Allocutivity in Indo-Aryan languages: On the relationship between addressee-oriented agreement marking and politeness

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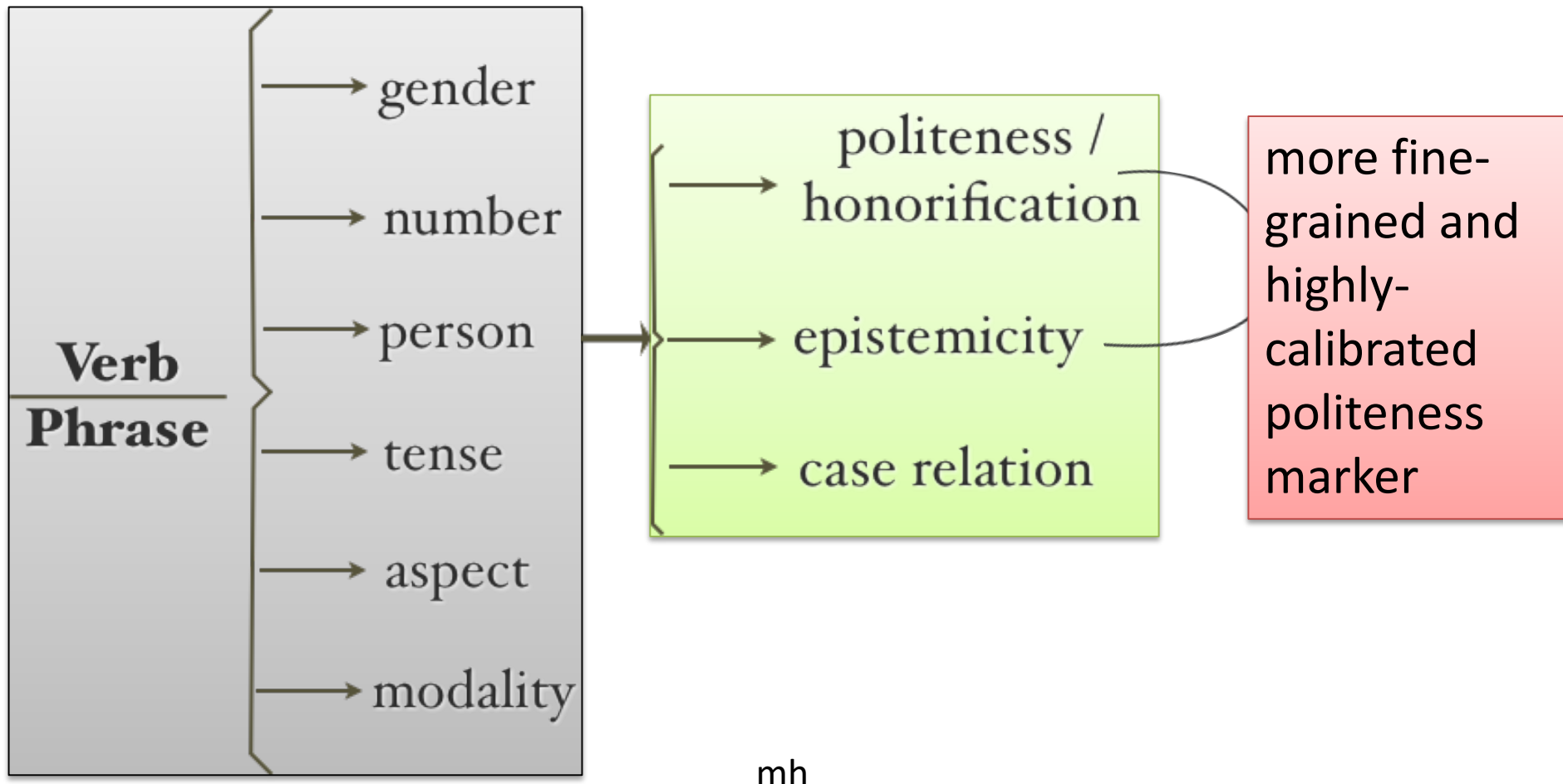
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Acknowledgments

Examples of politeness strategies

- She is afraid of spiders.
- I'm afraid (= I think probably) she's not coming back.
- She's not coming back, I'm afraid (=probably).

Indo-Aryan language: verbal morphology

mh

Pronominal System

	Bajjika	Maithili	Hindi
1	ham	ham	mai / hamlog
2HH	apne	apne	āp / āplog
2MH	rauā	ahã	āp / āplog
2H	tu	tũ	
2NH	tu	tõ	tum / tumlog
3H proximate	hin	i	ye / ye-log
3H remote	hun	o	ve / ve-log
3NH proximate (DEM)	i	i	yah
3NH remote (DEM)	u	o	vah

Hierarchy in the 2nd person : 2HH > 2MH > 2H > 2NH

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Single, double, triple agreement regions

Verb-agreement paradigm in Odia

No gender distinction

TABLE 11.4: VERBAL AGREEMENT INFLECTIONS FOR FUTURE TENSE

Person	Number	Honorificity	Hearer inclusive–exclusive	Agreement inflection
1P	SG	–	–	-i
1P	PL	–	INCL	-a
1P	PL	–	EXCL	-u
2P	SG	NON-HON	–	-u
2P	SG	MID-HON	–	-ɔ
2P	SG	HON`	–	-e
2P	PL	NON-HON	–	-ɔ
2P	PL	MID-HON	–	-ɔ
2P	PL	HON	–	-e
3P	SG	NON-HON	–	-ɔ
3P	SG	HON	–	-e
3P	PL	NON-HON	–	-e
3P	PL	HON	–	-e

Source: Ray, 2003: 461

Copula forms of Odia

	Past		Present		Future	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	*thi*-**l**-i	*thi*-**l**-u	**a*T***-e ~ ***ach***-i	**a*T***-u ~ ***ach***-u	*thi*-**b**-i ~ *he*-**b**-i	*thi*-**b**-u ~ *he*-**b**-u
2NH	*thi*-**l**-u	*thi*-**l**-a	**a*T***-u ~ ***ach***-u	**a*T***-a ~ ***ach***-a	*thi*-**b**-u ~ *he*-**b**-u	*thi*-**b**-a ~ *he*-**b**-a
2H	*thi*-**l**-a		**a*T***-a ~ ***ach***-a		*thi*-**b**-a ~ *he*-**b**-a	
3NH	*thi*-**l**-ā	*thi*-**l**-e	**a*T***-e ~ ***ach***-i	**a*T***-anti ~ ***ach***-anti	*thi*-**b**-a ~ *he*-**b**-a	*thi*-**b**-e ~ *he*-**b**-e
2HH	*thi*-**l**-e		**a*T***-anti ~ ***ach***-anti		*thi*-**b**-e ~ *he*-**b**-e	
3H						

Copula forms of Hindi

	Past			Present			Future			
	SG		PL	SG		PL	SG		PL	
	M	F	M/F	M	F	M/F	M	F	M	F
1	*th*-ā	*th*-ī	*th*-e	*h*-ũ		*h*-aĩ	*ho*-uŋ-**g**-ā	*ho*-uŋ-**g**-ī	*ho*-(e)ŋ-**g**-e	
3NH				*h*-ai			*ho*-**g**-ā	*ho*-**g**-ī	*ho*-ŋ-**g**-e	
2NH	*th*-e			*h*-o			*ho*-**g**-e			
2H		*th*-ĩ		*h*-aĩ			*ho*-ŋ-**g**-e	*ho*-ŋ-**g**-ĩ	*ho*-ŋ-**g**-e	*ho*-ŋ-**g**-ĩ
3H										

Note: The copulas are italicized, and the tense suffixes are in bold font. The final suffixes are agreement markers that encode reference to person, number, gender, and honorificity level.

Table 1. *Inflectional template for single and double verb agreement*

Nominative		no NN[b]	1	2h	3nh prox	3nh rem	3h/hh prox	3h/hh rem	3h/hh foc prox	3h/hh foc rem	2nh	2mh
no N[a]	nonf.		ai-	(past: φ)			-ain(h)				-au(k)	-a(h)
	fut.		-t[c]				-t-ain(h)				-t-au(k)	-t-a(h)
1	nonf. / fut.	-i (past also: -aũ(h)) / -b			-i-ai(k) / -b-ai(k)		-i-ain(h) / -b-ain(h)				-i-au(k) / -b-au(k)	-i-a(h) / -b-a(h)
2h	nonf. / fut.	-i (past also: -aũ(h)) / -b										
2nh		-æ			-ah-i(k)	-ah-u(k)	-ah-in(h)	-ah-un(h)	-ah-in(h)	-ah-un(h)		
2mh		-a(h)										
3nh	nonf. / past / fut.	ai- / -a(k) / -t					-ain(h) / -ak-ain(h) / -t-ain(h)				-au(k) / -ak-au(k) / -t-au(k)	-a(h) / -ak-a(h) / -t-a(h)
3h	nonf. / fut.	-aith / -t-ā(h)									-ath-un(h) / -t-ah-un(h)	
3hh	nonf. / fut.	-ath-in(h) / -t-ah-in(h)										

a. Non-nominative single agreement only.
b. Nominative single agreement only.
c. Italics indicate tense-marking morpheme.

Different types of agreement paradigms

1. Hindi:
   (NPNOM/ERG) (NPNNOM) V-TNS-**AGR1**NOM/ERG

2. Bajjika:
   (NPNOM) (NPNNOM) V-TNS-**AGR1**NOM (**-AGR2**NNOM)

3. Maithili:
   (NPNOM) (NPNNOM) V-TNS-AGR1NOM (-AGR2NNOM) (-AGR3NNOM)

Objectives

- to analyse the paradigm of verb-agreement in in a selection of Indo-Aryan languages;

- to show that the verbal paradigm of a few Bihari languages (within the Indo-Aryan family) have allocative agreement markers;

- to show the verbal agreements suffixes of the Bihari languages are deployed to serve politeness as well as other discourse-pragmatic functions.
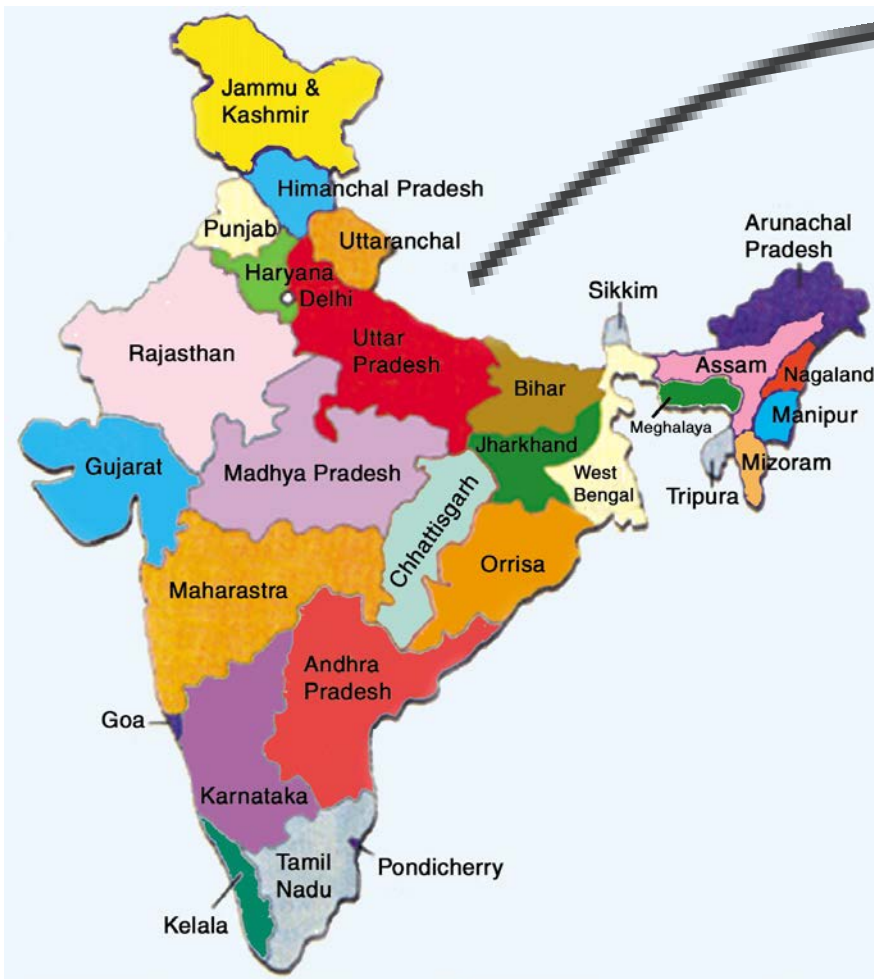
Key studies on Bihari languages

- **Bihari languages:** Grierson (1968[1903])
- **Maithili:** Singh (1989); Bickel et al. (1999)
- **Magahi:** Verma (1991);
- Chapters on Maithili, Magahi, and Bhojpuri in Cardona & Jain (2003/2007)
- **Bajjika:** Kashyap (2012); Kashyap & Yap (in press);
- **Indo-Aryan family:** Bickel & Yādava (2000); Kashyap & Yap (forthc)

Structure of NP and VP in Bajjika

- Noun phrase:
(DEM) (NUM) (ADJ)-(DEF) **HEAD NOUN**-DEF (CASE)

- Verb phrase:
(NEG) **V** (ASP) (MOD) (AUX) -TENSE-AGR1(-AGR2)

Case marking in NP and VP in Bajjika and Maithiliy

nominal morphology
[case]

verbal morphology
[Agreement]

nominative

accusative

dative

ablative

genitive

locative

nominative

non-nominative

Nominative vs. non-nominative reference (example from Bajjika

(1)

a.   u   daur-**lak**.
      3NH   run-PST.**3NH.NOM**
      'S/he ran.'

b.   rames   nokar-ba   ke   ḍā̃ṭ-lak-**ai**.
      Ramesh   servant-DEF   ACC   scold-PST.3NH.NOM-**3NH.NNOM**
      'Ramesh scolded the servant.'

NNOM verbal suffix invariant to case distinction
(-*ai* in these examples)

(2)

a. parsurām ok-**rā** ekk-o bittā jamin na
   Parsuram 3NH-DAT one-EMPH MEAS land NEG

   de-t-**ai**.
   give-FUT.3NH.NOM-3NH.NNOM

   '(It seems) Parsuram will not give him even a small piece of land.'

b. pulis chãorā **ke** barā mār-lak-**ai**.
   police lad ACC much beat-PST.3NH.NOM-3NH.NNOM

   'The police beat the boy badly.'

The paradigm of NOM & NNOM person-agreement in Bajjika

TENSE + NOMINATIVE			NON-NOMINATIVE						
			1	2MH	2HH	2H	2NH	3NH	3H
1	PRS	-i*le*							
	PST	-*l*-i		-ø		-aw	-au	-ai	-ai-n
	FUT	-*m*/-*b*							
2MH	PRS	-i*le*							
	PST	-*l*-i							
	FUT	-*m*/-*b*							
2NH	PRS	-*al*-e	-ø					-hi	-hi-n
	PST	-*l*-e							
	FUT	-*b*-e							
2H	PRS	-*al*-a ~ -*al*-u (M ~ F)						-hu	-hu-n
	PST	-*l*-a ~ -*l*-u (M ~ F)							
	FUT	-*b*-a ~ -*b*-u (M ~ F)							
2HH	PRS	-jā-*l*-e							
	PST	-ge-*l*						-ø	
	FUT	-jā-*i*							
3NH	PRS	-*al*-e							
	PST	-*l*(ak)		-ø		-aw	-au	-ai	-ai-n
	FUT	-*i*							
3H	PRS	-*al*-a-n ~ -*al*-i-n (M~F)							
	PST	-*l*-a-n ~ -*l*-i-n (M~F)				-thu-n		-thi-n	
	FUT	-*i*-ha-n							

Note: Italics shows tense-marking morpheme. High-honorific second persons (2HH) nominative participants are further accompanied by passive suffixes -jā ~ -ge in non-past and past tense constructions, respectively.

"Single" vs. "double" agreement (in Bajjika)

(3). a. u   daur-**lak**

3NH   run-PST-**3NH.NOM**

'He rank.'

b. pulis   chãorā   ke   barā

police   lad   ACC   much

mār-lak-ai

beat-PST-**3NH.NOM**-**3NH.NNOM**

'The police beat the boy badly.'

"Triple" agreement (example from Maithili)

(4) a. ham   to-rā   kaniyā-ke

     1.NOM   2NH/H-DAT   bride-DAT

     dekh-au-l-i-au-nh

     see-CAUS-PST-1.NOM-2NH/H.NNOM-3H.NNOM

     'I showed you the bride.'

(Bickel et al. 1999: 482)

Allocutivity

Allocutivity is "an instance of non-argumental agreement" in which **the presence of addressee is acknowledged** even though the addressee is not a participant in the event expressed by the verb" (Albizu, 2003: 9, emphasis added).

(see Antonov 2015 for detail)

"Allocutive" agreement in Bajjika

(5)

a. mahto birodh ka-l(k)-aw.

Mahto protest do-PST.3NH.NOM-2H.NNOM

'Mahto protested.'

b. mahto birodh ka-l(k)-au.

Mahto protest do-PST.3NH.NOM-2NH.NNOM

'Mahto protested.'

Four-level honorification for addressee

(6)

a. apne nimman gā-el ge-l.

2HH good sing-PST.NOM PASS-PST.2HH.NOM

'You sang well.' (Lit. 'It was sung by you well.')

b. rauā nimman ga-ili.

2MH good sing-PST.2MH.NOM

'You sang well.'

c. tu nimman ga-el-a.

2H/NH good sing-PST-2H.NOM

'You sang well.'

d. tu nimman ga-el-e.

2H/NH good sing-PST-2NH.NOM

'You sang well.'

Discourse-pragmatic functions the agreement markers

- -u, -aw, -taw as solidarity-enhancing markers

  (Excerpt 1)

- -taw as in-group face-threat mitigator
  (Excerpt 2)

- -ain and -an as third person honorific markers in self-talk
  (Excerpt 3)

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