

SYNTAX OF POLITENESS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN INDIAN ENGLISH AND BANGLA

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requirements for the award of the degree of Master of
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This thesis, titled “**Syntax of Politeness: A Comparative Study between Indian English and Bangla**”, submitted by me for the award of the degree of the Master of Arts, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institute.

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*This thesis is
dedicated to my mother
for making me
who I am*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
1P	First Person
2P	Second Person
3P	Third Person
ACC	Accusative case
CLS	Classifier
DIM	Diminutive
FOR	Formal
FUT	Future Tense
GEN	Genitive case
H	Honorific
HAB	Habitual aspect
IMP	Imperative mood
IND	Indicative mood
INF	Informal
INFT	Infinitive
LOC	Locative case
NOM	Nominative case
PERF	Perfective aspect
PROG	Progressive aspect
PRS	Present tense
PRT	Particle
PST	Past tense
SG	Singular

SYNOPSIS

This thesis aims to demonstrate the politeness devices exhibited morphologically and syntactically in Indian English and Bangla and to study the syntactic aspect of the politeness devices used in these two languages. This study also focuses on making a comparative study of the politeness devices to find out the similarities and the differences which the above mentioned languages have from the morphological and the syntactic perspective.

The common morphological devices that Indian English and Bangla caters to politeness are fixed polite expressions, adverbial downtoners and the syntactic devices that both the languages show up to manifest politeness are play-downs and tag questions. The difference lies in the fact that Indian English lacks honorifics and polite particles to evince politeness whereas those serve the purpose in Bangla along with other politeness devices.

Both the languages syntactically represent politeness in the Left periphery (Rizzi, 1995), apart from the sentential domain but the projections are different. Indian English structurally represents politeness in the ForceP and ModifierP of the left periphery (Rizzi, 1997) and on the contrary politeness particles in Bangla manifests politeness in the Polite TopicP, Polite FocusP and Polite ParticleP respectively.

Keywords: Morphology, syntax, politeness, left periphery.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The cornerstone of this thesis is to examine the politeness strategies or linguistic devices employed in Indian English and Bangla and how are they evinced morphologically and syntactically. It also seeks to investigate the syntax of politeness of the two aforementioned languages. It also intends to make a comparative study of how politeness can be exhibited from the realm of morphology and syntax in these two languages.

Politeness, a largely pragmatic notion can be stated as the usage of a language in a conversation to sustain and uphold interpersonal relationships. It takes into consideration the feelings of the interlocutors as in the way they need to be behaved with.

Politeness research from a pragmatic standpoint began in the late 1970's and has gained immense popularity. It has also gone through certain changes which covers – the “first wave” of politeness research which looked into it using universalistic concepts, the “second wave” approaches to politeness research as an idiosyncratic phenomenon and the “third wave” frames politeness across languages and cultures.

Apart from the pragmatic aspect, this research would probe into the syntactic aspects of politeness.

1.1 Research Objectives

The key objectives that concern this thesis are noted down as the following -

- (i) Identifying the linguistic devices that Indian English and Bangla exhibits to cater politeness.
- (ii) Categorizing and representing those politeness devices from the domain of morphology and syntax.
- (iii) Analyzing the syntax of politeness in Indian English and Bangla.
- (iv) To draw a comparison of the usage of politeness devices in both the languages and to what extent they are similar or different lexically and structurally.

1.2 Outline of the thesis

To investigate this study, the thesis is structured into three chapters. **The second chapter** consolidates a detailed survey of the different pragmatic politeness theories put forward by

different linguists. It also analyses the politeness markers morphologically and syntactically and explicates politeness devices used cross-linguistically.

Chapter 3 discusses the morphological and syntactical politeness strategies that Indian English and Bangla make use of. It also elucidates the politeness devices structurally and makes a comparative study of the lexical and structural similarities and differences which both the languages show to manifest polite readings.

This study ends in **Chapter 4**, where the conclusions are discussed along with the certain limitations and scope for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter gives an overview of the various theories and strategies on politeness propounded by different linguists from a pragmatic viewpoint. It also aims to categorize the politeness markers morphologically and syntactically. It also attempts to elucidate the different politeness markers/strategies employed in Hindi, an Indo-Aryan language, Telugu, a Dravidian language, Meiteilon or Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language, Vietnamese, an Austro-Asiatic language and German, an Indo-European language by citing the research done hitherto in this area.

2.1 Linguistic Politeness

Linguistic politeness is said to be a pragmatic universal phenomenon employed in conversations between interlocutors to maintain their interpersonal relations and thereby making communication effective.

“Linguistic politeness is a matter of strategic interaction aimed at achieving goals such as avoiding conflicts and maintaining harmonious relation with others”, Holmes (2006).

Yule (1996) defines, “Politeness, in an interaction can be defined as the means employed to show awareness of another person’s face.”

Yule (2010) states that, “Politeness is defined as showing awareness and consideration of another person’s face.”

Linguistic politeness refers to “a means of expressing consideration for other”, Holmes (2006).

Politeness was first accounted on the basis of co-operative principle and its maxims formulated by Grice (1975) and Speech-Act theory.

I would illustrate both the theories in turn.

2.1.1 Co-operative Principle

“Grice (1961, 1975, 1978, 1989) suggested that there is an underlying principle that determines the way in which language is used with maximum efficiency and effectively to achieve rational interaction in communication, which he calls as the co-operative principle

and subdivided into nine maxims of conversation categorized into four categories”, Huang (2007) :

Quality (speak the truth), **Quantity** (speak the amount required) **Relation** (speak what is pertinent) **and Manner** (speak with clarity).

Grice’s theory of conversational implicature:

a) **The co-operative principle: Be co-operative.**

“Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged”, Huang (2007).

b) **The maxims of conversation**

Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.

- Do not say what is false.
- Do not say what lacks evidence.

Quantity:

- Don’t say less than is required.
- Don’t say more than is required.

Relation: Be relevant

Manner: Be perspicuous

- Avoid obscurity.
- Avoid ambiguity.
- Be brief.
- Be orderly.

Huang (2007), “The co-operative principle and its maxims ensure that in a conversation, the right amount of information is provided and that the interaction is conducted in a truthful, relevant and perspicuous manner.”

Kádár (2017), “Politeness sets into operation if one or more of these Maxims are flouted with the intention of triggering polite inferences. For example, one may inform one’s speech partner about some bad news by being more verbose than usual, in order to make the other perceive one’s sympathy. In this way, one will flout the Maxim of Quantity by saying more than what is needed, but this flout may be perceived by the other as serving polite means. ”

2.1.2 Speech-Act Theory

‘Actions produced via utterances are called speech-acts’, (Yule, 1996). Speech-act theory foreshadowed by Austin (1975) has a threefold dimension, so every utterance uttered has three facets :

- a) **A locutionary act** is the basic act of producing a meaningful linguistic expression.
- b) **An illocutionary act** refers to the type of function/action that the speaker aims to convey in the utterance. Examples include accusing, apologizing, blaming, congratulating, granting permission, joking, promising, ordering, refusing and thanking. These actions are said as illocutionary force or point of the utterance.
- c) **A perlocutionary act** is concerned about the impact that the utterance has on the addressee.

Searle classified speech-act into five types based on the type of illocution, direction of fit or relationship between words and world, expressed psychological state and the propositional content. The five types are:

- a) **Representatives** are the type of speech-act which expresses the speaker’s belief. Examples: *asserting, claiming, reporting, stating*.
- b) **Declaratives** are those type of speech-act that brings about some change in the world. Examples are: *declaring war, firing from employment*.
- c) **Commissives** are the type of speech-act that commits the speaker to some future action. Examples are: *promise, threat, refusals, pledges*.
- d) **Expressives** are the kind of speech-act that expresses the speaker’s feeling such as pain, pleasure, joy, sorrow, likes and dislikes. Examples: *apologizing, blaming, congratulating, praising and thanking*.

e) **Directives** are that kind of speech-act by which the speaker gets the addressee do something. It can also be referred to as imperative speech-acts. Examples include: *advice, command, orders, questions and requests*. It can be a positive, negative or an interrogative sentence.

It's apparently evident that **directives** can be said to be able to manifest linguistic politeness through politeness markers/strategies.

2.1.3 Politeness Markers

Linguistic politeness markers refer to linguistic devices whose existence in the utterance intensifies the degree of politeness. Linguistic politeness markers can be of two types:

a) **Morphological or Lexical:** Examples include *honorifics (nouns, pronominals, suffixes, particles and honorific form of verbs), kinship terms, fixed polite lexical expressions, politeness particles, diminutives, hedges, downtoners, understaters*. Let me explain each of them in turn.

- **Honorifics** – “The term ‘honorifics’ refer to special linguistic forms that are used to signify deference toward the nominal referent or the addressee”, Shibatani (2006). Apart from the various strategies which languages employ to express politeness, honorifics play an indispensable role in politeness. “The most basic characteristic is that honorific expressions avoid direct attribution of an action to the respected person, or sometimes to the speaker”, Shibatani (2006).

An honorific is a morphosyntactic form that can be encoded to show the social status of the participants in a conversation. It can be expressed by an affix, clitic or a completely different lexical item. It can be inflected for person, number, gender and can also trigger honorific forms of other lexical categories like verbs and adjectives. Pronominals expressing honorifics are usually the second person pronouns especially when referring to an addressee. “Addressee honorifics are those forms that show the speaker’s deference toward the addressee”, Shibatani (2006).

- **Kinship terms** – These are words used in a language to identify the relationship between individuals, family or in a speech community.

- **Fixed polite expressions** – These are lexical expressions that are used in an utterance to manifest the intensity of politeness.

- **Politeness particles** – A particle is a function word which can never be inflected. Particles either encode grammatical categories or are discourse markers. A politeness particle is a discourse particle that is used to express politeness in an utterance.

- **Understaters** – These tools disparage the propositional content of the utterance.

- **Hedges** – These are linguistic devices which mark uncertainty and leaves an option for the addressee to impose his/her own intent. They reduce or soften the force of the utterance and makes it less assertive.

- **Downtoners** – These are linguistic devices that reduce the impact of the utterance on the addressee.

b) **Syntactic**: Examples include *play-downs*, *tag questions*, *passives*, *committers*, *consultative devices (use of interrogatives)*, *scope-staters*.

In here I would like to discuss the syntactic ones.

- **Play-downs** – These syntactic devices tone down the perlocutionary effect of an utterance.

- **Tag questions** – This syntactic structure turns a declarative or an imperative sentence into a question by adding an interrogative fragment.

- **Passives** – This syntactic construction promotes the object as the subject of the sentence and the subject is encoded in an oblique phrase which is an adjunct. These are also known as agent avoiders.

- **Committers** – These syntactic devices reduce the degree of the speaker's commitment to the propositional content of the utterance.

- **Consultative devices** – These syntactic structures seek to include the addressee's opinion or cooperation.

- **Scope-staters** – These syntactic tools express a subjective opinion about the propositional content.

2.2 Major Theories on Politeness

Goffman (1967)'s outlook towards politeness is based on the concept of 'face' which he attempted to make it universal. Goffman (1967) defines, "Face as the positive value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact." According to him, the rationale to make the concept of 'face' universal is, "Face is an image found in every society as society changes their members", Ahmed (2016).

Pragmatic approach to politeness was set about in 1970's with Lakoff's Politeness Principle which was followed by Leech's Politeness model and the most popular Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, which all are discussed in turn.

Lakoff (1973) has tried to show politeness within the framework of pragmatics based on the co-operative principle formulated by Grice. Politeness should be treated adhering to the rules of a particular language system. For her, politeness is a type of behaviour practiced in societies to lessen the discord in interpersonal communication. She postulated in her **Politeness Principle** three maxims:

- Don't impose or distance.
- Give options.
- Make the addressee feel good.

Lakoff (1990) argues, "Politeness to be an interpersonal relation designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human exchange." Eelen (2001) states that "Robin. T. Lakoff could be called the mother of modern politeness theory."

Leech's politeness research was grounded on the co-operative principle postulated by Grice. Leech (1983) considers politeness as a form of social behaviour which helps to create respect. There seem to exist a concurrence between indirectness and politeness. According to Leech (1983), "indirectness implies optionality for the hearer, and the degree of politeness can be increased by using a more and more indirect kind of illocution." His argument lies in that politeness adhering to maxims is more open-ended compared to rules as maxims show how politeness functions in society. The politeness or impoliteness of one's speech depends on the illocutionary acts as some of them are inherently polite like request

and apology but others like orders are not so. The importance of each maxim is different from others. Leech (1983) states that a direct correspondence exists between politeness' maxims and speech acts.

According to Leech (1983), "Politeness Principle (PP) is minimizing one's impolite beliefs and maximizing one's polite beliefs which is classified into six maxims: *tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy.*"

In Eelen (2001)'s 'A Critique of Politeness', he had argued about the problems posited by the politeness theories hitherto. One of the discernible issue listed by Eelen (2001) is that no hypothesis have yet been proposed to account for impoliteness by the politeness strategies.

For Watts (2003), "Politeness is defined as a linguistic behaviour that carries a value in an emergent network in excess of what is required by the politic behaviour of the overall interaction," or "linguistic behaviour that is perceived to be salient or marked behaviour" (Locher and Watts, 2005).

Watts (2003) provides various ways to study politeness, in which the prime premise is the meaning of being polite to the participants. The emphasis given to the role of interlocutors has lead them (Watts and Locher, 2005) to differentiate between two orders of politeness. Watts (2005) points out that, 'the common-sense notion of politeness relates to the first-order im / politeness and the theoretical notions of politeness directs towards the second-order im / politeness.' Watts (2003) highlights, "We take first-order politeness to correspond to the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups. It encompasses, in other words, common sense notions of politeness. Second-order politeness, on the other hand, is a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage."

Holmes (1995), "Politeness requires consideration of the rights appropriate to one's role."

"An 'interruption' might be perceived as disruptive by one group but as supportive by another; and back-channelling or 'minimal feedback' (mm, yeah, right) and certain pragmatic particles (you know, I think) function variably and complexly as markers of (im)politeness in the usage of different social groups", Holmes (2006).

Holmes (2006), “the ways in which people express or negotiate politeness is obviously influenced by a range of sociocultural variables, including power relationships, degrees of solidarity, intimacy, or social distance, the level of formality of the interaction or speech event, the gender, age, ethnicity, and social class backgrounds of participants, and so on.”

Pizziconi (2006), classifies the construct of politeness into three categories – ‘The Social norm view’, ‘Pragmatic Approaches’, ‘Social Constructivist Approach.’ According to the Social norm view, linguistic realizations of politeness is inextricably related with culture, society, individual, people and language. Linguistic realizations of politeness varies with the variables mentioned above.

Social Constructivist approach discusses Watt’s politeness theory and Eelen’s politeness critique. Pizziconi (2006), classifies politeness socially into, “Expressive politeness is expressed in speech, Classificatory politeness is invoked in judgments of interactional behaviour as polite or impolite behaviour and is talked about, Metapragmatic politeness.”

Pizziconi (2006), “Politeness ceases to be deterministically associated with specific linguistic forms or functions (another problem for past approach): it depends on the subjective perception of the meanings of such forms and functions.”

Since 1980’s, Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory has been contemplated to be the most noteworthy one but at the same time it is also subjected to huge criticisms. Eelen (2001) says, “The names Brown and Levinson have become almost synonymous with the word ‘politeness’ itself”, or as one researcher puts it, “it is impossible to talk about it without referring to Brown and Levinson theory” (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1997).

The pivot of Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory is the concept of ‘face’, for which it is also known as the ‘Face theory.’ For Brown and Levinson (1978), “Face is the public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for himself.” The concept of ‘face’ has two divisions: positive face and negative face.

Brown and Levinson (1978) defines, “Negative face: the desire of every competent adult member for his actions to be unimpeded by others.”

Brown and Levinson (1978) defines, “Positive face: the desire of every member for his wants to be desirable to, at least, some others.”

For them, the interaction is pertinent only if the ‘face’ is sustained by the interlocutors. Brown and Levinson (1983) established three scales for measuring the degree of politeness. These are:

- Relative power – Relation between addresser and addressee.
- Ranked imposition – The illocutionary act.
- Social distance – Type of relationship between the interlocutors.

The Politeness Strategies postulated by them: (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 101-210)

Positive politeness –

- Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods): Example - You must be hungry, it's a long time since breakfast. How about some lunch?

- Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H): Example - What a fantastic garden you have!

- Intensify interest to H: Example - I've never seen such a row!

- Use in-group identity markers: Example – Come here, buddy.

- Seek agreement: Example - A: John went to London this weekend!
B: To London!

- Avoid disagreement: Example - A: Can you hear me?
B: Barely.

- Presuppose/raise/assert common ground: Example - I had a really hard time learning to drive, didn't I.

- Joke: Example - Ok if I tackle those cookies now?

- Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants: Example - Look, I know you want the car back by 5.0, so should(n't) I go to town now?

- Offer, promise: Example - 'I'll drop by sometime next week.

- Be optimistic: Example - I've come to borrow a cup of flour.

- Include both S and H in the activity: Example - Let's have a cookie, then.

- Give (or ask for) reasons: Example - Why don't we go to the seashore!

- Assume or Assert reciprocity: Example – I'll come today if you stay.

- Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation): Example – I completely understand your situation.

Negative politeness –

- Be conventionally indirect: Example - Why paint your house purple?
- Question, hedge: Example - A swing is sort of a toy.
- Be pessimistic: Example – Could you jump over the fence?
- Minimize the imposition: Example – I just want to ask you if you could lend me a paper.
- Give deference: Example - We look forward very much to dining with you.
- Apologize: Example – I don't want to bother you but I am helpless.
- Impersonalize S and H: Example - I tell you that it is so.
- State the “Face-Threatening-Acts” (FTA) as a general rule: Example - Passengers will please refrain from flushing toilets on the train.
- Nominalize: Example – I am surprised at your failure to reply.
- Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebteding H: Example - I could easily do it for you.

2.3 Cross-Linguistic Evidence of Politeness Markers :**2.3.1 HINDI**

Kumar (2015) explicates politeness strategies in Hindi as follows :-

Linguistic forms that express politeness can be categorized morphologically and syntactically. **Lexical (morphological) politeness markers –**

- **Honorifics** – ‘a:p’ (2P), ‘vo’ (3P)

Hindi uses subject verb agreement rules to manifest politeness so an honorific subject triggers an honorific verb inflection to express politeness.

Person	Verb Form
1P – mæe	ʃaʊŋga, ʃaʊŋgi
2P – t̪u (INF) t̪um (FOR) a:p (H)	ʃa ʃao ʃaije
3P – vo (INF, FOR) vo (H)	ʃaega, ʃaegi ʃaenge

Table 1: Pronouns and their corresponding verb forms

Person	Singular	Plural	Verb Form
2P	a:p	a:plog	ʃajenge, ʃaije
3P	vo	volog	ʃajenge

Table 2: Agreement of honorific pronominal with honorific verb form

- Honorifics in noun are denoted by the use of kinship terms after proper nouns such as – ‘d̪iɖl̪’, ‘b^haija.’

Noun + Kinship Term	Verb Form
mohiṭ b ^h aija	k ^h aliṭije
suniṭa d̪i	calije

Table 3: Honorificity in noun and its verb form

In Hindi, adjectives are also inflected for honorifics. Example-

1) a:p muṭ^h-se t̪^hoɖa baɖe hæe
 2P.SG.H.NOM me-LOC little elder.H be.PRS.H
 ‘You are slightly elder than me.’

2) t̪um muṭ^h-se t̪^hoɖa baɖa ho
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM me-LOC little elder be.PRS
 ‘You are slightly elder than me.’

Subject	Adjective	Verb Form
aap (H)	baḍe	hain
tum	baḍa	ho

Table 4: *Adjectives inflected for honorifics*

- Use of polite particles- *nə, ji*. Example –

3) a:p dekʰi-je nə ji agər a:p a:j a: səkte hæe
 2P.SG.H.NOM see.HAB-2P.H PRT PRT if 2P.SG.H.NOM today come able be.PRS.H
 'You see if you can come.'

- **Hedges**- These are politeness devices which lightens the effect of any situation. Example-

4) fajəḍ a:j hʌm nehi ja: səkte hæe
 may be today 1P.SG. not go.HAB able be.PRS
 'I may not be able to go today.'

Here, the speaker is cancelling his/her event of going somewhere so to lighten the situation, he/she uses 'fajəḍ'.

- **Diminutives**- These are linguistic expressions that can serve as markers of informal politeness. Example – 'tʰoḍa', 'zəɾa'.

5) a:p tʰoḍa weit kiji-je
 2P.SG.H.NOM DIM wait do.FUT-2P.H
 'You wait for sometime.'

6) je ka:m zəɾa kər ḍiji-je.
 this work DIM do give.FUT-2P.H
 'Please do this work.'

- **Fixed polite expressions** like 'kripja' (for request), 'mapʰ kijijega' (for seeking excuse)

Structural (syntactic) politeness markers –

- **Use of interrogatives:**

7) a:p cae pina pəsənd kəreŋge?
 2P.SG.H.NOM tea drink.INFT like do.FUT.3P.H
 Would you like to have tea?

8) a:p kəl ja: səkte hæe?
 2P.SG.H.NOM tomorrow go able be.PRS.2P.H
 Would you be able to go tomorrow?

Hindi doesn't use overt question particle like *could* or *would* to express politeness. The honorific subject and its verb form serves the purpose.

● **Use of imperatives:**

9) kripja a:p kəl pʰir -se aʃai-je.
 please 2P.SG.H.NOM tomorrow again-LOC come.FUT-2P.H
 'You please come again tomorrow'

2.3.2 MEITEILON

Sarangthem, Singh & Singh (2014) discusses the politeness forms in Meiteilon :

Person	Singular	Plural	Verb Form
1P	əi	əi-kʰoi	ca (eat)
2P	nəŋ	nə-kʰoi	ca (eat)
3P	ma	mə-kʰoi	ca (eat)

Table 5: *Pronominals and their corresponding verb forms*

Politeness strategies in Meiteilon are -

● **Morphological politeness markers:**

- -pi, -bi is suffixed to the verb.
- Reflexive suffix -cə, -jə specifies the degree of politeness.
- Meiteilon has an explicit honorific. Its usage depends on place and time of greeting and nature of relationship between the interlocutors: formal-informal, superior-inferior, kin- non-kin, intimate-non-intimate.

Superiors also speak to inferiors in polite forms who are due for respect.

● **Some common honorifics-**

- ikəiʰun-nə-(jə)-rə-bə 'honorable (Male)'
- ikəiʰun-nə-(jə)-rə-bi 'honorable (Female)'
- mitʰuŋ-len 'chief guest'
- əhəl ibuŋŋo 'enlighten senior'
- oja ibuŋŋo 'enlighten teacher'

The honorific –si is suffixed to kinship terms when addressing royal descendants (RK's).

Examples : i-ma-si 'mother' (for RK's)

i-ma 'mother' (normal)

The honorific –si is never used for younger kin.

Some honorifics of noun/verb show extra or higher honorifics:

Higher Honorific	Normal	Gloss
luk	cak	rice
səŋgai	jum	house

Table 6: Higher honorifics of nouns

Higher honorific	Normal	Gloss
p ^h an-bə	t ^h ək-pə	to drink
leŋ-bə	cət-pə	to go
cait ^h əbə	irujəbə	bathing
leŋsinbə	cənbə	enter

Table 7: Higher honorifics of verbs

The nominalizer –bə is suffixed to derive honorific verb form.

These higher honorific forms of noun/verb can't co-occur with normal noun/verb.

Example- 10) *cak ha-bi-ro
 rice to eat (higher honorific)
 (normal)

- Meiteilon kinship terms can be of honorific and normal form to show the degree of politeness.

Honorific	Normal	Gloss
pabuŋ	pabə/baba	father
ima-ibemmə	ima	mother

Table 8: Honorific kinship terms

2.3.3 VIETNAMESE

Thien Le (2013) explicates the politeness strategies in Vietnamese as follows:

Politeness in Vietnamese is not only culturally determined but also depends on context, age and gender of participants.

In Vietnamese, the person references form 'tao' (I/me) and 'mej' (you) serve politeness but 'bej' (you) is not appropriate to express politeness.

The polite honorific particle 'đa' is used with both positive and negative answers when someone younger addresses to an elder. This politeness can be more intensified by another honorific particle 'thua'.

Vietnamese manifests two types of politeness:

- a) **Respectful Politeness:** 'lễ-phep' is used to show politeness from an inferior to a superior.
- b) **Strategic Politeness:** It is viewed as a social etiquette in Vietnamese culture. 'lieh sur' is used to express one's gracious behaviour. This umbrella term can be analysed into 'thanh' (gentle) and 'lich' (gracious), which have become a compound- 'thanh-lich', synonym of 'lieh-sur'.

Kinship Terms

Vietnamese kinship terms are widely used to express politeness in verbal communication. Rodseth and Wrangham (2004) pointed out that Vietnamese kinship are of two types –

- a) **Consanguineous kinship** – which denotes people descended from the same ancestor.
- b) **Affinal kinship** – It results from marriage which is also expressed by a modifier "in-law". This kinship has subtypes of maternal and paternal kinship.

Honorifics

Honorific forms/particles in Vietnamese denote respect and politeness and its use depends on the context. Do (1994) and Thompson (1987) suggested Vietnamese honorifics and particles include : 'đa' (polite yes), 'thua' (polite vocative particle), 'đa thua' (respectfully humble). These are used to respond to superiors in formal situations. Variations in honorific forms determine the degree of politeness.

The politeness functions of kinship terms can be enhanced by a polite vocative particle. The highest degree of politeness can be manifested by choosing not only the appropriate honorific form but also the appropriate kinship terms.

2.3.4 TELUGU

The politeness markers/strategies in Telugu are discussed below:

Kinship Terms

Kinship terms in Telugu reflect the addressee's age. The presence of various kinship terms in Telugu expresses different degrees of politeness.

'eje' is used for male with the kin terms. 'eme' is used for female along with the kin terms.

The presence of both these terms makes the kin term polite.

Examples: Sister-in-law can be addressed as 'uadinema'.

The term 'te:teja' used to address mother's father is more polite than 'te:ta'. Similarly, the term 'eteme' is a more polite form of address than 'ete'.

The term 'eke' sister and 'ene' brother might be used as polite form of address for females and males respectively who are older than the speaker.

Honorifics

The honorific suffix 'ge:ru' is a very polite form of address used with the kinship term to address people who are superior in age or status.

Examples: 'me:me ge:ru' which means father-in-law.

Wife can be referred to by name or 'me: e:uida' along with possessive pronoun 'ne:' (1P) singular or 'me:' (1P) plural or honorific singular.

'me:' denotes (1P) possessive pronoun, 'e:uida' is a polite form of (3P) singular, feminine, subjunctive pronoun.

2.3.5 GERMAN

The politeness markers/strategies in German are discussed below:

Morphological or Lexical politeness markers:

- **Fixed polite expressions:** 'bitə' - Please.
- **Honorifics:** 2P – 'zi:' - Singular and Plural (Nominative and Accusative)
2P – 'i:nən' - Singular and Plural (Dative)

German uses subject verb agreement rules to manifest politeness so an honorific subject triggers an honorific verb inflection to express politeness.

Case	Singular Honorific	Plural Honorific	Verb Form
Nominative	zi:	zi:	kəmən
Accusative	zi:	zi:	kəmən
Dative	i:ɐ	i:nən	kəmən

Table 9: Agreement of honorific subject (2P) with case and honorific form of verb

Syntactic politeness markers :

While making requests in imperatives, when the addressee is informal the subject is deleted and the bare form of the verb is used instead of the conjugated form according to the pronominals.

11) bitə kəmən
please come.INFT
'Please come.'

12) kəmən bitə
come.INFT please
'Come, please.'

But when the addressee is formal and an honorific pronominal is used, then the subject becomes obligatory and the conjugated form of the verb is used and not the bare form. The word order also changes, which means the verb comes before the subject. Examples:

13) bitə kəmən zi:
please come.2P.H 2P.H
'You please come.'

14) kɔmən zi: bitə
 come.2P.H 2P.H please
 'You please come.'

2.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the concept of linguistic politeness, different pragmatic theories being put forward by different linguists and the linguistic politeness markers/strategies used in some of the languages. Though linguistic politeness is within the domain of pragmatics and mostly all the hypothesis and theories propounded by the linguists are also from a pragmatic perspective but this research looks into it from the domain of morphology and syntax.

In the next chapter, I would elicit how linguistic politeness is exhibited from the realm of morphology and syntax in Indian English and Bangla and draw a comparative study of it.

CHAPTER 3: POLITENESS IN INDIAN ENGLISH AND BANGLA

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I would seek to embody the politeness markers used in Indian English and Bangla in the light of morphological and syntactical perspective.

3.2 Features of Indian English

Indian English lacks honorifics, kinship terms and politeness particles to encode politeness. I would discuss politeness in Indian English morphologically and syntactically. The morphological /lexical and syntactic strategies employed in Indian English to elicit politeness are illustrated below :

3.3 Morphological/Lexical Politeness

It can be categorized as *fixed polite expressions, hedges, downtoners and understaters*.

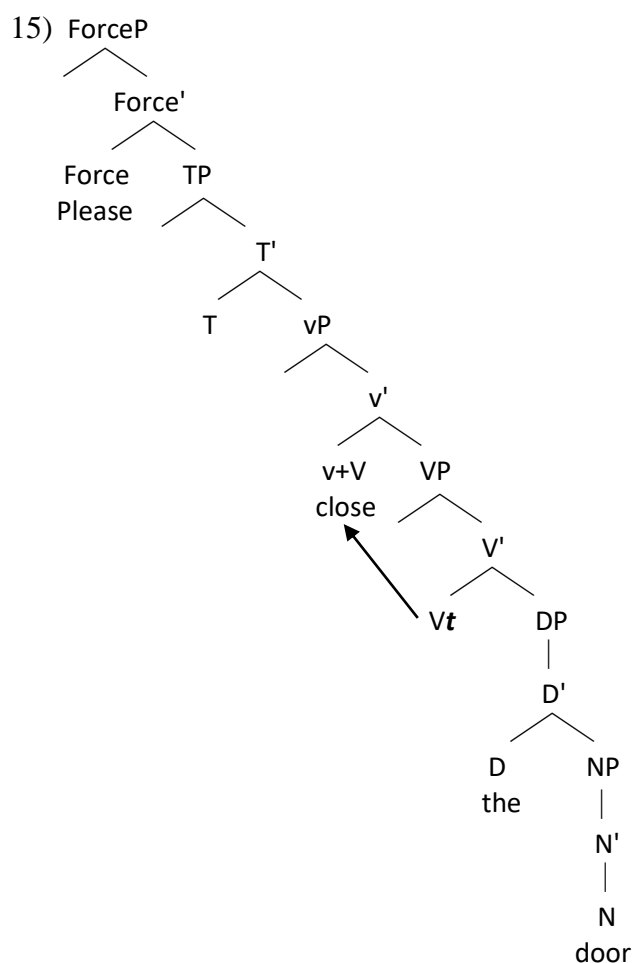
3.3.1 Fixed polite expressions –

These are lexical expressions that are used in an utterance to manifest the intensity of politeness. The most prominent instance of fixed polite expression in Indian English is ‘please’, but there are also other such expressions like ‘kindly’ and the verb ‘request’.

‘Please’ often used in declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences to make requests. It can occur sentence initially, medially and finally. Example –

15) Please, close the door.

According to Split CP, (Left Periphery, Rizzi, 1997), Force P, the highest projection encodes pragmatic information and determines the illocutionary force or clause type whether it is declarative, interrogative or imperative. ForceP is the domain which manifests politeness also. So, ‘please’, when occurs sentence initially, generates in the head of ForceP with the entire TP as its complement. Had ForceP been removed, the entire utterance would turn to a command instead of a request. The fixed polite expression ‘please’ determines the clause type, so it occupies ForceP. The structure is shown below.



On the other hand, ‘kindly’, an adverbial is used in interrogative and imperative sentences to make a request or ask the addressee in a polite way to perform the action. Its usage is quite similar to ‘please’. Consider -

16) Kindly, be seated.

17) Will you kindly show me the picture?

These two fixed polite expressions (please and kindly) are in complementary distribution, that is, they can’t co-occur in a sentence, if so it results in ungrammaticality as in (18). This fact can be reasoned as both the lexical items compete for the same structural position.

18) *Please don’t talk, kindly.

3.3.2 Hedges –

These are linguistic devices which mark uncertainty and leaves an option for the addressee to impose his/her own intent. Hedges show up morphologically when represented by an adverb like rather, somehow.

Example – 19) Somehow, I completed my work.

In sentence (19), the adverb ‘somehow’ is preposed to the sentence initial position and is highlighted. This syntax of adverb preposing comes from the proposal of Rizzi (2004), which says that the landing site of preposed adverbials in the left periphery, (Rizzi, 1997) is named as the Modifier Phrase (ModP). This Modifier Phrase “is lower than the operator zone including different types of Wh operators and occurs just above the lowest Topic Phrase in the left periphery”, (Rizzi, 2004). Preposed adverbials occupy the specifier of ModifierP.

Rizzi, (2004) argues that, “We assume that the left periphery can contain dedicated Mod heads which can host adverbs as their specifiers; the functional motivation for such heads is that they make the moved adverb prominent, a property that left peripheral Mod has in common with Top; it differs from Top, though, in not requiring a connection to the discourse context; and from Foc in not requiring the contrastive focal interpretation proper of the left-peripheral Foc position. So, a frequentative adverb can either remain in the Spec of its licensing IP-internal Mod head, as in (a) or move to the Spec of the left peripheral Mod head, as in (b) thus acquiring structural prominence.” Consider the examples as cited:

20) Gianni è improvvisamente tornato a casa

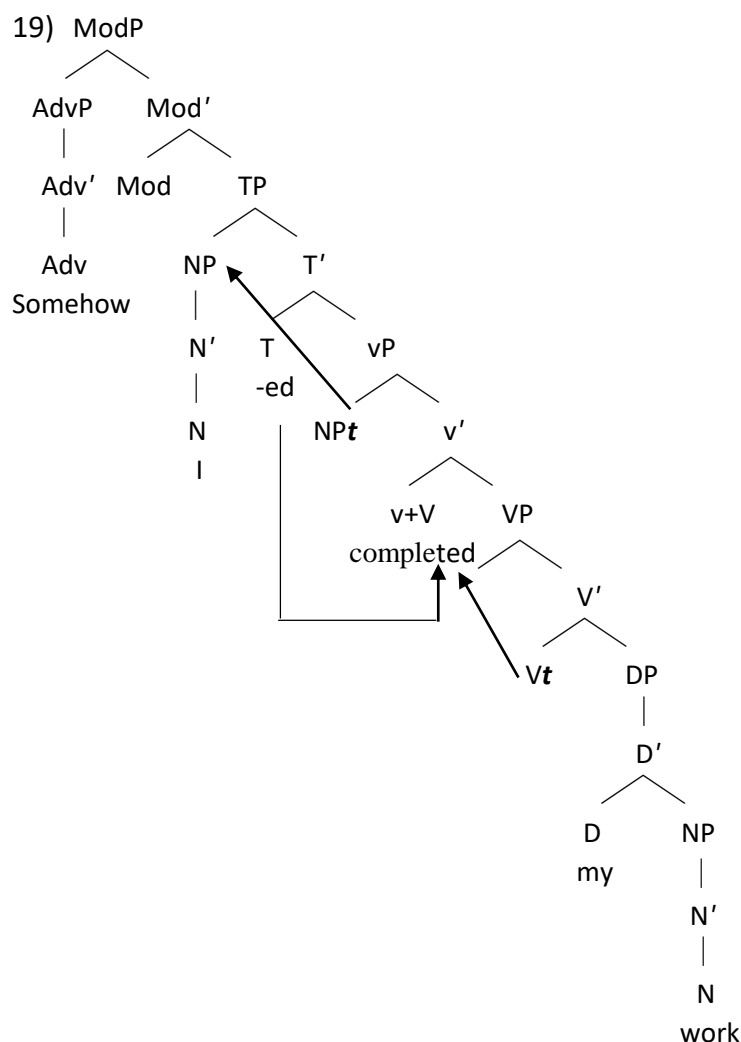
‘Gianni has suddenly come back home.’

21) Improvvisamente, Gianni è tornato a casa

‘Suddenly, Gianni has come back home.’

Hence, the preposed adverbial hedges manifest politeness in the realm of Modifier Phrase, Rizzi (2004) in the left periphery.

So the adverbial ‘somehow’ which is a morphological hedge in the domain of encoding politeness structurally occurs in the specifier of ModP taking the entire TP as its complement, shown in the structure below.



But when this adverbial hedge 'somehow' occurs sentence medially as in left to the verb as VP adverb, it is realized in the adjunct position, sister of the second intermediate projection v' , a daughter of the first v' .

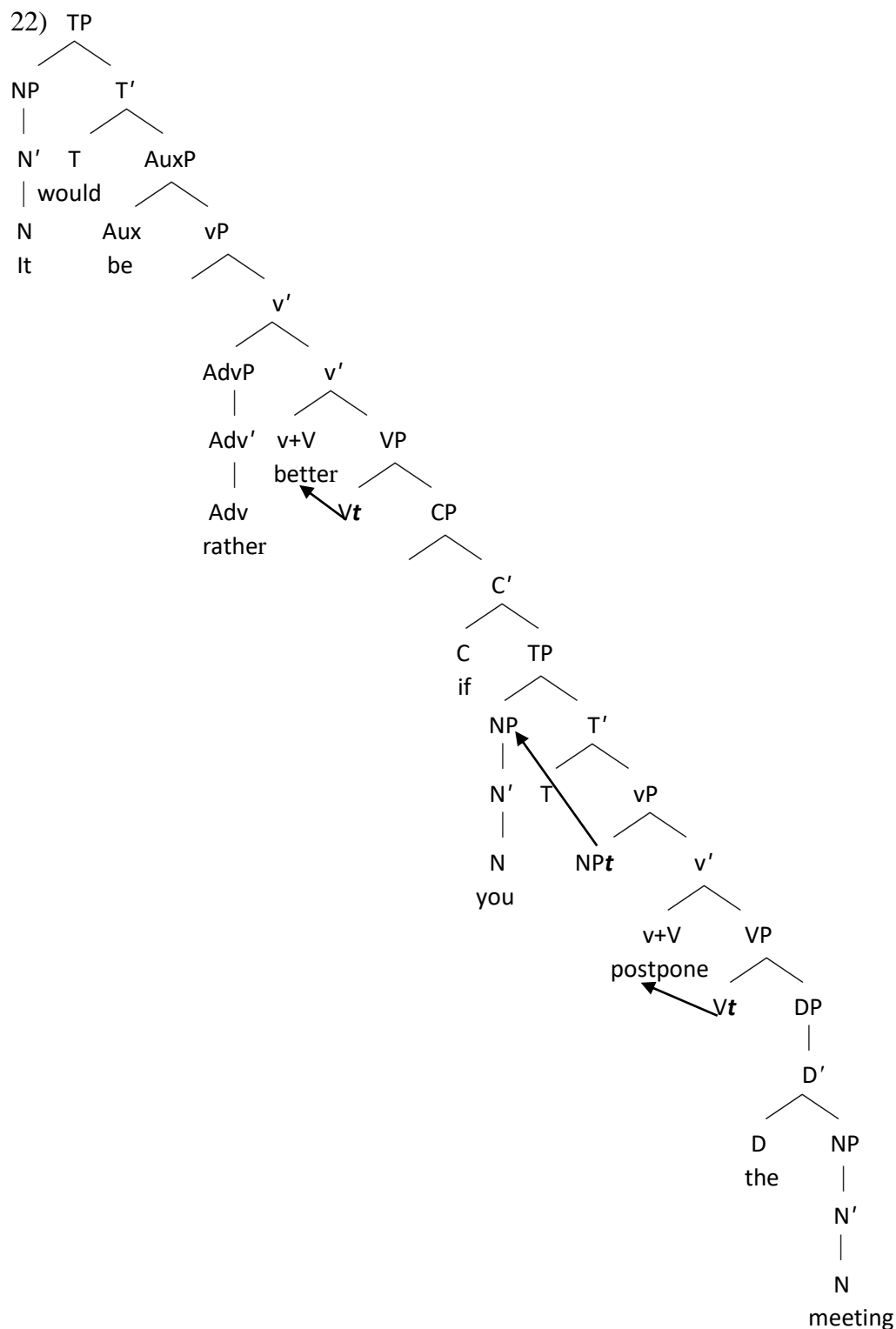
22) It would be rather better if you postpone the meeting.

In sentence (22), the adverbial hedge 'rather', being a predicative modifier occurs in the sentence medial position to encode politeness. So, this adverbial occurs as a sister of the second intermediate projection v' , shown in the structure below.

Thus, politeness is structurally realized in adjunct positions when adverbial hedges occur sentence medially.

If this adverbial hedge is preposed in the clause initial position, it occupies the specifier of ModP, Rizzi (2004) in the left periphery with the TP as its complement. Hence, adverbial hedges syntactically manifest politeness either in the realm of Modifier Phrase, Rizzi (2004)

in the left periphery, when adverbials are preposed or in the adjunct position which is realized as a sister of the second intermediate projection v' and a daughter of the first v' , (Chomsky, 1970), when adverbials occur sentence medially or finally.



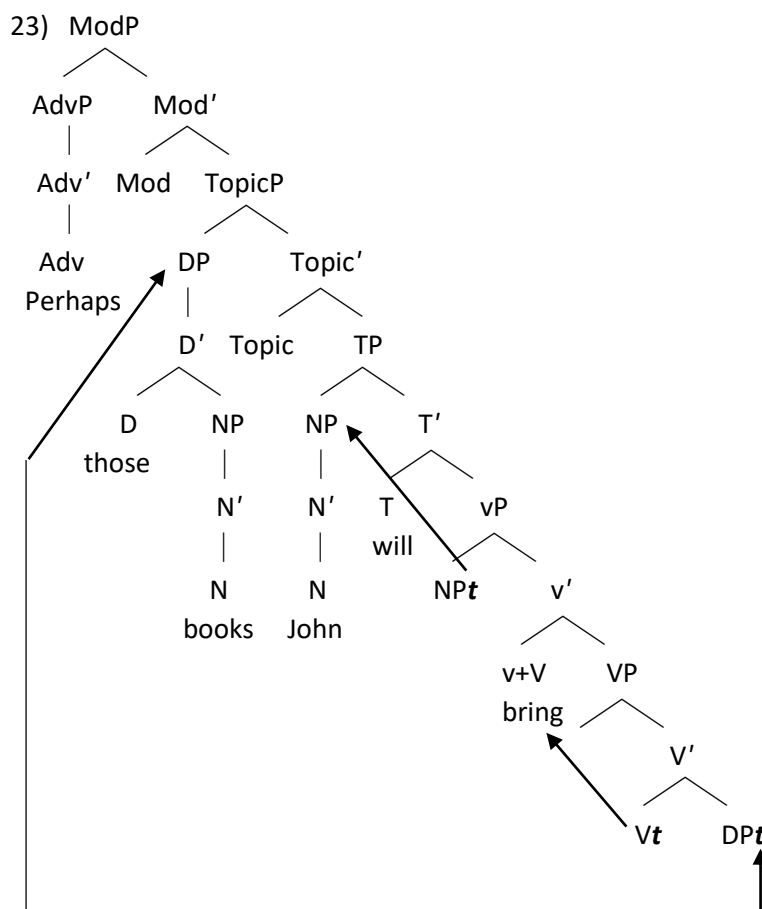
Both these morphological adverbial hedges allow the hearer to put his/her opinion about the proposition instead of an assertion by the speaker.

3.3.3 Downtoners –

These are linguistic devices, mostly adverbs that reduce the impact of the utterance on the addressee like just, possibly, perhaps. These are also expressed by speech-act adverbs like honestly when conveying any unexpected incident to the hearer.

Example – 23) Perhaps, Those books, John will bring.

In sentence (23), the adverbial ‘perhaps’, is preposed to a sentence initial position which occupies the specifier of Modifier Phrase (ModP), Rizzi(2004) in the left periphery followed by the lowest Topic Phrase (TopP) as its complement. The topicalized phrase occupies the specifier of Topic Phrase with the entire TP as its complement, which is shown in the structure below. So, when adverbial downtoners are preposed, politeness is represented in the domain of ModP, Rizzi (2004) in the left periphery.



The modal adverb 'perhaps' indicates uncertainty about the truth of the proposition and is used by the speaker to ascertain the likelihood of the propositional content.

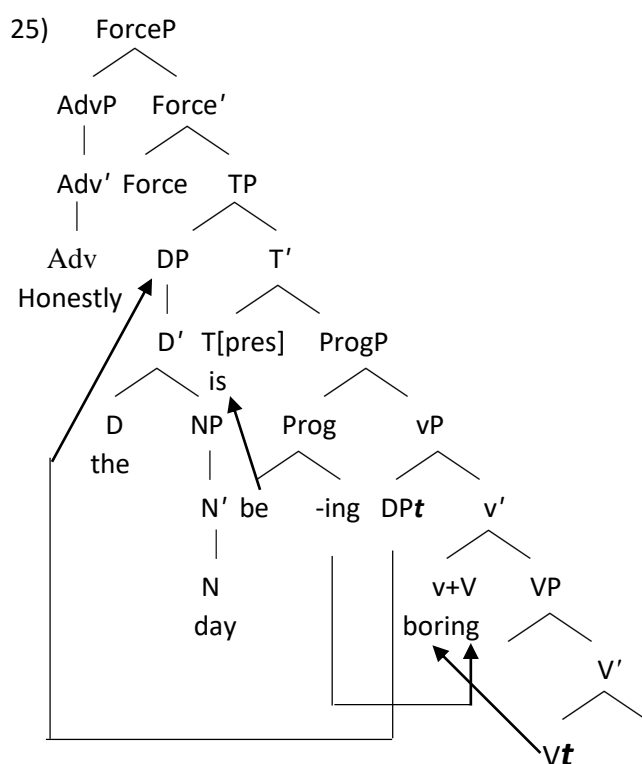
24) Peter is just joking.

In sentence (24), the adverbial downtoner 'just', being a predicative modifier occurs sentence medially, left to the verb. Thus, this adverbial occupies the adjunct position, realized as a sister of the second intermediate projection v' and a daughter of the first v' . Likewise, politeness here is encoded in the domain of vP .

This adverbial 'just' downtones or diminishes the illocutionary force of the predicate reflecting the speaker's politeness.

25) Honestly, the day is boring.

'Honestly', being an illocutionary adverb reflects the speaker's sincerity and emphasizes the truth of the propositional content which is likely unexpected to the hearer.



In sentence (25), the adverbial downtoner 'honestly', being a speech-act / sentence adverbial is adjoined to a sentence and occupies the specifier of Force Phrase in the left periphery, Rizzi (1997), the highest projection in the split CP which determines the

illocutionary force of a sentence. Hence, speech-act adverbial downtoners exhibit politeness in the domain of ForceP in the left periphery, Rizzi (1997).

In this respect, it can be said that preposed adverbial downtoners manifest politeness in the domain of Modifier Phrase but speech-act or sentence adverbials manifest politeness in the domain of ForceP in the left periphery. The predicative modifiers encode politeness in the domain of vP.

3.3.4 Understaters –

These tools represent the propositional content of the utterance with an adverbial modifier like a bit, briefly.

Example – 26) Yesterday, I was a bit upset.

27) It was briefly mentioned in the paper.

In sentence (26), the adverbial modifier ‘a bit’, occurs in a sentence medial position realized as an adjunct, a sister of the second intermediate projection v’ and a daughter of the first v’. So, this understater encodes politeness in the domain of vP.

The adverbial ‘a bit’ reduces the force of the predicate. The speaker disparages his/her emotional state to the hearer.

28) Briefly, it was mentioned in the paper.

In sentence (28), the sentence adverbial ‘briefly’, is adjoined to a sentence and occupies the specifier of Force Phrase, the highest projection in the left periphery, Rizzi (1997), which determines the illocutionary force of a sentence. So, politeness is encoded in the domain of ForceP in the left periphery.

It can be said thereof that predicative modifiers represent politeness in the realm of vP and speech-act adverbials represent politeness in realm of ForceP.

3.4 Syntactic Politeness

It can be classified as *play-downs*, *consultative devices*, *tag questions*, *passives*, *committers* and *scope-staters*.

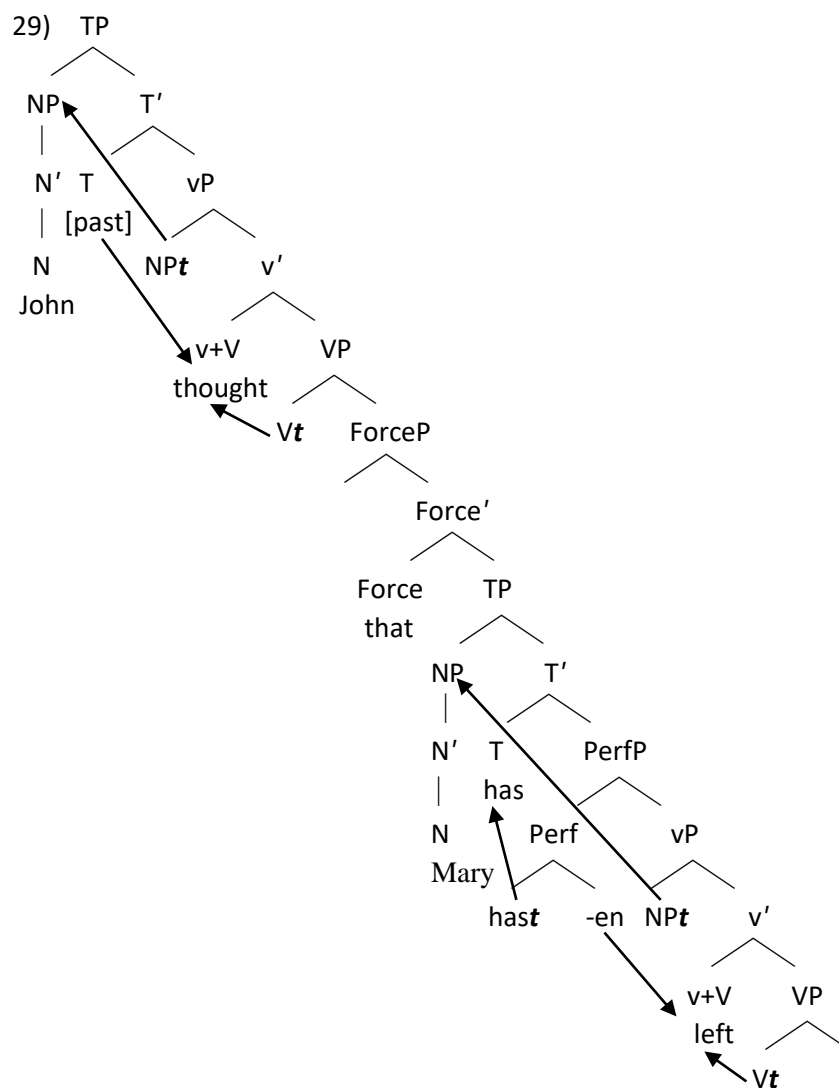
3.4.1 Play-downs –

These syntactic devices soften the perlocutionary impact of an utterance on the hearer like the usage of past tense and past progressive tense.

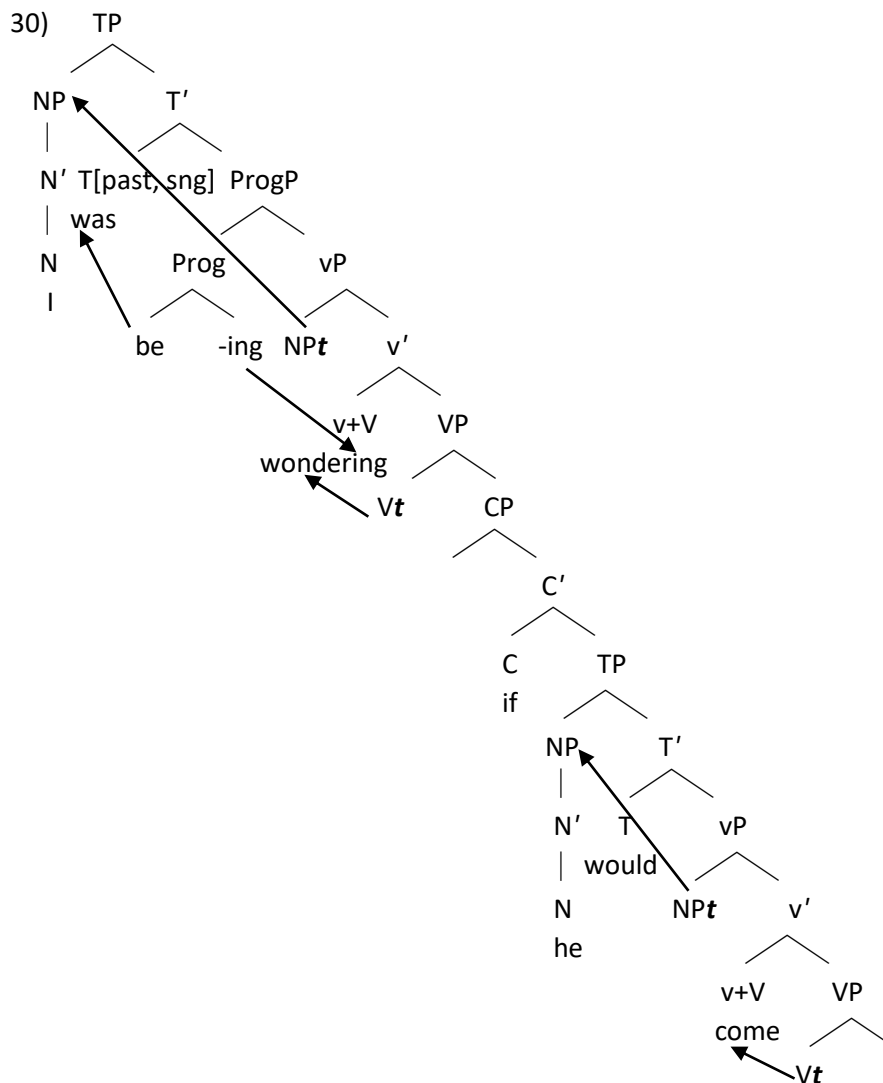
Example – 29) John thought that Mary has left.

30) I was wondering if he would come.

In both the above sentences, the usage of past tense and past progressive tense shows that the utterance lacks factivity and the speaker might not believe the content of the embedded clause which is reflected in the verb ‘thought’ as it expresses uncertainty or softens the perlocutionary impact of an utterance. The speaker’s degree of confidence in the truth of proposition is not so strong which leaves the room for uncertainty. The structure of (29) is shown below:



In sentence (30), the past progressive tense ‘was wondering’ splits and the auxiliary verb ‘was’ occurs in the ‘Prog’ head which moves to T, the morphological progressive marker –ing lowers to the main verb and the verb occupies the head of little v. So, here the matrix TP serves as the realm of representing politeness. The use of the verb ‘wonder’ gives an essence of indirect question to the sentence which makes it a polite one. Consider the structure as follows:



Therefore, it is seen that play-downs syntactically exhibit politeness in the domain of TP.

3.4.2 Consultative devices –

These syntactic structures seek to involve the addressee's opinion or cooperation like the usage of modal verbs in interrogative sentences.

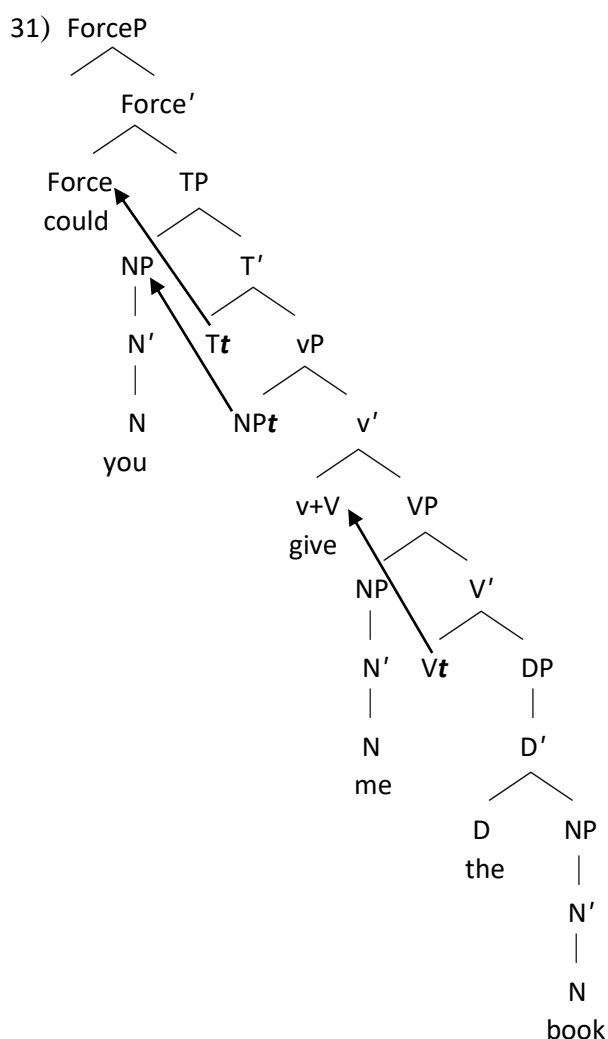
Example – 31) Could you give me the book?

32 How about letting me use your pen?

33) Would you like to have some coffee?

34) Could you possibly come tomorrow, please?

In sentence (31) and (34) using the past tense of modal verb 'can', to indicate deontic modality in an interrogative sentence makes it a polite one. This sentence is an instance of subject-auxiliary inversion, the phenomenon which makes a declarative sentence into an yes/no question. The auxiliary or modal generates in the T head and moves to a higher projection above TP. Here, the modal verb 'could' generates in the T head and moves to the head of ForceP in the left periphery, the highest projection (Rizzi, 1997) which determines the illocutionary force of the utterance. Hence, such structures manifest politeness in the realm of ForceP in the left periphery. The structure of (31) is shown below -



In the above sentences the speaker seeks permission and allows the hearer to express his/her opinion about the activity rather than a making a direct command or question or

imposing the force on the hearer. The addressee gets a chance to put his/her sentiment on it which brings the essence of politeness.

3.4.3 Tag questions –

These are syntactic hedges that turn a declarative or an imperative sentence into a question by adding an interrogative fragment or a tag. It involves participation of the interlocutor and mitigates the illocutionary force of an utterance. It seeks confirmation or reassurance from the addressee which reflects the dearth of the degree of speaker's belief/confidence in the proposition. It expresses the speaker's uncertainty.

Tag questions in English can be classified into two categories:

a) The canonical tag questions – These involve an auxiliary in the interrogative fragment that should agree with the subject, tense of verb/auxiliary, number, gender and person of the anchor. These are also referred to as the “grammatically complex tags.” Mostly, the anchor and the tag are in contrast polarity but can also be of the same. These tag questions call for a direct reaction from the addressee.

Example – 35) Open the book, won't you?

36) She is cooking, isn't she?

37) Don't come today, would you?

38) The food tastes delicious, isn't?

39) Let's have fun, shouldn't we?

40) They haven't ate, have they?

41) She went, didn't she?

The tag 'won't' is the most polite one and used with a positive anchor. It is quite evident in the above examples that the tag agrees with the morphology and syntax of the anchor. When there is no auxiliary as in (41), a dummy auxiliary 'do' is inserted to form the tag but it is not the same in (39). In (39), the modal verb 'should', is inserted to form the tag which expresses deontic modality. The insertion of dummy 'do' is barred as the verb 'let' allows an auxiliary that expresses necessity or possibility.

b) Invariant tag questions – These need not agree with the tense, number, person or gender of the anchor as they don't involve any auxiliary but are represented by tag words like 'right' and 'okay'. These are also referred to the “grammatically simple tags.”

Example – 42) Bring it tomorrow, okay?

43) You have not submitted the report, right?

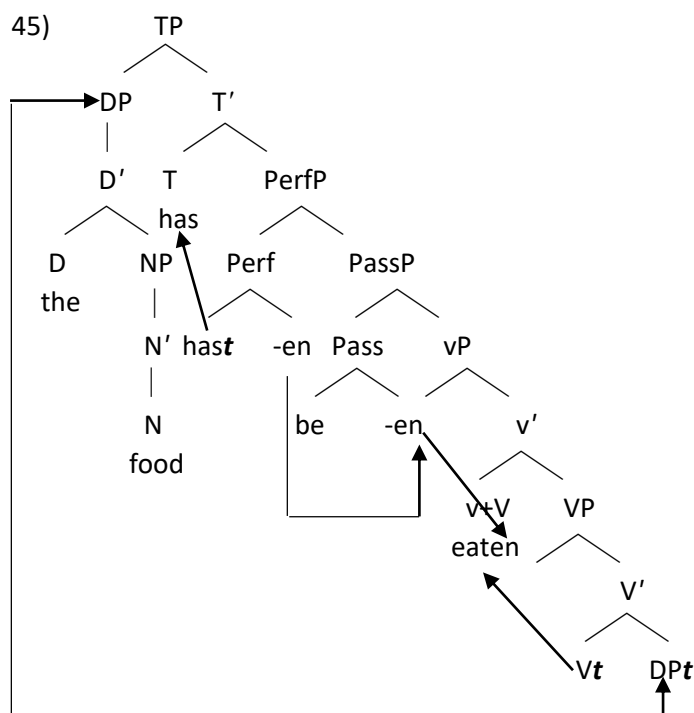
3.4.4 *Passives* –

This syntactic construction promotes the object as the subject of the sentence and the subject is encoded in an oblique phrase which is an adjunct. These are also known as agent avoiders.

Example – 44) My cup was broken.

45) The food has been eaten.

In passive constructions, the object is realized as the subject and the subject is realized as an adjunct. The passive morphology *-en* suppresses the accusative case of the object, so it gets the nominative case in the specifier of TP from the finite T. It also absorbs the external agent theta role. So the theme DP/NP (object), moves from the complement of VP to the specifier of TP to get case and satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), a strong feature in case of English. The structure below of (45) illustrates it.



As agents (subjects) become optional it caters to exhibit politeness. When agents are avoided, it puts the utterance in an indirect mode and does not allow the hearer to know about the doer of the action.

3.4.5 Committers –

These syntactic devices reduce the degree of the speaker's commitment to the propositional content of the utterance like I think, I believe.

Example – 46) I think that you should help your mother.

In sentence (46), the clause 'I think' functions like an epistemic adverbial. This clause reflects the speaker's attitude towards the proposition and also softens it. The speaker opines about the proposition and the necessity of the action but its truth value depends upon the hearer as he/she can posit his/her stance.

This clause occupies the matrix TP, the subject being in the specifier of TP and the verb in the v head. Thus, it can be said that politeness is manifested in the domain of TP.

47) I believed him to succeed.

In sentence (47), the clause 'I believe', also reflects the speaker's attitude and the degree of confidence in the truth of the proposition. 'Believe' being a verb of cognition has a higher degree of confidence in the truth compared to other cognitive verbs like 'think'. Similarly, this clause also occupies the matrix TP, the subject being in the specifier of TP and the verb in the v head and the lexical V takes an embedded TP as its complement. This is an instance of Exceptional Case Marking or ECM construction, where the main verb 'believe' assigns accusative case to 'him', as the embedded T being non-finite fails to assign it the nominative case. Likewise, it can be said that the domain of TP manifests politeness.

Hence, it can be said that committers syntactically represent politeness in the domain of TP.

3.4.6 Scope-staters –

These syntactic tools express a subjective opinion about the propositional content like I am afraid, I am disappointed.

Examples – 48) I am disappointed with your behaviour.

49) I am afraid to tell him the truth.

Both the clauses in the above sentences reflect the speaker's feeling or emotional state about the content of the proposition. Both the clauses are realized in TP, the subject being in its specifier, the auxiliary 'am' being in T and the verb occupies the little v.

So, it is quite clear that scope-statements encode politeness in the realm of TP.

3.5 Syntax of Politeness in Indian English

Morphological and syntactic politeness is encoded in the following structural configurations:

The domain of ForceP in the left periphery: This projection accommodates fixed polite expressions like 'please' which encodes the illocutionary force and speech-act adverbials like *honestly* in its specifier. Consultative devices like the usage of modal verb in yes/no questions encode politeness in this projection.

The domain of ModifierP in the left periphery: The specifier of this projection serves as the landing site for preposed adverbials to the sentence-initial position.

The domain of vP: Predicative modifiers or adverbials occurring in sentence medial or final position is realized in this projection, occupying the adjunct position.

The domain of TP: Play-downs, passive constructions, committers and scope statements encode politeness within the whole sentence, that is, the TP.

3.6 Bangla

I would discuss politeness in Bangla as manifested morphologically and syntactically in declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. Bangla has addressee honorifics (2P and 3P) which triggers honorific verb forms in all sentence types. Bangla also has morphological fixed polite expressions and politeness particles. Fixed polite expressions like – *ḡḡja* 'please', *onuroḡḡ* 'request', and *onugroho* 'kindly', occur at utterance and written levels. Bangla has borrowed several lexical items from English, one of which is the fixed polite expression 'please', which is widely used by Bangla contemporary speakers and it has kind of replaced the usage of the traditional fixed polite expressions like *ḡḡja*. The borrowed English word '*plidʒ*' is not person sensitive. This is owing to the fact that Indian English has a large influence on the vocabulary of Bangla and we, the contemporary speakers choose to use the English words. Bangla also has morphological adverbial downtoners like *konobʰabe* 'somehow', *ḡambʰḡb* 'possible' to demonstrate polite readings.

Person	Verb Form	Person dependent Polite particles	Person neutral polite particles
2P (H) – apni (FOR) – t̥umi (INF) – t̥ui	jan jao jaʃ	go re	na, t̥o na, t̥o na, t̥o
3P (H) – t̥ini, uni (INF, FOR) - je	jan jae		na, t̥o na, t̥o

Table 10: Politeness particles and verb forms with respect to person agreement.

Likewise, Bangla also employs syntactic strategies like tag questions, play-downs for politeness. Politeness and honorifics elicited in Bangla sentences depend on the person (2P).

3.7 Politeness Particles

Dasgupta (2014) claims the particle 't̥o' as a topic marker. He also argues that the particles remain in-situ and constituents move towards the left to give various interpretations.

The topic marker 't̥o' besides being an emphatic particle, it also caters to politeness reading in specific contexts.

Mukhopadhyay (2017) claims the particle 'na' as a polite focus particle.

Constituents can move to the left of the particles 't̥o' and 'na' as they occur in different positions unlike other polite particles 're' and 'go', which occurs sentence finally.

The agreement dependent politeness particles 're' and 'go' always cater to polite readings. They reduce the perlocutionary effect of the utterance on the hearer.

Following these interpretations, it can be argued that politeness particles occupy the left periphery, Rizzi (1997) of a clause. Hence, I would argue that 't̥o' is a polite topic particle, 'na' is a polite focus particle following Dasgupta (2014) and Mukhopadhyay (2017), 're' and 'go' are agreement based polite particles. They are represented structurally as the Polite Topic Phrase, Polite Focus Phrase and Polite Particle Phrase respectively to manifest polite readings.

Fixed polite expressions, and the polite particle *ektu* 'slight', can be treated as adverbials, occupying the adjunct position in the structure.

These items introduce the illocutionary force of the utterance and their presence reduce the perlocutionary effect of the utterance on the interlocutor.

3.8 Declarative Sentences

Declarative sentences in Bangla exhibit politeness employing fixed polite expressions, polite particles, adverbials and embedded clauses. Speakers use the overt finite complementizer *d3oḡi* 'if', which evinces an interrogative force which makes the utterance into a polite request instead of an assertion.

3.8.1 Honorifics

Let us consider the examples with honorificity first.

50) *apni na d3oḡi ektu boi -ta rahul -ke dije diḡe par-en to tahole kʰub bʰalo hoj*
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT if PRT book-CLS Rahul-ACC give give can-2P.H PRT then very good
 be.HAB

'If you could kindly give the book to Rahul then it will be very good.'

The fixed polite expressions 'doja' and 'onugroho' are in complementary distribution with each other, that is, they can't co-occur in a sentence like (51).

51) **doja kore apni jahad3o -ta kore diḡin onugroho kore.*
 please do 2P.SG.H.NOM help-CLS do give.IMP.2P.H kindly do
 'Please, you do the help kindly.'

Polite particles do not base generate sentence initially but fixed polite expressions can.

52) *plidz apni ektu taraḡari aju-n na.*
 please 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT fast come.PRS-2P.H PRT
 'Please do come a bit early.'

53) *onugroho kor-e apni ektu taraḡari aj-un to.*
 kindly do 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT fast come.PRS-2P.H PRT
 'Kindly come a bit early.'

The fixed polite expressions can co-occur with the polite particle to intensify the degree of politeness. The fixed polite expression can occur sentence initially encoding the force of the utterance and precedes the polite particles, as in (52) and (53).

54) ami to b^hab-t^hi-l-am apni d³oḍi konob^habe aḥte par-en
 1P.SG.NOM PRT think-PROG-PST-1P 2P.SG.H.NOM if somehow come can-2P.HON
 'I was thinking if you can somehow come.'

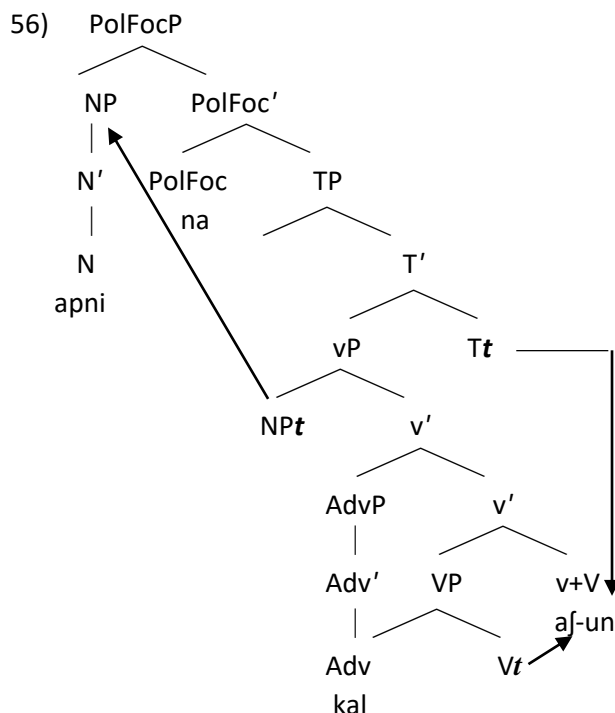
There is also an instance of the usage of past progressive in (54) which tones down the perlocutionary effect of the utterance reflecting the uncertainty in the truth of the proposition. The presence of an adverbial downtoner like 'konob^habe' and the finite complementizer 'd³oḍi' allows the hearer to put his/her opinion.

The distribution of the polite particles is quite evident from the above set of sentences. The polite focus particle 'na' is free to occur sentence finally and medially like (55) and (56).

55) apni adḣ t^heke dḣa-n na.
 2P.SG.H.NOM today stay go.PRS-2P.H PRT
 'You stay today.'

56) apni na kal aḥ-u-n.
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT tomorrow come.PRS-2P-H
 'You come tomorrow.'

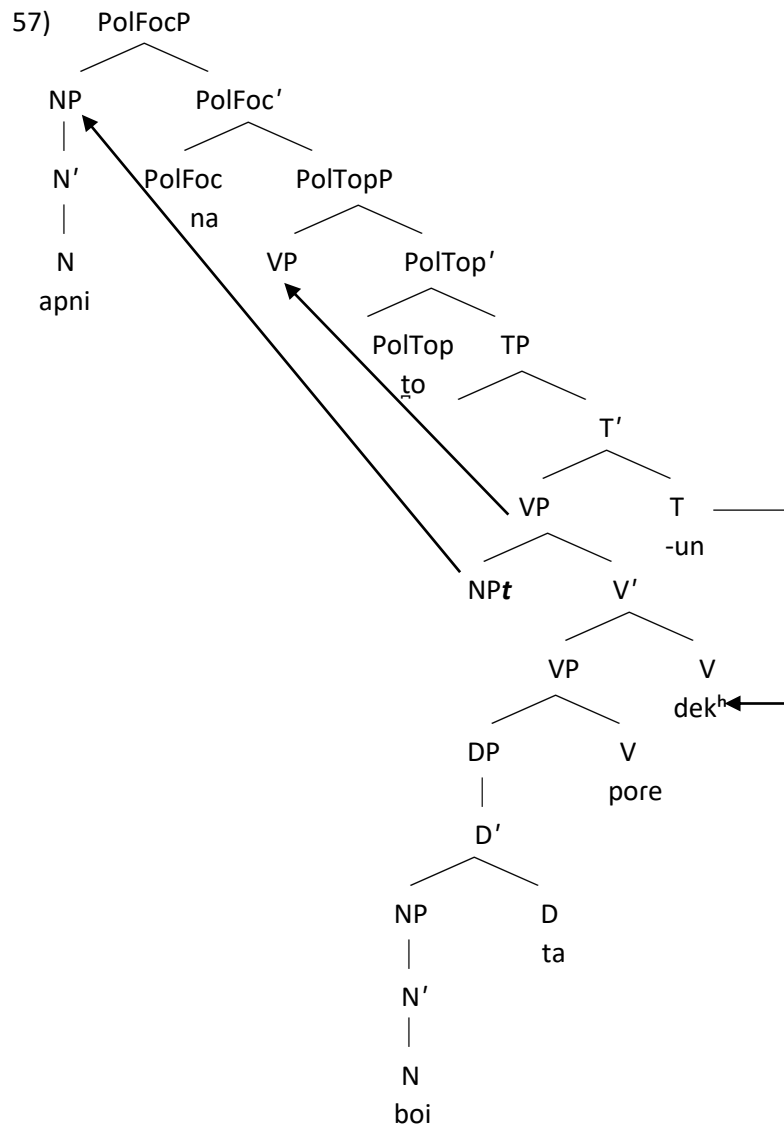
Hence the structure of (56) is proposed below:



In the structure (56), the polite focus particle 'na' occurs at the head of this projection with the entire TP as its complement. The subject generates in the specifier of vP and then moves to the specifier of the functional projection PolFocP.

It can also be followed by the topic particle ‘to’ as in (57). In the structure (57), the polite focus particle ‘na’ occurs sentence medially and the subject moves from the specifier of vP to specifier of PolFocP and the VP moves to the specifier of PolTopP as polite topic particle ‘to’ takes scope over the entire sentence.

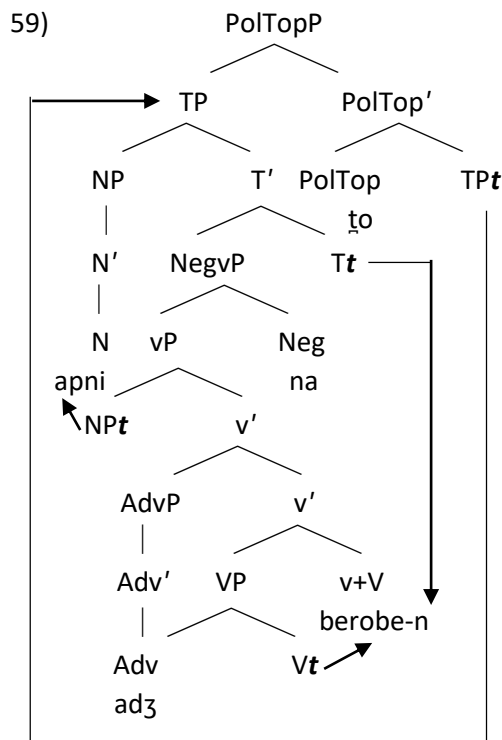
57) apni **na** boi -ta pore dek^h-u-n **to**.
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT book-CLS read see.HAB-IMP-2P-H PRT
 ‘You read the book and see.’



But presence of the particle ‘na’ poses restriction on the particle ‘to’, that is, ‘to’ doesn’t precede ‘na’, if so, it yields a tag question shown in (58).

58) apni **to** g^humije pore-tj^h-il-en **na**
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT sleep fall-PROG-PST-2P.H PRT
 ‘You fell asleep, right?’

59) apni ad3 bero-b-en na to
 2P.SG.H.NOM today go-FUT-2P.H not PRT
 'You won't go out today.'



In the above structure, the polite topic particle 'to' occurs in the sentence final position which triggers the movement of the entire TP to the specifier of PolTopP and it takes the scope over the entire TP which conveys the speaker's politeness.

60) apna-ke na onurod^h kor-tj^h-i apni d3odⁱ dja kore kad3-ta kore dⁱte par-en
 2P.SG.H-ACC PRT request do-PROG-1P 2P.SG.H.NOM if please do work-CLS do give can-2P.H
 'I am requesting you if you can please do the work.'

The polite expression 'onurod^h' introduces an overt finite complementizer 'd3odⁱ' like (60). The polite particles either occur sentence medially or finally.

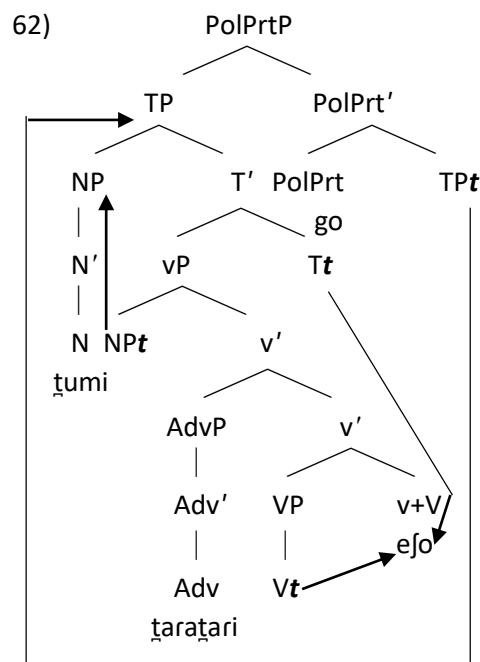
3.8.2 Non-Honorifics

Now let's look at the non-honorifics.

Politeness in non-honorifics is exhibited using the same linguistic devices as the ones introduced in honorifics. Apart from those, it employs the person sensitive polite particles 're' for informal and 'go' for formal ones. The distribution of the polite particles and polite expressions are irrespective of the formal and informal division. All the polite particles can occur in sentences independent of other particles.

61) tui k^heje ja **re.**
 2P.SG.INF.NOM eat go.HAB.IMP.2P.INF PRT
 'You please eat and go.'

62) tumi ṭaraṭari ejo **go.**
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM fast come.HAB.2P.FOR PRT
 'You please come fast.'



In the above structure, the polite particle 'go' caters to speaker's politeness which renders the illocutionary force of the utterance and takes scope over the entire TP. The particle occurs in the sentence final position which triggers the movement of TP to its specifier.

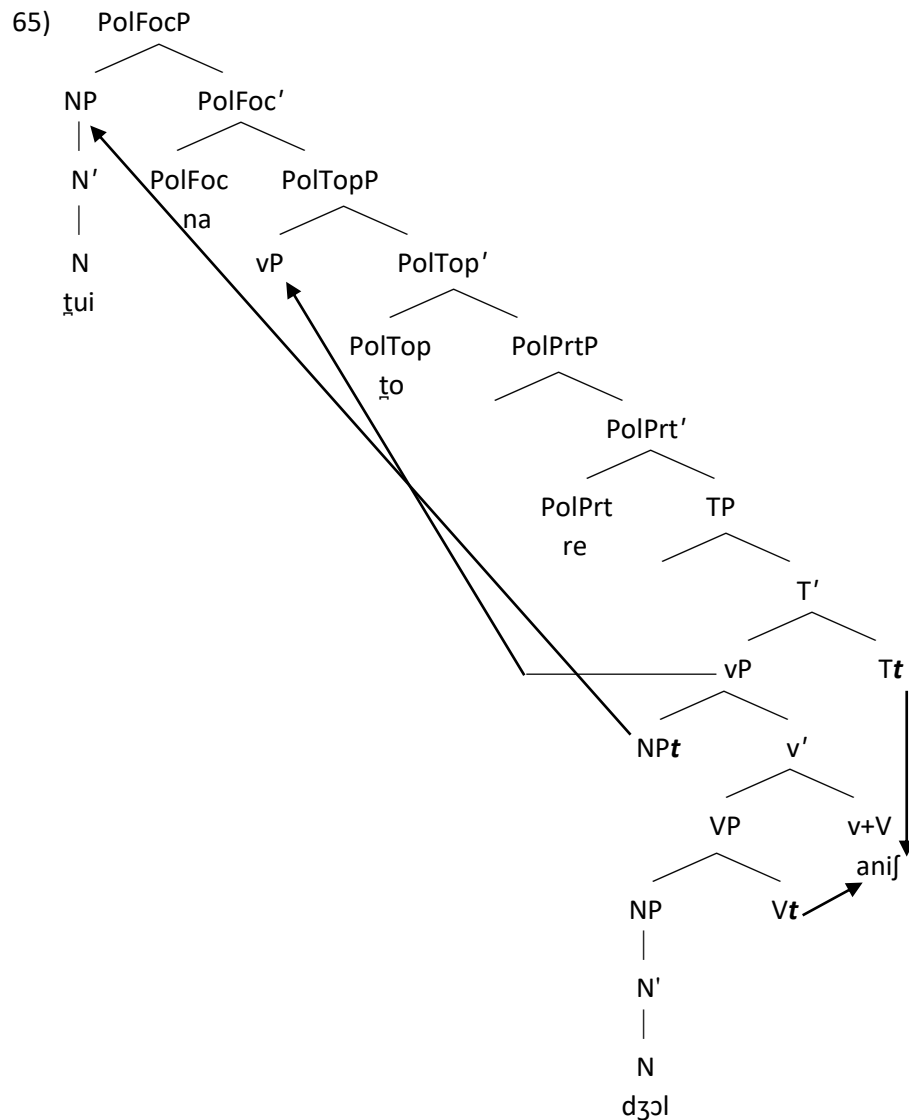
The particles 're' and 'go' can occur only in sentence final positions, making the utterance more polite and friendly. The particle 'ektu' underrepresents the proposition and turns the sentence into a polite request softening the 'perlocutionary tone.'

63) tui **ektu** lik^he ne **re.**
 2P.SG.INF.NOM PRT write take.HAB.2P.INF PRT
 'You please write it.'

In the following sentences (64) and (65), the particle 'na' and the particle 'to' encodes politeness, usage of both the particles intensifies the degree of politeness and makes the utterance soft and friendly. It is evident that the polite focus 'na' precedes 'to'.

64) tumi karon-ta **na** o-ke bole ḡa-o **t**o
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM reason-CLS PRT 3P-ACC tell give.HAB.PRS-2P.FOR PRT
 'You tell the reason to him/her.'

65) tui **na** dʒɔl anij **t**o **re**.
 2P.SG.INF.NOM PRT water bring.HAB.2P.INF PRT PRT
 'You please bring water.'



The above structure of (65) shows co-occurrence of all the polite particle in the utterance, each occupying the head of its functional projection in the left periphery. The subject moves from the specifier of vP to the specifier of PolFocP and its head hosts the polite focus particle 'na'. The polite topic particle 'to' occupies the head of PolTopP and the vP moves to the specifier of PolTopP and the polite particle 're' occurs in the head of PolPrtP as this particle takes scope over the entire sentence.

We shall now consider a few examples to observe the distributions of ‘re’ and ‘go’ particles with ‘na’ and ‘to’.

66) *tumi na adʒ tʰeke ja-o to go.*
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM PRT today stay go.HAB-2P.FOR PRT PRT
 ‘You please stay today.’

67) *tui na darun ranna kor-ij to re.*
 2P.SG.INF.NOM PRT great cook do.HAB-2P.INF PRT PRT
 ‘You really cook great.’

The above sentences present the distribution of all the polite particles and it reflects that the polite particles ‘re’ and ‘go’ can co-occur with the focus polite ‘na’ and topic polite ‘to’. The particles ‘re’ and ‘go’ only can occur in sentence final position.

68) *tumi na dʒa kore o-ke kitʃu bolo na go*
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM PRT please do 3P-ACC some tell not PRT
 ‘You please don’t tell him/her anything.’

69) *tui na onugroho kore kadʒ-ta kore dʒile bʰalo hoj re*
 2P.SG.INF.NOM PRT kindly do work-CLS do give good be.HAB PRT
 ‘It will be good if you kindly do the work.’

70) *to-ke na onurodʰ kor-tʃʰ-i tui dʒoɖi dʒa kore ektu kadʒ-ta kore dʒite*
 2P.SG.INF-ACC PRT request do-PROG-1P 2P.SNG.INF.NOM if please do PRT work-CLS do give
par-ij re tahole to kʰub bʰalo hoj.
 can-2P-INF PRT then PRT very good be.HAB
 ‘I am requesting you if you can please do the work for me then it will be very good.’

The above set of sentences (68-70) show the distribution of the fixed polite expressions, the different polite particles. In (70), it is evident that the fixed polite expression ‘onurodʰ’ precedes the other expression ‘dʒa’. The latter one can occur in the embedded clause as the former always occurs in the matrix clause. The polite particles ‘re’ and ‘go’ can also occur at the end of an embedded clause like (70).

3.9 Interrogative Sentences

The occurrence of wh-question words and the polite particles ‘to’ and ‘na’ in interrogative constructions are in complementary distribution as there cannot be two question words in a simple interrogative structure since both would compete to occupy the same structural position as in (71).

71) *apni koṭʰae dʒatʰen to ?
 2P.SG.H.NOM where go-PROG-2P.H PRT
 'Where are you going?'

Let us now move to the yes-no questions.

3.9.1 Polite Yes-No Questions

The polite particles 'to' and 'na' are used as question words to indicate polite yes-no questions in Bangla. In interrogative constructions, 'to' and 'na' are also in complementary distribution.

We will first consider the examples of **honorificity** in the following examples :

72) apni kʰej-etʰ-en to?
 2P.SG.H.NOM eat-PERF-2P.H PRT
 'Have you ate?'

73) apni tʰak-tʰ-en na?
 2P.SG.H.NOM stay-PROG-2P.H PRT
 'You are staying, right?'

74) apni boi lekʰ-e-n na to?
 2P.SG.H.NOM book write.HAB-IND-2P.H not PRT
 'You don't write books, right?'

When the polite topic particle 'to' occurs sentence finally with a finite verb conjugated either in perfective aspect (72) or in progressive aspect (73) it indicates a polite yes-no question. Likewise, this polite particle occurring with habitual aspect can show polite yes-no question only when the verb is in indicative mood as in (74). Had the polite particle 'to' been absent in the above interrogative constructions, it would still yield a yes-no question but not a polite one.

The occurrence of 'to' in sentence final position with a finite verb in imperative mood yields a command rather than a polite interrogative one as in (75).

75) apni bos-u-n to.
 2P.SG.H.NOM sit.HAB-IMP-2P.H PRT
 'You sit.'

Also, when the particle 'to' occurs sentence medially, it gives a declarative sentence in (76).

76) apni **to** kal tʰak-tʃʰ-en.
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT tomorrow stay-PROG-2P.H
 'You are staying tomorrow.'

Now when the polite focus particle 'na', occurs sentence medially with a finite verb conjugated in either progressive or perfective aspect, it results in a polite yes-no question as in (77).

77) apni **na** boi-ta likʰ-etʃʰ-en?
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT book-CLS write-PERF-2P.H
 'You have written the book, right?'

Again, when this polite particle occurs with habitual aspect, then it triggers polite yes-no question only if the verb is in indicative mood, as in (78). But when this same particle in the same position occurs with a finite verb in imperative mood, it leads to a declarative sentence as in (79).

78) apni **na** ḡaba kʰel-e-n?
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT chess play.HAB-IND-2P.H
 'You play chess, right?'

79) apni **na** abar ḡaba kʰel-u-n.
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT again chess play.HAB-IMP-2P.H
 'You play chess again.'

Now let's consider the examples of **non-honorifics** in the following examples :

Besides the usage of the polite topic particle 'to' and the polite focus particle 'na', there are other two person agreement based polite particles – 're', used to address informal or any friendly relation and 'go' used to address formal relation. These particles occur sentence finally, following the verb which intensifies the degree of politeness. These polite particles are neither in complementary distribution with polite yes-no question markers 'to' and 'na' nor with wh-question words nor with fixed polite expressions.

The polite topic particle 'to' occurring sentence finally gives polite yes-no questions as shown in the following examples (80).

80) tui bʰaṭ kʰab-i **to**?
 2P.SG.INF.NOM rice eat.FUT-2P.INF PRT
 'Will you eat rice?'

The co-occurrence of the polite topic particle ‘t̥o’ and the polite particle particles ‘re’ and ‘go’ in sentence final position gives a polite yes-no question when preceded by a finite verb either in progressive or perfective aspect as in (81) and (82).

81) t̥ui kʰa-tʃʰ-iʃ t̥o re?
2P.SG.INF.NOM eat-PROG-2P.INF PRT PRT
‘Are you eating?’

82) t̥umi oʃuqʰ-ta en-etʃʰ-o t̥o go?
2P.SG.FOR.NOM medicine-CLS bring-PERF-2P.FOR PRT PRT
‘Have you brought the medicine?’

The polite particles ‘t̥o’ and ‘re’ co-occurring with a finite verb in habitual aspect with indicative mood gives rise to polite yes-no question, (83) but the presence of imperative mood prevents it as in (84).

83) t̥ui sinema dekʰ-i-ʃ t̥o re?
2P.SG.INF.NOM movie watch.HAB-IND-2P.INF PRT PRT
‘You watch movies, right?’

84) t̥ui sinema dekʰ t̥o re.
2P.SG.INF.NOM movie watch.HAB.IMP-2P.INF PRT PRT
‘You watch movies.’

The same verb form is used to indicate both indicative and imperative mood as Bangla lacks a different verb form to elicit imperative mood in 2P (formal) ‘t̥umi’ unlike its informal counterpart ‘t̥ui’ as shown in (84). So the polite topic particle ‘t̥o’ and the polite particle ‘go’ occur with that verb form, as in (85) and (86).

85) t̥umi tʃʰobi t̥ol-o t̥o go?
2P.SG.FOR.NOM photo pick.HAB.IND-2P.FOR PRT PRT
‘You click photographs, right?’

86) t̥umi tʃʰobi t̥ol-o t̥o go.
2P.SG.FOR.NOM photo pick.HAB.IMP-2P.FOR PRT PRT
‘You click photographs.’

The polite particles ‘re’ and ‘go’ show up for polite yes-no questions independent of ‘t̥o’ and ‘na’ as in (87) and (88).

87) t̥ui gan kor-tʃʰ-s re?
2P.SG.INF.NOM song do-PROG-2P.INF PRT
‘Are you singing?’

88) *toma-r ʃorir kʰarap go?*
 2P.SG.FOR-GEN health bad PRT
 'Are you unwell?'

The above sentences can be interrogative constructions even in the absence of the polite particles but those will exhibit reduced degree of politeness.

These polite particles also can't be interpreted interrogatives in the presence of imperative mood in the verb form as in (90), but can do when in indicative, like (89).

89) *tui ranna kor-ij re ?*
 2P.SG.INF.NOM cook do.HAB.IND-2P.INF PRT
 'You cook?'

90) *tui ranna kor re.*
 2P.SG.INF.NOM cook do.HAB.IMP-2P.INF PRT
 'You better cook.'

The polite focus particle 'na' when occurs sentence medially triggers a polite yes-no question as in (91).

91) *toma-r na dʒɔr hojetʰe go?*
 2P.SG.FOR-GEN PRT fever be-PERF PRT
 'You are having fever, isn't?'

When the verb is in habitual aspect, 'na' triggers yes-no question provided it is in indicative mood like (92) but imperative mood prevents this as in (93).

92) *tui na ʃɔb kʰa-f ?*
 2P.SG.INF.NOM PRT everything eat.HAB.IND-2P.INF
 'You eat everything, right?'

93) *tui na ʃɔb kʰa.*
 2P.SG.INF.NOM PRT everything eat.HAB.IMP-2P.INF
 'You eat everything, right?'

When the polite focus particle 'na' occurs in the sentence final position with the verb in habitual aspect in imperative mood, it gives a declarative sentence, like (94).

94) *tui tʰɔbi-ta dækʰ na.*
 2P.SG.INF.NOM picture-CLS see.HAB.IMP.2P.INF PRT
 'You please see the picture.'

But this polite 'na' serves as a tag or a negative statement with the tag in a sentence when it occurs sentence finally with the verb in habitual aspect in indicative mood as in (95) and (96)

respectively. This phenomenon is irrespective of honorificity, that is, it happens with both honorifics and non-honorifics.

95) tui tʰobi-ta dekʰ-i-j na?
2P.SG.INF.NOM picture-CLS see.HAB-IND-2P.INF PRT
'You see the picture, right?'

96) tui tʰobi-ta dekʰ-i-j na na?
2P.SG.INF.NOM picture-CLS see.HAB-IND-2P.INF not PRT
'You don't see the picture, right?'

3.9.2 Wh-Questions

Wh-Interrogatives in Bangla doesn't employ the polite particles 'to' and 'na' to encode politeness as they can't co-occur. It employs question words like ki 'what', kɔbe 'when', kænɔ 'why', kɔtʰæ 'where'.

We would first discuss the examples of **honorificity** in the following examples :

To trigger polite wh-questions, honorifics make use of fixed polite words like dɔja 'please', onugroho 'kindly'.

97) apni dɔja kore bolʰe parb-en bæpar-ta ki?
2P.SG.H.NOM please do tell can-2P.H matter-CLS what
'Can you please tell what's the matter?'

98) apni onugroho kore bolb-en je kɔbe aʃ-tʰ-en?
2P.SG.H.NOM kindly do tell.FUT-2P.HON that when come-PROG-2P.H
'Will you kindly tell when are you coming?'

Certain adverbials like konobʰabe 'somehow', ʃɔmbʰɔb 'possible', are used to tone down the illocutionary force of the utterance and to let the interlocutor articulate his/her feelings and ideas.

99) apna-r pokʰe ki adʒ konobʰabe aʃa ʃɔmbʰɔb?
2P.SG.H-GEN for what today somehow come possible
'Is it possible for you to somehow come today?'

Now we would discuss the examples of **non-honorifics** in the following examples :

The question word itself triggers interrogatives but politeness in wh-questions is elicited through the usage of the polite particles 're' and 'go' in sentence final positions

100) tui koṭʰae dʒab-i re?
 2P.SG.INF.NOM where go.FUT-2P.INF PRT
 'Where will you go?'

101) toma-r kəkʰon porikʰa go?
 2P.SG.FOR-GEN when exam PRT
 'When is your exam?'

Certain adverbials like *konobʰabe* 'somehow', *jombʰob* 'possible' allows the hearer to express his/her opinion.

102) tumi ki konobʰabe kal aṭṭe parb-e go?
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM what somehow tomorrow come can-2P.FOR PRT
 'Can you somehow come tomorrow?'

The polite particles 're' and 'go' doesn't occur in the clause followed by an overt or covert complementizer as in (103) and (104). It also exhibits fixed polite words like 'ḍḍja' please, like (103).

103) tui ḍḍja kore bolbi je ki hoj-etʰe?
 2P.SG.INF.NOM please do tell.FUT-2P.INF that what be-PERF
 'Will you please tell what has happened?'

104) tumi ki dʒan-o go ɔmit ki bol-etʰe?
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM what know-2P.FOR PRT amit what say-PERF-3P
 'Do you know what has Amit said?'

The fixed polite expression also turns an interrogative sentence into a declarative one, when the speaker requests the addressee as in (105).

105) tumi plidz bolo na go kæno kãḍ-tʰ-o
 2P.SG.FOR-NOM please tell.PRS.IMP-2P.FOR PRT PRT why cry-PROG-2P.FOR
 'You please tell that why are you crying.'

3.10 Tag Questions

Bangla makes use of implicit tag questions to turn a declarative sentence into an interrogative by adding a tag at the end of the sentence. Bangla lacks an overt finite verb in the tag which agrees with the anchor. The word 'tai' refers to the whole proposition. The polite topic particle 'to' and the polite focus particle 'na' along with 'tai' caters to implicit tag questions in Bangla. Here, the polite focus particle 'na' serves to host a question tag. The tag 'tai na', negates the proposition of the clause and 'tai to' adds certainty or confirmation to the proposition.

3.10.1 Honorifics

In the following examples, the polite topic particle 'to' doesn't occur with the tag 'tai to' but occurs with the other tags. The polite topic 'to' and the polite focus 'na' is in complementary distribution with the tag 'tai to' as in (106).

106) apni tjit^{hi} -ta lik^h-etj^h-en **tai to?**
 2P.SG.H.NOM letter-CLS write-PERF-2P.H PRT PRT
 'You have written the letter, right?'

But the polite topic 'to' occurs with the tag 'tai na' unlike the polite focus 'na' like (107).

107) apni boi -ta **to** an-tj^h-en **tai na?**
 2P.SG.H.NOM book-CLS PRT bring-PROG-2P.H PRT PRT
 'You are bringing the book, aren't you?'

and 'na' serves as a tag when occurring sentence finally as in (108) and (109).

108) apni g^hori -ta kin-etj^h-en **to na?**
 2P.SG.H.NOM watch-CLS buy-PERF-2P.H PRT PRT
 'You have bought the watch, right?'

109) apni **to** af-tj^h-en na **na?**
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT come-PROG-2P.H not PRT
 'You are not coming, right?'

The polite topic 'to' can occur sentence medially or finally with the tag 'na' as shown in the above sentences (108) and (109).

3.10.2 Non-Honorifics

The polite particles 're' and 'go' occurring with the tag increases the degree of politeness. As we have seen that the polite focus particle 'na' serves as a tag, the polite particles 're' and 'go' occurring with it, softens the perlocutionary effect of the utterance. The tag 'na' co-occurs with the polite particles 're' and 'go' in the following examples (110) and (111).

110) tumi **to** t^hakb-e na **na go?**
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM PRT stay.FUT-2P.FOR not PRT PRT
 'You will not stay, right?'

111) tui **to** dza-tj^h-s **na re?**
 2P.SG.INF.NOM PRT go-PROG-2P.INF PRT PRT
 'You are going, right?'

The tag 'tai na' can also co-occur with the polite topic particle 'to', occurs sentence medially like (112, 113). The person dependent polite particles 're' and 'go' can also occur just after the tag like (112) and (113).

112) tui to kal phirb-i tai na re?
 2P.SG.INF.NOM PRT tomorrow return.FUT-2P.INF PRT PRT PRT
 'You will return tomorrow, isn't?'

113) tumi to kek ta banij-et^h-o tai na go?
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM PRT cake-CLS make-PERF-2P.FOR PRT PRT PRT
 'You have made the cake, isn't?'

The tag 'tai to' seeks confirmation or certainty about the proposition from the addressee.

114) tumi boi -ta kin-et^h-o tai to ?
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM book-CLS buy-PERF-2P.FOR PRT PRT
 'You have bought the book, right?'

115) tui mifti khab-i tai to ?
 2P.SG.INF.NOM sweets eat.FUT-2P.INF PRT PRT
 'You will eat sweets, right?'

3.11 Imperative Sentences

Imperative sentences in Bangla also employs the polite topic particle 'to' and the polite focus particle 'na' to turn a command into a polite request. It also employs the particle 'ektu' and the polite fixed expression 'dja' please, 'onugroho' kindly, to manifest politeness.

3.11.1 Honorifics

In imperative sentences, when the verb is intransitive it forbids the co-occurrence of both the particles, either of the particles can occur like (116) or (117).

116) ektu kheje ni-n na
 PRT eat take.HAB-2P.H PRT
 'Please eat.'

117) juje por-u-n to
 lie. fall.HAB-IMP-2P.H PRT
 'Please lie down.'

The polite topic particle 'to' occurs in a sentence final position when the polite focus particle 'na' occurs sentence medially as in (118), only when the verb is transitive.

118) *joi -ta na kore di-n to*
 sign-CLS PRT do give.HAB.IMP-2P.HON PRT
 'Please do the signature.'

119) *onugroho kore na kal afu-n to*
 kindly do PRT tomorrow come.HAB-2P.H PRT
 'Kindly come tomorrow.'

Both the particles can co-occur despite the verb being intransitive only when the clause has an adverbial or a fixed polite expression as in (119). The polite topic particle 'to' is not preceding the polite focus particle 'na' but the fixed polite expressions and the particle 'ektu' can.

3.11.2 Non-Honorifics

Apart from the usage of the polite topic particle 'to', the polite focus particle 'na', the polite fixed expressions and the particle 'ektu', the polite particles 're' and 'go' also encodes politeness in the absence of honorifics. These particles encode the speaker's intention, that is, the illocutionary force.

The polite particles 're' and 'go' can also occur with the fixed polite expressions as in (121).

120) *ar brijti-te na b'hid3-o na go*
 and rain-LOC PRT wet-2P.FOR not PRT
 'Don't get more drenched in the rain.'

121) *dord3a -ta d3ja kore bong'ho kore de na re*
 door-CLS please do close do give.HAB-2P.INF PRT PRT
 'Close the door, please.'

3.12 Syntax of Politeness in Bangla

Following from the data presented above, it is evident that the polite topic particle 'to' usually doesn't occur sentence medially in the presence of the polite focus particle 'na'.

122) **tumi to t'heke ja-o na*
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM PRT stay go.HAB-2P.FOR PRT
 'You please stay.'

The polite focus particle 'na' usually precedes negation, which means they can co-occur as shown below.

123) apni **na** kitʃʰu mone korb-en na
 2P.SG.H.NOM PRT some mind do.FUT-2P.H not
 'You please don't mind anything.'

The polite particles 're' and 'go' always follow negation since they occur sentence finally or at the end of a clause.

124) tumi je-o na **go**
 2P.SG.FOR.NOM go-2P.FOR not PRT
 'You don't go, please.'

Considering all the analysis, interpretations and the data it can be regarded that Bangla exhibits politeness in the Topic and Focus projections in the left periphery, Rizzi (1997) and also another functional projection Polite particle phrase which hosts the polite particles 're' and 'go' and are structurally lower than the Polite Topic and the Polite Focus projections.

3.13 Comparative Study of Politeness in Indian English and Bangla

This section would make a comparative study of politeness elucidated in Indian English and Bangla keeping in hand, the interpretations, analysis and the data posited in the above sections.

3.13.1 Morphological Similarities

Both the languages employ fixed polite expressions –

- ❖ Indian English uses the lexical items 'please', 'kindly' and 'request' to give polite readings.
- ❖ Bangla uses the lexical items *ḍoja* 'please', *onuroḍʰ* 'request', *onugroho* 'kindly' and *plidz* to show polite readings.

Both the languages make use of adverbial downtoners -

- ❖ Indian English uses the adverbials 'perhaps', 'honestly' to give polite readings.
- ❖ Bangla uses the adverbials *konobʰabe* 'somehow', *ḥambʰab* 'possible' to show politeness.

3.13.2 Syntactic Similarities

- ❖ Both languages employ tag questions, varying in the type to express politeness.
- ❖ Both languages also yield yes-no questions just with varying intonation, that is, without the usage of any question word.

- ❖ Both languages make use of play-downs to show politeness.

3.13.3 Morphological Dissimilarities

The two most salient points of difference between these two languages are :

- ❖ **Honorificity** – Indian English lacks honorifics, that is, it doesn't make any distinction between honorifics and non-honorifics. It also doesn't differentiate between the formal and informal division among the non-honorifics. The 2P 'you' subsumes all of them. On the contrary, Bangla makes a clear distinction among them and also the verb is inflected in accordance with the subject.
- ❖ **Polite particles** – Indian English does not yield polite particles to manifest politeness whereas Bangla has quite a good number of them like 'to', 'na', 're', 'go', 'ektu'.

3.13.4 Syntactic Dissimilarities

- ❖ **Yes-no questions** – Indian English forms yes-no questions employing the phenomenon of Subject-Auxiliary Inversion, known as SAI, which turns a declarative sentence into an interrogative one. Polite yes-no questions are also formed in the similar fashion just that the modal auxiliary occurs in the past tense like 'could' and 'would'. But Bangla lacks this phenomenon. It forms polite yes-no questions when the polite particle 'to' and 'na' occurs sentence finally and medially respectively. Modality plays a chief role in Bangla polite yes-no questions which doesn't happen in Indian English. The Bangla polite particles fail to trigger a polite yes-no question when the verb is in imperative mood.
- ❖ **Tag Questions** – Indian English makes use of explicit tag question where there is a finite verb in the tag which agrees with the subject, tense of the anchor such as 'won't you'. It also has 'simple tags' like 'right' and 'okay'. On the other hand, Bangla has implicit tags for tag questions like 'tai to', 'tai na'.

3.13.5 Structural Comparison

Both the languages exhibit politeness in the domain of vP, the structural position for adverbial adjuncts.

Both the languages encode politeness in the left periphery of the clause, Rizzi (1997) but the functional projections differ for both the languages.

- ❖ Indian English manifests politeness in the functional projections of ForceP, which is occupied by 'please', 'kindly' and speech-act adverbials and ModifierP which is occupied by the preposed adverbials.
- ❖ Bangla manifests politeness in the functional projections of Polite FocusP, which hosts the polite focus particle '*na*', the Polite TopicP, where the polite topic particle '*to*' occurs and a new functional projection namely Polite ParticleP, which is occupied by the polite particles '*re*' and '*go*'.
- ❖ The structure for polite yes-no questions in Indian English is Subject Auxiliary Inversion, where the auxiliary moves to the head of CP, that is C, higher than the subject. On the other side, Bangla structurally represents polite yes-no questions either in the same way as declarative sentence, just with varying intonation or moving constituents to the left of the polite particles.

3.14 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have elucidated the different linguistic devices that Indian English and Bangla involves to elicit politeness and the similarities and differences which they share. Both languages have fixed polite expressions whereas Indian English is in dearth of polite particles which plays a prime role in Bangla politeness. Likewise, the umbrella term 'you' in Indian English subsumes honorifics, formal and informal and doesn't trigger person agreement with the verb and subject but Bangla has different pronominals for honorifics 'apni', formal 'tumi', informal 'tui' which triggers person agreement with the verb. Again, Bangla doesn't makes use of modal verbs to exhibit politeness which Indian English does by Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. Both the languages encode politeness using the left periphery apart from the TP domain. Modality plays a chief role in forming Bangla yes-no questions which doesn't happen in Indian English.

CHAPTER 4 : CONCLUSION

Considering the research objectives posited in chapter 1, the observations and outcome of this research are presented as the following –

This thesis aimed to show the syntax of politeness in Indian English and Bangla by categorizing the politeness devices lexically and structurally that the languages employ to express polite readings. Apart from the language specific politeness devices that each of the languages employ, it was observed that both the languages share certain morphological and syntactic similarities and dissimilarities in regard to the politeness devices.

It has been observed that the morphological politeness devices that Indian English makes use of are - fixed polite expressions like ‘please’, ‘kindly’, adverbial hedges like ‘somehow’, ‘rather’, adverbial downtoners such as ‘just’, ‘honestly’ and understaters like ‘a bit’, ‘briefly’. Now the syntactic politeness devices that the language uses are – play-downs, consultative devices, tag questions, passive constructions, committers like ‘I think’ and scope-staters like ‘I am afraid’.

On the other hand, the morphological politeness devices that Bangla employs can be stated as – fixed polite expressions like ‘*plidz*’, ‘*d̥ɔja*’, ‘*onurodʰ*’, the honorific ‘*apni*’, politeness particles such as ‘*na*’, ‘*t̪o*’, ‘*re*’, ‘*go*’ and ‘*ektu*’, adverbial downtoners like ‘*konobʰabe*’, ‘*ɔmbʰɔb*’. The syntactic ones which the language uses are – play-downs, implicit tag questions, yes-no questions with the polite particles.

Structurally, both the languages employ certain functional projections in the left periphery to give polite readings apart from the domain of TP.

4.1 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE SCOPE

Quite a number of politeness theories have been proposed by different linguists from a pragmatic outlook but there has been very limited study on its syntax. This can be an interesting subject for future research. Considering the languages which the thesis covers, the structure of tag questions is left for further study. In Bangla, the syntax of fixed polite expressions, adverbial downtoners are also left for further implications and investigations.

The complementary distribution of politeness particles and question words in Bangla interrogatives can also be an insightful topic for research.

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