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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. *ko* '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 fòta Kofi ékpónlé ne áso* (comp. semi-transitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akyé makes Kofi climb on to the table)
- (1b) *Kofi fò ékpónlé ne áso* (semi-transitive, non-causative, dynamic)
 (Kofi climbs on to the table)
- (2a) *Akyé tɛnla Kofi ékpónlé ne áso* (comp. semi-transitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akyé sits Kofi on the table)
- (2b) *Kofi ðé ékpónlé ne áso* (semi-transitive, non-causative, stative)
 (Kofi is sitting on the table)

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 regarded as the verb stems, are morphologically related by suffixation to the verbal forms occurring in the corresponding (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-transitive clauses which are regarded as non-causative. And we shall term the causative relationship exemplified in (1-2 (a-b)) above which is characterized by the morphological process of suffixation as *morphological 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 second 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 following pair of clauses between which the same syntactic (and semantic) relationship holds may be handled in terms of the causative/non-causative distinction:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (3a) <i>Akyé éhenda edanlé ne nyémdá ne dzo</i>
(Akyé has hung the cloth on the line) | (comp. semi-transitive, causative, dynamic) |
| (3b) <i>edanlé ne henda nyémdá ne dzo</i>
(the cloth is hanging on the line) | (semi-transitive, non-causative, 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 occurring 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 causativization. And it is a characteristic feature of phonological causativization that the perfect tense form of the causative, 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 relationship 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 in

- (4a) *Akyé éva edanlé ne évea esumí ne'abo* (comp. semi-transitive, dynamic)
 (Akye has hidden the cloth under the pillow) causative, dynamic
- (4b) *edanlé ne véa esumí ne ábo* (semi-transitive, non-causative, stative).
 (the cloth is hidden under the pillow)

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 édu Akyé súá ne ázo* (comp. semi-transitive, causative, dynamic)
 (the chief has expelled Akye from the town)
- (5b) *Akyé édu súá ne ázo* (semi-transitive, non-causative, dynamic).
 (Akye has left the town)

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 causativization exemplified in (1-2(a-b)), such a causative verbal form as that in (5a) may be regarded as derived 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 causative/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) Akyc' égu edanlé ne ékpónlé ne ázo (comp. semi-transitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akyc has put the cloth on the table)
- (6b) edanlé ne quá ékpónlé ne ázo (semi-transitive, non-causative, stative)
 (the cloth is (lying) on the 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 corresponding 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) Akyc' éxi kyénne ne ékpónlé ne ázo (comp. semi-transitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akyc has placed the pan on the table)

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

and

- (8a) *Akyé ídà kyilé ne ékpónlé ne ázo* (comp. semi-transitive)
 (Akyé has put the hat on the table causative, dynamic)

- (8b) *kyilé ne lá ékpónlé ne ázo* (semi-transitive, non-causative, stative)
 (the hat is (lying) on the 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, whereas 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) *mefá suá ne méwula é 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 é 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/wó* (9a-b) and, by contrast with the other cases, is distinguished as *lexical causativisation*.

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 Group 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 (A.II); 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:

<u>Causative dynamic</u>	<u>Non-causative dynamic</u>	<u>Causative suffix</u>
1. <i>fola/fɔla</i> 'to make climb'	<i>fo/fɔ /</i> 'to climb'	/-la /
2. <i>dwula/gywula /</i> 'to make descend'	<i>dwu/gywu /</i> 'to descend'	/-la /

Group A. II:

3. <i>tenla/tɪnlā /</i> 'to sit'	<i>te / tɪ /</i> 'to be sitting'	/-nlā /
4. <i>gyinla/gyinlā</i> 'to stop, stand'	<i>gyi / gyi /</i> 'to be standing'	/-nlā

Group B: Phonological causativization

<u>Causative dynamic</u>	<u>Non-Causative stative</u>
5. <i>kenda</i> 'to hang'	<i>henda</i> 'to be hanging'
6. <i>kisa</i> 'to lean against'	<i>hisa</i> 'to be leaning against.'

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

Group C: Zero causativizationGroup C.1

<u>Causative dynamic</u>		<u>Non-causative dynamic</u>
11. <i>tu</i>	'to expel'	<i>tu</i> 'to leave'
12. <i>te</i>	'to strike down'	<i>te</i> 'to hit ground'
13. <i>kponla</i>	'to strike down'	<i>kponla</i> 'to hit ground'

Group C.II

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

Group D: Lexical causativization

<u>Causative dynamic</u>		<u>Non-causative stative</u>
18. <i>sie</i>	'to place on'	<i>gyi</i> 'to be (standing) on'

19. to 'to put on' la 'to be (lying) on'
 20. fa wula 'to place in' wo 'to be in'

(B) Ditransitive and Transitive clauses

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

- (1a) *Akye' noa' Kofi' nye'fonle* (ditransitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akye makes Kofi drink breast milk)
- (1b) *Kofi' na' nyefonle* (transitive, non-causative, dynamic)
 (Kofi drinks breast milk)
- (2a) *Akye' soa' Kofi' kyele* (ditransitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akye makes Kofi put on a hat)
- (2b) *Kofi' zo' kyele* (transitive, non-causative stative)
 (Kofi is wearing a hat)

It is to be noted that in (2a-b) the non-causative, stative verbal form *zo* '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 relationship 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) *Sanéba kédá Akyé' édanlé'* (ditransitive, causative, dynamic)
(Sanéba makes Akyé put on cloth)
- (3b) *Akyé' hédá édanlé'* (transitive, non-causative stative)
(Akyé is wearing cloth)
- (4a) *Sanéba kyé Akyé' fálé'* (ditransitive, causative, dynamic)
(Sanéba makes Akyé put on a belt)
- (4b) *Akyé' hyé' fálé'* (transitive, non-causative, stative)
(Akyé is wearing a belt)

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. *wúla* 'to put on/to be wearing' and *gua* 'to inhale'), as in (5-6 (a-b)) below:

- (5a) *Akyé wúla Kofi' téladéé'* (ditransitive, causative, dynamic)
(Akyé makes Kofi put on a dress)
- (5b) *Kofi' wúla téladéé'* (transitive, non-causative, stative)
(Kofi is wearing a dress)
- (6a) *Akyé' égua Kofi' áytlé'* (ditransitive, causative, dynamic)
(Akyé has made Kofi inhale medicine)
- (6b) *Kofi' égua áytlé'* (transitive, non-causative, dynamic)
(Kofi has inhaled medicine)

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

- (7a) *Akyé' hyéle Kofi' ehoné'* (transitive, non-causative, dynamic)
(Akyé starved Kofi)
- (7b) *Kofi' hyéle ehoné'* (transitive, non-causative, dynamic)
(Kofi fasted)

It is to be noted that with the simple verbs, the verbal form in the non-causative transitive clause may be dynamic 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.

	<u>Causative dynamic</u>	<u>Non-causative dynamic</u>	<u>Causative suffix</u>
1.	<i>noa/nōwā /</i> 'to make drink'	<i>no /nō /</i> 'to drink'	<i>/-wā /</i>

Group A. II

2.	<i>soa / sōwa /</i> 'to put on'	<i>so / sō. /</i> 'to be wearing'	<i>/-wa /</i>
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Group B: Phonological causativization (verbs of adornment):

	<u>Causative dynamic</u>	<u>Non-causative stative</u>
3.	<i>kye</i> 'to put on (belt)'	<i>nye</i> 'to be wearing'

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

Group C: Zero causativization

Group C.I (Verbs of adornment)

<u>Causative dynamic</u>	<u>Non-causative stative</u>
5. <i>bo</i> 'to tie, put on (turban)'	<i>bo</i> 'to be wearing'
6. <i>mo</i> 'to tie, put on (loin cloth)'	<i>mo</i> " " "
7. <i>wula</i> 'to put on (dress)'	<i>wula</i> " " "

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 chone* 'to starve; to fast'
14. *kye nvoninli* 'to take photograph of; to have
photograph taken'
15. *bo anyiemgba* 'to disgrace; to be disgraced'
16. *bo bosea* 'to give loan, lend; to take loan,
borrow'

17. *bo kake* 'to impose fine; to pay costs'

Group C.11 (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/ee* 'to make pass/to pass':

- (1a) *Akyé énuá senlé ne* (transitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akyé has put out the fire)
- (1b) *senlé na énu* (intransitive, non-causative, dynamic)
 (the fire has gone out)
- (2a) *Akyé ézea eeyólc ne* (transitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akyé has made the guest pass)
- (2b) *eeyólc ne éze* (intransitive, non-causative, dynamic)
 (the stranger has passed)

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 /-nla/ with locational verbs such as (2) *gyinla/gyi* 'to stand, stop/ to be standing' and as /-wā / 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 éduwue syevóls ne* (transitive, causative, dynamic)
 (Akye has woken up the stranger)
- (3b) *syevóls ne éduwue* (intransitive, non-causative, dynamic)
 (the stranger has woken up)

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

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

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 intransitive sentence, (1) *The stone moved*, by means of an *ergative*, or *causative*, transformation."

It is to be noted as a characteristic feature of *ergative* verbal forms occurring in corresponding transitive/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 analysis, 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: Morphologically-related verbal forms
(Morphological causativization)

<u>Causative dynamic</u>	<u>Non-causative dynamic</u>	<u>Causative suffix</u>
1. <i>sea</i> /s(ɛ)jā / 'to allow to pass'	<i>se</i> /sɛ / 'to pass'	/-jā /
2. <i>siane</i> /syan(ɛ) / 'to make to turn back'	<i>sia</i> /sya / 'to turn back'	/-n(ɛ) /
3. <i>bente</i> /bɛntɛ / 'to make invulnerable'	<i>be</i> /bɛ / 'to become invulnerable'	/-nɛ /
4. <i>nua</i> /nūwā / 'to put out (fire)'	<i>nu</i> /nū / '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. *sake* '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. *pe* '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. *dle enyele* 'to entertain'
11. *te sbole* 'to harass, bother'

Group B. II: (a) Simple verbs which favour the pronominalization of their definite inanimate object noun phrase

1. *bo* 'to break'
2. *bu* 'to break down, demolish'
3. *bondo* 'to dent'
4. *tulu* 'to loosen, untie (parcel)'
5. *kolo* 'to melt'
6. *sake* '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. *solo* 'to fade (cloth)'
15. *minli* 'to lose'
16. *gyinla* 'to stop'

Verbal Adjectives with dynamic use

17. *tenre* 'to straighten, to become straight'
18. *kya* '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.

20. *so* '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

25. *to nuhua* 'to close, shut'
 26. *tu (s) 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 n places, whereas the other non-causative member requires $n-1$ 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 syntactically 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 characteristically 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 distinguished 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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