<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>タイトル</th>
<th>No Smoke without Fire: Invisible Agent Constructions in South Asian Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>著者</td>
<td>Pardeshi, Prashant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>掲載誌・巻号・ページ</td>
<td>神戸言語学論叢 = Kobe papers in linguistics, 5:175-191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>刊行日</td>
<td>2007-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>資源タイプ</td>
<td>Departmental Bulletin Paper / 紀要論文</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>版区分</td>
<td>publisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/handle_kernel/81001533">http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/handle_kernel/81001533</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NO SMOKE WITHOUT FIRE: INVISIBLE AGENT
CONSTRUCTIONS IN SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES*

Prashant Pardeshi

Kobe University

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the contributions of the Japanese linguistic tradition to the field of linguistics is the notion of the contrast between SURU (DO) type expressions versus NARU (BECOME) type expressions [Alfonso (1966), Kunihiro (1974), Teramura (1976/1993), Monane & Rogers (1977), Ikegami (1981, 1991), Hinds (1986), inter alia]. SURU (DO)-expressions (such as those involving verbs like kimeru “to decide”, mitukeru “to find out”, tateru “to build”, tukamaeru “to catch”, tutaeru “to convey”, todokeru “to deliver”, tasukeru “to help/to save”, tukuru “to prepare”, etc.) can overtly encode an agent while NARU (BECOME)-expressions (such as those involving verbs like kimaru “to be decided”, mitukaru “to be found”, tatu “to be built”, tukamaru “to be caught”, tutawaru “to be conveyed”, todoku “to be delivered”, tasukaru “to be helped/saved”, dekiru “to be ready” etc.) cannot despite the fact that the event in question could not have been realized without the involvement of an agent. In this sense, NARU (BECOME)-expressions are “invisible agent” construction. SURU (DO)-expressions are said to focus on the “action” of the agent while NARU (BECOME)-expressions focus on the “result” of the agent’s action. While both types express semantically transitive situations featuring two participants, the former are syntactically transitive (two-place predicates) while the latter are syntactically intransitive (one-place predicates).

In this paper, I will focus on the NARU (BECOME)-expressions or invisible agent constructions in four South Asian languages and demonstrate that the SURU (DO) versus NARU (BECOME) contrast is also a characteristic feature of South Asian languages. Further, I will argue that NARU (BECOME)-expressions constitute a kind of quasi-passive construction with the highest degree of agent-defocusing (cf. Shibatani 1985) and that while NARU (BECOME)-expressions show semantic affinity with the canonical passive constructions both differ from each other morphosyntactically. I will also argue for maintaining a distinction between the NARU (BECOME)-expressions which imply external agency and the so-called spontaneous expressions which are typically void of agency.

The organization of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I will offer a brief summary of past research on the SURU (DO) versus NARU (BECOME) dichotomy. Against this
backdrop, I will describe the *NARU* (BECOME)-constructions in South Asian languages (Section 3). In section 4, I will argue that *NARU* (BECOME)-constructions are in fact a kind of passive construction and contrast them with canonical passive constructions. Further, I will draw a contrast between *NARU* (BECOME)-constructions and the so-called spontaneous constructions and argue for distinguishing them. Finally, in section 5, I will summarize my findings and present conclusions.

2. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON THE *SURU* (DO) VS. *NARU* (BECOME) CONTRAST

The *SURU* (DO)-expressions versus *NARU* (BECOME)-expressions dichotomy has been initially proposed in the context of contrastive studies of Japanese and English. In his well-known reference grammar of Japanese entitled *Japanese Language Patterns* Alfonso (1966/1974/1980: 884-86) makes the following observation on the contrast between the use of a transitive versus intransitive verb in Japanese and English.

In SPONTANEOUS expressions, an INTRANSITIVE verb is used when the speaker’s thought is focused on THE OBJECTIVE FACT, a TRANSITIVE verb is used when the speaker’s thought is focused on the AGENT OR THE AGENT’S ACTIVITY.

This is one case in which English speakers and Japanese speakers differ in their habitual approach to situations. In English, for example, it does not make much difference whether a person chooses to say:

"They DECIDED that..." or "IT WAS DECIDED that..."
"We SAW him there." or "HE WAS SEEN there."
"They ELECTED him..." or "HE WAS ELECTED..."
"He BROKE the window." or "The window WAS BROKEN by him."

We do not mean to say that the English speaker does not see any difference in meaning between the expressions in the left-hand column above and their respective passive expressions in the right-hand column. Surely, there is a difference in meaning. But the English speaker does not have any constitutional preference for one form over the other, no ingrained inclination towards the use of one form rather than the other.

The Japanese speaker, however, DOES have a preference, and DOES tend to [use] one form rather than the other.

This fact appears most clearly in situations which involve some sudden cognizance of a fact and the spontaneous reaction to it. In such situations there is always some person, thing, or fact—let us call it an OUTSTANDING FEATURE—which bursts in upon the subject’s consciousness and draws from him some exclamation. And for different conscious subjects there may be different OUTSTANDING FEATURES even from one and the same situation, especially if the subjects have inherited their mental make-ups from widely differing backgrounds and cultures.

Now consider the following situation. An American and a Japanese are observing some gentlemen who are fishing off a dock, and as they watch, one of the men starts reeling in excitedly. The American says “He’s got one!” or “He’s caught one!”—he thinks of what the MAN has done. The Japanese reacts with *AA TSURETA* or *A
KAKATTA—he thinks of the FISH’S BEING CAUGHT. Suppose, though, that the Japanese comments on the great number of fish already caught by the fisherman, he might say: YOKU TORIMASU NE or YOKU TSURIMASU NE—then the outstanding feature is the fisherman’s activity, not the action itself. The American will most likely also say something like: “He’s is doing pretty well”, so that the point of difference in viewpoint and reaction is reached in the moment of spontaneous expression: an American will tend to use a transitive verb, a Japanese will tend to use an intransitive verb. For the American, the situation was a change from not-catching to catching; for the Japanese, the situation was a change from not-being-caught to being-caught.

It can safely be said, then, that the viewpoints and reactions, and consequently the type of verbs used to express situations of the kind described, differ for English speakers and Japanese speakers.

What we said here of TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE verbs can be said in more general terms of DYNAMIC and NON-DYNAMIC verbs. When one desires for one reason or another to call attention to the AGENT or to the fact that an ACTIVITY took place one will use a DYNAMIC verb (transitive or otherwise). When one desires to describe that SOMETHING IS DONE, objectively leaving out any consideration of who did it, one would use a NON-DYNAMIC verb (intransitive or otherwise). The objective non-dynamic way of speaking is, of course, more impersonal, more tactful in certain situations, and used in polite speech quite often.

From the foregoing quote, it is clear that, Alfonso has not made a distinction between morphologically underived (lexical) intransitive verbs (for example, kimaru “be decided”) and syntactic (morphologically derived) intransitive verbs (passive form such as kime-rare-ru “be decided”).

This contrast between DYNAMIC vs. NON-DYNAMIC ways of expression has been pursued and refined in great details in the subsequent research. Kunihiro (1974), Monane & Rogers (1977) and Hinds (1986) refer to it as PERSON-focus versus SITUATION-focus contrast while Teramura (1976/1993) calls it as SURU (DO) vs. NARU (BECOME) expression contrast. Ikegami (1981, 1991) provides an extensive explication of this contrast and proposes a SURU (DO) vs. NARU (BECOME) typology of languages. Ikegami (1991: 290) sums up the contrast between SURU (DO) vs. NARU (BECOME) languages as follows:

There is a contrast between (1) a language which focuses on “the human being (especially, one acting as agent)” and tends to give linguistic prominence to the notion and (2) a language which tends to suppress the notion of “the human being (especially, one acting as agent),” even if such a being is involved in the event.

More recently, Jacobsen (1992: 106-108) in discussing the difference between Japanese and English cites the following examples. The “preferred” English versions are given in (a) while the “preferred” Japanese versions are given in (b):

1
(1) a. Have you found an apartment yet?
   b. apaato wa moo mitukarimasita ka?
      apartment TOP yet be-found-POL-PAST Q
      “Has an apartment been found yet?”

(2) a. Did someone by any chance turn in a lady’s watch?
   b. hyotte shite huzinyoo no tokei ga todoite-iru desyoo ka?
      by any chance lady’s GEN watch NOM arrive-PERF perhaps Q
      “Has a lady’s watch by any chance been turned in (to you)?”

(3) a. (Watching someone fishing) Oh! He caught one!
   b. a! tureta (Alfonso, 1974)
      EXC be-caught-PAST
      “Oh! (One) was caught!”

Jacobsen (1992: 106) remarks on this difference as follows:

Japanese exhibits a “constitutional” preference for result-oriented expression, and it is common to encounter situations where a transitive expression would be preferred in English, but the corresponding expression in Japanese involves an intransitive construction which, at least in its English translation, is passive in meaning. ... Although not passive in their morphology, the Japanese versions bear a semantic affinity to passives because the presence of an agent giving rise to the result is in each case clear from contextual and common sense factors. There are, however, equally many non-agentive intransitive constructions where a passive treatment is clearly inappropriate.

Jacobsen discusses the non-agentive intransitive construction which lacks a passive interpretation (or implication of agent) citing the following examples.

(4) kinoo gakkoo de tyotto omosiroi ziken ga okotta.
   yesterday school LOC quite interesting incident NOM be-PAST
   “Quite an interesting incident occurred at school yesterday.”

(5) sora ga harete-iru to huzisan ga mieru
   sky NOM clear-up-PERF COND Mt. Fuji NOM be-visible
When the sky is clear, Mt. Fuji is visible.

(6) syoowa tennoo no si to tomo ni atarasii zidai ga
Showa emperor GEN death COM with DAT new era NOM hazimatta.
begin-PAST

“A new era began with the death of Emperor Showa.”

The underlined noun phrases in (4)-(6) are subjects of the intransitive verbs in question and semantically they function as objects of corresponding transitive verbs. Jacobsen refers to these noun phrases as “semantic objects”. In examples (1)-(6) a semantic object is placed in the role of syntactic subject to convey the meaning that an event has come about apart from the intentional involvement on the part of the subject. According to Jacobsen, examples such as these are neutral as to the question of whether an entity independent from the subject is responsible for bringing about the event in question, although such an interpretation (passive interpretation) may be imposed by certain contextual or common sense factors. Pointing out that there is no suitable term in Western grammar to refer to the general class of such constructions Jacobsen adopts the term zihatu “spontaneous” from traditional Japanese grammar. By doing this, Jacobsen essentially clubs agent-implying intransitive construction in (1)-(3) together with the non-agent implying intransitive constructions given in (4)-(6) on the basis of their shared similarity of placing a semantic object in the role of syntactic subject.

In this paper I will focus on agent-implying intransitive constructions [invisible agent constructions like those in (1)-(3)] as well as non-agent implying intransitive constructions [agent-less constructions such as those in (4)-(6)] in four South Asian languages, viz. Marathi and Hindi (Indo-Aryan) and Telugu and Tamil (Dravidian).

In South Asian languages agent-implying intransitive constructions (aka invisible agent intransitive constructions) are widely used. Such constructions involve morphologically simplex intransitive verbs as well as morphologically complex intransitive verbs comprising {Action Noun/Predicative Adjective implying agency + light verb}. In most cases the light verb is “BECOME” but in some cases other light verbs (such as “stay”, “come”, etc.) are used. The verb BECOME is used as a cover term for the verbs occupying the light verb slot. Morphologically simplex agent-implying intransitive
verbs are few in number while morphologically complex agent-implying intransitive verbs form a substantial class. Typical examples in Marathi of both types are illustrated below.

(7) Morphologically simplex agent-implying intransitive verbs in Marathi

TharNe (be decide), pohotsaNe (be delivered/reach), saapaDNe (be found), etc.

(8) Morphologically complex agent-implying intransitive verbs in Marathi

- \{aTak/shikshaa/karvaai/hakaalpaTTi/nilambit\}+hoNe
  \{arrest/punishment/action/expulsion/sacked\}+BECOME
- \{stuti/nindaa/apmaan/Tikaar/satkaar\}+hoNe
  \{praise/criticism/insult/criticism/felicitation\}+BECOME
- \{niwaD/nemNuk/badli/padaanvati/pramoshan\}+hoNe
  \{selection/appointment/transfer/demotion/promotion\}+BECOME
- \{raddaa/raakhiv/mirNay/Tharaav/baadal/suTkaa\}+hoNe
  \{cancelled/reserved/decision/change/release\}+BECOME
- ubhy\{aa/i/e\} hoNe/rahaaNe (lit. upright become/stay, “be built, have come up”)

A few representative full sentence examples of the verbs in (7) and (8) are given below.

(9) shukravaari sandhyaakaaLi 5 waadztaa nighaaytse Tharale

friday evening 5 O’clock leave.of got decided

“It was decided to leave at 5 O’clock on Friday.”

(my3m.blogspot.com/2005_08_01_archive.html)

(10) bomb-sphoT khaTalyaat sanjay datta-laah sahaa warshaa-chi sakta-madzuri-ci

bomb-blast case.in Sanjay Dutt-to six years-of.F hard-labour-of.F

shikshaa dzhaali

punishment.F become.F

“In the bombing case Sanjay Dutt was given a punishment of 6 years of hard labour.”

(Source: mr.upakram.org/node/621)

(11) varLi si phes yethe saanDapaaNi samudraaat soDaNuarryaa gaTaaraacyaa

Warali Sea Face here waste water sea.in leaving drainage.GEN.Obl

mukhaa-war-tsa don Tolejanga imarati ubhyaa raahikyaa

face-on-EMPH two sky scraper buildings stand stayed

aahet

be.PRES.PL

“At Worli Sea Face, two skyscraper buildings have come up right in front of a drainage which pours waste water into the sea.”
Similar expressions are widely attested in other South Asian languages as well. Due to space limitations I will confine myself to two Indo-Aryan languages (Marathi and Hindi) and two Dravidian languages (Telugu and Tamil) and show parallels across these languages in their use of a particular morphologically complex agent-implying intransitive expression \{arrest+BECOME\}. This expression has a transitive counterpart \{arrest+DO\} as well as a passive counterpart \{arrest+DO+PASSIVE MARKER\}. I will present examples of all three of these related expressions from Hindi, Marathi, Telugu and Tamil. In each set the first example is a transitive, the second one is a passive, and the third one is an agent-implying intransitive (BECOME-type) expression.

**Hindi**

(12) \[amit, anil-ko budhwaar-ko bhaanDup-ke mangatdaas peTrol\]
Amit Anil-to Wednesday-on Bhandup-of Mangatdas petrol
pamp-ke paas-se siiniar inspecTar nitiin alaknure satiish mayakar
pump-of near-from senior inspector Nitin Alaknure Satish Mayakar
aur sudhiir dalawii kii Tiim-ne girafTaar kiyaa
and Sudhir Dalwi of team-ERG arrest.M.SG do.M.SG
thaa
was.M.Sg

“According to Sudhir Dalwi, Amit Bhogle was arrested in a murder case in 2003.”

(13) \[sudhiir dalawii ke anusaar amit bhogale ko 2003-mE ek marDar\]
Sudhir Dalwi according to Amit Bhogle to 2003-in one murder
kes-mE girafTaar kiyaa gayaa thaa
case-in arrest.M.SG do.M.SG go.M.SGPST was.M.Sg

(14) \[sanyog-se 2007 kii shuruwaata-mE amit maaraamaari ke ek\]
accident-by 2007 of beginning-in Amit fighting of One
maamale-mE phir girafTaar huaa
incident-in once again arrest.M.SG became.M.SG

“According, in the beginning of 2007, in one of the fighting incidents, once again Amit got arrested.”
Marathi

(15) *polis-aan-ni sahaa-dzaNaan-cyaa ToLi-laa aTak keli*
“The police arrested a gang of six people.”

(16) *polis-aan-kaDun sahaa-dzaNaan-cyaa ToLi-laa aTak keli geli*
“A gang of six people was arrested by the police.”

(17) *sahaa-dzaNaan-cyaa ToLi-laa aTak dzhaali*
“A gang of six people was arrested.”

Telugu

(18) *poliselu anil-ni arresT chesaaru*
police.PL Anil-to arrest did.PL
“Police arrested Anil.”

(19) *anil poliselu-che arresT cheyabaDDaDu*
Anil police.PL-by arrest did.PASS.PL
“Anil was arrested by police.”

(20) *anil arresT ayyaDu*
Anil arrest became.SG
“Anil was arrested.”

Tamil

(21) *polisaar anil-ai kaithu seithnaar*
police Anil-to arrest did
“Police arrested Anil.”

(22) *anil polisaar-aal kaithu seiyappaTTaar*
Anil police-by arrest did.PASS
“Anil was arrested by police.”
Having looked at the scope of the agent-implying BECOME-type intransitive expressions (aka invisible agent intransitive constructions) in Hindi, Marathi, Telugu and Tamil, I will compare them with canonical passive constructions and drawing on data from Marathi I will point out the similarities as well as differences between the two types. Based on the similarities they share with the passive construction, I will argue that agent-implying BECOME-type intransitive constructions should be treated as a quasi-passive and should be christened the “BECOME passive”. Further, I will contrast these invisible agent intransitive constructions (or in my terms “BECOME passive” constructions) with the non-agent implying intransitive constructions (the so-called canonical spontaneous constructions) and pace Jacobsen (op. cit.) I will argue for making a distinction between the two and reserving the term “spontaneous” construction for only the non-agent implying intransitive constructions.

4. INVISIBLE AGENT INTRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION VS. CANONICAL PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

In many language of the world the passive construction is formed by using an auxiliary verb and many of them use more than one auxiliary verb as a marker of the passive [for example, German, Dutch, Swedish, Finnish, Latvian, Polish, among others, use BE and BECOME, English recruits BE and GET, while Bengali uses GO and BECOME as passive marker auxiliaries (cf. Siewierska 1984: 126 for more details)]. Marathi also is a case in point and uses both GO and COME as passive marker auxiliaries. These two passives differ in meaning but these differences are not the issue at hand, hence I will not go into the details here (for discussion see Pardeshi 2000a, 2000b, and forthcoming). I will use GO passive as a representative of Marathi passive and contrast it with the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction. Consider the following pairs of Marathi examples where the (a) versions are BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive expressions and the (b) versions are GO passives.

(24) a. pantapradhaanaan-ci hatyaa dzhaali
    prime minister-GEN.F assassination.F become.PF.F
    Lit. “Prime Minister's murder became.”
    “The Prime Minister was murdered.”

b. (atirekyaa-kaDun) pantapradhaanaan-ci hatyaa keli geli
    extremist-by prime minister-GEN.F assassination.F do.PstPart.F go.PF.F
    “The Prime Minister was murdered by the extremist.”
The pairs of sentences in (24) through (27) are semantically alike in that both contain a “non-agent” subject. They differ from each other, however, in terms of overt encoding of the agent: BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction do not permit the presence of an agent while GO passive constructions are felicitous in the presence of the agent (albeit oblique) as shown in example (28) below.

(28) a. (*shaasanaa-kaDun) simenT udyog-aat yaa purwi jaahiir
government-by cement industry-in this before announce
dzhaalelyaa kshamataa weLe-war ubhyaa dzhaalyaa
capacities.F.PL time-on upright become.PF.F.PL

b. (*shaasanaa-kaDun) simenT udyog-aat yaa purwi jaahiir
government-by cement industry-in this before announce
dzhaalelyaa kshamataa weLe-war ubhyaa dzhaalyaa
capacities.F.PL time-on upright become.PF.F.PL
“The (production) capacities announced before have come up (*by the government).”
(http://www.esakal.com/esakal/11122007/Arthvishwa2518B2ED03.htm)

b. (shaasanaa-kaDun) simenT udyog-aat yaa purwi jaahiir
government-by cement industry-in this before announce
dzhaalelyaa kshamataa weLe-war ubhyaa kelyaa
capacities.F.PL time-on upright do.PstPart.F.PL

gelyaa
go.PF.M.PL

“The (production) capacities announced before have been built by the government.”

The transitive active counterpart corresponding to (28b) is given in (29) below wherein the agent appears as an obligatory argument (subject) which cannot be omitted.

(29) shaasanaa-ne simenT udyog-aat yaa purwi jaahiir
government-ERG cement industry-in this before announce
dzhaalelyaa kshamataa weLe-war ubhyaa kelyaa
capacities.F.PL time-on upright do.PstPart.F.PL

gelyaa
go.PF.M.PL

“The government built the (production) capacities announced before.”

On comparing the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction in (28a) with the active transitive construction in (29) it is clear that: (i) functionally, (28a) defocuses the agent noun phrase; (ii) semantically, the valency of the situation expressed by the verb in (28a) is two which is the same as for its active counterpart in (29); (iii) syntactically, the valency of the verb in (28a) as compared to its active counterpart in (29) is less by one; and (iv) morphologically, the predicate in (28a) is distinct from its corresponding active counterpart in (29). From these facts it is clear that the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction in (28a) satisfies all the criteria given below for defining the passive prototype as proposed by Shibatani:

   a. Primary function: Defocusing of agent.
   b. Semantic properties:
      (i) Semantic Valence: Predicate (agent, patient)
      (ii) Subject is affected.
   c. Syntactic properties:
      (i) Syntactic encoding: agent = Ø (not encoded), patient = subject
      (ii) Valence of P[redicate]: Active = P/n, Passive = P/n-1
   d. Morphological property: Active = P, Passive = P [+passive]
In view of this correspondence I regard the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction as a bona fide quasi-passive construction and call it the BECOME passive.

A passive analysis for the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction has been proposed by Sridhar (1990:215) in his grammar of Kannada (Dravidian). Sridhar treats the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction as an “impersonal passive” (in my terms the BECOME passive) and contrasts it with the active sentence citing the following examples. Example (31) is an active clause and (32) is an impersonal passive.

(31) ya:ro:   i:  nirNayavannu  khaNDisidaru
     someone this resolution-acc denounce-pst-3pl-hum
     Someone denounced this resolution.

(32) i:  nirNayavannu  khaNDisala:yitu
     this resolution-acc reprove-inf-become-3sn
     This resolution was reproved.

As for the “impersonal passive” in (32) Sridhar (1990: 214) remarks as follows:

The impersonal passive can never have an overt subject constituent. It has a direct object, marked by the accusative. (Note that the accusative ending, though optional elsewhere with non-human objects, occurs fairly regularly in this construction, undoubtedly to ensure that the first noun phrase is not interpreted as the subject.) The verb appears in the infinitive form (with the –al ending), followed by the auxiliary (or the stative copula) –ag:u ‘become’. The auxiliary is inflected for the tense and aspect, but carries the invariable agreement feature of third singular neuter, apparently the “unmarked” agreement form. This construction though still “literary” or “formal” and almost never used in (informal) spoken styles, is used much more frequently than the personal passive.

It should be added that there is difference of opinion between Sridhar and me in the interpretation of the term “subject” in the case of impersonal passive. Sridhar argues that the first noun phrase in the impersonal passive construction (underlying object of the corresponding active counterpart) is not a subject but an object since it retains (sometimes) its accusative marking and does not agree with the verb. Additional examples provided by Sridhar (op. cit.: 215-216) show that the accusative case retention in the case of impersonal passive is optional and that the verb agreement in the case of personal as well as impersonal passive is identical.

(33) mane  kaTTalpaDuttide
     house    build-inf-pass-prog-n.pst-3sn
     The house is being built.
(34)  mane (yanna) kaTTala:guttide
    house (acc) build-inf-become-prog-n.pst-3sn
    The house is being built.

(35)  raste agala ma:DaLpaTTide
    road wide make-inf-pass-pf-n.pst-3sn
    The road has been widened.

(36)  raste agala ma:Dala:gide
    road wide make-inf-become-pf-n.pst-3sn
    The road has been widened.

I treat the underlying “objects” of the corresponding active counterparts appearing in the impersonal passive construction (BECOME passive in my analysis) as “subject” in that it is the sole argument of which the predication is made. Unlike Kannada, these noun phrases control the verb agreement in Marathi.

Intuitively speaking, in Marathi also, the usage frequency of BECOME passives seems to be higher than the GO passive. To draw a more definitive conclusion an empirical investigation is needed.

There are expressions which at a first glance appear to be the counterexamples to my claim that BECOME passive do not permit the overt presence of an agent phrase. Note the following examples.²

(37)  tyaacyaa-kaDun apekshit kaamgiri dzhaaleli naahi
    he-by expected performance.F become.PstPrt.F NEG
    Lit. Expected performance has not been achieved by him.
    He has not performed up to the expected level.
    (origin.maharashtratimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/2462179.cms)

(38)  erwii ase sharthi-tse prayatna tyaacyaa-kaDun dzhaale naahit
    other times like die hard-of efforts.M him-by become.PF.M NEG
    Other times such die hard efforts have not been done by him.

A closer look reveals however that the expressions in (37) and (38) differ from the BECOME passive in that they obligatorily contain an agent. Recall that, BECOME passives (invisible agent intransitive construction) do not permit presence of an agent (cf. (28a)). I treat the constructions in (37) and (38) as “potential construction” wherein the agent’s (in)ability is depicted and as such the presence of the agent is obligatory. In
this respect, the potential construction differs from the passive, wherein the presence of an agent is optional (see Pardeshi 2000b for more details).

To sum up, semantically, BECOME passive \([NARU \text{ (BECOME)-expressions/invisible agent intransitive constructions}]\) as well as the canonical passive expressions perform agent-defocusing: BECOME passive defocus (or erase) the agent altogether while canonical passive expressions defocus the agent partially. Syntactically, BECOME passive differ from canonical passive expressions in that BECOME passive do not permit the overt presence of an agent while canonical passives permit (at least optionally) the overt expression of an agent. Furthermore, BECOME passive are morphologically simple (unmarked) while passive expressions are morphologically complex (marked).

Having demonstrated the similarities and differences between the BECOME passive and the canonical GO passive, I will now move on to the issue of how to differentiate the agent-implying BECOME passive (BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction) from the agent-less “spontaneous” construction. Recall that Jacobsen (1992) does not make a distinction between these two and refers to both of them collectively as the “spontaneous” construction.

In South Asian languages the BECOME passives are isomorphic with the \{Spontaneous Process Noun / Predicative Adjective void of agency + BECOME\} construction which conveys the spontaneous emergence of a state of affairs. Due to space constraints I will discuss only one example here in order to demonstrate the difference between the agent implying BECOME passive and the agent-less “spontaneous” construction.

(39) pantapradhaanaan-ci hatyaa dzhaali
    prime minister-GEN.F murder.F become.PF.F
    Lit. Prime Minister’s murder became.
    The Prime Minister was murdered.

(40) pantapradhaanaan-tsa nidhan dzhaala
    prime minister-GEN.N death.N become.PF.N
    Lit. Prime Minister’s death became.
    The Prime Minister died.

Both (39) and (40) describe the death of the Prime Minister and they show a formal resemblance. However, semantically they differ crucially in that while the former typically involves an external agent, the latter is devoid of agency. Owing to this, the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction or \{Action Noun / Predicative Adjective implying agency + BECOME\} construction in (39) possess an active transitive counterpart, namely, \{Action Noun / Predicative Adjective implying agency + DO\} construction while the \{Spontaneous Process Noun/Predicative Adjective void of agency + BECOME\} construction in (40) lacks it. The following examples attest to this fact.
The BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction or \{\text{Action Noun} / \text{Predicative Adjective implying agency} + \text{BECOME}\} construction is a “passive” construction (BECOME passive) while the \{\text{Spontaneous Process Noun} / \text{Predicative Adjective devoid of agency} + \text{BECOME}\} is an agent-less “spontaneous” construction. To reiterate, the former possesses a transitive active counterpart while the latter lacks it. Although they formally look alike, they should be distinguished in the face of the foregoing differences.

5. SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I demonstrate that the \textit{SURU} (DO) versus \textit{NARU} (BECOME) contrast is one of the characteristic features of South Asian languages. Further, drawing on data from Hindi, Marathi, Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil, I argue that the invisible agent construction or \textit{NARU} (BECOME)-expressions constitute a kind of quasi-passive construction with a high degree of agent-defocusing and that semantically as well as syntactically they contrast with canonical passive constructions. I christen the \textit{NARU} (BECOME)-expressions as the BECOME passive and demonstrate that while they show a close affinity to canonical passive expressions in terms of agent-defocusing the two differ from each other syntactically in that the BECOME passive does not permit the overt presence of an agent while canonical passives do (albeit as an oblique argument). Further, morphologically, \textit{NARU} (BECOME)-expressions are unmarked while passive expressions are marked. Finally, \textit{pace} Jacobsen (1992), I argue for making a distinction between the BECOME passive or \{\text{Action Noun/Predicative Adjective implying agency} + \text{BECOME}\} construction and the \{\text{Spontaneous Process Noun/Predicative Adjective devoid of agency} + \text{BECOME}\} construction or “spontaneous” construction. The robust presence of \textit{NARU} (BECOME)-type constructions in the South Asian languages under discussion suggests that South Asian languages lean more towards the \textit{NARU} (BECOME) end of the \textit{SURU} (DO) versus \textit{NARU} (BECOME)-expression preference continuum.
NOTES

* This paper is a small token of my gratitude to Prof. Nishimitsu who guided me in my journey into the field of linguistics from day one till the present. I would like to thank Peter Hook and Takayuki Touno for their invaluable comments and criticisms on both the content and the form of the paper. Thanks are due to Siriappareddy Tamalampudi and Verrappan Veerasureshkumar for providing data on Telugu and Tamil respectively. The usual disclaimer applies. The transliteration systems adopted for Japanese and South Asian languages are the ones widely used in linguistic literature on these languages.

1. The abbreviation used in the glosses are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>commutative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/f</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hum</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inf</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/m</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/n</td>
<td>neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL/pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL</td>
<td>polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prog</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PstPerf</td>
<td>past perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. I would like to thank Peter Hook for bringing these examples to my attention.

REFERENCES


