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Chapitre IV

P-applicatives vs. X-applicatives and obligatory applicatives vs. optional applicatives in Jóola Fóoñi (Atlantic)

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Abstract

In this paper, based on a relatively broad definition of applicative constructions allowing for variation according to several parameters, we analyze the variation found in the Jóola Fóoñi applicative constructions involving the verbal suffix *-um*. We show that five formal types of applicative constructions can be recognized, and for each of these types we discuss the existence of semantic regularities. The main conclusion is that, in Jóola Fóoñi, four semantic roles are productively expressed by means of applicative constructions: instrument, cause, perlocative, and mediative. There are, however, isolated cases of lexicalization whose relationship to the semantically regular cases is sometimes unclear.

1. Introduction

Several different definitions of applicative constructions can be found in the literature. The most restrictive ones limit the use of the label ‘applicative’ to transitive constructions in which a special verb form licenses a P phrase representing a participant that otherwise could be encoded as an oblique. This type of construction is illustrated by the Jóola Fóoñi clause (1b), to be compared to its non-applicative counterpart (1a).

(1a) *Éjalaay ɔye, diyɔ nisɔfem sɪwɔlas.*

‘This net, it’s with it that I catch fishes.’

ε-jala-a-y	ɔ-y-ε	di-yɔ
SG-net(E)-D-clE	DEM-clE-PROX	PRÉP-I:clE
ni-sɔf-ε-m	sɪ-wɔl-a-s	
sI:1SG-catch-ICPL-R/F	PL-fish(S)-D-clS	

(1b) *Éjalaay ɔye, yɔɔ nisofumem sɪwɔlas.*

‘This net, it’s with it that I catch fishes.’

ε-jala-a-y	ɔ-y-ε	y-ɔɔ
SG-net(E)-D-clE	DEM-clE-PROX	clE-PRO
ni-sof- um -e-m	sɪ-wɔl-a-s	
sI:1SG-catch-APPL-ICPL-R/F	PL-fish(S)-D-clS	

The various definitions of applicative constructions that can be found in the literature differ, however, in their treatment of constructions that only share part of their characteristics with the type of construction illustrated in (1b) above.

This article adopts the relatively wide definition of applicative constructions discussed and illustrated in more detail in Creissels (Forthcoming), according to which the distinctive property of an applicative construction is its relationship to another construction, which can be designated as the **BASE CONSTRUCTION** or **INITIAL CONSTRUCTION**, from which it differs in the following way:

- the initial construction and the applicative construction have the same denotative meaning, but are subject to different constraints about the expression of some participants in the events they denote;

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- the verb stem in the applicative construction is MORPHOLOGICALLY DERIVED from the verb stem found in the initial construction;
- the applicative construction includes a term, designated as the APPLIED PHRASE, meeting the following three conditions: syntactically, it fulfills a role OTHER THAN A OR S (i.e., other than subject, in the languages for which the notion of subject is relevant), semantically, it expresses a NON-AGENTIVE role, and in the initial construction, the role expressed by the applied phrase can only be coded differently as an oblique term, or cannot be expressed at all.

This definition leaves open the possibility of variation, variously attested cross-linguistically, according to the following three parameters:

- the semantic roles that can be expressed by the applied phrase of an applicative construction;
- the fact that the semantic role expressed by the applied phrase can also be expressed in the initial construction (optional applicative) or not (obligatory applicative);
- the syntactic role of the applied phrase.

According to the latter parameter, three types of applicative constructions can be distinguished:

- P-applicatives, in which the applied phrase is in the syntactic role of P (or object);
- D-applicatives, in which the applied phrase is in the syntactic role of dative (for the languages in which a syntactic role of dative can be recognized);
- X-applicatives, in which the applied phrase is syntactically an oblique.

As will be discussed in the remainder of this article after providing some basic information about Jóola Fóoŋi (§2), Jóola Fóoŋi offers the peculiarity of having a single applicative marker (the verbal suffix *-um*) involved in constructions which, depending on the semantic role expressed by the applied phrase, show variation according to the two parameters *obligatory applicative* vs. *optional applicative* and *P-applicative* vs. *X-applicative*.

2. Background information about Jóola Fóoñi

2.1. Socio-geographical data, genetic affiliation, documentation

Jóola (Diola, Dyola) languages, spoken in southwestern Senegal and in the adjacent regions of Gambia and Guinea Bissau, belong to the Bak branch of the Atlantic family included in the Niger-Congo phylum. They divide into Central Jóola, a dialect continuum in which it is difficult if not impossible to decide how many distinct languages should be recognized, and peripheral Jóola varieties, whose status as distinct languages is hardly questionable, in spite of their close relationship to Central Jóola: Karon, Kwaataay, Mulomp-North Jóola, and Bayot-Edame. Jóola Fóoñi (as known as Diola-Fogny), spoken approximately by half a million speakers, is part of Central Jóola.

Three overall descriptions of Jóola Fóoñi have been published so far: Weiss (1939), Sapir (1965), and Hopkins (1995). On particular aspects of Jóola Fóoñi morphosyntax, see also Creissels & Bassène (2021, 2022), Creissels & al. (2021).

The present article fits into a research project focused around the preparation of a reference grammar, for which we have transcribed and analyzed more than twelve hours of oral texts of different genres. As far as possible, the examples quoted in this article have been extracted for this corpus; the others have been elicited with the help of native speakers.

2.2. Typological characteristics

As is the rule in Atlantic languages, Jóola Fóoñi has a grammatical relation ‘subject’ encompassing the agent of prototypical action verbs and the sole argument of semantically monovalent verbs, whose most obvious manifestation is that part of the verb forms include an obligatory prefix indexing the person and number of the subject, as well as the gender of third person subjects. As illustrated in (2), objects can also be indexed on verb forms, but the object indexes belong to a distinct paradigm, they occupy a distinct position within the verb form, and they are only

used in the absence of an object NP in its canonical post-verbal position.

(2a) *Ƙyenyey erɔndom aɲulaw.*

‘The dog bit the child.’

ɛ-yɛn-ɛ-y ɛ-ron-rom a-ɲul-a-w
 SG-dog(E)-D-clE sI:cIE-bite-RDPL SG-child(A)-D-clA

(2b) *Ƙromɔrom.*

‘It bit him (the dog, the child).’

ɛ-rom-ɔɔ-rom
 sI:cIE-bite-I:clA-RDPL

The basic constituent order in simple verbal clauses is *subject - verb - objects - obliques*. However, the relative order *objects - obliques* is flexible, and focalized objects or obliques move to the left of the subject.

Jóola Fóoŋi does not have the equivalent of the grammatical relation ‘dative’ or ‘indirect object’ found in other languages, and this particularity is related to the very high productivity of double-object constructions, not only with semantically trivalent verbs such as *-sen* ‘give’ (3a), but also with bivalent verbs, one of the two objects being then interpreted as representing a beneficiary, as in (3b).

(3a) *Ʋdoktoorew pan asen aseekaw bɔbeɛben.*

‘The doctor will give medicine to the woman.’

ɛ-doktoor-ɛ-w pan a-sɛn a-sɛɛk-a-w
 SG-doctor(A)-D-clA FUT sI:clA-give SG-woman(A)-D-clA
 bɔ-bɛɛben
 SG-medicine(B)

(3b) *Aseekaw pan ɛsiil ajaaburɔŋaw fɔriaf.*

‘The woman will prepare food for the visitor.’

a-sɛɛk-a-w pan ɛ-siil a-jaaburɔŋ-a-w
 SG-woman(A)-D-clA FUT sI:clA-prepare SG-visitor(A)-D-clA
 fɔ-ri-a-f
 SG-food(F)-D-clF

The nominal system is characterized by a multiple-gender system of the type commonly found across several branches of

Niger-Congo, traditionally described in terms of ‘noun classes’. The Jóola Fóoñi system relies on the distinction between fifteen distinct gender-number agreement patterns, arbitrarily labeled by means of capital letters that evoke the phonological form of agreement markers. In the examples, the gloss of noun forms includes between parentheses, immediately after the lexical gloss, the indication of the agreement pattern governed by the noun form in question. For more details about the gender system of Jóola Fóoñi, see Creissels & al. (2021).

Like several other Atlantic languages (Wolof, Seereer, Fula, etc.) Jóola Fóoñi does not have tone. Jóola Fóoñi does not have word stress either. The most salient aspect of Jóola Fóoñi phonology (also found in the other Jóola varieties) is a vowel harmony system based on the ATR feature. The verb forms *ni-sof-ε-m* and *ni-sof-um-em* in example (1) above provide an illustration: being underlyingly specified as +ATR, the suffix *-um* triggers the replacement of vowels found in the other formatives, which otherwise would be realized as -ATR (*i*, *ɔ*, and *ε*), by their +ATR counterparts (*i*, *o*, and *e*).

3. General observations on Jóola Fóoñi applicative constructions

In Jóola Fóoñi, the verbs derived by means of the suffix *-um* can be designated as APPLICATIVE VERBS, since the clauses they project include a term meeting the definition of an applied phrase: it fulfills a syntactic role other than subject, it expresses a non-agentive role, and in clauses projected by forms of the same verb devoid of the suffix *-um*, the semantic role expressed by the applied phrase, either cannot be expressed, or can only be expressed differently as an oblique term of the clause. For example, in (4a), the deletion of the suffix *-um* would make the construction unacceptable, since in the absence of *-um*, the object (here *kervɛnumɛk ɔkɔ* ‘this glass’) can only be interpreted as referring to the liquid being drunk, as *momɛlam ɔmɔ* ‘this water’ in (4b).

(4a) *Kerɛɛnumɛk ukɔ, kɔɔ nɛrɛɛnumem.*

‘It’s with this glass that he drinks’

kɛ-rɛɛnumɛ-ɛ-k ɔ-kɔ k-ɔɔ
 SG-glass(K)-D-clK DEM-clK clK-PRO

nɛ-rɛɛn-um-e-m

sI:clA-drink-APPL-ICPL-R/F

(4b) *Momɛlam ɔmɔ, mɔɔ naraanem.*

‘It’s this water that he is drinking.’

mɔ-mɛl-a-m ɔ-mɔ m-ɔɔ na-raan-ɛ-m
 PL-water(M)-D-clM DEM-clM clM-PRO sI:clA-drink-ICPL-R/F

However, the syntactic status of the applied phrase is not uniform in the applicative constructions of Jóola Fóoŋi. Sometimes, as in (4a), the applied phrase shows the characteristics of an object, but it may also have an oblique status. As we will see below, it is difficult to put forward a straightforward principle that would account for all the details of the distribution that can be observed. There is no uniformity in the obligatory or optional nature of applicatives either, i.e. in the possibility or impossibility of expressing the semantic role expressed by the applied phrase in clauses projected by the *um*-less form of the same verbs.

Moreover, a discussion of Jóola Fóoŋi applicatives would not be complete if mention were not made of the existence of a very small number of verbs derived by means of the suffix *-en* whose construction meets the definition of an applicative construction. As a rule, *-en* has a causative function, but with a small group of verbs, all referring to bodily excretions, *-en* does not mark the introduction of a causer in subject role, but of an object referring to the direction of the emission, without any change in the semantic role of the subject.

Table 1. Applicative use of the causative suffix *-en*

<i>-puus</i>	‘spit’	>	<i>-puus-en</i>	‘spit on’
<i>-sor</i>	‘urinate’	>	<i>-sor-en</i>	‘urinate on’
<i>-wɔɔy</i>	‘fart’	>	<i>-wɔɔy-en</i>	‘fart in the direction of’

The remainder of this article will be devoted to the applicative constructions involving the suffix *-um*. They will be classified into five formal types according to the syntactic role of the applied

phrase (object or oblique) and the possibility or impossibility of expressing the same semantic role in clauses projected by the *um*-less form of the same verbs. For each of the five types, the existence of semantic regularities is then discussed.

4. Type 1 applicative

4.1. Definition

In this first type of applicative construction, the applied phrase is syntactically in the role of object, and in the corresponding non-applicative construction, the same role can be expressed by an oblique introduced by the locative-comitative-instrumental preposition *di*.

Example (1) above belongs to this type, further illustrated in (5). In (5b), the applied phrase *ɛbeka*an ‘bicycle’ is an NP in object role, whereas in the synonymous clause projected by the *um*-less form of the same verb (5a), the same semantic role is expressed by the prepositional phrase in oblique role *di ɛbeka*an ‘with a bicycle’.

(5a) *Di ɛbeka*an *nijɛɛ* *yɔk* *bɛɛ* *Gambɪ*.

‘It’s by bike that I got to Gambia.’

<i>di</i>	<i>ɛ-beka</i> an	<i>ni-jɛ-ɛ</i>	<i>yɔk</i>	<i>bɛɛ</i>	<i>Gambɪ</i>
PREP	SG-bicycle(E)	sI:1SG-go-CPL	until	ALL	Gambia

(5b) *ɛbeka*an *nijɛwumɛ* *yɔk* *bɛɛ* *Gambɪ*.

‘It’s by bike that I got to Gambia.’

<i>ɛ-beka</i> an	<i>ni-jɛw-um-e</i>	<i>yɔk</i>	<i>bɛɛ</i>	<i>Gambɪ</i>
SG-bicycle(E)	sI:1SG-go-APPL-CPL	until	ALL	Gambia

4.2. Type 1 applicative in instrumental function

As already illustrated by examples (1) and (5) above, and further illustrated by examples (6) and (7), this type of applicative construction is typically found with applied phrases expressing the role of instrument.¹

(6) *Kaserak* *ɔkɛ*, *niriunriumukɔ*.

‘This spoon, I ate with it.’

¹ In *niriunriumuko* (example (6)), due to contact with the non-occlusive consonant *r*, the applicative suffix *um* is realized [ũ], transcribed orthographically as *um*.

ka-sɛr-a-k ɔ-k-ɛ ni-ri-un-rium-u-kɔ
 SG-spoon(K)-D-clK DEM-clK-PROX sI:1SG-eat-APPL-RDPL-EP-I:clK

(7) *Nan abɔjɔm ajaŋaaw, naŋarɔm jilɪbaaj m'ɛppurenum fɔbɔŋaf fɔɔla.*

‘After killing the girl, he took a knife to pull off her thigh.’

n-an a-bɔj-ɔm a-jaŋa-a-w n-a-ŋar-ɔm
 clN-REL sI:clA-kill-R/F SG-girl(A)-D-clA SEQ-sI:clA-take-NAR
 jɪ-lɪba-a-j man ɛ-pur-en-um fɔ-bɔŋ-a-f
 SG-knife(J)-D-clJ CSC sI.clA-go.out-CAUS-APPL SG-thigh(F)-D-clF
 f-ɔɔl-a
 clF-POSS-I:clA

4.3. Type 1 applicative expressing the role of material

In addition to its instrumental function, this type of applicative construction is also found with applied phrases referring to the material from which something is made, as in (8). This comes as no surprise, since the use of the same construction to encode instruments and to encode the material from which something is made is very common cross-linguistically.

(8) *Bɔsɛsɛsɛs, kɛbumpɛk katɪ bɔsaanaab kurokumɛbɔm.*

‘Potash, it’s from ceiba ashes that it is made.’

bɔ-sɛɛs-a-b kɛ-bump-ɛ-k k-atɪ bɔ-saana-a-b
 SG-potash(B)-D-clB SG-ash(K)-D-CLk clK-GEN SG-ceiba(B)-D-clB
 ku-rok-um-e-bɔ-m
 sI:clBK-work-APPL-ICPL-I:clB-R/F

4.4. Type 1 applicative in allative function

The applicative form *-lo-um* of the verb *-lɔ* ‘fall’ is found in a construction that meets the definition of type 1 applicatives, but in which the applied phrase expresses the role of allative (destination of movement), which, semantically, can hardly be explained as an extension of the instrumental use of this type of applicative construction.

(9a) *Bubɛɛrɛb buloumulooloum.*

‘The tree fell on him.’

bu-bɛɛr-ɛ-b bu-lo-um-ul-oo-loum
 SG-tree(B)-D-clB sI:clB-fall-APPL-VEN-I:clA-RDPL

construction (either analytical, as in (11c), or synthetic, as in (12c)), whose subject corresponds to the applied phrase of the applicative construction.

(11a) *Ńyε kuteyume.*

‘They fled because of that.’

ɔ-y-ε ku-tey-um-e
DEM-clE-PROX sI:clBK-flee-APPL-CPL

(11b) *Matɪ ɔyε koteyε.*

‘They fled because of that.’

matɪ ɔ-y-ε ku-tɛy-ε
because.of DEM-clE-PROX sI:clBK-flee-CPL

(11c) *Ńyε ekaaniɪl kotey.*

‘That made them flee.’

ɔ-y-ε ε-kaan-ɪɪl ku-tɛy
DEM-clE-PROX sI:clE-make-I:clBK sI:clBK-flee

(12a) *Waa nuyokume?*

‘Why are you tired?’

waa nu-yok-um-e
what(U) sI:2SG-get.tired-APPL-CPL

(12b) *Matɪ waa nɔyɔkε?*

‘Why are you tired?’

matɪ waa nɔ-yɔk-ε
because.of what(U) sI:2SG-get.tired-CPL

(12c) *Waa ɔyɔkenɪ?*

‘What tired you?’

waa ɔ-yɔk-εn-ɪ
what(U) sI:clU-get.tired-CAUS-I:2SG

Examples (13) to (15) provide additional illustrations of applicative constructions with an applied object expressing the same semantic role of cause as an oblique phrase introduced by the preposition *matɪ* in the corresponding non-applicative construction.

(13) *Hamaay ɔyɔ nɛpurummi sindáay.*

‘It’s because of this project that he left home.’

hama-a-y ɔ-yɔ nɛ-pur-um-mi sindɛ-ɛ-y
project(E)-D-clE clE-DEM sI:clA-leave-APPL-R/F home(E)-D-clE

(14) *Manteer woli ucetum bacaar aw fɛculi?*

‘Is it possible that we die of hunger in your presence?’

manteer	woli	u-cet-um	ba-caar
Q	PRO.1PL.EXCL	sI:1PL-die-APPL	SG-hunger(B)
aw	fɛcul-i		
PRO.2SG	before-I:2SG		

(15) *Waa nujoonenuma aɲɪlaw?*

‘Why did you correct the child?’

waa	nu-joonen-um-e	a-ɲɪl-a-w
what(U)	sI:2SG-correct-APPL-CPL	SG-child(A)-D-clA

6. Type 3 applicative**6.1. Definition**

In this third type of applicative construction, as in types 1 and 2, the applied phrase is syntactically in the role of object. The difference is that the semantic role it expresses cannot be expressed in clauses projected by the non-applicative form of the same verb.

6.2. Type 3 applicatives as lexicalized applicatives

In our corpus, applicative constructions of this type occur with only three verbs: *-roŋ* ‘live’, *-lakɔ* ‘settle, sit, remain’, and *-kaan* ‘make, do’. The meanings they express lend themselves to no generalization, and consequently we analyze the applicative constructions of these three verbs as isolated instances of lexicalization.

With *-roŋum*, applicative form of *-roŋ* ‘live’, illustrated in (16) and (17), the applied object refers to the activity from which the referent of the subject earns his/her livelihood.

(16) *Pan uroŋum ɛjɛnaay yɔɔli.*²

‘You will earn your livelihood by your sweat.’

pan	u-roŋ-um	ɛ-jɛna-a-y	y-ɔɔl-i
FUT	sI:2SG-live-APPL	SG-sweat(E)-D-clE	clE-POSS-I:2SG

² Example taken from the Jóola Fóoŋi translation of the Genesis.

(17) *Borəkɔl nɛroŋumem.*

‘It’s by his work that he earns his livelihood.’

bɔ-rək-ɔl nɛ-roŋ-um-e-m
 SG-work(B)-I:cIA sI:cIA-live-ICPL-R/F

Note, however, that the applicative form of the same verb *-rɔŋ* can also be found in the applicative construction regularly used in mediative function (see §7.3 below).

The applicative form *-lɛkɔum* of the verb *-lakɔ* ‘settle, sit, remain’ is found quite regularly in an optional applicative construction in which the applied phrase expresses the role of cause. However, the same form is also found in the obligatory applicative construction illustrated in (18), with the meaning ‘maintain (something that was already in force)’ or ‘live with something’.

(18) *Ɛciley yatɪ fɔcɛn, lɛt ɔŋɔlɛnaa ulɛkoumaayɔ jaat.*

‘The property rights of yesterday, we cannot maintain them today.’

ɛ-cil-ɛ-y y-atɪ fɔcɛn lɛt
 INF(E)-possess-D-cIE CLe-GEN yesterday FUT.NEG
 ɔ-ŋɔlɛn-aa u-lɛko-um-aa-yɔ jaat.
 sI:IPL-be.able-INCL sI:IPL-remain-APPL-INCL-I:cIE today

The applicative form *-kɛɛnum* of the verb *-kaan* ‘make, do’ can be found in the obligatory applicative construction illustrated in (19), with the meaning ‘pay attention to, be careful with, remark, observe’.

(19) *Añɪlaw ɔmɔ abajɪñaa, jikɛɛnumool fanfaŋ!*

‘This newly born child, be very careful with him!’

a-ñɪl-a-w ɔ-mɔ a-baj-i-ñaa
 SG-child(A)-D-cIA DEM-cIA (cIA)PTCP-give.birth-PASS-R/F
 ji-kɛɛn-um-ool fanfaŋ
 sI:cIJ-make-APPL-I:cIA very

In §7.4 below, we will see that the applicative form *-kɛɛnum* of the verb *-kaan* ‘make, do’ can be found with the same meaning ‘pay attention to, be careful with, remark, observe’ in a type 4 applicative construction in which the applied phrase is an oblique introduced by the preposition *di*.

7. Type 4 applicative

7.1. Definition

The constructions described in this section are obligatory applicative constructions in which the applied phrase is an oblique, introduced by the multifunctional preposition *di*, whose semantic role cannot be expressed in clauses projected by the non-applicative form of the same verb. Examples (20) and (21) illustrate this configuration, whose essential characteristic is the impossibility of a paraphrase involving the non-applicative form of the same verb.

(20) *Di malillaam mɔɔla nɛpɛkume.*

‘It’s through his cleverness that he escaped.’

di ma-lilla-a-m m-ɔɔl-a
 PREP SG-cleverness(M)-D-clM clM-POSS-I:clA
 nɛ-pɛk-um-e
 sI:clA-escape-APPL-CPL

(21) *ɛkuutɛw, di ɛpalalantɛɛɛy nɛnocenume.*

‘The thief, it’s through the window that he entered.’

ɛ-kuutɛ-ɛ-w di ɛ-palalantɛɛɛ-y
 SG-thief(A)-D-clA PREP SG-window(E)-D-clE
 nɛ-nocen-um-e
 sI:clA-enter-APPL-CPL

As illustrated by these two examples, this fourth type of applicative construction has two typical functions whose semantic relatedness is obvious: perlicative (path in motion events) and mediative (‘by means of’).

7.2. Type 4 applicative in perlicative function

Examples (22) and (23) provide further illustrations of the perlicative function of type 4 applicatives, in which the applied phrase refers to a point in a trajectory, or, metaphorically, a stage in a process. In such constructions, the applied phrase may be not only a noun phrase combined with the preposition *di*, but also a spatial adverb or a free relative clause introduced by *ban* ‘where’ (class B form of the relativizer *-an*).

- (22) *Nan inagum ejangɔɔney, nebɛlum di epalanteerey ejaw emaal.*

‘When I hit the cat, it escaped by jumping through the window.’

n-an ɪ-nag-ɔm ɛ-jangɔɔn-ɛ-y n-e-bɛl-um
 cIN-REL sI:1SG-hit-R/F SG-cat(E)-D-clE SEQ-sI:cIE-jump-APPL
 di ɛ-palantɛɛr-ɛ-y ɛ-jaw ɛ-maal
 PREP SG-window(E)-D-clE sI:cIE-go sI:cIE-leave

- (23) *Økuutem, dɛvɛre doo nɛjɛwumem.*

‘The one who steals, it’s through here that he comes.’

ɐ-kuut-e-m d-ɐvɛ-r-e d-oo
 (cIA)PTCP-steal-ICPL-R/F cID'-DEM-clD'-PROX cID'-PRO
 nɛ-jɛw-um-e-m
 sI:cIA-go-APPL-ICPL-R/F

In example (24) the applied phrase denotes the intermediary in a transmission process.

- (24) *Fɔɔcaay, di bawɔlab ejɛwumeuum.*

‘Malaria, it’s through mosquitoes that it comes.’

fɔɔca-a-y di ba-wol-a-b
 malaria(E)-D-clE PREP SG-mosquito(B)-D-clB
 e-jɛw-um-e-uu-m
 sI:cIE-go-APPL-ICPL-VEN-R/F

In examples (25) and (26), the perlocative meaning is transposed to the temporal domain.

- (25) *Di inje kutoonjume.*

‘They started with me.’

di inje ku-toonj-um-e
 PREP PRO.1SG sI:cIBK-begin-APPL-CPL

- (26) *Nan ajɛlom anifaanaw, tɔɔ kɛñoummi.*

‘When he insulted the elder, it’s then that things went wrong.’

n-an a-jɛl-ɔm a-nifaan-a-w
 cIN-REL sI:cIA-insult-R/F SG-elder(A)-D-clA
 t-ɔɔ Ø-kɛño-um-mi
 cIT-PRO sI:cID-go.wrong-APPL-R/F

7.3. Type 4 applicative in mediative function

Examples (27) and (28) provide further illustrations of the mediative function of type 4 applicatives, in which the applied phrase is the interrogative adverb *bʊʊ* ‘how?’, whose precise meaning in such examples is ‘by what means?’ rather than ‘in what manner’.

(27) *Bʊʊ nubɛjummi ewotɛy ʊyʊ?*

‘How did you get this car?’

bʊʊ nu-bɛj-um-mi e-wotɛ-ɛ-y ʊ-yʊ
 how sI:2SG-get-APPL-R/F SG-car(E)-D-clE DEM-clE

(28) *Bʊʊ kumɛnjumem anaw abajom kɛsumutɛk ʊkʊ?*

‘How do we recognize a person who has this disease?’

bʊʊ ku-mɛnj-um-e-m Ø-an-a-w
 how sI:clBK-know-APPL-ICPL-R/F SG-person(A)-D-clA
 Ø-a-baj-om kɛ-sumut-ɛ-k ʊ-kʊ
 clA-PTCP-have-R/F SG-disease(K)-D-clK DEM-CLK

The mediative use of applicative constructions is particularly frequent in our corpus. Semantically, it would be possible to consider it as an extension of the instrumental use of applicative, since it refers more generally to anything that may contribute to the realization of an event involving the willingness of the referent of the subject. However, syntactically, there is a clearcut distinction between the instrumental and mediative uses of applicative constructions. In *Jóla Fóoni*, the instrumental applicative is an OPTIONAL applicative with the applied phrase in the syntactic role of OBJECT, whereas the mediative applicative is an OBLIGATORY applicative with the applied phrase in the syntactic role of OBLIQUE, exactly like the perlocative applicative, to which it is equally related from a semantic point of view.

7.4. Type 4 applicative with *kɛɛnum* ‘be careful with’

As already mentioned above (§6.2), the applicative form *-kɛɛnum* of the verb *-kaan* ‘make, do’ occurs with the same lexicalized meaning ‘be careful with, pay attention to, remark, observe’ in two distinct constructions, one with the applied phrase in object role, as in (19) above, the other with the applied phrase as

an oblique introduced by the multifunctional preposition *dɪ*, as in (29). There is no obvious semantic connection between this use of *-kæɛnum* and the productive use of type 4 applicative.

(29) *Fɔk ukæɛnumaal dɪ mokaanaam matɪ kakorak.*

‘We must be careful about the way to educate children.’

fɔk u-kæɛn-um-aal dɪ mɔ-kaana-a-m
 OBLG sI:1PL-do-APPL-INCL PREP PL-way.of.doing(M)-D-clM
 m-atɪ ka-kor-a-k.
 CLm-GEN SG-education(K)-D-clK

8. Type 5 applicative

8.1. Definition

The applicative constructions of type 5, like those of type 4, are obligatory applicative constructions in which the applied phrase is an oblique. The difference is that, in type 5, the applied phrase is not introduced by the multifunctional preposition *dɪ*, but by the allative preposition *bɛɛ*.

8.2. Use

The verb ‘come’ (which, in Jóola Fóoñi, is the venitive form of *-jaw* ‘go’) is the only verb found in this type of applicative construction. Moreover, as illustrated in (30) and (31), in spite of the fact that the applied phrase is introduced by the allative preposition *bɛɛ*, the semantic role expressed by the applied phrase is not the role of destination of movement, but the role of purpose. Consequently, this use of the Jóola Fóoñi applicative can be analyzed as an instance of lexicalization.

(30) *Sankaay ejɛwumuloot bɛɛ fojamaraaf cɛb.*

‘The mosquito net is not only intended for the rainy season.’

sanka-a-y e-jɛw-um-ulo-ot bɛɛ
 mosquito.net(E)-D-clE sI:clE-go-APPL-VEN-NEG ALL
 fɔ-jamara-a-f cɛb
 SG-rainy.season(F)-D-clF only

(31) *Mɔriam ɔmɛ mujɛwumuloot bɛɛ mɔyɔɔl cɛb.*

‘This food is not only intended for you.’

mŭ-ri-a-m	ɔ-m-ε	mu-jɛw-um-ulo-ot
PL-food(M)-D-clE	DEM-clM-PROX	sI:clM-go-APPL-VEN-NEG
bɛɛ	moyyɔɔl	cɛb
ALL	PRO.2PL	only

9. The suffix *-um* and the expression of manner

Cross-linguistically, it is not uncommon that the verbal markers involved in applicative constructions are also used to highlight the pragmatic prominence of a syntactically peripheral term of the clause without modifying its morphosyntactic characteristics, see among others Smith-Stark (1994) on Mayan languages, Creissels (2004) on Tswana (Bantu). In Jóola Fóoñi, such a use of the applicative marker *-um* (indicated by the gloss EMPH instead of APPL) can be observed in relation to deictic or interrogative adverbs of manner. In this context, the suffix *-um* may depart from the behavior expected from an applicative marker, since its presence does not trigger any modification in the construction or in the denotative meaning, as in (32). Moreover, in this particular use (and only in this use), *-um* has an optional variant *-oorum* which seems to only imply a higher degree of emphasis. Note that the formative *-oor* or *-ɔɔr* that seems to be added to *-um* in this optional variant of *-um* has no obvious etymology. Jóola has a verbal suffix *-ɔɔr*, but it expresses reciprocity, and consequently can hardly be related to *-oor* in the optional variant *-oorum* of *-um* illustrated in (32b).

(32a) *Nimmamanj b'εemanj buɔ kaane.*

'I want to know how it occurred.'

ni-mam-manj	bɛɛ	ε-manj	buɔ	Ø-kaan-ε
sI:1SG-want-RDPL	ALL	INF(E)-know	how	sI:clD-occur-CPL

(32b) *Nimmamanj b'εemanj buɔ kɛɛn(oor)ume.*

'I want to know how it occurred.'

ni-mam-manj	bɛɛ	ε-manj	buɔ
sI:1SG-want-RDPL	ALL	INF(E)-know	how
Ø-kɛɛn-(oor)um-e			
sI:clD-occur-EMPH-CPL			

Given the semantic affinity between the notions of manner and means and the ambiguity inherent to the interrogative *bɔɔ* ‘how?’, which can equally be interpreted as ‘in what manner’ and ‘by what means’, it is often difficult to decide whether a given occurrence of *-um* in a clause including the interrogative adverb *bɔɔ* ‘how?’ should be considered as marking an applicative construction with *bɔɔ* as an applied phrase expressing the role of mediative, or as simply highlighting *bɔɔ* ‘in what manner?’ in a non-applicative construction.

10. Conclusion

The data discussed in sections 4 to 8 show that, in Jóola Fóoñi, four semantic roles are regularly expressed by means of applied phrases in applicative construction marked as such by the verbal suffix *-um*:

- the semantic role of INSTRUMENT can be encoded by means of the preposition *dɪ* in a non-applicative construction, but also by means of an OPTIONAL applicative construction with the applied phrase in OBJECT role (§4.2);
- the semantic role of CAUSE can be encoded by means of the preposition *matɪ* in a non-applicative construction, but also by means of an OPTIONAL applicative construction with the applied phrase in OBJECT role (§5.2);
- the semantic role of PERLATIVE is encoded by means of an OBLIGATORY applicative construction with the applied phrase in OBLIQUE role, introduced by the preposition *dɪ* (§7.2);
- the semantic role of MEDIATIVE is also encoded by means of an OBLIGATORY applicative construction with the applied phrase in OBLIQUE role, introduced by the preposition *dɪ* (§7.2);

Applicative constructions with an applied phrase expressing semantic roles other than those listed above can also be found, but they are best analyzed as isolated instances of lexicalization whose relationship to the productive uses of applicative constructions is sometimes unclear

Interestingly, in contrast to the vast majority of the languages in which the applicative strategy is available, in Jóola Fóoñi, the

semantic role of beneficiary is not among those that can be expressed by the applied phrase in an applicative construction. In Jóola Fóoñi, whatever the argument structure of the verb, it is always possible to encode a beneficiary as a noun phrase whose morphosyntactic characteristics are exactly the same as those of objects representing the patient of prototypical transitive verbs, without any modification in the verb form or in other aspects of the construction, as illustrated by example (3a) above, repeated here as (33).

(33) *Aseekaw pan esiil ajaaburoŋaw furiaf.*

‘The woman will prepare food for the visitor.’

a-seek-a-w	pan	e-siil	a-jaaburoŋ-a-w
SG-woman(A)-D-clA	FUT	sI:clA-prepare	SG-visitor(A)-D-clA
fö-ri-a-f			
SG-food(F)-D-clF			

Another interesting observation is that the verbal suffix *-um* used to mark applicative constructions also has a non-applicative use in which it emphasizes the pragmatic saliency of a deictic or interrogative adverb of manner.

Abbreviations

ALL: allative, APPL: applicative, CAUS: causative, CPL: completive, CSC: consecutive, D: definite, clX: class X (X a capital letter referring to one of the gender-number agreement patterns), DEM: demonstrative, EMPH: emphatic, EP: epenthetic vowel, EXCL: exclusive, FUT: future, GEN: genitive, ICPL: incomplete, INCL: inclusive, PROX: proximal, PREP: multifunctional preposition, I: index (other than subject), INF: infinitive, NAR: narrative, NEG: negation marker, OBLG: obligative, PASS: passive, PL: plural, POSS: possessive, PRO: personal pronoun, PTCP: participle, Q: question marker, RDPL: reduplicative suffix, REL: relativizer, R/F: suffix marking verb forms used exclusively in relativization or focalization contexts, SEQ: sequential, SG: singular, sI: subject index, VEN: venitive.

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