Verbal prefixes mà- and rà- in Susu and lexical features of verbal stems

Préfixes verbaux mà- et rà- en susu et des traits lexicaux des bases verbales

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СУСУ

И

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ПРИЗНАКИ

ГЛАГОЛА

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

The paper is a revised version of a talk given at the 2nd Conference on Mande languages in St.Petersburg in 2008. I am grateful to the audience for the fruitful discussion.

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Abbreviations

ACT = 'actualizer'

ASS = assertive

CONS = consecutive
 COP = copula
 EMPH = emphatic particle
 EXC = exclusive 1st plural
 FOC = focal particle
 HABFUT = habitual-future
 INC = inclusive 1st plural
 INDF = indefinite
 INF = infinitive
 intr = intransitive
 MA = the prefix *mà-*
 NEG = negation
 NMLZ = nominalization
 PL = plural
 POSS = possessivity
 PRF = perfect
 PROG = progressive
 PROH = prohibitive
 RA = the prefix *rà-*
 REC = reciprocal
 RETR = retrospective
 SBJV = subjunctive
 tr = transitive
 TRMN = terminative

1. Introduction

- 1 The prefixes *mà-* and *rà-* are the two most productive verbal prefixes in Susu. Although each of these two prefixes has a number of lexicalized idiomatic uses, both have a number of identifiable meanings. Moreover, the meaning of a prefixed verb can be predicted to a considerable degree from the lexical semantic features of the corresponding underived verb. This paper has two aims: the first, which is descriptive, is to systemize the available data on *mà-* and *rà-*; the second is to identify, for both prefixes, the relevant lexical features that influence the choice of the meaning with a given particular verb. For *mà-*, a more detailed description is presented.
- 2 The third most frequent prefix in Susu, *ì-*, has a significantly lesser degree of productivity and, therefore, most *ì-*-derivates are lexicalized. Since no generalized meanings of *ì-* can be made so far, the scope of this paper is limited to *mà-* and *rà-*.
- 3 The meanings of both Susu prefixes have been described earlier only by very general labels, cf. “modalité intentionnelle” for *rà-*, “modalité itérative” for *mà-* in (Houis 1963: 75; 78); “causative”: “valence-increasing process by which a new Effector is added to the clause” for *rà-*, “distributive”: “distributing a verb action over several participants”, “can also distribute an event over a longer period of time than expected for the base verb” for *mà-* in (Lüpke 2005: 126; 127) for Jalonke, a language closely related to Susu.

- 4 Both prefixes have parallel postpositions *má* and *rá*. Prefixes and corresponding postpositions have common etymologies and come back to nouns with locative meanings, cf. e.g. (Bailleul 1986) for the etymology of corresponding Bambara postpositions. A possible diachronic development scenario for both prefix *mà-* and postposition *má* has been proposed in (Šluinskij 2010).
- 5 In the context of Mande studies, the verbal prefixes in Susu are not unique, although the semantics of verbal prefixes and/or preverbs in Mande has not yet fallen in the focus of attention of linguists dealing with this language family. Keïta (1989) discusses verbal prefixes *má-*, *rá-* and *í-* in Dialonke, a language closely related to Susu, but deals mainly with their morphophonology and tonal contour, rather than semantics. Kakabe prefixes corresponding to the Susu *mà-* and *rà-* are discussed by Vydrina (2009a; 2009b). Vydrin (2009) gives a detailed description of preverbs in Dan-Gweta. It is clear that verbal prefixes and/or preverbs in different Mande languages have different semantics and different morphosyntactic features.
- 6 In the context of general linguistics and linguistic typology, verbal prefixes in Mande are to be compared with European-type (Slavic, Romance, Germanic, Ossetic, Georgian, North Caucasian) systems of verbal prefixes and/or preverbs which have been studied thoroughly. Verbal prefixes in Mande are similar to European-type prefixes, but only to a certain extent. In both cases verbal prefixes and/or preverbs are derived diachronically to locative nouns, but unlike the prefixed verbs in European languages, Susu prefixed verbs have no synchronically detected locative semantics.
- 7 In my study I used available data from different sources: first-hand data from my consultant¹ (C) and secondary data from existing literature: (Rimbault 1923) (R), (Houis 1963) (H), (Fofana 1992) (F), (Touré 1994) (T). All the data were summarized and systematized in a single database. Since the data for *mà-* are not abundant, I give the entire lists of the attested derivatives, while for *rà-* only sample examples are given. Considering the restricted set of data coming from different sources, I realize that sometimes my interpretation may be disputable.
- 8 The tonal contour of a verb changes when a prefix is added. This issue is not the focus of my study, since it has been discussed by Touré (1994: 232–233). According to his description, the prefixes *mà-* and *rà-* themselves in Susu always have a low tone, the first vowel of the verb has a high tone, and the subsequent vowels always have a low tone; lexical tones of the unprefixed verb are, therefore, ignored. Note however that Houis (1963: 69) reports a different tonal structure of Susu prefixed verbs; Keïta (1989) reports a different tonal structure of prefixed verbs in Dialonke.
- 9 Tonal marking in the existing descriptions of Susu is rather controversial. Since tones are not in the scope of my study (and were not checked), in the examples I simply mark lexical tones based on the description of Touré (1994), as this description is the most reliable.

2. Prefix *mà-*

2.1. General overview

- 10 Generally, the prefix *mà-* has been appropriately identified as an iterative / distributive marker. In the majority of cases this marker is used as a pluractional one that

pluralizes an event in any sense. However, the types of pluralizing may be different. The resulting event may be distributive (i.e. involving a new participant for each repetition) or non-distributive (i.e. having a fixed set of participants for each repetition). The prefix *mà-* may be used for expressing both event-internal or event-external types of pluractionality, in terms of Cusic (1981), later accepted by Wood (2007). Normally, the prefix *mà-* is not used as a valency-changing tool (though there are exceptional cases). However, as a “by-product”, it can either increase (1-2) or decrease (3-4) the verbal valencies.

(1)	màlányì	bàrà	yénsén
	people	TRMN	disperse
	‘People dispersed.’ (H:74)		

(2)	dímé-è	bàrà	gèmé	mà-yénsén
	child-PL	TRMN	stone	MA-disperse
	‘Children scattered the stones.’ (H:74)			

(3)	ń	bàrà	ń	xúnyà	xùnyí	bíí
	I	TRMN	I	younger_sibling	head	shave
	‘I have shaved my younger brother.’ (H:70)					

(4)	à	náxà	bírín	mà-bî
	(s)he	CONS	all	MA-shave
	‘He shaved totally.’ (H:70)			

2.2. Derivates with an event-internal (multiplicative) meaning

2.2.1. Derivates with an event-internal (multiplicative) meaning in general

- 11 The most frequent meaning of the prefix *mà-* is an event-internal pluractional meaning. It means that normally a *mà*-verb is a multiplicative one used to express an event that is internally plural and consists of a series of repeated sub-events. The corresponding unprefix verb is used to express a single sub-event of such series.
- 12 Normally, *mà*-multiplicatives have the same argument structure as the corresponding unprefix verbs. *mà*-multiplicatives fall into two classes: a) the less numerous multiplicatives proper (that retain the same set of participants for the whole series of sub-events, see §2.2.2) and b) the more numerous multiplicative distributives (that involve different participants for different sub-events, see §2.2.3).

- 13 All the unprefixing verbs, from which the *mà*-multiplicatives are derived, have to be TELIC and (with two exceptions in the database, *dégé* ‘sew’ and *xánín* ‘transport’) express RELATIVELY BRIEF EVENTS. Note, however, that these brief events are not necessarily punctual, since at least some of them are compatible with Progressive and have, therefore, a durated phase before the natural endpoint, cf. (5).

(5)	kùyéfurè	ná	bòó-fè	à	má
	perspiration	COP	tear-PROG	(s)he	at
	‘His sweat is breaking him out.’ (H:71)				

- 14 Another less trivial restriction is that all unprefixing verbs from which the *mà*-multiplicatives are derived have to be TRANSITIVE (or labile used in the transitive sense).

2.2.2. Multiplicatives proper

- 15 Multiplicatives proper with the prefix *mà*- are derived from telic verbs that denote brief events WITH NO IRREVERSIBLE RESULT (this makes the repetition of the event with the same participants possible), cf. (6-7). There are 6 unprefixing verbs in the database, from which the *mà*-multiplicatives proper are derived:

- *dògòtín* ‘pinch (once)’ (T:194, ‘pincer’²) > *màdògòtín* ‘pinch (repeatedly)’ (T:214, ‘pincer plusieurs fois’);
- *bònbó* ‘beat’ (H:71, ‘frapper’; T:189, ‘frapper, battre’) > *màbònbó* ‘beat many times, flap’ (H:71, ‘tapoter’)
- *gárin* ‘beat, flap once’ (T:182, ‘taper, frapper’) > *màgárin* ‘flap’ (T:212, ‘frapper plusieurs fois’);
- *sòxó* ‘pierce; prick, sting’ (T:181, ‘percer, piquer’) > *màsòxó* ‘slaughter’ (H:82, ‘poignarder’);
- *xín* ‘bite (once)’ (T:176, ‘mordre’) > *màxín* ‘bite (repeatedly)’ (T:208, ‘mordre plusieurs fois’);
- *fíndí* ‘become, turn, change’ (H:72, ‘passer d’un état dans un autre, devenir’; R:123, ‘tourner, devenir’; T:189, ‘devenir’) > *màfíndí* ‘turn repeatedly’ (H:72, ‘changer d’état ou faire changer d’état plusieurs fois’).

(6)	nándén	náxà	mìxidí	bònbó
	stepmother	CONS	orphan	beat
	‘The stepmother beat the orphan.’ (H:122)			

(7)	í	tó	nú	xíí-mà,	ń	náxà	sìgá	í	mà-bònbó-fè
	you	when	RETR	sleep-HABFUT	I	CONS	leave	you	MA-beat-PROG
	‘When you were sleeping, I came to pat you.’ (H:71)								

2.2.3. Multiplicative distributives

- 16 Multiplicative distributives with the prefix mà- are the most numerous group of the mà- derivations. They are derived from the telic verbs that denote some brief events WITH AN IRREVERSIBLE RESULT (sometimes this irreversibility is more pragmatic than logical). The lexical semantics of these verbs presumes a natural endpoint that cannot be cancelled. It is reasonable, therefore, that in an internally plural event a new participant is required for each sub-event, cf. (8-9), (10-11), (12-13). Sometimes an internally plural event is not purely distributive, but it is dispersive, because in each sub-event there is just a new part of / place for the same participant, cf. (14-15), (16-17), and not a different participant. There are 15 unprefixated verbs in the database, from which the mà- multiplicative distributives are derived:

- gbàlàntín ‘tear out’ (H:71, ‘arracher qch. qui résiste’) > màgbàlàntìn ‘tear out many objects’ (H:71, ‘arracher’);
- bábán ‘nail down’ (H:70, ‘enfoncer en cognant avec un instrument’) > màbábàn ‘knock up, nail down in many places’ (H:70, ‘clouer en employant beaucoup de pointes’);
- xábá ‘cut’ (T:179, ‘couper’) > màxábá ‘shear, peel’ (T:210, ‘tondre, couper, coiffer’);
- tálá ‘pull out (once)?’ (T:178, ‘arracher’) > màtálá ‘pull out (many objects)?’ (T:210, ‘arracher’);
- bòó ‘cut, tear’ (H:71, ‘séparer, fendre, déchirer’) > màbòó ‘cut, tear in many places’ (H:71, ‘déchirer en plusieurs endroits’; T:206, ‘éplucher’);
- sùxú ‘catch’ (H:74, ‘saisir, attraper’) > màsùxú ‘gather, collect many objects’ (H:74, ‘attraper en plusieurs fois, ramasser avec une pluralité de gestes’);
- báá ‘take down, pick’ (T:174 ‘puiser, cueillir, ôter’; F:66, ‘СРЫВАТЬ’) > màbáá ‘take down, pick many objects, clean’ (F:66);
- xirí ‘attach, be attached’ (H:73, ‘attacher’) > màxirí ‘attach many objects, tie up’ (H:73, ‘ficeler, panser, harnacher’);
- fíí ‘give’ > màfíí ‘distribute, waste’ (H:72, ‘donner largement, prodiguer’);
- dòxó ‘put, seat, sit’ (H:72, ‘poser, asseoir’; T:180, ‘s’asseoir’) > màdòxó ‘put many objects, tell a story’ (T:208, ‘raconter, frequenter’; R:140, ‘asseoir, raconter, dire’);
- bálán ‘close, be closed’ (H:70, ‘fermer, être fermé’; T:182, ‘fermer’) > màbálàn ‘close many objects’ (H:70, ‘fermer quand il y a plusieurs ouvertures, ou encore une porte qui se rouvre toujours’);
- tòngó ‘take’ (T:190, ‘prendre’) > màtòngó ‘gather, collect’ (T:211, ‘ramasser’);
- kòó ‘take down, take away’ (H:73, ‘enlever’; T:175, ‘ramasser’) > màkòó ‘sweep’ (H:73, ‘balayer’; T:206, ‘balayer’);
- dégé ‘sew’ (H:71, ‘coudre’; R:119, ‘coudre’) > màdége ‘sew in many places, resew’ (H:71, ‘arranger (pantalon)’);
- xánín ‘transport’ (T:183, ‘transporter, emporter’) > màxánín ‘transport many objects’ (T:213, ‘transporter, emporter’).

(8)	à	làn,	í	xá	yí	bànànbìlì	gbàlàntín
	(s)he	should	you	SBJV	this	banana_tree	tear_out
	‘It is necessary that you tear out this banana tree.’ (H:71)						

(9)	mùxú	sÉxÉ	xáráxì	mà-gbàlàntìn
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	we.EXC	herb	dry	MA-tear_out
'(Before we plant rice), we tear out dry herbs.' (H:71)				

(10)	ná	bálán	sàábì	rá
	this	close	key	with
'Lock this one.' (Lit. 'Close this one with a key'.) (H:70)				

(11)	nàdè-è	má-bálán
	door-PL	MA-close
'Close the doors.' (H:70)		

(12)	à	náxà	yéfùrè	tòngó
	(s)he	CONS	hot_water	take
'He took some hot water.' (H:89)				

(13)	mìxì-é	ná	kánsí	mà-tóngò-fé
	person-PL	COP	peanut	MA-take-PROG
'People are collecting peanuts.' (F:72)				

(14)	à	mú	ɲɔ́n	nàdè	bánbàn-dè
	(s)he	NEG	finish	door	nail_down-INF
'He did not finish nailing the door down.' (H:70)					

(15)	kàmùdérí	bàrà	kánkìrá	mà-bánbàn
	carpenter	TRMN	box	MA-nail_down
'The carpenter knocked the box up (by nailing it down in many places).' (F:72)				

(16)	à	bàrà	ń	má	dònmá	bòó
	(s)he	TRMN	I	at	boubou	tear
'He tore my boubou.' (H:71)						

(17)	yókà	ndé	má-bóò	ń	bé
	cassava	INDF	MA-tear	I	to
	'Slice some cassava for me.' (H:71)				

- 17 The following facts seem to indicate that this semantic group of mà-derivates could diachronically be the starting point. Firstly, this group, though semantically complex, is the most numerous one. Secondly, this group includes the aforementioned dispersive subgroup and is therefore related to the locative semantics of the noun **ma* that could be the lexical source of the prefix. However, synchronically it is appropriate to interpret mà- as a general pluractional marker, and to treat its multiplicative distributive meaning as triggered by specific semantic properties of an unprefix verb.
- 18 There are two unprefix verbs in this list, *dégé* 'sew' and *xínín* 'transport', that do not satisfy the condition of expressing a brief event, but still have the mà-derivates with a multiplicative distributive meaning, cf. (18-19).

(18)	à	xá	wàntányí	dégé-mà
	(s)he	POSS	trousers	sew-HABFUT
	'He sews his trousers.' (R:119)			

(19)	ń	xúnyà	gìnè	má	ná	ń	wàntányí	mà-dégè-fè
	I	younger_sibling	woman	at	COP	I	trousers	MA-sew-PROG
	'My younger sister is mending my trousers.' (H:71)							

- 19 The mà- multiplicative distributive derived from *kòó* 'take down, take away' is strongly idiomatic, cf. (20-21).

(20)	à	náxà	kájá	mòndé	kérén	kòó
	(s)he	CONS	sweet_stuff	handful	one	take_down
	'He took down one handful of sweet stuff.' (H:73)					

(21)	sigá	xándékúì	mà-kóò-dè
	leave	yard	MA-take_down-INF
	'Go and sweep the yard.' (H:73)		

2.2.4. Multiplicatives that are semantically equal to unprefixing stems

- 20 The mà-derivates with a multiplicative meaning which are derived from unprefixing verbs with a multiplicative meaning make another numerous group of mà-multiplicatives. In this case no apparent difference is attested between the unprefixing verbs' meaning and the corresponding mà-derivates' meaning, cf. (22-23). Presumably, the prefixed and unprefixing verbs are nevertheless different, but the difference can hardly be captured; it may be lexicalized and requires a further investigation. There are 10 unprefixing multiplicative verbs in the database from which the mà-multiplicatives with no semantic difference are derived:

- kòń 'lick' (H:22, 'lécher') > màkòń 'lick' (T:208, 'lécher');
- gée 'dig' (T:174, 'creuser') > màgée 'dig' (T:206, 'déterrer, creuser');
- dín 'pound' (H:72, 'donner des coups, piler', T:176, 'piler, heurter, cogner') > màdín 'pound' (H:72, 'piler dans un petit mortier');
- bóron 'trample, move one's legs' (H:71, 'agir avec des pieds'; T:182, 'piétiner') > màbóron 'trample' (H:71, 'piétiner');
- sùnbú 'mix, blend, add' (T:190, 'mélanger, embrasser') > màsùnbú 'mix, blend' (T:211, 'mélanger');
- filín 'wrap' (T:182, 'enrouler') > màfilín 'wrap' (T:212, 'enrouler, envelopper');
- yólón 'fall one by one' (T:183, 'tomber un à un'; R:161, 'tomber, en parlant des feuilles d'arbres ou des graines') > màyólón 'fall one by one' (T:212, 'tomber goutte à goutte');
- kásán 'splash, scatter' (T:183, 'gicler, éclabousser') > màkásán 'splash, scatter' (T:213, 'éparpiller');
- fíntán 'fan, ventilate' (T:191, 'éventer') > màfíntán 'fan, ventilate' (T:213, 'éventer');
- fùrùkú 'rub' (T:192, 'essuyer, frotter') > màfùrùkú 'rub' (T:214, 'essuyer, frotter, effacer').

(22)	à	ná	fúndényí	bóron-fè
	(s)he	COP	fonio	trample-PROG
'He is trampling fonio (to thresh it).' (H:71)				

(23)	màlé	mà-bóron-yì	témùì	ná	à	rà
	rice	MA-trample-NMLZ	time	COP	(s)he	with
'It is time to thresh the rice.' (H:71)						

2.2.5. Alternatives

- 21 Alternatives with the prefix mà- are used to express multidirectional events and are derived from VERBS THAT EXPRESS MANNER OF MOTION, cf. (24-25). The mà-alternatives are derived from two unprefixing verbs found in the database:

- néré 'move, go' (H:74, 'faire une marche') > mànéré 'wander' (H:74, 'marcher longuement, se promener', T:208, 'se promener');

- *gíí* ‘move (intr), run’ (H:73, ‘courrir’, T:174, ‘courir, fuir’) > *màgíí* ‘run around, go round’ (H:73, ‘courrir de-ci de-là, gambader, éviter quelqu’un’).

- 22 This class of *mà*-derivates is not expected to be numerous, but one can expect to find out more *mà*-alternatives derived from the verbs that express other manners of motion.

(24)	síí	bàrà	á	gíí
	goat	TRMN	(s)he	run
	‘The goat ran.’ (F:40)			

(25)	díídíí	ndé	á	mà-gíí-fè
	child	INDF	(s)he	MA-run-PROG
	‘A child is running about.’ (C)			

2.2.6. (Lexicalized) multiplicative-distributive causatives

- 23 There are 6 *mà*-derivates in the database that are multiplicative-distributive causatives, i.e. they express an internally plural event that involves a new participant for each sub-event and causes the event expressed by the corresponding unprefixed verb. These 6 unprefixed verbs do not form a natural class, so this meaning of the prefix *mà*- is lexicalized. Note that all 6 *mà*-derivates are to some extent idiomatic, cf. (26-27), (28):

- *yénsén* ‘disperse (intr)’ (H:74, ‘dispenser’) > *màyénsén* ‘disperse to different places’ (T:213, ‘éparpiller’);
- *bòró* ‘rot, go bad’ (H:71, ‘pourrir’, T:179, ‘pourrir’) > *màbòró* ‘spoil everywhere’ (H:71);
- *tèé* ‘rise’ (T:175, ‘monter’) > *màtèé* ‘pick up’ (T:207, ‘remonter, retrousser’);
- *dón* ‘eat’ > *màdón* ‘feed many beings, pasture’ (H:72, ‘faire manger’; T:207, ‘faire manger, faire paître’);
- *sólí* ‘push through’ (H:74, ‘percer, pointer, germer’) > *màsólí* ‘make holes, cut out’ (H:74, ‘faire des trous, percer, tailler en pointe (crayon), sculpter’; T:210, ‘sculpter’);
- *dàngí* ‘pass’ (H:71, ‘passer, dépasser’; R:118, ‘traverser’) > *màdàngí* ‘pass (tr) many objects, finger’ (T:211, ‘faire passer, égrener’).

(26)	sànsí	bàrà	sólí
	seed	TRMN	push_through
	‘The seeds pushed through.’ (H:74)		

(27)	kámúdéí	ná	wúrí	mà-sólí-fè,	á	xá	bálánsè
	carpenter	COP	wood	MA-push_through-PROG	(s)he	SBJV	lock

	bánbán	á	rá				
	nail_down	(s)he	with				
	'The carpenter makes holes in the wood in order to nail down the lock.' (H:74)						

(28)	á	siǵá-xì	màngé	xá	ningé	dé	mà-dón-dè
	(s)he	leave-PRF	chief	POSS	bull	throat	MA-eat-INF
	'He went to feed the mouth of the chief's bulls.' (H:72)						

2.2.7. (Lexicalized) multiplicative causatives

- 24 In the database there are 3 cases of mà- non-distributive multiplicative causatives, i.e. mà-derivates expressing an internally plural event that retains the same participants for all the sub-events and causes the event expressed by the corresponding unprefixated verb. The first two cases are clear, cf. (29-30) and (31-32), the third one is doubtful, cf. (33):

- bòròxó 'be mild' (H:71, 'être mou') > màbòròxò 'make mild doing a series of actions' (H:71, 'ramollir');
- dúlá 'drown (intr), go down, disappear' (H:72, 'disparaître dans l'eau, sombrer, se noyer'; T: 177, 's'enfoncer, se noyer') > màdúlà 'drown (tr) repeatedly' (H:72, 'submerger, se débattre dans l'eau, manquer de se noyer').
- ? dúndú 'keep silence' (T:188, 'se taire') > màdúndù 'calm (tr)' (T:211, 'calmer, consoler').

(29)	yí	mángò-è	bòròxó-xì
	this	mango-PL	be_mild-PRF
	'These mangoes are mild.' (H:71)		

(30)	mùlùxúnyí	mà-bòròxò
	lemon	MA-be_mild
	'Make the lemon mild (twisting it by foot).' (H:71)	

(31)	kúnkì	bàrà	dúlá
	ship	TRMN	drown
	'The ship sank.' (H:72)		

(32)	dímé-è	nú	ná	bèré-fè	bàré	mà-dúlà-fè
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	child-PL	RETR	COP	play-PROG	dog	MA-drown-PROG
	'The children played drowning the dog.' (H:72)					

(33)	ń	tàrá	bàrà	ń	mà-dúndù
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	I	MA-keep_silence
	'My brother calmed me.' (C)				

2.2.8. (Lexicalized) discontinuatives

- 25 There are two *mà*-derivates in the database that are discontinuatives, i.e. they express an event that takes place with pauses. The corresponding unprefixd verbs express uninterrupted events, cf. (34-35). These two unprefixd verbs do not form any natural class:

- *déxé* 'shine' (H:71, 'donner de la lumière, éclairer, brûler') > *màdéxé* 'shimmer' (H:71, 'briller, miroiter, resplendir');
- *bèndún* 'drag, pull' (H:70, 'tirer'; T:191, 'tirer') > *màbéndùn* 'drag, pull with intervals' (H:70, 'tirer par petits coups, tirailler').

(34)	á	bèndún	ń	má
	(s)he	pull	I	at
	'Drag it to me.' (H:70)			

(35)	wó	kúnkì	mà-béndùn
	you.PL	ship	MA-pull
	'Pull (with pauses) the ship!' (H:70)		

2.3. Derivates with a meaning of property

2.3.1. Derivates with a meaning of property in general

- 26 The other pluractional meanings of *mà*- are event-external. One of them is the meaning of property. This means that *mà*-derivates are used to express a general characteristic of an individual; in contrast, corresponding unprefixd verbs express related specific events.
- 27 Among the unprefixd verbs from which *mà*-properties are derived, there is a natural class of MENTAL STATES (*kólón* 'know, be acquainted with', *gààxú* 'be afraid of', *tóóró* 'suffer', *kíníkíní* 'feel pity'³), but other verbs from which the *mà*-properties are derived do not form any natural class.

- 28 Most of mà-properties have an argument structure which is different from the unprefixes verbs they are derived from, both decreasing and increasing the verb's valencies. This is evidently lexicalized, i.e. one cannot predict an argument structure of a prefixed verb from the argument structure or other features of the unprefixes verb from which it is derived.
- 29 Most of mà-properties denote externally-oriented properties, i. e. they are related not only to the subject of the verb, but also to other individuals. The exceptions are *màsàlàxùn* 'make slippery' and *màbòxùn* 'spit constantly.'

2.3.2. Properties

- 30 mà-properties with no changes in the argument structure, cf. (36-37), are derived from 4 verbs in the database. One of them (*màtínxìn* 'educate') is considerably idiomatic:
- *kàlí* 'swear' (H:73, 'jurer') > *màkàlí* 'swear constantly' (H:73, 'jurer sans cesse');
 - *kíníkíní* 'feel pity' (R:131, 'avoir pitié, avoir compassion') > *màkíníkíní* 'be pitiful' (T:215, 'être pitoyable');
 - *bòxùn* 'vomit, (?) spit' (H:71, 'vomir') > *màbòxùn* 'spit constantly' (H:71, 'cracher sans cesse');
 - *tínxìn* 'be true, be right' (T:191, 'être juste, être droit') > *màtínxìn* 'educate' (T:214, 'redresser, éduquer').

(36)	á	nú	wèyÉnyì	fàlá,	á	mú	kàlí-mà
	(s)he	RETR	word	say	(s)he	NEG	swear-HABFUT
	'If he says any words, he does not swear.' (H:73)						

(37)	bá	í	mà-kàlí-fè
	stop	you	MA-swear-PROG
	'Stop swearing every time.' (H:73)		

2.3.3. Property passives

- 31 3 mà-derivates in the database are property passives, i.e. they indicate properties and have a decreased valency compared to the corresponding unprefixes verbs. The subject of a mà- property passive corresponds to an object (in case of *kólón* 'know, be acquainted with'), cf. (38-39), or to a peripheral argument (in case of *bèré* 'play' and *gààxú* 'be afraid of'), cf. (40-41), of the corresponding unprefixes verb:
- *kólón* 'know, be acquainted with' (H:73, 'connaître'; T:182, 'connaître, savoir') > *màkólón* 'be known by everyone' (H:73, 'être connu de tous');
 - *bèré* 'play' (H:70, 'jouer') > *màbèré* 'be mocked' (H:70, 'se jouer de, tourner en dérision');
 - *gààxú* 'be afraid of' (H:73, 'avoir peur'; R:125, 'craindre, appréhender, avoir peur...') > *màgàáxú* 'be terrible' (H:73, 'être terrifiant'; T:210, 'terrifier').

(38)	ń	mú	yí	kólón-mà
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	I	NEG	this	know-HABFUT
	'I don't know this one.' (H:73)			

(39)	í	bàrà	só	mà-kòlòn-fè
	you	TRMN	enter	MA-know-PROG
	'You became known by everyone.' (H:73)			

(40)	í	námà	gààxú	bàré	rá
	you	PROH	be_afraid	dog	with
	'Don't be afraid of the dog.' (H:73)				

(41)	yí	kúyé	mà-gááxù
	this	idol	MA-be_afraid
	'This idol is terrible.' (H:73)		

- 32 One more unprefix verb has a labile mà-derivate that can be both property and property passive:

• yélé 'laugh' (T:177, 'rire') > màyéllè 'mock, be ridiculous' (T:208, 'se moquer de, être drôle').

2.3.4. Property causatives

- 33 Another two mà-derivates in the database are property causatives, i. e. they express the events that cause properties related to the events expressed by the corresponding unprefix verbs. The object of a mà- property causative corresponds to the subject of the unprefix verb, cf. (42-43), (44-45):

- sáláxún 'glide' (H:74, 'glisser'; T:194, 'glisser, être gluant') > màsálàxùn 'make slippery' (H:74, 'rendre glissant, être glissant');
- tòóró 'suffer' (T:186, 'souffrir, déranger'; F:58, 'ПЕРЕЖИВАТЬ, СТРАДАТЬ, БЕСПОКОИТЬСЯ') > màtòóró 'make constantly suffer' (F:72, 'ЗАСТАВЛЯТЬ ТЕРПЕТЬ, СТРАДАТЬ').

(42)	á	bàrà	sáláxún	mángáxórì	má
	(s)he	TRMN	glide	mango_pit	at
	'He slipped on a mango stone.' (H:74)				

(43)	tùnÉ	bàrà	bòxì	mà-sálàxùn
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	rain	TRMN	sun	MA-glide
	'The rain made the soil slippery.' (H:74)			

(44)	ń	ná	tóóró-fe
	I	COP	suffer-PROG
	'I am suffering.' (F:58)		

(45)	sénì	bàrà	á	ngá	mà-tóórò
	Seni	TRMN	(s)he	mother	MA-suffer
	'Seni made his mother (constantly) suffer.' (F:72)				

- 34 One more unprefix verb has a labile mà-derivate that can be both property and property causative:

• *tàngá* 'escape' (C; T:190, 'éviter, échapper à') > *màtàngà* 'avoid, protect' (T:211, 'éviter, sauvegarder').

2.4. Derivates with a meaning of full coverage

2.4.1. Derivates with a meaning of full coverage in general

- 35 Another meaning of the prefix mà- is the meaning of full coverage, where a mà-derivate is used to express an event which involves a participant entirely.
- 36 As it can be predicted, mà-derivates with the meaning of full coverage can be derived from the unprefix verbs expressing the EVENTS WITH AN INCREMENTAL THEME in the sense suggested by Dowty (1991).⁴ It means that the progress of these events can be measured by the degree of participant involvement (that is called 'incremental theme'). In this case a mà-derivate denotes the natural endpoint where the participant is involved entirely.
- 37 There are unprefix verbs which normally express events with no incremental theme that still have mà-derivates with the meaning of full coverage. However, in this case, the meaning of an unprefix verb is reinterpreted as if the event still had an incremental theme. E.g. *sègè* 'cut' has no incremental theme, and its derivate *màsègè* has the meaning of full coverage. This process is lexicalized, so it is not possible to explain why certain verbs undergo this process while the others do not.
- 38 Some of the mà-derivates with the meaning of full coverage differ in argument structure from the unprefix verbs they are derived from, either decreasing or increasing in valency. This option is evidently a case of lexicalization.

2.4.2. Full coverage derivatives

- 39 mà-derivates with the meaning of full coverage with no changes in the argument structure, cf. (46-47), are derived from two verbs in the database:

- sègè ‘cut’ (H:74, ‘couper avec un instrument’; T:181, ‘couper’) > màsègè ‘cut all on a wide area’ (H:74, ‘couper sur une grande étendue’);
- bàràbàrá ‘boil (intr)’ (H:70, ‘bouillir à gros bouillons, ébouillanter’) > màbàràbàrà ‘be boiled / ready, be scalded’ (H:70).

(46)	sìgá	túgí	sègè-dè
	leave	palm_branch	cut-INF
	‘Go and cut the palm branches.’ (H:74)		

(47)	wón	mìní-mà	xé	má,	wón	xá	mà-sègè
	we.INC	exit-HABFUT	field	at	we.INC	SBJV	MA-cut
	‘We shall go to the field to uproot it completely.’ (H:74)						

2.4.3. Full coverage passives

- 40 There are two mà-derivates in the database that are full coverage passives, i.e. they express the meaning of full coverage and have a decreased valency compared to the corresponding unprefixed verbs. The subject of a mà- property passive corresponds to the object of the unprefixed verb, cf. (48-49):

- bíí ‘cut, root out, shave’ (H:70, ‘couper (herbes), défricher, raser (poils)’; T:174, ‘raser, sarcler’) > màbíí ‘cut, shave oneself completely’ (H:70, ‘raser dans tous les sens, ou complètement’; T:206, ‘raser, sarcler’);
- tòlín ‘twist’ (H:74, ‘faire des torsions’; T:184, ‘tordre’) > màtòlín ‘be twisted completely’ (H:74).

(48)	á	ná	dùgí	tòlín-fè
	(s)he	COP	cloth	twist
	‘She is squeezing the cloth.’ (H:74)			

(49)	yí	wúrí	mà-tòlín-xì
	this	branch	MA-twist-PRF
	‘This branch is completely twisted.’ (H:74)		

2.5. (Lexicalized) derivatives with a more abstract lexical meaning

2.5.1. Derivates with a more abstract lexical meaning in general

- 41 There is a relatively large group of *mà*-derivates with a more abstract / general meaning than the unprefixed verbs they are derived from. This group is strongly idiomatic and lexicalized. It is impossible to predict the meaning of a *mà*-derivate of this group from the meaning of the corresponding unprefixed verb, neither it is possible to predict if a given verb has a *mà*-derivate with a more abstract meaning.
- 42 Some of the *mà*-derivates with a more abstract lexical meaning have an argument structure different from the unprefixed verbs from which they are derived, thus having an increased valency.

2.5.2. Derivates with a more abstract meaning

- 43 *mà*-derivates with a more abstract lexical meaning and with no changes in the argument structure, cf. (50-51), are derived from 7 verbs in the database:
- *sàrá* ‘buy, sell’ (R:151, ‘préparer, vendre, acheter’) > *màsàrá* ‘exchange’ (T:209, ‘échanger, transformer’; R:142, ‘changer, transformer’);
 - *xínbéli* ‘be cold’ > *màxínbèli* ‘be cold, quiet, slow’ (T:214, ‘être calme, lent, refroidir’);
 - *kàná* ‘spoil’ (T:180, ‘gâter’) > *màkànà* ‘dissipate, waste’ (T:209, ‘gaspiller’);
 - *wáá* ‘cry, want’ (T:175, ‘pleurer, vouloir’) > *màwáá* ‘complain’ (T:207, ‘se plaindre’);
 - *tínkán* ‘study’ (T:191, ‘apprendre, initier’) > *màtínkàn* ‘learn’ (C);
 - *xóróxó* ‘be hard, difficult’ (T:192, ‘être dur, difficile’) > *màxóròxò* ‘be resistant, oppose’ (T:214, ‘être résistant’);
 - *xéé* ‘send on a mission’ (T:175, ‘envoyer en commission’) > *màxéé* ‘commit, charge with’ (T:207, ‘confier à, mettre à la charge de’).

(50)	tòxé	kérén	sàrá	ń	má
	hen	one	buy	I	at
	‘Buy / sell me a hen.’ (R:151)				

(51)	é	bàrà	ń	má	búkí	mà-sàrá
	they	TRMN	I	at	book	MA-buy
	‘They exchanged my book.’ (F:60)					

2.5.3. Causatives with a more abstract meaning

- 44 Two *mà*-derivates in the database are causatives with a more abstract lexical meaning, i.e. they express events that cause more general events than those expressed by the corresponding unprefixed verbs. The object of a *mà*- causative with a more abstract

lexical meaning corresponds to the subject of an unprefix verb, cf. (52-53), (54-55). A further possibility is a reflexive use of the causative *mà*-derivate (56):

- *kánkán* ‘attach (intr)’ (H:73, ‘accrocher’) > *mánkánkán* ‘attach, guard, save’ (H:73, ‘accrocher, garder’; T:213, ‘mettre en détention, conserver’);
- *gòró* ‘go down, descend’ (T:180, ‘descendre’) > *màgòró* ‘diminish, lower’ (T:208, ‘abaisser, s’asseoir’).

(52)	á	bàrà	kánkán	wúrí	má
	(s)he	TRMN	attach	wood	at
‘He is tied to wood (Il est accroché à l’arbre).’ (H:73)					

(53)	á	bàrà	ń	má	kóbìrì	mà-kánkán
	(s)he	TRMN	I	at	money	MA-attach
‘He guarded my money.’ (H:73)						

(54)	kùlé	bàrà	gòró
	monkey	TRMN	descend
‘The monkey climbed down.’ (F:78)			

(55)	ń	tàrá	bàrà	á	mà-gòró
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	(s)he	MA-descend
‘My brother decreased it.’ (C)					

(56)	í	mà-gòró	bé
	you	MA-descend	here
‘Sit down here.’ (H:64)			

- 45 One more unprefix verb has a labile *mà*-derivate with a more abstract lexical meaning that can express both a more general event and a causation of it:

- *kúyá* ‘be big, be long’ (T:178, ‘être grand, être long’) > *màkúyà* ‘be distant, make distant’ (T:209, ‘éloigner, être loin’).

2.6. (Lexicalized) derivates with an intensive meaning

- 46 There are four *mà*-derivates that express more intensive events than the unprefix verbs they are derived from, cf. (57-58). These unprefix verbs do not form any

natural class: two of them express activities, one of them designates a permanent state, and another one is a stative verb of perception. The exact meaning is defined lexically:

- ɲááxú ‘be bad’ (H:73, ‘être mauvais, méchant’; T:185, ‘être méchant’) > màɲááxú ‘be very bad’ (H:74, ‘être devenu méchant, insupportable’; T:210, ‘être déteste’);
- gèrún ‘swallow’ (T:183, ‘avalér’) > màgèrún ‘swallow quickly and greedily’ (T:212, ‘avalér rapidement et avidement’);
- xàá ‘wash’ (H:73, ‘laver’; T:175, ‘laver’) > màxàá ‘wash; wash thoroughly’ (H:73, ‘laver en frottant beaucoup, avec du savon’);
- tòó ‘see’ (C; T:175, ‘voir, apercevoir’) > màtòó ‘look’ (C; T:207, ‘regarder, examiner’).

(57)	yí	bàré	ɲááxú
	this	dog	be_bad
	‘This dog is (permanently) angry.’ (H:73)		

(58)	ɲààrí	mà-ɲááxú	hán
	cat	MA-be_bad	very
	‘The cat is (permanently) very, very angry.’ (H:74)		

- 47 xàá ‘wash’ has an unclear status in this list: the data of Houis (1963) contain clear intensive uses of màxàá, cf. (59–60), but my own first-hand data (61), as well as the data of Fofana (1992) (62), give no intensive meaning of this derivate. One can assume a semantic shift since Houis (1963).

(59)	á	sigá-xì	dùgí-è	xàá-dè
	(s)he	leave-PRF	cloth-PL	wash-INF
	‘She went to wash the clothes.’ (H:73)			

(60)	sàfún-yí	mà-xàá	nàn	rà-fàn	ń	má
	soap-ACT	MA-wash	EMPH	RA-be_good	I	at
	‘I like fine washing with soap.’ (H:73)					

(61)	ń	tàrá	bàrà	á	mà-xàá
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	(s)he	MA-wash
	‘My brother washed himself.’ (C)				

(62)	ń	ná	ń	mà-xàà-fè
	I	COP	I	MA-wash-PROG
'I am washing myself.' (F:73)				

- 48 màtòò 'look', derived from tóó 'see', is a special lexicalized case of the intensive meaning where a state is converted into an activity, cf. (63-64).

(63)	ń	bàrà	ń	tàrá	tóó
	I	TRMN	I	elder_sibling	see
'I saw my brother.' (C)					

(64)	ń	ná	ń	tàrá	mà-tóò-fè
	I	COP	I	elder_sibling	MA-see-PROG
'I am looking at my brother.' (C)					

2.7. (Lexicalized) attenuatives

- 49 There are 3 mà-derivates in the database that are attenuatives, i.e. they express a reduced event in comparison to the one expressed by the unprefixed verb. All the three unprefixed verbs attested to have two attenuative mà-derivates are VERBS OF DIRECTED MOTION, so their derivates express a shorter motion than the standard motion expressed by the unprefixed verbs, cf. (65-66), (67-68):

- *sigá* 'leave' > *màsígà* 'move away from smb./smth.' (H:74, 's'écarter de, se pousser, reculer'; T: 209, 'éloigner, reculer, déplacer');
- *fáá* 'come' (T:174, 'venir') > *màfáá* 'approach' (T:206, 'approcher');
- *sóó* 'enter' > *màsóò* 'come near, approach' (H:74, 'faire entrer dans un groupe, un tas; approcher, avancer près de'; T:207, 's'approcher, s'habiller').

(65)	ń	tàrá	bàrà	sigá	Kónákírí
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	leave	Conakry
'My brother left for Conakry.' (C)					

(66)	ń	mà-sígà-mà	wó	rá
	I	MA-leave-HABFUT	you.PL	with
'I'll move away from you (Je m'écarterai de vous).' (H:74)				

(67)	ń	bàrà	sóó	bànxí
	I	TRMN	enter	house
'I came home / I entered the house.' (C)				

(68)	mà-sòò,	ń	xá	xúi	mÉ
	MA-enter	I	SBJV	voice	hear
'Get closer to me so that I can hear your voice.' (H:74)					

2.8. Derivates with peripheral meanings

2.8.1. Derivates with peripheral meanings in general

- 50 In this section the meanings of mà-derivates that are attested only for 1–2 verbs are listed when the semantic correlations of the mà-derivates and the unprefixes verbs they are derived from are clear. I assume that, since the semantic correlations are clear, one can expect more verbs in each group (of course, as well as in the main groups discussed in the previous sections); that is why, technically, subsections containing a single verb are created.

2.8.2. (Lexicalized) dispersives

- 51 There is one mà-derivate in the database that is a dispersive, i.e. it is used to express the fact that an event takes place in different locations, cf. (69–70). As opposed to a more numerous group containing dispersive multiplicative distributives, here the events taking place in different locations do not have to occur jointly and therefore are not necessarily sub-events of a single event:

- *fúntú* 'distend, swell up' (H:72, 'enfler, gonfler') > *màfúntù* 'distend, swell up everywhere' (H:72, 'enfler de partout').

(69)	ń	bèlèxé	bàrà	fúntú
	I	arm	TRMN	swell_up
'My arm swelled up.' (H:72)				

(70)	á	sànyí	bírín	mà-fúntù-mà	nÈ
	(s)he	leg	all	MA-swell_up-HABFUT	ASS
'(If a woman is pregnant for the first time), her legs swell up everywhere.' (H:72)					

2.8.3. (Lexicalized) frustratives

- 52 Another *mà*-derivate in the database is a frustrative, i. e. it is used to express an event that takes place in vain, in contrast to a normal event expressed by the unprefixated verb, cf. (71-72). The only unprefixated verb that has a *mà*-derivate with a frustrative meaning is a verb of activity, and the derivate denotes a vain activity:

- *fén* ‘look for’ (H:72, ‘aller chercher’; T:175, ‘chercher’) > *màfén* ‘look for in vain’ (H:72).

(71)	á	náxà	yèlibá-è	fén
	(s)he	CONS	griot-PL	look_for
	‘He went to look for griots.’ (H:72)			

(72)	í	tàn	nàn	bàrà	é	mà-fén,	kónó	é	sìgá-xì
	you	FOC	EMPH	TRMN	they	MA-look_for	but	they	leave-PRF
	‘It was you who looked for them, but they had left.’ (H:72)								

2.8.4. (Lexicalized) pejoratives

- 53 One more *mà*-derivate in the database is pejorative, i.e. it is used to express an event that has a negative evaluation, in contrast to the neutral event:

- *fàlá* ‘say’ (T:180, ‘dire, tresser’) > *màfàlá* ‘criticize, slander’ (T:208, ‘critiquer, médire’).

2.8.5. Derivates from non-verbal parts of speech

- 54 The prefix *mà*- is also occasionally used as a verbalizer that derives verbs from other parts of speech:

- *tàálí* ‘parable, proverb’ (R:155, ‘parabole, proverbe’; T:84, ‘proverbe, fable’) > *màtàálí* ‘tell’ (T:210, ‘raconter’);
- *yándì* ‘please’ (H:121, ‘s’il te plaît’; R:160, ‘s’il te plaît’) > *màyándì* ‘beg pardon’ (T:211, ‘prier, demander pardon’).

2.9. Unclear cases

- 55 A number of *mà*-derivates have an unclear (so far) semantic correlation with the unprefixated verbs they are derived from. In most cases the meaning that is added by the prefix *mà*- to the lexical meaning of the corresponding unprefixated verb is difficult to identify mainly because of insufficient data (therefore, this is to be fixed during further research).

2.9.1. Activities semantically close to unprefix verbs

- 56 There are four *mà*-derivates in the database that are used to express activities which are semantically equal or close to the activities expressed by the corresponding unprefix verbs:

- *kérí* ‘pursue, chase’ (T:177, ‘chasser, poursuivre’) > *màkérí* ‘pursue, relieve’ (T:209, ‘poursuivre, venir en aide’);
- *kíítí* ‘judge’ (T:185, ‘juger, aller en justice’) > *màkíítí* ‘judge’ (T:211, ‘juger, aller en justice’);
- *ságátá* ‘follow, pursue’ (T:192, ‘suivre, rejoindre’) > *màságàtà* ‘pursue’ (T:214, ‘poursuivre, rejoindre’);
- *gílín* ‘roast, fry’ (T:183, ‘griller, rôtir’) > *màgílín* ‘roast, fry’ (T:212, ‘griller, rôtir’).

2.9.2. Accomplishments semantically close to unprefix stems

- 57 There are three *mà*-derivates in the database that are used to express accomplishments which are semantically equal or close to the accomplishments expressed by the corresponding unprefix verbs:

- *sòtó* ‘get, obtain’ (T:181, ‘recevoir, obtenir’) > *màsótò* ‘get, obtain, possess’ (T:210, ‘recevoir, obtenir, posséder’);
- *yòntón* ‘decrease tension’ (T:191, ‘diminuer de tension’) > *màyóntón* ‘weaken’ (T:213, ‘détendre’);
- *yànfá* ‘betray, distract, deceive’ (T:189, ‘trahir, distraire, tromper’) > *màyánfà* ‘distract, deceive’ (T:211, ‘distraire, tromper’).

- 58 Possibly, *mà*-derivates expressing activities and accomplishments which are semantically equal or close to those expressed by the unprefix verbs they are derived from, are obtained from the desemantization of *mà*-intensives (cf. the aforementioned case of *xàá* ‘wash’ > *màxàà* ‘wash thoroughly’, later ‘? wash’) or *mà*-derivates with other meanings, but more data and further research are needed to verify this.

2.9.3. Derivates with an internally plural participant

- 59 Another *mà*-derivate in the database has a participant with an internally plural structure unlike the unprefix verb from which it is derived, cf. (73-74):

- *bílín* ‘encircle’ (H:70, ‘entourer, cerner’) > *màbílín* ‘go round’ (H:70, ‘tourner autour’; T:212, ‘contourner, tourner autour’).

(73)	dònsoé-è	bàrà	sílí	bílín
	hunter-PL	TRMN	elephant	encircle
	‘Hunters surrounded the elephant.’ (H:70)			

(74)	ń	bàrà	yí	gèmèkóntà	mà-bílín
	I	TRMN	this	stone_heap	MA-encircle
	‘I went around this heap of stones.’ (H:70)				

2.9.4. Transitives and causatives

- 60 There are three *mà*-derivates in the database that differ from the unprefixed verbs they are derived from, having an increased valency, cf. (75-76). Either only the argument structure distinguishes the derivates from the unprefixed verbs, or there is also an idiomatic semantic difference. One of the unprefixed verbs is labile, and the *mà*-derivate is restricted to transitive uses. The other two unprefixed verbs are intransitive, and the corresponding *mà*-derivates are transitive. One of them is a transitive, which adds a new object and retains the subject of the unprefixed verb. Another one is a causative, and its object corresponds to the subject of the unprefixed verb:

- *nóxó* ‘soil, be dirty’ ‘soil, be dirty’ (T:178, ‘salir’; H:90, ‘être sale’; R:147, ‘abîmer, tacher, salir’) > *mànóxó* ‘soil’ (R:142, ‘tacher, salir’);
- *sáli* ‘pray’ (T:178, ‘prier’; F:67, ‘МОЛИТЬСЯ’) > *màsáli* ‘say prayer (over a deceased)’ (F:67, ‘ЧИТАТЬ МОЛИТВУ НАД УМЕРШИМ’);
- *líí* ‘reach’ (T:174, ‘atteindre, trouver’; R:189, ‘arriver’) > *máílí* ‘help’ (T:206, ‘aider, secourir’).

(75)	n	bàrà	sáli
	I	TRMN	pray
	‘I prayed.’ (F:66)		

(76)	é	bàrà	fùré	mà-sáli
	they	TRMN	deceased	MA-pray
	‘They said a prayer over the deceased.’ (F:67)			

2.9.5. Other unclear cases

- 61 In the other four unclear cases of *mà*-derivates no generalization can be made at all. Intuitively, in contrast to fully idiomatic cases discussed below, here the meanings of unprefixed verbs and their *mà*-derivates are interrelated, but in a very obscure way, cf. (77-78):

- *kótó* ‘put one on another, stack’ (H:73, ‘mettre les choses les unes sur les autres’; T:178, ‘entasser, empiler’) > *màkótó* ‘close’ (T:209, ‘couvrir, recouvrir’);
- *dàxú* ‘be absent-minded’ (T:179, ‘être fou’) > *màdàxú* ‘deceive, disappoint’ (T:208, ‘tromper’);
- *fán* ‘be good’ (T:175, ‘être bon’) > *màfán* ‘be loved’ (T:207, ‘être aimé’);
- *gàlànbú* ‘disagree, cross’ (T:195, ‘se manquer, être en désaccord, croiser’) > *màgàlànbú* ‘cross, mix’ (T:214, ‘croiser, mélanger’).

(77)	yègé	kótó
	wood	stack

	'Stack the wood.' (H:73)
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(78)	bàndé	mà-kótò
	rice	MA-stack
	'Cover the rice (that is in the calabash).' (H:73)	

2.10. Fully idiomatic derivatives

62 Finally, a considerable group of *mà*-derivates are fully idiomatic, i.e. there is no synchronic semantic relation between them and the unprefixed verbs they are derived from, cf. (79-80), (81-82), (83-84):

- *mèÉ* 'hear, feel' (T:175, 'entendre'; R:142, 'entendre, comprendre') > *màmÉÈ* 'wait' (T:206, 'attendre');
- *sáá* 'put, lie down' (T:174, 'mettre, poser, coucher'; R:150, 'placer, mettre, déposer, se coucher') > *màsáá* 'swim, make love' (T:207, 'nager, faire l'amour avec');
- *tèlèxún* 'carry on one's head' (T:194, 'porter qch. sur la tête sans le tenir des mains') > *màtèlèxùn* 'be eloquent' (T:214, 'être éloquent');
- *kénén* 'please' (T:182, 'plaire'; R:130 'plaire, être agréable') > *màkénén* 'clarify' (T:213, 'affirmer, clarifier');
- *níŋá* 'do' (T:178, 'faire') > *màníŋà* 'be similar' (T:209, 'essayer, goûter, mesurer, ressembler à');
- *xónó* 'get angry' (C; T:179, 'se fâcher, être amer') > *màxónò* 'injure' (T:210, 'blesser');
- *làn* 'agree, be necessary, must' (T:176, 'être d'accord, falloir') > *màlàn* 'convoke, join' (T:208, 'rassembler, réunir').

(79)	á	kùré	xílísí	mèÉ-mà
	(s)he	tortoise	smell	feel-HABFUT
	'He will feel a tortoise's smell.' (H:55)			

(80)	ń	nú	á	mà-mÉÈ-fè
	I	RETR	(s)he	MA-feel-PROG
	'(While my brother was writing a letter), I was waiting for him.' (C)			

(81)	á	sáá-xì	kóóláá	búnyí
	(s)he	lie_down	cola	under
	'He is lying under the cola tree.' (H:58)			

(82)	sóɲɛ	gbégbè	ná	bé,	ń	mú	nɔ́ɔ-mà	yé	mà-sáà-dè
	crocodile	many	COP	here	I	NEG	can-HABFUT	this	MA-lie_down-INF
‘There are many crocodiles here, I cannot swim here.’ (H:137)									

(83)	ń	bàrà	xónó	ń	tàrá	má
	I	TRMN	get_angry	I	elder_sibling	at
‘I got angry with my brother.’ (C)						

(84)	ń	bàrà	ń	tàrá	mà-xónò
	I	TRMN	I	elder_sibling	MA-get_angry
‘I injured my brother.’ (C)					

2.11. Prefix *mà-*: conclusion

- 63 A description of the prefix *mà-* semantics in Susu is given in §2.2–2.10.
- 64 There is an evident core group of *mà-*derivates, *mà-*multiplicatives. Their main subgroups are multiplicatives proper, multiplicative distributives, multiplicatives semantically equal to unprefixes stems and alternatives. The type of the semantic subgroup of the core group can always be predicted from its lexical features:
- transitive telic verbs that express brief events with no irreversible result have multiplicative proper *mà-*derivates;
 - transitive telic verbs that express brief events with an irreversible result have multiplicative distributive *mà-*derivates;
 - multiplicative unprefixes verbs have multiplicative *mà-*derivates with no apparent change of the lexical meaning;
 - verbs of motion manner verbs have alternative *mà-*derivates.
- 65 In the non-core groups of *mà-*derivates there are also correlations between the lexical meaning of a verb and the meaning of its *mà-*derivate:
- verbs that express mental states have *mà-*derivates with the meaning of property;
 - *mà-*derivates with an incremental theme have *mà-*derivates with the meaning of full coverage;
 - verbs of directed motion have attenuative *mà-*derivates.
- 66 These correlations are less strong, because unlike the correlations of the core group, they can be confused by lexicalization: e.g. the verb with an incremental theme *dón* ‘eat’ has no expected *mà-*derivate with the meaning of full coverage, but has a lexicalized *mà-* multiplicative-distributive causative *màdón* ‘feed many beings, pasture’.
- 67 Other unprefixes verbs which do not participate in the discovered correlations (mainly, non-motional activities, non-brief non-incremental accomplishments), have *mà-*derivates that are lexically distributed between the mentioned groups (*mà-*derivates

with different types of multiplicative meanings, with the meanings of property, of full coverage, of attenuative) and lexicalized groups.

- 68 The prefix *mà-* frequently changes verbal valencies by increasing their quantity or more marginally by decreasing it. Normally, the valency-changing effect is an addition to the meaning of the prefix and not its proper function. The process of the valency-changing by *mà-* is lexicalized, and not incited by any general factors.

3. Prefix *rà-*

3.1. General overview

- 69 Generally, the prefix *rà-* was fairly identified earlier as a causative marker. In the majority of cases this marker is used as a valency-increasing one that adds (at least semantically) a new participant, typically a new agent. However, firstly, a new participant with another semantic role can also be added, therefore this marker can also be used as an applicative, cf. (Peterson 1997; Jeong 2006). Secondly, there are also marginal non-valency-changing uses of the prefix *rà-*.

3.2. Derivates with a causative meaning

3.2.1. Derivates with a causative meaning in general

- 70 Most typically, *rà-*derivates have a causative meaning. It means that usually the prefix *rà-* has a different syntactic subject in comparison to the unprefixed verb it is derived from; the added subject has the semantic role of an agent or an effector.

3.2.2. Causatives

- 71 Causatives proper account for the majority of *rà-*derivates in the database (40 cases). The prefix *rà-* supplements an event with a new participant with the semantic role of an agent (if animate) or an effector (if inanimate) and with the syntactic role of a subject. The subject of an unprefixed verb from which the *rà-*causative is derived becomes a direct object of the *rà-*causative.
- 72 The overwhelming majority of unprefixed verbs from which the *rà-*causative are derived are INTRANSITIVE. See below for the four exceptions: two of them are reflexive verbs (i.e. they are formally transitive, but always have a reflexive pronoun as the formal direct object) and the other two are verbs of perception.
- 73 Similarly, the majority of unprefixed verbs from which the *rà-*causative are derived are UNCONTROLLED NON-AGENTIVE VERBS that initially have no agent valency and therefore easily add it to their argument structure. In the database there can be found eight verbs denoting an uncontrolled achievement, cf. (85-86), (87-88), three verbs for uncontrolled atelic processes, cf. (89-90), three verbs for uncontrolled accomplishments, cf. (91-92), four verbs for emotional states, cf. (93-94), six verbs for other states, cf. (95-96):
- *dúlá* ‘drown (intr), go down, disappear’ (H:72, ‘disparaître dans l’eau, sombrer, se noyer’; T:177, ‘s’enfoncer, se noyer’) > *ràdúlá* ‘sink, drown (tr)’ (H:72, ‘couler, immerger’; T:219, ‘immerger, noyer’);

- *kísí* ‘be saved from death’ (C; T:177, ‘être sauvé’) > *ràkísí* ‘save from death’ (C; T:221, ‘sauver de la mort’);
- *déxé* ‘shine’ (H:71, ‘donner de la lumière, éclairer, brûler’) > *ràdéxé* ‘light, inflame’ (H:71, ‘allumer’; T:219, ‘allumer’);
- *fúntú* ‘distend, swell up’ (H:72, ‘enfler, gonfler’) > *ràfúntú* ‘inflate, swell’ (T:226, ‘gonfler, faire enfler’);
- *gààxú* ‘be afraid of’ (H:73, ‘avoir peur de’; R:125, ‘craindre, appréhender, avoir peur...’) > *ràgááxú* ‘frighten’ (H:73, ‘faire peur’; T:224, ‘faire peur’; F:69, ‘ИСПУГАТЬ’);
- *bòròxó* ‘be mild’ (H:71, ‘être mou’) > *ràbòròxó* ‘make mild’ (H:71, ‘amollir, assouplir’; T:230, ‘ramolir, assouplir’).

(85)	kúnkì	bàrà	dúlá
	ship	TRMN	drown
	‘The ship went down.’ (H:72)		

(86)	dímé-è	náxà	kúnkì	rà-dúlá
	child-PL	CONS	ship	RA-drown
	‘The children sank the pirogue.’ (H:72)			

(87)	ń	tàrá	bàrà	kísí
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	be_saved
	‘My brother was saved (from death).’ (C)			

(88)	ń	tàrá	bàrà	ń	nà-kísí
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	I	RA-be_saved
	‘My brother saved me (from death).’ (C)				

(89)	lápui	ná	déxé-fè
	lamp	COP	shine-PROG
	‘The lamp is on.’ (Lit. ‘The lamp is shining.’) (H:71)		

(90)	ń	má	dí	bàrà	lápui	rà-déxé
	I	at	child	TRMN	lamp	RA-shine
	‘My child turned on the lamp.’ (F:68)					

(91)	ń	bèlèxé	bàrà	fúntú	=(69)
	I	arm	TRMN	swell_up	
	'My arm swelled up.' (H:72)				

(92)	fóyé	bàrà	béla	rà-fúntù	
	wind	TRMN	sail	RA-swell	
	'The wind swelled the sail.' (H:72)				

(93)	í	námà	gààxú	bàré	rá
	you	PROH	be_afraid	dog	with
	'Don't be afraid of the dog.' (H:73)				

(94)	fátú	bàrà	dùyé	rà-gááxù	
	Fatu	TRMN	baby	RA-be_afraid	
	'Fatu frightened the baby.' (F:69)				

(95)	yí	mángò-è	bóróxó-xì	=(29)	
	this	mango-PL	be_mild-PRF		
	'These mangoes are soft.' (H:71)				

(96)	í	bèlèxé	rà-bóròxò		
	you	hand	RA-be_mild		
	'Relax your hand.' (H:71)				

- 74 A significant number of unprefixated INTRANSITIVE CONTROLLED (AGENTIVE) VERBS also have rà-causatives. In the database there can be found 10 INTRANSITIVE TELIC CONTROLLED VERBS, cf. (97-98), (99-100), 2 INTRANSITIVE ATELIC CONTROLLED VERBS, cf. (101-102), 2 REFLEXIVE ATELIC CONTROLLED VERBS, cf. (103-104). But it is remarkable that there is a strong tendency for the rà-causatives of this group to trigger a reinterpretation of a controlled event as an uncontrolled one. This means that uncontrolledness is an almost obligatory feature of a rà-causative:

• sóó 'enter' > ràsòó 'bring in' (T:217, 'faire entrer'; F:69, 'ВВЕСТИ, ВНЕСТИ');

- *bírá* ‘throw oneself down, fall’ (C; H:89 ‘tomber’) > *ràbírá* ‘let fall’ (C; T:218, ‘faire tomber, rappeler a la memoire’);
- *bèré* ‘play’ (H:70, ‘jouer’) > *ràbére* ‘play with, amuse’ (H:70, ‘faire jouer, amuser’);
- *gíí* ‘move(intr), run’ (H:73, ‘courrir’, T:174, ‘courir, fuir’) > *ràgíí* ‘move, drive’ (C; T:216, ‘faire courir, faire fuir’).

(97)	ń	bàrà	sóó	bànxí	=(67)
	I	TRMN	enter	house	
‘I came home / I entered the house.’ (C)					

(98)	pòótì	rà-sòò
	cup	RA-enter
‘Bring the cup in.’ (F:69)		

(99)	ń	tàrá	bàrà	bírá	bóxi	fàrì
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	throw_oneself	ground	on
‘My brother threw himself on the ground.’ (C)						

(100)	ń	tàrá	bàrà	bònfóε	rà-bírá
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	bag	RA-throw_oneself
‘My brother let fall his bag.’ (C)					

(101)	dímé-dí	ná	bèré-fè	búùl	rá
	child-DIM	COP	play-PROG	ball	with
‘The children are playing ball.’ (H:70)					

(102)	kùlé-dí	ná	é	rà-bèré-fè
	monkey-DIM	COP	3PL	RA-play-PROG
‘The little monkey is amusing them’, (H:70)				

(103)	síí	bàrà	á	gíí	=(24)
	goat	TRMN	(s)he	run	

	'The goat ran.' (F:40)
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(104)	ní	ná	mà-tinkàn-fè	wòtóò	rà-gî-dè
	I	COP	MA-study-PROG	car	RA-run-INF
	'I am learning to drive.' (C)				

- 75 The database provides only 3 exceptional rà-causatives whose semantics presumes that the causee has some control over the event, cf. (105-106):

- *gbilén* 'come back' (T:183, 'revenir, se retourner') > *ràgbilén* 'make come back' (T:227, 'retourner, restituer'; F:69, 'ВОЗВРАТИТЬ');
- *kàlí* 'swear' (H:73, 'jurer'; T:180, 'jurer') > *ràkàlí* 'make swear' (H:73, 'faire jurer'; T:220, 'faire jurer, prêter serment');
- *sigá* 'leave' > *ràsigá* 'send smb.' (H:74, 'faire partir, envoyer', T:222, 'faire partir').

(105)	é	bàrà	gbilén	é	xònyí
	they	TRMN	come_back	they	home
	'They came back home.' (H:81)				

(106)	ní	sóxò	bàrà	á	xá	gìnè	rà-gbílén
	I	uncle	TRMN	(s)he	POSS	woman	RA-come_back
	'My uncle made his wife come back.' (F:69)						

- 76 The only two transitive unprefix verbs in the database that have rà-causatives are a VERB OF PERCEPTION, cf. (107-108), and a VERB OF MENTAL STATE, cf. (109-110). Both have no agentive valency in their frames. Syntactically rà-causatives derived from these verbs differ: *ràtóò* has the same object as the unprefix verb (and the causee is not expressed) and *ràkólòn* makes the causee its syntactic object (and the object of the unprefix verb is not expressed):

- *tóó* 'see' (C; T:175, 'voir, apercevoir') > *ràtóò* 'show' (C);
- *kólón* 'know, be acquainted with' (H:73, 'connaître'; T:182, 'connaître, savoir') > *ràkólòn* 'let know' (H:73, 'faire connaître, avertir, prévenir'; T:227, 'informer, prévenir'; F:70: 'СООБЩАТЬ, СТАВИТЬ В ИЗВЕСТНОСТЬ').

(107)	ní	bàrà	ní	tàrá	tóó	= (63)
	I	TRMN	I	elder_sibling	see	
	'I saw my brother.' (C)					

(108)	n	tàrá	bàrà	á	kòbé	rà-tóò
	I	elder_sibling	TRMN	(s)he	occiput	RA-see
	'My brother showed the back of his head.' (C)					

(109)	n	mú	yí	kólón-mà	=(36)
	I	NEG	this	know-HABFUT	
	'I don't know this one.' (H:73)				

(110)	é	náxà	xémé	bírín	rà-kólòn
	they	CONS	people	all	RA-know
	'They notified all the people.' (H:73)				

3.2.3. Transitives

- 77 The database provides five unprefixes LABILE VERBS OF STATE IN THEIR INTRANSITIVE USES AND OF CHANGE OF STATE IN THEIR TRANSITIVE USES that have *rà*-derivates with no apparent semantic difference from the transitive uses of the unprefixes verbs, cf. (111) & (112-113). Presumably, this group of *rà*-derivates can be interpreted as *rà*-causatives derived from intransitive uses of the labile verbs:

- *dòxó* 'put, seat, sit' (H:72, 'poser, asseoir'; T:180, 's'asseoir') > *ràdòxò* 'put, seat' (H:72, 'poser dans un but bien déterminé'; T:219, 'raccorder, faire asseoir');
- *fíndí* 'become, turn, change' (H:72, 'passer d'un état dans un autre, devenir'; R:123, 'tourner, devenir'; T:189, 'devenir') > *ràfíndí* 'turn (tr), put' (H:72, 'changer d'état dans un but déterminé, retourner qch., faire face à'; T:225, 'transformer');
- *nóxó* 'soil, be dirty' (T:178, 'salir'; H:90, 'être sale'; R:147, 'abîmer, tacher, salir') > *rànoxò* 'soil' (T:221, 'salir');
- *sáá* 'put, lie down' (T:174, 'mettre, poser, coucher'; R:150, 'placer, mettre, déposer, se coucher') > *ràsáá* 'put' (T:217, 'coucher qch.');
- *xìrì* 'attach, be attached' (H:73, 'attacher'; T:181, 'attacher, lier') > *ràxìrì* 'unite, connect' (H:73, 'lier'; T:223, 'lier, raccorder, attacher').

(111)	é	dòxó-xì	nìngé	kántá-dè
	they	sit-PRF	bull	look_after-INF
	'They are here to take care of the bulls.' (H:72)			

(112)	á	ná	kóté	dòxó-fè	sòóe	fárí
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	(s)he	COP	load	sit-PROG	horse	on
	'He is putting the load onto the horse's back.' (H:72)					

(113)	í	xá	ná	kébényí-è	rà-dóxò	é	bóóré	rá
	you	SBJV	COP	board-PL	RA-sit	they	REC	with
	'Let you lay these boards on one another.' (H:72)							

3.3. Derivates with a benefactive meaning

3.3.1. Derivates with a benefactive meaning in general

- 78 *rà*-benefactives add a valency of a beneficiary to the argument structure of the unprefixed verbs they are derived from. The syntactic status of the beneficiary may vary: with some *ra*-benefactives the beneficiary is an adjunct, with others it is a direct object. Most of the unprefixed verbs (4 of 5 in the database) that have *rà*-benefactives are CONTROLLED (AGENTIVE) VERBS.

3.3.2. Benefactives with an adjunct beneficiary

- 79 There are three unprefixed CONTROLLED TRANSITIVE TELIC VERBS (two of them are strictly transitive, one is a labile verb taken in the transitive meaning) in the database, that have *rà*-derivates which, having a benefactive meaning, provide a syntactically optional peripheral valency of a beneficiary expressed by the postposition *bé* 'to', cf. (114-115):

- *tòlín* 'twist' (H:74, 'faire des torsions'; T:184, 'tordre') > *ràtòlín* 'twist for smb.' (H:74);
- *bíí* 'cut, root out, shave' (H:70, 'couper (herbes), défricher, raser (poils)'; T:174, 'raser, sarcler') > *ràbíí* 'cut, shave, root out for smb.' (H:70, 'se raser, défricher un endroit déterminé'; T:215, 'ouvrir, inaugurer');
- *bálán* 'close, be closed' (H:70, 'fermer, être fermé'; T:182, 'fermer') > *ràbálán* 'close for smb.' (H:70).

(114)	á	ná	dùgí	tòlín-fè	=(46)
	(s)he	COP	cloth	twist	
	'She is squeezing the cloth.' (H:74)				

(115)	ń	xùnyí	rà-tòlín	ń	bé
	I	head	RA-twist	I	to
	'Twist my head for me (i.e., braid my hair).' (H:74)				

3.3.3. Benefactives with an object beneficiary

- 80 There are two unprefixes INTRANSITIVE VERBS (one of them is a controlled verb of process, while the other is an uncontrolled verb of state) in the database, which have rà-derivates with a benefactive meaning. These derivates have a direct object valency of a beneficiary, cf. (116-117), (118-119):

- *sáli* ‘pray’ (T:178, ‘prier’; F:67, ‘МОЛИТЬСЯ’) > *ràsáli* ‘bless’ (F:67, ‘ПРОВОДИТЬ МОЛИТВОЙ, БЛАГОСЛОВИТЬ’);
- *ɲááxú* ‘be bad’ (H:73, ‘être mauvais, méchant’; T:185, ‘être méchant’) > *ràɲááxù* ‘be malicious with smb.’ (H:73, ‘être méchant envers quelqu'un’; T:224, ‘haïr, detester’).

(116)	<i>ń</i>	<i>bàrà</i>	<i>sáli</i>	=(75)
	I	TRMN	pray	
	‘I prayed.’ (F:66)			

(117)	<i>sáliálimámí</i>	<i>bàrà</i>	<i>mùxú</i>	<i>rà-sáli</i>
	imam	TRMN	we.EXC	RA-pray
	‘The imam blessed us.’ (F:67)			

(118)	<i>yí</i>	<i>bàré</i>	<i>ɲááxú</i>	=(57)
	this	dog	be_bad	
	‘This dog is (permanently) angry.’ (H:73)			

(119)	<i>yí</i>	<i>gìné</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>xúnyà</i>	<i>rà-ɲááxù</i>
	this	woman	(s)he	younger_sibling	RA-be_bad
	‘This woman is malicious with her younger brother.’ (H:74)				

3.4. Derivates with an abstract applicative meaning

3.4.1. Derivates with an abstract applicative meaning in general

- 81 A number of unprefixes TRANSITIVE CONTROLLED TELIC VERBS in the database have rà-derivates that add a new semantic valency of a specific purpose or manner. In the available data this valency is never expressed syntactically and is present only in the meaning of the rà-derivates of this group.

3.4.2. Applicatives specifying purpose

82 Nine rà-derivates in the database derived from TRANSITIVE CONTROLLED TELIC VERBS are used to express actions performed with a specific purpose. It means that semantically (but not syntactically) a new purpose argument is added to the argument structure of the corresponding unprefixated verbs, cf. (120-121), (122-123):

- *xàá* ‘wash’ (H:73, ‘laver’; T:175, ‘laver’) > *ràxàá* ‘wash with a specific purpose’ (H:73; T:218, ‘laver’);
- *bèndún* ‘drag, pull’ (H:70, ‘tirer’; T:191, ‘tirer’) > *ràbèndún* ‘drag, pull with a specific purpose’ (H:70, ‘tirer dans une intention bien déterminée’);
- *bònbó* ‘beat’ (H:71, ‘frapper’; T:189, ‘frapper, battre’) > *ràbónbò* ‘beat to a certain target’ (H:71 ‘frapper dans un but déterminé’);
- *dón* ‘eat’ > *ràdón* ‘eat with a specific purpose’ (H:71, ‘manger dans un but déterminé, remanger’);
- *fàlá* ‘say’ (T:180, ‘dire, tresser’) > *ràfàlá* ‘arrange’ (T:219 ‘préparer, arranger’);
- *fén* ‘look for’ (H:72, ‘aller chercher’; T:175, ‘chercher’) > *ràfén* ‘look for with a specific purpose’ (H:72);
- *kòó* ‘take down, take away’ (H:73, ‘enlever’; T:175, ‘ramasser’) > *ràkòó* ‘take away with a specific purpose’ (H:73, ‘enlever dans une intention déterminée’; T:216, ‘ramasser, enlever’);
- *xín* ‘bite (once)’ (T:176, ‘mordre’) > *ràxín* ‘crack’ (T:218, ‘couper avec les dents’);
- *fíí* ‘give’ > *ràfíí* ‘propose’ (H:72, ‘offrir’).

(120)	<i>á</i>	<i>sigá-xì</i>	<i>dùgí-è</i>	<i>xàá-dè</i>	=(59)
	(s)he	leave-PRF	cloth-PL	wash-INF	
	‘She went to wash the clothes.’ (H:73)				

(121)	<i>í</i>	<i>bèlèxé</i>	<i>rà-xàá,</i>	<i>wón</i>	<i>fá</i>	<i>bàndé</i>	<i>dón</i>
	you	hand	RA-wash	we.INC	come	rice	eat
	‘Wash your hands, we are going to eat rice.’ (H:73)						

(122)	<i>á</i>	<i>náxà</i>	<i>yèlibá-è</i>	<i>fén</i>	=(71)
	(s)he	CONS	griot-PL	look_for	
	‘He went to look for griots.’ (H:72)				

(123)	<i>í</i>	<i>námà</i>	<i>ń</i>	<i>rà-fén</i>	<i>gèré</i>	<i>rá</i>
	you	PROH	I	RA-look_for	quarrel	with
	‘Don’t look for me with the purpose of a quarrel.’ (H:72)					

3.4.3. Applicatives specifying manner

- 83 Similarly, three *rà*-derivates in the database derived from TRANSITIVE CONTROLLED TELIC VERBS are used to express actions performed in a specific manner, cf. (124-125):

- *bòó* ‘cut, tear’ (H:71, ‘séparer, fendre, déchirer’; T:175, ‘déchirer’) > *ràbòó* ‘cut up’ (H:71; T: 215, ‘entailler, éventer’);
- *dégé* ‘sew’ (H:71, ‘coudre’; R:119, ‘coudre’) > *ràdégé* ‘sew in a particular way’ (H:71, ‘coudre un sac plein, découdre, ficeler un rôti’);
- *ségé* ‘cut’ (H:74, ‘couper avec un instrument’; T:181, ‘couper’) > *ràségé* ‘cut, hatch’ (H:74; T: 221, ‘éclore, couper’).

(124)	à	bàrà	ń	má	dònmá	bòó	=(16)
	(s)he	TRMN	I	at	boubou	tear	
	‘He tore my boubou.’ (H:71)						

(125)	yènxéè	rà-bòó					
	fish	RA-tear					
	‘Cut up the fish.’ (H:71)						

3.5. Derivates with non-valency-changing meanings

- 84 A few *rà*-derivates in the database have the same argument structure as the unprefixed verbs they are derived from. These include semelfactives and fully idiomatic derivates.

3.5.1. Semelfactives

- 85 Two unprefixed TRANSITIVE CONTROLLED MULTIPLICATIVE VERBS in the database have *rà*-derivates with a semelfactive meaning. This means that a *rà*-derivate designates a sub-event from the series of sub-events expressed by the corresponding unprefixed verb, cf. (126-127). Since the database contains no other *rà*-derivates from transitive multiplicative verbs, one can assume that this meaning is standard for them:

- *bórón* ‘trample, move one’s legs’ (H:71, ‘agir avec des pieds’; T:182, ‘piétiner’) > *ràbórón* (H:71 ‘donner un coup de pied’; F:69, ‘ПИНАТЬ’);
- *dín* ‘pound’ (H:72, ‘donner des coups, piler’; T:176, ‘piler, heurter, cogner’) > *ràdín* ‘pound once’ (H:72, ‘heurter, bousculer, pousser devant soi’; T:217, ‘heurter, pousser’; F:68, ‘ТОЛКАТЬ’).

(126)	á	ná	á	xá	kùré	bórón-fè
	(s)he	COP	(s)he	POSS	bicycle	trample-PROG
	‘He is riding his bicycle.’ (Lit. ‘He is trampling his bicycle.’) (H:71)					

(127)	<i>Fódé</i>	<i>bàrà</i>	<i>bàré</i>	<i>rà-bóròn</i>
	Fode	TRMN	dog	RA-trample
	'Fode kicked the dog.' (F:69)			

3.5.2. Fully idiomatic derivates

- 86 There are three unprefixd TRANSITIVE CONTROLLED TELIC VERBS in the database that have fully idiomatic *rà*-derivates, i.e. there is no synchronic semantic correlation between *rà*-derivates and the unprefixd verbs they are derived from, cf. (128-129):

- *báá* 'take down, pick' (T:174 'puiser, cueillir, ôter'; F:66, 'СРЫВАТЬ') > *ràbáá* 'do' (T:215, 'faire'; F:66, 'ДЕЛАТЬ');
- *tálá* 'pull out (once)?' (T:178, 'arracher') > *ràtálá* 'unreel, spread out' (T:222, 'étendre, dérouler');
- *sòtò* 'get, obtain' (T:181, 'recevoir, obtenir') > *ràsòtò* 'offend, insult' (T:222, 'insulter').

(128)	<i>mómó</i>	<i>mángò-è</i>	<i>báá-fè</i>
	Momo	mango-PL	pick-PROG
	'Momo is picking mangoes.' (F:66)		

(129)	<i>á</i>	<i>bàrà</i>	<i>wàlí</i>	<i>rà-báà</i>
	(s)he	TRMN	work	RA-pick
	'He did the work.' (F:66)			

3.6. Prefix *rà*:- conclusion

- 87 A description of the semantics of the prefix *rà*- in Susu has been given in §3.2–3.5.
- 88 There is an evident regular core group of *rà*-derivates and unprefixd verbs they are derived from: *rà*-causatives derived from uncontrolled intransitive verbs.

Other *rà*-causatives are derived as follows:

- *rà*-causatives can be derived from controlled intransitive verbs, but in this case there is a strong tendency for the event to be reinterpreted as an uncontrolled one;
 - *rà*-causatives can be derived from a marginal group of uncontrolled transitive stative verbs;
 - labile verbs of state in their intransitive uses and verbs of change of state in their transitive uses derive *rà*-causatives from their intransitive meaning, and these derivates have therefore no apparent semantic difference with their transitive uses.
- 89 Controlled transitive telic verbs have *rà*-derivates with other meanings, and the distribution of these meanings is mainly lexical:
- some transitive telic verbs derive *rà*-benefactives;

- some transitive telic verbs derive *rà*-applicatives specifying purpose;
 - some transitive telic verbs derive *rà*-applicatives specifying manner;
 - some transitive telic verbs derive fully idiomatic *rà*-derivates.
- 90 There is also a small group of intransitive unprefixed verbs that derive *rà*-benefactives. Multiplicative verbs derive *rà*-semelfactives.
- 91 Admittedly, there are no *rà*-derivates in the database that are derived from transitive verbs of non-mentioned semantic types – e.g. atelic agentive verbs, telic effector verbs. Such derivates may be impossible in Susu, but this requires further research.

4. Conclusion

- 92 A description of the meanings of the two most productive verbal prefixes in Susu, *mà*- and *rà*-, has been given in this paper. It has been shown that both prefixes have core meanings and more marginal meanings. Core meanings that are held by the majority of the prefixed derivates strongly correlate with lexical semantic features of the verbal stems they are derived from. More marginal meanings have weaker correlations, and are frequently defined lexically.

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C – consultant, F – (Fofana 1992), H – (Houis 1963), R – (Raimbault 1923), T – (Touré 1994).

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NOTES

1. I am very indebted to Oumar Camara with whom I worked extensively in Moscow in autumn 2004 and in winter and spring 2007.
2. Exact quotations of the meaning of the verbs as given in the referenced publication are given in the brackets, except for frequently used verbs with clear meaning.
3. One more mental state in the database, xónó ‘get angry’, has a strongly idiomatic mà-derivate.
4. There is just one exceptional event with an incremental theme in the database, dón ‘eat’, that has a strongly idiomatic mà-derivate.

ABSTRACTS

This paper presents a systematic analysis of the available data related to the two most productive verbal prefixes in Susu, mà- and rà-. On the one hand, each of the two prefixes has a number of semantically interrelated meanings, and the choice of a particular meaning depends, to a

significant extent, on the lexical semantic features of the verbal stem. On the other hand, there are many lexicalized uses of both prefixes.

L'article offre une analyse systématique des données disponibles concernant les deux préfixes verbaux les plus productifs de la langue susu, *mà-* et *rà-*. D'une part, chacun de ces préfixes a un ensemble de sens mutuellement liés, et le choix du sens dépend largement des caractéristiques sémantiques de la base verbale. D'autre part, chacun des préfixes manifeste de nombreux emplois lexicalisés.

В СТАТЬЕ СИСТЕМАТИЗИРОВАНЫ ДАННЫЕ ОБ УПОТРЕБЛЕНИИ ДВУХ НАИБОЛЕЕ ПРОДУКТИВНЫХ ГЛАГОЛЬНЫХ ПРИСТАВОК В ЯЗЫКЕ СУСУ, *mà-* и *rà-*. С ОДНОЙ СТОРОНЫ, У КАЖДОЙ ИЗ ПРИСТАВОК ПРЕДСТАВЛЕН НАБОР ВЗАИМОСВЯЗАННЫХ ЗНАЧЕНИЙ, ПРИЧЕМ ВЫБОР ЗНАЧЕНИЯ В ЗНАЧИТЕЛЬНОЙ МЕРЕ ОПРЕДЕЛЯЕТСЯ СЕМАНТИЧЕСКИМИ ПРИЗНАКАМИ ГЛАГОЛА. С ДРУГОЙ СТОРОНЫ, У КАЖДОЙ ИЗ ПРИСТАВОК ЕСТЬ МНОГОЧИСЛЕННЫЕ ЛЕКСИКАЛИЗОВАННЫЕ УПОТРЕБЛЕНИЯ.

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