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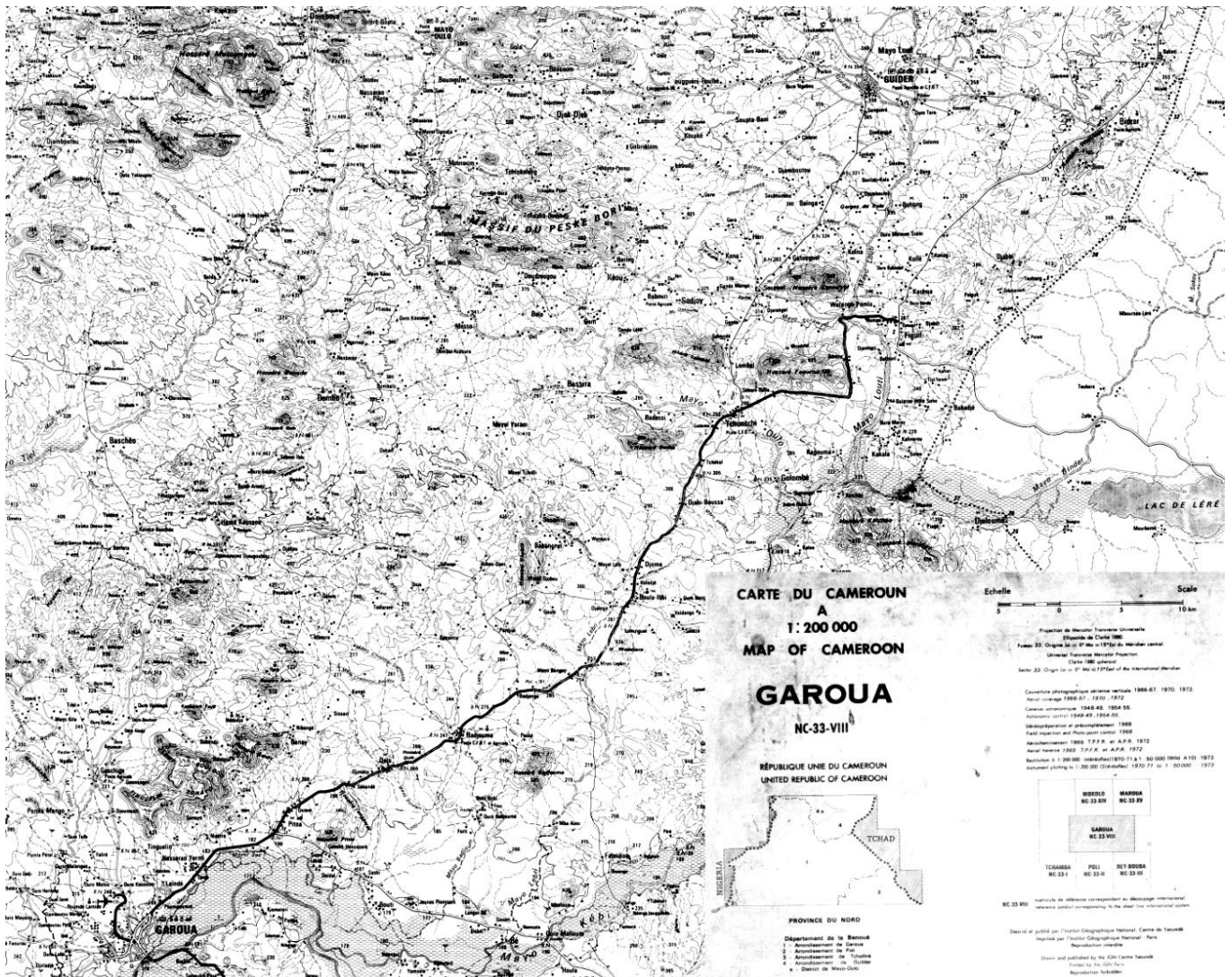# On bounding in Fali (Adamawa):

The functional diversity of directional particles

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Geographic area of the Fali settlements

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Theoretical framework

Serzisko (1988: 436):   "The function of the directional affixes AND [itive] and VEN [ventive] can then be described as 'relating the DC [deictic center] to a boundary' which [...] is functionally equivalent to 'setting a boundary' or simply **bounding**. This, however, is primarily a static notion. The traditionally ascribed dynamic interpretations 'motion away/towards' result from the combination of AND and VEN with motion verbs but are not an intrinsic part of their meaning."

Sasse (1991: 3):   "Jeder *Sachverhalt* [**event**] hat im Prinzip einen Beginn, eine gewisse zeitliche Erstreckung und ein Ende. Graphisch läßt sich das etwa wie folgt darstellen, wobei die linke Grenze, G_1, den Beginn, die rechte Grenze G_2 das Ende, die dazwischenliegende Linie die Dauer eines Sachverhaltes in der reellen Zeit t symbolisiert:

$$t \longrightarrow$$
$$\vdash\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!-\!\!\dashv$$
$$G_1 \qquad \text{Sachverhalt} \qquad G_2$$
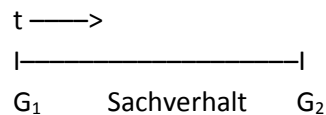
G_1 und G_2 sind *Situationsveränderungen* [**situation changes (SC)**]: der Beginn eines Sachverhaltes markiert eine Situationsveränderung, die in die durch den Sachverhalt definierte *Situation* [**situation (S)**] hineinführt; das Ende eines Sachverhaltes markiert eine Situationsveränderung, die aus der betreffenden Situation hinausführt. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt könnte man den Grundtyp des Sachverhalts auch folgendermaßen darstellen (SV = Situationsveränderung, S = Situation):

$$SV_1 \quad - \quad S \quad - \quad SV_2$$
$$[SC_1 \quad - \quad S \quad - \quad SC_2]"$$
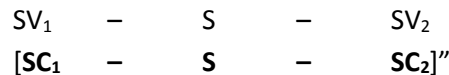
Lakoff (1987: 275):   "The **SOURCE-PATH-GOAL Schema** [...] : Every time we move anywhere there is a place we start from, a place we wind up at, a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the starting and ending points, and a direction. We will use the term ,destination' as opposed to ,goal' when we are referring to a specifically *spatial* ending point.

Structural elements: A SOURCE (starting point), a DESTINATION (end point), a PATH (a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the source and the destination), and a DIRECTION (toward the destination).

[...] Complex events in general are also understood in terms of a source-path-goal schema; complex events have initial states (source), a sequence of intermediate stages (path), and a final state (destination)."

Sasse (2002: 203, 205):   "The second semantic dimension [of aspect] continues features of the classic ,Aktionsart' notion and comprises any type of **intrinsic temporal characteristic of situations**, such as dynamicity, stativity, durativity, punctuality, telicity, etc. [...] I will refer to this dimension as ,ASPECT$_2$' [...].

Directional particles in Fali

/=fɐ/   itive ("motion away")

/=ɾɐ/   ventive ("motion towards") [possible lexical source: ɾɐ: 'come']

/=ɗɐ/   perlative ("motion beside") [possible lexical source: ɗɐ: 'pass over']

Derived verbs vs. particle verbs with the directional particles =fɐ, =ɾɐ and =ɗɐ

Derived verbs and particle verbs with aspectual marking

(1a) Derived verb with imperfective marking

    nìtù   ní   kìn   wèé   ò   gbɔ̃́:-ŋjì=tè
    man   Pp   woman   POS.3SG   3PL   look-COL=IFV
    "The man and his wife are looking at each other."

(1b) Particle verb with imperfective marking

    kìn   ã́   ò   á:=fɐ=tè
    woman   PL   3PL   move=IT=IFV
    "The women are moving away."

(1c)   Simplex verb with imperfective marking

    jóy   ã́   ò   ɗɓw=té   títì
    bird   PL   3PL   peck=IFV   millet
    "The birds are pecking the millet."

(2a) Derived verb with perfective marking

    nìtù   ø   lɔ̀:-sí   títì
    man   3SG   [end-PLA]:PFV   millet
    "The man has consumed the millet."

(2b) Particle verb with perfective marking

    mì   kṹ:=ɾé   nìs.tè.kṹ:mù
    1SG   [sleep=VENT]:PFV   sleep
    "I have just slept." or "I have slept before my arrival."

(2c) Simplex verb with perfective marking

    mì   ɓákì   tè óà
    1SG   chop:PFV   firewood
    "I have chopped firewood."

Derived verbs and particle verbs with pronominal suffixes

(3)   Derived verbs with pronominal suffixes

(a)   *gbénù*   **yù-ním**   *nὲ*
        monkey   [leave-CC:OBJ.1SG]:PFV   RFR
        "The monkey had got me out."

(b)   *ní   kũ̀:   tὲ hṹ:yù*   **máksì-símì**
        Pp   skin   hyena   repair-PLA:1SG
        "It is with the hyena's skin I use to repair it."

(4)   Particle verbs with pronominal suffixes

(a)   *mì*   **hĩ́w = fὲ**   *kàrlὲ   mém   gì*
        1SG   [give:OBJ.3SG=IT]:PFV   cobweb   POS.1SG   PROX
        "I have given her my cobweb there."

(b)   *mì   hàm = té dé* **répmì = fὲ**   *ὲmís   fɔ̀ngté   gì*
        1SG   pass=IFV EP see:1SG=IT   Pp   hole:REF   PROX
        "I was passing and then I saw her there in this hole."

Functions of the directional particles =fɐ, =ɾɐ and =ɗɐ

Classes of particle verbs

Dehé (2005: 5):   "In the literature, different groups of PV's [particle verbs] have been
                              distinguished mainly with regard to their semantic properties, but
                              also with respect to their syntactic behaviour. A common distinction
                              is between three groups: (1) semantically compositional or
                              transparent PV constructions, (2) idiomatic PV's, and (3) aspectual
                              PV's. The meaning of compositional PV's is made up of the literal
                              meaning of the verb plus the literal meaning of the particle. The
                              particles in these uses are often directional or spatial in meaning."

Table 1: Directional particles and their functions in the Fali language			
particles	directional-dynamic	spatial	aspectual
= fɐ	Itive	distal	telic-ingressive
= ɾɐ	Ventive	proximal	telic-terminative
= ɗɐ	Perlative	"inside location"	delimitative

Directional-dynamic functions of the particles =fɛ, =ɾɛ and =ɗɛ

Directional particles with movement verbs

(5a)   Directionally unmarked verb form

ø   kpéy-é

3SG   run:PFV=FV1

"She has run."

(5b)   Itive (DC = *Source*)

ø   kpèy=**fɛ́**=yé

3SG   [run=IT]:PFV=FV1

"She has run **away**."

(5c)   Ventive (DC = *Goal*)

ø   kpèy=**ɾɛ́**=yé

3SG   [run=VENT]:PFV=FV1

"She has run **to**."

(5d)   Perlative (DC = (point beside the) *Path*)

ø   kpèy=**ɗɛ́**=yé

3SG   [run=PERL]:PFV=FV1

"She has run **past**."

Directional particles with verbs denoting situations compatible with an agent participant's movement

(6a)   Itive (DC = *Source*)

kìnù   ø   dìk=té   wùtè   ø   **bím=fɛ=tè**   è   ótù

woman   3SG   go=IFV   death 3SG cry=IT=IFV   Pp way

"The woman is going to a funeral, she is crying on her way there."

(6b)   Ventive (DC = *Goal*)

ø   **màlé**   féw

3SG   tremble:VENT:PFV   hunger

"He has come trembling with hunger."

Directional particles with verbs denoting situations implying a patient participant's movement

(7a)　Itive particle with *transfer verbs*

èé	hí:mì=fè	sǎ:	nè
CNJ	give:1SG=IT	tail	RFR

"When I gave the tail to (the hyena) over there, …"

(7b)　Itive particle with *communication verbs*

ø	kél-nú=fè=tè	nùrù	wèé	ní	nìtù
3SG	say-CC:OBJ:3SG=IT=IFV	field	POS.3SG	Pp	man

"He (DC) is showing his field to the man (distal)."

(7c)　Itive particle with *verbs of throwing*

gét=fè
throw.a.stick=IT

"Throw the stick away!"

(8a)　Ventive particle with *transfer verbs*

mù	hí:mé	kǔ:	wéy	gì
2SG	give:OBJ.1SG:VENT:PFV	skin	POS.2SG	PROX

"You give me your skin hither."

(8b)　Ventive particle with *communication verbs*

ø	kél-nú=rè=tè	nùrù	wèé	ní	nìtù
3SG	say-CC:OBJ.3SG=VENT=IFV	field	POS.3SG	Pp	man

"He is showing his field to the man (DC; proximal)."

(8c)　Ventive particle with *verbs of throwing*

gérè
throw.a.stick:VENT

"Throw the stick hither!"

Directional particles with perception verbs

(9a)　Itive particle with *perception verbs*

è	gbɔ̌:-tè	kìn=é	dí:twè	gò	mì	rèp=fè	dǎ	má	wèé
Pp	look-VN	woman=REF	beautiful	DIST	1SG	[see=IT]:PFV	too	husband	POS.3SG

"While looking at that beautiful woman I also saw her husband over there."

(9b)   Itive particle with *perception verbs*

gbɔ́:=fɛ̀

look=IT

"Look the other way!", "Look over there!"

(9c)   Ventive particle with *perception verbs*

gbɔ́:=ɾɛ̀

look=VENT

"Look at me!", "Look here!"

Spatial functions of the particles =fɛ, =ɾɛ and =ɗɛ

Spatial function of the ventive particle: localization of the event proximal to the deictic center

(10a)   *mì*   *ngbà:njú=ɾé*   *è*   *yù:=ɾé*

   1SG   [help:OBJ.3SG=VENT]:PFV   3SG   [leave=VENT]:PFV

   "I help her **here** so that she can come out hither."

(10b)   *gú=ɾè*

   vomit=VENT

   "Vomit **here**!"

Spatial function of the itive particle: localization of the event distal to the deictic center

(11a)   *ø*   *cì̀:=fé*   *bí:*

   3SG   [tie=IT]:PFV   goat

   "She has tied the goat **there**."

(11b)   *bú:nù*   *ø*   *yíɾ=fɛ̀=tè*

   rain   3SG   get.black=IT=IFV

   "The sky is getting dark **over there**."

Spatial function of the preteritive particle: localization of the patient participant at an "inside location"

(12a)   *mì*   *dɔ̀:=ɗé*   *dɛ́psì*

   1SG   [prepare=PERL]:PFV   dumpling

   "I have prepared the dumpling **therein**."

(12b)   *kìnù*   *ø*   *dèng-sì=ɗé*

   woman 3SG   [get.wet-PLA=PERL]:PFV

   "The woman has soaked **something therein**."

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(12c) $k=ìmì$ $èl=d\acute{e}$ $gùmjè$

FUT=1SG   [peel=PERL]:PFV   peanut

"I will peel peanuts **therein**."

Aspectual functions of the particles =fɐ, =rɐ and =ɗɐ

The concept of telicity

Lehmann (1991: 199ff.):   "A situation is called **telic** if it is bounded at the start or at the end. It is atelic if it is open at both sides. [...]

A telic situation which is bounded at the end is called **terminative**. A terminative process is one which has an inherent terminal point towards which it proceeds. It terminates in crossing this boundary and is then completed. [...]

A telic situation which is bound at the start is called **ingressive**. An ingressive situation consists in crossing the boundary from absence to presence of the process. [...] The question of whether it has finished is not naturally applicable to an ingressive process."

Directional particles marking telic events

Itive particle verbs	telic-ingressive event: $SC_{S1} + S_1 + SC_{S1/2} + S_2$
Ventive particle verbs	telic-terminative event: $S_1 + SC_{S1/2} + S_2 + SC_{S2}$
Perlative particle verbs	delimitative event: $SC_1 + S$ (short duration) $+ SC_2$

Aspectual functions of itive and ventive particles with S_2 as dynamic situation

(13a) $hém$ ø $ɓìt=f\acute{e}=y\acute{e}$

child   3SG   [grow=IT]:PFV=FV1

"The child has grown up before it has gone away."

(13b) $rí:=r\grave{e}$ $nè$ $mù$ $k\tilde{u}\grave{:}{-}ní$ $gì$

eat=VENT   RFR   2SG   [sleep-CC]:PFV   PROX

"Eat before you come to sleep!"

(13c) $séw$ ø $ɓèt=f\acute{e}=y\acute{e}$

calabash   3SG   [explode=IT]:PFV=FV1

"The calabash has burst before it has been brought away."

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*Aspectual function of the itiv particle with S_2 as non-dynamic situation*

(14a)   *ò*   *nì*   *ế*   *ò*   **rèng=fě**   *ré:ngù*

     3PL person PL 3PL [lie=IT]:PFV lie

     "The people have lied before they have done anything else."

(14b)   *nìtù*   *ø*   **wòt=fě**   *è*   *rì*   *déngón*

     man 3SG [grow.old=IT]:PFV Pp country other

     "The man has grown old in another country before he has done anything else."

Signalling a remote past by perfective marking on telic-ingressive particle verbs
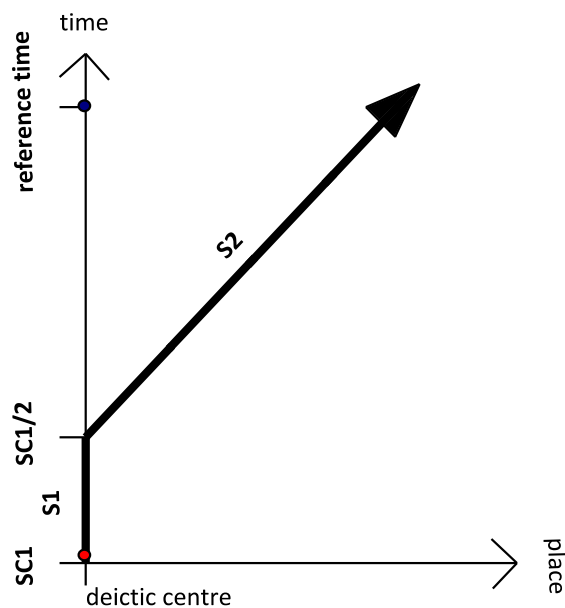
Picture 1: Shifting the event ($SC_1 - S - SC_{1/2}$) to a remote past

(15)   *mù*   *dɔ́:*   *mèrù*   *Mù:sà*   **sàk=fě**   *kèy=é*   *gò*

     2SG prepare:PFV fetish M.   [tell=IT]:PFV like=REF DIST

     "You make sacrifices as Moses had commanded it a long time ago."

(16a)   *nì tè ngòsúm ót*   *ế*   *dé*   *mɔ́:wén*   *ngòsúwén*   *jék tè wèé*

     mugger   PL EP catch:OBJ.3SG:3PL rob:OBJ.3SG:3PL thing PL POS.3SG

     "And then the muggers have caught him and robbed him his belongings, ..."
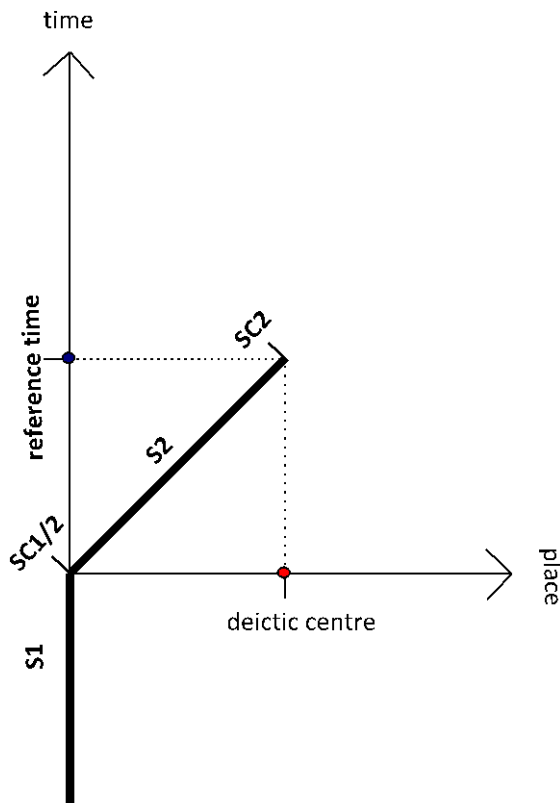
(16b)   *lùtkúwén*   *wówén*   *è*   *wút=ì*

     beat.up:OBJ.3SG:3PL leave:OBJ.3SG:3PL 3SG   die:PFV=FV1

     "... have beaten him up and left him to die, ..."

(16c)   *dé dìkín*   *ò*   **wów=fě**

     EP go:3PL 3PL [leave:OBJ.3SG=IT]:PFV

     "... and have walked away. They had left him."

Signalling a recent past by perfective marking on telic-terminative particle verbs

Picture 2: Shifting the event's accomplishment $SC_{1/2}$ to a recent past

(17a) *mì   dɔ̀:=ɾɛ́*   *nɛ́:mù*

  1SG [prepare=VENT]:PFV   food

  "I have just prepared food." (*Now the food is ready.*)

(17b) *ø   ɾì=ɾɛ́*   *nɛ́:mù*

  3SG [eat=VENT]:PFV   food

  "He has just eaten." (*Now he is full.*)

(17c) *mì   fà=ɾɛ́*   *kúlì*

  1SG [open=VENT]:PFV   room

  "I have opened the room." (*Now the room is open.*)

Delimitative function of the perlative particle

(18a) *mù   ngàngì=dɛ́*   *éyè   mù   yù:=ɾɛ́*

  2SG [hold=PERL]:PFV LOC 2SG [leave=VENT]:PFV

  "You hold on here for a short span of time and come out hither."

(18b) *mì   dèp=dɛ́*

  1SG [put.on.weight=PERL]:PFV

  "I have put on weight for a short span of time."

Delimitative function of the perlative particle implying a wider context

(19a) *mì* ᩧɨ̀*t=ɗɛ̌*   *è*   *éy*   *tóy*   *mém*

      1SG [grow.up=PERL]:PFV Pp compound father POS.1SG

      "I have grown up for a while in my father's compound." (*wider context: my growing up*)

(19b) *mì* *nyɛ̀:=ɗɛ̌*

      1SG [speak=PERL]:PFV

      "I have spoken once in a discussion." (*wider context: a discussion round*)

(19c) *mì* *ɓɛ̀t=ɗɛ̌*

      1SG [kill=PERL]:PFV

      "I have killed once." (*wider context: agent's span of life*)

Summary of the basic functions of the particles =fɛ, =ɾɛ and =ɗɛ

Table 2: Particles and their basic functions in the Fali language	
<u>form</u>	<u>basic function</u>
= fɛ	Coding the identity of the deictic center and the event's first boundary (SOURCE): DC = SC$_1$ (SOURCE) ↓ ↓ ↓ itive distal telic-ingressive
= ɾɛ	Coding the identity of the deictic center and the event's second boundary (GOAL): DC = SC$_2$ (GOAL) ↓ ↓ ↓ ventive proximal telic-terminative
= ɗɛ	Coding the identity of the deictic center and a point beside the situation (PATH): DC = S (PATH) ↓ ↓ ↓ perlative "inside location" delimitative

Abbreviations

CC	concomitative	PFV	perfective
CNJ	conjunction	PL	plural
COL	collective	PLA	pluractional
DC	deictic center	POS	possessive pronoun
DIST	distal	Pp	preposition
EP	event setting particle	PROX	proximal
FUT	future	REF	reference marker
FV	final vowel	RFR	referential
IFV	imperfective	S	situation
IT	itive	SC	situation change
LOC	locative	SG	singular
OBJ	object	VENT	ventive
PERL	perlative	VN	verbal noun suffix

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