

On Bangla: *go* and *re*

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1 Distribution of Bangla *go* and *re*

This presentation is about two addressee agreement markers in Bangla, *go* and *re*, found in the periphery of the clausal domain. We argue that on a broad definition of allocutivity, these are allocutive markers.

1.1 *go* and *re* and solidarity and familiarity

- *go* and *re* are linguistic items that encode information about the relationship shared between the S(peaker) and the A(ddressee)-Interlocutor in Bangla (Eastern-Indo-Aryan).
- They are optional.
- *go* and *re* are used to mark solidarity and familiarity with the Addressee-Interlocutor [see (1a)]. When solidarity and familiarity are absent in a relationship, which is the case when two people are strangers, *go* and *re* cannot show up [see (1b)].

- (1) a. mala mon dije kadʒ kortʃʰiʃ-e re/go
 3SG.NOM.L2 mind with work do.INDF.PRS-L3.2 RE/GO
 Intended: ‘Mala is doing the work mindfully’

- b. *apni mon dije kadʒ kortʃ^hen-na go/re
 2SG.NOM.L3 mind with work do.INDF.PRS-NEG GO/RE
 Intended: ‘you (formal) are not doing the work mindfully’

- Bangla encodes the level of politeness between the Speaker and Addressee-Interlocutor/Referent in both the nominal domain (via its pronouns) and the verbal domain (agreement).
- Building on Roy (2022), we represent the three levels of Bangla politeness via:
 - L(evel)1: $L1 = [S \geq A]$, 0
 - L(evel)2: $[S \leq A]$, 1
 - L(evel)3: $[S \leq A]$, 2

$S \geq A$ and $[S \leq A]$ are values of Portner, Pak, and Zanuttini (2019)’s hierarchical feature [STATUS], which represents the ageal difference or difference in social status between and S(peaker) and the A(ddressee-interlocutor). 0, 1, 2 values on a formality scale, represented by the feature FORMAL. 0 is the value of FORMAL when there is maximum intimacy shared between the A and A-I.

- *re* signals that FORMAL is 0 [see (2a)].
- *go* signals that FORMAL is 1 [see(2b)]

- (2) a. tui mon dije kadʒ kortʃ^hiʃ-na re
 2SG.NOM.L1 mind with work do.INDF.PRS.L1-NEG RE
 Intended: ‘you are not doing the work mindfully’ (Addressee-Interlocutor is the speaker’s friend, sibling NOT parent, grandparent, teacher, boss)
- b. tumi mon dije kadʒ kortʃ^ho-na go
 2SG.NOM.L2 mind with work do.INDF.PRS.L2-NEG GO
 ‘you are not doing the work mindfully’ (Addressee-Interlocutor is the speaker’s parent, grandparent, NOT friend, sibling, teacher or boss)

Figure 1: Occurrence of allocutive forms in different clause types (Table 7 from Antonov (2015))

	Basque	Pumé	Nambikwara	Mandan	Beja	Korean	Japanese
declarative	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
interrogative	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no?</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
exclamative	<i>no</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no?</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
imperative	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes?</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no?</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
dependent	<i>(no)</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no?</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>(yes)</i>

1.2 go and re and the various clause types

1.3 declarative

Go and *re* can appear in declaratives

1.4 interrogative

- *go* and *re* can appear in interrogative clauses, both wh-questions and polar ones, as shown in (3). This suggests that the *go/re* projection and the CP projection are not in complementary distribution.

(3) (Banerjee et al., 2022, p. 7) (Examples 11 and 12)

a. Polar question

t̥ui dʒab-i re?
 2.SG.L1.NOM go-FUT.L1 RE.[S ≥ A]
 ‘Will you go?’

b. Wh-question

t̥umi kothaj dʒab-e go
 2.SG.L2.NOM where go-FUT.L2 GO.[S ≤ A]
 ‘Where will you go?’

1.5 exclamative

1.6 imperatives and prohibitives

- *go* and *re* are both barred when there is an absentee addressee, i.e. it is disallowed with prohibitives [see (4)], proving further that the manifestation of *go* and *re* requires explicit addressee-interlocutors.

(4) *ek^hane d^humpan niʃed^h go/re
here smoking prohibited GO.[S ≤ A]/RE.[S ≥ A]
Intended 'Smoking is prohibited here'

1.7 dependent/embedded clause

2 Suffixed to the verb or scoping over the entire clause

- *go* and *re* are usually adjacent to the verb, however, they need not always be adjacent to the verb [see (5)].

(5) *kæno tfok^her jole b^hidzije dilam na* written by Rabindranath Tagore

ke dzanto aʃbe tumi go anahuter moton
who knew come.FUT.3 2.SG.L2 GO uninvited like

'Who knew that you you will come uninvited.'

- "the linguistic encoding (in certain socio-pragmatic and syntactic circumstances) of a non-argumental addressee in some or all main clause predicates." (Antonov, 2016, p. 1)
- Initially used only to describe the facts of Basque

	W Basque	E Basque	Japanese	Korean	Bangla
gender	yes	yes (familiar)	no	no	no
number (SG vs PL)	yes (SG)	yes (SG/PL?)	no	no	no
solidarity	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
respect	no	yes	yes	yes	no

Table 1: Information about the addressee conveyed by verbal allocutive markers

- (6) a. *etfe-a banu*
house-ALL 1S.GO
'I am going to the house.'
- b. *etfe-a banu-k*
house-ALL 1S.GO-ALLOC:M
'I am going to the house.' (male addressee)
- c. *etfe-a banu-n*
house-ALL 1S.GO-ALLOC:F
'I am going to the house.' (female addressee)
- d. *etfe-a banu-sy*
house-ALL 1S.GO-ALLOC:RSP
'I am going to the house.' (respected addressee)

3 Why Bangla go and re are allocutive markers

- Allocutive markers (a) encode psycho-social relations between the Speaker and Addressee-Interlocutor (Portner, Pak, & Zanuttini, 2019) and, (b) do not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance since they do not refer to any entity.
- Bangla go and re satisfy these conditions [see (7)]. In (7a) there is no allocutive marker present, while the allocutive marker is present in (7b). (7a) is true in a world where Mala eats lunch. With the addition of go, as in (7b), the utterance retains this truth condition. However, what is signalled now is that the addressee-

interlocutor is older to the Speaker.

- (7) a. mala adʒ dupure b^hat k^hajeni
 Mala today noon rice eat.PFV.NEG
 ‘Mala did not eat lunch today.’
- b. mala adʒ dupure b^hat k^hajeni go
 Mala today noon rice eat.PFV.NEG GO.[S ≤ A]
 ‘Mala did not eat lunch today.’

4 The syntax of *go* and *re*

- The fact that *go/re* is hierarchically the highest, suggests that the *go/re* projection scopes over the main clause CP. This is evident from example (8) below, where *go* appears above the main clause CP. In fact, *go* and *re* can only occur in root clauses and cannot be embedded. This is illustrated in (9) below.

- (8) [cP [CP [CP or didi boʻo gaʻi kinuk bole] Mala
 [cP [CP [CP 3.SG.L2.GEN older-sister big car buy.SUBJ C] Mala
 tʃaje] go]
 want.INDF.PRS.3] GO.[S ≤ A]]
 ‘Mala wants that her older sister buy a big car’
- (9) *[CP [cP [CP or didi boʻo gaʻi kinuk bole] go]
 [CP [cP [CP 3.SG.L2.GEN older-sister big car buy.SUBJ C] GO.[S ≤ A]]
 Mala tʃaje]
 Mala want.INDF.PRS.3]
 Intended: ‘Mala wants that her older sister buy a big car’

- Banerjee et al (2022) mention that *go* and *re* can be argued to be overt realizations of c-heads of c(ontextual) phrases. In the spirit of Speas and Tenny (2003), following Portner et al., we provide here an articulated structure of the cP layer that accommodates *go/re* [see Figure 2].

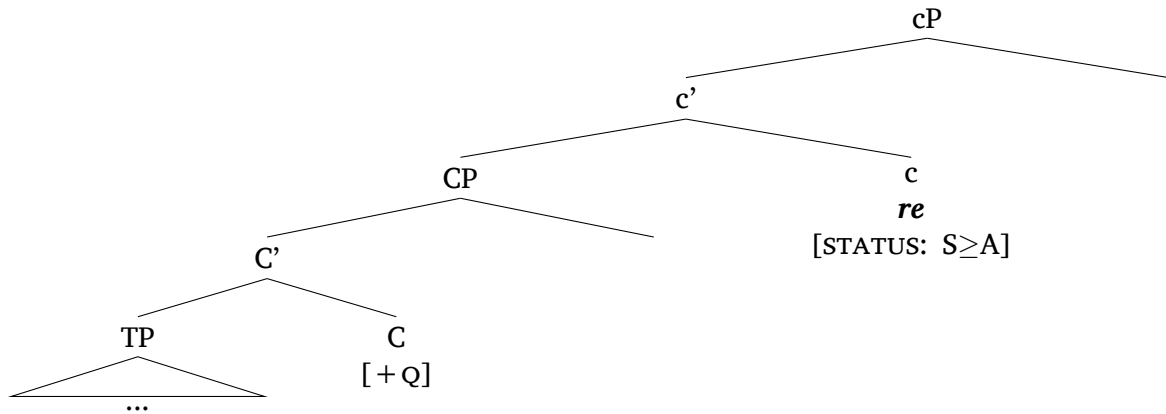


Figure 2: The cP layer of the Bangla clausal spine with illustrated with *re* as the c head

- The c head in the c(ontext) Phrase cannot select for a complement that is a declarative clause and has a second person main clause subject. *go*/RE are not even compatible with a declarative matrix clause having a second person subject in the embedded CP with a phrase initial complementizer, as evident from (10b).

- (10) a. *tumi dilli dzabe go
 2SG.L2.NOM Delhi go.FUT.2.L2 GO.[S ≤ A]
 Intended meaning: ‘You will go to Delhi.’
- b. *ami dzani dze tumi dilli dzabe
 1.SG.NOM know.INDF.PRS.1 C 2SG.L2.NOM Delhi go.FUT.2.L2
 go
 GO.[S ≤ A]
 ‘Intended meaning: ‘I know that you will go to Delhi.’

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