

2nd person pronoun bound by Hr: Evidence from Magahi Addressee agreement

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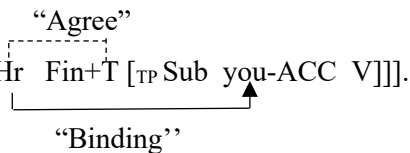
Introduction: Baker (2008) proposes the following principles:

1. a. A pronoun is 2nd person if and only if it is locally bound by Hr (or by 2nd person).
- b. A pronoun is 1st person if and only if it is locally bound by Sp (or by 1st person).

The idea is that there are no “native born” pronouns. They acquire their person features by being variable bound by an operator (also see Kratzer 2009). The motivation behind (1) is a kind of “crossover” effect (Kayne 2000). Baker discusses example such as (2) which he took to be a kind of crossover violation: a first person pronoun is often not possible when there is a third person nominal that denotes the speaker in the same clause.

2. Sp_i [[The guy talking to you]_i wants you to give *me_i money]

In this talk, I examine addressee agreement (Add-Agr), also known as allocutive agreement, in Magahi, an eastern Indo-Aryan language and show two pieces of morphological evidence in support of (1a). The first piece of evidence comes from the fact that there cannot be a mismatch between the feature that is represented by Add-Agr and the feature that is represented by 2nd person pronouns (2PPs) in the same clause. Add-Agr is argued to be a realization of an agreement of a functional head F with a syntactically expressed representation of an addressee “Hr” (for “hearer/addressee”) (Miyagawa 2012, 2017, after Speas & Tenny 2003). If we combine Add-Agr with (1a), we get a network of relationships where Hr participates in Add-Agr and also binds 2PPs in its domain. This is schematized in (3).

3. $[\text{FinP Sp Hr Fin+T } [\text{TP Sub you-ACC V}]]$.


(3) predicts that there would never be a feature mismatch between Add-Agr and 2PPs in the same clause since both acquire their features from Hr. I show that this prediction is borne out in Magahi. The second piece of evidence comes from the fact that Add-Agr is impossible if a 2PP is already in agreement relation in a clause. I argue that this is because Hr and 2PPs are “syntactically the same” owing to (1a) and agreeing twice with the same goal is ruled out.

Add-Agr: In (4), the suffix *-i* on the auxiliary shows subject-verb agreement while the extra suffixes *-au*, *-o*, and *-ain* indicate the honorificity level (social status) of the addressee; *-au* for nonhonorific (NH, socially equal or inferior), *-o* for an honorific (H, socially superior), and *-ain* for a high honorific (HH, high social respect) addressee (in glosses, A: Add-Agr, S: subject agreement).

4. Ham jaa-it h-i/ h-i-**au**/ h-i-**o**/ h-i-**ain**
 I go-PROG be-1.S be-1.S-NHA be-1.S-HA be-1.S-HHA.

‘I am going.’ (said to anyone/ to a friend (NH)/to a parent (H)/to a teacher (HH)).

Unlike Basque, Japanese, and Tamil, Add-Agr is found in all types of embedded clauses in Magahi: different types of complement clauses (5), adjunct clauses (6), and relative clauses (7). The only place where it is not found in Magahi is non-finite clauses (8). Subject agreement is also ruled out in such clauses.

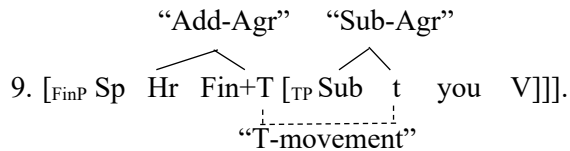
5. Bantee chill/dekhl/sochl/jaanl-**ain/o/au** ki Santee bhag gel- **ain/o/au** .
 Bantee shouted/saw/thought/knew-3S.HHA/HA/NHA that Santee escape went.3S.HHA/HA/NHA
 ‘Bantee shout/saw/though/knew that Santee ran way.’

6. Santee ail-**ain/o/au** [jab Bantee chal gel-ai/**ain/o/au**]
 Santee came-3S.HHA/HA/NHA when Bantee walk went-3S/HHA/HA/NHA
 ‘Santee came when Bantee left.’

7. laik [je uhaaN khaRaa h-**ain/o/au**] hamar bhaai h-**ain/o/au**.
 Boy RELPRO there stand be-3S.HHA/HA/NHA my brother be-3S.HHA/HA/NHA
 ‘The boy who is standing there is my brother.’

8. Santee [jaayel-(*ain/*o/*au)] chahl-**ain/o/au**.
 Santee to go wanted-3S.HHA/HA/NHA
 ‘Santee wanted to go.’

I propose that “Hr” that undergoes Add-Agr is relatively low in the clause in Magahi. It is in Spec FinP contra to Miyagawa (2012, 2017) where it is in higher “speech act projections” which found primarily in root clauses. Furthermore, I assume that the honorificity feature is on T in Magahi and Add-Agr takes place when T moves to Fin. Finite T can then agree with both Hr and the subject, as shown in (9).



No feature mismatch between Add-Agr and the 2nd person pronoun

Unlike verbal domain where all three levels of honorificity features are spelled out as three different suffixes; *-au*, *-o*, and *-ain*, the 2PP has different form for HH *apne* but has the same form for NH and H *tu*. When *apne* is used in a clause, the verb must bear the HH Add-Agr marking *-ain*, not NH or H marking *au/o*, as in (10a) and when *tu* is used, the verb cannot bear the HH marking *-ain*, as in (10b).

10. a. Santee *apne-ke* *dekhl-ain/*au/*o*. b. Santeeaa *tora* *dekh-l-au/o/*ain*.
 Santee you.HH-ACC saw-3S.HHA/*NHA/*HA Santee you.HH-ACC saw-3S.NHA/HA/*HHA
 ‘Santee saw you.’ ‘Santee saw you.’

I argue that the feature matching between Add-Agr and 2PPs is possible because the Hr that participates in Add-Agr also syntactically binds the 2PP inside the clause, as shown in (3) above.

No Add-Agr if 2nd person pronoun is already in agreement relation

Unlike with the 1st and 3rd person subject, Add-Agr is impossible with the 2nd person subject. (11) shows agreement in person and honorificity with the subject. Add-Agr marking makes (11) ungrammatical.

11. a. Tu *jaa-it* *h-eN/a-(*au/*o)*. b. *Apne* *jaa-it* *h-thin-(*ain)*.
 You.(N)H go-PROG be-2.(N)H.S-(*NH/*H.A) you.HH go-PROG be-2.HH.S-(*HH.A)
 ‘You (a peer/parent) are going.’ ‘You (a professor) are going.’

However, as we seen in (10), Add-Agr is possible when the 2PP is an object. The difference between (11) and (10) is that in (11) the subject is an agreement relation while in (10) the object is not. The following generalization emerges:

12. Addressee agreement is barred if and only if another expression of the addressee triggers agreement on the verb.

(12) has crosslinguistic validity. Tamil, like Magahi, has subject agreement but not object agreement. Like Magahi, Tamil allows Add-Agr on clauses with 2nd person objects, but not with 2nd person subjects (McFadden 2017). Basque, on the other hand, has subject agreement as well as object agreement. Add-Agr is barred if 2nd person is either the subject or the object (Oyharçabal 1993). The suspension of Add-Agr in the presence of agreeing 2PP can be deduced from a more general principle of morphosyntax, sometimes called “Kinyalolo’s Generalization”: Agreement on one head is silent if and only if its features are predictable from agreement on another, which is proposed based on the study of Bantu languages such as Kilega. Kilega has both C-agreement with a wh-operator and T-agreement with the subject, as in (13a). However, when there is a subject that moves to Spec CP, only agreement on C is found not on both C and T as in (13b).

13. a. *Bú-ni* *bú-mú-ná-kúbul-ílé* *má-zi?* b. *Názi* *ú-(*á)-ku-kit-aga* *bu-bo?*
 14-how 14.CA-2.PL.S-MOD-pour-PRF 6-water 1.who 1.CA-(*1.S)-PROG-do-HAB 14-that
 ‘How could you have poured water?’ ‘Who usually does that?’

Kinyalolo (1991) and Carstens (2005) propose that agreement on T is suppressed in (13b) because C agrees with “the same nominal”, rendering the agreement features on T predictable. I argue that this is also true for (11) in Magahi. The relationship between Hr and the 2PP in Magahi is analogous to the relationship that a moved wh-phrase has with the copy, i.e. they are syntactically “the same”, rendering the Add-Agr feature on Fin+T predictable. The only difference is that in case of the Wh in Kilega the feature on lower head is suppressed while in the case Add-Agr in Magahi the feature on higher head is suppressed.