-D-CLe or CLbk-PTCP-find-VEN-I:2SG-ACT1-I:CLd’

‘your co-wives whom you found when you arrived at your husband’s place or who found you when they arrived’

With \textit{ŋar} ‘take’ and \textit{baj} ‘get, have’, the usual interpretation of the combination with the VEN marker is that the state resulting from an action performed by the referent of the subject while coming is still in place upon arrival at deictic center. As illustrated in (20) and (21), \textit{ŋerul} (from \textit{ŋar} ‘take’) and \textit{bejul} (from \textit{baj} ‘get, have’) are the usual equivalents of ‘bring’ in Jóola Fóoni: the referent of the subject not only has taken or gotten something while coming, (s)he still has it upon arrival.
A group of women are working in the rice field. Someone comes from the village with their breakfast. One of the women guesses that the food has been poisoned. She says to the others:

Daasoomaay yan kombom enəruleray, tambɩ ʊriaayɔ!

`Daasooma-a-y yan k-o-m-b-o-m e-ŋər-e-ul-e-y,`
breakfast-D-CLe CLe-REL CLbk-be-I:CLb-ACT, INF-take-VEN-D-CLe tambɩ ʊ-ria-aa-yɔ!

PROH.POT sI:1PL-eat-INCL-I:CLe

`The breakfast they are bringing, let’s not eat it!`

The hyenas have invited the goats to their place, and the goats are visiting them. In accordance with the traditional rules of hospitality, the goats are offered water.

Simununyees di sibejuu momelam sijaameenas siraan.

Si-mununyeo-e-s di si-bej-u mo-mel-a-m st-jaameen-a-s PL-hyena-D-CLS SEQ sI:CLS-get-VEN PL-water-D-CLm PL-goat-D-CLS st-raan.
sI:CLS-drink

`Then the hyenas brought some water and the goats drank.’

In the corpus, the combination of `nar ‘take’ with the VEN marker, almost always with the meaning ‘bring’, accounts for 8.1% of the total number of occurrences of the VEN marker, which makes `nar ‘take’ the second most frequent verb among those attested in combination with the VEN marker (the first one being jaw ‘go’, whose combination with VEN is the translation equivalent of ‘come’).

4.3 ‘Go and do and come back’

The combination of the VEN marker with verbs whose lexical meaning includes no motion component is also widely attested in the corpus with reference to situations where the deictic center is at the same time the point of departure and the point of arrival of the associated motion. Example (2b), repeated here as (22), is a typical example, with noomul (ventive form of nɔɔm ‘buy’) interpreted as ‘go to buy (and come back)’.

Asɛɛkaw nanɔɔmʊlɔnɔɔm sɩwɔlas.

A-seek-a-w n-a-nɔɔm-ul-nɔɔm st-wɔl-a-s.

SG-woman-D-CLA PPF-sI:CLA-buy-VEN-RDPL PL-fish-D-CLS

`The woman went to buy fish (and came back).’
The way the event is encoded in Jóola Fóoñi sentences such as (22) leaves implicit the first part of the path and emphasizes the return path. In many other languages (including English), such events are commonly referred to by means of a verb ‘go’ in a construction ‘motion verb + purposive complement’ which highlights the first part of the path, the return path being usually left unexpressed. However, although commonly used with reference to the same situations, the formulation illustrated in (22) is not equivalent to a ‘motion verb + purposive complement’ construction, since in Jóola Fóoñi, a clause such as Aseeikaw nanzonmblonm stwolas implies that the woman came back after buying fish. This is evidenced by the impossibility of using it as the first part of a sentence whose second part would be something like ‘... but she didn't find any’ or ‘... but she hasn't come back yet’.

Examples (23) to (25) provide further illustrations of this use of the VEN marker.

(23) A woman proposes to her husband’s unmarried brother to do the washing for him:

Ńesuu seefuney m’unçası.

Ńes-uu seefu-ne-y man t-pı-os-t.

look.for-VEN soap-D-CLe CSC sl:1SG-wash-I:2SG

‘Go fetch some soap and I’ll do the washing for you.’

(24) The boys leave the village every morning to go herding cattle in the bush, and return to the village in the evening.

Kʊñɩɩlak, ban kumateuuum, karambaak kocila, kɔɔneko Bagaya.

Kʊ-ñɩɩl-a-k, b-an ku-mat-e-uu-m,


SG-bush-D-CLk CLk-ANA sl:CLbk-say-I:CLk Bagaya

‘The children, the place where they go herding cattle, the bush in question, it is called (lit. they say to it) Bagaya.’

(25) A group of people have raised funds to send one of them in pilgrimage to Mecca. When the pilgrim comes back, they organize a meeting with him.

Bʊkanak dɩ kujoo kʊjam ehijinkəew ɔɔlu waa najamʊlɔm baa Maka.

Bʊk-an-a-k dɩ ku-je-u ku-jam e-hijinke-e-w

SGuk-person-D-CLbk SEQ sl:CLbk-go-VEN sl:CLbk-hear SG-pilgrim-D-CLA ɔɔl-u waa n-a-jam-o1b-m baa Maka.

(CLa)POSS-1:CLbk what PPF-sl:CLA-hear-VEN-ACT1 LOC Mecca

‘Then the people came to hear what their pilgrim had heard in Mecca.’
In example (26), the movement to which the VEN marker refers was intended as a round trip, but was interrupted precisely by the death of the boy, i.e. by the event encoded by the verbal lexeme to which the VEN marker is attached.

(26) A boy has come back from a trip with plenty of wealth. A woman orders her son to do the same trip in the hope that he will come back rich too. Later, learning that her son died during the trip, she says:

\[ Nɛɛnɛ aŋulaw umɓeɛm ajaw pɔɔp bɛɛbɔ, nɛɛtuu bɔ. \]

PPF-sI:1SG.tell SG-child-D-CLa (CLa)POSS.I:1SG sI:CLa-go also bɛɛ-bɔ, nɛɛ-cetuu-uu-bɔ.

DIR-I:CLb PPF-sI:CLa-die-VEN-I:CLb

‘I told my son to go there too, and he died before returning.’

4.4 Jaw ‘go’ followed by another verb marked by the VEN suffix

In the construction illustrated by examples (27) and (28), jaw ‘go’ is immediately followed by another verb in a form characterized by the lack of any overt TAM marker. This form is more generally the form taken by verbs in non-initial position in verb chains that constitute a functional equivalent of and-coordination of clauses in English.\(^{19}\) Examples such as (27) and (28) suggest that the basic meaning of this construction is ‘go and do and come back’, and that the presence of jaw ‘go’ before the verb marked by the VEN suffix is motivated by some insistence on the first part of the path.

(27) A young boy doesn’t know his paternal aunt, since she lives in another village and never comes to the boy’s village. The boy says to his father:

\[ Fɔk ijaw ijukul asuapapɔm. \]

PPF sI:1SG-go sI:1SG-see-VEN SG-paternal.aunt-I:1SG

‘I must go visit my aunt.’

\(^{19}\) The same verb form, characterized by the lack of any overt TAM marker, is also found in independent clauses with a hortative, imperative or optative meaning, and in some types of subordinate clauses (i.e. in uses roughly comparable to those of European ‘subjunctives’).
(28) Two men are away from home. One of them becomes aware that the money he had with him has disappeared. His companion explains:

\[
\text{Sigorees, inje tyabe di aw, ijaw inenuu dee sindey.}
\]

\[
\text{Si-gori-ɐ-s, inje t-yab-ɛ di aw, t-jaw}
\]

PL-money-D-CLs 1SG sl:1SG-take-CPL PREP 2SG sl:1SG-go

\[
i-nen-uu
dee sindo-ɛ-y.
\]

sl:1SG-put-VEN LOC hom-D-CLe

‘The money, it is I who took it from you so that I go and put it at home (to keep it safe).’

However, at least in some cases, as in (29), there is clearly no idea of coming back, and the intended meaning is simply ‘go and do’.

(29) (from a text about malaria transmission and prophylaxis)

\[
\text{Ɛwol enaare panejaw erumu an ejuut m’eejool etipen di an ejuwe.}
\]

\[
\text{Ɛ-wol e-naarɛ pan e-jaw e-rum-uu an}
\]

SG-mosquito CLe-female FUT sl:CLE-go sl:CLE-bite-VEN person

\[
e-ju-ut
\]

(CLa)PTCP-be.healthy-NEG CSC sl:CLE-go-VEN sl:CLE-contaminate

\[
di an e-ju-e.
\]

PREP person (CLa)PTCP-be.healthy-ACT_0

‘A female mosquito will go and bite an infected person, and then it will come and contaminate a healthy person.’

In fact, in elicitation, the judgment of the speakers is that, when ‘go and do’ is expressed by a construction in which jaw ‘go’ is followed by another verb, the VEN marker on the second verb is optional, and deleting it does not affect the meaning. There is in this respect a clear asymmetry between ‘go’ and ‘come’: when ‘come and do’ is expressed by a construction in which jool ‘come’ (decomposable as jaw ‘go’ + ul VEN) is followed by another verb, the second verb is never marked by the VEN marker in the corpus, and the judgment of the speakers is that it would not be correct to add it.

5 ‘Do something while being elsewhere than at deictic center’

The possibility that associated motion markers develop an ‘altrilocative’ or ‘distantciative’ meaning seems to have been first signaled for the Atlantic language Fulfulde
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(see in particular Breedveld 1995: 178). In Jóola Fóoni, the possibility of a semantic shift from ‘do before coming’ to ‘do something while being away from here’, already illustrated by example (3) in section 1, is also illustrated by examples (30) to (33). In such cases, the referent of the subject is present at the deictic center at the time of utterance, and the use of the VEN marker was probably motivated originally by the fact that his/her involvement in an event that occurred elsewhere implies subsequent movement to deictic center. However, contrary to the situations we analyze in terms of associated motion, there is no immediate link (either in chronological terms or in terms of motivation) between the event and movement to or from the deictic center. In reference to such situations, a purely synchronic analysis in terms of ‘associated motion’ would imply understanding ‘associated motion’ in a very broad sense (and in most languages, the usual translation equivalent of such clauses only specifies the location of the event, without any reference to movement).

(30) Four brothers have left their village to learn vocational skills. When they come back, their father asks each of them:
   *Aw waa noliticenolb?*
   *Aw waa n-ʊ-lɩtɩcɛn-ʊlɔ?*
   2SG what PPF-sI:2SG-learn-VEN
   ‘You, what did you learn there (while you were away)?’

(31) A boy spends the day in the bush herding cattle. In the evening he returns to the village. Upon arrival, he becomes aware that he doesn’t have his knife anymore. He says:
   *Ɛlɩbaay, n/autoloadlɔlɔ di karambaak.*
   *Ɛ-ˌlɩba-a-y, n-ɩ-邝-ʊlɔ-邝-yo di k-a-ram-ba-a-k.*
   SG-knife-D-CLe PPF-sl:1SG-forget-VEN-RDPL-I:CLe PREP SG-bush-D-CLk
   ‘The knife, I forgot it in the bush.’

(32) The following sentence is from a discussion about a kind of flute which is played at traditional ceremonies. The host asks the flute player about the origin of this instrument:
   *Jiltaj vje, jatɩ ejoole, mantee bu-cee najʊkʊlɔjɔ?*
   *Ji-lit-a-j ʊ-ᵽ-e, j-ᵽ-tt e-joole,*
   SG-flute-D-CLj DEM-CLj-PROX CLj-GEN SG-Jóola.person
   *mantee bu-ceee n-a-jok-ʊlɔ-jɔ?*
   perhaps CLb-some PPF-sI:CLa-see-VEN-I:CLj
   ‘This flute, does it belong to Jóola people, or perhaps they saw it somewhere else (before adopting it)?’
(33) A poor man’s wife warns her daughter about the problems that may arise if she too marries a poor man.

*Mbi inje ɪ yok taate, aw pɔɔ nuyokuu baaba, ay ajee b’eejok?*

*Mbi inje ɪ-yok t-aat-ɛ aw pɔɔ*

POT 1SG sI:1SG-suffer CLt-DEM-CLt-PROX 2SG also

*n-u-yok-uu b-aa-b-a, ay a-ja-ɛ*

PPF-sI:2SG-suffer-VEN CLb-DEM-CLb-DIST who sI:CLa-go-ACT₀

bɛɛ ɛ-jʊk-ɩ?

DIR INF-see-I:2SG

‘If I suffer here, and you suffer there, who will pay attention to you?’

6 -ul / -ulɔ as an aspectual marker

In examples (34) to (36), the verb to which the VEN marker attaches is not a movement verb, and the VEN marker does not add a motion component to its meaning either. Its semantic contribution may rather be glossed as ‘eventually’ in English, or ‘en venir à’ in French. In other words, this use of the VEN marker can be described as ‘development of a process in the direction of some outcome’, which can be analyzed as a metaphorical extension of the original meaning ‘movement of a concrete entity towards the deictic center’.

(34) (from a text about malaria transmission and prophylaxis)

*Nanɔɔsan fɔɔcaay ɛtɔɔŋʊlɔ dɩ aw, fukɐɐf ɛfamb faŋ.*

N-anɔɔsan fɔɔca-a-y ɛ-tɔɔŋ-ulɔ di aw, fuko-ɛfamb faŋ.

CLn-DISTR malaria-D-CLe sI:CLe-begin-VEN(ACT₀) PREP 2SG

fu-k-o-e-f ɛ-famb faŋ.

SG-head-D-CLf INF-ache INT

‘Whenever malaria is in the stage where it is going to appear, your head hurts badly.’

(35) The following sentence is about holes made by mice in the walls of houses:

*Naaapɪ emotey eloβolɔm, momelam di mʊnɔcɛn di ʊsʊnaw ʊwɔ.*

N-aaapɪ e-mʊt-e-y e-loβ-oβ-m, mʊ-mel-a-m di CLn.REL.FUT SG-sky-D-CLe sI:CLe-rain-VEN-ACT₁ PL-water-D-CLm SEQ

mʊ-nɔcɛn di ʊ-son-a-w ʊ-wɔ.

sI:CLm-enter PREP PL-hole-D-CLu DEM-CLu

‘When it will eventually rain, the water will enter through these holes.’
A child, if someone eventually hits him/her, you know that it is because he/she has done something wrong.’

Example (37) includes two occurrences of the VEN marker. The second one is in deictic directional function, whereas the first one illustrates the aspectual function of the same marker.

The following sentence is from a discussion about a kind of flute which is played in traditional ceremonies, and is supposed to have special powers. The host asks the flute player what happens if someone steals the flute, and the player answers:

‘This flute, if you want you may steal it, you will eventually see (what happens to you), and you will return it.’

With verbs commonly interpreted as referring to states, as already noticed by Voisin (2013: 148–149) for other Atlantic languages, the VEN marker may trigger a dynamic reading. For example, in (38), kajɔm keñoujuja (with the VEN marker) is interpreted as ‘if things eventually go wrong’, ‘if the situation evolves towards deterioration’, whereas kajɔm kañɔjuja (without the VEN marker) would be interpreted simply as ‘if later things are wrong’.
In a debate about education, a participant evokes the attitude of men who don't take their responsibilities in the education of children and put the blame on their wife when problems arise with the children:

*Kajom keñouujaa naane a-seekaw a-manot akor ańulaw.*

‘Later if things eventually go wrong, he says that the woman doesn’t want to educate the child.’

### 7 The particular case of *jʊk* ‘see’

Among the verbs whose lexical meaning does not include a motion component, *jʊk* ‘see’ is attested several times in the corpus with reference to situations where the referent of the subject stays motionless, and sees the referent of the object coming towards him/her, as in example (39).

*(39) A boy is waiting for his brother. He eventually sees him coming.*

*Nan a-jʊkʊlɔm atɪɔɔ, nakɔntaanɩ.*

‘When he saw his brother coming, he rejoiced.’

Our first hypothesis was that, as suggested by the translation, this was an instance of associated motion. However, if this hypothesis were correct, this would be the only exception to the rule according to which, when the VEN marker encodes associated motion, the participant in movement is the referent of the subject. In fact, additional elicited examples showed us that, in this use of the ventive form of ‘see’, movement of the object is not essential, the general meaning being ‘see at some distance’. For example, in (40), the nature of the object excludes any idea of movement.
A man has got lost in the bush. He climbs a hill to orient himself. When he reaches the top of the hill, he sees his village on the horizon.

Nan ajʊkʊlɔm esukey yɔɔla, nakɔntaanɩ.  
N-ana-jʊkʊl-ɔm e-sukey y-ɔɔl-a,  
CLn-REL sI:CLa-see-VEN-ACT1 SG-village-D-CLe CLe-POSS-I:CLa  
n-a-κɔntaanɩ.  
PPF-sI:CLa-rejoice  
‘When he saw his village in the distance, he rejoiced.’

This use of the VEN marker is therefore comparable to that described in section 5 (‘do something elsewhere than at deictic center’), with, however, an important difference: with the verb ‘see’, it is not necessarily the whole event which is located at some distance from the deictic center, but only the referent of the object. Interestingly, Belkadi (2015: 63) mentions a similar use of the ventive form of ‘see’ in Huallaga Quechua.

Note that, in addition to this use, which has no equivalent with other verbs and can be viewed as conditioned by the particular lexical semantics of ‘see’, examples (28), (33) and (37) above show that the ventive form of jʊk ‘see’ can also express the meanings commonly attested with other verbs whose lexical meaning does not include a motion component.

8 Conclusion

In this article, we have shown that the -ul / -ʊlɔ marker of Jóola Fóoñi, used to encode ventive direction with movement verbs, is also widely used in combination with verbs whose lexical meaning does not imply movement. In the latter case, it may act as an associated motion marker with a wide variety of possible interpretations, but it may also encode that a person present at deictic center did or will do something while being somewhere else (which can be viewed as an extension of its use as an associated motion marker), and finally, it may act as an aspectual marker whose semantic contribution can be described as ‘development of a process in the direction of some outcome’.

Belkadi (2015) rightly insists on the semantic flexibility of markers conflating the expression of deictic directionality and associated motion, in particular in systems with just a ventive marker without an itive counterpart. This is even more true of the ventive / associated motion marker of Jóola Fóoñi, which also has uses in which no movement is implied. However, further investigation would be necessary before putting forward precise hypotheses about the limits of this flexi-
bility, and the interaction between the lexical semantics of verbs and the possible interpretations of the VEN marker in Jóola languages.

As regards the historical scenario responsible for the polysemy of -ul / -ʊlɔ, unfortunately, we are aware of no comparative data that could be used to reconstruct the history of this marker. Given the abundance of cross-linguistic data about multi-verb constructions (either of the serial type or of some other type) within the frame of which verbs of coming develop grammaticalized functions similar to those fulfilled by -ul / -ʊlɔ in Jóola Fōoñi (see in particular Lovestrand & Ross this volume), it is highly plausible that -ul / ʊlɔ originated from the grammaticalization of a verb of coming. However, we are not in a position to put forward anything precise about the details of the historical development of the various uses of -ul / -ʊlɔ attested in the present state of the language.

On the basis of comparative evidence, Voisin (this volume) argues that, in the type of system illustrated by Jóola Fooñi, the expression of associated motion is a secondary development of systems whose primary function is the expression of deictic directionality. However, we do not think that, by themselves, the Jóola Fóoñi data we have analyzed can be viewed as suggesting a particular chronological order (either from associated motion to deictic directionality or the reverse). In fact, they leave open the possibility that the deictic directional and associated motion uses of the VEN marker are not ordered chronologically, and rather resulted from parallel developments in multiverbal constructions in which the same verb ‘come’ expressed associated motion in combination with non-movement verbs, and deictic directionality in combination with movement verbs, as widely attested in serializing languages.

As regards the lexical origin of -ul / -ʊlɔ, the only possible connection we are aware of, also evoked by Voisin (this volume), is with the Jóola verb bɩl (attested in Jóola Fóoñi as an aspectual auxiliary, but also attested with the lexical meaning ‘come’ in other Jóola varieties). However, the comparative data are not sufficient to exclude that the phonetic resemblance might simply be due to chance. Moreover, the fact that the allomorphy pattern of -ul / -ʊlɔ is unique in Jóola Fóoñi further complicates the analysis, since it suggests that the two allomorphs of the VEN suffix may have been originally distinct suffixes with distinct functions, one of them being possibly cognate with separative -ul. But here again, we are not aware of comparative data that could help us refine this hypothesis. In fact, the only conclusion that can be drawn from a precise description of the allomorphy pattern of -ul / -ʊlɔ is that it casts serious doubts on the very possibility of a straightforward etymological analysis of this marker, and rather supports the cautious stance adopted by Voisin (this volume) in her discussion of the possible origin of the associated motion and deictic directional markers found in Atlantic languages.
Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANA</td>
<td>anaphoric determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPL</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>actualizer(^{20})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>class</td>
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<td>hypothetical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>index (other than subject index, cf. SI)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICPL</td>
<td>incompletive</td>
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<tr>
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<td>inclusive</td>
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<td>negation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN</td>
<td>number-neutral nominal prefix(^{21})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONDUM</td>
<td>suffix whose addition to the negative suffix -ʊt expresses the meaning 'not yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>obligative</td>
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<td>passive</td>
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<td>potential</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPF</td>
<td>pre-prefix(^{22})</td>
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<td>preposition</td>
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<td>VEN</td>
<td>ventive</td>
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\(^{20}\) Actualizers are suffixes found in relative verb forms that characterize the event to which the relative verb form refers as irrealis, realis, or having a close relationship with the time of utterance.

\(^{21}\) We use this gloss for nominal prefixes only found with nouns that do not have distinct singular and plural forms.

\(^{22}\) The morpheme designated here as 'pre-prefix' precedes some subject indexes in some tenses. One of its functions is that fulfilled by the sequential marker \(di\) in combination with the other subject indexes, but it also occurs in contexts in which the verb forms including the other subject indexes show no particular marking.
Appendix

The 20 most frequent verbs attested in the corpus in combination with the VEN marker

The number in the left column indicates for each verb the total number of occurrences in combination with the VEN marker. Taken together, these 20 verbs represent 80% of the 1,689 occurrences of the VEN marker included in the corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>597</td>
<td>jaw ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>ŋar ‘take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>laaŋ ‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>riŋ ‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>pur ‘go out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>wɔnk ‘call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>ɔok ‘find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>jʊk ‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>puren ‘bring out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>tɛy ‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>baj ‘have, get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>tɛb ‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>yɪb ‘stand up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ɓɔn ‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ɲɔɛn ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kaan ‘make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>lɪtɛn ‘learn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>walɔ ‘go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ŋes ‘look for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>baal ‘jump’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


Belkadi, Aicha. This volume, chapter 5. Deictic directionality as associated motion: Motion, complex events and event integration in African languages.

17 Ventive, associated motion and aspect in Jóola Fóöni (Atlantic)