Magahi (In)Definiteness Spreading

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1 Introduction & Background

1.1 Magahi Adjectival Modification

- Magahi is an Eastern Indo-Aryan (EIA) language spoken in Bihar.[1]
- Some forms of adjectives/nouns in Magahi are similar to Hindi-Urdu (1).
- However, Magahi has a definite suffix *-wā* (2) and adjectives modifying nouns with *-wā* take the suffix *-kā*/*-ki* (3).

(1) baṛā kuttā
big dog
'big dog'

(2) kut-**wā**
dog-CLF.DEF
'the dog'

(3) baṛ-**kā** kut-**wā**
big-D dog-CLF.DEF
'the big dog'

1.2 Determiner Spreading

- Determiner spreading (DS) is a phenomenon in the syntax of modification involving "extra" determiners.

(4) **to** megalo **to** kokino **to** vivlio — Greek
the big **the** red **the** book — (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998: 303)
'the big red book'

1.3 Indefinite Determiner Spreading

- Indefinite DS is the indefinite counterpart of definite DS.

(5) **ei** stor **ei** fin **ei** seng — Senja Norwegian (Anderssen et al. 2019: 14)
a big **a** fine **a** bed
'a big nice bed'

- Indefinite DS is less common and has received less theoretical attention.
- Despite their surface similarities, Alexiadou (2006, 2014) has argued that definite and indefinite DS have different syntactic structures.

1.4 Multiple Classifier Constructions

- I am calling DPs with "extra" classifiers multiple classifier constructions (MCCs).

(6) nók **tua** sĭi-k^{h}ĭaw **tua** jàj — Thai (Hundius & Kölver 1983: 169)
bird CLF green CLF big
'the big green bird'

Goals for Today's Talk

- To compare the use of Magahi *-kā* to DS and argue that the Magahi pattern is an instance of Greek-type DS.
- To support a reduced relative clause (RRC) analysis of Greek-type DS.
- To show that the RRC analysis can be extended to Greek-type indefinite DS and MCCs.
- To explore why languages with definite DS don't always have indefinite DS.
- To revisit the generalization that double/multiple articulation cannot occur without single articulation (Plank 2003).

2 Magahi Classifiers and *-wā*

- Magahi is a numeral classifier language (Aikhenvald 2000) in the sense that classifiers are required for numerals and nouns to combine.

[1]I'd like to thank Ram Charitra Sharma, Ram Kumar, Ram Khelawan Sharma, Rakesh Sharma, and Kumar Brajesh for their time in providing and discussing the Magahi data in this paper. I'd also like to thank Maria Kouneli, Mark Baker, Dorothy Ahn, Sreekar Raghotham, Shannon Bryant, Ka Fai Yip, and the Fieldwork Lab at Rutgers for feedback on earlier versions of this work.

- Unlike the larger (South)(East) Asian classifier inventories, however, Magahi has only two classifiers, *ṭho* and *-go*, in free variation.[2]

(7) a. **{ek ṭho, e-go}** kuttā
{one CLF, one-CLF} dog
'a/one dog'

b. **{tin ṭho, tin-go}** ādmi
{three CLF, three-CLF} man
'three men'

c. **{pə̃c ṭho, pə̃c-go}** kitāb
{five CLF, five-CLF} book
'five books'

d. **{chau ṭho, chau-go}** ām
{six CLF, six-CLF} mango
'six mangoes'

- Magahi also has a nominal suffix *-wā* (allomorphs: *-wā*, *-* $\tilde{a}$, *-(i)y* $\tilde{a}$, *-mā*, *-bā*; Sinha 1966), which gives rise to a definite interpretation.
- I will follow Kumar (2020); Sharma (2025) in taking *-wā* to occupy the classifier position.
- Kumar (2020) notes that Magahi *-wā* definites look similar to "bare classifier" definites in other EIA languages.

(8) a. ɛk **ʈa** boi Bangla (Dayal 2012: 204)
one **CLF** book
'a/one book'

b. boi **ʈa**
book **CLF**
'the book'

(9) a. go-**te** ghoṛa Odia (Das 2022: 18)
one-**CLF** horse
'a/one horse'

b. ghoṛa-**ta**
horse-**CLF**
'the horse'

[2]Though some speakers note a slight preference for using *-go* with animate nouns.

(10) a. ɛ-**zɒn** manuh Asamiya (Goswami & Tamuli 2003: 456,475)
one-**CLF** man
'a/one man'

b. manuh-**zɒn**
man-**CLF**
'the man'

(11) a. e-**go** kitāb Magahi
one-**CLF** book
'a/one book'

b. kitab-**bā**
book-**CLF.DEF**
'the book'

- While classifiers in the other EIA languages generally have the same form in definites and indefinites, definite allomorphs of classifiers are attested.

(12) a. (i^{7}) **paŋ^{3}** si^{1} Wenzhou Wu
one **CLF** book (modified from Cheng & Sybesma 2005: 266-267)
'a/one book'

b. **paŋ^{7}** si^{1}
CLF.DEF book
'the book'

- Additionally, there is an alternation between *-wā* and *-go* after modifiers in definites and indefinites, respectively (Sharma 2025).

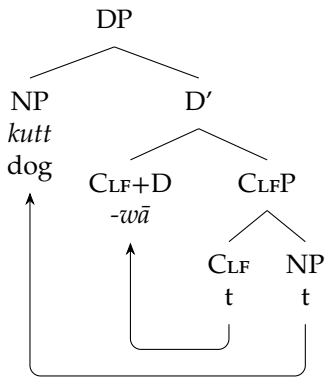
(13) a. e-go **baṛ-kā-{go / *wā}** kuttā
one-CLF **big-D-{CLF / *CLF.DEF}** dog
'a/one big dog'

b. **baṛ-ka-{wā / *go}** kut-wā
big-D-{CLF.DEF / *CLF} dog-CLF.DEF
'the big dog'

- Therefore, I take *-wā* to be the definite allomorph of the Magahi classifier(s).

- In bare classifier constructions, I assume *-wā* undergoes CLF to D movement and the NP raises to SpecDP (Simpson 2005; Sharma 2025).

(14)



3 Magahi *-kā* in Definite DPs

- When Magahi nouns are suffixed with *-wā*, adjectives in the DP are suffixed with *-kā* (masc.) or *-ki* (fem.).
- I will generally refer to this suffix just as *-kā* and follow Grierson & Hoernle (1885) in calling adjectives suffixed with *-kā* the "long" form.
- This is recursive and applies to all adjectives in the DP.

(15) a. baṛ-**kā** kar-**kā** kutt-**wā**
big-D black-D dog-CLF.DEF
'the big black dog'

b. okar baṛ-**ki** moṭ-**ki** bahani-**yā** (modified from Kumar 2022a: 37)
3.POSS big-D fat-D sister-CLF.DEF
'his eldest fattest sister'

- However, not all adjectives are compatible with *-kā*.
- Non-predicative adjectives must occur bare.

(16) a. *i masṭar-wā **bartamān** hai
DEM.PROX teacher-CLF.DEF current is
Intended: 'This teacher is current.'

b. hamar **bartamān-*kā** masṭar-wā amerika se hai
1SG.GEN current-*D teacher-CLF.DEF America from is
'My current teacher is from America.'

- Besides *barthamān* 'current', other non-predicative adjectives that cannot occur with *-kā* include: *kathit* 'so called', *bhāwisi* 'future', *diwangat* 'late', *ām* 'common', *becāra* 'poor', *dāhina* 'right', *bā̃ya* 'left', and *khās* 'special'.
- Finally, the use of *-kā* requires a restrictive interpretation. The following sentence is only acceptable in Context 2.

(17) **#CONTEXT 1:** You saw one dog yesterday.
CONTEXT 2: You saw two dogs yesterday.
baṛ-kā kut-wā baṛi sundar halai
big-D dog-CLF.DEF very beautiful was
'The big dog was very beautiful.'

3.1 Comparison to DS

- DS is observed in a variety of languages, but not always with the same properties.
- Alexiadou (2014) compares Greek, Swedish, and Hebrew (18-20).

(18) **to** kokino **to** vivlio Greek (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998: 40)
the red **the** book
'the red book'

(19) **den** ny-a bok-**en** Swedish (Alexiadou 2014: 2)
the new-WEAK book-**the**
'the new book'

(20) **ha** smalot **ha** yapot Hebrew (Alexiadou 2014: 2)
the dresses **the** nice
'the nice dresses'

- These languages all have superficially similar patterns with multiple determiners.
- Yet, Greek (21) and Hebrew (23) both have an additional determiner for each additional adjective, while in Swedish (22) there will be two determiners regardless of the number of adjectives.

(21) **to** vivlio **to** kokino **to** megalo — Greek (Alexiadou 2014: 19)
the book **the** red **the** big
'the big red book'

(22) **den** gamle **(*den)** snälle mann-**en** — Swedish (Alexiadou 2014: 66)
the old ***the** kind man-**the**
'the kind old man'

(23) **ha**-šulxan **ha**-šaxor **ha**-arox šeli — Hebrew (Sichel 2008: 300)
the-table **the**-long **the**-black my
'my long black table'

- Greek (24) does not allow adjectives that cannot occur in predicative positions, such as "only" or "former", but Swedish (25) and Hebrew (26) do.

(24) *o **monos** tu o erotas — Greek (Alexiadou 2014: 57)
the **only** his the love
Intended: 'his only love'

(25) den **förre** president-en — Swedish (Alexiadou 2014: 66)
the **former** president-the
'the former president'

(26) ha-xaver ha-**yaxid** šel rina — Hebrew (Alexiadou 2014: 81)
the-friend the-**single** of Rina
'the only friend of Rina'

- Finally, in the case of Greek determiner spreading, the adjective(s) must be interpreted restrictively.
- The two sentences below differ only in whether the noun phrase "the competent researchers" has determiner spreading (27a) or not (27b).

(27) a. O diefthindis dilose oti **i kali erevnites** tha
the director declared that **the competent researchers** be
eprepe na apolithun.
should PRT fired
'The director declared that the competent researchers would be fired.'

b. O diefthindis dilose oti **i kali i erevnites** tha
the director declared that the competent the researchers be
eprepe na apolithun.
should PRT fired
'The director declared that the competent researchers would be fired.' Greek (Kolliakou 2004: 270)

- Sentence (27a) has two possible interpretations: only the efficient researchers will be fired (restrictive) or the efficient researchers are part of a larger group of researchers that will be fired (nonrestrictive).
- Sentence (27b), with DS, only has the restrictive reading.
- Such interpretational effects are not found with multiple determiners in Swedish or Hebrew.
- Given these differences among the patterns in Greek, Swedish, and Hebrew, a basic typology of DS emerges.

(28)

	Recursive?	Predicative?	Restrictive?
Greek, Magahi	✓	✓	✓
Swedish	✗	✗	✗
Hebrew	✓	✗	✗

- Alexiadou (2014) proposes that the Swedish pattern is the result of a split DP structure, while Hebrew is best analyzed as definiteness agreement.
- Magahi (Sinha 1966; Verma 2003) adjectives are usually assumed to involve definiteness agreement like Hebrew.
- However, an agreement analysis would not explain why Magahi DS doesn't occur with non-predicative adjectives or has requires a restrictive interpretation.

- Given the similarity to Greek-type DS, I will propose a similar analysis for the Magahi pattern. However, Magahi does differ from Greek in one important aspect.
- While Greek allows adjectives in DS to occur post-nominally (29), Magahi does not – except with significantly different prosody which presumably indicates a different structure (30).

(29) to vivlio to kokkino to megalo — Greek
the book the red the big — (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998: 317)
'the big red book'

(30) kut-wā *(,) baṛ-kā — Magahi
dog-CLF.DEF , big-D
'the dog, the big one'

- Greek DS also changes the word order possibilities just among adjectives themselves. Without DS, adjectives are subject to ordering restrictions that disappear with DS. Magahi does not have any ordering restrictions on adjectives with or without DS.
- With this in mind, I will review the most prominent analysis of Greek DS and see which one is best suited for the Magahi data.

3.2 Analysis

3.2.1 Against Close Apposition

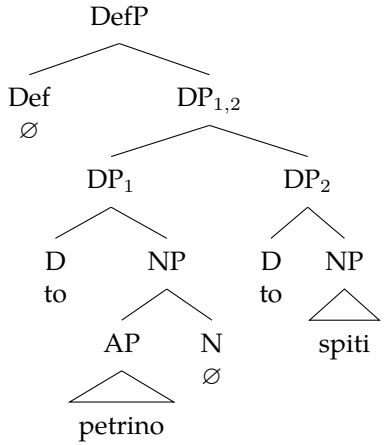
- Lekakou & Szendrői (2012) focus on the comparison of close apposition structures to DS in Greek, which also exhibit multiple word order possibilities.

(31) a. o aetos to puli — Greek (Lekakou & Szendrői 2012: 110)
the eagle the bird

b. to puli o aetos
the bird the eagle
'the eagle that is a bird'

- For close apposition, Lekakou & Szendrői propose a complex DP structure composed of sister DPs. In this structure, it is a Def head in a higher DefP projection that contributes definiteness, rather than either of the determiners.
- Lekakou & Szendrői (2012: 120-121) claim that DS involves a similar structure, where one DP has an elided nominal.
- The structure for *to petrino to spiti* 'the stone the house' is given in (32).

(32)



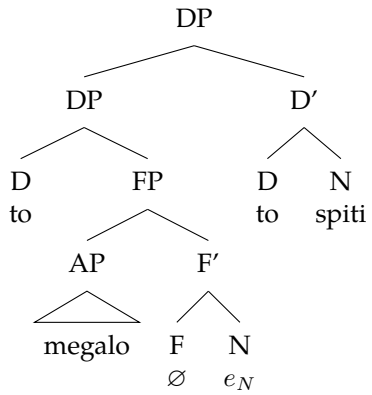
- This analysis accounts for the Greek word order possibilities, and the restrictive interpretation is captured by the proposed R(eferential)-role identification enforced by this structure (see Lekakou & Szendrői 2012 Section 2.1 for details).
- However, the predicative source of adjectives is not captured in this analysis, and is not intended to be, as Lekakou & Szendrői (2012: 132) challenge this restriction for Greek.
- So, adopting this analysis for Magahi runs into two main issues: Magahi's word order is not flexible like Greek's and close apposition doesn't explain why non-predicative adjectives are bad with *-kā*.

3.2.2 Against DP Predication

- Panagiotidis & Marinis (2011) also propose an analysis in which the determiner adjective sequence in DS is part of an elliptical DP that contains a phonologically null noun e_N.

- However, rather than sister DPs, Panagiotidis & Marinis (2011: 290) propose that one DP is in the subject position of another DP.
- The structure for *to megalo to spiti* 'the big the house' is given in (33).

(33)

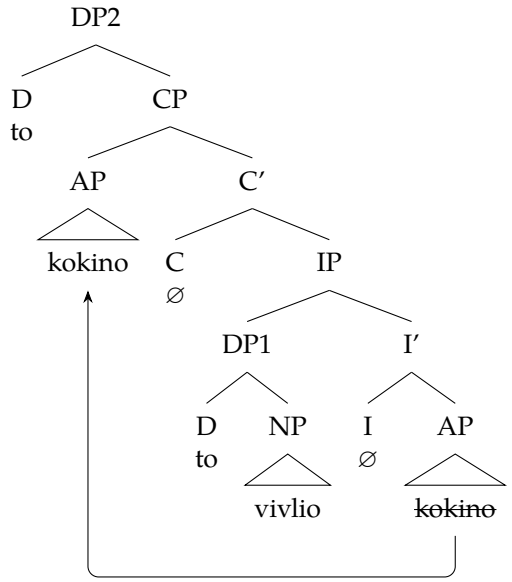


- This analysis is recursive and captures the Greek word order possibilities.
- However, although it is a predicative structure, the adjectives are not predicative. In this analysis, the predicate is a DP, not an AP.
- Additionally, given the difference in word order possibilities, this proposal is not on the right track for Magahi.

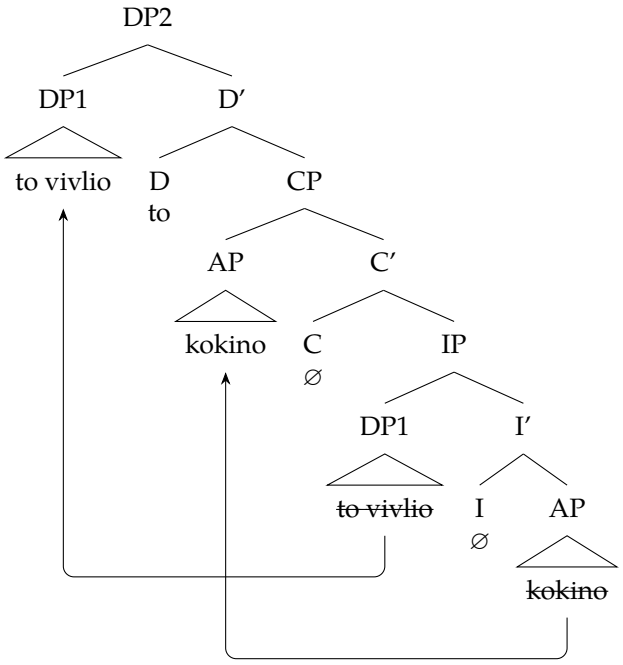
3.2.3 Reduced Relative Clauses

- Alexiadou & Wilder (1998); Alexiadou (2014) build on the raising analysis of relative clauses in Kayne (1994) to account for Greek DS.
- Specifically, they propose that a determiner takes a RRC complement with a subject DP and predicate AP. The AP subsequently raises to SpecCP, making these predicate-raising rather than head-raising RCs.
- The proposed structure for *to kokino to vivlio* 'the red the book' is in (34).
- This structure is recursive and captures the predicative source of adjectives. The restrictive interpretation is proposed to derive from DS being a subcase of indirect modification (Sproat & Shih 1988; Cinque 2010).
- Finally, the word order alternations are explained by movement of the lowest DP containing the NP to the SpecDP position of a higher DP (35).

(34)



(35)



3.3 Extending the RRC Analysis to Magahi

- The predicative source associated with the RRC analysis is consistent with the behavior of other predicative phrases in Magahi.

(36) ekrā liye taiyar-kā adamiyā
DEM.PROX.OBL for ready-D man-CLF.DEF
'the man who is ready for this'

(37) hamrā se lam-kā laṛka-wā
1SG.OBL than tall-D boy-CLF.DEF
'the boy who is taller than me'

- The RRC analysis also finds direct support from Magahi participial clauses.
- These RRCs are marked by a participial morpheme -(*a*)*l* and can also occur with *-kā*.
- These RRCS can be of various sizes, containing: just a verb (38a), a verb and subject in a by-phrase (38b), a verb and a direct object (38c), and a verb and a time adverb (38d).
- Sentences (38c) and (38d) include auxiliary verbs in addition to the main verb in the RRC.
- Note also that the feminine allomorph *-ki* is used in (38c) after the RRC that modifies the feminine noun *laṛaki* 'girl', indicating this is indeed the same *-kā* suffix used in DS with adjectives.

(38) a. **tut-al-kā** gilas-wā
break-PTCP-D glass-CLF.DEF
'the broken glass'

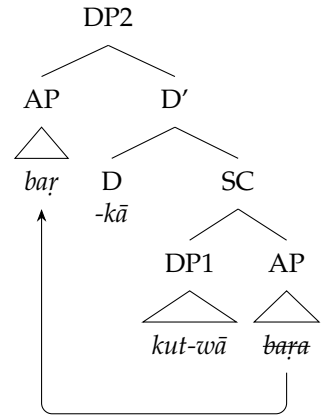
b. **rām ke dwāra likh-al-kā** kitab-bā
Ram GEN by write-PTCP-D book-CLF.DEF
'the book written by Ram'

c. **ām khā rah-al-ki** laṛki-yā
mango eat AUX-PTCP-D girl-CLF.DEF
'the girl eating a mango'

d. **abhi bol rah-al-kā** laṛka-wā
now talk AUX-PTCP-D boy-CLF.DEF
'the boy talking right now'

- These RRCs never occur with allocutive agreement located in FinP (Alok 2020, 2021; Rizzi 1997), so I assume that these RRCs are at least smaller than FinP.
- I am agnostic to their exact size and will label them SC for small clause, following Kouneli (2021).
- The structure I propose for *baṛ-kā kut-wā* 'the big dog' is given in (39).

(39)



- This structure has one major difference from the one proposed for Greek.
- In the Magahi example in (39), the AP raises to SpecDP, whereas in Greek Alexiadou & Wilder; Alexiadou propose that the AP raises to SpecCP above IP.
- This explains the difference in word order possibilities in Greek and Magahi.
- Since the AP moves to SpecDP in Magahi, this landing site is unavailable for the smaller DP, explaining why the noun-initial order is unavailable.
- This also explains the linear order between the AP and *-kā*.

Summary

- The Magahi pattern with *-kā* occurring after adjectives in definite DPs shares the characteristic properties of Greek DS.
- I have analyzed the Magahi pattern as Greek-type DS deriving from a RRC structure.
- The RRC analysis is further supported by the use of *-kā* with participial RCs in Magahi.

4 Magahi *-kā* in Indefinite DPs

- While *-kā* is usually assumed to be definite (Sinha 1966; Verma 2003), Kumar (2022a) has shown it can occur in indefinite DPs.

(40) pāpā, [**e-go baṛ-kā baet**] lete aiba kā
dad **one-CLF big-D bat** bring come Q
'Dad, bring me a big bat, won't you!' (modified from Kumar 2022a: 39)

- Here, I will show that even in indefinites it has the characteristic properties of Greek-type DS.
- In indefinites, DS with *-kā* is recursive (41), impossible with non-predicative adjectives (42), and restrictive (43).

(41) choṭ-**kā** moṭ-**kā** kutta
small-D fat-D dog
'a small fat dog'

(42) ek ṭho **barthamān-*kā** māsṭar
one CLF **present-*D** teacher
'a/one current teacher'

(43) a. ek ṭho **jaharilā-#kā gehũa sa̰p**
one CLF **poisonous-#D wheat snake**
'a poisonous cobra' (lit. wheat snake)

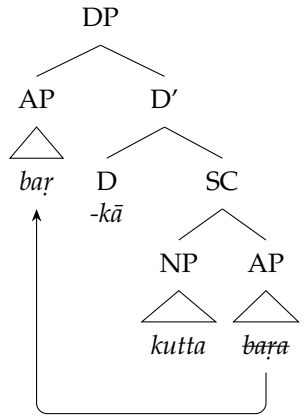
b. ek ṭho **jaharil-kā bhẽng**
one CLF **poisonous-D frog**
'a poisonous frog'

- Indefinite DS in Magahi also occurs in RRCs.

(44) **du ṭho taigor ke dwāra likh-al-kā** kitāb
two CLF Tagore GEN by write-PTCP-D book
'two books written by Tagore'

- So, I am adopting the RRC analysis for Magahi indefinite DS as well.
- I am assuming that *-kā* is underspecified for definiteness.
- The structure for *baṛ-kā kutta* 'big dog' is given in (45).

(45)



5 Magahi Classifiers and DS

- Magahi DS has another interesting quirk, which is that classifiers can also occur in addition to *-kā* after adjectives.
- I'll follow Grierson & Hoernle (1885) in calling these the "redundant" forms.
- This happens in both definite and indefinite DS, making these MCCs as well.

(46) a. baṛ-**ka-wā** kut-wā
big-**D-CLF.DEF** dog-CLF.DEF
'the big dog'

b. e-go baṛ-**kā-go** kuttā
one-CLF big-**D-CLF** dog
'a/one big dog'

- Indefinite MCCs have a different option for the determiner, which can be *-ka* or *-e*. The choice seems to depend on the adjective, though some are compatible with both options.
- *-wā*/*-go* cannot attach to an adjective without *-kā*/*-e*.

(47) a. baṛ-**{kā/*e}**-go kutta
big-**D/*INDEF**-CLF dog
'a big dog'

b. choṭ-**{kā/e}**-go kutta
small-D/INDEF-CLF dog
'a small dog'

c. moṭ-**{*kā/e}**-go kutta
fat-*D/INDEF-CLF dog
'a fat dog'

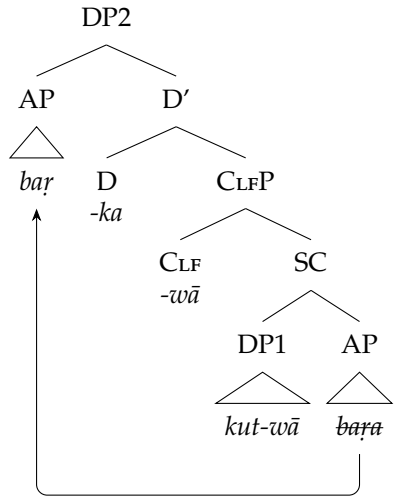
- MCCs also have the properties of Greek-type DS, including recursivity.

(48) baṛ-**ka-wā** kar-**ka-wā** kut-wā
big-**D-CLF.DEF** black-**D-CLF.DEF** dog-CLF.DEF
'the big black dog'

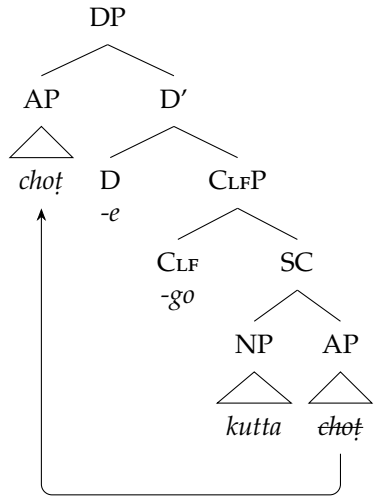
(49) e-go choṭ-**e-go** moṭ-**e-go** kutta
one-CLF small-**INDEF-CLF** fat-**INDEF-CLF** dog
'a/one small fat dog'

- The structures for *baṛ-ka-wā kut-wā* 'the big dog' and *choṭ-e-go kutta* 'a small dog' are given in (50) and (51).

(50)



(51)



- These structures are the same as before, with the addition of a classifier projection.
- The original RRC proposal by Alexiadou & Wilder (1998) drew on the connection between determiners and RCs established by Kayne (1994).
- So, the structures in (50) and (51) predict a relationship between classifiers and RCs.

- This is borne out in Cantonese (Matthews & Yip 2013), which is argued to have RCs introduced by classifiers, and Nuosu Yi (Jiang & Hu 2016), which is argued to have RCs introduced by a classifier and determiner together.

6 Why Don't Definite and Indefinite DS Always Co-occur?

- The uniform proposal for definite and indefinite DS raises the question of why the Magahi pattern seems to be cross-linguistically rare.
- This section looks at the languages proposed to have Greek-type DS: Greek (Hellenic; Greece), Kipsigis (Nilotic; Kenya), Maltese (Semitic; Malta), Thai (Kra-Dai; Thailand) and Rukiga (Bantu; Uganda).
- I'll argue that the reason these languages (except Rukiga) have definite DS but lack indefinite DS is that they lack true indefinite articles.
- Greek seemingly lacks indefinite DS. The indefinite "article" *ena* does not spread like the definite one.

(52) *ena megalo ena kokkino ena vivlio — Greek
a big a red a book (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998: 325)
Intended: 'a big red book'

- However, indefinite DPs allow for the same word order flexibility seen in definite DPs with DS.

(53) Greek (Alexiadou 2014: 105-106)

a. ena megalo kokkino vivlio
a big red book

b. ena megalo vivlio kokkino
a big book red

c. ena kokkino vivlio megalo
a red book big

d. ena vivlio kokkino megalo
a book red big

e. ena vivlio megalo kokkino
a vivlio big red

- Alexiadou (2014) argues that this is the result of the spreading of a null indefinite article.
- On this account, *ena* is actually the numeral 'one', which heads a Numeral Phrase rather than a DP.
- In Kipsigis, spreading occurs with demonstratives, rather than a definite determiner-like element. So, it is unsurprising that there is no indefinite counterpart.

(54) págàa-níin tùuy nìin òo — Kipsigis (Kouneli 2021: 10)
cat-DIST black DIST big
'that big black cat'

- Maltese has a robust definite DS pattern, but like Greek lacks an indefinite article and uses the numeral 'one' (Fabri 2001).

(55) il-ktieb l-iswed il-kbir — Maltese (Winchester 2019: 48)
DEF-book.M.SG DEF-black.M.SG DEF-big.M.SG
'the big black book'

- In Thai, MCCs are only definite.[3]

(56) nók tua sǐi-k^{h}ǐaw tua jàj — Thai (Hundius & Kölver 1983: 169)
bird CLF green CLF big
'the big green bird'

- Thai uses classifiers, rather than the previous languages which used determiners.
- However, the same type of reasoning still applies here.
- Jenks (2011) analyzes the definite MCCs with a null definite determiner. There presumably is no indefinite counterpart to this.
- In Rukiga, like in Magahi, the spreading pattern is generally described as definite.

[3] Jenks (2011) claims they can be specific indefinites. However, this is only with the addition of the indefinite quantifier baaŋ 'some'. It could be the case that these are partitives which still include a definite DP.

(57) **e**-bi-muri **é**-bi-rungi **é**-bi-hángo **é**-bi-ngi Rukiga
AUG-8-flower AUG-8-beautiful AUG-8-big AUG-8-many
'many (of the) big beautiful flowers' (Asiimwe et al. 2023: 1307)

- However, Rukiga also allows for spreading in indefinite noun phrases.

(58) **o**-mu-sháíj' **ó**-mu-rungí Rukiga (Asiimwe et al. 2023: 1292)
AUG-1-man AUG-1-good
'a good man'

- So, indefinite DS is less common because there is no indefinite counterpart for the definite head that spreads in many of these languages.

7 Plank's (2003) Universal

- The Magahi data also gives us a chance to revisit a generalization about DS from Plank (2003).

(59) No language will practise double articulation of any kind unless it also articulates its NPs singly.

- This generalization seems quite intuitive since the usual case of DS involves the determiner which occurs with nouns in non-modified definites.
- Magahi indefinites are a counterexample to this generalization, since indefinites can be realized as bare nouns but modified indefinites involve spreading.

(60) a. kuttā Magahi
dog
'a dog'

b. baṛ-kā-go kutta
big-D-CLF dog
'a big dog'

- Thai MCCs also form a counterexample to this generalization, since unmodified definite nouns are also realized bare.

(61) a. thúrian Thai (Jenks 2011: 64)
durian
'the durian'

b. thúrian lûuk měn-měn (Jenks 2018: 7)
durian CLF stinky-REDUP
'the smelly durian'

- So, Plank's universal does not hold for languages that allow bare nouns.

8 Conclusion & Loose Ends

Main takeaways:

- Magahi modifiers with *-kā* display characteristics of Greek-type DS.
- Magahi DS, like other instances of Greek-type DS, is best analyzed with a RRC structure (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998).
- Magahi DS is not limited to definite DPs. Indefinite DS and MCCs also involves a RRC structure.
- Multiple articulation does not require single articulation. Languages such as Magahi and Thai that allow bare nouns can have "spreading" without single articulation.

8.1 *-kā* as a Determiner

- I am treating *-kā* as a determiner based on its ability to introduce RRCs.
- Besides this, there are two main arguments for *-kā* as a determiner.
- First, it occurs higher than the classifier *-wā*. If *-kā* was a relativizing or predicative head, it would be expected to occur lower in the structure.
- Second, functions referentially, licensing nominal ellipsis (cf. Asiimwe et al. 2023 on the status of the Rukiga augment).

(62) baṛ-*(kā) ~~kut-wā~~
big-D ~~dog-CLF.DEF~~
'the big one'/'the big dog'

8.2 Productivity of the Pattern

- Most of this talk showed DS with the adjectives *baṛā* 'big', *choṭā* 'small', *kālā* 'black' and *moṭā* 'fat'.
- As a representative sample, I checked the adjectives found in a Swadesh 207 list with one speaker (see Appendix B):
  - 36 predicative adjectives
    - 3 lack both long and redundant forms.
    - Of the 35 with a long form, 11 lack a redundant form
  - 3 non-predicative adjectives
    - None have a long or redundant form
- The generalization that *-kā* does not occur with non-predicative adjectives has no exceptions.
- The long form pattern is almost fully productive.
  - There are three exceptions in the Swadesh adjectives: *sahi* 'correct', *najdik* 'near', and *duṛ* 'far'
  - Kumar (2022b) notes *sə̃ât* 'calm', *bholā* 'innocent', and *taiyār* 'ready' as other exceptions.
  - All of these words are borrowings from Persian or Hindi, and I am assuming that *-kā* is only compatible with native roots.
  - I checked with two speakers about these exceptions.
    - One said he uses *taiyār* 'ready' in Magahi and *taiyar-kā* is grammatical.
    - The other said he uses *sə̃ât* 'calm' in Magahi and *sāt-kā* is grammatical. He also said that *duṛ-kā*, from *duṛ* 'far', is grammatical and gave a ? judgment for *najdik-kā*, from *najdik* 'near'.
- The redundant form pattern is still reasonably productive, but seems to be falling out of use in the language.
- Finally, to my knowledge, classifiers do no occur with verbal RRCs in indefinite DPs.

(63) *du ṭho taigor ke dwāra likh-al-kā-go kitāb
two CLF Tagore GEN by write-PTCP-D-CLF book
Intended: 'two books written by Tagore'

8.3 Obligatoriness of Magahi DS

- Magahi DS is generally described as obligatory (Alok 2012).
- This is unusual for a Greek-type pattern (but see the discussion centered around Kipsigis in Kouneli 2021).

(64) *lāl kitab-wā Magahi (Alok 2012: 54)
red book-CLF.DEF
Intended: 'the red book'

- However, I am taking this to be a pragmatic constraint against non-restrictive adjectives.
- While they are highly marked, they are still sometimes possible in Magahi.

(65) ?lāl juta-wā Magahi (Kumar 2022b: 14)
red shoe-CLF.DEF
'the red shoe'

- With other phrases, the optionality is much clearer.

(66) hamar de-l-(kā) ghari-yā
1SG.GEN give-PTCP-D watch-CLF.DEF
'the watch I gave him'

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A Magahi Transliteration

A.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d		ṭ ḍ	k g	
Nasal	m	n			ng	
Tap			r	ṛ		
Fricative		s				h
Affricate			c j			

Approximants: w (labial), l (lateral), y (palatal)
Aspiration/breathy voice is indicated by h following a consonant.

A.2 Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	a	o
Low		ā	

Diphthongs: ai, au

B Swadesh 207 Adjectives

Adjective	Short Form	Long Form	Redundant Form	Predicative?
1. 'other'	dosar	dosar-kā	dosar-ka-wā	✓
2. 'big'	baṛā	baṛ-kā	baṛ-ka-wā	✓
3. 'long'	lambā	lam-kā	lam-ka-wā	✓
4. 'wide'	cauṛā	cauṛa-kā	cauṛ-ka-wā	✓
5. 'thick'	moṭā	moṭ-kā	moṭ-ka-wā	✓
6. 'heavy'	bhāri	bhar-kā	*bhar-ka-wā	✓
7. 'small'	choṭā	choṭ-kā	choṭ-ka-wā	✓
8. 'short'	choṭā	choṭ-kā	choṭ-ka-wā	✓
	nāṭā	naṭ-kā	*naṭ-ka-wā	✓
9. 'narrow'	sakrā	sakar-kā	*sakar-ka-wā	✓
10. 'thin'	paṭlā	pataṛ-kā	*pataṛ-ka-wā	✓
11. 'red'	lāl	lal-kā	lal-ka-wā	✓
12. 'green'	harā	hariar-kā	hariar-ka-wā	✓
13. 'yellow'	pila	piyar-kā	piyar-ka-wā	✓
14. 'white'	ujar	ujar-kā	*ujar-ka-wā	✓
15. 'black'	kāla	kar-kā	kar-ka-wā	✓
16. 'warm'	garam	garam-kā	garam-ka-wā	✓
17. 'cold'	ṭhanḍhā	ṭhanḍh-kā	ṭhanḍh-ka-wā	✓
18. 'full'	purā	*pur-kā	*pur-ka-wā	✗
	bharal	bharal-kā	bharal-ka-wā	✓
19. 'new'	nayā	nay-kā	*nay-ka-wā	✓
20. 'old'	purānā	puran-kā	puran-ka-wā	✓
21. 'good'	acchā	acch-kā	acch-ka-wā	✓
22. 'bad'	kharāb	kharab-kā	??kharab-ka-wā	✓
23. 'rotten'	saṛal	saṛal-kā	saṛal-ka-wā	✓
24. 'dirty'	gandā	gand-kā	*gand-ka-wā	✓
25. 'straight'	sidhā	sidh-kā	*sidh-ka-wā	✓
26. 'round'	gol	gol-kā	gol-ka-wā	✓
27. 'sharp'	tej	tej-kā	tej-ka-wā	✓
	pajal	pajal-kā	pajal-ka-wā	✓
28. 'dull'	bhothar	bhothar-kā	*bhothar-ka-wā	✓
29. 'smooth'	cikan	cikan-kā	cikan-ka-wā	✓
30. 'wet'	bhingal	bhingal-kā	bhingal-ka-wā	✓
31. 'dry'	sukhal	sukhal-kā	sukhal-ka-wā	✓
32. 'correct'	sahi	*sahi-kā	*sahi-ka-wā	✓
33. 'near'	bhir	bhir-kā	*bhir-ka-wā	✓
	najdik	*najdik-kā	*najdik-ka-wā	✓
34. 'far'	duṛ	*duṛ-kā	*duṛ-ka-wā	✓
35. 'right'	dāhinā	*dahin-kā	*dahin-ka-wā	✗
36. 'left'	bā̃yā	*bā̃yin-kā	*bā̃yin-ka-wā	✗