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Mandinka

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Valency properties of Mandinka verbs

1. Introduction

Mandinka, spoken by approximately 1.5 million speakers in The Gambia, Senegal, and Guinea-Bissao, is the westernmost member of the Manding dialect cluster included in the Western branch of the Mande language family.[1] The area where Mandinka is spoken largely coincides with the pre-colonial state of Kaabu.[2] Speakers of Mandinka call themselves *Mandiŋkóolu* (singular: *Mandiŋkôo*) and designate their language as *mandiŋkakáŋo*.[3] Rowlands 1959 and Creissels 1983 constitute the main references on Mandinka grammar.

The question addressed in this paper is the groupping of Mandinka verbs into valency classes. The only Manding variety whose argument structure has been studied in some detail before is Bambara – see Creissels 2007.

The data quoted in this paper originate from a variety of sources but have been systematically checked with the help of two Mandinka consultants, Boubacar Cissé and Amadou Massaly, during field trips to Sédhiou (Senegal) carried out in November 2010 and November 2011. Some additional data has also been provided by Pierre Sambou, who teaches Mandinka at the University of Dakar. Most examples originate from texts but have been re-formulated with the help of the consultants in order for the reader to be able to concentrate on the aspects of their construction directly relevant to the topic of this paper.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides basic information about the structure of Mandinka clauses and shows that the transitivity alternations of Mandinka cannot be analyzed as involving null subjects or objects. Section 3 describes the valency patterns in terms of coding frames. Section 4 deals with the uncoded alternation. Section 5 is devoted to coded alternations. Section 6 puts forward valency classes of Mandinka verbs. Section 7 provides a concluding discussion. The list of the Mandinka equivalents of the 70 verb meanings constituting the questionnaire of the Valency Classes Project is given as an appendix.

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[1] The most recent classification of Mande languages, elaborated by Valentin Vydrin, can be found at http://mandelang.kunstkamera.ru/index/langues_mande/famille_mande/

[2] According to oral traditions, the Kaabu kingdom originated as a province of the Manding empire conquered in the 13th century by a general of Sundiata Keita called Tiramakhan Traore. After the decline of the Manding empire, Kaabu became an independent kingdom. Mandinka hegemony in the region lasted until 1867, when the Kaabu capital (Kansala) was taken by the armies of the Fula kingdom of Futa Jallon.

[3] *Mandiŋkóo* is the definite form of a noun *mandiŋká* resulting from the addition of the suffix *-ŋka* 'people from ...' to the toponym *Mandíŋ*, which primarily refers to the region that constituted the starting point of the Manding expansion. *Mandiŋkakáŋo* is literally 'language of the people from Manding'.

2. Mandinka clause structure

2.1. The prototypical transitive construction

The two core arguments of the prototypical transitive construction A and P obligatorily precede the verb, and A obligatorily precedes P. Independent assertive and interrogative transitive clauses always include a *predicative marker* encoding TAM and polarity (*yé* 'perfective positive (transitive)', *mâŋ* 'perfective negative (intransitive)', *ka* 'habitual positive', etc.), inserted between A and P.

Obliques are most of the time encoded as postposition phrases. Toponyms, spatial adverbs and a few common nouns fulfill the function of ground in spatial relationships without requiring the addition of an adposition, but apart from this particular case, adpositionless obliques are only marginally possible. Obliques follow the verb, with two exceptions: time and place adjuncts may also be found in sentence initial position, and accompaniment or manner adjuncts introduced by the associative preposition *níŋ* 'with' may immediately follow A or P, depending on their semantic scope.

A and P are neither flagged nor indexed on the verb. Pronouns occupy the same positions as canonical NPs and have the same forms in all their possible functions.

(1) a. *Kambaan-óo ye sǎa búsá fál-óo la.*
boy-DEF PF.POS.TR snake.DEF hit stick-DEF OBL[4]
'The boy hit the snake (with a stick).'

b. *Kambaan-óo maŋ ber-ôo fáyí palantéer-óo kaŋ.*
boy-DEF PF.NEG.TR stone-DEF throw window-DEF on
'The boy did not throw the stone into the window.'

c. *Kew-ó ka a téerímâa máakóyí kód-óo to.*
man-DEF HAB.POS 3SG friend help money-DEF LOC
'The man helps his friend financially.'

2.2. Intransitive predication

The NP representing the unique argument U of monovalent verbs precedes the verb. It is neither flagged nor indexed on the verb. Obliques behave exactly in the same way in transitive and intransitive clauses.

In intransitive predication, three predicative markers are different from those found in transitive predication: [5]

[4] In the examples below, postpositions marking oblique arguments are glossed according to the meaning they typically express as heads of postposition phrases in adjunct function, with three exceptions: *lá*, *má*, and *tí*, for which the generic gloss OBL is used. The reason is that the analysis of the uses of these three postpositions as extensions of some 'central' or 'prototypical' meaning is particularly problematic.

[5] Note that, in the perfective negative and imperfective negative, the distinction is not always apparent, since depending on the tonal context, the distinction between *máŋ* and *mâŋ*, or *té* and *tê*,

– the perfective positive, encoded by the predicative marker *yé* in transitive predication, is encoded in intransitive predication by the verbal suffix *-tá*;
– the perfective negative, encoded by the predicative marker *máŋ* in transitive predication, is encoded in intransitive predication by the predicative marker *mâŋ*;
– the negative copula *té* used as an imperfective negative auxiliary, has its usual form *té* in transitive predication, but occurs as *tê* in intransitive predication.

The complementary distribution between the two variants of three predicativve markers provides a very simple criterion for recognizing constructions as transitive or intransitive in case of doubt. The other TAM and polarity values are encoded by the same predicative markers in transitive and intransitive constructions. In intransitive predication, the predicative markers other than *-tá* (perfective positive) are inserted between U and the verb.

(2) a. *Dendik-óo jaa-tá til-óo la.*
shirt-DEF be/become_dry-PF.POS.INTR sun-DEF OBL
'The shirt dried up in the sun.'

b. *Kew-ô mâŋ kúmá mus-óo ye.*
man-DEF PF.NEG.INTR talk woman-DEF BEN
'The man did not talk to the woman.'

c. *Díndíŋ-o ká tootóo jamáajamaa.*
child-DEF HAB.POS cough often
'The child often coughs.'

2.3. Intransitive alignment, and the notions of subject and object

A and P show no contrast in either flagging or indexation, and both precede the verb. The only coding property of A and P that can be used to characterize Mandinka clause structure with respect to intransitive alignment is that A precedes the predicative markers, whereas P follows them. The fact that A and U equally precede the TAM-polarity markers that are not suffixed to the verb, whereas P follows them, constitutes therefore the only coding property of the core terms of transitive and intransitive clauses on the basis of which a notion of subject conflating U and A can be recognized.

The following formula, in which S, O and X stand for 'subject', 'object' and 'oblique' respectively, summarizes the canonical structure of Mandinka clauses:

S (O) V (X) (X') ...

---

may be neutralized. It is however always apparent if the following word begins with a high-toned syllable.

2.4. Ditransitive alignment

Mandinka clauses cannot include more than two core NPs, in the sense that they never include a third NP whose behavior would be more similar to that of the object than to that of ordinary obliques. In the construction of semantically trivalent verbs, one of the three arguments must necessarily be encoded as an optional postposition phrase in post-verbal position, and its behavioral properties do not distinguish it from obliques representing adjuncts. For example, Mandinka has two equivalents of English 'give': with *díi* (which by itself implies nothing more than transfer), the gift (alias *theme*) is represented by the object NP ('indirective' alignment), whereas with *só* (which implies that the recipient becomes the possessor of the gift) the object NP represents the recipient ('secundative' alignment).

(3) a. *Kew-ó ye kód-ôo díi mus-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR money-DEF give woman-DEF OBL
'The man gave money to the woman.'

b. *Kew-ó ye mus-ôo só kód-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR woman-DEF give money-DEF OBL
'The man gave money to the woman.'

2.5. Transitivity alternations, or null subjects or objects?

In language description, the analysis of lability is conditioned not only by the alignment properties of the languages, but also by the existence of a more or less clear-cut distinction between transitive and intransitive predications.

In a language like English, the notion of A-lability is problematic in the sense that it boils down to the optionality / obligatoriness of NPs in object function, and does not imply the deletion of the corresponding participant from argument structure: a verb like *eat* can be simply described as a transitive verb accepting a null object with an unspecific reading. By contrast, the behavior of verbs like *break* cannot be described in a similar way, but only by positing a transitivity alternation by which the subject of an objectless construction is assigned a semantic role similar to that assigned to the object when an object NP is present. Symmetrically, in languages in which S is fully aligned with P, the notion of P-lability may be problematic, whereas A-lability clearly involves a transitivity alternation – see Creissels 2009.

In Mandinka, the analysis of lability is facilitated by the fact that:

(a) subjects and objects are distinguished from each other by their position to the left or to the right of predicative markers, and
(b) three TAM-polarity markers have variants conditioned by transitivity.

In Mandinka, regardless of their status as arguments or adjuncts, obliques are syntactically optional, whereas participants encoded as subjects or objects (i.e., represented by NPs preceding the verb) are obligatorily expressed. The two crucial observations are that:

– a construction with a null subject would be *Ø pm O V* (where *pm* stands for 'predicative marker'), with the predicative marker in clause-initial position, which is absolutely impossible in assertive or interrogative clauses; [6]
– in a transitive construction with a null object (*S pm Ø V*), the perfective positive, perfective negative and imperfective negative markers would occur as *yé*, *máŋ* and *té* immediately preceding the verb, which is absolutely impossible too.

It would consequently not be correct to recognize null subjects or objects (with either an anaphoric or unspecific reading) in the analysis of Mandinka clauses. This must however be emphasized, since at first sight, phenomena that must be analyzed as involving a change in the construction of the clause might give the impression of being analyzable in terms of null subjects or objects.

For example, the comparison between (4a) and (4b) might suggest that (4b) includes a null object, since the distinction between *máŋ* (transitive) and *mâŋ* (intransitive) is apparent in (4a) but not in (4b), due to the action of tonal processes that neutralize the distinction before a word beginning with a low-toned syllable, such as *teyí* 'cross'.

(4) a. *Mŏo-lu* *maŋ* *báa* *teyi.*
person.DEF-PL PF.NEG.TR river.DEF cross
'The people did not cross the river.'

b. *Mŏo-lu* *máŋ* *teyi.*
person.DEF-PL PF.NEG.INTR cross
'The people did not cross.'

However, this analysis is contradicted by the fact that the positive sentence corresponding to (4b) unambiguously includes the intransitive variant of the perfective positive marker (*-tá*) – Ex. (4d-e).

(4) c. *Mŏo-lu* *ye* *báa* *teyi.*
person.DEF-PL PF.POS.TR river.DEF cross
'The people crossed the river.'

d. **Mŏo-lu* *yé* *teyi.*
person.DEF-PL PF.POS.TR cross
intended: 'The people crossed.'[7]

[6] The only predicative marker that can be found in clause-initial position is *kána* (prohibitive) in imperative sentences, in which a second person subject is understood.
[7] The sequence *Mŏolu yé teyi* is acceptable, but only with the meaning 'The people should cross', i.e., if *yé* is interpreted as the hortative marker, which is homonymous with perfective *yé* but can occur in intransitive clauses too, contrary to perfective *yé*.

e. *Mŏo-lu teyi-ta.*
person.DEF-PL cross-PF.POS.INTR
'The people crossed.'

Moreover, (4f) shows that the missing argument in the construction illustrated by Ex. (4b) & (4e) can be encoded as an oblique.

(4) f. *Mŏo-lu teyi-ta báa la.*
person.DEF:PL cross-PF.POS.INTR river.DEF OBL
'The people crossed the river.'

There is therefore converging evidence that *teyí* 'cross' is not a transitive verb compatible with a null object, but an A-labile verb whose second argument can be encoded as either the object of a transitive construction, or an oblique argument in an intransitive construction. (4b) does not contradict the principle according to which null objects are not allowed in Mandinka, since the missing argument in (4b) is not the object of a transitive clause, but the oblique argument of an intransitive construction of the same verb: comparison with (4c-f) shows that (4b) must be analyzed as *Mŏolu máŋ teyi (báa la)* rather than **Mŏolu máŋ (báa) teyi*. More generally, the two constructions of *teyí* 'cross' can be schematized as indicated in (4g).

(4) g. *x* **teyí** (*y* lá) intransitive construction with an optional oblique argument
~ *x y* **teyí** transitive construction with an obligatory object

Similarly, in Ex. (5b), the absence of anything that could be analyzed as passive marking might suggest the recognition of a null subject with an arbitrary reading. However, if *kúlúŋo* were the object in a transitive construction with a null subject, the TAM-polarity marker (here, the negative copula used as an imperfective negative auxiliary in combination with the infinitive form of the verb) would be *té* rather that *tê* (note that, due to the fact that the first syllables of *kúlúŋo* 'boat' and *dádáa* 'repair' are high-toned, the distinction is apparent here), and it would precede *kúlúŋo*, as in the ungrammatical sequence (5c).

(5) a. *Kew-ó te kúlúŋ-o dádáa-la.*
man-DEF IPF.NEG.TR boat-DEF repair-INF
'The man will not repair the boat.'

b. *Kúlúŋ-o tê dádáa-la.*
boat-DEF IPF.NEG.INTR repair-INF
'The boat will not be repaired.'

c. **Ø té kúlúŋ-o dádáa-la.*
IPF.NEG.TR boat-DEF repair-INF

Consequently, (5b) is not a transitive construction with a null subject, but an intransitive construction whose subject (*kúlúŋo*) has the same semantic role as the object of the transitive construction (5a).

2.6. The middle construction

In Mandinka, the use of intensive pronouns such as *ŋ́ fáŋo* |1SG|INT| constitutes the productive way of expressing reflexivity, but Mandinka also has a reflexive pronoun with two possible forms (*ŋ́* in the 1st person, *í* in the 2nd and 3rd persons) used with some transitive verbs to express object reflexivization. Formally, the construction with this reflexive pronoun in object position (henceforth 'middle construction') is unambiguously a transitive construction in which the O slot is occupied by the reflexive pronoun, since in the presence of the reflexive pronoun, the marker of the perfective positive is invariably *yé*, never *-tá*. However, functionally, much in the same way as the *se*-construction in French and other Romance languages, it does not always express the reflexivization of a transitive construction with a canonical NP in O function, and therefore must be treated as a distinct construction in a study of the valency properties of verbs.

Ex. (6) illustrates the reflexive use of the middle construction, whereas in Ex. (7), the middle construction encodes a valency operation of the antipassive type.

(6) a. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o kuu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS.TR child-DEF wash
'The woman washed the child.'

b. *Mus-óo ye í kuu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS.TR REFL wash
'The woman washed (herself).'

(7) a. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo jé.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR boy-DEF see
'The man saw the boy.'

b. *Fiŋkintéw-o-lu búka í je.*
blind-DEF-PL HAB.NEG REFL see
'The blind do not see.'

2.7. Postpositions

Two postpositions are particularly common in the function of oblique argument marker: *lá* and *má*.

Comparative data shows that *lá* is originally a spatial postposition, but in Mandinka, its use in the expression of concrete spatial relationships is marginal. In addition to its use as an oblique argument marker, *lá* is fully productive in the encoding of adjuncts expressing non-spatial location (such as *dookúwo lá* 'at work'),

and of instrumental adjuncts, and *lá*-marked cause or purpose adjuncts are common too. *Lá* is also used as a genitive marker of 'alienable' possession.

Comparative data suggests that the original function of *má* was the expression of contact, but in Mandinka, this postposition is almost exclusively used as an oblique argument marker. Apart from that, *má* is only found with adjuncts encoding a participant affected by an event in which (s)he plays no role, as in Ex. (8).

(8) a. *Bâa fáa-tá i ma.*
river.DEF be_full-PF.POS.INTR 3PL OBL
'The tide was high when they arrived at the river.'
lit. 'The river was full for them.'

The other postpositions used in the function of oblique argument marker are *tí* (productively used in essive, transformative and comparative functions, also marginally found in comitative function), *tó* (a spatial postposition which does not refer to any particular type of spatial configuration), *yé* (benefactive), *káŋ* 'on', *kótó* 'under' (cognate with the noun *kótó* 'meaning'), *kóo(ma)* 'behind' (cognate with the noun *kóo* 'back'), *bálá* (cognate with the noun *bálá* 'body', productively used to encode contact), *búlú* (cognate with the noun *búlú* 'hand', productively used to encode reference to the personal sphere of a participant), and *nǒoma* 'after' (cognate with *nóo* 'track').

3. Coding frames [8]

3.1. Monovalent verbs

3.1.1. The intransitive frame ***x —***

The following verbs are among those for which this frame is the only one available:

x **fájí** = *x* boils
x **jăa** = *x* is dry
x **jaŋkárí** = *x* falls ill
x **kóŋkó** = *x* is hungry
x **săa** = *x* dies
x **tootóo** = *x* coughs

[8] In the schematic presentation of coding frames, the dash indicates the slot occupied by the verb, and the variables *x*, *y* and *z* symbolize NPs in argument function. 'Postp' symbolizes the postposition taking an oblique argument as its complement. Note however that oblique arguments encoding the ground in a spatial configuration do not necessarily have the form of a postposition phrase, since some noun phrases (in particular, toponyms) can be used in this function by themselves. In the presentation of the coding frames of individual verbs, such oblique arguments will be represented as 'L' (abbreviation for 'locative expression').

3.1.2. The middle frame ***x*** **Refl —**

The middle frame is the only possible frame, or at least the default frame, for a few Mandinka verbs, for example:

x Refl **súmúnáa** = *x* urinates

In the particular case of *súmúnáa*, the only other possibility is a transitive construction referring to the marked situation in which micturition results in the emission of something else than urine (bood for example).

3.2. Bivalent verbs

3.2.1. The transitive frame ***x y —***

No Mandinka verb has the transitive frame as its only possible frame, since all verbs for which the transitive frame can be considered basic are also used intransitively with a passive reading (see 4.2). The following verbs are among those for which an intransitive construction with a passive reading is the only alternative to the transitive frame:

x y **báyíndí** = *x* follows *y*
x y **dádáa** = *x* makes *y*, *x* repairs *y*
x y **dómó** = *x* eats *y*
x y **félé** = *x* looks at *y*
x y **kanú** = *x* likes *y*, *x* loves *y*
x y **kŭu** = *x* washes *y*
x y **láa** = *x* sings *y* – *y* a song
x y **líi** = *x* shaves *y*
x y **máakóyí** = *x* helps *y*
x y **moyí** = *x* hears *y*
x y **mutá**$_1$ = *x* catches *y*
x y **nikíŋ** = *x* learns *y*
x y **ñíní(ŋ)** = *x* searches for *y*
x y **síi** = *x* grinds *y*
x y **sílá-ndí** = *x* frightens *y* (< *síláŋ* ‘fear’)
x y **sĭŋ** = *x* digs *y*, *x* digs for *y*
x y **sumbú** = *x* smells *y*, *x* kisses *y*
x y **tábí** = *x* cooks *y*
x y **wótó** = *x* peels *y*

3.2.2. The extended intransitive frame ***x — y*** **Postp**

The following verbs are among those for which this frame is the only one available:

x **lafí** *y* lá = *x* likes *y*, *x* wants *y*
x **síláŋ** *y* lá = *x* fears *y*

3.2.3. The extended middle frame ***x*** **Refl —** ***y*** **Postp**

The extended middle frame is the only one possible for a few Mandinka verbs, for example:

x Refl **lákúrá** *y* lá = *x* finishes *y*

3.3. Trivalent verbs

3.3.1. The extended transitive frame ***x y — z*** **Postp**

For the following verbs, the extended transitive frame and the corresponding extended intransitive frame with a passive reading are the only possible frames:

x y **díi** *z* lá = *x* gives *y* to *z*
x y **nǐi** *z* lá = *x* offers *y* to *z*
x y **ñiniŋkáa** *z* lá = *x* asks *y* about *z*
x y **só** *z* lá = *x* gives *z* to *y*
x y **yita(ndí)** *z* lá = *x* shows *y* to *z*
x y **fó** *z* yé = *x* tells *y* to *z*

3.3.2. The doubly extended intransitive frame ***x — y*** **Postp$_1$** ***z*** **Postp$_2$**

This frame is attested with a few verbs, but I have been able to find no verb for which it would be the only one possible.

4. Uncoded valency alternations

4.1. Causative / Anticausative Alternation

In the *Causative / Anticausative Alternation*, a verb that can be used transitively also has an intransitive construction which does not imply the involvement of a participant with the semantic role assigned to the subject of the transitive construction; the referent of the subject of the intransitive construction is presented as undergoing the same process as the object of the transitive construction, but without any hint at a possible external cause – Ex. (9).

(9) a. *Máŋk-óo jolón-tá baŋk-óo to.*
mango-DEF fall-PF.POS.INTR ground-DEF LOC
'The mango fell on the ground.'

b. *Kew-ó ye mur-óo jolóŋ baŋk-óo to.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR knife-DEF drop ground-DEF LOC
'The man dropped the knife on the ground.'

The relationship between two constructions related in this way is of the type expressed in other languages either by a transitivizing derivation of the causative type, or by a de-transitivizing derivation of the anticausative type. In Mandinka, the productivity of this alternation is limited not only by the possibility to conceive events as more or less spontaneous processes affecting a single participant, but also by the possible use of derived causative verbs making explicit the involvement of an agent.

Dŭŋ 'enter' illustrates the case of a verb lending itself to the causative / anticausative alternation – Ex. (10a-b), which however also has a morphologically marked causative form – Ex. (10c).

(10) a. *Wul-óo dun-ta búŋ-o kóno.*
dog-DEF enter-PF.POS.INTR house-DEF inside
'The dog went into the house.'

b. *Mus-óo ye miráŋ-o duŋ díndíŋ-o búlu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS.TR bowl-DEF enter child-DEF PSPH
'The woman put the bowl into the hands of the child.'

c. *Mus-óo ye kew-ó du-ndi búŋ-o kóno.*
woman-DEF PF.POS.TR man-DEF enter-CAUS house-DEF inside
'The woman let the man into the house.'

The competition between Causative / Anticausative Alternation and Causative Derivation is one of the trickiest aspects of Manding grammar. Their respective productivity shows important dialectal variations (and Mandinka is one of the dialects in which Causative Derivation is particularly productive), and fluctuations can be observed even within the limits of a given dialect. Lexicalization also plays an important role. An unquestionable regularity is however that, as already illustrated by Ex. (10), the use of causative forms tends to correlate with less direct causation, a relatively high degree of agentivity of the causer, and the ability of the causee to control the process and/or to oppose the manipulation exerted by the causer. Ex. (11) provides another illustration: with *borí* 'run, move quickly', the transitive use of the verb in its non-derived form is limited to a particular type of direct causation ('ride a horse', 'drive a car'), whereas the causative form does not show the same limitation.

(11) a. *Suw-ó bori-ta.*
horse-DEF run-PF.POS.INTR
'The horse ran.'

b. *Kew-ó ye suw-ó bori.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR horse-DEF ride
'The man rode the horse.'

c. *Kew-ó ye suw-ó bori-ndi.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR horse-DEF run-CAUS
'The man rode the horse.' or 'The man made the horse run.'

4.2. Active / Passive alternation

The *Active / Passive Alternation* has already been presented in Section 2.5, in the discussion of constructions in which the only expressed argument of a transitive verb is the patient. In this alternation, a verb that can be used transitively also has an intransitive construction interpreted as implying the same participants as the transitive construction. The subject of the intransitive construction encodes the same participant as the object of the transitive construction, whereas the participant encoded as the subject of the transitive construction is left unexpressed.

(12) a. *Kew-ó ye wot-ôo dádaa.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR car-DEF repair
'The man has repaired the car.'

b. *Wot-ôo dádáa-ta.*
car-DEF repair-PF.POS.INTR
'The car has been repaired.'

(13) a. *Kambaan-óo ye nás-óo feereetoo-bóŋ kolóŋ-o kóno.*
boy-DEF PF.POS.TR magic_water-DEF cleverly-pour well-DEF inside
'The boy cleverly poured the magic water into the well.'

b. *Nás-óo feereetoo-bón-tá kolóŋ-o kóno.*
magic_water-DEF cleverly-pour-PF.POS.INTR well-DEF inside
'The magic water was cleverly poured into the well.'

The existence of the Active / Passive Alternation giving rise to morphologically unmarked passive constructions constitutes the most original aspect of Manding argument structure. In spite of the absence of anything that could be analyzed as passive morphology, the construction illustrated by sentences (12b) & (13b) is passive in the sense that the patient is the subject of an intransitive construction in which the agent is syntactically *demoted* without however being *deleted* from argument structure. A decisive proof of the passive nature of the intransitive constructions involved in this alternation is their ability to include an agent-oriented adverb, such as *feereetoo-* 'cleverly' in Ex. (13b).

The passive reading of such intransitive clauses is not bound to any particular condition on aspect, mood, or referentiality. Mandinka speakers use intransitive constructions with a passive reading in the same conditions and with the same

semantic implications as agentless passive clauses in languages that have canonical passive constructions, and the passive use of the intransitive construction is semantically equivalent to the use of transitive clauses in which a third person plural pronoun in subject role receives an arbitrary reading.

There is however an important difference between Mandinka and other Manding dialects in the syntactic properties of the passive construction. In other Manding dialects, intransitive clauses constituting the passive counterpart of a transitive clause may include an oblique representing the participant encoded as the subject of the transitive construction, as in Ex. (15) from Bambara.

(14) a. *Wulû má sogô dún.* [Bambara]
dog.DEF PF.NEG meat.DEF eat
'The dog did not eat the meat.'

b. *Sogô má dún (wulú fɛ).* [Bambara]
meat.DEF PF.NEG eat dog.DEF by
'The meat has not been eaten (by the dog).'

This possibility does not exist in Mandinka. Interestingly, the passive clauses of Mandinka may include obliques marked by the same postpositions as those used to encode the agent in the other Manding dialects (i.e., postpositions whose basic meaning is reference to the personal sphere of an individual), but in the passive clauses of Mandinka, such obliques are interpreted as referring to a person who has some link with the event but does not play an active role in it, or to an involuntary agent, as in Ex. (15).

(15) *Kód-ôo dómó-tá ŋ́ fee.*
money-DEF spend-PF.POS.TR 1SG beside
'The money was spent without my knowing.' or 'I spent the money, but I did not do it on purpose.'

The Active / Passive Alternation is not bound to conditions on semantic roles, and the only limitation to its productivity seems to be ambiguity avoidance with verbs also involved in the Causative / Anticausative Alternation (but even with such verbs, intransitive construction with a passive reading are common in contexts favoring a passive reading).

4.3. Object / Oblique Alternation

In the *Object / Oblique Alternation*, the verb occurs in an intransitive construction including an oblique which can equally be encoded as the object of a transitive construction. As discussed above on the example of *teyi* 'cross', in accordance with the general properties of objects and obliques in Mandinka, this term is obligatory in the transitive construction, but can be omitted from the intransitive construction.

Two semantic subtypes of the Object / Oblique Alternation can be distinguished: the *Delimitative Alternation* and the *Applicative Alternation*.

4.3.1. Delimitative Alternation

In the *Delimitative Alternation*, typically found with verbs expressing a manner of moving, the transitive construction encodes the same one-participant event as the intransitive construction; the unique participant is encoded as the subject, and the object encodes the temporal or spatial delimitation of the event – Ex. (16) & (17).

(16) a. *Kew-ô táamá-ta.*
man-DEF walk-PF.POS.INTR
'The man walked.'

b. *Kew-ó ye wúl-ôo bêe táama.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR bush-DEF all walk
'The man walked through the whole bush.'

c. *Kew-ó ye tilî lúulú táama, a máŋ futá saatéw-o to.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR day five wander 3SG PF.NEG.INTR arrive village-DEF OBL
'The man walked five days without arriving at the village.'

(17) a. *Kúnuŋ í yáayí-ta báake.*
yesterday 2SG wander-PF.POS.INTR a_lot
'You wandered a lot yesterday.'

b. *Musu-kéebáa-lu níŋ deenaan-óo ye saatéw-o bêe yáayi.*
woman-old.DEF-PL with baby-DEF PF.POS.TR village-DEF all wander
'The old women wandered round the whole village with the baby.'

4.3.2. Applicative Alternation

In the other cases of Object / Oblique Alternation, the object of the transitive construction represents a second participant treated as an oblique in the corresponding intransitive construction. This alternation, designated as *Applicative Alternation* for reasons that will be commented below, has already been illustrated with *teyí* 'cross' – Ex. (4) above. *Selé* 'climb' and *wúlúu* 'give birth' provide additional examples.

(18) a. *Sul-óo sele-ta yír-ôo sánto.*
monkey-DEF climb-PF.POS.INTR tree-DEF on_top
'The monkey climbed up the tree.'

b. *Í búka yír-óo selé a jamb-óo la.*
2SG HAB.NEG tree-DEF climb 3SG leave-DEF OBL
'One does not climb a tree by the leaves.'

(19) a. *Mus-ôo wúlúu-tá (súŋkút-óo la).*
woman-DEF give_birth-PF.POS.INTR girl-DEF OBL
'The woman gave birth (to a girl).'

b. *Mus-óo ye súŋkút-óo le wúluu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS.TR girl-DEF FOC give_birth
'The woman gave birth to a girl.'

This alternation is not very productive. It does not seem possible to propose a semantic feature whose presence would automatically license it. An interesting semantic generalization is however that it is never found with verbs encoding prototypical events in which a patient undergoes a change of state triggered by a manipulation exerted by an agent.

This observation has an interesting consequence for terminology. From a strictly formal point of view, this alternation involves a change in the construction similar to that triggered by applicative as well as antipassive derivations, depending on the choice of one of the two possible orientations. But licensing the presence of an object NP representing a participant that otherwise would not be encoded as a core term of the transitive construction is a typical function of applicative derivations, whereas antipassive derivations are typically used to demote prototypical patients. Consequently, it is consistent to designate as *applicative alternation* a transitivity alternation that does not affect the semantic role of the subject and in which the participant encoded as the object of the transitive construction is never a prototypical patient.

The way the verbs lending themselves to the Applicative Alternation behave with respect to causativization corroborates this analysis, since those of them that have a causative form take the causative suffix *-ndi*, typically used to causativize intransitive constructions, and none of them is compatible with the causative suffix *-(di)rindi* used to causativize transitive constructions.

4.4. Active / Introversive Alternation

In the *Active / Introversive Alternation*, the verb has an intransitive construction and a transitive construction in which it assigns the same semantic role to its subject, but the participant encoded as the object of the transitive construction cannot be expressed in the intransitive construction, which distinguishes this alternation from the Object / Oblique alternation. This Active / Introversive alternation has been found with very few verbs. It is illustrated here by *dásá* 'lack' and *karáŋ* 'learn'.

(20) a. *Jíy-o dásá-tá le.*
water-DEF lack-PF.POS.INTR FOC
'Water is lacking.'

b. *Kód-óo ye ŋ́ dása.*
money-DEF PF.POS.TR 1SG lack
'I lack money.'

(21) a. *Ñĭŋ kew-ó ye Fúlá-káŋ-o karaŋ.*
DEM man-DEF PF.POS.TR Fula-language-DEF learn
'The man learned the Fula language.'

b. *Ñĭŋ kew-ó karán-ta báake.*
DEM man-DEF learn-PF.POS.INTR very
'The man is a very learned person.'

4.5. Object / Oblique Permutation

The *Object / Oblique Permutation* involves trivalent verbs that have two constructions with the same argument selected in subject function, but two possible choices for the argument encoded as the object – Ex. (22) & (23).

(22) a. *Kew-ó ye batáay-ôo sáfée a díŋ-o ye.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR letter-DEF write 3SG son-DEF BEN
'The man wrote a letter to his son.'

b. *Kew-ó ye a díŋ-o sáfée batáay-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR 3SG son-DEF write letter-DEF OBL
'The man wrote a letter to his son (lit. wrote his son with a letter).'

(23) a. *Kew-ó ye tiy-ôo sóolí boot-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR peanuts-DEF cram bag-DEF inside
'The man crammed the peanuts into the bag.'

b. *Kew-ó ye boot-ôo sóolí tiy-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR bag-DEF stuff peanuts-DEF OBL
'The man stuffed the bag with peanuts.'

4.6. Non-canonical uses of the middle construction

Some Mandinka verbs are found in an intransitive construction and in a middle construction in which they assign the same role to their subject. Some of them, for example *bálúu* 'live' – Ex. (24), have no possibility of a transitive use, others, for example *nukúŋ* 'hide' – Ex. (25), also have a transitive use related to their intransitive use via the Causative / Anticausative Alternation.

(24) a. *Baramatôo tê bálúu-la.*
injured_person.DEF IPF.NEG.INTR live-INF
'The injured person will not survive.'

b. *Moo jáamáa ka í bálúu sen-óo le lá jaŋ.*
person many HAB.POS REFL live farming-DEF FOC OBL here
'Many people live on farming here.'

(25) a. *Díndíŋ-o nukún-tá yír-ôo kóoma.*
child-DEF hide-PF.POS.INTR tree-DEF behind
'The child hid behind the tree.'

b. *Díndíŋ-o ye í nukuŋ yír-ôo kóoma.*
child-DEF PF.POS.TR REFL hide tree-DEF behind
'The child hid (himself) behind the tree.'

c. *Mus-óo ye kód-óo nukuŋ.*
woman-DEF PF.POS.TR money-DEF hide
'The woman hid the money.'

Some other Mandinka verbs have a middle construction related to a transitive construction of the same verb by a valency operation of the antipassive type. In some cases, for example with *mĭŋ* 'drink' – Ex. (26), the participant encoded as the object of the transitive construction is encoded as an oblique in the middle construction. In other cases, for example with *jé* 'see' – Ex. (27), the participant encoded as the object of the transitive construction cannot be expressed in the middle construction.

(26) a. *Kew-ó ye jíy-o miŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR water-DEF drink
'The man drank water.'

b. *Kew-ó ye í miŋ jíy-o la.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR REFL drink water-DEF OBL
same meaning as (a)

(27) a. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo jé.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR boy-DEF see
'The man saw the boy.'

b. *Fiŋkintéw-o-lu búka í je.*
blind-DEF-PL HAB.NEG REFL see
'The blind do not see.'

4.7. Subject / Oblique Alternation

The only Mandika verb lending itself to the *Subject / Oblique Alternation* is *tú* 'remain / leave'. *Tú* has transitive and intransitive uses related via the Causative / Anticausative Alternation – Ex. (28a-b), but in addition to that, it is found in an impersonal construction which has no equivalent with any other Mandinka verb, in

which the 3rd person pronoun in subject function is a mere place-holder, and the only participant is encoded as an oblique – Ex. (28c).

(28) a. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o-lu tú súw-o kóno.*
woman-DEF PF.POS.TR child-DEF-PL leave house-DEF inside
'The woman left the children in the house.'

b. *Musu-kéebáa fula tú-tá saatéw-o to.*
woman-old two remain-PF.POS.INTR village-DEF LOC
'Two old women remained in the village.'

c. *A tú-tá jěe musu-kéebáa fula (la).*
3SG remain-PF.POS.INTR there woman-old two OBL
'There remained two old women.'

The possible omission of the postposition marking the oblique argument of *tú* used impersonally is exceptional in Mandinka syntax.

Functionally, the impersonal construction of *tú* is identical to English 'there remains *x*' or French 'il reste *x*', but formally, the unique participant is unambiguously in oblique position, whereas in most languages having functionally similar constructions, inverted subjects move to object position. This may be related to the fact that such impersonal constructions have been observed mainly in SVO languages, whereas Mandinka is an SOVX language.

The existence of a presentational focus construction limited to a single verb meaning 'remain' seems to be an areal phenomenon, since the same exceptional behavior of a verb meaning 'remain' has been observed in several Atlantic languages, i.e., in languages that have no close genetic relationship with Mandinka but are spoken in the same area, for example Wolof (Sylvie Nouguier-Voisin, p.c.) and Jóola-Banjal (Bassène & Creissels 2011).

5. Valency operations involving a change in the verb stem

5.1. Antipassive Derivation

Mandinka has a suffix *-ri* (with the allomorph *-diri* in combination with stems ending with a nasal) found exclusively with transitive verbs in constructions in which the P argument is left unexpressed, cannot be identified to the referent of a noun phrase included in the same construction, and is interpreted as non-specific. This distribution makes it possible to analyze *-ri* as a valency operator of the antipassive type. However, in other respects, *-ri* has properties quite unusual for an antipassive marker, since with just one exception (*dómó* 'eat'), *ri*-forms cannot be used as the verbal predicate of finite clauses, and the suffix *-ri* can be used only in the following conditions:

– when the verb is used nominally as an event noun, as in (29c);

– when the verb is used in a non-finite form expressing temporal simultaneity, marked by a suffix *-too*, as in (30b);
– in agent nominalization, marked by a suffix *-laa* ~ *-naa*, as in (31b);
– in instrument nominalization, marked by a suffix *-raŋ* ~ *-laŋ* ~ *-daŋ*, as in (32b);
– in causative derivation (see Section 5.2).

(29) a. *Mus-óo be maani-túw-o la.*
woman-D COP rice-pound-D OBL
lit. 'The woman is at the rice-pounding.' → 'The woman is pounding rice.'
(*maaní* 'rice' saturates the P valency of *tŭu* 'pound', and the subject of the copula is identified to the unexpressed A argument)

b. *Maan-óo be tuw-ó la.*
rice-D COP pound-D OBL
lit. 'The rice is at the pounding.' → 'The rice is being pounded.'
(if none of the arguments of *tŭu* 'pound' is expressed, in the absence of the antipassive suffix, the subject of the copula is identified to the unexpressed P argument)

b. *Mus-óo be tuu-r-óo la.*
woman-D COP pound-ANTIP-D OBL
lit. 'The woman is at the pounding.ANTIP.' → 'The woman is pounding.'
(the antipassive suffix saturates the P valency of *tŭu* 'pound', and the subject of the copula is identified to the unexpressed A argument)

(30) a. *Ń ŋá mus-óo maani-tuu-tôo jé.*
1SG PF.POS woman-D rice-pound-SIMULT see
'I saw the woman pounding rice.'

b. *Ń ŋá mus-óo tuu-ri-tôo jé.*
1SG PF.POS woman-D pound-ANTIP-SIMULT see
'I saw the woman pounding.'

(31) a. *maani-tuu-láa*
rice-pound-AGNR
'person who pounds rice'

b. *tuu-ri-láa*
pound-ANTIP-AGNR
'person who pounds'

(32) a. *maani-tuu-ráŋ*
rice-pound-INSNR
'rice-pestle'

b. *tuu-ri-láŋ*
pound-ANTIP-INSNR
'pestle'

With the only exception of *dómó* 'eat', the antipassive form of Mandinka transitive verbs cannot be used as the verbal predicate of clauses in which the A argument only would be expressed, but it is commonly found in a functionally equivalent antipassive periphrasis, in which the antipassive form of a transitive verb used nominally is the object of *ké* 'do' – Ex. (33).

(33) a. **Mus-óo ye Ø tuu.* **Mus-óo tuu-ta*
woman-D PF.POS pound woman -D pound-PF.POS
Intended: 'The woman pounded.' – the first sentence is absolutely impossible, and the only possible reading of the second one is 'The woman was pounded.'

b. *Mus-óo ye tuu-r-ôo ké.*
woman-D PF.POS pound-ANTIP-D do
lit. 'The woman did the pounding.ANTIP.' → 'The woman pounded.'

Dómó 'eat' is the only Mandinka verb with which *-ri* has the usual behavior of antipassive markers, i.e. yields a form used not only as an active action noun, but also as an intransitive verb whose subject represents the agent – Ex. (34c).

(34) a. *Díndíŋ-o ye mbúur-ôo dómo.*
child-DEF PF.POS.TR bread-DEF eat
'The child ate the bread.'

b. *Díndíŋ-o ye dómó-r-ôo ké.*
child-DEF PF.POS.TR eat-ANTIP-DEF do
'The child ate.'

c. *Díndíŋ-o dómó-rí-ta.*
child-DEF eat-ANTIP-PF.POS.INTR
same meaning as (b)

The cognates of this atypical antipassive suffix in other Manding varieties are nominalization markers. They yield forms that can never be used as verbs, and they cannot be analyzed as encoding patient demotion, since they may be used to mark the nominalization of intransitive verbs, and their presence with transitive verbs used as action nouns does not block the expression of the patient (see for example Dumestre 2003: 74-5 on Bambara *-li*). However, a canonical antipassive suffix *-ndì* probably cognate with these problematic Manding suffixes is found in Sooninke (a language of the Western branch of the Mande family distantly related to Manding): in Sooninke, *-ndì* converts transitive verbs into intransitive verbs assigning the same semantic role to their subject, cf. Creissels 1991. Consequently, Mandinka *-ri* and its cognates in other Manding varieties can be analyzed as reflexes of a former antipassive suffix, but Mandinka is the only Manding dialect showing clear evidence supporting this hypothesis.

5.2. Causative Derivation

When the input of Causative Derivation is an intransitive construction, the subject of the non-derived verb is converted into the object of the causative verb, and a causer is introduced in subject function – Ex. (35).

(35) a. *Díndíŋ-o lá dendik-ôo nóo-ta.*
child-DEF GEN shirt-DEF get_dirty-PF.POS.INTR
'The child's shirt got dirty.'

b. *Díndíŋ-o yé a lá dendik-ôo nó-ndi.*
child-DEF PF.POS.TR 3SG GEN shirt-DEF get_dirty-CAUS
'The child soiled his shirt.'

When Causative Derivation operates on a transitive construction, the general rule (which suffers very few exceptions) is that the subject of the non-derived verb (the causee in the causative construction) takes the object function, and the object of the non-derived verb is converted into an oblique marked by the postposition *lá* – Ex. (36).

(36) a. *Díndíŋ-o yé tooñâa fó.*
child-DEF PF.POS.TR truth.DEF tell
'The child told the truth.'

b. *Kew-ó ye díndíŋ-o fóo-rí-ndí tooñáa la.*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR child-DEF tell-ANTIP-CAUS truth.DEF OBL
'The man made the child tell the truth.'

As illustrated by the examples above, Mandinka has two ways of marking causative derivation:

– The simple causative suffix *-ndí* is typically used to causativize intransitive constructions and to express relatively direct causation; it is however also used with a few transitive verbs.
– The complex suffix *-(di)ri-ndi* , whose first formative can be identified as the antipassive marker *-(di)ri*, is exclusively used to causativize transitive constructions, and can only express indirect causation.

In the case of *dómó* 'eat', the analysis of the causative form *dómóríndí* as derived from the antipassive form *dómórí* 'eat (intr.)' is obvious, since this decomposition is fully consistent with the syntactic properties of *dómórí* and *dómóríndi*: *-ri* encodes the demotion of the object, making it possible for the initial subject to move to object position when a causer is introduced in subject position.

(37) a. *Díndíŋ-o dómó-rí-ta.*
child-DEF eat-ANTIP-PF.POS.INTR
'The child ate.

b. *Kew-ó ye díndíŋ-o dómó-rí-ndi (mbúur-óo la).*
man-DEF PF.POS.TR child-DEF eat-ANTIP-CAUS bread.DEF OBL
'The man made the child eat (bread).'

The analysis of *-(di)ri-ndi* as a complex suffix is less obvious with other verbs, since the causative suffix *-ndí* attaches to verb stems, and *dómó* 'eat' is the only Mandinka verb whose antipassive form can be used in verbal predicate function (see above).

Diachronically, the other Manding varieties provide no evidence helping to solve this puzzle. They mark causative derivation by means of prefixes that are not cognate with Mandinka *-ndi*, and do not have affixes available to encode the causativization of transitive constructions. Moreover, as already commented in Section 5.1, the cognates of Mandinka *-ri* in other Manding varieties show no evidence of originating from a former antipassive marker. However, the decomposition of *-(di)ri-ndi* as *-(di)ri* ANTIP + *-ndi* CAUS is strongly supported, in a diachronic perspective, by comparison with Sooninke, since this language has a canonical antipassive marker *-ndì* and a causative marker *-ndí* which are probable cognates of Mandinka *-ri* and *-ndí* respectively.

5.3. Postposition Incorporation

In *Postposition Incorporation*, the same argument can be encoded either as an oblique in an intransitive construction, or as the object of a compound verb form incorporating the postposition used to mark the same argument when it is encoded as an oblique – ex. (38).

(38) a. *Bándíy-o-lú boyi-tá jul-óo-lu kaŋ.*
bandit-DEF-PL fall-PF.POS.INTR merchant-DEF-PL on
'The bandits attacked the merchants (lit. fell on the merchants).'

b. *Bándíy-o-lu yé jul-óo-lu boyiŋ-kaŋ.*
bandit-DEF-PL PF.POS.TR merchant-DEF-PL fall-on[9]
'The bandits attacked the merchants.'

Very few verbs lend themselves to this transformation. For example, it is possible with *nǎa … tí* 'come with → bring', but not with *táa … tí* 'go with → carry'.

6. Valency classes

6.1. Class 1 (plain intransitive verbs)

The verbs grouped into this class have only intransitive uses. As a rule, they can be transitivized by means of the causative suffix. *Saa* 'die' seems to be the only exception to this rule. In addition to the verbs already mentioned in Sections 3.1.1 and 3.3.2 as illustrations of the intransitive and extended intransitive frames, this class includes among many others the following verbs:

[9] The epenthetic segment *-ŋ-* has been arbitrarily assigned to the preceding morpheme.

x níŋ *y* **běŋ** = *x* meets *y* (niŋ = with)
x **díyáa** = *x* is pleasant, *x* is easy, *x* **díyáa** *y* yé = *y* likes *x*
x **fúntí** = *x* appears, *x* **fúntí** *L* = *x* goes out from somewhere
x **kúmá** = *x* speaks / sounds (produces a sound), *x* **kúmá** *y* yé = *x* talks to *y*
x **nǎa** *L* = *x* comes somewhere, *x* **nǎa** *y* tí *z* yé = *x* brings *y* to *z*, *x* **nǎa** *y* tí *L* = *x* brings *y* somewhere
x **sawúŋ**$_1$ (*L*) = *x* jumps (somewhere)
x **sǐi** (*y* káŋ) = *x* sits down (on *y*), *x* **sii** (*L*) = *x* lives somewhere
x **sití**$_2$ = *x* is ill-lucked
x **súmáyáa** = *x* is cold
x **táa** *L* = *x* goes somewhere, *x* **táa** *y* tí *z* yé = *x* carries *y* to *z*, *x* **táa** *y* tí *L* = *x* carries *y* somewhere
x **túunéŋ** = *x* sinks

6.2. Class 2 (plain transitive verbs)

For the verbs belonging to this class, an intransitive construction with a passive reading constitutes the only alternative to the basic transitive (or extended transitive) frame. In addition to the verbs already mentioned in Sections 3.2.1 and 3.3.1 as illustrations of the transitive and extended transitive frames, this class includes among many others the following verbs:

x y **báyi** *L* = *x* chases *y* from somewhere
x y **bǒŋ** *L* = *x* pours *y* somewhere
x y **búŋ** = *x* stings *y*, *x y* **búŋ** *z* lá = *x* aims at *y* with *z*, *x* throws *z* on *y*
x y **bulá**$_2$ = *x* leaves *y*, *x* abandons *y*
x y **búsá**$_1$ = *x* beats *y*, *x* hits *y*
x y **deemá** = *x* hunts *y*
x y **dímíŋ** = *y* feels pain in *x*, *x* causes *y* to feel pain)
x y **fárási** *z* bálá = *x* tears *y* from *z*
x y **fáyí** *L* = *x* throws *y* somewhere
x y **fítá** = *x* wipes *y*
x y **fútúu** = *x* marries *y* – *x* a man, *y* a woman
x y **karáŋ**$_1$ = *x* reads *y*
x y **ké**$_3$ *L* = *x* puts *y* somewhere
x y **ké**$_4$ *L* = *x* spends *y* somewhere, *x y* **ké**$_4$ *z* tí = *x* spends *y* doing *z* – *y* a time span
x y **kíi** *z* yé = *x* sends *y* to *z*, *x y* **kíi** *L* = *x* sends *y* somewhere
x y **kóŋkóŋ** *L* = *x* wipes *y* from somewhere
x y **kúmándí** = *x* calls *y*, *x y* **kúmándí** *z* lá = *x* calls *y* a *z*
x y **kuntú** (*z* lá) = *x* cuts *y* (with *z*)
x y **láa**$_2$ (*z* yé) = *x* tells *y* (to *z*) – *y* a story
x y **mǎa** (*z* lá) = *x* touches *y* (with *z*)
x y **múurá** *z* lá = *x* covers *y* with *z*
x y **sambá** *z* yé = *x* brings *y* to *z*, *x* carries *y* to *z*, *x y* **samba** *L* = *x* brings *y* somewhere, *x* carries *y* somewhere

x y **sití**$_1$ (*z* bálá) = *x* ties *y* (to *z*)
x y **sǒo** *z* kónó = *x* pours *y* into *z*
x y **tǎa** (*z* búlú) = *x* takes *y* (from *z*)
x y **teyí**$_1$ (*z* lá) = *x* cuts *y* (with *z*)
x y **tóoláa** *z* lá = *x* names *y z*

6.3. Class 3

The verbs grouped into this class differ from those of Class 2 by the possibility of two transitive constructions related via the Object / Oblique Permutation:

x y **bítí** *z* lá ~ *x z* **bítí** *y* tó = *x* covers *y* with *z*, *x* puts *z* on *y* – *y* an opening
x y **dáaní** *z* búlú ~ *x z* **dáaní** *y* lá = *x* asks *z* for *y*
x y **kara-ndí** *z* yé ~ *x z* **kara-ndí** *y* lá = *x* teaches *y* to *z*
x y **sáfée** *z* yé ~ *x z* **sáfée** *y* lá = *x* writes *y* to *z*
x y **sóolí** *z* kónó ~ *x z* **sóoli** *y* lá = *x* crams *y* into *z*, *x* stuffs *z* with *y*
x y **suuñáa** *z* búlú ~ *x z* **suuñáa** *y* lá = *x* steals *y* from *z*

6.4. Class 4 (plain P-labile verbs)

The verbs grouped into this class have an intransitive construction and a transitive construction related via the Causative / Anticausative alternation. They cannot take the causative suffix used to causativize intransitive constructions, but their transitive construction may be causativized by means of the complex suffix *-(di)ri-ndi* (*faa-rindí* 'make kill', *jani-rindí* 'make burn', etc.).

x **fǎa** = *x* dies ~ *x y* **fǎa** = *x* kills *y*
x **janí** = *x* burns ~ *x y* **janí** = *x* burns *y*
x **kátí** = *x* breaks ~ *x y* **kátí** = *x* breaks *y*
x **ké**$_1$ = *x* happens, *x* occurs ~ *x y* **ké**$_1$ = *x* does *y*
x **tará** *L* = *x* is found somewhere, *x* **tará** *y* lá = *x* is affected by *y* ~ *x y* **tará** *L* = *x* finds *y* somewhere
x **teyí**$_3$ = *x* breaks ~ *x y* **teyí**$_3$ = *x* breaks *y*
x **tú** *L* = *x* remains somewhere; *x y* **tú** *L* = *x* leaves *y* somewhere

The last verb of this list (*tú* 'remain / leave') has the particularity of being the only Mandinka verb having the ability to occur in an impersonal construction with a subject de-topicalizing function – see 4.7.

6.5. Class 5 (plain A-labile verbs)

The verbs grouped into this class have an intransitive construction and a transitive construction in which they assign the same role to their subject. Those of them which lend themselves to causativization take the causative suffix typically used to causativize intransitive verbs.

In most cases, the alternative constructions of the verbs of Class 5 are related via the Object / Oblique alternation, but a minority of them are involved in the Active / Introversive alternation:

x **baláŋ** *y* má *z* lá ~ *x z* **baláŋ** *y* má = *x* refuses *y z*, *x* denies *y z*
x **búsá**$_2$ *y* káŋ ~ *x y* **búsá**$_2$ = *x* falls violently on *y*
x **diyaamú** = *x* speaks, *x* **diyaamú** *y* lá ~ *x y* **diyaamú** = *x* discusses *y*
x **jélé** = *x* laughs, *x* **jélé** *y* lá ~ *x y* **jélé** = *x* laughs at *y*
x **kumbóo** = *x* cries, *x y* **kumbóo** = *x* laments the loss of *y*
x **sárí** = *x* screams, *x* **sárí** *y* káŋ = *x* shouts at *y*, *x* **sárí** *y* tí ~ *x y* **sárí** = *x* shouts *y*
x **selé** *y* sánto ~ *x y* **selé** = *x* climbs up *y*
x **teyí**$_2$ *y* lá ~ *x y* **teyí**$_2$ = *x* crosses *y*
x **túlúŋ** = *x* plays, *x* **túlúŋ** *y* lá ~ *x y* **túlúŋ** = *x* does not take *y* seriously, *x* behaves frivolously towards *y*
x **wúlúu** *y* lá ~ *x y* **wúlúu** = *x* gives birth to *y*

x y **karáŋ**$_2$ = *x* learns *y*, *x* **karáŋ**$_2$ = *x* learns a lot
x y **lóŋ** = *x* knows *y*, *x* **lóŋ** = *x* knows a lot
x y **mutá**$_2$ = *x* acts on *y*, *x* **mutá**$_2$ = *x* takes effect

6.6. Class 6

This class is characterized by two possible transitive constructions, one related to the intransitive construction according to the Object / Oblique Alternation (characteristic of A-labile verbs), and the other related to the intransitive construction according to the Causative / Anticausative Alternation (characteristic of P-labile verbs). *Míníŋ* 'wind' is the only verb I have found in this class.

x **míníŋ** *y* lá ~ *x* Refl **míníŋ** *y* lá = *x* hugs *y*, *x* winds around *y*, *x y* **míníŋ** = *x* surrounds / encircle *y*, *x y* **míníŋ** *z* lá = *x* winds *y* around *z*

6.7. Class 7

The verbs in this class can be labeled 'semi-labile'. They participate in the Causative / Anticausative Alternation, but to a limited extent only, since in the transitive construction, their non-derived form is in competition with a morphologically marked causative form. The precise conditions on the use of the causative form vary according to the individual verbs, and it is impossible to formulate a general rule accounting for all of them with precision, but the general tendency is that the morphologically marked causative form tends to be preferred if the agent exerts a relatively indirect manipulation, or if the patient has the ability to control the process.

x **bó** *L* = *x* leaves a place, *x y* **bó** *L* ~ *x y* **bó-ndí** *L* = *x* takes off / removes *y* from somewhere
x **boyí** = *x* falls, *x y* **boyí** ~ *x y* **boyi-ndí** = *x* makes *y* fall

x **bulá**$_1$ *L* = *x* settles oneself / boards somewhere, *x y* **bulá**$_1$ *L* ~ *x y* **bula-ndí** *L* = *x* puts *y* somewhere
x **dŭŋ**$_1$ *L* = *x* enters somewhere, *x y* **dŭŋ**$_1$ *L* ~ *x y* **du-ndí** *L* = *x* slips *y* somewhere, *x* makes/lets *y* enter somewhere
x **fáa** *y* lá = *x* is full of *y*, *x y* **fáa** *z* lá ~ *x y* **fá-ndí** *z* lá = *x* fills *y* with *z*
x **ké**$_2$ *y* tí = *x* becomes *y*, *x* is *y*, *x y* **ké**$_2$ *z* tí ~ *x y* **ké-ndí** *z* tí = *x* makes *z* out of *x*, *x* transforms *y* into *z*
x **ñorí** = *x* moves, *x y* **ñorí** = *x* pushes *y*, *x y* **ñori-ndí** = *x* causes *y* to move
x **sawúŋ**$_2$ *y* lá = *y* is infected by *x* – *x* an illness, *x y* **sawúŋ**$_2$ *z* lá ~ *x y* **sawu-ndí** *z* lá = *x* infects *z* with *y* – *y* an illness
x **sotó** *L* = *x* is available somewhere, *x y* **sotó** = *x* gets *y*, *x* has *y*, *x y* **sotó** *z* búlú = *x* gets *y* from *z*, *x y* **soto-ndí** *z* yé = *x* makes *y* available to *z*
x **sunú** = *x* is sad, *x y* **sunú** ~ *x y* **sunu-ndí** = *x* makes *y* sad

6.8. Class 8 (media tantum)

This class includes a few verbs occurring exclusively in the middle construction, or having other constructions in marked contexts only, as discussed for *súmúnáa* in Section 2.6 (media tantum).

x Refl **fóñóndí** = *x* rests
x Refl **lákúrá** *y* lá = *x* finishes *y*
x Refl **súmúnáa** = *x* urinates

6.9. Class 9

The few verbs grouped into this class are used intransitively or in the middle construction, but have no transitive use.

x **bálúu** = *x* lives / survives, *x* Refl **bálúu** *y* lá = *x* lives on *y*

6.10. Class 10

The verbs grouped into this class, like those of class 9, participate in the Intransitive / Middle Synonymy. In addition to that, like the semi-labile verbs grouped into class 7, they also participate in the Causative / Anticausative Alternation, but only to a limited extent, having transitive uses in which the causative form is required.

x **borí** ~ *x* Refl **borí** = *x* runs / moves quickly; = *x* runs; *x y* **borí** = *x* rides/drives *y*; *x y* **bori-ndí** = *x* rides/drives *y*, *x* makes *y* run
x **láa**$_1$ (*y* káŋ) ~ *x* Refl **láa**$_1$ (*y* káŋ) = *x* lies down (onto *y*); *x y* **láa**$_1$ (*z* káŋ) = *x* lays / loads / puts *y* (onto *z*); *x y* **lá-ndí** (*z* káŋ) = *x* lays *y* (onto *z*)
x **lŏo** ~ *x* (Refl) **lŏo** = *x* stands, *x* stops; *x y* **lŏo** ~ *x y* **lo-ndí** = *x* builds *y*, *x* erects *y*, *x* puts *y* in standing position

x **máabó** *y* má ~ *x* Refl **máabó** *y* má = *x* hides from *y*; *x y* **máabó** *z* má ~ *x y* **máabó-ndí** *z* má = *x* hides *y* from *z*

6.11. Class 11

The verbs grouped into class 11 differ from plain transitive verbs by their ability to occur in a middle construction expressing a valency operation of the antipassive type.

x y **dŭŋ$_2$** *z* lá = *x* dresses *z* in *y*, *x* puts *y* on *z* – *y* a piece of clothing; *x y* **dŭŋ$_2$** = *x* dresses in *y* ; *x* Refl **dŭŋ$_2$** = *x* dresses
x y **jé** = *x* sees *y*; *x* Refl **jé** = *x* sees
x y **míirá** ~ *x* Refl **míirá** *y* tó = *x* thinks about *y*
x y **mĭŋ** ~ *x* Refl **mĭŋ** *y* lá = *x* drinks *y*

7. Conclusion

The following aspects of Mandinka morphosyntax play a crucial role in the organization of the valency properties of Mandinka verbs and in their analysis:

- a particularly clear-cut distinction between transitive and intransitive predications, and between core syntactic terms and obliques;
- a strict limitation of the number of core nominal terms in predicative constructions to two;
- a total ban on null core arguments, either with an anaphoric or an arbitrary reading, which makes equally unproblematic the recognition of A-labile and P-labile verbs.

Mandinka has a middle construction whose relationship to transitive and intransitive constructions involves cross-linguistically common mechanisms (such as the ability to encode valency operations of the antipassive type), and the way causativization is organized in Mandinka conforms to well-established cross-linguistic regularities, but Mandinka shows an undeniable originality in some aspects of valency grammar:

- In Mandinka, A-lability and P-lability are not mutually exclusive, since some verbs can be used intransitively, without any morphological marking, with a subject corresponding to any of the two core terms of the corresponding transitive construction.
- Mandinka has many pairs of etymologically related verbs differing in their behavior with respect to transitivity alternations and/or causativization. Pairs such as *teyí* ‘cut’ / *teyí* ‘cross’, *mutá* ‘catch’ / *mutá* ‘act on’, *karáŋ* ‘read’ / *karáŋ* ‘learn’, *búsá* ‘hit’ / *búsá* ‘fall violently on’ provide particularly clear evidence of the relevance of prototypical transitivity as discussed by Næss 2007, since the

member of the pair standing closer to the transitive prototype is a plain transitive verb, whereas the other is A-labile.
– Two semantic types of P-lability must be distinguished in Mandinka, manifested in the Causative / Anticausative Alternation and in the Active / Passive Alternation respectively; the Active / Passive Alternation applies across the board to verbs that have the ability to occur in a transitive construction, whereas the Causative / Anticausative alternation is a lexical property of individual verbs, and is in competition with morphologically encoded Causative Derivation for a class of 'semi-labile' verbs.
– Mandinka has a suffix encoding a valency operation which is clearly of the antipassive type, but with the only exception of *dómó* 'eat', it yields forms that can be used as action nouns but not as verbal predicates.
– The suffix encoding the causativization of transitive constructions is a complex suffix whose first formative can be identified as the antipassive suffix.
– Mandinka has an impersonal construction similar to the 'presentational focus' constructions attested among other in Romance and Bantu languages, which is however limited to a single verb: *tú* 'remain'.

Abbreviations

AGNR: agent nominalizer, ANTIP: antipassive, BEN: benefactive postposition, CAUS: causative, Cl: clause, CTRP: centripetal, DEF: definite, DEM: demonstrative, ESS: essive postposition, FOC: focalization, GEN: genitive, HAB: habitual, ID.COP: identificational copula, INF: infinitive, INSNR: instrument nominalizer, IPF: imperfective, L: noun phrase, postposition phrase or adverb encoding the ground in a spatial relationship, LOC: locative postposition, LOC.COP: locative copula, N: noun phrase, NEG: negative, O: object, OBL: postposition in oblique marker function, PF: perfective, PL: plural, POS: positive, Postp: postposition, POT: potential, PSPH: postposition encoding the meaning 'within the personal sphere of', PST: past, Q: interrogative particle; QUOT: quotative, REFL: reflexive pronoun, REL: relativizer, RES: resultative, RU: reported utterance, S: subject, SG: singular, SIMULT: non-finite verb form encoding simultaneity, TAM: tense-aspect-mood, V: verb, X: oblique.

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The Mandinka equivalents of the 70 verb meanings in the questionnaire of the Leipzig Valency Classes Project

In this chart, each Mandinka verb is given with the coding frame corresponding to the role frame put forward in the questionnaire, with the indication of its behavior with respect to the causative/anticausative and object/oblique alternations, and with some precisions about its behavior with respect to causativization / antipassivization and in the middle construction.

The column 'caus., antip.' specifies the possibility to attach directly to the verb stem taken with the meaning indicated, either the causative suffix *-ndi* (typically used to causitivize intransitive constructions) or the antipassive suffix *-(di)ri* (excllusively used with transitive verbs). Remember that the verbs that have an antipassive form can be causativized by attaching the causative suffix to the antipassive form.

In the column 'mid.', '= intr.' indicates the possibility of a middle construction synonymous with the intransitive construction of the same verb, whereas 'antip.' indicates the possibility of a middle construction with an antipassive function.

	meaning label	**Mandinka verb**	**caus. /antic.**	**obj. /obl.**	**caus., antip.**	**mid.**
(1)	RAIN	no equivalent Mandinka verb				
(2)	BE DRY	*x* **jăa** = *x* is dry	–	–	caus.	
(3)	BURN	*x* **janí** = *x* burns	+	–	antip.	
(4)	SINK	*x* **túunéŋ** = *x* sinks	–	–	caus.	
(5)	ROLL	same as RUN (22)				
(6)	BE A HUNTER	no equivalent Mandinka verb				

(7)	BE HUNGRY	*x* **kóŋkó** = *x* is hungry	–	–	caus.	
(8)	BE SAD	*x* **sunú** = *x* is sad	+	–	caus.	
(9)	DIE	*x* **săa** = *x* dies *x* **făa** = *x* dies	– +	– –		
(10)	FEEL COLD	no equivalent Mandinka verb				
(11)	FEEL PAIN	*x y* **dímíŋ** = *y* feels pain in *x*	–	–		
(12)	SCREAM	*x* **sárí** = *x* screams	–	–	caus.	
(13)	LAUGH	*x* **jélé** (*y* lá) = *x* laughs (at *y*)	–	+	caus.	
(14)	PLAY	*x* **túlúŋ** (*y* lá) = *x* plays (with *y*)	–	+	caus.	
(15)	LIVE	*x* **sĭi** *L* = *x* lives somewhere	–	–	caus.	
(16)	LEAVE	*x y* **bulá** = *x* leaves *y*	–	–	antip.	
(17)	GO	*x* **táa** *L* = *x* goes somewhere	–	–	caus.	
(18)	SING	*x y* **láa** = *x* sings *y*	–	–		
(19)	JUMP	*x* **sawúŋ** = *x* jumps	–	–	caus.	
(20)	SIT DOWN	*x* **sĭi** (*y* káŋ) = *x* sits down (on *y*)	–	–	caus.	
(21)	SIT	same as SIT DOWN (20)				
(22)	RUN	*x* **borí** = *x* runs	+	–	caus.	= intr.
(23)	CLIMB	*x* **selé** (*y* sánto) = *x* climbs (up *y*)	–	+	caus.	
(24)	COUGH	*x* **tootóo** = *x* coughs	–	–	caus.	
(25)	BLINK	no equivalent Mandinka verb				
(26)	SHAVE	*x y* **líi** = *x* shaves *y*	–	–	antip.	
(27)	DRESS	*x y* **dŭŋ** *z* lá = *x* dresses *z* in *y*, *x* puts *y* on *z*	–	–	antip.	

(28)	WASH	*x y* **kǔu** = *x* washes *y*	–	–	antip.	
(29)	EAT	*x y* **dómó** = *x* eats *y*	–	–	antip.	
(30)	HELP	*x y* **máakóyí** = *x* helps *y*	–	–	antip.	
(31)	FOLLOW	*x y* **báyíndí** = *x* follows *y*	–	–	antip.	
(32)	MEET	*x* níŋ *y* **bĕŋ** = *x* meets *y* (niŋ = with, and)	–	–	caus.	
(33)	HUG	*x* **míníŋ** *y* lá = *x* hugs *y*	+	+		= intr.
(34)	SEARCH FOR	*x y* **ñíní(ŋ)** = *x* searches for *y*	–	–	antip.	
(35)	THINK	*x y* **míirá** = *x* thinks about *y*	–	–	caus.	antip.
(36)	KNOW	*x y* **lóŋ** = *x* knows *y*	–	–[10]	caus.	
(37)	LIKE	*x y* **kanú** = *x* likes *y* *x* **lafí** *y* lá = *x* likes *y* *x* **díyáa** *y* yé = *y* likes *x*	– – –	– – –	caus. caus. caus.	
(38)	FEAR	*x* **síláŋ** *y* lá = *x* fears *y*	–	–	caus.	
(39)	FRIGHTEN	*x y* **sílá-ndí** = *x* frightens *y* (caus. < *síláŋ* 'fear')	–	–	antip.	
(40)	SMELL	*x y* **súmbú** = *x* smells *y*	–	–	antip.	
(41)	LOOK AT	*x y* **félé** = *x* looks at *y*	–	–	antip.	
(42)	SEE	*x y* **jé** = *x* sees *y*	–	–	antip.	
(43)	TALK	*x* **kúmá** *y* yé = *x* talks to *y*	–	–	caus.	
(44)	ASK FOR	*x y* **dáaní** *z* búlú ~ *x z* **dáaní** *y* lá = *x* asks *z* for *y*	–	–	antip.	
(45)	SHOUT AT	*x* **sárí** *y* káŋ = *x* shouts at *y*			caus.	
(46)	TELL	*x y* **fó** *z* yé = *x* tells *y* to *z*	–	–	antip.	

[10] *Lóŋ* 'know' is not involved in the object/oblique alternation, but accepts a less common type of transitivity alternation maintaining the semantic role of the subject: the active/introversive alternation.

		x y **láa** (*z* yé) = *x* tells *y* (to *z)* – *y* a story	–	–		
(47)	SAY	*x* **a fó** *y* yé **kó** '…' = *x* says '…' to *y* [11]	–	–	antip.	
(48)	NAME	*x y* **tóoláa** *z* lá = *x* names *y z*	–	–	antip.	
(49)	BUILD	*x y* **lǒo** = *x* builds *y*	+	–	antip.	
(50)	BREAK	*x y* **kátí** = *x* breaks *y* *x y* **teyí** = *x* breaks *y*	+ +	– –	antip. antip.	
(51)	KILL	*x y* **fǎa** = *x* kills *y*	+	–	antip.	
(52)	BEAT	*x y* **búsá** = *x* beats/hits *y*	–	–	antip.	
(53)	HIT	same as BEAT (52)				
(54)	TOUCH	*x y* **mǎa** (*z* lá) = *x* touches *y* (with *z*)	–	–		
(55)	CUT	*x y* **kuntú** (*z* lá) = *x* cuts *y* (with *z*)	–	–	caus.	
(56)	TAKE	*x y* **tǎa** (*z* búlú) = *x* takes *y* (from *z*)	–	–		
(57)	TEAR	*x y* **fárási** *z* bála = *x* tears *y* from *z*	–	–	antip.	
(58)	PEEL	*x y* **wóto** = *x* peels *y*	–	–	antip.	
(59)	HIDE	*x y* **máabó** *z* má = *x* hides *y* from *z*	+	–	antip. [12]	
(60)	SHOW	*x y* **yita(ndí)** *z* lá = *x* shows *y* to *z*	–	–	antip.	
(61)	GIVE	*x y* **díi** *z* lá = *x* gives *y* to *z* *x y* **só** *z* lá = *x* gives *z* to *y*	– –	– –	antip. antip.	

[11] *a* is a cataphoric pronoun in object role, *kó* is the quotative marker.

[12] *Máabó* as a transitive verb is compatible with the antipassive suffix, but *máabó* as an intransitive verb expressing 'hide (oneself)' has a causative form more or less synonymous with máabó (transitive)..

(62)	SEND	*x y* **kíi** *z* yé = *x* sends *y* to *z*	–	–	antip.	
(63)	CARRY	*x* **táa** *y* tí *z* yé = *x* carries *y* to *z*	–	–	caus.	
(64)	THROW	*x y* **búŋ** *z* lá = *x* aims at *y* with *z*, *x* throws *z* on *y* *x y* **fáyí** *L* = *x* throws *y* somewhere	– –	– –	antip. antip.	
(65)	TIE	*x y* **sití** (*z* bála) = *x* ties *y* (to *z*)	–	–	antip.	
(66)	PUT	*x y* **ké** *L* = *x* puts *y* somewhere *x y* **bulá** *L* = *x* puts *y* somewhere *x y* **láa** (*z* káŋ) = *x* puts *y* (onto *z*)	– + +	– – –	antip. antip. antip.	
(67)	POUR	*x y* **bŏŋ** *L* = *x* pours *y* somewhere *x y* **sŏo** *z* kónó = *x* pours *y* into *z*	– –	– –	antip. antip.	
(68)	COVER	*x y* **múurá** *z* lá = *x* covers *y* with *z* *x y* **bítí** *z* lá ~ *x z* **bítí** *y* to = *x* covers *y* with *z*	– –	– –	antip. antip.	
(69)	FILL	*x y* **fá-ndí** *z* lá = *x* fills *y* with *z* (caus. < *fáa* ‘be full’)	–	–	antip.	
(70)	LOAD	same as PUT (onto) (66)				

Mandinka verb sample

x **baláŋ** *y* má *z* lá ~ *x z* **baláŋ** *y* má = *x* refuses *y z*, *x* denies *y z*

a. *Mus-ôo bálán-tá kew-ó ma dóntór-óo la.*
woman-DEF refuse-PF.POS man-DEF OBL loan-DEF OBL
'The woman refused the man a loan.'

b. *Muŋ́ ne yé mus-ôo bálá-ndí dóntór-óo la?*
what FOC PF.POS woman-DEF refuse-CAUS loan-DEF OBL
'Why did the woman refuse the loan?'
lit. 'What made the woman refuse the loan?'

c. *Políis-óo-lu ye síl-óo baláŋ mŏo-lu la.*
policeman-DEF-PL PF.POS way-DEF refuse person.DEF-PL OBL
'The policemen did not let the people pass.'
lit. 'The policemen refused the people the way.'

x **bálúu** = *x* lives / survives
x Refl **bálúu** *y* lá = *x* lives on *y*

a. *Baramatôo tê bálúu-la.*
injured_person.DEF COP.NEG live-INF
'The injured person will not survive.'

b. *Moo jáamáa ka í bálúu sen-óo le lá jaŋ.*
person many HAB.POS REFL live farming-DEF FOC OBL here
'Many people live on farming here.'

The causative form *bálú-ndí* has the lexicalized meaning 'feed'.

c. *Mus-óo ka deenaan-ôo bálú-ndí ninsi-nón-óo la.*
woman-DEF HAB.NEG baby-DEF live-CAUS cow-milk-DEF OBL
'The woman feeds the baby on cow milk.'

→ *Bálúu* is not used to express 'live somewhere'. On 'live somewhere', see *sĭi*.

x y **báyí** *L* = *x* chases *y* from somewhere

Kew-ó ye wul-ôo báyí súw-o kóno.
man-DEF PF.POS dog-DEF chase house-DEF inside
'The man chased the dog from the house.'

x y **báyíndí** = *x* follows *y*

Báyíndí is a lexicalized causative. Formally, it derives from *báyí* 'chase' via the addition of the CAUS suffix, but *báyí* and *báyíndí* have exactly the same syntactic properties, and the difference in meaning cannot be related to any general semantic property of regular causative verbs.

Kew-ó ye súŋkút-ôo báyíndi.
man-DEF PF.POS girl-DEF follow
'The man followed the girl.'

x níŋ *y* **bĕŋ**$_1$ = *x* meets *y*

Níŋ is a comitative preposition occurring in the 'associative construction', which superficially resembles NP coordination but does not show the behavior typical of constructions expressing coordination, and is clearly comitative in its semantics. There is no possibility to express *y* either as an object or an oblique. *Bĕŋ* is a verb with an inherently reciprocal meaning, which in particular implies that it selects subjects referring to plural entities. See *tará* for another possible equivalent of 'meet'.

a. *Kew-ô níŋ súŋkút-óo ben-ta.*
man-DEF with girl-DEF meet-PF.POS
'The man met the girl.'

b. *Saatee-móo-lu ben-ta.*
village-person.DEF-PL meet-PF.POS
'The villagers gathered.'

c. *Alikáal-óo ye saatee-móo-lu be-ndi.*
chief-DEF PF.POS village-person.DEF-PL meet-CAUS
'The chief gathered the villagers.'

d. *Saatee-móo-lu be-ndi-ta.*
village-person.DEF-PL meet-CAUS-PF.POS
'The villagers were gathered.'

x y **bĕŋ**$_2$ = *x* wanders round *y* – *y* a place

Kew-ó ye baŋk-ôo bée beŋ.
man-DEF PF.POS country-DEF all wander_round
'The man wandered round the whole country.'

x y **bití** *z* lá ~ *x z* **bití** *y* tó = *x* covers *y* with *z*, *x* puts *z* on *y* – *y* an opening

a. *Kew-ó ye a dâa bítí a búl-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG mouth.DEF cover 3SG hand-DEF OBL
'The man put his hand on his mouth.'

b. *Kew-ó ye a búl-ôo bítí a dáa to.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG hand-DEF put 3SG mouth.DEF OBL
'The man put his hand on his mouth.'

x **bó** = *x* goes out / appears
x **bó** *L* = *x* leaves a place
x y **bó** *L* = *x* takes off / removes *y* from somewhere
x y **bó-ndí** *L* = *x* takes off / removes *y* from somewhere

In the absence of an oblique referring to a place, *bó* encodes movement from a closed space ('go out' or 'appear'). In combination with an oblique referring to a place, it is not limited to this meaning, and constitutes the most general and neutral way of expressing a movement whose source is specified.

a. *Kullíimaar-ôo bó-ta.*
rainbow-DEF go_out-PF.POS
'A rainbow appeared.'

b. *Kew-ô bó-tá saatéw-o to.*
man-DEF leave-PF.POS village-DEF LOC
'The man left the village.'

c. *Kew-ó ye a lá dendik-óo bo.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG GEN shirt-DEF take_off
'The man took off his shirt.'

d. *Kew-ó ye ŋáníŋ-o bó-ndí a siŋ-ô kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS thorn-DEF go_out-CAUS 3SG foot-DEF inside
'The man removed the thorn from his foot.'

x y **bŏŋ** *L* = *x* pours *y* somewhere

a. *Kew-ó ye jíy-o bŏŋ baŋk-óo to.*
man-DEF PF.POS water-DEF pour ground-DEF LOC
'The man poured the water on the ground.'

b. *Jíy-o bon-tá baŋk-óo to.*
water-DEF pour-PF.POS ground-DEF LOC
'The water has been poured on the ground.'

→ another verb – *sǒo* – is used for ‘pour into a container’

x **borí** = *x* runs, *x* moves quickly (rolls, etc.)
x Refl **borí** = *x* runs
x y **borí** = *x* rides/drives *y*
x y **bori-ndí** = *x* rides/drives *y*, *x* makes *y* run

The default interpretation of *borí* is ‘run’, but depending on the context, this verb can be used to denote any kind of relatively quick movement (rolling, etc.).

a. *Díndíŋ-o bori-ta.*
child-DEF run-PF.POS
‘The child ran (away).’

b. *Díndíŋ-o ye í bori.*
child-DEF PF.POS REFL run
‘The child ran (away).’

c. *Kát-óo bori-tá baŋk-óo kaŋ.*
ball-DEF run-PF.POS ground-DEF on
‘The ball rolled on the ground.’

Bori is used transitively in the specialized meaning ‘ride (a horse or a donkey), drive (a vehicle)’ only, and even in this meaning, the causative form *bori-ndi* (also used with the meaning ‘make run’) can be used too.

d. *Kew-ó ye suw-ó bori.*
child-DEF PF.POS horse-DEF ride
‘The man rode the horse.’

e. *Kew-ó ye suw-ó bori-ndi.*
child-DEF PF.POS horse-DEF run-CAUS
‘The man rode the horse.’ or ‘The man made the horse run.’

x **boyí** = *x* falls
x y **boyí** = *x* makes *y* fall
x y **boyi-ndí** = *x* makes *y* fall

Both *boyí* and *boyi-ndí* are found in transitive constructions expressing ‘make fall’. The criterion for choosing between the non-derived and the causative form remains unclear.

a. *Yír-óo boyi-tá baŋk-óo kaŋ.*
tree-DEF fall-PF.POS ground-DEF on
‘The tree fell on the ground.’

b. *Kew-ó ye yír-óo boyi.*
man-DEF PF.POS tree-DEF fell
'The man cut down the tree.'

c. *Kew-ó ye yír-óo boyi-ndi.*
man-DEF PF.POS tree-DEF fall-CAUS
'The man cut down the tree.'

In combination with the postposition *káŋ*, *boyí* expresses 'attack', and this construction lends itself to Postposition Incorporation.

x **boyí** *y* káŋ ~ *x y* **boyiŋ-káŋ** = *x* attacks *y*

d. *Bándíy-o-lú boyi-tá jul-óo-lu kaŋ.*
bandit-DEF-PL fall-PF.POS merchant-DEF-PL on
'The bandits attacked the merchants (lit. fell on the merchants).'

e. *Bándíy-o-lu yé jul-óo-lu boyiŋ-kaŋ.*
bandit-DEF-PL PF.POS merchant-DEF-PL fall-on[13]
'The bandits attacked the merchants.'

x **bulá**$_1$ *L* = *x* settles oneself / boards somewhere
x **bulá**$_1$ *y* nŏoma = *x* follows *y* (lit. settles oneself on the track of *y*)
x y **bulá**$_1$ *L* = *x* puts *y* somewhere
x y **bula-ndí** *L* = *x* puts *y* somewhere
x y **bulá**$_1$ *z* lá = *x* makes *y* do *z*

a. *Kew-ó bula-ta kúlúŋ-o kóno.*
man-DEF settle-PF.POS ship-DEF inside
'The man boarded the ship.'

Both *bulá*$_1$ and *bula-ndí* are found in transitive constructions expressing 'put something somewhere'. The criterion for choosing between the non-derived and the causative form remains unclear.

b. *Kew-ó ye sub-óo bulá kuf-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS meat settle bag-DEF inside
'The man put the meat into the bag.'

c. *Kew-ó ye lóo bula-ndí saréet-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS wood settle-CAUS cart-DEF inside
'The man loaded the wood into the cart.'

[13] The epenthetic segment *-ŋ-* has been arbitrarily assigned to the preceding morpheme.

The causative form *bula-ndí* ‘put’ lends itself to the active/passive alternation – Ex. (d), and can be further causativized by attaching the causative suffix to its antipassive form – Ex. (e).

d. *Lóo bula-ndi-tá saréet-ôo kóno.*
wood settle-CAUS-PF.POS cart-DEF inside
‘The wood was loaded into the cart.’

e. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo bula-ndi-rindi lóo la saréet-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF settle-CAUS-ANTIP-CAUS wood.D OBL cart-DEF inside
‘The man made the boy load the wood into the cart.’

The combination of *bulá*$_1$ with an oblique headed by the postposition *nóoma* is a possible way of expressing ‘follow’ – Ex. (f).

f. *Kew-ó bula-ta súŋkút-óo nŏoma.*
man-DEF settle-PF.POS girl-DEF on_the_track
‘The man followed the girl.’

Bulá$_1$ is also productively used as a causative operator in a periphrasis expressing indirect causation – Ex. (g).

g. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo bulá dookúw-o to.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF settle work-DEF LOC
‘The man made the boy work (lit. settled the boy at work).’

Note also the use of *bulá*$_1$ ‘settle’ in the following idiom:

x **hákílí bulá** *y lá* = *x* remembers *y* (lit. ‘*x*’s mind is settled at *y*’)

h. *Kew-ô hákíl-óo bula-tá kambaan-óo la.*
man-DEF mind-DEF settle-PF.POS boy-DEF OBL
‘The man remembered the boy.’

i. *Mus-óo ye kew-ô hákíl-óo bula-ndí kambaan-óo la.*
woman-DEF PF.POS man-DEF mind-DEF settle-CAUS boy-DEF OBL
‘The woman reminded the man of the boy.’

x y **bulá**$_2$ = *x* leaves *y*, *x* abandons *y*

a. *Kew-ó ye saatéw-o bula.*
man-DEF PF.POS village-DEF leave
‘The man left the village (= does not live in the village anymore).’

b. *Kew-ó ye dol-óo bula.*
man-DEF PF.POS wine-DEF leave
'The man stopped drinking (lit. left the wine).'

x y **búŋ** *z* lá = *x* throws *z* on *y*, *x* aims at *y* with *z*, *x* shoots *y* with *z*
x y **búŋ** = *x* stings *y*

a. *Kambaan-óo ye palantéer-ôo búŋ ber-óo la.*
boy-DEF PF.POS window-DEF shoot stone-DEF OBL
'The boy threw the stone into the window.'

b. *Kúmbúrúŋ-o ye díndíŋ-o búŋ.*
bee-DEF PF.POS child-DEF sting
'A bee stung the child.'

x y **búsá**$_1$ *z* lá = *x* beats *y* with *z*, *x* hits *y* with *z*

Mandinka has several possible equivalents of 'hit' or 'beat'. *Búsá* has been selected as expressing 'beat' or 'hit' without any additional shade of meaning or restriction on the nature of the participants. 'Hit' and 'beat' are normally not distinguished, but iterativity can optionally be specified by using the reduplicated form *búsámbúsaŋ*.

a *Kambaan-óo ye sǎa búsá fál-óo la.*
boy-DEF PF.POS snake.DEF hit stick-DEF OBL
'The boy hit/beat the snake (with a stick).'

b. *Kew-ó ye tiy-ôo búsa.*
man-DEF PF.POS peanuts-DEF hit
'The man threshed the peanuts.'

c. *Tiy-ôo búsá-ta.*
peanuts-DEF hit-PF.POS
'The peanuts have been threshed.'

x **búsá**$_2$ *y* káŋ ~ *x y* **búsá**$_2$ = *x* falls violently on *y*

a. *Samáa ye baŋk-ôo búsa.*
rain.DEF PF.POS ground-DEF fall_violently_on
'The rain fell on the ground violently.'

b. *Samâa búsá-tá baŋk-ôo kaŋ.*
rain.DEF fall_violently-PF.POS ground-DEF on
'The rain fell on the ground violently.'

x y **búsúu** = *x* skins *y*

b. *Kew-ó ye saajíy-o búsuu.*
man-DEF PF.POS sheep-DEF skin
'The man skinned the sheep.'

c. *Saajíy-o búsúu-ta.*
sheep-DEF skin-PF.POS
'The sheep has been skinned.'

x y **dáaní** *z* búlú ~ *x z* **dáaní** *y* lá = *x* asks *z* for *y*

a. *Kambaan-óo ye kew-ô dáaní kód-óo la.*
boy-DEF PF.POS man-DEF ask money-DEF OBL
'The boy asked the man for money.'

b. *Kambaan-óo ye kód-ôo dáaní kew-ô búlu.*
boy-DEF PF.POS money-DEF ask man-DEF PSPH
'The boy asked the man for money.'

x y **dádáa** = *x* makes *y*, *x* repairs *y*

a. *Kew-ó ye laaráŋ-o dádaa.*
man-DEF PF.POS bed-DEF make/repair
'The man made a bed.' or 'The man repaired the bed.'

b. *Laaráŋ-o dádáa-ta.*
bed-DEF make/repair-PF.POS
'The bed has been made.' or 'The bed has been repaired.'

→ *Dádáa* is fully productive in the meaning 'repair', whereas in the meaning 'make', more specific verbs tend to be preferred, as illustrated by Ex. (c).

c. *Kew-ó ye yírí-júw-o lésé juwáan-óo ti.*
man-DEF PF.POS tree-trunk-DEF carve canoe-DEF OBL
'The man made a canoe out of the tree trunk.'
lit. 'The man carved the tree trunk into a canoe.'

dáháa 'rest, stop doing something' is synonymous with **fóñó(ndíŋ)** and occurs in the same constructions

x y **dásá** = *y* is short of *x*
x **dásá** = *x* is running short

a. *Kód-óo ye kew-ô dása.*
money-DEF PF.POS man-DEF be_insufficient_for
'The man is short of money.'

b. *Kód-ôo dásá-tá le.*
money-DEF be_insufficient_PF.POS FOC
'Money is running short.'

x y **deemá** = *x* hunts *y*

Deemá is one of the few transitive verbs that are used as action noun without the antipassive suffix *-ri-* even if no specific patient is mentioned – Ex. (b).

a. *Kew-ó ye mináŋ-o deema.*
man-DEF PF.POS deer-DEF hunt
'The man hunted deer.'

b. *Kew-ó ka deem-óo ke.*
man-DEF HAB.POS hunting-DEF do
'The man hunts (habitually).'

deemáa 'help' is synonymous with **máakóyi** and occurs in the same constructions

x y **díi** *z* lá = *x* gives *y* to *z*

a. *Karammóo ye kitáab-ôo díi kambaan-óo la.*
teacher.DEF PF.POS book-DEF give boy-DEF OBL
'The teacher gave the book to the boy.'

b. *Kitáab-ôo díi-tá kambaan-óo la.*
book-DEF give-PF.POS boy-DEF OBL
'The book was given to the boy.'

x y **dímíŋ** = *y* feels pain in *x*, or *x* causes *y* to feel pain
x y **dímí-ndí** = *x* causes *y* to feel pain

Dímiŋ 'hurt' has a form including the CAUS suffix whose use does not imply any apparent valency change. As illustrated by Ex. (b-c), the choice between *dímí(ŋ)* and the causative form *dímí-ndí* in the expression of 'cause to feel pain' seems to depend, either on the nature of the term in subject function, or on an aspectual distinction.

a. *Ń́ búl-óo le ka ń́ dímiŋ.*
1SG arm-DEF FOC HAB.POS 1SG hurt
'My arm is hurting.'

b. *Ñiŋ kín-óo si í kón-ôo dímiŋ.*
DEM food-DEF POT 2SG stomach-DEF hurt
'This food may hurt your stomach.'

c. *A ye ŋ́ búl-óo dete fó a ye ŋ́ dímí-ndi.*
3SG PF.POS 1SG arm-DEF squeeze until 3SG PF.POS 1SG hurt-CAUS
'He squeezed my arm to the extent that he hurt me.'

x **díyáa** = *x* is pleasant, *x* is easy
x **díyáa** *y* ye = *y* likes *x*

The basic meaning of this verb, cognate with the adjective *díímáa* 'pleasant', 'easy', is 'be pleasant', 'be easy'; in combination with the benefactive postposition *yé*, it constitutes a possible (and very common) counterpart of 'like'.

Ñiŋ báy-ôo díyáa-tá mus-óo ye.
DEM cloth-DEF be_pleasant-PF.POS woman-DEF BEN
'The woman likes this cloth.'

x **diyaamú** = *x* speaks
x **diyaamú** *y* lá ~ *x y* **diyaamú** = *x* discusses *y*

a. *Kambaan-óo ka diyaamu sánto.*
boy-DEF HAB.POS speak on_top
'The boy speaks loud.'

b. *Kew-ó-lu diyaamu-ta kúw-o la.*
man-DEF-PL speak-PF.POS matter-DEF OBL
'The men discussed the matter.'

c. *Kew-ó-lu ye kúw-o diyaamu.*
man-DEF-PL PF.POS matter-DEF speak
'The men discussed the matter.'

x y **dómó** = *x* eats *y*

Dómó 'eat' is characterized by a particular behavior of the suffix *-rí*, which has no equivalent with any other Mandinka verb – see 5.1.

a. *Díndíŋ-o ye mbúur-ôo dómo.*
child-DEF PF.POS bread-DEF eat
'The child ate the bread.'

b. *Mbúur-ôo dómó-ta.*
bread-DEF eat-PF.POS
'The bread was eaten.

c. *Díndíŋ-o ye dómó-r-óo ke.*
child-DEF PF.POS eat-ANTIP-DEF do
'The child ate.'

d. *Díndíŋ-o dómó-rí-ta.*
child-DEF eat-ANTIP-PF.POS
'The child ate.'

e. *Kew-ó ye díndíŋ-o dómó-rí-ndí mbúur-ôo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS child-DEF eat-ANTIP-CAUS bread-DEF OBL
'The man made the child eat the bread.'

x **dǔŋ$_1$** *L* = *x* enters somewhere
x y **dǔŋ$_1$** *L* = *x* slips *y* somewhere, *x* makes/lets *y* enter somewhere
x y **du-ndí** *L* = *x* slips *y* somewhere, *x* makes/lets *y* enter somewhere

a. *Wul-óo dun-ta búŋ-o kóno.*
dog-DEF enter-PF.POS room-DEF inside
'The dog came into the room.'

b. *Kew-ó ye batáay-óo duŋ kíilâa búlu.*
man-DEF PF.POS letter-DEF enter messenger.DEF PSPH
'The man handed the letter to the messenger.'

c. *Kew-ó ye wul-óo du-ndi búŋ-o kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS dog-DEF enter-CAUS room-DEF inside
'The man let the dog come into the room.'

This verb is also used in meteorological expressions, with a noun referring to a meteorological phenomenon in subject function.

d. *Nén-óo dun-ta.*
cold-DEF enter-PF.POS
'It is cold' in the sense of 'The weather got cold.' lit. 'The cold entered.'

x y **dǔŋ$_2$** *z* lá = *x* dresses *z* in *y*, *x* puts *y* on *z* – *x* a piece of clothing
x y **dǔŋ$_2$** = *x* dresses in *y*
x Refl **dǔŋ$_2$** = *x* dresses

In the absence of an oblique specifying the person being dressed, the default interpretation of this verb is 'dress oneself'.

As a transitive verb, *dǔŋ$_2$* 'put on' requires the presence of an object. The use of *féŋ-o-lu* 'things' (interpreted in this context as 'clothing') in object function is a possible strategy to avoid specifying the object – Ex. (b) & (d), but the middle

construction (Antipassive Middle) provides another possible strategy is the intended meaning is ‘dress oneself’ –Ex. (e).

a. *Mus-óo ye kurut-óo duŋ díndíŋ-o la.*
woman-DEF PF.POS trousers-DEF put_on child-DEF OBL
‘The woman put trousers on the child.’

b. *Mus-óo ye féŋ-o-lú duŋ díndíŋ-o la.*
woman-DEF PF.POS thing-DEF-PL put_on child-DEF OBL
‘The woman dressed the child.’

c. *Díndíŋ-o yé kurut-óo duŋ.*
child-DEF PF.POS trousers-DEF put_on
‘The child put on trousers.’

d. *Díndíŋ-o yé a la féŋ-o-lú duŋ.*
child-DEF PF.POS 3SG GEN thing-DEF-PL put_on
‘The child dressed (lit. put on his things).’

e. *Díndíŋ-o ye í duŋ.*
child-DEF PF.POS REFL put_on
‘The child dressed.’

f. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o dun-diri-ndí kurt-óo la.*
woman-DEF PF.POS child-DEF put_on-ANTIP-CAUS trousers-DEF OBL
‘The woman made the child put on trousers.’

x **fǎa** = *x* dies
x y **fǎa** (*z* lá) = *x* kills *y* (with *z*)

The Active / Passive Alternation is in principle productive with verbs that have transitive uses, irrespective of the other alternations they may be involved in. In the particular case of *fǎa*, speakers avoid using this verb intransitively with a passive meaning, and killing events with an unspecified agent are rather encoded by means of a transitive construction with the 3rd person plural pronoun in subject function – Ex. (c). It is however possible to find *fǎa* used intransitively with a passive meaning, in contexts triggering a passive interpretation – Ex. (d).

a. *Kambaan-óo ye sǎa fǎa faŋ-ó la.*
boy-DEF PF.POS snake.DEF kill cutlass-DEF OBL
‘The boy killed the snake (with a cutlass).’

b. *Saajíy-o faa-ta.*
sheep-DEF die-PF.POS
‘The sheep died.’

c. *I yé saajíy-o faa.*
3PL PF.POS sheep-DEF kill
'They killed the sheep.' or 'The sheep was killed.'

d. *Janníŋ i ká deenaan-ôo tôo fó,*
before 3PL HABP baby-DEF name.DEF tell
'Before telling the name of the baby,

saajíy-o fólóo le ká faa.
sheep-DEF first FOC HABP kill
the sheep is killed first.'

e. *Kew-ó ye a díŋ-o faa-ri-ndí saajíy-o la.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG son-DEF kill-ANTIP-CAUS sheep-DEF OBL
'The man made his son kill the sheep.'

x **fáa** *y* lá = *x* is full of *y*
x y **fáa** *z* lá = *x* fills *y* with *z*
x y **fá-ndi** *z* lá = *x* fills *y* with *z*

As illustrated by Ex. (b), *fáa* can be used transitively with the subject referring to a substance occupying a place, but not to an agent.

a. *Diŋk-ôo fáa-tá jíy-o la.*
hole-DEF be_full-PF.POS water-DEF OBL
'The hole is full of water.'

b. *Jíy-o yé diŋk-ôo fáa.*
water-DEF PF.POS hole-DEF fill
'The water filled up the hole.'

c. *Kew-ó ye boot-ôo fá-ndí maan-ôo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS bag-DEF be_full-CAUS rice-DEF OBL
'The man filled the bag with rice.'

d. *Boot-ôo fá-ndí-tá maan-ôo la.*
bag-DEF be_full-CAUS-PF.POS rice-DEF OBL
'The bag was filled with rice.'

e. *Kew-ó ye a díŋ-o fá-ndí-rí-ndi boot-ôo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG son-DEF be_full-CAUS-ANTIP-CAUS bag-DEF OBL
'The man made his son fill the bag.'

f. *Kew-ó ye a díŋ-o fá-ndí-rí-ndi maan-ôo la boot-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG son-DEF be_full-CAUS-ANTIP-CAUS rice-DEF OBL bag-DEF inside
'The man made his son fill the bag with rice.'

x **fájí** = *x* boils

a. *Jíy-o* *fájí-ta.*
water-DEF boil-PF.POS
'The water boiled.'

b. *Mus-óo* *ye* *jíy-o* *fájí-ndi.*
woman-DEF PF.POS water-DEF boil-CAUS
'The woman boiled the water.'

x y **fárásí** *z* bálá = *x* tears *y* from *z*

a. *Kambaan-óo* *ye* *léeríjámb-ôo* *fárásí* *kitáab-ôo* *bála.*
boy-DEF PF.POS page-DEF tear book-DEF CONT
'The boy tore the page from the book.'

b. *Léeríjámb-ôo* *fárásí-tá* *kitáab-ôo* *bála.*
page-DEF tear-PF.POS book-DEF CONT
'The page was torn from the book.'

x y **fáyí** *L* = *x* throws *y* somewhere

Kambaan-óo *ye* *ber-ôo* *fáyí* *palantéer-óo* *kaŋ.*
boy-DEF PF.POS stone-DEF throw window-DEF on
'The boy threw the stone into the window.'

x y **félé** = *x* looks at *y*

Kew-ó *ye* *kambaan-ôo* *féle.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF look
'The man looked at the boy.'

x y **fítá** = *x* wipes *y*

Fíta 'wipe, sweep' can only be used in a construction in which the object refers to a surface from which something is removed. Another verb – *kóŋkóŋ* – must be used if the thing being removed is mentioned.

Súŋkút-óo *ye* *táabúl-ôo* *fíta.*
girl-DEF PF.POS table-DEF wipe
'The girl wiped the table.'

x y **fó** *z* yé = *x* tells *y* to *z*, *x* talks to *z* about *y*
x a **fó** *z* yé kó '*y*' = *x* says '*y*' to *z*
x y **fó** = *x* speaks *y* – *y* a language

a. *Kew-ó ye tooñâa fó kambaanóo ye.*
man-DEF PF.POS truth-DEF tell boy-DEF BEN
'The man told the truth to the boy.'

b. *Tooñâa fó-tá kambaanóo ye.*
truth-DEF tell-PF.POS boy-DEF BEN
'The truth was told to the boy.'

c. *Mus-óo ye kew-ô fóo-rí-ndi tooñáa la kambaanóo ye.*
woman-DEF PF.POS man-DEF tell-ANTIP-CAUS truth-DEF OBL boy-DEF BEN
'The woman made the man tell the truth to the boy.'

d. *Mus-óo maŋ féŋ fó súŋkútóo ye.*
woman-DEF PF.NEG thing say girl-DEF BEN
'The woman said nothing to the girl.'

e. *Ñiŋ kew-ó ka Mandiŋka-káŋ-o fó.*
DEM man-DEF HAB.POS Mandinka-language-DEF speak
'This man speaks Mandinka.'

The meaning 'talk about someone or something' can be expressed by a construction in which the object function is fullfilled, either by the name of the entity talked about – Ex. (f), or by a genitival construction headed by *kúmá* 'word, story' or *kibáarí* 'news – Ex. (g-h). Note that, contrary to *kúmá*, *kibáarí* does not require the postposition *lá* to mark its genitival dependent; in principle, this distinction has to do with 'alienability', but it is not clear why *kúmá*, but not *kibáarí*, shoud be 'alienably' possessed.

f. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo fó mus-óo ye.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF tell woman-DEF BEN
'The man talked to the woman about the boy.'

g. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo la kúm-ôo fó mus-óo ye.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF GEN word-DEF tell woman-DEF BEN
'The man talked to the woman about the boy.'

h. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo kibáar-ôo fó mus-óo ye.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF news-DEF tell woman-DEF BEN
'The man talked to the woman about the boy.'

For reported speech, Mandika uses the quotative marker *kó*, either alone, as in Ex. (i-j), or combined with a verb of speech, e.g. *fó*, as in Ex. (k). When *fó* is used, the

reported utterance occurs in sentence final position, represented by a 3rd person pronoun in cataphoric function occupying the object position in the construction of *fó*.

i. *Kew-ô kó ‘haní’.*
man-DEF QUOT no
‘The man said ‘no’.’

j. *Kew-ô kó kambaan-óo ye kó ‘haní’.*
man-DEF QUOT boy-DEF BEN QUOT no
‘The man said ‘no’ to the boy.’

k. *Kew-ó ye a fó kambaan-óo ye kó ‘haní’.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG say boy-DEF BEN QUOT no
‘The man said ‘no’ to the boy.’

Note that another verb – *láa* – is used for ‘tell a story’.

x Refl **fóñóndíŋ** = *x* rests
x Refl **fóñó** *y* lá = *x* stops dealing with *y*

Etymologically, *fóñóndíŋ* is the diminutive form of *fóñó* ‘rest, stop’, but speakers tend to use *fóñó* with the meaning ‘stop dealing with something’, and *fóñóndíŋ* with the meaning ‘rest’.

a. *Kewó ye í fóñóndiŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS REFL rest
‘The man had a rest.’

b. *Mus-óo ye í fóñó bóor-ôo díy-o la díndíŋ-o la.*
man-DEF PF.POS REFL stop medecine-DEF give-DEF OBL child-DEF OBL
‘The woman stopped giving the medecine to the child.’

x **fúntí** = *x* appears
x **fúntí** (*L*) = *x* goes out (from) somewhere

a. *Mus-ôo fúntí-tá búŋ-o kóno.*
woman-DEF go_out-PF.POS room-DEF inside
‘The woman went out from the room.’

b. *Mŏo-lu fúntí-tá síl-óo-lu kaŋ.*
people.DEF-PL go_out-PF.POS street-DEF-PL on
‘The people went out on the streets.’

c. *Kár-ôo fúntí-ta.*
moon-DEF go_out-PF.POS
'The moon appeared.'

Bó and *fúnti* are used interchangeably as intransitive verbs encoding movement from a closed space ('go out' or 'appear'), but *bó* has other uses it does not share with *fúntí*, whereas *fúntí* (but not *bó*) is ambiguous with respect to the distinction between source and destination of movement. Moreover, *bó* and *fúntí* behave differently with respect to causativization: *fúntí* is a strictly intransitive verb, and the causative form *fúntí-ndí* must be used in order to express 'take out', 'extract', whereas *bó* has transitive uses, although to a very limited extent.

d. *Kew-ó ye mur-ôo fúntí-ndí boot-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS knife-DEF go_out-CAUS bag-DEF inside
'The man took the knife out of the bag.'

x y **fútúu** = *x* marries *y* – *x* a man, *y* a woman
x **fútúu** *y* ye = *x* marries *y* – *x* a woman, *y* a man

a. *Kew-ó ye súŋkút-ôo fútuu.*
man-DEF PF.POS girl-DEF marry
'The man married the girl.'

b. *Súŋkút-ôo fútúu-tá kew-ó ye.*
girl-DEF marry-PF.POS man-DEF BEN
'The girl married the man.'

A causative can be derived from *fútuu* (*fútú-ndi*), but it implies coercition ('force someone to marry'), and does not express simply '*x* marries *y* to *z*'.

On the expression of '*x* marries *y* to *z*', see *nĭi*.

x **jăa** = *x* is dry

a. *Dendik-óo jaa-tá til-óo la.*
shirt-DEF be/become_dry-PF.POS sun-DEF OBL
'The shirt dried up in the sun.'

b. *Til-óo ye dendik-óo ja-ndi.*
sun-DEF PF.POS shirt-DEF be/become_dry-CAUS
'The sun dried up the shirt.'

x **jaŋkárí** = *x* falls ill

Mandinka has three verbs expressing 'fall ill': *jaŋkárí*, *kuuráŋ*, and *saasáa*. The three of them are plain intransitive verbs from which a causative verb can be derived by means of the CAUS suffix.

a. *Kew-ó jaŋkárí-ta.*
man-DEF fall_ill-PF.POS
'The man fell ill.'

b. *Dómórí-jáw-óo ye kew-ó jaŋkari-ndi.*
food-bad-DEF PF.POS man-DEF fall_ill-CAUS
'The bad food made the man ill.'

x **janí** = *x* burns
x y **janí** = *x* burns *y*

a. *Saatéw-o jani-ta.*
village-DEF burn-PF.POS
'The village burned.' or 'The village was burnt.'

b. *Jáw-óo-lu yé saatéw-o jani.*
ennemy-DEF-PL PF.POS villageDEF burn
'The ennemies burned the village.'

Mandinka uses another verb (*málá*) in the context 'The fire burns'.

x y **jé** = *x* sees *y*
x Refl **jé** = *x* sees

a. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo je.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF see
'The man saw the boy.'

b. *Kambaan-ôo jé-tá bâa dáala.*
boy-DEF see-PF.POS river.DEF near
'The boy was seen near the river.'

c. *Fiŋkintéw-o-lu búka í je.*
blind-DEF-PL HAB.POS REFL see
'The blind do not see.'

x **jélé** = *x* laughs
x **jélé** *y* lá ~ *x y* **jélé** = *x* laughs at *y*

a. *Kambaan-ôo jélé-ta.*
boy-DEF laugh-PF.POS
'The boy laughed.'

b. *Kambaan-ôo jélé-tá súŋkút-óo la.*
boy-DEF laugh-PF.POS girl-DEF OBL
'The boy laughed at the girl.'

c. *Kambaan-óo ye súŋkút-ôo jéle.*
boy-DEF PF.POS girl-DEF laugh
'The boy laughed at the girl.'

d. *Mǔŋ ne yé kambaan-ôo jélé-ndi?*
what FOC PF.POS boy-DEF laugh-CAUS
'What made the boy laugh?'

x **jolóŋ** = *x* falls (vertically)
x y **jolóŋ** = *x* lets *y* fall

a. *Máŋk-óo jolón-tá baŋk-óo to.*
mango-DEF fall-PF.POS ground-DEF LOC
'The mango fell on the ground.'

b. *Kew-ó ye mur-óo joloŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS knife-DEF let_fall
'The man let the knife fall.'

c. *Sul-óo ye í joloŋ yír-ôo sánto.*
monkey-DEF PF.POS REFL let_fall tree-DEF on_top
'The monkey let itself fall from the tree.'

x y **kanú** = *x* likes *y*, *x* loves *y*

Kambaan-óo ye súŋkút-óo kanu.
boy-DEF PF.POS man-DEF love
'The boy loves the girl.'

Súŋkút-óo ye ñiŋ báy-oo kanu.
girl-DEF PF.POS DEM cloth-DEF like
'The girl likes this cloth.'

x y **karáŋ**$_1$ = *x* reads *y*

Karáŋ$_1$ 'read' differs from *karáŋ*$_2$ 'learn' in that it behaves as a plain transitive verb whose causativization requires the use of the complex suffix *–(dí)rí-ndí.*

a. *Kambaan-óo ye batáay-óo karaŋ.*
boy-DEF PF.POS letter-DEF read
'The boy read the letter.'

b. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo karan-diri-ndí batáay-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF read-ANTIP-CAUS letter-DEF OBL
'The man made the boy read the letter.'

x **karáŋ$_2$** = *x* studies
x y **karáŋ$_2$** = *x* learns *y*
x y **kara-ndí** *z* lá ~ *x z* **kara-ndí** *y* ye = *x* teaches *y z*

Karaŋ$_2$ 'learn' illustrates the (rare) case of a transitive construction causativized by means of the CAUS suffix. In addition to that, the Object / Oblique Permutation in which *kara-ndí* 'teach' is involved is exceptional among causative verbs, which in general have only the construction illustrated in (b), with the causee in object function.

a. *Kambaan-óo ka Mandiŋka-káŋ-o karaŋ.*
boy-DEF HAB.POS Mandinka-language-DEF learn
'The boy learns Mandinka.'

b. *Kew-ó ka kambaan-óo kara-ndí Mandiŋka-káŋ-o la.*
man-DEF HAB.POS boy-DEF learn-CAUS Mandinka-language-DEF OBL
'The man teaches the boy Mandinka.'

c. *Kew-ó ka Mandiŋka-káŋ-o kara-ndí kambaan-óo ye.*
man-DEF HAB.POS Mandinka-language-DEF learn-CAUS boy-DEF BEN
'The man teaches Mandinka to the boy.'

Karáŋ$_2$ differs from most other A-labile verbs in that, in its intransitive use, the second argument cannot be expressed (Active / Introversive Alternation).

d. *Ñiŋ kew-ó karan-ta báake.*
DEM man-DEF study-PF.POS very
'This man is a very learned person.'

x **kátí** = *x* breaks – *x* a long and rigid object
x y **kátí** = *x* breaks *y* – *y* a long and rigid object

a. *Kew-ó boyi-ta yír-ôo sánto, a káŋ-o kátí-ta.*
man-DEF fall-PF.POS tree-DEF on_top 3SG neck-DEF break-PF.POS
'The man fell from the tree and broke his neck.' (lit. 'his neck broke')

b. *Kambaan-óo ye dok-ôo káti.*
boy-DEF PF.POS stick-DEF break
'The boy broke the stick.'

When combined with 'one's eyes' in object function, *kátí* means 'blink'.

c. *Kew-ó ye a ñâa káti.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG eye.DEF break
'The man blinked.'

x **ké**$_1$ = *x* happens, *x* occurs
x y **ké**$_1$ = *x* does *y*

a. *Sáñjíy-o ké-tá bii.*
rain-DEF happen-PF.POS today
'It rained today.' lit. 'The rain happened today.'

b. *Kew-ó ye dookúw-o ké.*
man-DEF PF.POS work-DEF do
'The man worked (lit. did work).'

c. *Dookúw-o ké-ta.*
work-DEF do-PF.POS
'The work was done.'

The use of this verb with the antipassive form of transitive verbs in object function is a common strategy for encoding two participant events without mentioning the patient.

d. *Mus-óo ye tábí-r-óo ke.*
woman-DEF PF.POS cook-ANTIP-DEF do
'The woman did the cooking.'

x **ké**$_2$ *y* tí = *x* becomes *y*, *x* is *y*
x y **ké**$_2$ *z* tí = *x* makes *z* out of *x*, *x* transforms *y* into *z*
x y **ké-ndi** *z* tí = *x* transforms *y* into *z*, *x* helps *y* become *z*

a. *Díndíŋ-o ké-tá kew-ó ti.*
child-DEF become-PF.POS man-DEF OBL
'The child became a man.'

b. *Batuutáa ye new-ô ké sán-óo ti.*
magician.DEF PF.POS iron-DEF transform gold-DEF OBL
'The magician changed the iron into gold.'

c. *Báamáa ye a díŋ-o ké-ndí kew-ó ti.*
mother.DEF PF.POS 3SG son-DEF become-CAUS man-DEF OBL
'The mother helped her son become a man.'

In its intransitive use, *ké*$_2$ 'be, become' is syntactically and semantically equivalent to the identificational copula *mú* (positive) / *té* (negative) – Ex. (d), with the difference that the copula cannot combine with the predicative markers

characteristic of verbal predication, and consequently copulative clauses cannot express the TAM variations encoded by the choice of a predicative marker.

d. *Kew-ó mu dánn-óo le ti.*
man-DEF ID.COP hunter-DEF FOC OBL
'The man is a hunter.'

x y **ké**$_3$ *L* = *x* puts *y* somewhere

a. *Kew-ó ye kitáab-ôo ké táabúl-óo kaŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS book-DEF put table-DEF on
'The man put the book on the table.'

b. *Mus-óo ye dendik-óo-lu ké kúnéw-o kóno.*
woman-DEF PF.POS clothes-DEF-PL put chest-DEF inside
'The woman put the clothes in the chest.'

x y **ké**$_4$ *L* = *x* spends *y* somewhere – *y* a time span
x y **ké**$_4$ *z* ti = *x* spends *y* doing *z* – *y* a time span

a. *Kew-ó ye tilí fulá le ké Siicóori.*
man-DEF PF.POS day two FOC spend Ziguinchor
'The man spent two days in Ziguinchor.'

b. *Mŏo-lu ye súut-ôo bêe ké doŋ-ó ti.*
person.DEF-PL PF.POS night-DEF all spend dance-DEF OBL
'The people spent the whole night dancing.'

x y **kíi** *z* yé = *x* sends *y* to *z*

Kambaan-óo ye batáay-ôo kíi a karammóo ye.
boy-DEF PF.POS letter-DEF send 3SG teacher.DEF BEN
'The boy sent a letter to his teacher.'

kílí 'call' is synonymous with **kúmándí** and has the same syntactic properties.

x **kóŋkó** = *x* is hungry

Kóŋkó 'be/become hungry / hunger' is most commonly used as a noun (def. *kóŋk-ôo*), as in Ex. (a), but can also be used as an intransitive verb, from which the causative verb *kóŋkó-ndí* 'leave without food' can be derived.

a. *Kóŋk-óo be kambaan-óo la.*
hunger-DEF COP boy-DEF OBL
'The boy is hungry.

b. *Kambaan-ôo kóŋkó-ta.*
boy-DEF be/become_hungry-PF.POS
'The boy got hungry.'

c. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o-lu kóŋkó-ndi.*
woman-DEF PF.POS child-DEF-PL be/become_hungry-CAUS
'The woman starved the children.'

x y **kóŋkóŋ** *z* káŋ = *x* wipes *y* off *z*

Súŋkút-óo ye kíníjólóndáŋ-o kóŋkóŋ táabúl-óo kaŋ.
girl-DEF PF.POS crumbs-DEF wipe table-DEF on
'The girl wiped the crumbs from the table.'

x **kúmá** = *x* speaks, *x* sounds (produces a sound)
x **kúmá** *y* yé = *x* talks to *y*

Kúmá as an intransitive verb means 'speak', 'talk', and more generally 'produce a sound' – Ex. (b). It is not used to express 'talk about something' – see *diyaamú*, *fó*. As a noun, *kúmá* (def. *kúm-ôo*) means 'word', 'speech' – Ex. (c).

a. *Kew-ô kúmá-tá mus-óo ye.*
man-DEF talk-PF.POS woman-DEF BEN
'The man talked to the woman.'

b. *Tántáŋ-o kúmá-ta.*
drum-DEF sound-PF.POS
'The drum sounded.'

c. *Kew-ó ye mus-óo la kúm-óo moyi.*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF GEN word-DEF hear
'The man heard the words of the woman.'

The causative form *kúmá-ndí* can be used regularly, as in Ex. (d), but it has also lexicalized into a distinct transitive verb *kúmándí* 'call'.

d. *Kambaan-óo ye tántáŋ-o kúmá-ndi.*
boy-DEF PF.POS drum-DEF sound-CAUS
'The boy sounded the drum.'

x y **kúmándí** = *x* calls *y* (shouts to draw *y*'s attention)
x y **kúmándí** *z* lá = *x* calls *y* a *z*

Mandinka has two verbs with the meaning 'call': *kílí* and *kúmándi*. They can be used interchangeably in the same constructions. Formally, *kúmá-ndí* is a causative

verb derived from *kúmá* ‘speak, talk’ – see (9), but its synchronic meaning cannot be directly explained from this etymology.

a. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo kúmándi.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF call
‘The man called the boy.’

b. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo kúmándí moo hákílíntáŋ-o la.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF call person stupid-DEF OBL
‘The man called the boy a fool.’

‘*x* calls *y* a *z*’ can also be expressed by means of the quotative marker *kó*, a predicative element primarily used in the frame ‘*x kó* (*y ye*) RU’ (*x* the speaker, *y* the addressee, RU the reported utterance). *Kó* differs from regular verbs by being incompatible by the TAM-polarity markers that obligatorily accompany verbs in predicate function. Ex. (d) shows that *kó* can also be used to introduce the designation of kinds.

c. *Kew-ó ko kambaan-óo ye moo hákílíntáŋ-o.*
man-DEF QUOT boy-DEF BEN person stupid-DEF
‘The man called the boy a fool.’

d. *Suruwáa-lu kó suw-ó ye ‘fas’.*
Wolof.DEF-PL QUOT horse-DEF BEN ‘fas’
‘The Wolofs call the horse ‘fas’.

For ‘call’ in the sense of ‘give a name’, see *tóoláa*.

x **kumbóo** = *x* cries
x y **kumbóo** = *x* laments the loss of *y*

a. *Mus-óo kumbóo-ta.*
woman-DEF cry-PF.POS
‘The woman cried.’

b. *Mus-óo ka a keemáa kumboo.*
woman-DEF HAB.POS 3SG husband.DEF cry
‘The woman laments the loss of her husband.’

c. *Mǔŋ ne yé mus-óo kumbo-ndi?*
what FOC PF.POS woman-DEF cry-CAUS
‘What made the woman cry?’

x y **kuntú** *z* lá = *x* cuts *y* with *z*

a. *Mus-óo ye sub-óo kuntú mur-óo la.*
woman-DEF PF.POS meat-DEF cut knife-DEF OBL
'The woman cut the meat with a knife.'

b. *Sub-óo kuntú-ta.*
meat-DEF cut-PF.POS
'The meat was cut.'

x y **kŭu** = *x* washes *y*

a. *Mus-óo ye dendik-óo kuu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS shirt-DEF wash
'The woman washed the shirt.'

b. *Mus-óo ye kuu-r-ôo ké.*
woman-DEF PF.POS wash-ANTIP-DEF do
'The woman did the washing.'

c. *Kew-ó ye mus-óo kuu-ri-ndí dendik-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF wash-ANTIP-CAUS shirt-DEF OBL
'The man made the woman wash the shirt.'

d. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o kuu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS child-DEF wash
'The woman washed the child.'

e. *Díndíŋ-o kuu-ta.*
child-DEF wash-PF.POS
'The child has been washed.'

f. *Mus-óo ye í kuu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS REFL wash
'The woman washed (herself).'

kuuráŋ 'fall ill' has the same syntactic properties as **jaŋkárí**

x **láa**$_1$ (*y* káŋ) ~ *x* Refl **láa**$_1$ (*y* káŋ) = *x* lies down (onto *y*)
x y **láa**$_1$ (*z* káŋ) = *x* lays *y* (onto *z*), *x* loads *y* (onto *z*), *x* puts *y* (onto *z*)
x y **lá-ndí** (*z* káŋ) = *x* lays *y* (onto *z*)

Láa$_1$ is used intransitively or in the middle construction with the meaning 'lie down' – Ex. (a). In its transitive use, *láa*$_1$ is in competition with *lá-ndí*, formed via the addition of the CAUS suffix – Ex. (b-d). *Láa* is typically used with inanimate

objects, and *lá-ndí* is preferred with animate objects. The complex ANTIP-CAUS suffix can be added both to *láa* and *lá-ndi* – Ex. (e-f).

a. *Kew-ó ye í láa laaráŋ-o kaŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS REFL lay bed-DEF on
'The man lay down on the bed.'

b. *Kew-ó ye mbaj-ôo láa díndíŋ-o kaŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS blanket-DEF lay child-DEF on
'The man put a blanket on the child.'

c. *Kew-ó ye lôo láa saréet-óo kaŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS wood.DEF lay cart-DEF on
'The man loaded the wood on the cart.'

d. *Mŏo-lu yé baramatôo lá-ndi laaráŋ-o kaŋ.*
person.DEF-PL PF.POS wounded_person.DEF lie-CAUS bed-DEF on
'The people laid the wounded person on the bed.'

e. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo láa-rí-ndí lóo la saréet-óo kaŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF lay-ANTIP-CAUS wood.DEF OBL cart-DEF on
'The man made the boy load the wood on the cart.'

f. *Kew-ó ye mus-óo-lu lá-ndí-rí-ndi baramatóo la*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF-PL lie-CAUS-ANTIP-CAUS wounded_person.DEF OBL
'The man made the women lay the wounded person

laaráŋ-o kaŋ.
bed-DEF on
on the bed.'

x y **láa**$_2$ (*z* yé) = *x* tells *y* (to *z*) – *y* a story
x y **láa**$_2$ = *x* sings *y* – *y* a song

a. *Mus-óo ye taalíŋ-o láa díndíŋ-o ye.*
woman-DEF PF.POS story-DEF lay child-DEF BEN
'The woman told a story to the child.'

b. *Súŋkút-óo ye doŋkílôo láa.*
girl-DEF PF.POS song-DEF lay
'The girl sang (a song).'

As indicated in the gloss, these uses of **láa**$_2$ can be viewed as a metaphorical extension of **láa**$_1$ 'lay' – see (102).

x **lafí** *y* lá = *x* likes *y*
x **lafí** *y* lá = *x* wants *y*

a. *Kew-ó lafi-ta kód-óo la.*
man-DEF want-PF.POS money-DEF OBL
'The man wants money.'

b. *Kew-ó lafi-tá kambaan-óo la.*
man-DEF like-PF.POS boy-DEF OBL
'The man likes the boy.'

c. *Mŭŋ ne ye díndíŋ-o lafi-ndí kitáab-óo la?*
what FOC PF.POS child-DEF like-CAUS book-DEF OBL
'What made the child like the book?'

x y **líi** = *x* shaves *y*

a. *Kew-ó ye a kuŋ-ô líi.*
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG head-DEF shave
'The man shaved his head.'

b. *Jumáa le ye í lii?*
who FOC PF.POS 2SG shave
'Who shaved you?'

x **lóŋ** = *x* knows much
x y **lóŋ** = *x* knows *y*

Lóŋ differs from most other A-labile verbs in that, in its intransitive use, the second argument cannot be expressed (Active / Introversive Alternation).

a. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo lóŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF know
'The man knows the boy.'

b. *Ñĭŋ kew-ó ye mansaali jámâa loŋ.*
DEM man-DEF PF.POS riddle many know
'The man knows many riddles.'

c. *Ñĭŋ kew-ô lón-ta báake.*
DEM man-DEF know-PF.POS very
'This man is a very learned person.'

x **lŏo** ~ *x* (Refl) **lŏo** = *x* stands, *x* stops
x y **lŏo** = *x* builds *y*, *x* erects *y*, *x* puts *y* in standing position
x y **lo-ndí** = *x* builds *y*, *x* erects *y*, *x* puts *y* in standing position

Lŏo 'stand / erect' is used to describe one-participant events with the meaning 'stand (up)', 'stop', and in this meaning, it participates in the Intransitive / Middle Synonymy – Ex. (a-b). It is found in transitive constructions with the meaning 'raise, erect' (and by extension 'organize an event', 'fix a date') either in its non-derived form or in a form including the CAUS suffix ; it seems that the causative form is used with reference to objects that are not necessarily in vertical position – Ex. (d), and the non-derived form with reference to objects that, once erected, will normally remain in the same position – Ex. (c). The non-derived form is also used with abstract objects – Ex. (e).

a. *Kew-ó loo-ta.*
man-DEF stand-PF.POS
'The man stood up / stopped.'

b. *Kew-ó ye í loo.*
man-DEF PF.POS REFL stand
'The man stood up / stopped.'

c. *Kew-ó ye búŋ-o loo birík-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS house-DEF erect brick-DEF OBL
'The man built the house with bricks.'

d. *Mus-óo ye kulúŋ-o lo-ndi.*
woman-DEF PF.POS mortar-DEF stand-CAUS
'The woman put the mortar in vertical position.'

e. *Mŏo-lu ye túlúŋ-o loo.*
person.DEF-PL PF.POS dance-DEF erect
'The people organized a dance.'

f. *Búŋ-o loo-ta.*
house-DEF erect-PF.POS
'The house has been built.'

g. *Kulúŋ-o lo-ndi-ta.*
house-DEF stand-CAUS-PF.POS
'The mortar has been put in vertical position.'

x y **măa** (*z* lá) = *x* touches *y* (with *z*)

Kambaan-óo ye sǎa maa fál-óo la.
boy-DEF PF.POS snake.DEF touch stick-DEF OBL
'The boy touched the snake (with a stick).'

x **máabó** *y* má ~ *x* Refl **máabó** *y* má = *x* hides from *y*
x y **máabó** *z* má = *x* hides *y* from *z*
x y **máabó-ndí** *z* má = *x* hides *y* from *z*

Mandinka has two verbs, *nukúŋ* and *máabó*, used in the same constructions with the meaning 'hide'. In addition to this meaning, *máabó* also expresses 'save', 'keep'.

a. *Díndíŋ-o máabó-tá kew-ó ma.*
child-DEF hide-PF.POS man-DEF OBL
'The child hid from the man.'

b. *Díndíŋ-o ye í máabó kew-ó ma.*
child-DEF PF.POS REFL hide man-DEF OBL
'The child hid from the man.'

c. *Mus-óo ye kód-ôo máabó kew-ó ma.*
woman-DEF PF.POS money-DEF hide man-DEF OBL
'The woman hid the money from the man.'

d. *Kód-ôo máabó-tá kew-ó ma.*
money-DEF hide-PF.POS man-DEF OBL
'The money was hidden from the man.'

e. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o máabó-ndí kew-ó ma.*
woman-DEF PF.POS child-DEF hide-CAUS man-DEF OBL
'The woman hid the child from the man.'

f. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o máabó-rí-ndí kód-óo la.*
woman-DEF PF.POS child-DEF hide-ANTIP-CAUS money-DEF OBL
'The woman made the child hide the money.'

x y **máakóyí** (*z* tó) = *x* helps *y* (with *z*)

Kew-ó ye a téerímâa máakóyí kód-óo to.
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG friend.DEF help money-DEF LOC
'The man helped his friend financially.'

Mandinka has two verbs used in the same constructions with exactly the same meaning 'help': *máakóyí* and *deemáa*.

x **málá** = *x* burns – *x* a fire or a light
x y **málá** = *x* lights *y*

a. *Dimbâa málá-ta.*
fire.DEF burn-PF.POS
'The fire burned.'

b. *Kew-ó ye dimbâa mála.*
man-DEF PF.POS fire.DEF light
'The man lit the fire.'

x y **míirá** = *x* thinks about *y*
x a **míirá** kó Cl = *x* thinks that Cl – Cl a clause, 'a' the 3rd person pronoun
x Refl **míirá** *y* tó = *x* thinks about *y*

a. *Kew-ó ye í míirá kambaan-óo la kúw-o to*
man-DEF PF.POS REFL think boy-DEF GEN affair-DEF LOC
'The man thought about the boy.'

The construction in (a) can be viewed as an Antipassive Middle, since *míirá* is also used transitively with the thinker in subject function. Note however that the use of this verb with just an NP in object function is relatively rare. Most of the time, the object of *míirá* used transitively is a pronoun anticipating a complement clause in sentence-final position – Ex. (b).

b. *Kew-ó ye* a_i *míirá* [*kó mus-óo ye a kanu*]$_i$.
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG think QUOT woman-DEF PF.POS 3SG love
'The man thinks that the woman loves him.'

x y **mĭŋ** ~ *x* Refl **mĭŋ** *y* lá = *x* drinks *y*

a. *Kew-ó ye jíy-o miŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS water-DEF drink
'The man drank water.'

b. *Kew-ó ye í miŋ jíy-o la.*
man-DEF PF.POS REFL drink water-DEF OBL
'The man drank water.'

c. *Mus-óo ye kew-ó mi-ndi bóor-óo la.*
woman-DEF PF.POS man-DEF drink-CAUS medicine-DEF OBL
'The woman made the man drink the medicine.'

x **míníŋ** *y* lá = *x* hugs *y*, *x* winds around *y*
x y **míníŋ** = *x* surrounds / encircle *y*
x y **míníŋ** *z* lá = *x* winds *y* around *z*

In the sense of 'hug', *míníŋ* can be used intransitively, or in a middle construction analyzable as regularly derived from its second transitive construction (d-e).

a. *Nómb-ôo mínín-tá yír-óo la.*
creeper-DEF wind-PF.POS tree-DEF OBL
'The creeper winded around the tree.'

b. *Kel-óo ye tat-ôo míniŋ.*
army-DEF PF.POS fortress-DEF surround
'The army encircled the fortress.'

c. *Kew-ó ye jul-ôo míníŋ fál-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS rope-DEF wind stick-DEF OBL
'The man winded the rope around the stick.'

d. *Kew-ô mínín-tá mus-óo la.*
man-DEF wind-PF.POS woman-DEF OBL
'The man hugged the woman.'
lit. 'The man winded around the woman.'

e. *Kew-ó ye í míníŋ mus-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS REFL wind woman-DEF OBL
'The man hugged the woman.'
lit. 'The man winded himself around the woman.'

x y **moyí** = *x* hears *y*

Moyi has two causative forms: *moyi-ndí* has the lexicalized meaning 'promise', whereas *moyi-ri-ndí* expresses 'make hear', 'tell'.

a. *Kambaan-óo ye maakáŋ-o moyi.*
boy-DEF PF.POS noise-DEF hear
'The boy heared a noise.'

b. *Wo kúw-o moyi-ta.*
DEM matter-DEF hear-PF.POS
'The people have heard about that matter.' lit. 'That matter has been heard.'

c. *Kew-ô búka moyi-r-óo ke.*
man-DEF HAB.NEG hear-ANTIP-DEF do
'The man does not hear.'

d. *Kew-ó ye mus-óo moyi-ndí mǔŋ ne la?*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF hear-CAUS what FOC OBL
'What did the man promise to the woman?'

e. *Kew-ó ye mus-óo moyi-rindí mǔŋ ne la?*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF hear-ANTIP-CAUS what FOC OBL
'What did the man tell to the woman?'

x y **mutá**$_1$ = *x* catches *y*
x y **mutá**$_1$ *z* ti = *x* considers *y* to be *z*

Ñaŋkúm-óo ye ñín-óo muta.
cat-DEF PF.POS mouse-DEF catch
'The cat caught a mouse.'

x y **mutá**$_2$ = *x* acts on *y*
x **mutá**$_2$ = *x* takes effect

a. *Sitikóŋ-o yé mbir-óo muta.*
charm-DEF PF.POS wrestler-DEF act_on
'The charm acted on the wrestler.

b. *Sitikóŋ-o muta-tá le.*
charm-DEF take_effect-PF.POS FOC
'The charm took effect.'

x y **múurá** *z* lá = *x* covers *y* with *z*

Kew-ó ye díndíŋ-o múurá mbaj-óo la.
man-DEF PF.POS child-DEF cover blanket-DEF OBL
'The man covered the child with the blanket.'

x **nǎa** *L* = *x* comes somewhere

a. *Kew-ó naa-tá saatéw-o to.*
man-DEF come-PF.POS village-DEF LOC
'The man came to the village.'

Nǎa has deictic implications similar to those of English 'come'.

Causative derivation is impossible with *nǎa*, but 'bring' can be expressed by combining *nǎa* with an oblique headed by the postposition *tí*, and this construction lends itself to Postposition Incorporation.

x **nǎa** *y* tí *L* = *x* brings *y* somewhere
~ *x y* **naa-tí** *L*
x **nǎa** *y* tí *z* yé = *x* brings *y* to *z*
~ *x y* **naa-ti** *z* yé

b. *Kambaan-óo naa-tá kitáab-óo ti a karammóo ye.*
boy-DEF come-PF.POS book-DEF with 3SG teacher.DEF BEN
'The boy brought the book to his teacher.'

c. *Kambaan-óo ye kitáab-óo naa-tí a karammóo ye.*
boy-DEF PF.POS book-DEF come-with 3SG teacher.DEF BEN
'The boy brought the book to his teacher.'

d. *Kambaan-óo naa-tá kitáab-óo ti karambúŋ-o to.*
boy-DEF come-PF.POS book-DEF with school-DEF LOC
'The boy brought the book to school.'

e. *Kambaan-óo ye kitáab-óo naa-tí karambúŋ-o to.*
boy-DEF PF.POS book-DEF come-with school-DEF LOC
'The boy brought the book to school.'

x y **nǐi** *z* lá = *x* offers *y* to *z*

With *y* referring to a person, the usual interpretation of *nǐi* 'offer' is 'marry (a girl)'.

Fǎa ye súŋkút-óo nǐi kew-ó la.
father.DEF PF.POS girl-DEF offer man-DEF BEN
'The father married (lit. offered) the girl to the man.'

x y **nikíŋ** = *x* learns *y*
x y **niki-ndí** *z* lá = *x* teaches *y z*

Nikíŋ 'learn' has the same transitive use as *karáŋ*$_2$ 'learn', and can also be causativized without the antipassive suffix. These two verbs differ however in that *karáŋ*$_2$ is A-labile, whereas *nikíŋ* cannot be used intransitively with the learner in subject role.

a. *Kambaan-óo ye wot-óo nikiŋ.*
boy-DEF PF.POS car-DEF learn
'The boy learned driving.'

b. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo niki-ndí wot-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF learn-CAUS car-DEF OBL
'The man taught driving to the boy.'

nukúŋ ‘hide’ is synonymous with **máabó** and occurs in the same constructions

x **ñílísá** = *x* blinks – *x* a light

Loolóo ka ñílísa.
star.DEF HAB.POS blink
‘Stars blink.’

→ This verb is not used with reference to eyes. Mandinka expresses ‘*x* blinks (his/her eyes)’ by means of the idiom *ñáa kátí*, lit. ‘break the eye’.

x y **ñíní(ŋ)** = *x* searches for *y*

Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo ñíni.
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF search
‘The man searched for the boy.’

x y **ñiniŋkáa** *z* lá = *x* asks *y* about *z*

Mus-óo ye kew-ó ñiniŋkáa a kontóŋ-o la.
woman-DEF PF.POS man-DEF ask 3SG surname-DEF OBL
‘The woman asked the man his surname.’

x **ñorí** = *x* moves
x y **ñorí** = *x* pushes *y*
x y **ñori-ndí** = *x* causes *y* to move

a. *Kew-ó-lu yé wot-óo ñori.*
man-DEF-PL PF.POS car-DEF push
‘The men pushed the car.’

b. *Díndíŋ-o ñori-ta.*
child-DEF move-PF.POS
‘The child moved (out of the way).’

c. *Ñáatóŋk-óo ye beŋ-ó ñori-ndi.*
president-DEF PF.POS meeting-DEF move
‘The president postponed the meeting.’

x **săa** = *x* dies

Kew-ó saa-ta.
man-DEF die-PF.POS
‘The man died.’

Sǎa and *fǎa* are interchangeably used as intransitive verbs meaning ‘die’. They differ in that *sǎa* is a strictly intransitive verb, and does not have a causative form either, whereas *faa* is a P-labile verb.

Sǎa is the only Mandinka verb that cannot be used in its underived form as an action noun, and for which a distinct action noun exists (*saayáa* ‘death’). It is also the only strictly intransitive verb from which no causative form can be derived.

saasáa ‘fall ill’ has the same syntactic properties as **jaŋkári**

x y **sáfée** = *x* writes *y*
x y **sáfée** *z* yé ~ *x z* **sáfée** *y* lá = *x* writes *y* to *z,*

a. *Kambaan-óo ye batáay-ôo sáfée a karammóo ye.*
boy-DEF PF.POS letter-DEF write 3SG teacher.DEF BEN
‘The boy wrote a letter to his teacher.’

b. *Kambaan-óo ye a karammôo sáfée batáay-óo la.*
boy-DEF PF.POS 3SG teacher.DEF write letter-DEF OBL
‘The boy wrote a letter to his teacher.’

x y **sambá** *L* = *x* brings *y* somewhere*, x* carries *y* somewhere
x y **sambá** *z* yé = *x* brings *y* to *z, x* carries *y* to *z*

a. *Kambaan-óo ye kitáab-óo sambá karambúŋ-o to.*
boy-DEF PF.POS book-DEF bring/carry school-DEF LOC
‘The boy brought / carried the book to the school.’

b. *Kambaan-óo ye kitáab-óo sambá a karammóo ye.*
boy-DEF PF.POS book-DEF bring/carry 3SG teacher.DEF BEN
‘The boy brought / carried the book to his teacher.’

Sambá (bring / carry) is not oriented deictically. If the deictic orientation is not clear from the context, centripetal orientation can optionally be specified by adding the centripetal particle *nǎŋ* – Ex. (c) – or by using *nǎa …tí* instead of *sambá*; centrifugal orientation can similarly be specified by using *táa … tí* instead of *sambá*.

c. *Kambaan-óo ye kitáab-óo sambá nǎŋ a karammóo ye.*
boy-DEF PF.POS book-DEF bring CTRP 3SG teacher.DEF BEN
‘The boy brought the book to his teacher.’

x **sárí** = *x* screams
x **sárí** *y* káŋ = *x* shouts at *y*
x **sárí** *y* tí ~ *x y* **sárí** = *x* shouts *y*

a. *Kew-ô sárí-tá súŋkút-óo kaŋ.*
man-DEF shout-PF.POS girl-DEF on
'The man shouted to the girl.'

b. *Kew-ô sárí-tá súŋkút-ôo tóo ti.*
man-DEF shout-PF.POS girl-DEF name.DEF OBL
'The man shouted the girl's name.'

c. *Kew-ó ye súŋkút-ôo tôo sári.*
man-DEF PF.POS girl-DEF name.DEF shout
'The man shouted the girl's name.'

→ *sárí* 'shout' may be etymologically related to the plain transitive verb *sárí* 'scatter (seeds, fertilizer, etc.)'.

x **sawúŋ**$_1$ (*L*) = *x* jumps (somewhere)

a. *Díndíŋ-o sawún-ta.*
child-DEF jump-PF.POS
'The child jumped.'

b. *Ñaŋkúm-óo sawún-tá siiráŋ-o kaŋ.*
cat-DEF jump-PF.POS chair-DEF on
'The cat jumped on the chair.'

Sawúŋ$_1$ 'jump' also expresses various meanings that can be considered as extensions of its basic meaning 'jump' (for example 'move to a new house'), in which it behaves as a strictly intransitive verb which can only be transitivized via causativization.

c. *Kew-ó sawún-tá a lá koridaa kút-óo to.*
man-DEF move-PF.POS 3SG GEN house new-DEF LOC
'The man moved to his new house.'

d. *'File' sawu-ndi 'folder' to.*
file move-CAUS folder LOC
'Transfer the file to a folder.'

x **sawúŋ$_2$** *y* lá = *y* is infected by *x* – *x* an illness
x y **sawúŋ$_2$** *z* lá ~ *x y* **sawu-ndí** *z* lá = *x* infects *z* with *y* – *y* an illness

Sawúŋ$_2$ is quite obviously a metaphorical extension of *sawúŋ$_1$*, but differs from it in its ability to be used transitively without the causative suffix.

a. *Kew-ó ye 'Aids' sawúŋ a lá mus-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS Aids transmit 3SG GEN wife-DEF OBL
'The man infected his wife with Aids.'

b. *Kew-ó ye 'Aids' sawu-ndí a lá mus-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS Aids jump-CAUS 3SG GEN wife-DEF OBL
same meaning as (a)

x **selé** *y* sánto ~ *x y* **selé** = *x* climbs up *y*

a. *Kew-ó sele-tá koŋk-ôo sánto.*
man-DEF climb-PF.POS hill-DEF on_top
'The man climbed up the hill.'

b. *Kew-ó ye koŋk-óo sele.*
man-DEF PF.POS hill-DEF climb
'The man climbed up the hill.'

c. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo sele-ndí suw-ô sánto.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF climb-CAUS horse-DEF on_top
'The man helped the boy get on the horse.'

x **sĭi** *y* káŋ = *x* sits (down) on *y*
x **sĭi** *L* = *x* lives somewhere

Mandinka uses the same verb *sĭi* 'sit' in the same constructions to express movement and posture, and *sĭi* is also used in the meaning 'live somewhere'. Note that *bálúu* 'live' is not used in the meaning 'live somewhere'.

a. *Díndíŋ-o sii-tá siiráŋ-o kaŋ.*
child-DEF sit-PF.POS chair-DEF on
'The child sat on the chair.'

b. *Kew-ó ye díndíŋ-o si-ndí siiráŋ-o kaŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS child-DEF sit-CAUS chair-DEF on
'The man sat the child on the chair.'

c. *Íǰ bárímmáa be sĭi-riŋ Siicóori.*
1SG uncle.DEF LOC.COP sit-RES Ziguinchor
'My uncle lives in Ziguinchor.'

x y **síi** = *x* grinds *y*

Mus-óo ye tiy-ôo síi.
woman-DEF PF.POS peanuts-DEF grind
'The woman ground the peanuts.'

x **sílá(ŋ)** *y* lá = *x* fears *y*
x y **sílá-ndí** = *x* frightens *y*

a. *Kambaan-ôo sílá-tá kew-ó la.*
boy-DEF fear-PF.POS man-DEF OBL
'The boy feared the man.'

b. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-ôo sílá-ndi.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF fear-CAUS
'The man frightened the boy.'

x y **sĭŋ** = *x* digs *y*, *x* digs for *y*

Sĭŋ and *wúrí* 'dig (for)' are used interchangeably in the same constructions.

a. *Kew-ó ye diŋk-óo siŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS hole-DEF dig
'The man dug a hole.'

b. *Kew-ó ye ñamb-óo siŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS cassava-DEF dig
'The man dug for cassava.'

x y **sití**$_1$ (*z* bálá) = *x* ties *y* (to *z*)

a. *Kew-ó ye suw-ó siti yír-ôo bálá (jul-óo la).*
man-DEF PF.POS horse-DEF tie tree-DEF CONT rope-DEF OBL
'The man tied the horse to the tree (with a rope).'

b. *Suw-ó siti-ta yír-ôo bála.*
man-DEF tie-PF.POS tree-DEF CONT
'The horse was tied to the tree.'

c. *Kew-ó ye kambaan-óo siti-ri-ndí suw-ó la yír-ôo bála.*
man-DEF PF.POS boy-DEF tie-ANTIP-CAUS horse-DEF GEN tree-DEF CONT
'The man made the boy tie the horse to the tree.'

x **sitíˌ** = *x* is ill-lucked

Kew-ó siti-ta.
man-DEF be_ill_lucked-PF.POS
'The man is ill-lucked, undergoes difficulties.'

Sitíˌ can be viewed as a metaphorical extension of *sitíˌ*, but syntactically, it differs from *sitíˌ* by having an intransitive construction that cannot be analyzed as the passive counterpart of a transitive construction.

x y **só** *z* lá = *x* gives *z* to *y*

Só differs from *díi* 'give' not only in its alignment (indirective for *díi*, secundative for *só*), but also in its semantics: *só* implies that the theme will remain in the possession of the recipient, whereas *díi* carries no such implication.

Karammóo ye kambaan-ôo só kitáab-óo la.
teacher.DEF PF.POS boy-DEF give book-DEF OBL
'The teacher gave the book to the boy.'

x y **sŏo** *z* kónó = *x* pours *y* into *z*

a. *Kew-ó ye jíy-o soo wéer-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS water-DEF pour glass-DEF inside
'The man poured the water into the glass.'

b. *Kew-ó ye mus-óo soo-ri-ndi jíy-o la wéer-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF pour-ANTIP-CAUS water-DEF OBL glass-DEF inside
'The man made the woman pour the water into the glass.'

Sŏo is used exclusively for 'pour into a container'. In other situations, the Mandinka equivalent of English 'pour' is *bŏŋ*.

x y **sóolí** *z* kónó ~ *x z* **sóolí** *y* lá = *x* crams *y* into *z*, *x* stuffs *z* with *y*

a. *Kew-ó ye tiy-ôo sóolí boot-ôo kóno.*
man-DEF PF.POS peanuts-DEF cram-CAUS bag-DEF inside
'The man crammed the peanuts into the bag.'

b. *Kew-ó ye boot-ôo sóolí tiy-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS bag-DEF stuff-CAUS peanuts-DEF OBL
'The man stuffed the bag with peanuts.'

x **sotó** *L* = *x* is available somewhere
x y **sotó** = *x* gets *y*, *x* has *y*
x y **sotó** *z* búlú = *x* gets *y* from *z*
x y **soto-ndí** *z* yé = *x* makes *y* available to *z*

Sotó used transitively is the equivalent of both 'get' and 'have' – Ex. (b). Comparison with the other Manding varieties suggests that 'get' → 'have' is a recent development in the history of Mandinka, since transitive verbs of possession do not exist in other Manding varieties but constitute an areal feature of the Atlantic languages with which Mandinka is in contact.

Búlú is a postposition expressing possession, cognate with the noun *búlú* 'hand, arm'. The combination of the locative copula with a postposition phrase headed by *búlú* is another common way of expressing possession, in competition with *sotó* – Ex. (c).

a. *Kambaan-óo ye kitáab-óo sotó a karammôo búlu.*
boy-DEF PF.POS book-DEF get 3SG teacher.DEF PSPH
'The boy got the book from his teacher.'

b. *Kambaan-óo ye kitáab-óo soto.*
boy-DEF PF.POS book-DEF get
'The boy got the book.' or 'The boy has a book.'

c. *Kitáab-óo le bé kambaan-ôo búlu.*
book-DEF FOC LOC.COP boy-DEF PSPH
'The boy has a book.'

d. *Ñéw-o soto-tá le márséw-o tó bii.*
fish-DEF get-PF.POS FOC market-DEF LOC today
'There is fish available at the market today.'

e. *Kew-ó ka dáañín-óo soto-ndi dímbáayáa ye.*
boy-DEF HAB.POS food-DEF be_available-CAUS family.DEF BEN
'The man provides the family with food
(lit. makes food available for the family).'

x **súmáyáa** = *x* is cold

Súmáyáa 'be cold' derives from the adjective *súmá* 'cold'. It cannot be used verbally to express 'be cold' in the sense of 'feel cold' – see *tará*.

a. *Jíy-o súmáyáa-tá le.*
water-DEF be/become_cold-PF.POS FOC
'The water is cold.'

b. *Kew-ó ye têe súmáyá-ndí janníŋ a bé a min-na.*
man-DEF PF.POS tea-DEF be/become_cold-CAUS before 3SG LOC.COP 3SG drink-INF
'The man let the tea get cold before drinking it.'

x y **sumbú** = *x* smells *y*, *x* kisses *y*

a. *Wul-óo ye díndíŋ-o sumbu.*
dog-DEF PF.POS child-DEF smell
'The dog smelled the child.'

b. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o sumbu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS child-DEF smell
'The woman kissed the child.'

x **sunú** = *x* is sad
x y **sunú** = *x* makes *y* sad
x y **sunu-ndí** = *x* makes *y* sad

a. *Kew-ó sunu-ta.*
man-DEF be/become_sad-PF.POS
'The man got sad.'

b. *Ñiŋ kúm-óo yé kew-ó sunu.*
DEM word-DEF PF.POS man-DEF make_sad
'These words made the man sad.'

c. *Mus-óo la saayáa ye kew-ó sunu-ndi.*
woman-DEF GEN death.DEF PF.POS man-DEF be/become_sad-CAUS
'The woman's death made the man sad.'

x y **suuñáa** *z* búlú ~ *x z* **suuñáa** *y* lá = *x* steals *y* from *z*

Suuñáa 'steal' derives from the noun *sŭŋ* 'thief'.

a. *Kambaan-óo ye kitáab-óo suuñáa a karammôo búlu.*
boy-DEF PF.POS book-DEF steal 3SG teacher.DEF PSPH
'The boy stole the book from his teacher.'

b. *Kambaan-óo ye a karammóo suuñáa kitáab-óo la.*
boy-DEF PF.POS 3SG teacher.DEF steal book-DEF OBL
'The boy stole the book from his teacher.'

x y **tăa** (*z* búlú) = *x* takes *y* (from *z*)

Kew-ó ye kitáab-óo tăa kambaan-ôo búlu.
man-DEF PF.POS book-DEF take boy-DEF PSPH
'The man took the book from the boy.'

x **táa** = *x* goes away
x **táa** *L* = *x* goes somewhere
x **táa** *y* tí *L* = *x* carries *y* somewhere

a. *Kew-ô táa-ta.*
man-DEF go_away-PF.POS
'The man went away.'

b. *Kew-ô táa-tá kúŋk-óo to.*
man-DEF go-PF.POS field-DEF LOC
'The man went to the field.'

c. *Kambaan-ôo táa-tá kitáab-óo ti karambúŋ-o to.*
boy-DEF go-PF.POS book-DEF with school-DEF LOC
'The boy carried the book to school.'

Like *năa* 'come', *táa* 'go' has no corresponding causative form. Contrary to *năa ... tí*, the *táa ... tí* construction does not lend itself to Postposition Incorporation.

x **táamá** = *x* walks
x y **táamá** = *x* walks through *y*, *x* spends *y* walking

a. *Kewô táamá-ta.*
man-DEF walk-PF.POS
'The man walked.'

b. *Kewó ye wúlôo bêe táama.*
man-DEF PF.POS bush:DEF all walk
'The man walked through the whole bush.'

c. *Kewó ye tili lúulú táama, a máŋ futá saatéwo to.*
man-DEF PF.POS day five wander 3SG PF.NEG arrive village:DEF OBL
'The man walked five days without arriving at the village.'

x y **tábí** = *x* cooks *y*

a. *Mus-óo ye sub-ôo tábi.*
woman-DEF PF.POS meat-DEF cook
'The woman cooked the meat.'

b. *Sub-ôo* *tábí-ta.*
meat-DEF cook-PF.POS
'The meat has been cooked.'

c. *Mus-óo* *ye* *tábí-r-ôo* *ké.*
woman-DEF PF.POS cook-ANTIP-DEF do
'The woman did the cooking.'

d. *Kew-ó* *ye* *mus-óo* *tábí-rí-ndi* *sub-óo* *la.*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF cook-ANTIP-CAUS meat-DEF OBL
'The man made the woman cook the meat.'

x **tará** *L* = *x* is found somewhere
x y **tará** *L* = x meets y somewhere, x finds y somewhere
x **tará** *y* lá = *y* is affected by *x*

Tará is a labile verb used intransitively to express location, and by extension states affecting an individual (hunger, sickness, cold, etc.). In this intransitive use, *tará* is interchangeable with the locative copula *bé* (positive) / *té* (negative). The only difference is that the locative copula does not combine with the predicative markers characteristic of verbal predication, and therefore constructions headed by *tará* 'be found' are compatible with the expression of aspecto-temporal meanings that cannot be specified in copulative constructions.

a. *Mus-óo* *be* *márséw-o* *to.*
woman-DEF LOC.COP market-DEF LOC
'The woman is at the market.'

b. *Mus-óo* *ka* *tara* *márséw-o* *to.*
woman-DEF HAB.POS be_found market-DEF LOC
'The woman is usually at the market.'

c. *Kew-ó* *ye* *mus-óo* *tara* *márséw-o* *to.*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF find market-DEF LOC
'The man met/found the woman at the market.'

d. *Nén-óo* *be* *kambaan-óo* *la.*
cold-DEF LOC.COP boy-DEF OBL
'The boy is cold.' lit. 'The cold is at the boy.'

d. *Súmáyáa* *be* *kambaan-óo* *la.*
cold.DEF LOC.COP boy-DEF OBL
'The boy is cold.' lit. 'The cold is at the boy.'

x y **teyí**$_1$ = *x* cuts *y*

Kew-ó ye ñantáŋ-o teyi.
man-DEF PF.POS thatching_grass-DEF cut
'The man cut thatching grass.'

Teyi$_1$ 'cut' is used specifically with reference to plant stems (grass, rice, millet). 'Cut' in general is expressed as *kuntú*.

x **teyí**$_2$ *y* lá ~ *x y* **teyí**$_2$ = *x* crosses *y*

Teyí$_2$ 'cross' is cognate with *teyí*$_1$ 'cut' but has distinct syntactic properties: *teyí*$_1$ 'cut' is a plain transitive verb used intransitively with a passive meaning exclusively, whereas *teyí*$_2$ 'cross' lends itself to Object / Oblique Alternation.

a. *Mus-óo-lu teyi-ta báa la.*
woman-DEF-PL cross-PF.POS river.DEF OBL
'The women crossed the river.'

b. *Mus-óo-lu ye báa teyi.*
woman-DEF-PL PF.POS river.DEF cross
'The women crossed the river.'

c. *Kew-ó ye mus-óo-lu teyi-ndi báa la.*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF-PL cross-CAUS river.DEF OBL
'The man conveyed the women across the river.'

x **teyí**$_3$ = *x* breaks
x y **teyí**$_3$ (*z* lá) = *x* breaks *y* (with *z*)

a. *Kambaan-óo ye palantéer-óo teyí ber-óo la.*
boy-DEF PF.POS window.DEF break stone-DEF OBL
'The boy broke the window with the stone.'

b. *Kíl-óo teyi-ta.*
egg-DEF break-PF.POS
'The egg broke.'

c. *Saatéw-o teyi-ta.*
village-DEF break-PF.POS
'The village was destroyed.'

→ Comparison with other Manding varieties shows that the coincidence between *teyí*$_3$ 'break' (P-labile) and *teyí*$_1$ 'cut (stems)' (plain transitive) is an accidental homonymy resulting from phonetic evolutions, and that *teyí*$_2$ 'cross' is cognate with

teyí$_1$ ‘cut (stems)’ – cf. Maninka *tè*, Bambara *cì* ‘break’ vs. Maninka *tɛ̀(g)ɛ*, Bambara *tìgɛ* ‘cut, cross’.

x y **tóoláa** *z* lá = *x* names *y z*

Kew-ó ye a dímmús-ôo tóo-láa Ámí la.
man-DEF PF.POS 3SG daughter-DEF name-put Amy OBL
‘The man called (= named) his daughter Amy.’

This construction involves a *noun+verb* compound *tóo-láa* lit. ‘name-put’, which taken as a whole constitutes the equivalent of a plain transitive verb.

x **tootóo** = *x* coughs

a. *Kew-ó tootóo-ta.*
man-DEF cough-PF.POS
‘The man coughed.’

b. *Siisíy-o yé kew-ó tooto-ndi.*
smoke-DEF PF.POS man-DEF cough-CAUS
‘The smoke made the man cough.’

x **tú** *L* = *x* remains somewhere
x y **tú** *L* = *x* leaves *y* somewhere
a **tú** *x* (lá) = there remains *x* (‘a’ the 3rd person ponoun)

Tú is a P-labile verb – Ex. (a-b), but in addition to that, *tú* is the only Mandinka verb with an intransitive construction involved in the Subject / Oblique Alternation. The construction illustrated in Ex. (c) is an impersonal construction which has no equivalent with any other Mandinka verb.

The possibility of omitting the postposition marking the oblique argument of *tú* used impersonally is exceptional in Mandinka syntax. Note however that, given the rigidity of constituent order in Mandinka, this omission does not result in an ambiguity between object and oblique.

a. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o-lu tú súw-o kóno.*
woman-DEF PF.POS child-DEF-PL leave house-DEF inside
‘The woman left the children in the house.’

b. *Musu-kéebáa fula tú-tá saatéw-o to.*
woman-old two remain-PF.POS village-DEF LOC
‘Two old women remained in the village.’

c. *A tú-tá jěe musu-kéebáa fula (la).*
3SG remain-PF.POS there woman-old two OBL
‘There remained two old women.’

x **túlúŋ** = *x* plays
x **túlúŋ** *y* lá ~ *x y* **túlúŋ** = *x* does not take *y* seriously, *x* behaves frivolously towards *y*

a. *Díndíŋ-o-lu túlún-ta.*
child-DEF-PL play-PF.POS
'The children played.'

b. *Kew-ô túlún-tá a káŋ-o la.*
man-DEF play-PF.POS 3SG word-DEF OBL
'The man did not keep his word.' lit. 'played with his word'

c. *Kew-ó ye mus-ôo túluŋ.*
man-DEF PF.POS woman-DEF play
'The man behaved frivolously towards the woman.'

d. *Mus-óo ye díndíŋ-o-lu túlú-ndi.*
woman-DEF PF.POS child-DEF-PL play-CAUS
'The woman made the children play / played with the children.'

x **túunéŋ** = *x* sinks

Kúlúŋ-o túunén-tá bâa kóno.
boat-DEF sink-PF.POS river-DEF inside
'The boat sank into the river.'

x y **wótó** = *x* peels *y*

Wóto is a bivalent verb whose construction cannot include a term expressing the thing being removed while peeling. In order to translate literally something like 'The boy peeled the bark off the tree', *bóndí* 'remove' must be used.

Súŋkút-óo ye laríñc-ôo wóto.
girl-DEF PF.POS orange-DEF peel
'The girl peeled the orange.'

x **wúlúu** *y* lá ~ *x y* **wúlúu** = *x* gives birth to *y*
x **wúlúu** = *x* is born

a. *Mus-ôo wúlúu-tá (súŋkút-óo la).*
woman-DEF give_birth-PF.POS girl-DEF OBL
'The woman gave birth (to a girl).'

b. *Mus-óo ye súŋkút-ôo wúluu.*
woman-DEF PF.POS girl-DEF give_birth
'The woman gave birth to a girl.'

c. *Ń wúlúu-tá Seejó le.*
1SG give_birth-PF.POS Sédhiou FOC
'I was born in Sédhiou.'

wúrí 'dig (for)' is synonymous with **sĭŋ** and occurs in the same constructions.

x **yáayí** = *x* wanders
x y **yáayí** = *x* wanders round *y*

a. *Kúnuŋ í yáayí-ta báake.*
yesterday 2SG wander-PF.POS a_lot
'You wandered a lot yesterday.'

b. *Musu-kéebáa-lu níŋ deenaan-óo ye saatéw-o bêe yáayi.*
woman-old.DEF-PL with baby-DEF PF.POS village-DEF all wander
'The old women wandered round the whole village with the baby.'

x y **yita(ndí)** *z* lá = *x* shows *y* to *z*

Yita(ndí) 'show, announce' is an exceptional case of a verb used with exactly the same meaning and the same syntactic properties in its non-derived form and in a form that seems to be derived by means of the CAUS suffix. Apart from this morphological oddity, *yita(ndí)* is a typical transitive verb lending itself to the Active / Passive Alternation and to causativization by means of the ANTIP-CAUS complex suffix.

a. *Kew-ó ye natáal-óo yita(ndí) mus-óo la.*
man-DEF PF.POS picture-DEF show woman-DEF OBL
'The man showed the picture to the woman.'

b. *Natáal-óo yita(ndi)-tá mus-óo la.*
man-DEF show-PF.POS woman-DEF OBL
'The picture was shown to the woman.'

c. *Kew-ó ye díndíŋ-o yita(ndi)-ri-ndí natáal-óo la mus-óo ye.*
man-DEF PF.POS child-DEF show-ANTIP-CAUS picture-DEF OBL woman-DEF BEN
'The man made the child show the picture to the woman.'

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