

# **Attitudinal copulas in Odia, an Indo-Aryan language**

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# Objectives

- To examine the use of copulas as auxiliary verbs that encode not only tense but also person-agreement marking in Odia;
- To understand how these postverbal and clause-final auxiliary copulas are preposed to either clause-medial or clause-initial position to serve as focus particles, the latter type often interpretable as an attitudinal focus particle with negative valence.

# Introduction



- Odia is an eastern Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in the Indian state of Odisha (or Orissa).

# Indo-Aryan copulas as auxiliary verbs

- Following verbal predicates, Indo-Aryan **copulas can be reanalyzed as auxiliary verbs** that are dedicated as carriers of information related to tense and subject-verb agreement.
  - Tense-aspect-mood (TAM)
  - Agreement
- **Agreement** encodes information about person, honorificity level, number and/or gender.
  - Person
  - Honorificity level
  - Number
  - Gender (not in Odia)

# Verbal morphology in Odia

- Odia is a nominative-accusative language with the unmarked nominative subject triggering person, number and honorificity level on the verb.

- (1) a. *mu*                    *meri-ku*            *piT-i-l-i*  
1SG-NOM    Mary-ACC    hit-PERF-PST-1SG.NH  
'I hit Mary.'
- b. *tu*                    *meri-ku*            *piT-i-l-u*  
2SG-NOM    Mary-ACC    hit-PERF-PST-2SG.NH  
'You hit Mary.'
- c. *se*                    *meri-ku*            *piT-i-l-aa*  
3SG-NOM    Mary-ACC    hit-PERF-PST-3SG.NH  
'He/She hit Mary.'

# TAM marking in Odia

## -- past perfect(ive) morphology

- Odia has a complex verbal morphology with the copula carrying TAM marking:

(2) a. *mu ruTi khaa-i-l-i*  
1SG chapati eat-PERF-PST-1SG  
'I ate chapati.'

b. *mu ruTi khaa-i de-l-i*  
1SG chapati eat-PERF give.-PST-1SG  
'I ate up the chapati.'

with light verb  
*de-* 'give'

## TAM marking in Odia with differences in honorificity level

- (3) a. *tu*      *ruTi*      *khaa-i-l-u*  
2SG.NH chapati eat-PERF-PST-2SG.NH  
'You ate chapati.'
- b. *tume*    *ruTi*      *khaa-i-l-a*  
2SG.H chapati eat-PERF-PST-2SG.H  
'You ate chapati.'
- c. *aapaNa*    *ruti*      *khaa-i-l-e*  
2SG.HH chapati eat-PERF-PST-2SG.HH  
'You (honorable one) ate chapati.'



# TAM marking in Odia

(with and without an auxiliary copula)

(4) a. *se ruTi khaa-i-l-aa*

3SG.NH chapati eat-PFV-PST-3SG.NH

‘He/She ate chapati.’

b. *se ruTi khaa-i thi-l-aa*

3SG.NH chapati eat-PFV AUX.EMPH-PST-3SG.NH

‘**(I’m sure)** he/she ate chapati.’

(5) a. *se ruTi khaa-i-l-e*

3SG.H/HH chapati eat-PFV-PST-3SG.H/HH

‘He/She ate chapati.’

b. *se ruTi khaa-i thi-l-e*

3SG.H/HH chapati eat-PFV AUX.EMPH-PST-3SG.H/HH

‘**(I’m sure)** he/she ate chapati.’

# TAM marking in Odia

(with and without an auxiliary copula)

(6) a. *se ruTi khaa-u-chh-i*  
3SG.NH chapati eat-IMPV-PRES-3SG.NH  
'He/She is eating chapati.'

b. *se ruTi khaa-u achh-i*  
3SG.NH chapati eat-IMPV AUX.EMPH-PRES-3SG.NH  
'(I'm sure) he/she is eating chapati.'

(7) a. *se ruTi khaa-u-chh-anti*  
3SG.H/HH chapati eat-IMPV-PRES-3SG.H/HH  
'He/She is eating chapati.'

b. *se ruTi khaa-u achh-anti*  
3SG.H/HH chapati eat-IMPV AUX.EMPH-PST-3SG.H/HH  
'(I'm sure) he/she is eating chapati.'

# Functions of copulas in Odia

## Copula as a main verb

(8) a. *mili mora bhauNi aT-e* (with nominal predicate)

Mili 1SG.GEN sister COP.PRES.3SG.NH

‘Mili is my sister.’

b. *mili khusi achh-i* (with adjectival predicate)

Mili happy COP-3SG.NH

‘Mili is happy.’

c. *mili ghar-e achh-i* (with locative predicate)

Mili home-LOC COP.PRES.3SG.NH

‘Mili is at home.’

## Copula as an auxiliary verb

(9) *mili ghara-ku jaa-u achh-i* (with verbal predicate)

Mili home-LOC go-IMPF AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.NH

‘Mili is going home.’

# Attitudinal copula constructions in Odia

## Auxiliary copula as emphatic marker

(10) *kaali raati-re se bhaata khaa-i*  
yesterday night-in 3SG.NH rice eat-PFV  
*thi-l-aa*

AUX-PST-3SG.NH

‘(I’m sure) he/she ate rice yesterday.’

## Preposed copula as focus marker

(11) *thi-l-aa se kaali ghar-e*  
FOC-PST-3SG.NH 3SG yesterday home-LOC

‘(It was that) he/she was home yesterday.’

# Versatile copulas in Odia

- Linking verb
- Auxiliary verb
- Focus particle

## Examples of **copulas as main verbs** in Odia (past vs. present form)

- (12) *Intolerance charchā hī propaganda thi-l-ā*  
intolerance drive FOC propaganda COP-PST-3NH.SG  
‘The intolerance drive **was** a propaganda.’
- (13) *tān-ka pāi āu goTe bada challenge achh-i*  
3NH.SG-GEN for another one big challenge COP.PRS.3NH.SG  
‘For him, it **is** another big challenge.’

## Examples of **auxiliary copulas** in Odia

- (14) *se*      *ghara-ku*      *jā-u*      *achh-i*  
3NH.SG    home-LOC    go-IMPF    AUX.PRS-3NH.SG  
‘S/he **is going home.**’

Auxiliary copulas also have extended uses as auxiliary modals.

- (15) *modi-ku*      *hi*      *haTeibā-ra*      *achh-i*  
Modi-ACC    EMPH    remove-to      AUX.PRS-3NH.SG  
‘Modi **has to be removed.**’

## Examples of **auxiliary copulas with imperfective marker** in Odia

(16) *core issue alaga jāgā-re rahi jā-u-chh-i*  
core issue different place-LOC stay go-IMPF-AUX.PRS-3NH.SG  
‘The core issue **remains** at a different place.’

- The *jā-u-chh-i* imperfective auxiliary copula can be used with some stative verbs:

*jaNaa jāa-u-chh-i*  
know go.IMPF-AUX.PRS-3NH.SG  
‘knows’

*\*prema jāa-u-chh-i*  
love go. IMPF-AUX.PRS-3NH.SG  
‘loves’

*\*baasa jāa-u-chh-i*  
live go.IMPF-AUX.PRS-3NH.SG  
‘lives’



## Interim summary on (auxiliary) copulas in Odia

- Copulas are used as **linking verbs** that connect subject NPs and their identifying or specifying complement clauses.
- Copulas are used as **dedicated tense and agreement carriers**.
- As tense-carriers, copulas provide temporal information to ground or instantiate events; copulas are thus a linguistic means to identify independent **finite** structures.
- As agreement-carriers, copulas encode information about discourse participants (e.g. subject NPs); all Indo-Aryan languages reveal information about person and honorificity level, and some languages further include information about gender and number as well.
- Odia does not make gender distinctions.



## Examples of **focus copulas** in Odia (subject NP focus)

- (17) *Jau grand alliance thi-l-ā* *tā*  
REL grand alliance FOC.COP-PST-3NH.SG 3NH.SG.POSS

*pākhare lalū prasad-ra* *pocket vote nitish-ra* *pocket vote*  
for      Lālū Prasad-GEN pocket vote Nitish-GEN pocket vote

‘**The Grand Alliance** that he had, it had the pocket votes of Lālū Prasad and the pocket votes of Nitish.’

# Examples of **focus copulas** in Odia

(subject NP focus)

- (18) *abhi achhi/\*-chhi* *ebe ghar-e*  
Abhi FOC.COP.**PRS**-3NH.SG now home-LOC  
'**Abhi** is at home now.'

Highlighting the subject NP  
and still retaining the tense  
and agreement markers

## Examples of **focus copulas** in Odia (argument focus and new information focus)

- (19) *se* *thil-ā* *baḍa* *badmaas*  
3NH.SG FOC.COP.PST-3NH.SG big naughty  
'S/he was a naughty child.'  
(Lit. 'S/he was a child who was naughty.')

Argument  
focus

- (20) *thil-ā* *se* *baḍa* *badmaas*  
FOC.COP.PST-3NH.SG 3NH.SG big naughty  
'S/he was *a naughty child*.'  
(Lit. 'S/he was a child who was naughty.')

New  
information  
focus

(20) is a close equivalent of the broad focus reading 'It **was** that s/he was *a naughty child*' in the sense that the focus here is on the new information, which is the naughtiness of the child. Whereas the English broad focus reading conveys a more objective speaker stance by virtue of the nominalized *that*-clause, the Odia construction in (20) can convey a more subjective speaker stance, in this case potentially with negative valence.

# Examples of **focus copulas** in Odia

(argument focus and new information focus)

- (21) *abhi achhi/\*-chhi ebe ghar-e*  
Abhi FOC.COP.PRS-3NH.SG now home-LOC  
'Abhi is at home now.'

Argument  
focus

- (22) *achhi/\*-chhi abhi ebe ghar-e*  
FOC.COP.PRS-3NH.SG Abhi now home-LOC  
'Abhi is *at home* now.' (Lit. It's home where Abhi is now.)

New  
information  
focus

A negative reading emerges  
if the speaker expects  
Abhi to be in the office  
instead of being at home.

# Functions of copulas in Odia

## (present tense forms)

Table 1. Functions of Odia copulas in present tense

Types of copulas	Functions of copulas				
	Identification	Specification	Attribution	Focus marking	Auxiliary verb
Retroflex plosive copulas: <i>aTe, aTu, aTa, aTanti</i>	√	√	√	√	
Palatal affricative copulas: <i>acchi, acchu, accha, achanti</i>		√	√	√	√
Phonologically-reduced palatal affricative copulas: <i>-chi, -chu, -cha, -chanti</i>					√

# Odia copulas

**Table 2: Copula forms in Odia based on tense and agreement markers**

	Past		Present		Future	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>thi-l-i</i>	<i>thi-l-u</i>	<i><b>aT-e</b> ~ <b>achh-i</b></i>	<i><b>aT-u</b> ~ <b>achh-u</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-i</b> ~ <b>he-b-i</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-u</b> ~ <b>he-b-u</b></i>
2NH	<i>thi-l-u</i>	<i>thi-l-a</i>	<i><b>aT-u</b> ~ <b>achh-u</b></i>	<i><b>aT-a</b> ~ <b>achh-a</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-u</b> ~ <b>he-b-u</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-a</b> ~ <b>he-b-a</b></i>
2H	<i>thi-l-a</i>		<i><b>aT-a</b> ~ <b>achh-a</b></i>		<i><b>thi-b-a</b> ~ <b>he-b-a</b></i>	
3NH	<i>thi-l-ā</i>	<i>thi-l-e</i>	<i><b>aT-e</b> ~ <b>achh-i</b></i>	<i><b>aT-anti</b> ~ <b>achh-anti</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-a</b> ~ <b>he-b-a</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-e</b> ~ <b>he-b-e</b></i>
2HH	<i>thi-l-e</i>		<i><b>aT-anti</b> ~ <b>achh-anti</b></i>		<i><b>thi-b-e</b> ~ <b>he-b-e</b></i>	
3H						

Note: The copulas are italicized, and the tense suffixes are in bold font. The final suffixes are the agreement markers that encode information about person, number, and honorificity level, but not gender. Plural forms are often also used for singular referents to express politeness, for example, when referring to honorific referents (e.g. 2H, 2HH, 3H) or even when addressing a non-honorific addressee (2NH).



# Interim summary on **focus copulas** in Odia

- Copulas are also often preposed (or ‘raised’) to highlight certain constituents that the speaker intends to be interpreted as salient in the discourse.
- This preposing (or ‘raising’) phenomenon gives rise to focus effects.
- Focus copulas highlight the subject NP (ARGUMENT FOCUS and NARROW SCOPE) when they occur in clause-medial position.
- The focus copulas can also highlight new information in the proposition (NEW INFORMATION FOCUS and BROAD SCOPE) when they occur at the leftmost periphery.
- In Odia, in the present tense, copulas with different phonological realizations are sometimes used to distinguish between argument focus and new information focus readings.
- More specifically, *aT*-type copulas are used for argument focus in constructions with an identificational (i.e. identity mapping) function.
- For constructions involving new information (including specificational information about the argument), *achhi*-type copulas (or their past tense *thil*-type counterparts) are used instead.
- The phonologically reduced *-cchi*-type copulas cannot be used as main verbs nor as focus copulas; as auxiliary copulas, they are suffixes dedicated to carrying tense-mood and agreement features.

## Attitudinal uses of focus copula markers

- **Situation:**

A discussion on family dispute over property. Speaker A and her aunt are talking. Her aunt is unhappy with the decision of her in-laws over a house that her husband owns. She has been dragged into some trouble for some trivial issues. The whole discourse in which the aunt vents her frustration, with minimal interruption from the niece (Speaker A) is anger-driven.

# Attitudinal focus copulas in Odia

## Excerpt 1

**Aunt:** *mu mo swaami-ku ghara khande maag-i-b-i-ni*  
1SG.GEN my husband-ACC house CL beg-PFV-FUT-1SG-NEG

‘Will I not ask my husband for a house?’

*heichh-i mo swami kan nikammaa*

COP.3SG.NH my husband what useless

*je mote ghara khande de-i paariba-ni?*

COMP 1SG-DAT house CL give-PFV able.FUT-NEG

‘Is my husband that useless that he can't buy me a house?’

*bhaabi-chha kan tume?*

think-AUX.PRES.2PL.H what you

‘What do you think?’

# Attitudinal focus copula constructions in Odia

## Excerpt 2

**Aunt:** *Mo paisa kuade galaa?*  
my money where go-PST-3SG.NH  
'Where has my (dowry) money gone?'

*Mo baapaa de-i thi-l-e. Kahinki rakhi-la-ni?*  
my father give-PERF AUX-PST-3SG.HH why keep-PST-2SG.H-NEG  
'My father gave it (to me). Why didn't you (= Mother-in-law) keep it?'

*Besi dekh-aa galaa tumaku?*  
more see-PFV go-PST.3SG.NH you-ACC  
'Did it look too much to you (= Mother-in-law)?'

**Ani:** *dei thi-l-e besi paisaa ta sei paain!*  
give-PFV AUX-PST-3SG.HH more money EMPH that for  
'Since (they saw he (= Aunt's Father) gave a lot of (dowry) money,  
(they spent it)!'

# Issues of interest

- When is insubordination triggered?
  - When the main clause is elided?
  - When the verb phrase or aux is raised?
  - Not predicate-raising?
  - When emphasis marker is added?
  - All combined?

# Copula forms of Odia

(no gender distinction)

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

# Copula forms of Hindi

(with some gender distinction)

	Past			Present			Future			
	SG		PL	SG		PL	SG		PL	
	M	F	M/F	M	F	M/F	M	F	M	F
1	<i>th-ā</i>	<i>th-ī</i>	<i>th-e</i>	<b><i>h-ū</i></b>		<b><i>h-aĩ</i></b>	<i>ho-uᅇ-g-ā</i>	<i>ho-uᅇ-g-ī</i>	<i>ho-(e)ᅇ-g-e</i>	
3NH				<b><i>h-ai</i></b>			<i>ho-g-ā</i>	<i>ho-g-ī</i>	<i>ho-ᅇ-g-e</i>	
2NH	<b><i>th-e</i></b>			<b><i>h-o</i></b>			<i>ho-g-e</i>			
2H		<b><i>th-ĩ</i></b>		<b><i>h-aĩ</i></b>			<i>ho-ᅇ-g-e</i>	<i>ho-ᅇ-g-ĩ</i>	<i>ho-ᅇ-g-e</i>	<i>ho-ᅇ-g-ĩ</i>
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.

# Forms of Copulas in Bajjika

**Table 4:** Forms of Bajjika ‘be’ verbs that function as copula/auxiliary

		1	2MH	2HH	2H	2NH	3NH	3H
NOM	PRS	<i>ha-ti</i>			<i>ha-ta</i>	<i>ha-te</i>	<i>ha-i</i>	<i>ha-thin</i>
	PST	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-a</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-thin</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-a-m/b</i>			<i>rah-b-a</i>	<i>rah-b-e</i>	<i>rah-i</i>	<i>rah-i-han</i>
NNOM	PRS	<i>ha-e</i>			<i>h-aw</i>	<i>h-au</i>	<i>h-ai</i>	<i>h-ain</i>
	PST	<i>rah-e</i>			<i>rah-aw</i>	<i>rah-au</i>	<i>rah-ai</i>	<i>rah-ain</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-t-aw</i>	<i>rah-t-au</i>	<i>rah-t-ai</i>	<i>rah-t-ain</i>

**Note:** Copulas are shown by *italics*; **bold** font indicates tense; and regular fonts refer to person-agreement.



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# Copula Constructions in Odia

- Copula as TAM-bearing auxiliary verb :

(12a) *mili khusi achh-i*

Mili happy COP-3SG.NH

‘Mili is happy.’

(12b) *sikhyaka khusi achh-anti*

teacher happy COP-3SG.HH

‘The teacher is happy.’

# Previous studies on copula

Pustet (2003)

## Form

- Copulas linking subjects and **nominal predicates**
  - NP **COP** NP (English)
  - NP NP **COP** (Indo-Aryan)
- Copulas linking subjects and **adjectival predicates**
  - NP **COP** AdjP (English)
  - NP AdjP **COP** (Indo-Aryan)
- Copulas reanalyzed as **auxiliary verbs**
  - NP **AUX.COP** VP (English)
  - NP VP **AUX.COP** (Indo-Aryan)
- Copulas reanalyzed as **focus markers**
  - NP **FOC.AUX.COP** VP (Indo-Aryan)
  - **FOC.AUX.COP** NP VP (Indo-Aryan)

## Function

- Identity relationship
- Specifying relationship
- Specifying relationship
- Tense-carrier
- Agreement-carrier
  - Person
  - Number
  - Gender
  - Honorificity level
- Focus marking  
(via preposing or 'raising')



Dedicated carriers

# Hindi Copula Forms

**Table 3: Forms of Hindi ‘be’ verbs that function as copula/auxiliary**

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

**Note:** The copulas are italicized, and the tense suffixes are in bold font. The final suffixes are agreement markers that encode nominal properties such as person, number, gender, and honorificity level related to the nominative NP (i.e. the subject).

## Examples of **copulas as main verbs** in Hindi

- (13) *yah*                      *baṛ-ī*                      *acch-ī*                      *murī*                      ***h-ai.***  
   DEM.SG                      much-F                      good-F                      flute  
COP.PRS-3NH.SG  
‘This **is** a very good flute.’
- (14) *ve-log*                      *vahā*                      *nahī*                      ***th-e.***  
   DEM-PL                      there                      NEG                      COP.PST-3H.PL  
‘They **were** not there.’

# Examples of **auxiliary copulas** in Hindi

- **Tense-carrier**

(15) *rahe* *tum* *agle* *saptāh* *kyā* *kar*  
*ho?*  
2NH.SG next week what do  
PROG AUX.2NH  
'What **are** you **doing** next week?'

- **Extended use as auxiliary modal**

(16) *tum-ne* *thīk* *se* *ammā* *se*  
*māṅg-e*  
2NH.SG-ERG well ABL mother  
ABL demand-PFV  
*nahī* *ho-ge.*  
NEG AUX-FUT.OBL  
'You **may (=probably)** not **have asked** mother well (for the  
money).'

## Examples of **existential copulas** in Hindi

(17) *ek rājā th-ā.*

one king EXST.PST-3NH.SG.M

‘There **was** a king.’

(18) *ek din kī bāt h-ai.*

one day GEN talk EXST.PRS.3NH.SG

‘It’s a matter of one day.’





## Interim summary on (auxiliary) copulas in Hindi

- Copulas in Hindi are also used as linking verbs between subject NPs and their identifying or specifying complement clauses.
- They are also used as dedicated tense and agreement carriers.
- As tense-carriers, copulas in Hindi also provide temporal grounding to instantiate events by realizing them through linguistic means as independent finite structures.
- As agreement-carriers, copulas in Hindi encode **more** information about privileged participants (e.g. subject NPs); in addition to information about person, honorificity level and number, Hindi copulas also encode information about **GENDER**.

## Interim summary on **focus copulas** in Hindi

- Copulas in Hindi are also often preposed (or ‘raised’) to highlight certain constituents that the speaker intends to be interpreted as salient in the discourse.
- Similar to Odia, focus copulas in Hindi can highlight the subject NP (ARGUMENT FOCUS and NARROW SCOPE) when they occur in clause-medial position.
- The focus copulas in Hindi, similar to those in Odia, can also highlight new information in the proposition (NEW INFORMATION FOCUS and BROAD SCOPE) when they occur at the leftmost periphery.

# Forms of Copulas in Bajjika

**Table 4:** Forms of Bajjika ‘be’ verbs that function as copula/auxiliary

		1	2MH	2HH	2H	2NH	3NH	3H
NOM	PRS	<i>ha-ti</i>			<i>ha-ta</i>	<i>ha-te</i>	<i>ha-i</i>	<i>ha-thin</i>
	PST	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-a</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-thin</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-a-m/b</i>			<i>rah-b-a</i>	<i>rah-b-e</i>	<i>rah-i</i>	<i>rah-i-han</i>
NNOM	PRS	<i>ha-e</i>			<i>h-aw</i>	<i>h-au</i>	<i>h-ai</i>	<i>h-ain</i>
	PST	<i>rah-e</i>			<i>rah-aw</i>	<i>rah-au</i>	<i>rah-ai</i>	<i>rah-ain</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-t-aw</i>	<i>rah-t-au</i>	<i>rah-t-ai</i>	<i>rah-t-ain</i>

**Note:** Copulas are shown by *italics*; **bold** font indicates tense; and regular fonts refer to person-agreement.

## Examples of **copulas as main verbs** in Bajjika

- (21) *murol ego lamhar gāw ha-aw.*  
 Murol one big village  
 COP.PRS-ALLOC:2H  
 ‘Murol **is** a big village.’

(The addressee is **2H**.)

- (22) *mahrā kakkā ke nām*  
 Mahra uncle **GEN** name  
*rah-ain* *siṅhesar*  
*mahrā*  
 COP.PST-3H.**NNOM** Sinhesar  
 Mahra  
 ‘Uncle Mahra’s name **was** Sinhesar Mahra.’



# Examples of **auxiliary copulas** in Bajjika

- Extended use as auxiliary modal

(23) *ham-rā ghar se pacchim rames*  
*sarmā*  
 1-DAT house ABL west  
 Ramesh Sharma  
  
*rah-e. ke ghar ban-ait*  
 AUX.PST-3NH GEN house make-PROG

‘To the west of my house, Ramesh Sharma’s house  
**was being constructed.**’

# Examples of **auxiliary copulas** in Bajjika

- Extended use as auxiliary modal

(24) *na=ta* *ek* *ghanṭā āuro* *cal-*  
*e=ke*  
walk-INF otherwise one hour more

*ho-t-aw.*

**AUX-FUT**-ALLOC: 2H

‘Or else it **may be** that you **will have to travel** one  
more hour (= one extra hour).’

(Kashyap & Yap, in press)



## Examples of **existential copulas** in Bajjika

(25) *ek=ber*            *ego pari rah-e.*  
once            one fairy    EXST.PST-3NH  
TIME            EXISTENT    PROCESS: Verb

‘Once there **was** a **fairy**.’





## Interim summary on **(auxiliary) copulas** in Bajjikka

- Copulas in Bajjika carry even more information than copulas in Hindi.
- In addition to information about person, honorificity level, number and gender that agree with the nominal features of the subject NP, copulas in Bajjika also encode agreement features that provide information about **other referents or participants in the discourse.**

## Interim summary on **focus copulas** in Bajjikka

- Copulas in Bajjika are also often preposed (or ‘raised’) to highlight certain constituents that the speaker intends to be interpreted as salient in the discourse.
- Similar to Odia and Hindi, copulas in Bajjika can either highlight the subject NP (**ARGUMENT FOCUS** ~~and NARROW SCOPE~~) when they occur in clause-medial position, or they can further highlight new information within the proposition (**NEW INFORMATION FOCUS** ~~and BROAD SCOPE~~) when they occur at the leftmost periphery.

## **‘Double agreement’ marking in Bajjika**

- Whereas Odia and Hindi deploy a ‘single agreement’ system, Bajjika deploys a more complex ‘double agreement’ system.
- For languages with a ‘single agreement’ system, the speaker needs to decide whether to express nominative agreement or non-nominative agreement, but not both simultaneously.
- Languages with a ‘double agreement system’ such as Bajjika, on the other hand, can express both nominative and non-nominative agreement simultaneously.

## **‘Double agreement’ marking in Bajjika**

- The availability of ‘double agreement’ marking allows Bajjika to develop grammaticalized markers that allows the speaker to signal his social (hence also interpersonal) relationship with the addressee, which is important within a community that places great importance on how one attends to the ‘face needs’ of the others.
- Bajjika also often uses its future tense markers as epistemic markers with pragmatic hedging functions; this constitutes one of its politeness systems. The non-nominative agreement markers in Bajjika, with can signal the social status of the addressee, constitutes yet another politeness system. The interaction of both systems provide more nuanced calibrations of the speaker’s expression of politeness to other interlocutors.

## Table comparing copulas in Odia, Hindi and Bajjika

Table 2: Copula forms in Odia based on tense and agreement markers

- GENDER

	Past		Present		Future	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>thi-l-i</i>	<i>thi-l-u</i>	<i>aT-e ~ achh-i</i>	<i>aT-u ~ achh-u</i>	<i>thi-b-i ~ he-b-i</i>	<i>thi-b-u ~ he-b-u</i>
2NH	<i>thi-l-u</i>	<i>thi-l-a</i>	<i>aT-u ~ achh-u</i>	<i>aT-a ~ achh-a</i>	<i>thi-b-u ~ he-b-u</i>	<i>thi-b-a ~ he-b-a</i>
2H	<i>thi-l-a</i>		<i>aT-a ~ achh-a</i>		<i>thi-b-a ~ he-b-a</i>	
3NH	<i>thi-l-ā</i>	<i>thi-l-e</i>	<i>aT-e ~ achh-i</i>	<i>aT-anti ~ achh-anti</i>	<i>thi-b-a ~ he-b-a</i>	<i>thi-b-e ~ he-b-e</i>
2HH	<i>thi-l-e</i>		<i>aT-anti ~ achh-anti</i>		<i>thi-b-e ~ he-b-e</i>	
3H						

Table 3: Forms of Hindi 'be' verbs that function as copula/auxiliary

+ GENDER

	Past			Present			Future			
	SG		PL	SG		PL	SG		PL	
	M	F	M/F	M	F	M/F	M	F	M	F
1	<i>th-ā</i>	<i>th-ī</i>	<i>th-e</i>	<i>h-ū</i>		<i>h-aĩ</i>	<i>ho-uᅇ-g-ā</i>	<i>ho-uᅇ-g-ī</i>	<i>ho-(e)ᅇ-g-e</i>	
3NH	<i>th-e</i>	<i>th-ĩ</i>		<i>h-ai</i>			<i>ho-g-ā</i>	<i>ho-g-ī</i>	<i>ho-ᅇ-g-e</i>	
2NH			<i>h-o</i>		<i>ho-g-e</i>					
2H			<i>h-aĩ</i>		<i>ho-ᅇ-g-e</i>	<i>ho-ᅇ-g-ĩ</i>	<i>ho-ᅇ-g-e</i>	<i>ho-ᅇ-g-ĩ</i>		
3H										

# Forms of Copulas in Bajjika

No number (SG/PL)  
distinction

Table 4: Forms of Bajjika ‘be’ verbs that function as copula/auxiliary

		1	2MH	2HH	2H	2NH	3NH	3H
NOM	PRS	<i>ha-ti</i>			<i>ha-ta</i>	<i>ha-te</i>	<i>ha-i</i>	<i>ha-thin</i>
	PST	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-a</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-thin</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-a-m/b</i>			<i>rah-b-a</i>	<i>rah-b-e</i>	<i>rah-i</i>	<i>rah-i-han</i>
NNOM	PRS	<i>ha-e</i>			<i>h-aw</i>	<i>h-au</i>	<i>h-ai</i>	<i>h-ain</i>
	PST	<i>rah-e</i>			<i>rah-aw</i>	<i>rah-au</i>	<i>rah-ai</i>	<i>rah-ain</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-t-aw</i>	<i>rah-t-au</i>	<i>rah-t-ai</i>	<i>rah-t-ain</i>

# Forms of Copulas in Bajjika

Table 4: Forms of Bajjika ‘be’ verbs that function as copula/auxiliary

		1	2MH	2HH	2H	2NH	3NH	3H
NOM	PRS	<i>ha-ti</i>			<i>ha-ta</i>	<i>ha-te</i>	<i>ha-i</i>	<i>ha-thin</i>
	PST	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-a</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-thin</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-a-m/b</i>			<i>rah-b-a</i>	<i>rah-b-e</i>	<i>rah-i</i>	<i>rah-i-han</i>
NNOM	PRS	<i>ha-e</i>			<i>h-aw</i>	<i>h-au</i>	<i>h-ai</i>	<i>h-ain</i>
	PST	<i>rah-e</i>			<i>rah-aw</i>	<i>rah-au</i>	<i>rah-ai</i>	<i>rah-ain</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-t-aw</i>	<i>rah-t-au</i>	<i>rah-t-ai</i>	<i>rah-t-ain</i>



# Odia copulas

**Table 2: Copula forms in Odia based on tense and agreement markers**

	Past		Present		Future	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>thi-l-i</i>	<i>thi-l-u</i>	<i><b>aT-e</b> ~ <b>achh-i</b></i>	<i><b>aT-u</b> ~ <b>achh-u</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-i</b> ~ <b>he-b-i</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-u</b> ~ <b>he-b-u</b></i>
2NH	<i>thi-l-u</i>	<i>thi-l-a</i>	<i><b>aT-u</b> ~ <b>achh-u</b></i>	<i><b>aT-a</b> ~ <b>achh-a</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-u</b> ~ <b>he-b-u</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-a</b> ~ <b>he-b-a</b></i>
2H	<i>thi-l-a</i>		<i><b>aT-a</b> ~ <b>achh-a</b></i>		<i><b>thi-b-a</b> ~ <b>he-b-a</b></i>	
3NH	<i>thi-l-ā</i>	<i>thi-l-e</i>	<i><b>aT-e</b> ~ <b>achh-i</b></i>	<i><b>aT-anti</b> ~ <b>achh-anti</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-a</b> ~ <b>he-b-a</b></i>	<i><b>thi-b-e</b> ~ <b>he-b-e</b></i>
2HH	<i>thi-l-e</i>		<i><b>aT-anti</b> ~ <b>achh-anti</b></i>		<i><b>thi-b-e</b> ~ <b>he-b-e</b></i>	
3H						

Note: The copulas are italicized, and the tense suffixes are in bold font. The final suffixes are the agreement markers that encode information about person, number, and honorificity level, but not gender. Plural forms are often also used for singular referents to express politeness, for example, when referring to honorific referents (e.g. 2H, 2HH, 3H) or even when addressing a non-honorific addressee (2NH).

# Hindi Copula Forms

**Table 3: Forms of Hindi ‘be’ verbs that function as copula/auxiliary**

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

**Note:** The copulas are italicized, and the tense suffixes are in bold font. The final suffixes are agreement markers that encode nominal properties such as person, number, gender, and honorificity level related to the nominative NP (i.e. the subject).

# Forms of Copulas in Bajjika

Table 4: Forms of Bajjika ‘be’ verbs that function as copula/auxiliary

		1	2MH	2HH	2H	2NH	3NH	3H
NOM	PRS	<i>ha-ti</i>			<i>ha-ta</i>	<i>ha-te</i>	<i>ha-i</i>	<i>ha-thin</i>
	PST	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-a</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-e</i>	<i>rah-thin</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-a-m/b</i>			<i>rah-b-a</i>	<i>rah-b-e</i>	<i>rah-i</i>	<i>rah-i-han</i>
NNOM	PRS	<i>ha-e</i>			<i>h-aw</i>	<i>h-au</i>	<i>h-ai</i>	<i>h-ain</i>
	PST	<i>rah-e</i>			<i>rah-aw</i>	<i>rah-au</i>	<i>rah-ai</i>	<i>rah-ain</i>
	FUT	<i>rah-i</i>			<i>rah-t-aw</i>	<i>rah-t-au</i>	<i>rah-t-ai</i>	<i>rah-t-ain</i>

**Note:** Copulas are shown by *italics*; **bold** font indicates tense; and regular fonts refer to person-agreement.

## Focus copulas in Odia

(8) thi-l-aa se ghar-e kaali / COP.PAST.3SG.NH he/she home-LOC  
yest

(9) achh-i / COP.PRES.3SG.NH erday/ He/she was home yesterday

(10) aaji / today

(11) He/She is home today

TAM marking on Odia copula constructions  
(present imperfective tense-aspect morphology)

(6) a.

b. *mili ghara-ku jaa-u achh-i*  
Mili home-LOC go-IMPF AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.NH  
'Mili is going home.'

(7) c. *mili ghara-ku jaa-u thi-l-aa*  
Mili home-LOC go-IMPF AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.NH  
'Mili is going home.'

c. *mili ghara-ku jaa-u thi-l-aa*  
Mili home-LOC go-IMPF AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.NH  
'Mili is going home.'

# TAM marking on Odia copula constructions (present imperfective tense-aspect morphology)

- (6) a. ~~*mili ghara ku jaa u achh-i*~~  
~~Mili home-LOC go-IMPF-AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.NH~~  
~~‘Mili is going home.’~~
- b. *mili ghara-ku jaa-u achh-i*  
Mili home-LOC go-IMPF AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.NH  
‘Mili is going home.’
- (7) a. ~~*sikhyaka ghara ku jaa u achha-nti*~~  
~~teacher home-LOC go-IMPF-AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.HH~~  
~~‘The teacher is going home.’~~
- b. *sikhyaka ghara-ku jaa-u achha-nti*  
teacher home-LOC go-IMPF AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.HH  
‘The teacher is going home.’

# TAM marking on Odia copula constructions (present imperfective tense-aspect morphology)

- **Copula as a main verb**

(6) a. *mili ghar-e achh-i*  
Mili home-LOC COP.PRES.3SG.NH  
‘Mili is at home.’

b. *sikhyaka ghar-e achha-nti*  
teacher home-LOC COP.PRES.3SG.HH  
‘The teacher is at home.’

- **Copula as an auxiliary verb**

(7) a. *mili ghara-ku jaa-u achh-i*  
Mili home-LOC go-IMPF AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.NH  
‘Mili is going home.’

b. *sikhyaka ghara-ku jaa-u achha-nti*  
teacher home-LOC go-IMPF AUX.COP.PRES-3SG.HH  
‘The teacher is going home.’

## Examples of **existential copulas** in Odia

(17) *law and order thāu na thāu*

law and order EXST not EXST

‘Whether law and order **is there or not...**’