

The Discourse Particle *-waa* in Magahi Nominal Domain

Deepak Alok

Panlingua, New Delhi

1. Introduction

- In this talk, I investigate the morpheme *-waa* that can be attached to any noun in Magahi.
- The following empirical issues are discussed.
 - (1) a. kitaab
book
'a/the book(s)'

b. kitab-waa
book-PRT
'the book(s)'
 - (2) a. kitaab-(*an)
book-*PL

b. kitab-w-an
book-PRT-PL
 - (3) a. bhai-waa (referring to a younger brother)
brother.NH-PRT
'the brother'

b. maasTar-#waa (in a normal social setting)
teacher.HH-#PRT
'the teacher'

c. masTar-waa
teacher.HH-PRT
'The teacher' + The speaker dishonors the teacher
- I call the nouns that appear in (1a) as a 'bare noun' and the one that appears in (1b) as a '*waa*-noun'.
- Example (1) shows at least two things:
 - First bare nouns have definite as well as existential readings, *waa*-nouns, on the other hand, only have definite readings.
 - Second, both bare nouns and *waa*-nouns are number neutral i.e., they can be interpreted singular or plural depending on a context.
- Example (2) shows that
 - Even though the nouns are number neutral, the language has a plural marker *-an*. Interestingly, bare nouns disallow the plural marker but the marker can be attached to *waa*-nouns.

- Example (3) shows that:
 - In a normal social/psychological setting, *-waa* is avoided to add to honorific nouns. When it is added to an honorific noun, it indicates that the speaker has nonhonorific view towards the noun.
- I argue that
 - *-waa* has two components of meanings: familiarity and nonhonorificity. I analyze familiarity as presuppositional meaning and the nonhonorificity as expressive meaning.
 - Following Potts and Kawahara (2004), Potts (2007) and McCready (2010, 2019), I analyze *-waa* as an expression of mixed type.
 - Further, I argue that the definite reading associated with *-waa* cannot be lexically encoded meaning of *-waa*. I propose that the definite reading is derived by covert type shift of iota.
 - Analyzing the plural marker *-an*, I argue that, unlike English plural marker *-s*, the Magahi *-an* denotes only groups.
 - To explain the fact that the marker *-an* is attached to only *waa*-nouns, I proposed that *-an* is attach only to the familiar and nonhonorific property.
 - From syntactic side, I argue that the plural marker *-an* in Magahi has uninterpretable familiarity and nonhonorificity features that can be only checked in the case of *waa*-nouns.

2. Roadmap

- Section (3) deals with the distribution and the semantics and pragmatics of *-waa*.
 - Section (3.1) shows that *-waa* is attached only to nouns.
 - Section (3.2) shows that *-waa* is only attached to a noun that is familiar to both the speaker and addressee in a discourse.
 - Section (3.3) shows that *-waa* has nonhonorific view towards the noun it attaches to.
 - Section (3.4) shows that there is significant difference between familiarity meaning and nonhonorificity meaning, and analyses the former as a presuppositional and the latter as expressive.
- Section (4) proposes an analysis assuming *-waa* as a mixed type.
- Section (5) discussed the plural marker *-an*.
- Section (6) address the definite meaning that is associated with *-waa*. It shows that even *waa*-nouns have definite meaning; this meaning cannot be lexically encoded to the particle *-waa*.
- The talk ends with conclusion.

3. The nominal particle *-waa*

3.1. Distribution of *-waa*

- Nouns in Magahi can be suffixed with *-waa*, *-iyaa*, *-aa*, *-maa*.

(4)	a. ghar 'house'	->	ghar- waa /*iyaa/*aa
	b. peR 'tree'	->	peR- waa /*iyaa/*aa
	c. kaado 'mud'	->	kado- iyaa /*aa/*waa
	d. kitaab 'book'	->	kitab-waa/iyaa/*aa
	e. ghaRii 'watch'	->	ghaR-iyaa/aa/*waa
	f. chinii 'sugar'	->	chin-iyaa/aa/*waa
	g. sapanaa 'dream'	->	sapana-maa/waa/*iyaa
	h. aaluu 'potato'	->	alu-aa/iyaa/waa
	i. saadhu 'priest'	->	sadhu-aa/iyaa/waa
	j. aam 'mango'	->	am-maa/iyaa/waa
	k. Tebul 'Table'	->	Tebul-waa/iyaa/aa

- With some nouns only one form is possible, as in (4a)-(4c) while with some others more than one form is possible, as (4d)-(4k).
- I will use *-waa*¹ as a representative of these forms (i.e., *-waa*, *-iyaa*, *-aa*, *-maa* are allomorphs of *-waa*)².
- Moreover, *-waa* appears only with nouns.

(5)	a. laal 'red' -> *lal-waa	d. dhiire 'slowly' -> *dhiire-waa	g. khaa 'eat' -> kha-waa
	b. baRaa 'big' -> *baR-waa	e. pahile 'before' -> *pahile-waa	h. jaa 'go' -> *jaa-waa
	c. tej 'intelligent' -> tej-waa	f. hamesaa 'often' -> *hamesa-waa	i. paRh 'read' -> *paRh-waa

- Thus, I will refer to *-waa* as a nominal particle.³

¹In spoken form, the particle is pronounced as *-waa* or *-baa*. However, in the written texts such as story books or novels *-waa* is used. We will be using *-waa*.

²A phonological explanation is possible on the use of these allomorphs but I will not concentrate on it in here (see Alok 2012, 2014).

³Kumar (2018) called *-waa* a (bare) classifier. However, I do not see any property that classifies it as a classifier. As we can see in example (1), the use of *-waa* does not depend on the shape or size of a noun it attaches to, nor does it make count vs. mass or concrete vs. abstract distinctions. Here are some more examples that show that *-waa* is attached with abstract nouns as well.

(i) a. Dar 'fear' -> Dar-waa
 b. PiRwa 'pain' -> piR-waa
 c. bhao 'Price' -> bhau-aa
 d. gandh 'smell' -> gandh-waa

3.2. -waa as a Familiarity Marker

- The use of *-waa* with a noun presupposes that the noun is familiar to both the speaker and the hearers (Alok 2012).
- The bare nouns differ from the *waa*-nouns in (1) in that the former denotes one entity with the relevant properties to qualify as an entity and the latter denotes that the entity is also familiar to the speaker and the hearer.⁴
- Let us see some examples
- In (6), *kutt-waa* i.e., ‘dog-waa’ is used in the second sentence because *kutta* ‘dog’ is already introduced in the previous sentence.

(6) kal ham ego **kuttaa** dekhali. **kutt-waa**/*kuttaa ego chuhaa-ke pichhaa karit halai.
 yesterday I one-CLA dog saw dog-FM/dog one.CLA rat-ACC chase doing be.PRF
 ‘Yesterday, I saw a dog. The dog was chasing a rat.’

- Consider example (7). The boy had asked for a guide to prepare for the examination of bank clerk. The guide was not available in the shop that time. So, the shopkeeper asked the boy to come next day. Next day, when the boy went to the shop, he uses the *waa*-noun ‘guide-waa’ because the noun ‘guide’ is already introduced in the discourse and the boy presupposes that the shopkeeper knows about the guide he is talking about.

(7) Boy: baiNk kalarak ke taiyaarii laa e-go gaaiD da.
 bank clerk of preparation for one-CLA guide give
 ‘Give me a guide for the preparation of bank clerk.’

Shopkeeper: aaj to na hao. kal haawa.
 today PRT not is. Tomorrow come
 ‘It is short today. Please come tomorrow.’

Next day

Boy: **gaid-waa**/*gaaid laila?
 guide-FM bring-PRF
 ‘Did you bring the guide?’

- In (8), John uses the *waa*-noun, ‘hospital-waa’ because there is a single hospital in their town, which is identifiable or familiar to both John and Ram.

(8) Ram to John: tabiyat thiik na karit he.
 health well NEG doing be.PRES
 ‘I am not feeling well.’

⁴ The term ‘familiarity’ here does not refer the notion of strong familiarity, as used by Roberts (2003), where it is licensed only by in a prior mentioned text or conversation, as in (6). Rather, it refers shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer which would be discourse old, hearer old (Prince 1988) etc, as in (7) and (8).

John to Ram: Jaa **aspatal-iyaa** me dekhwaala.
 go hospital-FM in examine
 'Go and get check up in the hospital.'

- Consider contexts C-1 and C-2 that are minimally different from each other in that in C-1, Ram and Mohan both know about the book while in C-2, only Ram knows about the book.

Context-1: Ram and Mohan are brothers. They bought a book together. Ram kept the book to read it, promising that he will return it to Mohan the next day. Next day, when Ram was sitting in the living room and Mohan came, Ram said to Mohan-

- (9) **kitab-waa** hamar rummaa me Tebulwaa par hau.
 book-FM my room.FM in table.FM on be.PRES
 'The book is in my room on the table.'

Context-2: Ram and Mohan are brothers. Yesterday, their father gave Ram a book. Ram put the book on the table in his room. Mohan did not know all this. Next day, when Ram was sitting in the living room and Mohan came, Ram said to Mohan-

- (10) **# kitab-waa** hamar rummaa me Tebulwaa par hau.
 book-FM my room.FM in table.FM on be.PRES

- If the well-known tests of presupposition projection such as under negation, questions, and conditionals are applied to (9), as shown in (11), they all imply that there is a book that is familiar in the context.

(11) a. *Negation*

kitab-waa hamar rummaa me Tebulwaa par na hau.
 book-FM my room.FM in table.FM on not be-PRES
 'The book is not on the table in my room.'

b. *Question*

kitab-waa hamar rummaa me Tebul par hau kaa?
 book-FM my room.FM in table.FM on be-PRES what
 'Is the book on the table in my room?'

c. *Conditional*

agar kitab-waa hamar rummaa me Tebulwaa par hau ta le aao
 if book-FM my room.FM in table.FM on is then take bring-IMP
 'If the book is on the table in my room, please bring it'

- That -waa marks presuppositional familiarity is also supported by the fact that we cannot answer a discourse initial question with waa-nouns. For example, one cannot answer (12a) with (12b). One has to use the bare form as (12c).

- (12) a. tu aaj kaa kaila?
 you today what do-PRF
 'What did you do today?'

b. #ham aaj kitab-waa paRhli.
 I today book-FM read-PRF

c. ham aaj kitaab paRhli.
 I today book read-PRF
 'I read (a) book(s) today.'
 'I did book-reading today.'

- Finally, note that *-waa* is also used with the name of a familiar person.

Context-3: Dhiraj is a childhood friend of the speaker and the addressee. The speaker meets him in the local market after a long time. When the speaker comes home, he informs this to the addressee.

(13) The speaker: hamraa aaj bazaar me Dhiraj-waa millau.
 I.DAT today market in Dhiraj-PRT meet.PRF
 'Dhiraj met me in the market, today.'

Context-4: Dhiraj is friend of the speaker, but not the addressee. Dhiraj visits the speaker place. The speaker introduces Dhiraj to the addressee. .

(14) The speaker : ii hamar dost Dhiraj-(*waa) hai.
 this my friend Dhiraj be.PRES
 'This is my friend Dhiraj.'

- To conclude, there is ample evidence that shows that *-waa*-nouns indicate that the noun is familiar to both the speaker and the hearer.
- Let us call it a familiarity marker. The semantic of *-waa* is given in (15).

(15) $\lambda P_{(s,e)} \lambda x : \forall x [{}^u P_w(x) \rightarrow \text{Fam}(x)]. {}^u P_w(x)$

3.3. *-waa* and honorificity

- We have just noted that *-waa* is used with the name of a familiar person. However, it is not used with the name of any familiar person.
- Honorificity plays an important role: *-waa* is not used with an honorific person (i.e., a person socially superior to the speaker) in the normal social setting.⁵

⁵(non)honorificity is defined in term of social superiority relative to the speaker. So, x is honorific if x is socially superior to the speaker. x is nonhonorific if x is socially equal or less superior to the speaker. Moreover, Magahi seems to be a language which marks every noun honorific (HON) or nonhonorific (NHON). The distinction is also syntactically activated. That is, Magahi show honorificity agreement in the verbal domain (Alok 2020).

(i) a. baabaa bajar ge-l-**thi**
 grandfather.HON market go-PST-3P.HON
 'Grandfather went to the market'
 b. santee-aa bajar ge-l-**ai**
 Santee-FM.NHON market go-PST-3P.NHON
 'Santee went to the market'

Context-5: Santee is a younger brother of the speaker while Chand is an elder brother.

- (16) a. Santee-aa
b. #chand-waa

- We use –*waa* with a friends' name but we do not use it when we meet someone for the first time.

Context-6: Dhiraj is one of the friends of the speaker.

- (17) Dhiraj-waa ene aao.
Dhiraj-FM here come.NHON
'Dhiraj, come here.'

Context-7: The speaker has just met Dhiraj.

- (18) Dhiraj-(#waa) ene aaba.
Dhiraj here come.HON
'Dhiraj, come here.'

Context-8: Ram is socially superior to the speaker and the addressee. The speaker is talking about Ram and says:

- (19) Ram-(#maa) aawait hathi.
Ram coming be.HON
'Ram is coming.'

- However, it is possible that –*waa* can be added to an honorific person. Consider the following contexts.

Context-9: Ram is socially superior to both the speaker and the addressee. However, the speaker had a fight with Ram and is angry with him. The speaker says:

- (20) Ram-maa await hai.
Ram-FM coming be.NHON
'Ram is coming.' + The speaker disrespects Ram.

- Consider another example. A priest or a teacher has a high social status in society. When someone comes and says (21), you know that the person is angry at the priest/teacher and dishonors him.

- (21) Pandit/masTar-waa await hai.
priest/teacher.FM coming be.HNON
'The priest/teacher is coming.' + The speaker disrespects the teacher/priest.

- The same nonhonorificity is encoded when –*waa* is added to an honorific common noun. Take the example of a religious book 'bible'. The bare form is used in the general social setting, as in (22a). Example (22b), on the other hand, shows that, for some reason, the speaker does not want to give respect to the 'Bible'.

(22) a. **baibil** le aao
 bible-FM take come
 'Please bring the Bible.'

b. **baibil-waa** le aao
 bible-FM take come
 'Please bring the Bible.' + The speaker has nonhonorific view towards the bible

- To conclude, *-waa* adds nonhonorificity to the noun it attaches to.
- The semantics to encode nonhonorificity is given in (23).

(23) $\lambda P_{(s,e)} \lambda x [\cup P_w(x) \wedge \text{NHON}(x)]$

- *-waa* has two components of meaning: familiarity and nonhonorificity. I have assigned semantics for both separately.
- Before we put these two together, let us compare them in the next section.

3.4. Familiarity vs. nonhonorific meaning of *-waa*

- Recently, it has been suggested that honorification is best analyzed in terms of expressive content (Potts and Kawahara 2004, Potts 2007, Sells & Kim 2007, McCready 2010, 2019, Portner et al. 2019 and others).
- Potts (2007) provides some key characteristics for expressive content: **Independence** (expressive items contribute a dimension of meaning that is separate from the propositional content), **Nondisplaceability** (expressive items predicate something of the utterance situation), **Perspective dependence** (expressive items are evaluated from a particular perspective, often from the speaker's perspective), **Descriptive ineffability** (Speakers are never completely satisfied when they paraphrase expressive content using regular descriptive terms), **Immediacy** (expressive items, like performatives, achieve their intended effect by being uttered), **Repeatability** (Repetition of an expressive item does not bring redundancy, rather it strengthens the emotive content).
- I will not go into details of all these properties but here are some characteristics (such as 'perspective dependence' and 'independence') that differentiate nonhonorific meaning of *-waa* from the familiarity meaning.
- The nonhonorific meaning is speaker-oriented unlike familiarity which is discourse conditioned. Consider (21) and (22).

- In (24), Ram is the speaker and John is the addressee of the utterance. The sentence expresses that Ram disrespects the bible. (25), on the other hand, is a report of Ram's utterance of (24) by John. In (25), the nonhonorific content of *-waa* is interpreted relative to John, the speaker, but not to Ram.

(24) Ram: **baibil-waa** le aao
 bible-FM take come
 'Please bring the bible.' + Ram has nonhonorific view towards the bible.

(25) John: raam **baibil-waa** laabe kaha hathi
 Ram bible-FM take.INF say be-PRES.3HON
 'Ram is asking to bring the bible.' + John (not Ram) has nonhonorific view towards the bible.

- Now consider the following contexts. Example (26) is felicitous in context-10, where the presupposition is satisfied while infelicitous in context-11, where the presupposition is not satisfied, as shown in (27). However, in both the situations, the non-honorific meaning is conveyed.
- That is, the infelicity of (27) in context-11 is due to presupposition failure not because of the speaker's anti-honorific view towards the bible.

Context-10: Ram and John are brothers. They bought a bible together. However, Ram kept the bible to read it first. When, he finished the reading, he put the bible on the table in his room. Next day, when he was sitting in the living room with John, Ram said to John:

(26) **baibil-waa** hamar roommaa me Tebulwaa par hau.
 bible-FM my room.FM in table.FM on be-PRES
 'The bible is on the table in my room.' + Ram has nonhonorific view towards the bible.

Context-11: Ram and John are brothers. Yesterday, their father gave Ram a copy of the Bible. Ram put the bible on the table in his room. John did not know about it. Next day, Ram said to John

(27) # **baibil-waa** hamar roommaa me Tebulwaa par hau.
 bible-FM my house.FM in table.FM on be-PRES
 'The bible is on the table in my room.' + Ram has anti-honorific view to the bible.

- The nonhonorific meaning associated with *-waa* is independent from the meaning of the sentence. Thus, the truth-oriented denial does not target the nonhonorific content. For example, denying the sentence (28a) means denying the fact that the teacher be at the students, not that Ram did not disrespect the teacher, as shown in (28b).

(28) a. Ram: masTer-waa vidaayarthiyan-ke piTkai.
 teacher-FM students-ACC beat.PRF.NHON
 'The teacher beat up the students.' + Ram disrespected the teacher.

b. John: ii baat sahii na hai.

this matter true not be-PRES

'This is not true (=The teacher did not beat up the students).' + Ram disrespected the teacher

- To conclude, we will analyze nonhonorific meaning as expressive content (Potts and Kawahara 2004; Potts 2007; McCready 2010, 2019).
- Thus, *-waa* has two components of meaning: presuppositional meaning and expressive meaning. On the presuppositional side, when *-waa* attaches to a noun, the latter must satisfy the familiarity requirement. On the expressive side, *-waa* introduces the nonhonorific attitude towards the noun it attaches to.

4. Analysis

- Following Potts and Kawahara (2004), Potts (2007), and McCready (2010, 2019), I give a mixed type to *-waa* as given in (29a). The meaning of *-waa* is given in (29b).
- The left part of $\blacklozenge$ contains the presuppositional meaning. It takes as input a regular type and returns a regular type.
- The right part of $\blacklozenge$ contains the expressive meaning. It takes as input a regular type and returns the expressive type.

(29) a. $\langle\langle s, e \rangle\langle e, t \rangle\rangle \blacklozenge \langle\langle s, e \rangle\langle \varepsilon \rangle\rangle$

b. $\llbracket -waa \rrbracket^w = \lambda P_{\langle s, e \rangle} \lambda x : \forall x [{}^u P_w(x) \rightarrow \text{Fam}(x)]. {}^u P_w(x) \blacklozenge \lambda P_{\langle s, e \rangle} \lambda x [{}^u P_w(x) \wedge \text{NHON}(x)]$

- Review of Potts and Kawahara (2004)

(30) a. e and t are regular types.

b. ε is an expressive type

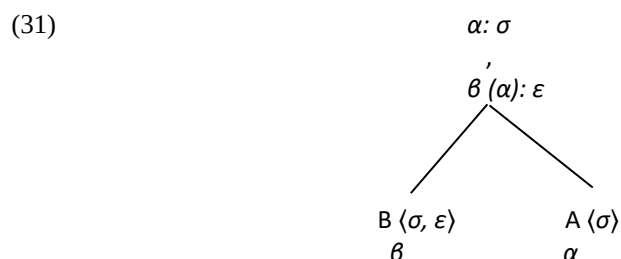
c. If σ and τ are regular types, then $\langle \sigma, \tau \rangle$ is a regular type.

d. If σ is a regular type, then, $\langle \sigma, \varepsilon \rangle$ is an expressive type.

e. Nothing else is a type.

- Some comments on (30)
 - As per (30), expressives can be the output of any type with a regular type as its input (e.g., a simple functional type $\langle e, \varepsilon \rangle$ or a complex functional type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \varepsilon \rangle$).
 - However, we cannot have a (complex) functional type where an expressive is the input (e.g., $\langle \varepsilon, e \rangle$ or $\langle \langle e, \varepsilon \rangle, t \rangle$).

- The impossibility for an expressive to be an input for semantic composition captures the fact that expressive content is independent of the propositional content.
- A derivational rule:
 - To compute expressives, Potts and Kawahara formulate the regular semantic compositional rules to a new compositional rule, given in (31).

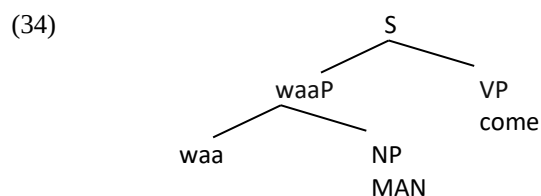


- (32) The interpretation of a parse tree Γ is the tuple $\langle A, B \rangle$ where
- (i) A is the semantic value of Γ 's root node; and
 - (ii) B is the set consisting of all and only the interpretations of type ε expressions in Γ .

- Some comments on (31) and (32)
 - The compositional rule (31) shows how a regular and an expressive expression combine. Here, α and β are denotations of a regular item A and an expressive item B respectively. The regular item A has a regular argument type σ and the expressive item B has a functional expressive type $\langle \sigma, \varepsilon \rangle$.
 - When the compositional rule applies (i.e., β takes α as an argument) two things happen: the compositional rule passes α on to the root node without doing nothing to it, and the function β applies to α and returns an expressive meaning $\beta(\alpha)$.
 - Given (31), the expressive meaning cannot participate further in the semantic derivation. Only α is available in the next step of the derivation.
 - However, the expressive is available for the interpretation when the entire derivation is interpreted by the interpretational rule in (32).

- **A concrete example**

- (33) admi-aa ailai.
 man-FM came
 'The man came.' + The speaker has nonhonorific view towards the man.



1. $\llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket = \text{MAN}_{\langle s, e \rangle}$
2. $\llbracket \text{-waa} \rrbracket^w = \lambda P_{\langle s, e \rangle} \lambda x : \forall x [\text{UP}_w(x) \rightarrow \text{Fam}(x)]. \text{UP}_w(x) \blacklozenge \lambda P_{\langle s, e \rangle} \lambda x [\text{UP}_w(x) \wedge \text{NHON}(x)]^6$
 $\langle \langle s, e \rangle \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \blacklozenge \langle \langle s, e \rangle \langle \varepsilon \rangle \rangle$
3. $\llbracket \text{waaP} \rrbracket =$
 - (i) $\lambda x. \text{UP}_{\text{MAN}_w(x)} \blacklozenge \lambda x [\text{UP}_{\text{MAN}_w(x)} \wedge \text{NHON}(x)] \quad \langle \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \blacklozenge \langle \varepsilon \rangle \quad (\text{by 31})$
 - (ii) (a) $\lambda x [\text{UP}_{\text{MAN}_w(x)} \wedge \text{NHON}(x)] \quad \langle \varepsilon \rangle \quad (\text{shunting by 31})$
 - (b) $\lambda x [\text{UP}_{\text{MAN}_w(x)}] \quad \langle e, t \rangle$
 - (iii) $(\iota x (\text{UP}_{\text{MAN}_w(x)})) \quad \langle e \rangle \quad (\text{became an argument via covert type shift 'iota'})$
4. $\llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket = \lambda y \text{ come } (y) \quad \langle e, t \rangle$
5. $\llbracket \text{S} \rrbracket = \text{come } (\iota x (\text{UP}_{\text{MAN}_w(x)})) \quad \langle t \rangle$
6. Final interpretation of the parse tree
 $\langle \text{come } (\iota x (\text{UP}_{\text{MAN}_w(x)})), \{ \lambda x [\text{UP}_{\text{MAN}_w(x)} \wedge \text{NHON}(x)] \} \rangle \quad (\text{via rule (32)})$

5. Plurality and Magahi Nouns

5.1. Distribution of the plural marker

- The language has a plural marker *-an*. It has a very interesting distribution. It is not attached to bare nouns, as shown in (35) but only to *waa*-nouns, as in (36).

- (35)
- | | | |
|------------------|----|-----------|
| a. kitaab ‘book’ | -> | *kitab-an |
| b. Tebul ‘table’ | -> | *Tebul-an |
| c. PeR ‘tree’ | -> | *peR-an |
| d. ghar ‘house’ | -> | *ghar-an |

- (36)
- | | | |
|-------------------------|----|------------|
| a. kitab-waa ‘book-FM’ | -> | kitab-w-an |
| b. Tebul-waa ‘table-FM’ | -> | Tebul-w-an |
| c. peR-waa ‘tree-FM’ | -> | peR-w-an |
| d. ghar-waa ‘house-FM’ | -> | ghar-w-an |

5.2. Denotation of bare nominals

- Depending on a context, bare nominals can be interpreted as singular or plural (Alok 2012).⁷

⁶I do not present the presuppositional part of the meaning in every step of the derivation. Once the presupposition is checked and found defined I do next steps of the derivation without it, just for the simplicity.

⁷Bare nouns are also ambiguous between definite and indefinite reading.

- (37) Santeeaa **kitaab** rakhale hai.
 Santee.FM book keep be
 'Santee has (a/the) book(s).'
- (38) Ham bazaar jaait hi **kitaab** kharide.
 I market going be book buy
 'I am going to the marker to buy (a/the) book(s).'

- Thus, bare nouns are number neutral in Magahi. In other words, the denotation of bare nouns includes singularities along with pluralities in its extension (Link 1983, Landman 1989, Chierchia 1998).

5.3. Denotation of waa-nouns

- *waa*-nouns are also number neutral.
- In (39), the singular *waa*-noun *kitab-waa* 'book-FM' refers to the previously mentioned plural phrase *du go kitaab* 'two CL book'. Moreover, the answer of (39), given in (40), shows that *waa*-nouns can also be interpreted plural in existential contexts.

- (39) Tebul par **du go kitaab** halai. **kitab-waa** kaa holai ?
 table on two CL book be.PRF book.FM what happen-PRF
 'There were two books on the table. Where are the books?'

- (40) matuk-waa bhir **kitab-waa** hai.
 Matuk-FM near book-FM be.PRES
 'Matuk has the books.'

- *waa*-nouns are number neutral can also be seen in example (41) where a *waa*-noun is in subject position and can be interpreted either as singular or plural depending on the context.

- (41) a. kal ham **du-go kitaab** kharidli hal. **kitab-waa** baRhiyaaN hai.
 yesterday I two-CL book bought be-PRF book-FM nice be-PRES
 'Yesterday, I bought two books. The books are nice.'
- b. kal ham **e-go kitaab** kharidli hal. **kitab-waa** baRhiyaaN hai.
 yesterday I one-CL book bought be-PST book-FM nice be-PRES
 'Yesterday, I bought a book. The book is nice.'

- Compatibility of *waa*-nouns with plural quantifiers and reciprocal also show that *waa*-nouns are number neutral.

- (42) sab/kuchh kitab-waa
 all/some bokk-FM
 'all/some books'

- (43) admi-aa ek dusraa ke dekhkai.
 man-FM one second ACC saw
 'The men saw each other.'

- Like bare nouns, the denotation of *waa*-nouns includes singularities along with pluralities in its extension.
- The difference between bare nouns and *waa*-nouns is that the denotation of *waa*-nouns is a familiar set.

5.4. Denotation of the plural marker *-an*

- The plural marker *-an* shows strict plurality in Magahi.
- Example (44) shows that only a plural interpretation is available for the plural marker in existential contexts.

(44) santiiaa bhiir **kitab-w-an** hai.
 Santee near book-FM-PL be.PRES
 'Santee has the books/*the book.'

- Another piece of evidence in support of strict plurality interpretation of the plural marker *-an* comes from the context of negation.
- Consider a context where a person has two cats in her house in which one is sitting on a mat.

(45) ChaTaiyaa par **bila-iyaa na** hau. (False in C-12)
 mat on cat-FM NEG is
 Lit: 'The cat is not on the mat.'

(46) ChaTaiyaa par **bilai-y-an na** hau. (True in C-12)
 mat on cat-FM-PL NEG is
 Lit: 'The cats are not on the mat.'



Context:12

- Now, consider English example (47) in the same context.
- (47) There are **no cats** on the mat. (False in C-12)
- Like only *-waa* marked nouns, plural marked nouns in English also make the sentence false in the context of negation.
 - Chierchia (2010), following Sauerland (2003), argues that the plural morpheme *-s* in English includes singularities along with pluralities in its denotation. If they would have included pluralities only, a sentence like (44) would be true in a situation where there is just one cat on the mat.
 - Following Chierchia's reasoning, the sentence with *waa*-nouns, (45), shows that *waa*-nouns have singularity and plurality in its denotation, like English *-s* while example (46) shows that the Magahi plural marker denotes strict plurality.

- Semantics of plural marker *-an*: *-an* is a function of type $\langle\langle e, t \rangle \langle e, t \rangle\rangle$ that applies to sets of atoms and their sums and returns non-atoms.

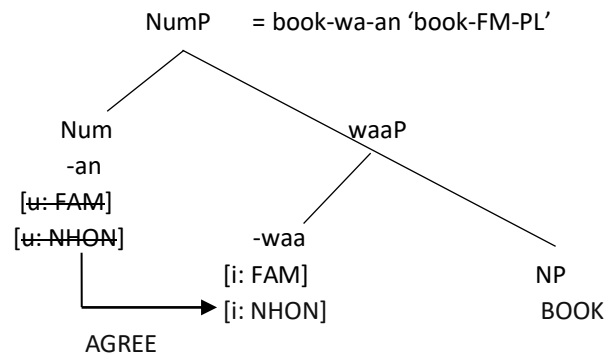
$$(48) \quad \llbracket -an \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda x [P(x) \wedge \exists y \in P [y \leq x \wedge x \neq y]]$$

Where P is familiar and nonhonorific

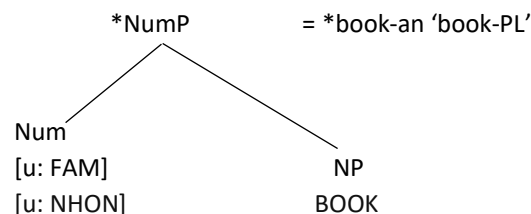
(explains the dependency on the particle *-waa*.)

- In syntax, the plural marker in Magahi carries uninterpretable familiarity [uFAM] and non-honorificity feature [uNHON]. In (49a), these features are checked against the interpretable familiarity and nonhonorificity features of *-waa* via *Agree* (Chomsky 1995). In (49b), on the other hand, features of *-an* remain unchecked since the bare noun does not have such features, leading to the ungrammaticality.

(49) a.



b.



6.-waa and definiteness

- In all the examples, *waa*-nouns have been translated in English with definite determiner which indicates that there is an obligatory definite reading associated with *-waa*.
- One can then argue that *-waa* has the semantics of a definite determiner (Kumar 2018), like English or German.
- However, I have not analyzed definiteness as a part of the meaning of *-waa*. Rather, I argued that the definite reading is derived by applying the covert type shifter *iota* (see step 3, (iii) in (35) above).

- Some advantages separating definiteness from -waa
- Bare nouns are ambiguous between definite and indefinite reading in Magahi (also Alok 2012, 2014).

(50) Ham kitaab paRhali.
 I book read
 'I read a/the book(s).'
 'I did book reading.'

- The definite reading can be derived by assuming covert type shift of iota in Magahi grammar, as in (51).

(51) $\text{iota} = \lambda P.\iota x.[P(x)]$ (apply covertly)

- However, if we assume that *-waa* is a definite marker in Magahi which encodes definiteness as its lexical meaning, we will not be able to derive the definite reading associated with bare nouns in Magahi since covert type shift is seen as a last resort in grammar (Chierchia 1998, Dayal 2004, 2013) and thus it will not be available for bare forms in Magahi.

(52) **Blocking principle ('Type shifting as a last Resort')**

For any type shifting operation π and any X:

* $\iota(X)$

if there is a determiner D such that for any set X in its domain, $D(X) = \iota(X)$.

Chierchia (1998:360)

- Moreover, we will have also difficulty in explaining the fact that *-waa* allows an indefinite reading in numeral constructions, as in (53a), and a few quantifier constructions, as in (53b) in Magahi.

(53) a. caar go kitab-waa
 'four CL book-FM'
 'Four of the books'

b. kuchh kitab-waa
 some book-FM
 'Some of the books'

- We want 'four' in (53a) to combine with *[go [kitab-waa]]* and 'some' in (53b) to combine with *[kitab-waa]* and end up with an indefinite reading. This would not be possible if *-waa* itself encodes definiteness.

Conclusion

- In this talk, I investigated the properties of morpheme *-waa* along with bare nominals and the plural marker *-an*.
- I showed that *-waa* is attached only to nouns. Magahi thus has two forms on nouns. I called them 'bare nouns' and '*waa*-nouns'. Furthermore, I called *-waa* a nominal particle.
- Next, I showed that *-waa* has two components of meanings: familiarity and nonhonorificity. I analyzed former as presuppositional meaning and the latter as expressive meaning.
- Following Potts and Kawahara (2004), Potts (2007) and McCready (2010), I analyzed *-waa* as an expression of mixed type.
- Further, I discussed the denotation of bare nominals, *waa*-nouns, and the plural marker *-an*.
- I showed that bare nominals and *waa*-nouns both are number neutral i.e., they denote complete atomic joint semilattice (Link 1983, Landman 1989, Chierchia 1998).
- The plural marker *-an*, on the other hand, unlike English plural marker *-s*, denotes only groups.
- To explain the fact that the marker *-an* is attached to only *waa*-nouns, I proposed that *-an* has a semantics that allows it to attach only to familiar and nonhonorific property.
- I also proposed a syntactic analysis arguing that the plural marker *-an* in Magahi has uninterpretable familiarity and nonhonorificity features that can be only checked in the case of *waa*-nouns.
- I closed this talk arguing that even though there is a definite reading associated with *-waa*, this definite reading cannot be lexically encoded meaning of *-waa*. I argued that the definite reading is derived by covert type shift of iota. Thus, the source of definiteness is the same in the case of bare nouns and *waa*-nouns.

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