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Process of Causativization and de-Causativization in Hindi

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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. Several classifications of causative verbs in Hindi are available 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 causativization. This has resulted in some sort of chaos where even the simple information about the forms of causative verbs is not available as to why some verbs have three forms of causation and others have only two! 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 three new terms; a.) natural passive verbs, b.) pseudo-ditransitive verbs, and c.) de-causativized verbs, in order to explain the process of causativization in Hindi.

Keywords: Causative Construction, Complex Issue, Causativization, Semantics, Morphological, Form, Function, Context, Process of Causativization in Hindi

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[1] 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. If we talk about the causative construction in Hindi, we find many researchers explaining and exploring several ideas about the issue both theoretically as well as descriptively. However, there has hardly been any good effort to classify the verbs in Hindi and map their semantic and morphological peculiarity and thread them in such a systematic way that can present a unified presentation and explanation of the process of causativization in Hindi. The main purpose of the paper is to address the issue in the most simplistic manner and yet present an overview of the causative construction in Hindi in a way that it does not leave any room for any dissatisfaction for the readers by overcoming the abundant exceptions that exist for causative verbs in Hindi. In other words, it is important to describe causativization in Hindi at least for pedagogical purposes because teachers and students get nightmares when they come across the materials that are available on causativization in Hindi.

Another purpose of this paper is to lay out a way to understand the widespread causative patterns in a manner that would go consistent with basic assumptions and findings in the field of

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Hindi linguistics. The analysis is by no means intended to be exhaustive; but we want to put a claim that it will have several advantages as a framework for further cross-linguistic verification and investigation into the details of particular causative construction in different individual languages.

The present paper, having examined functionally different types of verbs in Hindi, shows how the present analysis can be applied insightfully to the detailed account of data from a single language. Thus, the analysis as a whole is empirically valid for the basic patterns of causative verbs in Hindi that is discussed both at the cross-linguistic level and at the level of an individual language. Towards the end of this paper, we will explain some of the advantages of this type of approach which distinguishes it from the existing approaches and analyses, and some of its implications for grammatical theory in some broad sense.

The processes of causativization in Hindi are realized through the morphological means and they mark both the direct and the indirect forms of causation. However, we have made a departure from this existing classification of causative verbs in Hindi which labels them as the direct and the indirect forms of causation. We propose that the sole purpose of causativization is to increase the participant at every successive stage of derivation and thus we derive different types of verb with the help of causativization such as intransitive to transitive, transitive to ditransitive[2] and from ditransitive to causative verb. In other words, there can be maximum increase of two participants in some cases and in other case there is a minimum increase of one participant with the process of causativization. There are two small but important points i.e. a) intransitive verbs can't be derived into ditransitive ones, and b) ditransitive and pseudo-ditransitive verbs can have an increase of just one participants by the process of causativization. For a better understanding of the schema, let us put this conceptual framework in a tabulated version:

The purpose of causativization => increase in the number of participants in a successive manner

Types of verbs	Intr. =>	Tran. =>	Ditran. =>	Causativization	No of Participants
Intransitive	√	√	×	√	1→2→3 = 3
Transitive	×	√	√	√	2→3→4 = 4
Ditransitive	×	×	√	√	3→0→4 =4
Pseudo-ditransitive	×	√	×	√	3→0→4=3

Table-1s

We will come back to this tabulated version of the conceptual framework in the conclusion and will propose a different and thus an alternative analysis of the last item in the table i.e. the pseudo-ditransitive verbs and offer a better interpretation which will look more explanatory in its nature.

2. Existing Works on Hindi

As we mentioned earlier, there are lot of researchers who have worked on various aspect of causativization using all sorts of theories and approaches. Some of the earlier works which we have consulted and benefitted our explanation can be sited as Kachru (1966, 1980), Saksena (1983, 1982, 1980), Sharma (1972), Khokhalova (1997), Bhatt (2003), Richa (2008), Begam & Sharma (2010), Comrie (1981), Dixon (2000), Talmy (2000), Song (1996) Choi & Kim (2016), Arun (2014), Srijan (2017). 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

[2] The ditransitive form of derivation does not take place in case of intransitive verbs.

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 argue for a process of 'de-causativization[3]' which explains the phenomenon better and this also connects its relevance and function to the so called 'original passive verbs' which Sharma[4] (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:

3. Intransitive Verbs

Type -A	**Purpose of Causativization**	**Types of verb in Hindi**	**Deriving different forms of verb**	**Causativization of verbs**
	Increasing the valency	Intransitive verb	Transitive verb	Causativization
		सोना, दौड़ना, रोना, गिरना	सुलाना, etc.	सुलवाना, etc.

Table-2

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 'बच्चा जाता है', 'The boy goes' or we say 'बच्चा घर जाता है', '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 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 'figure-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. बच्चा सोता है l
   bəčča sotɑ hɛ
   child-3MS-Nom sleep-imp-3MS be-Prest
   'The child sleeps'.

2. माँ बच्चे को सुलाती है l
   mɑ̃ bəčče-ko sʊlɑti hɛ
   mother-3F-Nom child-Acc sleep-imp-trv[5]-3MS be-Prest
   'The mother makes the child sleep'.

3. माँ आया से बच्चे को सुलवाती है l
   mɑ̃ ɑyɑ-se bəčče-ko sʊləwɑti hɛ
   mother-3F-Nom maid-Inst child-Acc sleep-imp-caus-3MS be-Pres
   'The mother gets the maid to make the child sleep'.

[3] A term that Reinhart (2005) uses in her paper to explain the process of Causativization and De-causativization.

[4] Sharma (1994: Pp 116) calls this type of verb as 'original passive verbs'.

[5] 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'.

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

Table-3

4. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs, as we know, have essentially two participants i.e. a subject and an object in the sentence. Most of the transitive verbs, given in Table-5 below, are transformed from transitive to ditransitive verbs in the first stage of causation, and then this transformed ditransitive verb is 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[6] i.e. the default transitive verbs and the so called pseudo-ditransitive verbs (unaccusative[7] verbs). Let us first examine the table-4 for a clear picture of what and how we want to explain for the examples of transitive verb 'खाना', 'to eat' thereafter:

Type-B	**Purpose of Causativization**	**Types of verb in Hindi**	**Deriving different forms of verb**	**Causativization of verb**
	Increasing the valency	Transitive verbs	Di-transitive verb	Causativization
		खाना, पढ़ना, पीना, देखना , समझना etc.	खिलाना etc.	खिलवाना etc.

Table-4

Let us examine the following examples:

4. बच्चा आम खाता है।

bəččα	αm	k$^{h}\alpha$tα	hε
child-3MS-Nom	mango-3MS-Acc	eat-imp-3MS	be-Prest

'The child eats a mango'.

[6] We will take up the issue for discussion towards the end of the paper. We have termed them little differently for the purpose of keeping our analysis simple for the process of causativization in Hindi. We have termed these two types as, a.) transitive verbs without inherent instrumentality and b.) transitive verbs with inherent instrumentality.

[7] The unaccusative is the term that is often used for some transitive verbs in which the direct object with accusative case remains absent and the direct object happens to be in the subject position with nominative case.

5. माँ बच्चे को आम खिलाती है l

mɑ̃	bəčče-ko	ɑm	k^hɪlɑti	hɛ
mother-3FS-Nom	child-3MS-Dat	mango-3MS	eat-ditrv[8]-imp-3FS	be-Prest

'Mother feeds mango to the child'.

6. माँ आया से बच्चे को आम खिलवाती है l

mɑ̃	ɑyɑ-se	bəčče-ko	ɑm	k^hIləwɑti	hɛ
mother-3FS-Nom	maid-3FS-Inst	child-3MS-Dat	mango	eat-caus-imp-3FS	be-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 case[9] 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.

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 wear	सूँघना to smell	छूना to touch

Table-5

There is something very interesting to note with regards to the verb in table-5. 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 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. We will take up this issue[10] at the end for further discussion and compare these transitive verbs with pseudo-ditransitive

[8] ditrv: This gloss means 'ditransitivizer' marker, which is generally regarded as 'direct causative' marker in the literature.

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

[10] We need this distinction to make a clear categorization of ± inalienable instrument and ± benefactor of the action carried out by the agent. This will also help us to understand that the process of causativization needs some of these complex metalinguistic features such as ± inherent instrument, ± causativization and finally the ± passivization.

verbs and inherently but alienable instrument and action denoted by the pseudo-ditransitive verbs.

5. Ditransitive Verbs

Type-C	**Purpose of Causativization**	**Types of verb in Hindi**	**Deriving different forms of verb**	**Causativization of verbs**
	Increasing the valency	Di-transitive verb	No derivation/ thus false friend	Causativizing a verb
		देना, भेजना, रखना	दिलाना, भिजाना, रखाना	दिलवाना, भिजवाना, रखवाना

Table-6

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 need or scope of 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 which is the main yardstick of parsing the causative verbs. Let us examine some examples of ditransitive verb the process of causativization:

7. माँ बच्चे को आम देती है।

mɑ̃	bəčče-ko	ɑm	deti	hɛ
mother-3FS-Nom	child-3MS-Dat	mango-3SF-Acc	give-Imp-3FS	be-Prest

'Mother gives the child a mango'.

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

pItɑ-ji	mɑ̃-se	bəčče-ko	ɑm	dIlɑte	hɛ̃
father-3MS-Nom	mother-3FS-Inst	child-3MS-Dat	mango-Acc	give-FCF[11]-3MS	be-Prest

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

9. पिता जी माँ से बच्चे को आम दिलवाते हैं।

pItɑ-ji	mɑ̃-se	bəčče-ko	ɑm	dIləwɑte	hɛ̃
father-3MS-	mother-3FS-	child-3MS-	mango-	give-Caus-	be-

[11] False causative form

Nom Inst Dat Acc 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. This is why 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' show no semantic difference with that of their 'false friends'. It is also interesting to note that the intermediate derived false causativized verbs are not used in writing much, it is only that in spoken speech we find these false verb forms replacing the actual causativized forms of ditransitive verbs.

6. Pseudo-Ditransitive Verb (Transitive verbs with inherent instrument)

Let us put the table here before we discuss the examples.

Type-D	**Purpose of Causativization**	**Types of verb in Hindi**	**Deriving different forms of verb**	**Causativization of verbs**
	Increasing the valency	Pseudo-ditransitive verbs	No derivation / False ditransitive verb	Causativing a verb
	Set -A	बनाना , सुखाना etc.	----no forms----	बनवाना , सुखवाना
	Set-B	काटना, धोना, खोलना, जलाना etc.	कटाना, धुलाना, खुलाना	कटवाना, धुलवाना, खुलवाना

Table-7

Let us examine the examples of set -A first:

10. कुम्हार घड़ा बनाता है l = कुम्हार (मिट्टी से) घड़ा बनाता है l
kʊmhɑr gʰəɽɑ bənɑtɑ hɛ
potter-3MS-Nom clay pot make-Imp-3MS be-Prest
'The potter makes clay pot'.

11. मालिक कुम्हार से घड़ा बनवाता है l
mɑlIk kʊmhɑr-se gʰəɽɑ bənəwɑtɑ hɛ
master-3MS-Nom potter-3MS-Inst clay pot make-Caus-Imp-3MS be-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:

Set-A:

The purpose of causativization => increase in the number of participants in a successive manner

De-causativized	**Pseudo-ditransitive**	**Ditransitive**	**Causative form**
Naturally Passivized	Inherently instrumental	No form	only once causativized
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

Table-8

We see that the table-3 that is given above contains verbs that have common morphological and semantic properties. The intermediate derivation of these verbs as ditransitive forms is morphologically not supported in 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 as it would 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.

It is important for us to first classify the so called 'pseudo-ditransitivity'. These verbs in the above table are ideal examples of what we have termed them as 'pseudo-ditransitive verbs'. The concept of 'pseudo-ditransitivity' came to discussion because the semantics of these verbs unfold their linguistic property of inherently instrumentality. It is very obvious that in order to make something, one will necessarily require some tools or instrument. We can't deny this fact. So, there are already three participants (along with the counting of this external but yet inherent instrument[12]) to begin with for this category of verb. Since, there are already three participants, there can't be any further successive derivation. It is so interesting to note that the structure/form of language stop this derivation. 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 these verbs are causativized for the addition of the fourth participant in the schema of process of causativization.

The box in the extreme left shows a term 'De-causativized form'. Now, we must explain the idea of de-causativization. It is, of course, a reverse process of causativization. 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 the valency of the verb in a successive manner. If the process of de-causativization is the reverse mechanism, it deceases the valency

[12] 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.

from the existing number of valances. So, when the valency i.e. the subject from these pseudo-ditransitive verbs is removed by de-causativization, apparently two valances i.e. the subject and the inherent instrument are removed. This situation brings another linguistic factor i.e. the natural passive verbs[13] are created by the process of de-causativization. So, these natural passive verbs such as 'बनना', 'to get made', 'सूखना', 'to get dried', 'कटना', 'to get cut' and 'खूलना', 'to get open' etc. are created by this reverse derivation of de-causativization. There are researchers[14] who prefer to call such verbs as 'derived intransitive verb' or 'inchoative verbs' etc. However, we will restrict ourselves to the use of 'de-causativized verbs', after all, the very reference to intransitivity would demand the presence of the 'subject' with such verbs and we know that these verbs when used in the sentence mark the absence of the 'subject'. The use of 'inchoative or inceptive verb' is used in the literature to describe the change of state of the object in certain situation, such as 'The ice melted', 'The door opened' etc. So, as we see these terms must have been used in the literature for some contextual usage, they don't bear much of relevance in our case.

Moreover, we have another set of pseudo-ditransitive verbs and this set needs a lot of explanation and thus a detailed analysis. This is the set that has above mentioned three linguistic factors that we mentioned above.

Let us first examine the set-B of the pseudo-ditransitive verb. Consider the examples given below:

12. आदमी (कुल्हाड़ी से) पेड़ काटता है l

ɑdmi	(kʊlhɑɽi-se)	peɽ	kɑʈətɑ	hɛ
man-3MS-Nom	(axe-Inst)	tree-3S	cut-Imp-3MS	be-Prest

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

13. पिताजी आदमी से (कुल्हाड़ी से) पेड़ कटाते हैं l

pItɑ-ji	ɑdmi-se	(kʊlhɑɽi-se)	peɽ	kəʈɑte	hɛ̃
father-3MH-Nom	man-Inst	(axe-Inst)	tree-3S	cut-FCF-Imp-3MH	be-Prest-H

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

14. पिताजी आदमी से (कुल्हाड़ी से) पेड़ कटवाते हैं l

pItɑ-ji	ɑdmi-se	(kʊlhɑɽi-se)	peɽ	kəʈwɑte	hɛ̃
father-3MH-Nom	man-Inst	(axe-Inst)	tree-3S	cut-Caus-Imp-3MH	be-Prest-H

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

This category of causative verbs is totally messed up in the literature. There is no explanation available for this category of verbs. Therefore, this category of transitive verbs demands lots of attention. 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 very interesting to note that all these transitive 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. There are at least three linguistic factors that are involved in creating this category e.g. (a) the process of de-causativization, (b) process of passivization and (c) inherent instrumentality. We would like to discuss these three linguistic

[13] Sharma (1994: Pp 116) calls this type of verb as 'original passive verbs'.

[14] Shibatani (1985:828) and Forker, D (2013:37) would call such verbs as derived intransitive verbs. Shibatani terms it as inchoative verb but explains the notion being close to the notion of derived intransitive verbs.

factors one by one at the end and would conclude by explaining the connection between 'pseudo-ditransitive verbs' and the so called 'naturally passive verbs'. But before that, let us put a table that represents other verbs of this type:

Set-B:

The purpose of causativization => increase in the number of participants in a successive manner

De-causativized	**Pseudo-ditransitive**	**Ditransitive**	**Causative form**
Naturally Passivized	Inherently instrumental	false form	only once causativized
टूटना to get broken	तोड़ना to break	तुड़ाना to get sth broken	तुड़वाना to get sth broken
फूटना to get broken	फोड़ना to break	फोडाना -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

Table-9

Unlike the earlier set of pseudo-ditransitive verbs, we find that there are false derivations of verbs that are in the box of the intermediate ditransitive which was empty in earlier set. However, there is no semantic difference between the false-forms of the verb and the actual causative forms of the verb. 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 ditransitive form is a false form. These verbs don't take a participant with dative case or in dative-role. If the false forms could fulfil 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', 'पिलाना', '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.

At the end, the de-causativized forms of pseudo-ditransitive verb and their relationship with the passive usage needs some explanation. Examine the sentences given below:

15a. इस साल कोरिया में बहुत से पेड़ कटे। *कटे गए

Is sɑl korIyɑ mɛ̃ bəhʊt se peṛ kɑṭe
this year Korea-Loc a lot of tree-3Pl cut-Pasv-3Pl
'A lot of tree got cut in Korea this year'.

15b. इस साल कोरिया में बहुत से पेड़ काटे गए।

Is sɑl korIyɑ mɛ̃ bəhʊt se peṛ kɑṭe gəye
this year Korea-Loc lots of tree-3Pl cut-Pass-Perf-3Pl go-Pasv-Perf-3Pl
'A lot of tree were cut this year in Korea'.

If we compare these two sentences, we have to discuss the different usage of the passive verbs. The default passive rules in Hindi demands that we change the main verb into a participle form (also known as V3-form) and we add 'जाना', 'to go' to make existing active verb into passive. Why the verb form in (15a) can't accept this regular passive morphology! This supports my hypothesis of de-causativization. When the valances of a pseudo-ditransitive is reduced/decreased by the process of de-causativization, the verb forms such as 'कटना', ' to get cut' and 'टूटना', 'to get broken' are created and they are naturally passive as both the participants (subject and instrument) have been taken away from the pseudo-ditransitive verb and thus the only participant i.e. the object remains with the verb and it becomes naturally passive verb. The example (15b) strengthens my hypothesis further. The moment, we want to plug in the verb 'जाना', 'to go' for passivization, the main verb comes back to its pseudo-ditransitive form and then the passivization takes place.

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:

Purpose of Causativization	**Types of verb in Hindi**	**Deriving different forms of verb**	**Causativization of verb**
Increasing the valency	Transitive verbs	Di-transitive verb	Causativization
	करना, 'to do'	कराना, 'to make x do sth'	करवाना, to make do x sth

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 action. 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 याद करना, 'to remember', साफ़ करना, 'to clean' and 'माफ़ करना, 'to forgive' but it functions as a transitive (main) verb in examples like काम करना, 'to do some work', 'होमवर्क करना, 'to do the homework'. It also functions as 'conjunctive participle marker[15]' in yet another context such as सुन कर, '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-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 sometimes in order to do many actions.

Naturally Passive	**Types of verb in Hindi**	**Deriving different forms of verb**	**Causativization of verb**
De-causativized	Transitive verbs	Di-transitive verb	Causativization

[15] 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 South Asian Languages.

form			
दिखना, 'to be seen'	देखना, 'to see'	दिखाना, 'to show'	दिखवाना, 'to make x see y'

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 l

ɑj	mɛ̃-ne	ek	film	dekʰ-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 classified the verb in category of a transitive verb and put the verb in the table-5. These transitive verbs require an additional helping verb to passivize them. However, we will soon see in example (19) that this verb can be passivized with the process of de-causativization. However, let us first see how this transitive verb fulfils the requirement of causativization that is shown in examples (17-18).

17. आज मैंने अपने दोस्त को एक फिल्म दिखाई l

ɑj	mɛ̃-ne	əpne dost-ko	ek	film	dIkʰɑ-yi
today	I-1MS-Erg	my friend-Dat	one	film-N(f)	show-Dtrv-Perf-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 causativization. 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 दिखवाई l

ɑj	mɛ̃-ne	mohən-se	ɑpne dost-ko	ek film	dIkʰ-wɑ-yi
today	I-1MS-Erg	Mohan-Inst	my friend-Dat	one film	show-Caus-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' दिखवाना, 'to make x see' show the successive derivation of causative form from ditransitive and thus there are total four participants in the sentence. This is what we expect the transitive verb given in table-5 to enfold. Let us now see the sentence given below to understand why this verb turns out to be a marked/exception for our schema.

19. आज खेल के मैदान में बहुत लोग दिखे l

ɑj	kʰel-ke	mɛdɑn-mɛ̃	bəhʊt	log	dIkʰ-e
today	play-Gen	ground-Loc	a lot of	people-3MPl-Nom	see-Perf-Pasv-3MPl

'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-5 needs another helping verb[16] and the transitive verbs mentioned in the table can't acquire the so called 'naturally passive form' which is the distinctive features of the pseudo-ditransitive verbs. The very fact that the de-causativization process can take place with the verb 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 not have any concrete answer to offer for this exception, which is one and only one exceptional verb and we leave it a topic for further studies. This will divert our attention from the pedagogical focus to a totally different issue of 'language and cognition'.

7. Conclusion

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 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 to 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 (verbs in table-8) and thus we called that sub-type the ideal pseudo-ditransitive verbs.

The purpose of causativization => increase in the number of participants in a successive manner

Types of verbs		Intr. =>	Tran. =>	Ditran. =>	Causative	No of Participants
A	Intransitive	√	√	×	√	1→2→3 = 3
B	Transitive	×	√	√	√	2→3→4 = 4
C	Ditransitive	×	×	√	√	3→0→4 =4
D	Pseudo-ditransitive	×	√	×	√	3→0→4=3

Sub-type of D	Set -A	बनाना , सुखाना etc.	----no forms----	बनवाना, सुखवाना
	Set-B	काटना, धोना etc.	कटाना, धुलाना	कटवाना, धुलवाना,

Table-1b

As we indicated earlier that we will have to re-examine the table-1a that was given in the introduction section, this table is repeated here to make the point clear. We have repeated the table-1a here as table-1b with an extension of the sub-type of set-D verbs. The set-D is further divided into (set-a) and (set-b) with clearly two types of verbs. Set-A is the ideal set of verbs for our analysis 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-1b makes a future prediction about the false friends (i.e. the forms that

[16] 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.

are derived falsely for other category of verbs). We hypothesize that the false forms which don't make any semantic distinction will gradually go out of the usage in Hindi one day.

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