CHAPTER V

GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION CHANGING RULES: CAUSATIVES AND PASSIVES
Chapter 5

Grammatical Function Changing Rules: Causatives and Passives

5.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters show that in AS, the arguments, in the subject and the object positions, are in a hierarchy of thematic roles depending upon the nature of the verb. This chapter looks into the two grammatical function rules in AS namely, causativisation and passivisation. It attempts to look into properties of derived arguments and their thematic hierarchy.

5.1 Arguments in causatives and passives constructions

In AS causativisation, the argument with the thematic role of causee incorporates the role of an agent as well as an undergoer. The stative-dynamic verb types are expected to play an important role in assigning agentivity to the causee in AS. Likewise, if the derived passive subject retains the underlying property (U property) of the basic object, it is expected to retain the affectedness assigned by the dynamic verb. The present chapter focuses on the selection of the two arguments in AS, that undergo change in the grammatical function, namely, the causee and the derived passive subject. These have been discussed in §5.2 and §5.3, respectively.

5.2 Causative constructions in AS

In AS, causatives, are formed synthetically or morphologically like most other Indo-Aryan languages. The causation can be of two types, namely, (i) direct and (ii) indirect. These two types refer to two levels of causation, viz, first and second, respectively. AS has the causative suffix –aa to form direct causatives and the suffix –vaa to indicate indirect causations. There are, however, deviations from this general rule.

The distinction between first and second causatives is illustrated in (170b-c).
170. (a) mɔi chõri-thɔ ke dekh-l– ō
    I.NOM girl-CL ACC see-PAST-1SG
    ‘I saw the girl.’

(b) σ mɔ-ke chõri-thɔ dekh-aa-l-ak
    3SG.NOM I- DAT girl-CL.NOM see-DC-PAST-3SG
    ‘He/she showed me the girl.’

(c) birsi mɔ-ke σ-ker se chõri-thɔ dekh-vaa-l-ak
    birsi.NOM I- DAT 3SG-GEN INSTR girl-CL.NOM see-IC-PAST-3SG
    ‘Birsi made him/her show me the girl.’

In (170a), the subject mɔi ‘1SG’ is the agent and chõri-thɔ ‘the girl’ is the direct object taking the nominative case. In (170b) the subject σ ‘3SG’ is causer and, the causee of the derived direct causative mɔ-ke ‘1SG-DAT’ becomes indirect object with the dative case marker. Here, the causee assumes the role of beneficiary. The causative derivation of the verb in (170b) takes the direct causative marker –aa. The direct causative marker–aa is suffixed to the verb dekh ‘see’, and becomes the causative verb dekh-aa ‘show’. It has the interpretation of direct involvement of the causer mɔi ‘I’. In (170c), -vaa the indirect causative marker suffixed to the verb dekh ‘see’ gives the interpretation of the involvement of an intermediate agent birsi ‘Birsi’. In indirect causation, the causer is not directly involved in the action. Therefore, it is called the indirect causatives.

Morphological causativisation is a highly productive phenomenon in most Indo-Aryan languages. Similar phenomenon is also quite productive in AS. The causative verbs are derived from both intransitive and transitive base (see appendix 2). The transitive causative is derived by the affixation of the causative morpheme –aa to the root verb. The –aa class can be seen as productive in causative derivation. However, there are constraints in the use of the morpheme.
171. **Verb** | **Gloss** | **Causative markers**
--- | --- | ---
*bol* | ‘tell’ | *-aa l-va*a
*khɔl* | ‘open’ | *-aa l-va*a
*dhamki de* | ‘to warn’ | *aa/*-vaa

In AS, verbs like *bol-ek* ‘to tell’ and *khɔl-ek* ‘to open’ do not have the *–aa* form in the transitive. Again, *dhamki de-ik* ‘to scold’ does not have the *–vaa* form in indirect causation. We can also see change in the vowel length in the causative derivation from transitive. In causativisation the verbs *maar* ‘kill’ and *kaat* ‘cut’ (see appendix 2) become *mar-vaa* and *kat-vaa*, respectively.

In AS, there are instances of the direct causative marker *–aa* and the indirect causative marker *–vaa* being synonymous. In most cases, the verbs that have synonymous *–aa* and *–vaa* are the verbs that do not have the *–aa* form in the transitive. For instance, the verb *de* ‘give’, *pit* ‘beat’ do not have the *–aa* in the transitive form. Thus, in the indirect causative construction both *–aa* and *–vaa* can be used synonymously. The synonymous forms are shown in oblique henceforth (*-aa/-vaa*).

172. *mɔi* birsi se ʃ̥-ke ek-thɔ kitap *de-aa/-vaa-l–d̥*
I.NOM birsi INSTR 3SG-DAT one-CL book give-DC/IC-PAST-1SG

‘I made Birsi gave him a book.’

### 5.2.1 The causee in intransitives and its proto-properties

In AS, the intransitive verbs can be divided into unergatives and unaccusatives. According to the unaccusative hypothesis of Perlmuter (1978), unergatives are surface intransitive clauses derived from clauses with grammatical subjects but no objects, while the unaccusatives derived from clauses with grammatical objects but no subjects. Thus, the argument of unergative verbs like ‘smile’, ‘walk’, ‘talk’ is considered more agentive than unaccusative verbs like ‘arrive’, ‘die’ and ‘fall’
(Dowty 1991:605). In AS, the unergatives and unaccusative can undergo both direct and indirect causativisation.

5.2.1.1. Unergative

In AS, the subject of unergative construction, is an animate NP and has agentivity. In causativisation, the agentive subject goes to the direct object position with the accusative case ke. It no longer has the agentivity of the basic subject.

173. (a) chawa-thɔ̃ kand-q投资额 rah-e
    baby-CL.NOM cry-PROG COP.PAST-3SG
    ‘The baby was crying.’

(b) ʊ-man chawa-thɔ̃ ke kand-aan-e rah-e
    3-PL child-CL ACC cry-DC-PERF COP.PAST-3SG
    ‘They made the child cry.’

(c) ʊ-man chawa-thɔ̃ ke birsi-kɛr dwara kand-waa-e rah-e
    3-PL child-CL ACC birsi-GEN INSTR cry-IC-PERF COP.PAST-3SG
    ‘They made the child cry by Birsi.’

In the causative counterparts of the intransitive construction (173a), the subject of the base verb (or the causee) acts as the object in (173b) and takes accusative case ke. In (173b), the verb undergoes direct causativisation, while in (173c), it undergoes indirect causativisation.

5.2.1.2. Unaccusative

In unaccusative, the arguments are mostly inanimate lacking agentivity. In causativisation, the causee is a different argument with agentivity.

174. (a) dərdɔ̃a-thɔ̃ khol-l-ak
    door-CL open-PAST-3SG
    ‘The door opened.’
The causative counterparts of the unergatives in (173b-c) show that the causee is in direct object position and takes the accusative case. Thus, they conform to Comrie’s generalization. In case of the unaccusative, the inanimate NP *dardża-thʊ* cannot be causativised, since it remains in the direct object position. It needs an external agent to open like *birsi* (174b-c). In (173), the causee *chawa-thʊ* ‘the child’ does the ‘action of crying’ even though the causer is a different NP. While, in (174), *dardža-thʊ* ‘door-cl’ does not do the ‘action of opening itself’, rather it is done solely by the causer.

Since the intransitive verbs are normally dynamic in nature, the affectedness of the causee depends upon animacy factor. Regarding Hindi causative constructions, Kachru (1975:11) says that, in the first level or the direct causativisation, ‘most intransitive verbs take a non-agentive, inanimate subject, whereas, most transitive verbs typically take an animate subject. The second level or indirect causativisation of transitive verbs implies the agent of the transitive verb to be in some ‘degree of control’. The notion of control has been discussed in detail in subsequent sections.

5.2.2. **The causee in monotransitives in AS**

As per Comrie’s generalization, in transitive construction since the direct object position is already occupied, in the derived causative construction, the causee appears at the indirect object position with the dative case. This is evident in example (170a-c), where the subject of the verb *dekh* ‘see’ in (170a) becomes the indirect object of the causative verb *dekh-aa* ‘show’ in (170b-c). However, there are exceptions to this rule as is evident in (175b).
175. (a) Ṇtowa  birsi ke  pit-l-ak
   etowa.NOM  birsi ACC  beat-PAST-3SG
   ‘Etowa beat Birsi.’

   (b) Ṣ  Ṇtowa-kerja  se  birsi ke  pit-vaa-l-ak
      3SG.NOM  etowa-GEN  INSTR  birsi ACC  beat-IC-PAST-3SG
      ‘He/she had birsi beaten by Etowa.’

In (175a), the subject of the base transitive construction occurs with postposition se in the derived causative constructions (175b) and receives instrumental case. Contrary to Comrie’s generalization the causee appears as oblique NP, not as indirect object. It is noteworthy that the selection of causee in indirect object position and oblique NP position is verb-dependent. The perception verb ‘see’ requires that causee to be in indirect object position and the action verb ‘beat’ requires its causee to be in oblique NP position. In Hindi, Masica (1976:46-49) identifies a set of causative verbs like khil-aa ‘feed-DC’, pil-aa ‘drink-DC’ and so on which are capable of taking double objects. He calls them as ‘ingest-reflexives’. These verbs require the causee to be in the indirect object position. In AS, however, such verbs are not identified as of now. In AS, such selection can be rather based on the arrangement of verbs and their proto-enatilments.

In (175a), the subject Ṇtowa ‘Etowa’ of the verb pit ‘beat’ is a proto-typical agent that causally affects the direct object birsi ‘Birsi’. In the causative construction, in (175b), the causee takes the oblique NP position with the instrumental case se. Here, the causee Ṇtowa-kerja se ‘by Etowa’ is both an agent and an undergoer of the action. The agentivity and the affectedness of the causee of dynamic action verb can be seen equally high, compared to other verbs.

Again, verbs like samʤh-aa ‘make understand’ normally takes the dative case ke with thematic role of experiencer. Similar is the case with verbs that affect the objects mentally rather than physically. This is illustrated with the help of mental action verb yaad kar ‘remember do’ in example (176a).
176. (a) mɔi  baath-thɔ  yaad  kar-l-ɔ
   I-NOM  matter-CL  remember  do-PAST-1SG

   ‘I remember the matter.’

(b) birsi  mɔ-ke  baath-thɔ  yaad  kar-aa-l-ak
   birsi.NOM  I-DAT  matter  remember  do-DC-PAST-3SG

   ‘Birsi made me remember the matter.’

(c) etowa  birsi se  mɔ-ke  baat-thɔ  yaad
   etowa.NOM  birsi INSTR  I-DAT  matter-CL  remember
   kar-vaa-l-ak
   do-IC-PAST-3SG

   ‘Etowa made me remember the matter through Birsi.’

In (176b), the causee mɔ-ke ‘I-DAT’ is made to undergo ‘a mental process of remembering’ by the agent birsi ‘Birsi’. Similar is the case with perception verbs, dekh ‘see’ and its causative derivation, dekh-aa ‘show’ (see § 5.2.). The subject of the verb dekh ‘see’ in (170a) is not a proto-typical agent, rather is an experiencer subject. The subject of the causative verb dekh-aa ‘show’ in (170b) is an agent. The causee of the derived causative verb dekh-aa ‘show’ in (170b-c) that appears to be a beneficiary is also involved in the ‘act of seeing/watching’.

Thus, the causee argument is always in between the proto-roles: this explains its ability to appear as indirect object or as oblique NP. The above analysis shows that causee in oblique NP position has more agentive interpretation than those in indirect object position. Depending upon the nature of the verbs it is either an experiencer or beneficiary or recipient. From the above discussion, the agency hierarchy of the causee in AS, can be derived as given in Figure 33.

The Agency Hierarchy

Agent > Experiencer> Beneficiary/Recipient> Patient

agentivity ———— Causee ———— affectedness

Figure 33 The agency hierarchy of causee in AS
Apart from the verbal properties, in AS, agentivity can normally be understood from the difference between the direct–\(aa\) and indirect causation –\(vaa\) and the case feature of the causee argument associated with it. However, since there are restrictions to the occurrence of –\(aa\) and –\(vaa\) marker with certain verbs, the general rule has been that the accusative/dative case marks affectedness of the causee while, instrumental marks agentivity. This has been discussed in detail, in §5.2.3.

5.2.3. The causee and degree of control

According to Comrie (1996:165), any causative situation involves two component situations, the cause and the effect (result). These two micro situations combine together to give a single macro situation, the causative situation. In AS, the causative verbs combine the micro situations to imply a macro situation or ‘causative situation’. This is illustrated in the lists of verbs in (177).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>177. Causee</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Situations (1) + (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) (ke/)se</td>
<td>pit-(vaa)</td>
<td>made to beat+ beats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) (ke/)se</td>
<td>kar-(vaa)</td>
<td>made to do+ does</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) (ke/)se</td>
<td>sam(d)(sh-)aa</td>
<td>made to understand + understands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) (ke/)se</td>
<td>yad kar-(aa/)(vaa)</td>
<td>made to remember + remembers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) (ke/)se</td>
<td>dekh-(aa/)(vaa)</td>
<td>made to see + sees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, the causee takes the accusative/dative \(ke\) to mark the affectedness and instrumental \(se\) to mark the agentivity. In (177), the accusative/dative \(ke\) instrumental \(se\) are shown in oblique, as both \(ke\) and \(se\) can occur with the verb; albeit depending upon direct and indirect causation, respectively. The difference between both is clear with the example (178-179), where, the use of accusative/dative \(ke\) and instrumental \(se\) with the causee gives different interpretations.
178. mɔi birsi ke/se kapra kin-vaa-l-ō
   I.NOM birsi ACC/INSTR clothes buy-IC-PAST
   ‘I made / had some clothes bought by Birsi.’

179. mɔi napiṭ ke/se ca̱l kat-vaa-l-ak
   I.NOM barber ACC/INSTR hair cut-IC-PAST
   ‘I made / had my hair cut by the barber.’

The causee with the accusative ke is more patientlike and the causee with
instrumental se is more agentive. This accounts for their occurrence in the direct
object and oblique position, respectively. In (178), the use of the dative/accusative
ke will mean that ‘I made Birsi buy clothes for her’. Here, the causee ‘Birsi’,
assumes the role of undergoer of the ‘act of buying’ and also that of beneficiary for
whom the ‘it is bought’. This explains why the case marker ke is being glossed as
both accusative and dative. Again, in (179) the dative/accusative causee will mean
‘I made the barber cut his own hair’ and the instrumental causee will mean ‘I had
the barber cut hair (not necessarily his own)’.

The alternation of instrumental and accusative case reflects the degree of
agency or control of the causee (Cole 1983, Song 2001). By ‘degree of agency or
control’ we mean the control retained by the causee in the macro situation. In other
words, the causee acts as the agent if it is marked by instrument se and as non-agent
if is marked by accusative ke. According to Cole (1983), ‘the degree of control can
be illustrated as a continuum, between the instrumental case and accusative case’. This is shown as in (Figure 15) in Chapter 2.

Instrumental > Dative > accusative
←more agentive more patientlike →

**Figure 15** Degree of control of causee

In AS also the alternation reflects the degree of control of the causee. This is
illustrated in example (180a-b).
180. (a) mɔi σ-ke bəl-vaa-l–ō
   I.NOM 3SG-ACC say-IC–PAST-1SG
   ‘I made him say.’

(b) mɔi σ-ker se bəl-vaa-l–ō
   I.NOM 3SG-GEN INSTR say-IC–PAST-1SG
   ‘I had him say.’

In (180a), the causee NPs take accusative -ke and in (180b) the causee NPs take instrumental case se. The former refers to non-agentive causee whereas, in the latter to agentive causee. Thus, the occurrence of the ke or the se marker reflects the degree of control retained by the causee in the causative construction. The verb bol ‘tell’ does not have the –aa form in the transitive verb; so in both direct and indirect causatives, it takes the indirect causative marker –vaa. Some more examples are given in (181) in the order of their verbal categories staring with action verbs followed by experiencer verbs, psych verbs and perception verbs.

181. Causee | Verbs | Situations (1)+ (2)
--- | --- | ---
(a) kɛ/semi | mar-vaa | made to die + dies
(b) kɛ/semi | khed-aa | made to run + runs
(c) kɛ/semi | parh-aa/-vaa | made to study + studies
(d) kɛ/semi | dʒit-aa/-vaa | made to win + wins
(e) kɛ/semi | har-aa/-vaa | made to lose + loses
(f) kɛ/semi | hans-aa/-vaa | made to laugh + laughs
(g) kɛ/semi | kand-aa/-vaa | made to cry + cries
(h) kɛ/semi | ridʒh-aa/-vaa | made to entertain + entertains
(i) kɛ/semi | sun-aa/-vaa | made to listen + listens
(j) kɛ/semi | dar-aa/vaa | made to be frightened + frightens
(k) kɛ/semi | bhedʒ-aa/vaa | made to send + sends
(l) kɛ/semi | de-vaa | made to give + gives
5.2.3.1. Affected vs non-affected agent

The hierarchy of control or agency can alternatively be interpreted as to reflect the affectedness of the causee (Song, 2001). In §5.2.3, it is seen that the ke or the se marker reflects the degree of control retained by the causee in the causative construction.

In AS, there are certain verbs like ‘stitch’ and ‘break’ that determines the causee to be non-affected. Since, the direct object position of these verbs requires an inanimate NP; the causee position is occupied by an oblique NP. Thus, in these constructions, the causee can only occur with instrumental se. The use of accusative case ke with such causee yield ungrammatical construction as in (182).

182. mɔi darɗi *ke/se kapra sil-vaa-l– Ȝ
I.NOM tailor *ACC/ INSTR cloth stitch-IC-PAST-1SG
‘I *made/ had the tailor stitch the cloth/dress.’

Similarly, in AS there are causative verbs that do not allow the causee to take the dative /accusative case ke.

183. Causee Verbs Gloss
(a) * ke/se for-*aa/-vaa ‘break’
(b) * ke/se ban-aa/-vaa ‘make’
(c) * ke/se ḍʒal-aa/-vaa ‘burn’
(d) * ke/se kam-aa/*-vaa ‘earn’

In indirect causation, the causee of these verbs normally takes an oblique NP with the instrumental se. This is illustrated in (184b).

184.(a) mɔi ghar-thǝ ḍʒal-aa-l– Ȝ
I.NOM house-CL.NOM make-DC-PAST-1SG
‘I made the house.’
In AS, in indirect causative constructions with the instrumental causee, the object cannot be dropped. The ungrammaticality is shown by an asterisk with the null object position in (184b).

The above discussion leads us to conclude that the instrumental case se is agentivity marker in the causee. There are also certain exceptions to this general rule. In AS, there are certain verbs like randh ‘cook’, kat ‘cut’ and bhar ‘fill’ that need particular attention, as they allow the causee to take both accusative ke and instrumental se interchangeably in the same causative constructions. Consider the following examples.

185.  ke se machri randh-aa/vaa-l-ak
     3SG.NOM 1-ACC/INSTR fish cook-DC/-IC-PAST-3SG
     ‘He made me cook fish.’

186.  der ke se tian kat-aa/-vaa-l-ak
     we-GEN ACC/INSTR vegetables cut-DC/-IC-PAST-3SG
     ‘He/she made us cut the vegetables.’

187.  der ke se pani bhar-aa/-vaa-l-ak
     we-GEN ACC/INSTR water fill-DC/-IC-PAST-3SG
     ‘He made us fill the water.’

The role of the causee NPs in (185-187) is that of affected agent irrespective of the case markers.

In AS, we can a list of verbs that allows the causee to take dative/accusative and instrumental in the same construction.
188. **Causee** | **Verbs** | **Gloss**  
--- | --- | ---  
(a) ke/se | likh-aa | ‘made to write’  
(b) ke/se | nach-aa | ‘made to dance’  
(c) ke/se | hit-aa | ‘made to walk’  
(d) ke/se | kud-aa | ‘made to jump’  
(e) ke/se | ga-vaa | ‘made to sing’  
(f) ke/se | gin-aa/-vaa | ‘made to count’

In order to determine the agentivity of the causee in such cases, Saksena (1980) states that only affected agents (with Dative/accusative) can undergo ‘unspecified object deletion’. This is illustrated with the Hindi examples in (189-192) cited from Saksena (1980: 819).

189. *mai-nee* raam-koo paath /Ø parh-vaa-yaa  
I-AGT Ram-D/A lesson read-IC-PAST  
‘I had Ram read (the lesson).’

190. *mai-nee* raam -koo gaanaa/Ø ga-vaa-yaa  
I-AGT Ram-D/A song sing-IC-PAST  
‘I had Ram sing (a song).’

191. *mai-nee* ram se peer/*Ø kat-vaa-yaa  
I-AGT Ram-INSTR tree /*Ø cut-IC-PAST  
‘I had Ram cut the tree.’

192. *mai-nee* ram se makan/*Ø ban-vaa-yaa  
I-AGT Ram-INSTR house build-IC-PAST  
‘I had Ram build the house.’

The causee with the dative/accusative marker –*koo* in (189-190) are affected agents; hence, they can undergo the unspecified object deletion. In other words, the object *paath* in (189) and *gaanaa* in (190) can be dropped without affecting the meaning. On the other hand, the causee arguments with instrumental *se*, as in (191-
192), are considered as non-affected agents; and hence cannot be dropped in the constructions.

However, in AS, there are verbs like *randh* 'cook', *ga* 'sing' (see appendix 3) which can have its direct object deleted, irrespective of the causee being in accusative or instrumental case. The derived transitive verbs like *hit*-aa ‘made to walk’, *kud*-aa ‘made to jump’, *dar*-aa ‘made to frighten’ normally do not take unspecified objects and the causee takes both *ke* and *se* markers.

193. \( mɔi \) birsi-ke/se machri/Ø *randh*-vaa-l–ō
I.NOM birsi-ACC/INSTR fish/Ø cook-IC-/IC-PAST-1SG

‘I made/had Birsi cook (fish).’

194. \( mɔi \) etowa-ke/se gana/Ø *ga*-vaa-l–ō
I.NOM etowa-ACC/INSTR song/Ø sing-IC-PAST-1SG

‘I made/had Etowa sing (a song).’

Again, verbs like *bhar* 'fill', *kat* 'cut' cannot undergo the unspecified object deletion irrespective of the causee being marked by the accusative *ke* or instrumental *se*. This is illustrated in (195-196).

195. \( mɔi \) birsi ke/se pani/*Ø *bhar*-aa/vaa-l–ō
I.NOM birsi ACC/INSTR water/Ø fill-DC-/IC-PAST-1SG

‘I made Birsi fill the water.’

196. \( mɔi \) birsi-ke/-r se ¥ian/*Ø kat-vaa-l–ō
I.NOM birsi- ACC/INSTR vegetables/*Ø cut-IC-PAST-1SG

‘I made Birsi cut the vegetables.’

Thus, with verbs like *randh* ‘cook’ and *ga* ‘sing’, *kat* ‘cut’ and *bhar* ‘fill’ the agentivity cannot be determined by the the unspecified object deletion test. But if we introduce an intermediate agent in the construction it is seen that only the causee with dative/accusative *ke* allows it. The use of instrumental causee here
would yield an ungrammatical construction. Even the use of *dwara* with the intermediate agent is unacceptable or at least not a usual construction.

197. *mɔi ɛtowa-se/dwara birsi-ke/*se machri/Ø randh-vaa-l–ō*

   I.NOM ɛtowa-INSTR birsi-ACC/*INSTR fish/ Ø cook-IC/-IC-PAST-1SG

   ‘I made Birsi cook (fish) through Etowa.’

In (197) the intermediate agent *ɛtowa-se* is possible only with the accusative causee *birsi-ke*. This verifies that *birsi-ke* is in the indirect object position; and that accusative *ke* has the affected reading and instrumental has the non-affected reading in AS.

### 5.2.4. Proto-properties of the causee

Analysis of the AS data shows that the use of instrumental *se* entails more agentivity to the causee while the use of accusative *ke* entails more patientlike properties to the causee NP. According to Dowty (1991), an important proto-agent property is ‘causing an event or action’; while, in proto-patient, it is the property of being ‘causally affected’. In AS, the causee NP is in-between these two proto-roles. If considered from Dowty’s proto-role theory (1991), it can be seen that action verbs like *pit-vaa* ‘beat-IC’, in indirect causative, with instrumental *se* has agentive implication. On the other hand, the same verb with accusative *ke* is certainly a patientlike argument; where it is affected by the action of ‘beating’.

In Table 17, the instrumental causee has the proto-agent properties of volitionality and sentience or deliberate perception. It causes an event since it carries out the action. However, unlike proto-agent it is not totally independent of the action and neither has a totally dependent existence like a proto-patient. The dative causee as has been mentioned earlier occurs with experiencer verbs, thus entails properties like non-volitionality, partial affectedness and change of mental state. As far the proto-properties are concerned, the accusative causee undergoes incremental theme and physical change. Both the dative and the accusative causee
do not have an independent existence and are thus less agentive compared to the instrumental causee in AS.

**Table 17** The proto-role properties of causee in AS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>More agentive</th>
<th>Less agentive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Instrumental  $\varepsilon$ | Volitionality, Sentience  
Causing an event  
Relatively independent | Non-volitionality,  
Partially affected  
Undergoes change of mental state  
No independent existence |
| Dative  $\kappa$ | Non-volitionality,  
Incremental theme  
Undergoes change of state  
Causally affected by another participant  
No independent existence |
| Accusative  $\kappa$ | Non-volitionality,  
Incremental theme  
Undergoes change of state  
Causally affected by another participant  
No independent existence |

From the above discussion, we can conclude that the process of causativisation in AS depends upon the syntactic and semantic properties of the underlying verb. In causativisation, the subject is demoted to the direct object, the indirect object and the oblique NP position. The causee NP can take accusative, dative or the instrumental case with regards to the argument position. The alternation of the accusative, dative and instrumental case reflects the degree of control of the causee. Thematic role of the causee as per affectedness can be organised in a hierarchy where the causee with the accusative $\kappa$ appears to be more affected in case of action verbs like ‘beat’ and ‘kill’ followed by mental verbs like ‘understand’. With psych verb like ‘frighten’ and perception verb like ‘show’, the causee takes the dative $\kappa$. Thus, accusative is followed by dative case $\kappa$ which is again followed by the instrumental case in a hierarchy corresponding to the hierarchy of the grammatical function (figure 13 in § 2.4.1).

### 5.3. Passive constructions in AS

According to Masica (1991:356) “Periphrastic or suffixal, in the NIA passives are notable in their applicability to intransitives as well as transitives”. Similar
phenomenon has been observed in AS. ‘Periphrastic passives’, in the line of Keenan (1985), ‘are usually marked by the use of auxiliary verbs. These verbs are of four kinds: (i) verbs of being or becoming, (ii) verbs of reception, (iii) verbs of motion and (iv) verbs of experiencing’.

In AS, the periphrastic passive consists of the use of the perfective participle marker –al or the non finite –ek suffixed to the main verb, followed by the use of auxiliary verbs ḥɔ- ‘happen/become’ and ḏa ‘go’. The main verbs take the perfective participle marker –al followed by the light verbs that carry the default 3rd person singular agreement marker –ek/-ak. However, there is a difference in the semantics of the –al and –ek marker in passivisation. The former carries causative implication and also of a defocused agent. While, the latter does not. This is discussed in detail, in § 5.3.1.

5.3.1. Passive morphology in AS: -ek and –al markers

Keenan and Dryer (2007:340) state the following rules: first, ‘if any language has any passives it has ones which can be used to cover the perfective range of meaning; secondly if a language has two or more basic passives they are likely to differ semantically with respect to the aspect ranges they cover’. In AS, the non finite -ek and perfective participle –al can both function as passive morphology as in (198a) and (199a), respectively. The non finite -ek suffixed to the verb provides a nominalised clause. The same followed by the auxiliary ḥɔ- ‘happen/become’ can give two readings: to mean ‘obligation’ and as ‘passives’. With passive reading, it emphasizes or foregrounds the ‘action done’. However, the non finite –ek marker needs to be causativised as in (198b) in order to imply an external agent but the perfective participle –al already implies it as in (199).

198.(a) kam kar-ek ḥɔ-l-ak
    work do-NF happen-PAST-3SG
    Lit: ‘Working has been done.’
(b) kam kar-vaa-ek hɔ-l-ak
work do-DC-NF happen-PAST-3SG
Lit: ‘Work has been done’.

199. kam kar-al hɔ-l-ak
work do-PPL happen-PAST-3SG
Lit: ‘Work has been done’.

In other words, the –al marker has an inherent causative implication in it. Thus, we can have causer with instrumental se with the –al marker as in (200b), but causer with instrumental se in (200a) cannot have it with –ek marker.

200. (a) *o-ker se kam kar-ek hɔ-l-ak
3SG-GEN INSTR work do-NF happen-PAST-3SG
‘The work was done by him.’

(b) o-ker se kam kar-al hɔ-l-ak
3SG-GEN INSTR work do-PPL happen-PAST-3SG
‘The work was done by him.’

In AS passives, the use of auxiliary verbs dja ‘go’ mostly has a dynamic implication and the auxiliary hɔ- ‘happen/become’ a stative one. The former suggest non-volitional action whereas, the latter suggest volition. The auxiliary verb hɔ- ‘become/happen’ and dja ‘go’ are henceforth shown in oblique, where both the interpretation is possible.

5.3.2. Intransitive passives in AS

According to Shibatani (1985:834), passives of non-agentive intransitive are not permitted. In AS, the unergatives can be passivised as in (201b) since, agentivity is associated with the unergative argument. However, in AS, even the unaccusatives, which are non-agentive can be passivized. This is possible with the passive morphology –al, since it has a causative implication. The passive construction with the non finite –ek has the implication of a defocused agent.
The unergative construction with the intransitive verb kand ‘cry’ in (201a) cannot be passivised with non finite –ek as in (201b). This, does not have a causative implication. The derived transitive of kand ‘cry’ would be kand-aa ‘made to cry’, which can be passivised. However, passivised unergatives in (201c) has a causative implication with the use of perfective participle marker –al, and hence is a possible construction.

Again, in case of unaccusative, it is seen that the use of non finite –ek does not have a passive reading. Whereas, the use of perfective participle marker –al gives a possible passive construction.
The unaccusative construction (202a) is passivized in (202b) with the passive morphology –al. It is followed by the auxiliary verb suffixed by the past tense marker and the default 3rd person singular agreement marker –ak. In (202b) the verb takes the perfective participle –al with a causative implication. However, in (202c) the verb takes the non finite –ek without the causative and passive implication. Therefore, is shown with a question mark (?).

In Assamese, the use of non finite with unaccusative passive gives a possible construction as in (203).

203. ḏorda-ḵon khɔl-a ḥɔ-l (Assamese)
   door-CL open-NF COP-PAST
   Lit: ‘The door was opened.’

204. sinema- khɔn su-wa ḥɔ-l
   movie-CL watch-NF COP-PAST
   Lit: ‘The movie was watched/seen.’

In (203-204), the non finite marker –a suffixed to the verb khɔl ‘open’ and su-wa ‘see’, respectively, gives a causative implication.

5.3.3. Transitive passives in AS

In transitive constructions, the direct objects with accusative case become the derived passive subject. This is illustrated in (205a-c).

205. (a) ɬtowa birsi ɬe pit-ɬ-ak
   etowa.NOM birsi acc beat-PAST-3SG
   ‘Etowa beat Birsi.’

   (b) birsi ɬe pit-ɬl ge-ɬ-ak (ɬtowa-ker se)
   birsi ACC beat-PPL go-PAST-3SG etowa-GEN INSTR
   ‘Birsi was beaten (by Etowa).’
In (205a) *birsi ke* ‘Birsi ACC’ is the direct object with the thematic role of patient. In (205b) *birsi ke* is the passive subject, by virtue of its co-reference with the pronominal *ə-ker* ‘3SG-GEN’ in postpositional phrase *ə-ker ghar me* ‘in his house’ (205c). Semantically, it retains the patient role, as it is the argument affected by the action of ‘beating’; and also its accusative object case marker *ke*. Again, in (205d) we can also have a passive construction with the verb carrying the non finite *-ek*, though less frequently used. Here, the emphasis is more on the ‘resultant state’. Thus, takes the auxiliary *hɔ-l-ak*.

In passivisation, the inanimate direct object cannot be promoted to be the passive subject, with verb like *bhaŋ* ‘break’, as is evident in (206b). The verb usually takes the –*al* marker as passive morphology. Here, the use of *-ek* yields an incorrect construction. Even with the auxiliary *hɔ-l-ak* the construction would be unacceptable because of the inherent nature of the verb *bhaŋ* ‘break’. It needs a causer and volitional implication. Again, the same verb in conjunctive participle form ‘*bhaŋ gel-ak* ‘was broken’ (accidentally) can have non-volitional meaning.

206. (a) *σ*  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
 3\text{SG.NOM} & \text{glass-CL} & \text{break-PAST-3SG} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He broke the glass.’
(b) gilas-thø  bhañ-al/*- ek  ge-l-ak  (σ-ker dwara)
glass-CL  break-PPL  go-PAST-3SG  (3SG-GEN INSTR)
‘The glass was broken (by him).’

(c) *gilas-thø  σ-ker  dṣaga me  bhañ-al  ge-l-ak

(d) gilas-thø, [___ j khelte khelte]  bhañ-al  ge-l-ak

‘The glass was broken while playing’.

In (206b), the direct object gilas-thø ‘the glass’ does not appear as the passive subject. This evident in (206c), where we see that gilas-thø ‘the glass’ does not control the pronominal and neither the participial clause as in (206d). However, in (206d), the participial clause khelte khelte ‘playing playing’ can refer to σ-ker dwara ‘3SG-GEN INSTR’ or someone else; which means that the subject position is still not occupied and that no promotion has taken place. Such arguments like σ-ker dwara/se ‘3SG-GEN INSTR’ are called ‘passive agent’ (Masica. 1991:356-357).

However, if we take the verb rakh ‘keep’, we see that inanimate object NP can appear as the passive subject. It co-refers the pronominal in the postpositional phrase.

207. gilas-thø1  σ-ker1  dṣaga me  rakh-al  ge-l-ak

glass-CL  3SG-GEN  place LOC  keep-PPL  go-PAST-3SG
‘The glass was kept in its place.’

5.3.4. Ditransitive passives in AS

In AS ditransitive constructions, both the direct object and indirect object can occur at the sentence initial position. The direct object occurs at the initial position when focus is given to the theme rather than the goal or beneficiary and vice versa.
208. (a) siṭa ke  citthi  bhedṣ-al  hɔ-l-ak
   sita DAT  letter.NOM  send-PPL  happen-PAST-3SG
   ‘Sita was given a letter (by someone).’

(b) siṭa ke, ṣ-ker, thikana-ɛ  citthi  bhedṣ-al  hɔ-l-ak
   sita DAT  3SG-GEN address-LOC  letter.NOM  send-PPL  happen-PAST-3SG
   ‘Sita was given a letter at her address.’

(c) citthi  siṭa ke  bhedṣ-al  hɔ-l-ak
   letter.NOM  sita DAT  send-PPL  happen-PAST-3SG
   ‘The letter was sent to Sita (by someone).’

(d) citthi  ṣ-kaṭ, ṣ-ker  thikana-ɛ  bhedṣ-al  hɔ-l-ak
   letter.NOM  sita DAT  3SG-GEN address-LOC  send-PPL  happen-PAST-3SG
   ‘The letter was sent to Sita at her/*its address.’

In passive construction (208a) the indirect object siṭa is in the sentence initial position with the verb carrying the passive morphology, while in (208c) the direct object citthi ‘letter’ is in the initial position. In both the passive constructions the verb bhedṣ ‘send’ takes the perfective –al followed by hɔ-l-ak. However, as per structural properties, only the indirect object siṭa ke ‘Sita ACC’ co-refers with the pronominal ṣ-ker ‘3SG-GEN’ (208b), but not with the direct object citthi ‘letter’ (208d). Thus, only the indirect object siṭa ke ‘Sita ACC’ can be the passive subject.

5.3.5. U property of derived passive subjects

The above discussion on AS passives shows how the arguments in the subject position have the syntactic properties of subjecthood. But they are not the logical subject as they retain the thematic role of the basic object argument. The term ‘derived’ for passive subject suggest that it is a result of grammatical function change operation. At the same time that operation is ‘monotonic’ in the sense, it brings no change to its lexical semantics (§2.5.3, in Chapter 2). Thus, it is expected that the derived passive subject are the one that retains the properties of the basic
object, the U property (§2.5.3, in Chapter 2). The ‘U’ refers to the underlying property of the object argument, which is formalized as argument structure feature [–r] in Bresnan and Moshi (1990). In (Alsina, 1996:675) explaining property U says “an argument must have property U in order to be expressed as a passive subject, to be represented by reciprocalisation; often a U object must be adjacent to the verb”.

The passivisation test of objecthood illustrates that the objects of dynamic verbs are passivised in AS (see § 4.1.1.3.2 in Chapter 4). Again, non canonical object of only dynamic verbs can be passivised (see §4.2.4.2 in Chapter 4). Nevertheless, the test of ‘pronominal binding’ in §5.3.3 and 5.3.4 shows that promotion of the object argument is an option in AS passives. Thus, in the following sub-sections I have looked into two more U properties of the object argument that enables it to become the passive subject.

5.3.5.1. Deletion of unspecified object

In AS, the passivisation can co-occur with the unspecified object deletion of certain verbs like randh ‘cook’, gaa ‘sing’ parh ‘study’ in active sentences (see § 5.2.3.). The objects of these verbs are unspecified and can undergo deletion.

209. (a) ʊ b a ḥ randh-l-ak
3SG.NOM (rice.NOM) cook-PAST-3SG
‘He cooked rice.’

(b) ʊ-ker se (bhaṭ) randh-al ḥ-o-l-ak
3SG-GEN INSTR (rice.NOM) cook-PPL happen-PAST-3SG
Lit: ‘Cooking was done by him.’

Similarly, in case of verb parh ‘read’ the unspecified object can be dropped in passivisation.

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19 Again, asymmetrical object type languages restrict the passives of the multiple objects. Asymmetrical language allows deletion of unspecified objects, and only specific object can be dropped by reciprocalisation in asymmetrical languages (Alsina 1996).
“Argument selection in Sadani/Sadri as spoken in Assam” 2011

210. (a) ʊ (kiṭap) parh-l-ak
3SG.NOM (book.NOM) read-PAST-3SG
Lit: ‘He read/studied (the book).’

(b) ʊ-kerja se (kiṭap) parh-al ho-l-ak
3SG-GEN INSTR (book.NOM) read-PPL happen-PAST-3SG
Lit: ‘Reading was done by him.’

Thus, as per U property, these unspecified objects normally cannot be dropped by reciprocals and are thus, incapable of being expressed as passive subject.

5.3.5.2. Reciprocalisation

In AS, the reciprocal ek dɔṣra ‘each other’ is object-oriented. It occurs in the object position, in a sentence; and is inflected for the object case.

211. (a) chōra-gila etowa ke pit-l-en
boy-PL.NOM etowa ACC beat- PAST-3PL
‘The boys have beaten Etowa.

(b) chōra-gila ek dɔṣra ke pit-l-en
boy-PL.NOM each other ACC beat-PAST-3SG
‘The boys beat each other.’

The patient role selected by action verb like pit ‘beat’ in (211a) can be eliminated by the reciprocal ‘each other’ as in (211b). Likewise, mental verbs like samdhɔska, psych verbs like dar ‘frighten’ and perception verbs like dɛkh ‘see’ can have their objects replaced by the reciprocal ek dɔṣra ‘each other’. The verb dɛkh ‘see’ can also take an argument in the theme role as in (212a). However, the theme being an unspecified object cannot be replaced by the reciprocal ek dɔṣra ‘each other’, as in (212b).

212. (a) chōra-gila sinma dekh-l-en
boy-PL movie.NOM see-PAST-3PL
‘The boys watched movies.’
Similarly, the inanimate argument with the thematic role theme selected by verbs like ‘make’ ‘buy’ and ‘read’ cannot undergo reciprocalisation.

213. (a) *ʊ-man  kapra  kin-l-en  mɔ-r ḱhatir
   3-PL  cloth  buy-PAST-3PL  1-GEN POSP
   ‘They bought dresses for me’

   (b) *ʊ-man  ek dɔsra  ke  kin-l-en  mɔ-r ḱhatir
   3-PL  each other  ACC  buy-PAST-3PL  1-GEN POSP
   ‘They bought each other for me’

   (c) *ʊ-man  ek dɔsra-ker  ḱhatir  kapra  kin-l-en
   3-PL  each other-GEN  POSP  cloth  buy-PAST-3PL
   ‘They bought dresses for each other.’

In (213b) elimination of inanimate direct object with the reciprocal ‘each other’ yields an ungrammatical construction. Whereas, optional NP mɔ-r ḱhatir ‘for me’ with the thematic role of beneficiary can be dropped by reciprocalisation even in the presence of the direct object kapra ‘cloth’.

Alsina (1996: 678) states that ‘if a ditransitive construction allows only one object to have property U, this is the argument that will appear as the passive subject, and it is also the argument that may be expressed as an object marker or affected by reciprocalisation; if it allows both objects to have property U, either of them may be expressed as the passive subject, as well as displaying the other primary object properties’.

In passivisation of the ditransitive verb bhød ‘send’ the direct object is inanimate NP with the theme role and indirect object has the goal/beneficiary role with the dative case ke. Syntactically, both cannot be the passive subject as is evident in (208b) and (208d) in § 5.3.4. Unlike, the direct object of transitive construction with accusative case, the indirect object of ditransitive construction
with dative case has lesser tendency of being affected. Thus, in the active constructions, it is the animate NP in the indirect object position that can be dropped by reciprocal.

214. (a) chōra-gila siṭa ke cithi bhedi$l- en
   boy-PL.NOM sita-DAT letter.NOM send-PAST-3PL
   ‘The boys sent letters to Sita.’

   (b) chōra-gila ek dōsra ke cithi bhedi$l- en
      boy-PL.NOM each other-DAT letter.NOM send-PAST-3PL
      ‘The boys sent letters to each other.’

   (c) *chōra-gila siṭa ke ek dōsra bhedi$l- en
      boy-PL.NOM sita DAT each other send-PAST-3PL

The object cithi ‘letter’ is the theme, whereas, siṭa ‘Sita’ is the beneficiary and the reciprocal ek dōsra ke affects siṭa not cithi. Therefore, siṭa ‘Sita’ can be dropped by the use of reciprocal ‘each other’ as in (214b) but cithi ‘letter’ cannot be dropped as is evident with the ungrammaticality of (214c). So, even though cithi appears as the passive subject in (208c), it does not have the U property of reciprocalisation. Thus, the test of reciprocalisation proves that the beneficiary role in the absence of patient role has the property U, thereby becomes the passive subject.

5.3.6. Impersonal passives in AS

Woolford (1993) defines an impersonal passive as ‘one in which no object has undergone a case change’. Alsina (1996:713) defines it as a structure in which none of the objects of the corresponding active sentence is the subject. Thus, in such passives, the surface subject is a dummy or expletive (Perlmuter 1983:141).

Like many Indic languages, in AS also, we find instances of impersonal passives. In impersonal passives, action done is foregrounded without any
reference to the agent. In AS, the non finite –ɛk forms of followed by the auxiliary ʰɔ—‘become’ is used to imply impersonal passives.

215. (a) kail raʾt deri se nind-aa-ɛk ʰɔ-l-ak
    yesterday night late POSP sleep-CAUS-NF happen-PAST-3SG
    Lit: ‘It was slept very late last night.’

    (b) mɔi kail raʾt der se nind-aa-l– ő
    I.NOM last night late POSP sleep-CAUS-PAST-1SG
    ‘I slept late last night.’

The passive construction of the intransitive verb nind-aa-ɛk ‘to sleep’ in (215a) gives an impersonal implication without any reference to the subject or the agent. The active counterpart would require an agent as in (215b). An impersonal passive can also be derived from a transitive verb as in (216a).

216. (a) ḋian kat-ɛk ʰɔ-l-ak
    vegetable cut-NF happen-PAST-3SG
    ‘The vegetables were cut.’

    (b) mɔi ḋian kat-l– ő
    I.NOM vegetable cut-PAST-1SG
    ‘I cut the vegetable.’

In (216b), the transitive verb kat ‘cut’ has the object ḋian ‘vegetable’ but in the passive counterpart in (216a), ḋian ‘vegetable’ remains in the object position. Similar constructions are found in Assamese as shown in examples (203–204).

Again, the impersonal passives can be derived from ditransitive verb bhed ᵃ ‘send’ as in 217a). However, it is only the inanimate direct object citthi ‘letter’ in (217a) that can surface in impersonal passives since it lacks the U property of passive subject. The indirect object with dative case sītā ‘Sita’ that has the potential U property of becoming the passive subject cannot appear in impersonal passives in place of the direct object citthi ‘letter’ with the verb bhed ᵃ ‘send’.
217. (a) citthi  
letter.NOM  
*bhedṣ-ek*  
send-NF  
*hɔ-l-ɛk*  
COP-PAST-3SG

Lit: ‘The letter was sent.’

(b) *sīta ke*  
Sita DAT  
*bhedṣ-ek*  
send-NF  
*hɔ-l-ak*  
COP-PAST-3SG

Example (217a) is a possible impersonal passive construction since *citthi* ‘letter’ is not the passive subject. The ungrammaticality of (217b) shows that *sīta ke* ‘Sita DAT ’ is the passive subject which cannot surface in an impersonal passive, without reference to the direct object.

5.3.7. **Proto-patient property of passive subject and thematic hierarchy**

Following Zeanan (1993) and Ackerman and Moore (2001), it is seen in AS, that the thematic role of the passive subjects can be assessed by incorporating the Dowtyian principle of argument selection, ‘where the arguments with the greatest number of proto-patient entailments has the intrinsic classification of [−r]’. In Chapter 4, the object thematic roles are arranged in a hierarchy where the proto-patients outranks the non proto-patients based on a degree of affectedness. The dynamic verbs entail more proto-patient properties to the object than the stative verbs. Since, passives are monotonic operation as has been termed by Ackerman and Moore (2001:2), they do not correspond to change in lexical semantics of the argument. Thus, the derived passive subjects have been analyzed as per their proto-patient entailments of the basic object. As in the case of object thematic roles, the argument that entails greater proto-patient properties is lexicalized as the object. So the passive subject can be arranged in a hierarchy based on proto-patient entailments of the underlying object property.

The passive subject has to be an ‘affected’ one (Shibatani, 1985:837). In AS, however, the affectedness of the passive subject can be shown in a continuum, where the most affected passive subjects is the proto-typical patient. The passive subjects of verbs like *pit* ‘beat’ *maar* ‘kill’ are considered as the proto-typical
patient as per Dowty’s proto-properties. They are causally affected. They undergo change of state, incremental theme and no independent existence.

Mental Predicates like *yaad kar* ‘remember do’ and ‘scold’ that affected the object argument mentally retain their thematic role in passivisation as in (218-219).

218. *σ*-ke *aids* *yaad* *kar-al* *hɔ-l-ak*
   3SG-ACC today remember do-PPL happen-PAST-3SG
   Lit: ‘He was remembered today.’

219. *σ*-ke *gari* *de-wal* *gel-ak*
   3SG-ACC scolding give-PPL go-PAST-3SG
   ‘He was scolded.’

Similarly, objects of perception verbs like *dekh* ‘see’ retain their thematic role and the proto-patient property of no independent existence.

220. *cor*- *thɔ* *ke* *dekh-al* *gel-ak*
   thief-CL ACC see-PPL go-PAST-3SG
   ‘The thief was seen.’

In ditransitive constructions, both direct object and indirect object can occur at the subject position but as far as the proto-patient property of the object argument is concerned; only the beneficiary or goal thematic role can appear as the passive subject. In passivized ditransitive construction, the direct object retains the theme role. As per proto-patient property, they are, however, not causally affected like the animate arguments of action verbs. They rather undergo change of state/position. As in case of verbs like *bhedɔ* ‘send’ and *de* ‘give’, the theme *citthi* ‘letter’ undergoes physical transfer. Moreover, the theme arguments do not have an independent existence. Indirect object as passive subject retains the beneficiary or recipient thematic role. They are affected by the action in the sense that they are
the receiver or are benefited by the action as is indicated by the case feature –r khaṭir.

Analysis of the passives subjects in AS brings forth the following hierarchy of thematic role. The degree of affectedness of the passive subject can be shown as a continuum in (Figure 34).

**Degree of affectedness**

More affected  Less/non-affected

Patient > Experiencer> Beneficiary/Recipient> Theme > Passive agent
Accusative > dative > Instrumental

**Figure 34** Degree of affectedness of derived passive subject in AS

In passivisation, the passive subject with the proto-patient role outranks the other non/proto-typical patients in degree of affectedness. The thematic roles of the derived passive subjects can be arranged in a hierarchy where the more affected arguments are higher than the less affected arguments. The passive subject position remains unoccupied in case of impersonal passives. The language also allows passive agent with the instrumental case se/dwara to appear as the passive subject, in certain cases. They are placed at the non-affected end of the scale. In the hierarchy, experiencer arguments with dative ke come next to the patient, followed by the beneficiary and theme and finally the instrumental. From the analysis of the AS passive data, it can be said that passives in AS involves a shift of focus from agent to the patient. The verb being able to be passivised not necessarily imply the promotion of the object ‘O’ to the subject position ‘S’ of the intransitive verb. However, but it is certainly a monotonic operation for two reasons: first, if the promotion of the object takes place, its thematic role is retained; secondly if it does not than the object is retained in its own position. The occurrence of passive agent in the subject position does not claim passive as a non-monotonic operation. The reason behind this is that passive agent remains the logical subject with syntactic
properties of subjecthood, and therefore, suggests that the direct object has not been promoted to the subject position.

5.4. Causative-passive interaction in AS

Shibatani (1985) has termed passivisation to be an agent centered phenomenon, and the pragmatic function of passives is to defocus the agent. It rather brings into focus the action done and the argument that is affected by the action. Except for the impersonal passives where there is no reference to any kind of agentivity, the process of passivisation is very much dependent on the notion of causativisation. In AS, passivisation is, however, not dependent on the causative morphology or the causative –aa/-vaa marker.

For instance, in Assamese, the passive morpheme occurs after the causative (Barbora, 1994) as is illustrated in the example (221).

221. mari-r hotswai hari-k pit-əwa hɔl
   mary-GEN INSTR hari-ACC beat-CAUS PASS
   ‘Hari was beaten by Mary.’

In (221) the verb pit is followed by the causative suffix -əwa and the passive verb hɔl. Similar is the case in Hindi,

222. mary se hari-ko pit-vaa-yaa gaya
   mary INSTR hari-ACC beat-CAUS PASS
   ‘Hari was beaten by Mary.’

However, unlike Hindi and Assamese, the causatives and passive in AS, do not interact with each other at the morphological level. The passivisation of the causative construction does not require the causative morpheme –aa/-vaa but is rather indicated by the perfective participle –al followed by the passive verb form.

This can be illustrated in the passivisation of direct and indirect causative constructions in (223) and (224), respectively.
223. hari ke pit-al hɔ-l-ak
   hari   ACC   beat-PPL   happen-PAST-3SG
   ‘Hari was beaten.’

224. mari se hari ke pit-al hɔ-l-ak
   mary  INSTR hari  ACC   beat-PPL   happen-PAST-3SG
   ‘Hari was beaten by Mary’.

5.5. Conclusion

To sum up, it can be said that, in AS, both causee and derived passive subject adhere to the principles of thematic hierarchy based on the proto-properties, just like the core arguments. Causee as a derived argument can change its grammatical function to direct object, indirect object and that of oblique object position, with different thematic roles. However, this variation in the semantic role depends upon the degree of agentivity or control over the causation. On the other hand, the derived passive subject undergoes change of argument position but retains the thematic role of a patient. Contrary to the causee, the thematic role of passive subjects is dependent upon the degree of affectedness.