

PASSIVIZATION IN NEPALI

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Introduction

The rules of passivization as given by Sanskrit grammatical tradition (bhāva-karma-vācya), Chomsky (1981), Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1983, Polmutter and Rosen, 1984) and Jaeggli (1986) are basically taken as theoretical frameworks for the analysis and formulation of passivization in Nepali. In course of this formulation, problems that arise in handling Nepali data are put forward. Attempts will also be made to give shortcomings of the prevalent theory to account for Nepali data.

Voice Types and Issues of Reflexive Passive

Classification: Taking care of Sanskrit grammatical tradition the voice of the following three sentences of Nepali can be analyzed thus:

1. A. mai-le chor-i cin ē
I ERG sibling-FEM identify- 1st,sg,past
I identified the daughter.
- B. chor - i cin - i - i
sibling-FEM identify-passive-3rd,sg,fem,past
The daughter was identified.
- C. (Aphu-le) chor - i cin - i - yo.
self-ERG sibling-FEM identify-passive marker-3rd,sg,masc

In Sanskrit voice (*vācya*) means 'signified' and *vācaka* means 'signifier'. Since voice is a sentential category usually reflected in the verb-morphology, Sanskrit grammatical tradition takes the verb-endings as 'signifier' (*vācaka*) and the NP signified by and thus constructed with the verb-ending is the 'signified', that is, voice (*vācya*). Hence if the verb-ending agrees with the subject the construction is in the active (*kartr*) voice; if it

gives with the object the construction is in the passive (*karma*) voice and if the verb-ending agrees neither with the subject nor the object the sentence is in the impersonal voice (*bhāva vācya*).

Theoretical Issue of Reflexive Passive: Sentence (1C) gives a counterexample to Sanskrit grammatical tradition, because in Sanskrit, a transitive sentence can't have a corresponding impersonal voice. It is reserved only for the intransitive sentence which is a clear transitive sentence but 1C is in the impersonal voice (*bhāvavācya*). To support our conclusion, characteristics of impersonal voice are given below:

- a) the verb-ending cannot be construed with either subject or object.
- b) the verb-ending is unmarked in number, gender and person, that is it is in the 3rd person singular masculine form. For example, 'yo' of (3).
- c) in Nepali the dummy 'Aphu' (whether overt or covert) controls the verb, e.g. (cf. Imai 1979).

2. A. ma hĀs-ē
I laughed
I laugh - 1st. p. sg. pt.
- B. Aphu hĀs-i-yo (passive)
self !augh-passive marker-3rd p. sg. masc.

Similar to this pair of intransitive sentences Nepali has the following sentences comparable to (1B) and (1C).

3. A. Keta - haru cin - i - e (personal passive)
boy - pl. identify-pass. mark- 3rd. pl.
Boys were identified.
- B. (Aphu-le) Keta - haru - (lai) cin - i - yo
self-ERG boys - pl. - DAT identify - pass. 3rd. sg. masc.
4. A. cautAri - mA rAni bheT - i - in Boys were identified
platform-LOC queen meet-pass-3rd,HON,ERG,past.
The queen was met in the platform.
- B. (Aphu-le) cautAri-mA rAni bheT-i-yo.
self-ERG platform-LOC queen meet pass-3rd.sg.masc.past.
The queen is met with in the platform.

- d) In Nepali passivization of intransitive sentence is possible only if the subject is in the first person (In questions, even the second person is allowed). It means impersonal voice always carries reflexive meaning. e.g.

5. A. ma mar - ě
I die-1,sg.,masc., past
I died.
- B. (Aphu) mar - i - yo
self die-pass-3, sg., masc., past
6. A. tā mar-is
you die-2.sg.,past
You died.
- B. (Aphu) mar-i-yo.
7. A. tā mar-is ?
you diē - 2,sg., past ?-QUESTION
- B.*(Aphu) mar - i - yo ?
self diē-pass-3,sg.,masc.,past
8. A. tyo mar-yo
he die-3,sg.,masc.,past
He died.
- B. (Aphu) mar-i-yo

Similarly if we change the person of the Subject (1C) is not a possible transform (e.g. 9 and 10).

9. taĩ - le chor - i cin - is
you-ERG sibling-FEM identify-2,sg.,past
You identify (your) daughter.
10. us-le chor - i cin - yo
he-ERG sibling-FEM identify-3,sg.,past

Therefore if the transitive sentence has first person, subject in the active voice, has two corresponding passives.

- i) Non-reflexive (Type 1B) passive and
- ii) Reflexive (Type 1C) passive.

But an intransitive sentence can only have impersonal passive, that is, its input should always contain first person subject.

These characteristics of impersonal passive (cf. Imai, 1979) are sufficient to support that (1C) is in impersonal passive (*bhāva vācya*) and is a new type not attested in Sanskrit. Even for Hindi Imai (1979) postulates passivization of intransitive verbs. We have not encountered any language of Indo-Aryan which has impersonal passive for the transitive verb.

Reflexive Passive in Indo-European and Nepali: But reflexive meaning of the impersonal passive of both type-1C and type-2B is remarkable. Before the process of passivization was innovated in the Indo-European, (see Chatterji, 1960:24), underlyingly there used to be two voices: *Atmanepada* and *Parasmaipada* (Whitney 1888: 200-1)

Sanskrit Examples:

11. A. Sa odana-m paca-ti
 he rice-ACC cook-3,sg.,paras
 He cooks rice for others.
- B. Sa odana-m paca-te
 he rice-ACC cook-3,sg., atmane
 He cooks rice for himself.

The *Atmanepada* which is termed as 'middle voice' in Greek was reflexive (Whitney, 1888: 200-1). When the process of passivization developed in Indo-European from *Atmanepada* (Chatterji, 1960: 24) the difference between these two voices *Parasmaipada* (active) and *Atmanepada* (reflexive) was blurred and in poetry... an other voice than the legitimate one is often admissible for metrical reasons (Speijer 1886: 235-7). But regularly in some areas or as remaants in other the distinction between *Parasmaipada* and *Atmanepada* exists in Sanskrit.

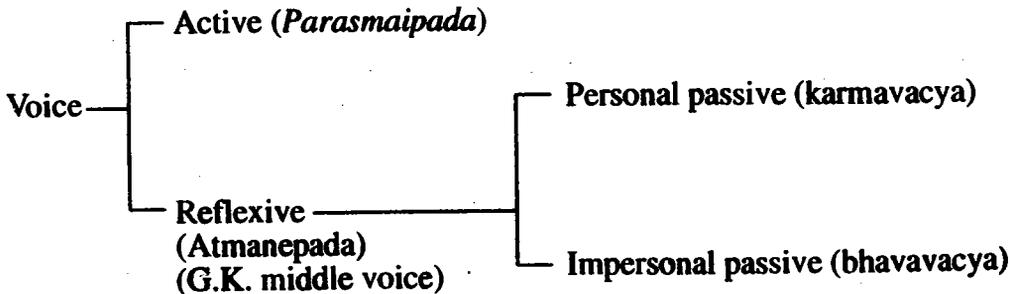
One more remarkable thing: there is morphological similarity between passive (*karmavācyā* and *bhāvavācyā*) and *Atmanepada* - all passives in the present are in *Atmanepada* (i.e. reflexive) (Panini, 1.3.13).

Sanskrit examples:

- A. Sa odanam pacati (*Parasmaipada*)
 B. Sa odanam pacate (*Atmanepada*)
 C. Odana-h pac-ya-te (passive which is *Atmanepada*)
 rice-NOM cook-pass. marker-3,sg.
 Rice was cooked.

Hence Chatterji (1960: 24) seems to be correct to conclude that passives in Indo-European developed from reflexive (*Atmanepada*). Voice in Indo-European can be summarized thus:

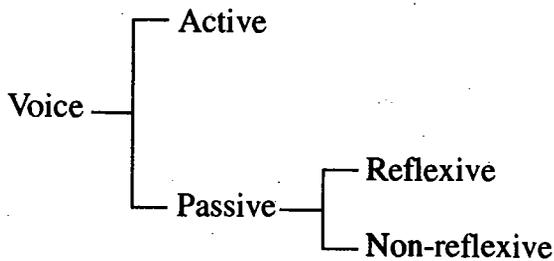
12.



Voice in Indo-European

Comparable to this classification of voice in Indo-European the Nepali voice can be classified like this (cf. Andersen 1989):

13.



Voice in Nepali

Examples of active are 1A, 2A, 3A, 5A, 6A, 7A, 8A, 9A and 10A; that of non-reflexive passive are 1B, and 4A; and that of reflexive passive are 1C, 2B, 3B, 4B and 5B.

The following characteristics establish the three voices in Nepali:

Table 1: Nepali Voice Characters

Active	Reflexive Passive	Non-reflexive Passive
1. Verb is controlled by the subject 2. Verb-root is not followed by the passive-making suffix -i- 3. Subject in any person is permitted 4. Irrespective of transitivity	1. Verb is controlled by a dummy 2. Verb-root is followed by the passive-making suffix -i- 3. Input condition of the subject in the active voice: it should always be in the first person 4. <i>ma</i> 'I' in active changes to 'Aphu' 'self' whether overt or covert 5. Irrespective of transitivity	1. Verb is controlled by the object 2. Verb-root is followed by the passive making suffix -i- 3. Subject in any person is permitted as an input 4. Characteristically transitive

The only difference between the reflexive passive of Nepali and middle voice (*Atmanepada*) of Sanskrit is that Subject is irrespective of person as an input condition of the reflexive voice in Sanskrit, but in Nepali the input condition for the reflexive passive is the first person of the Subject.

Secondly, semantically the difference between *atmanepada* and *parasmaipada* is usually very loose and blurred, although as remnants there are some roots where the semantic contrast is maintained. If the fruit of the action goes to the subject it is in *atmanepada*. If the fruit of the action goes to the other than the subject, the verb form is in *parasmaipada*. But in Nepali the passive is reflexive if the subject is the speaker himself and it is non-reflexive if the verb is transitive and if the subject is not necessarily speaker himself. Therefore, reflexive passive in Nepali is pragmatic and hence not mechanical or transformational as the impersonal passive (*bhāvavācya*) or middle voice (*atmanepada*) of Sanskrit.

Reflexive passive of the sentence with second person subject is also possible in Nepali if the sentence is interrogative, e.g.

14. A. *taĩ-le keti dekh-is ?*
 you-ERG girl see-past-2, sg.INT
- B. *timi-le keti dekh-you ?*
 you-ERG girl -see-2, sg., HON., past, INT
- C. *tapAi-le keti dekhnu-bhayo ?*
 you-ERG girl see-past, HON
 Did you see the girl ?
15. A. *Keti dekh-i-yo ?*
 girl -see-pass-3.,sg.,masc., past, INT
 Was the girl seen ? (passive)
- B. *Keti dekh-i-i ?*
 girl see-pass, sg., FEM, past, INT
 The girl was seen (Non-reflexive passive)

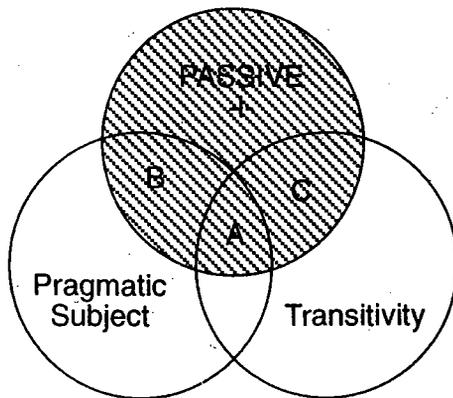
In the examples 15A is the reflexive passive of all sentences in 14. This is also an example to prove the pragmatic relevance of passivization in Nepali.

For the pragmatic relevance of passivization in Nepali there is a third possibility reflected in 16.

- 16 A *tyahā ma-ġai kut-i-yo.* (and one or all involved in my beating are present here.)
 there I-DAT beat-pass.-3.,sg.,masc.,past
 I was beaten there.
- B *mero bejjat gar-i-yo.* (I was insulted) (and the one insulting me is present here.)
 my insult do-pass-3.,sg., masc., past

If the subject who was involved with the action, is present and the speaker does not like to mention his name for the sake of formality or fear, 16 is used.

The following Venn Diagram shows the types of voice in Nepali:



1. Shaded area = Passive
 - A = Reflexive Personal Passive
 - B = Reflexive Impersonal Passive
 - C = Non-reflexive Personal Passive
 - i- = Passive Marker
2. Unshaded area = Active

The diagram shows that:

- a) *For the sentence to be categorized as passive the suffix -i- is obligatory.
- b) The areas intersected by pragmatic subject is reflexive.
 - 1) There can be two types of reflexive passive
 - A) *Reflexive Personal Passive*:
 - i) When the verb is transitive.
 - ii) When the subject is pragmatic (that is, 2nd-person-subject in the interrogative sentence, 3rd-person-subject as in the case of 16, and usually when the subject is in first person, usually singular)
 - B) *Reflexive Impersonal Passive*:
 - i) When the verb is intransitive.
 - ii) When the subject is pragmatic.
 - c) *Non-reflexive Personal Passive*:

The shaded area C shows that for the passive to be categorized as non-reflexive personal passive.

 - i) the verb should be transitive.
 - ii) pragmatics of the subject is neglected.
 - d) Unshaded area shows the active voice.

Counterexamples to GB: Chomsky's theory of Government and Binding (see Chomsky 1986: 166) precludes the grammaticality of an unbound anaphor (like Nepali *Aphu*) in that a reflexive anaphor (like *Aphu*) should be bound by the antecedent NP. But in the following Nepali examples of reflexive passive the reflexive anaphor is unbound, that is not preceded by any antecedent NP.

- 2B. *Aphu* has-i-yo.
 reflexive anaphor laugh-pass.-3.,sg.,masc.,past
 I laughed.

3B. Aphu-le keta-haru cin-i-yo.
 reflexive boy-Pl. identify-pass.-3.,sg.,masc., past.
 amaphor-ERG
 Boys were identified.

5B. Aphu mar-i-yo.
 reflexive amaphor die-pass.-3.,sg.,masc., past
 I died.

Therefore to account for the grammaticality of these sentences, Chomsky's theory of Government and Binding is to be modified (cf. Wallace, 1985).

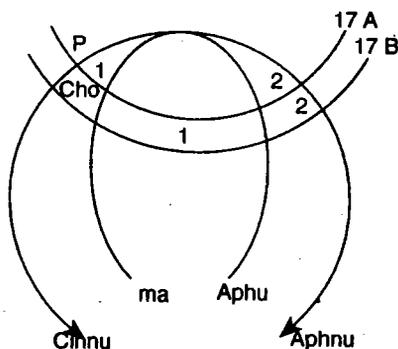
Counterexamples to Relational Grammar: Nepali data on reflexive passive give counterexample to several issues propounded by Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1983 and Perlmutter and Rosen 1984):

A. According to *Final I Law* (Perlmutter and Postal 1983: 81-128) no sentence is grammatical if there is no subject (overt or covert) on the final stratum, but 15A, 16A and 16B examples of Nepali reflexive passive violate this law.

B. Language-independent characterization of passivization (Perlmutter and Postal 1983: 3-29) as postulated by Relational Grammar is the 2-1 Advancement, that is the object nominal in the first stratum should be changed into the subject nominal the next stratum, but there is no 2-1 Advancement in the following examples of Nepali reflexive passive.

17 A. mai-le aphu-lai cinna sakina.
 I-ERG reflexive anaphor-ACC to recognize could not
 I could not recognize myself.

B. Aphu-le aphu-lai cinna sak-i-ena.
 reflexive reflexive to know couldnot be
 amaphor-ERG amaphor-ACC
 I could not recognize myself.



This representation of Nepali reflexive passive violates the *Stratal Uniqueness Law* (Perlmutter and Postal 1983: 3-29) which says that 'only one dependent of a clause can bear a given term relation in a given stratum', but in our analysis of 19A the first stratum contains two 1-arcs and that is a clear violation of *Stratal Uniqueness Law*.

D. *Impersonal Passive*: Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1984: 81-125) shows the possibility of impersonal passive from both transitive and intransitive predicates. Impersonal passive clauses involve a dummy nominal which is a 2 and which advances to 1. This opens the possibility of impersonal passive of Nepali both transitive and intransitive clauses, e.g.

1C. (Aphu-le) chor-i cin-i-yo.

2B. (Aphu) has-i-yo.

In these examples though the dummy *Aphu* controls the verb-endings but as we have discussed above, there is no 2-1 advancement of the dummy. In Nepali the dummy is the reflexive anaphor *Aphu* which exists only when the 'pivot nominal' (see Perlmutter and Zaenen, 1984: 171-216) is the first person singular *ma* 'I' which heads 1. Thus in Nepali all impersonal passives are reflexive.

Towards Defining Nepali Passives

In course of our discussion on reflexive passive we have found that the so-called universal definition of passivization put forward by Relational Grammar falls short to account for Nepali reflexive passive. Reflexive passive in Nepali is not found identical with the *atmanepada* of Sanskrit. For the universal definition of passivization Chomsky (1981) has set two criteria. According to Chomsky (1981: 24) in a passivized sentence:

- a) [NP,S] does not receive a θ -role, and
- b) [NP, VP] does not receive Case within VP.

Nepali non-reflexive passive fits into these criteria, e.g.

- 1 A. mai-le chor-i cin-e
- B chor-i cin-i-i

In the 1B [NP,S] i.e. 'ma' does not receive theta-role, and [NP,VP] i.e. 'chor-i' does not receive case within VP. But these criteria are not sufficient to account for Nepali reflexive passive in 1C, 2B, and 3B.

- 1 C. Aphu-le chor-i cin-i-yo.
- 2 B. Aphu has-i-yo.
- 3 B. Aphu-le keta-haru-lai cin-i-yo.

In 1C and 3B [NP,VP] still occupies its theta-role within VP and in all these examples the [NP,S] position is filled by the dummy 'Aphu' by replacing the 'pivot' nominal 'ma' and the dummy occupies theta-role within S.

Thus, these set of examples on reflexive passive in Nepali give counterexamples to Chomsky's criteria of passivization. These urge Chomsky to modify his theory of Universal Grammar to account for Nepali reflexive passive.

According to Jaeggli (1986) [NP,S] position is not assigned a theta-role because the external theta-role of the bare verb is absorbed by the passive morpheme (-en-). Since this defining characteristic of passive set by Jaeggli (1986) is also rooted on Chomsky's criteria, it is also to be modified to account for Nepali reflexive passive where though there is passivizing suffix -i- in the verb, theta-role of the [NP,S] position is kept intact.

Verma (1976) has hinted 'correlation between volition and agenthood in South Asian languages, which seems to play an important role in subject demotion (or promotion). With the same notion Pandheri Pande (1978) has proposed the volitionality of the verb as the necessary condition for passivization:

1. If the verb is volitional it can be passivized and passivization of sentences with non-volitional verbs is constrained.
2. Secondly, verbs whose subject is usually inanimate fail to undergo passive. Those verbs are passivized only when the subject is animate.

But Pandharipande's (1978) volitional criterion does not fit into Nepali data for the following reasons:

- a) Except for Dative Subject construction which does not undergo any passive any verb can be passivized if the subject is in the first person e.g.

20 A. ma nida-ẽ-chu.

I sleep-1st.,sg., past, chu-am.

Unknowingly, I slept.

B. Aphu nida-i-e-cha. (unknown past passive).

self sleep-pass.-past marker, cha-3.,sg. pr.

I slept

21 A. ma hara-e (Active)

I get lost, e-1.,sg.,past

I got lost.

- B. Aphu hara-i-yo. (Passive)
self get lose-pass.-3.,sg.,past
I got lost.

In our examples in 20 and 21 both the verbs are non-volitional, but they have corresponding passives. On the other hand even if the verb is volitional intransitive verbs with third person subject cannot be passivized, e.g.

- 22 U hid-yo.
he walk-1.,sg., past
He walked.
- 23 manche bas-cha.
man sit-3.,masc.,present.
The man sits.

Sentences 22 and 23 contain volitional verbs, which can be verified by all three criteria of volitional verbs set by Pandharipande (1978):

- (i) Both the verbs can have imperative construction.
- (ii) Both the verbs come out from Negation Test (na CAerai pani)
- (iii) Both the verbs can be extended with 'TRIED TO'

In spite of being volitional, 22 and 23 do not have passive because the subject is in the 3rd person and the verb is intransitive. On the other hand, even when the verb is nonvolitional the following sentences have two corresponding passive, both reflexive and non-reflexive.

- 24 A. mai-le keti dekh-e.
I-ERG girl see-1.,sg., past.
I saw the girl.
- B. Ketu dekh-i-i .
girl see-pass-3., sg., fem., past.
The girl was seen.
- C. Ketu dekh-i-yo.
girl seei-pass.-3.,sg.,past,masc.
The girl was seen by me.

Apart from her volitional-criterion other conclusions she has drawn about Hindi passive are similarly applicable to Nepali data:

- (a) Similar to Hindi ex-subject or agent-phrase is generally deleted even in Nepali.

(b) Passive with ex-subject generally expresses capability of the subject if the sentence is negative (cf. Vajpeyi 1956, Kachru 1960) e.g.

25. A. ta hisab padh-dei-na-s.
you math read-dei-continuous-NEG.-present.
You won't read maths.

B. ta-bata hisab padh-i-dei-na.
ta-you math read-pass.-ASPECT-NEG.
You can't read maths.

(c) Subjectless passives don't express capability meaning e.g.

25. C. hisab padh-i-dei-na.

(d) Similar to Pandharipande's (1978) conclusion, the subjectless passive like 25C reflects convention, custom and tradition. This holds good even if the verb is in the affirmative, e.g.

25 D. hisab padh-i-n-cha (Maths is read.)
hisab-maths, padh-read, i-pass, cha-present

(e) The semantics of convention, custom, or tradition, as Pandharipande notes for Hindi, is attached to habitual present even in Nepali. Thus if the tense or aspect of the verb is changed, the conventional meaning disappears, e.g.

25. E. Kitab padh-i-yo.
book read-pass-3.,sg.,masc., past
The book was read.

(f) But the prohibitive meaning of the passive incorporated with the habitual present in the negative does not reflect "prohibitive" or "prescriptive" meaning in Nepali data.

In contrast with Pandharipande (1978) who believes the rules in Hindi passive as transformational. Saksena (1978) is of the view that passivization in Hindi is not transformational. She says:

- a) Hindi passive is semantically and syntactically independent of its corresponding active.
- b) The three properties of passive- verb-agreement, agent phrase, and morphology of the verb are not linked mechanically but are independent of each other.
- c) There is no motivation for deriving passive from active.
- d) There is lack of meaning equivalence between the corresponding voices.

- e) Agent phrase is not restricted to the passive.
- f) Passives are basically agentless. That is why there will be many grammatical passives for which there will be no corresponding grammatical active sources. (Conversely, there will be many agentive active ... for which there will be no grammatical passive.)

These are the problems in Hindi passives and also for the reasons Pandaripande (1978) mentioned above compel Saksena (1978) to conclude that passivization in Hindi is not transformational.

By analysing passive in Hindi, Davison (1982) also has come to similar conclusions:

- a) It is not possible to release form and meaning solely with transformation or irrespective rules.
- b) Shades of meaning (like ability and prohibition) are not linguistically realed.
- c) Positive passive sentences do not usually include mention of the subject "unless absolutely necessary". Such sentences also usually convey a somewhat different meaning from their active counterparts.
- d) Agent phrase is generally unaccepted.
- e) Hindi passive is an instance of agent demotion rather than object promotion Object in passive may retain its dative/accusative postposition.
- f) Order of constituents is not disturbed in passivization.
- g) Grammatical device like transformation fail to give a coherent account of passivization in Hindi.

Summing up the analyses of Pandharipande (1978), Saksena (1978), Kachru (1980) and Davison (1982) if we look into Nepali data we will come to the following conclusions:

- i) Order of Constituents:
Order of Constituents is not disturbed in passivization:-
Underlying Subject is usually Topicalized except for stylistic reasons (cf Pokharel 1989).
- ii) Aphu-Control:
In Nepali Subject-NP controls the anaphor *Aphu* eg.

26. A didi-le bhai-haru-lai Aphai bola-in.
 elder younger brother amaphor call-past
 sister-ERG Plural-DAT/ACC
 The elder sister called her brothers.

The surface subject and underlying subject both of the non-reflexive passive control *Aphu*, e.g.

26. B. *didi-bata bhai-haru Aphai bola-i-e.*
 elder sister-from younger brother amaphor call-pass.-3rd.,
 pl.,past.
 Brothers were called by the elder sister.

Thus in 26B *Aphu* is ambiguous and is controlled by both surface subject and ex-subject. Therefore with respect to anaphoric control Nepali passive is an instance of object promotion rather than agent demotion (cf. Davison 1982). But if the object-NP is followed by the dative/accusative postposition *lai* anaphoric control by Object-NP is blocked eg.

26. C. *didi-bata bhai-haru-lai Aphai bola-i-yo.*

In 26C *Aphu* is controlled by only ex-subject *didi*. But in reflexive passive *Aphu* is always controlled by ex-subject rather than object, eg.

27. A. *mai-le bhai-haru Aphai bola-e.*
 I-ERG younger brother-haru-pl. amaphor call-past.
 'I called my brothers myself.'
 B. *Aphu-le bhai-haru Aphai bola-i-yo.*

In 27B second anaphor *Aphu* is controlled by the first unbound anaphor *Aphu* in the subject position. Besides that, the first *Aphu* in the subject position has retained the agentive postposition *-le*. That is why the reflexive passive is an instance of neither agent-demotion nor object promotion. Summing up, both reflexive and non-reflexive passive cannot be categorized as relation changing phenomena.

iii) Agent Phrase:

In Nepali passives of transitive sentences agent phrase is obligatory if the subject is valued high on the power axis:

- a) In the negative habitual present agent phrase gives the capability meaning (cf. Pandharipande, 1978).

28. *Keti-bata khet jot-i-dei-na.*
 girl-from field ploughi-pass.-aspect-negative.
 Ploughing is not done by the girl.
 It has also conventional meaning.

- b) When the Subject is in the first person, the subject NP- is not demoted, hence it retains its ergative marker *le* even in the passive.
- c) Non-human and inanimate subject-NP also retains its ergative-instrumental marker *-le*, e.g.

29. A. bhuicala-le ghar bhatka-yo.
 quake-ERG/INST house demolish-past.
 The quake demolished the house.

B. bhuicala-le ghar bhatk-i-yo.
 quake-INST. house demolish-pass.-3.,sg.,past
 'The house was demolished by the quake.'

- d) If an inanimate subject is personified it is followed by the ablative/instrumental postposition *bATa:*, eg.

30. rastrasangha-bata prayas gar-i-eko cha. (Attempt has been done by UN.)
 rastrasangha-UN, bata-from, prayas-attempt, gar-do, i-pass, eko-pp, cha-is

- c) If the human subject is high in its formal position, it is followed by the postposition *bATa* (sometimes even *dvāra* is evidenced), e.g.

31. pradhanmantri-bata udghatan gar-i-yo.
 premier-from inauguration do-pass.-3., sg., past.
 It was inaugurated by the Premier

This is the reason why the formal Nepali dialect—the royal honorific always uses passive voice and the subject-NP is always followed by *bATa*, e.g.,

32. sri-pAc-bAta udghatan gar-i-yo.
 'Inauguration was done by His Majesty the King.'

- f) Elsewhere the agent phrase is deleted.

Applicability of T-rules

Following components mate the active vs. passive structure of sentences:

- a) Order of constituents.
- b) Overt passivizer in the verb.
- c) Demotion of the Subject - NP.
- d) Promotion of the Object - NP.
- e) Agent phrase.

- f) Semantic equivalence.
 - g) Transitivity
 - h) Animacy
- a) As for the order of constituents we have already noted that passivization does not disturb the order of constituents in Nepali (cf. Pray 1976.)
 - b) Nepali has overt passivizing suffix-i- which is absent in active counterparts.
 - c) As for the demotion of the Subject-NP, it is already noted above that in reflexive passive of Nepali there is no demotion of the subject.
 - d) As already noted, there is no promotion of the Object-NP in Nepali reflexive passive. Also that the object-NP followed by the postposition *-lAi* is not usually raised.
 - e) Presence vs. absence of the agent phrase also brings about change in meaning. Several factors like formality, personification, animation, power, transitivity, etc. determine the presence vs. absence of the agent phrase. Due to this several input- active sentences may have a single passive and vice versa.
 - f) There is often lack of semantic equivalence between the active-inputs and the passive-outputs.
 - g) Intransitive verbs can be passivized only when the subject-NP is in the first person. If the sentence is interrogative passivization of intransitive clauses with the second person subject-NP is also permitted. In this way the person of the subject and the types of sentence (like negative, affirmative and interrogative) also set constraints in passivization of an intransitive sentence. Passivization of an intransitive sentence with the third person subject-NP is always constrained.
 - h) Animacy or personification also set the criteria for the selection of a particular postposition in an agent phrase.

Therefore, apart from the overt passivizing suffix-i- of the verb there is nothing regular and mechanical in the passivization of a Nepali sentence. In addition to these, there is Dative Subject-Construction prevalent in Nepali, passivization of which is constrained. These are the reasons why passivization in Nepali is not mechanical and transformational .

Passivization in South Asia with Special Reference to Nepali

Passive is not a South Asian norm. In Sanskrit passivization is mechanical hence transformational. But in New Indo-Aryan Languages like Nepali and Hindi, passivization is not regular (see Hoernle 1880:322, Kellogg 1938,

Chatterji 1960, Echmen 1974, Pandharipande 1978, Saksena 1978, Kachru 1980 and Davison 1982) - one can do without passive. Historically active meaning is superimposed on passive structure (cf. Grieson 1916); passive has pragmatic function; there is no meaning equivalence between the input and the output of passivization. There are constructions like unaccusative (see Perlmutter & Postal 1983: 81-330) and Inversion clause (Perlmutter 1984: 292-330) or Dative Subject Construction (Masica 1976) in which passivization is constrained. There are several other devices of de-passivization in the New Indo-Aryan languages. In the extreme north of South Asia there lie Tibeto-Burman languages like Bantawa Rai (Novel Kishor Rai: personal communication) and in the extreme south of the linguistic area there lie Dravidian languages like Malayalam where there is no passive. With this situation we can deduce that passivization was not a pan-Indic phenomenon. It was introduced to the area with the introduction of Indo-Aryan which had innovated passivization before Greek, Latin and Indo-Iranian were separated (cf. Chatterji 1960: 24). Prior to that period in the Proto-Indo-European there used to be only two voices:- active (*parasmaipada*) and reflexive (*atmanepada*). Thus passivization in South Asia is in the process of decay due to the contact with Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman. That is why in the New Indo-Aryan languages there are only remnants of passive whose functions in the language are limited as stylistic and pragmatic rather than regular and rule-centered. It is but natural, therefore, that the factual content of the two corresponding voices in the New Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali and Hindi is not identical and also to have evidenced active meaning superimposed on passive construction in addition to passive meaning superimposed on active construction.

A. In addition to the Dative Subject construction which is a characteristic of South Asian syntax where 'Stativity' of the verb has a tendency 'for demoting the Subject to the dative status' (Varma 1976), Nepali royal honorific most commonly uses sort of passive structure and thus further passivization of the sentences from the royal dialect is constrained.

B. In Nepali and several other South Asian languages ablauting of vowels is commonly used as passive if the vowel is raised and causative if the vowel is lowered. (cf. Davison 1982):

Intransitive

marnu 'die'
sarnu 'move'
balnu 'burn'
Dhalnu 'fall'
calnu 'move'

Transitive

mArnu 'kill'
sArnu 'move'
bAlnu 'burn'
DhAlnu 'fell'
cAlnu 'move'

33. A. Keta-le daura bal-yo.
 boy-ERG firewood burn-3.,sg., past.
 The boy burnt the firewood.
- B. daura bal-yo.
 firewood burn-past
 Firewood burnt.
- C. daura bal-i-yo.
 firewood burn-pass.,-3.,sg.,past.
 Firewood was burnt.

In fact 33C is the real passive of 33A, but 33C is often substituted with 33B, the unaccusative counterpart (see Rosen 1984: 38-77).

c) In South Asia use of such unaccusative sentences very commonly replace corresponding passives. Substituting *hunu* 'to be' with *garnu* 'to do' is also very common (see Pandharipande 1978), e.g.,

34. A. hami-le dherei kam gar-you.
 we-ERG much work do-1.,pl., past
 'We did a lot of work.'
- B. dherei kam gar-i-yo.
 much work do-pass-3., sg., past
 'Much work was done.'
- C. dherei kam bha-yo.
 much work be-past.
 'Much work happened.'

Thus functionally 34C which is an accusative sentence is commonly used as a passive of 34A although 34B is its real passive.

d) Even Nepali High Grade Honorific Construction resembles the passive structure:

35. A. Ama-le bhannu-bhayo.
 mother-ERG say-became
 Mother said.

In this sentence *bhannu* (nominal verb) is the surface subject and hence it controls the verb. But the active meaning is superimposed on this passive structure. This process of active meaning on passive structure has been a historical course of Indo-Aryan (cf. Grierson 1916), e.g.,

36. hami-bata gar-i-baks-eka-chau. (I have done.)
hami-we, bata-from, gar-do, i-pass., baks-favor, eka-past, chau-are.

Sentence 36 is a burning example of the functional activation of the passive construction.

- e) Statistical evidence of Nepali data shows that passivization is generally neglected and active sentence is extended. In South Asia one can do without passive.
- f) Historically ergativity in New Indo-Aryan languages was developed from 'P-oriented constructions' (see Hock 1988) of Sanskrit.

Relevance of Passives

Although passive is not a South Asian norm, in Nepali it is used in the following contexts (see. Pokharel 1990):

- a) When the subject is unknown.
- b) When the presence of the subject creates uneasy to mention him.
- c) When the mention of the subject is unnecessary.
- d) When the subject means a group of people where even the speaker is included.
- e) When the speaker feels the necessity to generalize the fact.
- f) When the agent is less important than the action.
- g) Scientific writing abounds in either in passive or unaccusative.
- h) When the subject is in the first person and the speaker wants to emphasize the peculiarity or importance of his action.
- i) In royal dialect.
- j) In formal context the passive: active ratio increases.
- k) Educated people have a tendency to passivize more than the uneducated ones. Thus passivization is high on the sociolinguistic axis.
- l) The difference between reflexive and non-reflexive: Speakers' experience is always obligatory for the reflexive passive.
- m) *ta* participle of Sanskrit is used in the passive sense even in Nepali.

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