

Bāngarū Causatives

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Abstract

The categorizations of causal verbs in Indo-Aryan languages are majorly based on two morphemes, i.e., -α- and -wα-. Therefore, studies have been more focused towards the syntactic and semantic issues related with two forms of causative verbs than rethinking about the ways of classifications. However, besides these two morphemes, this work includes the significance of passives as well to propose a classification¹ on the basis of morphological form and syntactic-semantic function of Bāngarū causative verbs. Further, the paper provides some interesting evidences of dual functioning, viz., as transitivizer and causativizer, of both the morphemes. It also suggests that the possibility of syntactic doubling on indirect or direct object positions like Punjabi and Sanskrit respectively has no room in Bāngarū.

Keywords: Bāngarū, Causatives, Base Form, Valency, Passive, False Causative Forms, Object-Verb Agreement, Syntactic Doubling.

Introduction

Bāngarū is an Indo-Aryan language which is classified under western Hindi. It is spoken in present day Haryana province, particularly in the districts of Rohtak, Sonapat, southern part of Panipat, eastern part of Hissar and north-eastern part of Jhajhar. This region also includes the rural areas of north-west Delhi intact with Haryana. It is surrounded by other languages like mixed variety of Bāngarū in the north and north-west, Bāgrī of Hisar in the west, Bāgrī of Bhiwani in south-west², and Ahīrwāṭī in the south and south-east, and Kauravī in the north. By and large, this form of the dialect is assumed to be the predominant language of the people of Haryana, and thus recognized as Haryanvi. The script used for the language is Devanagari. As per 2001 census report, the number of speakers of Haryanvi (or Bāngarū) is 7,997,192 (Kumar, 2014, p. 10).

In the world of linguistics, phenomenon of causativization is not a new concept. In fact, a lot has been written on various aspects of causal verbs as almost every language in the world has this phenomenon. However, for a language like Bāngarū which hardly received any serious attention from the scholars, such work can contribute enormously in terms of providing database for further researches and giving a new perspective to some of the issues in the coexisting Indo-Aryan languages.

1. Existing Research and Some Terminologies

The classification of the Hindi causal verbs has been central to the enquires of many researchers like Sharma (1958), Kachru (1966), Masica (1976), Saksena (1980), Bhatt & Embick (2003),

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² Kumar (in press).

Begum & Sharma (2010) and others. Most of them have attempted to classify causal verbs on the basis of two morphemes, i.e., -α- and -wα-.

But, the classification that has been proposed in this work on the basis of form and function of the verbs is motivated from Sharma (1958)'s work on causatives. Along with causal verbs, he accounts for corresponding intransitive verbs that have passive like meaning (p. 116). The term used by him to explain those verbs is 'original or natural passives'. However, his claim does not seem to have enough evidences to include them into the category of passives but such agentless verbs do behave like unaccusatives or unergatives. These types of verbs are also found in Bāngarū and therefore have been used to make classification better.

Now, before presenting causative verb classification, there are some terminologies which require more clarity as they play important role in understanding different types of the verbs.

1.1 Base Form

It is the basic verbal form to which morphemes are attached to give rise to causative derivations. Unlike others, Saksena (1980) strongly argues in favour of accepting transitive verb as the basic form than the intransitive one (p. 15-33). She claims that intransitives are the derived forms. Richa (2011) also advocates that transitives are the base forms since only those verbs that have transitive forms can be causativized.

So, in order to make classification more systematic, I will also adhere to the idea of treating transitive as the base form.

1.2 Direct and Indirect Causatives

In Hindi, it is usually believed that -α- is direct causative marker and -wα- is the indirect causative morpheme. But, closer examination of these affixes reveals that Hindi has only one causative marker, i.e., -wα- and -α- can either be transitive or di-transitive marker. For illustration, consider verb *hēsna* 'laugh' in (1)-(3):

1. *mē hēsα*
I.1SG laugh.PFV.1SG.M
'I laughed.'
2. *mēnē suniṭα-ko hēs-α-ya*
I.1SG.ERG Sunita.3SG.F-ACC laugh.Tran.PFV.1SG.M
'I made Sunita laugh.'
3. *mēnē suniṭα-ko b^humi-se hēs-wα-ya*
I.1SG.ERG Sunita.3SG.F-ACC Bhumi.3SG.F-INST laugh.Caus.PFV.1SG.M
'I made Sunita laugh with the help of Bhumi.'

After looking at (4)-(6), same explanation can be offered for -wα- and -α- morphemes in the case of Bāngarū verbs.

4. *mē hāsya*
I.1SG laugh.PFV.1SG.M
'I laughed.'
5. *mēnne suniṭα hēs-α-yi*
I.1SG.ERG Sunita.3SG.F laugh.Tran.PFV.1SG.M
'I made Sunita laugh.'

6. mənne sunita b^humi-ḍ^hore hēs-wa-yi
 I.1SG.ERG Sunita.3SG.F Bhumi.3SG.F-INST laugh.Caus.PFV.1SG.M
'I made Sunita laugh with the help of Bhumi.'

So, hence forth I will use this newer assumption more often (i.e., “-α-” is transitivizer or di-transitivizer and “-wa-” is causativizer).

1.3 Valency

Every verb requires some core arguments to complete the meaning of predicate. The number of arguments is actually counted as the valency of a particular verb. For example, in (4) valency of intransitive verb (hāsna ‘laugh’) is one as it only requires subject to complete the meaning. But, in (5), the transitive verb (hēsana ‘make laugh’) involves two arguments, i.e., subject (mənne) and direct object (sunita). Similarly, three arguments— subject, direct object and intermediary agent are needed by causative verb (hēswana ‘to make someone laugh from somebody’) to clearly express the meaning of (6). I will discuss this aspect of verb in more detail in upcoming sections.

1.4 Passives

Bāngarū attests the presence two types of passives (Kumar, 2014, p. 32):

Regular

7. paṇi-ki kəmi-tə ḡ^həṇe peṛ su:k ge
 water.3SG.F-GEN scarcity-INS many tree dry.PFV go.PASS.PFV.3PL.M
'Many plants got dried due to scarcity of water.'

Inabilitative

8. ḍərji/təllər-tə ḡ^həṇe kurte na simme ḡəye
 tailor.3SG-ABL many shirt.PL.M NEG sew.PFV go.PASS.PFV
'Tailor could not make/sew many shirts.'

Although passive utterances are less common in the language, inabilitative passives are the ones used comparatively more.

2. Causatives Classification

The causative verbs can be broadly divided into two categories in Bāngarū. These two categories can be further divided into three and two sub-sets respectively as shown in the following tables:

Type-A	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set:1	—	pina 'drink'	peyana	pewana	2 → 3 → 4
Set:2	—	boṇa 'sow'	—	bewana	2 → — → 3
Set:3	—	—	ḍ ^h erna 'put'	ḍ ^h erwana	3 → 4

Table-1

Type-B					
	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set:1	kəʔəna 'cut'	kaʔəna	—	kəʔwana	2 → — →3
Set:2	g ^h esna 'rub'	g ^h esna	—	g ^h eswana	2 → — →3

Table-2

Let us examine every set of two types in more detail to see how they are different from each other.

2.1 Type-A, Set: 1

This category consists of all those transitive verbs that allow both di-transitive as well as causative derivations, for e.g., (10) and (11) respectively.

9. **niʔu-ne paŋi piya**
 Neetu.3SG-ERG water.3SG.M drink.PFV.3SG.M
 'Neetu drank water.'

10. **niʔu-ne əʃe-ʔe paŋi pəy-a-ya**
 Neetu.3SG-ERG Ajay-DAT water.3SG.M drink-Tran-PFV.3SG.M
 'Neetu made Ajay drink water.'

11. **niʔu-ne əʃe-ʔe əɾʃu-ɔ^hore paŋi pe-wa-ya**
 Neetu.3SG-ERG Ajay-DAT Arshu-INS water drink- Caus -PFV.3SG.M
 'Neetu had Ajay drink the water from Arshu.'

The verb **piŋa** 'to drink' in (9) has two arguments— subject (**niʔu**) and direct object / DO (**paŋi**). In (10), one more argument, that is indirect object / IO (**əʃe**), is added to express the meaning of di-transitive construction. The di-transitive form (**pəyana**) is further derived to generate causative structure like (11). The causative construction needs one more argument, i.e., embedded subject or intermediary agent (**əɾʃu**) other than subject, DO, and IO to convey an appropriate meaning. Thus, it is evident from (9-11) that the valency of verb discussed above can vary from two to four.

Type-A					
	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set:1	—	piŋa	pəyana	pewana	2 →3→4

Table-3

The passive formation is allowed using light verb **ʃaŋa** 'go' with the main verb as postulated below in (12).

12. **sari swariyā-ne paŋi pəyaya ʃa**
 All passenger.3PL.F-DAT water drink.Tran.PFV go.PASS.PFV
ga
 be.FUT.3SG.M
 'All the passengers will be served (made drink) water.'

Some other verbs that behave similar to verb **piŋa** are:

Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative
k ^h ɑŋɑ 'eat'	k ^h əwɑŋɑ	k ^h əwɑŋɑ
čakk ^h na 'taste'	čək ^h ana	cək ^h wana
čūŋg ^h na 'chew'	čūŋg ^h ana	čūŋg ^h wana

Table-4

2.2 Type-A, Set: 2

This set is different from the previous one as it includes only those transitive verbs that do not have di-transitive counterparts but allow causative structures. To illustrate this point, let us look at (13) and (14) formed by using verb **boŋɑ** 'sow'. For transitive construction like (13), verb needs two arguments that is subject (**məŋ**) and DO (**məkka**). To allow causative structure, in (14), verb adds one more argument that is embedded subject (**ʃogindəŋ**) apart from subject and DO. Besides, **k^heṭṭā** 'fields' is an adjunct and should not be recognized as one of the arguments.

13. **məŋ-nɛ** **k^heṭṭā-mɛ** **məkka** **boŋɑ**
 Mohan.3SG-ERG field.3PL.M-LOC maze.3SG.M grow.PFV.3SG.M
 'Mohan grew maze in the field.'

14. **məŋ-nɛ** **ʃogindəŋ-d^ho:re** **k^heṭṭā-mɛ** **məkka**
 Mohan-ERG Joginder-INS field-LOC Maze

bə-wɑ-yɑ

grow- Caus -PFV.3SG.M

'Mohan made Joginder grow maze in the field.'

This verb does not have any form (like **bəŋɑ*** / **boŋɑ***) which either looks or functions like its di-transitive counterpart. So, the valency of the verb **boŋɑ** can vary from two to three only.

Type-A					
	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set: 2	—	boŋɑ	—	bəwɑŋɑ	2 → — → 3

Table-5

The passive utterances, for this set also, are formed using light verb with main verb as described in the previous set. More examples can be seen in the table below:

Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative
d ^h əknɑ 'cover'	—	d ^h əkwana
ṭolna 'weigh'	—	ṭəlwana
gɪŋna 'count'	—	gɪŋwana

Table-6

2.3 Type-A, Set: 3

The verbs in this set have di-transitive form at base level. So, further only one more derivation is permissible by the argument structure of the base. For example, (15) presents the case of verb **d^hərna** 'put' which has subject (**məŋ**), DO (**ṭɑlɪ**), and IO (**mɛj**).

15. **məŋnɛ** **ṭɑlɪ** **mɛj-pɛ** **d^hərɪ**
 I.1SG.ERG key.3SG.F table.3SG-LOC keep.PFV.3SG.F
 'I kept the key on the table.'

16. **məŋnɛ** **gɪṭɑ-d^hore** **ṭɑlɪ** **mɛj-pɛ** **d^hər-wɑ-yɪ**

I.1SG.ERG Gita.3SG.F-INS key.3SG.F table.3SG-LOC keep- Caus -PFV.3SG.F
'I had Gita put the key on the table.'

However, in (16), verb $\text{ḍ}^{\text{h}}\text{ər}\text{əw}\text{ān}\text{α}$ 'get something put' has four participants— subject ($\text{m}\text{ən}$), direct object ($\text{ṭ}\text{α}\text{ḷ}\text{ɪ}$), indirect object ($\text{m}\text{ə}\text{ḷ}\text{-p}\text{e}$), intermediary agent ($\text{g}\text{ɪ}\text{ṭ}\text{α}$). Therefore, the valency of the verb can be either three or four but not more than this.

Type-A					
	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set: 3	—	—	$\text{ḍ}^{\text{h}}\text{ərn}\text{α}$	$\text{ḍ}^{\text{h}}\text{ər}\text{w}\text{ān}\text{α}$	3→4

Table-7

Plus, passive forms are obtained for the verbs of this set also through the only phenomenon mentioned in the last two sets. More examples from this category are as follow:

Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative
—	$\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{e}\text{ḷ}\text{n}\text{α}$ 'send'	$\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{e}\text{ḷ}\text{w}\text{ān}\text{α}$
—	$\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ənd}\text{ān}\text{α}$ 'send'	$\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ənd}\text{w}\text{ān}\text{α}$
—	$\text{ḍ}\text{ən}\text{α}$ 'give'	$\text{ḍ}\text{əw}\text{ān}\text{α}$

Table-8

In the end, one observation regarding all three sets of type-A verbs that none of them have intransitive counterparts is easily noticeable. This is one of the critical distinctions that allows us to differentiate type-A verbs from type-B.

2.4 Type-B, Set: 1

This set includes those transitive verbs that have intransitive counterparts also. But such transitive verbs do not allow di-transitive constructions and directly license causative derivations. To illustrate this fact, consider verb $\text{k}\text{α}\text{ṭ}\text{ən}\text{α}$ 'cut' in (17) and (18). Transitive form take subject ($\text{s}\text{im}\text{m}\text{α}$) and DO ($\text{s}\text{əb}$), whereas causative verb accommodates one more argument, i.e., intermediary agent ($\text{r}\text{o}\text{ən}$).

17. $\text{s}\text{im}\text{m}\text{α}\text{-n}\text{ε}$ $\text{s}\text{əb}$ $\text{k}\text{α}\text{ṭ}\text{y}\text{α}$
 Sima.3SG.F-ERG apple.3SG.M cut.PFV.3SG.M
'Sima cut the apple.'

18. $\text{s}\text{im}\text{m}\text{α}\text{-n}\text{ε}$ $\text{r}\text{o}\text{ən}\text{-ḍ}^{\text{h}}\text{ore}$ $\text{s}\text{əb}$ $\text{k}\text{əṭ}\text{-w}\text{α}\text{-y}\text{α}$
 Sima.3SG.F-ERG Rohan.3SG-INS apple.3SG.M cut- Caus -PFV.3SG.M
'Sima had apple cut from Rohan.'

19. is $\text{ḍ}\text{ok}\text{an}\text{-m}\text{ε}$ $\text{b}\text{α}\text{ḷ}$ $\text{k}\text{α}\text{ṭ}\text{y}\text{e}$ $\text{ḷ}\text{āw}\text{e}$ $\text{s}\text{ε}$
 this shop-LOC Hair cut-PFV.3PL go.PASS.HAB.3PL be.PRS.3PL
'In this shop hair cutting takes place.'

20. $\text{p}\text{α}\check{\text{c}}^{\text{h}}\text{əle}$ sal is $\text{ḷ}\text{əṅg}\text{əḷ}\text{-ke}$ $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{əṅe}$ $\text{p}\text{e}\text{ṭ}$ $\text{k}\text{əṭ}\text{ṭe}$
 last year This forest.3SG- many tree cut.INTR.PFV.3PL
 GEN
'Last year many trees got cut from this forest.'

The regular passive constructions is demonstrated in (19), and, in (20), passive like meaning is obtained by using intransitive form $\text{k}\text{əṭ}\text{ən}\text{α}$. The meaning of later is assumed to be passive from the fact that it is hard to predict the agent of the activity in the sentence. But such agentless

verbs are the derived ones. So, transitives being the base form, it is asserted that the valency of the verbs in this set can vary from two to three.

Type-B					
	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set: 1	kəʔəna	kaʔəna	—	kəʔwana	2 → — →3

Table-9

Other verbs that are part of this set:

Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
ʔəŋna# 'hang'	ʔəŋna	ʔəŋwana
ɖigna 'move away'	ɖigana	ɖegwana
k ^h ĩndna 'spill'	k ^h ĩndana	k ^h ĩndwana

Table-10

2.5 Type-B, Set: 2

This set is different from the last one only in one way. In this group, all the verbs have similar forms for intransitive as well transitive derivations. Let's look at the case of verb g^hesna 'to rub/to get rubbed' in (21-23).

21. usne b^hi:ʔ-pe ʔaɿ g^hISSI
 he.3SG.ERG wall-LOC key.3SG.F rub.TR.PFV.3SG.F
 'He rubbed the key on the wall.'

22. usne bəbbiʔa-ɖ^hore b^hi:ʔ-pe ʔaɿɿ g^hes-wa-yɿ
 he.3SG.ERG Babita.3SG.F-INS wall-LOC key.3SG.F rub- Caus -PFV.3SG.F
 'He made Babita rub the key on the wall.'

23. ʔaɿɿ kyukkə g^hISSI
 key.3SG.F wall-LOC rub.INTR.PFV.3SG.F
 'How key got grated?'

The presence of subject (us) and DO (ʔaɿ) is shown in (21) but, in (22), causative verb takes one more arguments— intermediary agent (bəbbiʔa) to infer that verbs of this set have valency from two to three.

Type-B					
	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set: 2	g ^h esna	g ^h esna	—	g ^h eswana	2 → — →3

Table-11

The only interesting fact that separates it from last set is same transitive and intransitive physical forms. For example, in (21), verb is used for transitive construction and (23) denotes the intransitive meaning but in both the cases same inflected form, i.e., g^hISSI is employed to represent past perfect aspect. Some more verbs that are part of this group are given below:

Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
b ^h ərna 'fill'	b ^h ərna	b ^h ərwana
bəɖləna 'change'	bəɖləna	bəɖələwana
si:mna 'sew'	si:mna	simwana

Table-12

The method of classification I have presented in this work can account for any causative verbs of Bāngarū except one paradigm listed in table-13.

Exception	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
	ḍik ^h ṇa 'see'	ḍek ^h ṇa / lək ^h ana	ḍek ^h ana	ḍek ^h wana	2 →3→4

Table-13

It should be treated as exception and must be discussed separately.

3. Dual Functions of Morphemes -α- and -wα-

Following table presents some unusual facts about the language. We can notice that all the verbs listed below have similar morphological forms for either transitive / causative or di-transitive / causative counterparts.

Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative
reṭna 'slip'	reṭwana	—	reṭwana
rona 'cry'	rewana	—	rewana
sona 'sleep'	səwana	—	səwana
t ^h ərna 'tremble'	t ^h ərana	—	t ^h əwana
t ^h u:kna 'spit'	t ^h ukwana	—	t ^h ukwana
—	k ^h ana 'eat'	k ^h wana	k ^h wana
—	lik ^h na 'write'	lək ^h wana	lək ^h wana
—	p ^h eṭna 'meet'	p ^h eṭana	p ^h eṭwana
—	reṭna 'rote'	reṭwana	reṭwana
—	māṅṅa 'ask'	—	māṅṅana / māṅṅwana

Table-14

Let us concentrate on some of the verbs to probe into mismatch between morphological form and syntactic function.

24. giṭa-ne viṣu səwaya / suaya*
 Gita.3SG.F-ERG Vishu.3SG.M sleep.Caus.3SG.M.PFV.PST
 'Gita put Vishu to sleep.'

25. giṭa-ne viṣu niṭu-ḍ^hore səwaya
 Gita.3SG.F-ERG Vishu.3SG.M Nitu.F- INST sleep.Caus.3SG.M.PFV.PST
 'Gita made Neetu put Vishu to sleep.'

(24) depicts the case of transitive construction where subject, viz., **giṭa** is directly involved in the activity of putting the direct object (**viṣu**) to sleep. So, the inflected verbal form that is expected in this case must contain a transitivizer. But, the actual form which is used above is consist of a causative (**sə-wa-ya**) affix. And, the transitive form like **suaya*** does not exist in the language. Therefore, it is clear that causativizer can function as transitivizer though it is limited to only few cases.

26. mohiṭ-ne roṭṭi māṅgi
 Mohit.ERG bread.F ask.3SG.F.PFV.PST
 'Mohit asked for the chapati (bread)'

27. mohit-*nε* viṣu-*ḍ^hore* roṭṭi māṅgayi / māṅwayi
 Mohit.ERG Vishu.M- INST bread.F ask.Tran/Caus.3SG.F.PFV.PST
 ‘Mohit made Vishu bring chapati.’

In (27), causative form (māṅwayi) can be replaced with transitive form (māṅgayi) and this replacement would not lead to any change in the meaning of the entire sentence. This construction provides clear indication of how a transitivizer is used in place of causativizer to convey the meaning without any confusion.

Besides, (24)-(25) indicate that direct object is not overtly marked with accusative/dative case even though verb is transitive and representing past perfect aspect. This peculiarity of the language allows object-verb agreement while ignoring the animacy factor of DO.

4. Syntactic Doubling

The possibility of double occurrence of certain arguments is allowed in various languages. Such doubling is not freely available but limited to certain syntactic positions such as oblique constituents, indirect objects, direct objects etc. Comrie (1976) discusses the case of some Indo-Aryan languages like Punjabi and Sanskrit to present the fact that doubling on indirect object position in former and on direct object position in later respectively is feasible.

28. *Bānde ne maṣṭar nuṁ kàṇi mwṇḍyam nuṁ swṇ-vā -i.*
 man Subj teacher IO story boys DO tell Caus Past
 ‘The man made the teacher read the story to the boys.’

29. *Bānde ne maṣṭar naḷ kàṇi mwṇḍyam nuṁ swṇ-vā -i.*

(p. 277)

He claims that above two structures of Punjabi are grammatical as they were unhesitatingly accepted by his informant. On the other hand, Bāṅgarū does not allow such utterances. That is why intermediary agent (i.e., maṣṭar) cannot be marked with accusative/dative case in (30).

30. rohiṭ-*nε* maṣṭar-*ṭε* / (*ṭəi*)^{*} kaṇi baḷkā-*ṭəi* sən(w)ayi
 Rohit.3SG.M teacher.3SG.M-INST story children.ACC/DAT tell.Caus.PST
 ‘The man made the teacher read the story to the boys.’

And, the syntactic doubling on direct object is again just not possible. Consider the example (31) in Sanskrit cited by Comrie (1976), in which two direct objects are allowed by verbal root kri ‘do’ containing causative affix.

31. *Bhūpyam kātam kārayati.*
 servant (DO) mat (DO) prepare-Caus
 ‘He makes the servant prepare the mat.’

(p. 285)

When similar sentence is translated into Bāṅgarū (shown in 32), the intermediary agent (nokkər) denies the possibility of being marked with dative/accusative case by any means.

32. wo nokkər- *ṭε*^{*3} / *ḍ^hore* čəṭayi bəṇwave sε
 he.3SG.M servant (DO) mat (DO) prepare-Caus be.3SG.PRS

³ Despite being instrumental case marker, *ṭε* postposition also functions as accusative and dative case markers; just like *ṭəi*, in some instances. Hence, their functionality should be judged from the context in which they have been used.

‘He makes the servant prepare the mat.’

Therefore, it is now evident that language shares some crucial syntactic properties with Hindi as none of them permit duplication of arguments on abovementioned two positions.

5. Conclusion

This paper delivers analysis primarily by providing classification of causative verbs of Bāngarū. Although many contemporary issues related with process of causativization have not been investigated, here are some critical observations that would prove handy for future works:

1.) The categorization based on form and function of the verb makes classification much easier and the tables below can accommodate almost every causative verb in the language (excluding one exception).

Type-A	Base Form: Transitive / Di-transitive,				
	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set:1	—	ɸɪnɑ	ɸəyɑnɑ	ɸewɑnɑ	2 → 3 → 4
Set:2	—	bɔŋɑ	—	bəwɑŋɑ	2 → — → 3
Set:3	—	—	ɖ ^h ərnɑ	ɖ ^h ərwnɑ	3 → 4

Table-15

Type-B	Base Form: Transitive and have agentless intransitive verbs.				
	Intransitive	Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative	Valency
Set:1	kəɽənɑ	kɑɽənɑ	—	kəɽwɑnɑ	2 → — → 3
Set:2	g ^h esŋɑ	g ^h esŋɑ	—	g ^h eswɑŋɑ	2 → — → 3

Table-16

2.) Two fold functions of morphemes **-ɑ-** and **-wɑ-** have been noticed. Thus, each morpheme functions as transitivizer as well as causativizer shown in table-17.

Hindi	Function	
Form	Transitivizer	Causativizer
-ɑ-	✓	✓
-wɑ-	✗	✓
Bāngarū	Function	
Form	Transitivizer	Causativizer
-ɑ-	✓	✓
-wɑ-	✓	✓

Table-17

This finding seems rare in many ways as, in Hindi, when **-ɑ-** affix represents causativizer it is often taken as a false form owing two reasons. First, it is not used in written script and only restricted to spoken usages. Second, whenever it is used during spoken discourse the speaker prefers to correct him/herself whenever the opportunity arrives. Plus, **-wɑ-** marker never functions as transitivizer. On the other hand, in Bāngarū, both the markers are used to sever twin functions in some cases. And, such utterances are approved in the speech community so assertively that there is no scope of calling them unreal, false or fake. The speakers are hardly seen rectifying the forms once uttered.

3.) In Hindi, object-verb agreement in past perfect tense is only restricted to inanimate DO with transitive verb (as in 33 & 34).

ḍ ^h əknā 'cover'	—	ḍ ^h əkwana
ʈohnā / ḍ ^h ud ^h nā 'find'	—	ʈəwana / ḍ ^h əd ^h wana
ʈolnā 'weigh'	—	ʈəlwana
gɪnā 'count'	—	gɪnwana
ku:ʈnā 'crush'	—	kuʈwana
lik ^h nā 'write'	—	lək ^h wana
ḍ ^h əknā 'cover'	—	ḍ ^h əkwana
čipəʈnā 'pounce'	—	čipəʈwana
məhsɭnā 'massage'	—	məhsɭwana
kərnā 'do'	—	kərwana
kənā 'say'	—	kəwana
k ^h ɛčnā 'pull'	—	k ^h ɛčwana
sū:ŋg ^h nā 'smell'	—	sū:ŋg ^h wana
māŋgŋā 'ask'	—	məŋgwaŋā / məŋgaŋā
bəganā 'throw'	—	bəgwana
bu:ʃ ^h nā 'enquire'	—	buʃ ^h wana
čū:ʈnā 'pick (the head of a crop)'	—	čūʈwana
č ^h āŋgna	—	č ^h əŋgwana
ḍaʈnā 'stop'	—	ḍaʈwana
g ^h ɛɾnā 'make'	—	g ^h ɛɾwana
g ^h oʈnā 'grind'	—	g ^h oʈwana
k ^h osnā 'snatch'	—	k ^h uswana
kaḍ ^h nā 'do embroidery'	—	keḍ ^h wana
k ^h urkana 'intimidate'	—	k ^h urkwana
lanā 'bring'	—	lewana
məʈnā 'settle (quarrel)'	—	məʈwana
naʈnā 'deny'	—	neʈwana
oʃnā 'pour'	—	oʃwana
oʈnā 'bear'	—	eʈwana
rəčnā 'manufacture'	—	rəčwana
samb ^h ərnā 'sweep'	—	səmb ^h ərwana
səharnā 'pull down'	—	sərwana
ʈaŋnā 'erect'	—	ʈəŋwana
ʈānā 'heat'	—	ʈəwana
ugahnā 'collect (money)'	—	ugehwana
ʈ ^h ānā 'lift'	—	ʈ ^h əwana

Type-A, Set-3

Transitive	Di-transitive	Causative
—	ḍ ^h ərnā 'put'	ḍ ^h ərwana
—	b ^h eʃnā 'send'	b ^h eʃwana
—	k ^h əndānā 'send'	k ^h əndwana
—	ḍənā 'give'	ḍəwana

Type-B, Set-1

Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
baĵna 'sound'	beĵana	beĵwana
čemkŋa 'shine'	čemkaŋa	čemkaŋa
t ^h erna 'tremble'	t ^h erana	t ^h erwana
simtəŋa 'shrink'	simtana	simətswana
k ^h iŋdŋa 'spill'	k ^h iŋdŋana	k ^h iŋdswana
muɾna 'turn'	moɾna	muɾwana
ĵuɾna 'join'	ĵoɾna	ĵuɾwana
ĵelna 'burn'	ĵelana	ĵelwana
ɖəbna 'press/squeeze'	ɖəbana / ɖabəna	ɖəbwana
g ^h ətŋa 'decrease'	g ^h ətana	g ^h ətswana
bəɾ ^h na 'move'	bəɾ ^h ana	bəɾ ^h wana
bəɖ ^h na 'increase'	bəɖ ^h ana	bəɖ ^h wana
p ^h u:lŋa 'inflate'	p ^h əlana	p ^h əlwana
g ^h ulŋa 'dissolve'	g ^h ɔlŋa	g ^h əlwana
p ^h ɛlŋa 'expand'	p ^h ɛlana	p ^h əlwana
gəlŋa 'melt'	gəlana	gəlwana
ĵamna 'freeze'	ĵəmana	ĵəmwana
soləĵ ^h na 'resolve'	solĵ ^h ana	solĵ ^h wana
uləĵ ^h na 'entangle'	ulĵ ^h ana	ulĵ ^h wana
buĵ ^h na 'put off'	buĵ ^h ana	buĵ ^h ana
plətŋa 'overturn'	pəltana	pəltswana
sukna 'dry'	sokana	sukwana
harna 'lose'	hərana	hərwana
ĵi:tŋa 'win'	ĵitŋana	ĵitswana
sona 'sleep'	səwana	səwana
hāsna 'laugh'	həsana	həsswana
rona 'cry'	rəwana	rəwana
bolna 'speak'	bəlana	bəlwana
ɖ ^h una 'wash'	ɖ ^h ona	ɖ ^h əwana
t ^h u:tŋa 'break'	t ^h oɾna	t ^h əɾwana
p ^h u:tŋa 'explode'	p ^h oɾna	p ^h əɾwaŋa
musna 'twist'	mosna	muswana
rukna 'stop'	rokna	rəkswana
paɾŋa 'tear'	paɾna	pəɾwana
obəlŋa 'boil'	obaɫna	obəlwana
ug ^h əɾna 'uncover'	ug ^h əɾna	ug ^h əɾwana
bənd ^h na 'bind'	bənd ^h əna	bənd ^h wana
məɾŋa 'die'	maɾŋa	məɾwaŋa
kətŋa 'cut'	kaɾtəŋa	kətwaŋa
təŋŋa 'hang'	təŋŋa	təŋwana
č ^h əŋna 'deep-fry'	č ^h əŋna	č ^h əŋwaŋa

piṭṇa 'beat'	pi:ṭṇa	piṭwṇa
piṣṇa 'grind'	pi:sṇa	piṣwṇa
bikna 'sell'	bekna	bekwṇa
ṭ ^h ukna 'hit'	ṭ ^h okna	ṭ ^h ekwṇa
k ^h ulna 'open'	k ^h oləna	k ^h əlwṇa
k ^h uḍna 'dig'	k ^h oḍna	k ^h əḍwṇa
ʃəkna 'bake'	ʃekna	ʃəkṇa
ʃagna 'wake up'	ʃəgana	ʃəgwṇa
bəčna 'save'	bəčana	bəčwṇa
uḍna 'fly'	oḍana	oḍwṇa
ku:ḍna 'jump'	kudana	kudwṇa
k ^h əlna 'play'	k ^h əlana	k ^h əlwṇa
čalna 'walk'	čəlaṇa	čəlṇa
načna 'dance'	nəčana	nəčwṇa
g ^h u:mna 'go around'	g ^h əmana	g ^h əmwṇa
ʃ ^h u:lna 'swing'	ʃ ^h ulana	ʃ ^h ulwṇa
g ^h urḍna 'roll'	g ^h urḍana	g ^h urḍwṇa
ḍigna 'displace'	ḍəgana	ḍəgwṇa
k ^h eskəna 'slide'	k ^h eskana	k ^h eskṇa
luhkəna 'hide'	ləhkəna	lohkṇa
sərekna 'slide'	sərkana	sərekṇa
uč ^h əlna 'bounce'	uč ^h əlana	uč ^h əlwṇa
čəḍ ^h na 'ascend'	čəḍ ^h ana	čəḍ ^h wṇa
uṭṇa 'descend'	ṭṇa	oṭṇa
bəḍna 'enter'	baḍna	bəḍwṇa
pəṭna 'fall'	gəṇa	gəwṇa/ pəṭwṇa
ṭikna 'balance'	ṭikana	ṭikṇa
ləṭəkna 'hang'	ləṭəkana	ləṭəkṇa
bəṭ ^h na 'sit'	bəṭ ^h ana	bəṭ ^h wṇa
halna 'swing'	hilana	helwṇa
čipna 'stick'	čəpna	čəpṇa
həṭna 'go away'	həṭana	həṭwṇa
ṭ ^h u:kna 'spit'	ṭ ^h ukṇa	ṭ ^h ukṇa
ləḍna 'load'	laḍna	ləḍwṇa
əṭna 'fill up'	āṭna	əṭwṇa
əṭkna 'stick'	əṭkana	əṭkṇa
əṭna 'obstruct'	əṭana	əṭwṇa
bik ^h ərna 'scatter'	bək ^h ərna	bik ^h ərwṇa
bəlna 'ignite'	baḷna	bəlwṇa
b ^h əḍna 'scribble'	b ^h āḍna	b ^h əḍwṇa
b ^h ična 'press'	b ^h i:čna	b ^h ičwṇa
bicəlna 'confuse'	bicəlana	bicəlwṇa
biḍ ^h əkna 'fear (an animal)'	biḍ ^h akna	biḍ ^h wakṇa

bilna 'churn'	bilona	bilwana
b ^h i:ɟna 'wet'	b ^h ēna	b ^h iɟwana
česna 'glow up'	česana	česwana
čit ^h na 'crush'	či:t ^h na	či:t ^h wana
čuləkna 'crush'	čuləkana	čuləkwana
č ^h ukna 'fry'	č ^h yōkna	č ^h ukwana
č ^h ulna 'peel off'	č ^h olna	č ^h ulwana
g ^h elna 'pour'	g ^h alna	g ^h elwana
geɬ ^h na 'cobble'	gaɬ ^h na	geɬ ^h wana
g ^h ičəlna 'splash'	g ^h ičolna	g ^h ičəlwana
ɟ ^h əpna 'shut'	ɟ ^h əpna	ɟ ^h əpwana
ɟi:mna 'feast'	ɟimana	ɟimwana
kəlna 'winnow'	kəlana	kəlwana
kəɬna 'spin'	kaɬna	kəɬwana
k ^h undɟna 'hinder'	k ^h undɟana	k ^h undɟwana
kiŋč ^h na 'be annoyed'	kiŋč ^h ana	kiŋč ^h wana
lipna 'smear'	li:pna	lipwana
likəɾna 'come out'	likaɾna	likəɾwana
məpna 'measure'	mapna	məpwana
məɬəkna 'crack (knuckles)'	məɬəkana	məɬəkwana
mūndɟna 'fill up'	mū:ndɟna	mūndɟwana
nəlna 'weed'	naləna	nəlwana
nimbəɟna 'finish or settle'	nimbəɟana	nimbəɟwana
pəɬ ^h na 'knead (dug-cake)'	paɬ ^h na	pəɬ ^h wana
pəsɾna 'spread out'	pəsarna	pəsɾwana
pinəna 'sharpen'	pənana	pənwana
puna 'cook'	pona	powana
rənd ^h na 'cook (in pot)'	rānd ^h na	rənd ^h wana
rəlna 'mix up'	rəlana	rəlwana
ru:sna 'displease'	rusana	ruswana
reɬna 'slip'	reɬwana	reɬwana
səmərna 'mend'	səmarna	səmərwana
sapəɾna 'finish'	səpɾana	səpɾwana
silgna 'burn'	silgana	siləgwana
ɬəpna 'heat'	ɬəpana	ɬəpwana
ɬərəsna 'tantalize'	ɬərsana	ɬərəswana
ɬ ^h əmna 'stop'	ɬ ^h amna	ɬ ^h əmwana
ukəsna 'raise (the position of something)'	uksana	ukəswana
uɟ ^h əlna 'elope'	?uɟ ^h əlwana	uɟ ^h əlwana
u:kna 'fail'	ukana	ukwana
uɬ ^h əlna 'turnabout'	uɬ ^h alna	uɬ ^h əlwana
uɬ ^h na 'get up'	uɬ ^h ana	uɬ ^h wana

Type-B, Set-2

Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
b ^h ərnɑ 'fill'	b ^h ərnɑ	b ^h ərwɑnɑ
bəɖlənɑ 'change'	bəɖlənɑ	bəɖəlwɑnɑ
si:mnɑ 'sew'	si:mnɑ	simwɑnɑ
g ^h əsna 'rub'	g ^h əsna	g ^h eswɑnɑ
osnɑ 'knead'	osnɑ	osnɑwɑnɑ

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