

**The expression of causativity in Bantu languages: A case study of
Laali (B73b)**

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Abstract

This work demonstrates how causatives (morphological, lexical and syntactic) operate in Laali, a Bantu language spoken in the South east of Congo Brazzaville, especially in Lekoumou and Bouenza regions. It also looks at Laali double causative constructions. The analysis is carried out through Chomsky's generative grammar. It emerges from the analysis that Laali morphological causatives evolve from the insertion of the extensional suffix made up of a vowel and *s* between the verb root and the last vowel suffix; which vowel is variable because can be realized as *-i*, *-a*, *-o*, *-u*, and *-ū* depending on the phonetic environment within which it occurs. What is more, Laali morphological causative verbs are mainly deverbal. With regard to lexical causatives, it is argued that they do not display causative meaning at Phonetic Form but rather at underlying one. Laali periphrastic causative constructions are possible with the addition of the causative verb *òsà* to the basic sentence. However, if Laali periphrastic causative constructions are biclausal, its morphological and lexical constructions are monoclausal. Finally, the analysis of Laali double causative constructions points out that they are distributed in such a way that the clause predicated by the periphrastic causative sets initially followed either by the one c-commanded by morphological or a lexical causative verb.

Keywords: morphological causative, lexical causative, periphrastic causative, double causative, Laali

Résumé

Ce travail montre comment les verbes causatifs (morphologiques, lexicaux et syntactiques) s'expriment en laali, un parler Bantu parlé au Sud-Ouest du Congo Brazzaville, plus précisément dans les départements de la Lékoumou et de la Bouenza. En outre, ce travail aborde la notion du double causatif dans ladite langue. L'analyse est élaborée suivant l'approche générative de Noam Chomsky. Il ressort de l'analyse que le causatif morphologique en laali s'obtient par l'insertion d'un suffixe extensionnel composé d'une voyelle et de *s* entre la racine verbale et la voyelle suffixale finale. Il sied de signaler que la voyelle de l'extension est variable parce qu'elle peut se réaliser comme *-i*, *-a*, *-o*, *-u* et *-ũ* selon son contexte environnemental. Il est ensuite prouvé que le causatif morphologique est principalement déverbal en laali. Quant au causatif lexical, l'analyse montre qu'il n'affiche pas de sens causatif explicite. Sa causation est plutôt perçue au niveau sous-jacent. Le causatif périphrastique ou syntaxique en laali est quant à lui exprimé par le verbe causatif *òsà* (faire) qui s'ajoute à la phrase basique suscitant ainsi un argument additionnel. Cependant, si le causatif périphrastique apparaît dans des phrases complexes, les causatifs lexicaux et morphologiques quant à eux apparaissent dans des phrases simples. Enfin, l'étude montre qu'en cas de double causatif dans une structure phrastique complexe, le causatif périphrastique apparaît en premier suivi du causatif lexical ou du causatif morphologique.

Mots clés : causatif morphologique, causatif lexical, causatif périphrastique, double causatif, laali.

Introduction

This paper examines how causative constructions are expressed in Laali, a Bantu language spoken in the South West of Congo Brazzaville. The analysis is carried through Noam Chomsky's Generative Grammar Framework. Mark Aronoff and Kirsten Fudeman (2011: 206) argue that *'the causative typically expresses the meaning cause to do something' or sometimes 'allow, persuade, help to do something'*. Likewise, Booij Geert (2005:199) stipulates that *'causative verbs are verbs in which the A has the role of the causer of an event in which one or two entities play a role'*. What suggests that

a causative construction entails an agent instigating or causing an event to be or to occur. Put differently, causatives indicate the idea of somebody causing something to happen or causing another person to do something. Consequently, this article is devoted to showing how the causativity operates in the language under scrutiny. As such, it seeks to tackle the following questions: (1) What is causativity process about? (2) What are the distinctive types of causatives? Are they principles or parameters? (3) How are they expressed in Laali? The study is structured as follows: section 1 provides an overview of the term causative, section 2 tackles causative constructions in Laali. Finally, section 3 looks at double causatives.

1.Causativity: Background information

Causativity is the process whereby causative constructions are realized in languages. Basically, a causative construction involves at least two parts, one of which implies the causer of the event which in turn coerces the other part (caused event) to happen. According to Wawaru (2005: 72):

The core arguments in the causative construction are 'the causee' and 'the causer'. (...) The 'causee' is the agent of the caused event which is sometimes referred to as the coerced endpoint. The 'Causer' is defined as the agent of the predicate of cause and is sometimes referred to as the 'agent of cause.

In the light of the above assertion, a causative construction can be thought of as one that implies an animate entity (mostly a person) instigating another animate entity (person/animal) to perform some action, or an animate entity making an inanimate entity to change its state. Accordingly, a causative construction involves two main participants/actors namely the higher instigator known as the *causer* and the lower instigator or object undergoing or performing the action of the higher instigator referred to as *causee* as exemplified below:

- (1) a- **Mberi** made **Bouanga** read that book.
- b- **Ovounda** let **Nkengue** go freely.

- c- *Ndongo* had *the dog* eat its wonderful food.
- d- *Matondo* broke *the door*

In these examples, the NP subjects *Mberi*, *Ovounda*, *Ndongo* and *Matondo* make their NP object counterparts *Bouanga*, *Nkengue*, *the dog*, and *the door* to fulfil some deed or change some state. Therefore, the former are viewed as causers and the latter as causees. Indeed, a causative construction can be likened to a state government with the president assigning duties to ministers to accomplish where the president would look like the *causer* and ministers the *causees*. It should be helpful to remind that each causative construction has its anti-causative correspondence. Thus, causative structures in (1) will have the following anti-causative correspondences respectively:

- (2) a- *Bouanga* reads that book.
- b- *Nkengue* goes freely.
- c- *The dog* eats its wonderful food
- d- *The door* broke

1.1- Different types of causatives

The literature of causatives (Payne 1997, Comrie 1981, Ogbbonna 2013) has mainly revealed three chief types of causatives: morphological, lexical, and periphrastic ones. The forthcoming section is concerned with morphological causative constructions.

1.1.1. Morphological causatives

Also known as direct causatives, morphological causatives are those that result from the attachment of a causative affix to a stem or a root of a word. Let us consider the following examples from Haspelmath 2008 (Turkish and Japanese), Comrie 1985 (Swahili and Nivkh), Kari 1995 (Degema) and Mark Aronoff and Kirsten Fudeman 2011 (Kujamaat Jóola and Turkish) shown below:

- (1) a. *-asu* as in *kawak-asu* ‘make/cause dry’ (cf. *kawaku* ‘to become dry’) **Japanese**
- dür* as in *öl-dür* ‘cause die’
 (cf *öl* ‘die’) **Turkish**
- ish* as in *imb-ish* ‘sing cause’
 (cf *imb* ‘sing’) (intransitive) **Swahili**

-gu as in *če-gu* ‘cause **dry**’
(cf *če* dry) (intransitive) **Nivkh**

b. tu ‘be burnt’ → tu-**ese** ‘cause to be burnt’
tul ‘reach’ → tul-**ese**
‘cause to reach’ **Degema**
kir ‘return’ → kir-**ese** ‘cause to return’

(Ogbonna Anyanwu 2013:107)

c. ba- la:b bu- tɛy -**en-** cla -tɛy -ɛn
13cl- sun.def13 13cl- run -caus- 1pl.incl -run -caus

Kujamaat Jóola

‘The sun made us run (seek shelter)’

d. Hasan öl-dü (**Anti-Causative**)
Hasan die-PST

Turkish

‘Hasan died’

e. Ali Hasan-I öl-**dür** dü
Ali Hasan: ACC die-CAUS-PST

Turkish

Ali killed Hasan

(Mark Aronoff and Kirsten Fudeman 2011: 256)

In these examples, causative affixes appear in bold italicized form. What is noticeable is that hosts to which they are attached to form morphological causative verbs are mainly verbs. Thus, based on languages mentioned in (1), morphological causatives can be viewed as verbs whereon some morphemes get attached to the verb root or stem to transform a non-causative verb into a causative one. As such, causative affixes are class maintaining in these languages. That is, they do not change the class of the word to which they are attached. Yet, in English the reality seems to be approximately different as the following examples attest:

- (2) a- God **hardened** Pharaoh’s heart not to let Israel children leave.
b- This medicine **weakened** the baby.
c- Zaïrois people **eulogized** president Mobutu.

- d- I *energized* my friend to work hard.
- e- Professor Ndongo *enriched* me linguistically.
- f- Westerns *enslaved* our African kinsmen.
- g- Jews *mortify* during Yom Kippur.
- h- Congolese people *frenchify* their national languages.
- i- Relfy *enlightened* the house.

As these examples show, the italicized words are causative verbs, whereas the bold italicized morphemes within these words are causative affixes i.e., affixes expressing the idea of ‘**causing something**’. Consequently, the first four examples above can be rephrased as follows:

- (3) a- God **caused** Pharaoh’s heart to be *hard* not to let Israel children leave.
- b- This medicine **made** the baby *weak*.
- c- Zaïrois people **made** *eulogy* to president Mobutu.
- d- I **excited** *energy* to my friend to work hard.

As a matter of fact, causative affixes are in complementary distribution with the full causative verbs like *cause*, *make*, *let*, *excite*, *provoke* etc i.e., they play the same function as them in a sentential structure. Concretely, in morphological causatives, the causing and the caused events are encoded in a single verbal complex via causative morphology (Anyanwu Op.cit.:106), meaning that the derived causative verb is a kind of a compound verb as it is twofold i.e., it is at the same time the predicate of the causing event whose main actor/causer is the NP subject and that of the caused event whose main actor/causee is the NP object. In this connection, Spencer and Zwicky (2007: 30) assert that causatives be they free or bound could be seen as light verbs³⁷ of sorts, and hence functional in nature (Jespersen :1965).

³⁷ Jespersen (1965) first coined the term *light verb* to refer to verbs which, though they may have a fuller semantic usage in other contexts, can be used in combination with some other element, typically a noun or verb, where their contribution to the meaning of the whole construction is reduced in some way to the verbs *get*, *make*, *let*, *cause*, *have* etc. (...). A light verb can be overt, the case of *get*, *make*, *let*, *cause*, *have* etc or covert, the case of the affixal abstract **-en**. Either overt or covert, the light verb is depicted as a small **v** and is said to occupy the head of the vP in a verb shell analysis (Mark Newson et al 2006: 159, 442). According to Andrew Radford (2009:447, 465) the term light verb

Moreover, what is outstanding in (2) examples is that morphological causative verbs in English derive from the addition of affixes to the root/stem through the prefixation process as in (2a), (2b), (2c), (2d), (2g) and (2f), suffixation process as in (2e) and (2f) and eventually the ambifixation process as in (2i). Also, word classes to which causative affixes adjoin are mainly adjectives as in (2a), (2b), (2e) and nouns as in (2c), (2d), (2f), (2g), (2h) and (2g). Accordingly, English causative affixes are class changing since they entail the word to which they stick to change its category. The morpheme **-en** in (2a) and (2b) for instance has turned the adjectives **hard** and **weak** into the verbs **harden** and **weaken**, and the same rule (of class changing) apply for the remaining examples.

A further idea about morphological causative is that the resulted causatives verbs are mostly regular in nature (Adumod Bussmann 1998:165). That is the reason why some of our derived causatives in (2) have **-ed** past tense inflection.

According to Petra and Comrie (2000: 55), '*morphological causative is valence³⁸ changing affixes*'. In other words, a derived causative verb often entails the addition of an argument in a sentential structure as illustrated hereafter:

is traditionally used to denote verbs like take/make in expressions like '*make fun of*' and '*take heed of*' with relatively little semantic content. However, in recent work on VP shells analysis, this term is extended to denote an abstract affixal verb (often with a causative sense like that of **make**) to which a noun, adjective or verb adjoins. For example, it is claimed that the suffix **-en** on adjectives like *sad*, *black*, *white* and *deep* is an affixal light verb which combines with these adjectives to form the causative verbs *sadden*, *blacken*, *whiten*, and *deepen* which have a meaning loosely paraphraseable as '*make sad, black, white or deep*,' or '*cause to become sad, black, white or deep*'. The light verb can also be accounted for in case an ergative verb like *roll*, *open*, *break*, *close*, *drop* etc. used transitively denotes a causative signification that is much more paraphraseable as '*make roll, open, break, close or drop*', or '*cause to roll, open, break, close, or drop*'. At PF level, the above ergative/ambitransitive verbs adjoin to an abstract/covert light verb (which can be thought of as a null verbal counterpart of -en), Andrew Radford (Ibid).
³⁸ Valence is another term for argument. Thus, a monovalent verb is a one-place predicate, a bivalent verb a two-place predicate and a trivalent verb a three-place predicate.

- (4) a- The field *widens*.
 b- Ndzama *widens* the field.
 c- Water *purifies*.
 d- Ngolo *purifies* water.
 e- Disciples *mobilized*.
 f- Yissayah *mobilized* disciples.

In fact, some English morphological causative verbs are ambitransitives i.e., they can be used both intransitively and transitively. When used intransitively, they are monadic³⁹ predicates i.e., they have one argument which is external, that is the argument occurring in verb subject position as in (4a), (4c), (4a) and (4e) whereas when used transitively, they imply the addendum of an internal argument as in (4b), (4d) and (4f).

In English, morphological causative verbs result especially from the adjunction of the affixes **-en**, **en-**, **-ify**, **-ize**, **re-**, **-se**, and **-er** to the adjective, the affixes **en-**, **ify** and **ize** to the noun, the ambifixes⁴⁰ **en---****en** to the noun and the ambifixes **im---****ize** to the adjective. As such, morphological causatives are mainly deadjectival and denominal verbs as shown in the following charts:

(5)

Deadjectival causatives			
Affixes	Prefixes	Suffixes	ambifixes
Re	renovate , renew	/	/
Se	/	cleanse	/
er	/	lower	/
ify	/	mort ify , pur ify , simpl ify , beaut ify , cert ify , terr ify ,	/

³⁹ Monadic, dyadic and triadic predicates are terms used by Bas Aarts (2001:91) to refer to one place predicate, two place predicate and three place predicate respectively.

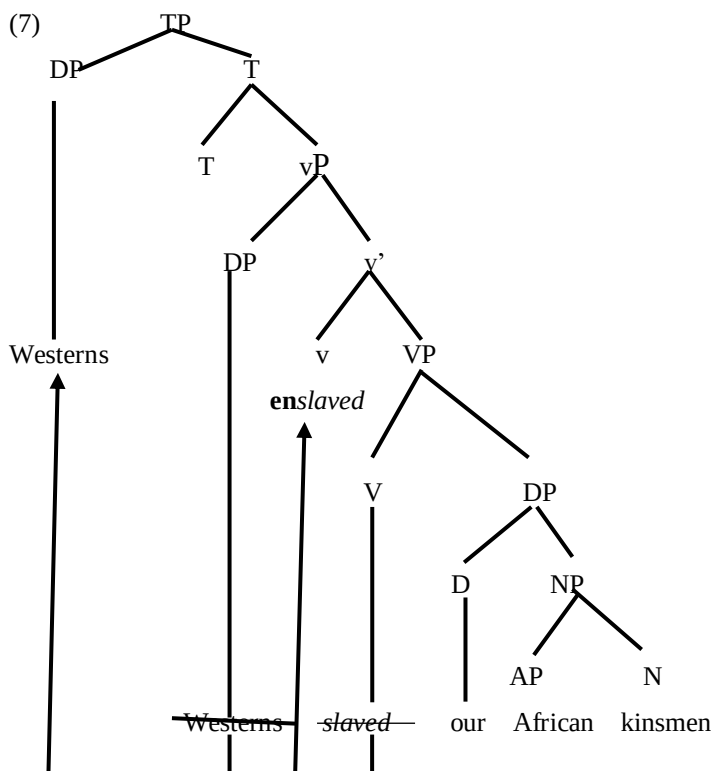
⁴⁰ Ambifixes are discontinuous affixes, surrounding a word root. They are also referred to as circumfixes. In the word **im**politely, the bold italicized affixes **im---****ly** are viewed as ambifixes or circumfixes.

		fortify, pacify, frenchify, modify	
ize	/	sterilize, equalize, liberalize, actualize, realize, minimize, anglicize, mobilize, americanize, africanize, christianize,	/
en	enlarge, ensure, enrich	blacken, broaden, deafen, deepen, cheapen, fatten, frighten, harden, heighten, lengthen, madden, quicken, redden, stiffen, strengthen, straighten, shorten, weaken, whiten, widen, worsen	/
im--ize	/	/	immobilize, immortalize

(6)

Denominal causatives			
Affixes	Prefixes	Suffixes	ambifixes
En	enslave, enmesh, ensnare, enrage, endager	/	/
Ify	/	modify, mummify, personify,	/
ize	/	eulogize, symbolize, economize, westernize, criticize	/
en---en	/	/	enlighten

Based on the verb shell analysis hypothesis, (2f) will have the following tree representation:



The following section looks at the literature of lexical or indirect causative verbs.

1.1.2. Lexical causatives

This subsection reviews another type of causatives viz lexical/indirect causatives. As the term specifies, lexical causatives refer to causatives bearing purely lexical meaning. Put differently, lexical causatives are verbs having causation inextricably attached to them. However, at PF level the causation of these verbs are hardly grasped due to the fact that they appear in monoclausal structures. That is the reason why Nadathur (2017 :1) states: *‘These verbs have CAUSE in their lexical decomposition, along with another action/verbal predicate, but these components are not separable at the*

surface'. This suggests that albeit lexical causatives have causative meaning intrinsically bound to them, this causation can be perceived but through their semantic description. In other words, a lexical causative verb needs to undergo a slight semantic analysis so as to reveal its semantic primitives/components which express its causativity. Consider the following examples:

- (8) a- Leshem *dried* clothes
 b- The International Criminal Court *jail* evildoers.

At the spell-out, these sentences are monoclausal as they contain each one finite verb videlicet *dry* in (8a) and *jail* in (8b). Yet, at deep level, these verbs are viewed as heading two clauses one of which is covert expressing the causal component and the other overt alluding to the caused component. In order to understand this biclauseness, it is worth resorting to syntax. In fact, on the basis of their internal syntactic structure, *dry* in (8a) can be decomposed into 'cause not to be wet' and *jail* into 'cause not to be free'. Therefore (8) structures would be rewritten as follows:

- (9) a- Leshem caused clothes not to be wet.
 b- The International Criminal Court cause evildoers not to be free.

Thus, the interpretation of the biclauseness of lexical causative structures as those in (8) requires the involvement of syntax. As such, syntax mediates between lexical causatives and the lexicon. However, it is worthwhile pointing out that lexical causatives can be split up into two categories which include fully lexical causative verbs in pair and ambitransitive or ergative verbs.

1.1.2.1. Fully lexical causative verbs in pair

Fully lexical causative verbs are verbs implying the notion/principle of cause and effect. Put otherwise, they implicitly entail non-causative counterparts which function as inchoative verbs.

Consequently, fully causatives verbs and their inchoative⁴¹ equivalents always occur in pair in that the former is the entailment of the latter. John Anderson (2006:253) argues that fully lexical verbs lack identical non-causative congeners/counterparts, meaning that at lexical level, causatives and their non-causatives are totally different. Consider the following examples:

- (10) a- Leshem *killed* the rat.
 b- Benicia *chased* the hen.

In (10a) and (10b), *kill* and *chase* are lexical causatives as they entail the relation of cause and effect. Indeed, *kill* can be rephrased as *cause to die* and *chase* as *cause to quit/leave*. Therefore, *die* and *quit/leave* are non-causative (inchoative) counterparts of *kill* and *chase* respectively. Out of *kill* and *chase* other verbs like *teach*, *jail*, *bring up*, *explain*, *whitewash*, *cancel*, *rise*, *lie*, *fell*, *set*, *drench*, *resurrect*, *breed*, *shelter*, *lend*, *feed* etc. also meet this requirement. As a matter of fact, these verbs always select an outer/external argument which causes an inner/internal one to do or become something. In other words, the DP subjects selected by these verbs always impact on the state or the quality of their DP objects. Thus, *I teach him English* can be interpreted as *I make him learn English*, *They sheltered him* as *They helped (caused) him (to) have a shelter* and *He brings him up* as *He caused him to grow up*. Consequently, in these sentences, DP subjects are viewed as causers and DP objects causees. The following part reviews slightly another type of lexical causatives viz ambitransitive/ergative.

1.1.2.2. With ambitransitive or ergative verbs

Like Fully lexical causatives, ambitransitives involve zero-derivation i.e., they do not imply the addition of affixes to express causation. Yet unlike the former, they imply conversion; that is, they are twofold as they be utilized transitively as well as intransitively, hence their name ambitransitives. To illustrate:

- (11) a- Yovel *broke* the window.
 b- The window *broke*.

⁴¹ Inchoative is the contrary of causative. It is also referred to as anti-causative.

- c- Professor **changed** the course of syntax.
- d- The course of syntax **changed**.
- e- Perrine **turned** the lights **on**.
- f- The lights **turned on**.

From the examples above, one can notice that each verb is used twice, one within a transitive sentence and the other within an intransitive one. In fact, when used transitively as in (11a), (11c) and (11e) these verbs express causation, however, when used intransitively as in (11b), (11d) and (11f), they denote inchoative meaning. Therefore, *Yovel broke the window* would be paraphrased as *Yovel caused the window to break*, *Professor changed the course of syntax* as *Professor caused the course of syntax to change* and *Perrine turned the lights on* as *Perrine caused the lights to turned on*. This means that at deep level, the transitive use of ambitransitive⁴² implies biclauseness somewhat. The following subsection looks at the review of analytic or syntactic causatives.

1.1.3. Analytic or periphrastic causatives

An analytic causative is a causative involving two different kinds of separated verbs one of which appears in the main clause and the other in the embedded clause. If the verb occurring in the matrix clause is known as a superordinate verb, the one appearing in the subordinate clause is viewed as an ordinate one. Anyanwu Ogbonna (2013 :107) defines analytic causative as follows:

‘An analytic causative construction is a type of construction that uses regular syntactic devices of a language to form complex sentences out of simple ones without fusing together the predicates of the derived complex sentences. In the case

⁴² Some ergative/ambitransitive verbs include *open, boil, close, hill, grow, explode, shut, shatter, sink, roll, bounce, increase, melt, drown, flood, break, drop, dry, fill, better, improve, burn, awake, gather, fold, unfold, boil, draw, back, peel off, soak, rise, to show up, separate from*, etc.

of analytic causative constructions, the predicate expressing the idea of causation will be separate from the one expressing the effect of the causation'.

This assertion accounts for the fact that an analytic causative construction shows up two fully lexical verbs heading two different clausal structures. As such, unlike the two non-periphrastic causatives aforementioned viz morphological and lexical causatives which are not overtly biclausal, analytic causative is biclausal at PF. That is, it spells out two syntactic verbs within a complex sentence as Martin Mburu (2005: 74) argues : 'Periphrastic causatives are also known as analytical as they involve a separate causative verb'. In fact, an analytic causative construction entails two distinct verbs; one which is specified by an overt category which can either be a pro or an R-expression and the other by an empty category namely PRO as illustrated below :

- (12) a- Professor *made* Robson teach syntax.
b- They *let* him do the course of syntax.

These sentences are complex as each of them is made up of two different ideas one of which is expressed by the finite causative verbs *make* and *let* and the other by the non-finite verbs *teach* and *do*. If clauses headed by finite verbs are specified by an R-expression (*professor*) and a pro (*They*) respectively, those headed by infinite verbs are specified by a PRO.

Some notions not to forget while approaching the analytic causative issue concern the valence increasing operation and the notions of promotion and demotion. The former consists in adding an argument to the deep sentence after introducing a fully causative verb before the subject of the basic sentence. The latter is about changing the initial syntactic function of that subject. Consider the following:

- (13) a- Robson *teaches* syntax.
b- He *does* the course of syntax.

These are basic structures of sentences in (12). As a matter of fact, in (12a) and (12b), the introduction of the causal components *make* and *let* entail additional arguments namely *Professor* and *They* considered as the causers of events. Additionally, they imply the subjects (*Robson* and *He*) of the underlying sentences to be causees. The structure of a causative construction is as follows:

(14) Causer + Causal component + Causee⁴³

With regard to promotion and demotion notions, one can notice that *Robson* and *He* which are subjects of basic structures in (13) are demoted in (12) examples in that they lose their initial nominative cases to become accusative owing to the introduction of the causer (upper subject) and the causal component (causative verb). *Robson* which is an R-expression remains invariable whereas *He* which is a pronominal turns into *Him* so as to get object case. The following section is concerned with the expression of causative in Laali.

2. Causativity in Laali

This section aims at scrutinizing the expression of causativity in Laali. It alternatively deals with the three types of causatives aforementioned namely morphological, lexical and periphrastic causatives. Additionally, it approaches double causatives. The following subsection is concerned with Laali morphological causatives.

2.1. Laali morphological causatives

Martin Wawaru (Op.cit.:74) argues the following about morphological causatives: *‘Morphological causatives involve a productive change in the form of the verb, and most express causation and permission. A morphological causative is formed by attaching a causative affix to a bare verb or a base which yields a derived causative construction’*. Put differently, a morphological causative

⁴³ The causer is the doer of the event/action i.e., the agent, the causal component refers to the verb and the causee is the patient. Some English verbs that can function as causal components include *let, get, have, make, cause, allow, permit, persuade, encourage, help, force, require, enable*.

verb implies the attachment of a morpheme to the verb root or stem and transform it into a causative verb form. Ogbbonna Anyanwu (2013: 107) as for him asserts that “a good number of languages have a morphological causative, a device for creating a verb form which means ‘to cause x ‘to verb’ from x verbs”, what means that morphological causative is a very widespread notion attested in worldwide human languages. However, Booij Geert (2005: 200) opines that “many languages have causative affixes that turn non-causative verbs into causative ones. This applies to adjectives, nouns and verbs”. In Booij’s view, words categories that serve as inputs for causative verbs are mainly adjectives, nouns and verbs, i.e., affixes mostly attach to adjectives, nouns and verbs to shape causal components. In this connection, let us consider the following Laali examples:

- (15) **a-** Nzùngò étòò. **Inchoative**
 Pot it-boil.
 The pot boils.
- b-** Bò bòtòòsò nzùngò. **Causative**
 Them They-root-CAUS-suf pot.
 They boil the pot./They cause the pot to boil.
- c-** Mwàná wòlà. **Inchoative**
 Child he-sleep
 The child sleeps.
- d-** Bò bòlàsa mwàná **Causative**
 Them they-root CAUS-suff. Child.
 They make the child sleep.
- e-** Mwàná wòsùbò. **Inchoative**
 Child he-urinate.
 The child urinates.
- f-** Mɛ nèsùbùsò mwàná. **Causative**
 Me I-root CAUS-suff. child.
 I make the child urinate./I cause the child to urinate.
- g-** Bisè dèlyà nterɛ. **Inchoative**
 Us we-eat serpent meat.

We eat serpent meat

h- Bâtàtà bòlìsè bìsè nterε. *Causative*
 Parents they-root-CAUS us serpent meat.
 Parents make us eat serpent meat.

i- Mwàná wàbwa mù dzùnò. *Inchoative*
 Child he-fall in hole.
 The Child fell in a hole.

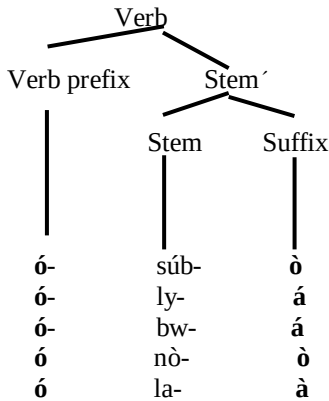
j- Bò bàbüsè mwàná mù dzùnò. *Causative*
 Them they-root-CAUS child mù dzùnò.
 They made the child fall in a hole/They cause the child to
 fall in a hole.

These examples show that Laali morphological causative verbs result from the insertion of an extensional suffix made up of a vowel and **S** within the verb base; which vowel ranges into **-(o) s**, **-(a)s** **-(u)s**, **-(i)s** and **-(ü)s** according to the environmental context. In Mberi (2017 : 157), it is argued that Laali has a fixed verb structure which is prefix-root/stem-suffix. As such, its verbs are only formed via the ambifixation process. Accordingly, to go from a non-causative verb to a morphological causative one, affixes are inserted between the verb stem and the final vowel suffix as illustrated in the following examples:

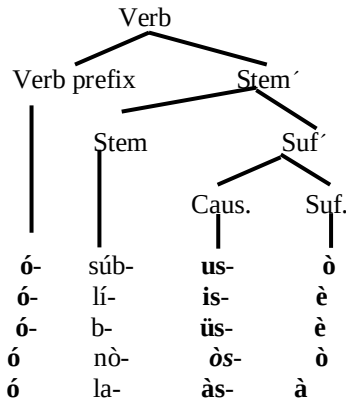
(16) Basic verbs	Deverbal causative verbs
a- ó-súb-ò: to urinate	ó-súb- us -ò: to cause to urinate
b- ó-ly-à: to eat	ó-lí- is -è: to cause to eat
c- ó-bw-à: to fall down	ó-b- üs -è: to cause to fall down
d- ó-nò-ò : to rain	ónò- òs -ò : to cause to rain
e- ó-l-à : to sleep	ó-l- às à : to cause to sleep

Laali morphological causative verbs can be summarized in the way hereafter :

(17) **Basic verbs**
verbs



Deverbal causative



(Mberi Op.cit. : 160)

As one can notice, word classes which serve as inputs for Laali causative verbs are mainly verbs. As such, Laali morphological causatives are class maintaining. Thus, Booij's assertion on morphological causatives formation is questionable. Indeed, if he thinks that morphological causatives are due to the attachment of affixes to adjectives, nouns and verbs, Laali does not attest this reality as its causative verbs are chiefly deverbal i.e., that is they emerge from other verbs. Therefore, as it is language specific, morphological causative operation falls in parametric variation.

The (15) examples also reveal that morphological causative constructions in Laali imply the demotion of the subject of the inchoative construction, i.e., the subject of the inchoative verb turns into the object of a causative one. In (15a) for examples, *Nzùngò* (*pot*) is the external argument of the inchoative predicate *òtòò* (*to boil*) however, in (15b), it becomes the internal argument of the causative verb *òròòsò* (*to cause to boil*). Likewise, in (15c) *mwànà* (*child*) is case-assigned as nominative by the inchoative predicate *òlà* (*to sleep*) whereas in (15d) it is assigned accusative case by the causative verb *òlàsà* (*to make sleep*), and the same rule apply for the remaining examples.

What is additionally noticeable is that the insertion of the extensional causative suffixes *-os*, *-as*, *-us*, *-is* and *-üs* within the verbal base increase the number of arguments in a causative construction. In fact, the insertion of these extensions entails the

occurrence of an additional valence in the subject position; which valence functions as the causer of the event whereas the initial subject of the basic inchoative sentence functions as the causee. Consequently, in (15j), the introduction of the extension–*üs* within the base verb *òbwà* (*to fall*) has automatically triggered off the appearance of a supplementary valence *Bò* (*them*) viewed as the causer while *mwànà* (*child*) is considered as the causee. This matches Booij's (Op.: 119) point of view when he states that '*causativization has the effect of increasing the valence of words*'. As a matter of fact, when a causal component inters/inserts inot an underlying sentential structure, the latter enlarges in terms of arguments/valences.

In Lingala and Kituba which are also Bantu languages, morphological causative nearly functions the same way. Consider the following examples :

- (18) a- Ngai namelisa ye masanga
 Me I-root-CAUS-suf. him alcohol.
 I make him drink alcohol. }
- b- Ye abomisa bato.
 Him he-root-CAUS-suf. people.
 He causes people to die/He makes people be killed. }
- c- Munu ketokisa madya.
 I root- CAUS-suf. food.
 I cause food to boil. }
- e- Yandi kekubisa ndyambu yina.
 He root- CAUS-suf. problem that.
 He cuases that problem to be hard/He haderns that situation. }
- Lingala**
- Kituba**

What is remarkable is that morphological causative in both Lingala and Kituba is possible with the insertion of the only extensinal suffix –*is* between the root of the verb and the final vowel suffix unlike Laali which makes use of five types of extensions viz –*os*, –*as*, –*us*, –*is* and –*üs*. Indeed, the insertion of these Laali extensions are phonetically conditioned. In (15b), (15d) and (15f) for instance, the extensions –*os*, –*as* and –*us* insert because the vowels of the verb roots /*o*/ of *òtòò*, /*a*/ of *òlà* and /*u*/ of *ósúbò* are rounded and so must

be in harmony with their extension vowel affixes **-(o)s** **-(a)s** and **-(u)s**. In (15h), however, the **-is** extension is accounted for the fact that the verb root ends with a palatalized sound /j/. Finally, in (15j) the **üs** occurrence is due to the fact that the verb root ends with a labialized sound /w/. The upcoming subsection focus on Laali Lexical causatives.

2.2. Laali lexical causatives

Martin Mburu (Op.: 73) states that ‘almost all languages have some lexical causatives. The notion of ‘cause’ is wrapped up in the lexical meaning of the verb itself; it is not expressed by an additional affix’. This means that lexical causative is universally attested by world languages. In fact, lexical causative verbs always contain a subject which causes someone or something to do or become something. However, lexical causative constructions are monoclausal and zero derivation as illustrated in the following examples :

- (19) a- Nde **wòdzùsò** bààtà.
 Him he-kill people.
 He kills people./He causes people to die.
- b- Bìsɛ **dédzìbì** nzó.
 Us we-close house
 We close the house/We cause the door to open.
- c- Bènè **dédzibùlɛ** mǎnzó.
 You you-open houses
 You open houses/You cause house to open.

Bold italicized from (19) examples are lexical causative verbs. Though single they are in terms of syntax, semantics, and morphology in surface form, each of these verbs embodies a deep causation meaning, that is, it expresses the idea of causing the occurrence of something. Indeed, lexical causatives function in such a way that the action of the subject (causer) implies the effect on the object (causee). In other words, the subject and the object of a lexical causative have a causative relationship. As such, the (19a) structure Nde **wòdzùsò** bààtà (*He kills people*) would be interpreted as Nde **wòsà** bààtà bàfà (*He causes people to die*), that is what (the action

that) *Nde* (*he*) performs results in the death of people. The subsection below looks at Laali periphrastic causatives.

2.3. Laali periphrastic causatives

Also known as analytic or syntactic causatives, periphrastic causatives are possible due to the insertion of an additional causative verb to the basic sentential structure, which verb entails the causer which in fact becomes the subject of the derived complex sentence. In a nutshell, periphrastic causatives refer to *let-causative*, *make-causative*, *have-causative*, *get-causative*, *help-causative* etc. The following examples illustrate periphrastic causatives in Laali:

- (20) a- Mε *nàsà ndè alyà nterε*.
 Me I-make him he-eat serpent meat.
 I made him eat the serpent meat.
- b- Ndε *wàsà mε ndyà mbàlà*.
 Him he-make me I-eat yam
 He made me eat yam.
- c- Bisε *dàsà bààtà bàbà bésàlà*.
 Us we-make people they-find jobs.
 We made people find jobs.

Based on these examples, one can understand that periphrastic causative constructions in Laali are possible with the addition of the causative verb *òsà* (*to make, to cause*) and its causer subject to the basic sentence. Thus, Laali periphrastic causatives are *òsà-causatives*. What is worth pointing out is that in Laali, the verb of the embedded sentence occurs in finite form, what is totally different from English and French where the verb of the subordinate clause appears in nonfinite form as the instantiations below show it up:

- (21) a- I will have him *do it*. **English**
- b- Je le lui ferai *faire*.
 I it him do-FUT do **French**
 I will have him do it.

As these examples reveal, in French and English, the verbs of the embedded clausal structures in (21) namely *do* and *faire* are in infinite form. In Chomskian jargon, one would say that each of these embedded clauses is specified by an empty category which is **PRO**⁴⁴. Furthermore, their specific predicators *do* and *faire* are [-TNS & -AGR] as they do not display any morphological information. In Laali however, the embedded clauses instantiated in (20) (in italic) are either specified by a **pro**, the case of *ndè* and *mɛ* in (20a) and (20b) or by an R-expression *bàtàtā*, the example of (20c). That is the reason why their predicators *àlyà*, *ndyà*, *bàbà* are [+TNS & +AGR]. In fact, they inflectionally agree in tense and number with their DP subjects *bàtàtā* and *mɛ* respectively. The forthcoming section deals with Laali double causative constructions.

2.4. Laali double causative constructions

Double causative constructions allude to the sequence of two causative verbs within a sentential structure as the examples hereafter point it out:

- (22) a- Mɛ *nàsà* *bàtàtā* *bàlìsè* *mwàná* *ntɛrɛ*
 Me I-make people they-root-CAUS-Suff child serpent
 meat.

I made people have the child eat serpent meat.

- b- Bò *bàsà* *bangèbè* *bàdzùsò* *bàtàtā*.
 Them they-make young people they-kill people.
 They made young people kill people.

In these examples, each sentence has two causative verbs (in italic), one lying in the main clause and the other in the subordinate one. As such, (22) structures are double causative constructions. What is outstanding is that in Laali double causative constructions, the word standing in the middle of the two causative verbs is twofold. In fact, not only does it function as the object of the preceding causative verb,

⁴⁴ In Chomsky's Control Theory of GB, 'PRO is related to the interpretation of the subject of the embedded nonfinite clause. Mark Newson (2006 : 446) defines it as 'a phonological empty NP appearing in the subject position of the nonfinite clause'.

it also functions as subject of the following one. Consequently, the pronoun *bààtà* (people) in (22a) is accusative as it follows the finite causative verb *nàsà*. However, it is also nominative owing to the fact that it precedes the finite causative verb *bàlìisè*. Similarly, *bangèbè* (young people) in (22b) functions as object of *bàsà* as well as subject of *bàdzùsò*. Additionally, what is worth pointing out is that double causative constructions imply analytic/syntactic causative verb occurring first, followed by either a morphological causative verb as in (22a) or a lexical causative as in (22b). The structure can be outlined as follows:

(23)

Double causative

Constructions = **Analytic causative + morphological causative/Lexical causative**

Conclusion

This paper has dealt with morphological, lexical and syntactic causative processes in Laali. It has also looked at double causative constructions in the language under discussion. It has emerged from the analysis that Laali morphological causatives result from the insertion of an extension made up of a **V+S** into the verb base; which vowel is variable because it can be realized as **-i**, **-o**, **-u**, and **-ü**. It is further proved that this extension entails the increasing of valences within a sentential structure in that the number of arguments in a causative construction is far different from the one in a non causative/inchoative construction. In fact, if the inchoative verb is monovalent, its causative congener will be bivalent, if it is bivalent, its causative counterpart will be trivalent. Mention is also made of the fact that the word category that serves as input for Laali morphological causatives is mostly the verb. Thus, to use Chomsky's reasoning, morphological causative is a parameter of variation rather than a principle as it does not work alike in all languages. As far as lexical causatives are concerned, it has been asserted that they have causative meaning inextricably rooted in them, which causative meaning that can but be accounted for through their semantic description. Due to the fact that lexical causatives are nearly realized alike in all

languages, it would be viewed as a principle rather than an idiosyncrasy. Laali syntactic causative constructions are mainly *òsà-causatives* i.e., *òsà* is inserted before the subject of the deep clause, demoting the latter (subject) into an object. It is further stated that the insertion of *òsà* calls for an additional external argument which functions as the causer. What is particular to syntactic causative constructions is that the predicators of their embedded clauses are [+TNS & +AGR] as they are overtly specified either by a **pro** or by an R-expression which inflectionally agree in tense and number with them. Finally, concerning double causatives, the analysis reveals that the word setting in the middle of the two causative is both object of the preceding causative verb which is usually periphrastic and subject of the following causative which is either morphological or lexical.

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