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Transitivity and Voice: A Marathi-Japanese Contrastive Perspective

（他動性とヴォイス：マラーティー語と日本語の対照の観点から）

神戸大学大学院文化学研究科（博士課程）

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ABSTRACT

Transitivity and Voice: A Marathi- Japanese Contrastive Perspective

Prashant PARDESHI

The major aims of the present study are tow-fold: (a) to provide a comprehensive, unified analysis of the valency-changing voice phenomena--the passive, the causative and the benefactive--in Marathi, the mother tongue of this researcher, and explore their relationship with the notion of transitivity and (b) to offer a contrastive study of the aforementioned valency-changing voice phenomena in typologically diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese. The central claim is that transitivity--at least in its relationship to voice--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms. The contrast of typologically diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese offers interesting perspectives and not only reveals similarities and differences between them but also make substantial contributions to a better understanding of voice phenomena in general. A language-specific analysis of each of the aforementioned voice constructions in Marathi and a cross-linguistic contrastive study with its Japanese counterpart is provided in separate chapters.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the topic, the aims and scope of the study, methodology and other relevant details.

Chapter 2 brings to light hitherto unnoticed two issues related to the Marathi passive: a) existence of twin passive construction--GO and COME passives--and their distribution and b) the correlations of the GO passive with other constructions such as the spontaneous, the potential and the honorific. It is argued that the GO and COME passive are neither interchangeable not mutually exclusive in all the context. They form a continuum and the notion of "intention" dictates their usage. It is also demonstrated that the Marathi passive is sensitive to the notion of semantic transitivity rather than syntactic one which the past analyses have failed to notice. The morphosyntactic correlations between the passive and other constructions such as the spontaneous, potential and the honorific were also unnoticed hitherto and are accounted for in terms of a pragmatic notion--agent defocusing as proposed in Shibatani (1985). The contrastive study with their Japanese counterparts contributes in bringing these correlations to light and dispelling the misleading claims made in the past analyses regarding the functions/meanings conveyed by the Marathi passive. We

show that these misleading claims have their roots in the failure to recognize the correlations of the passive with the above-mentioned constructions. We highlight the similarities and differences between the passive and related constructions in Marathi and Japanese and the contributions of the contrastive study to a better understanding of these phenomena in general.

Chapter 3 deals with the causative construction and explores the relationship between verb semantics and the syntax of the causative constructions within the framework proposed in Shibatani (1998b). It is demonstrated that, like the passive, the causative in Marathi is also sensitive to the notion of semantic transitivity rather than the syntactic one. A comprehensive alternative analysis of the Marathi causatives which embraces synthetic as well as analytic causative is presented and it is shown that the purpose of causation--the causer's perspective together with the root verb semantics--the causee's perspective determine the form of a causative expression. We also offer a contrastive study between Marathi and Japanese causative and demonstrate that such a contrast of typologically diverse languages not only reveals similarities and differences between them but also makes substantial contributions to our understanding of the causative phenomena.

Chapter 4 offers an account of the benefactive construction in Marathi within the cognitive framework proposed in Shibatani (1994a, b). It demonstrates the relevance of cognitive schema and highlights the role of the notion of "construal" in the grammaticality of a benefactive expression. Benefactive constructions, like the passive and the causative, are sensitive to the notion of semantic transitivity. The contrast of the Marathi and Japanese benefactives brings to light similarities and differences between them. In addition, it also makes substantial contributions to our understanding of benefactive phenomenon in general.

Chapter 5 presents a summary of and conclusions to the present study and discuss implications of the present study to the current linguistic theory, insights gained into the evolution of grammar and unsolved problems.

To conclude, the study of Marathi voice phenomena demonstrate that transitivity--at least in its relationship to voice--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms. Further, the contrastive study of voice phenomena in typologically diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese not only reveal similarities and differences between them but also make substantial contributions to a better

understanding of the voice phenomena in general.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative	PASS	passive
CAUS	causative	PAST	past tense
CONJ	conjunction	PERF	perfective
COP	copula	PL	plural
DAT	dative	POT	potential
EMPH	emphatic	PRES	present
ERG	ergative	PTCPL	participle
F	feminine	QM	question marker
GEN	genitive	S	sentence
HON	honorific	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	SPON	spontaneous
INSTR	instrumental	TOP	topic
LOC	locative	V	verb
M	masculine	1P	first person
MAN	manner	2P	second person
N	neuter	3P	third person
NEG	negation	1PL	one place predicate
N.G.	unacceptable	2PL	two place predicate
NOM	nominative	3PL	three place predicate
NP	noun phrase	*	unacceptable
O.K.	acceptable	?	unnatural

MARATHI PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

VOWELS

Position	front	central	back
high	i/I		u/U
mid	e/E		o
low	A	a	
Diphthongs: æ and ⊃			

Note: Capital letters indicate long vowel while small letters indicates short ones.

CONSONANTS

	voiceless unaspirated	voiceless aspirated	voiced unaspirated	voiced aspirated
Velar	k	kh	g	gh
Palatal	c	ch	j	jh
Retroflex	T	Th	D	Dh
Dental	t	th	d	dh
Bilabial	p	ph	b	bh

Liquids: r, l

Continuants: y, w

Dental affricates: C, Ch, z, zh

Retroflex lateral: L

Sibilants: (i) Dental: s, (ii) Palatal: sh, (iii) Retroflex: S

Nasals: (i) Dental: n, (ii) Retroflex: N, (iii) Bilabial: m

JAPANESE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

a	i	u	e	o			
ka	ki	ku	ke	ko	kya	kyu	kyo
sa	shi	su	se	so	sha	shu	sho
ta	chi	tsu	te	to	cha	chu	cho
na	ni	nu	ne	no	nya	nyu	nyo
ha	hi	fu	he	ho	hya	hyu	hyo
ma	mi	mu	me	mo	mya	myu	myo
ya		yu		yo			
ra	ri	ru	re	ro	rya	ryu	ryo
wa				o			
n							
ga	gi	gu	ge	go	gya	gyu	gyo
za	ji	zu	ze	zo	jya	jyu	jyo
da	ji	zu	ze	zo			
ba	bi	bu	be	bo	bya	byu	byo
pa	pi	pu	pe	po	pya	pyu	pyo

Notes: Long vowels are shown by vowel repetition as in *otoosan*, *eega* and *suu*.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introductory Remarks

Voice phenomena have intrigued the minds of linguists since the time of antiquity, and the history of the study of voice can be traced back at least as far as Panini's legendary Sanskrit grammar, the *AshTAdhyayi* (500 BC). In the modern linguistic context, the relationship between the active and the passive has figured prominently, and has played an important role in the development of formal frameworks like transformational grammar (Chomsky 1965) and relational grammar (Perlmutter & Postal 1977). Apart from these formal approaches, voice phenomena have also received a great deal of attention in the field of linguistic typology (Shibatani 1985, Comrie 1981) and functional grammar (Givon 1979).

Despite the long history of voice study, there seems to be no consensus on the fundamental issue of defining the domain of voice itself, i.e. which constructions should be treated as voice phenomena. Some linguists (Crystal 1997, Mel'cuk 1993) adopt a narrow view and define voice as follows:

*Voice....a CATEGORY used in the GRAMMATICAL description of SENTENCE or CLAUSE structure, primarily with reference to VERBS, to express the way sentences may alter the relationship between the SUBJECT and OBJECT of a verb, **without changing the meaning of the sentence**.....* (Crystal 1997: 413, emphasis in boldface supplied)

*The category of voice is an inflectional category such that its grammemes specify such modifications of the basic diathesis of a lexical unit **that do not affect its propositional meaning**.* (Mel'cuk 1993: 11, emphasis in boldface supplied)

Shibatani (forthcoming) points out that these definitions lay emphasis on three points viz. a) that voice is an inflectional category, b) that voice alters diathesis--the relationship between the subject and object of a verb, and c) voice alternations do not

affect the meaning of a clause/sentence. He goes on to argue that these definitions are problematic in that a) voice is not necessarily an inflectional category, b) it does not necessarily alter diathesis, and c) it does not necessarily preserve meaning. The definitions above also lack cross-linguistic validity, in that isolating and agglutinating languages generally do not express voice alternations through inflection. From the above definitions it is also clear that causative/non-causative and benefactive/non-benefactive oppositions cannot be treated as voice phenomena on par with the active/passive opposition, since they involve a change in the propositional meaning of the basic clause. Shibatani (1998b) takes a broader view, defining voice as follows (op. cit.: 13):

Voice can be broadly understood as a mechanism for expressing the meaning relationship between the core arguments and the action denoted by the verb. Depending on the type of voice opposition, core arguments are defined differently.

Such a semantically-based definition of voice transcends structural differences among the languages of the world and applies cross-linguistically. It is also clear that this definition of voice treats the causative/non-causative, as well as the benefactive/non-benefactive oppositions on par with the active/passive opposition.

One of the most salient features associated with voice phenomena is transitivity. Until recently, transitivity has been understood as a structural phenomenon--a clear-cut dichotomy, based on the presence vs. absence of a direct object. The passive construction is often claimed to be associated with transitive clauses. As pointed out in Shibatani (1998a), however, there are many transitive verbs that fail to undergo passivization, as well as many languages (German, Dutch, Lithuanian, Russian, Nepali, Finnish, Turkish, Japanese among others) that permit passive constructions based on intransitive verbs. Thus, on one hand, there are transitive verbs that do not undergo passivization, and on the other, intransitive verbs that do undergo this process. Shibatani points out that even though some intransitive verbs permit passives in various languages, the distribution of intransitive-based impersonal passives is not random, but rather highly sensitive to a semantic parameter--all of them expressing an action. As for causativization, Shibatani (1998b) points out that unergative verbs behave like transitives--rather than unaccusatives--despite the fact that unergative

and unaccusative verbs share the property of syntactic intransitivity. With regards to the benefactive construction, Shibatani (1994a, b, 1996) observes that even though transitive verbs generally yield benefactive constructions, certain transitives fail to do so. This fact again implies that benefactive constructions are sensitive to semantic factors rather than to purely syntactic ones. In view of these facts, Shibatani (1998b) claims that transitivity--at least in its relation to voice phenomena--should be understood in semantic, rather than syntactic terms. Shibatani assumes the notion of semantic transitivity proposed in Hopper & Thompson (1980) which takes a prototypical approach, treating transitivity as a matter of degree. This is in sharp contrast to a purely structural approach which attempts to make a clear-cut distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs based on the presence vs. absence of a direct object. Syntactic transitivity is polar concept while semantic transitivity is a scalar one. Hopper & Thompson (op. cit.) propose that transitivity involves a number of components, the presence of an object being only one of them. Their semantic parameters are as follows:

(1)

	Transitivity	
	High	Low
A. Participants	2 or more participants A and O[1]	1 participant
B. Kinesis	Action	Non-action
C. Aspect	Telic	Atelic
D. Punctuality	Punctual	Non-punctual
E. Volitionality	Volitional	Non-volitional
F. Affirmation	Affirmative	Negative
G. Mode	Realis	Irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected

[1] Hopper & Thomson (1980) follow Dixon (1979) in using "A" for Agent and "O" for Object to refer to the two participants in a two-participant clause.

J. Individuation of O O highly individuated O non-individuated

According to Hopper & Thompson, the features in (1) can be manifested either morphosyntactically or semantically. They show that these parameters co-vary with one another in several languages. Clauses can be ranked on the transitivity scale in terms of these ten parameters. A clause that has more high-transitivity features is considered to be more transitive than a clause that has few of them.

Passive and causative derivations are often treated from the point of view of 'valency changes'--the former involving a reduction, the latter an increases of one. Such an approach highlights the structural aspects of these phenomena, however it fails to account for the polysemy, or correlations that particular constructions show with others. As pointed out by Shibatani (1998b), no linguistic structure is an island, and that many, if not all grammatical constructions exhibit a polysemy phase in their evolutionary path. In order to account for such states of polysemy, it is necessary to trace the historical development of a particular construction. Valency changes hardly seem to be a driving force behind historical developments leading to polysemy.

To summarize, some of the major issues involved in the study of transitivity and voice are a) defining the domain of voice itself--i.e. what constructions should be treated as voice phenomena, b) the state of polysemy exhibited by various voice phenomena and c) the relationship between transitivity and voice.

1.2 Aim and Scope of the Present Study

In light of the foregoing discussion, the aims of the present study are twofold: a) to explore the correlations between transitivity and voice phenomena in Marathi, providing a unified account of Marathi voice phenomena, and b) to provide a contrastive analysis of voice-related constructions in Marathi and Japanese. Following Shibatani (1998b) valency-changing phenomena such as passive and causatives, as well as benefactive constructions are included where the issue of transitivity figures most prominently. At first glance, the two goals may not seem to be directly related to each other; it will become clear in the course of the discussion, however, that a contrastive study of a synthetic language like Japanese and a predominantly analytic language like Marathi not only reveals similarities and differences between them but

also make significant contributions to our understanding of voice phenomena in general. The importance of the study lies in the fact that--to the best of our knowledge--no previous work has been done that explores the correlations between transitivity and voice, treating voice-related constructions in Marathi in a unified way (fragmentary descriptions of individual constructions are available, however). A contrastive study of Marathi and Japanese voice-related constructions is also the first of its kind, and it not reveals the similarities and differences between the constructions under scrutiny but also contributes substantially to a better understanding of voice phenomena in general. The present work thus attempts to contribute to language typology in general, and to a better understanding of Marathi and Japanese voice phenomena in particular.

In undertaking a cross-linguistic comparison, it should be kept in mind that the constructions being compared are not alike in all respects. They may differ in any of the following ways: a) scope of application, b) origin and relationship with other constructions, and c) meaning and function. Grammatical constructions historically arise from various sources, and the voice-related constructions under scrutiny here are no exception. The passive construction in Japanese, for example, is thought to have developed from a spontaneous construction, while the Spanish passive is believed to have evolved from a reflexive one. This difference in diachronic development is reflected in synchronic polysemy, i.e. morphosyntactic correlations with other constructions. The passive in Marathi is also a case in point, and shares morphosyntactic features with spontaneous, potential, and honorific constructions. In view of this we will explore the relationship of the passive to the others in a synchronic perspective. A diachronic account of the synchronic polysemy is beyond the scope of the present study, however. The study does not claim to be exhaustive, but rather focuses on some of the crucial issues pertaining to Marathi voice phenomena.

1.3 Methodological Assumptions

In this section we will briefly introduce the methodological assumptions to be adopted in this thesis, along with other relevant details such as the scheme of presentation, transcription and data.

1.3.1. Voice as a multidimensional phenomenon

Following Shibatani (forthcoming), we assume that grammatical constructions should be defined not strictly in terms of grammatical or functional features, but rather in terms of a combination of structural (including morphological), semantic and functional properties. In addition, languages may exhibit variation along different dimensions. This is obvious from the fact that voice constructions, for example, develop from different origins and follow different paths in the process of their development. The significance of this assumption will become clear in the body of the thesis, where it is claimed that previous analyses of Marathi passives and causatives have over emphasized specific morphological properties in characterizing these constructions, resulting in fragmentary analyses. This is all the more important in a language like Marathi, which achieves its paradigmatic contrasts in multifarious ways. As rightly pointed out by Masica (1991: 212):

For the NIA (New Indo-Aryan) languages, whose paradigms achieve their contrasts through various combinations of ***inherited synthetic*** *elements,* ***new agglutinative*** *elements and* ***analytical*** *elements, an account confined to the first of these, or even the first and the second, would be fragmentary, and not give much of an idea of how these languages actually work. For that, the whole system of contrasting forms at the subphrasal level must be examined, heterogeneous though they may be, along with the grammatical category they imply.* (emphasis original; long form supplied)

The constructions referred to as voice-related in Marathi in this thesis are identified on the basis of a combination of structural/morphological, semantic and functional characteristics.

1.3.2 The Prototype approach

In linguistic theory there are two polar opposite approaches adopted for categorization. One is called the Aristotelian approach and the other is known as the Prototype approach. The former employs necessary and sufficient conditions as criteria for categorization, while the latter adopts a radically different, scalar approach

to categorization. The prototype approach assumes that a category is constituted of members of varied degrees of representation. Some members may be prototypical/representative while others may resemble the prototype to a limited extent. The boundaries between categories can be 'fuzzy', such that we sometimes find a continuum between different categories rather than a clear-cut demarcation. Finally, category formation may be based on family resemblance's, i.e. members of a category that do not share a single defining feature may still be related through partial similarities among members.

This is a broad outline of the prototype approach and in this thesis we will adopt it in defining grammatical categories such as transitivity and voice-related constructions. This approach enables us to relate different types of passive (e.g. the GO and COME passive in Marathi), the causative (e.g. *aw*, *lAwNe*, *pAdNe*, *deNe*, and *gheNe*) and the benefactive (the *deNe* and *dAkhawNe*) constructions. In addition, it allows us to relate a particular passive construction (e.g. the GO passive) with other constructions (e.g. the spontaneous, potential and honorific), and a particular causative construction (e.g. the *gheNe* causative) with a benefactive (the *deNe* benefactive).

1.3.3 Grammaticalization

The Marathi voice-related constructions taken up in this study--passive, causative and benefactive--employ analytic/periphrastic means to convey their respective grammatical meanings.[2] All these constructions typically employ a complex verb with a V-V sequence in which the second verb--the auxiliary/vector verb--has been grammaticalized (i.e. has lost its lexical meaning). These auxiliary verbs are semantically 'bleached' and convey only a grammatical meaning. Although grammaticalization involves diachronic as well as synchronic dimensions, a diachronic account is beyond the scope of the present study. We confine ourselves to the synchronic aspects of the grammaticalized auxiliaries in the Marathi voice-related

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[2] Marathi causative formation is unique in that it employs synthetic method (use of causative suffix), like agglutinating languages as well as analytic method (use of causative auxiliary) like analytic languages in deriving causative forms.

constructions.

1.3.4 Scheme of presentation

The present study consists of five chapters and the details of each chapter are as follows. Chapter 1 (the present chapter) serves as a general introduction to the research topic, the aims and scope of the study, methodological assumptions, the framework adopted for the analysis, and other presentational details.

In Chapter 2, we offer a detailed alternative analysis of the passive construction in Marathi and demonstrate that transitivity in its relationship to the Marathi passive should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms. We also explore correlations of the Marathi passive with other constructions--the spontaneous, the potential and the honorific--within the typological framework of Shibatani (1985) in a synchronic perspective. We offer a contrastive analysis of the passive and related constructions in Marathi and Japanese and show how such a contrast of typologically diverse languages offer significant insights into a better understanding of these phenomena in general. The correlations of the passive with the other constructions in Marathi comes to light in such a contrastive study.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to causative constructions. There we identify various kinds of construction that can be referred to as causative in Marathi and explore the correlations between the root verb semantics and the various forms of the causative expressions within the framework proposed in Shibatani (1998b). The Marathi causative, like the passive, provides a strong support to Shibatani's claim that transitivity--at least in its relationship to voice--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms. We offer a comprehensive unified alternative analysis of the Marathi causative and demonstrate how the root verb semantics (causee's perspective) together with the purpose/reason of causation in the mind of the causer (causer's perspective) determine the form of a causative expression. We also offer a contrastive study of Marathi and Japanese causatives and demonstrate how such a contrast of typologically diverse languages contribute to a better understanding of causative phenomena in general.

In Chapter 4 we present a detailed analysis of benefactive constructions, and demostrate that Marathi benefactives--like their Japanese counterpart--are also

sensitive to the notion of semantic transitivity. We contrast them with their Japanese counterparts and highlight the contributions of such a contrastive study to a better understanding of benefactive phenomena in general.

From Chapter 2 through Chapter 4 we argue that transitivity--at least in its relationship to voice--should be understood in semantic, rather than syntactic terms and highlight the contributions of the contrastive study to a better understanding of voice phenomena in general.

Finally in Chapter 5 we present a summary of and conclusions to the study, and discuss insights gained into the evolution of grammar, implications of the present study to the current linguistic theory and the unsolved problems. A list of abbreviations, transitive-intransitive verb-pairs in Marathi and Japanese, as well as transcription details of Marathi and Japanese are appended.

1.3.5 Transcription

Phonetic details are ignored in this study since they are irrelevant to the topic under consideration. A detailed list of phonetic transcriptions used for the purpose of transliteration of Marathi and Japanese data are appended separately.

1.3.6 Data

There are two major sources of data on Marathi and Japanese viz. published works and spoken utterances. For Marathi, the data is based mainly on my own idiolect. I am a native speaker of Marathi and speak the standard language spoken in the city of Pune. The source of the examples cited from other works is mentioned explicitly; otherwise they are my own. The same holds true for Japanese: the data from external sources is acknowledged, while otherwise the examples are my own, confirmed by a number of native Japanese speakers.

Chapter 2

THE PASSIVE AND RELATED CONSTRUCTIONS

2.1 Introduction

The passive construction has occupied a prominent position in linguistic descriptions in the last few decades and has been analyzed by modern linguists in various frameworks, such as transformational and generative grammar (Chomsky 1965, Kuroda 1979), relational grammar (Perlmutter & Postal 1977, Pandharipande 1981, Rosen & Wali 1989), and functional grammar (Givon 1979). However, as pointed out by Shibatani (1985), these formal as well as functional approaches are too restricted to account for the patterns of distribution which passive morphology exhibits. It has also been pointed out that various languages employ the same morphosyntactic properties as the passive in reflexive, reciprocal, spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions (Langacker & Munro 1975, Shibatani 1985). The Marathi morpheme *V-PERF + GO* and the Japanese suffix *rare* are also cases in point, and are used in four types of construction viz. the passive, spontaneous, potential and honorific. Previous characterizations of the passive in Marathi (Tarkhadkar 1836, Kher 1899, Joshi 1900, Damle 1911, Berntsen & Nimbkar 1975, Pandharipande 1981, Rosen & Wali 1989, Masica 1991) are not only unable to provide a unified account of the Marathi passive, but also too narrow in perspective to account for the correlation of the passive with the other constructions mentioned earlier.

Another issue closely related with vioce phenomena is transitivity. It figures most prominently in the valency-changing voice phenomena like the passive, causative and benefactive. In previous analyses of Marathi passive, for example, it is assumed that a voice phenomenon like the active/passive opposition is obtained only if the verb in question is transitive (Cf. Pandharipande 1981). In Marathi, however, a group of transitive verbs popularly known as ingestive verbs (Cf. Masica 1976) typically fail to yield a passive construction. In this chapter, we will demonstrate that the study of Marathi passive lend a strong support to the claim made in Shibatani (1998b) that transitivity--at least in its relationship to voice phenomena--must be understood in

semantic, rather than syntactic terms. Following Shibatani, we assumes the definition of semantic transitivity--originaly proposed in Hopper & Thompson (1980)--which takes a prototype approach, and treats transitivity as a matter of degree rather than a clear-cut dichotomy.

In light of this, the goal of this chapter is (a) to provide an alternative account of the passive in Marathi demonstrating that transitivity in its relationship to the passive should be understood in semantic terms and (b) to explore the correlations of the Marathi passive with other constructions such as the spontaneous, potential and honorific. As pointed out by Shibatani (1985), for a correct understanding of the correlation of the passive with other constructions, a broader perspective is required. We will adopt the prototype framework proposed by Shibatani (1985) to explore the correlation of the Marathi passive with the other constructions. In addition to a language-particular analysis of Marathi passive, we will also present a cross-linguistic contrastive study of the passive and related constructions viz. the spontaneous, potential, and honorific construction in Marathi and Japanese which is one of the central concerns of this dissertation. We will show that the contrast of a predominently analytic language like Marathi and a typical synthetic language like Japanese not only reveals similarities and differences between them but also provide better insights into the understanding of passive and related phenomena in general.

We will proceed as follows. First we will introduce the framework in which the analysis of Marathi passives and related constructions would be carried out viz. Shibatani (1985). Following this we will provide a brief critical review of the past analyses and argue that they are inadequate even at the descriptive and explanatory level. We will then provide an alternative analysis of the Marathi passive and demonstrate that the passive in Marathi is sensitive to semantic transitivity. Subsequently, we will explore the correlations between the passive and the related constructions in a contrastive perspective and highlight the contributions of the contrastive study between Marathi and Japanese. Let us first introduce the framework in which our analysis will be carried out.

2.1.1 The Framework : Shibatani (1985)

Shibatani adopts a traditional view of grammatical voice as a category that signals an

unmarked vs. marked distinction of mapping between the basic syntactic functions of subject and object, and the basic semantic roles of agent and patient. In an active clause, the agent occupies the most prominent subject slot, and thus cannot be deleted. However, in a passive clause the agent is removed from the most prominent syntactic slot of subject, and is either demoted to the role of an adjunct or not encoded at all. Passive voice, therefore, can be seen as a means of demoting the agent or deleting it altogether. Thus, the prototypical passive is agentless. Shibatani (1985: 837) defines the passive prototype as follows:

(1) Characterization of the passive prototype
  a. Primary pragmatic function: Defocusing of agent
  b. Semantic properties:
    (i) Semantic valence: Predicate (agent, patient)
    (ii) Subject is affected.
  c. Syntactic properties:
    (i) Syntactic encoding: agent $\rightarrow \phi$ (not encoded)
      patient$\rightarrow$subject
    (ii) Valence of P[redicate]: Active = P/n ;
      Passive = P/n-1.
  d. Morphological property:
    Active = P ;
    Passive = P[+ passive].

Shibatani points out that, rather than arguing whether a given construction should be considered passive or not, a description must be offered as to what extent the construction in question is similar to or different from the prototype. This view of grammar thus assumes that various constructions exist along a continuum. Some of them are prototypical, others are similar to the prototype to a limited extent, while still others share no similarities at all with the prototype. Such an approach is essential in understanding the relationships among various constructions within a single language, and is capable of providing a useful framework for cross-linguistic research. The rationale for adopting this framework comes from the fact that other frameworks cannot offer a unified account of the passive construction and its correlations with

other constructions. The correlations discussed here are not purely syntactic or semantic in nature, but are rather pragmatic--i.e. all of them share a common pragmatic function viz. ***agent defocusing***.

In what follows we will demonstrate that a broader pragmatic notion of ***agent defocusing*** offers a unified account for the passive construction in Marathi and the constructions related to it. We will start our discussion with the passive, which has been extensively discussed in earlier studies.

2.2 The Marathi Passive: An Outline

Marathi has a twin periphrastic passive construction which typically consists of an agent NP, if at all present, followed by a postposition *kaDUn* or *dwAre*, and a transitive verb with either a perfect participle marker /-l-/ followed by the verb /jA-/ 'go' (hereafter referred to as the GO passive), or a participle /-NyAt/ followed by the verb /ye-/ 'come' (referred to as the COME passive). Periphrastic passive constructions are characteristic of Indo-European languages and are also found in Dravidian, Hamito-Semitic, Sino-Tibetian and South American Indian languages. The passive marker auxiliary verb viz. GO and COME in Marathi is an instance of grammaticalization. These are exemplified below.[1]

(2) polis-An-nI cor pakaD-l-A [ACTIVE]
police-PL-ERG thief.M catch-PERF-M
'The police caught the thief.'

(3) a. polis-An-kaDUn cor pakaD-l-A ge-l-A [GO PASSIVE]
police-PL-by thief.M catch-PERF-M go-PAST-M
'The thief was caught by the police.'

b. polis-An-kaDUn cor pakaD-NyAt A-l-A [COME PASSIVE]
police-PL-by thief.M catch-PTCPL come-PAST-M
'The thief was caught by the police.'

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[1] In citing examples from other studies, transliteration and glosses have been slightly modified to maintain stylistic consistency in this dissertation.

In her extensive survey of passive constructions, Siewierska (1984) points out that different languages employ different verbs as passive auxiliaries--BE (e.g. English, Spanish, Polish etc.), BECOME (e.g. German, Bengali etc.), GO (e.g. Bengali, Hindi, Maithili etc.), RECEIVE/GET (e.g. Welsh, English etc.), SUFFER (e.g. Tamil, Kannada, Burmese, Thai etc.) and COME (e.g. Kurdish Kashmiri, Maithili, Italian). Moreover, many languages possess more than one periphrastic passive auxiliary--BE and BECOME (e.g. Swedish, Latvian, Polish, Finnish, Nez Perce), BE and GET (e.g. English) or BECOME and GO (e.g. Bengali) and that these verbs are not freely interchangeable. The passive construction in Marathi is a case in point, which employs GO and COME as passive auxiliaries. Among the Indo-Aryan languages, Hindi and Punjabi use GO as a passive marker auxiliary, while Kashmiri uses COME. Marathi and Maithili, in contrast, use both GO as well as COME as passive auxiliaries, and are unique from this point of view. Siewierska further points out that the characteristics associated with passive clauses containing particular auxiliary verbs appear to be language specific. Polish, Dutch, Icelandic, German and Finnish, for example, distinguish between passives with BE and BECOME. In each language, however, the two passive constructions are governed by different factors, and are used for different purposes. The use of a given auxiliary in languages which possess more than one such constituent is determined by a variety of semantic, syntactic and stylistic factors.

The very existence of more than one passive construction within a given language signals the possibility of differences between them. In earlier analyses of the Marathi passive construction, the COME passive was either not discussed at all, or was treated as a construction synonymous to the GO passive. We will demonstrate with ample illustration that this is far from true, however. In all contexts the GO passive and the COME passive are neither interchangeable nor mutually exclusive. Moreover, they are not discrete entities but rather form a continuum.

We shall begin with a review of earlier analyses of the Marathi passive in order to establish some background, and then argue that these are in fact inadequate to account for the Marathi passive--to say nothing of its correlations with other constructions.

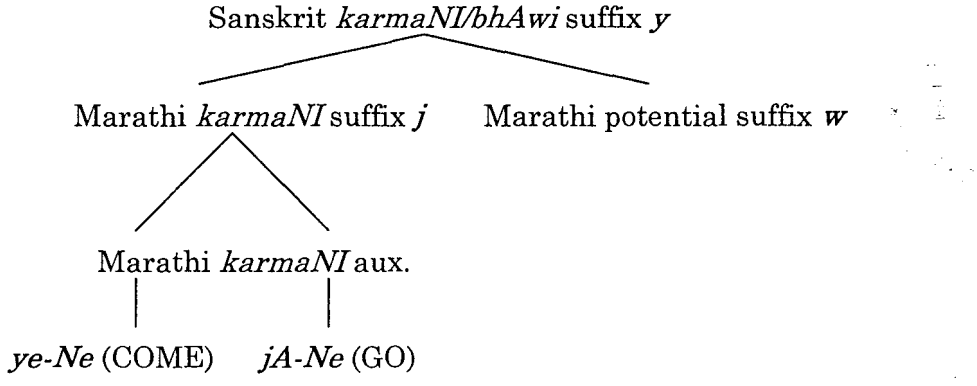
2.3 Review of the Past Analyses

Earlier analyses of the Marathi passive construction can be broadly divided into two categories, viz. traditional grammars [Tarkhadkar (1899), Kher (1899), Joshi (1900), Damle (1911)], and modern linguistic descriptions [Berntsen & Nimbkar (1975), Pandharipande (1981), Rosen & Wali (1989), Masica (1991)]. For the sake of convenience we will review the traditional grammars and modern linguistic descriptions separately.

2.3.1 Traditional Grammars

Traditional grammarians such as Tarkhadkar (1899), Kher (1899), Joshi (1900), and Damle (1911) confine their discussion to the morphological and syntactic aspects of the passive construction, and totally ignore the semantic and pragmatic aspects.

As for the morphological aspects, the traditional grammarians discuss in detail the diachronic change from suffixal to periphrastic forms. Damle (1911), for example, provides a diachronic account of the Marathi passive as follows:



In old Marathi (around the 13th century A.D.), passive forms of verbs were derived by suffixing *j* to the stem which is a phonetic varient of the passive suffix *y* used in Sanskrit. Damle mentions that a *new* form of *karmaNI* (objectival) construction viz. the one that uses GO or COME as a passive auxiliary verb was gradually becoming popular, and that these auxiliary verbs had their origin in the Sanskrit passive suffix *y*.

With regards to syntax, they define the *karmaNI prayog* (passive construction) as

the one in which the verb agrees with the object (*karma* lit. deed/fate) in number, person and gender. According to this definition, whenever the subject is marked and the object is unmarked, the resultant construction would be the *karmaNI*, or passive construction.

(4) rAmA pustak wAci-t-o
Rama.M book.N read-PRES-M Active construction
'Rama reads the book.'

(5) rAmA-ne pustak wAcI-l-e
Rama-ERG book.N read-PAST.N Passive construction with
'Rama read the book.' instrumental subject

(6) ma-lA kAm kar-aw-t-e
I-DAT work.N do-POT -PRES-N Passive construction with
'I am able to work/ I can work.' dative subject

This definition is incorrect however, since in Marathi the verb always agrees with an unmarked nominal (if any), and is thus independent of any construction. Example (5) is in fact an ergative construction, and should be distinguished from the passive construction.[2] Example (6) is a oblique marked subject construction which is void of an agent.

The traditional analyses completely ignore the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the passive construction, yet--except for Joshi (1900)--all discuss the GO as well as the COME passive. Their analyses, however, treat these constructions as semantically identical, and thus mutually interchangeable in all contexts. We claim that this is not the case, and will discuss both of these constructions in greater detail later on.

Tarkhadkar (1899) and Kher (1899) talk about constructions that can be used as substitutes for the passive. The following are cited in Tarkhadkar (1899: 258):

(A) Using a pure transitive verb intransitively

[2] Cf. Section 2.4 for a detailed discussion.

(7) yA jAtyA-ne harbAre cAngl-e
this hand-mill-INSTR beans.PL.N well-N
daL-tAt / daL-l-e jA-tAt
grind-PRES.PL.N/ grind-PERF-N go-PRES.PL.N
'This hand-mill grinds the beans well.'

(B) Using a 3P.PL.PRES form of the verb and deleting the agent

(8) chApkhAnyA-t nirALI-c shAI wApar-tAt /
press-LOC different-EMPH ink.F use-3P.PL.PRES
wApar-NyAt ye-t-e
use-PTCPL come-PRES-F
'In a printing press, an altogether different ink is used (is being used).'

(C) Using an intransitive verb in place of a transitive verb having similar meaning

(9) to ladhAI-t me-l-A (mAr-l-A ge-l-A)
he war-LOC die-PAST-M(kill-PERF-M go-PAST-M)
'He died in the war(He was killed in the war).'

(D) Using a compound verb formed by a participle in *l* of the main verb and a BE auxiliary

(10) mhaN-l-e Ahe (mhAN-l-e jA-t-e / mhaNa-NyAt ye-t-e)
say-PERF-N COP(say-PERF-N go-PRES-N/say-PTCPL come-PRES-N)
ki bhikshApatI to lakshApatI
that beggar he millionaire
'It is said that one who begs is a millionaire.'

It is noteworthy that all the constructions cited above which can be used as substitutes for the passive construction apply the agent defocusing strategy, and thus lend strong support to Shibatani's claim that agent defocusing is the primary function of the

passive and that different constructions may be pragmatically related.

The traditional grammarians fail to capture the correlation of the passive with other constructions such as the spontaneous, potential and honorific. Let us now turn to the modern linguistic descriptions.

2.3.2 Modern Linguistic Descriptions

In this section we will review the modern linguistic descriptions pertaining to the Marathi passive and argue that they are also incapable of providing a unified account of this construction.

Berntsen & Nimbkar (1975) in their *A Marathi Reference Grammar* talk about the GO as well as the COME passive; however, they remain silent about the distribution of these constructions and thus tacitly treat them as synonymous. They also fail to recognize the formal relationship of the passive with other constructions.

Pandharipande (1981) in her comprehensive cross-linguistic study of the passive construction in five Indo-Aryan languages (viz. Hindi, Marathi, Nepali, Kashmiri and Punjabi), and one Dravidian language (viz. Kannada) within the framework of relational grammar claims that only syntactically transitive verbs undergo passivization. In addition, she claims that the passive is a governed rule in that it applies to a semantically definable class of verbs: viz. those expressing volitional activity. According to Pandharipande, the basic semantic function of passive sentences in these languages is to express a volitional act--regardless of whether or not the ex-subject (subject of the active sentence) is expressed (1981: 127). Pandharipande further claims that the passive construction in Marathi uniquely performs the following two functions:

a) expressing a capabilitative meaning: a passive sentence which retains the subject of the corresponding active expresses the capability of the agent to carry out the act denoted by the verb; the type of capability expressed by the passive does not duplicate the function of other constructions expressing capabilitative meaning. As for Marathi, the capabilitative meaning expressed by the passive is felt to result from the ex-subject/agent's efforts, and is determined by agent-external conditions, such as weather etc. (1981: 123).

b) expressing a prescriptive meaning : passive sentences lacking an agent phrase

express a social convention, and thereby prescribe a particular mode of behaviour (1981: 127).

We do not agree with any of the above mentioned claims by Pandharipande, and argue that her analysis is discrete in nature and thus fails to capture the correlations between the passive and related constructions viz. the spontaneous, potential and honorific. We will demonstrate that this failure to recognize these correlations has led Pandharipande to make unwarranted claims regarding the Marathi passive. Also--surprisingly--Pandharipande completely ignores the COME passive, despite the fact that most of the earlier treatments discuss them.

Rosen & Wali (1989) also analyze Marathi passive constructions in a relational framework, and classify them into two categories on the basis of the meanings they convey: Regular passive (RP) and capabilitative passive (CP). They argue that despite their identical surface structure, RP and CP are syntactically distinct--the former having a personal passive relational network, the latter an impersonal one.

Rosen & Wali's analysis, like Pandharipande's, adopt a relational grammar approach which is too narrow in perspective to account for passive-related constructions. The approach is also discrete in that Rosen & Wali must treat each of these constructions independently, providing an ad hoc relational network according to the different meanings. This move fails to provide a unified account for the passive and its related constructions, as these are not purely syntactically or semantically related, but share a common pragmatic function viz. agent defocusing. Furthermore, Rosen & Wali (like Pandharipande), do not take into consideration the COME passive.

Masica (1991) provides a diachronic account of the development of the passive construction in Indo-Aryan languages. The Indo-Aryan languages inherited the suffixal passive {*-ya*} from Sanskrit. The passive suffix then developed into *-iyya, -ijja* and *-ij* in the western part of the Indian subcontinent. The passive suffixes subsequently decayed and a periphrastic method for expressing the passive came into being. Masica (1991: 317) explains the transition as follows:

With the decay of passive suffixes, or even with their preservation, NIA languages turned to periphrastic methods of expressing a passive. In Marathi, Gujarathi, and Kashmiri, it was a case form (Ablative or Locative) of the Infinitive + the verb come: M. karNyAt ye- ' be done'; in Sinhalese to the Infinitive+ labanu

'receive'. In the majority of NIA languages, however it was, in its later phase, to the Perfective Participle(in -(y)a, or -al in the Bihari group), or in the easternmost languages to an invariant verbal noun in -a resembling it, + the verb ja- 'go', which serves as original conjugational base.

Being an areal survey, Masica (1991), does not go into detail concerning the passive construction beyond describing the diachronic development and indicating that the COME passive historically preceded the GO passive. He also remains silent on the issue of relationship of the passive with the other constructions mentioned earlier.

2.3.3 Problems Related with the Past Analyses

In the foregoing sections we have provided a broad outline of past analyses of the Marathi passive--traditional as well as modern--and pointed out the inadequacies of those analyses. In this section we will briefly summarize them.

The problems of the traditional treatments of the passive in Marathi can be summarized as follows:

(A) Improper definition of the passive construction based on the notion of concord
(B) Treating GO passives and COME passives as semantically identical and thus mutually interchangeable in all contexts
(C) Complete disregard for the semantic and pragmatic features of the passive construction
(D) Failure to capture the correlation of the passive construction with other constructions such as the spontaneous, potential and honorific.

Having summarized the problems related with the traditional analyses, we now turn to modern linguistic descriptions. The problems related with the modern analyses can be summarized as follows:

First, the modern analyses associate the passive construction with syntactically transitive verbs. They claim that only syntactically transitive verbs are amenable to passivization. We will demonstrate that a group of transitive verbs popularly known in the literature on South Asian linguistics as "ingestive" typically fails to yield passives.[3]

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[3] The term "ingestive" verb is due to Masica (1976).

The failure of the ingestive verbs to undergo passivization suugest that passivizability of a verb cannot be accounted for in terms of the notion of syntactic transitivity.

Second, among the modern linguistic analyses of the Marathi passive, Pandharipande and Rosen & Wali completely ignore the COME passive construction. While Berntsen & Nimbkar and Masica do take note of it, they incorrectly treat it as being semantically identical to the GO passive. We claim that the GO passive and the COME passive are not semantically identical and that they are neither interchangeable nor mutually exclusive in all contexts. They are not discrete entitites but rather form a continuum.

Third, Pandharipande (1981) and Rosen & Wali (1989) incorrectly treat the potential construction as a passive. The unwarranted claims made by these authors is symptomatic of their failure to recognize the correlation of the passive with the potential construction. We will take up the correlations of the Marathi passive with other constructions subsequently.

Before proceeding further, a discussion on the differences between the passive construction and the ergative construction is in order. It should be recalled that the traditional grammarians failed to make a distinction between these two constructions in Marathi [Cf. (5)]. It is thus appropriate to clarify that the ergative construction and the passive construction are not the same and should therefore be treated independently.

2.4 The Passive and the Ergative Construction

In Marathi, the subject of a transitive clause (third person) in the past perfective is marked with the ergative marker *ne* (singular) or *nI* (plural). If the subject is a first or second person, there is no overt ergative marker; in either case, however, the verb agrees with the patient nominal, and not with the agent nominal. Note the following examples:

(11) mI/tU/rAm-ne noTis wAc-l-I(s)
I/You/Ram-ERG notice.F read-PAST-F(2P)
'I/You/Ram read the notice.'

The fact that the patient nominal of the ergative construction behaves like a subject (i.e. controls concord), relates it to the passive construction. However, these two constructions exhibit fundamental differences. First, the ergative construction can be passivized, while the passive construction cannot:

(12) rAm-kaDUn noTis wAc-l-I ge-l-I
Ram-by notice.F read-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'The notice was read by Ram.'

(13) * rAm-kaDUn noTis wAc-l-I ge-l-I ge-l-I
Ram-by notice.F read-PERF-F go-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'The notice was read by Ram.'

Example (12) is the passivized form of the ergative construction (11), while (13) is the 'passivized' form of the passive construction (12). Note that (12) is grammatical while (13) is not.

Secondly, the agent nominal can be omitted in the passive, but not in the ergative construction. Deletion of the agent nominal from the ergative construction (viz. 11) turns out to be ungrammatical--as shown in (14) below. However, deletion of the agent from a passive expression (viz. 12) does not affect its acceptability, as shown in (15):

(14) * noTis wAc-l-I
notice.F read-PAST-F
'(Lit) Notice read.'

(15) noTis wAc-l-I ge-l-I
notice.F read-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'The notice was read.'

Thirdly, in ergative constructions the agent nominal is typically human, while in the case of the passive there is no such restriction. This is exemplified below:

(16) a. rAm-ne phAndI toD-l-I
Ram-ERG branch.F break-PAST-F
'Ram broke the branch.'

b. * waryA-ne phAndI toD-l-I
wind-ERG branch.F berak-PAST-F
'The wind broke the branch.'

(17) fulpAkharAn-kaDUn parAgkaN wAhi-l-e jA-tAt
butterflies-by pollens.N carry-PERF-N go-PRES.PL.N
'Pollens are carried by butterflies.'

(18) hrudayA-kaDUn sharIr-AtIl wiwidh bhAgAn-nA rakta-purawathA
heart-by body-in various organs-to blood-supply.M
ke-l-A jA-t-o
do-PERF-M go-PRES-M
'In the human body, blood supply to the various organs is done by the heart.'

Ergative constructions are thus active transitive clauses. The only difference between canonical transitive clauses and ergative constructions is in the pattern of agreement. In the former, the verb agrees with the agent nominal, while in the latter the verb agrees with a nominal other than the agent. In case there is no unmarked nominal, the verb assumes a third person singular neuter form and does not agree with any of the nominals present in the clause.

To sum up, the passive and the ergative are independent constructions in their own right, and that the traditional treatment of ergative constructions as passive is inappropriate. Let us now turn to an alternative analysis of the Marathi passive construction.

2.5 An Alternative Analysis

As pointed out earlier, previous treatments--traditional as well as modern--are

unable to account for the Marathi passive and its correlations with other constructions. In this section we will present an alternative analysis of the Marathi passive. The alternative analysis presented here addresses the following issues: (a) the relationship between transitivity and valency-changing voice phenonmena like passive; (b) the function of the passive in Marathi; (c) the distribution of the GO and COME passive. In addition we will also explore correlations of the passive construction with other morphosyntactically related ones like the spontaneous, potential and honorific, which have not beeen taken up in earlier studies, in the next section.

Recall that the previous treatments of the Marathi passive claim that only transitive verbs are amaneble to passivization. Pandharipande (1981), for example, claims that in five Indo-Aryan languages viz. Hindi, Marathi, Nepali, Kashmiri, and Punjabi and one Dravidian language viz. Kannada verbs which do not express a volitional act typically fail to undergo the passive and that in Marathi and Kannada, in addition to this general constraint, there is a syntactic constraint viz. only transitive verbs undergo passivization. She goes on to claim that the basic semantic function of passive sentences in the above mentioned languages is to express a volitional act--regardless of whether the ex-subject (subject of the active sentence) is expressed (1981: 127). If these claims are correct, all transitive verbs expressing volitional activities should undergo passivization. This claim, however, is not empirically supported. Note the following examples.

(19) *rAm-kaDUn pANI pi-l-a ge-l-a
Ram-by water.N drink-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'The water was drunk by Ram.'

(20) *rAm-kaDUn bAtmyA Aik-l-yA ge-l-yA
Ram-by news.F listen-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'News was listened to by Ram.'

(21) *rAm-kaDUn sinemA pAhI-l-A ge-l-A
Ram-by movie.M watch-PERF-M go-PAST-M
'The movie was watched by Ram.'

(22) *rAm-kaDUn sangit shik-l-a ge-l-a
Ram-by music.N learn-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'Music was learnt by Ram.'

Although the verbs involved in the expressions above are both syntactically transitive and semantically volitional, they fail to yield the passive. This group of verbs in South Asian languages is popularly known as "ingestive" verbs which includes verb like EAT, DRINK, HEAR, UNDERSTAND, LEARN, READ and SEE. They all share a common feature: taking something into the body or mind literally or figuratively (Masica 1976: 46). In the case of ingestive verbs, unlike canonical transitive verbs, the referent of the subject nominal--the agent is perceived to be affected with the intake of the stimulus. The failure of ingestive verbs to undergo passivization proves that passivizability of a verb is not sensitive to the polar notion of syntactic transitivity. We claim that (a) the scalar notion of semantic transitivity as proposed in Hopper & Thompson holds the key to passivization of a verb in Marathi (and probably in other South Asian languages) and (b) the function of the passive is **not merely** to express a **volitional** act as claimed by Pandharipande (1978, 1981), but rather to bring in focus the **affectedness of the patient by defocusing the volitionally acting agent.**

A canonical transitive event typically involves two participants viz. the agent and the patient and portrays that the volitional action of the agent impinges on the patient and causes a change of state in it. The action of the agent of the ingestive verbs, unlike the canonical transitives, is typically confined to his own sphere and affects the agent himself rather than the patient. We thus find a continuum of transitivity with intransitive verbs and canonical transitive verbs as its end points and the ingestive verbs lying mid-way on this continuum. We claim that the function of the Marathi passive is **to bring in focus the affected patient by defocusing the agent.** Since ingestive verbs already have affected argument in the focus position viz. the subject they typically resist passivization. Thus transitivity in its relationship to the Marathi passive should be understood in terms of the scaler notion of semantic transitivity rather than the polar notion of syntactic transitivity.

Volitionality of the agent and **affectedness** of the patient are often lumped together but they do not necessarily correlate with each other (Tsunoda 1999: 4-5). Ingestive verbs would rank high on a agent volitionality scale but low on a patient

affectedness scale. Conversely, spontaneous verbs are high on patient affectedness but low on agent volitionality [Cf. (68)-(70)]. Both of these classes typically fail to yield the passive. Marathi permits only canonical transitive verbs on the continuum of transitivity to yield passive. The prerequsite for a verb to undergo passivization in Marathi then is to express a volitional action which impinges on the patient and affects it.

Pandharipande also claims that the Marathi passive uniquely performs the following two functions: expressing a capabilitative meaning (1981:123) and a prescriptive meaning (1981:127). Rosen & Wali (1989) also claim that the passive express a capabilitative meaning. We do not agree with either of them on this issue, however. While it is true that in Marathi, the same morphology viz. *V-PERF+GO* is employed for expressing capabilitative meaning, we claim that it is not the passive construction *per se*, but rather the potential construction which shares morphosyntactic similarities with the passive. If capabilitative meaning is peculiar to the passive construction, it follows that intransitive verbs marked with *V-PERF+GO* morphology should fail to express it, since in Marathi intransitive verbs do not yield the passive. Contrary to Pandharipande's claim, however, intransitive verbs involving the *V-PERF+GO* morphology do express a capabilitative reading. Pandharipande also claims that a capabilitative meaning of the passive derives from the ex-subject/agent's effort, and is determined by agent-external conditions such as weather (1981: 123). Again contrary to Pandharipande's claim, however, a capabilitative meaning expressed by a verb can be neutral with regards to agent-internal conditions (headache, pain, hatred, happiness, physical and psychological pain etc.) as well as agent-external (weather etc.) ones. Note the following examples:

(23) a. ghAN wAs yet as-lyAmuLe rAm-kaDUn tyA
foul smell coming be-because Ram-by that
kholI-t zop-l-e ge-l-e nAhI
room-LOC sleep-PERF-N go-PAST-N not
'Ram could not sleep in that room, as it was stinking.'

b. bhitI-muLe rAm-kaDUn tyA kholI-t zop-l-e
fear-because Ram-by that room-LOC sleep-PERF-N

ge-l-e nAhI
go-PAST-N not
'Ram could not sleep in that room out of fear.'

(24) a. bhAtA-lA wAs ye-t as-lyAmuLe rAm
rice-ACC smell come-PTCPL be-because Ram
kaDUn bhAt khA-ll-A ge-l-A nAhI
by rice.M eat-PERF-M go-PAST-M not
'Ram could not eat the rice since it had a foul smell.'

b. poT bhar-l-e as-lyAmuLe rAm kaDUn bhAt
stomach.N full-PAST-N be-because Ram by rice.M
khA-ll-A ge-l-A nAhI
eat-PERF-M go-PAST-M not
'Ram could not eat rice since he was full.'

Acording to Pandharipande's analysis, transitive verbs which involve *V-PERF+GO* morphology and express a capabilitative meaning should be treated as passives, while intransitive verbs which involve *V-PERF+GO* morphology and express a capabilitative meaning should be either barred or treated as constructions unrelated to the passive. Pandharipande as well as Rosen & Wali thus fail to recognize the distinction between the passive and the potential construction, and make unwarranted assumptions about Marathi grammar. The proposals are discrete in nature, and fail to provide a unified account for the phenomenon under investigation. In contrast, we treat these expressions as potential constructions which exhibit morphosyntactic similarities to the passive and are thus related to it.

In addition, if the claim is correct that the capabilitative meaning is peculiar to the passive, a modal verb which expresses capability viz. *shakNe*(can) should not be tolerated in a passive expression. In other words it would be redundent. Contrary to the claim, however, a capabilitative modal can occur in a relevant passive expression as exemplified below:

(25) sAdhAraN widyArthyA-kaDUn-hI he gaNit sahaj

ordinary student-by-EMPH this.N math. problem.N easily
soDaw-l-e jA-u shak-t-e
solve-PERF-N go-PTCPL can-PRES-N
'This mathematical problem can be easily solved even by an ordinary student.'

Furthermore, Pandharipande's proposal predicts that those constructions should be blocked which involve both the 'passive' morphology (*V-PERF+GO*) and either express an effortless, agent-internally-determined capabilitative meaning, or involve an indefinite agent construction with a capabilitative meaning. However, neither of these predictions is borne out, as exemplified below:

(26) bharpUr jewaN zAla as-Una-hI mAjhyA-kaDUn
too much meal became be-PTCPL-EMPH me-by
don Ambe sahaj khA-ll-e ge-l-e
two mangoes.N without effort eat-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'Even after a heavy meal I could easily eat two mangoes.'

(27) bharpUr jewaN zAla as-la tarI Aiskrim
too much meal became be-PERF though ice-cream.N
sahaj kha-ll-a jA-t-a
easily eat-PERF-N go-PRES-N
'Even after a heavy meal one can easily eat ice-cream.'

The above data thus undermines the claim that a capabilitative meaning is peculiar to the Marathi passive. As pointed out earlier, it is not the passive construction *per se* which expresses the capabilitative meaning, but rather the potential construction which exhibits morphosyntactic similarities to the passive.

According to Pandharipande, another function uniquely performed by the passive in Marathi is that of expressing a social convention, and thereby prescribing a particular mode of behavior (1981: 127). Only passives without agent phrases are used in this way, and such passives differ from other constructions conveying a prescriptive meaning in terms of the degree of politeness expressed by them. Pandharipande claims

that such passive expressions convey the highest degree of politeness. Contrary to Pandharipande's claim, however, such passives do not obligatorily convey a prescriptive meaning as exemplified below:

(28) japAn-madhye japAnI bhAshA bola-l-I jA-t-e
Japan-in Japanese language.F speak-PERF-F go-PRES-F
'The Japanese language in spoken in Japan.'

(29) mahArAshtrA-t gaNeshotsaw mothyA pramANA-war
Maharashtra-in Ganesh festival.M big scale-on
sAjrA ke-l-A jA-t-o
celebrate do-PERF-M go-PRES-M
'The Ganesh festival is celebrated on a grand scale in Maharashtra state.'

We treat these examples as indefinite/covert agent passives in which the agent phrase, despite being conceptualized, does not occur in the construction.

The unwarranted claims made by Pandharipande regarding the meaning/functions of the passive stem from her failure to recognize the relationship that the passive has with other constructions. The constructions expressing a capabilitative meaning discussed above are claimed by Pandharipande and Rosen & Wali to be passive, while in fact they represent a separate one viz. the potential. At the same time, constructions expressing a prescriptive meaning are claimed by Pandharipande to be passive, yet they are in fact indirectly related to the honorific construction in that a particular mode of behaviour is prescribed as a means of expressing respect/honour, as exemplified below:

(30) booT ghAl-Un mandirA-t prawesh ke-l-A
boot wear-PTCPL temple-LOC entry.M do-PERF-M
jA-t nAhI
go-PRES not
'One is not supposed to enter a temple with shoes on.'

As indicated, the potential and the honorific construction share morphosyntactic

similarities with the passive. To conclude, the discrete approaches adopted by Pandharipande and Rosen & Wali fail to recognize these correlations, and lead them to make unwarranted claims regarding Marathi passives.

Let us now turn to another important issue related to the passive that has not been addressed in previous analyses, viz. the distribution of the GO and COME passive.

2.5.1 The Distribution of GO and COME Passives

As mentioned earlier, most of the previous studies on the Marathi passive have not addressed the COME passive, while the few that have treat it as semantically identical with the GO passive and thus interchangeable in all contexts. In this section we will demonstrate that the GO and COME passive are not semantically identical, and that the notion of "intention" plays a key role in their distribution.

Specifically, we claim that, in Marathi, COME passives are typically employed to depict a meticulously planned, highly intentional event in which the agent plays the role of the planner, and who brings about the event with the aim of achieving the desired outcome. The GO passive, on the other hand, is typically employed to depict a unplanned, less intentional event. It should be noted that the notion of "intention" is not a matter of "all or nothing" but rather of degree. The higher the degree of intention, the greater the chances of employing the COME passive by the speaker and vice versa.

From the above explanation, one can predict that in the case of a meticulously planned (highly intentional) event, the GO passive will be blocked, and conversely in the case of an unplanned (less intentional) event, the COME passive will be prevented from appearing. Both of these predictions are borne out, as exemplified below:

(31) hA bomb sabhAsthAnA-pAsUn shambhar miTar antarA-war
this bomb.M meeting place-from hundred meter distance-on
ubhyA kelelyA ekA moTArI-t thew-NyAt A-l-A
standing did one motor-in keep-PTCPL come-PERF-M
ho-t-A /* thew-l-A ge-l-A ho-t-A
become-PRES-M / Keep-PERF-M go-PAST-M become-PRES-M
'This bomb was kept in a vehicle parked a hundred meters away from the

venue of the meeting.' [The daily *KesrI* internet edition dated 15th Feb. 98 *wruttawishesh* column]

(32) uttarpradeshA-tIl kalyANsing yanche sarkAr baDtarfa
Utterpradesh-in Kalyansing his government.N dismiss
kar-NyAt A-l-e / * ke-l-e ge-l-e
do-PTCPL come-PERF-N/ do-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'The Kalyansingh government in Uttarpradesh was dismissed.' [The daily *KesrI* internet edition dated 22nd Feb. 98 *wruttawishesh* column]

Events like planting a bomb or dismissing a government depict an intentional activity involving a high degree of planning, and--as correctly predicted by our proposal--the COME passive is allowed while the GO passive is blocked. The following examples depict the reverse situation:

(33) a. japAn-madhye japAnI bhAshA bol-l-I jA-t-e
Japan-in Japanese language.F speak-PERF-F go-PRES-F
'In Japan, they speak Japanese.'

b. *japAn-madhye japAnI bhAshA bol-NyAt
Japan-in Japanese language.F speak-PTCPL
ye-t-e
come-PRES-F
'In Japan, they speak Japanese.'

(34) a. dakshiN bhAratA-t prAmukyAne tAndUL khA-ll-A
south India-LOC mainly rice.M eat-PERF-M
jA-t-o
go-PRES-M
'In South India, mainly rice is eaten.'

b. *dakshiN bhAratA-t prAmukyAne tAndUL khA-NyAt
south India-LOC mainly rice.M eat-PTCPL

ye-t-o
come-PRES-M
'In South India, mainly rice is eaten.'

The events depicted in the above examples are less intentional, and typically lack meticulous planning in that there is no definite entity that excercises conscious effort in bringing them about. Thus, as per our proposal, they can be couched only in the form of a GO passive, while the COME passive is barred. Native speakers of Marathi make direct distinctions between GO and COME passives. Note the following contrast:

(35) tyA-lA sewAjeshthate-nusAr badhatI di-l-I
he-DAT seniority- as per promotion.F give-PERF-F
ge-l-I / *de-NyAt A-l-I
go-PAST-F/ give-PTCPL come-PAST-F
'He was promoted on a seniority basis.'

(36) tyA-lA sewAjeshthatA DawlUn badhatI de-NyAt
he-DAT seniority violating promotion.F give-PTCPL
A-l-I / *di-l-I ge-l-I
come-PAST-F / give-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'He was given promotion, violating the norms of seniority.'

Example (35) depicts an event in which a controller who has the authority to award a promotion does so as part of some routine procedure, while example (36) depicts a meticulously planned activity, overriding an otherwise routine procedure. The former is typical of an unintentional activity, while the latter depicts a typical highly intentional one. In consonance with our proposal then, the COME passive is blocked in (35) while the GO passive is blocked in (36).

2.5.2 Additional evidence

In this section we will provide some additional evidence in support of our proposal that the notion of "intention" dictates the selection of GO or COME as a passive auxiliary in

Marathi.

2.5.2.1 Adverbial Modification

If our proposal is correct, the adverb *cukUn* 'mistakenly' should occur only with GO passives which depict typically unplanned, less intentional events and should be blocked in COME passives which depict meticulously planned, highly intentional ones. Conversely, the adverb *muddAm* 'purposely' should occur only with COME passives and should be barred from GO passives. All of these predictions are borne out as exemplified below:

(37) rAm-kaDun rAwaN cukUn mAr-l-A ge-l-A
Ram-by Ravan by mistake kill-PERF-M go-PAST-M
'Ravan was killed by Ram mistakenly.'

(38) rAm-kaDUn rAwaNA-lA muddAm mAr-NyAt A-l-e
Ram-by Ravan-ACC purposely kill-PTCPL come-PAST-N
'Ravan was killed by Ram purposely.'

(39) *rAm-kaDUn rAwaNA-lA cukUn mAr-NyAt
Ram-by Ravan-ACC by mistake kill-PTCPL
A-l-e
come-PAST-N
'Ravan was killed by Ram mistakenly.'

(40) *rAm-kaDun rAwaN muddAm mAr-l-A ge-l-A
Ram-by Ravan purposely kill-PAST-M go-PAST-M
'Ravan was killed by Ram purposely.'

The contrast exhibited among (37), (38), (39) and (40) lends strong support to our proposal. (37) depicts an event in which Ram did not intend to kill Ravan, but just by mistake happened to kill him. The killing of Ravan in this case is less intentional and involves no meticulous planning hence the GO passive is used. The situation in (38) is

just the opposite. In the case of (39), the COME passive is employed depicting a meticulously planned, highly intentional event. Nevertheless, the adverb *cukun* 'by mistake' which modifies it is not compatible with such an event, and consequently presents a contradiction. The situation in (40) is just the opposite. The adverb *muddAm* 'on purpose' creates a contradiction in the context of a GO passive, since it does not depict a meticulously planned, highly intentional event. As predicted by our proposal, (39) as well as (40) turn out to be ungrammatical.

2.5.2.2 Co-occurence with a Modal Expressing Possibility

Marathi has a modal expression that conveys the notion of possibility. COME passives depict meticulously planned, highly intentional events and thus do not leave any room for speculation. On the contrary, GO passives can accommodate a speculative meaning. In consonance with our proposal, GO passives can thus accommodate the modal's speculative/possibilitative meaning, while the COME passives cannot:

(41) tu-lA dillI-t fas-aw-la jA-NyAci
you-ACC Delhi-LOC cheat-CAUS-PERF go-PTCPL
shakyatA Ahe
possibility COP
'There is a possibility that you will be cheated in Delhi.'

(42) *tu-lA dillI-t fas-aw-NyAt ye-NyAcI
you-ACC Delhi-LOC deceive-CAUS-PTCPL come-PTCPL
shakyatA Ahe
possibility COP
'There is a possibility that you will be cheated in Delhi.'

It is interesting to note that if the speaker of the utterance (42) knows in advance of some plan to cheat, the utterance is perfectly grammatical.[4] In such a case the speaker

[4] I would like to thank Ms. Vaishali Vaidya for pointing out this subtle contextual interpretation.

uses the COME passive, but at the same time does not want to commit himself and thus warns the interlocutor in a non-committal way by using the possibilitative modal form. This shows that extra-linguistic/pragmatic information plays a crucial role in the grammaticality judgments of the GO and COME passive.

2.5.2.3 Non-human Agents

Passive expressions with non-human agents are always couched in the form of a GO passive, and never in the form of a COME passive. This fact receives a natural explanation under our proposal, in that non-human agents lack intention--i.e. the ability to plan meticulously in order to bring about an event. Note the following contrast:

(43) a. fulpAkharAn-kaDUn parAgkaN wAhi-l-e jA-tAt
butterflies-by pollens.N carry-PERF-N go-PRES.PL.N
'Pollens are carried by butterflies.'

b. *fulpAkharAn-kaDUn parAgkaN wAha-NyAt
butterflies-by pollens.N carry-PTCPL
ye-tAt
come-PRES.PL.N
'Pollens are carried by butterflies.'

(44) a. hrudayA-kaDUn sharIr-AtIl wiwidh bhAgAn-nA
heart-by body-in various organs-to
rakta-purawathA ke-l-A jA-t-o
blood-supply.M do-PERF-M go-PRES-M
'In the human body, blood supply to the various organs is done by the heart.'

b. *hrudayA-kaDUn sharIr-AtIl wiwidh bhAgAn-nA
heart-by body-in various organs-to
rakta-purawathA kar-NyAt ye-t-o

blood-supply.M do-PTCPL come-PRES-M
'In the human body, blood supply to the various organs is done by the heart.'

Consider further the above-mentioned examples. The nominals in the agent slots (viz. *hruday* 'heart' and *phulpAkhare* 'butterflies') are non-volitional yet potent entities. We regard these expressions to be ambiguous between the passive and spontaneous construction. Along the agent-volitionality parameter, they can be interpreted as spontaneous, while along the agent-potency parameter, they can be interpreted as spontaneous.

To summarize, the evidence presented in the foregoing discussion lends strong support to our proposal that the notion of "intention" plays a crucial role in determining the distribution of GO and COME passives. Let us now turn to the diachronic development of the GO and COME passive.

2.5.3 The Diachronic Development

At the outset we would like to make clear that we do not have any conclusive evidence to prove that the GO passive is an older construction in Marathi than the COME passive. Nevertheless, we will provide some evidence that will indirectly support our speculative claim that the GO passive precedes the COME passive in time.

First, only the GO passive construction in Marathi exhibits morphosyntactic similarities with the spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions [Cf. Section 4 for a detailed discussion]. We speculate that the passive construction developed from the spontaneous construction, and since the latter shares morphosyntactic similarities only with the GO passive, it developed prior to the COME passive.

Second, passive constructions in the majority of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages which claim common ancestry with Marathi (Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali) employ only the GO as a passive auxiliary, and not COME. Thus it is hard to think that in Marathi alone COME was preferred over GO as a passive auxiliary in the phase of transition from the suffixal to the periphrastic passive.

To summarize, the fact that (a) only GO passives are morphosyntactically related to the spontaneous and other constructions, and (b) almost all of the neighbouring

Indo-Aryan languages claiming common ancestry with Marathi use only GO passives leads us to speculate that the GO passive may be a more mature or older construction than the COME passive.

Finally, we turn to the issue of the relationship of the Marathi passive with the spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions, which has not been addressed at all in earlier research.

2.6 The Passive and Related Constructions

Shibatani (1985: 825) claims that various constructions can be related, not simply in morphosyntactic or semantic terms, but also in terms of common pragmatic functions. According to him, the passsive construction, is a case in point and exhibits correlations with reflexive, reciprocal, spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions in various languages of the world. In Japanese, these type of expressions share morphosyntactic similarities in that the agent is consistantly marked with a case marker other than the nominative marker *ga*, and the morpheme *-(r)are* is suffixed to the main verb. In Marathi also, the passive, spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions share morphosyntactic similarities: the agent is consistently marked with an oblique marker, while the main verb is rendered in the *V-PERF+GO* form. These correlations were hitherto unnoticed. In light of this, we will discuss each of the relevant constructions in Marathi and demonstrate that the spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions are independent in their own right, and that they are related with the passive construction through the pragmatic notion of agent defocusing. Further, we will provide a broad outline of each of these constructions in Japanese and draw a contrast with their Marathi counterpart within the prototype framework proposed in Shibatani (1985). This issue will be dealt with in a contrastive perspective.

Marathi and Japanese are typologically differnt languages. Marathi is a predominantly analytic languages while Japanese is a typical synthetic language. Thus to express passive, Marathi employs an auxiliary verb while Japanese uses a suffix. The contrastive study of the passive and related constructions between such typologically diverse languages not only reveals similarities and differences between the passive and related constructions in Marathi and Japanese but also provide better insights into our understanding of these constructions in general. We will divide the

contrastive study in two parts. In the first part we will provide a broad outline of each of these constructions in Marathi and Japanese and highlight similarities and differences between them while in the second part we will discuss the contributions of the contrastive study to our understanding of passive and related constructions. We begin with the passive construction which is the central theme of this chapter and then move on to the other related constructions.

2.6.1 The Passive Construction

In this section we will provide a broad outline of the passive construction in Marathi and Japanese and draw a contrast between them.

2.6.1.1 The Passive in Marathi: An Outline

As discussed earlier, passivization in Marathi is confined to canonical transitive events and the function of the passive is to bring the affected patient in focus by defocusing the volitionally acting agent. This is a prototypical case and Marathi permits a slight extension to accomodate non-volitional yet potent agents. Further, Marathi has twin passive constructions viz. the GO passive and the COME passive. The former depicts non-meticulously planned, less intentional events while the latter typically depicts meticulously planned, highly intentional events.

Misled by their morphosyntactic similarities, Pandharipande (1981), refers to the potential and honorific constructions as passive. Rosen & Wali (1989) refer to the potential construction as an impersonal passive, and argue that these constructions have different relational networks from the regular passive. We claim that these analyses are inappropriate and are clear instances of semantic overloading. Both of these analyses--carried out in a relational grammar framework--are discrete in nature and thus unable to handle the correlations under consideration, which are not purely morphosyntactic or semantic in nature but rather pragmatic.

This is a broad outline of the passive in Marathi. Let us now turn to its Japanese counterpart.

2.6.1.2. The Passive in Japanese: An Outline

In the literature on the Japanese passive construction, a distinction is made between so called "direct passives" and "indirect passives" (Cf. Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976) as exemplified below:

(45) Jiroo ga Taroo ni nagur-are-ta
Jiro NOM Taro DAT beat-PASS-PAST
'Jiro was beaten by Taro.'

(46) Jiroo wa ame ni fur-are-ta
Jiro TOP rain DAT rain-PASS-PAST
'Jiro was adversely affected by the falling rain.'

Example (45) is a direct passive while (46) represents an indirect passive. The former has a corresponding active counterpart while the latter lacks one, as shown below:

(47) Taroo ga Jiroo o nagu-tta
Taro NOM Jiro ACC beat-PAST
'Taro beat Jiro.'

(48) *ame ga Jiroo o/ni fu-tta
rain NOM Jiro ACC/DAT rain-PAST
'The rain fell on Jiro.'

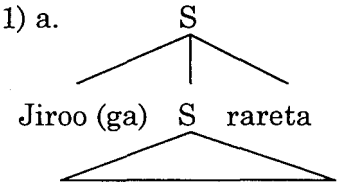
Semantically, direct passives are neutral in meaning while indirect passives conspicuously convey the meaning that the subject is adversely or favourably affected by the event described by the main verb. The adversative or benefactive reading largely depends on the lexical meaning of the main verb. Note the following contrast:

(49) boku wa sensei ni kodomo o home-rare-ta
I TOP teacher DAT children ACC praise-PASS-PAST
'I had my son praised by the teacher.'

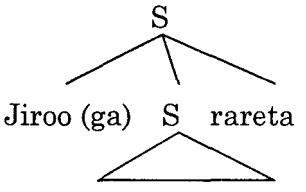
(50) boku wa sensei ni kodomo o shika-rare-ta
I TOP teacher DAT children ACC scold-PASS-PAST
'I had my son scolded by the teacher.'

As for the syntax of the direct and indirect passive, there has been a debate as to whether both should be derived from the same underlying structure or from different ones. Kuroda (1965) claims that both of these passives are derived from the same underlying structure; this proposal has been defended and referred to as the uniform theory by Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976). Under this analysis, (45) and (46) would be derived from the underlying structures given in (51a) and (51b) respectively.

(51) a.



b.

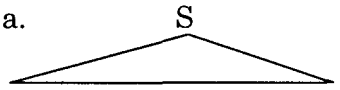


The structure given in (51a) undergoes the following transformations to generate the surface structure (45): (a) agentive-*ni* attachment to the subject of the embedded clause[*Taroo ga* changes to *Taroo ni*] (b) deletion of the object of the embedded clause under identity with the subject of the matrix clause[deletion of *Jiroo (o)*], and (c) raising of the embedded verb to the matrix clause[*naguru* changes to *nagurareru*]. On the other hand, (51b) will undergo the following transformations to generate the surface structure (46): (a) agentive-*ni* attachment to the subject of the matrix clause[*ame (ga)* changes to *ame ni*], and (b) raising of the embedded verb to the matrix clause[*furu* changes to *furareru*].

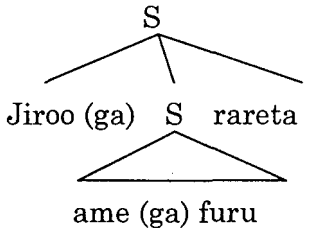
In contrast to the aforementioned analysis, MaCawley (1972), Kuno (1973), and Shibatani (1990) have proposed that only indirect passives have the underlying structure (51b), while direct passives are derived from the corresponding active through a simple transformation rule which--like the English passive--transforms (a) the object into the subject, (b) demotes the original subject to the *ni*-marked oblique, and (c) attaches the passive morpheme *-(r)are* to the verb. The underlying structure for the direct and the indirect passive, would thus be different on these analyses.

Following Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976) we refer this type of analysis as non-uniform. The underlying structures for the direct passive (45) and the indirect passive (46) under a non-uniform theory would be as shown in (52a) and (52b) respectively:

(52) a.



b.



On the non-uniform theory, the passive suffix *-(r)are* is added to the main verb in the derivation of the direct passive and is considered to be meaningless grammatical marker. The same marker involved in the derivation of the indirect passive is considered to contribute to the adversative meaning. This explains why direct passives do not have adversative meanings while indirect passives do. The uniform theory, on the other hand, fails to explain this semantic distinction. Further, the behaviour of the reflexive pronoun *jibun* finds a natural explanation under the non-uniform theory, while the uniform theory fails to account for this phenomenon. In the direct passive the reflexive pronoun *jibun* can only take the subject of the matrix as its antecedent, while in the indirect passive it can either take the subject of the matrix or the subject of the embedded clause as its antecedent. This is as shown below:

(53) Taroo wa Hanako ni jibun no heya de
Taro TOP Hanako DAT self GEN room LOC
nagura-re-ta
beat-PASS-PAST
'Taro was beaten by Hanako in self's room(self = Taro).'

(54) Taroo wa Hanako ni jibun no heya de
Taro TOP Hanako DAT self GEN room LOC
naka-re-ta
cry-PASS-PAST
'Taro was adversely affected by Hanako crying in self's room

(self = Taro/Hanako).'

In Japanese, only a subject can serve as the antecedent of a reflexive. Under the non-uniform analysis, the reflexive in conjunction with a direct passive has a unique subject to refer to, thus there is no ambiguity. On the other hand, a reflexive in the context of an indirect passive can refer either to the subject of the matrix clause or to the subject of the embedded clause. Consequently, it can be interpreted in either one of two ways, explaining the ambiguous behaviour of the reflexive pronoun in the indirect passive. The uniform theory, however, fails to account for this ambiguous interpretation of the reflexive in the indirect passive.

The foregoing broad outline of the passive in Japanese gives the impression that the direct passive has an exclusive neutral interpretation while the indirect passive has only an adversative interpretation. In fact, however, there are direct passives that do not convey an adversative meaning [Cf. Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976)], as well as indirect passives that fail to do so [Cf. Kuno (1983: 206-210), Takami (1995: 87)].

In light of these facts, Kuno (1983) and Shibatani (1995) have since withdrawn the non-uniform analysis and advocated a new form of uniform analysis. Kuno (1983) accounts for the neutral-adversity distinction through a semantic interpretation rule rather than representing it structurally. Acoording to Kuno (1983), both direct and indirect passives have an identical embedded structure. Kuno explains the neutral-adversity distinction in terms of the semantic notion of "involvement". In the embedded structure of the passive, the more the direct involvement of the subject of the matrix clause in the action or the psychological state described by the embedded clause, the better are the chances of neutral interpretation and vice versa. Thus according to Kuno, the neutral-adversative distinction is independent of the structure of the passive. Shibatani (1995) also advocates a single passive morpheme *-(r)are*, and has put forth a theory of semantic integration. Shibatani claims that the adversity reading or the possessor interpretation related to the subject of the valence increasing passive (i.e. indirect passive) is the effect of semantic integration of the extra-thematic nominal viz. the passive subject into the event. These two approaches are compatible in that the subject of the indirect passive has a lesser degree of "involvement" in the embedded clausal proposition hence needs to be semantically integrated in the event

which imputes an adversative/benefactive reading.

Apart from direct and indirect passives, Japanese has one more kind of passive expression which Masuoka (1987) refers to as the attributive passive. The following are representative examples of this type of passive [adapted from Masuoka (1991)].

(55) hanako no ie wa koosoo biru ni
Hanako GEN house TOP tall building by
kakom-are-te i-ru
surround-PASS-PRES be-PRES
'Hanako's house is surrounded by skyscrapers.'

(56) X wa Y ni fukum-are-ru
X TOP Y in contain-PASS-PRES
'X is contained in Y(X contains Y).'

As pointed out by Sato (1982: 180), however, such passive expressions are only accepted when their predicate verbs lack intransitive counterparts. Note that the verbs used in the above examples viz. *kakomu* (surround) and *fukumu* (contain) lack intransitive counterparts. Such passives thus serve to make up for the deficit of other suitable intransitives. This is not a accidental phenomenon and is also observed in Marathi. In Marathi, when the predicate verb in question lacks an intransitive counterpart, a passive form is employed to fill the gap (Cf. Appendix I). Such expressions in Marathi are treated as spontaneous however, since passivization is confined to transitive volitional activities. This phenomenon is also observed in the causativization in Japanese as pointed out by Shibatani (1973), where a productive causative is employed if the verb lacks a lexical causative form. In Marathi also, when an intransitive verb lacks a transitive counterpart, a causative form is employed to fill the gap (Cf. Appendix I). All these are manifestations of the tendency of languages to fill lexical gaps by whatever means available.

Apart from the above-mentioned structural debate, much attention has been paid to the issue of agent marking in Japanese passive constructions. The agent nominal in the Japanese passive can take various marking such as *ni, ni yotte, kara, de* etc. [Cf. Kuroda (1965), Sunakawa (1984), Hosokawa (1986), Saeki (1987)]. According to Kinsui

(1997) the *ni*-passive construction is indiginious to the Japanese language, while the *ni yotte*-passive is a new construction that arose through the influence of European languages. In addition, there has been much debate on the issue of whether passive expressions with non-human subjects are indiginious to Japanese language or borrowed from western languages. Traditionally it was held that passives with non-human subjects were not indiginious to Japanese, and that such expressions developed under the influence of western languages only after the Meiji period (marking the beginning of contact with the western world). However, the subsequent research of Miyaji (1968), Kosugi (1978), Satoo (1982), Shimizu (1980), Okutsu (1983, 1988) and Kinsui (1991) has proved that passives with non-human subjects were widely attested in the classical language and thus peculiar to Japanese.

This is a broad outline of the passive in Japanese. We will not go into a theoretical debate related to the above-mentioned issues, but will proceed instead to the contrastive study of the passive in Marathi and Japanese.

2.6.1.3 The Passive in Marathi and Japanese: A Contrast

In this section we will draw a contrast between the the passive in Marathi and Japanese, and point out similarities and differences between them.

To begin with, a conspicuous difference between the passive expressions in Marathi and Japanese lies in their domain of application. In Japanese--unlike Marathi--transitive as well as intranstive verbs are amenable to passivization. Shibatani (1998b) demonstrates that passivization in Japanese is sensitive to semantic parameter--only verbs expressing action can yield passive. Thus while unergative verbs yield passive, the unaccusative verbs typically fail to undergo passivization proving that transitivity in its relationship to passive phenomena should be understood in semantic terms. Even though canonical transitive verbs in Marathi undergo passivization, they typically fail to yield "indirect" passives as in Japanese, which involves an increase in the valence of the verb in question by one. The indirect passive is thus completely alien to Marathi. Japanese, in sharp contrast to Marathi, permits valence-increasing indirect passives based on transitive as well as intransitive verbs [Cf.(46), (49) and (50)]. As pointed out by Shibatani (1995: 16)

.....the possessor interpretation or the adversative interpretation in relation to the subject of the valence-increasing passive is the effect arising from the need to semantically integrate the extra-thematically introduced nominal expressions.

The notion of semantic integration plays a crucial role in cases of valence- increasing passives. The topic construction in Japanese is another case in point of the semantic integration of an extra-thematic nominal viz. the topic. In Japanese there are passive expressions which resemble the topic construction. Takami (1995: 99, 113) classifies these under the heading of "characterization", and cites the following examples.

(57) a. *kono pen wa Taroo ni shiyoo sare-ta
this pen TOP Taro DAT use do.PASS-PAST
'This pen was used by Taro.'

b. kono pen wa igirisu no bungoo charuzu
this pen TOP England GEN great writer Charles
dikkenzu ni nandomo shiyoo sare-ta
Dickens DAT many times use do.PASS-PAST
'This pen has been used a couple of times by the great British writer Charles Dickens.'

(58) a. *kono waapuro wa watashi ni aiyoo
this word processor TOP I DAT regular use
sare-te i-ru
do.PASS-CONJ be-PRES
'This word processor has been regularly used/patronized by me.'

b. wagasha no waapuro wa sakka no Sono
our company GEN word processor TOP writer GEN Sono
Ayako shi ni mo aiyoo sare-te i-ru
Ayako Ms. DAT EMPH regular use do.PASS-CONJ be-PRES
'Our company's word processor is regularly used/patronized even by the writer Ms. Ayako Sono.'

(59) mootsuaruto no kyoku wa roo-nyaku-nan-nyoo o
Mozart GEN symphony TOP old-young-male-female ACC
towazu sekai no ooku no hitobito ni
irrespective of world GEN most GEN people DAT
ai sare-te i-ru
love do.PASS-PAST be-PRES
'The symphonies by Mozart are loved by everyone in the world irrespective of age or sex distinction.'

These kinds of passive expression translated into Marathi turn out to be unacceptable. Marathi lacks a topic construction in which an extra-thematic argument is semantically integrated. The reason why Marathi, unlike Japanese, does not allow the indirect passive, the "characterization" passive or the topic construction may thus be due to the lack of a semantic integration feature that integrates extra-thematic nominals into the event.

Shibatani (1998a: 131) points out that different languages circumscribe passivizable verbs differently according to the notion of "activity". The actual size of the verb class that permits the passive expression varies from one language to another. The class of verbs permitting passive expressions is prototypically defined by those core members that denote volitional actions leading to a change of state in the object. The actual size of this class of verbs in various languages reflects different degrees of extension from the core members permitted by each one. Verbs such as *like*, *take delight in/appreciate* etc. are included in the group of passivizable verbs in Japanese but not in Marathi. Note that syntactically the events expressed by these verbs are encoded in the transitive frame in Japanese but not in Marathi.

Japanese
(60) ACTIVE
a. minna ga kare o suk-u
everyone NOM he ACC like-PRES
'Everyone likes him.'

PASSIVE

b. kare ga minna ni suk-are-te i-ru
he NOM all DAT like-PASS-PRES be-PRES
'He is liked by all.'

(61) ACTIVE [Adopted from Takami (1995 : 82-3)]

a. minna ga purezento o yoroko-nda
everyone NOM present ACC appreciate-PAST
'Everyone appreciated the present.'

PASSIVE

b. purezento ga minna ni yorokob-are-ta
Present NOM all DAT appreciate-PASS-PAST
'The present was appreciated by everyone.'

Marathi

(62) ACTIVE

a. sarwAn-nA to AwaD-t-o
everyone-DAT he like-PRES-M
'Everyone likes him.'

PASSIVE

b. *sarwAn-kaDUn to AwaD-l-A jA-t-o
everyone-by he like-PERF-M go-PRES-M
'He is liked by everyone.'

(63) ACTIVE

a. sarwAn-nA bheTwastu pasant paD-l-I
everyone-DAT present.F choice fall -PAST-F
'Everyone appreciated the present.'

b. *sarwAn-kaDUn bheTwastu pasant paD-l-I ge-l-I
everyone-by present.F choice fall-PERF-F go-PAST-F

'The present was appreciated by everyone.'

Marathi circumscribes a core class of verbs expressing volitional actions leading to a change of state in the object, and only these prototypical verbs undergo passivization. In contrast, Japanese, extends the core class of passivizable verbs to include not only the above-mentioned transitive verbs but intransitives as well. The difference observed in the sphere of passivization in Marathi and Japanese is thus a reflection of the difference in the degree of extension of the core class of passivizable verbs permitted by each language. Tsunoda (1985: 388-9) presents a cross-linguistic classification of two place-predicates dividing them in seven types (type 1 through type 7) in descending order of affectedness of patient. Thus, the patient is more affected in Type 1 than in Type 2. But, comparatively speaking, the patient in Type 2 is more affected than that in Type 3 and so on. In terms of this framework, the size of the group of passivizable verbs in Marathi includes only the type 1 (Direct effect on patient, e.g. kill, hit , eat etc.). Note that, in the case of Marathi, the verb 'eat' has to be excluded from this class. Japanese has extended the passivization domain further to include verbs belonging to type 2 (Perception, e.g. see, hear), type 3 (Persuit, e.g search, wait etc.), type 4 (Knowledge, e.g. *shiru* 'know'), type 5 (Feeling, e.g. *suku* 'like') and type 6 (Relationships, e.g. *fukumu* 'contain'). It is noteworthy that , in Japanese, the events depicted by verbs in types 1 through 6 are encoded in a transitive case frame viz. NOM-ACC, yet in types 4 through 6 other non-transitive case frames exist alongside the transitive: DAT-NOM, NOM-DAT, NOM-NOM etc. As mentioned earlier, Japanese has a so-called "attributive" passive which describes attributes or peculiarities of the object [Cf.(55), (56)]. These kind of statal passive expressions are not possible in Marathi since the prerequisite for verbs to undergo passivization is to express a volitional activity leading to a change in the object. We think that Satoo (1982) is correct in observing that such expressions are employed to compensate for the lack of intransitive counterpart to the verb in question. In addition to group of transitive verbs mentioned above, Japanese has extended the passive domain to intransitive verbs as well.

The differnece in the degree of extension of the proto-type class of passivizable verbs between Japanese and Marathi is also reflected in the kind of agent phrases permitted in the passive expressions. In Marathi, since only volitional transitive verbs

leading to change in the object can undergo passivization, the agent is typically confined to human beings while marginally allowing animate agents such as butterflies or potent entitiees like heart [As noted earlier, expressions with such agents are ambiguous between passive and spontaneous interpretations]. On the contrary, Japanese, allows a far wider range of inanimate agents--instruments, natural force, source, goal, material, cause, etc.--besides animates, as exemplified below.

(64) hata ga kaze ni aor-are-te i-ru (Zhang 1998 (2))
flag NOM wind by flap-PASS-PAST be-PRES
'The flag is flapping due to the wind.'

(65) toki no nagare no hayasa ni
time GEN flow GEN speed by
odorok-as-are-masu
get astonished-CAUS-PASS-PRES (Hosokawa 1986 (53))
Lit. 'One is astonished by the speed of the flow of time.'

(66) nihon no seitooseiji wa wanryoku ni
Japan GEN political party politics TOP muscle strength by
shihai sare-te i-ta (Zhang 1998 (20))
control do. PASS-PRES be-PAST
'Japanese political party politics used to be controlled by muscle power.'

(67) kaze no tameni, suna wa ittan kuu-chuu ni
wind GEN due to sand TOP once air-mid in
suiage-rar-e,.....(Zhang 1998 (30))
suck up-PASS-CONJ
Lit. 'Due to wind the sand is once sucked up in the air.....'

The Marathi counterparts of such Japanese passives turn out to be ungrammatical, as none of them depict volitional activities. The twin notions of "volitional action" and

"affectedness of patient" play a vital role in circumscribing the domain of passivization in Marathi. Canonical transitive verbs meet both of these prerequisites and thus readily undergo passivization. Ingestive verbs imply "volitional action" but do not imply "affectedness of the patient" and as seen earlier fail to undergo passivization. In the reverse sitution i.e. where the agent is non-volitional and the patient is affected, passive forms are typically barred. Note the following contrast.

(68) a. asthI nadI-t fek-l-yA ge-l-yA
bones of a dead person.F river-LOC throw-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'The bones of the dead person were thrown into the river.'

b. wAryA-cyA zotA-ne to rastyA-cyA kaDe-lA
wind-of gust-INSTR he.M road-of side-to
fek-l-A ge-l-A
throw-PERF-M go-PAST-M
'He got thrown to the road side by a gust of wind.'

(69) a. tyA-lA jiwanta gaD-l-e ge-l-e
he-ACC alive bury-PERF-N go-PERF-N
'He was buried alive.'

b. bhukampA-t hajAro lok jiwanta gaD-l-e
earthquake-in thousands people.N alive bury-PERF-N
ge-l-e
go-PAST-N
'Thousands of people were buried alive in the earthquake.'

(70) a. zopaDyA bulDozar-ne ciraD-l-yA ge-l-yA
huts.F bulldozer-INSTR crush-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'The huts were crushed with the bulldozer.'

b. pulA-khAlI dahA lok ciraD-l-e ge-l-e
bridge-under ten people.N crush-PERF-N go-PAST-N

'Ten people were crushed under the bridge.'

Note that in the above examples identical verbs are used in different environments. The (a) versions in the above examples typically express volitional events leading to a change in the object nominal while the (b) versions typically express non-volitional events leading to a similar change. Both the versions involve identical morphemes viz. *V-PERF+GO*, however the (a) versions are treated as passive while the (b) versions are treated as spontaneous expressions. These examples along with the examples (19)-(22) support our claim that the domain of Marathi passive is restricted to prototypical cases i.e. to verbs expressing a volitional activity of the agent which brings about a change of state in the patient. Japanese, on the other hand, instantiates an extended stage of the prototypical case which is reflected both in the number of the passivizable verbs and subsequently the type of agent phrases permitted in them.

Lastly, we observe that, passive expressions in Marathi are widely attested in written texts and newspapers, but are only marginally employed in colloquial speech. In sharp contrast to this, passive expressions in Japanese are predominantly used in both written as well as spoken language.

Having seen the similarities and differences between Marathi and Japanese passives let us now turn to the spontaneous construction.

2.6.2 The Spontaneous Construction

A prototypical spontaneous construction depicts an event that occurs on its own without the intervention of an external agent. In other words, spontaneous events are devoid of agency or volition. Spontaneous expressions in Marathi and Japanese share morphosyntactic similarities with the passive construction--even though they differ semantically in that the former typically lacks an agent, while in the latter the agent is always involved. This correlation finds natural explanation in the framework offered by Shibatani (1985) where the spontaneous and passive share a common pragmatic function viz. agent defocusing. As Shibatani (1985: 838) states it:

Defocusing of an agent is highly germane to spontaneous events and states. An event predicated of an agent is basically causative; i.e., an event is brought about by an agent.

But an event dissociated from an agent is one occurring spontaneously. Thus a sentence with a defocused agent may be utilized to describe a spontaneous event.

In spontaneous expressions the agent is absent altogether, while in the passive the agent is posited and defocused syntactically. Let us take a closer look at the spontaneous construction in Marathi.

2.6.2.1 The Spontaneous in Marathi: An Outline

In Marathi, passive morphology viz. *V-PERF+GO* is employed to express a spontaneous event as exemplified below:

(71) yA kAdambarI-cI pahilI don prakarNa mI jANiwpurwak
this novel-of first two chapters.F I consciously
lihi-l-I. parantu nantar-cI prakarNe matra mI lihilI
write-PERF-F but after-of chapters.F however I wrote
Ahet ase mI muLIc mhaNaNAr nAhI. tI lihi-l-i
BE like I never say not those write-PERF-F
ge-l-i asa-c mI mAn-t-o
go-PAST-F like-EMPH I.M believe-PRES-M
'I have consciously written the first two chapters of this novel. However, I would never say that I have written the subsequent chapters. I firmly believe that they were written themselves.'[" Hiroshima" introduction p7]

(72) yA rAsAynik abhikriye-t urjyA bAher Tak-l-I
this chemical reaction-in energy.F out throw-PERF-F
jA-t-e
go-PRES-F
'In this chemical reaction energy is given out.'

(73) yA kyAmeryA-t rol ApoAp gundAL-l-A jA-t-o
this camera-LOC film.M by itself wind-PERF-M go-PRES-M

'In this camera, the film rewinds itself.'

(74) sundar strI-kaDe tAbaDtob laksha wedh-l-a
beautiful lady-toward immediately attention.N draw-PERF-N
jA-t-e
go-PRES-N
'Beautiful ladies are often noticed.'
(Lit. 'One's attention unknowingly is drawn towards a beautiful lady.')

(75) bhukampA-t hajAro lok jiwanta gAD-l-e
earthquake-in thousands people.N alive bury-PERF-N
ge-l-e
go-PAST-N
'In the earthquake thousands of people were buried alive.'

(76) purA-t tyAce sarwaswa hirAw-l-e ge-l-e
flood-in his everything.N take away-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'He was deprived of everything in the flood.'

(77) tyA prasangA-t to dukhAw-l-A ge-l-A
that incident-in he.M hurt-PERF-M go-PAST-M
'He got hurt in that incident.'

(78) apghAt-At gADI thok-l-I ge-l-I
accident-in vehicle.F smash-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'In the accident, the car was smashed.'

(79) gatawarshi-cA vijetA prakAsh koyanDe pAcawyA
last year-of champion Prakash Koyande fifth
sthAnA-war fek-l-A ge-l-A
place-on throw-PAST-M go-PAST-M
'Last year's champion Prakash Koyande was thrown on the fifth place.'

(80) pUl kosaL-un tyA-khAlI dahA lok
bridge collapse-PTCPL that-below ten people.N
ciraD-l-e ge-l-e
crush-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'The bridge collapsed and ten people got crushed below it.'

It is noteworthy that the main verbs involved in these expressions are all typically agentive and volitional. Furthermore, all of the verbs lack corresponding intransitive counterparts, hence passive forms are employed to compensate for them (Cf. Appendix I). As mentioned earlier, this is a manifestation of the tendency of languages to fill in lexical gaps through whatever means available. Note the following contrast:

(81) samudra-cyA lATAn-nI jahAj dUr fek-l-e
sea-of waves-INSTR ship.N far throw-PERF-N
ge-l-e
go-PAST-N
'The ship was thrown far off by the sea waves.'

(82) a. *wAdaLA-ne chappara uD-aw-l-I ge-l- I
storm-INSTR roofs.F fly-CAUS-PERF-F go-PAST-F
'The roofs were blown off by the storm.'

b. wAdaLA-ne chappara uD- l- I
storm-INSTR roofs.F fly- PAST-F
'The roofs got blown by the storm.'

The verb *fekNe* 'to throw' lacks an intransitive counterpart, while the verb *uDawNe* 'to make fly' has a corresponding intransitive form viz. *uDNe* 'to fly'. In order to express a spontaneous event then, the former employs passive morphology in deriving its intransitive counterpart, while the latter uses a corresponding intransitive form available in the lexicon. In order to express a spontaneous event in Marathi, passive morphology is employed only when the verb in question lacks an intransitive counterpart. This indicates that spontaneous expressions bear a strong resemblance to

prototypical, non-volitional intransitive verbs, and are thus distinct from volitional passive expressions.

Interestingly, only GO passive morphology can be employed in Marathi spontaneous expressions. This is consistent with our proposal that the COME passive depicts meticulously-planned, highly intentionl events. It is thus incompatible with the spontaneous expression, which depicts events occurring on their own accord, as exemplified below:

(83) a. bhukampA-t hajAro lok jiwanta gAD-l-e
earthquake-in thousands people.N alive bury-PERF-N
ge-l-e
go-PAST-N
'In the earthquake thousands of people were buried alive.'

b. *bhukampA-t hajAro lok jiwanta gAD-NyAt
earthquake-in thousands people.N alive bury-PTCPL
A-l-e
come-PAST-N
'In the earthquake thousands of people were buried alive.'

(84) a. pUl kosaL-un tyA-khAlI dahA lok
bridge collapse-PTCPL that-below ten people.N
ciraD-l-e ge-l-e
crush-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'The bridge collapsed and ten people were crushed below it.'

b. *pUl kosaL-un tyA-khAlI dahA lok
bridge collapse-PTCPL that-below ten people.N
ciraD-NyAt A-l-e
crush-PTCPL come-PAST-N
'The bridge collapsed and ten people were crushed below it.'

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the spontaneous and the passive are

separate constructions. Semantically, they differ remarkably in that spontaneous events are devoid of agency, while passive events tacitly imply it. Nevertheless, this distinction is not rigid, and cases of overlap are attested [Cf. (43), (44)]. Still, passive and spontaneous constructions are marked morphosyntactically in a similar way, and they share a pragmatic function viz. agent defocusing. In the passive, agent defocusing is partial, while spontaneous expressions lack agents altogether.

This completes our broad outline of the spontaneous construction in Marathi. Let us now turn to the spontaneous construction in Japanese.

2.6.2.2 The Spontaneous in Japanese: An Outline

In traditional grammars, the spontaneous constructions, owing to its similarity with the potential--has been classified as a subtype of the latter and referred to as *shizenkanou* or 'natural' potential. Teramura (1982), Shibatani (1985) and Sugimoto (1988) have argued for treating the spontaneous as an independent voice construction, however. Moreover, there has been some debate as to which verbs should be included in the category of spontaneous; we will not go into detail regarding this issue [For details refer Sugimoto (1988)]. For the purpose of presenting a broad outline of the spontaneous in Japanese it will suffice to state that the suffixes *-(r)are* and *-e* are used for deriving spontaneous forms. In the present study, however, we will consider only the spontaneous form involving *-(r)are*.

In Modern Japanese, the spontaneous construction is only marginally found, though in Classical Japanese it was widely attested. Sugimoto (1988) argues that in Modern Japanese, spontaneous forms are used typically to express mental processes and human feelings, as exemplified below:

(85) yuugata ni naru to kokyoo ga
evening DAT become on hometown NOM
shinob-are-ru
think about-SPON-PRES
'In the evenings [one's] hometown comes(spontaneously) to mind.'

(86) mado kara shinnyuu shi-ta mono to

window from invasion do-PAST thing that
kangae-rare-ru
think-SPON-PRES
'(Someone/something)is thought to have come in through the window.'

Ueda (1998) classifies spontaneous sentences into two categories according to the type of verb used--viz. verbs expressing emotional feelings (type A)--and verbs expressing rational thinking (type B). Ueda claims that the difference between these two types of sentence follows from their hidden protagonists: [+specific] in the case of type A, and [±specific] in the case of type B. Further, these two types of spontaneous sentences exhibit different behaviour according to tense and aspect. Irrespective of tense and aspect, Type A sentences consistently give a spontaneous reading, while type B sentences exhibit a spontaneous meaning only when the protagonist is [+specific]. In the case of a non-specific protagonist they are ambiguous between spontaneous, passive and potential interpretations. Following are representative examples of each of these categories taken from Ueda (1998).

Type A: Specific Protagonist

(87) haha kara kita tegami o yomu to, (watashi-ni-wa)
mother from came letter ACC read on(I-DAT-TOP)
haha no koto ga iroiro omow-are-masu
mother of thing NOM various think-SPON-PRES
'On reading the letter from my mother, her memory(spontaneously) comes to my mind.'

Type B: Specific Protagonist

(88) risootekini kangaere-ba kangaeru-hodo watashi-niwa soo
ideally thinking-if think-extent I-DAT like
omow-are-te ki-ta
think-SPON-CONJ come-PAST
'The more ideally I think, the more it came to occur to me like that.'

Type B: Non-Specific Protagonist

(89) ichinichi mo hayaku keiki no kaifuku ga
one day also fast business of recovery NOM
mat-are-ru
wait-SPON-INF
'Quick recovery of business is awaited.'

To sum up, in Modern Japanese only verbs expressing mental processes can yield a spontaneous construction. In other words, the spontaneous construction exclusively involves human agents who do not perform the mental activity expressed by the verb on their own accord.

This completes our discussion of the spontaneous construction in Japanese. In the next section we present a contrast between the spontaneous expressions in Marathi and Japanese.

2.6.2.3 The Spontaneous in Marathi and Japanese: A Contrast

From the examples of the spontaneous construction in Marathi and Japanese cited earlier, it is evident that in Modern Japanese spontaneous expressions are confined to human mental processes and express human feelings. By contrast, the sphere of spontaneous expressions is fairly wide in Marathi where, in addition to non-volitional human actions/mental processes, events triggered by inanimate entities, natural forces etc. are included.

In order to understand as to why the sphere of the spontaneous in Marathi is wider than that of Japanese, it is necessary to take a closer look at the lexicon of both languages. Japanese has more paired verbs i.e. lexical pairs of transitive-intransitive verb than Marathi [Cf. Appendix I and II]. Thus, in Marathi, there are many transitive verbs which lack intransitive counterpart. In order to fill up these lexical gaps, Marathi uses passive morphology. On the other hand, in Japanese, since a large number of verbs are paired ones, the necessity to derive intransitive counterparts using passive forms hardly arises. Nevertheless, when such necessity arises Japanese, like Marathi, derives intransitive counterparts using the passive morphology. This expalins as to why the sphere of the spontaneous in Marathi is wider than that of Japanese. Note the following examples.

(90) a. bhukampA-ne hajAro ghare ciraD-l-I
earthquake-INSTR thousands houses.F crush-PERF-F
ge-l-I
go-PAST-F
'Thousands of houses got crushed due to the earthquake.'

b. jishin de takusan no ie ga
earthquake by lots of houses NOM
tubure-ta/*tubusare-ta
got crushed-PAST/ were crushed-PAST
'Due to the earthquake thousands of houses got crushed/*were crushed.'

(91) a. samudra-cyA lATAn-nI jahAj dUr fek-l-e
sea-of waves-INSTR ship.N far throw-PERF-N
ge-l-e
go-PAST-N
'The ship was thrown far off by the sea waves.'

b. nami de fune ga tooku e nagedas-are-ta
waves INSTR ship NOM far to throw-PASS-PAST
'The ship was thrown far off by the waves.'

In the case of (90), Marathi transitive verb *ciraDNe* 'to crush' lack intransitive counterpart. Hence, in order to depict a spontaneous event, the passive form viz. *ciraD-l-I jA-Ne* 'be crushed' is used. Note that the spontaneous events have non-volitional agent and thus do not convey volitional action like the passive. In contrast, the Japanese counterpart is a paired verb viz. *tubusu* 'get crushed' vs. *tubureru* 'to crush'. It thus entertains only the intransitive verbs to depict a spontaneous event and barrs the passive form of the corresponding transitive counterpart. The situation in (91) depicts a reverse situation. Both Marathi and Japanese have only transitive verb and lack intransitive counterpart. In such a situation both languages make use of

passive morphology to derive the lacking intransitive counterpart.

The foregoing discussion show that languages make use of available means to fill up the lexical gaps. Japanese spontaneous has a narrow domain since Japanese lexicon is rich in paired verbs--most verbs having lexical intransitive counterpart. Marathi spontaneous has a wider domain since Marathi lexicon is poor in paired verbs--few verb have lexical intransitive counterpart. These facts come to light in the contrastive study taken up here and contribute to our understanding of the passive and spontaneous phenomena in general. Our hypothsis that passive forms are employed to derive intransitive counterparts only if a transitive verb lacks it applies to Marathi as well as Japanese but it needs to be tested with data form many diverse languages. Let us now turn to the potential construction.

2.6.3 The Potential Construction

Potential constructions express the ability/inability of the agent to perform the activity described by the main verb. In Marathi as well as in Japanese, the potential construction is morphosyntactically marked in a similar way to the passive in that the agent appears in an oblique form, and the main verb is marked with the passive morphology. We assume that this is because the potential construction is closely related to the passive--as well as to the spontaneous construction. Shibatâni (1985: 839) observes that

... An event that occurs spontaneously has a strong propensity to happen. If this automatic happening is negated, then a reading of impotentiality is implied.

In Marathi, potential constructions are felicitous in negative contexts and are marginally accepted in positive ones. In Japanese also, until the Heian period (8th cent.-12th cent. A.D.) potential constructions were permitted only in negative contexts (Cf. Iwabuchi 1972: 153). In Modern Japanese, however, potential constructions are felicitous in positive as well as negative contexts. Let us take a closer look at the potential construction in Marathi.

2.6.3.1 The Potential in Marathi: An Outline

Marathi has three constructions that can be treated under the rubric of potential [X=agent, V= Main verb (+ volitional)].

A. X-Ø NP V + *shakaNe* 'can'.....CAN potential

(92) rAm bhAt khA-U shak-t-o /shak-at nAhI
Ram.M rice eat-PTCPL can-PRES-M/can-PTCPL not
'Ram can/cannot eat rice.'

B. X-oblique NP V-aw nAhI(not)..... AW Potential

(93) rAm-cyA-ne bhAt khA-waw-l-A nAhI
Ram-GEN-INSTR rice.M eat-POT-PERF-M not
'Ram could not eat rice.'

C. X-oblique NP V + jANe(go) nAhI(not)..... GO Potential

(94) rAm-cyA-ne bhAt khA-l l-A ge-l-A nAhI
Ram-GEN-INSTR rice.M eat-PERF-M go-PERF-M not
'Ram could not eat rice.'

The periphrastic potential construction involving CAN is felicitous in both positive and negative contexts, while the AW potential is felicitous only in negative ones. GO potential constructions are generally felicitous in negative contexts, but are not rejected altogether in positive ones. The CAN potential construction is an active construction in that the agent is unmarked. In contrast, the AW and GO potentials are non-active constructions where the agent exhibits oblique marking.

As pointed out earlier, the discrete approach adopted by Pandharipande (1981) and Rosen &Wali (1989) fails to make a distinction between passive and potential constructions. Note the following examples:

(95) rAm-kaDUn tyA kholI-t zop-l-e ge-l-e nAhI

Ram-by that room-in sleep-PERF-N go-PAST-N not
'Ram could not sleep in that room.'

(96) rAm-kaDUn ajibAt poh-l-e ge-l-e nAhI
Ram-by at all swim-PERF-N go-PAST-N not
'Ram could not swim at all.'

(97) rAm-kaDUn don kilomiTar suddhA dhAw-l-e
Ram-by two kilometer even run-PERF-N
jA-t nAhi
go-PRES not
'Ram cannot run even two kilometers.'

(98) Ai-kaDUn mula-lA ragAw-l-e ge-l-e nAhI
mother-by child-ACC scold-PERF-N go-PAST-N not
a. 'The chield was not scolded by the mother.'
b.'The mother could not scold the child.'

(99) mAzyA kaDUn tyA-lA fasaw-l-e ge-l-e nAhI
I by he-ACC cheat-PERF-N go-PAST-N not
a. 'He was not cheated by me.'
b.'I could not cheat him.'

Among the expressions shown above, those involving a transitive verb and expressing a capabilitative meaning [viz. (98), (99)] are treated as passives by Pandharipande, and as impersonal passives by Rosen & Wali. Those involving an intransitive verb and expressing a capabilitative meaning [viz. (95), (96) and (97)] would be either barred or treated as something unrelated to the passive. We disagree with both of these analyses, as they are discrete in nature and fail to provide a unified account for the phenomenon under consideration. In the potential construction, the obliquely marked agent is obligatory, whereas in the passive construction it can be optionally deleted. In all the above-mentioned examples, the agent phrases marked with *kaDUn* are undeletable--except in (98) and (99), which present cases of overlap between the passive and the

potential construction. Under the gloss (a) interpretation, they are passives and permit agent deletion, while under the gloss (b) interpretation, they are potentials and do not permit agent deletion. In Marathi, only canonical transitive verbs can yield passive expressions, whereas the potential construction can be formed with intransitive, as well as transitive verbs (exemplified above). Thus the domain of application of the potential and the passive construction is not the same, and as such they must be recognized as separate constructions. What the potential construction in Marathi shares with the passive is the pragmatic function of agent defocusing, and is thus morphosyntactically marked in a similar way. Still, they differ in their degree of agent defocusing. In the potential construction, the obliquely marked agent is indispensable, whereas in the passive construction it is optional.

Pandharipande (1981) also claims that AW potential constructions express capability of the agent, determined by agent-internal conditions such as headaches, pain, hatred, happiness, or physical/psychological pain. GO potential constructions, on the other hand, express an capability based on the agent's efforts, and the choice of which is determined by agent-external conditions such as the weather. CAN potential constructions are neutral to whether their capability is determined by agent-internal or agent-external conditions, or whether the agent expends any effort in accomplishing the task. As mentioned earlier, however, the claims made by Pandharipande regarding the conditions that determine an capability reading are not supported empirically [Cf. (23), (24), (26), (27)].

The GO potential construction is the only form that is relevant to our analysis because it shares morphosyntactic similarities with the GO passive. In subsequent discussion we thus confine ourselves to an examination of the GO potential construction.

First, GO potential constructions are generally felicitous in negative contexts, although they are not rejected altogether in positive ones:

(100) bharpUr jewaN zAla as-Una-hI mAjhyA-kaDUn
too much meal became be-PTCPL-EMPH me-by
don Ambe sahaj khA-ll-e ge-l-e
two mangoes.N without effort eat-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'Even after a heavy meal, I could easily eat two mangoes.'

Second, the capability of the agent expressed by the GO potential construction is related to an event occuring in the real world; it cannot express a stative/attributive ability. Note the following contrast:

(101) *rAm-kaDUn bhAt khA-ll-A jA-t-o
Ram-by rice.M eat-PERF-M go-PRES-M
'Ram can eat rice.'

(102) rAm-kaDUn bhAt khA-ll-A ge-l-A nAhI
Ram-by rice.M eat-PERF-M go-PAST-M not
'Ram could not eat rice.'

Third, the presence of a definite agent is usually mandatory in the GO potential, although in some cases the agent can be indefinite. When the agent is indefinite, the construction is freed from eventive or negative contextual restrictions. Otherwise, GO potential constructions express a capabilitative meaning with definite agents, and a possibilitative meaning with indefinite ones. Note the following contrast:

(103) bharpUr jewaN zAla as-la tarI Aiskrim
too much meal became be-PERF though ice cream.N
sahaj kha-ll-a jA-t-a
easily eat-PERF-N go-PRES-N
'Even after a heavy meal one can easily eat ice cream.'

(104) bharpUr jewaN zAla as-Una-hI mAjhyA-kaDUn
too much meal became be-PTCPL-EMPH me-by
don Ambe sahaj khA-ll-e ge-l-e
two mangoes.N without effort eat-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'Even after a heavy meal, I could easily eat two mangoes.'

This is a broad outline of the potential construction in Marathi. Let us now take a look at the potential construction in Japanese.

2.6.3.2 The Potential in Japanese: An Outline

Teramura (1982) offers a detailed descriptive account of the potential construction. The potential construction in Japanese is couched in the form *X ga/ni Y ga V-POT* where X is an agent with the ability to perform the act denoted by the verb V, and Y is the object undergoing the activity denoted by a transitive verb V. The potential forms of verbs ending in consonants (generally called group I verbs) are derived by adding the suffix *-e* to the stem of the verb, as in *hanas-u* (speak)--- *hanas-e-ru* (be able to speak). Potential forms of verbs ending in vowels (generally called group II verbs) are derived by adding the suffix *-rare* to the stem of the verb, as in *tabe-ru* (eat)----*tabe-rare-ru* (be able to eat/ be edible). Potential forms of irregular verbs (generally called group III verbs) are as follows: *suru* (to do)→*dekiru* (be able to do); *kuru* (to come)→*korareru* (be able to come). In the case of some group I verbs (*ik-u* 'to go', *nom-u* 'to drink'), passive forms viz. *ik-are-ru, nom-are-ru* can also be used instead of the regular potential forms viz. *ik-e-ru, nom-e-ru*. Thus in Japanese the morpheme *-rare-* is used to derive passive, as well as potential forms. In addition, Japanese also has a periphrastic potential construction in which the modal auxiliary verb *dekiru* 'can' is used.

Teramura further points out that only verbs with the semantic feature [+ volitional] can have potential forms--irrespective of syntactic transitivity--and cites the following examples (Teramura 1982: 256):

(105) dooshitemo ik-are-nai
at any cost go-POT-NEG
'(I/One) can not go at any cost.'

(106) sonnani ichidoni nom-are-nai
that much at one time drink-POT-NEG
'(I/One) can not drink that much at one time.'

From the above examples one may might assume that in Japanese the potential construction is felicitous only in negative contexts; however, this is not the case. In Modern Japanese, potential constructions can be used in positive contexts as well, as

exemplified below:

(107) watashi wa nama no sakana ga tabe-rare-ru
I TOP raw GEN fish NOM eat-POT-PRES
'I can eat raw fish.'

Teramura (1982: 258-9) also points out that in Japanese there are potential constructions in which the agent does not figure--not because it is omitted but because it is not required--and cites the following examples.

(108) kono mizu wa nom-e-masu ka?
this water TOP drink-POT-PRES QM
'Is this water potable?'

(109) kono kinoko wa tabe-rare-nai
this mushroom TOP eat-POT-NEG
'This mushroom cannot be eaten/ is not edible.'

In the above examples the agent is interpreted as a generic or indefinite human being viz. 'we', 'people', 'you all', etc. Teramura (1982: 259) explains that such expressions are formed by omission of the agent, followed by the 'topicalization' of the object. He represents this schematically as follows:

(110) a. X ga Y wo V-ru
b.→ X ni Y ga V-e/rare-ru (X: generic, indefinite human)
c.→ — Y ga V-e/rare-ru
d. → Y wa V-e/rare-ru

At the level of surface structure these potential expressions resemble similar ones built on intransitive verbs. Teramura points out that such potential expressions can be further subclassified as *active potential* and *passive potential*, and cites the following examples (op. cit: 259)

(111) kono sakana wa ki ni nobor-e-ru
this fish TOP tree DAT climb-POT-PRES
'This fish can climb the tree.'

(112) kono sakana wa tabe-rare-ru
this fish TOP eat-POT-PRES
'This fish can be eaten.'

Example (111) is 'active potential' in that the nominal in the nominative viz. *the fish* does the activity of climbing, while the example (112) is a 'passive potential' where the nominal in the nominative viz. *the fish* undergoes the activity of eating.

We will confine ourselves to the potential construction that shares morphosyntactic similarities with the passive, viz. the one that uses the potential suffix--*(r)are*. For the sake of convenience we will refer to this construction as the *(r)are* potential. Koyano (1980) has discussed various usages of the *(r)are* potential construction in Japanese which are listed below:

A. Attributive usages

a) to express attributive capability of an agent

(113) hyaku kiro no ooishi o karugaruto
hundred kilo of big stone ACC easily
mochiage-rare-ru otoko
lift up-POT-INF man
'a man who can easily lift up a big stone weighing 100 Kgs'

b) performance/efficiency

(114) ippunkan ni juu rittoru no mizu o
one minute in ten liters of water ACC
suiage-rare-ru ponpu
suck up-POT-INF pump

'a pump that can suck ten liters of water in a minute'

c) property/attribute

(115) iyana koto ga atte-mo suguni
unpleasant thing NOM be-even immediately
wasure-rare-ru hito
forget-POT-INF person
'a person who can easily forget unpleasant things'

d) condition/result relation

(116) tatoe unwaruku mi-tai bangumi ga mi-rare-nai
if unfortunately see-want program NOM see-POT-NEG
tokidemo bideo ga rokuga
even that time video NOM recording
'if unfortunately you cannot watch the program that you want, the video can record it for you at such occasions'

B. Past tense usages

e) factual/counterfactual

(117) suzushii, yoku ne-rare-ta
pleasant well sleep-POT-PAST
'Oh it was so pleasant. I could sleep well.'

(118) teiketsuatsu-gimi dakara izen wa gozen juuji
low blood pressure-prone therefore before TOP a.m. 10 O' clock
made oki-rare-na-katta
upto get up-NEG-PAST
'Since I have low blood pressure, I could not get up earlier than 10 a.m.'

C. Present tense usages

f) attribute

(119) moo daremo oretachi o tome-rare-nai
no more no one us ACC stop-POT-NEG
'No longer can anyone stop us.'

g) factual at present or in the future

(120) hashi wa itsudemo kake-rare-ru ga ichido
bridge TOP any time construct-POT-INF NOM once
ushinawareta kankyoo wa yooiniwa modora-nai
lost environment TOP easily be back-NEG
'A bridge can be constructed any time but once the environment is lost it cannot be brought back.'

This completes our overview of the potential construction in Japanese. In the following section we present a contrastive analysis of the potential constructions in Marathi and Japanese.

2.6.3.3 The Potential in Marathi and Japanese: A Contrast

In this section we will draw a contrast between the GO potential construction in Marathi and the *rare* potential construction in Japanese, each of which correlates with the passive construction in their respective language.

First, the GO potential construction in Marathi is felicitous generally in negative contexts, although it is marginally acceptable in positive contexts also. As mentioned earlier, until the Heian period (8th-12th cent. A.D.) Japanese potential constructions were acceptable only in negative contexts (Cf. Iwabuti 1972: 153), but in present day Japanese they are acceptable in negative as well as positive ones. As pointed out by Shibatani (1985) negating the occurance of a spontaneous event leads to a non-potential reading. The subsequent introduction of an agent then gives rise to an

incapabilitative reading of the agent with regards to the event in question. Marathi represents the initial phase of transition from spontaneous to potential expression, depicting the incapability of an agent. A marginal extention of this is permitted in Marathi which includes positive contexts--thus depicting the capability of the agent in a few cases. Further, the prototypical case is realized in the realis mode, which refers to an event occuring in reality. Marathi potentials are confined to the realis mode, with a marginal extension permitting the irrealis if the incapability of an indefinite human agent is depicted. Japanese, on the other hand , reflects an advanced stage of extension of the prototypical case. Potential constructions in Japanese are of course felicitous in negative as well as positive contexts. Further, they are not confined to the realis mode, but are extended to the irrealis irrespective of definiteness or humanness of the agent [Cf. (113), (114), (115), (116), (119) and (120)]. Moreover, they not only depict the (non)potentiality of agents but of patients too. In the presence of an agent they depict either incapability or capability and in the absence of one they depict the potentiality or non-potentiality of patient nominals. Teramura (1982) refers to the former as an *active* potential and the latter as a *passive* potential. Marathi allows only what Teramura refers to as the *active* potential construction, while Japanese has advanced still further and allows *passive* potential constructions as well. Teramura has described the process of passive potential formation with the help of the schematic diagram discussed earlier [Cf.(110), repeated below to facilitate the discussion].

a. X ga Y wo V-ru
b.→ X ni Y ga V-e/rare-ru (X: generic, indefinite human)
c.→ — Y ga V-e/rare-ru
d. → Y wa V-e/rare-ru(Thematicization)

Marathi has advanced only from step (a) to step (b) in the diagram above, while Japanese has advanced to step (d). Even at step (b), Japanese and Marathi exhibit a difference. Japanese has the additional option of thematicization of the agent. Owing to this, attributes of agents--animate as well as inanimates--can be described by using potential forms. Marathi does not have the option of thematicization at its disposal, and attributes of agents cannot be expressed using potential forms. Further, *rare* potential forms in Japanese can be used to describe attributes of patients, a property which Teramura refers to as passive potential. The process of deriving the passive potential involves moving from step (a) to step (d) through step (b) and (c). Owing to

the availability of the thematicization option, Japanese has advanced from step (a) to step (d) through step (b) and (c). In Marathi the derivation is blocked at step (b) due to the lack of this option, hence Marathi lack passive potentials. Instead, Marathi must resort to a periphrastic option viz. using the modal auxiliary *shakNe* (can) for expressing the attributes of agents as well patients.

To conclude, the GO potential construction in Marathi is much narrower in scope compared to its *rare* counterpart in Japanese. Let us now turn to the honorofic construction.

2.6.4 The Honorific Construction

In the honorific construction, deference is expressed towards the agent of the action. In Marathi as well as Japanese, the honorific construction is marked morphosyntactically in the same way as the passive. This too can be explained in terms of a pragmatic notion of agent defocusing. As pointed out by Shibatani (1985: 837-8):

A universal characteristic of honorific speech lies in its indirectness; and one of the clear manifestations of this is avoidance of the singling out of an agent which refers to the addressee, the speaker, or the person mentioned in the sentence. Defocusing of an agent in some way is thus an integral component of the honorific mechanism.

Let us now take a closer look at the honorific construction in Marathi.

2.6.4.1 The Honorific in Marathi: An Outline

In Marathi, honorification in general is not widespread, and the construction is found only marginally. It is confined to transitive verbs, and cannot be built on intransitive verbs. This is shown below.

(121) a. mahApour-An-cya-haste sohaLyA-ce udghATan
mayor-PL-GEN-hands function-GEN inauguration.N
kar-NyAt A-l-e
do-PTCPL come-PAST-N

'The function was inaugurated at the hands of the mayor.'

b. *mahApour-An-kaDUn has-l-e ge-l-e
mayor-Pl-by laugh-PERF-N go-PAST-N
'The mayor laughed (honorific).'

In the Marathi honorific construction, the agent defocusing strategy is two-fold: coding a singular agent as plural (rather than singular), and indirect reference to the agent is effected by assigning it an oblique marker. Note the contrast in the following examples:

(122) a. ???rAjyapAl-An-nI yashaswI widyArthAn-cA
state governor-PL-ERG successful students-GEN
satkAr ke-l-A
felicitation.M do-PAST-M
'The governor felicitated successful students.'

b. rAjyapAl-An-cyA-haste yashaswI widyArthAn-cA
state governor-PL-GEN-hands successful students-GEN
satkAr ke-l-A ge-l-A
felicitation.M do-PERF-M go-PAST-M
'Successful candidates were felicitated at the hands of the state governor.'

(123) a. ???yA prasangI mukhyAmantryAn-n-I raktadAn
this occasion chief minister-PL-ERG blood donation.N
ke-l-e
do-PAST-N
'On this occasion the chief minister made a blood donation.'

b. yA prasangI mukhyAmantryAn-n-kaDun raktadAn
this occasion chief minister-PL-by blood donation.N
kar-NyAt A-l-e
do-PTCPL come-PAST-N

'On this occasion blood donation was made by the Chief Minster.'

Pandharipande (1981) cites the example (124) below and argues that the subjectless passive construction in Marathi expresses a social convention--thereby prescribing a particular mode of behaviour. Such expressions convey the highest degree of politeness, compared with other expressions that have a prescriptive meaning (Pandharipande op. cit. : 128-9).

(124) AplyA shikshakA wiruddha asa bolla jA-t nAhI
our teacher against like speaking go-PRES not
(a) 'It is not talked like this against one's own teacher.'
(b) 'You should not talk like this against your own teacher.'

Pandharipande provides the glosses in the example. Gloss (a) expresses a covert agentive expression and--according to our analysis--is a covert indefinite agent passive. The gloss in (b) is incorrect in our opinion, and should rather be ' One does not speak against one's own teacher like this'. Under this interpretation, it is clearly an indirect request. This is in line with the fact that indirect reference to the agent is a hallmark of polite expressions. On our analysis, a covert indefinite agent passive underlies the interpretation of (124a), while an honorific one underlies the interpretation discussed above. This example represents a case of overlap between the passive and the honorific constructions.

Pandharipande's treatment is also incorrect in that covert indefinite agent passives do not exclusively convey a prescriptive meaning [Cf.(28),(29)]. The honorific construction is an active construction, while the passive construction is not. The passive construction and the honorific construction are separate constructions and should be treated as such. They share morphosyntactic similarities, however, and are related through the shared pragmatic notion of agent defocusing.

This concludes our review of the honorific construction in Marathi. Let us turn now to the honorific construction in Japanese

2.6.4.2 The Honorific in Japanese: An Outline

Japanese has a very rich honorific system and honorifics are widely used in daily conversation. Honorification in general can be divided into two categories viz. subject honorification and object honorification. In the former case, the subject is the target of honorification while in the latter it is the direct or indirect object. Subject honorification involves use of the suffix *(r)are* which is also used in the passive, spontaneous and potential constructions. The honorific form *rare* is attached to verb stems ending in vowels while *are* is attached to stems ending in a consonant. This type of honorification is used to show respect for a subject superior to the speaker and the addressee. We confine our discussion on honorification to those constructions involving the honorific suffix *(r)are* only. Note the following examples:

(125) sensei ga waraw-are-ta
teacher NOM laugh-HON-PAST
'The teacher laughed(hon.)'

(126) sensei ga gohan o tabe-rare-ta
teacher NOM meal ACC eat-HON-PAST
'The teacher had a meal (hon.)'

(127) sensei ga kooen o sare-ta
teacher NOM lecture ACC do.HON-PAST
'The teacher delivered a lecture (hon.)'

In the above examples the actions of the person to which respect is shown viz. the teacher are all conveyed in an indirect way avoiding direct reference. The agent is thus defocused and it is this notion that links the honorific construction with the passive and other formally related constructions. The correlation between the passive and the honorific construction thus finds natural explanation through the pragmatic notion of agent defocusing. Having summarized the honorific construction in Japanese, let us now compare it with its Marathi counterpart.

2.6.4.3 The Honorific in Marathi and Japanese: A Contrast

In this section we will describe the similarities and differences between the honorific constructions in Marathi and Japanese.

As mentioned earlier, honorification in Marathi is not widespread, whereas Japanese has a very rich honorification system. Honorific expressions in Japanese can be built on transitive as well as intransitive verbs, while in Marathi the honorific forms can only be derived from transitive verbs. Thus intransitive verbs like walk, laugh etc. can yield honorific constructions in Japanese but not in Marathi. With regards to usage too, Japanese is at a advanced stage of generalization as compared to Marathi. In Marathi, honorific constructions are primarily used to refer to the actions of dignitaries like president, prime minister, ministers, and governors, or high level government officials like judges, commissioners, collectors etc. Honorific forms are not used to refer to the actions of elders or teachers. In such cases polite forms or words of Sanskrit origin are used instead. In Japanese, on the other hand, honorific forms are obligatorily used when the addressee is superior to the speaker in terms of social status, age, or seniority. Thus it can be said that the Japanese honoric construction is more grammaticalized that its Marathi counterpart.

2.6.5 The Pragmatic Correlations

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the passive, spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions in both Marathi and Japanese are related through the pragmatic notion of agent defocusing. They differ in terms of degree of agent defocusing, however. In the spontaneous construction the agent is completely defocused and cannot appear at all. In the potential and the honorific constructions, agent defocusing is 'partial': the agent obligatorily appears in the construction but is marked with an oblique marker. In the case of passive too, agent defocusing is partial, but unlike the potential and honorific constructions the appearance of the agent in the construction is not obligatory. Note that in all these constructions the main verb is marked with passive morphology. If we adopt a discrete formal view of grammar (as in transformational or relational grammar), the spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions would not fall under a unified analysis. The correlations discussed here, as Shibatani (1985: 825) puts it

.....are neither strictly(synchronically) semantic nor syntactic in nature..... Various constructions can be related, not simply in morphosyntactic or semantic terms, but also in terms of common pragmatic functions.

The common pragmatic function shared by the passive and its related constructions is *agent defocusing*. The data from Marathi thus provides strong support to Shibatani's claim that various constructions can be related, not simply in morphosyntactic or semantic terms, but also in terms of common pragmatic functions. The discussion in this chapter has been carried out by placing the passive at the center, since the construction is widely discussed in the linguistic literature. This should by no means be taken to mean that the related constructions have developed from the passive. In the following section we will briefly discuss the pattern of diachronic development of these constructions, providing an explaination for this synchronic polysemy.

2.6.6 Diachronic Development and Synchronic Distribution

As pointed out by Shibatani (1997) correlations of the kind discussed in this paper are not isolated phenomena peculiar to Marathi and Japanese, but are widely attested in various other unrelated languages, among them Classical Greek, Spanish, and Telugu. Moreover, these correlations are not accidental--neither language-internally nor cross-linguistically--but rather systematic.

As Shibatani (1997) rightly points out, in order to understand the patterns of synchronic polysemy, we must know something about the historical development of the constructions themselves. To substantiate this claim he discusses the diachronic aspects of voice constructions, and points out that historically, middle voice forms are a major source of passive constructions. In Classical Greek the middle voice category was used to express reflexive, reciprocal, spontaneous and passive meanings, while in Spanish the reflexive has given rise to the spontaneous and the passive. The evolutionary path for the development of the Spanish passive is then Reflexive > Spontaneous > Passive. In Japanese, it is generally held that--among the four functions of the suffix -(*r*)*are*--the earliest use was in spontaneous expressions, and that the other uses developed subsequently, taking advantage of the agent-defocusing effect of the suffix. Shibatani (1998) proposes the Principle of Maximization of Contrast as the

driving force of the diachronic change in question. This principle motivates a language to develop voice constructions so that a meaning contrast is maximized. Although, the spontaneous construction seems to be a major source of passives cross-linguistically, there may be others too (Cf. Haspelmath 1990).

In Marathi, the passive, spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions all exhibit synchronic polysemy in their morphosyntactic marking, viz. the main verb is in the perfective, followed by the auxiliary GO. In order to offer an explanation for this synchronic polysemy, it is necessary to probe the historical development of these constructions. A diachronic account is beyond the scope of the present study, however, and must be left for future research.

2.6.7 Cross-linguistic Variations: A Summary

In the foregoing sections we presented a cross-linguistic comparison of the passive and related spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions in Marathi and Japanese. In this section we will provide a brief summary of the findings. As for passive, the two languages exhibit different degrees of extension of the core class of passivizable verbs. As Shibatani (1998a: 131) puts it:

> *... the class of verbs permitting the active-passive alternation is prototypically defined with those denoting volitional actions leading to a change of state in the object as its central members. The actual size of this class of verbs in different languages reflects diferent degrees of extension from the core members permitted by the language,.....*

Marathi imposes a strict agent volitionality and patient affectedness requirement on its passivizable verbs, hence barrs verbs that do not express volitional action leading to change in the object nominal from undergoing this process. Japanese, on the other hand, is more liberal than Marathi, and has extended the passivization domain to include non-volitional transitive verbs as well as intransitives. Thus non-volitional verbs such as *suku* (to like) and *yorokobu* (to appreciate) undergo passivization in Japanese. Their Marathi counterparts viz. *AwaDNe* and *pasant paDNe* fail to undergo passivization, however. The passivization domain in Japanese is further extended to

accomodate non-activity verbs such as *fukumu* (to contain) and *kakomu* (to surround). The Marathi counterparts to these non-activity vebs fail to undergo passivization. The difference in the degree of generalization of the core class of verbs permitting passivization is reflected in the selection of the agent phrases in the passive constructions. Agents permitted in the Marathi passive construction are typically confined to volitional human beings, with a marginal extension allowing potent non-volitional entities such as heart, butterflies etc. Japanese passives, on the other hand, permit a wide range of agents like natural forces, goals, causes, instruments etc. in addition to human beings. In addition to the direct passive, Japanese also has a indirect passive which can be derived from transitive as well as intransitive verbs. The intransitive-based passive in Japanese generally conveys the sense of inconvenience to the referent of the subject. The subject of such passives is a extra-thematic argument marked with the topic marker *wa*. We believe that such passives are possible because Japanese has a topicalization device by which extra-thematic arguments can be semantically integrated. This explains why Japanese allows indirect, "attributive" and "characterization" passives. Marathi does not have such a device at its disposal. Because it lacks a topic construction, indirect, "attributive" and "characterization" passives are not possible. As for passivization then, Japanese is far more liberal than Marathi.

With regards to spontaneous expressions, Marathi allows a wide range of non-human agents. This follows from the fact that spontaneous events by definition are void of volition, and inanimate entities are the most suitable candidates for fulfilling this criterion. In addition to various types of non-human agents, Marathi also permits human agents acting non-volitionally. Modern Japanese, on the other hand, permits only non-volitional human agents in the spontaneous construction. This difference in behaviour can be understood by taking a closer look at the lexicon of both the languages. Japanese is rich in paired verbs while Marathi is not. In Marathi large number of transitive verbs lack intransitive counterparts. In order to depict spontaneous events based Marathi derives lacking intransitive counterparts form the corresponding transitive ones by employing the passive morphology. In Japanese, since majority of the verbs have lexical intransitive counterparts, the need to derive one rarely arises. This is why the domain of Marathi spontaneous is wider than that of Japanese.

As for the potential construction, Marathi and Japanese exhibit some variation. In Marathi potential expressions are usually 'eventive' and felicitous in negative contexts. In the case of eventive potentials the agent is definite, and the expression conveys an (in)capability of the agent to perform the action described by the verb. If the agent is indefinite, restrictions such as negative context and eventiveness are lifted, and in such cases the construction conveys a possibility of occurrence. In contrast, Japanese permits potential constructions in negative as well as positive contexts, as it has generalized the initial phase requirement of negating spontaneous expressions in obtaining a potential reading. Japanese also permits potential expressions in the realis as well as the irrealis mode irrespective of the type of agent. Furthermore, Japanese also permits passive potentials. In most cases, Japanese potentials express attributes of the agent or the patient. The passive potential expresses attributes of the patients, while the active potential has an attributive usage and an ability reading. These usages are possible because of the thematicization or topicalization of the relevant agent or patient nominal. Since Marathi lacks topicalization, neither of these usages is permitted. The frequency of use of the *rare* potential in Japanese seems to be higher than that of the *GO* potential in Marathi. Marathi favours the active periphrastic CAN potential construction instead.

In the case of the honorific, Japanese--due to its highly-developed honorific system--permits constructions based on transitive as well as intransitive verbs to show deference to the actions of the agent. Marathi, on the other hand, only marginally allows honorific constructions based on transitive verbs. With this we conclude our discussion on the cross-linguistic variations between Marathi and Japanese pertaining to the passive and related constructions and move on to the second part of the contrastive study viz. the contributions of the contrastive study to a better understanding of the passive and related constructions in general.

2.6.8 The Contributions of the Contrastive Study

In this section we will discuss the contributions of the contrastive study to our understanding of the passive and related constructions in general and to those in Marathi and Japanese in particular.

The first and foremost contribution that Japanese makes to Marathi is in

bringing the correlations between the passive and the related constructions to light. These correlations are crystal clear in a agglutinating language like Japanese while they are obscure in a analytic language like Marathi. As seen earlier, the past analyses have failed to notice these correlations and made misleading claims such as the passive in Indo-Aryan languages perform a special function of conveying capabilitative meaning which the Dravidian languages typically lack (Cf. Pandharipande 1981). The contrast with Japanese brings to light the fact that what conveys the capabilitative meaning is not the passive but rather the potential construction which shares morphosyntactic similarities with the passive owing to their shared pragmatic function viz. agent defoucing. We have proved this with the help of Marathi data and the plausibility of this hypothesis needs to tested in other Indo-Aryan languages. We leave this issue to future research.

Japanese is a ideal language to study the nature of passive formation in that (a) passive derivation in Japanese is highly productive and applys to both intransitive and transitive verbs, (b) Japanese also has the rarely found valency-increasing passive and (c) the passive formation semantically-sensitive--only verbs expressing action undergo passivization. Japanese thus makes substantial contributions to our understanding of the nature of the passive. On the other hand, Marathi passive is confined to canonical transitive verbs, does not have valency-increasing passive but still is semantically sensitive--only verbs expressing affected patient owing to volitional action of an agent undergo passivization. The correlation between the notion of semantic transitivity and passive in Marathi is not as clear as that in Japanese. Marathi passive is confined to the prototypical case while the Japanese passive displays an advanced stage of extension. Marathi passive permits only human agents acting volitionally with a marginal extension to non-human but potent entities. Japanese passive, on the other hand, allows human as well as a wide variety of non-human agents.

The spontaneous construction in Marathi, on the other hand, offers interesting perspectives in that it is quite productive and permits a wide range of subject nominal--human as well as non-human. It provides significant insights into the issue of how languages fill up the gaps in their lexicon with the available means. Marathi has a very few lexical intransitive-transitve verb pairs (i.e a pair of verb sharing common root) while Japanese has abundant paired verbs [Cf. Appendix I and II]. The contrast of Marathi and Japanese thus offers a unique perspective in persuing this

issue. In Marathi many verbs are single roots--either transitive or intransitive. When the necessity arises Marathi need to derive the lacking counterpart of a verb. If a verb lacks transitive counterpart causativization is employed to derive it while if a verb lacks intransitive counterpart passivization is employed. Since Japanese has abundant intransitive-transitive verb pairs there is hardly any need for such derivations. Japanese has a lot of lexical intransitive verbs and therefore there is no necessity to recruit spontaneous forms. This explains as to why the domain of spontaneous is narrow in Japanese. The situation in Marathi, on the other hand, is just the opposite. Marathi has a very few lexical intransitive verbs hence it is needed to recruit spontaneous forms to fill up this gap in the lexicon. This is why the domain of spontaneous in Marathi is wide. Marathi spontaneous thus provides significant insights in understanding the overall structure of the verbal lexicon of a language. We hypothesize that if a language has such lexical gaps in its lexicon it employes the available means to fill them up. Although this hypothesis applies happily to Marathi and Japanese it needs to tested with data form many languages. We leave this issue to future research.

In the domain of potential and honorific constructions Japanese is far more liberal than Marathi. The potential in Japanese conveys ability of human beings as well as latent potential of non-human entities. The Marathi potential can express only (in)ability of human beings. The honorific forms are extremely productive in Japanese but are marginally used in Marathi. We hypothesize that this owes to the typological difference between Japanese and Marathi. Japanese being synthetic language uses suffixes to derive various forms. Marathi, on the other hand, being a predominently analytic language uses auxiliary verbs to derive various forms. As compared to auxiliary verbs suffixes are more grammaticalized meaning thereby more semantically bleached. Auxiliary verbs as compared to suffixes are less grammaticalized and thus less semantically bleached. In other words suffixes have more general grammatical meaning while auxiliary verbs have more specific lexical meaning. This may be the reason as to why the doamin of passive and related constructions in Japanese is wider than that of Marathi. It is interesting to note that Marathi inherited suffixal passive form Snaskrit which was retained till the 13th century. A historical probe can provide interesting facts in this regard. A diachronic account, however, is beyond the scope of the present study and we leave this issue to future research.

To conclude the contrative study of passive and related constructions in Marathi and Japanese makes substantial contributions to our understanding of the passive and related phenomena.

2.7 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter we have presented a language-specific study of the Marathi passive and its related constructions and offered a cross-linguistic study with their Japanese counterparts.

The language-speccific analysis of the Marathi passive supports the following claims: (a) transitivity in its relationship to passive should be understood in semantic terms, (b) the GO and COME passives are neither mutually exclusive nor interchangable in all contexts, (c) the GO and COME passives are not discrete entitites but rather form a continuum where the notion of degree of "intention" dictates their distribution, (d) different constructions can be related not only in morphosyntactic or semantic terms, but also in pragmatic terms, and (e) the pragmatic notion of agent defocusing underlies the relationship of the passive with the spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions.

The cross-linguistic contrastive study of the passive and related constructions in Marathi and Japsnese not only reveals similarities and differences between them but also makes substantial contributions to our understanding of the these phenomena in genral.

Chapter 3

THE CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION

3.1 Introduction

The causative construction, like the passive, has been a topic of hot debate in the last few decades. The debate, however, has mainly centered around formal/syntactic aspects of the construction such as the underlying structure of the causative expression and the case marking pattern of the causee nominal [Cf. McCawley (1968, 1972), Aissen (1974), Cole (1976), Comrie (1976), Wali (1979)]. Compared to this excessive attention from the point of view of syntax, little attention has been paid to the semantic and functional aspects of this construction [Cf. Shibatani (1973a, b), Wali (1981), Wierzbicka (1988), Givon (1979)].

The earlier analyses of causative expressions in Marathi [Beams (1877), Tarkhadkar (1899), Kher (1899), Joshi (1900), Damle (1911), Bloch (1914), Masica (1976), Wali (1979), Wali (1981)] have failed to fully explicate the causer's perspective--purpose/reason of causation in the mind of the causer. The causer's perspective is fundamental to the description of causatives and together with the root verb semantics (i.e. the causee's perspective) has overall profound effect on the form of a causative expression. The failure of the past analyses to fully explicate the causer's perspective--the most central figure in a causative situation--has resulted in preclusion/omission of many crucial aspects of causative constructions and puts severe limitations on our understanding of Marathi causative phenomena. In short, the past treatments of Marathi causatives are fragmentary and depict only a part of the spectrum of various meanings conveyed by the causative. In light of this, we will provide a comprehensive, unified alternative analysis of Marathi causative constructions explicating fully the causer's perspective--purpose/reason of causation in the mind of the causer and its repercussions on the form of a causative expression in combination with the root verb semantics.

As mentioned earlier, the issue of transitivity figures most prominently in the valency-changing voice phenomena like the passive, causative and benefactive (Cf. Chapter 1). In causative constructions the valency of the root verb increases due to

the addition of the causer nominal. Until recently, transitivity has been understood as a syntactic phenomenon and defined in terms of presence or absence of a direct object. Shibatani (1998b) explores the correlations between the root verb semantics and the form of a causative expression and claims that transitivity--at least in its relation to voice phenomena--must be understood in semantic, rather than syntactic terms. Adopting the framework proposed in Shibatani (1998b), we will explore the correlations between the root verb semantics and the form of a causative expression and show that the Marathi causatives, like the other voice constructions taken up in this thesis, provides strong support to Shibatani's above mentioned claim.

In addition to a language-particular analysis of the Marathi causative, we will also present a cross-linguistic contrastive study of causative expressions in Marathi and Japanese which is one of the central concerns of this thesis. Causality may be overtly marked either morphologically or analytically. To a large extent, there is correlation between the morphological characteristics of causative verbs and the typology of the language. Agglutinating languages like Japanese and Turkish tend to use suffixes for deriving causatives while analytic languages like English and Chinese tend to use causative auxiliary verbs.[1] The study of Marathi causatives offers a unique perspective in that in Marathi employs both morpholgical (use of causative suffix) as well as analytical (use of causative auxiliary) means in deriving causative forms. We will demonstrate that the contrast of typologically diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese taken up here not only reveals similarities and differences between them but also makes substantial contributions to a better understanding of the causative phenomena in general.

The discussion will proceed as follows: We will first provide a formal definition and some basic concepts related to causative constructions and then present a broad outline of the framework--Shibatani (1998b). Following this we will briefly discuss morphological properties of Marathi causatives and explore correlations between root

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[1] Marathi inherited a synthetic/affixal system from Sanskrit, which subsequently broke down and gave way to a analytic/periphrastic system. This trend is attested in the passive formation as well. The passive formation underwent a complete change from suffixal to periphrastic around the 13th century. The causative, however, has not completely switched over from a synthetic to an analytic system.

verb semantics and the form of a causative expression within the framework proposed in Shibatani (1998b). It would be demonstrated that transitivity in its relationship to Marathi causatives should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms. We will offer an alternative account of the Marathi causatives providing a critical review of the past analyses. Finally, we will present a contrastive study of causatives in Marathi and Japanese and show how the contrast of typologically diverse languages contributes to a better understanding of causative phenomena in general.

3.1.1 Preliminaries

The notion of causation is universal, and every language provides a means of expressing it. Linguistic forms employed by one language may differ from others in conveying the same idea, however. Thus, any definition of the causative construction based on form would lack universal character. Shibatani (1976b) points out that defining the causative construction is not an easy task, and any attempt to define it would result in providing a full grammatical description. Nevertheless, he provides the following informal characterization of a causative situation (op. cit.: 1):

> *Two events can be said to constitute a causative situation if the following conditions hold:*
> *(a) The relation between the two events is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of one event, the "caused event," has been realized at t2, which is after t1, the time of the "causing event."*
> *(b) The relation between the causing and the caused event is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event is wholly dependent on the occurrence of the causing event ; the dependency of the two events here must be to the extent that it allows the speaker to entertain a counterfactual inference that the caused event would not have taken place at that particular time if the causing event had not taken place, provided that all else had remained the same.*

A causative situation thus consists of two events viz. a causing event and a caused event which are linked through a causal relation. The former usually involves an

activity while the latter involves either an activity or a change of state. As per the preceding characterization, the terms 'transitive' verbs and 'causative' verbs overlap but do not coincide. The former do not necessarily entail a change of state while the latter do. Thus, TELL and KNOW are transitive but not causative, while OPEN and SEND are both transitive and causative. A causative verb is always transitive but the converse is not always true.

The above definition of causative needs a slight modification in order to cover Marathi causatives viz. the causation should not be accidental but rather intentional/ deliberate. The intentionality requirement on the part of the causer confines the domain of causer to human beings acting intentionally/volitionally. It is interesting to note that in Marathi the passive also presupposes intentional/volitional action. The notion of intentionality plays a crucial role in Marathi voice phenomena.

Having clarified the basic concepts related to the causatives, let us introduce the framework proposed in Shibatani (1998b).

3.1.2. The Framework: Shibatani (1998b)

Shibatani (1998b) proposes a semantically-based framework for voice phenomena and claims that transitivity--at least in its relation to voice phenomena--must be understood in semantic, rather than syntactic terms. Defining voice as expressing a meaning relationship between core arguments and the action denoted by the verb, Shibatani encompasses valency-changing derivations like the passive, causative and benefactive under the rubric of voice. We will confine ourselves to causatives in this chapter (other constructions are discussed separately in this dissertation).

Shibatani points out that Haruniwa (1828) in his treatise *Kotoba no kayoiji* ("A Passage to Language") distinguished two types of intransitive verbs, calling them *onozukara shikaru* ("to happen thus spontaneously") and *mizukara shikasuru* ("to do so volitionally"). This distinction roughly corresponds to the unergative/unaccusative distinction proposed in Perlmutter (1978). Shibatani observes that, in Japanese, the two classes of intransitive verbs show different verbal derivational patterns: unaccusative have corresponding (lexical causative) transitive counterpart and lack true causative and passive forms. Unergative verbs, on the other hand, sporadically have corresponding (lexical causative) transitive and derive causative and passive

forms regularly. Unergative verbs, like transitive verbs, are further accessible to both the passivization and causativization while unaccusative verbs are not. As for causativization and passivization in Japanese then, the basis is not syntactic transitivity but semantic transitivity. In Japanese there is a continuum of accessiblity to causativization and passivization. Unergative verbs behave like transitives with regard to accessibility to causativization and passivization even though they share the property of syntactic transitivity with unaccusative verbs. This continuum reflects that of semantic transitivity defined by Hopper & Thompson (1980).

With regards to distinguishing various types of causatives, Shibatani points out that causatives in Japanese cannot be distinguished in terms of formal criteria such as "analytic", "morphological" and "lexical" as proposed in Comrie (1985: 331). This in turn calls for adopting some criteria other than formal ones. In Shibatani (1976a, b), a morphological criterion viz. regularity/productivity is adopted to distinguish morphologically irregular "lexical" causatives from morphologically regular "productive" causatives. Shibatani (1998b) clarifies that this criterion (being morphological) lacks cross-linguistic validity, since what is "lexical" causative in one language might turn out to be a "productive" one in another and vice versa. While maintaining these terms, Shibatani redefines them in semantic terms as follows: "lexical" causative verbs generally correspond to unaccusative verbs, while the "productive" causatives typically correspond to unergative/transitive activity verbs. In other words, "lexical" causatives are causative forms of unaccusative verbs, while "productive" causatives are causative forms of unergative/transitive activity verbs. "Lexical" causatives, like canonical transitive verbs, typically express "direct" causation in which the causee is a totally passive participant and has no control over the event in which it is involved. Transitive verbs with causative meaning are thus treated as "lexical" causatives. "Productive" causatives on the other hand, typically express "indirect" causation in which the causee is an agent of the action denoted by the root verb. In the case of "lexical" causatives there is thus only one agent, while in the case of "productive" causatives there are two agents--one that initiates the action and another that performs the action denoted by the root verb.

A causative situation involves two sub-events--the causing event and the caused event--which are connected by a predicate CAUSE in a causal manner viz.

[event 1] CAUSE [event 2]. "Lexical" and "productive" causatives differ in terms of how the complex situation is conceptualized. In the case of the former, the causing event and the caused event are fused into one coherent whole and expressed as a single event at the linguistic level, while in the case of the latter the causing event and the caused event are conceptualized as two distinct events and encoded accordingly. In English, a "productive" causative has two distinct verbs referring to a causing event and a caused event, as in *John made Bill eat the apple.* A "lexical" causative, on the other hand, has only one verb representing the whole causative situation, as in *John killed Bill.* Shibatani points out that his morphological criterion is not straightforwardly applicable to an agglutinating language like Japanese, where both forms of causation are expressed by one lexical item. The autonomy of the caused event is due to the fact that the causee of the "productive" form is agentive, hence the caused event is brought about as a dependent but separate event from the causing event. On the other hand, the causee of a "lexical" form is a patient, and thus the change it undergoes is wholly dependent on the causing event. In such cases the causing event and the caused event overlap in space and time, and are thus fused into one event. In this sense "lexical" causatives are "contactive", hence convey a "manipulative" mode of causation, while "productive" causatives convey "directive" causation.[2]

As seen above, "lexical" causatives express "direct", "manipulative", "one-event", and "contactive" causation, as the causee corresponds to the theme of unaccusative verbs. "Productive" causatives, on the other hand, express "indirect", "non-manipulative", "two-event", and "non-contactive" causation, as the causee corresponds to the agent of unergative or transitive verbs. Shibatani points out two apparent exceptions to this generalization. One is a case where "productive" causative forms are express "direct", "manipulative", "one-event" causation. This happens when the verb in question either lacks a "lexical" causative or when an available "lexical" causative does not permit a particular type of causee nominal. In

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[2] Shibatani clarifies that "productive" causatives in different languages express varied type of causation, "directive" causation being one of them. This terms is used just to highlight the specific difference between "lexical" and "productive" causatives, ignoring other types of causation expressed by the latter.

Japanese there are transitive verbs ("lexical" causatives) like *tateru* 'stand up' and *sueru* 'set' (corresponding to intransitive *tatsu* 'stand' and *suwaru* 'sit') which do not allow a normal human object. In the case of a human causee, the only available causative is "productive", expressing both "direct", "manipulative", "one-event", and "contactive", as well as "indirect", "directive", "two-event", and "non-contactive" causation as shown below.

(1) a. *Taroo ga Jiroo o tate-ta
Taro NOM Jiro ACC stand up-PAST
'Taro stood up Jiro.' (Shibatani 1998b: 24)

b. Taroo ga Jiroo o tata-se-ta
Taro NOM Jiro ACC stand up-PAST
'Taro made Jiro stand up/Taro stood up Jiro.' (op. cit.: 24)

The other exceptional case is where "lexical" causatives forms express "indirect", "non-manipulative", "two-event" and "non-contactive" causation. This happens when there is a conventional purpose associated with the causative situation. In Japanese the intransitive verb *oriru* 'get down' has both lexical (*orosu* 'bring down') and productive (*ori-sase-ru* 'make someone get off') forms. The lexical form is employed to express "indirect", "non-manipulative", "two-event" and "non-contactive" causation, however, since there is a conventional purpose associated with the causative situation. In this case the productive causative conveys an unconventional setting. Note the following contrast (op. cit.: 27).

(2) a. Takushii no untenshuu wa Hanako o eki
Taxi of driver TOP Hanako ACC station
mae de oroshi-ta
front at bring down-PAST
'The taxi driver dropped off Hanako in front of the station.'

b. Takushii no untenshuu wa Hanako ni/o eki
Taxi of driver TOP Hanako DAT/ACC station

mae de ori-sase-ta
front at come down-CAUS-PAST
'The taxi driver had/made Hanako get off in front of the station.'

This completes our broad outline of the framework proposed in Shibatani (1998b). Let us now proceed to the Marathi causatives.

3.2 The Marathi Causative: An Outline

As mentioned earlier (Cf. footnote 1), Marathi inherited a synthetic/affixal system from Sanskrit, which subsequently broke down and gave way to analytic/periphrastic system. This change over from synthetic to analytic system is not complete and in present day Marathi both the forms are employed. Masica (1991: 212) rightly points out that:

For the NIA(New Indo-Aryan Languages), whose paradigms achieve their contrast through various combinations of ***inherited synthetic*** *elements, new* ***agglutinative*** *elements, and* ***analytic*** *elements, an account confined to the first of these, or even to the first and the second, would be fragmentary, and not give much of an idea of how these languages actually work. For that, the whole system of contrasting forms at the subphrasal level must be examined, heterogeneous though they may be, along with the grammatical category they imply.* (emphasis original, long form in parentheses supplied)

Masica (op. cit.: 214-5) further mentions that

....in the matter of setting up Indo-Aryan paradigms (particularly verbal paradigms) --as with those of English--we may have to admit that we are indeed dealing with more than one "word" in any case. Perhaps "word" is not the issue, but a certain level of "forms" rather, intermediate between ***word*** *and* ***phrase****, for which an appropriate term is wanting.*

An account of Marathi which treats only suffixal causatives to the exclusion of

analytic ones is bound to be fragmentary at both descriptive and explanatory level. Limited scope alone is not the only problem with the past analyses. They are plagued with more fundamental problems (Cf. 3.3.3). Thus a comprehensive, unified alternative account of Marathi causatives is in order. Before going into details let us take a brief overview of the morphological properties of Marathi causatives.

3.2.1 Morphological Characteristics

From a derivational point of view, causative verbs in Marathi can be broadly classified into two types: synthetic and analytic.[3] For the sake of convenience we will discuss them separately.

3.2.1.1 Synthetic Causatives

Synthetic causative forms are derived by various processes mentioned below and are typically one-word formations. Synthetic causatives in Marathi can be sub-divided into the following categories, depending on the kind of derivational process:

a) internal consonant change

fAt-Ne 'to tear' (incho.)----*fAD-Ne* 'to tear' (caus.)

b) internal vowel change

mar-Ne 'die'----*mAr-Ne* 'to kill'
gaL-Ne 'be leaking'----*gAL-Ne* 'to filter'

c) internal vowel and consonant change

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[3] In addition to causative forms derived through suffixation, we treat morphologically non-productive causative derivations--internal vowel and/or consonant changes, suppletives and homophonous verbs--as synthetic, in that the resultant causative verb in all these cases is a one-word formation consisting only one verb.

tuT-Ne 'break'----*toD-Ne* 'break'
suT-Ne 'get untied/get solved'----*soD-Ne* 'to untie/to solve'

d) suffixation: addition of the morpheme *aw* [4]

wAL-Ne 'become dry'----*waL-aw-Ne* 'to dry'
bas-Ne 'to sit'----*bas-aw-Ne* 'to seat'
kar-Ne 'to do something'----*kar-aw-Ne* 'to have someone do something'

Among the types above, suffixation is the most predominant. There are other types of causative formations which are not synthetic in the strict sense including homophonous and suppletive pairs. However, these share a morphological property with synthetic causatives in that the resultant lexical unit is one-word formation. Note the following examples:

a) homophonous pairs

ughaD-Ne 'open' (incho.)----*ughaD-Ne* 'open' (caus.)
moD-Ne 'break' (incho.)---- *moD-Ne* 'break' (caus.)

b) suppletive pairs

khA-Ne 'eat'----*bharaw-Ne* 'to feed'
pi-Ne 'drink'----*pAj-Ne* 'to feed'

gAr ho-Ne 'become cold'----*gAr kar-Ne* 'make something cold'
Adawa ho-Ne 'lie/become horizontal'----*Adawa kar-Ne* 'make lie/horizontal'

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[4] In the case of mono-syllabic roots and roots ending in h, *waw* is added instead of *aw* as in *gA-Ne* 'sing'--*gA-waw-Ne* 'get sung by someone' and *lih-Ne* 'to write'→*lih-waw-Ne* 'to get something written through someone'.

It should be noted that homophonous verbs were not taken into consideration in previous analyses since they do not show any change in their morphological make-up.

3.2.1.2 Analytic Causatives

Analytic causatives, unlike synthetic ones, are morphologically complex forms involving a sequence of two verbs (V-V) of which the first carries lexical meaning and the second one is semantically light, adding only grammatical information viz. the mode of causation. Marathi has various types of periphrastic or analytic causatives which can be sub-divided on the basis of the type of auxiliary verb involved.

a) *lAw-Ne* lit. 'apply' causative: coercive causative[5]

bas-AylA lAw-Ne---to make someone sit
wAc-AylA lAw-Ne---to make someone read something

b) *bhAg pAD-Ne* lit. 'make fall in one's destiny': coercive causative[6]

bas-AylA bhAg pAD-Ne---to leave someone with no choice but to sit
N kar-AylA bhAg pAD-Ne---to leave someone with no choice but to do N

c) *ghe-Ne* 'take' causative: benefactive causative

lih-Un ghe-Ne---to get something written through someone

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[5] Though *lAwNe* literally means 'to attach/apply/fix' we will render it as per its grammaticalized meaning viz. 'to make' in the glosses and elsewhere.

[6] The noun *bhAg* is of obscure origin and has several meanings such as participation, division/fraction and fate/destiny. We assume that in the context of such coercive causative constructions it means fate/destiny and translate it accordingly in the glosses and elsewhere. The verb *pADNe* literally means 'to fell', although we will translate it according to its grammaticalized meaning viz. 'to make' in the glosses and elsewhere.

wac-Un ghe-Ne----to get something read through someone

d) *de-Ne* 'give' causative: permissive causatives

lih-U de-Ne----to permit someone to write
wAC-U de-Ne----to permit someone to read

Having summarized the morphological paradigm of causative forms, let us now turn to the correlations between root verb semantics and the form of a causative expression.

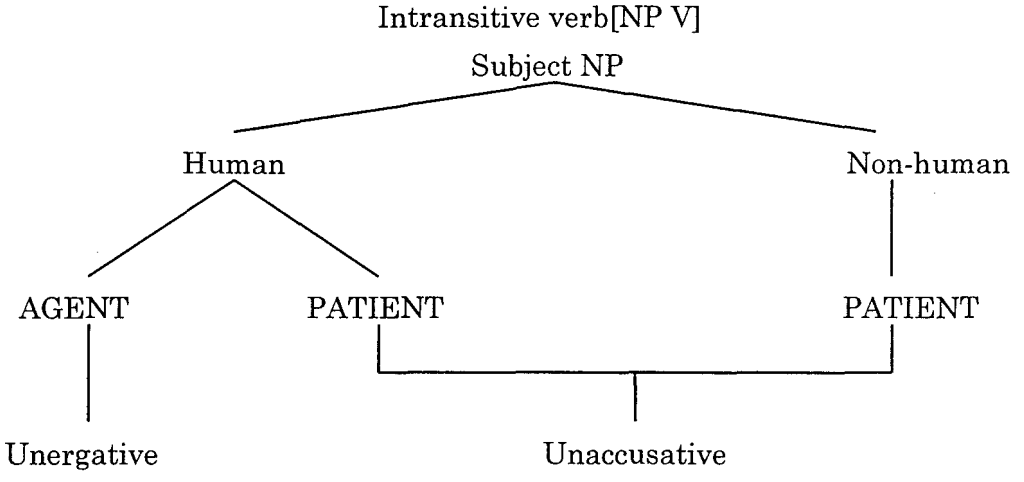
3.2.2 Root Verb Semantics

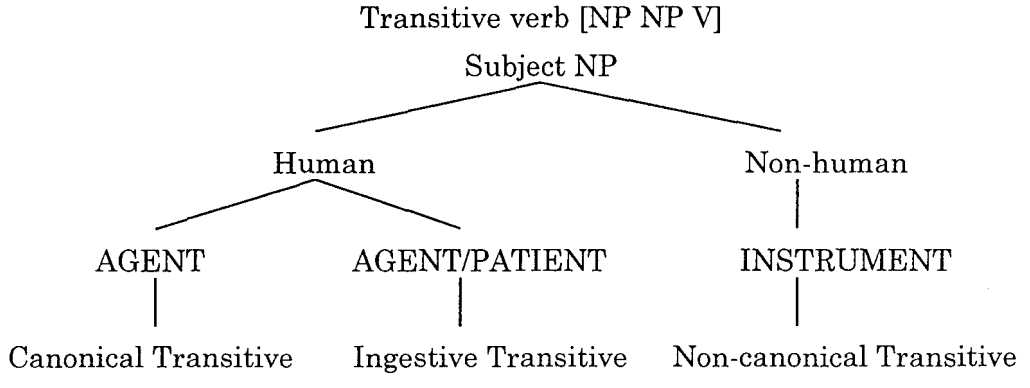
As pointed out by Masica (1991) verbal systems in Indo-Aryan languages are quite complex, and paradigms are made up of various combinations of inherited-synthetic, neo-synthetic/agglutinative, and so-called analytic elements. Let us take a brief look at the verbal category in Marathi.

In Marathi traditional grammars [Tarkhadkar (1899), Joshi (1900), Damle (1911)] transitivity is understood in notional terms. A verb is transitive if the activity denoted by it extends beyond the sphere of the subject, intransitive otherwise. For the sake of convenience, however, we will discuss the verbal system from the point of view of valance (the number of necessary arguments implied by a verb stem).

From the point of view of valence, intransitive verbs have one argument [NP V], while transitive have two [NP NP V]. The sole argument associated with intransitive verbs can be either human or non-human. The semantic role associated with human argument can be either AGENT or PATIENT, while in the case of non-humans it is always PATIENT. Intransitive verbs with agentive subjects are popularly known as unergative, while ones with patient subjects are known as unaccusatives. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, have two arguments that correspond to the grammatical relations subject and object. The subject of a canonical transitive clause is typically human, and the semantic role associated with it is AGENT. In South Asian languages, however, there is a small subset of transitive verbs popularly known as "ingestive", which have in common the semantic feature of

taking something into the body or mind literally or figuratively [Cf. Masica (1976)]. This class consists of verbs like EAT, DRINK, HEAR, SEE, LEARN, SMELL, LICK, etc. The subject of this class of verbs is both AGENT and PATIENT, since it is affected by the intake of stimuli. Let us summarize this discussion schematically.





The following are representative examples of each of the categories discussed above.

(3) a. rAm bas-l-A
Ram.M sit-PERF-M
'Ram sat.' [Unergative]

b. rAm buD-l-A
Ram.M drown-PERF-M
'Ram drowned.' [Unaccusative--human patient subject]

c. mI mantramugdha zA-l-o
1P.SG.M enchanted become-PERF-M
'I was enchanted.' [Unaccusative--human subject: psychological state]

d. kapDe wAL-l-e
cloths.N dry-PERF-N
The cloths dried.' [Unaccusative--non-human subject]

e. rAm-ne patra lihi-l-e
Ram-ERG letter.N write-PERF-N
'Ram wrote a letter.' [Canonical transitive--human subject]

f. rAm-ne ras pi-l-A
Ram-ERG juice.M drink-PERF-M
'Ram drank the juice.' [Transitive--ingestive]

g. gADI dhur soD-t-e
vehicle.F smoke.M release-PRES-F
'The vehicle gives out smoke.' [Transitive--non-human subject]

It should be noted that the ingestive verbs are syntactically transitive in that they take a direct object. However, they differ from canonical transitives in that the agent is affected by the activity denoted by the verb. With this background, let us explore how different verb classes behave with respect to causativization.

3.2.3 Root Verb Semantics & Form of a Causative Expression

In this section we will explore the correlations between root verb semantics and the possible forms of a causative expression in Marathi. Let us take up each of the verb

groups identified in the preceding section and note their causativization pattern.

3.2.3.1 Unaccusative Verbs

In the case of unaccusative verbs, the sole argument associated with the verb may or may not be a volitional entity, however, in either case it typically lacks control over the activity expressed by the verb. In the case of such verbs, the causer has no other choice but to physically manipulate the causee in order to bring about the caused event. The causer is thus directly involved in the caused event and the causee is affected resulting in a contactive causation. The causing event and the caused event in such cases overlap spacio-temporally. This contiguity of the causing and the caused event in space and time results in perceiving them as one event and are encoded accordingly. Causative expressions based on unaccusative verbs thus resemble a canonical transitive expression. In Marathi, such situations are typically encoded by synthetic causative forms. This is in consonance with an iconic correlation between the length of a causative form and the immediacy of causation suggested by Haiman (1985). Thus, causative expressions based on unaccusative verbs typically express "direct", "manipulative", "one-event" and "contactive" causation. Note the following pairs of unaccusative sentences and their corresponding causative counterparts.

(4) a. zAD jaL-l-a
tree.N burn-PERF-N
'The tree burnt.'

b. rAm-ne zAD jAL-l-a
Ram-ERG tree.N burn-PERF-N
'Ram burnt the tree.'

(5) a. kAgad phAT-l-A
paper.M tear-PERF-M
'The paper tore.'

b. rAm-ne kAgad phAD-l-A
Ram-ERG paper.M tear-PERF-M
'Ram tore the paper.'

(6) a. ArsA phuT-l-A
mirror.M break-PERF-M
'The mirror broke.'

b. rAm-ne ArsA phoD-l-A
Ram-ERG mirror.M break-PERF-M
'Ram broke the mirror.'

(7) a. khiDki ughaD-l-I
window.F open-PERF-F
'The window opened.'

b. rAm-ne khiDki ughaD-l-I
Ram-ERG window.F open-PERF-F
'Ram opened the window.'

(8) a. kapDe wAL-l-e
cloths.N dry-PERF-N
'The cloths dried.'

b. rAm-ne kapDe wAL-aw-l-e
Ram-ERG cloths.N dry-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram dried the cloths.'

(9) a. cahA gAr zA-l-A
tea.M cold become-PERF-M
'The tea became cold.'

b. rAm-ne cahA gAr ke-l-A

Ram-ERG tea.M cold do-PERF-M
'Ram made the tea cold.'

(10) a. rAm buD-l-A
Ram.M drown-PERF-M
'Ram drowned.'

b. shAm-ne rAm-lA buD-aw-l-a
Ram-ERG Ram-ACC drown-CAUS-PERF-N
'Sham drowned Ram.'

Examples (4) through (10) employ different morphological means to derive causative forms. Except for the class of homophonous verbs, the derived nature of causative forms in all other groups is overtly marked. Let us see whether unaccusative verbs yield analytic causatives--the coercive, the benefactive and the permissive--mentioned earlier.

Unaccusative verbs fail to yield coercive causatives since the sole argument associated with them is a non-volitional entity.

(11) a. *mI rAm-lA buD-AylA lAw-l-a
1P.SG.M Ram-ACC drown-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'I made Ram drown.'

b. *mI fulA-lA umal-AylA lAw-l-a
1P.SG.M flower-ACC bloom-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'I made the flower bloom.'

Unaccusative verbs also fail to yield benefactive causatives since they lack a theme over which the beneficiary/causer can exercise possessive control [Cf. Chapter 4 for details].

(12) *mI rAm-kaDUn buD-Un ghet-l-a
1P.SG.M Ram-by drown-CONJ take-PERF-N

'I benefited through Ram's drowning.'

Unaccusative verbs yield permissive causatives are shown below.

(13) a. mI rAm-lA buD-U di-l-a
1P.SG.M Ram-ACC drown-CONJ give-PERF-N
'I let Ram drown.'

b. mI kapDe wAL-U di-l-e
1P.SG.M cloths.N dry-CONJ give-PERF-N
'I let the cloths become dry.'

To sum up, unaccusative verbs yield manipulative and permissive causatives and fail to yield coercive and benefactive causatives. Let us now turn to unergative verbs.

3.2.3.2 Unergative Verbs

Unergative verbs have agentive subject. Owing to this, they yield coercive causatives as shown below.

(14) mI rAm-lA kholI-t bas-AylA lAw-l-a
1P.SG.M Ram-ACC room-in sit-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'I made Ram sit in the room.'

Unergative verbs, like unaccusatives, also yield contactive causatives. The contactive may convey physical manipulation if the subject for some reasons is perceived to temporarily lack control over the activity denoted by the verb. In such a case the subject is no longer an agent. A causative expression presuming such a situation reflects the change of status of the causee from agent to patient. In such cases unergative verbs behave like unaccusatives and yield manipulative causatives.

(15) a. rAm bas-l-A
Ram.M sit-PERF-M

'Ram sat.'

b. shAm-ne rAm-lA bas-aw-l-e
Sham-ERG Ram-ACC sit-CAUS-PERF-N
'Sham seated Ram.'

Note the contrast between (14) and (15b). The former is a "directive" causative while the latter is a "manipulative" causative.

It is interesting to note that in Marathi, even though the unergative verbs have an agentive subject, they still yield manipulative/contactive causation. In such cases the causee despite being an agent cannot exercise his own will freely. The causer exercises total control over the causative situation and must accompany the causee. Note the following example.

(16) a. rAm don kilomiTer paL-l-A
Ram.M two kilo meter run-PERF-M
'Ram ran two kilo meter.'

b. shAm-ne rAm-lA don kilomiTer paL-aw-l-e
Sham-ERG Ram-ACC two kilo meter run-CAUS-PERF-N
'Sham made Ram run two kilo meters.'

c. *shAm-ne rAm-lA don kilomiTer paL-aw-l-e
Sham-ERG Ram-ACC two kilo meter run-CAUS-PERF-N
paN shAm rAm-barobar paL-l-A nAhI
but Sham.M Ram-with run-PERF-M not
'Sham made Ram run two kilo meters but he did not run with Ram.'

In the case of unergative verbs like LAUGH and CRY both manipulative as well as associative reading are possible depending on the context as shown below.

(17) a. rAm has-l-A
Ram.M laugh-PERF-M

'Ram laughed.'

b. shAm-ne rAm-lA gudgulyA/nakkal kar-Un
Sham-ERG Ram-ACC tickling/mime do-CONJ
has-aw-l-e
laugh-CAUS-PERF-N
'Sham made Ram laugh by tickling him/performing a mime.'

Thus in Marathi, unergative verbs also yield manipulative/contactive causation. Let us see how unergatives behave with respective to permissive and benefactive causatives. Unergative verbs yield permissive causatives but fail to yield benefactive causation as shown below.

(18) mI rAm-lA bas-U di-l-a
1P.SG.M Ram-DAT sit-CONJ give-PAST-N
'I let Ram sit.'

(19) *mI rAm-kaDUn bas-Un ghet-l-a
1P.SG.M Ram-by sit-CONJ take-PERF-N
'I benefited through Ram's sitting.'

Let us now turn to the canonical transitive verbs and explore how they behave with respect to causativization.

3.2.3.3 Canonical Transitive Verbs

Since the canonical transitive verbs have human, agentive subject they yield coercive causatives and typically fail to yield manipulative causatives as shown below.

(20) rAm-ne shAm-lA patra lih-AylA lAw-l-a
Ram-ERG Sham-DAT letter.N write-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'Ram made Sham write a letter.'

(21) * rAm-ne shAm-lA patra lih-aw-l-e
Ram-ERG Sham-DAT letter.N write-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram assisted Sham in writing a letter.'

It is interesting to note that in Marathi canonical transitive verbs also yield contactive causation. In such cases the causer excecises total control over the causative situation. The causee despite being agentive cannot enjoy freedom to exercise his own will. Also note that the causer has to be in contact with the causee in such cases as exemplified below.

(22) a. mI Ram-kaDUn kholI sAf kar-aw-l-I
1P.SG.M Ram-by clean.F clean do-CAUS-PERF-F
'I had Ram clean the room.'

b. * mI ek tAs bAher firAylA gelo ANI tyA weLAt
1P.SG.M one hour out walk went and during that time
Ram-kaDUn kholI sAf kar-aw-l-I
Ram-by clean.F clean do-CAUS-PERF-F
'I went for a walk for one hour and during that time had
Ram clean the room.'

Let us see how transitive verbs behave with respect to benefactive causation. Unlike intransitive verbs, canonical transitive verbs contain a direct object which can come in possession of the beneficiary/causer and yield benefactive causation.

(23) a. mI Ram-kaDUn kholI sAf kar-Un ghet-l-I
1P.SG.M Ram-by room.F clean do-CONJ take-PERF-F
'I got the room cleand by Ram.'

b. mI ek tAs bAher firAylA gelo ANI tyA weLAt
1P.SG.M one hour out walk went and during that time
Ram-kaDUn kholI sAf kar-Un ghet-l-I
Ram-by clean.F clean do-CONJ take-CAUS-PERF-F

'I went for a walk for one hour and during that time got the room cleaned by Ram.'

Note the contrast between (22a) and (23a): the latter implies benefcative meaning while the former does not. The fomer sound natural if the causee happens to be the employee of the causer while the latter is preferred when the causer does not exercise authoritative control over the causee. Note the following contrast.

(24) a. mI winantI kar-Un Ram-kaDUn kholI sAf
1P.SG.M request do-CONJ Ram-by room.F clean
kar-Un ghet-l-I
do-CONJ take-PERF-F
'I got the room cleaned by Ram by requesting him.'

b. * mI winantI kar-Un Ram-kaDUn kholI sAf
1P.SG.M request do-CONJ Ram-by room.F clean
kar-aw-l-I
do-CAUS-PERF-F
'I got the room cleaned by Ram by requesting him.'

In the modern language the above-mentioned distinction is fading away. The benefactive forms are gaining ground and are preferred in either case. Let us now see how the canonical transitives behave with respect to permissive causation. Like intransitive verbs, canonical transitive also yield permissive causation as shown below.

(25) mI rAm-lA patra lih-U di-l-e
1P.SG.M Ram-DAT letter.N write-CONJ give-PERF-N
'I let Ram write a letter.'

In the foregoing sections we have seen the causativization patterns of the intransitive--unergative as well as unaccusative and canonical transitive verbs. The causativization pattern is summarized in the table below.

(26)

	Intransitive		Canonical Transitive
	Unaccusative	Unergative	
Permissive	○	○	○
Contactive	○	○	○
Coercive	×	○	○
Benefactive	×	×	○

From the above table it is clear that only the benefactive causation provides a clear cut diagnostic test for adjudging syntactic transitivity of a verb. With this correlation between root verb semantics and the form of a causative in mind let us see the behaviour of ingestive verbs which are transitive syntactically. The behaviour of the ingestive verbs with respect to causativization will justify whether transitivity in its realtionship to causatives should be understood in polar syntactic or scalar semantic terms.

3.2.3.4 Ingestive Verbs

In South Asian languages, there is a small subset of transitive popularly known as "ingestive" verbs which share a semantic feature viz. taking something into the body or mind, literally or figuratively [Cf. Masica (1976)]. This class includes verbs like EAT, DRINK, HEAR, SEE, SMELL, LICK and LEARN. In the case of ingestives, the subject is both AGENT and PATIENT--affected by the intake of stimuli. These verbs are syntactically transitive in that they take a direct object as an argument. The fact that the subject assumes a dual role of AGENT and PATIENT has repercussions on

their pattern of causativization. As the ingestive verbs have an agentive subject they typically yield coercive causation. The permissive and contactive causatives do not provide any conclusive test since both transitive and intransitive verbs yield permissives and contactive/manipulative. Note the following examples.

(27) a. tyA-ne bhAt kha-ll-A
2P.SG.M-ERG rice.M eat-PERF-M
'He ate rice.'

b. rAm-ne tyA-lA bhAt bhar-aw-l-A
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-DAT rice.M feed-PERF-M
'Ram fed him rice.'

c. rAm-ne tyA-lA bhAt khA-ylA lAw-l-A
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-DAT rice.M eat-PTCPL make-PERF-M
'Ram made him eat rice.'

d. rAm-ne tyA-lA bhAt khA-U di-l-A
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-DAT rice.M eat-CONJ give-PERF-M
'Ram let him eat the rice.'

(28) a. tyA-ne sinemA pAhi-l-A
2P.SG.M-ERG cinema.M see-PERF-M
'He saw the movie.'

b. rAm-ne tyA-lA sinemA dAkh-aw-l-A
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-DAT cinema.M show-PERF-M
'Ram showed him the movie.'

c. rAm-ne tyA-lA sinemA pAh-AylA lAw-l-A
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-DAT cinema.M see-PTCPL make-PERF-M
'Ram made him see the movie.'

d. rAm-ne tyA-lA sinemA pAh-U di-l-A
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-DAT cinema.M see-CONJ give-PERF-M
'Ram let him see the movie.'

(29) a. to sangit shik-l-A
2P.SG.M music learn-PERF-M
'He learnt music.'

b. rAm-ne tyA-lA sangit shik-aw-l-a
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-ACC music.N learn-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram taught him music.'

c. rAm-ne tyA-lA sangit shik-AylA lAw-l-a
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-ACC music.N learn-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'Ram made him learn music.'

d. rAm-ne tyA-lA sangit shik-U di-l-a
Ram-ERG 2P.SG.M-ACC music.N learn-CONJ give-PERF-N
'Ram let him learn music.'

The most conclusive test is the benefactive causative in that transitive verbs pass it while intransitive verbs typically fail it. Let us see how the ingestives behave with respect to the benefactive causation.

(30) a. *mI rAm-kaDUn bhAt khA-Un ghet-l-A
1P.SG.M Ram-by rice.M eat-CONJ take-PERF-M
'I was benefited by Ram eating rice.'

b. * mI rAm-kaDUn sinemA pAh-Un ghet-l-A
1P.SG.M Ram-by cinema.M watch-CONJ take-PERF-M
'I was benefited through Ram watching a movie.'

It is clear from the above examples that ingestive verbs have a dual personality. On

the one hand, they behave like transitive verbs yielding coercive causatives. On the other hand, they behave like intransitive verbs--failing to yield benefactive causatives. Ingestive verbs thus pose a challenge to understanding transitivity in syntactic terms i.e. based on presence or absence of an object. The notion of syntactic transitivity fails to explain why ingestive verbs should behave like intransitive verbs and fail to yield benefactive causatives. Under semantic interpretation of transitivity the behaviour of ingestive verbs is no longer a mystery. The notion of semantic transitivity is not a dichotomy but rather a continuum. In Marathi we find a continuum of transitivity with intransitive and transitive verbs as its extreme points and ingestive verbs lying mid-way. This continuum of semantic transitivity reflects the one proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980). Ingestive verbs despite being syntactically transitive have affected subject. Further, the activity denoted by ingeative verbs is typically confined to the sphere of agent himself. Hence they behave like intransitives with respect to causativization--typically failing to yield benefactive causation. It is noteworthy that neither passive nor benefactive expressions based on ingestive verbs are permitted in Marathi [Cf. Chapter 2 and Chapter 4]. All these phenomena lend strong support to the claim made in Shibatani (1998b) that transitivity--at least in its relationship to voice--should be understood in semantic, rather than syntactic terms. With this we conclude our discussion on the correlations between root verb semantics and the form of a causative expressions and proceed to our next goal viz. an alternative analysis of the Marathi causatives. Before that a critical review of the past analyses is in order.

3.3 Review of the Past Analyses

The causative construction has been the focus of attention in the Marathi traditional grammars as well as modern linguistic analyses. In this section we will provide a brief review of previous analyses and argue that they are unable to provide a unified account of the Marathi causative. For the sake of convenience, we will review traditional grammars and modern linguistic analyses separately.

3.3.1 Traditional Grammars

The notion of causation has been extensively dealt with in Marathi traditional grammars such as Tarkhadkar (1899), Beams (1871), Kher (1899), Joshi (1900), and Damle (1911). In this section we will provide a brief sketch of the traditional treatments.

Tarkhadkar (op. cit.:162, translation mine) defines causative verb as the one in which the agent of the act denoted by the root verb acquires secondary importance as he acts as per the directions of someone else viz. the subject of the clause as in *kar-awi-Ne* 'get something done through someone', *kAp-aw-Ne* 'get something cut through someone'. Regarding the so-called double causatives Tarkhadkar observes that in Marathi, causative verbs derived by adding the causative suffix *aw* can be causativized further by addition of the same suffix as in *kar-Ne→kar-aw-Ne→kar-waw-Ne* (to do something→to get something done through someone→to have someone to get something done through someone) however such **double causatives are rarely used and its use depends on the speakers will** (emphasis supplied).

Beams (1871, reprinted in 1970) in his extensive survey of verbal paradigm in Aryan languages observes (op.cit. Vol III : 77):

Causals may be formed from every verb in the language, whether neuter, active, active or passive intransitive. The meaning of the causal differs, of course, according to that of the simple verb. Those formed from simple neuters or active intransitives are generally merely actives in sense, as bas "sit" →basaw "seat", miL "meet" → miLaw "mix", nij "sleep" →nijaw "put to sleep", "soothe". Those formed from actives are causal in meaning, as mAr "strike" →mAraw "cause to strike", shik "teach" → shikaw "cause to teach". Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as fir "turn" →firaw "cause to be turned", kaT "be cut" →kaTaw "cause to be cut". [7]

Regarding causal verbs derived by internal vowel and/or consonant change discussed earlier Beams (op. cit.: 78) observes that:

....the active form, with long vowel in the stem syllable, may be regarded as a causal.

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[7] The glosses provided by Beams for *shik* "teach" →*shikaw* "cause to teach" are wrong and should rather be "learn" and "teach" respectively.

In fact, it might be said, looking at the matter with reference to meaning, that the modern languages have two ways of forming the causal, one in which the short vowel of the stem is lengthened, the other in which a or some other suffix is added. Looking at it another way with reference to form, the division which I have adopted commends itself, the form with a long vowel in the stem being regarded as actives, those with added syllable as causals. In point of derivation, however, both forms are causals....

From the foregoing explanation it is clear that transitive verbs are treated as actives and not causal under Beams analysis.

Kher (1899: 84) defines causative as folllows:

The causal verbs express that action denoted by the verb, is not directly done by the agent but by some indirect agency as, bAndh-awi-le (got built through someone), kar-awi-le (got done through someone). [emphasis original, glosses supplied]

Kher (op. cit.: 85) makes a distinction between transitive and causative verbs: *shik-Ne* (learn) → *shik-aw-Ne* (teach) vs. *shikaw-Ne* (teach) → *shikaw-aw-Ne* (teach through someone). The derived verb in the former case is a transitive while that in the latter is a causative verb.

Joshi (1900) defines causatives in formal terms. He mentions that if causative verbs are derived from intransitive roots, they become **transitive** (op. cit.: 230) as in: *mul nij-te* 'The boy sleeps' → *AI mulA-s nij-aw-te* 'The mother puts the child to sleep' [emphasis and glosses supplied]. Joshi treats the verbs derived from intransitive counterpart through internal vowel and/or consonant change as causatives and clarifies that properly speaking they should be called as derived transitive as in *mar-Ne* 'die' → *mAr-Ne* 'kill' and mentions that causals are formed from these derived roots as in *mAr-Ne* 'kill' → *mAr-aw-Ne* 'to kill someone through somebody' (op. cit.: 232).

Damle (1911:149), like his predecessors, defines causatives as the verbs which imply that the agent of the root verb does not do the act denoted by it by himself but does it at the direction of someone else as in:

(31) krishNA-ne bhimA-kaDUn jarAsandhA-s mAr-aw-l-e
Krishna-ERG Bhim-by Jarasandh-ACC kill-CAUS-PERF-N
'Krishna had Jarasandha killed by Bhim.'

To summarize, traditional analyses under the influence of ancient Sanskrit grammarians envision causation as: THE ACTIVITY OF APPOINTING OR EMPLOYING AN AGENCY TO GET A CERTAIN TASK DONE [Cardona (1967) as quoted in Wali (1981), emphasis original]. All of them thus make a distinction between **active** and **causal** verbs. Transitive verbs, under their analyses, are merely **active** and not **causal**. Thus causative verbs are derived form transitive verbs and should be directive/non-contactive. However, the traditional treatments are inconsistent in that all of them treat verbs derived form intransitive bases through internal vowel and/or consonant change (e.g. *paD-Ne* 'fall' → *pAD-Ne* 'fell', *fAT-Ne* 'tear by itself' → *fAD-Ne* 'to tear', *dab-Ne* 'be pressed' → *dAb-Ne* 'to press', *fit-Ne* 'be paid off' → *feD-Ne* 'to pay off', *fuT-Ne* 'break' → *foD-Ne* 'break' etc.) as **causal** and not **transitive/active**. Form this we can deduce that the traditional grammarians are intutively making a distinction between "contactive", "manipulative" and "distant", "directive" causation and recognizing both as a part of causative semantics. The traditional treatments are inadequate at both descriptive and explanatory levels. In addition they are plagued with more fundamental problems. The discussion on the problems related with traditional treatments is postponed until section 3.3.3. Let us turn to the modern linguistic descriptions.

3.3.2 Modern Linguistic Descriptions

In this section we will give a brief sketch of Modern linguistic descriptions pertaining to Marathi causatives.

Masica (1976) in his extensive areal typological survey analyses **morphological** causatives in Indian languages in the framework proposed in Kholodovich (1969). There are two levels of causals: first and second. The former are derived from both intransitives and basic transitives, and the latter as further extensions of the former as in: *bas-*'sit'/*bas-aw-*'seat'/*bas-waw-*'cause to seat'. The first causatives derived from intransitive verbs are contactive while those derived form transtive verbs are non-

contactive. Masica's analysis precludes analytic causative altogether.

Wali (1979) rejects the first and second causative analysis adopted by in the traditional grammarians as well as Masica (1976) and classifies Marathi causatives into two categories on the basis of their surface syntactic features viz. i-causatives and t-causatives. The former are contactive while the latter are non-contactive. Under her analysis, the i-causatives and basic transitives have identical surface structure representation as shown below:

i-causative

(32) mini-ne shAm-lA khup has-aw-l-e
Mini-ERG Sham-ACC lot laugh-CAUS-PERF-N
'Mini caused Sham to laugh a lot.' (Wali op. cit: 414)

Basic Transitive

(33) mini-ne shAm-lA ucal-l-e
Mini-ERG Sham-ACC lift-PERF-N
'Mini lifted Sham.' (Wali op. cit: 415)

It should be noted that even though transitive verbs and i-causative are structurally identical not all transitive verbs imply causative meaning e.g. KNOW, SAY etc.

The t-causatives, on the other hand, are derived from i-causatives or basic transitives and share a identical surface structure as shown below:

t-causative based on i-causative

(34) mini-ne lili-kaDUn shAm-lA khalI bas-w-aw-l-e
Mini-ERG Lili-by Sham-ACC down sit-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-N
'Mini had Lili cause Sham to sit down.' (Wali op. cit.: 416)

t-causatives based on basic transitive

(35) mini-ne lili-kaDUn shAm-lA war ucal-aw-l-e
Mini-ERG Lili-by Sham-ACC up lift-CAUS-PERF-N
'Mini caused Lili to lift Sham up.' (Wali op. cit.: 416)

Wali further claims that the Marathi causatives can potentially take an infinite number of mediator NP's, though in practice it is limited to at most two. Each addition of the mediator requires further inflection of the verb form by *aw*. The role of each NP, according to Wali, is specifically marked by the accompanying postposition; *ne* marks the prime agent, *lA* the recipient, *kaDUn* the first mediator, *dwArA* the second mediator and *tarfe* the third mediator. The prime agent and the recipient are the most essential of all NP's and together they form the minimal causal chain in the i-causatives. Wali claims that all causatives in Marathi should be derived from the complex structure and analogical rules should be incorporated in the grammar to account for the apparent anomalies/counter examples.

Wali (1981: 290) while maintaining the claim that all causatives are underlying complex rejects the analogical solution adopted earlier in Wali (1979) since it fails to account for IO duplication in causative clauses as simple structures in languages rarely allow two IOs. Wali (op.cit.: 295) maintains that Marathi has rarely found higher level causatives which are not commonly used but have been reported in grammar books and are also readily accepted by native speakers and as such provide *prima facie* evidence for considering them as part of native speaker's linguistic competence. According to Wali the number of causees is reported to go up to three in practice and she suspects the causee chain to be potentially and theoretically infinite. Addressing the issue of causee's case marking Wali criticizes purely syntactic approach such as Comrie (1976) and a purely semantic approach like Cole (1976) for determining the case marking of the causee and argues for a semantic-pragmatic account. Wali advocates the account of causatives proposed by the ancient Indian grammarians of the Paninian school. According to these grammarians the primary meaning of the causal morpheme is: THE ACTIVITY OF APPOINTING OR EMPLOYING AN AGENCY TO GET A CERTAIN TASK DONE (Cardona 1967, emphasis original). Wali (op.cit.:303) claims that causativity appears to be a special type of activity which differs from ordering, telling, and even coercing. According to Sanskrit grammarians a causal verb expresses two activities: the base activity denoted by the verb root and the causation denoted by the affix. They make a distinction between the agent of the base activity, the *KARTRU* and the agent of the causation, the *HETU*. The former is also called as the *PRAYUJYA* (a mediator or a causee) while the latter is also referred as the *PRAYOJAK* (a planner). The *Hetu* is a

principal agent while the *Kartru* is the subsidiary agent. Wali relegates the cuasee's role in a causative situation (and thus the case marking) to **inherent mode of causation** (emphasis supplied). Thus, the abstract contactive/non-contactive causation determines the status of the causee. In contactive causation the causer is directly involved in bringing about the action and thus the causee is merely a patient appropriately represented by the object category. In the non-contactive causation the causer does not directly participate in the action. The role of a causer in such a case is that of a super planner or director which is modified as an employer, instructor, or a permitter depending on the **nuances of various verbs** (emphasis supplied). The role of the causee is then modified accordingly.

Alsina & Joshi (1991) offer an Lexical-Functional account of causatives and argue that in Marathi only the verbs containing "affected argument" are amenable to causativization. The basis for adjudging an affected argument is base verb semantics. According to them unergative verbs typically fail to undergo causativization. Alsina & Joshi clarify that the standard distinction between the unergatives and unacuusatives proposed in Perlmutter (1978) does not match exactly to the distinction they propose. They cite verbs like 'speak', 'run', 'scream' and 'swim' as the verbs which do not contain an affected argument which fail to yield causatives. This observation, however, is not empirically supported. Out of the above mentioned verbs 'run' yields morphological causative and rest yield analytical coercive causatives. With the logic proposed by them verbs like 'say' and 'walk' should also be treated as unergatives and should fail to yield causatives however contrary to their prediction both the verbs yield morphological cusatives. The class of psychological verbs like get angry, feel hungry etc. contain a affected argument but do not yield causatives.

To summarize, the modern analyses are carried out in different frameworks and unlike traditional grammars treat transitive verbs as causative if they entail causal meaning. Masica (1976) adopts Kholodovichian and makes a distinction between "contactive" and "distant" causatives: the former imply a direct contact between the causer and the causee while in the latter involve an intermediary intervening between the causer and the causee. Wali (1979) proposes bipartite distinction of the causative viz. i-causative and t-causative which respectively corresponds to Kholodovichian "contactive" and "distant" causation. Wali (1981) proposes EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE relationship between the causer and the causee

which gets modified according to inherent mode of causation and nuances of the root verb. Alsina & Joshi (1991) capture the "contactive" vs. "distant" distinction in terms of alternate realizations of the base subject--as an object in the former and an oblique in the latter--and relate it to the semantics of the causative predicate. The common denominator in all these analyses is dichotomic involvement of the causer--direct or indirect which is correlated with either the base verb semantics or with more abstract mode of causation **in isolation** without any regard for the causer's perspective--purpose/reason of causation.

3.3.3 Problems Related with the Past Analyses

In the foregoing sections we provided a brief review of the past analyses. In this section we will discuss problems related with them and argue that they are unable to provide a comprehensive unified account of the Marathi causative.

The past analyses--traditional as well as modern--envision causation as **monolithic** phenomenon having a **unitary purpose** viz. execution of the caused event and make a crucial refernce to the notion of contact. The two central entities in a causative situation--the causer and the causee--are in contact either directly or indirectly. They describe that in order to execute the caused event the causer may get involved into the caused event directly or employ an agency for it. The former results in a direct contact while the latter in a indirect contact. In the case of former the causee is affected while in the latter case the causee in not affected. The affectedness of the causee is relegated to abstract mode of causation or to the root verb semantics **in isolation**. This begs a question: What makes the causer to choose a particular mode of causation or what makes the causer to opt for a particular kind of "involvement" in a causative situation? All the past analyses fail to address this fundamental issue. The causer is the most central entity in a cuasative situation and brings about it with a specific purpose in mind. We refer this as the causer's perspective. The past analyses have failed to fully explicate the notion of causer's perspective. The past analyses are thus misleading and put severe limitations on our understanding of causative phenomena. Furthermore, the failure to fully explicate the causer's perspective has resulted in fragmentary analyses which are inadequate at both descriptive and explanatory level. In light of this we will provide a

comprehensive, unified account of the Marathi causative explicating fully the notion of causer's perspective in a causative situation and its repercussions on the form of a causative expression in combination with the root verb semantics.

3.4 An Alternative Analysis

As pointed out earlier, the past analyses have failed to fully explicate the most fundamental and crucial issue viz. the purpose of causation in the mind of the causer. The past analyses--traditional as well as modern--envision causation as **monolithic** phenomenon having a **unitary purpose** viz. execution of the caused event. We claim that causation is **not monolithic** phenomenon and there can be **multifarious purposes/reasons** associated with causation. The involvement of the causer in the causative event varies according to the purpose of causation in the mind of causer. To put it the other way, the purpose of causation determines the "type" of involvement of the causer. Further, in deciding the purpose of causation, the root verb semantics plays a crucial role in that it offers the causee's perspective--whether the causee is agentive or patientive. We claim that the subtle interplay between the causer's perspective--purpose/reason of causation--and the causee's perspective--root verb semantics-- together determine the form a causative expression. In the comprehensive alternative analysis of the Marathi causative to be presented here, we address the following fundamental issues: (a) the domain of causativization--what kind of verbs are amenable to causativization, (b) the causer's perspective--purpose/reason of causation, and (c) the repercussions of the combination of the causer's perspective--purpose/reason of causation--and the causee's perspective--root verb semantics--on the form of a causative expression. The alternative analysis presented here does not discriminate one form over other and encompasses synthetic as well as analytic forms.

3.4.1 Domain of causativization

The first issue that needs to be addressed is what kind of verbs are amenable to causativization. As mentioned earlier, a causative situation involves two events--the causing event and the caused event--which are related through a causal relationship.

By definition, the realization of a caused event, is wholly dependent on the causing event and in the case of Marathi causation must be intentional/deliberate. In this sense, the causing event exercises **control** over the occurrence of the caused event. In Marathi accidental causation or causatives with inanimate causers are barred as shown below.

(36) rAm-ne (*cukUn) kAc foD-l-I
Ram-ERG (by mistake) glass.F break-PERF-F
'Ram broke the glass (*by mistake).'

(37) rAm-cyA hAt-Un kAc fuT-l-I/* foD-l-I
Ram-of hand-from glass.F break-PERF-F
Lit. 'The glass broke at the hands of Ram.'

(38) a. wAryA-cyA zotA-ne kAc fuT-l-I/*foD-l-I
wind-of blow-INSTR glass break-PERF-F
A. 'The gloss was broken by the blow of the wind'
B. * 'The blow of the wind broke the glass.'

b. * wAryA-cyA zot kAc foD-t-o
wind-of blow.M glass break-PRES-M
'The blow of the wind breaks the glass.'

(39) a.unhA-ne kapDe wAL-l-e/*wAL-aw-l-e
sun shine-INSTR cloths.N dry-PERF-N/dry-CAUS-PERF-N
A. 'The cloths dried due to the sun shine.'
B. * 'The sun shine dried the cloths.'

b. *un kapDe wAL-aw-t-e
sun shine.N cloths dry-CAUS-PRES-N
'The sun shine dries the cloths.'

From the above examples it is clear that Marathi presupposes intentionality on the

part of the causer and thus the causer has to be volitional human. It follows then that if the activity or state denoted by the root verb is **uncontrollable** i.e. cannot be realized/brought about by the causer, the verb should fail to undergo causativization. This prediction is borne out as shown in the following examples:

(40) a. rAm-lA ambA AwaD-l-A
Ram-DAT mango.M like-PAST-M
'Ram liked the mango.'

b. *shAm-ne rAm-lA ambA AwaD-aw-l-A
Sham-ERG Ram-ACC mango.M like-CAUS-PAST-M
'Sham made Ram like the mango.'

(41) a. rAm-lA koT shobh-Un dis-t-o
Ram-DAT coat.M suit-CONJ be visible-PRES-M
'The coat suits Ram.'

b. *shAm-ne rAm-lA koT shobh-Un dAkhaw-l-A
Sham-ERG Ram-DAT coat.M suit-CONJ show-PERF-M
Lit. 'Sham made Ram suit the coat.'

Having identified the domain of causativizable verbs, let us now turn to a crucial issue that has repercussions for the form of a causative expression. Masica (1976), Wali (1981), and Alsina & Joshi (1991) account for the variation in the grammatical form of the causative expression in terms of root verb semantics. Although the root verb semantics effectively captures the causee's perspective--affectedness of the causee and its reflection on the form--it fails to accommodate the causer's perspective--the purpose/reason of causation which translates into a particular type of involvement of the causer in the causal activity. Let us take a close look at the causer's perspective in causation.

3.4.2 The Causer's Perspective: Purpose/Reason of Causation

The previous analyses perceive causal activity to be associated with a unitary purpose viz. bringing about the caused event and relate it to unitary "involvement" of the causer--either direct or indirect. They fail to fully explicate the causer's perspective--the most central entity in a causal activity. This is the most fundamental problem which puts severe limitations on our understanding of the causative phenomena. We claim that the purpose/reason associated with the causative event can be multifarious and causer's involvement in the caused event varies with it. In other words, the purpose/reason associated with causation in the mind of the causer determines the type of involvement of the causer in the causative event. The root verb semantics offers the causee's perspective--whether the causee is agentive or patientive. We claim that the causer's perspective in combination with the causer's perspective ultimately determine the form of the causative expression.

The causer may **actively** bring about the caused event for various reasons such as self benefit or the benefit of others (including the causee), to help the causee, to punish the causee or to assert his authority over the causee or simply for the sake of execution of the caused event etc. or may **passively** refrain from indulging into the caused event for reasons such as frustration, apathy/indifference or not to dishearten the causee etc. The root verb semantics offers details of the caused event depending on which the causer has his options to choose a particular purpose. This in turn determines the type of involvement of the causer in the causative event and ultimately the form of the causative expression. The failure of the past analyses to fully explicate the notion of causer involvement which is closely related with the purpose/reason of causation in the mind of the causer has led them to ignore various forms of causation. We will demonstrate below with ample illustrations that Marathi grammar provides for different linguistic forms to reflect the subtle interplay between the causee's perspective--root verb semantics and the causer's perspective--purpose/reason of causation.

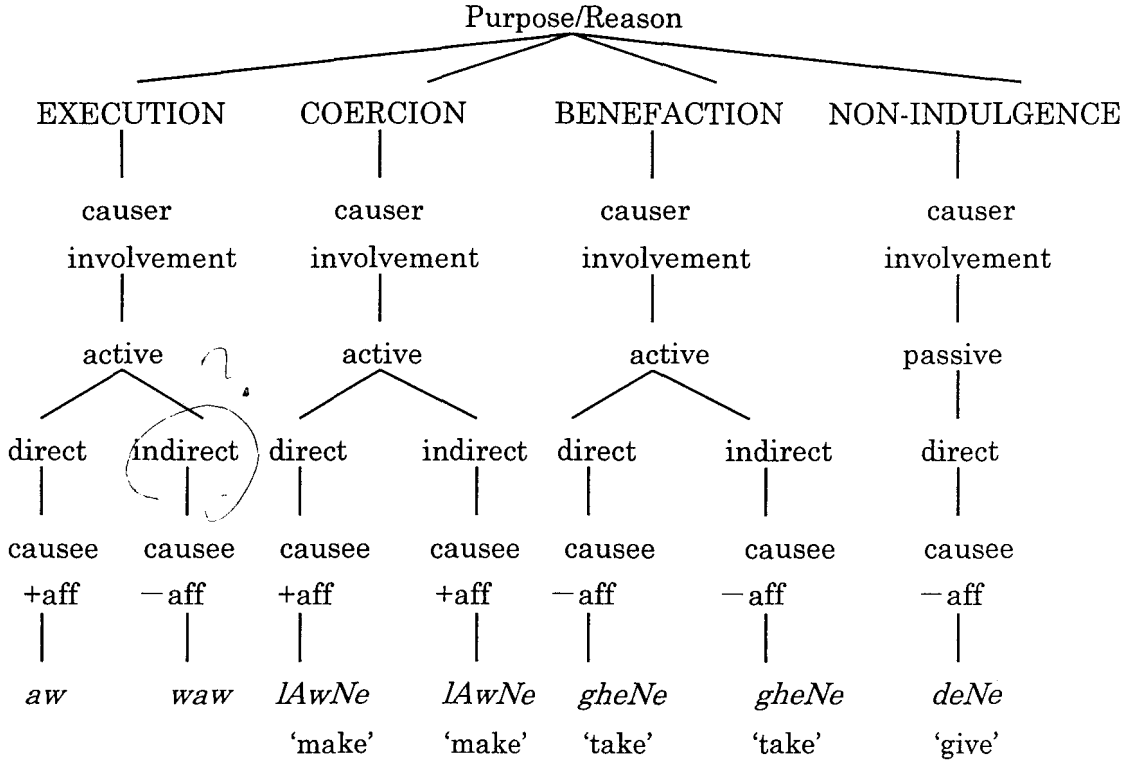
3.4.3 The Form of a Causative Expression

A causative situation, by definition, involves two events--a causing event and a caused event--and the causation should be intentional/deliberate in the case of Marathi. Two central entities involved in a causative situation are the causer and the

causee. As Marathi imposes deliberateness condition, the causer should be volitional human acting intentionally. The causee, on the other hand, may or may not be human. Further, Marathi allows for multiple mediators/intermediaries which can intervene between the prime causer and the recipient causee. The prime causer and the recipient causee form the minimal causal chain.

As seen earlier, there are multifarious purposes/reasons for which the causer **actively** brings about the caused event or **passively** refrains from indulging into the caused event. This determines the causer's involvement in the causal activity. The purpose of causation in the mind of the causer may be benefaction--self or others (including the causee), to help the causee, to punish the causee or to assert his authority over the causee or simply to execute the caused event etc. In all such cases the causer is actively involved in the causative event. On the other hand, the causer may show reluctance toward the causative event for reasons such as frustration, apathy/indifference or not to dishearten the causee etc. In such cases the causer's involvement in the causative event is passive. For convenience sake, we divide the causation purposes/reasons into four categories viz. EXECUTION, COERCION, BENEFACTION, and NON-INDULGENCE. These labels are used only for expository purpose and subsume under them various purposes/reasons e.g. NON-INDULGENCE subsumes reasons like indifference, frustration, consideration etc. EXECUTION, COERCION, BENEFACTION imply active causer involvemnet while NON-INDULGENCE imply passive causer involvement. The foregoing discussion is schematically summarized below.

(42)



We will substantiate our claim providing concrete examples of each of the category mentioned above. Let us begin with EXECUTION category. In this type of causatives the causer's purpose is simply to ensure the execution of the caused event. The causer may act on the causee directly or may recruit an agency for the execution of the caused event. Marathi provides for different forms to express the direct vs. indirect involvement of the causer as shown below.

(43) a. rAm-ne kapDe wAL-aw-l-e
Ram-ERG cloths.N dry-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram dried the cloths.'

b. rAm-ne shAm-kaDUn kapDe wAL-w-aw-l-e
Ram-ERG Sham-by cloths.N dry-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram got the cloths dried through Sham.'

The *aw* form expresses direct involvement of the causer and contrasts with *waw* forms which express indirect involvement of the causer. It should be noted that direct involvement does not necessarily mean physical manipulation of the causee as in (43a). Direct involvement means that the causer and the causee are in contact or in other words the causing and the caused event overlap spacio-temporally and hence perceived as one-event. Note the following contrast.

(44) a. rAm-ne majur-An-kaDUN kAm kar-aw-l-e
Ram-ERG labourer-PL-by work.N do-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram had the labourers do the work.'

b. * rAm-ne majur-An-kaDUN tin tAs kAm
Ram-ERG labourer-PL-by three hour work.N
kar-aw-l-e anI tyA weLa-t tyA-ne
do-CAUS-PERF-N and that time-in he-ERG
sinemA pAhi-l-A
cinema.M watch-PERF-M
'Ram had the labourers do the work for three hours and during that time he watched a movie.'

c. rAm-ne shAm-kaDUn majur-An-karwI kAm
Ram-ERG Sham-by labourer-PL-at the hands work.N
kar-w-aw-l-e
do-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram had Sham get the work done through the labourers.'

d. rAm-ne shAm-kaDUn majur-An-karwI tin
Ram-ERG Sham-by labourer-PL-at the hands three
tAs kAm kar-w-aw-l-e anI tyA weLa-t
hours work.N do-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-N and that time-in
tyA-ne sinemA pAhi-l-A
he-ERG cinema.M watch-PERF-M
'Ram had Sham get the work done through the labourers for three

hours and during that time he watched a movie.'

In the case of (44a) the causer viz. Ram has to be physically present at the work site otherwise the sentence turns out be ungrammatical as shown in (44b). On the other hand, in the case of (44c) the causer cannot be present at the work site as shown in (44d) [Also Cf. (16b, c), (22a, b)]. Let us turn now to COERCION category.

The coercive causatives, unlike EXECUTION type, use a auxiliary verb viz. *lAwNe* 'lit. to attach' which is grammaticalized and conveys the sense of coercion. For coercion, the causee has to be human and agentive. Thus COERCION causatives preclude verbs with non-agentive subjects. The causer can directly coerce the causee or compel the mediator to coerce the causee. The former is direct coercion while the latter is indirect coercion. Note the following contrast.

(45) a. mI rAm-lA kholI-t bas-AylA lAw-l-a
1P.SG.M Ram-ACC room-in sit-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'I made Ram sit in the room.'

b. mI shAm-lA rAm-lA kholI-t bas-AylA
1P.SG.M Sham-ACC Ram-ACC room-in sit-PTCPL
lAw-l-a
make-PERF-N
'I made Sham to make Ram sit in the room.'

It is interesting to note the iconic correlation between the length of the causative form and the immediacy of causation. The EXECUTION types are perceived as one-event formations while COERCIVE type are perceived as two-event formations. Note the following contrast.

(46) a. mI rAm-kaDUn swatahA-cyA kholI-t patra
1P.SG.M Ram-by self-of room-in letter.N
lih-aw-l-a
write-CAUS-PERF-N
'I had Ram write a letter in my/*his room.'

b. * mI rAm-kaDUn sakAL-I sAngUn sandhyAkAL-I
1P.SG.M Ram-by morning-in telling evening-in
patra lih-aw-l-a
letter.N write-CAUS-PERF-N
'I had Ram write a letter in the evening instructing him in the morning.'

c. mI rAm-lA swatahA-cyA kholI-t patra
1P.SG.M Ram-ACC self-of room-in letter.N
lih-AylA lAw-l-a
write-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'I made Ram write a letter in my/his room.'

d. mI rAm-lA sakAL-I sAngUn sandhyAkAL-I
1P.SG.M Ram-ACC morning-in telling evening-in
patra lih-AylA lAw-l-a
letter.N write-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'I made Ram write a letter in the evening ordering him in the morning.'

In the case of (46a, b) the causing as well as the caused event occur simultaneously while in the case of (46c, d) there is no such restriction. This clearly indicates that the former are viewed as one-event while the latter are viewed as two-events. Marathi also provides for a expression conveying extreme degree of coercion as shown below.

(47) a.rAm-ne shAm-lA has-AylA bhAg pAD-l-a
Ram-ERG Sham-ACC laugh-PTCPL fate make-PERF-N
'Ram left Sham with no choice but to laugh.'

b.rAm-ne shAm-lA patra lih-AylA bhAg pAD-l-a
Ram-ERG Sham-ACC letter.N write-PTCPL fate make-PERF-N
'Ram left Sham with no choice but to write a letter.'

Let us now turn to the category of BENEFACTION. In the case of BENEFACTION the beneficiary can be the causer or the causee or both depending on the context. If the sole beneficiary is the causer then the causee is merely used an instrument serving to the benefit of the causer. In either case, the causee is not coerced/affected and accordingly takes oblique/instrumental marking. Note the following examples.

(48) mI rAm-kaDUn dahA pAne TAip kar-Un
1P.SG.M Ram-by ten pages.F type do-CONJ
ghet-l-I
take-PERF-F
'I got ten pages typed through Ram.'

In the above mentioned example if the relationship between the causer and the causee happens to be that of boss and the secretary, it is the boss who is being benefited in circumstances like getting the pages typed urgently. If the relationship happens to be that of father and a son, both can be considered as beneficiary: the father (causer) in order to improve the typing skill of his son (the causee) gives him typing practice. The causee in this case is a direct beneficiary as he improves his typing skill while the causer is the indirect beneficiary receiving abstract benefit--improved typing skill acquired by his son. Note that BENEFACTIVE causatives are expressed analytically using a auxiliary verb viz. *gheNe* 'take'. It is interesting to note that if the sense of benefaction is absent, then instead of BENEFACTION causatives EXECUTION causative form is used. Note the following example.

(49) mI rAm-kaDUn dahA pAne TAip kar-aw-l-I
1P.SG.M Ram-by ten pages.F type do-CAUS-PERF-F
'I had Ram type ten pages.'

Note the contrast in meaning between (48) and (49) under the same relationship between the causer and the causee viz. the boss and secretary. While (48) implies benefaction (49) does not. (49) conveys the sense that the boss (causer) exercises his authority over the secretary (causee) in routine circumstances. It should be noted

that BENEFACTION causative forms are mandatory in case when the causer is lower on social hierarchy than the causee. In such a case EXECUTION or COERCION forms are barred.

(50) a. rAm-ne gurujin-kaDUn shifAraspatra lih-Un
Ram-ERG teacher-by recommendation letter.N write-PTCPL
ghet-l-e
take-PERF-N
'Ram got the recommendation letter written from the teacher.'

b.* rAm-ne gurujin-kaDUn shifAraspatra
Ram-ERG teacher-by recommendation letter.N
lih-aw-l-e
write-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram had the teacher write the recommendation letter.'

c.* rAm-ne gurujin-kaDUn shifAraspatra
Ram-ERG teacher-by recommendation letter.N
lih-AylA lAw-l-e
write-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'Ram made the teacher write the recommendation letter.'

Finally, let us turn the last category viz. NON-INDULGENCE. In this category the causer--unlike other categories discussed above--is passively involved due to reasons like indifference, apathy or to refrain form disheartening the causee etc. In such cases the causer rather than actively instigating the caused event refrains form indulging into it. Note the following examples.

(51) a. mI kapDe wAL-U di-l-e
1P.SG.M cloths.N dry-CONJ give-PERF-N
'I let the cloths become dry.'

b. mI rAm-lA bas-U di-l-e

1P.SG.M Ram-ACC sit-CONJ give-PERF-N
'I let Ram sit down.'

c. mI rAm-lA gAna Aik-U di-l-e
1P.SG.M Ram-ACC song.N listen-CONJ give-PERF-N
'I let Ram listen to a song.'

d. mI rAm-lA khurcI toD-U di-l-I
1P.SG.M Ram-ACC chair.F break-CONJ give-PERF-F
'I let Ram break the chair.'

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the subtle interplay between the causer's perspective and the causee's perspective together determine the form of a causative expression in Marathi. This concludes our alternative analysis of the Marathi causatives. To summarize, the previous analyses of Marathi causative--traditional as well as Modern--have inherent fundamental lacuna viz. failure to fully explicate the causer's perceptive. They perceive causation to have unitary purpose viz. bringing about the caused event. As discussed earlier this is serious misconception. There can be multifarious purposes associated with causation. The involvement of the causer in the caused event would vary in accordance with the purpose of causation. The subtle interplay between the causer's perspective and the root verb semantics determines the form of a causative expression. The previous analyses have failed to explicate these proper though intricate relationships between causer's perspective--purpose and involvement and causee's perspective--causee's affectedness which has resulted in misleading and fragmentary descriptions of Marathi causative phenomena. The previous analyses miss out two crucial issues from the causer's perspective viz. a) varied purposes associated with the causative situation e.g. BENEFACTION or COERCION, and b) passive participation of the causer in a causative situation. Theses issues are fundamental in the understanding of the causatives and our analysis explains why many languages including Japanese mark causatives and permissive alike and also show affinity with the benefactive and coercive constructions. The use of benefactive causatives is especially conspicuous in the languages that are sensitive to social hierarchy--i.e. when the

causer is lower on social hierarchy than the causee. We can safely conclude that the previous analyses put severe limitations on our understanding of causative phenomena in Marathi and that our analyses provides better insights into the understanding of causative phenomena in general and Marathi causative in particular. We will now turn to our final goal viz. contrastive study of causative forms in Marathi and Japanese. The contrast of typologically diverse languages offers a interesting perspective and also contributes to a better understanding the causative phenomena. Before providing the contrast a broad outline of Japanese causatives is in order.

3.5 Japanese Causatives: An Outline

We have seen some preliminary data concerning Japanese causatives in section 3.1.2. Some more details need to be provided, however, before proceeding to the contrastive study of Marathi and Japanese causatives.

3.5.1 Morphological Characteristics

In Japanese, causative formations--like the passives--are highly productive and apply to transitive as well as intransitive verbs with only certain semantic restrictions i.e. stative verbs typically fail to yield them. Japanese has a fairly large number of intransitive/transitive verb pairs referred to as *yutsui*, or paired verbs [Cf. Appendix II]. The probability of having more lexical causatives is therefore higher in Japanese. Transitive as well as intransitive derivations are equally morphologically complex, as shown below (adapted from Shibatani 1998b: 2-3).

Transitivization (Causativization): (Intr: Ø-> Tr: *-e, -as* etc.)

ak-u 'open(intr.)'----- *ak-e-ru* 'open (tr.)'
kawak-u 'become dry'-----*kawak-as-u* 'to dry'

Intransitivization (decausativization): (Tr: Ø-> Intr: *-e, -ar* etc.)

nug-u 'take off'-----*nug-e-ru* 'come off'
tunag-u 'join'-----*tunag-ar-u* 'get connected'

Bidirectional derivations (Tr: *-e*, *-s* <-> Intr. *-ar*, *-re* etc.)

ag-ar-u 'rise'-----*ag-e-ru* 'raise'
hazu-re-ru 'come off'-----*hazu-s-u* 'to remove'

If an intransitive verb lacks a corresponding transitive, the derived causative verb fills in the gap. Causative forms are derived by the addition of phonologically-conditioned allomorphs *-ase* and *-sase*, the former in the case of roots ending in a consonant, the latter for the roots ending in vowel. Two verbs derive their causatives in an irregular fashion. Note the following:

Verbs ending in consonant

ik-u 'to go'-----*ik-ase-ru* 'to make/let go'
nagur-u 'to beat'------*nagur-ase-ru* 'to make someone beat someone'

Verbs ending in vowel

ne-ru 'to sleep'-----*ne-sase-ru* ' to make someone sleep'
tabe-ru 'to eat'-----*tabe-sase-ru* ' to feed/to make someone eat'

Irregular verbs

su-ru 'to do'-----*sase-ru* 'to make someone do something'
ku-ru 'to come'-----*kosase-ru* 'to make someone come'

Some verbs have causative forms in which the ending *e* in the suffix *-(s)ase* is dropped, e.g. *ik-as-u* 'to send someone', *tabe-sas-u* 'to feed someone'. These are referred to as short forms (Cf. Martin 1975). Since both transitive and causative forms are morphologically complex, some criteria other than formal ones are needed.

Shibatani (1976a, b) adopted a regualrity/productivity criterion for distinguishing morphologically irregular lexical causatives from morphologically regular productive causatives. This criterion is appropriate for Japanese but cannot be applied to other languages directly as what corresponds to lexical causatives in Japanese may turn out to be productive forms in other languages and vice versa. Shibatani (1998b) refines this notion of lexical and productive causatives in semantic terms by correlating them with root verb semantics.

3.5.2 Root Verb Semantics & Form of a Causative Expression

In Japanese, many intransitive verbs also form causatives (productive form) despite the presence of a corresponding transitive verb (lexical causative). This gives rise to a situation where there are two competing causative forms: a lexical one and a productive one, as shown below (Shibatani 1998b: 4):

(50) a. Ziroo ga teeburu kara ori-ta
Jiro NOM table from come down-PAST
'Jiro came down from the table.'

b. Taroo ga Ziroo o teeburu kara orosi-ta
Taro NOM Jiro ACC table from bring down-PAST
'Taro brought Jiro down from the table.'

c. Taroo ga Ziroo o teeburu kara ori-sase-ta
Taro NOM Jiro ACC table from come down-CAUS-PAST
'Taro made Jiro came down from the table.'

Shibatani (1998b) points out that lexical causatives involve only one agent, while productive forms involve two--one that initiates the action chain and another that performs the action denoted by the verb root. As mentioned earlier, Shibatani correlates this meaning difference with the fact that lexical causative verbs are generally derived from unaccusatives, while productive forms are typically derived from unergative/transitive verbs. This shows that there is a close relation between

root verb semantics and the meaning conveyed by causative forms. The difference in meaning is subsequently reflected in the structure of the causative expression. Together, verb semantics and causative forms have a profound effect on the interpretaion of different types of causative expressions. Lexical causatives express direct, manipulative and single-event causation, as they are based on unaccusative verbs. Productive causative constructions express indirect, directive and two-event causation, as they are based on unergative/transitive verbs. There are two apparant exeptions to this generalization, however: one in which productive forms express direct, manipulative and single-event causation, and another in which lexical forms express indirect, directive and two-event causation [Cf. (1), (2)].

Although, the causer in a causative situation is typically human, Japanese allows non-human causers as well. The causee, on the other hand, may or may not be human. Root verb semantics determine the case-marking of the causee. The causee in a causative expression based on unaccusative verbs is marked with accusative *o*, since it is trated like a patient. The causee in a causative expression based on an unergative verb can take either dative *ni* or accusative *o* marking, depending on whether the causer respects the causee's will. In the case of causative expressions based on transitive verbs the causee is always marked with dative *ni*, since Japanese does not permit two accusatively marked noun phrases in one clause. Note the following examples.

(51) a. Taroo ga huku {o/*ni} kawak-as-ita
Taro NOM cloths {ACC/*DAT} dry-CAUS-PAST
'Taro dried the clothes.'

b. Taroo ga Hanako o ik-ase-ta
Taro NOM Hanako ACC go-CAUS-PAST
'Taro made Hanako go.'

c. Taroo ga Hanako ni ik-ase-ta
Taro NOM Hanako DAT go-CAUS-PAST
'Taro had Hanako go.'

d. Taroo ga Hanako {*o/ni} hon o yom-ase-ta
Taro NOM Hanako {*ACC/DAT} book ACC read-CAUS-PAST
'Taro made Hanako read the book.'

As in many other languages, the Japanese causative suffix *-(s)ase* expresses both inducing as well as permissive causation. Thus (51b,c) above have a permissive meaning in addition to an inducive one. On the permissive reading, the distinction between the *o* version and the *ni* version is not quite clear, although generally the *o*-version implies that permission was given in a passive form of withholding interference, while the *ni*-version implies that permission was granted in a more active way.

In Japanese the social relationship between causer and causee also affects the type of causative expression. If the causer is higher than the causee on the social hierarchy, *-(s)ase* forms are used. When the causer is lower on the social hierarchy than the causee however, the *-(s)ase* causative forms cannot be used. Instead a periphrastic causative form viz. *-te morau* is employed as shown below. We refer to this kind of causative as BENEFACTIVE since they imply benefit. Note the following examples.

(52) a. Taroo wa sensei ni suisenjyoo o
Taro TOP teacher DAT recommendation letter ACC
kai-te mora-tta
write-CONJ receive-PAST
'Taro got the letter of recommendation written by the teacher.'

b. * Taroo wa sensei ni suisenjyoo o
Taro TOP teacher DAT recommendation letter ACC
kak-ase-ta
write-CAUS-PAST
'Taro made the teacher write a letter of recommendation.'

This concludes our overview of causative expressions in Japanese. With this background let us now turn to a cross-linguistic contrastive study of causative forms

in Marathi and Japanese.

3.6 The Causative in Marathi & Japanese: A Contrast

In this section we will provide a contrast between causative expressions in Marathi and Japanese. We would divide the discussion in two parts viz. a) cross-linguistic variations between Marathi and Japanese causative and b) contributions of the contrastive study to causative phenomena. Let us begin with the cross-linguistic variations.

3.6.1 Cross-linguistic Variations

In this section we will highlight the similarities and differences between Marathi and Japanese in the domain of causativization.

As seen earlier, Japanese being an agglutinating language has predominantly synthetic causatives with the sole exception of the benefactive causatives viz. *te morau* forms. Marathi, on the other hand, employs both synthetic as well as analytic forms of causatives. Marathi inherited its synthetic system from Sanskrit, which underwent several changes. In the process of change a division of labour seems to have emerged between the synthetic and analytic forms. The former are employed to convey typically "direct", "contactive" or "one-event" causation, while the latter are typically used to convey "indirect", "non-contactive" or "two-event" causation. Marathi causatives thus reflect an iconic relationship between the length of the causative form and the immidiacy of causation, as noted in Haiman (1985).

Let us consider any variations that may exist between Marathi and Japanese in terms of the domain of causativization i.e. kinds of verbs that are amenable to causative formation. Teramura (1982: 292) claims that there are two parameters that dictate whether a verb can yield a causative form or not: a) semantic condition, and b) lexical condition. The former seems to be universal and vaild cross-liguistically, while the latter is language specific. Marathi and Japanese, both exhibit similar kinds of semantic restrictions. In both the languages stative and potential verbs--implying a lack of control on the part of the subject over the activity denoted by the verb--typically fail to yield causatives. Note the following exmaples.

(53) A. pustak as-Ne *pustak as-aw-Ne
book be-INF book be-CAUS-INF
a. hon ga ar-u *hon o ar-ase-ru
bookNOM be-INF book ACC be-CAUS-INF
a book exists to cause a book to exist
B. kimono shobh-Ne *komono shobh-aw-Ne
kimono suit-INF kimono suit-CAUS-INF
b. kimono ga nia-u *kimono o niaw-ase-ru
kimono NOM suit-INF kimono ACC suit-CAUS-INF
kimono suits to cause the kimono to suit
C. drAywhing ye-Ne *drAywhing ANa-Ne
driving come-INF driving bring-INF
c. unten ga deki-ru *unten o dekir-ase-ru
driving ACC be able to-INF driving ACC be able to-CAUS-INF
to know driving to cause someone know driving

(54) A. thAI boltA ye-Ne *thAI boltA ANa-Ne
Thai speaking come-INF Thai speaking bring-INF
a. thaigo ga hanas-e-ru *thaigo o hanas-e-sase-ru
Thai ACC speak-POT-INF Thai ACC speak-POT-CAUS-INF
to be able to speak Thai to cause someone to be able to speak Thai

Marathi and Japanese, however, behave differently in the domain of perception verbs. In some cases, Japanese allows a causative form but Marathi never does. The prerequisite for a verb to have a causative form in Marathi is that the verb should imply human-controllable activity. The executor should be in a position to bring about the event denoted by the root verb. Japanese permits a voilation of this restriction in certain cases. Note the following examples [Japanese examples adopted from Teramura (op.cit.: 291)]

(55) A. shepuT dis-Ne *shepuT dis-aw-Ne

	tail	be visible-INF		tail	be visible-CAUS-INF
a.	shippo ga	mie-ru		shippo o	mie-sase-ru
	tail NOM	be visible-INF		tail ACC	be visible-CAUS-INF
	a tail is visible			to cause the tail to be visible	
B.	attarAcA wAs	ye-Ne		*attarAcA wAs	ANa-Ne
	perfume smell	come-INF		perfume smell	bring-INF
b.	kousui no nioi ga	su-ru		kousui no nioi o	sase-ru
	perfume of smell NOM	do-INF		perfume of smell ACC	make-INF
	the perfume smells			lit. to cause the perfume to smell	

A futher manifestation of the voilation of controallbility of activity denoted by the root verb is attested in verbs expressing natural phenomena. In Japanese such verbs yield a causative, while in Marathi they are not accepted at all.[8] Note the following contrast.

(56) A.	ful	umal-Ne		*ful	umal-aw-Ne
	flower	bloom-INF		flower	bloom-CAUS-INF
a.	hana ga	sak-u		hana o	sak-ase-ru
	flower NOM	bloom-INF		flower ACC	bloom-CAUS-INF
	the flower blooms			to cause the flower bloom	
B.	wArA	wAh-Ne		*warA	wAh-aw-Ne
	wind	blow-INF		wind	blow-CAUS-INF
b.	kaze ga	fuk-u		kaze wo	fuk-ase-ru
	wind NOM	blow-INF		wind ACC	blow-CAUS-INF
	the wind blows			to make the wind blow	
C.	pAus	paD-Ne		*pAus	pAD-Ne
	rain	fall-INF		rain	fell-INF
c.	ame ga	fur-u		ame o	fur-ase-ru
	rain NOM	fall-INF		rain ACC	fall-CAUS-INF

[8] In Marathi, a causative verb of this kind would be acceptable if the causer were a supernatural entity like God. In the case of rain, the expression would be acceptable with a human causer only if it were artificial rain.

lit. the rain falls lit. to make the rain fall

It is clear from the above data that the domain of causativizable verbs in Japanese is wider than that of Marathi.

Let us now turn to the other condition for causativizability viz. lexical condition. As pointed out earlier, this is an idiosyncratic property of a language and thus not comparable. However, it is interesting to note cross-linguistic similarity among languages to fill the gaps in lexicon with available means. Japanese has a large number of inchoative-causative (intransitive-transitive) pairs popularly known as *yuutui* or paired verbs. Thus Japanese has a large number of lexical causatives (i.e. transitive verbs having a causative meaning and which need to be listed in lexicon)[Cf. Appendix II]. If an intransitive verb lacks a transitive counterpart (lexical causative), productive causatives are employed to fill this gap. As compared to Japanese, Marathi has a very few paired verbs--meaning thereby less number of lexical causatives [Cf. Appendix I]. A large number of intranstive verbs lack a transitive counterpart. These gaps in the lexicon are filled in by derived causatives like in Japanese. We thus find cross-linguistically the same mechanism at work in Marathi and Japanese: filling in lexical gaps with whatever means available. It should be noted that in both languages, cases of doubling i.e. having two competetive causative forms--lexical and productive are attested. The lexical form imply "direct", "contactive", "one-event" causation while the productive form convey "indirect", "non-contactive", "two-event" causation. Note the following contrast [Example (57) adopted from Shibatani (1998b: 20)].

(57) a. Taroo ga Ziroo o tsukue no ue kara
Taro NOM Jiro ACC desk of top from
oroshi-ta
bring down-PAST
'Taro brought down Jiro from the top of the desk.'

b. Taroo ga Ziroo o/ni tsukue no ue kara
Taro NOM Jiro ACC/DAT desk of top from
ori-sase-ta

bring down-CAUS-PAST
'Taro made/had Jiro come down from the top of the desk.'

(58) a. shAm-ne dudh pi-l-e
Sham-ERG milk.N drink-PERF-N
'Sham drank the milk.'

b. rAm-ne shAm-lA dudh pAj-l-e
Ram-ERG Sham-ACC milk.N feed-PERF-N
'Ram fed Sham the milk.'

c. rAm-ne shAm-lA dudh py-AylA lAw-l-e
Ram-ERG Sham-ACC milk.N drink-PTCPL make-PERF-N
'Ram made Sham drink the milk.'

As pointed out by Shibatani (1998b: 20) lexical causatives involve only one agent, while productive forms involve two--one that initiates the action chain and another that performs the action denoted by the verb root.

To summarize, Japanese has more lexical causatives than Marathi. To put it another way, Marathi has more derived causatives than Japanese. Let us now turn to the next parameter for contrast viz. the nature of the causer which is closely related to verbs amenable to causativization.

The causer in a causative situation is typically a human acting intentionally to bring about the caused event. This is a proto-typical case. Marathi confines itself to the proto-typical case while Japanese permits deviance from the proto-type--allowing human causers acting non-intentionally. Such expressions turn out be ungrammatical in Marathi. Note the following contrast [Japanese examples adopted from Sakata (1980: 27)].

(59) a. ukkari shitureina koto o itte kare o
carelessly rude thing ACC saying 2P.SG.M ACC
okor-ase-te shima-tta
get angry-CAUS-CONJ finish-PAST

'With my careless rude comment I ended up making him furious.'

b. *mI cukun wAiT bol-Un tyA-lA
1P.SG.M by mistake bad speak-CONJ 2P.SG.M-ACC
bhaDk-aw-l-a
get furious-CAUS-PERF-N
'With my careless bad comment I made him furious.'

(60) a. asaneboo shite tomodachi o ichijikan mo
waking up late doing friend ACC one hour EMPH
mat-ase-te shima-tta
wait-CAUS-CONJ finish-PAST
'I got up late in the morning and ended up making my friend wait for me for almost one hour.'

b. * ma-lA sakALI uthAylA ushir ho-Un
1P.SG.M-DAT morning waking up late become-CONJ
mitrA-lA ek tAs wAt pAh-AylA lAw-l-I
friend-ACC one hour way.F see-PTCPL make-PERF-F
'I got up late in the morning and made my friend wait for me for almost one hour.'

Further, Japanese also permits a wider range of non-human causers while Marathi does not. The following causative expressions are acceptable in Japanese, but are barred in Marathi.

Japanese
(61) a. Jyokikikan no hatsumei wa kindaikagaku o
steam engine of invention TOP modern science ACC
hatten sase-ru moto ni na-tta
development do.CAUS-INF source DAT become-PAST
'(Lit.) The invention of the steam engine became the source of causing the modern sciences to develop.' [Sakata 1980: 28]

b. Natsu no tenkoo fujun ga gaichuu o
summer of weather irregularity NOM noxious insects ACC
tairyooni hassei sase-ta
large quantity generation do.CAUS-PAST
'(Lit.) The unseasonable summer weather caused a large number of noxious insects to generate.' [Sakata 1980: 28]

c. baiuzensen ga sankanbu ni ame o
a seasonal rain front NOM the mountains LOC rains ACC
fur-ase-ru
rainfall-CAUS-INF
' (Lit.) A seasonal rain front causes the rain to fall in the mountains.' [Teramura 1982: 292]

Marathi

(62) a. *wAfe-cyA ingjinA-cyA shodhA-ne Adhunik shAstAn-cA
steam-of engine-of invention-INSTR modern sciences-of
wikAs ghaD-aw-l-A
development.M happen-CAUS-PERF-M
'(Lit.) The invention of the steam engine caused the development of modern sciences.'

b. * aweLi pAwsA-ne sarwa bhAjyA nAs-aw-l-yA
untimely rains-ERG all vegetables.F rot-CAUS-PERF-F
'(Lit.) The untimely rains caused all the vegetables to rot.'

c. * mAnsUn-cya dhagAn-nI dongri bhAgA-t pAus
monsson-of clouds-ERG mountainous region-in rain.M
pAD-l-A
fell-PERF-M
'(Lit.) The monsoon clouds caused the rain to fall in the mountains.'

Native speakers of Marathi employ spontaneous expressions in the case of events involving non-human causers. Muraki (1991: 20) refers to such causatives as transformational in that they can be considered to be transformationally derived from their corresponding non-causative counterparts and are widely found in Japanese [examples adoped from Muraki 1991: 20].

(63) a. watashi wa ano eiga ni hidoku kandoo shi-ta
1P.SG TOP that movie by extremely impress do-PAST
'I was extremely impressed by that movie.'

b. ano eiga wa watashi o hidoku kandoo
that movie TOP 1P.SG ACC extremely impress
sase-ta
do.CAUS-PAST
'That movie impressed me greatly.'

Sakata (1980: 28) points out that causative expressions involving non-human causers are not native to Japanese, but rather were developed under the influence of western literature intorduced after the Meiji restoration.

Teramura (1982: 300) points out that in Japanese the causer must be responsible for the realization of the caused event. This applies to Marathi as well. The responsibility may be either objective or subjective in nature. The causatives with human causer discussed uptill now reflect objective responsibility on the part of the causer towards the realization of the caused event. Marathi and Japanese behave similarly in this regard. In some cases, however, the causer is not **objectively** responsible since he/she is not involved--directly or indirectly--in the causative situation in a objective sense. Nevertheless, the causer feels himself to be **subjectively** responsible for the realization of the caused event. Japanese permits such kind of causative expression, which usually conveys unfortunate happening/event. Note the following example.

(64) musuko futari o sono senjyoo de shin-ase-ta
son two ACC that battlefield LOC die-CAUS-PAST

'(I) lost my two sons in that battlefield.'[Teramura 1982: 300]

Teramura contrasts this expression with the so-called indirect passive in Japanese and argues that they are in a mirror image relationship.

(65) musuko futari ni sono senjyoo de shin-are-ta
son two DAT that battlefield LOC die-PASS-PAST
'(I) lost my two sons in that battlefield.'[Teramura 1982: 300]

In (64) the subject nominal feels himself to be subjectively responsible for the happening of the event viz. death of his two sons, while (65) conveys the nuance that the subject is the victim/sufferer/undergoer of the event. In both expressions the protagonist i.e. the referent of the subject nominal is not an actual participant in the event. Rather, it represents an extra thematic argument which needs to be integrated semantically into the scene. Extending the theory of semantic integration proposed in Shibatani (1995: 16) to these causatives, it can be said that the "**subjective responsibility**" reading is a result of **semantic integration** of the extra-thematic nominal into the event [Cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2.2 for relevant discussion on indirect passive]. Unlike Japanese, Marathi lacks the means for semantic integration of extra-thematic nominals. Thus indirect passives as well as the "**subjective responsibilty**" causatives discussed above are barred in Marathi.

In the foregoing discussion we have concentrated on two parameters viz. the type of root verbs amaneable to causativization, and the type of causers permitted in causative expressions. Let us now turn to another parameter which is also closely related to the root verb viz. the causee. Unlike the causer, the causee is an argument of the root verb and is thus wholly dependent on the root verb. Both Marathi and Japanese allow human as well as non-human causees; nevertheless they exhibit differences in terms of the type of events involving inanimate causees that can undergo causativization. As observed earlier, Marathi does not allow causativization of natural phenomena like the blooming of flowers, raining, etc. Japanese is more liberal than Marathi in this regard. Note the following examples.

(66) * kAkA-ni ful umL-aw-l-e

uncle-ERG flower.N bloom-CAUS-PERF-N
Lit. 'My uncle bloomed the flower.'

(67) ojisan ga hana o sak-ase-ru
uncle NOM flower ACC bloom-CAUS-INF
Lit. 'My uncle blooms a flower.' [Teramura 1982: 292]

It is noteworthy that in Marathi natural processes perceived to be under human control readily undergo causativization as shown below.

(68) a. mI dudh nAs-aw-l-a
1P.SG milk.N milk-CAUS-PERF-N
'I spoiled the milk.'

b. mahArAshtrA-til shetkari prAmukhyAne Us
Maharashtra-in farmers.N mainly sugar cane
pik-aw-tAt
ripe-CAUS-PRES.3P.PL.N
'The farmers in Maharashtra mainly grow sugar cane.'

It is hard to explain why causing a flower to bloom is perceived as uncontrollable while growing crops is not. A plausible answer to this question might be the way a particular culture conceptualizes the reality in the outside world which is ultimately reflected in a linguistic expression. This highlights the fact that there can be a mismatch between reality in the outside world and liguistic expressions associated with them.

In a causative situation, the non-human causee can only have one semantic role, that of patient. The human causee, on the other hand, can be either agent or patient /experiencer. In Marathi as well as Japanese, the human causee can figure as an agent or a patient depending on the root verb semantics. Verb semantics determines the nature of the causee based on which the causer chooses a particular mode of causation depending on the purpose of causation. The mode of causation is thus a derivative of the purpose of causation and the root verb semantics.

In the foregoing discussion we presented a descriptive contrast between the Marathi and Japanese causatives and pointed out similarities and differences between them. In the following section we will discuss how such a contrast of typologically diverse languages offer better insights into the understanding of causative phenomena in general.

3.6.2 Contributions of the Contrastive Study

Marathi and Japanese are genetically unrelated and typologically diverse languages. Marathi is predominantly inflectional while Japanese is a typical agglutinating language. The Marathi causative offer an interesting perspective in that it employs both synthetic and analytic ways for deriving causatives. The contrast of such typologically diverse languages carried out here offers unique perspectives and make substanital contributions to our understanding of causative phenomena in general. In this section we will discuss such contributions.

Shibatani (1998b) makes a distinction between "lexical causative" and "productive causative" and correlates them with root verb semantics--lexical causatives are causative forms of unaccusative verbs while productive causatives are typically derived form unergative and transitive activity verbs. The former typically express "direct", "manipulative" and "one-event" causation while the lattter typically express "indirect", "directive" and "two-event" causation. Unlike Japanese, Marathi in most cases does not make morphological distinction between lexical causatives and productive causatives. A small class of verbs employs morphologically irregular derivation viz. internal vowel and/or consonant change in deriving corresponding lexical causative as in *paD-Ne* 'fall' → *pAD-Ne* 'fell', *fAT-Ne* 'tear by itself' → *fAD-Ne* 'to tear', *dab-Ne* 'be pressed' → *dAb-Ne* 'to press', *fit-Ne* 'be paid off' → *feD-Ne* 'to pay off', *fuT-Ne* 'break' → *foD-Ne* 'break' etc. while many others use the same sufffix viz *aw* for transitivization (producing lexical causatives) and causativization as in: *hal-Ne* 'something moves' →*hal-aw-Ne* 'someone moves something', *wAl-Ne* 'become dry' → *wAl-aw-Ne* 'to dry something', *cAl-Ne* 'to walk' → *cAl-aw-Ne* 'to make/have someone walk', *paL-Ne* 'to run' → *paL-aw-Ne* 'to have someone run', *kar-Ne* 'to do' → *kar-aw-Ne* 'to have someone do something', *lih-Ne* 'to write' → *lih-aw-Ne* 'to have some one write something'. The question arises then is what kind of causative

situation do the *aw* forms express? There are two possibilities: either they are ambiguous or they are consistently associated with a single meaning. Shibatani (op. cit.) suspects that their interpretation is generally determined by the nature of causee (or the root verb semantics)--the causative forms derived form unaccusative verbs expressing "direct" causation and, those derived form unergative and transitive activity verbs, "indirect" causation. However, the correspondence between unaccusative verbs and lexical causatives is often violated in some languages. Shibatani (op. cit.: 25-28) discuss at length such deviations where unergative verbs also show correspondence with lexical causatives citing following examples:

(69) a. The soldiers marched to the tents.
b. The general marched the soldiers to the tents.

(70) a. The horse jumped over the fence.
b. The rider jumped the horse over the fence.

(71) a. The dog walked in the park.
b. John walked the dog in the park.

In the (b) versions of the above mentioned examples it is necessary that the causer and the causee should be in direct contact i.e.the general should march with the soldiers, the rider should be riding on the horse and John should walk with the dog. Thus all of these expressions express "direct" causation. In order to have "indirect" causation regular productive causatives should be employed as shown below (adopted from Shibatani op. cit.: 25):

(72) a. The general made the soldiers march to the tents.
b. The trainer made the horse jump over the fence.
c. John made the dog walk in the park.

Analogous situations in Marathi also endorse the fact that the causer and causee must be contact. Note the following examples [Also Cf. (16)].

(73) a. rAm don kilomiTer cAl-l-A
Ram.M two kilometer walk-PERF-M
'Ram walked two kilometers.'

b. shAm-ne rAm-lA don kilomiTer cAl-aw-l-e
Sham-ERG Ram-ACC two kilometer walk-CAUS-PERF-N
'Sham had Ram walk two kilometers.'

c. *shAm-ne rAm-lA don kilomiTer cAl-aw-l-e
Sham-ERG Ram-ACC two kilometer walk-CAUS-PERF-N
paN shAm rAm-barobar cAl-l-A nAhI
but Sham.M Ram-with walk-PERF-M not
'Sham had Ram walk two kilometers but he did not walk with Ram.'

Shibatani refers to these patterns as a case of construal/coercion where a particular situation is conceptualized in terms of framework for another situation. All the above mentioned examples express "direct" causation like the "lexical" causatives despite the fact that they involve agentive causees. Shibatani attributes such a construal to the fact that the causer in such cases exercise **total control** over the causative situation and the causee despite being agent do not enjoy freedom to act as per his will.

Hear comes in picture the contribution of Marathi to a better understanding of causative phenomena. Marathi offers a still more interesting case of such a construal. In Marathi even transitive activity verbs show correspondence with lexical causatives i.e. express "direct", "contactive", "one-event" causation. Note the following examples [Also Cf. (22)].

(74) a. waDlAn-nI mulAn-kaDUn grahapATh kar-aw-l-A
father-ERG kids-by home work.M do-CAUS-PERF-M
'The father had his kids do the home work.'

b. * waDlAn-nI mulAn-kaDUn grahapATh kar-aw-l-A
father-ERG kids-by home work.M do-CAUS-PERF-M

ANI tyA welA-t te firAylA jA-Un A-l-e
and that time-in he walk go-CONJ come-PERF-N
'The father had his kids do the home work and during that time he went for a walk and came back.'

(75) a. gurujin-nI widyArthyAn-kaDUn pAdhe
teacher-ERG students-by multiplication tables.N
mhAN-aw-l-e
recite-CAUS-PERF-N
'The teacher had the students recite the multiplication tables.'

b. * gurujin-nI widyArthyAn-kaDUn pAdhe
teacher-ERG students-by multiplication tables.N
mhAN-aw-l-e ANI tyA welA-t te
recite-CAUS-PERF-N and that time-in he
firAylA jA-Un A-l-e
walk go-CONJ come-PERF-N
'The teacher had the students recite the multiplication tables and during that time he went for a walk and came back.'

Note that in these causatives the causing event and the caused event cannot be dissociated i.e. thay are perceived as one coherent whole. Also, as pointed out by Shibatani (1998b: 27), the lack of control over the caused event on the part of the causee is conventionally determined--conventionally father and teacher exercise **total control** respectively over kids and students. The correspondence of unergative as well as transitive activity verbs with lexical causatives--both of which have agentive causee--offers excellent insight into the mismatch between the reality and the linguistic expression. As pointed out by Shibatani, the linguistic form represents not the reality but rather our conceptualization of the reality. Marathi causatives thus contribute substantially to a better understanding of "direct" causation.

Marathi causative offers a unique perspective in that it employs both synthetic (suffixation) as well as analytic (auxiliary addition) means to derive causative verbs. Japanese, on the other hand, with its agglutinating morphology uses

predominantly synthetic (suffixation) means to derive causative forms except in the case of benefactive causatives. As discussed earlier, the root verb semantics (causee's perspective) in combination with the purpose of causation in the mind of the causer (causer's perspective) determine the form of a causative expression. The reflection of causer's perspective--purpose of causation--in the form of a causative expression is transparent in Marathi. Depending on the purpose of causation the role of the causee varies--patient, instrument, coerced agent etc. This in turn is reflected in the form of a causative expression using different auxiliary verb. In Japanese this reflection is not as clear as Marathi. Marathi causative thus contribute to our understanding of the notion of causer's perspective and its overall profound effect on the form of a causative expression. Root verb semantics alone does not determine the form of a causative expression but rather the combination of root verb semantics and the purpose accociated with causation in the mind of the causer determines the form of a causative expression. Further, Marathi clearly demonstrates the iconic relationship between the length of the causative form and immediacy of causation--the synthetic forms typically depict "one-event" causation while the analytic forms typically depict "two-event" causation [Cf. (46)].

Conversely, in Marathi, PERMISSIVE (NON-INDULGENCE), COERCIVE (COERCION) and INDUCIVE (EXECUTION) are expressed using different auxiliary verbs and thus they do not share morphosyntactic similarities. The situation in Japanese is just the reverse. In Japanese all these categories derive causative verb using the same suffix and thus share morphosyntactic similarities. Owing to this, identification of the domain of causation is crystal clear in Japanese. It should be recalled that all the past analyses of Marathi causative have failed to notice that this and ignored all the analytic forms of causative from the scope of scrutiny. A contrastive study with agglutinating language like Japanese thus makes significant contribution to Marathi in bringing together the seemingly differnt constructions under the rubric of causative.

The contrast between Marathi and Japanese provide significant insights into the issue of how languages fill up the idiosyncratic lexical gaps with available means. Marathi, as compared to Japanese, has a few paired verbs i.e. verbs having lexical transitive-intransitive counterparts [Cf. Appendix I and II]. Causative verbs are used to fill up the gap of the transitive counterpart for those intransitive verbs which lack

one. It should be noted that only synthetic forms are recruited in such cases since they imply "direct", "contactive", "one-event" causation.

Marathi has the rarely found so-called higher causatives which involve a multiple intermediary agents. Wali (1981) points out that in Marathi such causatives are not commonly used but are grammatically acceptable and that Japanese also allows such higher causatives [examples adopted from Wali (op. cit.: 296)].

(76) mini-ne lili-kaDUn sushice-karwI vinay-lA patra
Mini-ERG Lily-by Sushi-at the hands of Vinay-to letter.N
lih-w-aw-l-e
write-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-N
'Mini caused Lili to cause Sushi to write a letter to Vinay.'

(77) Taroo wa Akiko ni Jiroo ni sono hon o
Taro TOP Akiko DAT Jiro DAT that book ACC
yom-ase-ta
read-CAUS-PAST
'Taro caused Akiko to cause Jiro to read the book.'

As pointed out by Wali (1981: 295-7) the causee in such causatives cannot be switched around even though the language has relatively free word order. In other words the causee's are hierarchically organized. The hierarchical organization of causee is transparent in Marathi in that each causee is marked with a differeent postposition. Japanese, on the other hand, treats all the causees on equal footing and marks them identically. The hierarchical organization of the causees is obscure in Japanese but transperant in Marathi. Marathi data thus contributes to a better understanding of the higher causatives.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the contrastive study of Marathi and Japanese causatives contribute substantially to a better understanding of causative phenomena in general. With this we conclude our discussion on the contributions of the contrastive study. In the following section we will provide summary and conclusions of this chapter.

3.7 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter following the semantic definition of causative proposed in Shibatani (1976b) we treated inducive as well as permissive forms under the rubric of causative. In Marathi the notion of intentionality/volitionality plays a important role both in causativization and passivization process. Both expressions must express a intentional/volitional act. We explored the correlations between the root verb semantics and the form of a causative expression within the framework proposed in Shibatani (1998b). The data from Marathi lends strong support to the claim made in Shibatani (1998b) that transitivity--at least in its correlation to voice--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms.

We also provided an alternative analysis of Marathi causatives demonstrating with ample illustrations how the subtle interplay between the notion of causee's perspective (root verb semantics) and the causer's perspective (purpose of causation) determines the form of a causative expression. The alternative analysis presented here--unlike the past analyses--encompasses synthetic as well as analytic forms.

We also carried out a contrastive study of Marathi and Japanese causative forms and highlighted similarities and differences between them. It was demonstrated that a contrast of genetically unrelated and typologically diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese makes substantial contribution to a better understanding of causative phenomena in general.

Chapter 4

THE BENEFACTIVE CONSTRUCTION

4.1 Introduction

Until recently, the benefactive construction has not been treated as a voice phenomenon, mainly due to narrowly-based definitions of voice that stipulate voice alternations to be meaning preserving [Cf. Ch. 1]. However, by defining voice as a mechanism that represents different meaning relationships between core arguments and the action denoted by the verb as proposed in Shibatani (1998b), we can embrace benefactive constructions under the rubric of voice. By 'benefactives' or 'benefactive constructions' we mean specifically those constructions in which beneficiaries are coded as arguments as in the (a) versions of (1-3), rather than as adjuncts in the (b) versions. Constructions in which beneficiaries are coded as true adjuncts are excluded from consideration here, and are only mentioned for the purpose of contrasting them with true benefactives. The syntactic and semantic restrictions discussed in the present chapter therefore do not hold for benefactives in which beneficiaries are coded as adjuncts.

English

(1) a. John bought Mary a book.

b. John bought a book for Mary.

Marathi

(2) a. rAm- ne sitA-lA patra lih-Un di-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT letter.N write-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Ram wrote a letter for Sita.'

b. rAm-ne sitA-sAthi patra lih-l-e.
Ram-ERG Sita-for letter.N write-PAST-N
'Ram wrote a letter for Sita.'

Japanese

(3) a. Taroo wa Hanako ni hon o ka-tte ya-tta
Taro TOP Hanako DAT book ACC buy-CONJ give-PAST
'Taro bought Hanako a book.'

b. Taroo wa Hanako no tame ni hon o
Taro TOP Hanako GEN sake DAT book ACC
ka-tte ya-tta
buy-CONJ give-PAST
'Taro bought a book for Hanako's sake.'

In the benefactive constructions the beneficiary is encoded either as a primary object--like the direct object of a transitive clause--and the object transferred as a secondary, extra object (English), or as an indirect object, and the object transferred as a direct object (Marathi, Japanese).[1] The above-mentioned sentences exemplify the two major syntactic patterns that benefactive constructions in various languages of the world exhibit. Benefactive constructions in English fall beyond the scope of the present study, hence we confine ourselves to those in Marathi and Japanese.

From a syntactic point of view, benefactive expressions increase the valency of a verb by one, due to the introduction of a beneficiary. The verbs *lihiNe* in (2) and *kau* in (3) do not subcategorize for beneficiaries viz. *Sita* and *Hanako*. The valency-increasing effect is thus attributed to the addition of the benefactive verbs; *deNe* in (2) and *yaru* in (3). If benefactives did not increase valency automatically, there would be reason to believe that they are semantically conditioned.

From a semantic point of view, benefactive expressions in which the beneficiary is encoded as an indirect object imply that the beneficiary comes into possession of the direct object, whereas no such reading is possible in the benefactive expression where the beneficiary is encoded as an adjunct [Cf. (2), (3)]. Thus we find a meaning contrast between non-benefactive and a benefactive constructions. Interestingly, the semantic notion of "possession" has a striking

[1] A nominal is a primary object (PO) if it is an indirect object (IO) in a ditransitive clause , or a direct object (DO) in a monotransitive clause; it is an secondary object (SO) if it is a direct object (DO) in a ditransitive clause (Dryer, 1986).

syntactic repercussion: intransitive verbs are barred in benefactive expressions. Further, syntactically transitive ingestive verbs are also barred. Benefactive constructions thus call for a highly specific semantic transitivity, indicating once again that transitivity--in so far as it correlates with voice--must be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms.

In light of the foregoing discussion, the goal of this chapter is to analyze benefactive constructions in Marathi in detail exploring their relationship with transitivity. We will demonstrate that transitivity in its relationship to benefactives--like the passive and the causative construction--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms. In addition to the language-specific analysis of Marathi benefactives, we also present a cross-linguistic contrastive study of the benefactive constructions in Marathi and Japanese which is one of the goals of the present study. The contrast between Marathi and Japanese benefactives not only reveals similarities and differences between them but also make substantial contributions to our understanding of benefactive constructions in general. We adopt a cognitive framework proposed by Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996) to analyze the Marathi benefactives and contrast them with their Japanese counterparts. Let us first introduce the framework in which our analysis will be carried out.

4.1.1 The Framework: Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996)

The cognitive analysis proposed by Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996) is based on the notion of schema. On one hand, a schema functions as a window for construing the outside world, and on the other provides a structural template for the expression itself. The ungrammaticality of an expression is explained in terms of a mismatch between the schema and the situation described, or in terms of the difficulty native speakers encounter in construing the situation in terms of the schema upon which the construction is based. Benefactive constructions in general are based on the GIVE schema. The properties associated with the GIVE schema for Marathi and Japanese are stated below.

(4) The GIVE schema
Structure: {NP1 NP2 NP3 GIVE}
NP1 = coded as a subject
NP2 = coded as an indirect object

NP3 = coded as a direct object

Semantics: NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO HAVE NP3 where

NP1 = human agent

NP2 = human goal

NP3 = object theme

NP2 exercises possessive control over NP3

NP1 creates possessive control on behalf of NP2

In contrast to Japanese, benefactive constructions in Marathi are based on two different types of schemata viz. the GIVE and the SHOW schema. The criterion for selection of a particular schema depends on the nature of the object theme--in other words, the benefit transferred to the beneficiary as tabulated below.

(5) Benefactive Construction Schemata for Marathi

Type of Schema	Nature of the Object Theme
GIVE Schema	Concrete or Abstract
SHOW Schema	Audio-Visual Performance

The properties associated with the GIVE schema for Marathi are the same as for Japanese. The majority of benefactives in Marathi are construed according to the GIVE schema. However, situations that are construed in terms of the GIVE schema show considerable variation between Marathi and Japanese. These cross-linguistic variations are taken up later on [Cf. Section 4.8].

Shibatani points out that the crucial factor dictating the acceptability of benefactive constructions is not the transitivity of the verb *per se* but the resulting possessive control of an entity on the part of the goal/beneficiary. Intransitive verbs and certain types of transitive verbs in Marathi and Japanese do not yield benefactive constructions, since they do not involve an entity over which the beneficiary can exercise possessive control. A detailed discussion of this point appears in Section 4.7. Benefactive expressions based on the SHOW schema are peculiar to Marathi and we will contrast them with those based on the GIVE schema later on.

Benefactives in Marathi and their counterparts in Japanese use a compound verbal form consisting of a main verb followed by GIVE. The full-fledged verb GIVE is used as an auxiliary in benefactive constructions. The change from a

lexical verb to auxiliary is an instance of grammaticalization.[2] Let us first see the usage of *deNe* 'to give' as a main verb in Marathi.

4.2 Usage of *deNe* 'to give' as a Main Verb

As shown above, Marathi as well as Japanese use the GIVE schema as a prototypical benefactive construction. The main verb spells out the activity, while GIVE adds the meaning that the activity benefits the goal. The use of GIVE as an auxiliary verb in Marathi and Japanese contrasts with English, where a composite predicate takes GIVE as an auxiliary. The main verb carries a great deal of semantic content, while GIVE is semantically light and means little more than that a verbal action occurred (Cattel 1984: 2). This is due to the fact that

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[2] Hopper and Traugott (1993) define grammaticalization as the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions. They refer to the process of grammaticalization of a lexical verb as a verb-to-affix cline. The cline has a lexical verb as its starting point which develops into an auxiliary and eventually an affix. Some points on this cline are as follows (parentheses indicate that the position on the cline is optional in many languages) :

full verb> (vectors verb) > auxiliary > clitic > affix

The category of vector verb represents one of several intermediate stages posited between full verb and auxiliary. The term is due to Hook (1974, 1991), who presents data from Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages. There clauses may contain a complex of two verbs known as a compound verb. One of these verbs, the main or primary verb, carries the main semantic meaning of the clause, and is non-finite. The other, the vector verb, is finite a quasi-auxiliary, hence carries markers of tense, aspect and mood. Semantically, it also adds nuances of aspect, direction, and benefaction to the clause. In modern Indo-Aryan languages vector verbs include : GO, GIVE, TAKE, THROW, STRIKE, LET GO, GET UP, COME, SIT, and FALL among others (Hook, 1991). The size and diversity of the set, that is, the low degree of specialization as auxiliaries--is one factor that points to the need to think of them as intermediate between full verbs and auxiliaries. Hindi being verb final language, the order of the verbs in the compound construction is main-vector (Hopper & Traugott 1993:109)

benefactives in English exhibit a different syntactic pattern from their Marathi or Japanese counterparts. Though Marathi and Japanese both use GIVE for expressing benefactives, there are differences in the usage of GIVE as a main verb. In Marathi, *deNe* 'to give' in its use as a main verb can take a far wider range of direct objects, as tabulated below.

(6) A. Concrete and Abstract Objects

Kind of Object	Concrete	Abstract
Favourable	paise 'money' pustak 'book'	kalpanA 'idea' mAn 'respect'
Unfavourable	thappaD 'slap' bukki 'punch'	trAs 'harassment' phAshI 'hanging'

B. Metaphorical Usage

prAn deNe 'to sacrifice one's life' life give baLI deNe 'to make scapegoat of' victim give

In Marathi *deNe* 'to give' can take a wide range of direct objects, including abstract ones. Further, these objects may or may not be favourable to the recipient. Objects such as cursing, abuse, etc., are unfavourable to the recipient, while objects such as advice, suggestion, present, etc., are favourable to the recipient. In contrast to this, Japanese verbs of giving generally do not take objects which are abstract or unfavourable to the recipient as exemplified below.

Marathi

(7) a. mI rAm-lA AmbA di-l-A
1PSG Ram-DAT mango.M give-PAST-M
'I gave a mango to Ram.'

b. rAm-ne ma-lA shiwi di-l-I
Ram-ERG 1PSG-DAT abuse.F give-PAST-F

'Ram abused me (Lit. Ram gave me abuse).'

Japanese

(8) a. Boku wa Hanako ni ame o ya-tta
1PSG TOP Hanako DAT candy ACC give-PAST
'I gave Hanako a candy.'

b. *Boku wa Hanako ni waruguchi o ya-tta
1PSG TOP Hanako DAT abuse ACC give-PAST
'I abused Hanako (Lit. I gave Hanako abuse).'

Second, Japanese employs two verbs for expressing the notion of giving viz. *yaru* and *kureru*, and the relation between the goal and the agent determines the choice between the two. The verb *yaru* takes a non-speaker as a recipient, while *kureru* takes the speaker or those belonging to his in-group as a recipient. In contrast to this, Marathi employs only one verb viz. *deNe* which is neutral between the speaker and the non-speaker as shown below.

Marathi

(9) a. mI rAm-lA pustak di-l-e
1PSG Ram-DAT book.N give-PAST-N
'I gave Ram a book.'

b. rAm-ne ma-lA pustak di-l-e
Ram-ERG 1PSG-DAT book.N give-PAST-N
'Ram give me a book.'

Japanese

(10) a. Boku wa Hanako ni hon o ya-tta/*kure-ta
1PSG NOM Hanako DAT book ACC give-PAST
'I gave Hanako a book.'

b. Hanako wa boku ni hon o kure-ta/*ya-tta

Hanako NOM 1PSG DAT book ACC give-PAST
'Hanako gave me a book.'

The above data reveals that there are many differences between the usage of GIVE as a main verb in Japanese and Marathi.

4.3 Usage of *deNe* 'to give' as an Auxiliary Verb

In Marathi, the verb *deNe* is used as an auxiliary in two types of constructions viz. the benefactive and the permissive causative as exemplified below.

Benefactive Construction

(11) rAm-ne sitA-lA kholI zAD-Un di-l-I
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT room.F sweep-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram swept/cleaned the room for Sita.'

Permissive Causative Construction

(12) rAm-ne sitA-lA kholI zaD-U di-l-I
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT room.F sweep-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram let Sita sweep the room.'

Permissive causative constructions are discussed in detail chapter 3. In the present chapter we confine ourselves to the benefactive construction.

4.4 Benefactive Constructions

As mentioned earlier, Marathi and Japanese both use verbs of giving in their benefactive constructions. To be more precise, benefactives make use of compound verbal forms, with the main verb inflected either as a participle or a conjoining form as exemplified below.

Marathi

(13) rAm- ne sitA-lA pustak (wik-at) ghe-Un di-l-e

Ram-ERG Sita-DAT book.N (sell-MAN) take-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Ram bought Sita a book.'

Japanese

(14) Taroo wa Hanako ni hon o ka-tte ya-tta
Taro NOM Hanako DAT book ACC buy-CONJ give-PAST
'Taro bought Hanako a book.'

Benefactive constructions in Japanese are based on the GIVE schema, while those in Marathi are based on two different schemata viz. the GIVE and the SHOW schema. Benefactives in both languages are structurally identical and take the form of a direct object/indirect object configuration.

It is interesting to note that even though *deNe* in its usage as a main verb can take objects which are unfavourable to the recipient, it cannot take such objects in its usage as benefactive auxiliary verb. The theme nominal which exerts unfavourable effect on the recipient cannot be construed as something beneficial in Marathi as shown below.

(15) *rAm-ne sitA-lA gADI moD-Un di-l-I
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT vehicle.F destroy-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram destroyed the vehicle for Sita'

Nevertheless, this situation can be construed as benefactive if the beneficiary viz. Sita wants the vehicle to be destroyed.

4.4.1 The GIVE Schema in Marathi

Let us take a closer look at the GIVE schema in Marathi. The benefactive constructions based on the GIVE schema can be broadly classified into two categories on the basis of the nature of the theme object (i.e. NP3 = benefit)

A) Benefit: Concrete object

When the theme nominal (NP3) is a concrete object, the benefactive construction involves a physical transfer from NP1(Agent) to NP2 (Goal). In this case,

possessive control is interpreted as the physical possession of the theme object by the goal nominal.

(16) a. rAm-ne sitA-lA sAykal ghe-Un di-l-I
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT bicycle.F take-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram bought Sita a bicycle.'

b. mI tyA-lA patra lih-Un di-l-e
1PSG he-DAT letter.N write-CONJ give-PAST-N
'I wrote a letter for him.'

B) Benefit: a favourable effect

The transfer of something beneficial to NP2 takes the form of a favourable effect created by the agent (NP1). This can be considered as a case of metaphorical extension where, for example, a clean garden or a lit lamp represents a favourable effect transferred to the goal.

(17) a. rAm-ne sitA-lA bAg jhAD-Un di-l-I
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT garden.F sweep-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram swept the garden for Sita.'

b. rAm-ne sitA-lA lAiT lAw-Un di-l-I
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT lamp.F switch on-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram switched on the light for Sita.'

In Marathi, semantic features of main verb *deNe* 'to give' are thus partially carried over to its usage's as a auxiliary in the benefactive construction. Like the main verb, the auxiliary takes abstract objects. However, it cannot take objects exerting an adverse effect on the recipient. This fact reveals that extra-linguistic/pragmatic information plays an important in the construal of the benefactive construction. In this regard, Japanese appears to be even more restricted than Marathi. Many of the benefactives in Marathi mentioned earlier turn out to be ungrammatical in Japanese. These kinds of cross-linguistic variation are taken up in Section 4.8. Let us now discuss the other kind of schema peculiar to Marathi viz. the SHOW schema.

4.4.2 The SHOW Schema in Marathi

In Marathi, situations involving a beneficial audio-visual performance are construed in terms of the SHOW schema. The properties associated with the SHOW schema are as follows.

(18) The SHOW schema
Structure: {NP1 NP2 NP3 SHOW}
NP1 = coded as a subject
NP2 = coded as an indirect object
NP3 = coded as a direct object
Semantics: NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO PERCEIVE NP3 BY PERFORMING NP3
NP1 = human agent
NP2 = human experiencer
NP3 = theme object constituting an audio-visual performance

Let us first see the basic usage of *dAkhawNe* 'to show' as a main verb, and then its usage as an auxiliary verb in benefactive constructions.

A. Usage of *dAkhawNe* 'to show' as a main verb

(19) mI ti-lA phoTo dAkhaw-l-A
1PSG 3PSG-DAT photo.M show-PAST.M
'I showed her the photograph.'

B. Usage of *dAkhawNe* 'to show' as a auxiliary verb: the SHOW schema

Audio Performance

(20) a. mI tyA-lA gANe mhaN-Un dAkhaw-l-e
1PSG 3PSG-DAT song.N sing-CONJ show-PAST.N
'I sang a song for him.'

b. mI tyA-lA patra wAc-Un dAkhaw-l-e
1PSG 3PSG-DAT letter.N read-CONJ show-PAST.N
'I read out a letter for him.'

Visual Performance

c. mI tyA-lA nAc kar-Un dAkhaw-l-A
1PSG 3PSG-DAT dance.M do-CONJ show-PAST-M
'I performed a dance for him.'

d. mI tyA-lA nakkal kar-Un dAkhaw-l-I
1PSG 3PSG-DAT mime.F do-CONJ show-PAST.F
'I performed a mime for him.'

Japanese also has a compound form using the verb *miseru* 'to show' but such a expression does not convey a benefactive meaning as shown below.

(21) Taroo wa Hanako ni uta o uta-tte mise-ta
Taro TOP Hanako DAT song ACC sing-CONJ show-PAST
'Taro showed off to Hanako by singing a song.'

Having seen the usual/ordinary benefactive construction let us take a look at the special/conventionalized benefactive expressions.

4.5 Conventionalized Benefactive Constructions

In Marathi, situations originally involving an exchange of presents on auspicious occasions are construed as benefactives. Such conventionalized benefactives are very few in number. The properties associated with them are as follows:

Structure: {NP1 NP2 NP3 V}
NP1 = coded as a subject
NP2 = coded as an indirect object
NP3 = coded as a direct object
Semantics: NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO HAVE NP3 AS A PRESENT
ON AN AUSPICIOUS OCCASION

NP1 = human agent
NP2 = human goal
NP3 = benefit: a present on an auspicious occasion

These benefactives are different from those based on the GIVE or SHOW schema in that they do not use a compound verbal form. In other words, the absence of an auxiliary verb is the salient feature of such benefactives as shown below.

(22) a. rAm-ne sitA-lA dAgine ke-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT jewelery.N do-PAST-N
'Ram got the jewelry made and presented it to Sita.'

b. sitA-ne rAm-lA sharT shiw-l-A
Sita-ERG Ram-DAT shirt.M stitch-PAST-M
'Sita got the shirt stitched and presented it to Ram.'

These expressions have a latent meaning whereby NP1 and NP2 are either in a blood relationship or have an intimate relationship which underlies the exchange of presents. If such a relationship does not exist between the agent (NP1) and the goal (NP2), the expressions turn out to be ungrammatical:

(23) a. *sonArA-ne sitA-lA dAgine ke-l-e
goldsmith-ERG Sita-DAT jewelery.N do-PAST-N
'The goldsmith made and presented jewelry to Sita.'

b. *shimpyA-ne rAm-lA sharT shiw-l-A
tailor-ERG Ram-DAT shirt.M stitch-PAST-M
'The tailor stitched and presented a shirt to Ram.'

It is interesting to note that such conventionalized benefactives can also be construed in terms of the GIVE schema. In this case, the restriction on the specific relationship between the agent and the goal is lifted, as exemplified in (24).

(24) a. sonArA-ne sitA-lA dAgine kar-Un di-l-e
goldsmith-ERG Sita-DAT jewellery.N do-CONJ give-PAST-N
'The goldsmith made jewelry for Sita.'

b. shimpyA-ne rAm-lA sharT shi-Un di-l-A
tailor-ERG Ram-DAT shirt.M stitch-CONJ give-PAST-M
'The tailor stitched a shirt for Ram.'

These sentences are interpreted as benefactives on a reading where the goal nominal (NP2) is in urgent need of NP3, and in response to request the agent (NP1) obliges him by fulfilling it. The favour done by the agent yields a benefit to the goal nominal. Further, if the agent and the goal are in a blood relationship or have an intimate relationship, the nuance is added in which the agent has a skill to perform the activity indicated by the verb. Note the following contrast.

(25) a. rAm-ne sitA-lA dAgine ke-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT jewelery.N do-PAST-N
'Ram got the jewelry made and presented it to Sita.'

b. rAm-ne sitA-lA dAgine kar-Un di-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT jewelery.N do-PTCPL give-PAST-N
'Ram made the jewelry himself and presented it to Sita.'

It is interesting to note that expressions conveying conventionalized situations tend to use short forms while those conveying ordinary or unconventional situations make use of long ones. This relationship between conventional/unconventional situations and the short/long form is also observed in the case of causatives [Cf. Chapter 3]. Let us now explore syntactic properties of the benefactive expressions.

4.6 The Syntax of Benefactive Constructions

Both Marathi and Japanese benefactives use the GIVE schema. In this section the syntax of benefactive constructions based on this schema is explored. As mentioned earlier, in English the beneficiary (NP2) is encoded as a primary object while in Marathi and Japanese it is encoded as an indirect object.

(26) a. English : John gave Mary a book.
NP1 gave NP2 NP3

NP2 = Mary = primary object

b. **Marathi** : sitA-ne rAm-lA pustak wikat gheun dile
NP1 NP2 NP3 V- CONJ GIVE
'Sita bought Ram a book.'
NP2 = Ram = indirect object
NP3 = pustak(book) = direct object

c. **Japanese** : Taroo ga Hanako ni hon o katte yatta
NP1 NP2 NP3 V-CONJ GIVE
'Taro bought Hanako a book.'
NP2 = Hanako = indirect object
NP3 = hon (book) = direct object

Japanese has two verbs for giving viz. *yaru*, which takes the non-speaker as recipient, and *kureru*, which takes speaker or those belonging to his in-group as recipient. In contrast to this, Marathi has only one verb for giving, viz. *deNe*. The syntax of GIVE in its usage as a main verb is carried over the auxiliary in benefactive constructions. In the case of *kureru* (give me/us), the recipient can be omitted because it is speaker-oriented by nature and the beneficiary is uniquely recoverable. However, it is not deletable in the case of *deNe* and *yAru* since both are goal-oriented and therefore the beneficiary is not uniquely recoverable. Note the following contrast.

Japanese

(27) a. Kyoo Taroo ga Hanako ni hon o ka-tte
today Taro NOM Hanako DAT book ACC buy-CONJ
ya-tta.
give-PAST
'Today, Taro bought Hanako a book.'

b. *Kyoo Taroo ga hon o ka-tte ya-tta.
today Taro NOM book ACC buy-CONJ give-PAST
'(Lit.) Today, Taro bought and gave a book.'

c. Kyoo Taroo ga boku ni hon o ka-tte
today Taro NOM 1SG DAT book ACC buy-CONJ
kure-ta.
give-PAST
'Today, Taro bought me a book.'

d. Kyoo Taroo ga hon o ka-tte kure-ta.
today Taro NOM book ACC buy-CONJ give-PAST
'Today, Taro bought me a book.'

Marathi

(28) a. Aj rAm-ne sitA-lA patra lih-Un di-l-e
today Ram-ERG Sita-DAT letter.N write-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Today, Ram wrote a letter for Sita.'

b. *Aj rAm-ne patra lih-Un di-l-e
today Ram-ERG letter.N write-CONJ give-PAST-N
'(Lit.) Today, Ram wrote a letter for.'

Let us now take a close look at the semantic properties of the benefactive constructions.

4.7 The Semantics of Benefactive Constructions

As shown in (4)--repeated here to facilitate the discussion--the semantic properties of benefactive constructions based on the GIVE schema are as follows.

NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO HAVE NP3
NP1 = human agent
NP2 = human goal
NP3 = object theme
NP2 exercises possessive control over NP3
NP1 creates possessive control on behalf of NP2

First, the indirect object (NP2) of the GIVE construction is typically human and

this property is carried over to benefactives in Marathi as well as Japanese as shown below.

Marathi

(29) a. roTarI klab- ne rAm-lA madat miLaw-Un di-l-I
Rotary club-ERG Ram-DAT aid.F obtain-CONJ give-PAST-F
'The Rotary club organized aid for Ram.'

b. rAm-ne roTarI klab-lA madat miLaw-Un di-l-I
Ram-ERG Rotary club-DAT aid.F obtain-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram organized aid for the Rotary club.'

c. *rAm-ne ImArati-lA madat miLaw-Un di-l-I
Ram-ERG building-DAT aid.F obtain-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram organized aid for the building.'

In Japanese, the property of humanness of agent and goal is extended to living beings such as flowers, pets etc. In this regard, Marathi is more restrictive, and does not allow the agent or the goal to be anything other than human beings or personified objects. Note the following contrast.

Japanese

(30) a. Taroo ga Hana ni mizu o kake-te
Taro NOM flowers DAT water ACC pour-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro watered the flowers.'

b. Taroo ga hato ni esa o mai-te
Taro NOM pigeons DAT food ACC throw-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro fed the pigeons.'

Marathi

(31) a. *rAm- ne phul-An-nA pANi Tak-Un di-l-e
Ram-ERG flower-PL-DAT water.N throw-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Ram watered the flowers.'

b. *rAm- ne kabutar-An-nA dANe Tak-Un di-l-e
Ram-ERG pigeon-PL-DAT food.N throw-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Ram fed the pigeons.'

The second salient feature of the benefactive construction is the change of possessive control from NP1 to NP2 as the notion of possession is a basic property of the verb GIVE. This is the most important semantic property that determines the well-formedness of benefactive constructions. In the case of intransitive verbs, the theme object (NP3)--over which the beneficiary *can* exercise possessive control--is absent, hence intransitive-based benefactives are precluded in many languages, including Marathi and Japanese. Transitivity is thus a necessary condition for the well-formedness of benefactives--but not the ultimate decisive factor. There are certain canonical transitive events, such as killing a cockroach for someone's sake, or 'ingestive' (semi-transitive) events such as studying for someone's sake, tasting wine for someone's sake, etc. which neither result in possession of a theme object nor imply a conventionalized effect on the beneficiary. Such situations cannot be construed as benefactives as shown below.

Marathi

(32) a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA jhuraL mAr-Un di-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT cockroach.N kill-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Ram killed the cockroach for Sita.'

b. *rAm-ne sitA-lA abhyAs kar-Un di-l-A
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT study.M do-CONJ give-PAST-M
'Ram studied for Sita.'

c. *rAm-ne sitA-lA wAin-cI caw ghe-Un
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT wine-GEN taste.F take-CONJ

di-l-I
give-PAST-F
'Ram tasted the wine for Sita.'

Japanese

(33) a. *Taroo ga Hanako ni gokiburi o koroshi-te
Taro NOM Hanako DAT cockroach ACC kill-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro killed the cockroach for Hanako.'

b. *Taroo ga Hanako ni benkyoo o shi-te
Taro NOM Hanako DAT study ACC do-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro studied for Hanako.'

c. *Taroo ga Hanako ni wain o ajimi shi-te
Taro NOM Hanako DAT wine ACC taste do-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro tasted the wine for Hanako.'

This shows that benefactive constructions require a highly specific semantic transitivity--allowing only those verbs that contain a transferable object theme. In the case of benefactives then, transitivity must be understood in a scalar semantic terms, rather than polar syntactic ones.

Languages may put selectional restrictions on the type of theme object they allow. In Marathi, the act of killing a cockroach for someone cannot be construed as beneficial. However, the act of killing a chicken or a goat for someone can be realized as a benefactive.

(34) a. rAm ne sitA lA kombaDI mAr-Un di-l-I
Ram ERG Sita DAT chicken.F kill-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram killed a chicken for Sita.'

b. rAm ne sitA lA bokaD mAr-Un di-l-A
Ram ERG Sita DAT goat.M kill-CONJ give-PAST-M
'Ram killed a goat for Sita.'

In these examples, we assume the resultant possession of meat on the part of the beneficiary. Nevertheless, these sentences have one more interpretation in Marathi in which NP2 (Sita) is unable to kill the animal in question, hence NP1 (Ram) did it for her.

A third semantic characteristic of GIVE is the creation of a possessive situation by someone other than the possessor. This gives rise to a general "favour" reading if the beneficiary comes in possession of the theme object or a specific "on behalf of" reading if the beneficiary does not come in the possession of the theme object. In the case of Marathi, the latter reading is more conspicuous than the former, as exemplified below.

Marathi

(35) rAm-ne sitA-lA Ambe wik-Un di-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT mango.N sell-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Ram sold mangos on behalf of Sita.'

Japanese

(36) Taroo ga Hanako ni mango o u-tte
Taro NOM Hanako DAT mango ACC sell-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro did Hanako a favour of selling mangos to her.'

Marathi sentence (35) is interpreted as follows: Sita was trying to sell mangos but could not sell them, so Ram helped her. The benefit for Sita is the money made from the sale. In contrast to this, Japanese sentence (36) means that Hanako was very keen on buying mangos, and Taro obliged her by selling them to her.

To summarize, Japanese has only a "favour" reading for interpreting benefactives, while Marathi has two readings viz. the "favour" and the "on behalf

of' reading. These facts are tabulated below.

(37)

Benefit Interpretation	Japanese	Marathi
a. arising out of favour by NP1	Acceptable	Acceptable
b. arising out of inability of NP2	Unacceptable	Acceptable

Japanese does not permit the interpretation (37b), and in this respect is more restrictive than Marathi. The benefactives in (38) are thus well-formed in Marathi, but their Japanese equivalents in (39) are not. Possessive control in this case is interpreted as a favourable effect created by the event constituted of {theme + the main verb}.

Marathi

(38) a. mI ti-lA dAr banda kar-Un di-l-e
1PSG 3PSG-DAT door.N close do-CONJ give-PAST-N
'I closed the door for her.'

b. mI ti-lA diwA banda kar-Un di-l-A
1PSG 3PSG-DAT lamp close.M do-CONJ give-PAST-M
'I switched off the lamp for her.'

Japanese

(39) a. *Taroo wa Hanako ni doa o shime-te
Taro TOP Hanako DAT door ACC close-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro closed door for Hanako.'

b. *Taroo wa Hanako ni ranpu o keshi-te
Taro TOP Hanako DAT lamp ACC switch off-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST

'Taro switched off lamp for Hanako.'

Let us now take up the cross-linguistic variations between Marathi and Japanese benefactives.

4.8 The Benefactive in Marathi & Japanese: A Contrast

In this section, we will provide a contrastive study of the benefactives in Marathi and Japanese. The study would be divided into two parts viz. cross-linguistic variations and contributions of the contrastive study. In the former part we highlight similarities and differences between Marathi and Japanese benefactive expressions while in the latter part we discuss insights gained from such a contrastive study of typologically diverse languages. Let us start with the cross-linguistic variations.

4.8.1 Cross-Linguistic Variations

In this section we will highlight the similarities and differences between the benefactive constructions in Marathi and Japanese. As for benefactives Marathi and Japanese behave alike to a large extent in that in both the languages intransitive and ingestive verbs typically fail to yield benefactives showing that benefactives are sensitive to semantic transitivity rather than syntactic one. However, Marathi and Japanese do differ in many respects. Let us consider such cross-linguistic variations.

Ungrammatical benefactives can be divided into two categories: a) grammatically ill-formed and b) grammatically well-formed but construally ill-formed. Intransitive-based benefactives belong to the former type, while unacceptable benefactives based on transitive verbs belong to the latter (cf. example c in Japanese in the table given below). With transitive verbs, varying degrees of acceptability are observed both language-internally and cross-linguistically. Let us first consider some cross-linguistic variations with the help of the following English examples, arranged according to the relative ease of benefactive formation (Shibatani 1996: 170).

Verb class	Examples	English	Japanese	Marathi
Transitive	a. I bought Sita a book.	O. K.	O. K.	O. K.
	b. I opened Sita the door.	N. G.	O. K.	O. K.
	c. I closed Sita the door.	N. G.	N. G.	O. K.
Ingestive	d. I tasted Sita the wine.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.
Ditransitive	e. I taught Sita English.	O. K.	O. K.	N. G.
Intransitive	f. I danced Sita.	N. G.	N. G.	O. K.
(cognate object)	g. I sang Sita.	N. G.	N. G.	O. K.
Intransitive	i. I went Sita to the market.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.

These data reveal that English is the most restrictive language in terms of benefactives, while Marathi and Japanese are less constrained. The transition from most restrictive to less constrained language can be observed at different cut-off points. English draws the line between (a) and (b), while Japanese does so between (b) and (c), and Marathi between (c) and (d). A transitive event of "closing someone the door" is an acceptable expression in Marathi but barred in Japanese. As mentioned earlier, this is a construally, rather than a grammatically ill-formed structure. In Marathi, "closing someone the door" is a viable expression while "tasting someone the wine" is not. This is because the former is conventionalized as having a favourable effect, while the latter is not. Note that the latter involves an ingestive verb, implying an activity confined to the sphere of the subject. Ingestive verbs despite being transitive syntactically fail to yield benefactives since they do not imply an object over which the beneficiary can exercise possessive control. Further, Marathi yields acceptable benefactives based on intransitive verbs with cognate objects, as these verbs are transitive semantically and thus satisfy the conditions of the relevant schema. These facts lend a strong support to the claim made in Shibatani (1998b) that transitivity--in so far as it correlates to voice phenomena--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms. With regard to benefactives, Marathi and Japanese exhibit the following variations:

a) Intransitive verbs: Benefactives based on true intransitive verbs, i.e., intransitive verbs without cognate objects are not permitted. In Japanese construal is not forced if the goal is omitted, however yielding well-formed benefactives.

b) Intransitive verbs with potential cognate objects: Benefactives based on verbs like SING and DANCE yield well-formed benefactives in Marathi, while

SEW does not. In contrast, Japanese intransitive verbs with cognate objects do not yield well-formed benefactives at all.

c) Transitive verbs: Situations like closing the door for someone's sake or switching off the light for someone are construed in terms of the GIVE schema in Marathi, whereas construal fails in Japanese.

d) Ditransitive verbs: Verbs like TEACH, ASK, and TELL yield well-formed benefactives in Japanese but not in Marathi.

Having summarized the variations, let us now turn to an account for them. As pointed out by Shibatani (1994, 1194a, 1996), transitivity is a necessary condition for construal in benefactive construction but not a sufficient one. What is more important is the notion of "possession" of the theme on the part of the beneficiary. True intransitive verbs do not involve an object which can be possessed by the beneficiary, hence intransitive events fail to yield benefactives in Marathi as well as Japanese. Note the following examples.

Marathi

(40) *rAm-ne sitA-lA bAjArA-t jA-Un di-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT market-to go-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Ram went to the market for Sita.'

Japanese

(41) *Taroo ga Hanako ni ichiba e i-tte ya-tta
Taro NOM Hanako DAT market to go-CONJ give-PAST
'Taro went to the market for Hanako.'

If the goal nominal is not overtly expressed, however even intransitive verbs yield well-formed benefactives in Japanese since the construal is not forced. Still, this is not the case in Marathi, as shown below.

Japanese

(42) Hanako ni tanom-are-ta node, boku wa ichiba
Hanako DAT ask-PASS-PAST since 1PSG NOM market

e i-tte ya-tta
to go-CONJ give-PAST
'Because I was asked by Hanako, I went to the market for her.'

Marathi

(43) *sitA-ne winantI ke-lI mhaNun, mI bAjArA-t
Sita-ERG request do-PAST because 1PSG market-to
jA-Un di-l-e
go-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Because I was asked by Sita, I went to the market for her.'

Marathi does not allow benefactives based on intransitive verbs, as they neither involve a concrete theme which can be possessed by the beneficiary, nor can they imply any favourable effect on the beneficiary. The presence of a concrete theme is obligatory for construal in Marathi. In Japanese it is optional if the goal is not overtly expressed, yielding a well-formed benefactive. The circumstances under which construal of the concerned schema becomes optional may be language-specific.

As for intransitive verbs with cognate objects, Marathi clearly demonstrates the transitivity effect in the formation of benefactives. There, intransitive verbs with cognate objects yield well-formed benefactives, unlike Japanese. These effects are exemplified below.

Marathi

(44) a. sitA-ne ram-lA gANe gAw-Un dAkhaw-l-e
Sita-ERG Ram-DAT song.N sing-CONJ show-PAST-N
'Sita sang a song for Ram.'

b. sitA-ne ram-lA gAw-Un dAkhaw-l-e
Sita-ERG Ram-DAT sing-CONJ show-PAST-N
'Sita sang for Ram.'

Japanese

(45) a. Hanako wa boku ni uta o uta-tte
Hanako NOM 1PSG DAT song ACC sing-CONJ
kure-ta
give-PAST
'Hanako sang a song for me.'

b. *Hanako wa boku ni uta-tte kure-ta
Hanako NOM 1PSG DAT sing-CONJ give-PAST
'Hanako sang for me.'

It should be noted that, in Marathi, not all intransitive cognate object verbs yield benefactives. Verbs like SING and DANCE yield well-formed benefactives, while SEW does not. In the case of SING and DANCE this may be due to conflation of the theme nominal into the verb [Cf. *gANa* "song"----*gA-Ne* "to sing" and *nAc* "dance"---*nac-Ne* "to dance"]. Such verbs imply a covert theme nominal, hence are semantically transitive. Benefactive expressions based on SING and DANCE use the SHOW schema since they involve an audio-visual performance.

Let us now turn to variations observed in transitive events, which canonically involve a theme. The first prerequisite for construal is thus satisfied. When the theme is a concrete object, it passes from the agent to the goal, in which case possessive control is realized as the physical possession of the theme by the beneficiary. This is the prototypical notion of possession. Further, possession of a theme by the goal is construed as something beneficial. This notion of possession can in turn be 'stretched', so as to construe abstract effects as beneficial. In Marathi as well as Japanese, situations portraying a transitive event such as opening a door for someone can thus be construed as beneficial. In events like opening a window for someone, however Japanese and Marathi exhibit variation. Marathi yields well-formed benefactives while in Japanese these are not unequivocally accepted. Further, in the case of events like closing a door/switching off a light for someone, Marathi yields well-formed benefactives while Japanese does not[Cf. (38), (39)]. This is due to a difference in the extent to which a language permits extension of the notion of "possession", as well as the "conventionalization" of abstract effects. Each culture limits the extent to which metaphoric interpretation or metonymic construal is permitted (Shibatani 1996: 184). The reason then that Marathi surpasses the cut-off point of Japanese on the continuum of benefactive constructions lies with the difference in the degree of extension of

"possession" and the "conventionalization" of abstract effects. In Japanese, moreover, the goal nominal in the case of benefactives based on transitive verbs can be optionally deleted, while in Marathi, its presence is obligatory. Note the following contrast.

Japanese

(46) a. Taroo ni tanomareta node, boku wa kare-ni
Taro by asked because 1PSG TOP 2PSG-DAT
mango o takusan ka-tte ya-tta
mangos ACC many buy-CONJ give-PAST
'Because I was asked by Taro, I bought him a lot of mangos.'
[*Because I was asked by Taro, I bought a lot of mangos but did not give them to him.]

b. Taroo ni tanomareta node, boku wa mango o
Taro by asked because 1PSG TOP mangos ACC
takusan ka-tte ya-tta
many buy-CONJ give-PAST
'Because I was asked to by Taro, I bought a lot of mangos.'

Marathi

(47) a. rAm-ne winantI kelI mhaNun, mI tyA-lA
Ram-ERG request did because 1PSG 2PSG-DAT
khUp Ambe ghe-Un di-l-e
many mangos.N take-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Because I was asked by Ram, I bought him a lot of mangos.'
[*Because I was asked by Ram, I bought a lot of mangos but did not give him.]

b. *rAm-ne winantI kelI mhaNun, mI khUp
Ram-ERG request did because 1PSG many
Ambe ghe-Un di-l-e
mangos.N take-CONJ give-PAST-N
'Because I was asked to by Ram, I bought a lot of mangos.'

In Japanese, when the goal NP is not overtly expressed, the construal by the GIVE schema becomes optional while in Marathi it does not. Consequently, a mismatch occurs between the construction and the schema in the case of Marathi, yielding an ungrammatical expression. As mentioned earlier, the circumstances under which construal in terms of the concerned schema becomes optional may be a language-specific. To sum up, Marathi is less constrained than Japanese with respect to benefactives based on monotransitive verbs.

Finally, consider the case of benefactives based on ditransitive verbs. Here Japanese yields well-formed benefactives, while in Marathi construal by the GIVE schema depends on the nature of the theme nominal. If the theme nominal is a concrete object, construal is allowed. If not, the notion of transfer becomes redundant and construal fails as exemplified below.

Japanese

(48) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni furansugo o oshie-te
Taro NOM Hanako DAT French ACC teach-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro taught Hanako French.'

b. Taroo ga Hanako ni sonokoto o hanashi-te
Taro NOM Hanako DAT that thing ACC tell-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro gave someone the benefit of telling Hanako that.'

c. Taroo ga Hanako ni shashin o mise-te
Taro NOM Hanako DAT photo ACC show-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
'Taro showed Hanako the photograph.'

Marathi

(49) a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA phrenc bhAshA shikaw-Un
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT French language.F teach-CONJ
di-l-I
give-PAST-F
'Ram taught Sita the French language.'

b. *rAm-ne sitA-lA tI goshTa sAng-Un di-l-I
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT that thing tell-CONJ give-PAST-F
'Ram gave someone the benefit of telling Sita that.'

c. *rAm-ne sitA-lA phoTo dAkhaw-Un di-l-A
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT photo.M show-CONJ give-PAST-M
'Ram showed Sita the photograph.'

As pointed out by Hook (1991), Marathi verbs are at a less advanced stage of being grammaticalized into auxiliaries and there is preference for an auxiliary to be used only when the main verb is inherently unspecified in terms of "completeness".[3] In

[3] Hindi and Marathi differ considerably along the parameter of degree of grammaticalization of lexical verbs. The following data of the relative textual frequency of simple versus compound verbs in Hindi and related languages is prima facie evidence of the degree of grammaticalization (Hook 1991: 65).

Shina (Gilgit)	0
Kashmiri	1
Marathi	3
Gujarati	6
Bengali	7
Marwari	8
Hindi-Urdu	9

Textual frequency is accompanied by differences in the kinds of main verb which may be accompanied by a vector verb. Marathi represents a less advanced stage of grammaticalization of vector verbs. Here there is a preference for a vector verb to be used only when the main verb is inherently unspecified according to

other words, auxiliaries add aspectual information. Moreover, since grammaticalization is at a less advanced stage in Marathi, the semantic range of grammatical morphemes has not been greatly generalized. Three-place predicates like TEACH, TELL, SHOW, and SEND imply "conceptual completeness" of the concerned action in and of themselves. They have an inherent meaning of transfer from agent to goal nominal, hence the addition of GIVE is redundant. It is interesting to note that in Marathi the addition of GIVE as a benefactive auxiliary is permitted in the case of three place predicate like SEND, despite the fact that it implies a conceptual completeness of the concerned action.

(50) a. rAm-ne sitA-lA paise pAthw-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT money.N send-PAST-N
'Ram sent money to Sita.'

b. rAm-ne sitA-lA paise pAthw-Un di-l-e
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT money.N send-CONJ give-PAST-N
A. 'Ram sent money to Sita.'
B. 'Ram did Sita a favour by sending her money.'

(50b) above is ambiguous between the two readings A and B. Interpretation A expresses a completeness of the concerned activity while interpretation B has a benefactive reading. This is an indication of the fact that the lexical verb *deNe* in Marathi has advanced little further on the path of grammaticalization, a process which correlates to semantic "bleaching". Among three place predicates, SEND is treated preferentially in yielding benefactives. This may be due to the concreteness or specificity of the theme nominal. At this juncture, it would be fitting to speculate on the future development of benefactives in Marathi. With the inevitable grammaticalization of *deNe* all ditransitive verbs should eventually permit benefactive expressions. In contrast to this, the process of grammaticalizing lexical verbs into auxiliaries is at an advanced stage in Japanese, hence grammaticalized auxiliaries have a more general meaning than their Marathi counterparts. Owing to the differences in the degree of grammaticalization, Marathi and Japanese consequently exhibit variation in the acceptability of benefactives based on three place predicates. The above discussion on cross-

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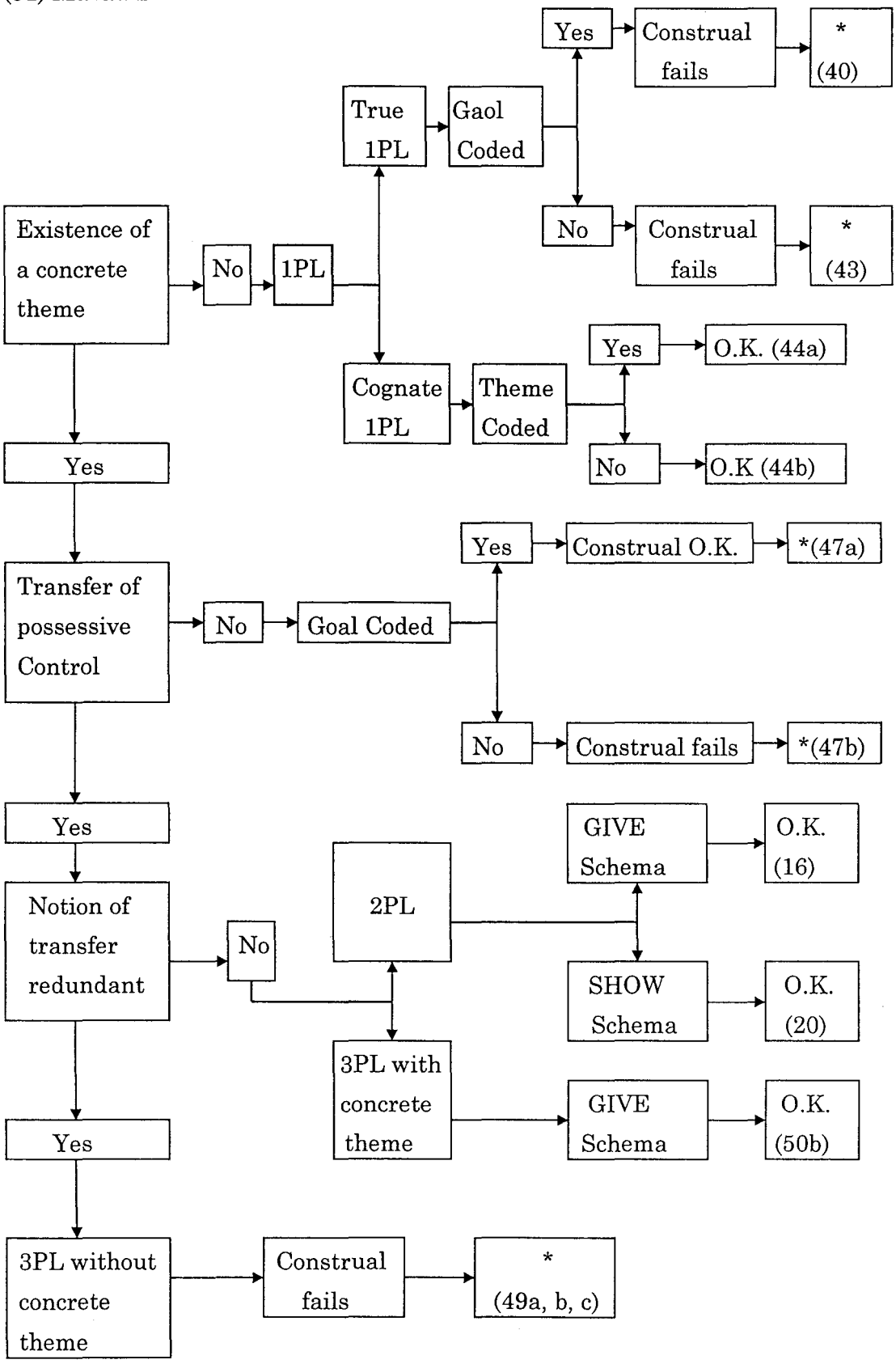
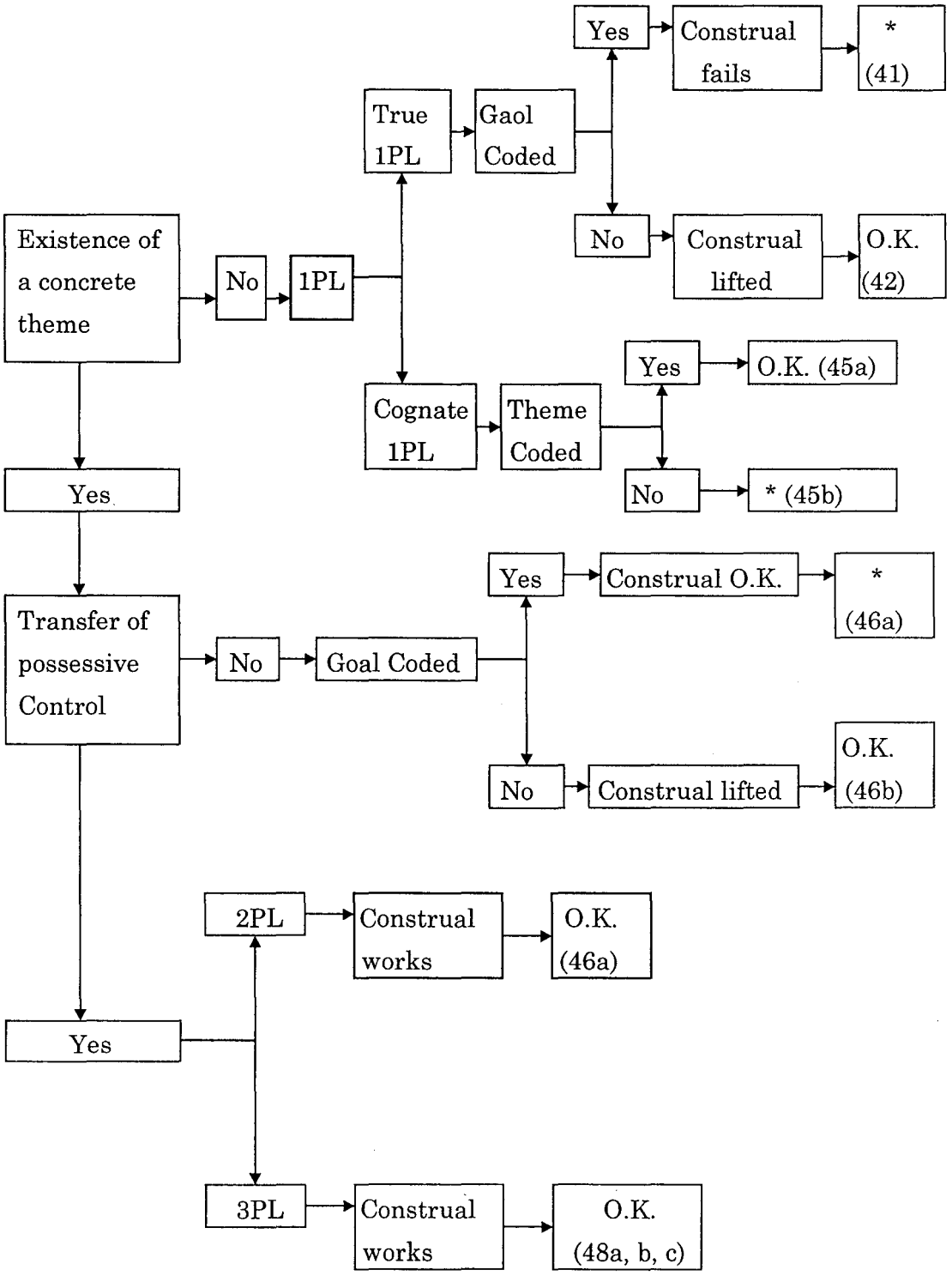
completeness.

linguistic variations is schematically summarized in (51) and (52).

(51) **Marathi**


Yes
Construal fails
*
(40)
True 1PL
Gaol Coded
Existence of a concrete theme
No
1PL
No
Construal fails
*
(43)
Yes
O.K. (44a)
Cognate 1PL
Theme Coded
Yes
No
O.K (44b)
Yes
Yes
Construal O.K.
*(47a)
Transfer of possessive Control
No
Goal Coded
No
Construal fails
*(47b)
Yes
GIVE Schema
O.K. (16)
2PL
Notion of transfer redundant
No
SHOW Schema
O.K. (20)
3PL with concrete theme
Yes
GIVE Schema
O.K. (50b)
3PL without concrete theme
Construal fails
*
(49a, b, c)

(52) **Japanese**


Yes
Construal fails
*
(41)
True 1PL
Gaol Coded
Existence of a concrete theme
No
1PL
No
Construal lifted
O.K.
(42)
Yes
O.K. (45a)
Cognate 1PL
Theme Coded
Yes
No
* (45b)
Yes
Yes
Construal O.K.
*
(46a)
Transfer of possessive Control
No
Goal Coded
No
Construal lifted
O.K.
(46b)
2PL
Construal works
O.K.
(46a)
Yes
3PL
Construal works
O.K.
(48a, b, c)

4.8.2 Contributions of the Contrastive Study

In the foregoing section we highlighted similarities and differences between the benefactive expressions in Marathi and Japanese. In this section we will discuss the contributions of the contrastive study to our understanding of benefactive constructions in general.

In the domain of benefactive constructions Marathi as well as Japanese share morphosyntactic similarities in that both use analytic method viz. use of auxiliary verb to express benefaction and encode the beneficiary as a indirect object. Further, the auxiliary verb employed is the same viz. GIVE. As seen earlier, the benefactive constructions in general are based on the GIVE schema. Marathi, however, makes use of two schemata viz. the GIVE schema and the SHOW schema--the selection of a particular schema depends on the type of benefit involved. Marathi data thus contributes to a better understanding of the benefactives by bringing to our attention the fact that languages do make fine distinctions among the benefit involved and may employ multiple schemata to represent these fine distinctions.

Another insight that we gain form the contrastive study is the difference in the degree of grammaticalization of the benefactive auxiliary and its repercussion on the form of benefactive expression. Japanese represents the advanced stage of grammaticalization while Marathi represents the less-advanced one. Higher the degree of grammaticalization greater is the degree of semantic bleaching of the benefactive auxiliary and vice versa. Owing to their high degree of grammaticalization, the benefactive auxiliary in Japanese, are more semantically bleached and their benefactive meaning is more generalized. Thus the addition of benefactive auxiliary is freely possible if other semantic restrictions are met. In Marathi, the case of three place predicates epitomizes the less-advanced degree of grammaticalization of the benefactive auxiliary--three place predicates typically resist the addition of it. Interestingly, this fact also has a repercussion on the deletability of the beneficiary/goal nominal. In Japanese, benefactives based on intransitive verbs are permitted if the beneficiary nominal is not specified [Cf. (42)]. Further, the deletion of beneficiary is also permitted in the case of benefactives based on transitive verbs as well [Cf. (46b)]. This is possible in Japanese because the lexical meaning of the benefactive auxiliary is completely bleached--they merely add the nuance of benefaction. On the other hand, in Marathi deletion of beneficiary nominal is not permitted since the benefactive auxiliary viz. GIVE retains it lexical meaning to a certain extent and requires the goal to be specified.

The fact that a three place predicate like SEND yields benefactive in Marathi is a precursor to the ongoing process of grammaticalization. We can speculate that in Marathi, eventually all three place predicates would allow the addition of the benefactive auxiliary and even permit beneficiary nominal deletion.

The contrastive study also offers insight into the role of construal and the culture-specific factors in the acceptability of benefactives. Each culture has its own limit of permitting metaphoric and metonymic extensions. Japanese permits deletion of beneficiary nominal in which case construal is not forced. Such is not the case in Marathi. Thus the conditions under which construals are lifted seem to be language specific. Further, as discussed earlier, the events like closing the door or switching off the light are construed as benefactive in Marathi but are barred in Japanese. The role of extra-linguistic information in determining grammaticality of a expression can not be ignored.

With this we conclude our discussion on the contributions of the contrastive study to a better understanding of the benefactive phenomena. In the following section we will present summary and conclusions.

4.9 Summary and Conclusions

The analysis of benefactives in Marathi within the framework of cognitive analysis proposed by Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996) presented in this Chapter confirms the following claims:

a. benefactive constructions are based on the GIVE schema
b. transfer of possessive control from the agent to the goal is obligatory in the construal of benefactives.

The contrast of Marathi and Japanese benefactives proves that a cognitive analysis can provide a unified account for benefactives.

In cases of intransitive events, Japanese yields well-formed benefactives when the goal nominal is omitted, while Marathi does not permit such benefactives. In Japanese, this is possible because the conditions permitting the construal are lifted. In the case of Marathi, construal fails irrespective of the presence or absence of the goal nominal. The circumstances under which construal in terms of the relevant schema becomes optional may be language-specific.

In the case of intransitive verbs with cognate objects like SING and DANCE, Marathi yields benefactives while Japanese does not. This follows from the fact that in Marathi, these verbs incorporate the theme nominal into the verb, and thus

imply a unique theme. Such verbs are semantically transitive and specify a theme over which the beneficiary can exercise possessive control. Cognate object verbs like SEW does not yield well-formed benefactives however, as they do not imply a unique theme. This fact demonstrates the transitivity effect which is a prerequisite for formation of benefactives. While syntactic transitivity is a necessary condition it is not a sufficient one. Ingestive verbs are transitive syntactically but typically fail to yield benefactives in both Marathi and Japanese. This is because these verbs express activities confined to the sphere of the subject. As a consequence, the goal nominal does not come into possession of the theme nominal--a prerequisite for the realization of grammatical benefactive expressions. This show that semantic, rather than syntactic transitivity dictates benefactive formation--lending further support to the claim that transitivity in its relationship to voice constructions should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms.

In the case of transitive events, Marathi appears to be less-constrained than Japanese. This is due to the difference in the extent to which a language permits the notion of "possession" to be extended, along with that of "conventionalization" of abstract effects. Owing to this difference, events like cleaning a garden for someone, switching off a light etc., can be construed as benefactives in Marathi but not in Japanese.

In the case of three-place predicates, Japanese yields well-formed benefactives. In Marathi, however well-formedness is subject to the concreteness of the theme nominal. This is due to the fact that Marathi is at a less advanced stage of grammaticalization than Japanese. The semantic range of the grammaticalized verbs is thus less generalized in Marathi than in Japanese. As a result, the addition of *deNe* to a lexical verb is possible only when the action or the state described by the main verb is "*conceptually incomplete*". Nevertheless, a Marathi three-place predicate like SEND yields well-formed benefactives despite the conceptual completeness of the concerned action. In our opinion, this fact is a precursor to semantic change, indicating that the lexical verb GIVE has advanced a little further on the path of grammaticalization.

In conclusion, (a) transitivity--in its relationship to the benefactives--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms and (b) the contrastive study of typologically diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese not only reveals similarities and differences between them but also contributes substantially to our understanding of benefactive phenomena in general.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Overall Summary

The preceding chapters of this thesis have addressed some crucial issues related to Marathi voice phenomena such as a) defining the domain of voice--i.e. what constructions should be treated under the rubric of voice, b) the state of polysemy exhibited by various voice phenomena, and c) the relationship between transitivity and voice. Following Shibatani (1998b), valency-changing phenomena such as the passive, causatives and benefactive are included under the rubric of voice, where the issue of transitivity figures most prominently. A comprehensive,unified account of these phenomena in Marathi was provided. In addition, a contrastive study of these voice-related constructions was also provided for Marathi and Japanese. It was demonstrated that the contrastive study of the voice phenomena between a predominantly analytic language like Marathi and a typical synthetic language like Japanese not only reveals similarities and differences between them but also makes substantial contributions to a better understanding of the voice phenomena in general. Each construction is discussed separately, exploring its relationship with the notion of transitivity and it was demonstrated that transitivity--in its relationship to the voice phenomena--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms as claimed in Shibatani (1998b). A brief summary of each chapter is given here.

In the first chapter, a general introduction to the research topic was provided, along with the aims and scope of the present thesis, methodological assumptions, framework, and other presentational details.

In chapter 2 we provided a comprehensive unified alternative analysis of the Marathi passive bringing to light the hitherto ignored COME passive and contrasting them with widely discussed GO passive. We showed that they are not mutually exclusive but their distribution is sensitive to the notion of "intentionality". Higher the degree of intentionality higher are the chances of employing COME passive and vice versa. We also explored the relationship of the GO passive with other

morphosyntactically related constructions like the spontaneous, the potential and the honorific within the prototypical framework of Shibatani (1985). These correlations were unnoticed hitherto and a contrastive study with their Japanese counterparts contributed in bringing them to light. We pointed out that the failure of the past analyses to identify these correlations led them to make misleading claims regarding the functions of the Marathi passive viz. expressing a capabilitative meaning and expressing a prescriptive meaning. We showed that the passive in Marathi does not express a capabilitative meaning as claimed in the earlier analyses [Pandharipande (1981), Rosen & Wali (1989)]--but it is rather the potential construction that shares morphosyntactic similarities with the passive. The Marathi passive neither conveys prescriptive meaning as claimed by Pandharipande (1981). The construction that conveys prescriptive meaning is in fact indirectly related to the honoric construction which shares morphosyntactic similarities with the passive. It was also demonstrated that, unlike the past analyses, transitivity--in its relationship to Marathi passive--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms since the ingestive verbs despite being syntactically transitive fail to yield passive. The contrast of diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese also provide significant insights into the mechanisms languages employ to fill up the lexical gaps with available means. In Marathi, passive forms are recruited to express spontaneous events, in case a transitive verb in question lacks a intransitive counterpart. The domain of passive in Japanese wider than its Marathi counterpart owing to the degree of extension of the prototypical class of passivizable verbs. On the other hand, the domain of spontaneous in Marathi is wider than that of Japanese since Marathi lexicon is poor in paired verbs. Needless to say, the contrastive study of typologically diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese makes substantial contributions to a better understanding of the passive and related phenomena in general. The state of polysemy exhibited by the passive and related expressions has its root in their diachronic development. Such a diachronic issue, however, is beyond the scope of the present study and is left for future research.

In chapter 3, adopting the semantic definition of causative proposed in Shibatani (1976b)--in sharp contrast with the past analyses which lay heavy emphasis on the formal definition--we identified constructions that can be embraced under the rubric of causative. Adopting the framework proposed in Shibatani (1998b) we explored correlations between the root verb semantics. The ingestive verbs--despite being

transitive--behave like unaccusative verbs yielding "direct", "manipulative", "one-event" and "contactive" causatives. On the other hand, the unergative verbs--despite being intransitive--behave like transitive verbs yielding "indirect", "non-manipulative", "two-event" and "non-contactive" causation. The binary notion of syntactic transitivity cannot account for these facts pointing out that transitivity--in so far as it correlates to causative--should be understood in terms of scalar semantic notion. We offered a comprehensive unified alternative analysis of Marathi causative and showed that the root verb semantics--the causee's perspective--together with the purpose of causation--the causer's perspective--determine the form of a causative expression. We also offered a contrastive study of Marathi and Japanese causative forms and demonstrated that a contrastive study of typologically diverse languages not only reveals similarities and differences between the causative constructions in respective languages but also provide significant insights into the better understanding of causative phenomena in general. Japanese, being a typical agglutinating language, employs suffix in deriving causative forms and the same suffix is used to mark inducing as well as permissive causatives. In Marathi inducing causative and permissive causatives do not share morphosyntactic similarities and the relationship between them is obscure. Japanese contributes to Marathi in bringing the permissive forms under the rubric of causatives. On the other hand, Marathi offers a unique perspective in that it employs synthetic as well as analytic methods to derive causatives. Marathi causative clearly demonstrates the iconic relationship between length of a causative form and immediacy of causation as noted in Haiman (1985)--the synthetic causative typically depict "one-event" causation while analytic causative typically depict "two-event" causation. Marathi causative also shed light on a important issue viz. the mismatch between the reality and linguistic form--in other words the construal of the reality in terms of a particular schema. "Lexical" causatives, in general, correspond to unaccusative verbs while unergative and transitive verbs generally correspond to "productive" causatives (Cf. Shibatani 1998b). Marathi deviates form this generalization and permits "lexical" causatives based on unergative as well as transitive verbs. Despite this deviance, all these causatives are construed alike--depicting "one-event", "contactive causation". The contrast of diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese also provide significant insights into the mechanisms languages employ to fill up the lexical gaps with available means. In Marathi, causative forms are recruited to express transitive events,

if a verb in question lacks a transitive counterpart. Further, in the area of higher causatives, Marathi clearly shows that the multiple causers involved in a causal chain are not treated on equal footing but are rather hierarchically organized--a fact which is obscure in Japanese. In short, the contrastive study of typologically diverse languages like Marathi and Japanese makes significant contributions to a better understanding of causative phenomena in general.

In Chapter 4 we provided a detailed analysis of the Marathi benefactive construction and a contrastive study with its Japanese counterpart within the framework proposed in Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996). The failure of intransitive as well as ingestive verbs to yield benefactive expressions clearly points out that benefactive expressions are sensitive to a highly specific semantic transitivity and cannot be accounted for in terms of the binary notion of syntactic transitivity. Marathi benefactives show that languages may make distinctions among the benefit implied and employ multiple schemata to represent them. Marathi employs two schemata viz. the GIVE schema and the SHOW schema. The SHOW schema is used to convey a benefit in the form of a audio-visual performance while the GIVE schema is used in all other cases. The benefactive expressions also exhibit the repercussion of the degree of grammaticalization on the form of a benefactive. In Marathi, the degree of grammaticalization of the benefactive auxiliary is lesser than their Japanese counterpart. Owing to this Marathi does not permit beneficiary deletion in the case of benefactives based on transitive as well as intransitive verbs and also does not permit benefactives based on ditransitive verbs. The contrastive study of Marathi and Japanese thus makes significant contributions to a better understanding of benefactive phenomena in general.

As summarized above in chapters 2, 3 and 4 we explored the relationships between transitivity and voice phenomena and argued that transitivity should be understood in semantic terms rather than syntactic ones, as claimed in Shibatani (1998b). In the analysis provided here, "ingestive" verbs like EAT, DRINK, HEAR, UNDERSTAND, LEARN, READ and SEE behave like intransitive verbs, despite being syntactically transitive. Like other intransitive verbs, they fail to undergo the processes of passive and benefactive. With regards to causativization, they show a dual behaviour. On one hand, they yield "direct", "manipulative/contactive" and "one-event" causatives like unaccusative verbs. On the other, they yield "indirect", "non-contactive"

and "two-event" causatives like the unergative and canonical transitive verbs. Further, ingestive verbs fail to yield benefactive causatives like intransitive verbs (unergative as well as unaccusative),. All these phenomena point to the inadequacy of characterizing transitivity in syntactic terms based on the presence vs. absence of a direct object. Based on the multi-parametric prototypical semantic approach to transitivity proposed in Hopper & Thompson (1980), transitivity is a continuum on which various clauses can be arranged according to their degree of transitivity. The activity denoted by the ingestive verbs is confined to the sphere of the subject nominal and therefore it instantiates dual semantic roles viz. agent as well as the patient. These verbs thus lie midway between intransitive and transitive verbs and show dual nature. Such a characterization explains why they fail to yield passive and benefactive derivations, like the intransitives as well as why they show a dual causativization pattern behaving like both transitives and intransitives. The voice phenomena of Marathi thus lend strong empirical support to Shibatani's claim that transitivity--at least in its relationship to voice--should be characterized in semantic, rather than syntactic terms.

In Chapter 5 (the present chapter) we present a summary of and conclusions to the study, and discuss insights gained into the evolution of grammar, implications of the present study to the current linguistic theory and unsolved problems. With this we conclude the summary of the previous chapters, and move onto a speculative hypothesis on the evolution of Marathi grammar.

5.2 The Evolution of Grammar: A Speculation

In this section we will present a speculative scenario of the evolution of grammar. It is evident from the foregoing summary that the contrastive study of valency-changing voice phenomena--the passive, causative and benefactive--offers significant insights into interesting though intricate mechanisms employed by languages to make use of available schemata/means to bridge the lexical gaps. Japanese lexicon is rich with the so called *yuutui* or paired verb. The paired verbs have a common root from which both transitive and intransitive counterparts are derived [Cf. Appendix II]. As compared to Japanese, Marathi lexicon is poor in paired verbs [Cf. Appendix I]. Thus in Marathi, the unpaired verbs have to derive a lacking counterpart if the need arises. If a

transitive verb lacks an intransitive counterpart Marathi use the passive schema which typically foregrounds the affected argument backgrounding an agent. While if a intransitive verb lacks a transitive counterpart, Marathi employs the causative schema which typically means causing someone do something. Similar mechanisms are employed by Japanese as well. Beams (1871, Vol. III: 32) makes this insightful observation referring the paired verbs as double stems while the unpaired verbs as single stems. Beams, however, failed to notice an important point that the derived intransitive verb using the passive form is semantically transitive i.e. implies an agent. Thus, in order for it to be used as a intransitive substitute, the implied agent has to be totally suppressed i.e. it should imply a spontaneous event. It is interesting to note how Marathi does this. In the derived intransitive verbs the patient must be unmarked--it cannot take the overt accusative marker. Further, in order to suppress the implication of a volitional human agent by the derived verb, an instrumental phrase is obligatorily introduced. Note the following contrast between a passive and a spontaneous expression based on a transitive verb lacking intransitive counterpart.

(1) (shAm-kaDUn) rAm-lA darI-t fek-l-e
Sham-by Ram-ACC valley-in throw-PERF-N
ge-l-e
go-PAST-N
'Ram was thrown into the valley (by Sham).'

(2) a. wAryA-cyA zotA-ne rAm darI-t fek-l-A
wind-of blow-INSTR Ram.M valley-in throw-PERF-M
ge-l-A
go-PAST-M
'Ram got thrown into the valley due to the wind blow.'

b.* wAryA-cyA zotA-ne rAm-lA darI-t fek-l-e
wind-of blow-INSTR Ram-ACC valley-in throw-PERF-N
ge-l-e
go-PAST-N
'Ram got thrown into the valley due to the wind blow.'

Beams observes that the class of double stems i.e. paired verbs is somewhat larger than that of single stem i.e. unpaired verbs. This observation does not hold true--at least for Marathi [Cf. Appendix I].

Another issue being unnoticed hitherto is related with derived transitive verbs. Derived transitive verbs (i.e. transitive verbs derived using causative form from intransitive verbs lacking transitive counterpart) must express "one-event", "contactive" causation in order for it to be used as a transitive substitute. Though Marathi has both synthetic as well as analytic causative forms, it is the synthetic one that is used as a transitive substitute since it involve an agent and a patient--like the canonical transitive event. Analytic forms are barred since they imply two agents--the initiator and the executor--which does not match with the transitive schema which has only one agent slot. Note the following examples.

(3) a. rAm-ne khurcI hal-aw-l-I
Ram-ERG chair.F move-CAUS-PERF-F
'Ram moved the chair.'

b. rAm-ne sham-lA bas-aw-l-e
Ram-ERG Sham-ACC sit-CAUS-PERF-N
'Ram seated Sham.'

The above speculative hypothesis happily applies to both Marathi and Japanese. Since Japanese is rich in paired verbs it has few derived intransitives or in other word the domain of spontaneous is narrower than Marathi which is poor in paired verbs. This hypothesis, however, needs to be tested with a number of diverse languages and then only a conclusive statement can be made. Let us now turn to the implications of the present study.

5.3 Implications of the Study

The study of valency-changing voice phenomena in Marathi--the passive, causative and benefactive--has serious implications to linguistic theory in general and language

typology in particular.

The issue of characterizing the notion of transitivity has occupied a prominent place in current linguistic theory. The study points out the supremacy/efficacy of multidimensional, prototypical, and scalar semantic characterizations as proposed in Hopper & Thompson (1980) over the one-dimensional, binary, and polar syntactic ones based on presence vs. absence of a direct object.

The study also has implications for defining syntactic constructions themselves. Previous analyses of the Marathi passive treated potential and honorific constructions as passive, misled by their morphosyntactic similarities with the passive construction. Similarly, in the domain of causative constructions, the past analyses laid overemphasis on formal criteria in defining causatives and exclusively treated synthetic causatives to the exclusion of analytic ones (coercive, benefactive and permissive). The present study shows that grammatical constructions should not be defined strictly in terms of morphosyntactic, semantic or functional features alone, but rather in terms of a combination of these properties. Further, as pointed out by Shibatani (forthcoming), for a successful cross-linguistic comparison it is imperative to define constructions or phenomena in semantic or functional criterion in that languages exhibit structural differences depending on the typological features. Moreover, the phenomena or constructions being compared are not likely to be exactly identical in all respects. They may differ in terms of their scope of application or origins and relations to other constructions or their meaning and function. The passive in Japanese, for example, is different from the Marathi passive in terms of its scope of application--the former applies to both transitive and intransitive verbs while the latter is restricted to transitive verbs. Japanese has a valency-increasing passive which typically conveys adversative meaning. Marathi neither has a valency-increasing passive nor the passive in Marathi conveys an adversative meaning.

The study shows that no linguistic structure is an island and many if not all grammatical constructions exhibit a phase of polysemy in their evolutionary path [Cf. Shibatani (1998b)]. The Marathi and Japanese passive, for example, exhibit a state of polysemy and synchronically exhibit morphosyntactic similarities with other constructions like the spontaneous, potential and the honorific. In order to account for the state of polysemy exhibited by a construction it is necessary to probe its historical development. Thus a synchronic account should incorporate diachronic perspective as

well. The study shows that the formal approaches which make a clear-cut demarcation between synchronic and diachronic aspects cannot account for such synchronic polysemy.

The study also shows that the notion of construal and the extra-linguistic information plays an important role in the encoding of a linguistic message. As shown in chapter 3, in Marathi causative based on unergative as well as transitive activity verbs as construed as "one-event", "quasi-manipulative" causatives despite the fact that the causee is agentive. In the case of benefactives, as shown in chapter 4, cross-linguistically languages exhibit variation in terms of transitive events that can be construed as a benefit. Thus pragmatic information plays a vital role in the grammaticality of a linguistic expression and we cannot afford to ignore it.

As mentioned in chapter 1 the study does not claim to exhaustive and leaves certain issues for the future research. Let us briefly summarize some unsolved problems.

5.4 Unsolved Problems

In this study we have addressed some crucial issues in the treatment of voice in Marathi and its relationship to transitivity in a synchronic perspective. There are, however, many unresolved issues that merit further investigation. Some issues left for future research are briefly summarized below.

(A) As seen in chapter 2, the passive construction in Marathi exhibits synchronic polysemy and shows morphosyntactic correlations with the spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions. This begs the question why. In order to unravel the mystery of this polysemy it is necessary to trace the evolutionary path of the Marathi passive. In other words, a diachronic account of the Marathi passive would be necessary.

(B) It is also necessary to apply the analysis presented here to other Indo-Aryan languages to find out whether they too exhibit the same kind of polysemy. In this regard it is interesting to note that Pandharipande (1981: 228), on the basis of several features shared by the passive construction in six South Asian languages claims that "India is a linguistic area". She further claims that within this area Indo-Aryan languages show a greater degree of similarity than Dravidian ones, in that the passive construction in the former group share a capabilitative meaning while in the latter it

does not. In chapter 2 we argued that the expressions that convey a capabilitative meaning in Marathi are not passive, but rather potential. These are marked morphosyntactically in a similar way and are related through the pragmatic notion of "agent defocusing". The synchronic polysemy exhibited by these constructions may thus be due to their diachronic development from a common source. In light of these data, it is interesting to note that all of the examples of passive based on intransitive verbs in Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, and Kashmiri cited by Pandharipande express only a capabilitative meaning while those in another Indo-Aryan language like Nepali conveys both a capabilitative and a passive meaning. The former do not allow subject deletion while the latter do yielding a subjectless/impersonal passive. In the presence of a subject the Nepali passive conveys the so-called capabilitative meaning while in the absence of one it conveys a passive meaning. Passive based on intransitive verbs in Nepali are very similar to those based on transitives--both allowing optional deletion of a subject. A diachronic study of the passive in all language families of the Indian subcontinent would be both interesting and rewarding in determining whether the relationship between the passive and the potential construction is a genetic or an areal feature.

(C) Marathi inherited a synthetic system from Sanskrit which has broken down and given way to an analytic system. This process is evident in both passive and causative constructions. Such diachronic change raises a number of questions however, concerning the motivation behind the change, or why a particular verb is recruited to perform a particular grammatical function (e.g. GO and COME for expressing the passive, ATTACH, TAKE and GIVE for expressing the causative and GIVE and SHOW for expressing the benefactive). Research in the grammaticalization of these verbs is an area open for future research.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

The thesis has as its aim a) exploring relationship between transitivity and voice phenomena in Marathi, b) providing a unified account of Marathi voice phenomena, and c) providing a contrastive analysis of voice-related constructions in Marathi and Japanese. It was shown that transitivity--in so far it correlates to voice phenomena--should be understood in semantic rather than syntactic terms. The cross-linguistic

study attempted to contribute to better a understanding of voice phenomena in general. Although these aims are largely met, we are aware of its limitations, and do not entertain illusions about the finality of the conclusions reached here. Further research will confirm or refute the claims made in this study.

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	moD-Ne 'break'	moD-Ne 'break'	
	ughaD-Ne 'open'	ughaD-Ne 'open'	
	usaw-Ne 'get unstitched'	usaw-Ne 'unstitch'	
	wiskaT-Ne 'become disordered'	wiskaT-Ne 'cause to disorder'	
	ukaL-Ne 'boil'	ukaL-Ne 'boil'	
	car-Ne 'graze'	cAr-Ne 'feed'	
	dab-Ne 'be pressed'	dAb-Ne 'to press'	
	fAT-Ne 'be torn'	fAD-Ne 'to tear'	
	fiT-Ne 'be cleared of loan'	feD-Ne 'to clear a loan'	
	fuT-Ne 'break'	foD-Ne 'break'	
	gaL-Ne 'leak'	gAL-Ne 'strain'	
	jaL-Ne 'burn'	jAL-Ne 'to burn'	
	lAg-Ne 'be attached'	lAw-Ne 'attach'	
	mar-Ne 'die'	mAr-Ne 'kill'	
	paD-Ne 'fall'	pAD-Ne 'to fell'	
	suT-Ne 'get untied'	soD-Ne 'to untie'	
	TaL-Ne 'be avoided'	TAL-Ne 'to avoid'	
	tar-Ne 'be saved'	tAr-Ne 'to save'	
	tuT-Ne 'break'	toD-Ne 'break'	
	gunta-Ne 'get entangled'	gow-Ne 'to entangle'	
	jA-Ne 'go'	ne-Ne 'take along'	
	nigh-Ne 'come off'	kAdh-Ne 'take out'	
	ye-Ne 'come'	ANa-Ne 'bring'	
	AnghoL kar-Ne 'bathe oneself'	AnghoL ghAl-Ne 'to bathe someone'	
	banda ho-Ne 'become closed'	banda kar-Ne 'to close'	
	cAlu ho-Ne 'get started'	cAlu kar-Ne 'to start'	
	gAr ho-Ne 'become cold'	gAr kar-Ne 'to make cold'	
	garam ho-Ne 'become hot'	garam kar-Ne 'to make hot'	
	nArAj ho-Ne 'become disheartened'	nArAj kar-Ne 'to dishearten'	
	oNawa ho-Ne 'to bend'	oNawa kar-Ne 'to make bent'	
	shanta ho-Ne 'become quiet'	shAnta kar-Ne 'to quiet'	
	suru ho-Ne 'get started'	suru kar-Ne 'to start'	
	ubha rahA-Ne 'get erected'	ubha kar-Ne 'to erect'	
	war ho-Ne 'go up'	war kar-Ne 'to raise up'	
*AwaD-le jA-Ne 'be liked'		AwaD-Ne 'to like'	
Awar-le jA-Ne 'be put in order'		Awar-Ne 'put in order'	
baDaw-le jA-Ne 'be beaten'		baDaw-Ne 'beat'	
bajAw-le jA-Ne 'be warned'		bajAw-Ne 'warn'	
baLkaw-le jA-Ne 'be arrogated'		baLkaw-Ne 'arrogate'	
bAndh-le jA-Ne 'be built'		bAndh-Ne 'build'	
bAndh-le jA-Ne 'be packed'		bAndh-Ne 'pack'	

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
bhAj-le ja-Ne 'be fried'		bhAjNe 'fry'	
*bhAnD-le jA-Ne 'be quarreled		bhAnD-Ne 'quarrel'	
*bhet-le jA-Ne 'be met'		bhet-Ne 'meet'	
bhosak-le jA-Ne 'be stabbed'		bhosak-Ne 'stab'	
*bockar-le jA-Ne 'be scratched by a nail		bockar-Ne 'scratch by a nail'	
bolAw-le jA-Ne 'be called'		bolAw-Ne 'call'	
buckaL-le jA-Ne 'be dipped'		buckaL-Ne 'dip'	
caghaL-le jA-Ne 'be chewed'		caghaL-Ne 'chew'	
cAL-le jA-Ne 'be sifted'		cAL-Ne 'sift'	
cAt-le jA-Ne 'be licked'		cAT-Ne 'lick'	
cAw-le jA-Ne 'be chewed'		cAw-Ne 'chew'	
chAp-le jA-Ne 'be printed'		chAp-Ne 'print'	
chAt-le jA-Ne 'be clipped'		chAT-Ne 'clip'	
chok-le jA-Ne 'be sucked'		chokh-Ne 'suck'	
ciraD-le jA-Ne 'be crushed'		ciraD-Ne 'crush'	
cir-le jA-Ne 'be cut'		cir-Ne 'cut'	
coL-le jA-Ne 'be rubbed'		coL-Ne 'rub'	
cor-le jA-Ne 'be stolen'		cor-Ne 'steal'	
daDap-le jA-Ne 'be suppressed'		daDap-Ne 'suppress'	
daL-le jA-Ne 'be ground'		daL-Ne 'grind'	
daTAw-le jA-Ne 'be scolded'		daTAw-Ne 'scold'	
di-le jA-Ne 'be given'		de-Ne 'give'	
dhakal-Ne 'be pushed'		dhakal-Ne 'push'	
dhamkaw-Ne 'be threatened'		dhamkaw-Ne 'threaten'	
dhAp-le jA-Ne 'be stolen'		dhAp-Ne 'steal'	
dhar-le jA-Ne 'be held'		dhar-Ne 'hold'	
dhawal-le jA-Ne 'be stirred'		dhawaL-Ne 'stir'	
dhuDkAw-le jA-Ne 'be rejected/flouted'		dhuDkAw-Ne 'reject/flout'	
dhut-le jA-Ne 'be washed'		dhu-Ne 'wash'	
fawAr-le jA-Ne 'be sprinkled'		fawAr-Ne 'sprinkle'	
fetAL-le jA-Ne 'be rejected'		fetAL-Ne 'reject'	
gAD-le jA-Ne 'be buried'		gAD-Ne 'bury'	
*gamAw-le jA-Ne 'be lost'		gamAw-Ne 'loose'	
gAy-le jA-Ne 'be sung'		gA-Ne 'sing'	
gAth-le jA-Ne 'be reached'		gAth-Ne 'reach'	
*gawas-Ne jA-Ne 'be found'		gawas-Ne 'be found'	
ghAlaw-le jA-Ne 'be dismissed'		ghAlaw-Ne 'dismiss'	
ghAt-le jA-Ne 'be worn'		ghAl-Ne 'wear'	
ghAs-le jA-Ne 'be rubbed'		ghAs-Ne 'rub'	
ghet-le jA-Ne 'be taken'		ghe-Ne 'take'	
gher-le jA-Ne 'be beseiged'		gher-Ne 'beseige'	
ghok-le jA-Ne 'be cramed'		ghok-Ne 'cram'	

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
ghusaL-le jA-Ne 'be churned'		ghusaL-Ne 'churn'	
ghus-le jA-Ne 'be rushed		ghus-Ne 'rush in'	
gond-le jA-Ne 'be tatooed'		gond-Ne 'tatoo'	
gunDAL-le jA-Ne 'be wound'		gunDAL-Ne 'wind'	
hAkal-le jA-Ne 'be driven out'		hAkal-Ne 'drive out'	
*haraw-le jA-Ne 'be lost'		haraw-Ne 'to lose'	
heTAL-le jA-Ne 'be treated with contempt'		heTAL-Ne 'treat with contempt'	
huDak-le jA-Ne 'be searched'		huDak-Ne 'search'	
joD-le jA-Ne 'be joined'		joD-Ne 'join'	
kAdh-le jA-Ne 'be drawn/withdrawn'		kAdh-Ne 'draw/withdraw'	
*kaL-Ne jA-Ne 'be understood'		kaL-Ne 'understand'	
*kamAw-le jA-Ne 'be earned'		kamAw-Ne 'earn'	
kAp-le jA-Ne 'be cut'		kAp-Ne 'cut'	
kar-Ne 'be done'		kar-Ne 'do'	
khaDsAw-le jA-Ne 'be scolded'		khaDsAw-Ne 'scold'	
khaNa-le jA-Ne 'be dug'		khaNa-Ne 'dig'	
kharaD-le jA-Ne 'be scribbled'		kharaD-Ne 'scribble'	
kharawaD-le jA-Ne 'be scraped off'		kharawaD-Ne 'scrape off'	
khAraw-le jA-Ne 'be made salty'		khAraw-Ne 'make salty'	
*khaTak-le jA-Ne 'be felt queered'		khaTak-Ne 'to feel queer'	
khec-le jA-Ne 'be pulled'		khec-Ne 'pull'	
kheL-le jA-Ne 'be played'		kheL-Ne 'play'	
khijaw-le jA-Ne 'be teased'		khijaw-Ne 'tease'	
khoD-le jA-Ne 'be erased'		khoD-Ne 'erase'	
kis-le jA-Ne 'be grated'		kis-Ne 'grate'	
komb-le jA-Ne 'get stuffed in'		komb-Ne 'stuff in'	
konD-le jA-Ne 'get cramed in'		konD-Ne 'cram in'	
kor-le jA-Ne 'be carved'		kor-Ne 'carve'	
*kurtaD-le jA-Ne 'be		kurtaD-Ne 'nibble'	
kuT-le jA-Ne 'be pounded'		kuT-Ne 'pound'	
lAd-le jA-Ne 'be imposed'		lAd-Ne 'impose'	
lihi-le jA-Ne 'be written'		lihi-Ne 'write'	
limp-le jA-Ne 'be smeared'		limp-Ne 'smear'	
lubAD-le jA-Ne 'be plundered'		lubAD-Ne 'plunder'	
mAgit-le jA-Ne 'be demanded'		mAg-Ne 'demand'	
mAlaw-le jA-Ne 'be switched off'		mAlaw-Ne 'to switch off'	

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
mhaNa-le jA-Ne 'be said'		mhaNa-Ne 'say'	
misaL-le jA-Ne 'be mixed'		misaL-Ne 'mix'	
nAkAr-le jA-Ne 'be rejected'		nAkAr-Ne 'reject'	
nAngar-le jA-Ne 'be ploughed'		nAngar-Ne 'plough'	
*nAwaD-le jA-Ne 'be disliked'		nAwaD-Ne 'to dislike'	
nes-le jA-Ne 'be worn'		nes-Ne 'wear'	
odh-le jA-Ne 'be pulled'		odh-Ne 'pull'	
*oLakh-le jA-Ne 'be recognized'		oLkh-Ne 'recognize'	
pAhi-le jA-Ne 'be seen'		pAh-Ne 'see'	
pakaD-le jA-Ne 'be seized'		pakaD-Ne 'seize'	
pAkhaD-le jA-Ne 'be sifted'		pAkhaD-Ne 'sift'	
pAL-le jA-Ne 'be observed'		pAL-Ne 'observe'	
pAL-le jA-Ne 'be pet'		pAL-Ne 'pet'	
pArakh-le jA-Ne 'be examined'		pArakh-Ne 'examine'	
pAthaw-le jA-Ne 'be sent'		pAthaw-Ne 'send'	
per-le jA-Ne 'be sown'		per-Ne 'sow'	
piL-le jA-Ne 'be sqeezed'		piL-Ne 'sqeeze'	
pinja-le jA-Ne 'be carded'		pinja-Ne 'card'	
pirgaL-le jA-Ne 'be twisted'		pirgaL-Ne 'twist'	
piTAL-le jA-Ne 'be sent away in haste'		piTAL-Ne 'send away in haste'	
*pohoc-le jA-Ne 'be reached'		pohoc-Ne 'reach'	
puj-le jA-Ne 'be worshiped'		puj-Ne 'to worship'	
pus-le jA-Ne 'be wiped off'		pus-Ne 'wipe off'	
rac-le jA-Ne 'be piled'		rac-Ne 'pile'	
ragaD-le jA-Ne 'be massaged vigorously'		ragaD-Ne 'massage vigorously'	
rAgAw-le jA-Ne 'be scolded'		rAgA-Ne 'scold'	
sambhAL-le jA-Ne 'be taken care of'		sambhAL-Ne 'take care of'	
sAnD-le jA-Ne 'be spilled'		sAnD-Ne 'spill'	
sAngit-le jA-Ne 'be told'		sAng-Ne 'tell'	
*sApaD-le jA-Ne 'be found'		sApaD-Ne 'to find'	
sataw-le jA-Ne 'be harassed'		sataw-Ne 'harass'	
shek-le jA-Ne 'be warmed'		shek-Ne 'warm oneself'	
shimpaD-le jA-Ne 'be sprinkled'		shimpaD-Ne 'sprinkle'	
shiw-le jA-Ne 'be stitched'		shiw-Ne 'stitch'	
shiw-le jA-Ne 'be touched'		shiw-Ne 'touch'	
shodh-le jA-Ne 'be searched'		shodh-Ne 'search'	
shosh-le jA-Ne 'be absorbed'		shosh-Ne 'absorb'	
sol-le jA-Ne 'be peeled'		sol-Ne 'peel'	
sopaw-le jA-Ne 'be entrusted'		sopaw-Ne 'entrust'	

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
swikAr-le jA-Ne 'be accepted'		swikAr-Ne 'accept'	
Tak-le jA-Ne 'be thrown'		Tak-Ne 'throw'	
taL-le jA-Ne 'be fried'		taL-Ne 'fry'	
tapAs-le jA-Ne 'be checked'		tapAs-Ne 'check'	
thok-le jA-Ne 'be struck'		thok-Ne 'strike'	
Toc-le jA-Ne 'be pierced'		Toc-Ne 'pierce'	
tuDaw-le jA-Ne 'be treaded upon'		tuDaw-Ne 'tread upon'	
ubhAr-le jA-Ne 'be erected'		ubhAr-Ne 'erect'	
upaT-le jA-Ne 'become unrooted'		upaT-Ne 'unroot'	
wAc-le jA-Ne 'be read'		wAc-Ne 'read'	
wagaL-le jA-Ne 'be omitted'		wagaL-Ne 'omit'	
wAga-le jA-Ne 'be behaved'		wAg-Ne 'behave'	
wAhi-le jA-Ne 'be carried'		wAh-Ne 'carry'	
walhaw-le jA-Ne 'be rowed'		walhaw-Ne 'row'	
wApar-le jA-Ne 'be used'		wApar-Ne 'use'	
wAt-le jA-Ne 'be distributed'		wAT-Ne 'distribute'	
wec-le jA-Ne 'be picked up'		wec-Ne 'pick up'	
wicAr-le jA-Ne 'be asked'		wichAr-Ne 'ask'	
wik-le jA-Ne 'be sold'		wik-Ne 'sell'	
wiNa-le jA-Ne 'be sewn'		wiNa-Ne 'sew'	
wincar-le jA-Ne 'be combed'		wincar-Ne 'comb'	
wisaL-le jA-Ne 'be rinsed'		wisaL-Ne 'rinse'	
zAD-le jA-Ne 'be swept'		zAD-Ne 'sweep'	
zAk-le jA-Ne 'be covered'		zAk-Ne 'cover'	
zel-le jA-Ne 'be caught'		zel-Ne 'catch'	
	bas-Ne 'sit'		bas-aw-Ne 'make sit'
	cAl-Ne 'walk'		cAl-aw-Ne 'make walk'
	dol-Ne 'swing'		dol-aw-Ne 'make swing'
	dul-Ne 'oscillate'		dul-aw-Ne 'make oscillate'
	hag-Ne 'defecate'		hag-aw-Ne 'make defecate'
	hal-Ne 'move'		hal-aw-Ne 'move'
	has-Ne 'laugh'		has-aw-Ne 'make laugh'
	hinD-Ne 'move around'		hinD-aw-Ne 'make move around'
	kheL-Ne 'play'		kheL-aw-Ne 'make play'
	lap-Ne 'hide'		lap-aw-Ne 'make hide'
	loL-Ne 'roll over'		loL-qw-Ne 'make roll over'
	mut-Ne 'urinate'		mut-aw-Ne 'make urinate'
	nAc-Ne 'dance'		nAc-aw-Ne 'make dance'
	naT-Ne 'dress oneself finely'		naT-aw-Ne 'to dress someone finely'
	paL-Ne 'run'		paL-aw-Ne 'make run'
	pAng-Ne 'disperse'		pAng-aw-Ne 'make disperse'
	raD-Ne 'cry'		reD-aw-Ne 'make cry'

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	sarak-Ne 'move'		sark-aw-Ne 'make move'
	tarang-Ne 'float'		tarang-aw-Ne 'cause to float'
	thAmb-Ne 'stop'		thAmb-aw-Ne 'make stop'
	uth-Ne 'stand/get up'		uth-aw-Ne 'stand/wake up'
	wAk-Ne 'bend'		wAk-aw-Ne 'make bend'
	waL-Ne 'turn'		waL-aw-Ne 'make turn'
	zop-Ne 'sleep'		zop-aw-Ne 'put to sleep'
	zuk-Ne 'bend'		zuk-aw-Ne 'bend'
	aDak-Ne 'get entangled'		aDak-aw-Ne 'cause to entangle'
	AdaL-Ne 'get dashed'		AdaL-aw-Ne 'make dash'
	AD-Ne 'get obstructed'		AD-aw-Ne 'obstruct'
	Akas-Ne 'shrink'		Akas-aw-Ne 'cause to shrink'
	Amb-Ne 'get sour'		Amb-aw-Ne 'make sour'
	AT-Ne 'sqeeze'		AT-aw-Ne 'cause to squeeze'
	bahak-Ne 'go astray'		bahak-aw-Ne 'cause to go astray'
	ban-Ne 'get ready'		ban-aw-Ne 'to make ready'
	bhaDak-Ne 'be furious'		bhaDak-aw-Ne 'make furious'
	bhAg-Ne 'be sufficient'		bhAg-aw-Ne 'to manage'
	bhij-Ne 'get wet'		bhij-aw-Ne 'to make wet'
	bhin-Ne 'get penetrated'		bhin-aw-Ne 'to penetrate'
	buD-Ne 'get drowned'		buD-aw-Ne 'to drown'
	buj-Ne 'get blocked'		buj-aw-Ne 'to block'
	ciD-Ne 'get angry'		ciD-aw-Ne 'make angry'
	cikaT-Ne 'get stuck'		cikaT-aw-Ne 'to stick'
	cuk-Ne 'make a mistake'		cuk-aw-Ne 'cause to make a mistake'
	dacak-Ne 'get startled'		dacak-aw-Ne 'to startle'
	dhaDaK-Ne 'be dashed against'		dhaDak-aw-Ne 'to dash against'
	dhAsaL-Ne 'collapse'		dhAsaL-aw-Ne 'to cause to collapse'
	Dub-Ne 'get drowned'		Dub-aw-Ne 'to drown'
	dukh-Ne 'have pain'		dukh-aw-Ne 'cause pain'
	faDak-Ne 'slap'		faDak-aw-Ne 'to slap'
	fail-Ne 'spread'		fail-aw-Ne 'to spread'
	fAk-Ne 'open out widely'		fAk-aw-Ne 'to open out widely'
	fas-Ne 'get cheated'		fas-aw-Ne 'cheat'
	fir-Ne 'rotate'		fir-aw-Ne 'to rotate'
	fiskaT-Ne 'fizzle out'		fiskaT-aw-Ne 'to fizzle out'
	fug-Ne 'get blown'		fug-aw-Ne 'to blow'
	gAj-Ne 'become popular'		gAj-aw-Ne 'make popular'
	ganD-Ne 'get deceived'		ganD-aw-Ne 'to deceive'
	ganj-Ne 'be rusted'		ganj-aw-Ne 'rust'
	ghAbar-Ne 'get frightened'		ghAbar-aw-Ne 'to frighten someone'
	gondhaL-Ne 'get confused'		gjondhaL-aw-Ne 'to confuse'

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive √erbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	goth-Ne 'get frozen'		goth-aw-Ne 'freeze'
	har-Ne 'lose'		har-aw-Ne 'defeat'
	jag-Ne 'live/survive'		jag-aw-Ne 'allow to survive'
	jam-Ne 'gather'		jam-aw-Ne 'to gather'
	jink-Ne 'win'		jink-aw-Ne 'make win'
	jir-Ne 'sink into'		jir-aw-Ne 'cause to sink into'
	kalanD-Ne 'fall on one side'		kalanD-aw-Ne 'make fall on one side'
	karap-Ne 'get scorched'		karap-aw-Ne 'make scorched'
	khAj-Ne 'have an itching sensation		khAj-aw-Ne 'to scratch'
	khap-Ne 'get sold'		khap-aw-Ne 'to sell'
	khunT-Ne 'have growth stopped'		khunT-aw-Ne 'to stop growth'
	kolmaD-Ne 'tumble down'		kolmaD-aw-Ne 'make tumble down'
	lAj-Ne 'be ashamed'		lAj-aw-Ne 'to put to shame'
	lAmb-Ne 'get delayed'		lAmb-aw-Ne 'to delay'
	maL-Ne 'get soiled'		maL-aw-Ne 'make dirty'
	miL-Ne 'get added'		miL-aw-Ne 'to add'
	miT-Ne 'get closed'		miT-aw-Ne 'to close'
	nAs-Ne 'be rotten'		nAs-aw-Ne 'to rot'
	pac-Ne 'get digested'		pac-aw-Ne 'to digest'
	palaT-Ne 'get turned over'		palaT-aw-Ne 'to turn over'
	pasar-Ne 'spread'		pasar-aw-Ne 'to spread'
	paT-Ne 'get convinced'		paT-aw-Ne 'to convince'
	pel-Ne 'get shouldered'		pel-aw-Ne 'to shoulder'
	peT-Ne 'get ignited'		peT-aw-Ne 'to ignite'
	rakhaD-Ne 'get obstructed'		rakhaD-qw-Ne 'to obstruct'
	rang-Ne 'get painted'		rang-aw-Ne 'to paint'
	ruj-Ne 'to take root'		ruj-aw-Ne 'to make take root'
	saD-Ne 'get rotten'		saD-aw-Ne 'to rot'
	samp-Ne 'get over'		samp-aw-Ne 'to finish'
	sarak-Ne 'lose temper'		sarak-aw-Ne 'to cause to lose one's temper'
	sham-Ne 'become pacified'		sham-aw-Ne 'to pacify'
	shij-Ne 'get cooked'		shij-aw-Ne 'to cook'
	suc-Ne 'to occur to one's mind'		suc-aw-Ne 'to suggest'
	sudhar-Ne 'be improved'		sudhar-aw-Ne 'to improve'
	suj-Ne 'be swollen'		suj-aw-Ne 'cause to swell'
	suk-Ne 'become dry'		suk-aw-Ne 'to dry'
	taDak-Ne 'crack'		taD-aw-Ne 'to cause to be cracked'
	taDfaD-Ne 'to writhe in pain or agony'		taDfaD-aw-Ne 'to cause to writhe in pain'
	tAp-Ne 'get hot'		tAp-aw-Ne 'make hot'

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	thar-Ne 'become decided'		thar-aw-Ne 'decide'
	thas-Ne 'become imbibed'		thas-aw-Ne 'imbibe'
	Tik-Ne 'survive'		Tik-aw-Ne 'cause to survive'
	ukaL-Ne 'boil'		ukaL-aw-Ne 'to boil'
	ulaT-Ne 'get toppled'		ulaT-aw-Ne 'cause to topple'
	ur-Ne 'remain'		ur-aw-Ne 'cause to remain'
	wAc-Ne 'get saved'		wAc-aw-Ne 'to save'
	wAdh-Ne 'grow'		wAdh-aw-Ne 'to raise'
	wAj-Ne 'ring'		wAj-aw-Ne 'to ring'
	wAL-Ne 'to become dry'		wAL-aw-Ne 'to dry'
	was-Ne 'become inhabited'		was-aw-Ne 'to inhabit'
	waT-Ne 'get encashed'		waT-aw-Ne 'to encash'
	wirghaL-Ne 'become dissolved'		wirghaL-aw-Ne 'to dissolve'
	wiskaT-Ne 'get disordered'		wiskaT-aw-Ne 'to disorder'
	witaL-Ne 'get melted'		witaL-aw-Ne 'to melt'
	wiz-Ne 'get extinguished'		wiz-aw-Ne 'to extinguish'
	zij-Ne 'get waste away from attrition'		zij-aw-Ne 'to cause to waste away by attrition'
	zing-Ne 'get tipsy'		zing-aw-Ne 'to make tipsy'
	zirap-Ne 'get trickled'		zirap-aw-Ne 'cause to trickle'
		Aik-Ne 'listen'	Aik-aw-Ne 'make listen'
		cAt-Ne 'lick'	cAT-aw-Ne 'to feed'
		hung-Ne 'smell'	hung-aw-Ne 'to cause to smell'
		khA-Ne 'eat'	bharaw-ne 'feed'
		pahA-Ne 'see'	dAkhaw-Ne 'show'
		pi-Ne 'drink'	pAj-Ne 'make drink'
		samaj-Ne 'understand'	samaj-aw-Ne 'make understand'
		shik-Ne 'learn'	shik-aw-Ne 'teach'
		bagh-Ne 'see'	dAkhaw-Ne 'show'
	baDbaD-Ne 'blurt'		
	dhAw-Ne 'run'		
	khok-Ne 'cough'		
	kincAL-Ne 'scream'		
	kurkur-Ne 'grumble'		
	pAd-Ne 'break wind'		
	puTpuT-Ne 'murmur'		
	shink-Ne 'sneeze'		
	thunk-Ne 'spit'		
	ankur-Ne 'to sprout'		
	awghaD-Ne 'to be inconvenienced'		
	awtar-Ne 'to become incarnate'		
	bArgaL-Ne 'fizzle put'		

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	bhaj-Ne 'get burnt'		
	bhAmbAw-Ne 'be bewildered'		
	cakAk-Ne 'glitter'		
	capAp-Ne 'be startled'		
	cuLbuL-Ne 'be restless'		
	curcur-Ne 'to tingle'		
	dhagdhag-Ne 'burn furiously'		
	dhakdhak-Ne 'to palpitate'		
	durAw-Ne 'be alienated'		
	ful-Ne 'to bloom'		
	gacak-Ne 'fail in an exam'		
	gaDbaD-Ne 'be bewildered'		
	gaDgaD-Ne 'to rumble'		
	gahiwar-Ne 'have one's throat choked'		
	gArath-Ne 'become frozen'		
	gargar-Ne 'feel giddy'		
	ghasar-Ne 'slip'		
	ghor-Ne 'snore'		
	gudmar-Ne 'be suffocated'		
	janma-Ne 'be born'		
	kAkaD-Ne 'to shiver'		
	kALwanDa-Ne 'to turn black'		
	karam-Ne 'to feel at home'		
	khac-Ne 'sink'		
	khAlAw-Ne 'be impoverished'		
	khang-Ne 'become emaciated'		
	kharcaT-Ne 'to have a bruise'		
	kiD-Ne 'become rotten'		
	komej-Ne 'wither'		
	kuDkuD-Ne 'to shiver'		
	lacak-Ne 'sprain'		
	lADAw-Ne 'be spoiled by fondling'		
	lAg-Ne 'get struck'		
	lukluk-Ne 'glitter'		
	maLmaL-Ne 'to be squeamish'		
	mandAw-Ne 'decrease in intensity'		
	mastAw-Ne 'be puffed up'		
	mAw-ne 'be contained'		
	oghaL-Ne 'to ooze out'		
	osar-Ne 'abate/diminish'		
	oshAL-Ne 'be ashamed'		

Appendix I Marathi Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	pastAw-Ne 'to be full of regret'		
	pAzar-ne 'to run in streams'		
	penguL-Ne 'be affected by lassitude'		
	phophAw-Ne 'to shoot up rapidly'		
	roDAw-Ne 'become lean'		
	sarak-Ne 'lose temper'		
	sphur-Ne 'to occur to one's mind'		
	sustAw-Ne 'become sluggish'		
	taLap-Ne 'to glimmer'		
	thanDi wAj-Ne 'feel cold'		
	tharthar-Ne 'shiver with fear'		
	thibak-Ne 'drip'		
	ukaD-Ne 'feel hot'		
	umal-Ne 'bloom'		
	wAT-Ne 'to feel'		
	zagmag-Ne 'to glitter'		

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	—e—	—ϕ—	
	hageru 'peel off'	hagu 'peel off'	
	hirakeru 'open'	hiraku 'open'	
	hodokeru 'come united'	hodoku 'untie'	
	hureru 'shake'	huru 'shake'	
	kakeru 'lack'	kaku 'lack'	
	kireru 'become cut off, severed'	kiru 'cut, sever'	
	kudakeru 'become smashed'	kudaku 'smash'	
	kuzikeru 'become crushed'	kuziku 'crush'	
	makureru 'become tucked up'	makuru 'tuck up'	
	mogeru 'come off'	mogu 'pluck off'	
	momeru 'become wrinkled'	momu 'wrinkle'	
	mukeru 'peel'	muku 'peel'	
	nezireru 'become twisted'	neziru 'twist'	
	nugeru 'come off'	nugu 'take off'	
	nukeru 'come out'	nuku 'pull out'	
	oreru 'break'	oru 'break'	
	sabakeru 'sell'	sabaku 'sell'	
	sakeru 'tear'	saku 'tear'	
	sireru 'become known'	siru 'come to know'	
	sogeru 'become worn down'	sogu 'slice off'	
	sureru (kosureru) 'rub'	suru (kosuru) 'rub'	
	tigireru 'become torn off'	tigiru 'tear off'	
	tokeru 'dissolve'	toku 'dissolve'	
	toreru 'be taken, harvested'	toru 'take, harvest'	
	tureru 'be caught (of fish)'	turu 'catch (fish) '	
	ureru 'sell'	uru 'sell'	
	wareru 'break'	waru 'break'	
	yabureru 'tear'	yaburu 'tear'	
	yakeru 'burn'	yaku 'burn'	
	yozireru 'become twisted'	yoziru 'twist'	
	mieru 'become visible'	miru 'see'	
	nieru 'boil'	niru 'boil'	
	—ϕ—	—e—	
	aku 'open'	akeru 'open'	
	doku (noku) 'get out of the way '	dokeru (nokeru) 'remove'	
	hairu 'enter'	ireru 'put in'	
	hikkomu 'draw back'	hikkomeru 'pull back'	
	hisomu 'lurk'	hisomeru 'conceal'	
	hukumu 'include (in self)'	hukumeru 'include (in another)'	
	husu 'lie down'	huseru 'lay down'	
	itamu 'hurt'	itameru 'injure'	
	kagamu 'bend'	kagameru 'bend'	
	karamu 'become connected'	karameru 'connect'	
	komu 'become crowded'	komeru 'fill with'	
	kurusimu 'suffer'	kurusimeru 'torment'	
	mukau 'face'	mukaeru 'meet, welcome'	

Appendix II Japanese Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	muku 'face'	mukeru 'cause to face'	
	kata-muku 'lean'	kata-mukeru 'lean'	
	so-muku 'turn (one's back) on'	so-mukeru 'turn away'	
	utu-muku 'look down'	utu-mukeru 'cause to face down'	
	nagusamu 'become consoled'	nagusameru 'console'	
	narabu 'line up'	naraberu 'line up'	
	nurumu 'become luckworm'	nurumeru 'make luckworm'	
	sirizoku 'retreat'	sirizokeru 'drive back'	
	sizumu 'sink'	sizumeru 'sink'	
	sitagau 'go along with'	sitagaeru 'take along with'	
	sodatu 'grow up'	sodateru 'bring up, raise'	
	sorou 'become complete'	soroeru 'make complete'	
	sou 'go along with'	soeru 'add'	
	subomu (tsubomu) 'become narrow'	subomeru (tsubomeru) 'make narrow'	
	sukumu 'crouch'	sukumeru 'duck (one's head)'	
	susumu 'advance'	susumeru 'advance'	
	tagau 'differ'	tagaeru 'break (one's word)'	
	tatu 'stand'	tateru 'stand'	
	ara-datu 'become aggravated'	ara-dateru 'aggravate'	
	ira-datu 'become irritated'	ira-dateru 'irritate'	
	saka-datu 'stand on end'	saka-dateru 'ruffle up'	
	tawamu 'bend'	tawameru 'bend'	
	tigau 'differ'	tigaeru 'change'	
	matigau 'become mistaken'	matigaeru 'mistake'	
	tizimu 'shrink'	tizimeru 'reduce'	
	todoku 'be delivered'	todokeru 'deliver'	
	tugau 'mate with'	tugaeru 'mate with'	
	tuku 'adhere to'	tukeru 'attach'	
	kata-zuku 'become tidy'	kata-zukeru 'tidy up'	
	kizu-tuku 'become damaged'	kizu-tukeru 'damage'	
	na-tuku 'become attached to'	na-tukeru 'win over'	
	tika-zuku 'approach'	tika-zukeru 'allow to approach'	
	tumu 'become packed'	tumeru 'pack'	
	tutau 'go along'	tutaeru 'transmit'	
	tuzuku 'continue'	tuzukeru 'continue'	
	ukabu 'float'	ukaberu 'float'	
	yamu 'stop'	yameru 'stop'	
	yasumu 'rest'	yasumeru 'rest'	
	yawaragu 'become softened'	yawarageru 'soften'	
	yurumu 'become loose'	yurumeru 'loosen'	
	yugamu 'become crooked'	yugameru 'bend'	
	yureru 'shake'	yuru 'shake'	

Appendix II Japanese Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	—ar—	—e—	
	agaru 'rise'	ageru 'raise'	
	aratamaru 'become improved'	arataмeru 'improve'	
	ataru 'touch'	ateru 'cause to touch'	
	atatamaru 'become worm'	atatameru 'warm up'	
	atumaru 'gather'	atumeru 'gather'	
	azukaru 'keep'	azukeru 'entrust to'	
	butukaru 'bump into'	butukeru 'strike against'	
	hamaru 'fit into'	hameru 'fit into'	
	hayamaru 'become hasty'	hayameru 'hasten'	
	hazimaru 'begin'	hazimeru 'begin'	
	hedataru 'become separated'	hedateru 'separate'	
	hiumaru 'become lower'	hikumeru 'lower'	
	hirogaru 'spread out'	hirogeru 'spread out'	
	hiromaru 'spread'	hiromeru 'spread'	
	hukamaru 'deepen'	hukameru 'deepen'	
	kabusaru 'become covered'	kabuseru 'cover'	
	kakaru 'hang, come in contact'	kakeru 'hang, put in contact'	
	karamaru 'become connected'	karameru 'connect'	
	kasanaru 'pile up'	kasaneru 'pile up'	
	katamaru 'harden'	katameru 'harden'	
	kawaru 'change'	kaeru 'change'	
	kimaru 'become decided'	kimeru 'decide'	
	kiwamaru 'reach an extreme'	kiwameru 'carry to an extreme'	
	kiyomaru 'become pure'	kiyomeru 'purify'	
	kurumaru 'become wrapped up in '	kurumeru 'lump together with'	
	kuwawaru 'join'	kuwaeru 'add'	
	magaru 'bend'	mageru "bend'	
	marumaru 'become round'	marumeru 'make round'	
	matomaru 'take shape'	matomeru 'put into order'	
	mazaru 'become mixed with '	mazeru 'mix with'	
	maziwaru 'mingle with'	mazieru 'mix with'	
	mitukaru 'be found'	mitukeru 'find'	
	mookaru 'be earned'	mookeru 'earn'	
	nukumaru 'become warm'	nukumeru 'warm up'	
	osamaru 'subside'	osameru 'pacify'	
	osowaru 'learn'	osieru 'teach'	
	owaru 'end'	oeru 'end'	
	sadamaru 'be decided'	sadameru 'decide'	
	sagaru 'become lower'	sageru 'lower'	
	bura-sagaru 'hang down'	bura-sageru 'hang down'	
	sazukaru 'receive'	sazukeru 'grant'	
	sebamaru 'become narrow'	sebameru 'make narrow'	
	simaru 'close, become tight'	simeru 'close, tighten'	
	sizumaru 'become quiet'	sizumeru 'make quiet'	

Appendix II Japanese Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	somaru 'be dyed'	someru 'dye'	
	sonawaru 'be provided'	sonaeru 'provide with'	
	subomaru (tsubomaru) 'become narrow'	subomeru (tsubomeru) 'make narrow'	
	sutaru 'fall into disuse'	suteru 'throw away'	
	suwaru 'sit'	sueru 'set'	
	takamaru 'rise'	takameru 'raise'	
	tamaru 'collect'	tameru 'collect'	
	tasukaru 'be helped'	tasukeru 'help'	
	tazusawaru 'participate in'	tazusaeru 'carry on one's person'	
	tizimaru (tuzumaru) 'shrink'	tizimeru (tuzumeru) 'reduce'	
	todomaru 'stop'	todomeru 'stop'	
	tomaru 'stop'	tomeru 'stop'	
	toozakaru 'move away'	toozakeru 'keep at a distance'	
	tukaru 'soak in'	tukeru 'soak in'	
	tumaru 'become packed'	tumeru 'pack'	
	turanaru 'line up'	turaneru 'line up'	
	tutawaru 'be handed	tutaeru 'transmit'	
	tutomaru 'be fit for the role of'	tutomeru 'play the role of'	
	tuyomaru 'become strong'	tuyomeru 'strengthen'	
	ukaru 'pass (an exam)'	ukeru 'take (an exam)'	
	umaru (uzumaru) 'be buried'	umeru (uzumeru) 'bury'	
	usumaru 'become thin'	usumeru 'make thin'	
	uwaru 'be planted'	ueru 'plant'	
	yasumaru 'become rested'	yasumeru 'rest'	
	yokotawaru 'lie down'	yokotaeru 'lay down'	
	yowamaru 'weaken'	yowameru 'weaken'	
	yudaru 'be boiled'	yuderu 'boil'	
	—ar—	—ϕ—	
	hasamaru 'become caught between'	hasamu 'put between'	
	husagaru 'become obstructed'	husagu 'obstruct'	
	kurumaru 'become wrapped up in '	kurumu 'wrap up in'	
	matagaru 'sit astride'	matagu 'straddle'	
	tamawaru 'be granted'	tamau 'grant'	
	togaru 'become sharp'	togu 'sharpen'	
	tukamaru 'be caught'	tukamu 'catch'	
	tunagaru 'become connected'	tunagu 'connect'	
	—r—	—s—	
	amaru 'remain'	amasu 'let remain'	
	hitaru 'soak in'	hitasu 'soak in'	
	iburu 'smoke'	ibusu 'fumigate'	
	kaeru 'return'	kaesu 'return'	
	hiru-gaeru 'wave'	hiru-gaesu 'wave'	
	kutu-gaeru 'tip over'	kutu-gaesu 'tip over'	
	kaeru 'hatch'	kaesu 'hatch'	
	kieru 'go out'	kesu 'extinguish'	

Appendix II Japanese Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	kitaru 'come'	kitasu 'bring about'	
	korogaru 'roll'	korogasu 'roll'	
	kudaru 'go down'	kudasu 'lower'	
	mawaru 'turn'	mawasu 'turn'	
	modoru 'return'	modosu 'return'	
	naoru 'become better'	naosu 'fix'	
	naru 'become'	nasu 'make'	
	nakunaru 'become lost, die'	nakunasu 'lose'	
	nigoru 'become muddy'	nigosu 'muddy'	
	noboru 'rise'	nobosu 'bring up, serve'	
	nokoru 'remain'	nokosu 'leave'	
	okoru 'happen'	okosu 'cause'	
	satoru 'realize'	satosu 'make realize'	
	simeru 'become wet'	simesu 'wet'	
	taru 'suffice'	tasu 'add, supplement'	
	tirakaru 'become scattered'	tirakasu 'scatter'	
	tomoru 'bcome lit'	tomosu 'light'	
	tooru 'pass through'	toosu 'let pass through'	
	uturu 'appear, become reflected'	utusu 'capture (an image), reflect'	
	uturu 'move'	utusu 'move'	
	wataru 'cross over'	watasu 'hand over'	
	yadoru 'lodge at'	yadosu 'give lodging to'	
	—re—	—s—	
	arawareru 'appear'	arawasu 'show'	
	hanareru 'move away from'	hanasu 'separate from'	
	hazureru 'come off'	hazusu 'take off'	
	kakureru 'hide'	kakusu 'hide'	
	kegareru 'become unclean'	kegasu 'make unclean'	
	koboreru 'spill'	kobosu 'spill'	
	kogareru 'burn with passion for'	kogasu 'scorch'	
	konareru 'become digested'	konasu 'digest'	
	kowareru 'break'	kowasu 'break'	
	kuzureru 'collapse'	kuzusu 'demolish'	
	mabureru 'become smeared'	mabusu 'smear'	
	midareru 'become disordered'	midasu 'put into disorder'	
	mureru 'become steamed'	musu 'steam'	
	nagareru 'flow'	nagasu 'wash away'	
	nogareru 'escape'	nogasu 'let escape'	
	taoreru 'fall'	taosu 'bring down'	
	tsubureru 'become crushed'	tubusu 'crush'	
	yogoreru 'become dirty'	yogosu 'soil'	
	—ri—	—s—	
	kariru 'borrow'	kasu 'lend'	
	tariru 'suffice'	tasu 'add, supplement'	
	—ϕ—	—as—	
	aku 'open'	akasu 'reveal'	

Appendix II Japanese Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	au 'go together'	awasu 'bring together'	
	hagemu 'be diligent in'	hagemasu 'encourage'	
	hekomu 'become dented'	hekomasu 'dent'	
	heru 'decrease'	herasu 'decrease'	
	hikaru 'shine'	hikarasu 'cause to shine'	
	hikkomu 'draw back'	hikkomasu 'pull back'	
	huku 'blow'	hukasu 'puff, smoke'	
	hukuramu 'swell'	hukuramasu 'cause to swell'	
	huru 'rain'	hurasu 'cause to rain'	
	kagayaku 'shine'	kagayakasu 'cause to shine'	
	kawaku 'dry'	kawakasu 'dry'	
	kiku 'take effect'	kikasu 'use'	
	kooru 'freeze'	koorasu 'freeze'	
	koru 'become absorbed in'	korasu 'concentrate on'	
	kusaru 'spoil'	kusarasu 'spoil'	
	mayou 'become preplexed'	mayowasu 'preplex'	
	meguru 'come around'	megurasu 'turn around'	
	moru 'leak'	morasu 'leak'	
	naku 'cry'	naksu 'cause to cry'	
	naru 'ring'	narasu 'ring'	
	nayamu 'be troubled'	nayamasu 'trouble'	
	odoroku 'be surprised'	odorokasu 'surprise'	
	sawagu 'become excited'	sawagasu 'cause excitement'	
	soru 'bend'	sorasu 'bend'	
	suberu 'slip'	suberasu 'let slip'	
	suku 'become transparent'	sukasu 'make transparent'	
	sumu 'become clear'	sumasu 'make clear'	
	sumu 'end'	sumasu 'end'	
	teru 'shine'	terasu 'shine light on'	
	tiru 'scatter'	tirasu 'scatter'	
	tobu 'fly'	tobasu 'let fly'	
	togaru 'become sharp'	togarasu 'sharpen'	
	tomu 'become rich'	tomasu 'make rich'	
	ugoku 'move'	ugokasu 'move'	
	waku 'boil'	wakasu 'boil'	
	wazurau 'be troubled'	wazurawasu 'trouble'	
	yorokobu 'be happy'	yorokobasu 'please'	
	—e—	—as—	
	akeru 'dawn'	akasu 'spend (the night)'	
	areru 'become ravaged'	arasu 'ravage'	
	bakeru 'turn into'	bakasu 'bewitch'	
	bareru 'come to light'	barasu 'expose'	
	bokeru 'become unclear'	bokasu 'make unclear'	
	deru 'come out'	dasu 'take out'	
	haeru 'grow'	hiyasu 'grow'	
	hageru 'peel off'	hagasu 'peel off'	
	hareru 'clear up'	harasu 'clear up'	
	hateru 'come to an end'	hatasu 'carry out'	
	hieru 'become cool'	hiyasu 'cool'	
	hueru 'increase'	huyasu 'increase'	
	hukeru 'grow late'	hukasu 'stay up late at (night)'	

Appendix II Japanese Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	huyakeru 'become soaked'	huyakasu 'soak'	
	ieru 'heal'	iyasu 'heal'	
	kakeru 'become lacking'	kakasu 'miss (a meeting)'	
	kireru 'run out'	kirasu 'run out of'	
	koeru 'become fat, fertile'	koyasu 'fatten, fertilize'	
	kogeru 'become scorched'	kogasu 'scorch'	
	korogeru 'roll'	korogasu 'roll'	
	kozireru 'become worse'	kozirasu 'make worse'	
	kureru "(day, year) comes to an end'	kurasu 'pass (time)'	
	magireru 'become confused with; be distracted'	magirasu 'conceal in; distract'	
	makeru 'be defeated'	makasu 'defeat'	
	moeru 'burn'	moyasu 'burn'	
	moreru 'leak'	morasu 'leak'	
	mureru 'become steamed'	murasu 'steam'	
	nareru 'become accustomed to '	narasu 'accostom, tame'	
	nigeru 'escape'	nigasu 'let escape'	
	nukeru 'be left out'	nukasu 'leave out'	
	nureru 'become wet'	nurasu 'make wet'	
	okureru 'be late for'	okurasu 'delay'	
	sameru 'awake'	samasu 'wake up'	
	sameru 'become cool'	samasu 'cool'	
	soreru 'deviate'	sorasu 'divert'	
	taeru 'die out'	tayasu 'exterminate'	
	tareru 'drop'	tarasu 'let drop'	
	tizireru 'become curly'	tizirasu 'curl'	
	tokeru 'melt'	tokasu 'melt'	
	torokeru 'melt, be bewitched'	torokasu 'melt, bewitch'	
	tuieru 'be wasted'	tuiyasu 'consume'	
	zireru 'be impatient'	zirasu 'irritate'	
	zureru 'become out of line'	zurasu 'shift out of line'	
	zyareru 'be playful'	zyarasu 'play with'	
	—i—	—as—	
	akiru 'grow tired of'	akasu 'make (one) tired of'	
	dekiru 'come into existence'	dekasu 'bring about'	
	ikiru 'live'	ikasu 'bring to life'	
	koriru 'learn (from experience)'	korasu 'give (one) a lesson'	
	mitiru 'become full'	mitasu 'fill'	
	nobiru 'become extended'	nobasu 'extend'	
	toziru 'close'	tozasu 'close'	
	—i—	—os—	
	hiru 'become dry'	hosu 'dry'	
	horobiru 'go to ruin'	horobosu 'destroy'	
	okiru 'get up'	okosu 'get up'	
	oriru 'get off'	orosu 'let off'	
	otiru 'fall'	otosu 'drop'	
	sugiru 'go past'	sugosu 'pass (time)'	

Appendix II Japanese Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	—ϕ—	—se—	
	abiru 'pour (over oneself)'	abiseru 'pour (over another)'	
	kaburu 'become covered (with), put on (one's own) head'	kabuseru 'cover (with), put on (another's) head'	
	kiru 'put on (one's own) body'	kiseru 'put on (another's) body'	
	niru 'resemble'	niseru 'model after'	
	noru 'get on'	noseru 'put on, give a ride to'	
	yoru 'approach'	yoseru 'allow to approach'	
	miru 'see'	miseru 'show'	
	—e—	—akas—	
	amaeru 'act dependent (on)'	amayakasu 'spoil'	
	hagureru 'stray from'	hagurakasu 'put off, evade'	
	obieru 'become frightened at'	obiyakasu 'frighten, threaten'	
	sobieru 'rise high'	sobiyakasu 'hold (shoulders) high'	
	neru 'go to bed'	nekaseru 'put to bed'	
	—or—	—e—	
	komoru 'be fully present'	komeru 'fill with'	
	nukumoru 'become warm'	nukumeru 'warm up'	
	—are—	—e—	
	sutareru 'fall into disuse'	suteru 'throw away'	
	torawareru 'be seized with, caught by'	toraeru 'seize, catch'	
	wakareru 'become divided'	wakeru 'divide'	
	Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous	
	hagareru 'peel off'	hagu 'peel off'	
	hogureru 'become untied'	hogusu 'untie'	
	hosoru 'become thin'	hosomeru 'make narrow'	
	hukureru 'swell'	hukuramasu 'cause to swell'	
	kakeru 'run'	karu 'drive, spur'	
	kasureru 'become hoarse'	karasu 'make hoarse'	
	kikoeru 'become audible'	kiku 'hear'	
	koeru 'go over'	kosu 'go over'	
	kudaru 'go down'	kudasaru 'bestow'	
	kusuburu 'smoke'	kusuberu 'fumigate'	
	maziru 'become mixed	mazeru 'mix with'	
	nakunaru 'become lost,	nakusu 'lose'	
	nigiwau 'become prosperous'	nigiwasu 'make prosperous'	
	nobiru 'become extended'	noberu 'extend'	
	obusaru 'get on (someone's back)'	obuu 'carry on (one's back)'	
	oyobu 'reach'	oyobosu 'extend (influence) to'	
	sasaru 'become stuck in'	sasu 'stick, thrust into'	

Appendix II Japanese Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

Derived Intransitive	Lexical Intransitive	Lexical Transitive	Derived Transitive
	tukamaru 'become caught'	tukamaeru 'catch'	
	tukiru 'run out'	tukusu 'use up'	
	tumoru 'become accumulated'	tumu 'accumulate'	
	umareru 'be born'	umu 'give birth to'	
	uruou 'become moistened'	uruosu 'moisten'	
	useru 'disappear'	usinau 'lose'	
	uzumoreru 'become	uzumeru 'bury'	
	yureru 'sway'	yurugasu 'cause to sway'	

This Appendix is adopted from Jacobson (1992). The Verb pairs are classified according to derivational affixes. The transcription method followed therin differs from the one used here, however, is not changed.

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