

## 1 Basic Issues

Form: analytic or synthetic

Optional Promotion, Exceptions to Burzio's Generalization

Passivization of intransitives

- (1) chalo, ab so-yaa jaa-e  
come now sleep-Pfv Pass-Sbjv  
'Come, let's sleep.' (Lit. Come, let it be slept.)

Interpretation: ordinary or modal

- (2) a. Ordinary:  
chor pakṛ-aa gayaa  
thief.M catch-Pfv.M Pass-Pfv.M  
'The thief was caught.'
- b. Modal 'Inabilitative'  
pulis-se chor pakṛ-aa nahī: gayaa  
police-Instr thief.M catch-Pfv.M Neg Pass-Pfv.M  
'The police were unable to catch the thief.'

When is the inabilitative reading available?

What is the relationship between the ordinary passive and the inabilitative passive?

## 2 The Components of the Passives

Passives are analytical in most but not all Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

### 2.1 Analytic Passives

Basic components

- a participial/infinitival verbal form
- an auxiliary verb

• Ablative or Locative form of the infinitive + the verb *come*:  
(Kashmiri, Gujarati, Marathi)

- (3) a. (Kashmiri, from Wali and Koul (1997))  
[aslam-ni zEriyI] a:yi yi kE:m kar-nI  
aslam-Gen by COME.Pst this work do-Inf.Abl  
'This work was done by Aslam.'
- b. (Gujarati, from Lambert (1971):172)  
ajkal avā ghAṇā mAkano bādhva-mā ave che  
these-days such many buildings build.inf-Loc COME.? be.Prs  
'Many such buildings are built these days.'
- c. (Marathi, from Pardeshi (2000))  
polisAn-kaḍun cor pakad-ṇyAt A-IA  
police-by thief.M catch-Inf.Loc come-Pfv.M  
'The thief was caught by the police.'

Sinhalese also uses an infinitival form of the passivized verb, but differs from Kashmiri and Gujarati in using the verb *receive* as the passive auxiliary.

• Perfective Participle + the verb *go*:  
(Punjabi, Hindi, Assamese, Marathi, Marwari, Bengali, Oriya)

- (4) a. (Hindi, from Hook (1979):121)  
yeh kavitaā Radheshyaam-dwaaraa likh-ii ga-yii hai  
this poem.f Radheshyaam-by write-Pfv.f GO-Pfv.f be.Prs.Sg  
'This poem has been written by Radheshyaam.'
- b. (Marathi, from Pandharipande (1979))  
kamiṭi kaḍun prastāv manzūr kelā gelā nahī  
committee by proposal approval do-Pfv GO-Pfv Neg  
'The proposal was no approved by the committee.'

## 2.2 Synthetic Passives

Kumaoni, Nepali, Lahnda, and Sindhi have a synthetic passive.

- (5) (Nepali, from Pandharipande (1979))

samiti bāṭa prastāb svikār **gar-ie-na**  
committee by proposal accept did-Pass-Neg

‘The proposal was not accepted by the committee.’

In addition to an analytic passive (cf. 3), Gujarati and Marwari also have a synthetic passive.

- (6) (Gujarati, from Lambert (1971):171)

kale cor **pEkEd-ayo**  
yesterday thief catch-Pass.Pfv

‘Yesterday, the thief was caught.’

## 3 Syntactic Issues

### 3.1 The Locus of Passive Morphology

Ordinarily the passive morphology - in Hindi the perfective participial morphology - appears on the main verb and not on any aspectual auxiliary.

- (7) a. Active:  $V_{Main}$  Prog/Modal Tense

**Mahesh** mez haṭaa **rahaa/sak-taa** **hai**  
Mahesh.m table remove Prog.MSg/can-Hab.MSg be.Prs.Sg

‘Mahesh is removing/can remove the table.’

- b. Passive:  $V_{Main}$ -Pfv Pass Prog/Modal Tense

**mez haṭaa-ii** jaa **rahi/sak-tii** **hai**  
table.f remove-Pfv.f Pass Prog.f/can-Hab.f be.Prs.Sg

‘The table is being/can be removed.’

The order where the passive morphology appears on the modal is marginally possible in Hindi, but it is the primary order in Gujarati and Sanskrit.

- (8) ‘Long Passives’

- a. V Modal-Pfv Pass (from Hook (1974):88)

??[us-ke jaa-ne-se pahle] baat nahī: kar sak-ii gai  
he.Obl-Gen.Obl go-Inf.Obl-Instr before talk.f Neg do can-Pfv.f Pass-Pfv.f

‘Before he left, talking couldn’t be done.’

(standardly accepted version: V-Pfv Pass Modal: baat nahī: kii jaa sakii)

- b. (Gujarati, from Cardona (1965):118,123, via Hook (1974):256)

aa kaam aa riite kari Sakaay  
this work this way do can-Pass

‘This work can be done in this way.’

More surprising is the placement of the passive morphology with respect to ‘compound verbs’.

- (9) (based on Hook (1979):120)

- a. Active:  $V_{Main}$   $V_{Compound}$ -Fut

**Mandar** mez haṭaa **de-gaa**  
Mandar.m table.f remove GIVE-Fut.MSg

‘Mandar will remove the table.’

- b. Passive:  $V_{Main}$   $V_{Compound}$ -Pfv Pass-Fut

**mez haṭaa di-i** **jaa-egii**  
table.f remove GIVE-Pfv.f Pass-Fut.f

‘The table will be removed.’

### 3.2 The scope of the Passive

In English, intransitive verbs cannot be passivized.

- (10) a. Intransitive

- i. John sat in front of Bill.

- ii. \*Bill was sat in front of./\*It was sat in front of Bill.

- b. Transitive

- i. John seated Bill in the front row.

- ii. Bill was seated in the front row.

In most Indo-Aryan languages, intransitive as well as transitive verbs can be passivized. (cf. Masica (1991):317).

- (11) Intransitives (from Balachandran (1973):25)

- a. baṛō-ke-saamne adab-se baith-aa jaa-taa hai  
elders.Obl-Gen.Obl-front manners-with sit-Pfv Pass-Hab be.Prs

‘In front of elderly people, one sits with manners.’  
(Lit. ‘In front of elders, (it) is sat with manners.’)

- b. vahī: sṭeshan-par so li-yaa jaa-egaa  
there-only station-on sleep TAKE-Pfv Pass-Fut

‘It will be slept in the station itself.’

Pandharipande (1997):396 notes that in Marathi, only transitive verbs can be passivized.<sup>1</sup>

- (12) Transitives (from Balachandran (1973):24,25)
- a. amriikaa-mē chaaval-bhii khaa-yaa jaa-taa hai  
 America-in rice-also eat-Pfv Pass-Hab be.Prs  
 'In America, Rice is also eaten.'
- b. is saal tumhē pachaas rupye di-ye jaa-ēge  
 this year you.Dat 50 rupees.m give-Pfv.MPI Pass-Fut.MPI  
 'This year fifty rupees will be given to you.'

Unaccusatives cannot be passivized. (cf. Balachandran (1973):46,47)

- (13) unaccusative *break*
- a. active:  
 shiishaa kal tuuṭ-aa thaa  
 glass yesterday break-Pfv be.Pst  
 'The glass broke yesterday.'
- b. passive:  
 \*kal tuuṭ-aa gayaa thaa  
 yesterday break-Pfv Pass-Pfv be.Pst  
 '\*Yesterday, (it) was broken.'

- (14) Dative subject construction
- a. active:  
 Miriam-ko Xena pasand aa-i  
 Miriam-Dat Xena.f like come-Pfv.f  
 'Miriam liked Xena.'
- b. passive:  
 \*Miriam-ko pasand aa-yaa gayaa  
 Miriam-Dat like come-Pfv Pass-Pfv

Passivized Structures cannot be further passivized.

- (15) a. Passive  
 partii-me khuub kabaab khaa-e jaa-ēge  
 party-in lots kabab eat-Pfv.PI Pass-Fut.MPI  
 'Lots of kababs will be eaten at the party.'
- b. Passive of Passive  
 \*partii-me khaa-e jaa-e jaa-ēge  
 party-in lots kabab eat-Pfv.MPI Pass-Pfv.MPI Pass-Fut.MPI

<sup>1</sup>This seems to be only true if we restrict ourselves to the Regular Passive in Marathi. The inabilitative passive in Marathi allows for productive passivization of intransitives (cf. Rosen and Wali (1989):31).

### 3.3 Optional Promotion

A notable feature of passivization in Hindi is that overt accusative marking on objects can be retained even after passivization.

- (16) (from Hook (1979):120)
- a. Active:  
 ve mujh-ko/\*mĒ fauran pehchaan l-ēge  
 they I.Obl-Acc/I immediately recognize TAKE-Fut.MPI  
 'They will recognize me immediately.'
- b. Passive, with *ko*:  
 mujh-ko fauran pechaan li-yaa jaa-egaa  
 me.Obl-Acc immediately recognize TAKE-Pfv Pass-Fut  
 'I will be recognized immediately.'
- c. Passive, without *ko*:  
 mĒ fauran pehchaan li-i jaa-ūgii  
 I.f immediately recognize TAKE-Pfv.f Pass-Fut.1FSg  
 'I will be recognized immediately.'

• Accusative *-ko* does not generally appear on subjects. Therefore arguably (16b) does not involve promotion of the object (at least not for case, maybe for EPP). Putative violation of Burzio's Generalization.

• Pronominal direct objects must be case-marked. Hence there must have been promotion of the direct object to subject position in (16c).

With direct objects that do not require *-ko*-marking, passive structures without *-ko* such as (17b) are ambiguous between a promotion structure and a non-promotion structure.

- (17) a. Active:  
**Shiraz** yeh kitaab/is kitaab-ko paṛh rahaa hai  
 Shiraz.m this book/this.Obl book-Acc read Prog.MSg be.Prs.Sg  
 'Shiraz is reading this book.'
- b. Passive, ambiguous w.r.t. promotion  
**yeh kitaab** Shiraz-dwaaraa paṛh-ii jaa rahii hai  
 this book.f Shiraz-by read-Pfv.f Pass Prog.f be.Prs.Sg  
 'This book is being read by Shiraz.'

- c. Passive, no promotion

is        kitaab-ko Shiraz-dwaaraa paṛh-aa jaa   rahaa hai  
this.Obl book-Acc Shiraz-by        read-Pfv Pass Prog be.Prs

‘This book is being read by Shiraz.’

### 3.4 The choice between *-se* and *(-ke) dwaaraa*

The demoted agent of a passive can be realized, in principle, by both the instrumental case marker *-se* and *(-ke) dwaaraa* ‘-Gen through’.

It seems that the instrumental case marker was at one point the only way to mark the demoted agent. At this point, the only passive structures with overt demoted subjects were inabilitative structures.

With a few exceptions<sup>2</sup>, *-se* has remained restricted to its original domain - the inabilitative passive.

- (18) (from Pandharipande (1979):96)

mujh-se kuchh-bhii kah-aa nahī: gayaa  
I.Obl-Instr something-‘even’ say-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv

‘I couldn’t say anything.’

Using it to mark the demoted subjects of an ordinary passive is strongly dispreferred. It can, however, be freely used to mark instruments.<sup>3</sup>

- (19) (modified from Gaeffke (1967):78)

yeh kitaab microscope-se/??us laRke-se paṛh-ii jaa-tii hai  
this book.f microscope-Instr/Dem.Obl boy-Instr read-Pfv.f Pass-Hab.f be.Prs

‘The book is read with a microscope/by that boy.’

With the greater use of overt demoted subjects in ordinary passives (presumably due to the influence of English on written Hindi), the complex postposition *(-ke) dwaaraa* ‘-Gen through’ has come to be used to mark the demoted subject.

- (20) yeh kitaab us laRke-dwaaraa paṛh-ii jaa-tii hai  
this book Dem.Obl boy.Obl-by read-Pfv.f Pass-Hab.f be.Prs

‘This book is read by that boy.’

<sup>2</sup>Pandharipande (1979) seems to allow for *-se* marking on demoted subjects of ordinary passives also. Interestingly, all the examples she provides involve negation and thus also allow for inabilitative interpretations. See §4.

<sup>3</sup>Other uses of *-se* include: marking of intermediate agents in indirect causatives, a marker of comparison in phrasal comparatives, and as a case-marker that is inherently selected by a small class of predicates.

### 3.5 Properties of the Demoted Subject

Discussion in this section focuses on passives where promotion of the object is not forced.

- Control into Adjunct

The implicit agent of the passive can by itself control the PRO subject of participial adjuncts.

- (21) (from Balachandran (1973):29,30)

a. [haNste haNste] peṛ kaat-e jaa rahe hē  
laughing laughing tree.m cut-Pfv.MPl Pass Prog.MPl be.Prs.Pl

‘The trees are being cut by someone who is laughing.’

b. [ghar aa-kar] pitaa-jii-ko chitṭhii likh-ii gayii  
home come-done father-Hon-Acc letter.f write-Pfv.f Pass-Pfv.f

‘After someone came home, a letter was written to father by that someone.’

If the implicit agent is realized overtly by a *-dwaaraa*-phrase, it can still control the PRO subject of a participial adjunct.

- (22) (from Mahajan (1995):291)

Salmaa<sub>i</sub>-dwaaraa [PRO<sub>i</sub> ghar jaa-kar] Mohan-ko dāṭ-aa gayaa  
Salma-by home go-do Mohan-Acc scold-Pfv Pass-Pfv

‘Mohan was scolded by Salma after she went home.’

- Anaphor Binding

- (23) (from Mahajan (1995):289)

Salmaa<sub>i</sub>-dwaaraa apne<sub>i</sub> ghar-kaa nirikṣaṅ kiyaa gayaa  
Salma-by self’s.Obl house-Gen inspection do-Pfv Pass-Pfv

‘Self<sub>i</sub>’s house was inspected by Salma<sub>i</sub>.’

- Obviation of Pronominal Possessors as a Subjecthood test

- (24) (from Mahajan (1995):290)

- a. Active:

Salmaa<sub>i</sub>-ne us-ke<sub>j/ni</sub> ghar-kaa nirikṣaṅ kiyaa  
Salma-Erg Dem-Gen.Obl house-Gen inspection do-Pfv

‘Salma<sub>i</sub> inspected her<sub>j/ni</sub> house.’

b. Passive:

Salmaa<sub>i</sub>-dwaaraa us-ke<sub>j/wi</sub> ghar-kaa nirikṣaṅ kiyaa gayaa  
Salma-by Dem-Gen.Obl house-Gen inspection do-Pfv Pass-Pfv  
'Her<sub>j/wi</sub> house was inspected by Salma<sub>i</sub>.'

• Non-obviation of Pronominal Possessors by Unpromoted Object

(25) (from Mahajan (1995):290)

a. Active:

Sita-ne<sub>i</sub> Salmaa-ko<sub>j</sub> [us-ke<sub>wi/j</sub> ghar] bhej di-yaa  
Sita-Erg Salmaa-Acc Dem.Obl-Gen.Obl home send GIVE-Pfv  
'Sita<sub>i</sub> sent Salma<sub>j</sub> to her<sub>wi/j</sub> home.'

b. Passive:

Sitaa-dwaaraa<sub>i</sub> Salmaa-ko<sub>j</sub> [us-ke<sub>wi/j</sub> ghar] bhej di-yaa gayaa  
Sita-by Salma-Acc Dem.Obl-Gen.Obl home send GIVE-Pfv Pass.Pfv  
'Salma<sub>i</sub> was sent to her<sub>wi/j</sub> home by Sita<sub>j</sub>.'

• Mahajan (1995)'s conclusion: the *-dwaaraa*-phrase is in subject position and the 'unpromoted' object is a true object.

However, unlike other oblique subjects, the *-dwaaraa*-phrase is optional.

(26) a. Passive:

kal (Salmaa-dwaaraa) mere ghar-kaa nirikṣaṅ kiyaa gayaa  
yesterday Salma-by my.Obl house-Gen inspection do-Pfv Pass-Pfv  
'Yesterday my house was inspected (by Salma).'

b. Active:

???(Salmaa-ne) mere ghar-kaa nirikṣaṅ kiyaa  
Salma-Erg my.Obl house-Gen inspection do-Pfv  
'??(Salma) inspected my house.'

Mahajan (1995) needs to postulate two passives - an 'active' passive and a regular passive.

• Some of the subjecthood tests are equivocal. An unpromoted object can also bind an anaphor in another object.

(27) a. Passive (based on an example from Hook (1990):322)

raajaa-dwaaraa<sub>i</sub> Balban-ko<sub>j</sub> [apne<sub>wi/j</sub> ghar]-se nikaal di-yaa  
king-by Balban-Acc self's.Obl house-from take-out GIVE-Pfv  
gayaa  
Pass.Pfv

'Balban<sub>i</sub> was removed from his<sub>wi/j</sub> house by the king<sub>j</sub>.'

b. Active

Raajaa-ne<sub>i</sub> Balban-ko<sub>j</sub> [apne<sub>wi/j</sub> ghar]-se nikaal di-yaa  
king-Erg Balban-Acc self's.Obl home-from take-out give-Pfv  
'The king<sub>i</sub> removed Balban<sub>j</sub> from his<sub>wi/j</sub> house.'

It is possible that the 'unpromoted' object does move to a higher position for non-case reasons.

### 3.6 Promotion vs. Non-Promotion

When promotion of the direct object is forced, certain contrasts emerge.

• Promoted objects obviate pronominal possessors, unpromoted objects do not.

(28) (V. Dayal p.c.)

a. Promotion, obviation:

Sita<sub>i</sub> us-ke<sub>j/wi</sub> ghar-ke-paas dekh-ii gayii  
Sita.f Dem.Obl-Gen.Obl home-Gen.Obl-near see-Pfv.f Pass.Pfv.f  
'Sita<sub>i</sub> was seen near her<sub>wi</sub> home.'

b. No Promotion, no obviation:

Sita-ko us-ke<sub>wi/j</sub> ghar-ke-paas dekh-aa gayaa  
Sita-Acc Dem.Obl-Gen.Obl home-Gen.Obl-near see-Pfv Pass.Pfv  
'Sita<sub>i</sub> was seen near her<sub>wi/j</sub> home.'

- However, both promoted and unpromoted objects can bind anaphoric possessors.

(29) (V. Dayal p.c.)

a. Promotion:

**Sita<sub>i</sub>** apne<sub>i</sub> ghar-ke-paas **dekh-ii gayii**  
Sita.f self's.Obl-Gen.Obl home-Gen.Obl-near see-Pfv.f Pass.Pfv.f

'Sita<sub>i</sub> was seen near her<sub>i</sub> home.'

b. No Promotion:

Sita-ko apne<sub>i</sub> ghar-ke-paas dekh-aa gayaa  
Sita-Acc Dem.Obl-Gen.Obl home-Gen.Obl-near see-Pfv Pass.Pfv

'Sita<sub>i</sub> was seen near her<sub>i</sub> home.'

- Promotion seems to block the implicit agent from controlling the PRO subjects of a participial adjunct.

(30) (V. Dayal p.c.)

a. Promotion

**Sita<sub>i</sub>** [PRO<sub>i</sub>/???ImpArg rote-rote] ghar-se **bhej-ii gayii**  
Sita.f crying-crying home-from send-Pfv.f Pass.Pfv.f

'Sita was sent from home while she was crying.'

b. No Promotion

Sita-ko<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub>ImpArg/i rote-rote] ghar-se bhej-aa gayaa  
Sita-Acc crying-crying home-from send-Pfv Pass.Pfv

'Sita was sent from home while she was/the people who sent her were crying.'

The facts stay the same even if the demoted subject is realized overtly.

(31) a. Promotion

pitaa-jii-dwaaraa<sub>j</sub> **Sita<sub>i</sub>** [PRO<sub>i</sub>/???<sub>j</sub> rote-rote] ghar-se **bhej-ii gayii**  
father-Hon-by Sita.f crying-crying home-from send-Pfv.f  
Pass.Pfv.f

'Sita was sent from home by father while she was crying.'

b. No Promotion

pitaa-jii-dwaaraa<sub>j</sub> Sita-ko<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub>/j rote-rote] ghar-se bhej-aa  
father-Hon-by Sita-Acc crying-crying home-from send-Pfv  
gayaa  
Pass.Pfv

'Sita was sent from home by father while she/he was crying.'

### 3.7 Properties of the (Un)Promoted Object

- Control into a passive structure:

If a passive structure is put in a control environment, it is the (un)promoted object that is realized by PRO (cf. Rosen and Wali (1989):22,23 for similar facts in Marathi).

(32) a. Passive

Mina-dwaaraa Sita-ko pakr-aa gayaa  
Mina-by Sita-Acc catch-Pfv Pass-Pfv

'Sita was caught by Mina.'

b. embedding under *chaah* 'want', PRO *by*-phrase

\*Mina-ne<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> Sita-ko pakr-aa jaa-naa] chaah-aa  
Mina-Erg Sita-Acc catch-Pfv Pass-Inf want-Pfv

'\*Mina<sub>i</sub> wanted Sita to be caught by her.'

c. embedding under *chaah* 'want', PRO (un)promoted object

Sita-ne<sub>i</sub> [Mina-dwaaraa PRO<sub>i</sub> pakr-aa jaa-naa] chaah-aa  
Sita-Erg Mina-by catch-Pfv Pass-Inf want-Pfv

'Sita wanted to be caught by Mina.'

- Present Participial Relatives:

Present Participial Relatives typically target the subject position. We see that they target the (un)promoted object and not the *by*-phrase (cf. Rosen and Wali (1989):23-25 for similar facts in Marathi).

(33) a. Active:

yeh bandar kele khaa-taa hai  
this monkey bananas eat-Hab be.Prs

'This monkey eats bananas.'

b. Present Participial Relative on Active:

[\_ kele khaa rahaa/khaa-ne vaalaa] bandar  
bananas eat Prog/eat-Inf.Obl VAALAA monkey

'The monkey eating bananas/who eats/is about to eat bananas.'

(34) a. Passive:

**yeh film** Nish Saran-dwaaraa **banaa-yii** jaa **rahii thii**  
 this film.f Nish Saran-by make-Pfv.f Pass Prog.f be.Pst.f

'This film was being made by Nish Saran.'

b. Present Participial Relative on Passive, targets (un)promoted object:

[Nish Saran-dwaaraa \_\_ **banaa-yii** jaa **rahii**/jaa-ne **vaalii**]  
 Nish Saran-by make-Pfv.f Pass Prog.f/Pass-Inf.Obl VAALAA.f

**film**  
 film.f

'The film being made/about to be made by Nish Saran.'

c. Present Participial Relative on Passive, cannot target *by*-phrase:

\*[\_ yeh film banaa-yaa jaa rahaa/jaa-ne vaalaa] aadmii  
 this film make-Pfv Pass Prog/Pass-Inf.Obl VAALAA man

'\*The man who this film is being made by.'

The facts stay the same even if *yeh film* 'this film' is explicitly 'unpromoted' i.e. it is *ko*-marked.

### 3.8 Towards an Analysis

• 'Unpromoted' objects can optionally promote - correlated with binding and control (cf. 29b, 30b, 31b).

• 'Unpromoted' objects don't have to promote - correlated with non-obviation of pronominal possessors, non-blocking of control by demoted subject (cf. 28b, 30b, 31b).

• Obligatory Promotion - correlated with obviation of pronominal possessors, blocking of control by demoted subject (cf. 28a, 30a, 31a).

### 3.9 Semantic Correlates of Promotion

Though the contrast are subtle, promotion (or the lack of it) has been correlated with certain semantic distinctions.<sup>4</sup>

#### • Intentionality

(35) (Marwari, from Magier (1990):217)

a. Promotion, less intentional

darji māriyo giyo/mārijīyo  
 tailor killed went/kill-Pass-Pst

'The tailor was killed. (e.g. in a car accident)

b. No Promotion, intentional

darji-ne māriyo giyo/mārijīyo  
 tailor-Acc killed went/kill-Pass-Pst

'The tailor was killed. (i.e. murdered)

(Marwari *-ne* does not block agreement. Hence we get agreement with *darji* in both cases.)

(36) (Marwari, from Magier (1990):217)

a. Promotion, less intentional

samar dekhiyo giyo/dekhījīyo  
 Samar seen went/see-Pass-Pst

'Samar was seen. (e.g. by chance)

b. No Promotion, intentional

samar-ne dekhiyo giyo/dekhījīyo  
 Samar-Acc seen went/see-Pass-Pst

'Samar was seen, looked at. (e.g. examined by a doctor)

(37) (Hindi, modification of example in Magier (1999):56)

a. Promotion, less intentional

**Shanti** (bhuuchaal-me) **maar-ii gayii**  
 Shanti.f landslide-in die-Pfv.f Pass-Pfv.f

'Shanti was killed (in a landslide).'

b. No Promotion, intentional

Shanti-ko (#bhuuchaal-me) maar-aa gayaa  
 Shanti-Acc landslide-in die-Pfv Pass-Pfv

'Shanti was murdered (#in a landslide).'

(ok, if the landslide is describing the location of the murder.)

<sup>4</sup>According to Magier (1990), Hook (1985) proposes that presence of *-ko* correlates with greater degree of definiteness in the implicit agent.

## 4 Inabilitative Passives

In addition to the standard passive meaning, passive constructions in many Indo-Aryan languages have an additional modal meaning.

(38) (from Pandharipande (1979):96)

mujh-se kuchh-bhii kah-aa nahī: gayaa  
I.Obl-Instr something-'even' say-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv

'I couldn't say anything.'

Other names:

- capability passive (cf. Balachandran (1973))
- passive of 'incapacity' (cf. Hook (1979))
- 'inability' passive (cf. Davison (1982))
- capacity passive (CP) (cf. Rosen and Wali (1989))

An overt modal *sak* 'able/possible' can appear in the inabilitative without particularly changing the meaning.

(39) mujh-se kuchh-bhii kah-aa nahī: jaa sak-aa  
I.Obl-Instr something-'even' say-Pfv Neg Pass Able-Pfv

'I couldn't say anything.'

A similar fact is reported for the dialect of Marathi studied by Rosen and Wali (1989).

(40) (Marathi, from Rosen and Wali (1989):2)

Mini-kaḍun Ravi-laa pakad(-av)-la ge-l-a naahi  
Mini-by Ravi-Dat catch(-CP)-PTCP Pass-Pst-AGR not

'Mini was unable/could not bring herself to catch Ravi.'

Like the Hindi *sak* 'can', the Marathi *-av* marks ability/possibility.

There are several restrictions on the availability of the inability reading.

### 4.1 Polarity Requirements

For most speakers, the inabilitative construction can only appear in affective environments.

(41) Negation

a. ???Saira-se peṛ ukhaar-e jaa-te hĒ  
Saira-Instr tree.m uproot.Pfv.MPI Neg Pass-Hab.MPI be.Prs.Pl

'?Trees are uprooted with Saira.'

b. Saira-se peṛ ukhaar-e nahī: jaa-te  
Saira-Instr tree.m uproot.Pfv.MPI Neg Pass-Hab.MPI  
'Saira is unable (to bring herself) to uproot trees.'

c. mujh-se Dilli nahī: jaa-yaa gayaa  
I-Instr Delhi Neg go-Pfv Pass.Pfv  
'I couldn't (bring myself to) go to Delhi.'

In all of the following examples, removal of the affective environment causes the modal reading to disappear, and the structure as a whole is degraded.

(42) *only*

Vikram-se sirf ek peṛ kaaṭ-aa gayaa  
Vikram-Instr only one tree cut-Pfv Pass.Pfv

'Vikram could only cut one tree.'

(43) Question with expectation of a negative answer (from Hook (1979):154)

bas ek-hii din-mē tum-se itnaa kaam ki-yaa jaa-egaa  
just one-only day-in you-Instr this-much work do-Pfv Pass-Fut

'Will you be able to do so much work in a single day?'

(44) Conditional (modified from Hook (1979):154)

[agar aap-se bayaan ki-yaa jaa-e] [to hum-bhii sun-ē]  
if you-Instr narration do-Pfv Pass-Sbjv then we-also listen-Sbjv.1Pl

'If you can bear to describe it, we'd like to listen, too.'

(45) Adverbial conveying difficulty/unlikelihood

Dilli itnii duur thii ki mushkil-se-hii vahā: pahūch-aa  
Delhi.f this-much.f far be.Pst.f that difficulty-Instr-only there reach-Pfv  
jaa-taa thaa  
Pass-Hab be.Pst

'Delhi was so far that only with difficulty could one get there.'

(46) 'Neg-Raising'

mujhe nahī: lag-taa ki [Hindustan-ke raajaaō-se apne puraane haq jaldii  
me.Dat Neg feel-Hab that India-Gen.Obl kings-Instr self's old rights soon  
tyaag ki-ye jaa-ēge  
sacrifice do-Pfv.Pl Pass-Fut.MPI

'It doesn't seem to me that India's royalty will be able quickly to relinquish their ancient prerogatives.'



## 4.2 Demoted Subject Requirement

If the demoted subject is omitted, the modal meaning vanishes.

- (47) a. kuchh-bhii kah-aa nahī: gayaa  
 something-‘even’ say-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv  
 ‘Nothing was said.’  
 (NOT: ‘Nothing could be said.’)  
 (in the right context: ‘(I) couldn’t say anything.’)
- b. (from Pandharipande (1979):96)  
 mujh-se kuchh-bhii kah-aa nahī: gayaa  
 I.Obl-Instr something-‘even’ say-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv  
 ‘I couldn’t say anything.’

Balachandran (1973)’s counterexamples:

- (48) a. vahā: garmii-mē kamre-ke andar rah-aa nahī: jaa-taa  
 there summer-in room.Obl-Gen.Obl inside stay-Pfv Neg Pass-Hab  
 ‘One cannot stay indoors there during the summer.’
- b. garmii-mē khaanaa bilkul khaa-yaa nahī: jaa-taa  
 summer-in food at-all eat-Pfv Neg Pass-Hab  
 ‘In the summer, one is unable to eat at all.’

Plausibly these involve an implicit *Arb* subject whose presence is licensed by the habitual aspect.

- (49) Balachandran (1973)’s example in an episodic tense:
- a. ???vahā: kal kamre-ke andar rah-aa nahī: gayaa  
 there yesterday room.Obl-Gen.Obl inside stay-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv  
 NOT: ‘One couldn’t stay indoors there yesterday.’  
 (in the right context: ‘(I) could stay indoors there yesterday.’)
- b. kal khaanaa bilkul khaa-yaa nahī: gayaa  
 yesterday food at-all eat-Pfv Neg Pass-Hab  
 ‘No food was eaten yesterday.’ (Non-modal reading)  
 (in the right context: ‘(I) was unable to eat at all yesterday.’)  
 (NOT: ‘No food could be eaten yesterday.’)

## 4.3 Finiteness

If a passive that in principle has both a Regular Passive and an Inabilitative reading is put in a non-finite environment, the Inabilitative reading (=CP) disappears.

Infinitival Clauses

- (50) (Marathi, from Rosen and Wali (1989):32-33)
- a. Finite  
 Saasu-kaḍun Suṣi-laa kaalej-madhe paathavla gela naahi.  
 mother-in-law-by Susi-Dat college-in send-Ptcp Pass Neg  
 RP: Susi was not sent to college by her mother in law.  
 CP: Her mother in law could not (bear to) send Susi to college.
- b. Infinitival 1:  
 Suṣi-laa [saasu-kaḍun kalej-madhe na paathavla jaay-ci] bhiti vaatte.  
 Susi-Dat mother-in-law-by college-in not send-Ptcp Pass-Inf fear feels  
 RP: Susi fears not being sent to college by her mother in law.  
 \*CP: Susi fears that her mother in law cannot (bring herself to) send her to college.
- c. Infinitival 2:  
 Śaam-ni [aai-kaḍun na khaḍsaavla jaay-caa] praytna kelaa.  
 Sam-Erg mother-by not scold-Ptcp Pass-Inf try did  
 RP: Sam tried not to get scolded by mother.  
 \*CP: Sam tried for mother to be incapable of scolding him.’

Present Participial Relatives

- (51) (Marathi, from Rosen and Wali (1989):32-33)
- a. Finite Correlative Clause  
 [Lili-kaḍun jyaa muli-laa pakadla jaat naahi] ti mulgi itha raahte.  
 Lili-by Rel girl catch-Ptcp Pass Neg that girl here lives  
 RP: The girl who is not caught by Lili lives here.  
 CP: The girl who Lili is unable to catch lives here.
- b. Participial Relative  
 [Lili-kaḍun na pakadla jaa-naar-i] mulgi itha raahte.  
 Lili-by Neg catch-Ptcp Pass-Ptcp-Agr Neg that girl here lives  
 RP: The girl who is not caught by Lili lives here.  
 \*CP: The girl who Lili is unable to catch lives here.

Similar facts obtain in Hindi.

#### 4.4 A non-requirement: Transitivity

In Marathi, intransitive verbs have a regular passive. However, unergative intransitives do allow for an inabilitative passive.

- (52) (Marathi, from Rosen and Wali (1989):31)
- a. Lili-kaḍun caalla jaat naahi.  
Lili-by walk-PTCP Pass Neg  
'Lili cannot walk.'
- b. Unhaajyaat gharaat basla jaat naahi.  
summer-in house-in sit-PTCP Pass Neg  
'In summer one cannot stay in the house.'

In Hindi, unergative intransitives allow for both a regular and an inabilitative passive.

However, neither Hindi nor Marathi allow for passivization of unaccusatives, regular or inabilitative.

- (53) a. active unaccusative:  
Ram bach gayaa  
Ram save<sub>intr</sub> GO-Pfv  
'Ram got saved.' (not a passive despite the meaning)
- b. \*passive unaccusative:  
Ram-se bach-aa nahī: gayaa  
Ram-Instr save<sub>intr</sub>-Pfv Neg GO-Pfv  
'\*Ram couldn't be saved.'

#### 4.5 A difference between Regular and Inabilitative Passives

Rosen and Wali (1989) note that in a Regular Passive, both the demoted agent and the object can antecede the reflexive *swataah* 'self'.

- (54) (Marathi, from Rosen and Wali (1989):28)
- Aai-kaḍun, Ravi-laa<sub>j</sub> ghaai-ghaaiit swataa-ḥaa<sub>i/j</sub> ghari paathavla jaata.  
mother-by Ravi-Dat rush-rush self-Gen home sent Pass  
'Ravi<sub>i</sub> is being sent by mother<sub>j</sub> to self's<sub>i/j</sub> home in a hurry.'

However, in an inabilitative passive only the demoted agent and not the object can antecede *swataah* self'.

- (55) (Marathi, from Rosen and Wali (1989):35)
- Mini-kaḍun, Ravi-laa<sub>j</sub> swataa-ḥaa<sub>i/\*j</sub> vaadhadvīshi khaḍsaavla gela naahi  
Mini-by Ravi-Dat self-Gen birthday-on scold-Ptcp Pass Neg  
Inabilitative: Mini<sub>i</sub> could not (bear to) scold Ravi<sub>j</sub> on self's<sub>i/\*j</sub> birthday.

Expectation: the missing binding should be available under the Regular Passive reading.

For Rosen and Wali (1989), the above contrast is correlated with their Relation Grammar treatment of the RP and the CP:

- Regular Passive: (1 → Cho), (2 → 1)
- Inabilitative Passive: (1 → Cho), (2 → Cho)

Condition on *swataah* 'self': can be bound only by something that is or was a 1.

- In Hindi inabilitative passives too, promotion seems degraded.

- (56) Regular Passive: Promotion Possible
- a. Active:  
ve mujh-ko/\*mĒ fauran pehchaan l-ēge  
they I.Obl-Acc/I immediately recognize TAKE-Fut.MPI  
'They will recognize me immediately.'
- b. Passive without Promotion, with *ko*:  
mujh-ko Bahadur-dwaaraa fauran pechaan li-yaa jaa-egaa  
me.Obl-Acc Bahadur-by immediately recognize TAKE-Pfv Pass-Fut  
'I will be recognized immediately by Bahadur.'
- c. Passive with Promotion, without *ko*:  
mĒ Bahadur-dwaaraa fauran pehchaan li-i jaa-ūgii  
I.f Bahadur-by immediately recognize TAKE-Pfv.f Pass-Fut.1FSg  
'I will be recognized immediately by Bahadur.'
- (57) Inabilitative Passive: Promotion Degraded
- a. Inabilitative Passive without Promotion, with *ko*:  
Bahadur-se mujh-ko nahī: pechaan-aa jaa-egaa  
Bahadur-Instr me.Obl-Acc Neg recognize-Pfv Pass-Fut  
'Bahadur won't be able to recognize me.'
- b. ???Inabilitative Passive with Promotion, without *ko*:  
???/\*Bahadur-se mĒ nahī: pehchaan-ii jaa-ūgii  
Bahadur-Instr I.f Neg recognize-Pfv.f Pass-Fut.1FSg  
'Bahadur won't be able to recognize me.'

#### 4.6 Inabilitative, but not passives

A reason to consider independent analyses of the Inabilitative and the Regular Passives comes from the existence of inabilitatives that aren't passive.

(58) (from Hook (1979):153)

- a. Inabilitative based on Passive of Transitive *baandh* 'tie'  
mujh akeli-se yeh saamaan nahi: baandh-aa jaa-egaa  
I.Obl alone.f-Instr this luggage Neg tie-Pfv Pass-Fut  
'I won't be able to tie this luggage by myself.'
- b. Inabilitative based on Intransitive *bandh* 'tie<sub>intr</sub>'  
mujh akeli-se yeh saamaan nahi: bandh-egaa  
I.Obl alone.f-Instr this luggage Neg tie<sub>intr</sub>-Fut  
'I won't be able to tie this luggage by myself.'

(59) a. Inabilitative based on Passive of Transitive *kar* 'do'

- mujh-se yeh kaam nahi: kiyaa jaa-egaa  
I.Obl-Instr this work Neg do-Pfv Pass-Fut  
'I won't be able to (bring myself to) do this work.'
- b. Inabilitative based on Intransitive *ho* 'be'  
mujh-se yeh kaam nahi ho-gaa  
I.Obl-Instr this work Neg be-Fut  
'I won't be able to do this work.'

More on this in the discussion of Causativization.

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