THE ASPECT OF CAUSATIVITY IN NZEMA

by

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The descriptive term 'aspect' is notionally defined by Quirk, R. et al. (1972: 90) as "the manner in which the verb action is regarded or experienced" such that "the choice of aspect is a comment on or a particular view of the action". And in many languages the term refers to a variety of notions which includes completion, duration and similar concepts.

A grammatical category such as aspect may be expressible in notional terms as in the above quotation but as a category of grammar it is established on formal, not on notional grounds.

In my previous paper on "The Aspect of Stativity in Nzema", it was mentioned that of the three inter-related aspectual features of 1. Ingressivity, 2. Stativity and 3. Causativity that may be set up for a description of the verb phrase, the first is unique in being characterized by the presence or absence of a specific morpheme or prefix (i.e. 1. kɔ 'to go (in order) to...' or 'to go and...' or 2. ba 'to come (in order) to....' or 'to come and...') in the verb word. This paper deals with the formal characteristics of causativity as an instance, other than stativity, of an aspectual feature that is not exclusively expounded by a specific morpheme.

The aspectual feature of causativity, with its two terms: causative/non-causative, is set up to handle pairs of verb words that may occur in related pairs of (A) complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive clauses, (B) ditransitive and transitive clauses and (C) transitive and intransitive clauses. Such pairs of verb words may be (a) verbal forms morphologically and/or phonologically related, (b) identical in shape or (c) different lexical items.

(A) Complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive clauses

The two pairs of verbal forms 1. *fola* 'to make climb'/*fo* 'to climb 'and 2. *tenla* 'to sit'/*de* 'to be sitting' illustrate one of the ways in which corresponding (a) comp(lex) semi-transitive and (b) semi-transitive clauses may be related by means of the aspect of causativity:

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(1a) *Akyé fóta Kofi ɛ́kpónlé ne áso*   (comp. semi-transitive,
                                     causative, dynamic)

    (Akye makes Kofi climb on to
    the table)

(1b) *Kofi fó ɛ́kpónlé ne áso*   (semi-transitive, non-
    (Kofi climbs on to the table) causative, dynamic)

(2a) *Akyé tɛ́nla Kofi ɛ́kpónlé ne áso* (comp. semi-transitive,
    (Akye sits Kofi on the table)   causative, dynamic

(2b) *Kofi dɛ́ ɛ́kpónlé ne áso*   (semi-transitive, non-
    (Kofi is sitting on the table) causative, stative)

    In the above examples, the clauses in each pair are
syntactically (as well as semantically) related in such a
way that the object noun phrase (denoting the affected
participant) in each (a) complex semi-transitive clause
recurs as the subject noun phrase (denoting the agentive
participant) in the corresponding (b) semi-transitive clause.

    The verbal forms in the (b) clauses, which may be re-
garded as the verb stems, are morphologically related by
suffixation to the verbal forms occurring in the correspond-
ing (a) clauses. And in the case of (2a-b) the verbal form
in (2b) is additionally related phonologically by stem-initial
consonant mutation (i.e. t/d) to the verbal form in (2a).

    In respect of the number of places required by the verbal
form in each pair, the suffixed verbal form occurring in each
complex semi-transitive clause requires three places, whereas
the corresponding verbal form occurring in the related semi-
transitive clause is a two-place verb stem.

    It is further to be noted that the suffixed verbal forms
occurring in the (a) clauses are of dynamic aspect, whereas
the verb stems occurring in the corresponding (b) clauses may
be either of dynamic aspect as in (1b) or of stative aspect
as in (2b).

    And semantically, we might say that there obtains a
cause-and-effect relationship between the (a) clauses and
the (b) clauses such that the verb action of the (a) clauses
implies or results in the verb action of the (b) clauses.

On these 'morphosyntactic' as well as semantic
grounds, we account the three-place, suffixed verbal
forms occurring in the (a) complex semi-transitive
clauses as causative in contradistinction to the two-
place verbal forms occurring in the (b) semi-transi-
tive clauses which are regarded as non-causative.
And we shall term the causative relationship exempli-
fied in (1-2 (a-b))above which is characterized by
the morphological process of suffixation as *morpholo-
gical causativization.*

Other pairs of morphological causatives capable
of occurring in complex semi-transitive and semi-
transitive clauses that may be related in terms of
the causative/non-causative distinction are: (1) *dwula*
'to make descend'/*dwu* 'to descend' and (2) *gyinla* 'to
stop'/*gyi* 'to be standing', of which both members of
the first pair are dynamic, whereas those of the se-
cond pair contrast in terms of the dynamic/stative
distinction.

By analogy with (1-2(a-b))above, the dynamic
(i.e. *kenda* 'to hang up')/stative (i.e. *henda* 'to be
hanging') pair of verbal forms occurring in the follow-
ing pair of clauses between which the same syntactic
(and semantic) relationship holds may be handled in
terms of the causative/non-causative distinction:

(3a) *Akyé éhenda edanlé ne nyémá ne dzo*   (comp.
                                             semi-transi-
   (Akyɛ has hung the cloth on the   tive, causative,
   line)   dynamic)

(3b) *edanlé ne henda nyɛmá ne dzo*   (semi-transi-
                                             tive, non-
   (the cloth is hanging on the   causative,
   line)   stative)

It is to be noted that the pair of verbal forms
are identical in morphological shape but that the non-
causative, stative verbal form in the continuative
tense occurring in (3b) is phonologically related by
stem-initial consonant mutation to the corresponding

causative, dynamic, verbal form in the perfect tense ocur-
ring in (3a). By contrast with the cases of morphological
causativization exemplified in (1-2 (a-b)), the causative/
non-causative relationship manifest in such instances as
(3a-b) is provisionally termed as phonological causativiza-
tion. And it is a characteristic feature of phonological
causativization that the perfect tense form of the causa-
tive, dynamic verbal form implies the continuative tense
form of the non-causative, stative verbal form and that
this relationship of implication or cause-and-effect re-
lationship is phonologically marked by the common feature
of stem-initial consonant mutation.

In other instances of phonological causativization,
the causative verbal form may be a verbal group (e.g. *fa
fea* 'to take and hide') of which the principal (or first)
member is usually the agentive verb *fa* 'to take' and the
auxiliary (or second) member (i.e. *fea* 'to hide') is the
dynamic verbal form of the phonologically-related, non-
causative, stative verbal form (i.e. *vea* 'to be hidden'),as i:

(4a) *Akyɛ́ ɛ́va ɛdanlɛ́ ne ɛ́vea esumí ne'abo* (comp. semi-
     (Akyɛ has hidden the cloth under the   transitive,
     pillow)   causative, dynamic

(4b) *ɛdanlɛ́ ne vɛ́a esumí ne dbo*   (semi-transitive,
     (the cloth is hidden under the pillow) non-causative,
                                               stative).

We shall also find pairs of verbal forms, identical in
both morphological and phonological shape, between which
the same syntactic (and semantic) relationship holds in
corresponding complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive
clauses, as in the following paired examples involving
the verb stem *tu* 'to expel from/to leave' :

(5a) *Nana ɛ́du Akyɛ́ suá ne ázo*   (comp. semi-transitive,
     (the chief has expelled   causative, dynamic)
     Akyɛ from the town)

(5b) *Akyɛ́ ɛ́du suá ne ázo*   (semi-transitive, non-
     (Akyɛ has left the town)   causative, dynamic).

Such instances may also be handled, by analogy with
such previous examples as (1-2(a-b)), in terms of the
causative/non-causative aspectual opposition. And
in relation to the cases of morphological causativi-
zation exemplified in (1-2(a-b)),such a causative
verbal form as that in (5a) may be regarded as de-
rived from the corresponding non-causative verbal
form in (5b) by means of a morphological process of
zero-modification and such instances as (5a-b) are
distinguished as *zero causativization*. And as in
the case of morphological causativization, the causa-
tive/non-causative verbal forms in the case of zero
causativization may be both dynamic as in (5a-b)
above or contrast in terms of the dynamic/stative
distinction, as in (6a-b) below:

(6a) *Akyɛ́ ɛ́gua ɛdanlɛ́ ne ɛ́kpónlé ne ázo* (comp. semi-

              transitive,

  (Akyɛ has put the cloth on the causative,

  table)   dynamic)

(6b) *ɛdanlɛ́ ne guá ɛkpónlé ne ázo* (semi-transitive,

              non-causative,

  (the cloth is (lying) on the stative)

  table)

The above examples (1-6(a-b)) illustrate the
various ways in which pairs of verbal forms, different
or identical in shape, between which the same syntactic
(as well as semantic) relationship holds in correspon-
ding complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive clauses,
may be handled in terms of the aspectual feature of
causativity.

We shall, however, also attest, in corresponding
complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive clauses,
pairs of different verb words between which the same
syntactic (and semantic) relationship obtains. The
causative/non-causative distinction may also serve to
relate such cases, which are exemplified in:

(7a) *Akyɛ́ ɛzíɛ kyɛ́nze ne ɛ́kpónlé ne ázo* (comp. semi-

              transitive,

  (Akyɛ has placed the pan on the causative,

  table)   dynamic)

(7b) *Xyɛnne ne gyí ɛkpónlé ne ázo*   (semi-transitive, non-
                                        causative, stative)
   (the pan is (standing) on the
   table)

and

(8a) *Akyɛ́ ɛ́dɔ kyɛlɛ́ ne ɛ́kpónlé ne ázo*   (comp. semi-transiti
   (Akyɛ has put the hat on the table   causative, dynamic)

(8b) *kyɛlɛ́ ne lá ɛkpónle' ne ázo*   (semi-transitive, non-
   (the hat is (lying) on the   causative, stative)
   table)

As in the previous examples, the causative verb stems:
sie 'to place' (7a) and *to* 'to put/place' (8a) occurring
in the complex semi-transitive clauses are dynamic, where-
as the non-causative verbal forms: *gyí* 'to be (standing)
on' (7b) and *la* 'to be (lying) on' (8b) occurring in the
corresponding semi-transitive clauses are stative; and
such stative verbal forms may have dynamic verbal forms
(i.e. *gyinla* 'to stand' and *da* 'to lay' respectively)
which may be causative in a complex semi-transitive clause.

   The dynamic causative verb word in such cases may be
a verbal group (e.g. *fa wula* 'to place in'):

(9a) *mefa suá ne méwula ɛ sá nú* (comp. semi-transitive,
   (lit. I place the house in causative, dynamic)
   your hands/care. I entrust
   the house to you)

(9b) *suá ne wó ɛ sá nú*   (semi-transitive, non-
                            causative, stative)

   (lit. the house is in
   your hands/care. The
   house is entrusted to
   you)

   The causative/non-causative relationship manifest
in such instances as (7-9 (a-)) is lexicalized in the
pairs of different lexical items: *sie/gyi* (7a-b); *to/la*
(8a-b) and *fa wula/wo* (9a-b) and, by contrast with the
other cases, is distinguished as *lexical causativization*.

On the basis of the above analysis, four main groups (A-D) may be set up among verbal forms which are related in terms of causative/non-causative in corresponding complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive clauses. Group A consists of morphologically-related causative/non-causative verbal forms or morphological causatives. Within Gropu A, two sub-sets (I-II) are set up on the formal basis of whether the non-causative verbal form is dynamic (A.I) or stative (AII); this distinction correlates with the variant causative suffix in the causative verbal form.

Group B consists of phonologically-related causative/non-causative verbal forms, i.e. of phonological causatives.

Group C consists of verbal forms of identical shape which are related in terms of causative/non-causative, i.e. zero causatives; two- sub-sets (I-II) are distinguished on the basis of whether the non-causative verbal form may be specified as dynamic or stative.

Group D consists of examples of lexical causatives.

Group A: Morphological causativization

Group A.I:

Causative dynamic	Non-causative dynamic	Causative suffix
1. *fola/fɒla* 'to make climb'	*fo/fɒ* / 'to climb'	/-la /
2. *dwula/gywula* / 'to make descend'	*dwu/gywu* / 'to descend'	/-la /

Group A. II:

3. *tenla/tɪnlã* / 'to sit'	*te / tɪ* / 'to be sitting'	/-nlã /
4. *gyinla/gyinlã* 'to stop, stand'	*gyi / gyi* / 'to be standing'	/-nlã

Group B: Phonological causativization

Causative dynamic		Non-Causative stative
5. *kenda*	'to hang'	*henda* 'to be hanging
6. *kiea*	'to lean against'	*hiea* 'to be leaning against.'

	Causative dynamic		Non-Causative stative	
7.	*da*	'to lay'	*la*	'to be lying on'
8.	*fa fea*	'to hide'	*vea*	'to be hidden'
9.	*fa tua*	'to stick in'	*dua*	'to be stuck in'
10.	*fa sia*	'to stick in/ under'	*sia*	'to be held in'

Group C: Zero causativization

Group C.1

	Causative dynamic		Non-causative dynamic	
11.	*bu*	'to expel'	*bu*	'to leave'
12.	*te*	'to strike down'	*te*	'to hit ground'
13.	*kponla*	'to strike down'	*kponla*	'to hit ground'

Group C.II

	Causative dynamic		Non-causative stative	
14.	*bea*	'to lay across'	*bea*	'to be lying across'
15.	*butu*	'to overturn'	*butu*	'to be lying face down'
16.	*gua*	'to place/put on'	*gua*	'to be lying on'
17.	*wone*	'to turn down- ward'	*wone*	'to be turned/pointing downward'

Group D: Lexical causativization

	Causative dynamic		Non-causative stative	
18.	*sie*	'to place on'	*gyi*	'to be (standing) on'

19. *to*   'to put on'   *la*   'to be (lying) on'

20. *fa wula* 'to place in'   *wɔ*   'to be in'

(B) Ditransitive and Transitive clauses

The causative/non-causative distinction is set up
to handle such differences as those between the morpholo-
gically related pairs of verbal forms occurring in the
following syntactically- (and semantically-) related
pairs of ditransitive and transitive clauses:

(1a) *Akyɛ noa Kofi nyɛfɔnlɛ*   (ditransitive, causative,
    (Akyɛ makes Kofi drink   dynamic)
     breast milk)

(1b) *Kofi nɔ nyɛfɔnlɛ*   transitive, non-causative,
    (Kofi drinks breast milk)   dynamic)

(2a) *Akyɛ soa Kofi kyɛlɛ*   (ditransitive, causative,
    (Akyɛ makes Kofi put on   dynamic)
     a hat)

(2b) *Kofi zɔ kyɛlɛ*   (transitive, non-causative
    (Kofi is wearing a hat)   stative)

It is to be noted that in (2a-b) the non-causative, stative
verbal form *zɔ* 'to be wearing' (2b) is both morphologically
related by suffixation and phonologically related by stem-
initial consonant mutation to the causative, dynamic verbal
form *soa* 'to put on' (2a). The causative/non-causative rela-
tionship in (1-2 (a-b)) above exemplifies morphological
causativization.

And also by analogy with the morphologically-and
phonologically-related pairs of dynamic/stative verbal
forms in (2a-b), the dynamic/stative pair of phonologically-
related verbal forms, between which the same syntactic (and
semantic) relationship holds in the following corresponding
ditransitive and transitive clauses, may be dealt with in
terms of the causative/non-causative distinction:

(3a) *Saneba kéda Akyε' εdanlε*   (ditransitive, causative,
     (Saneba makes Akyε put   dynamic)
     on cloth)

(3b) *Akyε' bέda εdanlε'*   (transitive, non-causative
     (Akyε is wearing cloth)   stative)

(4a) *Saneba kyέ Akyέ falε''*   (ditransitive, causative,
     (Saneba makes Akyε put   dynamic)
     on a belt)

(4b) *Akyέ huέ falε*   (transitive, non-causative,
     (Akyε is wearing a belt)   stative)

The above instances exemplify phonological causativization.

     Pairs of causative/non-causative verbal forms occurring in corresponding ditransitive and transitive clauses may, however, be identical in phonological shape and, therefore, exemplify zero causativization. The verbal forms may be simple verbs (e.g. *wula* 'to put on/to be wearing/ and *gua* 'to inhale'), as in (5-6 (a-b)) below:

(5a) *Akyέ wula Kofi tέladέέ*   (ditransitive, causative,
     (Akyε makes Kofi put on   dynamic)
     a dress)

(5b) *Kofi wula tεladέέ*   (transitive, non-causative,
     (Kofi is wearing a dress)   stative)

(6a) *Akyέ έgua Kofi áytlέ*   (ditransitive, causative,
     (Akyε has made Kofi inhale   dynamic)
     medicine)

(6b) *Kofi έgua aytlέ*   (transitive, non-causative,
     (Kofi has inhaled medicine)   dynamic)

The verbal forms may also be complex verbs (e.g. *kye ahone* 'to starve/to fast'), as in(7a-b) below:

(7a) *Akyέ huέle Kofi' εhoné*   (transitive, non-causative,
     (Akyε starved Kofi)   dynamic)

(7b) *Kofi' huέle εhoné*   (transitive, non-causative,
     (Kofi fasted)   dynamic)

It is to be noted that with the simple verbs, the verbal
form in the non-causative transitive clause may be dyna-
mic or stative. With verbs of adornment (e.g. *wula*) it
is characteristically stative as in (5b), whereas with
verbs of medication (e.g. *gua*) it is dynamic as in (6b).
In the case of complex verbs, the verbal form in the
non-causative clause is usually dynamic as in (7b).

On the basis of the above description, three main
groups (A-C) are distinguished among verbs which may be
related in terms of the causative/non-causative opposition
in corresponding ditransitive and transitive clauses.
Group A consists of morphologically-related causative/non-
causative verbal forms - i.e. morphological causatives;
two sub-sets (I-II) are further set up within Group A on
the basis of whether the non-causative verbal form may
be specified as dynamic or stative. Group B consists of
phonologically-related causative/non-causative verbal
forms - i.e. phonological causatives. Group C consists
of zero causatives which are sub-divided according to
whether the non-causative verb is dynamic or stative,
and are further grouped into simple and complex verbs.

Group A: Morphological causativization

Group A.I.

Causative dynamic	Non-causative dynamic	Causative suffix
1. *noa/nᵹwā* / 'to make drink'	*no /nṹ* / 'to drink'	/-wã /

Group A. II

Causative dynamic	Non-causative	Causative suffix
2. *soa / sṹwa* / 'to put on'	*ʑǫ / sṹ.* / 'to be wearing'	/-wa /

Group B: Phonological causativization (verbs of adornment):

Causative dynamic	Non-causative stative
3. *kye* 'to put on (belt)'	*ꞔye* 'to be wearing'

4. *keda*   'to put on (cloth)'   *heda* 'to be wearing'

Group C: Zero causativization

Group C.I (Verbs of adornment)

Causative dynamic		Non-causative stative	
5. *bɔ*	'to tie, put on (turban)'	*bɔ*	'to be wearing'
6. *mo*	'to tie, put on (loin cloth)'	*mo*	" " "
7. *wula*	'to put on (dress)'	*wula*	" " "

Group C.II (a) Simple verbs (of medication)

Causative, dynamic/non-causative, dynamic

8. *bia*   'to wash'

9. *tua*   'to insert (in anus)'

10. *gua*   'to inhale'

11. *sela*   'to give enema'

12. *twi*   'to daub'

Group C.II (b) Complex verbs

13. *kye chɔ̃ne*   'to starve; to fast'

14. *kye nvoninli*   'to take photograph of'; to have photograph taken'

15. *bɔ anyiemgba*   'to disgrace; to be disgraced'

16. *bɔ bosea*   'to give loan, lend; to take loan, borrow'

17. *bɔ kakɛ*   'to impose fine;to pay costs'

Group C.II (c) Verbs of cognition

18. *kakye*   'to remind; to remember'

(C) Transitive and Intransitive Clauses

We shall also find pairs of morphologically-related verbal forms between which the causative/non-causative relationship holds in corresponding transitive and intransitive clauses. The following illustrative pairs of clauses are in the positive perfect tense and involve the verbal forms (1) *nua/nu* 'to put out'/'to go out' and (2) *sea/se* 'to make pass/to pass':

(1a) *Akyɛ̀ ɛ̀nlua sɛnlé ne*   (transitive, causative,
    (Akyɛ has put out the   dynamic)
    fire)

(1b) *senlé na ɛnlu*   (intransitive, non-causative,
    (the fire has gone out)   dynamic)

(2a) *Akyɛ̀ ɛ̀sea ɛyɛvɔ́lɛ ne*   (transitive, causative,
    (Akyɛ has made the guest   dynamic)
    pass)

(2b) *ɛyɛvɔ́lɛ ne ɛ̀se*   (intransitive, non-causative,
    (the stranger has passed)   dynamic)

In the above examples, the causative verbal forms occurring in the (a) transitive clauses are morphologically related by suffixation to the non-causative verbal forms occurring in the corresponding (b) intransitive clauses, and the causative/non-causative relationship here exemplifies morphological causativization.

Other morphologically-related pairs of causative/non-causative verbal forms in corresponding transitive/intransitive clauses are (3) *siane* 'to make return'/*sia* 'to return' and (4) *benle* 'to make invulnerable'/*be* 'to become invulnerable'.

The variant causative suffixes which mark the causative verbal forms in the various examples cited above may well represent remnants of morphological processes of the formation of causative verbal forms that were historically more or less productive. The occurrence of each suffix with a particular verb stem is, in general, determined by the sub-class of the verb stem. For example, with directional verbs such as (1) *fola/fo* 'to make climb/to climb' it is realized as /-la/, as /-nlã/with locational verbs such as (2) *gyinla/gyi* 'to stand, stop/ to be standing' and as /-wã /with verbs of medication as in *noa/no* 'to make drink/to drink'.

By analogy with the previous examples (1-2 (a-b)), we may also handle, in terms of the causative/non-causative opposition, pairs of verbal forms of identical shape which can occur in corresponding transitive/intransitive clauses. Such verbal forms may be either simple verbs (e.g. *tunwue* 'to wake up') as in:

(3a) *Akyé édunwue syevólɛ ne*   (transitive, causative,
(Akyɛ has woken up the   dynamic)
   stranger)

(3b) *syevólɛ ne édunwue*   (intransitive, non-
(the stranger has woken   causative, dynamic)
   up)

or complex verbs (e.g. *tu ahonle* 'to frighten') as in:

(4a) *Akyé dúle Kofi áhonle*   (transitive, causative,
  (Akyɛ frightened Kofi)   dynamic)

(4b) *Kofi áhonle dúle*   (intransitive, non-
  (Kofi became frightened)   causative, dynamic)

By contrast with the cases of morphological causativization exemplified in (1-2(a-b)) above, the causative/non-causative relationship in such instances as (3-4 (a-b)) may be regarded as exemplifying what we have distinguished as zero causativization. The term 'ergative' is now generally used to distinguish such verbs. And according to one kind of transformational analysis suggested by Lyons, J. (1968) 352) "the subject of an intransitive verb 'becomes' the object of a corresponding transitive verb,

and a new *ergative* subject is introduced as the 'agent'
(or 'cause) of the action referred to. This suggests
that a transitive sentence, like (3) *John moved the
stone*, may be derived syntactically from an intransi-
tive sentence, (1) *The stone moved*, by means of an erga-
tive, or *causative*, transformation."

It is to be noted as a characteristic feature of
ergative verbal forms occurring in corresponding transi-
tive/intransitive clauses, that such verbal forms are
dynamic in either transitivity clause-type.

The above examples (1-4 (a-b)) illustrate the
possible ways in which pairs of verbal forms which can
occur in corresponding transitive/intransitive clauses
may be handled in terms of the causative/non-causative
aspectual distinction. On the basis of the above analy-
sis, two main groups (A-B) may be distinguished among
such verbal forms. Group A consists of morphologically-
related causative/non-causative verbal forms exemplifying
morphological causativization and Group B consists of
ergative verbs exemplifying zero causativization.

Group A: <u>Morphologically-related verbal forms</u>
<u>(Morphological causativization)</u>

Causative dynamic	Non-causative dynamic	Causative suffix
1. *sea* /s(ĩ)jā / 'to allow to pass'	*se* /sĩ/ 'to pass'	/-jā /
2. *siane/syan*(ĩ)/ 'to make to turn back'	*sia/sya/* 'to turn back'	/-n(ĩ)/
3. *benle/bĩnlĩ* / 'to make invulnerable'	*be* /bĩ/ 'to become invulnerable'	/-nlĩ/
4. *nua* /nũwā / 'to put out (fire)'	*nu* /nũ/ 'to go out'	/-wā /

It should be noted that, in a transitive clause, items
(1-3) may take a definite animate object noun phrase which,
by definition, is pronominalizable. Item (4) is different

in requiring an inanimate object noun phrase and belongs
to the sub-class of transitive verbs which favour pro-
nominalization of their definite inanimate object noun
phrase.

Group B: Ergative verbs (zero causativization)

Group B.1 (a) Simple verbs which take an animate object
              noun phrase

1. *boda*   'to injure, hurt'

2. *tunwue*   'to wake up'

3. *bia*   'to wash'

4. *sɛkɛ*   'to spoil, pamper'

5. *sokoe*   'to help set down load'

   (b) Simple verbs which take an object noun phrase
        which is a genitive construction consisting of
        an animate nominal as the possessor and a body-
        part name as the possessed nominal

6. *pɛ*   'to cut (somebody's hand)'

7. *tu*   'to extract (somebody else's tooth)'

   (c) Complex verbs consisting of a verb stem plus
        body-part name (which may be an inalienable
        noun as in (8-9) or an alienable noun as in
        (10-11) such that in a transitive clause the
        object noun phrase is a genitive construction

8. *tu ahonle*   'to frighten'

9. *tu bo*   'to exhaust'

10. *die ɛnyele*   'to entertain'

11. *tɛ ɛbole*   'to harass, bother'

Group B. II: (a) Simple verbs which favour the prono-
minalization of their definite inani-
mate object noun phrase

1.	bɔ	'to break'
2.	bu	'to break down, demolish'
3.	bondo	'to dent'
4.	tulu	'to loosen, untie (parcel)'
5.	koto	'to melt'
6.	sɛke	'to spoil, destroy'
7.	te	'to tear'
8.	sua	'to tear'
9.	yela	'to burn'
10.	doa	'to soak'
11.	kpuke	'to burst'
12.	fiti	'to hole, make a hole in'
13.	tenda	'to make tangled (thread)'
14.	eolo	'to fade (cloth)'
15.	minli	'to lose'
16.	gyinla	'to stop'

Verbal Adjectives with dynamic use

17.	tenrɛ	'to straighten, to become straight'
18.	kyea	'to bend, incline, to become bent'
19.	kpo	'to bend, to become bent'

Group B. II: (b) Simple verbs which do not favour the pronominalization of their definite inanimate object noun phrase.

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20. əɔ 'to light'

21. *tu* 'to untie (loin cloth)'

22. *buke* 'to open (door)'

23. *tukue* 'to open (box, door)'

24. *sianyi* 'to untie (belt, load)'

Group B. II: (c) Complex verbs consisting of a verb stem plus an inalienable noun, such that in a transitive clause the nominal object is realized as a genitive construction

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25. *to nuhua* 'to close, shut'

26. *tu (ɔ) bo* 'to exhaust'

In conclusion, we may summarize the characteristic features of the aspect of causativity as follows:

I. pairs of verb words which are relatable in terms of the causative/non-causative aspectual distinction can only occur in corresponding pairs of clauses of different transitivity types which are restricted to (A) complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive clauses, (B) ditransitive and transitive clauses, and (C) transitive and intransitive clauses, and such pairs of verbs words may be:

(a) verbal forms which are morphologically and/or phonologically related, (b) identical in shape, and (c) different lexical items only in the case of corresponding complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive clauses;

II. of the pair of causative/non-causative verb
words the causative member requires η places,
whereas the other non-causative member requires
$n-\eta$ places;

III. the causative clauses involving the n-place verb
word and the corresponding non-causative clause
involving the $n-1$-place verb word are syntac-
tively related in such a way that the object of
the causative clause recurs as the subject of
the non-causative clause (or the subject of
the non-causative clause becomes the object of
the causative clause in which a new subject
occurs as the causer of the verb action);

IV: the causative clause and the non-causative clause
which is correspondent to it are also semantically
related such that a cause-and-effect relationship
holds between them; that is, the verb action
referred to in the causative clause implies or
results in the verb action of the non-causative
clause;

V: the aspectual feature of causativity characteris-
tically combines with the aspectual feature of
stativity such that the causative verb word
characteristically occurs with dynamic aspect,
whereas the non-causative verb word may be of
either dynamic or stative aspect;

VI: four sub-types of causativization are distin-
guished namely,
1. morphological,
2. phonological,
3. zero, and
4. lexical causativization; and corresponding

a. complex semi-transitive and semi-transitive
clauses exhibit all four sub-types;

b. ditransitive and transitive clauses exhibit all
but lexical causativization, whereas

c. transitive and intransitive clauses exhibit only
morphological and zero causativization.

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