

*CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KANNADA

K. Rangan and B. Mallikm1un

The Kannada grammarian Keśhirāja (1260 AD) in his grammar 'Shabdamani darpana' identifies four functions for the suffix *-isu*¹. One of the functions in which *-isu* is used is to express the meaning 'prēranārtha' (cause). The condition for the use of *-isu* in causative meaning is described as there should be two 'kriyā' and two 'kartru'. Kēśhirāja's characterization of causative constructions is basically semantic i.e., he says that "the agent causes another to do some thing or causes something to be done or happen"².

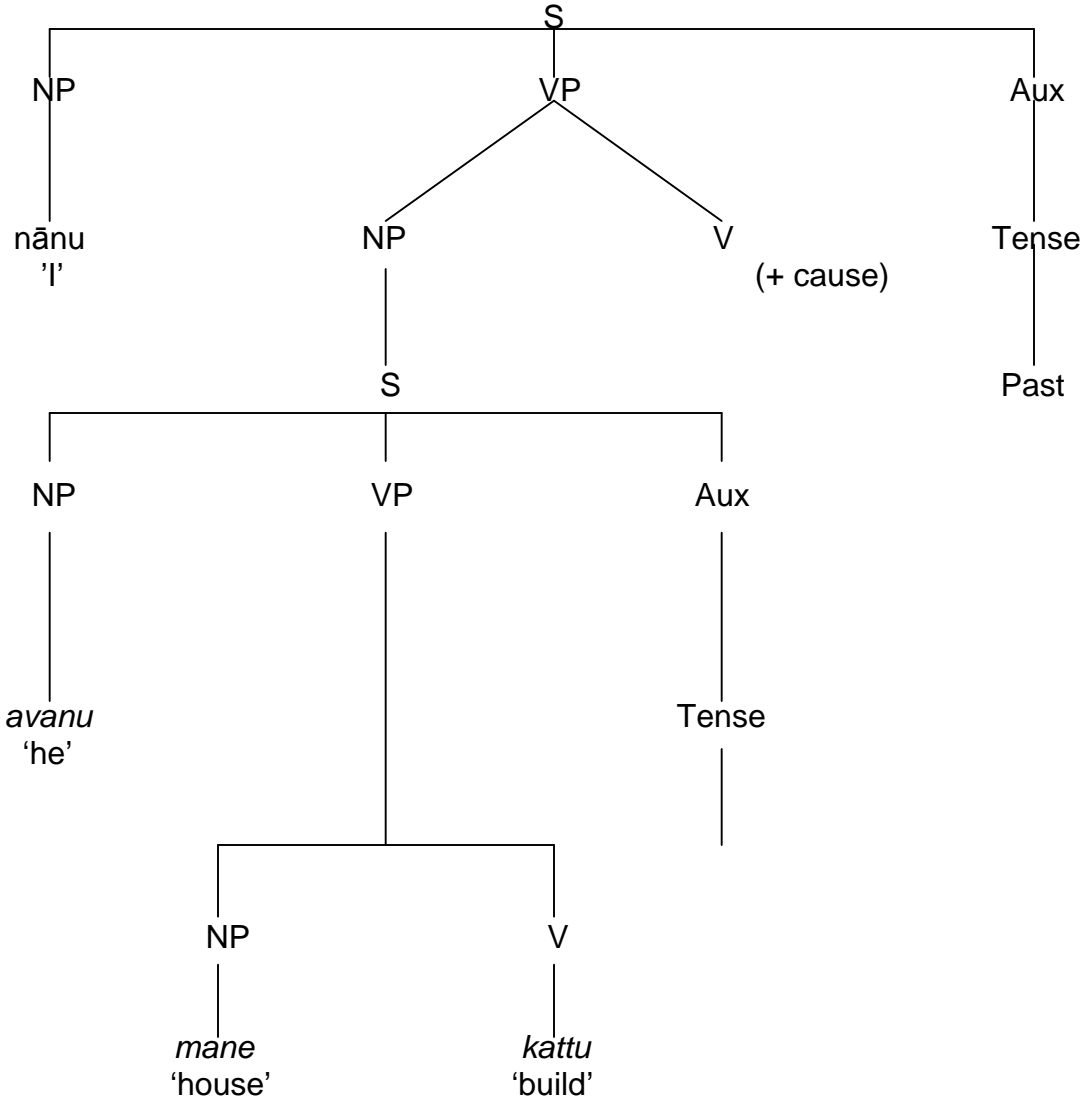
- (1) nānu magu(v)-annu al-is-t-īni
I child-acc weep-cause-pres-PNG
'I cause the child to weep'
- (2) nānu magu(v)-ige haṇṇ-annu tinn-is-t-īni
I child -dat fruit-acc eat-cause-pres-PNG
'I cause the child to eat the fruit'

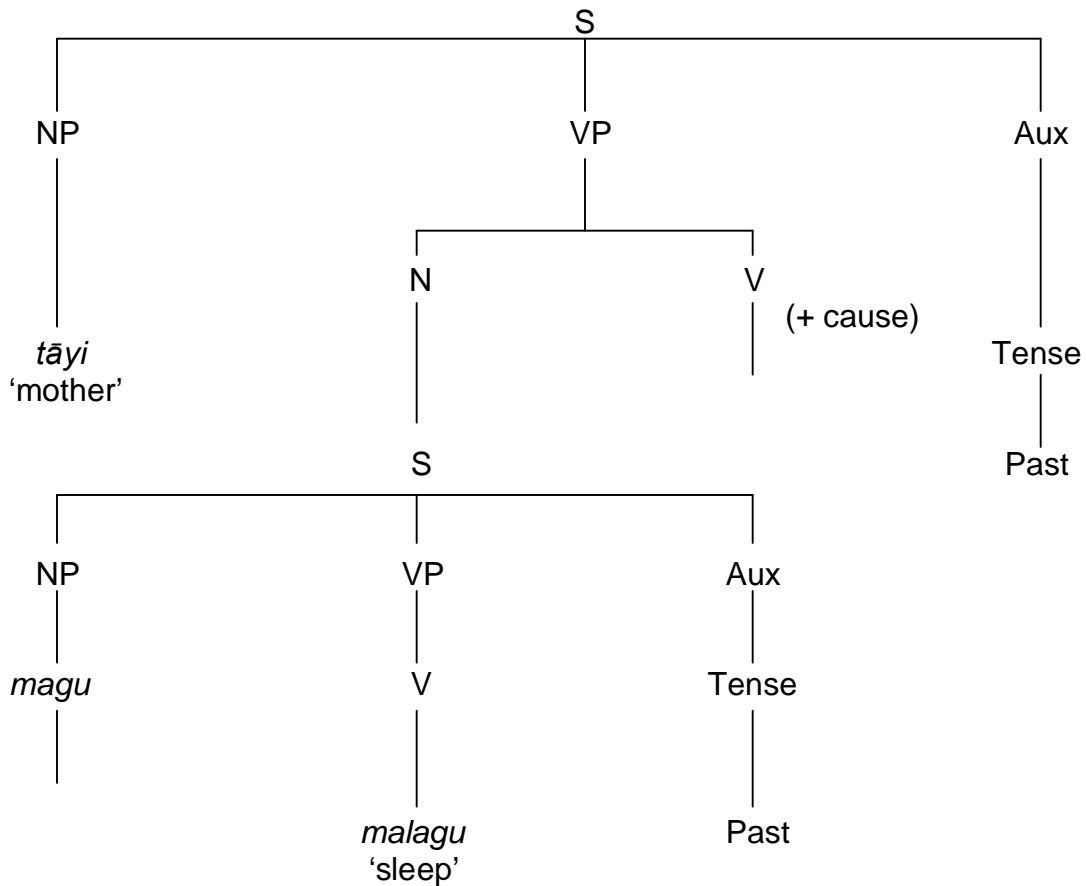
In both sentences (1) and (2) these are two 'kriya' and two 'kartru'. That is in sentence (1) *I* and the *child* are 'kartru' and *cause* and *weep* are 'kriya'. Similarly in sentence (2) *cause* and *eat* are 'kriya' and *I* and the *child* are 'kartru'. I cause something to the child so that the child weeps/eats! It is not a volitional act on the part of the child. Rather it is a non - volitional act of the child.

The native speakers of Kannada feel intuitively sentences (3-5) are related to sentences (6-8).

- (3) avanu mane(y)-annu katt-id-a
he house -acc build-past-PNG
'He built the house'
- (4) avalu kitaki(y)-nnu mucc-t-āle
she window -acc close-pres-PNG
'She closes the window'
- (5) magu malag-Ø-itu
child sleep-past-PNG
'The child slept'
- (6) nānu avan-inda mane(y)-annu katti-s-id-e
I he-by house -acc build-cause-past-PNG
'I caused him to build the house'
- (7) avaru aval-inda ki!aki(y)-annu mucc-is-t-are
they she-by window -acc close-cause-pres-PNG
'They cause her to close the window'
- (8) tāyi magu(v)-annu malag-is-id-alu
mother child-acc sleep-cause-past-PNG
'The mother caused the child to sleep'

In order to capture the intuitive feeling of Kannada speakers, the grammar should relate sentences (3-5) to (6-8) in its description. The verbs in (3-5) are morphologically related to the verbs in (6-8). The suffix -isu is added to the verb stems to express the causative meaning. The addition of -isu brings about certain changes in the syntactic structure of the sentences. Figs (1) and (2) give the deep structures of sentences (6) and (8).





The V of the embedded is raised and attached to V of the matrix sentence. If the V of the embedded sentence is intransitive, then the subject NP becomes the object NP of the matrix sentence. The identical constituent Aux of the embedded sentence is deleted. Thus we get the sentence (8) from fig (2), *magu(v)-anuu* functions as the object of the surface structure. But it functions as the subject of the embedded sentence in the underlying structure.

To derive the sentence (6) the transformational rules mentioned above are applied. Since the verb of the embedded sentence is transitive, the suffix *-inda* is added to the subject NP of the embedded sentence at the surface level. Thus we get the surface level. Thus we get the sentence,

nānu avan-inda mane(y)-annu katt-is-id-e
 'I caused him to build the house' .

It is not the case always that the subject of the embedded sentence is marked as NP *-inda* at the surface level. In sentence (2), the suffix *-ige* is found occurring at the surface level. In this case, it is generalized that the subject of the embedded sentence becomes the indirect object of the matrix sentence.

In terms of meaning it is possible to state that the suffix *-ige* occurs with the subject NP of the embedded sentence at the surface level, when the superordinate agent (causer) is physically involved in causing the action' Consider the sentences,

- (9) *nānu huguga(n)-ige snāna māg-is-t-ini*
I boy -dat bath do -cause- PNG
'I cause the boy to bathe'
- (10) *rāni rital-ige sire ud-is-t-āle*
Rani Rita -dat sari wear-cause-pers-PNG
'Rani causes Rita and wear the sari'

The superordinate agents *nānu* and *rāni* in (9) and (10) are physically involved in performing the action of *bathing* the boy and *wearing* the sari. But, in sentences where *-inda* is found occurring with the subject NP of embedded sentence at the surface level, the superordinate agent is not physically involved in performing the action.

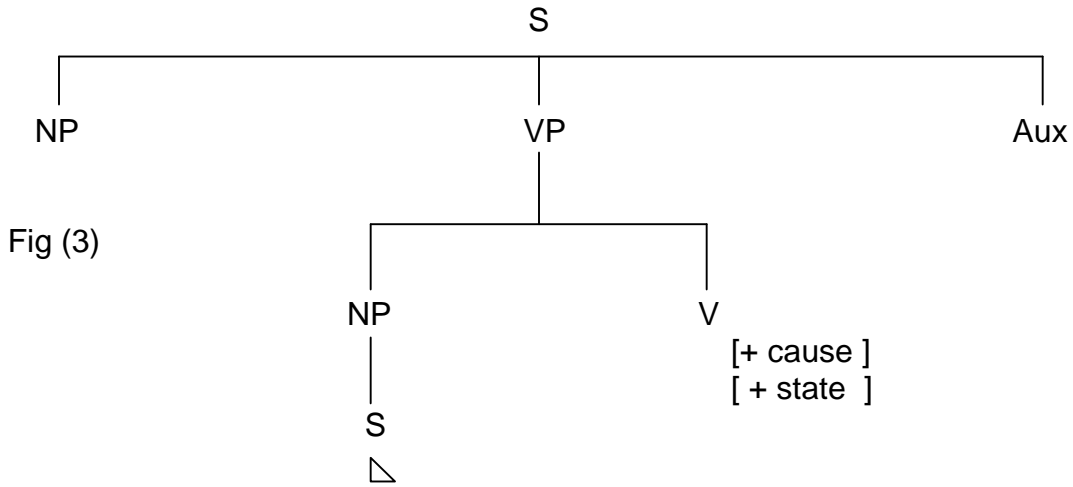
- (11) *avaru gāyakar-inda hagu hel-is-t-āre*
they singers-by song sing-cause-pres-PNG
'They cause the singers to sing the song'
- (12) *avalu al(n)-inda kitaki mucc-is-t-ale*
she servent-by window close-cause-pres-PNG
'She causes the servent to close the window'

In both (11) and (12) the superordinate agents *avaru* and *avalu* do not perform any action physically. Rather they remain as cause for action to take place.

In order to make the distinction in the deep structure, the verb [cause] of the main sentence may be specified as either [+ stative]. When the verb [cause] is [+ stative], the superordinate agent is not physically involved. The verb [cause] is specified [- stative] when the superordinate agent is physically involved. The deep structures would be.

In Kannada there are sentences in which we find the subject NP of the embedded sentence is marked differently at the surface level.

- (13) *nānu magu (v) - annu ad - is - t - ini*
I child -acc play - cause - pres - PNG
'I cause thy child to play''



(14) nānu magu(vin)-inda ād-is-t-ini
 I child -by play-cause-pres-PNG
 'I cause the child to play'

The embedded sentence of (13) would be,

(15) magu ag-atte
 child play-pres-PNG
 'The child plays'

(16) magu eno ad-atte
 child something play-pres--'PNG
 'The child plays something'

The verb *ad(u)* is intransitive in (15) and transitive in (16). Since *ad(u)* is intransitive in (15), *magu* becomes the object in (13). But in (16) it is transitive and therefore at the surface level the suffix *-inda* is added to *magu* in (14). The abstract verb of the matrix sentence is specified as [+ cause]
 [- stative]

The object of (16) is deleted optionally. It is evident from the following sentences.

(17) nānu magu (vin)-inda kriket ad-is-t-ini
 I child -by cricket play-cause-pres-PNG
 'I cause the child to play the cricket'

(18) nānu magu (v)-annu kriket ag-is-t-ini
 I child -acc cricket play-cause-pres-PNG
 'I cause the child to play the cricket'

Sentence (17) and (13) are related in the sense that the object in (13) has been deleted whereas in (17) it is present. Sentence (18) is ungrammatical because the verb *ādu* is intransitive in the deep structure and both *magu(v)annu* and *kriket* function as the object at the surface level.

The subject NP of the lower most embedded sentence becomes the object or indirect object at surface level. It depends on whether the verb of the lower most embedded sentence is transitive or intransitive. In sentence (21) *skru* functions as the object of the surface sentence because *tirug(u)* is intransitive in the deep structure. But in (19) and (20) *vidyārthigal-ige* and *nin-ige* function as the indirect object. This is because the verbs *kali* and *kudi* are transitive in the deep structure. The subject NP of the next higher sentence is marked with the suffix *-inda* at the surface level.

Conclusions

- (1) The subject NP becomes the object of the matrix sentence when V is intransitive.
- (2) The subject NP becomes indirect object of the matrix sentence when V is transitive and when V of the main sentence is specified [+ cause]
[- stative]
- (3) When V of the main sentence is [+ cause]
[- stative]
the subject NP of the embedded sentence is marked with *-inda* suffix.
- (4) In double causative constructions, the subject of the lower most embedded sentence becomes the object or indirect object depending on whether the V is transitive or intransitive; the subject of the next higher sentence is marked with *-inda* at the surface level.

NOTES

1. sutra No ; 230
2. ibid

REFERENCE

Kittel Rev. F. (ed) (1965) *Kēśirāja kaviya śhabdamani darpana*
Dharwar. Shambhulingappa Shivarudrappa Kulakarni.

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