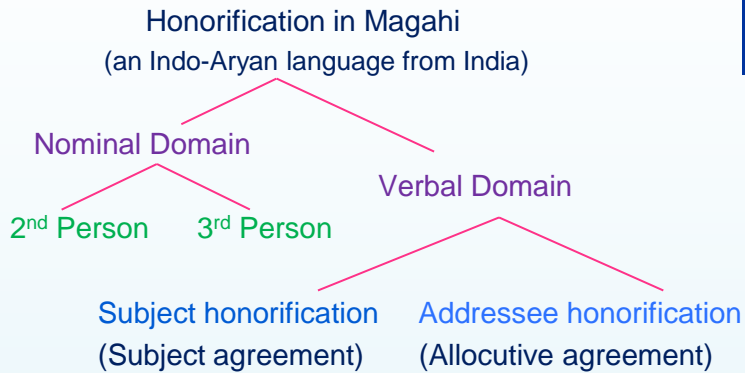


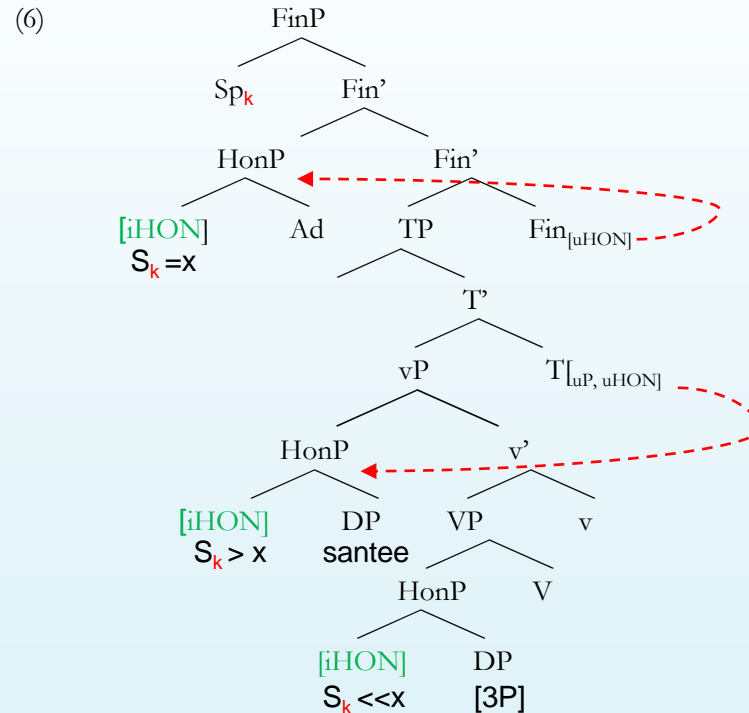
## 1. OVERVIEW



## 2. DATA

- (1) a. **Tu** Ram-ke dekh**l-eN** / dekh**l-a**  
You Ram-ACC saw-2NHS saw-2HS  
'You (my friend/my elder) saw Ram.'  
b. **Apne** Ram-ke dekh**la-thi(n)**.  
you.HH Ram-ACC saw-2HHS  
'You (my teacher) saw Ram.'
- (2) a. Santeeaa **okraa** / **unkaa** dekh**l-ai**  
Santee.FM him.NH/him.(H)H saw-NH  
'Santee saw him (a friend/father or a teacher).'
- b. Baabaa/MaTar-saaheb **okraa** / **unkaa** dekh**l-thi(n)**.  
Grandfather/teacher him.NH/him.(H)H saw-(H)H  
'Grandfather/teacher saw him (a friend/ father or a priest)'
- (3) Ham jaait h-i-**au** / h-i-**o**/h-i-**ain**  
I going be-1-NHA/ be-1-HA/ be-1-HHA  
'I am going.' (to a friend/ to father/ to a teacher)

## 3. Claim



- (7)  $[[iHON]] = \lambda x. S_i < x$   
where  $<$  represents an ordering (hierarchical) relation ( $<, <<, \geq$ )

- (8) i.  $[[iHON:NH]] = \lambda x. S_i \geq x$   
ii.  $[[iHON:H]] = \lambda x. S_i < x$   
iii.  $[[iHON:HH]] = \lambda x. S_i << x$

## 2. DATA

- Magahi Add-Agr is **non-root** clause phenomenon..

- (4) **Relative clause**  
Laikwaa [je kalaas aawa hl-**au**] u bimaar h-au.  
Boy REL class come was-NHA DEM sick is-NH  
'The boy who used to came to class is sick.'

- (5) **Noun complement clause**  
Aphawaah [ki u mar gel-**au**] sahii hal-au.  
rumor COMP he die went.NHA true was-NHA  
'The rumor that he died was true.'

## 4. Advantage over PPZ (2019)

- (9) a. **Apne** **okar** kitaab **unkaa** del-thin  
you.HH his.NH book him.H gave-3.HHS  
You (=teacher) will introduce his (= a brother) to him (=father).'
- b.  $[FinP Sp_i Fin [You_k \text{ returned } his_n \text{ book to } him_m]]$   
 $HH:(i < k)$   $H:(i \geq n)$   $NH:(i < m)$

- Each DP independently expresses its social rank relative to the speaker, unlike Portner et al (2019), where it is fixed on a C-like head.

## Selected References

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Verma, M. 1991. Exploring the parameters of agreement: the case of Magahi