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

ГЛАГОЛЬНЫЕ ПРИСТАВКИ mà- и rà-

Andrey Shluinsky
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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
1. Introduction

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.

The third most frequent prefix in Susu, è-, has a significantly lesser degree of productivity and, therefore, most è-derivates are lexicalized. Since no generalized meanings of è- can be made so far, the scope of this paper is limited to mà- and rà-.

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 then expected for the base verb” for mà- in (Lüpke 2005: 126; 127) for Jalonke, a language closely related to Susu.
Both prefixes have parallel postpositions mà 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 mà has been proposed in (Šluinskij 2010).

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 mà-, 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 rá- are discussed by Vydrina (2009a; 2009b). Vydrina (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.

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.

In my study I used available data from different sources: first-hand data from my consultant (C) and secondary data from existing literature: (Raimbault 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 derivates, while for rá- only sample examples are given. Considering the restricted set of data coming from different sources, I realize that sometimes my interpretation may be disputable.

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 rá- 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 unprefixe 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.

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

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>màlányì</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>yénsén</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>disperse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘People dispersed.’ (H:74)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>dímé-è</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>gëmë</th>
<th>mà-yénsén</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child-PL</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>MA-disperse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Children scattered the stones.’ (H:74)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>nì</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>nì</th>
<th>xúnyà</th>
<th>xùnyì</th>
<th>bì</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>I younger_sibling</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>shave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I have shaved my younger brother. (H:70)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>à</th>
<th>náxà</th>
<th>birin</th>
<th>mà-bì</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>CONS</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>MA-shave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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

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 unprefixed verb is used to express a single sub-event of such series.

Normally, mà-multiplicatives have the same argument structure as the corresponding unprefixed 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).

All the unprefixed 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>kúyéfùrè</th>
<th>ná</th>
<th>bɔ̀-ʃè</th>
<th>à</th>
<th>mà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perspiration</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>tear-PROG</td>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘His sweat is breaking him out.’ (H:71)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

### 2.2.2. Multiplicatives proper

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 unprefixed verbs in the database, from which the mà-multiplicatives proper are derived:

- dògòtín ‘pinch (once)’ (T:194, ‘pincer’) > màdógòtìn ‘pinch (repeatedly)’ (T:214, ‘pincer plusieurs fois’);
- gärín ‘beat, flap once’ (T:182, ‘taper, frapper’) > màgärìn ‘flap’ (T:212, ‘frapper plusieurs fois’);
- sɔ̀xɔ̀ ‘pierce; prick, sting’ (T:181, ‘percer, piquer’) > màsɔ̀xɔ̀ ‘slaughter’ (H:82, ‘poignarder’);
- xín ‘bite (once)’ (T:176, ‘mordre’) > màxín ‘bite (repeatedly)’ (T:208, ‘mordre plusieurs fois’);
- fìndì ‘become, turn, change’ (H:72, ‘passer d’un état dans un autre, devenir’; R:123, ‘tourner, devenir’; T:189, ‘devenir’) > màfìndì ‘turn repeatedly’ (H:72, ‘changer d’état ou faire changer d’état plusieurs fois’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>nándën</th>
<th>náxà</th>
<th>mixidũ</th>
<th>bɔ̀nbɔ̀</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stepmother</td>
<td>CONS</td>
<td>orphan</td>
<td>beat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The stepmother beat the orphan.’ (H:122)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>í</th>
<th>tó</th>
<th>nú</th>
<th>xí-ũ-má,</th>
<th>náxà</th>
<th>sigá</th>
<th>í</th>
<th>mà-bɔ̀nbɔ̀-ʃè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>sleep-HABFUT</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>CONS</td>
<td>leave</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>MA-beat-PROG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘When you were sleeping, I came to pat you.’ (H:71)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.3. Multiplicative distributives

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. 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 unprefixed verbs in the database, from which the mà- multiplicative distributives are derived:

- gbàlàntìn ‘tear out’ (H:71, ‘arracher qch. qui resiste’) > màgbálàntìn ‘tear out many objects’ (H:71, ‘arracher’);
- bàn bàn ‘nail down’ (H:70, ‘enfoncer en cognant avec un instrument’) > màbàn bàn ‘knock up, nail down in many places’ (H:70, ‘clouer en employant beaucoup de pointes’);
- xábá ‘cut’ (T:179, ‘couper’) > màxábà ‘shear, peel’ (T:210, ‘tondre, couper, coiffer’);
- tálá ‘pull out (once)’ (T:178, ‘arracher’) > màtálá ‘pull out (many objects)?’ (T:210, ‘arracher’);
- súxú ‘catch’ (H:74, ‘saisir, attraper’) > màsúxù ‘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);
- xìrí ‘attach, be attached’ (H:73, ‘attacher’) > màxírì ‘attach many objects, tie up’ (H:73, ‘ficeler, panser, harnacher’);
- fíí ‘give’ > màfíì ‘distribute, waste’ (H:72, ‘donner largement, prodiguer’);
- 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’);
- tôŋò ‘take’ (T:190, ‘prendre’) > màtônò ‘gather, collect’ (T:211, ‘ramasser’);
- kɔ̀ɔ́ ‘take down, take away’ (H:73, ‘enlever’; T:175, ‘ramasser’) > màkɔ́ɔ̀ ‘sweep’ (H:73, ‘balayer’; T:206, ‘balayer’);
- xánín ‘transport’ (T:183, ‘transporter, emporter’) > màxánìn ‘transport many objects’ (T:213, ‘transporter, emporter’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>à</th>
<th>là̀į</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>xá</th>
<th>yí</th>
<th>bànànibíli</th>
<th>gbàlàntìn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>should</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>banana_tree</td>
<td>tear_out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘It is necessary that you tear out this banana tree.’ (H:71)

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‘(Before we plant rice), we tear out dry herbs.’ (H:71)

‘Lock this one.’ (Lit. ‘Close this one with a key’.) (H:70)

‘Close the doors.’ (H:70)

‘He took some hot water.’ (H:89)

‘People are collecting peanuts.’ (F:72)

‘He did not finish nailing the door down.’ (H:70)

‘The carpenter knocked the box up (by nailing it down in many places).’ (F:72)
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 unprefixed verb.

18 There are two unprefixed verbs in this list, dège ‘sew’ and xánín ‘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).

19 The mà- multiplicative distributive derived from kò́ ‘take down, take away’ is strongly idiomatic, cf. (20-21).
2.2.4. Multiplicatives that are semantically equal to unprefixed stems

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

- kɔ̀n ‘lick’ (H:22, ‘lécher’) > màkɔ̀n ‘lick’ (T:208, ‘lécher’);
- gée ‘dig’ (T:174, ‘creuser’) > màgéè ‘dig’ (T:206, ‘detterre, creuser’);
- din ‘pound’ (H:72, ‘donner des coups, piler’, T:176, ‘piler, heurter, cognier’) > màdin ‘pound’ (H:72, ‘piler dans un petit mortier’);
- sùnbù ‘mix, blend, add’ (T:190, ‘mélanger, embrasser’) > màsùnbù ‘mix, blend’ (T:211, ‘mélanger’);
- fàlin ‘wrap’ (T:182, ‘enrouler’) > màfàlin ‘wrap’ (T:212, ‘enrouler, envelopper’);
- yòlòn ‘fall one by one’ (T:183, ‘tomber un à un’; R:161, ‘tomber, en parlant des feuilles d’arbres ou des graines’) > màyòlòn ‘fall one by one’ (T:212, ‘tomber goutte à goutte’);
- kàsàn ‘splash, scatter’ (T:183, ‘gicler, eclabousser’) > màkàsàn ‘splash, scatter’ (T:213, ‘éparpiller’);
- fùrùkù ‘rub’ (T:192, ‘essuyer, frotter’) > màfùrùkù ‘rub’ (T:214, ‘essuyer, frotter, effacer’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(22)</th>
<th>à</th>
<th>ná</th>
<th>fùndényí</th>
<th>bóròn-fè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>fonio</td>
<td>trample-PROG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He is trampling fonio (to thresh it).’ (H:71)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(23)</th>
<th>màlé</th>
<th>mà-bóròn-yì</th>
<th>tèmùì</th>
<th>ná</th>
<th>à</th>
<th>rà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rice</td>
<td>MA-trample-NMLZ</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘It is time to thresh the rice.’ (H:71)
2.2.5. Alternatives

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 unprefixed verbs found in the database:

- *ɲɛ́rɛ́* 'move, go' (H:74, ‘faire une marche’) > màɲɛ́rɛ́ 'wander' (H:74, ‘marcher longuement, se promener’, T:208, ‘se promener’);
- *ɡíí* 'move (intr), run' (H:73, ‘courrir’, T:174, ‘courir, fuir’) > màɡíì 'run around, go round' (H:73, ‘courrir de-ci de-là, gambader, éviter quelqu’un’).

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) sìí bárà á ɡíí

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>goat</th>
<th>TRMN</th>
<th>(s)he</th>
<th>run</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

'The goat ran.' (F:40)

(25) ñiddí ndé á mà-gíí-fè

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>child</th>
<th>INDIF</th>
<th>(s)he</th>
<th>MA-RUN-PROG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

'A child is running about.' (C)

2.2.6. (Lexicalized) multiplicative-distributive causatives

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):

- *yénsèn* 'disperse (intr)' (H:74, ‘disperser’) > màyénsèn 'disperse to different places' (T:213, ‘éparpiller’);
- *bɔ̀rɔ̀* 'rot, go bad' (H:71, ‘pourrir’, T:179, ‘pourrir’) > màbɔ̀rɔ̀ ‘spoil everywhere’ (H:71);
- *tèé* 'rise' (T:175, ‘monter’) > màtèé 'pick up' (T:207, ‘remonter, retrousser’);
- *dòn* 'eat' > màdòn ‘feed many beings, pasture’ (H:72, ‘faire manger’; T:207, ‘faire paître’);
- *sòlì* 'push through' (H:74, ‘percer, pointer, germer’) > màsòlì ‘make holes, cut out’ (H:74, ‘faire des trous, percer, tailler en pointe (crayon), sculpter’; T:210, ‘sculpter’);
- *dàngi* 'pass' (H:71, ‘passer, depasser’; R:118, ‘traverser’) > màdàngi ‘pass (tr) many objects, finger’ (T:211, ‘faire passer, égrener’).

(26) sànsí bárà sòlì

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>seed</th>
<th>TRMN</th>
<th>push_through</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
2.2.7. (Lexicalized) multiplicative causatives

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 unprefixed verb. The first two cases are clear, cf. (29-30) and (31-32), the third one is doubtful, cf. (33):

- *bɔ́rxɔ́ 'be mild' (H:71, ‘être mou’) > màbɔ́rxɔ́ 'make mild doing a series of actions' (H:71, ‘ramollir’);
- *dùlá ‘drown (intr), go down, disappear’ (H:72, ‘disparaître dans l’eau, sombrer, se noyer’; T:177, ‘s’enfoncer, se noyer’) > màdùlá ‘drown (tr) repeatedly’ (H:72, ‘submerger, se debattre dans l’eau, manquer de se noyer’).
- ? dùndù ‘keep silence’ (T:188, ‘se taire’) > màdùndù ‘calm (tr)’ (T:211, ‘calmer, consoler’).

"The seeds pushed through." (H:74)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(27)</th>
<th>kámúdcéí</th>
<th>ná</th>
<th>wúrí</th>
<th>mà-sóli-fè,</th>
<th>á</th>
<th>xá</th>
<th>bálánsè</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>cop</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>ma-push_through-prog</td>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>sbyv</td>
<td>lock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bábán</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>rá</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nail_down</td>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The carpenter makes holes in the wood in order to nail down the lock." (H:74)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(28)</th>
<th>á</th>
<th>sigá-xì</th>
<th>màngé</th>
<th>xá</th>
<th>ningé</th>
<th>dè</th>
<th>mà-dóñ-dè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>leave-prf</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>poss</td>
<td>bull</td>
<td>throat</td>
<td>ma-eat-inf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"He went to feed the mouth of the chief’s bulls." (H:72)

"The carpenter makes holes in the wood in order to nail down the lock." (H:74)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(29)</th>
<th>yí</th>
<th>màngò-è</th>
<th>bɔ́rxɔ́xɔ́-xì</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>mango-pl</td>
<td>be_mild-prf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"These mangoes are mild." (H:71)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(30)</th>
<th>múlúxúnyí</th>
<th>mà-bɔ́rxɔ́</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lemon</td>
<td>ma-be_mild</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Make the lemon mild (twisting it by foot)." (H:71)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(31)</th>
<th>künkì</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>dùlá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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2.2.8. (Lexicalized) discontinuatives

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

- déxè ‘shine’ (H:71, ‘donner de la lumière, éclairer, brûler’) > màdéxè ‘shimmer’ (H:71, ‘briller, miroiter, resplendir’);
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 unprefixed verbs express related specific events.

27 Among the unprefixed 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', kínikíní 'feel pity'), 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 unprefixed 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 unprefixed 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 màsdàxàn ‘make slippery’ and màbɔ́ɔxùn ‘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 (màtìnɔ́xn ‘educate’) is considerably idiomatic:

• kàlí ‘swear’ (H:73, ‘jurer’) > màkàlí ‘swear constantly’ (H:73, ‘jurer sans cesse’);
• kínikíní ‘feel pity’ (R:131, ‘avoir pitié, avoir compassion’) > màkínìkínì ‘be pitiful’ (T:215, ‘être pitoyable’);
• bɔ́xùn ‘vomit, (?) spit’ (H:71, ‘vomir’) > màbɔ́xùn ‘spit constantly’ (H:71, ‘cracher sans cesse’);
• tìnxìn ‘be true, be right’ (T:191, ‘être juste, être droit’) > màtínxìn ‘educate’ (T:214, ‘redresser, eduquer’).

(36) á nú wɛ̀ ɛ́ nyì fàlá, á mü mà-kàlí-mà
‘If he says any words, he does not swear.’ (H:73)

(37) bá í mà-kàlí-fè
‘Stop swearing every time.’ (H:73)
2.3.3. Property passives

3 mà-derivates in the database are property passives, i.e. they indicate properties and have a decreased valency compared to the corresponding unprefixed 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 unprefixed verb:

- kólón 'know, be acquainted with' (H:73, 'connaître'; T:182, 'connaître, savoir') > màkólòn 'be known by everyone' (H:73, 'être connu de tous');
- bèré 'play' (H:70, 'jouer') > màbérè 'be mocked' (H:70, 'se jouer de, tourner en dérision');
- gààxú 'be afraid of' (H:73, 'avoir peur'; R:125, 'craindre, appréhender, avoir peur...') > màgááxù 'be terrible' (H:73, 'être terrifiant'; T:210, 'terrifier').

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.4. Property causatives

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
unprefixed verbs. The object of a mà- property causative corresponds to the subject of the unprefixed verb, cf. (42-43), (44-45):

- sáláxún 'glide' (H:74, 'glisser'; T:194, 'glisser, être gluant') \(\rightarrow\) màsálàxùn 'make slippery' (H:74, 'rendre glissant, être glissant');
- tɔ́ɔ́rɔ́ 'suffer' (T:186, 'souffrir, déranger'; F:58, 'переживать, страдать, беспокоиться') \(\rightarrow\) màtɔ́ɔ́rɔ́ 'make constantly suffer' (F:72, 'ЗАСТАВЛЯТЬ ТЕРПЕТЬ, СТРАДАТЬ').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(42)</th>
<th>á</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>sáláxún</th>
<th>màngáxɔ́ri</th>
<th>mà</th>
<th>'He slipped on a mango stone.' (H:74)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>glide</td>
<td>mango_pit</td>
<td>at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(43)</th>
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<th>bárà</th>
<th>bɔ́xì</th>
<th>mà-sáláxùn</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>MA-glide</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>ná</th>
<th>tɔ́ɔ́rɔ́-fe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>suffer-PROG</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(45)</th>
<th>sènì</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>á</th>
<th>ngá</th>
<th>mà-tɔ́ɔ́rɔ́</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senì</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>MA-suffer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Seni made his mother (constantly) suffer.' (F:72)

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

- tàngá 'escape' (C; T:190, 'éviter, échapper à') \(\rightarrow\) 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

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.

As it can be predicted, mà-derivates with the meaning of full coverage can be derived from the unprefixed verbs expressing the EVENTS WITH AN INCREMENTAL THEME in the sense suggested by Dowty (1991). 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.

There are unprefixed 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 unprefixed 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.

Some of the mà-derivates with the meaning of full coverage differ in argument structure from the unprefixed verbs they are derived from, either decreasing or increasing in valency. This option is evidently a case of lexicalization.

2.4.2. Full coverage derivates

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’);
- bàràbàrà ‘boil (intr)’ (H:70, ‘bouiller à gros bouillons, ébouillanter’) > màbàràbàrà ‘be boiled / ready, be scalded’ (H:70).

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

(47) wón mini-mà xè mà. wón xà 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

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):

- bû ‘cut, root out, shave’ (H:70, ‘couper (herbes), défricher, raser (poils)’; T:174, ‘raser, sarcler’) > màbû ‘cut, shave oneself completely’ (H:70, ‘raser dans tous les sens, ou complètement’; T:206, ‘raser, sarcler’);
2.5. (Lexicalized) derivates with a more abstract lexical meaning

2.5.1. Derivates with a more abstract lexical meaning in general

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.

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

manda-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:

- xìnìbèlì ‘be cold’ > màxìnìbèlì ‘be cold, quiet, slow’ (T:214, ‘être calme, lent, refroidir’);
- kànà ‘spoil’ (T:180, ‘gâter’) > màkànà ‘dissipate, waste’ (T:209, ‘gaspiller’);
- wáá ‘cry, want’ (T:175, ‘pleurer, vouloir’) > màwàà ‘complain’ (T:207, ‘se plaindre’);
- tinkán ‘study’ (T:191, ‘apprendre, initier’) > màtínkàn ‘learn’ (C);
- xɛ̀ɛ̀ ‘send on a mission’ (T:175, ‘envoyer en commission’) > màxɛ̀ɛ̀ ‘commit, charge with’ (T:214, ‘être resistant’);
- xéè ‘send on a mission’ (T:175, ‘envoyer en commission’) > màxéè ‘commit, charge with’ (T:207, ‘confier à, mettre à la charge de’).

(50) tɔ̀xɛ̀ kérèn sàrá ní mà
hen one buy l at
‘Buy / sell me a hen.’ (R:151)
2.5.3. Causatives with a more abstract meaning

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 unprefixed verb, cf. (52-53), (54-55). A further possibility is a reflexive use of the causative mà-derivate (56):

- gòró ‘go down, descend’ (T:180, ‘descendre’) > màgórò ‘diminish, lower’ (T:208, ‘abaisser, s’asseoir’).

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

(53) á bárà n má kóbíri mà-kánkàn
    (s)he TRMN I at money MA-attach
    ‘He guarded my money.’ (H:73)

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

(55) n tárà bárà á mà-górò
    I elder_sibling TRMN (s)he MA-descend
    ‘My brother decreased it.’ (C)

(56) í mà-górò bé
One more unprefixed 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, ‘élöigner, être loin’).

2.6. (Lexicalized) derivates with an intensive meaning

There are four mà-derivates that express more intensive events than the unprefixed verbs they are derived from, cf. (57-58). These unprefixed 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:

- jñáxú ‘be bad’ (H:73, ‘être mauvais, méchant’; T:185, ‘être méchant’) > màñáxù ‘be very bad’ (H:74, ‘être devenu méchant, insupportable’; T:210, ‘être déteste’);
- gérùn ‘swallow’ (T:183, ‘avaler’) > màgérùn ‘swallow quickly and greedily’ (T:212, ‘avaler rapidement et avidement’);
- xàá ‘wash’ (H:73, ‘laver’; T:175, ‘laver’) > màxàá ‘wash; wash thoroughly’ (H:73, ‘laver en frottant beaucoup, avec du savon’);
- tóó ‘see’ (C; T:175, ‘voir, apercevoir’) > màtóó ‘look’ (C; T:207, ‘regarder, examiner’).

(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).
2.7. (Lexicalized) attenuatives

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):

- sìgá ‘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’) > màfáà ‘approach’ (T:206, ‘approcher’);
2.8. Derivates with peripheral meanings

2.8.1. Derivates with peripheral meanings in general

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 unprefixed 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

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’).

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{ni} & \text{bèlèxè} & \text{bàrà} & \text{fúntú} \\
\hline
\text{I arm} & \text{swell} & \text{up} \\
\hline
'\text{My arm swelled up.'} & (H:72) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{á} & \text{sànyí} & \text{hörín} & \text{mà-fúntù-mà} & \text{nè} \\
\hline
\text{(s)he leg all \text{MA-swell\_up-HABFUT ASS}} \\
\hline
'\text{(If a woman is pregnant for the first time), her legs swell up everywhere.'} & (H:72) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

2.8.3. (Lexicalized) frustratives

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 unprefixed verb, cf. (71-72). The only unprefixed verb that has a mà-derivate with a frustrative meaning is a verb of activity, and the derivate denotes a vain activity:


\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{á} & \text{nàxà} & \text{yèlibà-è} & \text{fén} \\
\hline
\text{(s)he} & \text{CONS} & \text{griot-PL} & \text{look\_for} \\
\hline
'\text{He went to look for griots.'} & (H:72) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

2.8.4. (Lexicalized) pejoratives

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:

- fáltà ‘say’ (T:180, ‘dire, tresser’) > màfáltà ‘criticize, slander’ (T:208, ‘critiquer, médire’).
2.8.5. Derivates from non-verbal parts of speech

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

- tààlí ‘parable, proverb’ (R:155, ‘parabole, proverbe’; T:84, ‘proverbe, fable’) > màtáálì ‘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

A number of mà-derivates have an unclear (so far) semantic correlation with the unprefixed verbs they are derived from. In most cases the meaning that is added by the prefix mà- to the lexical meaning of the corresponding unprefixed 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 unprefixed verbs

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 unprefixed verbs:

- kèrì ‘pursue, chase’ (T:177, ‘chasser, poursuivre’) > màkèrì ‘pursue, relieve’ (T:209, ‘poursuivre, venir en aide’);
- kìíti ‘judge’ (T:185, ‘juger, aller en justice’) > màkìíti ‘judge’ (T:211, ‘juger, aller en justice’);
- ságàtà ‘follow, pursue’ (T:192, ‘suivre, rejoindre’) > màságàtà ‘pursue’ (T:214, ‘poursuivre, rejoindre’);
- gìlìn ‘roast, fry’ (T:183, ‘griller, rôtir’) > màgìlìn ‘roast, fry’ (T:212, ‘griller, rôtir’).

2.9.2. Accomplishments semantically close to unprefixed stems

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 unprefixed verbs:

- sɔ̀tɔ́ ‘get, obtain’ (T:181, ‘recevoir, obtenir’) > màsɔ̀tɔ́ ‘get, obtain, possess’ (T:210, ‘recevoir, obtenir, posséder’);
- yɔ̀ntɔ́n ‘decrease tension’ (T:191, ‘diminuer de tension’) > màyɔ̀ntɔ́n ‘weaken’ (T:213, ‘détendre’);
- yànfà ‘betray, distract, deceive’ (T:189, ‘trahir, distraire, tromper’) > màyànfà ‘distract, deceive’ (T:211, ‘distraire, tromper’).

Possibly, mà-derivates expressing activities and accomplishments which are semantically equal or close to those expressed by the unprefixed 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

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

- bìlín 'encircle' (H:70, ‘entourer, cerner’) > màbìlìn ‘go round’ (H:70, ‘tourner autour’; T:212, ‘contourner, tourner autour’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(73)</th>
<th>dônsoé-è</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>sìlì</th>
<th>bilín</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hunter-PL</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>encircle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Hunters surrounded the elephant.’ (H:70)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(74)</th>
<th>nì</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>yì</th>
<th>gëmëköntà</th>
<th>mà-bìlìn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>stone_heap</td>
<td>MA-encircle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I went around this heap of stones.’ (H:70)

2.9.4. Transitives and causatives

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 unprefix verbs is labile, and the mà-derivate is restricted to transitive uses. The other two unprefix 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 unprefix verb. Another one is a causative, and its object corresponds to the subject of the unprefix verb:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>pray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I prayed.’ (F:66)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(76)</th>
<th>nì</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>fùré</th>
<th>mà-sàlf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>MA-pray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They said a prayer over the deceased.’ (F:67)

2.9.5. Other unclear cases

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’);
- dàxù ‘be absent-minded’ (T:179, ‘être fou’) > màdáxù ‘deceive, disappoint’ (T:208, ‘tromper’);
- fân ‘be good’ (T:175, ‘être bon’) > màfân ‘be loved’ (T:207, ‘être aimé’);
- gàłànbù ‘disagree, cross’ (T:195, ‘se manquer, être en désaccord, croiser’) > màgàlànbù ‘cross, mix’ (T:214, ‘croiser, mélanger’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(77)</th>
<th>yègé</th>
<th>kótó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>stack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Stack the wood.’</td>
<td>(H:73)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(78)</th>
<th>bàndé</th>
<th>mà-kötò</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rice</td>
<td>mà-stack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cover the rice (that is in the calabash).’</td>
<td>(H:73)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.10. Fully idiomatic derivates

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):

- mbè ‘hear, feel’ (T:175, ‘entendre’; R:142, ‘entendre, comprendre’) > màmbè ‘wait’ (T:206, ‘attendre’);
- sàá ‘put, lie down’ (T:174, ‘mettre, poser, coucher’; R:150 , ‘placer, mettre, déposer, se coucher’) > màsàá ‘swim, make love’ (T:207, ‘nager, faire l’amour avec’);
- télèleà ‘carry on one’s head’ (T:194, ‘porter qch. sur la tête sans le tenir des mains’) > màtélèleà ‘be eloquent’ (T:214, ‘être éloquent’);
- këné ‘please’ (T:182, ‘plaire’; R:130 ‘plaire, être agréable’) > màkëné ‘clarify’ (T:213, ‘affirmer, clarifier’);
- nîtnd ‘do’ (T:178, ‘faire’) > mànnitnd ‘be similar’ (T:209, ‘essayer, goûter, mésurer, ressembler à’);
- xâmnd ‘get angry’ (C; T:179, ‘se fâcher, être amer’) > màxamnd ‘injure’ (T:210, ‘blesser’);
• län ‘agree, be necessary, must’ (T:176, ‘être d’accord, falloir’) > målän ‘convoke, join’ (T:208, ‘rassembler, reunir’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(79) á</th>
<th>kùrè</th>
<th>xìlíssí</th>
<th>mèɛ-mà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>tortoise</td>
<td>smell</td>
<td>feel-HABFUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He will feel a tortoise’s smell.’ (H:55)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(80) ní</th>
<th>nú</th>
<th>á</th>
<th>mà-mèɛ-fè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>RETR</td>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>MA-feel-PROG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(While my brother was writing a letter), I was waiting for him.’ (C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(81) á</th>
<th>sáá-xlí</th>
<th>kóɔlåá</th>
<th>bùnỳí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>lie_down</td>
<td>cola</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He is lying under the cola tree.’ (H:58)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(82) sɔŋɛ́</th>
<th>gbégbè</th>
<th>ná</th>
<th>bë,</th>
<th>ní</th>
<th>mú</th>
<th>nɔɔ-mà</th>
<th>yè</th>
<th>mà-sáà-dè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>can-HABFUT</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>MA-lie_down-INF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘There are many crocodiles here, I cannot swim here.’ (H:137)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(83) ní</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>xɔnɔ</th>
<th>ní</th>
<th>tårà</th>
<th>mà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>get_angry</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>elder_sibling</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I got angry with my brother.’ (C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(84) ní</th>
<th>bárà</th>
<th>ní</th>
<th>tårà</th>
<th>mà-xɔnɔ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>TRMN</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>elder_sibling</td>
<td>MA-get_angry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I injured my brother.’ (C)

2.11. Prefix mà-: conclusion

A description of the prefix mà- semantics in Susu is given in §2.2–2.10. There is an evident core group of mà-derivates, mà-multiplicatives. Their main subgroups are multiplicatives proper, multiplicative distributives, multiplicatives semantically equal...
to unprefixed 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 unprefixed verbs have multiplicative mà-derivates with no apparent change of the lexical meaning;
- verbs of motion manner verbs have alternative mà-derivates.

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.

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'.

Other unprefixed 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.

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

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

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

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.

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.

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’) > ràdúlà ‘sink, drown (tr)’ (H:72, ‘couler, immerger’; T:219, ‘immerger, noyer’);
- kísì ‘be saved from death’ (C; T:177, ‘être sauvé’) > ràkísì ‘save from death’ (C; T:221, ‘sauver de la mort’);
- fùntù ‘distend, swell up’ (H:72, ‘enfler, gonfler’) > ràfùntù ‘inflate, swell’ (T:226, ‘gonfler, faire enfler’);

(85) kúnkì bárà dúlá
ship TRMN drowned

‘The ship went down.’ (H:72)

(86) dímé-è náxà kúnkì rà-dúlà
child-PL CONS ship ra-drown

‘The children sank the pirogue.’ (H:72)

(87) ñí tárà bárà kísì
I elder_sibling TRMN be_saved
'My brother was saved (from death).’ (C)

(88) n tàrá bárà n nà-kísì
I elder_sibling TRMN I RA-be_saved
'My brother saved me (from death).’ (C)

(89) lánpuì ná d éx é-fè
lamp COP shine-PROG
'The lamp is on.’ (Lit. ‘The lamp is shining.’) (H:71)

(90) n má díí bárà lánpuì rà-éxè
I at child TRMN lamp RA-shine
'My child turned on the lamp.’ (F:68)

(91) n bèlèxè bárà fúntú -(69)
I arm TRMN swell_up
'My arm swelled up.’ (H:72)

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

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

(94) fató bárà dùyérá rà-gáaxù
Fatu TRMN baby RA-be_afraid
A significant number of unprefixed 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’);
- bìrá ‘throw oneself down, fall’ (C; H:89 ‘tomber’) > ràbìrà ‘let fall’ (C; T:218, ‘faire tomber, rappeler a la memoire’);
- bèré ‘play’ (H:70, ‘jouer’) > ràbèré ‘play with, amuse’ (H:70, ‘faire jouer, amuser’);

'I came home / I entered the house.' (C)
‘My brother threw himself on the ground.’ (C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(100)</th>
<th>È È tará bárà bôñëfè rà-bírà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>elder_sibling TRMN bag RA-throw Oneself</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘My brother let fall his bag.’ (C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(101)</th>
<th>dìmé-dì ná bèrè-fè bùül rà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child-DIM COP play-PROG ball with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The children are playing ball.’ (H:70)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(102)</th>
<th>kùlé-dì ná é è rà-bérè-fè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monkey-DIM COP 3PL RA-play-PROG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The little monkey is amusing them’, (H:70)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(103)</th>
<th>sìi bárà á gífì = (24)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goat TRMN (s)he run</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The goat ran.’ (F:40)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(104)</th>
<th>È È ná mà-tìnkàn-fè wòtóò rà-gíì-dè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>COP MA-study-PROG car RA-run-INF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I am learning to drive.’ (C)

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

- gbìlèn ‘come back’ (T:183, ‘revenir, se retourner’) > ràgbìlèn ‘make come back’ (T:227, ‘retourner, restituer’; F:69, ‘ВОЗВРАТИТЬ’);

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(105)</th>
<th>È È bárà gbìlèn È xÔnyì</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>they TRMN come_back they home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They came back home.’ (H:81)

(106) ̀ auprèśl rè̀j̀àmè́ bárà́ ̀kò́bè́ rà-gbîlèn
1 uncle TRMN (s)he POSS woman RA-come_back

‘My uncle made his wife come back.’ (F:69)

The only two transitive unprefixed 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 unprefixed verb (and the causee is not expressed) and ràkólòn makes the causee its syntactic object (and the object of the unprefixed verb is not expressed):

- tòò ‘see’ (C; T:175, ‘voir, apercevoir’) > ràtóò ‘show’ (C);

(107) ̀ auprèśl tè́rè́ ̀kò́bè́ tòò́ =(63)
1 TRMN 1 elder_sibling see

‘I saw my brother.’ (C)

(108) ̀ auprèśl tè́rè́ bårà́ ̀kò́bè́ rà-tòò
1 elder_sibling TRMN (s)he occiput RA-see

‘My brother showed the back of his head.’ (C)

(109) ̀ auprèśl m̀ù́ yì́ kólòn-mà́ =-(36)
1 NEG this KNOW-HABFUT

‘I don’t know this one.’ (H:73)

(110) è́ náxà̀ xè́mè́ bîrè́n rà-kólòn
they CONS people all RA-know

‘They notified all the people.’ (H:73)
3.2.3. Transitives

The database provides five unprefixed labile verbs of state in their intransitive uses and of change of state in their transitive uses that have ra-derivates with no apparent semantic difference from the transitive uses of the unprefixed verbs, cf. (111) & (112-113). Presumably, this group of ra-derivates can be interpreted as ra-causatives derived from intransitive uses of the labile verbs:

- *dɔ̀xɔ́* 'put, seat, sit' (H:72, 'poser, asseoir'; T:180, 's’asseoir') > *ràdɔ̀xɔ́* 'put, seat' (H:72, 'poser dans un but bien déterminé'; T:219, 'raccorder, faire asseoir');
- *fìnì* 'become, turn, change' (H:72, ‘passer d’un état dans un autre, devenir’; R:123, ‘tournier, devenir’; T:189, 'devenir') > *ràfìnì* 'turn (tr), put' (H:72, 'changer d’état dans un but déterminé, retourner qch., faire face à'; T:225, 'transformer');
- *nɔ̀xɔ́* ‘soil, be dirty’ (T:178, ‘salir’; H:90, 'être sale'; R:147, 'abîmer, tacher, salir’) > *rànɔ̀xɔ́* ‘soil’ (T:221, 'salir');
- *sáá* 'put, lie down' (T:174, ‘mettre, poser, coucher’; R:150, ‘placer, mettre, depérer, se coucher’) > *ràsáà* 'put' (T:217, ‘coucher qch.’);

(111) é dɔ̀xɔ́-xì ningé kántá-dè
they sit-PERF bull look_after-INF

‘They are here to take care of the bulls.’ (H:72)

(112) á ná kóté dɔ̀xɔ́-fè sòóe fárì
(s)he COP load sit-PROG horse on

‘He is putting the load onto the horse’s back.’ (H:72)

(113) í xá ná kébényi-è rà-dɔ̀xɔ́ é bòóré 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

ra-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 ra-benefactives are controlled (agentive) verbs.
3.3.2. Benefactives with an adjunct beneficiary

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 bɛ̀ ‘to’, cf. (114-115):

- tòlìn ‘twist’ (H:74, ‘faire des torsions’; T:184, ‘tordre’) > ràtòlìn ‘twist for smb.’ (H:74);

\[ (114) \text{á} \quad \text{ná} \quad \text{dùgí} \quad \text{tòlìn-fè} \quad = (46) \]
\[ (s) \text{he COP cloth twist} \]

\[ ‘\text{She is squeezing the cloth.’ (H:74) } \]

\[ (115) \text{n} \quad \text{xùnyí} \quad \text{rà-tòlìn} \quad \text{ní} \quad \text{bè} \]
\[ \text{I head RA-twist I to} \]

\[ ‘\text{Twist my head for me (i.e., braid my hair).’ (H:74) } \]

3.3.3. Benefactives with an object beneficiary

There are two unprefixed 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):


\[ (116) \text{nì} \quad \text{bàrà} \quad \text{sàlì} \quad = (75) \]
\[ \text{I TRMN pray} \]

\[ ‘\text{I prayed.’ (F:66) } \]

\[ (117) \text{sàlìállámmámi} \quad \text{bàrà} \quad \text{mùxù} \quad \text{rà-sàlì} \]
\[ \text{imam TRMN we.exc RA-pray} \]
‘The imam blessed us.’ (F:67)

(118)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yí</th>
<th>bàré</th>
<th>ɲááxú</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>be_bad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘This dog is (permanently) angry.’ (H:73)

(119)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yí</th>
<th>ɡínɛ́</th>
<th>á</th>
<th>xúnyà</th>
<th>rà-ɲááxù</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>(s)he</td>
<td>younger_sibling</td>
<td>ra-be_bad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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

A number of unfixed 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

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 unfixed verbs, cf. (120-121), (122-123):

• xàá ‘wash’ (H:73, ‘laver’; T:175, ‘laver’) > ràxáà ‘wash with a specific purpose’ (H:73; T:218, ‘laver’);
• bèndùn ‘drag, pull’ (H:70, ‘tirer’; T:191, ‘tirer’) > ràbèndùn ‘drag, pull with a specific purpose’ (H:70, ‘tirer dans une intention bien déterminée’);
• bònkbò ‘beat’ (H:71, ‘frapper’, T:189, ‘frapper, battre’) > ràbònkbò ‘beat to a certain target’ (H:71 ‘frapper dans un but déterminé’);
• dón ‘eat’ > ràdòn ‘eat with a specific purpose’ (H:71, ‘manger dans un but déterminé, remanger’);
• fàlà ‘say’ (T:180, ‘dire, tresser’) > ràfálà ‘arrange’ (T:219 ‘préparer, arranger’);
• fèn ‘look for’ (H:72, ‘aller chercher’; T:175, ‘chercher’) > ràfèn ‘look for with a specific purpose’ (H:72);
• kòò ‘take down, take away’ (H:73, ‘enlever’; T:175, ‘ramasser’) > ràkòò ‘take away with a specific purpose’ (H:73, ‘enlever dans une intention déterminée’; T:216, ‘ramasser, enlever’);
• xìn ‘bite (once)’ (T:176, ‘mordre’) > ràxìn ‘crack’ (T:218, ‘couper avec les dents’);
• fii ‘give’ > ràfii ‘propose’ (H:72, ‘offrir’).
3.4.3. Applicatives specifying manner

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

- bòò ‘cut, tear’ (H:71, ‘séparer, fendre, déchirer’; T:175, ‘déchirer’) > ràbòò ‘cut up’ (H:71; T:215, ‘entailler, éventer’);

(124) à bárà n má dònmá bòò =(16)
(she TRMN I at boubou tear)
‘He tore my boubou.’ (H:71)

(125) yènègè rà-bòò fish ra-tear

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3.5. Derivates with non-valency-changing meanings

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

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:


3.5.2. Fully idiomatic derivates

There are three unprefixed 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 unprefixed verbs they are derived from, cf. (128-129):

- tálá ‘pull out (once)’? (T:178, ‘arracher’) > ràtálà ‘unreel, spread out’ (T:222, ‘étendre, dérouler’);
- sɔ̀tɔ̀ ‘get, obtain’ (T:181, ‘recevoir, obtenir’) > ràsɔ̀tɔ̀ ‘offend, insult’ (T:222, ‘insulter’).
3.6. Prefix rà-: conclusion

A description of the semantics of the prefix rà- in Susu has been given in §3.2–3.5.

There is an evident regular core group of rà-derivates and unprefixed 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.

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.

There is also a small group of intransitive unprefixed verbs that derive rà-benefactives.

Multiplicative verbs derive rà-semelfactives.

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

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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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, ɔ́nɔ́ 'get angry', has a strongly idiomatic mā-derivate.
4. There is just one exceptional event with an incremental theme in the database, dōn 'eat', that has a strongly idiomatic mā-derivate.

ABSTRACTS

This paper presents a systematic analysis of the available data related to the two most productive verbal prefixes in Susu, mā- and rā-. 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 un analyse systématique des données disponibles concernant les deux préfixes verbaux les plus productifs de la langue susu, mā- et rā-. 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, ма- и ра-. 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.
INDEX

Keywords: Susu, Verbal Prefixes, Lexical Semantics, Pluractionality, Valency-changing, Argument Structure
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