Abstract: Mandinka is the variety of Manding spoken in Casamance (South of Senegal), The Gambia, and Guinea Bissau.

Causativization is one of the grammatical mechanisms in which there is a particularly clear-cut contrast between Mandinka and the other Manding varieties. In the other Manding varieties, morphological causatives are formed by means of prefixes, and with very few exceptions, morphological causativization operates on intransitive constructions only (see a.o. Creissels 2009:159 on Kita Maninka). In Mandinka, morphological causativization involves suffixes, and morphological causativization of transitive constructions is productive.

Moreover, Mandinka has two causative suffixes:

- The suffix -ndi is typically used to causativize intransitive constructions and to express direct causation; it is however also used with a few transitive verbs.
- The suffix -(di)rindi, whose existence is not acknowledged in previous works on Mandinka – Rowlands 1959, Creissels 1983) is exclusively used to causativize transitive constructions, and can only express indirect causation. The allomorph -dirindi is selected by stems ending with a nasal.

This communication focuses on two verbs ( ké and fáa) that highlight the crucial aspects of the contrast between these two suffixes. Ké is a polysemous verb which in the sense of ‘become’ (intransitive) is causativized by means of the suffix -ndi (ex. 1), whereas in the sense of ‘do’ (transitive) it is causativized by means of -rindi (ex. 2). Fáa ‘be full’ is an intransitive verb, which as such can be converted into a transitive verb (‘fill’) by means of the suffix -ndi, but once converted into a transitive verb, it can further take the suffix -rindi in order to express ‘cause to fill’ (ex. 3)

(1) a. Díndíŋo ké-ta kewó tì.
‘The child became a man.’

b. Báamaa ye díndíŋo ké-ndi kewó ti.
‘The mother helped the child to become a man.’

(2) a. Í ye muiŋ ne ke?
‘What did you do?’

b. A ye í kée-ríndi muiŋ ne la?
‘What did he make you do?’

(3) a. Díŋkôo fáa-ta jíyo la.
‘The hole is full of water.’

b. Kewó ye bootôo fá-ndi maanóo la.
‘The man filled the bag with rice.’

c. Kewó ye a díŋo fá-ndí-ríndi maanóo la bootôo kóno.
‘The man made his son fill the bag with rice.’