

CAUSATIVIZATION IN HINDI: AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW*

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〈Abstract〉

The present paper on causative construction in Hindi presents an alternative view of the phenomenon by scrutinizing the form, function and the context of causative verbs in Hindi. There are several classifications of causative verbs in Hindi in the literature, but there is no formal consensus on the diverse usage of the verbs and everyone has adopted his/her own mechanism to handle the data for causative. The explanations that are given in literature are either complex or unclear and thus there are lots of exceptions. In our attempt, we have tried to focus on the semantics and the morphology of the causative verbs and examine them on the basis of their contextual functions. On the basis of this yardstick, we have proposed a four-way classification of the data of causative verbs in Hindi. We have introduced two new terms: a.) de-transitivized verb b.) pseudo-ditransitive verbs in order to explain the process of causativization in Hindi.

Key words: causative verbs in Hindi, causativization, valency, direct causative, indirect causative, pseudo-ditransitive verbs.

1. INTRODUCTION:

The causative construction has received a great deal of attention by the linguists around the world for last three decades. There are quite a number of motivating and challenging research works, both as full length doctoral dissertation and research articles/chapters, in the area of causative construction. Thus, it is really difficult to start any discussion or propose a research paper on ‘causative construction’ or ‘process of causativization’ in any language primarily because of two reasons, a.) it is like plunging unwillingly into an overcrowded and contentious area of research, b.) the diversity of the form and function of the verbs for causativization is such that no explanation seems to have overcome the exceptions. One of such exceptions that the grammarians have encountered is that verbs with

apparently same suffix ‘-आ(-α)’ show two different patterns in terms of syntax and semantics. It is generally termed as a direct causative, but in some cases, it is considered a false causative. For example, उठना, ‘to get up’ becomes उठाना, ‘to raise’ by taking the suffix ‘-आ(-α)’ and it is considered a direct causative counterpart of earlier form. However, काटना ‘to cut’ brings out कटाना, ‘to make cut’ which is a direct causative, but the latter does not show any semantic difference from the indirect causative verb form i.e. कटवाना, ‘to make cut’ which is derived from the same verb काटना. In order to explain such exceptions, we would like to analyze the process of causativization in Hindi from two viewpoints: (1) the increase/decrease of the valency (participant) of the verbs and (2) case markers assigned to the causee which is the subject of the active counterpart sentence and the semantic feature of the causee.

We have the following schema which functions as a framework that we have arrived at after a careful analysis:

2. THE ROLE OF VERBS IN THE PROCESS OF CAUSATIVIZATION:

a) If the basic verb is an intransitive i.e. सोना-type, direct causation makes it a transitive verb and it has two participants, and finally the indirect causation changes the verb into causative form where the verb has three participants.

b) If the basic verb is a transitive i.e. खाना-type, direct causation makes it a ditransitive verb and it has three participants, and finally the indirect causation changes the verb into causative one which has four participants.

c) If the basic verb is a ditransitive i.e. **देना**-type, it already has three participants to begin with and thus, the direct causation makes it a causative verb and it has 4 participants. In the case of some ditransitive verbs, it is possible to have an indirect causation but the number of participant remain four and therefore, these two forms have no distinct semantic difference between direct and indirect form of causation.

d.1) If the basic verb is a transitive (different set of transitive verb which is pseudo-ditransitive in nature) i.e. **काटना**-type, direct causation makes it a causative verb and it has three participants, and it may have an indirect causation which produces a false friend but there is not increase in the number of participants and there is no semantic distinction between direct and indirect form of causation.

d.2) If the basic verb is a transitive (different set of transitive verb which is pseudo-ditransitive in nature) i.e. **बनाना**¹-type, the indirect causation makes it a causative and it has three participants.

¹ It is generally known that **बनाना** is a transitive and basic verb. However, one can also say that the verb 'बनाना', 'to make' has been derived from **बनना** 'to become', and **बनाना** is a direct causative form. It has similar form and matches with the verb **सोना**-type. Likewise, **हारना-हराना** etc. shows the same pattern.

3. THE ROLE OF SUBJECT² IN THE PROCESS OF CAUSATIVIZATION:

The role of the subject varies/differs for different types of verbs in the process of causativization which can be summed up as follows:

a) The subject of an intransitive verb changes its role in direct causative sentence and it functions as a direct object in the direct causative sentence.

b) The subject of a transitive verb changes its role in direct causative sentence and it functions as an indirect object in the direct causative sentence.

c) The subject of a ditransitive verb changes its role in direct causative sentence and it functions as an instrumental NP-object in the direct causative sentence.

d.1&d.2) The subject of a pseudo-ditransitive verb changes its role in direct causative sentence and it functions as an instrumental NP-object in the direct causative sentence.

4. CASE ASSOCIATION AND SEMANTIC FEATURE OF THE CAUSEE:

a) In the process of causativization, an objective case is introduced to mark the causee (i.e. the subject of an intransitive verb such as सोना, 'to sleep') and the causee bears the semantic feature i.e. [+ affected].

² If we examine the role of subject in the process of causativization, we will have to acknowledge the fact that there are some common semantic features between the sub-type of transitive verb and ditransitive verb. They show some common features at various level of linguistic classifications.

b) In the process of causativization, a dative case is introduced to mark the causee (i.e. the subject of a transitive verb such as **खाना**, 'to eat') and the causee bears the semantic feature i.e. [+ benefited].

c) In the process of causativization, an instrumental case is introduced to mark the causee (i.e. the subject of a ditransitive verb such as **देना**, 'to give') and the causee bears the semantic feature i.e. [+ actor, -affected, -benefited].

d.1 & d.2) In the process of causativization, an instrumental case is introduced to mark the causee (i.e. the subject of a transitive verb such as **काटना**, 'to cut') and the causee bears the semantic feature i.e. [+ actor, -affected, -benefited].

With above mentioned generalization of the function of verb and semantic features of the causee, let us explain the process of causativization in Hindi.

5. SOME EARLIER WORKS ON CAUSATIVE:

As we mentioned earlier, there are lots of researchers who have worked on various aspects of causativization using all sorts of theories and approaches. Some of the earlier works which we have consulted and benefited our explanation can be cited as Alsina (1992), Aissen (1974), Bagchi & Seely (2004), Balachandran (1971), Bhatt (2003), Begam & Sharma (2010), Choi & Kim (2016), Cole (1983), Comrie (1976, 1989), Dixon (2000), Kachru (1971, 1980), Khokhalova (1997), Krishnamurti (1971), Richa (2008), Saksena (1980, 1982, 1983), Sharma (1972), Shibatani (1976), Song (1996), Talmy (2000). These researchers have their own way of arrangement of the data on causativization; however, Saksena (1980) has argued for similar classification what we want to argue at the end of my paper as an explanation of some of the verbs in Hindi which

behave very differently when it comes to show the process of causativization. She uses the term ‘de-subjectivized agent-1’ for one set of verb and their causative-forms (Saksena 1980: 134). We, instead, would prefer the process of de-transitivization which explains the phenomenon better and this also connects its relevance and function to the so called ‘original passive verbs’ which Sharma³ (1972: 116) has mentioned in his work.

Now, let us begin with our four types of classification of Hindi verbs and show how the process of causativization takes place in all four types:

6. INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

Table-1

Type -A	Derivational process	Basic verb	transitivization	Causativization
	Derivational suffix		-आ	-वा
	Verb type	Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
	Example	सोना etc.	सुलाना, etc.	सुलवाना, etc.
	Number of participants	1	2	3

The verbs in this type are intransitive ones. We know that an intransitive verb does not require an object to understand its core meaning. For example, when we say ‘बच जाजाताहै’, ‘The boy goes’ or we say ‘बच चाघरजाताहै’, ‘The boy goes home’, the verbalization and the semantics of ‘जाना’ ‘to go’ is complete without the location of going i.e. ‘घर’, ‘home’ in both the sentence. This is why the intransitive verbs are

³ Sharma (1994: Pp 116) calls this type of verb as ‘original passive verbs’.

classified as one valency verb which means that it only has the subject as the core argument in it. The use of causative marker as given in ‘table-1’ changes the intransitive verbs first into transitive ones and later into causative forms. This postulation will help us to prove that there is only one form of causative for all types of verbs in Hindi, and what has been reported in the literature about ‘direct causation’ and ‘indirect causation’ is, in fact, an intermediate derivation of the verbs from intransitive to transitive in some cases and from transitive to ditransitive in other cases. We will come back to this point when we deal with the transitive verbs and the process of causativization of those verbs. At the moment, let us examine the process of causativization for intransitive verbs:

1. बच चा सोता है ।

bəččɑ	sotɑ	hɛ
child-3MS-Nom	sleep-imp-3MS	be-Prest

‘The child sleeps’.

2. माँ बच चे को सुलाती है ।

mɑ̃	bəččɛ-ko	sulɑti	hɛ
mother-3F-Nom	child-Acc	sleep-trv ⁴ -imp-3MS	be-Prest

‘The mother makes the child sleep’.

3. माँ आया से बच चे को सुलवाती है ।

mɑ̃	ɑyɑ-se	bəččɛ-ko	suləwɑti	hɛ
mother-3F-Nom	maid-Inst	child-Acc	sleep-caus-imp3MS	be-Pres

‘The mother gets the maid to make the child sleep’.

⁴ trv: This gloss means ‘transitivizer’ marker, which is generally regarded as ‘direct causative’ marker in the literature.

The above examples (1-3) prove the point we mentioned before citing these examples. The example (1) shows that the verb in this sentence is intransitive and thus it has only one participant i.e. the subject 'child'. An observation that is worth mentioning is that most of the intransitive verbs can have maximum of three participants under this schema; by being intransitive, it has one participant to start with and the second one is added by the process of transitivization and finally the third one introduced by the process of causativization. The table given below shows some other intransitive verbs and the pattern of these verbs in table-3 follows the same schema that is discussed above for the verb 'sleep'.

Table-2

गिरना to fall	दौड़ना to run	रोना to cry	घूमना to roam
सोना to sleep	नहाना to bathe	लुढ़कना to tumble	चढ़ना to climb
जागना to wake up	नाचना to dance	घसकना to slide	छिपना to hide
उतरना to get down	हँसना to laugh	कूदना to jump	ठहरना to stay

7. TRANSITIVE VERBS:

Transitive verbs, as we know, have essentially two participants i.e. a subject and an object in the sentence to begin with. Most of the transitive verbs, given in Table-4 below, are transformed from transitive to ditransitive verbs in the first stage of derivation, and then these transformed ditransitive verbs are again converted into a causative verb form where the total number of participants/valences becomes four. This is the maximum number of participants/valences that we can have by dint of the process of causativization what we discussed in the introduction. Transitive verbs are

of two categories i.e. the default transitive verbs and the so called pseudo-ditransitive verbs. Let us first examine the table-3 for a clear picture of what we want to explain for the examples of transitive verb ‘खाना’, ‘to eat’ thereafter:

Table-3

Type -B	Derivational process	Basic verb	ditransitivization	Causativization
	Derivational suffix		-आ	-वा
	Verb type	transitive	ditransitive	Causative
	Example	खाना etc.	खिलाना , etc.	खिलवाना , etc.
	Number of participants	2	3	4

Let us examine the following examples:

4. बच्चा आम खाता है ।

bəččɑ ɑm kʰɑtɑ hɛ
 child-3MS-Nom mango-3MS-Acc eat-imp-3MS be-Prest
 ‘The child eats a mango’.

5. माँ बच्चे को आम खिलाती है ।

mɑ̃ bəččɛ-ko ɑm kʰɪlɑtɪ hɛ
 mother-3FS- child-3MS- mango- eat-ditr⁵-imp- be-
 Nom Dat 3MS 3FS Prest

⁵ ditrv: This gloss means ‘ditransitivizer’ marker, which is generally regarded as ‘direct causative’ marker in the literature.

'Mother feeds mango to the child'.

6. माँ आया से बच्चे को आम खिलाती है ।

mā	āyā-se	bac̥c̥e-ko	am	k ^h iləwati	he
mother-	maid-	child-	mango	eat-caus-	be-
3FS-Nom	3FS-Inst	3MS-Dat		imp-3FS	Pres

'Mother gets maid to make the child eat mango'.

The examples (4-6) given above show how the process of causativization for the default transitive verb works. The example (4) shows that the verb is a transitive one and thus we have two participants in it i.e. the subject and the direct object respectively. The example (5) shows that the verb changes from a transitive to the ditransitive one. This derivation from a transitive to the ditransitive one with the help of causativization increases the number of participants and thus there are three participants i.e. the subject, the indirect object and direct object respectively. The very idea that the causative marker changes the transitive verb into a ditransitive verb is also supported by the canonical case⁶ markers that appear with the participants e.g. the indirect object 'child' occurs with the dative case, the direct object 'mango' is marked with accusative case and the subject 'mother' bears the nominative case in the sentence. The next example (6) is the actual form of causative verb in Hindi where one more participant i.e. 'maid' is increased in the sentence by the causative marker.

The verbs given in table-2 behave similar to the verb 'eat' discussed above.

⁶ The subjective and objective cases (i.e. the nominative, the accusative and the dative cases) are known as the canonical cases in the literature.

Table-4

पढ़ना to read	देखना to see	जीतना to win	भूलना to forget	गिनना to count
खाना to eat	सुनना to hear	सीखना to learn	रटना to rote	चखना to taste
पीना to drink	समझना to understand	पहनना to put on	सँघना to smell	छूना to touch

There is something very interesting to note with regards to the verb in table-4. Most of the verb and the action denoted by these verbs show a great connection between the agent and the action. Most of these actions are directed towards him/her and they show the inalienable relationship of the instrument with the agent. These verbs are mostly related to five senses of perception and the sixth sense i.e. human mind, and the action denoted by these verbs are directed towards the doers i.e. the action benefits the agent. These six senses of perception help these verbs to not have the need of external instrument in order to carry out the action.

8. DITRANSITIVE VERBS:

Table-5

Type -C	Derivational process	Basic verb	False Causative	Causativization
	Derivational suffix		-आ	-वा
	Verb type	ditransitive	False Causative	Causative
	Example	देना etc.	दिलाना etc.	दिलवाना, etc.
	Number of participants	3	4	4

We know that a ditransitive verb already has three participants in its base form i.e. a subject, a direct object and an indirect object. The process of causativization for ditransitive verbs is straightforward and simple. This category of verb does not undergo any intermediate change with regard to the successive derivation of one form of verb to another form by the process of causativization. After all, a ditransitive verb has already three participants with it at its base form and therefore, there is no scope for any further semantic enhancement or modification for increasing the number of participants in this case.

Nevertheless, there seems to some false intermediate successive derivation even for the ditransitive verbs by the process of causativization but this unnecessarily produce the false forms of verb like 'दिलाना', 'to make give' from 'देना', 'to give', however, 'दिलाना', 'to make give' and 'दिलवाना', 'to make give' can't show distinct semantic difference. The reason for this is quite simple to explain. If we recall, the maximum number of participants by the process of causativization can't be more than four, and this is why the intermediate derivation of ditransitive verb is not possible. This process, otherwise, will exceed the allowed number of participants and there is no such scope of increase of participants in the schema. So, a false verb form is created by the process of causativization i.e. **दिलाना** and **दिलवाना** but semantically they remain the same with regard to the counting of the valency and this is the main yardstick of parsing the causative verbs for any cognitive process and parameter. Let us examine some examples of ditransitive verb the process of causativization:

7. माँ बच्चे को आम देती है ।

माँ	bačče-ko	am	deti	he
mother-3FS-	child-3MS-	mango-3SF-	give-Imp-	be-
Nom	Dat	Acc	3FS	Prest

'Mother gives the child a mango'.

8. पिता जी माँ से बच्चे को आम दिलाते हैं ।

pitā-ji	mā-se	bēcē-ko	am	dilate	hē
father-	mother-	child-	mango-	give-	be-
3MS-Nom	3FS-Inst	3MS-Dat	Acc	FCF ⁷ -3MS	Prest

'Father gets mother to give the mango to the child'.

पिता जी माँ से बच्चे को आम दिलाते हैं ।

9. pitā-ji	mā-se	bēcē-ko	am	dilawate	hē
father-	mother-	child-	mango-	give-	be-
3MS-Nom	3FS-Inst	3MS-Dat	Acc	Caus-3MS	Prest

'Father gets mother to give the mango to the child'.

Some other ditransitive verbs like 'भेजना' 'to send', 'रखना', 'to put' etc. have similar function that is discussed for the verb 'देना' 'to give' above. There are already three participants at the base level for all these ditransitive verbs and thus no intermediate derivation is possible. However, from the point of view of the form of the verbs, they show an intermediate derivation such as 'भेजाना', 'to make to send', 'रखाना', 'to make to keep' and 'दिलाना', 'to make to give', but they are false friends and thus have no semantic difference with their causative counterparts. Thus, the actual causativized forms of these verbs such as 'भिजवाना', 'to make to send', 'रखवाना', 'to make to keep' and 'दिलवाना', 'to make to give' don't show any semantic difference with that of their 'false friends'. It is an interesting point to note here that the intermediately derived false causativized verbs

⁷ False causative form

are not used much in written form of Hindi and thus, it is mostly used in spoken form and that too very rarely.

9. ANOTHER CLASS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS:

While working on the process of causativization, we come across another class of transitive verbs. These verbs show some different linguistic features and they seem to have inbuilt sense of instrumentation if we scrutinize the semantic of the actions that are expressed by these verbs. So, with this extra valency like participant with these verbs, they come very close to ditransitive verbs, however, they are not at par with the actual ditransitive verb. Therefore, we have decided to call it 'pseudo-ditransitive verb'. This separate category will help us explain the causativization better. The concept of 'pseudo-ditransitivity' came into discussion because the semantics of these verbs unfold their inherent linguistic property of understood instrumentality. The action denoted by these verbs comprises an understood participant i.e. the instrument. It is obvious that in order to perform the action denoted by these verbs, one would necessarily require some tools or instrument. If we accept this fact, we realize that there are already three participants to begin with for this category of verb (along with the counting of this external but yet inherent instrument⁸). So, if there are already three participants in the base form of the verb, there can't be any intermediate successive derivation of these verbs. The structure of these verbs can be explained by showing the following table given below:

⁸ We think it is very fascinating to classify and study verbs with covert and overt instrument and examine the case of inherent and yet external instrumentality in carrying out an action. It is a full-length research work and we should take it up someday.

Table-6

Pseudo-ditransitive verb: type one (with false causative form)

Type- D.a	Derivational process	De- transitivized	Basic verb	False Causative	Causative
	Derivational suffix	removal of -आ		-आ	-वा
	Verb type	Natural passive	Pseudo- ditransitive	Causative	Causative
	Example	कटना, etc.	काटना, etc.	कटाना, etc.	कटवाना etc.
	Number of participants	1	2(3) *9	3(4)	3(4)

One of the boxes in table-6 shows a term called de-transitivized. Now, we must explain the idea of de-transitivization. It is, of course, a reverse process of derivation in which one participant is reduced. So, the process of de-transitivization is a reverse mechanism, and thus it decreases one valency from the existing number of valences. So, when the valency i.e. the subject from these pseudo-ditransitive verbs is removed by de-transitivization, the verbs apparently become intransitive ones i.e. verbs which are naturally passive. If we recall, we have intentionally kept a very simple definition of the process of causativization i.e. with the help of the process of causativization, we increase or decrease the valency of the verb in a successive manner. The pseudo-ditransitive verbs are of two types; i) type one where the false causative form is created by intermediate successive derivation, and ii) type two where there is no such false

⁹ The numbers in brackets include inherent/covert instrument.

causative form in the language. We will discuss type two later, let us first see the examples of type one where the false causative form is available.

Let us discuss the examples:

10. आदमी (कुल्हाड़ी से) पेड़ काटता है ।

admi	(kulhāṛi-se)	peṛ	kaṭeta	he
man-3MS-Nom	(axe-Inst)	tree-3S	cut-Imp-3MS	be-Prest

'The man cuts the tree (with an axe)'.

11. पिताजी आदमी से (कुल्हाड़ी से) पेड़ कटाते हैं ।

pitā-ji	admi-	(kulhāṛi-	peṛ	kaṭate	heṅ
	se	se)			
father-	man-	(axe-Inst)	tree-	cut-FCF-	be-
3MH-Nom	Inst		3S	Imp-3MH	Prest-H

'Father gets the man cut the tree (with the axe)'.

12. पिताजी आदमी से (कुल्हाड़ी से) पेड़ कटवाते हैं ।

pitā-ji	admi-	(kulhāṛi-	peṛ	kaṭwate	heṅ
	se	se)			
father-	man-	(axe-Inst)	tree-	cut-Caus-	be-
3MH-Nom	Inst		3S	Imp-3MH	Prest-H

'Father gets the man cut the tree (with the axe)'.

The examples (10-12) show that the verb used here is a pseudo-ditransitive verb. The instrument shown as optional participant in the bracket is actually an inherent instrument that is required to accomplish the action denoted by the verb. This category of causative verbs in Hindi has great amount of confusion. There is no explanation available for this category of verbs in the literature. Therefore, this category of transitive verbs demands a detailed discussion. We want to explain the semantic and

morphological properties of these verbs that has never been explained in the literature. As we have mentioned in the footnote of earlier transitive verbs, it is an interesting point to note here that all these pseudo-ditransitive verbs denote actions that can't be accomplished without an overt instrument that is not an inalienable part of human physiology. Therefore, despite the fact that these verbs look normal transitive verbs but they are in fact equal to ditransitive verbs in their base or default form. Let us put a table that contains other pseudo-ditransitive verbs of this type and then we explain the other type of pseudo-ditransitive verbs where there is no false form of causative and that will give us the reason to explain the form and functions of these pseudo-ditransitive verbs in lucid way.

Pseudo-ditransitive-Set-A:

Table-7

De-transitive	Pseudo-ditransitive	False causative	Causative
दूटना to get broken	तोड़ना to break	तुड़ना to get sth broken	तुड़वाना to get sth broken
फूटना to get broken	फोड़ना to break	फोड़ना - false form	फोड़वाना to get sth broken
कटना to get cut	काटना to cut	कटाना - false form	कटवाना to get sth cut
खूलना to get open	खोलना to open	खोलाना false form	खोलवाना to get sth open
बँटना to get divided	बाँटना to divide	बँटाना false form	बँटवाना to get sth divided

In the set of pseudo-ditransitive verbs given in the table-7, we find that there are false derivations of verbs that are in the box of false causatives slot.

However, there is no semantic difference between the false-forms and the actual causative forms of the verbs. In fact, as we have mentioned earlier, we generally don't find these false forms in writing. It is only in a casual speech that we find the false-form of verbs and actual causative verbs being used synonymously. Thus, it is important to highlight this point here and explain as to why the successive derivation of pseudo-ditransitive or ditransitive verbs creates a false form. These verbs don't take a participant with dative case or in dative-role. If the false forms could fulfill the requirement of allowing one of the participants to take the dative case and perform the dative-role, there would have been semantic difference between the false forms and the causative form of verbs of this category. This fact is proven by other set of transitive verbs such as 'पढ़ना', 'to read', 'पीना', 'to drink', 'खाना', 'to eat' etc. which could successfully undergo the successive intermediate derivation into ditransitive verb i.e. 'पढ़ाना', 'to teach', 'खिलाना', 'to feed', 'मिलाना', 'to make drink' and could take a participant which will take dative case. Such dative case can never be assigned to the participant of the false derived verb forms such as 'तुड़ाना', 'to get x broken', 'कटाना', 'to get x cut', 'खोलाना', 'to get x opened' etc.

Let us now discuss the second type of pseudo-ditransitive verbs in which the false causative verb forms remain absent. Meaning the structure of the language does not support the formation of false causative forms in Hindi. Let us put a table for showing the conceptual framework of the causativization of the second type of pseudo-ditransitive verbs.

Table-8

Pseudo-ditransitive verb: type two (without false causative form)

type -D.b	Derivational process	De- transitivized	Basic verb	False Causative	Causative
	Derivational suffix	removal of - आ		-आ	-वा
	Verb type	Natural passive	Pseudo- ditransitive	Causative	Causative
	Example	बननाetc.	बनानाetc.	---no forms-	बनवानाetc.
	Number of participants	1	2(3)*10		3(4)

These verbs in the above table are ideal examples of what we have termed them as ‘pseudo-ditransitive verbs’. It is so interesting to note that the structure/form of language does not support the intermediate derivation that brings false causative forms. Thus, we find the blank/empty box in the space of derived ditransitive verbs. This is why we called these verbs as ideal pseudo-ditransitive verb. The next box shows that the verb is a causativized form with an addition of the fourth participant in the schema of process of causativization.

Let us examine the examples:

10. कुम्हार घड़ा बनाता है । = कुम्हार (मिट्टी से) घड़ा बनाता है ।
 kumhār g^həṛɑ bənɑtɑ he
 potter-3MS-Nom clay pot make-Imp-3MS be-Prest
 ‘The potter makes clay pot’.

¹⁰ The numbers in brackets include inherent/covert instrument.

11. मालिक कुम्हार से घड़ा बनवाता है ।

maḷik	kumhar-se	g ^h əṛɑ	bənəwɑtɑ	he
master-3MS-	potter-3MS-	clay	make-Caus-Imp-	be-
Nom	Inst	pot	3MS	Prest

‘The master gets the potter make the clay pot’.

The above examples (10-11) are ideal examples of the pseudo-ditransitive verbs. We have termed them ideal as the verbs in this set do not generate the successive intermediate false ditransitive verbs. As we see in table-7 that the slot for successive intermediate derivation of ditransitive verb is blank as it is not supported by the structure of the language and thus it is easy to explain as to why there is no false derivation of the form of verb in case of the pseudo-ditransitive verbs. So, there is only one form of causative verb that is created by the process of causativization leaving a blank slot for the intermediate derivation of ditransitive verb. This is why we call it ideal set of ‘pseudo-ditransitive verb’. Let us see some other verbs of this type in the table given below:

Pseudo-ditransitive-Set-B:

Table-9

De-transitivized	Pseudo-ditransitive	False Causative	Causative
बनना to be made	बनाना to make	---	बनवाना to make sth made
सूखना to be dried	सुखाना to dry	---	सुखवाना to make sth dried
बढ़ना to be increased	बढ़ाना to increase	---	बढ़वाना to make sth increased

जलना to get burnt	जलाना to burn	---	जलवाना to get sth burnt
फैलना to get spread	फैलाना to spread	---	फैलवाना to get sth spread
जमना to get frozen	जमाना to freeze	---	जमवाना to get sth frozen

We see that the table-9 contains the verbs for which the intermediate derivation of the verbs as ditransitive forms is morphologically not supported by the language as a result of semantically non-distinctiveness of the two forms of the verb i.e. the ditransitive and causative forms. So, when such intermediate derivation is not materialized, the language leaves a blank slot as this is not supported by the morphology of the language and also because it would otherwise result into a non-distinctive semantics of two forms of the verb that would be generated and thus this becomes the yard-stick to mark these verbs and their non-derivative blank slots as the ideal morphological processes for causativization in Hindi. The verbs in table-9 and the blank space in the slot for false causative is the genesis of our schema. This blank slot gave us the direction to build the argument and introduce the so called pseudo-ditransitive verbs. These are the ideal pseudo-ditransitive verbs which don't allow the intermediate successive derivation of the false causative verb forms, and thus they become the benchmark examples for pseudo-ditransitivity.

Before we close the discussion on causativization in Hindi, we must talk about two verbs e.g. करना, 'to do' and देखना, 'to see' respectively. These two verbs do not fit into our schema. They are like exception for our explanation. Let us first examine the case of करना, 'to do'. The table given below shows its process of causativization according to our schema:

Table-10

Exceptional Type1	Derivational process	Basic verb	False Causative	Causative
	Derivational suffix		-आ	-वा
	Verb type	Transitive/ Pseudo- ditransitive	False Causative	Causative
	Example	करना	कराना	करवाना
	Number of participants	2(3)	3(4)	3(4)

According to our schema, करना, 'to do' needs some explanation. Though, it is not very difficult to put the verb in pseudo-ditransitive category, however, that would be a hurried decision. After all, करना, 'to do' is not like any other transitive verb. It is one of those highly grammaticalized verb and thus has several usages in Hindi. It functions as a light verb in expressions like यादकरना, 'to remember', साफ़करना, 'to clean' and माफ़करना, 'to forgive' but it functions as a transitive (main) verb in examples like कामकरना, 'to do some work', होमवर्ककरना, 'to do the homework'. It also functions as 'conjunctive participle marker'¹¹ in yet another context such as सुनकर, 'having listen to' खा-कर, 'having eaten' and it reduces to a bound form like '-के' when this CPM has to be conjoined to a main verb which itself is करना, 'to do' and thus the resultant is कर-

¹¹ Masica (1976) describes 'conjunctive participle marker' i.e. CPM as a special non-finite verbal form which is used for conjoining two or more sentences (usually with the same subject) to the left of the finite verb in SouthAsian Languages.

के(कर), 'having done x'. So, this is a brief story of the verb 'करना, 'to do' and we can definitely claim one of its usages a pseudo-ditransitive verb where we use the verb करना, 'to do' to entail that someone must do something by using an inherent instrument; after all we do need instruments in order to do many actions.

Table-11

Exceptional Type2	Derivational process	De-transitivized	Basic verb	Ditransitive	Causative
	Derivational suffix	removal of -आ		-आ	-वा
	Verb type	natural passive verb	transitive	ditransitive	causative
	Example	दिखना	देखना	दिखाना	दिखवाना
	Number of participants	1	2	3	4

The verb देखना, 'to see' turns out to be another exception to the whole schema of the process of causativization that we have presented here. Let us first see the examples of usage of the verb देखना, 'to see' and then we will provide our explanation.

16. आज मैंने एक फिल्म देखी ।

ɑj mɛ̃-ne ek film dek^h-i
 today I-1MS-Erg one film-N(f) see-Perf-3FS

'I saw a film today'.

The example (16) shows a transitive verb देखना, 'to see'. There are two arguments in the sentence i.e. the subject and direct object. According to our earlier observation, we have classified the verb in category of a transitive verb and put the verb in the table-4. These transitive verbs require an additional auxiliary verb to passivize them. However, we will soon see in example (19) that this verb can be passivized with the process of de-transitivization. However, let us first see how this transitive verb fulfils the requirement of causativization that is shown in examples (17-18).

17. आज मैं अपने दोस्त को एक फिल्म दिखाई ।

aj	mẽ-ne	apne	dost-	ek	film	dik ^h α-yi
			ko			
today	I-1MS-	my	friend-	one	film-	show-Dtrv-Perf-
	Erg	Dat			N(f)	3FS

'I showed a film to my friend today'.

The example (17) shows the first stage of successive derivation into a ditransitive form through the process of intermediate successive derivation. There are three arguments in the sentence e.g. the subject, the indirect object and the direct object. Let us now see the causativized form of the verb in the next sentence.

18. आज मैंने मोहन से अपने दोस्त को एक फिल्म दिखावाई ।

aj	mẽ-ne	mohən-	apne	dost-	ek	dik ^h -wα-yi
		se		ko	film	
today	I-1MS-	Mohan-	my	friend-	one	show-Caus-
	Erg	Inst	Dat		film	Perf-3FS

'I made Mohan to show a film to my friend today'.

The above example (18) shows the causativized form of देखना, 'to see'. There is an increase of a participant in the sentence i.e. Mohan. The intermediate derived form of the verb दिखाना 'to show' and the final derived form दिखवाना, 'to make x see' show the successive derivation of causative form from ditransitive (cf. मोहननेपुलिसकोचोरकोदिखाया = Mohan showed the thief to the police) and thus there are total four participants in the sentence. This is what we expect the transitive verb given in table-4 to unfold. Let us now see the sentence given below to understand why this verb turns out to be a marked or exception verb for our schema.

19. आज खेल के मैदान में बहुत लोग दिखे ।

ɑj	k ^h el-	mɛdan-	bəhut	log	ɖɪk ^h -e
	ke	mẽ			
today	play-	ground-	a lot	people-	see-Perf-
	Gen	Loc	of	3MPI-Nom	Pasv-3MPI

'A lot of people were seen at the playground today'.

The example (19) makes the verb देखना, 'to see' go exception for our schema and the reason is simple; the passivization of the transitive verbs given in table-4 needs another helping verb¹² and the transitive verbs mentioned in table-4 can't be reduced to the so called 'naturally passive form' which is the distinct features of the pseudo-ditransitive verbs. The very fact that the de-transitivization process can take place with the verb

¹² We know that the verb जाना, 'to go' is added in the sentence to take care of the tense and PNG features of the object in the passive sentence.

देखना, 'to see', this verb becomes an exception to our schema. The verb देखना, 'to see' belongs to one of the most complex six senses of perception i.e. cognition through visualization. We don't have any concrete answer to offer for the one and only one exception verb and we leave it a topic for future discussion and topic for further research. This will divert our attention from the pedagogical focus to a totally different issue of 'language and cognition'.

10. CONCLUSION:

According to the traditional approach and analysis that is available for causativization in Hindi explains the causative verbs with two terms; direct causatives and indirect causatives. The term direct causative may include the meaning of causativity, but this can be better understood and thus reclassified in terms of three kinds of transitivity; i) transitive, ii) ditransitive and iii) pseudo-ditransitive. This reclassification helps to understand the form and function of causative verbs better. After all, what benefit we can have of terms like direct and indirect causatives when their meaning and function are not different from each other in several cases as we have seen in case of verbs types C and D discussed above. 'To be understood only in terms of causativity', it is intended to mean that a key characteristic of causativity is the entailment of two participants as core arguments of a causative sentence; one is a causer agent which appears in the subject position of a sentence and the other is the causee agent which appears with the postposition से. If the second agent does not appear with the postposition से in a sentence, a verb of which may not be classified into

causatives, rather it may be classified into either a transitive, or ditransitive, or pseudo-ditransitive. It is important for us to summarize everything that we have discussed so far in a tabulated manner which will appear like a flow chart of our schema of causativization in Hindi.

Table-10

Flowchart of verb derivation for causativization in Hindi:

Verb type in terms of basic verbs		Derivational stage	Intr.	Tran.	Ditrans.	Causative1	Causative2
		Derivational suffix		-आ	-आ	-आ	- वा
A	Intransitive	derived form	basic	√	×	√	√
		No of participants	1	2		3	3
B	Transitive	derived form	×	basic	√	√	√
		No of participants		2	3	4	4
C	Ditransitive	derived form	×	×	basic	√	√
		No of participants			3	4	4
D	Pseudo-ditransitive	derived form- a	×	basic	×	√	√
		derived form- b	x	basic	x	x	√

		No of participants		(3)2		(4)3	3(4)
--	--	--------------------	--	------	--	------	------

If we examine table-10 given above, it will tell us that there are several advantages of our schema in explaining the process of causativization. First of all, there is no overlap of the conceptual understanding of the form and function of the verbs of different categories. Second, the sub-classification of the transitive verbs into two types i.e. default transitive and pseudo-ditransitive respectively, has come too handy and useful to flush out all the exceptions that researchers encounter in the area of causativization in Hindi. Nevertheless, this classification is partially supported by the morphology of causative verbs in Hindi where it shows a gap in the pattern (verb in table-10 D.b) and thus we called that sub-type the ideal pseudo-ditransitive verbs. The verbs given in type (D.b) are the ideal set of verbs because the direct/default/base form of the verbs does not allow the false successive derivation of intermediate ditransitive verbs and thus has only one form of causative verbs. The blank space in the table-10 D.b makes a future prediction about the false friends (i.e. the forms that are derived falsely for other category of verbs). The false forms which do not make any semantic distinction will gradually go out of the scene one day.

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