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

Abstract: Like the other Atlantic languages for which the relevant information is available, Jóola Fóoñi (aka Diola-Fogny) uses verb morphology to encode deictic orientation of motion events and associated motion. Jóola Fóoñi 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 Fóoñi (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 Fóoñi 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 Fóoñi 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 elsewhere than at deictic center' (sometimes called 'altrilocative' or 'distanciative'). 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. *Asɛɛkaw nɛpupur dɪ ɛlʊʊpɛy.*
        A-sɛɛk-a-w   *n-ɐ-pu-pur*   *dɪ*   *ɛ-lʊʊp-ɛ-y.*
        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. *Asɛɛkaw nɛpurulopur dɪ ɛlʊʊpɛy.*
        A-sɛɛk-a-w   *n-ɐ-pur-**ulo**-pur*   *dɪ*   *ɛ-lʊʊp-ɛ-y.*
        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. *Asɛɛkaw nanɔnnɔɔm sɪwɔlas.*
        A-sɛɛk-a-w   *n-a-nɔn-nɔɔm*   *sɪ-wɔl-a-s.*
        SG-woman-D-CLa   PPF-sI:CLa-buy-RDPL   PL-fish-D-CLs
        'The woman bought fish.'

      b. *Asɛɛkaw nanɔɔmʊlɔnɔɔm sɪwɔlas.*
        A-sɛɛk-a-w   *n-a-nɔɔm-**ʊlɔ**-nɔɔm*   *sɪ-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. *Akʊrʊtɪ.*
        A-kʊr-ʊt-ɪ.
        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:
        Akʊrʊlɔɔtɪ baaba sindɛɐy.
        *A-kʊr-**ʊlɔ**-ʊt-ɪ*   *b-aa-b-a*   *sindo-ɐ-y.*
        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.'

b. *Najamɔʊlɔjamɔ waataay ʊyɛ.*
   *N-a-jamɔ-**ʊlɔ**-jamɔ*   *waatɪ-a-y*   *ʊ-y-ɛ.*
   PPF-sI:CLa-be.famous-**VEN**-RDPL   time-D-CLe   DEM-CLe-PROX
   'His reputation has been increasing lately.'

In previous descriptions of Jóola Fóoñi (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.[4] 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 Fóoñi: 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 *jʊk* '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 Fooñi, 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 *ɛ-yɛn* 'dog' is associated with the agreement pattern E (cf. *ɛ-yɛn ɛ-cɛɛn* 'some dog'), whereas the corresponding plural form *sɪ-yɛn* is associated with the agreement pattern S (cf *sɪ-yɛn sɪ-cɛɛn* '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]

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7 The actualizers characterize the event to which the relative verb form refers as irrealis (ACT_0), realis (ACT_1), or having a close relationship with the time of utterance (ACT_2). The ACT_2 marker *-ñaa* results from the grammaticalization of the adverb *ñaa* 'now'. In its presence, the incompletive aspect is interpreted as expressing present progressive, and the completive aspect is interpreted as expressing recent past.

8 CPL = completive, hI = human index, ICPL = incompletive, INCL = inclusive, indep. = independent, neg. = negative, NEG = negative marker, nhI = non-human index, NONDUM = suffix found only in combination with the negative marker *-ʊt* 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

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
indep. pos.	PST	INCL	ICPL	hI	RDPL / CPL	nhI	
indep. neg.	PST	NONDUM / ICPL	NEG	INCL	hI	nhI	
rel. pos.	PST	INCL	ICPL	hI	ACT_0	nhI	$ACT_{1/2}$
rel. neg.	PST	NONDUM / ICPL	NEG	INCL	hI	nhI	$ACT_{1/2}$

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 *ɐ-tey-e-**uu**-ñaa* /(CLa)PTCP-run-ICPL-**VEN**-ACT_2/ '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 *-ɔɔrʊlɔɔt*, 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 *ɐjeeul*, segmentable as *ɐ-jɐw-e-ul* /(CLa)PTCP-go-ACT_0-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.[9] 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*, *-ʊl*, *-ul*, *-lɔ*, *-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 *-mɩ* and *-ñaa*. 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 *-ɛ*, 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 ACT_0 suffix. In this context, ACT_0 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 kuriiŋe taata*
          biriŋ   n-an   ku-riiŋ-e   t-aa-t-a
          since   CLn-REL   sI:CLbk-arrive-ACT_0 CLt-DEM-CLt-DIST
          'since they arrived there'

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10 In the vowel harmony system of Jóola Fóoñi, 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 kuriiŋulo taatɛ*

biriŋ	*n-an*	*ku-riiŋ-**ulo**-Ø*	*t-aa-t-ɛ*
since	CLn-REL	sI:CLbk-arrive-**VEN**-ACT$_0$	CLt-DEM-CLt-PROX

'since they arrived here'

2.4 The VEN marker *-ul* / *-ʊlɔ* 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 / *kɛmbul* '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-ɐ-kɛmb-ul-kɛmb-u*l '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-ɐ-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-lɔɔp* 'to tie' / *kɐ-loop-ul* 'untie' whereas the addition of the VEN suffix does not trigger any change in the infinitive prefix, cf. *ɛ-tɛy* '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 Fóoñi, 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.[14]

3 *-ul* / *-ʋlɔ* as a ventive marker

3.1 *-ul* / *-ʋlɔ* combined with movement verbs

With movement verbs, *-ul* / *-ʋlɔ* 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 *bɔñ* '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:
Inje man ιjaalɔñaa, paam ιιya abɔñʋlaam, naanɛ ijoo ιŋarι.
*Inje   m-an   ι-jaa-**lɔ**-ñaa,   paam   ιιya*
1SG   CLm-REL   sI:1SG-go-**VEN**-ACT₂   father   (CLa)POSS.2SG
*a-bɔñ-**ʋl**-aam,   n-aanɛ   i-jɛ-**u**   ι-ŋar-ι.*
sI:CLa-send-**VEN**-I:1SG   PPF-sI:CLa.tell   sI:1SG-go-**VEN**   sI:1SG-take-I:2SG
'I who am coming, it's your father who sent me, he told me to come and take you.'

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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 / -ʊlɔ 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 *laañ* 'return (intr.)', *riiŋ* 'arrive', *pur* 'go out', *tɛy* 'run', and their causative derivatives (*laañɛn* '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:
     Jemunuŋo, Jɛmɐɐp ɐteyeuuñaa naanɛ b'ɛɛtɛk bʊtʊmab bʊya barɛm.
     Jemunuŋo, Jɛmɐɐp   ɐ-tey-e-**uu**-ñaa   n-aanɛ
     Hyena   Ground Squirrel (CLa)PTCP-run-ICPL-**VEN-**ACT₂ PPF-sI:CLa.say
     bɛɛ ɛ-tɛk bʊ-tʊm-a-b   b-ʊya   b-a-rɪ-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:
     Kɐrumbɐɐk kʊmɛmmɛɛŋ, ñaa uwɐloul m'ʊʊjaal!
     Kɐ-rumbɐ-ɐk   kʊ-mɛm-mɛɛŋ,   ñaa   u-wɐlo-**ul**
     SG-pot-D-CLk sI:CLk-be.full-RDPL now sI:2SG-go.down-**VEN**
     man ʊ-ja-al.
     CSC sI:1PL-go-INCL
     'The pot is full, now come down and let's go!'

15 An entry *bɪl* 'come' can be found in Sapir & al.'s (1993) dictionary of Jóola Fóoñi, without further details, but in our corpus, *bɪl* 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), *bɪl* occurs independently as a movement verb meaning 'come', but this is not the case in the Fóoñi variety described in the present article.

(9) A woman is pounding. A bird comes flying and drops something in her
mortar. The woman says to her neighbor:
Jɩcɛr ɛsʊaay man ɛfarʊlɔñaa saltaay bɛɛ dɩ ɛpɔrɛy yumbɛ!

Jɩcɛr	*ɛ-sʊa-a-y*	*m-an*	*ɛ-far-**ʊlɔ**-ñaa*	*saltɛ-a-y*
look.at	SG-bird-D-CLe	CLm-REL	sI:CLe-throw-**VEN**-ACT	dirt-D-CLe

bɛɛ	*dɩ*	*ɛ-pɔr-ɛ-y*	*y-umbɛ.*
DIR	PREP	SG-flour-D-CLe	CLe-POSS.I:1SG

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

(10) (from a text about malaria transmission and prophylaxis)
Mʊmɛlam mamɔcɛnaam muñɐkɛuuñɐk bawɔlab.

Mʊ-mɛl-a-m	*m-a-mɔcɛn-ɛ-a-m*
PL-water-D-CLm	CLm-PTCP-be.dirty-ACT$_0$-D-CLm

*mu-ñɐk-e-**uu**-ñɐk*	*ba-wɔl-a-b.*
sI:CLm-draw-ICPL-**VEN**-RDPL	NN-mosquito-D-CLb

'Dirty water attracts mosquitos.'

3.2 *-ul* / *-ʊlɔ* and abstract motion

The etymology of light verb compounds such as French *jeter son regard sur* lit.
'throw one's gaze on' > 'have a look at' or English *give a ring to* constitutes a deci-
sive 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 Fóoñi corpus, the notion of abstract motion accounts in particu-
lar for the use of the VEN marker with *wɔnk* 'call' in the sense of 'do a phone call':
in (11), there is no overt indication of first person, but *wonk-ul* is interpreted as
'give us a ring'.

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16 On fictive motion, see Vidal & Payne (this volume), Kawachi (this volume), Belkadi (this vol-
ume) and references therein.

(11) (announcement made by the host of a radio show)
    Anɔɔsan amaŋʊm b'eewonkuley, nɛwonkuu dɪ nʊmɛrɔ ʊyɛ yalakɔm 339911048.
    Anɔɔsan   *a-maŋ-ʊ-m*   *bɛɛ*   *e-wonk-**ul**-e-y,*
    (CLa)DISTR   sI:CLa-want-EP-ACT_1 DIR- INF-call-**VEN**-D-CLe
    *n-ɐ-wonk-**uu***   *dɪ*   *nʊmɛrɔ*   *ʊ-y-ɛ*
    PPF-sI:CLa-call-**VEN** PREP   number   DEM-CLe-PROX
    y-a-lakɔ-m   *339911048.*
    CLe-PTCP-be-ACT_1 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) *Dɪ kʊñulak kɔɔla, babaj añul ɐpurulo alʊñoora.*
    Dɪ   *kʊ-ñul-a-k*   *k-ɔɔl-a,*   *ba-baj*   *a-ñul*
    PREP PL-child-D-CLbk CLbk-POSS-I:CLa (sI:CLd)have-RDPL SG-child
    *ɐ-pur-**ulo***   *a-lʊñɔɔra.*
    (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 *cɛrɛ* 'create' (borrowed from French) in example (13), since 'create' can be paraphrased as 'make come into existence'.

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17 Note that this is also consistent with the etymology of English *be-come* or French *de-venir*.

(13) *Pɩɔjaa, nakʊmaasɛ kacɛrɛʊlɩ sɩprɔblɛm.*

    Pɩɔ-jaa,   *n-a-kʊmaasɛ*   *ka-cɛrɛ-**ʊl**-ɩ*   *sɩ-prɔblɛm.*

    (sI:CLd)continue-HYP PPF-sI:CLa-begin INF-create-**VEN**-I:2SG PL-problem

    'If things continue to be like this, she will begin to create problems for you.'

The notion of abstract motion also accounts for the possibility of using *jicer-ul* (from *jɩcɛr* 'look') with the meaning 'look towards the deictic center'. This possibility is not attested in the corpus, but was confirmed in elicitation.

4 *-ul* / *-ʊlɔ* 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* / *-ʊlɔ* 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]

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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 ʊkatʊlɔm dɞe paam ɪya, wɔɔ ʊkaawɔbɔ!
      *W-an   ʊ-kat-**ʊlɔ**-m   dɞe   paam   ɪya,   w-ɔɔ*
      CLu-REL sI:2SG-leave-**VEN**-ACT₁ LOC father (CLa)POSS.I:2SG CLu-PRO
      ʊ-kaa-wɔ-bɔ!
      sI: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 akatʊlɔm Maarɪa dɪ karambaak!
      *Tam   ʊ-kaan   nɛn   Samba   a-kat-**ʊlɔ**-m   Maarɪa*
      PROH sI:2SG-do like Samba (CLa)PTCP-leave-**VEN**-ACT₁ Maaria
      dɪ   ka-ramba-a-k.
      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 ɞniine an ʊyañɔɔrʊlɔ dɪ karambaak, naanɛ ataɪ.
      *Ba-baj   ɞ-niine   an   ʊ-yañɔɔr-**ʊlɔ**   dɪ*
      (sI:CLd)have-RDPL SG-man (CLa)REL sI:1PL-meet-**VEN**(ACT₀) PREP
      ka-ramba-a-k,   n-aanɛ   a-ta-ɪ.
      SG-bush-D-CLk   PPF-sI:CLa.say SG-husband-I:2SG
      'There's a man we met in the bush, he said he was your husband.'

(17) Later in the same story, the woman becomes aware that her husband was
      killed by the two strangers. She says:
      Ataɔm, jɪbʊjʊlɔɔbʊj dɪ bʊŋarab.
      *A-ta-ɔm,   jɪ-bʊj-**ʊl**-ɔɔ-bʊj   dɪ   bʊ-ŋar-a-b.*
      SG-mari-I:1SG sI:2PL-kill-**VEN**-I:CLa-RDPL PREP SG-road-D-CLb
      '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 *tɔɔk* 'find'. As illustrated by (18) and (19), depending on the
context, *tookul* can be interpreted either as 'come in search of', 'come to visit' or
as 'find upon arrival'.

(18) 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:
      Añʊlaw ʊya anaaraaw ɐtookuujaa añʊlaw umbɐ ɐniinɐɐw, nɪcɛsɔɔrɔɔ.
      *A-ñʊl-a-w   ʊya   a-naarɛ-a-w   ɐ-took-**uu**-jaa*
      SG-child-D-CLa (CLa)POSS.I:2SG CLa-female-D-CLa sI:CLa-find-**VEN**-HYP
      a-ñʊl-a-w   umbɐ   ɐ-niine-ɐ-w,   n-ɪ-cɛsɔɔr-ɔɔ.
      SG-child-D-CLa (CLa)POSS.I:1SG CLa-male-D-CLa PPF-sI:1SG-drive.out-I:CLa
      'If your daughter comes to visit my son, I'll drive her out.'

(19) (When they marry, women leave their family's home and settle in the
      house of their husband's family)
      kʊbɛtɪ kan ʊtɔɔkʊlɔdo dɪ ɛlʊʊpɐy mbaa katɔɔkʊlɪmdo
      *kʊ-bɛt-ɪ   k-an   ʊ-tɔɔk-**ʊlɔ**-do   dɪ*
      PL-co.wife-I:2SG CLbk-REL sI:2SG-find-**VEN**-I:CLd´ PREP
      *ɛ-lʊʊp-ɛ-y   mbaa   k-a-tɔɔk-**ʊl**-ɪ-m-do,*
      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 *ŋar* 'take' and *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 illus-
trated in (20) and (21), *ŋɐrul* (from *ŋar* 'take') and *bɐjul* (from *baj* 'get, have') are the
usual equivalents of 'bring' in Jóola Fóoñi: the referent of the subject not only has
taken or gotten something while coming, (s)he still has it upon arrival.

(20) 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:

Daasɔɔmaay yan kɔmbɔm eŋeruley, tambι ʋrιaayɔ!

*Daasɔɔma-a-y   y-an   k-ɔm-bɔ-m   e-ŋer-**ul**-e-y,*
breakfast-D-CLe CLe-REL CLbk-be-I:CLb-ACT₁ INF-take-**VEN**-D-CLe

tambι   ʋ-rι-aa-yɔ!
PROH.POT   sI:1PL-eat-INCL-I:CLe

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

(21) 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.

Simunuŋɛɛs dι sibɛjuu mʋmɛlam sιjaamɛɛnas sιraan.

*Si-munuŋo-ɐ-s   dι   si-bɐj-**uu**   mʋ-mɛl-a-m   sι-jaamɛɛn-a-s*
PL-hyena-D-CLs SEQ sI:CLs-get-**VEN** PL-water-D-CLm PL-goat-D-CLs

sι-raan.
sI:CLs-drink

'Then the hyenas brought some water and the goats drank.'

In the corpus, the combination of *ŋar* '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 *ŋar* '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)'.

(22) *Asɛɛkaw nanɔɔmʋlɔnɔɔm sιwɔlas.*

*A-sɛɛk-a-w   n-a-nɔɔm-**ʋlɔ**-nɔɔm   sι-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 *Asɛɛkaw nanɔɔmʊlɔnɔɔm sɪwɔlas* 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:
      Ñesuu sɐɐfunɐɐy m'ʊpɔsɪ.
      *Ñes-**uu**   sɐɐfunɐ-ɐ-y   man   ɪ-pɔs-ɪ.*
      look.for-**VEN**   soap-D-CLe   CSC   sI: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.
      Kʊñulak, ban kumateuum, karambaak kʊcɪla, kɔɔnɛkɔ Bagaya.
      *Kʊ-ñul-a-k,   b-an   ku-mat-e-**uu**-m,*
      PL-child-D-CLbk   CLb-REL   sI:CLbk-herd.cattle-ICPL-**VEN**-ACT$_1$
      ka-ramba-a-k   kʊ-cɪla,   k-ɔɔnɛ-kɔ   Bagaya.
      SG-bush-D-CLk   CLk-ANA   sI: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 dɪ kujoo kʊjam ɐhijinkɐɐw ɔɔlu waa najamʊlɔm baa Maka.
      *Bʊk-an-a-k   dɪ   ku-jɐ-**u**   kʊ-jam   ɐ-hiijinkɐ-ɐ-w*
      SGuk-person-D-CLbk   SEQ   sI:CLbk-go-VEN   sI:CLbk-hear   SG-pilgrim-D-CLa
      *ɔɔl-ʊ   waa   n-a-jam-**ʊlɔ**-m   baa   Maka.*
      (CLa)POSS-I:CLbk   what   PPF-sI:CLa-hear-**VEN**-ACT$_1$ 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 añʊlaw ʊmbɐɐm ajaw pɔɔp bɛɛbɔ, nɐcetuubɔ.

N-ɛɛnɛ	*a-ñʊl-a-w*	*ʊmbɐɐm*	*a-jaw*	*pɔɔp*
PPF-sI:1SG.tell	SG-child-D-CLa	(CLa)POSS.I:1SG	sI:CLa-go	also

bɛɛ-bɔ, *n-ɐ-cet-**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 suffıx

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 ɩjaw ijukul asʊpaapɔm.

Fɔk	*ɩ-jaw*	*i-juk-**ul***	*a-sʊpaap-ɔm.*
OBLG	sI:1SG-go	sI:1SG-see-**VEN**	SG-paternal.aunt-I:1SG

'I must go visit my aunt.'

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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:
Sigorɐɐs, inje ɩyabɛ dɩ aw, ɩjaw inenuu dɐɐ sindɐɐy.
Si-gori-ɐ-s,   inje ɩ-yab-ɛ   dɩ   aw, ɩ-jaw
PL-money-D-CLs 1SG   sI:1SG-take-CPL PREP   2SG   sI:1SG-go
*i-nen-**uu**   dɐɐ sindo-ɐ-y.*
sI: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)
Ɛwɔl ɛnaarɛ panɛjaw erumuu an ɐjuut m'eejool etipen dɩ an ɐjuwe.
*Ɛ-wɔl   ɛ-naarɛ   pan ɛ-jaw   e-rum-**uu***   an
SG-mosquito CLe-female FUT sI:CLe-go sI:CLe-bite-**VEN** person
*ɐ-ju-ut   man e-jɐ-**ul**   e-tipen*
(CLa)PTCP-be.healthy-NEG   CSC   sI:CLe-go-**VEN**   sI:CLe-contaminate
dɩ   an   ɐ-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' (decom-
posable 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 'distan-
ciative' meaning seems to have been first signaled for the Atlantic language Fulfulde

(see in particular Breedveld 1995: 178). In Jóola Fóoñi, 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 nʊlɪtɪcɛnʊlɔ?
       *Aw   waa   n-ʊ-lɪtɪcɛn-**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:
       Ɛlɪbaay, nɪlɔŋʊlɔlɔŋyɔ dɪ karambaak.
       *Ɛ-lɪba-a-y,   n-ɪ-lɔŋ-**ʊlɔ**-lɔŋ-yɔ   dɪ   ka-ramba-a-k.*
       SG-knife-D-CLe   PPF-sI: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:
       Jɪlɪtaj ʊjɛ, jatɪ ɐjoolɐ, mantee bʊcɛɛ najʊkʊlɔjɔ?
       Jɪ-lɪt-a-j   ʊ-j-ɛ,   j-atɪ   ɐ-joolɐ,
       SG-flute-D-CLj   DEM-CLj-PROX   CLj-GEN   SG-Jóola.person
       *mantɛɛ   bʊ-cɛɛ   n-a-jʊk-**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.

Mbɩ inje ɩyɔk taatɛ, aw pɔɔ nuyokuu baaba, ay ajɛɛ b'ɛɛjʊkɩ?

Mbɩ	*inje*	*ɩ-yɔk*	*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-ACT$_0$

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 / -ʊlɔ* as an aspectual marker

In examples (34) to (36), the verb to which the VEN marker attaches is not a move-
ment 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-**ʊlɔ***		*dɩ*	***aw,***
CLn-DISTR	malaria-D-CLe	sI:CLe-begin-**VEN**(ACT$_0$)		PREP	2SG

fu-ko-ɐ-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:

Naapɩ ɛmɩtɛy ɛlʊbʊlɔm, mʊmɛlam dɩ mʊnɔcɛn dɩ ʊsʊnaw ʊwʊ.

N-aapɩ	*ɛ-mɩt-ɛ-y*	*ɛ-lʊb-**ʊlɔ**-m,*	*mʊ-mɛl-a-m*	*dɩ*
CLn.REL.FUT	SG-sky-D-CLe	sI:CLe-rain-**VEN**-ACT$_1$	PL-water-D-CLm	SEQ

mʊ-nɔcɛn	*dɩ*	*ʊ-sʊn-a-w*	*ʊ-wʊ.*
sI:CLm-enter	PREP	PL-hole-D-CLu	DEM-CLu

'When it will eventually rain, the water will enter through these holes.'

(36) A basic principle of traditional education: if an adult hits a child, there is
      certainly some good reason.
      Añulaw, kʊnagʊlɔɔjaa, nʊmanj kaanak rajakʊt nakaanɛ.
      *A-ñul-a-w   kʊ-nag-**ʊl**-ɔɔ-jaa,   n-ʊ-manj*
      SG-child-D-CLa   sI:CLbk-hit-**VEN**-I:CLa-HYP   PPF-sI:2SG-know
      ka-ɔn-a-k   r-a-jak-ʊt   n-a-kaan-ɛ.
      INF-say-D-CLk   CLd-PTCP-be.good-NEG   sI:CLa-do-CPL
      '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 func-
tion of the same marker.

(37) 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:
      Jɪlɪtaj ʊjɛ, suumi nʊsʊʊñ, aw bɛɛt ejukuu m'uulɐɐñenuu.
      Jɪ-lɪt-a-j   ʊ-j-ɛ,   suum-i   n-ʊ-sʊʊñ,
      SG-flute-D-CLj   DEM-CLj-PROX   (sI:CLd)please-I:2SG   PPF-sI:2SG-steal
      *aw   bɛɛt   e-juk-**uu**   man   u-lɐɐñen-**uu**.*
      2SG   DIR   INF-see-**VEN**   CSC   sI:2SG-return.CAUS-**VEN**
      '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 kɐñouujaa* (with the VEN marker)
is interpreted as 'if things eventually go wrong', 'if the situation evolves towards
deterioration', whereas *kajɔm kañɔjaa* (without the VEN marker) would be inter-
preted simply as 'if later things are wrong'.

(38) 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:
      Kajɔm keňouujaa naanɛ asɛɛkaw amaŋʊt akʊr aňulaw.
      *Kajɔm   keňo-**uu**-jaa   n-aanɛ*
      tomorrow   (sI:CLd)-be(come). wrong-**VEN**-HYP   PPF-sI:CLa.say
      a-sɛɛk-a-w   a-maŋ-ʊt   a-kʊr   a-ňul-a-w.
      SG-woman-D-CLa   sI:CLa-want-NEG   sI:CLa-educate   SG-child-D-CLa
      '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 ajʊkʊlɔm atɪɔɔ, nakɔntaanɪ.
      *N-an   a-jʊk-**ʊlɔ**-m   a-tɪ-ɔɔ,   n-a-kɔntaanɪ.*
      CLn-REL   sI:CLa-see-**VEN**-ACT$_1$ SG-brother-I:CLa   PPF-sI:CLa-rejoice
      '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.

(40)   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, nakɔntaanʊ.
        *N-an   a-jʊk-**ʊlɔ**-m   e-suk-e-y   y-ɔɔl-a,*
        CLn-REL   sI:CLa-see-**VEN**-ACT₁   SG-village-D-CLe   CLe-POSS-I:CLa
        n-a-kɔntaanʊ.
        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 impor-
tant 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 combina-
tion 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 conflat-
ing 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 Fóoñi (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 *bʊl* (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

ANA	anaphoric determiner		NEG	negation
CPL	completive		NN	number-neutral nominal prefix[21]
ACT	actualizer[20]		NONDUM	suffix whose addition to the
CAUS	causative			negative suffix -ʊt expressses
CL	class			the meaning 'not yet'
CSC	consecutive		OBLG	obligative
D	definite		PASS	passive
DEM	demonstrative		PL	plural
DIR	directive		POSS	possessive
DIST	distal		POT	potential
DISTR	distributive		PPF	pre-prefix[22]
EP	epenthetic vowel		PR	proximal
FUT	future		PREP	preposition
GEN	genitive		PRO	pronoun
HYP	hypothetical		PROH	prohibitive
I	index (other than subject index,		PTCP	participle
	cf. sI)		RDPL	reduplicative affix
ICPL	incomplete		REL	relativizer
INCL	inclusive		SEQ	sequential
INDEF	indefinite		SG	singular
INF	infinitive		sI	subject index
INT	intensive		VEN	ventive
LOC	locative			

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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.

597	*jaw* 'go'
135	*ŋar* 'take'
95	*laañ* 'return'
91	*riiŋ* 'arrive'
90	*pur* 'go out'
44	*wɔnk* 'call'
35	*tɔɔk* 'find'
32	*jʊk* 'see'
32	*puren* 'bring out'
32	*tɛy* 'run'
29	*baj* 'have, get'
21	*tɛb* 'carry'
21	*yɪtɔ* 'stand up'
16	*bɔñ* 'send'
16	*nɔcɛn* 'enter'
15	*kaan* 'make'
15	*lɪtɪcɛn* 'learn'
15	*walɔ* 'go down'
14	*ñɛs* 'look for'
11	*baal* 'jump'

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