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 pakr-aa gayaa thief.M catch-Pfv.M Pass-Pfv.M
‘The thief was caught.’
b. Modal ‘Inabilitative’
polis-se chor pakr-aa nahih. 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/infinital 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 zEryI] ayi 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 av˜a ghAn˜a mAkano b˜adhva-m˜a che these-days such-many buildings build-inf-Loc COME.? be.Prs
‘Many such buildings are built these days.’
c. (Marathi, from Pandharipande (1979))
polisAn-kad. un cor pakad-nyAt A-lA 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 kavita 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 Radhesyaam.’
b. (Marathi, from Pandharipande (1979))
kamiiti kadun prastav manzur kele gela nhii 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-īe-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)

kāle 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: \(V_{str} \text{ Prog./Modal Tense}\)

\[\text{Mahesh mez haṭṭa raha/sak-taa hai}\]
Mahesh.m table remove Prog.MSG/can-Hab.MSG be.Prs.Sg

'Mahesh is removing/can remove the table.'

b. Passive: \(V_{str-Pfv} \text{ Pass Prog./Modal Tense}\)

\[\text{mez haṭṭa-ii jaa rahii/sak-tii hai}\]

'Meza 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. \(V \text{ Modal-Pfv Pass (from Hook (1974):88)}\)

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

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

(standardly accepted version: \(V\text{-Pfv Pass Modal: baat nahti kii jaa sakii)}\)


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: \(V_{str} V_{\text{Compound-Pfv}} \text{-Fut}\)

\[\text{Mandar mez haṭṭa de-gaa}\]
Mandar.m table.f remove GIVE-Pfv.MSG

'Mandar will remove the table.'

b. Passive: \(V_{str-Pfv} V_{\text{Compound-Pfv}} \text{ Pass-Fut}\)

\[\text{mez haṭṭa di-i jaa-egii}\]
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.


a. \(bar-o-ke-saamne adab-se baifh-aa jaa-taa hai elders.Obl-Gen.Obl-front manners-with sit-Pfv Pass-Hab be.Prs\)

'In front of elderly people, one sits with manners.'

(Lit. 'In front of elders, (it) is sat with manners.')

b. vah̄i: šešhan-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.1

(12) Transitives (from Balachandran (1973):24,25)
   a. amriikaa-m˜e 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 tumbē pachaas rupey di-ye jaa-ēge
      this year you.Dat 50 rupees.m give-Pfv.MPl Pass-Fut.MPl
      ‘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 ñuut-aa thaa
      glass yesterday break-Pfv be.Pst
      ‘The glass broke yesterday.’
   b. passive:
      *kal ñuut-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
      ‘I will be recognized immediately.’

Passivized Structures cannot be further passivized.

(15) a. Passive
   party-in lots kabab eat-Pfv.MPl Pass-Fut.MPl
   ‘Lots of kababs will be eaten at the party.’
   b. Passive of Passive
      *party-in lots kabab eat-Pfv.MPl Pass-Pfv.MPl Pass-Fut.MPl

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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 pechaan l-ēge
      they I.ObI-Acc/I immediately recognize TAKE-Fut.MPl
      ‘They will recognize me immediately.’
   b. Passive, with ko:
      mujh-ko fauran pechaan li-yaa jaa-ēga
      me.ObI-Acc immediately recognize TAKE-Pfv Pass-Fut
      ‘I will be recognized immediately.’
   c. Passive, without ko:
      mē fauran pechaan li-i jaa-ōgi
      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.I.f be.Prs.Sg
      ‘This book is being read by Shiraz.’
c. Passive, no promotion

is kitaab-ko Shiraz-dwaaraa paRt-aa jaa raaha 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, -se has remained restricted to its original domain - the inabilitative passive.

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

mujh-se kuchh-bhi kah-aa nah 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.3

(19) (modified from Gaefke (1967):78)

yeh kitaab microscope-se/??us lARke-se parh-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 parh-ii jaa-tii hai
this.book Dem.Obl boy-Instr read-Pfv.f Pass-Hab.f be.Prs
‘This book is read by that boy.’

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] peR kaaT-e jaa rahe hE
laughing laughing tree.m cut-Pfv.MPl Pass Prog.MPl be.Prs.PI
‘The trees are being cut by someone who is laughing.’

b. [ghar aa-kar] pita-kii-kii ko chiTTii 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-dwaaraa [PRO, ghar jaa-kar] Mohan-ko dAT-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-dwaaraa aPne, ghar-kaa nirikˇsan kiyaa gayaa
Salma-by self’s.Obl house-Gen inspection do-Pfv Pass-Pfv
‘Self,’s house was inspected by Salma.’

• Obviation of Pronominal Possessors as a Subjecthood test


a. Active:

Salmaa-ne us-ke/-s ghar-kaa nirikˇsan kiyaa
Salma-Erg Dem-Gen.Obl house-Gen inspection do-Pfv
‘Salma, inspected her/-s house.’
b. Passive:  
Salmaa-dwaaraa us-ke\textsubscript{\$} ghar-kaa nirik\textsuperscript{\$} k\textsuperscript{\$} yaa gayaa  
Salma-by Dem-Gen.Obl house-Gen inspection do-Pfv Pass-Pfv  
‘Her\textsubscript{\$} house was inspected by Salma.’  

● Non-obviation of Pronominal Possessors by Unpromoted Object  
a. Active:  
  Sita-ne Salmaa-ko [us-ke\textsubscript{\$}, ghar] bhej di-yaa  
  Sita-Erg Salmaa-Acc Dem.Obl-Gen.Obl home send GIVE-Pfv  
  ‘Sita sent Salma to her\textsubscript{\$} home.’  
b. Passive:  
  Sitaa-dwaaraa Salmaa-ko [us-ke\textsubscript{\$}, ghar] bhej di-yaa gayaa  
  Sita-by Salma-Acc Dem.Obl-Gen.Obl home send GIVE-Pfv Pass-Pfv  
  ‘Salma was sent to her\textsubscript{\$} home by Sita.’  

● 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 nirik\textsuperscript{\$} k\textsuperscript{\$} yaa 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 nirik\textsuperscript{\$} k\textsuperscript{\$} yaa  
  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, Balban-ko, [apne\textsubscript{\$}, ghar]-se nikaal di-yaa  
  king-by Balban-Acc self’s.Obl house-from take-out GIVE-Pfv gayaa  
  Pass-Pfv  
  ‘Balban was removed from his\textsubscript{\$} house by the king.’  
b. Active  
  Raajaa-ne, Balban-ko, [apne\textsubscript{\$}, ghar]-se nikaal di-yaa  
  king-Erg Balban-Acc self’s.Obl home-from take-out give-Pfv  
  ‘The king removed Balban from his\textsubscript{\$} 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, us-ke\textsubscript{\$}$/\$ ghar-ke-paas dekh-ii gayii  
  ‘Sita was seen near her\textsubscript{\$} home.’  
b. No Promotion, no obviation:  
  Sita-ko us-ke\textsubscript{\$}$/\$ ghar-ke-paas dekh-aa gayaa  
  ‘Sita was seen near her\textsubscript{\$} home.’
However, both promoted and unpromoted objects can bind anaphoric possessors.

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

a. Promotion:
   \[ \text{Sita, apne, ghar-ke-paas dekh-ii gayii} \]
   \[ \text{Sita.f self.'s Obl-Gen Obl home-Gen Obl-near see-Pfv.f Pass-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{Sita was seen near her, home.'} \]

b. No Promotion:
   \[ \text{Sita-ko, apne, ghar-ke-paas dekh-aa gayaa} \]
   \[ \text{Sita-Acc Dem Obl-Gen Obl home-Gen Obl-near see-Pfv Pass-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{Sita was seen near her, home.'} \]

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

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

a. Promotion
   \[ \text{Sita, [PRO [\text{prokep} rote-rote] ghar-se bhej-ii gayii} \]
   \[ \text{Sita.f crying-crying home-from send-Pfv.f Pass-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{Sita was sent from home while she was crying.'} \]

b. No Promotion
   \[ \text{Sita-ko, [PRO [\text{rote-rote}] ghar-se bhej-aa gayaa} \]
   \[ \text{Sita-Acc crying-crying home-from send-Pfv Pass-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{Sita was sent from home while she was crying.'} \]

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

(31) a. Promotion
   \[ \text{pitaan-jii-dwaaraa, Sita, [PRO[\text{prokep} rote-rote] ghar-se bhej-ii} \]
   \[ \text{father-Hon-by Sita.f crying-crying home-from send-Pfv.f} \]
   \[ \text{gayii Pass-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{Sita was sent from home by father while she was crying.'} \]

b. No Promotion
   \[ \text{pitaan-jii-dwaaraa, Sita-ko, [PRO[\text{rota}] ghar-se bhej-aa} \]
   \[ \text{father-Hon-by Sita-Acc crying-crying home-from send-Pfv gayaa} \]
   \[ \text{Pass-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{Sita was sent from home by father while she/he was crying.'} \]

3.7 Properties of the (Un)Promoted Object

a. 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
   \[ \text{Mina-dwaaraa Sita-ko pakr-aa gayaa} \]
   \[ \text{Mina-by Sita-Acc catch-Pfv Pass-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{Sita was caught by Mina.'} \]

b. embedding under \text{chah} ‘want’, PRO by-phrase
   \[ \text{Mina-ne, [PRO Sita-ko pakr-aa [aa-naa] chah-aa} \]
   \[ \text{Mina-Erg Sita-Acc catch-Pfv Pass-Inf want-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{‘Mina, wanted Sita to be caught by her,’} \]

c. embedding under \text{chah} ‘want’, PRO (un)promoted object
   \[ \text{Sita-ne, [Mina-dwaaraa PRO, pakr-aa [aa-naa] chah-aa} \]
   \[ \text{Sita-Erg Mina-by catch-Pfv Pass-Inf want-Pfv} \]
   \[ \text{‘Sita wanted to be caught by Mina.’} \]

b. 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:
   \[ \text{yeh bandar kele khaa-taa hai} \]
   \[ \text{this monkey bananas eat-Hab be.Prs} \]
   \[ \text{‘This monkey eats bananas.’} \]

b. Present Participial Relative on Active:
   \[ \text{[kele khaa raha/khaa-ne vaalaa] bandar} \]
   \[ \text{bananas eat Prog-eat-Inf Obl VAALAA monkey} \]
   \[ \text{‘The monkey eating bananas/who eats/is about to eat bananas.’} \]
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.4

- Intentionality

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

a. Promotion, less intentional
   
   darj\textbar m\textbar iyo giyo/m\textbar r\textbar jiyo
tailor killed went/kill-Pass-Pst
   ‘The tailor was killed. (e.g. in a car accident)

b. No Promotion, intentional
   
   darj\textbar ne m\textbar iyo giyo/m\textbar r\textbar jiyo
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 darj\textbar in both cases.)

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

a. Promotion, less intentional

   samar dekh\textbar iyo giyo/dekh\textbar jiyo
Samar seen went/see-Pass-Pst
   ‘Samar was seen. (e.g. by chance)

b. No Promotion, intentional

   samar-ne dekh\textbar iyo giyo/dekh\textbar jiyo
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.)

4According 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 nah˜ı: gayaa I.Obl-Instr something-‘even’ say-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv

‘I couldn’t say anything.’

Other names:
- capabilitative 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 nah˜ı: sak-aa
I.Obl-Instr something-‘even’ say-Pfv Neg 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-kad. un 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 per ukhaar-e jaa-te hE
   Saira-Instr tree.m uproot.Pfv:MPl Neg Pass-Hab.MPl be.Prs.Pl
   ‘Trees are uprooted with Saira.’

b. Saira-se per ukhaar-e nah: jaa-te
   Saira-Instr tree.m uproot.Pfv:MPl Neg Pass-Hab.MPl
   ‘Saira is unable (to bring herself) to uproot trees.’

c. mujh-se Dilli nah: jaa-yaay 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 per kaat-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-m˜e tum-se itnaa kaam ki-yaay 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-yaay jaa-e] [to hum-bhii sun-t]
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 itni duur thi ki mushkil-se-hii vah: pahUCH-aa
Delhi.f this-much.f far be.Pst.f that difficulty-Instr-only there reach-Pfv

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

(46) ‘Neg-Raising’

mujhe nah: lag-taa ki [Hindustan-ke raajaao-se apne puraane haq jaldii
me.Dat Neg feel-Hab that India-Gen.Obl kings-Instr self’s old rights soon
tyaaq ki-ye jaa-ge
tyaaq sacrifice do-Pfv:Pl Pass-Fut.MPl

‘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 nahı: 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. mujh-se kuchh-bhii kah-aa nahı: gayaa L.Obl-Instr something-'even' say-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv
   ‘I couldn’t say anything.’

Balachandran (1973)’s counterexamples:

(48) a. vah˜a: garmii-m˜e kamre-ke andar rah-aa nahı: 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-m˜e khaanaa bilkul at-all khaa-yaa eat-Pfv nahı: 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. ??vahă: kal kamre-ke andar rah-aa nahă: gayaa
      yesterday room.Obl-Gen.Obl inside eat-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv
      ‘One couldn’t stay indoors there yesterday.’
      (in the right context: ‘I could stay indoors there yesterday.’)

   b. kal khaanaa bilkul khaa-yaa nahă: 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
   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:
   Susi mother-in-law by not send-Ptcp Pass-Inf eat fear vaatte.
   *CP: Susi fears that her mother in law cannot (bring herself to) send her to college.

   c. Infinitival 2:
      Šam-ni [aasi-kad. un na khadsavla jaay-caa] praytna kela.
      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-by Rel girl catch-Ptcp Pass Neg that girl] there 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-by Neg catch-Ptcp Pass-Ptcp-Agr Neg that girl] there 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-kad. un
   caalla
   jaat
   nanahi.
   'Lili cannot walk.'
   b. Unhaal .yaat
   gharaat
   basla
   jaat
   nanahi.
   '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, GO-Pfv
   'Ram got saved.' (not a passive despite the meaning)
   b. passive unaccusative:
   Ram-se
   bach-aa
   nahi: gayaa
   Ram-Instr save_intr-Ptcp Pass Neg
   '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 anteced the reflexive swatah 'self'.

(54) (Marathi, from Rosen and Wali (1989):28)
   Aai-kadun, Ravi-laa, swataa-çañ/a/ jhari paathavla jaata.
   mother-by Ravi-Dat rush-rush self-Gen home sent Pass
   'Ravi, is being sent by mother, to self’s, home in a hurry.'

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

(55) (Marathi, from Rosen and Wali (1989):35)
   Mini-kadun, Ravi-laa, swataa-çañ/a vaathadivsī khadsavaa laa naahi
   Mini-by Ravi-Dat self-Gen birthday-on scold-Ptcp Pass Neg
   Inabilitative: Mini, could not (bear to) scold Ravi on self’s/a/ 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 swatah ‘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/*mE fauran pechaan l-ēge
      they I.Obl-Acc/I immediately recognize TAKE-Fut.MPl
      'They will recognize me immediately.'
   b. Passive without Promotion, with ko:
      mujh-ko Bahadur-dwāraa fauran pechaan li-yyaa jaa-egaa
      me.ObI-Acc Bahadur-by immediately recognize TAKE-Pfv Pass-Fut
      'I will be recognized immediately by Bahadur.'
   c. Passive with Promotion, without ko:
      mE Bahadur-dwāraa fauran pechaan li-ī 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 nahi: pechaan-aa jaa-egaa
      Bahadur-Instr me.ObI-Acc Neg recognize-Pfv Pass-Fut
      'Bahadur won’t be able to recognize me.'
   b. ??/inabilitative Passive with Promotion, without ko:
      ???/Bahadur-se mE nahi: pechaan-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 hah: baandh-aa jaa-egaa
   l.Obl,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’
   mujh akeli-se yeh saamaan hah: bandh-egaa
   l.Obl,Instr this luggage Neg tie-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 hah: kiyaa jaa-egaa
   l.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 nah: ho-gaa
   l.Obl,Instr this work Neg be-Fut
   ‘I won’t be able to do this work.’

More on this in the discussion of Causativization.

References
