CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN LIKPAKPAANL (KONKOMBA) FROM AN AREAL-TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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This article contributes to the cross-linguistic discussion of causation in language. It proceeds on the note that causation is a significant notion, both cognitively and grammatically. The Mabia (Gur) languages of West Africa are severely under-represented in the literature on causative structure. Drawing on naturalistic data, I focus on an analysis of causatives in Likpakpaanl, an under-researched Mabia language spoken in Ghana and Togo. Secondary data from thirteen other (related) West African languages are also presented to establish the typological correlates. Likpakpaanl deploys all the traditional causativising strategies- lexical, morphological, serialising and analytic. But notably, the use of nasals, especially vowel nasality as a causativising mechanism is novel and uniquely places Likpakpaanl among its genetic and areal relatives. The Likpakpaanl analytic causative is the balanced biclausal structure and, therefore, aligns well with the biclausal causative structure described for the West African linguistic area, contra the deraked structure of Indo-European languages. A thorough investigation of the constellation of causatives in the Mabia languages promises new insights into causative typology.

Key words: Causation, typology, Likpakpaanl, Konkomba, Gur, Mabia, Ghana, Togo

1. Introduction

For some time now, grammatical causation has been a centre of great attraction for research amongst linguists across the globe (see, e.g., Song 2013: 1; von Waldenfels & Leino 2012: 1). The considerably high level of research interest in grammatical causation among linguists is naturally justifiable. The justification lies in the fact that causation is, underlyingly, a universal, fundamental function of the human cognitive organisation. It is a process of how we conceptualise relations between situations (events, processes and states) or entities. In this paper, I use the term situation as a cover term for events, processes and states. As a relational concept, causation depicts relations of dependency/subordination (Duah 2013: 30). For instance, in a prototypical causative relation between two situations, the occurrence of one of the situations must be seen as wholly dependent on the other to which the dependent situation is also subsequent in time (Shibatani 1976: 1–2; Stefanowitsch 2002: 345). In other words, causation entails a conceptual relation of subordination between two situations; one situation is perceived as independent and the other as dependent. Cristofaro (2003: 2) describes the independent situation as having an autonomous profile whilst the dependent situation lacks same. Thus, the dependent or the caused situation depends on the independent one (the causing situation).

Although causation is considered a universal cognitive phenomenon, research has shown that languages can be quite disparate with respect to the specific ways in which they structurally express causative relations (Duah 2013: 28; Shibatani 2002: 1; Song 1996; 2013). Such variation attested among languages makes causation a productive topic for linguistic typological studies. The variation also underscores the merit in investigating, understanding and documenting the grammatical characterisation of causation in any particular language. A more linguistic, structural oriented exposition of causation is provided in section 3.

In spite of the relevance of research on causation and the increasing attention granted the topic in linguistic scholarship, many languages remain either understudied or totally uninvestigated with respect to their causative patterns. For example, the Mabia (Gur) languages of West Africa are severely under-represented in the literature on causative structure (cf. section 5). On the part of Likpakpaanl, other than a couple instances cited as causative expressions by Bisilki (2021) in a general description

of the language, there is no existing study (to the best of my knowledge) that specifically looks into causative constructions in the language. Likpakpaanl is a Mabia language spoken in Ghana and Togo (cf. section 2).

In response to the afore-indicated research gap, this study is staged as a (first) systematic account of Likpakpaanl causatives, relying on naturalistic data recorded from native speakers (cf. section 4 for the methodological details). I also recap data from, altogether, some thirteen other languages, either genetically or areally related to Likpakpaanl. This is important in giving a concrete view of the amount of existing work on causatives in Mabia in particular and for comparative purposes generally. I have paid keen attention to how the Likpakpaanl biclausal causative structure relates to what has been described as the balanced biclausal causative for the West African linguistic area (Yakpo 2012; 2017). This direction of the article has been motivated by a circulating view that West African languages have predilection for the balanced biclausal causative, contra the deranked (or reduced) structure notable of Indo-European languages (Egan 2012: 66; Gilquin 2012: 43; Leino 2012; Yakpo 2017). To a large extent, I use the terms analytic causative, biclausal causative and periphrastic causative invariably in this article, particularly, in relation to the type of causative structure discussed in sections 9 and 10.

Inter alia, I show that the causative typology in Likpakpaanl include morphological, lexical and analytic causatives. Likpakpaanl also uses the combination of verbs in serials to encode causal relations, although this strategy in Likpakpaanl cannot be described as a core SVC causative scenario (cf. section 8). An intriguing finding of this paper is the grammaticalisation of nasals, especially vowel nasality into causativisers in Likpakpaanl (cf. section 6). This tendency is novel and uniquely places Likpakpaanl among its genetic and areal relatives in Mabia and Kwa, respectively, in view of existing literature on causation in these sub-families of Niger-Congo. Regarding the analytic causative, Likpakpaanl has the balanced biclausal causative structure, marked by the causing verb, *chà* 'make, allow, let'. This causative structure aligns well with the predominant West African areal typology of biclausal causatives (Duah 2013; Yakpo 2012; 2017). Nonetheless, the lexical source of the analytic causative verb in Likpakpaanl (i.e., *chà* 'to leave, to let go, to let remain' (cf. §10)), differs from the frequently attested grammaticalisation source of analytic causative verbs in languages coterminous with Likpakpaanl. The most often cited source of analtyic causative markers in the non-genetic linguistic neighbours of Likpakpaanl is the translation equivalent of the verb 'give' (see Duah 2013: 107; Yakpo 2012; 2017). It should be reiterated that there is presently a scarcity of literature regarding any aspect of analytic causatives of languages in Likpakpaanl's genetic grouping.

Furthermore, the Likpakpaanl analytic causative verb, *chà* 'make, allow, let' synchronically conflates both factitive (causative proper or pure causative) and permissive causative functions. This explains its polysemic causative gloss 'make, allow, let'. Much remains to be done or known about the factitive-permissive causative relations in languages genetically or geographically related to Likpakpaanl. This does not make it possible to provide any comparisons between the functional scope of the Likpakpaanl analytic causative verb and those of related languages at this moment. On the other hand, Indo-European languages are frequently confirmed to deploy the same causative verb for factitive and permissive causatives (von Waldenfels & Leino 2012: 1), a case in point being the Swedish *låta* 'make, get' (lit. 'let') (Rawoen 2012: 106–107).

The rest of this article is structured as follows: Section 2 discusses the theoretical and typological context within which this article is situated. Section 3 highlights the typological properties of Likpakpaanl. Section 4 details on the data sources and other methodological aspects. Section 5 examines the existing literature on causation in Mabia. In section 6, I treat morphological causation in Likpakpaanl, pointing out the intriguing role of nasals as causativising mechanisms. Section 7 covers the Likpakpaanl lexical causative. Serialising as a causative strategy in Likpakpaanl is tackled in section 8. I revisit the phenomenon of biclausal causatives in section 9, presenting some data on the

structure based on West African languages. In section 10, I focus on the biclausal causative construction in Likpakpaanl. The article is concluded in section 11.

2. On the notion 'causation': Theoretical and typological considerations

In this section, I provide definitions of the necessary causation related concepts and terminologies. The section also provides details on the theoretical and typological perspectives within which this study is situated.

Following the characterisation of the causative situation as provided in Shibatani (1976: 1–2), Stefanowitsch (2002) and (Wolff 2007), I define a causative construction as one which expresses a causal relation between two situations, one of which can be viewed as either wholly or probabilistically dependent on and subsequent in occurrence to a corresponding independent situation. Terms such as 'inchoative' and 'autonomous' are also used as labels for the non-causative alternants of causative constructions or events (see Duah 2013: 38; Haspelmath 1993: 89–90). On its part, a causative situation (event, process or state) portrays a causal relation between two situations such that one occurs prior to the other. The relation must be such that the occurrence of the subsequent event can be said to be wholly dependent on the occurrence of the prior event. Shibatani (1976: 1–2) refers to these as the causing and the caused events, respectively, whereas Frawley (1992: 159) prefers to call the same as the participating and the result events.

It is, however, important to clarify that the foregoing presentation of causation as a relation between two situations in which the occurrence of the caused situation totally depends on the corresponding causing situation does not provide for a full coverage of all causal relations. In fact, this view of causation is prototypical and is circumscribed to the counterfactual type of causal relation which, in itself, is a subtype of the dependency models of causation (see Wolff 2007: 82–3). There is a second type of the dependency model of causation, i.e., the probabilistic dependency model. In a probabilistic dependency sense, the causal relation between two situations is conceived on the basis that the presence of the causing situation only increases the probability of the caused situation rather than the occurrence of the latter situation being wholly dependent on the former situation. In a more encompassing sense, I consider causation from both the counterfactual and the probalistic points of view in this study. This will be seen more clearly in relation to the Likpakpaanl factitive and permissive causative types, respectively, treated in section 10. Note that the concept of the causing and the caused events further call up the notion of *causer-causee*. Prototypically, the causer refers to someone or something that instigates the causing event whereas the causee can be the immediate performer or undergoer of the situation predicated in the caused event. Some initial data examples are provided shortly in this section to give an empirical insight into the relevant notions highlighted above and more.

Traditionally, ways of causativising have been described as lexical, morphological and analytic/periphrastic (Dixon 2000: 200; Tallerman 2011: 229–233). These constitute the structural typology of causatives. Although Song (2013) has proposed new labels for these three traditional causative structural types, I maintain the older labels in this study for purposes of convenience and ease of understanding.

In a lexical causative, both cause and effect are conflated in a single predicate (Dixon 2012: 247–9). The verb that expresses lexical causation may have a non-causative variant with which it may or may not have formal resemblance. Where the causative version of a verb is formally unrelated to the non-causative variant, the term suppletion describes the phenomenon. Prototypical lexical causation is a scenario where there is no formal resemblance between the non-causative and the causative variants of a predicate (Comrie 1989). The non-causative/causative pair in (1) and (2) in Ewe (Kwa, Ghana) (Larnyo & Glover-Meni 2020: 1117) serve as an example of a lexical causative:

(1)   Avegbɔe-la   **ku**   enumake
         antelope-DET   die   instantly
         'The antelope died instantly.'

(2)   Adela   la   **wu**   avegbɔe-la
         hunter   DET   kill   antelope-DET
         'The hunter killed the antelope'

The causative verb, wu 'kill' in (2) can be understood to comprise two events: 'to cause' and 'to die', although there are no two separate structural representations for the construed events. Similarly, adela 'hunter' and avegbɔe 'antelope' are the causer and the causee, respectively.

A morphological causative is a causative construction that is marked by a morphological process applied to the verb of the clause (Dixon 2012: 242). The Akan (Kwa, Ghana) non-causative/causative constructions in (3) and (4) (Duah 2013: 36) show a morphological causative:

(3)   Kofi dà-àὲ
         Kofi sleep-COMPL
         'Kofi slept.'

(4)   Kofi **dè**-dá-à   àbɔ̀frá   nó
         Kofi **CAUS**-sleep- COMPL   child   DET
         'Kofi put the child to sleep.'

Morphological causatives are realised by the following mechanisms: affixation (prefixes, suffixes, infixes, circumfixes or by a combination of different affixes), tone, reduplication, consonant mutation, consonant repetition, change in vowel quality and vowel lengthening (Dixon 2000: 33–34; Dixon 2012: 242). For instance, reduplication has a causativising role in Javanese (see Dixon 2012: 243 for instantiations). In Dangme (Kwa, Ghana), both reduplication and suffixation are simultaneously used in the process of causativising an event (Caesar 2016). Some Mabia languages (e.g., Dagbani, Kabiye and Kusaal), similarly, causativise events by segmental morphology in the form of derivative suffixal markers added to verbal roots (cf. §5). An issue worthy of note here is that what represents morphological causation in Likpakpaanl is characterised by the use of vowel nasality and the velar nasal, /ŋ/ (cf. §6). I propose to call these strategies in Likpakpaanl as *nasal causatives*.

An analytic causative, on its part, is where a causative construction deploys two verbs, namely, the verb of cause and the verb of effect (or the caused verb). The analytic causative, also called syntactic or periphrastic causative, may occasion biclausality in that the verbs of cause and effect may be separately placed in the matrix and the embedded clauses, respectively. The non-causative/causative pairs in (5)/(6) and (7)/(8) serve as examples of analytic causative constructions. Note that the English sentences in (5) and (6) are adapted from Dixon (2012: 241) whereas (7) and (8) are from the Likpakpaanl data collected for this study:

(5)   John went.

(6)   Mary made John go.

(7)   Ʊ   kál.
         3SG   sit
         'S/he has sat down.'

(8)   Nààmúk   chà̩   ū   kál.
           NAME   CAUS   3SG   sit
           'Namuk has made him/her sit down.'

    Prototypical causativisation, essentially, increases the valency of a predicate, Dixon (2012: 240–2). This is achieved by introducing a new argument, viz., an A argument in the subject position. The A argument is the causer (alternatively, actor, controller or agent) (see also Duah 2013; Yakpo 2017: 55). It is a core argument that comes to replace the original subject in the process of causativisation. In relation to the causative verb, the original subject of the clause is now either demoted to an object position, reduced to an oblique argument or deleted altogether (Dixon 2012: 240; Tallerman 2011: 229–32). As can be seen from the causative constructions in (6) and (8) above, the use of the causative verbs, *made* and *chà* results in the addition of new arguments, *Mary* and *Nààmúk* in the events of the predicates, *go* and *kál* 'sit', respectively. There are also cases of non-valency increasing causatives attested in some languages, a phenomenon described by Kittilä (2009: 67–8) as covert causativisation or non-prototypical causative. Another noteworthy outcome of the causativisation process with the analytic causatives is that the hitherto single-clause, non-causative constructions (5) and (7) are changed to complex/biclausal sentences in the resulting causative variants in (6) and (8), respectively.

    Biclausal causatives are further divided into balanced and deranked types. A balanced biclausal causative consists of two finite clauses for the causing and the caused events. A deranked biclausal causative has finite and non-finite (reduced) clauses for the causing and the caused events, respectively (see, e.g., Duah 2013; Yakpo 2017). The deranked biclausal causative is also described as the causative with a non-finite complement clause (see Egan 2012; Gilquin 2012; Rawoen 2012). Also, a matter that has assumed cross-linguistic significance revolves around the distribution of balanced and deranked biclausal causatives across languages. With respect to this issue, some researchers have (often) made the claim that Indo-European languages like English and Swedish, among others, are predominated by the deranked biclausal causative structure (Song 1996; Yakpo 2017). On the other hand, (West) African languages are said to have a preference for the balanced biclausal causative (Yakpo 2012; 2017). A cross-linguistic treatment of balanced and deranked complement clauses as a morphosyntactic domain is offered in Cristofaro (2003). The typological arguments on biclausal causatives are a matter of particular attention in this paper, since the question of biclausal causatives is one of the variables on which the typological correlates between Likpakpaanl, on the one hand, and its areal linguistic relatives, on the other hand, are examined. Comparative data on biclausal causatives in Likpakpaanl and other West African languages are considered in sections 9 and 10.

    In a broad sense, causatives are divided into factitive (also termed as causative proper or pure causative) and permissive causatives. A factitive causative situation obtains where there is an imposition of a barrier or some force that brings about a certain result in the state of an entity perceived as a causee. According to Leino (2012: 223), permissive causation refers to a situation where one participant permits, enables or fails to hinder some action or state-of-affairs. Duah (2013), Egan (2012), Talmy (1988) and (von Waldenfels & Leino 2012) discuss the particularities of factitive and permissive causative situations in much more detail. In the literature, the factitive-permissive causative dichotomy is particularly associated with the analytic causative (see Leino & von Waldenfels 2012). This is the direction that is followed in the present article (section 10).

3. The typological features of Likpakpaanl

As stated en passant in §1, Likpakpaanl is a Mabia language. Its genetic descent traces as: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Mabia, Oti-Volta, Gurma (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2019: 21; Naden 1988: 12–19; Adouna 2009). Likpakpaanl speaker population in Ghana is estimated to be 831,000 (Eberhard, Simons

& Fennig 2019: 21). Other 84,700 speakers are found in the neighbouring Republic of Togo (see Adouna 2009; Simons & Fennig 2017).

Speakers of Likpakpaanl refer to themselves by the endonym, *Bikpakpaam*. Nonetheless, both Likpakpaanl speakers and their language are more commonly referred to by the exonym, *Konkomba*. Tait (1961) suggests that the form, Konkomba evolved from *Kpakpamba*, a Dagbani term used to denote the Bikpakpaam. The Dagomba (speakers of Dagbani) have been a long-standing ethnic neighbour of the Bikpakpaam (see Barker 1991).

The Saboba District in present day Northern Ghana is one of the core traditional areas of the Bikpakpaam. Likpakpaanl speakers are also spread in significant numbers across other parts of Ghana such as Atebubu-Amanten and the Kintampo Municipalities in Bono East, the Nkwanta North District and the Nkwanta South Municipality in the Oti Region among others (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada [GH] 1996). In the rest of this section, I highlight some typological properties of Likpakpaanl as these are crucial to the understanding of the data presented in this study.

Likpakpaanl has three level tones: low (ˋ), high (ˊ) and mid (ˉ) (Steele & Weed 1966). There is also a contour tone of a convex pattern in non-identical adjacent vowel strings (Bisilki 2021). The syllable is the tone bearing unit and can be a vowel or a syllabic nasal. Tone has both lexical (9) and grammatical functions in the language. The grammatical function of tone is shown shortly in the tense-aspect properties of Likpakpaanl following later in this section:

(9) líí 'to allow' or 'to drop' lìì 'to be in the lead'
     dík 'to be pregnant'   dìk 'to be mounting (of a horse)'
     līwól 'crowd'   līwōl 'flute'

Likpakpaanl is noun class language (Winkelmann 2012; Bisilki & Akpanglo-Nartey 2017). The noun classes are realised in morphological markers affixed to nouns. These morphological markers code singular-plural number distinctions in the nouns. A noun may have either a prefix, a suffix or both at the same time (see (10-13)). Note that all the afore-mentioned types of affixes are obligatory in Likpakpaanl nouns in which they occur, save for class 1a nouns which can occur bare of any affix and also take non-obligatory suffixes for plural number and class marking (14). The plural forms of class 1a constitute class 2a in the Likpakpaanl noun class system (see, e.g., Bisilki & Akpanglo-Nartey 2017):

(10) lī-kúú-l   ŋī-kúú
      CL.SG-hoe-CL.SG   CL.PL-hoe
      'hoe'   'hoes'

(11) ú-nìì   bī-nì-b
      CL.SG-person   CL.PL-person-CL.PL
      'person'   'people'

(12) kī-sáá-k   tī-sáá-r
      CL.SG-farm-CL.SG   CL.PL-farm-CL.PL
      'farm'   'farms'

(13) ń-dí   í-dí
      CL.SG-sorghum   CL.PL-sorghum
      'a grain of sorghum' 'sorghum'

(14) chál   chá-tííb
      'husband'   husband-CL.PL

The use of the obligatory prefixes, suffixes or both in nouns remains very unpredictable. As can be observed from (10-13) above, some nouns take both a prefix and a suffix in the singular yet take only a prefix in the plural (10). The vice versa is also true for some nouns (11). There are yet other nouns which require both a prefix and a suffix, whether these nouns are in the singular or the plural (12).

Likpakpaanl employs pre-verbal particles for the past (15) and the future (16) tenses. The use of pre-verbal particles as tense markers is a common phenomenon in the Mabia languages (see, e.g., Atintono 2013: 134–5; Bodomo 1997: 85). The Likpakpaanl past tense marker has various forms for different gradations of the past and conflates the perfective interpretation by default. The perfective function is only secondary for the Likpakpaanl past tense marker (Bisilki 2021):

(15)   Ń   **nán**   kán   kī-jáá-k   kī-báá.
        1SG.SBJ   PST   see   CL.SG-fight-CL.SG   CL-one
        'I witnessed a certain fight.'

(16)   Koònjá   **gā**   gáá   ń-lán   tíí   mì.
        NAME   FUT   sing   CL.SG-song   give   1SG.OBJ
        'Koonja will sing a song for me.'

Likpakpaanl has preverbal markers that express tense as indicated above. In addition, verbs that occur without tense-aspect markers display prorperties of the factative. That is, stative verbs receive present interpretation (17)7) while other dynamic verbs receive past-perfect interpretation (18)8):

(17)   Táánèèn   gèè   pàtààsìì.
        NAME   like   alcohol
        'Taaneen likes/loves alcohol.'

(18)   Ú-cháá   léŋ   chámsì.
        CL.SG-blacksmith patch   pan
        'A blacksmith has mended a pan.'

Dynamic verbs fall into two classes regarding the expression of aspect: one class can be morphologically marked (affixation, tone or suppletion) for the habitual 9) while the other class cannot be marked for habitual. For the latter class, the unmarked verb receives a present perfect or habitual interpretation (20):

(19)   Ú-cháá   léŋ-nī   chámsì.
        CL.SG-blacksmith   patch-HAB pan
        'The blacksmith mends pans.'

(20)   Ń   ŋméé   tī-gbán-l.
        1SG.SBJ   write   CL.PL-book-CL.PL
        'I have written books.'/'I write books.'

(21)   *Ń   ŋméé-nī   tī-gbán-l.
        1SG.SBJ   write.HAB   CL.PL-book-CL.PL
        (Intended: 'I write books.')

Sentence (21) shows that dynamic verbs like ŋméé 'write' cannot occur with, for instance, the habitual suffix. A more detailed discussion of verbal morphology in Likpakpaanl can be found in (Bisilki 2021).

4. Data and methodology

The Likpakpaanl data in this article are based mainly on the Lichaabɔl dialect spoken in the Saboba District of Northern Ghana (cf. §2). Lichaabɔl is currently the emerging standard dialect of Likpakpaanl. Some data are also cited from the Linaajul dialect spoken in the Nkwanta North, Oti Region. All of the Likpakpaanl data are sourced through a triangulation of observation (both participant and non-participant), the semi-structured interview, the informal conversation and the sentence translation method. I have also drawn on my native speaker intuitions. I intended the data to be multipurpose for other aspects of grammatical analysis (Chelliah 2013: 63) and, for that matter, did not limit the data collection techniques to any causative oriented language elicitation tool(s), save for a couple English-Likpakpaanl causative sentence translations.

The period for collecting the Likpakpaanl data for this analysis spanned September, 2019 to December, 2022. The first interviews took place in September, 2019 in Saboba where I engaged three purposively selected male adult consultants. These three were recommended and selected for their noticeable eloquence and superior cultural knowledge of the Bikpakpaam culture. Two of these consultants gave their ages as 64 and 58, respectively, at the time. The third consultant, a clan head could not provide his precise age, but was estimated to be in his mid 70s by himself and other members of his family. None of these three consultants had formal training in linguistics. Aside from the three, many scores of other speakers across gender and generational lines were recorded in and outside of Saboba.

Various discourse types, including (but not limited to) folktales, proverbs, meta-discourse narratives and spontaneous, everyday conversations were recorded in digital audio and sometimes in handwritten mode. The recordings in audio were processed in free transcriptions by me and a local transcriber in Saboba. The transcriptions were mostly in the standard Likpakpaanl orthography. At other times, I also transcribed fully in the IPA. The Likpakpaanl standard orthography largely tallies with the IPA representations as shown in the latter part of this section. The data were coded deductively and tokens with causative value extracted for this analysis. Deductive coding refers to a situation where coding is focused on a pre-existing theory, concept or issues that are already known in the literature (Linneberg & Korsgaard 2019).

On causative structure, I also cite secondary data from six other Mabia languages (cf. §5). Four of these Mabia languages (Dagbani, Dagaare, Gurenɛ and Kusaal) are spoken in Ghana. Two others, namely, Kabiye is spoken in the Republic of Togo and Ditammari in Togo and Benin. Additionally, secodary data from five other more distant West African areal linguistic relatives featuring in Yakpo's (2012; 2017) sample on biclausal causatives are drawn on in section 9. These are Ga (Kwa, Atlantic-Congo), Ewe (Kwa, Atantic-Congo), Yoruba (Defoid, Benue-Congo, Atlantic-Congo), Akan (Kwa, Atlantic-Congo) and Bafut (Bantoid, Benue-Congo, Atlantic-Congo). Only Yoruba and Bafut in the list are spoken elsewhere (e.g., Nigeria and Cameroon) other than Ghana. The remaining three languages in the list have indigenous representation in Ghana and elsewhere in West Africa (e.g., Ewe is spoken in Ghana, Togo and Benin; see, e.g., Yakpo 2017: 57). The essence of representing the secondary data from Yakpo (2012; 2017) is for a typological overview of biclausal causatives as described for West African languages and for the ultimate purpose of comparing with the Likpakpaanl biclausal structure.

I present the Likpakpaanl data in this paper either fully in IPA or following the orthographic conventions of Likpakpaanl, depending on how much phonetic detail is necessary to explain a point. The Likpakpaanl orthography largely corresponds with the IPA, with the following exceptions: /t͡ʃ/ = <ch>, /dʒ/ = <j>, /j/ = <y>, /ɲ/ = <ny> and /ŋm/ = <ŋm>.[1]

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[1] Angle brackets (chevron) are used to enclose the orthographic variants of segments and data as opposed to the IPA representations.

5. Studies on causation in Mabia

Whereas there is an increasing body of literature on causation in the Kwa languages, the story is quite the opposite regarding the Mabia language stock. Caesar (2013a; 2016; 2013b) on causatives in Dangme, Duah (2013) on causatives in Akan, Essilfie (1984) on causatives in Fante (a variety of Akan) and Ameka and Essegbey (2007) as well as Lanyo (2013) on causatives in Ewe are, but a few exemplars of studies entirely dedicated to causation in various languages of the Kwa family. A remark in Song (2013: 19) suggests that Pike (1970), dating back to some four decades, cited some data on causation from some Mabia languages. Nevertheless, Song (2013) does not incorporate any such data whereas Pike's work itself remains inaccessible for direct reference in this article. As I show in this section, information that is currently available on causation in Mabia feature only as brief remarks in grand scheme grammatical descriptions. The rest of this section examines studies that touch on causative constructions in Mabia, how they characterise the causative patterns, the extent of coverage of the topic and what relations may be established with the Likpakpaanl causative patterns.

Roberts (2019) examines tone in Kabiye (a Mabia member spoken in Northern Togo) verbal extensions. In the process, he identifies a suffix -s as having a causativising value. Roberts further indicates that the -s extension suffix is concurrently isomorphic for the semantic values of intensive, reversive and diminutive. The following data set is presented to instantiate causativisation with -s in Kabiye (Roberts 2019: 12):

(22)　　　　Non-causative verb　　　　Causativised
　　　　　lè-Ø　　'lose!'　　　　*lé-sì*　　'lose!'
　　　　　ɲɔ̀ɔ̀-Ø　'drink!'　　　*ɲɔ̀ɔ̀-zì*　'cause to drink!'
　　　　　tɔ̀ɔ̀-Ø　'eat'　　　　*tɔ̀ɔ̀-zì*　'cause to eat'

According to Roberts, the -z variant of -s in some of the causativised forms above is due to a voicing conditioning.

In a similarly very modest coverage, Musah (2018: 154–155) includes some comments on causation in Kusaal (Mabia, Southeast, Ghana). He introduces causation in seeking to illustrate the phenomenon of verbal extensions. Thus, Musah (2018) does not treat causation per se. His analysis is meant to instantiate how verbal derivation from existing predicates can lead to the formation of verbs of other semantic classes in Kusaal. The suffix -s is identified as the causativiser in Kusaal. However, its addition to a verb base may come with other phonologically conditioned changes such as vowel insertion or lengthening, as shown in the data set in (23) (Musah 2018: 154):

(23)　　　　Verb base　　　　　　　Causative form
　　　　　kpi　'to die'　　　　　*kpi-is*　'to put off, extinguish'
　　　　　sig　'to come down'　　*sig-is*　'to cause to come down'
　　　　　yi　'to go out'　　　　*yi-s*　'to remove'

Musah (2018) further indicates that, although causation in Kusaal is mostly by the use of derivational morphology, there are instances where causation is achieved constructionally. This, he notes, is by introducing a clause with *kɛ/kɛnɛ ka X VERB* 'allow X to do VERB or 'cause X to do VERB.' An interesting dimension about the Kusaal periphrastic causative is that the association of the causative phrase, *kɛ/kɛnɛ ka* with the interpretation 'allow' (Musah 2018: 155) resonates with one of the contextual interpretations of the Likpakpaanl gramaticalised biclausal causative verb, *cha̋* (cf. §10).

Atintono (2013: 122–3) also gives some perspective on the expression of causation in Gurenɛ (Mabia, Northwest, Ghana). He uses the term *agentive verb* interchangeably with the causative verb. Nonetheless, Atintono's account is limited to short comparative statements on the non-causative versus the causative constructions involving Gurenɛ positional verbs. The key argument made by Atintono is

that there is no morphological marking of causation in the Gurɛnɛ posture verb since causation involving such verbs is only constructionally marked (Atintono 2013: 123). Examples (24) and (25) illustrate causation in Gurɛnɛ. They are taken from (Atintono 2013: 122):

(24)   Bia la   zí'í-re   la   suŋɔ la   zuo.
        child DEF sit-DYN   DEF mat   DEF head
        'The child sat on the mat.' (inchoative, adopt a sitting posture)

(25)   Ba   zí'í-re   bia la   kuka la   zuo.
        3PL sit-DYN   child DEF chair DEF head
        'They sat the child down on the chair.' (agentive, put to sit down).

Reineke and Miehe (2005) investigate diathesis alternation in Ditammari (Togo and Benin), Byali (Benin and Burkina Faso) and Kaansa (Burkina Faso). They provide some examples that show morphological means of non-causative/causative alternation in Ditammari (Reineke & Miehe 2005: 352):

(26)   INCHOAT-INTRANS   ḍābírā kpá   'the child has cursed.'
(27)   CAUSE-TRANSITIVE   cīta kpānnà ḍābíra   'the father has told the child off.'

Olawsky (1999: 51) touches on causation in his grammar of Dagbani (Mabia, Northwest, Ghana). But this is equally in such a limited treatment of the topic (less than a page). All Olawsky indicates is that a causative construction can be achieved in Dagbani by suffixing a verb with the causative morpheme, /-si/ or its allomorph, /-hi/. This is illustrated in examples (28) ad (29) (Olawsky 1999: 51) below:

(28)   <O kpe   duu.>
        he enter   room
        'He entered the room.'

(29)   <n kpɛ-hi   o   duu.>
        I   enter-CAUS   him room
        'I made him enter the room.'

The only other point made by Olawsky is that serial verb constructions (SVCs) can be used to express causation in Dagbani. This process is achieved by using the verb <zaŋ> 'take', plus a direct object and a causative verb, plus an indirect object as in examples (30) and (31) (Olawsky 1999: 51):

(30)   <n zaŋ o   kpɛ-hi   duu.>
        I   take him enter-CAUS   room
        'I made him enter the room.'

(31)   <Abu   zaŋ bii   maa ʒi-li   kuɣu zuɣu.>
        Abu   take child DEF sit-CAUS   chair top
        'Abu made the child sit on the chair.'

It appears, then, that Olawsky identified morphological causation and the use of SVCs to code causation in Dagbani. However, what is not clear in Olawsky's account is whether the SVC alone without the causative suffix can express a causal relation in Dagbani. As can be seen from examples (30) and (31), the serialisation further involves the use of the causative morphemes, /-hi/ and /-li/. A check with Dagbani native speaker linguists (e.g., Fusheini Abdul-Rahman, p.c.) reveals that the SVC

will assume a relation of accompaniment rather than causality between its arguments, if the causative morpheme is dropped.

Bodomo (1997: 90–91), in considering the functional system of Dagaare (Mabia, Northwest, Ghana) verbs, comments very briefly on causativity, while showing that in the verbal systems of Mabia, it is possible to classify verbs into opposing pairs by derivative processes. Amidst other Dagaare examples illustrating reversivity, transitivity, polarity and repetitiveness oppositions, seven verbs are presented in instantiation of causative versus non-causative opposition. I present the seven items in (32) exactly as they appear in Bodomo (1997: 91):

(32)   Causative verb   Non-causative opposition
              ko   'kill'   *kpi*   'die'
              lɔɔ   ʿmake fallʾ   *le*   ʿfallʾ
              gaale ʿput to sleepʾ   *gange*ʿput oneself to sleepʾ
              zegle   ʿseatʾ   *zeng*   ʿsitʾ
              tuuli   ʿmake drinkʾ   *nyu*   ʿdrinkʾ
              su   ʿfeed (put in mouth)ʾ   *di*   ʿeatʾ
              seng   ʿcause to wake upʾ   *iri*   ʿwake up (from sleep)ʾ

Bodomo's analysis suggests a morphological derivational process, but he does not make it clear how the process applies in the data in (32). Whether the forms illustrate morphological or lexical causation is not made clear. Aside from this, the question of analytic causation in Dagaare is totally left out in Bodomo (1997).

From the review above, it is clear that concatenative, morphological causation promises to be a very common strategy in the Mabia languages represented. Only Gurenɛ does not display morphological causation. Nevertheless, one cannot draw such a conclusion in absolute terms about Gurenɛ since the handful of examples contained in Atintono (2013) were further limited to causatives involving posture verbs. On the part of Likpakpaanl, what can be described as a concatenative means of causativising is uniquely realised by a word-final velar nasal, /ŋ/ (cf. §6). The other morphological means of causativising in Likpakpaanl is by oral-nasal vowel alternation.

It is also obvious from this section that what has, so far, been done on causation in the Mabia languages is grossly sparse; there is still much to be covered on causation in the Mabia language family.

6. Morphological causation in Likpakpaanl: The causativity of nasals

Based on the literature available on the causative structure of the Mabia and the Kwa languages, the Likpakpaanl morphological means of causativising appears to be unique. Causativisation is done through nasals in two ways in Likpakpaanl. The first occurs as oral-nasal vowel alternation (33-38). The second instance involves adding the velar nasal suffix <-ŋ> to the verb. There is a third type of nasal containing causative that I rather characterise as lexical causation. Likpakpaanl verbals which are causativised by nasals cut across different semantic types:

(33)   Ń   ná   áá-díí-k   **pìì**
          1SG.SBJ   mother   POSS-room-CL.SG be.close
          'My mum's door is shut.' Lit. 'My mum's room is closed.'

(34)   Ń   ná   **píí́**   wáá-díí-k.
          1SG.SBJ   mother   close.CAUS   3SG.POSS-room-CL.SG
          'My mum has closed/shut her door.'

(35) Ú-bó **kàà** kī-kápéé-k pī.
CL.SG-child sit.HAB CL.SG-mat-CL.SG on
'A child sits on a mat.'

(36) Bī **káá̋** ú-bó kī-kápéé-k pī.
3SG sit.CAUS CL.SG-child CL.SG-mat-CL.SG on
'They have sat a child on a mat.'

(37) Gmákùùbá áá pó **kóó** sùkúúkī- díí-k kībáá kpúm.
NAME NEG DM enter school CL.SG-room-CL.SG one IDEO
'Gmakuuba has never been to school, not even primary one (i.e., Gmakuuba has not received any level of formal education).'

(38) Gmákùùbá áá-tí áá pō **kóó̋** ū sùkúú
NAME POSS-father NEG DM enter.CAUS 3SG school

kī-díí-k kībáá kpúm.
CL.SG-room-CL.SG one ideo
'Gmakuuba's father has never sent him to school, not even to primary one (i.e., Gmakuuba's father has never put him in school).'

By comparing the non-causative/causative pairs above, we notice that the sense of causativity is brought about by vowel nasality. Thus, causation is encoded by switching from an oral vowel to a nasal vowel in a predicate. It must be emphasised that other segmental or tonal changes in nasal causativised predicates tend to be more of TAM coders or mere reflexes of other phonological conditionings , not causativity. For instance, the high tone in *píí̋* (34) is also reversed to low tone in a habitual reading (39), yet the presence of vowel nasality as is in (34) retains the causative value of the verb. At the same time, a construction that is supposed to contain a causative form of the verb becomes ungrammatical if the causativising nasal feature of the verb is dispensed with. Consequently, (34) becomes ungrammatical in (40). Similarly, the verb form (35) is non-causative without the nasal feature of the vowel in it, but a switch to the nasal form of the vowel causativises in (36)::

(39) Ń ná **pìǐ-nī** wáá-díí-k.
1SG.SBJ mother close.CAUS-HAB 3SG.POSS-room-CL.SG
'My mum closes/shuts her door.'

(40) *Ń ná **píí** wáá-díí-k.
1SG.SBJ mother close 3SG.POSS-room-CL.SG
(Intended: 'My mum has closed/shut her door.')

The second instance of causativisation by nasals is by adding the velar nasal suffix <-ŋ> to the verb. The addition of the word-final <-ŋ> derives causative, resultative, forms from the non-causative variants in (41):

(41) *tɔ̃̄* 'to be hot'
bũ̋ 'to be sick'
kɔ́ 'to be tabooed'
sóɔ̋ 'to be cold'

(42) Máákīnyì **tɔ̃̄-ŋ** lī-sáákpók-l tíí ḿ-bí-m.
NAME heat-CAUS CL-food-CL give CL.PL-child-CL.PL
'Makinyi has heated the left over food for the kids.'

(43) Ḿ-pɔ́bī-yúk lē **bű-ŋ** Tááfììn.

CL-heart-jump   FOC   sick-CAUS   NAME
'It is shock that has made Taafiin sick.'

(44)   Ú-nyɔ́kdáán   **kɔ́-ŋ**   Nààjó   ú-ŋòò-b.
CL.SG-ethnomedical.practitioner   taboo-CAUS   NAME   CL.SG-goat-CL.SG
'The ethnomedical practitioner has forbidden Naajo from eating chevon.'

(45)   Pásītàà   **sɔ́-ŋ**   ḿ-pɔ́bī-l   pám.
Pastor   cool-CAUS 1SG-heart-CL.SG very
'Pastor has so much calmed me down.'

In a sense, it can be said that the nasal vowel and the velar nasal causative morphemes are functionally allomorphs in Likpakpaaanl.

The third manifestation of nasal marked causation occurs in verbs that lack a non-nasal autonomous variant. I describe this as quasi nasal causative. The verbs that fall in this group may, therefore, be classified under lexical causatives. The following examples (46-48) show the quasi-nasal causative:

(46)   Mín   lē   gbàà bī-nààchīpɔ́-m   ké   bī   nán **búű**
1SG.SBJ.EMPH   FOC   ask   CL.PL-male-CL.PL that 3PL vent mix.caus

tī-tán   tìì   mì
CL-sand   give 1SG.OBJ
'I asked the young men to come and mix mortar for me.'

(47)   Í-nááán   **dúű**   ú-pííbó   ńgbààn   áá-tàà   mɔ́k   ŋī-léé
CL.PL-guinea.worm swell.CAUS CL.SG-girl DIST   POSS-leg   all   CL-two
'Guinea worm has caused both legs of that girl to get swollen.'

(48)   Ń   búèn tī   **púű**   máá-chééchéé   áá-tàà-l   lá.
1SG.SBJ   go   and inflate.CAUS POSS-bicycle   POSS-leg-CL.SG   FOC
'It is my bicycle tyre that I have gone to inflate.'

Thus, the nasal vowel containing predicates in (46-48) are causatives without non-causative variants realised by corresponding oral vowels as in the first type of nasal causative described earlier in this section.

7. Lexical causatives in Likpakpaanl

Lexical causatives in Likpakpaanl can manifest relations of form overlap,total or partial suppletion between non-causative/causative predicate alternants. Formally overlapped non-causative/causative instances are typified in a set of labile vebs that maintain the same form in non-causative and causative clauses alike:

(49)   Í-nàà   í-léé   lē   bá   **kɔ́r**   kīchákpíík kéé   nī.
CL.PL-cow CL.PL-two FOC HOD slaughter   morning   PROX in
'It was two cattle that were slaughtered this morning.'

(50)   Ú-nànkòò   bá   **kɔ́r**   í-nàà   í-léé   kīchákpíík
CL.SG-butcher   HOD slaughter.CAUS CL.PL-cow CL.PL-two morning

kéé   nī.
PROX in
'The butcher slaughtered two cattle this morning.'

On the other hand, some causative verbs can have their corresponding non-causative variants in total or partial suppletives. The former type of situation where there is no formal overlap at all between the non-causative and the corresponding causative variants of a predicate is described as prototypical lexical causation (see Comrie 1989; Duah 2013):

(51)   Ú-bó   **dóón.**
        CL.SG-child   be.lying
        'The child has lain down/The child has fallen asleep.'

(52)   Ú-màr   **bīl**   ú-bó.
        CL.SG-nursing mother   lay.CAUS   CL.SG-child
        'The nursing mother has laid the child down/The nursing mother has put the child to sleep.'

The sentences above show a non-causative and a causative variant in (51) and (52) respectively. The autonomous-causative opposition is coded in the total suppletives, *dóón* ʿto lie downʾ *and bīl* 'to put down'. The autonomous-causative pair in (53) and (54) in turn, are an example of partial suppletives:

(53)   Kī-díí-k   **pìì.**
        CL.SG-room-CL.SG   close
        'The door is shut/closed.' Lit.: ʿThe room is closed.'

(54)   Sóójà   **píír**   kī-díí-k.
        soldier   open   CL.SG-room-CL.SG
        'A soldier has opened the door.'

Perhaps, more intersting about lexical causation in Likpakpaanl is the case of some transitive verbs which have variants with oral and nasal vowels. It is only the variant with the nasal vowel that can participate in non-causative/causative alternation. The construction (55) cannot be causativised because of the oral vowel version of the verb. On the other hand, a switch to the nasal alternative of the vowel makes it possible to optionally causativise the verb as can be seen in (56 and (57):

(55)   Ú-bó   **nyù**   ń-nyǔ̃.
        CL.SG-child   drink.HAB   CL-water
        'A child drinks water.'

(56)   Ú-bó   **nyǔ́**   ń-nyǔ̃.
        CL.SG-child   drink.PRF   CL-water
        'A child has drunk water.'

(57)   Ń   yàà   **nyǔ́**   ú-bó   ń-nyǔ̃.
        1SG.SBJ   grandmother   drink.CAUS.PRF   CL.SG-child   CL-water
        'My grandmother has made the child drink water.'

Aside from the formal relations (overlapping and suppletion) that are attested between autonomous-causative lexical pairs (cf. section 2), some lexical causatives in Likpakpaanl also constitute antonymic pairs (i.e., A verb and its antonym both code causative events) (58-59):

(58)   Jágēr   **búú**   ŋī-nú   mútù   pī.
        NAME   tie.CAUS   CL.PL-yam   motor   on
        ʿJager has tied tubers of yam on a motor bike.ʾ

(59)   Jágēr   **búúr**   ŋī-nú   mútù   pī.
         NAME   tie.CAUS   CL.PL-yam   motor   on
         'Jager has untied tubers of yam from a motor bike.'

Each of the constructions in (58) and (59) above are causatives. The predicates in the constructions contrast in their denotative meanings as causative verbs.

8. The serial verb causative in Likpakpaanl

Likpakpaanl is typologically a serialising language (see Bisilki 2021: 245) and, therefore, expresses some causal situations with verb combinations in serial verb constructions (SVCs). Such SVCs in Likpakpaanl are, however, not causative constructions *stricto sensu* as will be made clear later in this section.

Likpakpaanl SVCs are largely symmetrical in terms of the members of a serial verb. The only case of asymmetrical SVC so far noted is where *dī* 'take' may feature as a minor verb in the SVC. *Dī* 'take' is synchronically grammaticalised and restricted to use only as a minor verb (V1) in SVCs where it may either induce an instrumental (60) or an accompaniment (61) interpretation of the NPs involved:

(60)   Ū   **dī**   lī-gāgáá-l   líí   wìì   lī-sámbí-l.
         3SG   take   CL.SG-hammer-CL.SG   drop   break   CL.SG-bowl-CL.SG
         'S/he broke the bowl with a hammer (by dropping the hammer on the bowl).

(61)   Kòònjá   **dī**   sī   **búèn** tī   mánl   áá-ná.
         NAME   take   2SG.OBJ   go   AND   visit   POSS-mother
         'Koonja has gone with you to visit your mum.'

Generally, the SVC causative has either been treated as a non-periphrastic causative and, in that, is aligned with the lexical causative (Duah 2013: 126) or left ambivalent between periphrastic and non-periphrastic causatives (Song 2013). Song (2013: 46) adopts the term 'serialising casative' in reference to the SVC causative. The features of monoclausality and a relatively more closely knitting of cause-effect have been the main basis for classifying the SVC causative as non-periphrastic and, hence, more associated with the lexical causative (Duah 2013; Song 2013). The latter feature is sometimes more categorically referred to as the principle of single eventhood.

Two other conditions that have been central in the identification of SVCs in general is the application of the same tense, aspect, mood and polarity (TAMP) profile over all the members of a given SVC and argument sharing by the members of the serial. These conditions are considered as underlying factors that further aid event integration in SVC causatives (e.g., Duah 2013). As was stated at the beginning of this section, Likpakpaanl has no typical SVC causatives where a minor verb in the serial is a causative verb in the language (e.g., Dixon 2012: 244). Instead, what Likpakpaanl has are cases where certain symmetrical combinations of verbs in SVCs produce resultative or cause-effect interpretations. A similar phenomenon is reported of Ewe SVCs (Ameka 2006: 135):

(62)   Áá   **chúú bér**   nīmìnà.
         2SG.SBJ   hold erase   PROX
         'You have erased this one.'

(63)   Ū   **chúú fáá   kér**   tī-pááká-r.
         2SG   hold hit   pluck   CL.PL-wasp-CL.PL
         'S/he struck off the wasps (from a tree).'

(64)   Ú-nààyù-k   **fáá**   sī   **líí**.
        CL.SG-thief-CL.SG knock   2SG.OBJ fall
        'A thief has knocked you down.'

In Likpakpaanl SVCs expressing causal relations, the sequence of verbs may be intervened by a causee argument or not as we see in (62, 63) and (64) respectively. An important point to underscore on this matter is that an intervening causee is a true object of the clause and will invariably take the objective case, if a pronominal as in (64). Although the sitaution predicated in an SVC expressing a causal relation is perceived as unitary, it is still possible to pinpoint which of the satellite situations specify cause and result, respectively. In (64), for instance, we can say that *fáá* 'knock' correlates to the cause whereas *líí* 'fall' maps to the result.

9. Balanced and deranked biclausal causative constructions

In section 2, a background was provided on the concept of biclausal causatives. In this section, I present data from the West African languages surveyed in Yakpo (2012; 2017). This is necessary in order to appreciate the linguistic evidence on the biclausal causative template described for the West African linguistic area and to establish how the Likpakpaanl biclausal structure fits into this template.

Languages recruit various morphosyntactic resources in biclausally expressing event and participant relations in causatives (see, e.g., Cristofaro 2003: sections 5.4 & 5.5). For all the Five West African languages in Yakpo's (2012; 2017) sample, the determination of structural deranking in causation lies in the case status of the subject argument (i.e., the causee) in the clause of effect. Where the subject element in the clause of effect is not the real subject, and for that matter, is a notional one, the biclausal causative is labeled as deranked or reduced. Such a context also entails argument sharing since the notional subject is also properly the object argument of the causing verb. The notional subject status of the causee in the clause of effect presupposes non-finiteness of the verb in the clause of effect, thereby producing the deranked biclausal causative. Note that because Likpakpaanl has no case marking on lexical nominals or their controlling verbs (cf. §3), a test for the case status of an argument is by pronominalising with the first or the second person singular personal pronoun. These are the only pronouns that mark subject-object case distinctions in Likpakpaanl. On the other hand, the clause of effect in the balanced biclausal causative is a finite clause (see Yakpo 2017). I present some data on biclausal causatives from the five West African languges already alluded to in the following order: Ga, Ewe, Akan, Yoruba and Bafut.

Ga (Kwa, Atlantic-Congo, Ghana) has the balanced biclausal causative. The causative construction is marked by the use of a causer verb, *há* in the matrix clause (65). The balanced structure for Ga is determined on the basis of the subject form of the pronoun in the clause of effect:

(65)   Mì-há   è-yá   shíà.
        1SG.SBJ-cause   3SG.SBJ-go   home
        causer-causative verb   causee-verb of effect
        'I made him/her go home.' Lit. 'I made that s/he go home.' [Ga; Yakpo (2017: 56)]

Checks with Ga native speakers reveal that the Ga causative verb as appears in (65) derives from the homophonous lexical verb form, *há* 'give'.

The Ewe biclausal causative construction is marked by the causative verb *ná*, which grammaticalises from the homophonous lexical verb, *ná* 'give'. There is an optional quotative complementiser to introduce the clause of effect as we can see in the examples below. Where the causee argument in the clause of effect is a pronoun, it is the subject form that is acceptable, compare (66) and (67):

(66)   Mè-ná   (bé)   wò-vá   àfì.
       1SG.SBJ-cause   (quot)   3SG.SBJ-come   here
       'I made him/her come here.' [Ewe; Yakpo (2017: 57)]

(67)   *Mè-nê̂   vá   àfì.
       1SG.SBJ.cause.3SG.OBJ   come   here
       'I made him come here.' [Ewe; Yakpo (2017: 57)]

The gloss in (67) suggests that the form *-nê* conflates both cause and '3SG.OBJ'.

    Akan (Kwa, Atlantic-Congo, Ghana) has both balanced (68) and deranked (69) biclausal causatives. The causative verb in Akan is *mà*, which is said to have a diachronic relationship with the Akan homophonous lexical form *mà* 'give' (Yakpo 2017: 158; Duah 2013). The identical form relationship between the Akan causative verb and its cognate lexical verb meaning 'give' is the same as the pattern in Ga and Ewe discussed above. A sub-type of balanced biclausal causative is further identified in Akan. This sub-type is said to be found in the Fante dialect and features a subjunctive complementiser, *mà* co-occuring with the causer verb *mà* (70). It should be noted that, by this, three types of biclausal causative structures occur in Akan: deranked type, balanced -subjunctive complementiser and balanced +subjunctive complementiser:

(68)   ɔ̀-mà-à   ɔ̀-kɔ̀-ɔ̀   fíé.
       3SG.SBJ-cause-COMPL   3SG.SBJ-go-COMPL   home
       'S/he made him/her go home.' Lit. 'S/he made s/he go home.' [Asante Twi; Yakpo (2017: 58)]

(69)   ɔ̀-mà-à   nó   kɔ̀-ɔ̀   fíé.
       3SG.SBJ-cause-COMPL   3SG.OBJ   go-COMPL   home
       'S/he made him/her go home.' [Asante Twi; (Yakpo 2017: 58)]

(70)   ɔ̀-má-à   mà   ɔ̀-kɔ́-ɔ̀.
       3SG.SBJ-cause-COMPL   SBJV   3SG.SBJ-go-COMPL
       'S/he made him go.' Lit. 'S/he made that s/he go.' [Fante; (Yakpo 2017: 58)]

    According to Duah (2013), cited in Yakpo (2017: 58), the deranked structure in (69) suggests a more direct form of causation than that implied in the balanced structure in (68).
    The Yoruba (Defoid, Nigeria) biclausal causative is the balanced structure. The causative verb, *mú* co-occurs with the subjunctive complementiser, *kí* which introduces the caused event subordinate clause. But unlike in the Akan case, there is no homophony between the Yoruba causer verb and the subjunctive marker. Example (71) illustrates the Yoruba biclausal causative:

(71)   Mó   mú   kí   o   lo.
       1SG.SBJ   cause   SBJV 3SG.SBJ   go
       'I made him go.' [Yoruba; Yakpo (2017: 60)]

    The biclausal causative construction in Bafut (Bantoid, Cameroon) is the balanced construction. Like in Yoruba, the Bafut causer verb *ɣìrí* co-occurs with the subjunctive complementiser, *tá* in the causative construction. Besides the subjunctive complementiser, there is also the general complementiser, *mɔ́* in the construction. The Bafut causer verb and the subjunctive marker are also not homophonous. The sentence in (72) illustrates a biclausal causative in Bafut:

(72)   Má   kì   ɣìrí   mɔ́   tá   à   ɣèɛ́   wùsáá.
       1SG.SBJ   PST cause   COMP   SBJV   3SG.SBJ   go   town
       'I made him go to town.' [Bafut; Yakpo (2017: 60)]

A relevant issue that remains unclear in Yakpoˈs discussion, though, is whether there is also the option in Yoruba and Bafut to have a balanced construction without introducing the (subjunctive) complementiser. Nonetheless, Yakpo's account is quite clear on the point that the balanced structure is the option available for biclausal causative constructions in Yoruba and Bafut. The latter issue satisfies our interest in the present article.

I turn to the balanced causative construction in Likpakpaanl in the next section (§10), having provided a quick survey of the patterns attested in the other West African languages already investigated.

10. The balanced biclausal causative construction in Likpakpaanl

The Likpakpaanl biclausal causative is a balanced structure. The causee stands as the true subject of the clause of effect as there is no raising of this causee argument. The biclausal causative is marked by the grammaticalised causative verb, *chà*, which is realised as *chɔ́* in speech when immediately followed by the high back vowel /u/ in a following word. The *chà* grammaticalised causative verb derives from the homophonous lexical cognate *chà* 'to leave, to let go, to let remain'. The grammaticalisation source of the Likpakpaanl biclausal causative verb, therefore, diverges from the oft-cited lexical source (being the verb 'give') of biclausal causative markers in neighbouring Kwa languages (see Duah 2013: 107; Yakpo 2017). In its synchronic lexical sense, *chà* is restricted to a modal use in imperative main clauses (73):

(73)   Chà   máá-bɔ́-r!
            leave   1SG.OBJ.POSS-issue-CL
            'Leave me alone/Stay off my affairs.'

The Likpakpaanl grammaticalised causative verb *chà* has a vague interpretation as it oscillates among the meanings: 'make', 'allow' and 'let' and is used for the expression of both factitive and permissive causatives. The specific interpretation that *chà* assumes depends on the dicernible force-dynamics at play in a particular pragmatic context (whether barrier-imposition, barrier-removal or non-imposistion). The full gamut of force-dynamics and the associated semantics can be found in Duah (2013), Egan (2012) and, in a more classic fashion, Talmy (1988). Sentences (74) and (75) are examples of the Likpakpaanl biclausal causative, in this case factitive (or causative proper), since the causal relations suggest barrier-imposition or the exercise of some force that results in the events stated in the respective clauses of effect:

(74)   Tīchà   **chà**   tī   ló   ń-nyún   tìì   ù.
            teacher   CAUS   2PL   fetch CL-water   give   3SG
            'The teacher made us fetch water for him.'

(75)   Kɔ́tī **chà** áá   pán   lī-mɔ̀mbí-l   ńgbàán.
            court CAUS 2SG.SBJ   pay   CL.SG-money-CL.SG   DIST
            'The court made you pay that money.'

As was stated earlier (cf. § 9), Likpakpaanl has no case marking on lexical arguments or their controlling predicates, with the exception of the first and the second person singular personal pronouns, which are grammatically marked for argument roles (subject and object). As a result, the balanced nature of the biclausal causative construction in Likpakpaanl is teased out by pronominalising the causee in the clause of effect (75) and (76). Changing the causee argument into a grammatical object in the Likpakpaanl biclausal causative results in ungrammaticality, compare (75) employing the subject form of the second person singular personal pronoun with (77) featuring the objective form of the same

pronoun. This confirms the finiteness of the clause of effect and, therefore, the view that the biclausal causative construction in Likpakpaanl is the balanced rather than the deranked structure:

(76) Nánjímáá ná   **chà ń**   sáán   sákpén.
      soldier   DEF CAUS 1SG.SBJ   suffer a.lot
      'The soldier made me suffer so much.'

(77) *Ń   gā   **chà sī**   sáán.
      1SG.SBJ   FUT   CAUS 2SG.OBJ suffer
      (Intended: 'I'll make you suffer.')

I should point out that the subject constraint of the causee in the Likpakpaanl biclausal causative is one of the parameters that distinguishes this type of construction from causation in Likpakpaanl SVCs (cf. §8). Recall that, in the latter case, the causee remains a grammatical object, even if it appears between the verb series. Another difference between the biclausal and the SVC causatives in Likpakpaanl is that, in the former type of construction, the causative verb is non-specific (abstract, open ended) in terms of the cause it states whereas the verb that states cause in the latter type specifies the causing event.

Furthermore, as indicated at the beginning of this section, *chà* conflates the coding of the factitive and the permissive causatives. The tendency of analytic causative verbs expressing both factitive and permissive causatives is well reported for Indo-European languages (see Leino & von Waldenfels 2012: 1), a case in point being the Swedish verb, *låta* 'make, get' (lit. 'let') (Rawoen 2012: 106–107). On the other hand, there is hardly any documentation on factitive-permissive causative relations in languages related to Likpakpaanl, save for Duah (2013: 105) where reference is made to the Akan analytic causative verb *mà* being able to express both the factitive and the permissive causative notions at the same time. The instances in (78) ad (79) are expressions of Likpakpaanl permissive causative constructions recruiting *chà*:

(78) Kòònjá   (kíí   kī) **chà** áá   búen tí   mánl áá-ná.
      NAME   (agree   SM) CAUS 2SG.SBJ   go   to   visit POSS-mother
      'Konja allowed you to go and visit your mum.'

(79) Ú-bɔ́   **chà**   sándéé   ŋmár.
      CL.SG-dog CAUS   rabbit   be.free
      'The dog let the rabbit escape.'

As mentioned earlier, the specific permissive interpretation (either as 'allow' or 'let') that *chà* assumes depends on the dicernible force-dynamics at play in a particular pragmatic context. The causal relation in (78) suggest a removal of a hitherto barrier or restraint by the causer (in this case, the permitter) to make possible the resulting event in the clause of effect. Indeed, the utterance was made on an occasion when the permitter (a paternal uncle) who had previously barred his teenage niece (the causee/permittee referred to with the second person singular subject pronoun) living with him from travelling to the city to see her mum finally granted the causee permission to visit her mum in the city. The situation in (79), on its part, is a relation of non-imposition of barrier or restraint. On the occasion of (79), the speaker returns from the farm to report of how his dog (the permitter) made no effort to help chase or catch a rabbit (the permittee) he (the speaker) bumped into along the farm path, thereby letting the rabbit escape. Note that in Likpakpaanl traditional areas, rabbits and the likes are commonly hunted for game meat.

Unlike in some West African languages (cf. §9) where a complementiser introducing a clause of effect may feature in the balanced biclausal causative construction, there is no complementiser of any

kind (whether optional or obligatory) in biclausal causatives drawing from the Lichaabɔl dialect of Likpakpaanl. Hence, none of the Likpakpaanl data examples, so far, cited for the biclausal causative features a complementiser. However, there is an optional complementiser, *ká* in the biclausal causative in some dialects of Likpakpaanl such as Lidɔndɔnl, Linaajuul and Lichagbaanl. Examples (80) and (81) containing an optional complementiser is a construction from the Linaajuul dialect of Likpakpaanl:

(80)   Kɔ̀síí   **chà**   **(ká)**   áá   sá-kpén.
        NAME   CAUS   (COMP)   2PL.SBJ   run-go.home
        'Kɔsii made you run home.'

(81)   Lī-ŋúú-l   **chà (ká)**   ú-nìmpú   fáá   ú-bísá-l.
        CL.SG-heart-CL.SG CAUS (COMP)   CL.SG-woman-CL.SG   hit   3SG-daughter-CL.SG
        'The woman hit her daughter out of anger.' Lit. 'Anger made the woman hit her daughter.'

Note that the structures in (80) and (81) remain balanced.

10.1 Tense, aspect and negation in the Likpakpaanl biclausal causative.

The *chà* causative verb can co-occur with a tense or a negation marker. Likpakpaanl tense and negation markers are preverbal particles (cf. section 3) and, therefore, precede *chà* in the matrix clause in (82) and (83). Core aspect markers are realised on the verb of effect (84). This is to say that an aspect category cannot be marked on *chà* so that aspect marking is structurally prohibited from occurring in the matrix clause as a result:

(82)   Ń   **fī   chà**   ḿ-bī-m   búèn kī-sáá-k.
        1SG.SBJ   HEST CAUS CL.PL-child-CL.PL go   CL.SG-farm-CL.SG
        'I made the children go to the farm yesterday.'

(83)   Ú-fīláánjá   **áá**   kī   **chà**   tīwókú-r   ná   chùùn.
        CL.SG-herdman   NEG   no.longer   CAUS CL.PL-thing-CL.PL   DEF   walk
        'The herdman no longer allows the animals to move on free range.'

(84)   Ń   **chà** ḿ-bī-m   ŋá-**nī**   tī-jíí-r   lá,   táá   dàà.
        1SG.SBJ   CAUS CL.PL-child-CL.PL   do-HAB   CL.food-CL FOC   2PL.NEG   buy
        'I make the children cook, we don't buy food.'

Similar to the phenomenon in SVCs (cf. §8), only one tense, aspect or negation marker is allowed to scope over the two clauses in a Likpakpaanl biclausal causative construction, compare (82) with (85):

(85)   *Ń   **fī   chà** ḿ-bī-m   **fī**   búèn   kī-sáá-k.
        1SG.SBJ   HEST CAUS CL.PL-child-CL.PL HEST go   CL.SG-farm-CL.SG
        'I made the children go to the farm yesterday.'

On the other hand, no other (lexical) verb can co-occur with the causative verb, *chà* in the matrix clause. A construction like (86) (repetition of (78) without the brackets) should not be taken as an instance of causative *chà* co-occuring with another verb in the same clause. The sentence in (86) consists of three clauses, with the verb *kíí* 'agree' featuring in the first and different clause from the one containing causative *chà*. The same subject marker *kī* begins a new clause in which *chà* occurs as a causative marker:

(86)   Kòònjá   kíí   kī   **chà**   áá   búèn   tí   mánl   áá-ná.
        NAME   agree SM   CAUS   2SG.SBJ   go   to   visit   POSS-mother
        'Konja allowed you to go and visit your mum.'

11. Conclusion

In this article, I have provided a (first) systematic account of grammatical causation in Likpakpaanl (Mabia [Gur], Niger-Congo). The article draws on naturalistic data from Likpakpaanl and also secondary data from thirteen other West African languages, either genetically or geographically related to Likpakpaanl. Causative expressions in Likpakpaanl are examined under morphological, lexical, serialising and analytic, biclausal causatives. The discovery of nasal features as a causative device under morphological causation (cf. §6) in Likpakpaanl introduces a new dimension to what is, so far, known about causative structure in languages related to Likpakpaanl. Likpakpaanl, however, follows the balanced biclausal causative structure described as the predominant structure in West African languages (Yakpo 2012; 2017). The Likpakpaanl analytic, biclausal causative marker, *chà* grammaticalises from the homophonous lexical form *chà* 'to leave, to let go, to let remain', thereby diverging from the frequently known grammaticalisation source of analytic causative markers reported for neighbouring languages in the Kwa group. Reference can be made to Duah (2013: 107), von Waldenfels & Leino (2012) and Yakpo (2012; 2017) for attestation to the fact that, among the Kwa languages and beyond, analytic causatives are often grammaticalised from the verb 'give'.

The Likpakpaanl causative verb, *chà* expresses both factitive and permissive causatives, a situation that is yet to be well investigated or understood in relation to languages related to Likpakpaanl. A review of the literatutre (cf. §5) clearly shows that, generally, much remains to be done on causation in the Mabia languages. Finally, I suggest that further investigations into causative structure in the Mabia languages potentially leads to novel insights on how natural languages grammaticalise causation.

Abbreviations

ADV	Adverb
AND	Andative
CAUS	Causative
CF	Cross reference
CL	Noun class
COMP	Complementiser
COMPL	Completive
DEF	Definite marker
DEM	Demonstrative
DIST	Distal demonstrative
DM	Discourse marker
DYN	Dynamic (verb)
FAC	Factative
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
HEST	Hesternal past
HOD	Hodiernal past
LOC	Locative
POSS	Possessive marker
PST	Past
PL	Plural
PRF	Perfect
PROG	Progressive
Q	Question marker

QUOT	Quotative
SBJ	Subject
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG	Singular
SM	Same subject marker

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