Causative Forms in Sanskrit

Valency is the number of *arguments* that a verb takes. (Arguments are syntactic categories like *subject* and *object*, not semantic categories like *agent* and *patient*.) —— Verbs are classified into *sakarmaka* (transitive) and *akarmaka* (intransitive) based on the number of arguments they take in the *kartari prayogaḥ*. —— **The causative suffix *ṆiC* increases a verb's valency by one.**

0 – impersonal verbs (no argument)
  bhāve prayogaḥ: supyate

1 – intransitive verbs (the verb's only argument is the *subject*)
  karmaṇi prayogaḥ: kaṭaḥ kriyate "a mat is made"
  akarmakadhātoḥ kartari prayogaḥ: devadatta āste "D. sits down"

2 – transitive verbs (the verb takes a *subject* and an *object*)
  sakarmakadhātoḥ kartari prayogaḥ: devadattaḥ kaṭaṃ karoti
  "D. makes a mat"

3 – ditransitive verbs (the verb takes a *subject* and two *objects*, 1.4.51)
  dvikarmakadhātoḥ kartari prayogaḥ: devadattaḥ payo gāṃ dogdhi
  "D. milks milk from the cow"

> In the *kartari prayogaḥ*, the lexical semantics of each individual verb determines its argument structure. In the *bhāve* and *karmaṇi prayogaḥ*, which are used with specific suffixes like *yaK* and *CiṆ*, these suffixes override the verb's lexical semantics.

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Non-causative verbs can only have one agent (*kartṛ*). Causative verbs can have two agents:
- *prayojyakartṛ* – "the impelled agent"
- *prayojakakartṛ* – "the impelling agent," also called the *hetu* "cause" (1.4.55)

A causative form agrees with the *hetu* (3.1.26).
- *kaṭaṃ kārayati* – "he has a mat made"
- *rājā setuṃ bandhayati* – "the king has a bridge built"
- *kaṃsaṃ ghātayanti* – "they have K. killed" (i.e., they narrate the slaying of K. by Kṛṣṇa)

> karman → karman
> kartṛ → prayojyakartṛ
> Ø → prayojakakartṛ

GROUP 1: For *intransitive verbs*, as well as most verbs of *going, knowing, eating, speaking* or *listening*, the agent (*kartṛ*) of the simple verb becomes the patient (*karman*), and hence the object, of the causative (1.4.52):
- *āsayati devadattam* – "he has D. sit down"
- *māṇavakaṃ dharmaṃ bodhayati* – "he causes the boy to know his *dharma*"
- *māṇavakaṃ vedaṃ pāṭhayati* – "he causes the boy to recite the Veda"
- *rājā devadattaṃ gamayati* – "the king sends D. on his way"

NB the tradition considers verbs of motion (*gatyartha*) transitive. They could also be considered intransitives with an accusative of goal of motion.

GROUP 2: For most *transitive* verbs, the agent (*kartṛ*) of the simple verb appears in *tṛtīyavibhakti* if it is expressed at all. (Because the *kartṛ* is in the *tṛtīyavibhakti* in the passive as well, some think of this construction as a "causative based on a passive." There is no such thing. The *tṛtīya* is the default *vibhakti* for an agent, 2.3.18.)
- *rāmaḥ setuṃ vānarair bandhayati* – "R. has the monkeys build a bridge."

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Causative forms can occur in the *karmaṇi* or *bhāve prayoga* like any other verb. Some causatives in **GROUP 1** are *dvikarmaka* (their two *karman*s being the *kartṛ* and the *karman* of the simple verb). In the *karmaṇi prayoga*, they take a "retained accusative":
- *vedam adhyāpito 'yam* – "he's been made to study the Veda"
- *odanam āśyate devadattaḥ* – "D. is being made to eat rice"

Forms of the Causative

The causative suffix is *ṆiC*, which is also used as a *vikaraṇa* (present stem forming suffix) for the *curādigaṇa* (10th *gaṇa*).

- Because it is *Ṇit,* it induces "Ṇ-strengthening" (or Brugmann strengthening) of the root.
    - Most roots take *guṇa* by default (*budh → bodh, tud → tod*)
    - Roots of the shapes **CV** and **CaC** take *vṛddhi* (*nī → nai, cyu → cyau*)
    - Most roots with a final *m*, as well as *jan, vadh*, and *ghaṭ*, do not take *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* (*gam → gam, jan → jan*)
    - *sidh → sādh, han → ghāt* (consult Kale for more irregular formations)
- The *anubandha C* makes a word accented on its final syllable. (Unless followed by an accented suffix, the accent of causative forms is on *-í-* or its *guṇa* form *-áy-*.)

The root is sometimes *augmented* in the causative:

- *pUK*
    - after *all roots* that end in *ā*: *dā → dāp, sthā → sthāp*
    - *ar → arp, jñā → jñap* or *jñāp*
    - after a few verbs in *-i* with a change to *-ā*: *ji → jāpayati, adhi-i → adhy-āp, mi → māp*
    - optionally *ruh → rop* (or *ruh*)
- *yUK* (*śā → śāy*), *ṣUK* (*bhī → bhīṣ*), *lUK* (*pā → pāl*)

The suffix *ṆiC* is deleted before *ārdhadhātuka* affixes (6.4.51): this includes the *vikaraṇas yaK* (present passive) and *CaṄ* (reduplicated aorist), and most participial suffixes (including *Kta*). The strengthening of the root remains.

A root suffixed with *ṆiC* forms a new root, which can then do all of the things that simple verbs do:

- In the present system, it takes the default *vikaraṇa ŚaP*, which causes *guṇa* of what precedes it:
    - *bhū + ṆiC + ŚaP → bhāv-ay-a-*
    - *kṛ + ṆiC + ŚaP → kār-ay-a-*
    - *sthā + ṆiC + ŚaP → sthāp-ay-a-*
    - Participles formed as usual: *sthāpayant-, sthāpyamāna-*, etc.
- Causatives can take the passive and impersonal suffix *yaK* (with deletion of *ṆiC*):
    - *kṛ + ṆiC + yaK → kār-∅-ya-*
    - *ruh + ṆiC + yaK → rop-∅-ya-* or *roh-∅-ya-*
    - Participles formed as usual: *ropyamāna-* or *rohyamāna-*, etc.
- Participles of the present system are formed in the usual way:
- In the aorist system, it takes the *vikaraṇa CaṄ* (this forms a reduplicated aorist with light reduplication if the root is heavy, and heavy reduplication if the root is light):
    - LIGHT – HEAVY: *atatakṣat, ararakṣat, aśaśaṃsat*
    - HEAVY – LIGHT: *ajigrahat, aśuśruvat, adīdṛśat, adīdadat, acīkarat*
- Participles: The augment *-i-* occurs before the participial suffix by default (7.2.35).
    - *jan + ṆiC + Kta → jan-∅-ita-*
    - *jña + ṆiC + Kta → jñap-∅-ita-*
    - *sthāp + Ṇic + Kta → sthāp-∅-ita-*
    - *kṛ + ṆiC + Ktavat → kār-∅-itavat-*
    - *aś + ṆiC + Ktavat → āś-∅-itavat-*
    - *budh + ṆiC + tavya → bodh-∅-itavya-*

The causative can form futures (*jñapayiṣyati*),
conditionals (*ajñapayiṣyat*), desideratives (*jñīpsati*), etc.