

The Morphosyntax of Magahi Addressee Agreement

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Abstract. This paper analyzes ‘addressee agreement’ (“allocutive agreement”) in Magahi, an Eastern Indo-Aryan language. Magahi finite verbs encode honorificity (e.g., social status) of the addressee, in addition to encoding person and honorificity of the subject. Magahi addressee agreement is special in two respects. First, addressee agreement is associated with finiteness; it is available in all finite clauses, main and embedded. Second, addressee agreement and subject honorification combine features for spell out, indicating that heads involved in both phenomena are syntactically adjacent. I claim that the Hr-DP, a covert syntactically expressed representation of an addressee, which undergoes addressee agreement is lower in the clause structure and is a coordinate of FinP. I further propose that the functional head associated with Magahi addressee agreement is the ‘Fin’ head (i.e Force) located just above T. The proposal diverges from previous analyses, where the locus of addressee agreement is the highest projection of a clause (e.g., Speech Act Phrase or Context Phrase) found primarily in root clauses. This study implies that addressee is syntactically present in every finite clause. Cross-linguistic differences (e.g., root/embedded asymmetries) depend on what syntactic category acts as a probe in a language.

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1. Introduction

In Magahi, a South Asian Eastern Indo-Aryan language, a proposition such as ‘I am going’ can be expressed in four different ways, as illustrated in (1). This is because in addition to the subject triggers agreement on the verb, Magahi finite verbs optionally exhibit morphology for addressee marking. The optionality implies that speakers prefer to use addressee marking, but omitting it does not make the sentence ungrammatical/unacceptable. When addressee marking is used, it indicates that the addressee is involved in the conversation or has asked for solidarity or complicity (see Haddican (2018) for a similar claim about addressee agreement in Galician). In (1-a), the verb only shows person and honorificity agreement with the subject.^{1,2} There is no agreement for number or gender in the verbal domain (also see Verma 1991). Examples (1-b), (1-c), and (1-d), on the other hand, show instances of agreement with the addressee in addition to the subject.³

- (1) a. Ham jaait h-**i/iai**.
I.M/F go.PROG be-1-NHS
‘I am going.’
- b. Ham jaait h-i-**au**.
I.M/F go.PROG be-1-NHS.NHA
‘I am going.’
- c. Ham jaait h-i-**o**.
I.M/F go.PROG be-1-NHS.HA
‘I am going.’
- d. Ham jaait h-i-**ain**.
I.M/F go.PROG be-1-NHS.HHA
‘I am going.’

¹The subject honorificity has only a single value, non-honorific, in the 1st person. Example (1a) thus contrasts with the 2nd and 3rd person subjects (see section 2). More about *-i* vs *-iai* alternation is said in the next section where the agreement morphemes are discussed in detail.

²The following Roman characters are equivalent to the following Magahi sounds: ‘R’ for the retroflex flap, ‘T’ for the voiceless retroflex stop and ‘D’ for the voiced one, ‘ch’ for the voiceless affricate, ‘h’ for aspiration on the preceding consonant and ‘N’ for nasalization on the preceding vowel. Proper names are not transcribed phonetically rather the conventional English spellings are used.

³The Leipzig glossing conventions have been followed to gloss examples in this paper with the following additional glosses; A: addressee; H: honorific; HH: high honorific, NH: non-honorific, PQP: polar question particle, S: subject.

The additional morphemes *-au*, *-o* and *-ain* provide information about the honorificity of the addressee relative to the speaker;⁴ (1-b) is uttered to a non-honorific (NH) addressee i.e., someone who has an equal or lower social status than the speaker, such as a friend or a younger brother or cousin. Example (1-c) is spoken to a honorific (H) addressee i.e., someone who has higher social status than the speaker, such as father, grandfather, or an elder brother or cousin. Example (1-d) is uttered to a high honorific (HH) addressee i.e., someone who receives a greater respect from the speaker, such as a teacher, father-in-law, or a priest.

This phenomenon is referred to as “allocutive agreement” (the term is due to Bonaparte 1862) or “addressee agreement” (Verma 1991) in the literature and has been studied in a number of languages: Verma (1991) for Magahi, Oyharçabal (1993) for Basque, Miyagawa (2012, 2017) for Japanese, Zu (2013, 2015) for Jingpo, Antonov (2015) for Pumé, Nambikwara, Mandan, Beja, Bhattacharya (2010) for Maithili, Magahi, Angika and Kurmali, Kaur (2017) for Punjabi, McFadden (2017) for Tamil, Pak (2015) for Korean, Haddican (2018) for Galician, Portner et al (2019) for Korean. In this paper, the term addressee agreement (henceforth Add-Agr) is used.

Some of the works mentioned above discuss the distribution of Add-Agr across clause types and embedded contexts and analyze it as a root clause phenomenon based on the fact that Add-Agr has a very restricted distribution in embedded contexts or Add-Agr is entirely ruled out in these contexts. For example, languages like Basque (Oyharçabal 1993) and Korean (Portner et al 2019) do not allow Add-Agr in embedded clauses at all and Japanese allows Add-Agr only in certain embedded adverbial clauses such as ‘because’ (e.g., reason) clauses and those complement clauses which are embedded under a speech predicate (Miyagawa 2012, 2017). Tamil is less restricted and allows Add-Agr in certain embedded adverbial clauses such as temporal and completive clauses and in complement clauses of attitude predicates (McFadden 2017).

Magahi, however, is notably different from these languages. It shows a strong link between finiteness and Add-Agr. Add-Agr is freely available on any kind of finite clause including embedded clauses. Some crucial Magahi examples of embedded contexts can be seen in (2) (detail

⁴Here, the facts are somewhat simplified. These extra morphemes also encode honorificity of the subject, as we see in details in section 2 where we discuss different types of subjects.

will be provided below). Example (2) shows that Add-Agr is even possible on the complement of a perceptual predicate (2-a), in relative clauses (2-b), and in noun complement clauses (2-c). All these sentences are spoken to a non-honorific addressee, such as a friend. Thus, there is *-au* marking on the verb.

- (2) a. Ham dekhl-i-au [ki Santeeaa bhag gel-**au**].
 I saw-1-NHS.NHA COMP Santee escape went-NHS.NHA
 ‘I saw that Santee ran away.’ (said to a friend)
- b. Laikwaa [je uhan khaRaa h-**au**] hamar bhaai h-au.
 Boy REL.PRO there stand be-NHS.NHA my brother be-NHS.NHA
 ‘The boy who is standing there is my brother.’ (said to a friend)
- c. Aphawaah [ki Santeeaa inaam jitl-**au**] sahii ha-l-au
 rumor COMP Santee prize won-NHS.NHA true be-PRF-NHS.NHA
 ‘The rumor that Santee won the prize was true’ (said to a friend)

These crucial examples show that Add-Agr cannot be a root clause phenomenon in Magahi because the range of embedded contexts shown in the examples does not typically permit embedded root phenomena cross-linguistically. In fact, as we will see below in detail, Magahi allows Add-Agr in every embedded finite clause.

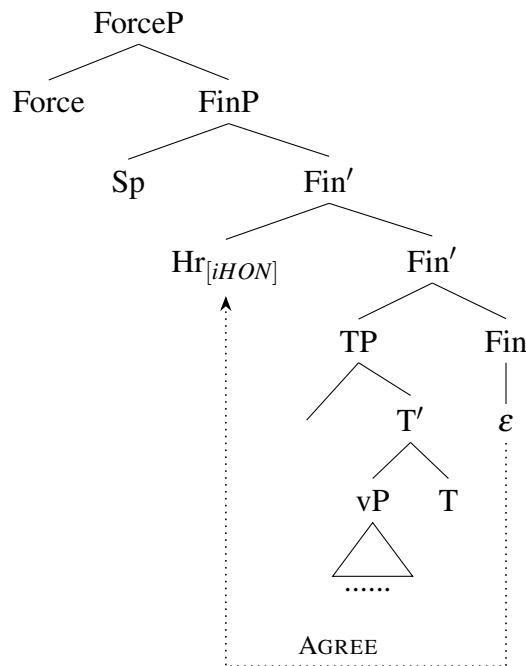
Another interesting property of Magahi Add-Agr is that Add-Agr and subject honorificity appear as a single morphosyntactic feature, which demonstrates a strong argument for the syntacticity of Add-Agr (and honorificity in general) and that heads involved in Add-Agr and subject agreement are syntactically adjacent. Compare (3-a) to (3-b). Both (3-a) and (3-b) are spoken to a friend and both have a 3rd person subject. However, they are minimally different in honorificity level of the subject: in (3-a), the subject Santee is NH to the speaker and in (3-b), the subject grandfather is H to the speaker. (3-a) shows the suffix *-au* on the verb whereas (3-b) shows a different suffix *-thun*.

- (3) a. Santee-aa dauR-l-**au**.
 Santee-NH run-PRF-1-NHS.NHA
 ‘Santee ran.’ (said to a friend)

- b. Baabaa dauR-la-**thu(n)**.
 grandfather.H run-PRF-HS.NHA
 ‘Grandfather ran.’ (said to a friend)

After Speas and Tenny’s (2003) influential proposal, it has been argued in the allocutive literature that there is a covert but syntactically expressed representation of an addressee in the highest domain of left periphery of clauses (e.g., Speech Act phrase (SAP) or Context Phrase (cP)), and that a functional head F in the clause agrees with it (Miyagawa 2012, 2017; Zu 2013, 2015; Kaur 2017, McFadden 2017). I follow the previous tradition and assume that there is a representation of an addressee, namely “Hr”, a null DP in the left periphery of Magahi clauses, and that a functional head F in the clause agrees with it. However, I claim that the locus of Add-Agr is lower in the clause in Magahi; a (finite) FinP domain in Rizzi’s (1997) cartographic structure. I propose that Magahi Add-Agr occurs when the functional head ‘Fin’, carrying uninterpretable honorificity feature (ϵ), agrees with its own coordinate ‘Hr-DP’. This is illustrated in (4).

(4)



My proposal departs from previous ones in two important ways. Firstly, I claim that Hr-DP is

available in the periphery of every finite clause. I locate it in the Spec of FinP. In this, I follow Bhadra's (2018) proposal that there are null 'speaker' and 'addressee' coordinates in every finite clause. Secondly, I propose that the functional head F that bears (ϵ) and agrees with the Hr-DP, is also lower in the clause. I claim that the head is Fin, just above T. In this system, Add-Agr can occur without SAP. This contrasts with previous analyses where the Hr-DP is one of the coordinates of SAP or cP, found only in a root clause.

My proposal explains why Add-Agr is possible in Magahi whenever a clause is finite. Since Hr-DP and the head involved in Add-Agr are in FinP, Add-Agr would be present in every finite clause regardless of whether the clause is main or embedded. Further, my analysis also explains the fact that Magahi Add-Agr is possible in the presence of different kinds of C-heads or operators in the CP domain such as a complementizer, a purpose clause marker, a question particle, or a relative operator. Moreover, the analysis also explains the close relation of Add-Agr with subject agreement.

The paper is structured as follow: Section 2 presents the Magahi data. It demonstrates that Magahi finite verbs agree with the subject in person and honorificity. Then, it presents Add-Agr and shows that Magahi finite verbs agree with the honorificity of the addressee. The section also demonstrates that Add-Agr is found in all sorts of main and embedded finite clauses. Section 3 puts forward the analysis that the locus of Add-Agr is relatively low in the clause in Magahi. Section 4 discusses the predictions that the proposed analysis makes. Section 5 reviews the previous analysis by Verma (1991) and argues against his claim that there is object or possessor agreement in Magahi. The section shows that the putative object markers are a non-honorific subject marker and a high honorific Add-Agr marker. Section 6 discusses the nature of cross-linguistic difference. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. The Basics of Magahi Agreement

Magahi finite verbs show agreement with the subject in person but not in number and gender (also noted in Verma (1991)). Moreover, the person agreement morphemes show variation in encoding

subject honorificity (e.g., social status of the subject with respect to the speaker). This is illustrated in (5)–(7).

- (5) Ham/hamanii dauR-1-**i/iai**.
 I.M/F/We.M/F run-PRF-1-NHS
 ‘I/We ran.’
- (6) a. Tu/tohanii dauR-1-**eN**.
 You.SG.M/F.NH/You.PL.M/F.NH run-PRF-2.NHS
 ‘You ran.’
- b. Tu/tohanii dauR-1-**a**.
 You.SG.M/F.H/You.PL.M/F.H run-PRF-2.HS
 ‘You ran’
- c. Apne/apne-sab dauR-la-**thi(n)**.
 You.SG.M/F.HH/You.M/F-all run-PRF-2.HHS
 ‘You ran’
- (7) a. U/okhanii dauR-1-**ai**.
 (S)he.NH/They.M/F.NH run-PRF-NHS
 ‘(S)he/They ran.’
- b. U/okhanii dauR-la-**thi(n)**.
 (S)he.(H)H/They.M.F.(H)H run-PRF-(H)HS
 ‘(S)he /They ran.’

The verb ‘run’ in the above examples does not vary for number and gender but changes its form for person and honorificity; *-i/i-ai* for 1st person, as shown in (5), *-eN*, *-a* and *-thin* for the 2nd person non-honorific (NH), honorific (H), and high honorific (HH) subjects, as in (6-a), (6-b), and (6-c) respectively, and *-ai* for the 3rd person NH subject as in (7-a) or *-thin*, as shown in (7-b) for the 3rd person H/HH subject. In these examples, we see the honorificity contrast in the 2nd and 3rd person subjects but not in the 1st person subject. This is because the speaker does not have a different honorific attitude towards herself, as she can have towards the 2nd and 3rd person. Thus, the 1st person subject has only a single value, non-honorific, for honorificity. Moreover, the morpheme *-ai* appears with the 3rd person NH subject and also with the 1st person subject.

I argue that a 3rd person DP is in fact not a personal form (Harley and Ritter 2002). It is

unmarked for person (I use the term “so-called 3rd person” to refer to the category hereafter).⁵ The only true persons are 1st and 2nd person. Thus, the morphemes *-ai* and *-thin* which appear with the so-called 3rd person subject do not show person agreement but only honorificity agreement: the morpheme *-ai* encodes non-honorific (NH) feature and the morpheme *-thin* encodes honorific and high honorific (H)H feature. The suffix *-ai* thus appears with the 1st person subject because the speaker has non-honorific relation with herself. The distribution of the morpheme *-thin*, which appears with the 3rd person (H)H subjects and also with the 2nd person HH subject, as I argue below, is conditioned by the elsewhere principle that operates in Magahi grammar (Halle and Marantz 1993). Lastly, we see *-i* vs. *i-ai* contrast in the 1st person subject. The contrast seems to be a (vowel) contraction in fast vs. slow speech in Magahi (like cannot vs. can’t or do not vs. don’t in English). The subject agreement morphemes are tabularized in Table-1.

Subject	NH	H	HH
1P	-i-(a)i	–	–
2P	-eN	-a	-thin
3P (lack of person)	-ai	-thin	-thin

Table 1: Subject agreement morphemes

The other property of Magahi agreement is that finite verbs may also show agreement with the person to whom the sentence is addressed. This is primarily illustrated in (8) and (9) in the 1st person and the so-called 3rd person subject. The 2nd person subject bans Add-Agr. In examples (8)–(9), the extra morphemes *-au*, *-o*, and *-ain* indicate the honorificity of the addressee relative to the speaker: *-au* indicates that the addressee is non-honorific (NH), *-o* indicates that the addressee is honorific (H), and *-ain* indicates that the addressed is high honorific (HH).

- (8) a. Ham dauR-l-i-**au**.
 I run-PRF-1-NHS.NHA
 ‘I ran.’ (said to a friend)

⁵I thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting this to me.

- b. Ham dauR-l-i-**o**.
 I run-PRF-1-NHS.HA
 ‘I ran.’ (said to a father)
- c. Ham dauR-l-i-**ain**.
 I run-PRF-1-NHS.HHA
 ‘I ran.’ (said to a teacher)
- (9) a. Santee-aa dauR-l-**au**.
 Santee-NH run-PRF-1-NHS.NHA
 ‘Santee ran.’ (said to a friend)
- b. Santee-aa dauR-l-**o**.
 Santee-NH run-PRF-1-NHS.HA
 ‘Santee ran.’ (said to a father)
- c. Santee-aa dauR-l-**ain**.
 Santee-NH run-PRF-1-NHS.HHA
 ‘Santee ran.’ (said to a teacher)

However, these agreement morphemes indicate more than what I just demonstrated. They encode honorificity of the subject as well. Let us first consider the so-called 3rd person subjects: we clearly see a fusion of Add-Agr and subject honorification. In the above example (9), the subject ‘Santee’ is NH to the speaker, as also indicated by the familiarity marker *-aa* (Alok 2012), glossed as NH. However, there is no NH marker *-ai* on the verb. As shown in (10), *-ai* is impossible in the presence of Add-Agr.

- (10) Santee-aa dauR-l-(***ai**)-au/o/ain.
 Santee-NH run-PRF-NHS-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA

I claim that this is because the subject and addressee honorificity are fused in Magahi. That is, the morphemes *-au*, *-o*, and *-ain* do not only encode honorificity of the addressee but they are portmanteau morphemes that encode both the honorificity of the subject and the addressee: *-au* shows that both the subject and addressee of an utterance are NH to the speaker, as in (9-a). The suffix *-o* tells us that the subject of the clause is NH and the addressee is H to the speaker. The suffix *-ain* indicates that the subject of the clause is NH and the addressee is HH to the speaker. This fusion of honorificity feature of the subject and addressee becomes clearer when we compare

the 3rd person subjects with different honorificity. Consider (11), which has H subject and compare it to (9-a), where the subject is NH. In both cases the addressee is the same, i.e a NH addressee. However, unlike in (9-a) where we have the morpheme *-au*, (11) carries the morpheme *-thu(n)*.

- (11) Baabaa dauR-la-**thu(n)**.
 grandfather.H run-PRF-HS.HHA
 ‘Grandfather ran.’ (to a friend)

Comparing (12) to (9-c) reveals the same pattern. Both sentences are spoken to the HH addressee. However, they have the distinct subject: H subject in (9-c) and HH subject in (12). The sentence (9-c) bears the morpheme *-ain* while (12) carries the morpheme *-thi(n)*.

- (12) PanDii-jii dauR-la-**thi(n)**.
 priest-HH run-PRF-HHS.HHA
 ‘The priest ran.’ (to a teacher)

Other combinations of subject and addressee honorification exhibit syncretism. But the above examples convincingly show that subject honorification and Add-Agr interact with each other and spell out as a single morpheme in Magahi.

Moving to the other possible combinations, when both subject and addressee are H, as in (13), there is no separate agreement morpheme, the only one being *-thu(n)*. Moreover, *-thu(n)* also surfaces with the combination of HH subject and (N)H addressee, as in (14).

- (13) Baabaa dauR-la-*thu(n)*.
 grandfather.H run-PRF-HS.HA
 ‘Grandfather ran.’ (to father)

- (14) MasTar-saaheb dauR-la-*thu(n)*.
 teacher-HH run-PRF-HHS.(N)HA
 ‘The teacher ran.’ (to a friend or father)

When the subject is H and the addressee is HH, the morpheme *-thi(n)* appears, as in (15).

- (15) Baabaa dauR-la-thi(n).
 grandfather.H run-PRF-HS.HHA
 ‘Grandfather ran.’ (to a teacher)

Now, consider Add-Agr with the 1st person subject (cf. (8)). Here, too, we only see the 1st person marker *-i-* but not the subject honorificity marker *-ai* in the presence of Add-Agr. Moreover, as shown in (16), *-ai* is impossible in the presence of Add-Agr.

- (16) Ham dauR-l-i-(*ai)-au/o/ain.
 I run-PRF-1-NHS-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
 ‘I ran.’

The reason for not showing the subject honorificity marker is the same. The subject honorificity fuses with Add-Agr. Table 2 below represents the portmanteau morphemes of the subject honorification and Add-Agr. It also shows that there is no one-to-one correlation between the combination of subject honorificity and Add-Agr and their morphemic realization. In many cases, syncretism is evident (forms are colored for convenience).

Subject	Addressee		
	NH	H	HH
NH	<i>-au</i> (cf. (9-a))	<i>-o</i> (cf. (9-b))	<i>-ain</i> (cf. (9-c))
H	<i>-thu(n)</i> (cf. (11))	<i>-thu(n)</i> (cf. (13))	<i>-thi(n)</i> (cf. (15))
HH	<i>-thu(n)</i> (cf. (14))	<i>-thu(n)</i> (cf. (14))	<i>-thi(n)</i> (cf. (12))

Table 2: Honorificity agreement with the subject and addressee

Let us now consider the 2nd person agreement, where the addressee becomes an argument. Unlike with 1st and 3rd person subjects, the 2nd person subject bans Add-Agr, as shown in (17).

- (17) a. Tu dauR-l-eN-(*au).
You.NH run-PRF-2.NHS-(NHA)
'You (a friend) ran.'
- b. Tu dauR-l-a-(*o).
You.H run-PRF-2.HS-(HA)
'You (grandfather) ran.'
- c. Apne dauR-l-thi(n)-(*ain).
You.HH run-PRF-2.HHS-(HHA)
'You (a professor) ran.'

However, not all 2nd person (addressee) arguments rule out Add-Agr; only those that trigger regular agreement do. For example, Magahi does not allow object agreement. Add-Agr can co-occur with the 2nd person object argument, as in (18).

- (18) a. Santee-aa toraa dekh-l-au.
Santee-NH you.NH.ACC see-PRF-NHS.NHA
'Santee saw you.' (to a friend)
- b. Santee-aa toraa dekh-l-o.
Santee-NH you.H.ACC see-PRF-NHS.HA
'Santee saw you.' (to father)
- c. Santee-aa apne-ke dekh-l-ain.
Santee-NH you.HH.ACC see-PRF-NHS.HHA
'Santee saw you.' (to a teacher)

This is not a language-specific property of Magahi. McFadden (2017) shows that Tamil, like Magahi, allows subject agreement but not object agreement. Add-Agr is ruled out with the 2nd person subject, but not with the 2nd person object. He reaches the following generalization in discussing Add-Agr and its relationship with 2nd person arguments.

- (19) Double expression of agreement with the addressee – both argument agreement and addressee agreement – is ruled out (McFadden 2017: 15).

The intuition behind (19) is that it is bad for the verb to agree twice with the same thing (i.e. a 2nd

person argument = addressee, cf. Baker 2008).⁶ The generalization in (19) principally rules out Add-Agr in a clause whenever an addressee (2nd person) becomes an argument in the clause and triggers a regular agreement. For example, Tamil and Magahi have only subject agreement. Only the 2nd person subject bans Add-Agr. Basque, on the other hand, allows both subject agreement and object agreement. Add-Agr is blocked with both the 2nd person subject and the 2nd person object (Oyharçabal 1993).

Summing up, in this section, I have demonstrated that Magahi finite verbs encode person and honorificity features of the subject in 1st and 2nd persons. Moreover, the so-called 3rd person subjects show only honorificity agreement and no person agreement. The subject agreement morphemes are reproduced in Table-3 for convenience.

Subject	NH	H	HH
1P	-i-(a)i	–	–
2P	-eN	-a	-thi(n)
3P (lack of person)	-ai	-thi(n)	-thi(n)

Table 3: Subject agreement morphemes

Further, I have shown that Magahi finite verbs may also display an agreement with the honorificity of the addressee. Most intriguingly, the subject honorificity interacts with addressee honorificity and they are realized as a single agreement morpheme. Table-4 presents the honorificity agreement morphemes in the language.

⁶Alok and Baker (2018) also derive a similar kind of generalization as in (i).

(i) Addressee agreement is barred if another expression of the addressee triggers agreement on the verb.

They capture the blocking of Add-Agr with 2nd person agreeing argument by means of Kinyalolo’s generalization: “in a word (phonologically defined), AGR on one head is silent if and only if its features are predictable from AGR on another head.” (kinyalolo 1991; Carstens 2005; Alok and Baker 2018). Following Baker (2008), Alok and Baker (2018) propose that the 2nd person pronoun is a variable which inherits its (person) features precisely by being bound by the Hr-DP, a syntactic representation of the addressee in the left-periphery of the clause. By virtue of being in a relationship of variable binding, the 2nd person pronoun and the Hr-DP are syntactically the ‘same’. Thus, addressee agreement triggered by the Hr-DP and agreement triggered by the 2nd person argument are essentially the ‘same’ and therefore the former is predictable from the latter.

Subject	Addressee			No addressee
	NH	H	HH	
NH	-au	-o	-ain	-ai
H	-thu(n)	-thu(n)	-thi(n)	-thi(n)
HH	-thu(n)	-thu(n)	-thi(n)	-thi(n)

Table 4: Honorificity agreement with the subject and addressee

To account for the Magahi agreement morphemes in a distributive morphology framework (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994 and others), I decompose person features into two binary features: $[\pm\text{SPEAKER}]$ and $[\pm\text{ADDRESSEE}]$. The feature set $[\text{+SPEAKER}, \text{-ADDRESSEE}]$ represents the 1st person and the feature set $[\text{-SPEAKER}, \text{+ADDRESSEE}]$ represents the 2nd person. Further, I decompose the honorificity features into the following two binary features: $[\pm\text{HON}]$ and $[\pm\text{HIGH}]$. They correspond in the following way to honorificity: the feature set $[\text{-HIGH}, \text{-HON}]$ represents the NH feature, the feature set $[\text{-HIGH}, \text{+HON}]$ represents the H feature and the feature set $[\text{+HIGH}, \text{+HON}]$ represents the HH feature, as in (20). Moreover, the feature $[\text{HIGH}]$ is defined with respect to the feature $[\text{+HON}]$. That is, if a person is honorific to the speaker, (s)he could be either socially superior or more superior to the speaker. On the other hand, the non-honorific person would not be socially (more) superior to the speaker. Thus, the combination $[\text{+HIGH}, \text{-HON}]$ is undefined because the meanings of those features semantically yields contradiction.

- (20)
- a. $[\text{-HIGH}, \text{-HON}] = \text{NH}$
 - b. $[\text{-HIGH}, \text{+HON}] = \text{H}$
 - c. $[\text{+HIGH}, \text{+HON}] = \text{HH}$
 - d. $[\text{+HIGH}, \text{-HON}] = \text{Undefined}$

The Magahi agreement morphemes correspond to the following feature sets (the subscript ‘S’ indicates that the feature set is associated with the subject while the subscript ‘A’ indicates that the feature set is associated with the addressee). The first four sets represent the subject agreement morphemes and the next four sets represent the fused honorific agreement morphemes of the subject and addressee. The morpheme *-thi(n)* is a result of the *elsewhere* case.

- (21) *Vocabulary insertion rules:*
- a. $[+SPEAKER, -ADDRESSEE]_S \Leftrightarrow -i$
 - b. $[-SPEAKER, +ADDRESSEE, -HON]_S \Leftrightarrow -eN$
 - c. $[-SPEAKER, +ADDRESSEE, +HON, -HIGH]_S \Leftrightarrow -a$
 - d. $[-HON]_S \Leftrightarrow -ai$
 - e. $[[-HON]_S, [-HON]_A] \Leftrightarrow -au$
 - f. $[[-HON]_S, [+HON, -HIGH]_A] \Leftrightarrow -o$
 - g. $[[-HON]_S, [+HIGH]_A] \Leftrightarrow -ain$
 - h. $[[+HON]_S, [-HIGH]_A] \Leftrightarrow -thun$
 - i. elsewhere $\Leftrightarrow -thin$

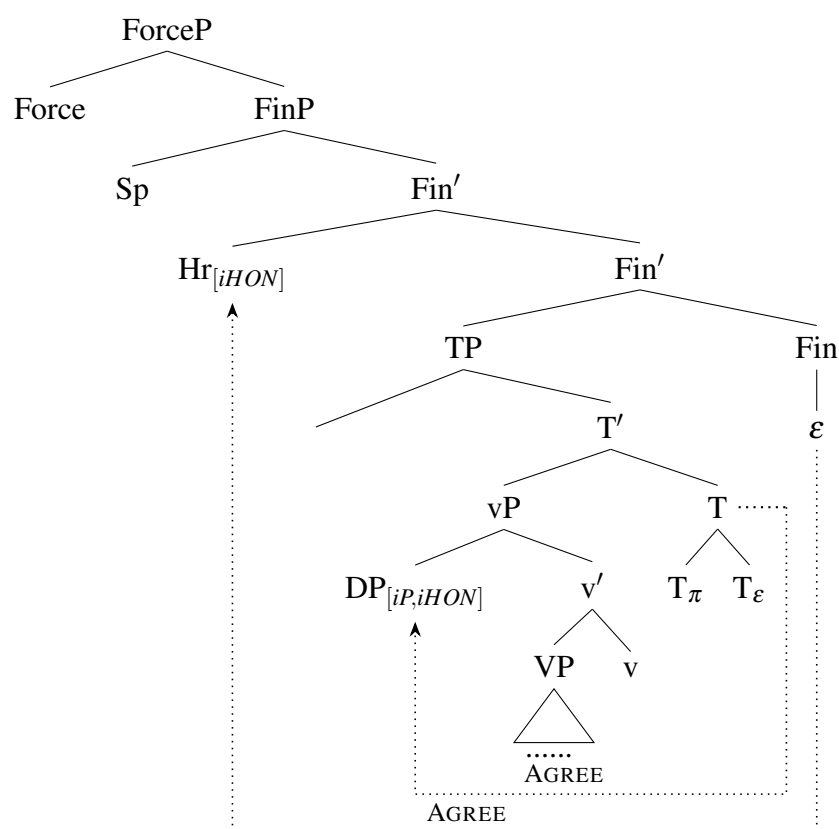
Taking a closer look at Table 3 and Table 4, we can identify the following two cases of syncretism. First, the honorificity combination of the subject and addressee are syncretic in the combination of (H)H subject and (N)H addressee. In all these four combinations, there is a single morpheme *-thu(n)* (cf. (21-h)). The morpheme is the realization of the combination of [+HON] feature of the subject and [-HIGH] feature of the addressee. The second case of syncretism is seen in the combination of (H)H subject with HH addressee which is further syncretised with the (H)H subject and 2nd person HH subject. In all these cases, there is a single morpheme *-thi(n)* (cf. (21-i)), which is a realization of the *elsewhere condition*.

3. The Proposal

I treat Magahi addressee marking as a form of agreement, on a par with subject agreement. Following Miyagawa (2012, 2017) and others, who analyze addressee marking as agreement, I assume that there is a covert but syntactically expressed representation of an addressee “Hr-DP” in the left periphery of clauses, and a functional head F in the clause agrees with it. However, I propose that the locus of Add-Adr is lower in the clause in Magahi: it happens in FinP domain (in Rizzi’s (1997) cartographic structure) rather than in speech act phrase (SAP). In this, I follow Bhadra (2018) who, in her analysis of evidentials in Bangla, proposes that there are null ‘speaker’ and ‘addressee’ co-

ordinates in every finite clause. Furthermore, I claim that the functional head that agrees with the Hr-DP is also lower in the clause. It is Fin, the head of FinP. Add-Agr takes place when Fin, with unvalued honorificity feature (ϵ), probes and agrees with Hr-DP in its specifier. When Fin does not bear the feature (ϵ), only subject agreement takes place: T with unvalued person feature (π) and unvalued honorificity feature (ϵ) probes and agrees with the subject DP.⁷ The mechanism of both subject agreement and Add-Agr is illustrated in (22).

(22)



⁷A reviewer asks how we could capture the optionality of Add-Agr in contrast with subject agreement in the current account. We can follow the idea that agreement is keyed to EPP feature (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998; Baker 2003, Biberauer and Richards 2008 a.o). Furthermore, T is unique in that it is associated with obligatory EPP feature universally, probably because of Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky 1982 et seq.), while other head can be assigned the EPP feature optionally. The head T thus has obligatory EPP feature in Magahi. So, Magahi has obligatory subject agreement. The head, Fin, on the other hand, is assigned EPP feature optionally. So, Magahi has optional Add-Agr (see Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) for different ways to satisfy the EPP feature of a head and see Baker (2003) for the analysis of optional object agreement in Kinande). The optional EPP feature has been argued to have some extra interpretation. This is true with Add-Agr in Magahi, if we compare it with subject agreement: when Add-Agr appears, as noted in section 1, in addition to encoding the honorificity of the addressee, it expresses 'solidarity' with the addressee. There is no such additional interpretation associated with subject honorific agreement.

The Magahi analysis contrasts with the previous proposals where addressee is one of the coordinates of a higher projection such as a SAP or a cP.^{8,9}

The agreement morphemes realize in the given structure as follows. In the structure, T has two sub-nodes T_{π} and T_{ε} , which host person features and honorificity features respectively and realizes separately. Besides, I propose the following two fusion rules (23) and (24) that are responsible for the fusion of the agreement morphemes in Magahi.

(23) Fuse T_{π} with T_{ε} / - T_{π} [+ADDRESSEE]

(24) Fuse T_{ε} with Fin_{ε}

These two rules do not come into competition. The rule (23) triggers fusion of person and honorificity features on T in the environment of positive value for the addressee feature. This explains the fact that person and honorificity features of the subject are realized separately in 1st person subjects (e.g., *-i-ai*) and are fused together in 2nd person subjects (e.g., *-eN*, *-a*). Since there is no person feature in the case of 3rd person subjects, (23) does not apply (or applies vacuously). The rule (24), on the other hand, triggers the fusion of honorificity features of T and Fin . However, given that Add-Agr is optional, it is applied only when Add-Agr is present. Moreover, in the presence of Add-Agr, the subject honorificity feature and Add-Agr are fused. This is clearly seen in 1st and 3rd person subjects. Given (19), Add-Agr is ruled out in 2nd person subjects. Thus, the rule (24) does not apply.

Before we move to the next section, a quick remark on the feature checking mechanism and the nature of honorific agreement in Magahi. I allow ‘ Fin ’ head to probe upward. In the recent literature, there is an interesting debate on the directionality of Agree. Three different views have been proposed: one can be called upward valuation, where the probe always C-commands the Goal (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001), the second can be called downward valuation, where the goal

⁸In Magahi, like in Hindi and some other Indo-Aryan languages, a complementizer appears to the left of the clause while other clausal heads are to the right. Thus, in the structure above, I assume, a mixed headedness where Force is head initial but other heads are head final.

⁹There could be speech act phrase (SAP), Topic and Focus phrase in the left periphery which are not mentioned explicitly in the structure for simplicity. See section 6 for the discussion on SAP.

always C-commands the probe (Wurmbrand 2012, 2014; Zeijlstra 2012); the third can be called variable valuation, where the goal can C-command or be C-commanded by the probe (Fernandez and Albizu 2000; Rezac 2003; Baker 2008; Béjar and Rezac 2009). I adopt Béjar and Rezac's (2009) view under which, a probe looks in its C-command domain (e.g. downward) first and if it does not find any suitable goal, it probes upward. The idea here is that T probes, for person and honorificity features, downward and checks its features against the subject. After this checking, the subject DP is inactive and becomes a potential intervenor to the further checking operation due to the defective intervention constraint (Chomsky 2000, 2001). When Fin probes downward, for the honorificity feature, it does not find a goal in its C-command domain; the inactive subject DP blocks Fin to probe beyond the subject. Fin then looks upward and checks its honorificity feature against the Hr-DP.¹⁰

The second remark is on the nature of honorific agreement. There is a debate in the literature on whether honorific agreement is fundamentally an agreement relation, based on work in Korean and Japanese (see Harada 1976; Bobaljik and Yatsushiro 2004; Boeckx and Niinuma 2004; Potts and Kawahara 2004; Sells and Kim 2007; Miyagawa 2012, 2017; Pak 2015). Magahi data show that it is syntactic. Consider honorific agreement with the subject. We saw above that Magahi verbs agree with the person and honorific features of the subject (with 1st and 2nd persons). The evidence for syntacticity of subject honorific agreement comes from its interaction with *case*. Like a closer language Hindi, in Magahi as well, T does not agree with the overt case marked argument. As illustrated in (25), T agrees with the nominative argument in both person and honorificity, escaping the closest C-commanding dative argument (a potential goal, but inactive for agreement

¹⁰A reviewer raises concern about the idea of defective intervention constraint, pointing out a fact from a closer language Hindi-Urdu. The reviewer points out that the case marked subject (such as dative/ergative) does not intervene for agreement between T and the unmarked object/theme and asks that given this fact how defective intervention constraint is motivated in Magahi.

It is true that the dative subjects do not intervene for agreement between T and the unmarked object/theme (Magahi is not an ergative language). However, we should note that a nominative subject does intervene for agreement between T and the unmarked object/theme. T never agrees with an object in the presence of nominative subjects. There is a fundamental difference between a dative subject and a nominative subject. The former enters in derivation with its case feature valued (being lexically marked) and thus inactive during the entire derivation. On the other hand, the latter gets its case feature valued after participating in "Agree" mechanism. I suggest that only the second type of DPs become an intervenor. Moreover, T probes first and agrees with the closest nominative argument and makes it inactive. Fin then can never find a goal in its C-command domain below T to agree with.

purpose since it bears a lexical case).

- (25) Toraa ham pasand h-i/*eN.
 You.NH-DAT I like be-1/*2NH
 ‘You like me’

Moreover, the same pattern is found with the so-called 3rd person arguments. We saw that 3rd person subjects have no person agreement, but they do exhibit honorific agreement. As shown in (26), T escapes the dative argument and agrees with the honorificity of the nominative argument.

- (26) Santee-aa-ke baabaa pasand ha-thi(n)/*ai.
 Santee-NH-DAT grandfather.H like be-H/*NH
 ‘Santee likes grandfather.’

Moreover, the fusion of Add-Agr with subject honorification and the syncretism of agreement morphemes (cf. Table 4) are strong arguments for the syntactization of Add-Agr and honorific agreement in general in Magahi.

4. Distribution of Addressee Agreement in Magahi

The current system ties Add-Agr with subject agreement and finiteness and proposes that the locus of Add-Agr is lower in the clause. This predicts the following in Magahi:

- i. Add-Agr should be possible whenever a clause is finite. In section 4.1 below, I show that this prediction is borne out.
- ii. There should not be any significant interaction between the complementizer-like heads and Add-Agr since the locus of Add-Agr is lower in the clause. I show in section 4.2 that this prediction is also borne out.
- iii. Add-Agr and subject agreement should have the same distribution because the honorificity feature on T and Fin are realized together. In section 4.3, I show that this is correct as well.

- (30) Santeeaa kahlai ki [Banteeaa bhag gel-**au**].
 Santee.NH said.NHS COMP Bantee.NH escape went-NHS.NHA
 ‘‘Santee said that Bantee ran way.’’ (said to a friend)
- (31) Santeeaa soclai ki [Banteeaa bhag ge-l-**au**].
 Santee.NH thought.NHS COMP Bantee.NH escape went-NHS.NHA
 ‘‘Santee thought that Bantee ran away.’’ (said to a friend)
- (32) Santeeaa jaan gelai ki [Banteeaa bhag ge-l-**au**].
 Santee.NH know went.NHS COMP Bantee.NH escape went-NHS.NHA
 ‘‘Santee knew that Bantee ran away.’’ (said to a friend)

Add-Agr is also possible in the complements of non-bridge verbs like ‘shout’, as in (33).

- (33) Santeeaa chilalai ki [Banteeaa bhag gel-**au**].
 Santee-NH shouted.NHS COMP Bantee.NH escape went-NHS.NHA
 ‘‘Santee shouted that Bantee ran away.’’ (said to a friend)

Add-Agr can also occur in adjunct clauses, as shown in (34-a), a temporal clause and (34-b), a purpose clause.

- (34) a. Santeeaa ailai [jab Banteeaa chal ge-l-**au**].
 Santee.NH came.NHS when Bantee.NH walk went-NHS.NHA
 ‘Santee came when Bantee left.’ (said to a friend)
- b. Santeeaa ghare ruklai [taaki Banteeaa bimaar na paDh-**au**].
 Santee.NH home stayed.NHS so-that Bantee.NH sick not fallen-NHS.NHA
 ‘Santee stayed home so that Bantee would not get sick.’ (said to a friend)

Add-Agr is also possible on different kinds of relative clauses, as in (35).

- (35) a. Je laikwaa [uhaaN khaRaa h-**au**] u hammar bhaai hai.
 REL boy there stand be-NHS.NHA DEM my brother be.NHS
 ‘The boy who is standing there is my brother.’ (said to a friend)
- b. Laikwaa [je roj kalaas aawa h-**au**] u bimaar ho gelai
 Boy.NH REL yesterday class come be-NHS.NHA DEM sick be went.NHS
 ‘The boy who comes to the class everyday has fallen sick.’ (said to a friend)

-au. We would have -o if the addressee were H and -ain if the addressee were HH.

Add-Agr is also possible on noun complement clauses, as shown in (36).

- (36) Aphawaah [ki Santeeaa inaaam jitl-**au**] sahii halai
 rumor COMP Santee prize won-NHS.NHA true be.PRF.NHS
 ‘The rumor that Santee won the prize was true’. (said to a friend)

However, as is clear from (37), Add-Agr in Magahi is impossible in non-finite contexts. Example (37) indicates that neither the infinitival verb *jaayel* ‘to go’ (37-a) nor the gerundival verb *dhekhe* ‘seeing’ (37-b) can be inflected for (addressee) agreement. Moreover, (37-c) shows that neither a DP in isolation can be inflected for Add-Agr, which contrasts with Tamil where Add-Agr can be found on non-verbal items.

- (37) a. Santiaa [jaayel-***au**] chah-l-i-au.
 Santee.NHS.NHA go.INF-NH wanted-NHS.NHA
 ‘Santee wants to go.’ (said to a friend)
- b. Ham okaraa [dhekhe-se-***au**] bachl-i-au.
 I him.DAT.NHS.NHA seeing-INST-NH avoided-1-NHS.NHA
 ‘I avoided seeing him.’ (said to a friend)
- c. I laikawaa-***au**
 this boy-NHS.NHA
 ‘this boy’ (e.g. as answer to ‘who’s next?’) (said to a friend)

The claim that the locus of Magahi Add-Agr is in (finite) FinP not only explains the fact that Add-Agr occurs in all main clauses but it also explains the fact that Add-Agr can occur in any finite embedded clause because FinP can be embedded under any predicate, unlike SAP.

It is important to highlight the following point before moving on to the next section. We saw earlier that Add-Agr is optional (in contrast to the obligatory subject agreement) in Magahi. Therefore, we obtain four possible combinations in complex sentences as far as agreement patterns in matrix and embedded clause are concerned. First, we can have only subject agreement on both matrix verb and the embedded verb, as in (38-a). Second, there can be Add-Agr on both verbs in addition to subject agreement, as in (38-b). Third, there can be Add-Agr and subject agreement on the matrix verb but only subject agreement on the embedded verb, as in (38-c), and fourth Add-

Agr can be on the embedded verb along with subject agreement but only subject agreement on the matrix verb, as in (38-d).

- (38) a. Santee-aa kah-l-**ai** ki [Bantee-aa bhag ge-l-**ai**].
Santee-NH say-PRF-NHS COMP Bantee-NH escape go-PRF-NHS
“Santee said that Bantee ran away.” (said to a friend)
- b. Santee-aa kah-l-**au** ki [Bantee-aa bhag ge-l-**au**].
Santee-NH say-PRF-NHS.NHA COMP Bantee-NH escape go-PRF-NHS.NHA
“Santee said that Bantee ran away.” (said to a friend)
- c. Santee-aa kah-l-**au** ki [Bantee-aa bhag ge-l-**ai**].
Santee-NH say-PRF-NHS.NHA COMP Bantee-NH escape go-PRF-NHS
“Santee said that Bantee ran away.” (said to a friend)
- d. Santee-aa kah-l-**ai** ki [Bantee-aa bhag ge-l-**au**].
Santee-NH say-PRF-NHS COMP Bantee-NH escape go-PRF-NHS.NHA
‘Santee said that Bantee ran away’ (said to a friend)

In the next subsection, I show that Add-Agr is possible in the presence of different kinds of C-like elements.

4.2 No Interaction between Addressee Agreement and C-like Elements

Magahi differs significantly from the existing analysis of standard Basque, where interaction between complementizer and Add-Agr has been noted (Oyharçabal 1993). In Basque, Add-Agr is found only in matrix declarative sentences, not in matrix questions or embedded clauses. Oyharçabal (1993) and Miyagawa (2012, 2017) argue that this is because Add-Agr crucially involves the complementizer head C, and the lexically filled C and C with the +WH feature cannot host the relevant addressee feature. As we can see from the above examples (30)–(36), Add-agr is possible in the presence of higher C-like elements such as complementizer *ki*¹⁴ (cf. (30)–(33)), a purpose clause marker *taaki* (cf. (34-b)), a wh-adverbial *jab*, (cf. (34-a)), and a relative operator *je*, (cf. (35)). Now

¹⁴On a reviewer’s suggestion, I should note that there is no prior work on *ki* in Magahi. In this paper, I assume it as a complementizer since it introduces complement clauses in the above examples. However, a neighboring language, Hindi, has the same clause marker *ki* where there is a debate whether *ki* is a canonical C head. Many scholars analyze *ki* as a complementizer (Mahajan 1987, 1990, 2000; Lahiri 2002; Davison 2007), but some analyze it as a clause-linker (Dayal 1996, 2000; Manetta 2011) and some analyze it as a conjunction (McGreor 1997, Dwivedi 1994). Similar issue probably arises in Magahi.

consider (39), which is an example of Add-Agr in an embedded polar question. There are two overt C-like elements here: the complementizer *ki*, and the polar question particle *kaa*. Add-Agr is possible in the presence of these elements.

- (39) Ram puchh-l-ai **ki** Santee-aa jai-t-au **kaa?**
 Ram ask-PRF-NHS COMP Santee-NH go-FUT-NHS.NHA what
 ‘Ram asked if Santee will go.’

The fact that there is no significant interaction between Add-Agr and C-like heads in Magahi is predicted by the current proposal because the probe involved in Magahi Add-Agr is relatively low in the structure.

4.3 *Closeness of Addressee Agreement and Subject Agreement*

In this subsection, I show that Add-Agr and Subject agreement are closely related in their distribution. The first piece of evidence substantiating the closeness of subject agreement and Add-Agr comes from the fact that subject agreement and Add-Agr are shown only on finite verbs in Magahi (cf. (37), in section 4.1). This contrasts with Tamil where Add-Agr is possible on DPs. Second, we have seen that subject honorification and Add-Agr is spelled out as a single morpheme. This closeness between subject agreement and Add-Agr predicts that Add-Agr should have a similar distribution as subject agreement in Magahi. In constructions where both the participle and auxiliary are present in Magahi, agreement sometimes shows up on the auxiliary and sometimes on the other verb (although never on both). Regardless of this variation, whichever verb bears the subject agreement, also bears the Add-Agr. They are never split across the two verbs. For example, in case of progressive aspect, as shown in (40), both kinds of agreement are on the auxiliary.

- (40) a. Ham kitaab paRit h-i-**au**.
 I book read.PROG be-PRES-1-NHS.NHA
 ‘I am reading a book.’ (said to a friend)
- b. Ham kitaab paR-it-***au** ha.
 I book read-PROG-1-NHS.NHA be-PRES
 ‘Int: I am reading a book’ (said to a friend)

However, in past perfective the agreement can appear on either verb: on the main verb, as in (41-a), or, on the auxiliary, as in (41-b).

- (41) a. Ham ge-l-i-**au** hal.
 I go-PRF-1-NHS.NHA be.PST
 ‘I had gone.’ (said to a friend)
- b. Ham ge-l ha-l-i-**au**.
 I go-PRF be.PST-1-NHS.NHA
 ‘I had gone.’ (said to a friend)

However, it is crucial that both agreements always appear together. Thus, the possibility of split agreement with subject agreement on the main verb and Add-Agr on the auxiliary or vice versa is impossible, as in (42). Example (43) shows that the agreement also cannot be duplicated i.e. it cannot be seen on both the verbs.¹⁵

- (42) a. *Ham ge-l-i ha-l-**au**.
 I go-PRF-1s be.PST-NHS.NHA
- b. *Ham ge-l-**au** ha-l-i
 I go-PST-NHS.NHA be.PST-1
- (43) *Ham ge-l-i-**au** ha-l-i-**au**.
 I go-PRF-1-NHS.NHA be.PST-1-NHS.NHA

Wrapping-up this section, I have demonstrated that Magahi has a wider distribution of Add-Agr in embedded contexts than previously thought, including all sorts of finite embedded contexts: complement clauses, adjunct clauses, relative clauses, noun complement clauses and so on. Most importantly, many of these embedded contexts where Add-Agr is found in Magahi do not permit embedded root phenomena cross-linguistically. Further, I have shown that Add-Agr is possible in the presence of different kinds of C-like heads or operators in the CP domain; as we have seen, it is at least possible with a complementizer-like element *ki*, the polar Q-particle *kaa*, the purpose clause marker *taaki*, and relative operators such as *jab* and *je*. The claim that the goal (Hr-DP) and

¹⁵The noted distribution is interesting. However, I leave a theoretical explanation of this phenomenon for future research.

the probe (Fin) that are involved in Magahi Add-Agr are relatively low in the structure explains the facts observed above, straightforwardly.

5. Previous Analysis of Magahi Agreement

Verma (1991) claims that Magahi also shows agreement with object NPs.¹⁶ The following quote represents Verma's claim about object agreement.

“...the elaborate agreement system comes into play because it is not just the question of a single additional object marker in the verb, but differentiated markings for different kinds of object. The object is marked one way in the verb if it is second person but another way if it is third person.” (Verma 1991:132)

To support his claim, Verma discusses examples such as those given in (44) (his glosses). He analyzes (44-a) as a regular subject-verb agreement while analyzing the rest of (44) as having a subject and object agreement simultaneously: *-i* is the first person morpheme, *-ai* is the 3rd person NH object marking, *-ain* is the 3rd person H object marking, *-au* is the 2nd person NH object marking and *-o* is the 2nd person H object morpheme.

- | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (44) | a. | ham dekh-l-i. | ‘I saw’- neutral object |
| | b. | ham okraa dekha-l-i-ai | ‘I saw’-3P object, -Hon |
| | c. | ham unkaa dekha-l-i-ain | ‘I saw’-3P object, +Hon |
| | d. | ham toraa dekh-l-i-au | ‘I saw’-2P object, -Hon |
| | e. | ham toraa dekh-l-i-o | ‘I saw’-2P object, +Hon |

However, Verma himself realizes that the morphemes *-o* and *-au*, in (44-d) and (44-e) can appear even if there is no 2nd person object in a sentence (see his discussion around examples (26)-(28) in his paper) and reanalyzes *-o* and *-au* as addressee markers rather than 2nd person object markers. I have also analyzed *-o* and *-au* as addressee markers. Consider example (45) and (46). In (45), the

¹⁶Verma claims that Magahi shows agreement with direct objects as well as with indirect objects and possessor NPs. My discussion here is centered on direct objects, but the argument can be extended to indirect objects and possessor NPs as well.

verb is intransitive. Thus, there is no object argument to agree with. However, the morphemes *-o* and *-au* can still be used. Example (46), on the other hand, has objects but these objects are not in 2nd person but in 3rd person. However, the morphemes *-o* and *-au* are still used. What matters for *-au* and *-o* here is the honorificity of the addressee. Examples (45-a) and (46-a) are uttered to an H addressee while (45-b) and (46-b) are spoken to a NH addressee.

- (45) a. Ham ai-l-i-o
 I come-PRF-1-NHS.HA
 'I came' (to a H addressee but *NH/ *HH addressee)
- b. Ham ai-l-i-au
 I come-PRF-1-NHS.NHA
 'I came' (to a NH addressee but *H/*HH addressee)
- (46) a. Ham okraa dekh-l-i-o.
 I him.NH see-PRF-1-NHS.HA
 'I saw him' (to a H addressee but *NH/*HH addressee)
- b. Ham unkaa dekh-l-i-au.
 I him.H/HH see-PRF-1-NHS.NHA
 I saw him' (to a NH addressee but *H/*HH addressee)

Verma, however, maintains that in (44-b) and (44-c) the morphemes *-ai*, and *-ain* mark 3rd person NH and H objects, respectively. In fact, *-ai* is associated with the 1st person subject in (44-b) and *-ain* indicates that the addressee of (44-c) is HH.

Three pieces of evidence supports my claims. First, if the morphemes *-ai* and *-ain* in (44-b) and (44-c) mark a 3rd person object, then changing the subject, for example, to 2nd person should not affect the presence of these morphemes. However, this does not happen, as shown in (47). Both *-i* and *-ai* in (44-b) and *-ain* in (44-c) are replaced with the 2nd person marker *-eN* (*-eN* because the referent of 2nd person is NH; if the referents would be H or HH, then morphemes would be *-a* and *-thin*, respectively). Moreover, as shown, *-ai* and *-ain* are ungrammatical in these contexts even when the 3rd person objects are present.

- (47) a. Tu okraa dekha-l-eN/(*ai)
 you.NH him.NH see-PRF-2.NHS
 'You (a friend) saw him.'

- b. Tu unkaa dekha-l-eN/(*ain)
 you.NH him.H/HH see-PRF-2.NHS
 ‘You (a friend) saw him.’

Second, if *-ai* is a 3rd person NH object marker and *-ain* is a 3rd person H object marker, then using *-ai* with the H 3rd person object and *-ain* with the NH 3rd person object should make the sentences ungrammatical, contrary to fact. As shown in (48), *-ai* is grammatical with the 3rd person H object *unkaa* ‘him-H’ and *-ain* is grammatical with the 3rd person NH object *okraa* ‘him-NH’. This distribution of *-ai* and *-ain* is not accounted for in Verma’s analysis. Moreover, this distribution is possible because (48-a) and (48-b) are not instances of an object agreement but subject agreement and Add-Agr simultaneously.

- (48) a. Ham unkaa dekha-l-i-ai.
 I him.H see-PRF-1-NHS
 ‘I saw him.’ (to anybody)
- b. Ham okraa dekha-l-i-ain.
 I him.NH see-PRF-1.NHA
 ‘I saw him.’ (to HH addressee but *NH/*H addressee)

The third piece of evidence comes from their occurrences on intransitive verbs, as in (49). These examples should be impossible if *-ai* and *-ain* are 3rd person object markers.

- (49) a. Ham dauR-l-i-ai
 I run-PRF-1.NHS
 ‘I ran.’ (to anybody)
- b. Ham dauR-l-i-ain
 I run-PRF-1.NHA
 ‘I ran.’ (to HH addressee but *NH/*H addressee)

Based on the above discussion, I conclude that *-ai* and *-ain* are not object agreement markers. Rather, the morpheme *i-ai* is associated with NH subject while the morpheme *-ain* is associated with HH addressee. This analysis can be easily extended to show that there is no indirect object agreement or possessor agreement in Magahi, contrary to Verma’s (1991) claim. The confusion

came from the fact that (a) the NH subject marking is analyzed as a 3rd person NH object marking and (b) the HH Add-Agr is analyzed as a 3rd person honorific object marking.

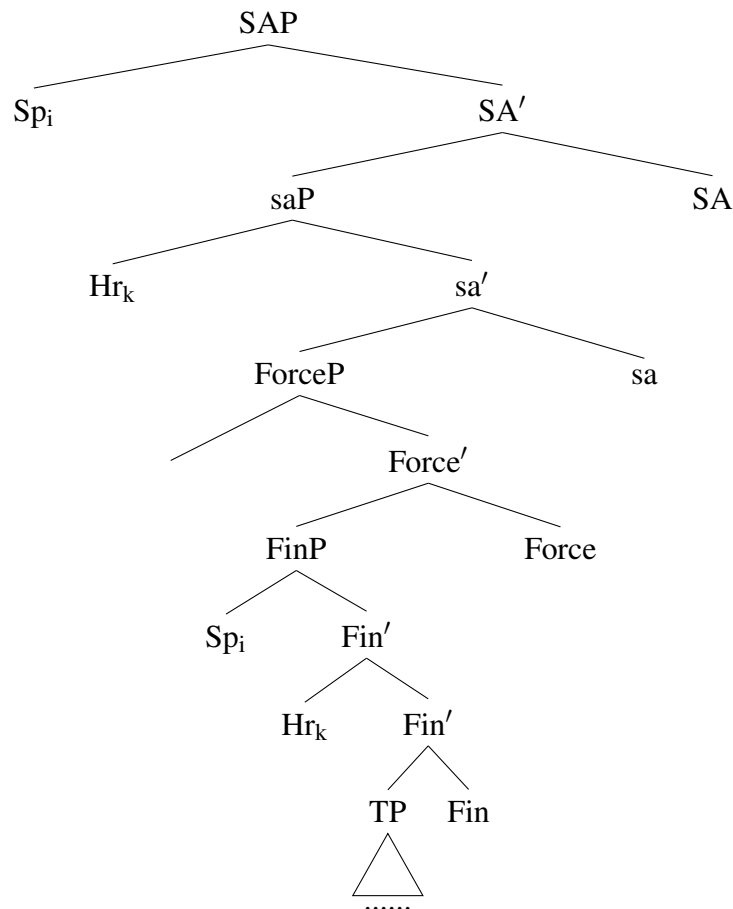
6. Cross-linguistic Considerations

In this section, I discuss my analysis of Magahi Add-Agr in light of the following well-studied languages: Basque, Japanese, Korean, and Tamil. It has been proposed in the addressee marking literature that there is a syntactic representation of an addressee in SAP domain (Miyagawa 2012, 2017; McFadden 2017; for Portner et al. 2019, its cP). I, on the other hand, argue that the Hr-DP, the goal of Add-Agr, is quite low in the CP domain, roughly in FinP in Rizzi's cartographic approach.

A valid question to ask is 'where is the addressee encoded in the structure?' Is it in FinP as I have argued for Magahi or is it in SAP as have been argued for Japanese and Tamil? Assuming that the addressee can be encoded in one place in one language and in another place in other languages sounds like an odd parameter given the fact that the addressee has the same semantic function across languages. A more natural parameter seems to say that Hr-DP is present in the same place in every language. So, if Hr-DP is in the same place in all languages, then where is it?

Speas and Tenny (2003) claim that every utterance is a speech act. They propose a speech act phrase (SAP) in root clauses that hosts discourse participants in syntax. There are null DPs corresponding to 'speaker' and 'addressee' (and also 'seat of knowledge', which is not relevant to us here) in the SAP domain. Since then much research has been done in support of this idea. Some of this research has adopted Speas and Tenny's structure directly to represent the discourse participants in the Syntax while others have suggested some revisions to it (see Haegeman and Hill 2011, Miyagawa 2012, 2017). However, all of them agree that there are covert DPs corresponding to the speaker and addressee in the SA domain. I also agree with this view. However, as I have shown in Magahi, Add-Agr is found in all finite embedded clauses. If we posit SAP in every embedded clause to explain Magahi Add-Agr, then we cannot maintain the idea that only root/main clauses denote some kind of speech act. This leads to the proposal put forth in this paper. I thus propose that there are Sp and Hr-DPs in both SAP and FinP. This is illustrated in (50).

(50)



The representation of speaker and addressee in SAP and FinP has a different motivation. Unlike the former case where these null DP coordinates are present in the left periphery of any utterance by virtue of that utterance being a speech act of one sort or another, in the latter case, they are related to finiteness. Thus, the Sp and Hr coordinates of FinP are present only in finite clauses. Moreover, the structure in (50) illustrates a root clause structure where both SAP and FinP are present. In the embedded contexts, on the other hand, only FinP would be available. For root clauses where both SAP and FinP are present, in a default configuration, such as regular assertion, the Sp and Hr-DPs of SAP and the Sp and Hr-DPs of FinP would have the same referents. i.e. they would be co-indexed, as shown in (50). Because Sp and Hr-DPs of Fin co-indexed with the Sp and Hr-DPs of SAP, the Hr-DP would scope over the Force head. In other words, it will have an entire sentence in its scope. However, we could, in principle, find a phenomenon where they could

be contra-indexed, i.e. they cannot be the same (see the discussion on Bhadra's 2018 analysis of evidentiality below). In this paper, I limit myself to the default configuration and leave the latter possibility for future work (see footnote 17, which sheds some light on the complexity related to this issue in light of Magahi Add-Agr).

Independent evidence in support of two instances of the speaker and addressee comes from Bhadra (2018). She proposes that, in addition to the SAP domain, there are also null DP coordinates corresponding to 'speaker' and 'addressee' in every finite clause. Bhadra argues that the distinction between speech act coordinates and finite clause coordinates helps us to make crucial distinctions in evidential paradigms. Consider her two English examples in the scenario in which John is talking to Mary about the party that he attended yesterday for some time. Example (51-a) is a regular assertion while (51-b) is an assertion with a reportative evidential. In the former case, which is a default configuration, the Sp and Hr-DPs of SAP and finite clause have the same referents, Sa = John and Hr = Mary, i.e. they are coindexed, as shown below in the representation (52-a). In the case of reportative evidential (51-b), they would be conindexing, i.e. they cannot be the same. John and Mary would be the Sp and Hr-DPs of SAP respectively while the Sp DP of finite clause would be a third party (it cannot be John himself) and the Hr-DP would be John (he heard it directly, or he overheard it), as in (52-b).¹⁷

- (51) a. Ram sang at the party yesterday.
b. Ram reportedly sang at the party yesterday.

¹⁷This opens an interesting new area to study the interaction of evidentiality and Add-Agr that would be relevant for understanding the mechanics of both. Do we have a one to one correlation between evidentiality and Add-Agr, i.e. when we have an assertion with a reportative evidential must we have Add-Agr with the Fin Hr-DP or can we have a mismatch between evidentiality and Add-Agr i.e. agreement with the speech act Hr-DP is possible even if the sentence include a reportative evidential? If former is the case, then the addressee marking with a reportative evidential, as in (51-b), should reflect the honorific relation between the speaker and addressee of the finite clause while in the latter case we can also have agreement with the Hr-DP. Unfortunately, in Magahi, we do not have evidential adverbs or particles such as "reportedly"/"naki" as in English and Bangla. Evidentiality is expressed in a periphrastic way such as using a bi-clausal structure where other factors might play role. I leave this issue for future work. It will be a fascinating project to do an in-depth study of this issue which I will take up in the future research.

- (52) a. [_{SAP} Sp_i Hr_k SA [_{ForceP} [_{FinP} Sp_i Hr_k Fin [_{TP} Ram sang at the party yesterday]
- SAP: Sp = John, Hr = Mary
- FinP: Sp = John, Hr = Mary
- b. [_{SAP} Sp_i Hr_k SA [_{ForceP} [_{FinP} Sp_{j,*i/k} Hr_{i,*k} Fin [_{TP} Ram sang at the party yesterday]
- SAP: Sp = John, Hr = Mary
- FinP: Sp = reporter = a third party, Hr = John

Further, Bhadra (2018), Alok and Baker (2018) and Baker and Alok (2019) argue that the presence of Sp and Hr coordinates in every finite clause provides a principled explanation of the fact that indexical shift only occurs in finite clauses (Deal 2017; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014; Anand and Nevins 2004). Indexical shift refers to a phenomenon in which indexicals such as 1st and 2nd person pronouns obtain their reference not from the utterance context but from the reported context. Following Baker (2008), they argue that indexicals such as 1st and 2nd person pronouns acquire their features when they are bound syntactically by the Sp and Hr-DPs at the periphery of the clause (Baker 2008). Indexical shift takes place, when the embedded Sp and Hr that bind the indexicals are controlled by designated arguments of the matrix predicate. We do not see indexical shift in non-finite clauses because Sp and Hr DPs are absent in such clauses. Alok and Baker (2018) show some interesting correlations between indexical shift and Add-Agr in Magahi. One of their arguments is presented here. Consider (53). Example (53-a) is spoken to a professor, a high honored (HH) person. However, in the embedded clause, the NH form of 2nd person *tora* is used, which refers to the matrix goal argument, Bantee, indicating that indexical shift has happened. Note that the NH Add-Agr morpheme *-au* is acceptable on the embedded verb, not the HH marker *-ain*. If the 2nd person were meant to refer to the professor, its non-shifted meaning, the formal form *apne* would have been used and *-ain* would be acceptable on the embedded verb, as in (53-b).

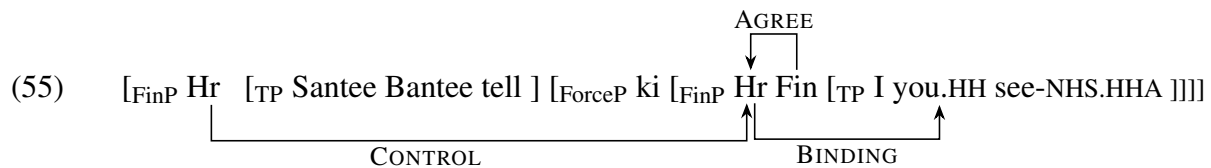
- (53) a. Santeeaa Banteeaa-ke kahl-ai ki ham toraa dekhli-au/*ain.
 Santee.NH BanteeNH-DAT told-NHS COMP I you-ACC saw.1-NHS.NHA
 ‘Santeei told Banteej that hei saw himj (said to a professor)

- b. Santeeaa Banteeaa-ke kahl-ai ki ham apne-ke dekhli-ain/*au.
 Santee.NH BanteeNH-DAT told-NHS COMP I you.HH-ACC saw.1-NHS.HHA
 Santee told Bantee that I saw you. (said to a professor)

Alok and Baker (2018) and Baker and Alok (2019) explain this interdependency in the following way. The embedded 2nd person pronoun gets its interpretation by being syntactically bound to the Hr-DP of the embedded Fin. Indexical shift takes place when this embedded Hr is controlled by the matrix goal argument. Because the goal argument controls the embedded Hr, they have the same features. Moreover, the same Hr also undergoes Add-Agr. Because the same Hr is involved in both indexical shift and Add-Agr, both phenomena go together and the embedded 2nd person pronoun and Add-Agr end up having the same feature of the matrix goal argument. This is schematized in (54), which represents (53-a).



When the embedded Hr is controlled by the Hr-DP of the matrix Fin, the embedded 2nd person gets the non-shifting reading and Add-Agr reflects the feature of utterance addressee. This is schematized in (55), which represents (53-b).



I follow Alok and Baker's (2018) view that the matrix Sp and Hr-DPs always denote the speaker and addressee of the utterance context. However, the embedded Sp and Hr-DPs can denote either the speaker and addressee of the utterance context or the speaker and addressee of the reported context depending on with which higher elements they enter into the control relationship. If the embedded Sp and Hr-DPs are controlled by the arguments of the matrix verb, they denote the speaker and addressee of the reported context. In this case, the result is shifted indexical and Add-

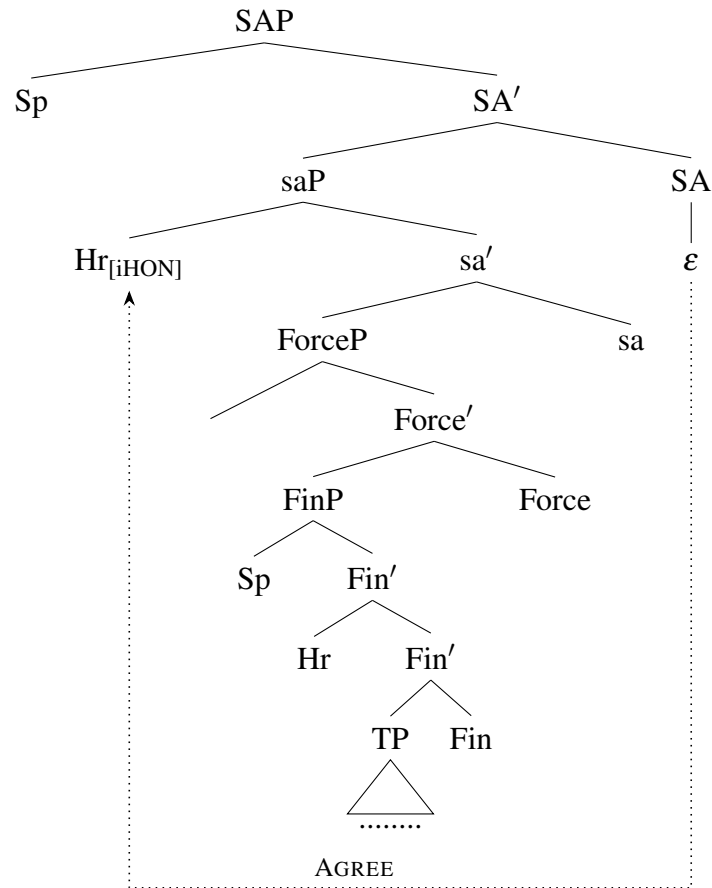
Agr. If the embedded Sp and Hr-DPs are controlled by the matrix Sp and Hr-DPs, they denote the actual speaker and addressee. In this case, the result is non-shifted indexical and Add-Agr.¹⁸

Going back to the structure proposed in (50) above, if all languages have the same structure, what is then the source of the cross-linguistic differences observed? I argue that the cross-linguistic differences depend on what head bears the relevant unvalued feature to agree with the Hr-DP in a given language. Consider Magahi first. Add-Agr is found in every finite clause regardless of whether they are matrix or embedded. This is captured by proposing that the uninterpretable honorificity feature (ϵ) is on Fin which is checked against the Hr-DP of its specifier. Thus, in Magahi, the presence or absence of SAP does not affect Add-Agr. In contrast, Add-Agr is limited to root clauses in Japanese (Miyagawa 2012, 2017) and Korean (Portner et al 2019). I argue that the agreeing probe (with ϵ feature) is the SA head in these languages. Add-Agr is the result of SA probing and agreeing with the Hr-DP in the SAP domain. This is schematized in (56).¹⁹ Since the SAP is only found in root clauses, Add-Agr is found only in root clauses in these languages.

¹⁸A reviewer asks how we could capture a shift-together constraint in a series of embedded clauses (Anand and Nevins 2004). I assume a kind of relativized minimality at play, in which a relationship between two elements cannot be established over another element of the same type (Rizzi 1990). That is, when the Sp and Hr-DPs of the intermediate clause are controlled by the arguments of the superordinate verb, the Sp and Hr-DPs of the lowest clause cannot be controlled by the Sp and Hr-DPs of the highest clause.

¹⁹This is slightly different from Miyagawa (2012, 2017) who suggested that the features are borne on C and moves to SA head.

(56)



Magahi, Japanese and Korean then show that Add-Agr can be a result of different probes probing for the different Hr-DP in the different domain; the SA agrees with the Hr-DP of SAP in Japanese and Fin locally agrees with the Hr-DP of FinP in Magahi. In fact, the appearance of addressee marking in two places in Tamil reveals that an individual language can have more than one functional category as a probe that participates in Add-Agr. McFadden (2017) shows that the addressee marking can appear either before or after the complementizer and can be doubled in Tamil, appearing simultaneously in both positions, as in (57) (from McFadden 2017).

- (57) a. Appaḍi-ŋgæ[-aa-ŋgæ?
 like.that-ALLOC-Q-ALLOC
 ‘Oh really?’
- b. Niŋgæ saapt[-aaččü-ŋgæ[-aa-ŋgæ?
 you.PL eat-RES-ALLOC-Q-ALLOC

‘Have you eaten?’

- c. Onga[-ukkũ coffee veṇum-ṅgæ[-aa-ṅgæ?
you.PL-DAT coffee want-ALLOC-Q-ALLOC
‘Would you like coffee?’

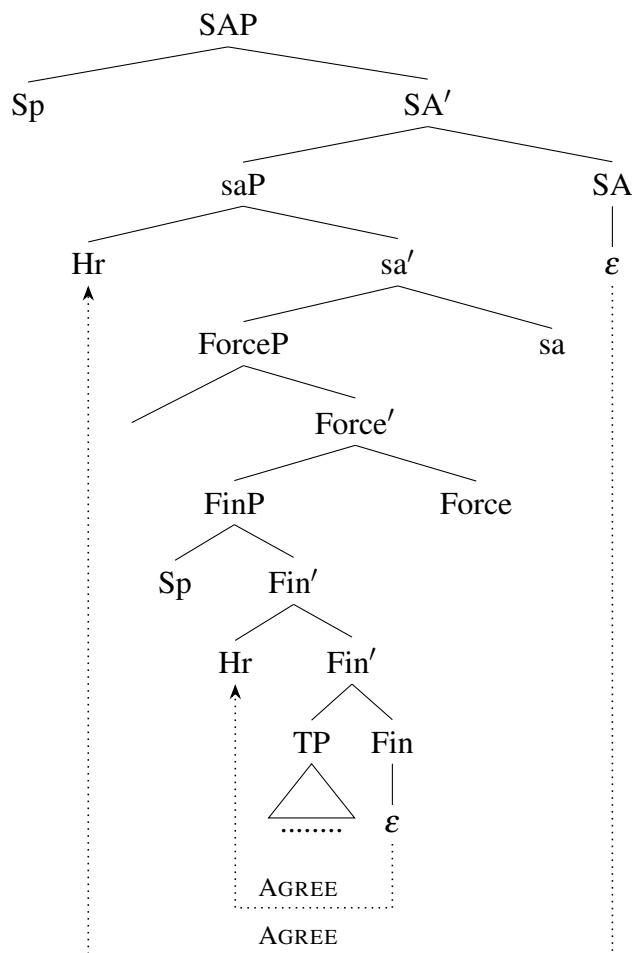
(McFadden 2017:20, ex-25)

McFadden suggests that there might be two heads in Tamil that are involved in Add-Agr, one that is higher than C, and one that is lower than C (see [McFadden 2017](#) for details). I suggest that the former is SA (with the ϵ feature), as did McFadden, and the latter is Fin (with ϵ feature).²⁰ This is schematized in (58); the SA locally agrees with the Hr-DP of SAP and Fin locally agrees with the Hr-DP of FinP.²¹ It is crucial to know that McFadden argues that there are two probes in Tamil but only one goal, in the SAP domain. Analyzing the appearance of double addressee marking, he suggests that the lower head agrees with the Hr-DP in SAP.

²⁰However, in Tamil, Add-Agr is not widely found in complement clauses as it is found in Magahi. Tamil only allows Add-Agr on the complement clause of attitude predicates. I assume that Fin can only bear the relevant features under the attitude predicates in Tamil.

²¹A reviewer asks about the agreement mechanism involved. How is it that Fin agrees upward with the Hr in its local domain, while the SA seems to agree downward? As mentioned in section 3, I adopt Béjar and Rezac’s (2009) view under which, a probe first looks in its C-command domain (e.g. downward) first and if it does not find any suitable goal it probes upward. So, Fin agrees upward because it cannot agree downward with any goal due to the inactive subject. Since the subject is already agreed with T, it prohibits Fin to agree downward due to defective intervention constraint (Chomsky 2000, 2001). The SA head, on the other hand, can agree downward with the local Hr-DP for the lack of defective intervention constraint.

(58)

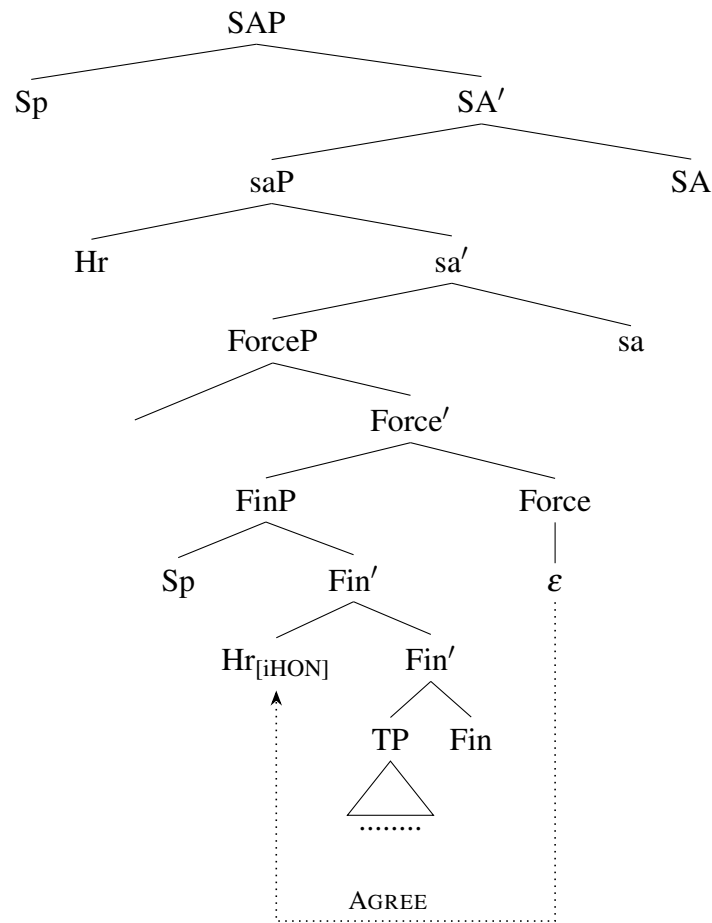


Let us now consider Basque. As we know from Oyharçabal (1993), the main dialect of Basque allows Add-Agr in only matrix declarative clauses. I follow Miyagawa for whom Force (‘C’ in his term) is probe in Basque. However, the feature ϵ are only borne on empty Force. In other words, Force is a probe in Basque if it does not bear any other feature such as [+wh] and is not occupied by a lexical item such as a complementizer which is invariant, i.e. has no unvalued phi-features.²² Thus, Force – which is lexically filled by a complementizer or a *wh* element or by its trace – does not bear any other feature and is unable to participate in Add-Agr. As a result, there is no Add-

²²This assumes that Force can only bear one set of features at a time in Basque. Miyagawa gives one piece of evidence in support of this assumption. He mentions that Japanese allows C-recursion, but Basque does not. In Japanese, for example, a complementizer and a question particle can co-occur: *to-ka* ‘C-Q’. This is impossible in Basque (see footnote 10 in Miyagawa 2013). This supports the idea that Force can bear multiple features in Japanese, but only one set of features at a time in Basque.

Agr in interrogative clauses. There is also no Add-Agr in embedded contexts in Basque because embedded Force is always lexical in Basque. The Basque Add-Agr mechanism is schematized in (59). Add-Agr is the result of Force (with ϵ feature) agreeing with the Hr-DP in FinP domain.²³

(59)



To summarize, the system presented here is flexible regarding what category could be a probe. It appears that this degree of flexibility is necessary to account for the differences that we see in Add-Agr within and across languages. The theoretical implication of the current study is that addressee

²³One can express the following concern - What blocks 'Force' from agreeing with the Sp-DP which is structurally higher than the Hr-DP? I argue that Force probes for honorificity feature. Thus, it would not be able to see Sp-DP. I thank a reviewer for suggesting this to me. The reason that a probe with uninterpretable honorificity feature (ϵ) can agree with the Hr-DP but not the Sp-DP is that the former bear semantic honorificity feature, like 2nd person pronouns do, but Sp-DP presumably does not, for the same reason that a 1st person pronoun does not: one does not honor oneself. However, Basque is different from the above mentioned languages in the sense that when 'Force' agrees with the Hr-DP, it also copies other phi-features. Thus, Add-Agr in Basque also encodes number, person and gender features.

is present in finite clauses in all languages, both where Add-Agr is widely distributed like Magahi, and where Add-Agr is more restricted such as Basque, Japanese, and Tamil and even in languages where there is no Add-Agr at all. The cross-linguistic differences come from which languages allow or do not allow a certain category to probe.

7. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have examined Magahi Add-Agr. I demonstrated that Magahi finite verbs can manifest the honorificity feature of the addressee in addition to the person and honorificity feature of the subject. Moreover, Add-Agr and subject honorificity are realized as a single agreement morpheme. I have also shown that Magahi Add-Agr differs from other extremely studied languages such as Basque, Japanese, Korean and Tamil in that it is found in all finite clauses: declaratives, questions, imperatives, and exclamatives and embedded clauses such as complement clauses, adjunct clauses, relative clauses, and noun complement clauses. I have argued that the syntactically expressed covert DP-Hr, which can be the goal of an Agree operation is in FinP (in Rizzi's 1997 cartographic structure) rather than in SAP in Magahi. I have also claimed that the functional head associated with Magahi Add-Agr is also lower in the clause; locate at the 'Fin' head just above T.

This study has advanced our understanding of the grammatical representation of addressee and the nature of the functional head that is involved in Add-Agr phenomenon. A theoretical implication of the proposed analysis is that the addressee is present in every finite clause. Cross-linguistic differences depend on the category of the probe in any given language.

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