The syntax of Magahi addressee agreement

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Abstract

This paper analyzes addressee agreement, also known as allocutive agreement, in Magahi, an Eastern Indo-Aryan language. A leading idea in the literature is that addressee agreement is a realization of agreement of C with a syntactically expressed representation of an addressee "Hr-DP" in the speech act phrase. Magahi is significantly different from other allocutive languages. Magahi addressee agreement is associated with finiteness. It can occur in all sorts of finite clauses regardless of whether they are main clauses or embedded. I propose that Hr-DP that undergoes Add-Agr in Magahi is relatively low in the clause structure. It is a coordinate of FinP in Rizzi's cartographic structure. This contrasts with the standard view where Hr-DP is a coordinate of speech act projection or context phrase, the highest projection of a clause found primarily in root clauses. I also claim that the functional head associated with Magahi addressee agreement is low in the clause—the 'Fin' head—hence below the canonical C head.

1   Introduction

In many languages, verbal morphology provides evidence for encoding the addressee of the utterance in the syntax (see Verma 1991 for Magahi, Oyharçabal 1993 for Basque, Bhattacharya 2010 for Maithili, Magahi, Angika and Kurmali, Miyagawa 2012, 2017 for Japanese, Zu 2013 for Jingpo, Antonov 2015 for Pumé, Nambikwara, Mandan, Beja, Kaur 2017 for Punjabi, McFadden 2017 for Tamil, Haddican 2018 for Galician, Pak 2015 and Portner et al. 2019 for Korean). This phenomenon is referred to as "allocutive agreement" or "addressee agreement" in the literature. This paper uses the latter term to refer to the phenomenon. A classic example of addressee agreement (henceforth Add-Agr) is noted in Basque where a sentence can be expressed in four different ways depending on the addressee's gender, number and honorificity (Oyharçabal 1993).

(1)   a.   Pettek   lan   egin   di-**k**
          Peter.ᴇʀɢ work do.ᴘʀꜰ ᴀᴜx.3.ᴇʀɢ-ᴀ
          'Peter worked'   (a male friend)

         b.   Pettek   lan   egin   di-**n**
          Peter.ᴇʀɢ work do.ᴘʀꜰ ᴀᴜx.3.ᴇʀɢ-ꜰᴀ
          'Peter worked'   (a female friend)

         c.   Pettek   lan   egin   di-**zü**
          Peter.ᴇʀɢ work do.ᴘʀꜰ ᴀᴜx.3.ᴇʀɢ-ʜᴀ
          'Peter worked'   (a socially higher addressee)

d. Pettek   lan egin du
   Peter.ERG work do.PRF AUX.3
   'Peter worked'   (plural addressee)

Japanese, another addressee marking language, on the other hand, shows two-way contrast with respect to honorificity (Miyagawa 2012, 2017).

(2) a. Watasi-wa piza-o   tabe-**mas**-u
        I-TOP   pizza-ACC eat-MAS-PRES
        'I will eat pizza.'   (a socially higher addressee)
     b. Watasi-wa piza-o   tabe-ru
        I-TOP   pizza-ACC eat-PRES
        'I will eat pizza.'   (a friend/child)

Magahi also exhibits Add-Agr. A sentence such as 'I am going' can be expressed in four different ways in Magahi, as shown in (3). This is because in addition to the subject triggering agreement on the verb, a Magahi finite verb also marks (three levels of) honorificity feature of the addressee. The verb, in (3a), shows only agreement with the subject.[1] (3b–d), on the other hand, exhibit Add-Agr. The extra morphemes *-au, -o* and *-ain* provide information about the honorificity of the addressee; (3b) is uttered to a nonhonorific (NH) addressee i.e., someone who has an equal or lower social status than the speaker, such as a friend, younger brother. Example (3c) is addressed to an honorific (H) addressee *i.e.*, someone who has higher social status than the speaker, such as father, grandfather, elder brother, and (3d) is spoken to a high honorific (HH) addressee *i.e.*, someone who has higher social status than the speaker such as teachers or priests.[2]

(3) a. Ham jaait   h-**i**
        I.M/F go.PROG be-1
        'I am going'   (Neutral)
     b. Ham jaait   h-i-**au**
        I.M/F go.PROG be-1-NHA
        'I am going'   (NH addressee)
     c. Ham jaait   h-i-**o**
        I.M/F go.PROG be-1-HA
        'I am going'   (H addressee)
     d. Ham jaait   h-i-**ain**
        I.M/F go.PROG be-1-HHA
        'I am going'   (HH addressee)

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[1]Following Verma (1991), I use the term 'neutral' to refer to situation when verbs show agreement with the subject but do not show agreement with the addressee. These sentences, thus, can be spoken to anybody.

[2]Glossing of these morphemes will be revised in the next section to show that these morphemes also encode honorificity of the subject.

Add-Agr shows very limited distribution in embedded contexts crosslinguistically. In Basque and Korean, it is not found in embedded contexts at all (Oyharçabal 1993, Portner et al. 2019). In Japanese, on the other hand, it is found in complement clauses which are embedded under speech predicates (Miyagawa 2012, 2017). In Tamil, it is a bit wider: it is found in the complement clauses under attitude predicates. Miyagawa analyzes Add-Agr as a root clause phenomenon and argues that Add-Agr is a realization of agreement of C with a syntactically expressed representation of an addressee "Hr" (for "hearer/addressee") in the speech act domain, which is found only in root clauses, after Speas & Tenny's (2003) influential proposal (see McFadden 2017 for a similar view).

Magahi is remarkably different from previously well-studied languages. Add-Agr is associated with finiteness in Magahi. It is not only freely available in any finite main clause but also in *any finite embedded clause.* Some crucial examples can be seen in (4–6) which show that Add-Agr is possible on complement of perceptual predicate, in relative clauses and on noun complement clauses in Magahi.

(4) Perceptual predicate
Santeeaa dekhl-ai [ki   Banteeaa bhag   gel-**au/o/ain**]
Santee   saw-NHS COMP Bantee   escape went-3-NHA/HA/HHA
'Santee saw that Bantee ran away.'

(5) Relative clause
Laikwaa [je   uhan khaRaa h-**au/o/ain**]   hamar bhaai   h-ai
Boy   REL.PRO there stand   be-3-NHA/HA/HHA my   brother be-3NHS
'The boy who is standing there is my brother.'

(6) Noun complement clause
aphawaah [ki   Santeeaa inaam jitl-**au/o/ain**]   sahii ha-l-ai
rumor   COMP Santee   prize won.3-NHA/HA/HHA true be-PRF-3S
'The rumor that Santee won the prize was true.'

These examples are crucial. They show that Add-Agr cannot be a root clause phenomenon in Magahi since these embedded contexts do not generally permit embedded root phenomena cross-linguistically.

Following Miyagawa (2012, 2017), I assume that there is a covert but syntactically expressed representation of an addressee 'Hr' in the left periphery of clauses, and a functional head F in the clause agrees with it. However, I depart from the previous approach in two important ways. First, I propose that Hr DP is available in the periphery of every finite clause. I locate it in the Spec of FinP in Rizzi 1997's cartographic structure; a little bit above T, and below the complementizer, the head of ForceP (see also Bhadra (2018) for the claim that there are null 'speaker' and 'addressee' coordinates in every finite clause.). Second, I propose that the functional head F that agrees with the 'Hr' DP is also relatively low in the clause. I argue that it is Fin in Magahi rather than SA, a speech act head. In the current system, Add-Agr occurs without SAP. This contrasts with the standard view

where the 'Hr' DP that undergoes Add-Agr is one of the coordinates of speech act phrase (SAP).

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 presents core data. It consists of two subsections. Subsection 2.1. discusses the subject-verb agreement. It shows that Magahi finite verbs show person and honorificity agreement of the subject. Subsection 2.2. deals with Add-Agr. It shows that in addition to subject agreement, Magahi verbs agree with the honorificity of the addressee. Section 3 presents the proposal and makes some empirical predictions. Section 4 shows that those predictions are borne out in Magahi. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Core data

2.1 Subject agreement

In Magahi, among phi-features, finite verbs encode only the person feature of the subject (see also Verma 1991). In (7), the verb 'run' is invariant for number and gender but changes its form for the person; *-i* for the first person, (7a), *-eN* for the second person, (7b), and *-ai* for the third person, (7c).

(7) a. Ham/hamanii dauR-l-**i**
        I.M/F/We.M/F run-PRF-1.S
        'I/We ran.'

     b. Tu/tohanii   dauR-l-**eN**
        You.SG.M/F.NH/You.PL.M/F.NH run-PRF-2.NHS
        'You ran.'

     c. U/okhanii   dauR-l-**ai**
        (S)he.NH/They.M/F.NH run-PRF-3.NHS
        '(S)he/They ran.'

Moreover, in addition to the person, verbs also inflect for honorificity of the subject in 2nd and 3rd person (see also Verma 1991). Magahi shows three levels of honorificity: nonhonorific (NH), honorific (H) and high honorific (HH). This three-way contrast can be seen in the case of 2nd person easily. Thus, in addition to (7b), where the referent of the subject is nonhonorific (NH), the verb has two more forms, as shown in (8). In (8a), the referent of the subject is honorific (H) while in (8b) the referent of the subject is high honorific (HH).

(8) a. Tu   dauR-l-**a**
        You.H run-PRF-2.HS
        'You ran'

     b. Apne   dauR-la-**thi(n)**
        You.HH run-PRF-2.HHS
        'You ran'

4

However, in case of 3rd person subjects, the verb shows a separate form only for non-honorific subjects, as in (7c), and displays the same form for honorific and high honorific subjects, as in (9).

(9) U   dauR-la-**thi(n)**
     (S)he.(H)H run-PRF-3.(H)HS
     '(S)he /They ran.

Summing up, Magahi finite verbs agree with the person and the honorificity feature of the subject. The expressed honorificity of the subject on the verb must be considered a genuine agreement in Magahi since it is encoded with person as a single portmanteau morpheme. Moreover, this person+NH/H/HH morpheme is obligatory. Following Miyagawa, I refer to the realization of honorification as honorific agreement. In the next section, I discuss Add-Agr.

2.2   Addressee agreement

In the introduction section, I showed that a proposition such as 'I am going' can be uttered in four different ways in Magahi because in addition to the subject, Magahi finite verbs also agree with the honorificity feature of the addressee. Add-Agr is also present along with 3rd person subject agreement, as shown in (10). Example (10a) is an instance of subject agreement. Example (10b–d), on the other hand, exhibit Add-Agr. The extra morphemes -*au*, -*o* and -*ain* provide information about the honorificity of the addressee; (10b) is uttered to a NH addressee. (10c) is addressed to an H addressee, and (10d) is spoken to a HH addressee.

(10) a. Santeeaa jaait   h-ai
          Santee.NH go.PROG be-3.NHS
          'Santee is going.'   (Neutral)

      b. Santeeaa jaait   h-**au**
          Santee.NH go.PROG be-3-NHS.NHA
          'Santee is going.'   (NH addressee)

      c. Santeeaa jaait   h(a)-**o**
          Santee.NH go.PROG be-3-NHS.HA
          'Santee is going.'   (H addressee)

      d. Santeeaa jaait   h-**ain**
          Santee.NH go.PROG be-3-NHS.HHA
          'Santee is going.'   (HH addressee)

However, things are murky in the case of 3rd person subject. Unlike 1st person, the 3rd person subject marking -*ai* disappears when there is Add-Agr. I assume that in these cases, it is null. Moreover, in (10), the subject is nonhonorific. Different combinations of subject and addressee show that the honorificity of the subject and the addressee are fused in Magahi. Consider (11) and (12) and compare them with (10b) and (10d), respectively.

(11) is minimally different from (10b) in that the subject of the former is honorific while the latter is nonhonrific (in both cases, the addressee is nonhonorific). (10b), on the one hand, manifests the morpheme *-au* while (11) carries a different morpheme *-thu(n)*. The same way, (12) is minimally different from (10d): the subject is high honorific in (12); again, we see different morphemes, (10d) manifests the morpheme *-ain* while (12) carries the morpheme *-thi(n)*.

(11) Baabaa   jaait   ha-**thu(n)**
      grandfather.H go.PROG be-3-HS.NHA
      'Grandfather is going.'   (NH addressee)

(12) MasTar-saaheb jaait   ha-**thi(n)**
      teacher.HH   go.PROG be-3-HHS.HHA
      'The teacher is going.'   (HH addressee)

These comparisons clearly show that these morphemes are a combination of honorificity features of the subject and the addressee. However, other combinations are not straight-forward and show syncretism. For example, when the subject and addressee are both honorifics, as in (13a), there is no separate morpheme, but it is *-thu(n)*. Moreover, *-thu(n)* surfaces with high honorific subject and (non)honorific addressee too, as in (13a). In addition, when the subject is (high) honorific and the addressee is high honorific, the morpheme *-thi(n)* appears, as in (13b) and (14b).

(13) a. Baabaa   jaait   ha-**thu(n)**
          grandfather.H go.PROG be-3-HS.NHA
          'Grandfather is going.'   (H addressee)

      b. Baabaa   jaait   ha-**thi(n)**
          grandfather.H go.PROG be-3-HHS.HHA
          'Grandfather is going.'   (HH addressee)

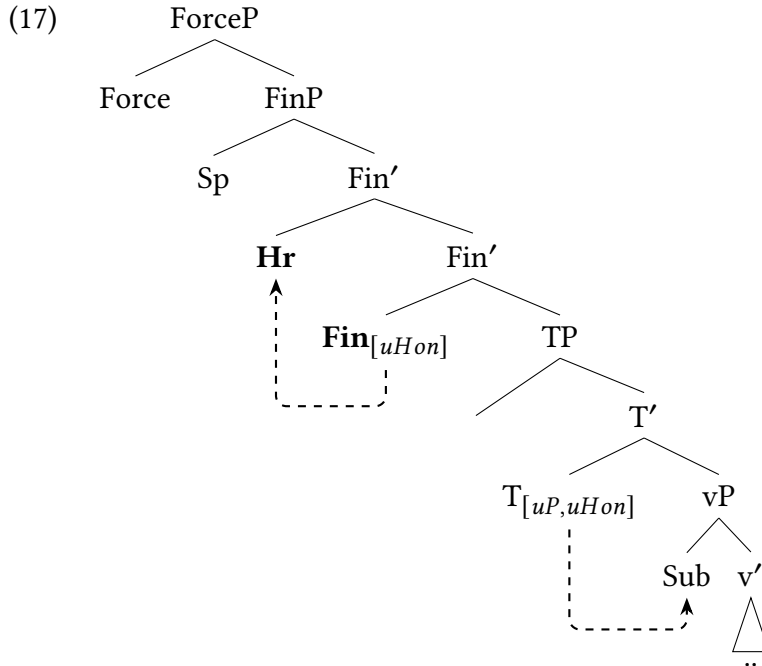(14) a. MasTar-saaheb jaait   ha-**thu(n)**
          teacher.HH   go.PROG be-3-HHS.(H)HA
          'The teacher is going.'   (NH/H addressee)

      b. MasTar-saaheb jaait   ha-**thi(n)**
          teacher.HH   go.PROG be-3-HHS.HHA
          'The teacher is going.'   (HH addressee)

The above data shows that honorificity of the subject and addressee fuses in Magahi. Table (1) represents the morphology of honorific agreement with subject and addressee.

Moving on, Add-Agr is impossible when a 2nd person is an argument of a predicate, and it triggers regular argument agreement. For example, Add-Agr is impossible with the 2nd person subject, as in (15), but possible whith the 2nd person object, as in (16). The difference between the two instances is that in (15) the 2nd person subject triggers the regular subject-verb agreement while in (16) the 2nd person object is not in agreement relation.

	Addreessee		
Subject	NH	H	HH
NH	-au	-o	-ain
H	-thu(n)	-thu(n)	thi(n)
HH	-thu(n)	-thu(n)	thi(n)

Table 1: Morphology of honorific agreement with subject and addressee

(15) a. Tu   dauR-l-eN-(*au)
        You.NH run-PRF-2.NH-(NHA)
        'You ran.'

    b. Tu   dauR-l-a-(*o)
        You.H run-PRF-2.H-(HA)
        'You ran.'

    c. Apne   dauR-l-thi(n)-(*ain)
        You.HH run-PRF-2.HH-(HHA)
        'You ran.'

(16) a. Santee-aa toraa   dekh-l-au/o
        Santee-NH you.(N)H.ACC see-PRF-3-NHS.(N)HA
        'Santee saw you.'   ((N)H addressee)

    b. Santee-aa apne-ke   dekh-l-ain
        Santee-NH you.HH-ACC see-PRF-3-NHA.HHA
        'Santee saw you.'   (HH addressee)

Magahi, thus, does not show the double expression of agreement with the addressee, i.e. agreement with the 2nd person argument and addressee at the same time. McFadden 2017 notices the same for Tamil Add-Agr and its relationship with the 2nd person arguments. Alok & Baker (2018) see this morphological redundancy on the verb as a special case of "Kinyalolo's Generalization" (Carstens 2005). I do not discuss this matter further and refer readers to see Alok & Baker (2018) for an extensive discussion on this issue.

Summing up, in addition to the person and honorificity feature of the subject, Magahi finite verbs can agree with the honorificity feature of the addressee. In the next subsection, I sketch an analysis to capture the Magahi (addressee) agreement phenomena.

3   The proposal

Following Miyagawa, I assume that there is a covert but syntactically expressed represen-tation 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 in Magahi is

low in the clause. I argue that it happens in FinP domain (in Rizzi's (1997) cartographic structure) in Magahi rather than in SAP domain. In this, I follow Bhadra 2018 who, for analyzing evidentials in Bangla, proposes that there are null 'speaker' and 'addressee' co-ordinates in every finite clause. I also suggest that the functional head that agrees with the 'Hr' DP is also relatively low in the clause in Magahi. It is Fin, the head of FinP. Add-Agr takes place when Fin with uninterpretable honorificity features [uHon] agrees with 'Hr' in its specifier, as shown in (17). In the current proposal, Add-Agr is achieved without SAP, this contrasts with Miyagawa's view where the addressee is one of the coordinates of speech act phrase.

(17)

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                    ForceP
                   /      \
              Force        FinP
                          /    \
                        Sp      Fin′
                               /    \
                             Hr      Fin′
                             ↑      /    \
                             ¦  Fin[uHon]   TP
                             ¦     ¦        /   \
                             L─────┘           T′
                                             /    \
                                    T[uP,uHon]      vP
                                        ¦          /   \
                                        ¦       Sub    v′
                                        ¦        ↑     /\
                                        L────────┘    /  \
                                                     ‾‾‾‾
                                                      ..
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The current system ties Add-Agr with subject agreement and fniteness and proposes the locus of Add-Agr lower in the clause, FinP. The current analysis makes at least two predictions. First, Add-Agr should be possible whenever a clause is finite, unlike Basque and Japanese. Second, there should not be any significant interaction between the complementizer/C-like heads and Add-Agr in Magahi, unlike Basque. In the next section, I show that these predictions are borne out in Magahi.

4 Distribution of Add-Agr

4.1 Add-Agr and finiteness

Add-Agr in Magahi is distributed on a wide range of clause types. For example, unlike Basque, where it is only found on matrix declaratives, in Magahi, it is found on matrix declaratives as well as matrix questions, both constituent questions, (18), and polar ques-

tions (19).[3]

(18) Constituent question
Ke jaait h-au/o/ain?
Who go.PROG be-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Who is going?'

(19) Polar question
Santeeaa jaait h-au/o/ain (kaa)?
Santee go.PROG be-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA what
'Is Santee going?'

Add-Agr is also possible in exclamative in Magahi, as sown in (20) and in those imperative clauses where the subject is not a 2nd person, as shown in (21).

(20) Ketnaa baRhiyaa din ha-l-au/o/ain
how-much good day be-PRF-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'What a beautiful day it was!'

(21) Koii na pahilaa laaine me baiTh-au/o/ain
somebody NEG first line in sit-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Nobody sits in the first row.'

Moving on to embedded contexts, unlike standard Basque, where Add-Agr does not occur in embedded clauses and Japanese where it occurs in a limited range of embedded complement clauses, in Magahi, Add-Agr is found in any finite embedded clause. For example, (22)-(24) show that it is possible in the complement of a speech predicate, thought predicates, and predicates of knowledge. Add-Agr is also possible in the complements of nonbridge verbs like 'shout', as shown in (25).

(22) Speech predicate
Santeeaa **kahl-ai** ki Banteeaa bhag gel-**au/o/ain**
Santee.NH said-3.NHS COMP Bantee.NH escape went-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Santee said that Bantee ran way.'

(23) Thought predicate
Santeeaa **socl-ai** ki Banteeaa bhag ge-l-**au/o/ain**
Santee.NH thought-3.NHS COMP Bantee.NH escape went-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Santee thought that Bantee ran away.'

(24) Predicate of knowledge
Santeeaa **jaan gel-ai** ki Banteeaa bhag ge-l-**au/o/ain**
Santee.NH know went-3.NHS COMP Bantee.NH escape went-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Santee knew that Bantee ran away.'

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[3]The question particle '*kaa*' is optional in polar questions. The intended interpretation can be achieved by the question intonation alone.

(25) Non-bridge verb
Santeeaa **chilal-ai** ki Banteeaa bhag gel-**au/o/ain**
Santee-NH shouted-3.NHS COMP Bantee.NH escape went-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Santee shouted that Bantee ran away.'

Add-Agr can also occur in adjunct clauses; including temporal clauses, (26a), location clauses, (26b), and purpose clauses, (26c), and on relative clauses as in (27.)

(26) a. Santeeaa ail-ai [jab Banteeaa chal ge-l-**au/o/ain**]
Santee.NH came-3.NHS when Bantee.NH walk went-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Santee came when Bantee left.'

b. Ham uhaaN jab-ai [jahaaN Santeeaa gel-**au/o/ain**]
I there go.FUT-3.NHS where Santee went-3-NNS.NHA/HA/HHA
'I will go there where Santee went.'

c. Santeeaa ghare rukl-ai [taaki Banteaa bimaar na paDhl-**au/o/ain**]
Santee.NH home stayed-3.NHS so-that Buntee.NH sick not fallen-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Santee stayed home so that Bantee would not get sick.'

(27) Je [laikwaa uhaaN khaRaa h-**au/o/ain**] u hammar bhaai h-ai
REL boy there stand be-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA DEM my brother be-NH/3NHS
'The boy who is standing there is my brother.'

The agreement is also possible on noun complement clauses, as shown in (28).

(28) Aphawaah [ki Santeeaa inaam jitl-**au/o/ain**] sahii hal-ai
rumor COMP Santee prize won-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA true be.PRF-3S
'The rumor that Santee won the prize was true'.

The context where Add-Agr is not possible in Magahi is non-finite contexts, as shown in (29). Example (29a) indicates that the infinitival verbal form, *jaayal* 'to go', never bears (addressee) agreement morphemes. The agreement can be only reflected on the main verb 'want'. Similarly, example (29b) shows that agreement can be found on the main verb but never on the gerundive clause *okraa dekhe* 'seeing him'. Example (29c) and (29d) show that the marker cannot appear in constituents which are not clauses, unlike Tamil.

(29) a. Santiaa [jaayel-*****au/*o/*ain**] chah-l-au/o/ain
Santee.NH to-go wanted-3-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'Santee wants to go.'

b. Ham [okaraa dhekhe-se-*****au/*o/*ain**] bachl-i-au/o/ain
I him.DAT.NH seeing-INST avoided-1-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'I avoided seeing him.'

c. i laikiyaa-*****au/*o/*ain**
this girl-NHS.NHA/HA/HHA
'This girl' (as answer to 'Who is going next?').

d. haaN-*au/*o/*ain
yes-nhs.nha/ha/hha
'Yes' (as answer to 'Are you going next?').

Before we move to the next section, I should mention that although Add-Agr is preferable in Magahi, it is optional, as we have seen that subject agreement alone is possible. Add-Agr indicates that the addressee is being involved in the conversation or asked for solidarity (see also Haddican 2018 for the similar claim about Add-Agr in Galician). Consequently, the presence or absence of Add-Agr in matrix clauses and embedded clauses in complex sentences is independent of each other. We, thus, get four possibilities in complex sentences. We can have just subject-verb agreement on both the matrix verb and the embedded verbs, or there can be addressee marking on both, or there could be addressee marking on the matrix verb but not on the embedded verb, or vice versa. In the above examples, for simplicity, only subject agreement is shown on the matrix verb since our focus was on embedded clauses.

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

4.2 Add-Agr and C-like elements

Unlike Basque, Add-Agr is possible in the presence of C like elements such as *ki*, the clause linker, *taaki*, a purpose clause marker, *jab/jahan* a locative wh-phrases, *je*, a relative operator. The relevant examples we have already encountered above; (22)-(25) for the clause linker *ki*, (26a-b) for the locative wh-phrases, *jab/jahan*, and (27) for a relative marker *je*. Moreover, consider example (30) below which shows that Add-Agr is possible in the presence of two overt C-like elements; the clause marker *ki*, and the polar question particle *kaa*.

(30) Ram puchh-l-ai **ki** Santeeaa jait-au/o/ain **kaa**?
Ram asked-3-nhs comp Santee.nh go.fut-3-nhs.nha/ha/hha what
'Ram asked me if Santi will go.'

Summing up, the data presented in this section shows a broader distribution of Add-Agr in embedded contexts than previously thought. It occurs in all sorts of finite embedded contexts such as complement clauses, adjunct clauses, relative clauses, noun complement clauses. The place where Add-agr is not found in Magahi is non-finite contexts. Add-Agr is thus associated with finiteness and cannot be considered a root clause phenomenon in Magahi. There are many embedded contexts in Magahi where Add-Agr is found but do not usually permit embedded root phenomena cross-linguistically. Moreover, Magahi data shows that Add-Agr is possible in the presence of different kinds of C-heads or operators in CP domain. As we have seen, at least it is possible with the clause marker,*ki*, the polar Q-particle *kaa*, the purpose clause marker *taaki*, and relative operators such as *je*.

The idea of the current proposal that 'Hr' DP, the goal of Add-Agr, and the probe, Fin, the head of FinP, is low in the structure nicely explains the fact that Magahi allows Add-

Agr in all sort of finite clauses even in the presence of overt C-like heads and operators in the CP domain.

5 Conclusion

This paper presented an analysis of agreement in Magahi, mainly focusing on Add-Agr. It showed that Magahi finite verbs agree with the person and honorificity features of the subject and the addressee. Magahi is significantly different from previously theoretically well-studied allocutive languages such as Basque, Japanese, and Tamil in that it allows Add-Agr in all sorts of finite clauses - main and embedded ones. I argued that the syntactically expressed covert DP "Hr" that undergoes Add-Agr and the probe are found lower in the clause, in FinP in Magahi rather than in SAP.

Abbreviations

The Leipzig glossing convention has been used with the following additional glosses; A: allocutive/addressee agreement; H: honorific; HH: high honorific, NH: nonhonorific, S: subject.

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