

Emphatic Topicalization and the Structure of the Left Periphery: Evidence from German and Bangla

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Abstract. The goal of this article is to explore the structure of the clausal “left periphery” with respect to a phenomenon that has so far only rarely been identified as a root-clause phenomenon: emphatic topicalization (ET). It is a form of movement by which a phrase (not necessarily a *wh*-phrase) targets the specifier of a complementizer. This movement prevents the CP complement from remaining in its embedded position. For convergence, the entire CP in which ET has applied must move to the left periphery of the clause that immediately dominates it. It is argued that this latter move is necessary because ET induces a feature that is only interpretable in the domain of illocutionary force, illocutionary force being a property of the utterance (i.e., typically of the root clause). The data come from the Bavarian dialect of German (Germanic) and from Bangla (Indo-Aryan). In spite of the differences between these languages, the similarity of the constraints that are revealed by this study cannot be accidental. For Bangla, a typical *wh*-in-situ language, it is shown that the syntax of ET scope is to a large extent parallel to the syntax of *wh*-scope. Thus, the syntax of *wh*-scope can be argued to follow from general properties of the parametric choices made in Bangla (and perhaps in closely related languages).

1. Introduction

To get a sense of what this study is about, consider English embedded sentences with a hanging topic (HT) as in (1).¹

- (1) a. Lake Constance, that you have never heard about it I am quite sure.
- b. The Prime Minister, that he is here we did not expect.
- c. (In) that area, that you would want to live there I find rather surprising.

The HT part that appears in a position to the left of C must be resumed with a pronominal. Examples of this sort have a certain resemblance with *as for* constructions as in (2).

Material partly overlapping with this article was presented by the first author in Paris in November 2009 and in Hyderabad and Kolkata in February 2010, and by the second author at Rabindra-Bharati University, Kolkata, in March 2010; thanks to the respective audiences for useful input. The Bangla version of the latter presentation appeared as Dasgupta & Bayer 2010; an English version is scheduled to appear in a festschrift. The present article has benefited from comments by three anonymous reviewers, suggestions by David Adger, detailed comments by Klaus Abels, and discussions with Ellen Brandner, Peter Culicover, Silvio Cruschina, Gisbert Fanselow, Werner Frey, Shubhasree Gangopadhyay, Günther Grewendorf, Uli Lutz, Sibansu Mukhopadhyay, Hans-Georg Obenauer, Andrew Radford, Eva-Maria Remberger, and Andreas Trotzke. None of them should be held responsible for what we made of it. Thanks to Annika Nitschke and Marc Meisezahl for editorial help, to the DFG for grant BA 1178/9-1, and to the Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, for generous hospitality.

¹ There are different names: *nominativus pendens* in Latin grammar and, following Altmann (1981), *Freies Thema*. It is important to distinguish this from (*Left*) *Dislocation* (LD) and its subforms *Clitic Left Dislocation* (CLLD) in the Romance languages as explored in Cinque 1990 and *Contrastive Left Dislocation*; see Boeckx & Grohmann 2005.

- (2) a. As for Lake Constance, that you have never heard about it I am quite sure.
 b. As for the Prime Minister, that he is here we did not expect.
 c. As for that area, that you would want to live there I find rather surprising.

Although it is outside the clause, the HT is related to the CP in which it is resumed by a pronominal. The *as for* test suggests that we are dealing with an aboutness topicalization construction, albeit one in which the topic bears enhanced prominence, if not contrastivity. Here we concentrate on the fact that these constructions are only possible under CP preposing. Examples (3) and (4) are ungrammatical.²

- (3) a. *I am quite sure Lake Constance, that you have never heard about it.
 b. *We did not expect the Prime Minister, that he is here.
 c. *I find it rather surprising (in) that area, that you would want to live there.
- (4) a. *I am quite sure as for Lake Constance, that you have never heard about it.
 b. *We did not expect as for the Prime Minister, that he is here.
 c. *I find it rather surprising as for that area, that you would want to live there.

Although the CP complement in (3) and (4) is in its canonical position, a related HT is strictly impossible. The ban against this kind of topicalization in embedded clauses can only be lifted if the entire CP is topicalized. This type of topicalization is limited to the root clause; (3) and (4) become perfect as soon as the topicalized phrase precedes the root clause:

- (5) a. Lake Constance, I am quite sure that you have never heard about it.
 b. The Prime Minister, we did not expect that he is here.
 c. In that area, I find it rather surprising that you would want to live there.
- (6) a. As for Lake Constance, I am quite sure that you have never heard about it
 b. As for the Prime Minister, we did not expect that he is here.
 c. As for that area, I find it rather surprising that you would want to live there.

One can conclude that the HT construction is a root phenomenon whose interpretation crashes as soon as it appears in a nonroot context. It is not quite clear how the topics in (1) and (2) are attached, but it is clear that they are not in Spec, CP. Modern English obeys the Doubly Filled Comp Filter (DFCF), thus the topic

² Radford (2013) reports data from spoken British English that may be seen as a challenge to this judgment:

- (i) And I'm hoping [on *Friday night that* we can turn up and get the points] (Dean Saunders, BBC Radio 5)
 (ii) I think [Bayern Munich that they are a team to really watch in the final stages] (Andy Brassell, BBC Radio 5)

In (i), the preposed XP is an adjunct that is not necessarily moved; in (ii), it is an argument that is resumed in the following CP. In (ii), it is an argument which is resumed in the following CP. Both examples have the flavor of language production in which the construction is revised after the critical XP and is then continued with a CP. Similar cases can be made up in German. They are very different from the *as for* examples in the text.

cannot be in Spec,CP. Elements in Spec,CP are normally prosodically integrated so that no prosodic break occurs between XP and C. Precisely such a break occurs in the preceding examples, where it is signaled by a comma. The simplest proposal is therefore that the topic is a base-generated aboutness topic in a CP-adjoined position and must be coindexed with a pronominal in CP. The relation does not seem to be a strict binding relation. Admittedly, the topic must c-command the rest of the clause as in *The Prime Minister, that he is here. . .* The CP must be “about” the HT. The deviance of the example **The wife of the Prime Minister, that he is here. . .* shows this. Nevertheless, quantified or inherently negative marked DPs cannot serve as topics:

- (7) a. *Every dog, that you love it I am quite sure.
 b. *Only my dog, that you love it I am quite sure.
 c. *No dog, that you love it I am quite sure.

The judgments in (7) are robust even though quantified and inherently negative DPs can be decomposed and on this basis can serve as topics through their lexical content: examples such as *Every dog, I did not want to talk about. Only JOHN's dog I was talking about* are relatively acceptable. But it is quite clear that, in (7), the quantified/negated DP cannot be decomposed in such a way as to allow the resumptive pronoun to pick up a referent. The reason is surely that the DP is only partly integrated into the CP. If it were to bind a trace (leave a copy) in CP, an entirely different set of effects would appear.

Topicalizations similar to this exist in many if not all languages.³ In this article, we draw attention to a related but clearly distinct form of topicalization that we have found in at least two other languages. These topicalizations share the root-clause restriction with the HT construction. They differ, however, in that they crucially rely on a derivation that moves the topic to Spec,CP or a similar functionally defined position. Significantly, because movement is involved, reconstruction becomes possible, and quantified/negative-marked DPs are available in topic position.

The two languages in which such a configuration is possible, and from which we draw most of our material, are Bavarian—the only German dialect known to allow movement of a full range of non-*wh*-phrases to the specifier of a complementizer—and Bangla.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 brings out the contrast between a Standard German construction involving a preposed CP with a HT and a Bavarian construction that features topicalization to Spec,CP associated with a trace rather than an HT. Section 3 shows that this construction involves a specific process of *emphatic*

³ In German, left dislocation can appear in postverbal V2 complements:

- (i) Ich glaube, deinen Freund den kenne ich schon.
 I believe your friend-ACC him know I already

Nevertheless, even here a root restriction can be found. If DP appears with *nominativus pendens*, the complement must be preposed as the contrast between (ii) and (iii) shows:

- (ii) *Ich glaube, dein Freund, den kenne ich schon
 I believe your friend-NOM him know I already
 (iii) [Dein Freund, den kenne ich schon] glaube ich.

topicalization (ET) associating the Topic with the root sentence; our formal analysis of this hitherto unexamined process emphasizes the fact that ET can extract a Topic only from a preposed CP. Section 4 examines corresponding material from Bangla on the basis of this formal account of ET, noting parallels between ET and *wh*-movement, and arguing that, as in the case of *wh*-movement, an ET interpretation becomes available within a CP even without overt movement to the root clause if CP movement to a designated functional position makes emphasis available and readable in the root clause. Section 5 draws brief conclusions.

2. Topicalization across C in German

The facts of (Standard) German topicalization across C are at first sight exactly like those of English. In (8a) one can see a DP to the left of the complementizer *dass*, but as indicated by the slashes, this DP is prosodically hooked off from CP. Additionally, the resumptive pronoun in the so-called *Mittelfeld* prefers an accent (which would disqualify the unstressable pronoun *es* 'it') and, in fact, requires the choice of a demonstrative pronoun, *den* instead of the weaker *ihn*. Example (8b) shows that as in English, the CP to which topicalization has applied cannot stay in its canonical position but has to be moved to the left periphery.

- (8) a. [Den Hans₁ // [dass du DEN₁ kennst]] glaube ich nicht.
 the Hans that you him know believe I not
 'As for Hans, that you know HIM, I don't believe'
 b. *Ich glaube nicht [den Hans₁ // [dass du DEN₁ kennst]].

As (9) shows, the contrast remains stable when an adverbial clause is used.

- (9) a. [Den Hans₁ // [wenn du DEN₁ siehst]] sag ihm er soll mich
 the Hans if you him see tell him he should me
 anrufen.
 call
 'As for Hans, if you see HIM, tell him he should call me'
 b. *Sag ihm er soll mich anrufen [den Hans₁ // [wenn du den₁ siehst]].

The constituent that is prosodically disconnected from the CP must be a HT.⁴ Because Standard German obeys the DFCF, one can be sure that the analysis of (8) and (9) will not make reference to the specifier of *dass* or *wenn* or any other C.⁵

⁴ As evidence, note that the pre-CP topic can also appear with neutral Case, by which we mean, in German, the nominative, the so-called *nominativus pendens*:

(i) [Der Hans₁ // [wenn du DEN₁ siehst]] sag ihm er soll mich anrufen.
 the Hans-NOM if you him see tell him he should me call

⁵ However, the topic is a co-constituent of the CP. This is especially visible in (9), where separation from the adjunct clause would be totally ungrammatical; cf. ??[Den Hans]₁ // ich glaube nicht [dass du DEN₁ kennst] and *[Den Hans]₁ // sag ihm er soll mich anrufen [wenn du DEN₁ siehst]]. There is no reason to assume a V3 analysis. Although the topic is base-generated outside CP, it must be adjoined to CP, as is clear in (8) and (9).

However, as has been pointed out from Bayer 1984 onward, the situation is rather different in Bavarian (spoken in Southeastern Germany, Austria, and parts of Northern Italy). Bavarian is widely known for *wh*-complements that retain the overt complementizer *dass* as well as for relative clauses that retain the overt complementizer *wo* next to a *d*-relative pronoun.

- (10) a. I woass ned vo weam dass-a des kriagt hot.
I know not from who that-he this gotten has
'I don't know who he got this from.'
- b. I woass ned wiavui dass-a kriagt.
I know not how-much that-he gets
'I don't know how much he will get.'
- (11) a. des Bier des wo-s trunka hom
the beer which that-they drunk have
'the beer which they drank'
- b. de Frau mit dera wo-s g'redt hom
the woman with who that-they talked have
'the woman who they talked to'

These examples show standard *wh*-movement; what makes the Bavarian dialect special (as reported in Bayer 1984, 2001; Lutz 1997, 2001) is that Bavarian also moves non-*wh*-constituents to Spec,CP:

- (12) a. A Audo dass da Xaver a ~~Audo~~ kafft hot glaub-e ned.
a car that the Xaver bought has believe-I not
'As for a car, I don't believe that Xaver has bought one.'
- b. An Fünfer dass-e an ~~Fünfer~~ kriag häid-e ned g'moant.
a five that-I get had-I not thought
'As for a grade five [= a bad grade in school], I didn't think I would get that.'
(Merkle 1975)
- c. Da Hans ob ~~da Hans~~ kummt woass-e ned.
the Hans whether comes know-I not
'As for Hans, I don't know whether he will come.'
- d. Da Xaver wenn ~~da Xaver~~ hoam kummt kriagt-a wos z' essn.
the Xaver if home comes gets-he something to eat
'As for Xaver, if he comes home, he will get something to eat.'
- e. D'Sunn wia ~~d'Sunn~~ aafganga is, han-s fuat.
the sun as up-gone is are-they away
'As the sun went up, they left.'

Despite word-order similarities, topicalization of non-*wh*-phrases into the specifier of a C head must not be identified with *wh*-movement into this position. First, *wh*-movement cannot extract from adjunct clauses; second, *wh*-movement to Spec,CP is typologically widespread, whereas XP_{-wh} topicalization to Spec,CP is extremely rare.

These are clear indications that *wh*-movement to Spec,CP is not on a par with XP-to-Spec,CP topicalization.

What makes Bavarian strikingly different from Standard German and many other languages is that in all the cases of (12) the topicalized XP leaves a gap. Assuming that the preposed CPs in (12) access the ForceP (Rizzi 1997) of the root clause, the analysis is:

$$(13) \text{ [}_{\text{ForceP}} \text{ [}_{\text{CP}} \text{ Top}_2 \text{ [}_{\text{C}'} \text{ C}^0 \text{ [}_{\text{TP}} \dots t_2 \dots] \text{]}]_1 \text{ Force}^0 \dots t_1]$$

Let us make the natural suggestion that, in German, V2 establishes a ForceP owing to the finite verb that activates illocutionary force in what is traditionally referred to as the “C position.”⁶ Example (13) shows topicalization inside the dependent CP across C⁰. The phrase structure as such does not differ from the one familiar from *wh*-complements and relative clauses (assuming the conventional government and binding analysis). Let us assume that the topicalized phrase lands in Spec,CP. This analysis is supported by the fact that unlike in (8) and (9) there is no prosodic break between the topic and the rest of the clause.⁷ However, as in the cases of HT considered so far, the CP in which topicalization has occurred is forced to undergo movement to Spec,ForceP. The examples in (14) are totally ungrammatical:

- (14) a. *I glaub ned [a Audo dass da Xaver kafft hot].
 b. *I häid ned g'moant [an Fünfer dass-e krieg].
 c. *I woass ned [da Hans ob kummt].
 d. *Er kriagt wos z'essn [da Xaver wenn hoam kummt].
 e. *Sie san fuat [d'Sunn wia aafganga is].

As (10a,b) show, no CP topicalization requirement holds for dependent *wh*-complements. They stay in the canonical postverbal position. At the heart of the present article is the fundamental fact that topicalization, unlike *wh*-movement, targets a feature in CP that forces this CP to undergo fronting. The constellation is that (a) there is CP-internal movement to the left edge of the root clause, and that (b) this movement forces clausal pied-piping. We will return to the phenomenon in detail later and argue that the triggering element is a feature of emphasis that is only interpretable in the Force layer of the root clause. To complete our initial outline, it is important to note that Bavarian-style topicalization, unlike Standard German and English, not only leaves a gap but also targets quantified phrases; consider the following contrast:

⁶ The embedded CP could also have been adjoined to ForceP. The important point is that it becomes accessible to the Force head. Important initial insights about the relevance of Germanic V2 for the establishment of Force stem from Wechsler's (1990, 1991) work on Swedish. For discussion of German, see Bayer 2004, Brandner 2004, Klein 2006, and Truckenbrodt 2006. The status of embedded V2 sentences and other issues concerning the possibility of active ForceP in certain embedded clauses—for all the languages considered here—require further study.

⁷ A prosodic break makes the example ungrammatical to the first author's ear.

- (15) a. *[Jeden/keinen Studenten₁ // [dass er den₁ kennt]] glaube
 each/no student that he him knows believe
 ich nicht. Standard German
 I not
- b. *[Jeden/keinen Studenten₁ // [wenn du den₁ siehst]] dann sag
 each/no student if you him see then tell
 ihm er soll mich anrufen.
 him he should me call
- (16) a. A jeder₁ dass t₁ so deppert is glaub-e ned.⁸ Bavarian
 a everyone that so stupid is believe-I not
 ‘I don’t think that everybody is that stupid.’
- b. Neamad₁/a jeder₁ wenn t₁ kummt, is-s aa ned recht.
 nobody/a everyone if comes is-it also not right
 ‘If nobody/everybody shows up, it isn’t okay either.’

As signaled by the strong d-pronominal that is typical for the HT and LD constructions, the pronoun is a constant. As such it can (and must) be coreferent with the adjoined topic, but it cannot be bound. This disqualifies quantifiers. In Bavarian, the topic has been moved, and thus its trace/copy qualifies as a variable.⁹ The quantifier moves to the edge of the clause but takes scope within it. This can be shown by various tests.¹⁰ The quantifier proper as well as the negation is pied-piped along with the DP without actually contributing to the topic. At least in the case of a negative QP it is easy to see that the neg-QP moves first to the specifier of a NegP where its neg-feature is valued, and that it moves on from there for independent reasons. Take the perspicuous case of negation shown in (17).

- (17) [_{CP} NegQP₁ C [_{TP} ... [_{NegP} t₁ [_{Neg'} Neg⁰ [_{VP} ... t₁]]]]]

After the Neg feature is valued, the scope of negation is frozen and the neg-part of NegQP becomes irrelevant for further computation. Nevertheless, NegQP moves on to Spec,CP to value a “topic”-type feature of C, which we will formally characterize

⁸ The indefinite determiner in front of *jeder* does not affect the semantics. In Bavarian, the use of determiners is in general much more widespread and obligatory than in the standard language.

⁹ Compare our claim with Reinhart 1983 and Grodzinsky & Reinhart 1993. For the differences between resumptives and gaps, see Doron 1982, Sells 1984, and Salzmann 2006 and, especially with respect to CLLD, Cinque 1990.

¹⁰ No quantifier in topic position can bind a variable in the root clause, and neither can a NegQP license a negative polarity item such as *jemals* (‘ever’) as in (i) and (ii), respectively.

(i) *[A jeder₁ [dass t₁ vorbei kumma woidd]] glaub-e eam₁ ned.
 a everybody that along come wanted believe-I him not

(ii) *[Koana₁ [wenn t₁ so was duat]] kriagt jemals an Preis t₁.
 nobody if so something does gets ever a prize

As expected, then, the quantifiers in (16) must take low scope. See Bayer 2001.

as a feature of emphasis.¹¹ Thus, thanks to generalized pied-piping, NegQP can serve as a topic even though its neg-feature makes no contribution to the semantics of the topic.¹²

The pertinent binding differences between Standard German or English on the one hand and Bavarian on the other result from the fact that the former require a HT whereas Bavarian can rely on direct A' topic movement with variable binding and reconstruction.

3. ET as a Root Phenomenon

Topicalization of XP to Spec,CP has something to do with “contrastivity” in the sense that the XP’s denotation is chosen from a set of alternatives (Bayer 2001). This rules out weak elements such as *es* ‘it’ and *man* (the impersonal indefinite ‘one’) as well as higher adverbs that lack contrastiveness such as *leider* ‘unfortunately’ (see Frey 2006, Bayer & Salzmann 2013, among others). However, XP movement to Spec,CP cannot be exhaustively subsumed under an information-structural notion of “topic.” As Bayer (2001) shows, it is compatible with newly introduced focal as well as with old-information topical elements. In German, as in other V-final languages, information focus is canonically associated with a pre-vP focus position. Focus checking is completed in ..._[FOCP focus] [_{vP} ..._{fœus}...]. Given that C is by no means a focus checker, what then motivates topicalization of a focal XP to Spec,CP?¹³

Our answer to this question moves the discussion to root sentence phenomena. Relying on early insightful remarks in the work of Behaghel (1932), who spoke of “the speaker’s excitement” (*die Erregung des Sprechenden*), Bayer (2001) suggests a feature of emphasis that drives a process of ET.¹⁴ On assumptions now current,

¹¹ Rizzi (2006) discusses an Italian example in which a *wh*-phrase cannot move on to a higher focus position. If we assume that Neg is a criterial position below Top, this cannot mean that criterial freezing cannot in general take place in passing. In Rizzi’s account, in which a subject criterion is assumed, derivation of simplex sentences with a local *wh*- or a topical subject would be impossible. Abels (2012:85) discusses a German example in which *wh* moves via its scope position on to a topic position. Given that a single constituent can embrace distinct features, distinct points of criterial freezing must be possible, independently of Phonological Form (PF). Thanks to Klaus Abels (p.c.) for raising this point.

¹² This squares with the fact that negative expressions as such cannot be topics. At the semantic interface, negation is stripped off and does not appear where we see it in PF. One reviewer suggests that NegQ cannot be endowed with both NEG and TOP features. Given that a DP can simultaneously be +nominative and +*wh*, and thus be subject to different requirements in the valuation process, we do not see why any such restriction should hold.

¹³ For pertinent discussion of types of A'-topicalization in German, see Fanselow 2002, 2004; Fanselow & Lenertová 2011; and Frey 2006, 2010.

¹⁴ Fanselow (2004) suspects that certain topicalization structures are “more ‘emphatic’” but then seems to doubt that this “impression can be made precise” and wonders “how it will formally figure in the attraction account.” However, ET has been identified as a formal syntactic operation by other linguists, for German by Frey (2010), for Sicilian by Cruschina (2011), and for Nupe by Kandybowicz (2013). The phenomenon seems to be related to mirativity, a kind of evidentiality marking (see Aikhenvald 2004) by which an utterance is marked (mostly by a suffix) as conveying information that is new or unexpected to the speaker (see Delancey 1997 for crosslinguistic findings). The meaning is difficult to articulate precisely. The common core seems to be that some referent x_1 is highest ranked on a scale of salient semantic alternatives $\{x_1 < x_2 < \dots < x_n\}$, and that attributing property P to x_1 is taken to be noteworthy along various dimensions (remarkability, surprise, incredibility, unexpectedness, disappointment, etc.). Compare Hartmann 2008, Zimmermann 2007, Frey 2010, Giurgea & Remberger 2011, Cruschina 2011, Haegeman 2012. Haegeman, following Hernanz 2007, speaks of emphatic polarity. These studies all conclude that emphasis or mirativity cannot be reduced to the information structural notions of focus.

information structure in German is completely codified in the *Mittelfeld*—that is, before movements to Force⁰ and to Spec,ForceP. Consider a focused phrase undergoing ET. Assuming the existence of FocP for German, a focal XP that has valued an uninterpretable feature $u\text{Foc}$ does not necessarily need to freeze in Spec, FocP.¹⁵ XP may bear other features not yet valued and requiring further movement of XP. We postulate $i\text{Emp}$ (encoding contrastivity, not information-structural focality) as such a feature. Continuing for the sake of concreteness to consider true focal XPs that also undergo ET, we propose the following derivation. In the numeration, an XP may be assigned $i\text{Foc}$ and in addition $i\text{Emp}$. By virtue of $i\text{Foc}$, XP moves to Spec, FocP; by virtue of $i\text{Emp}$, it moves to Spec,CP or to the specifier of some head endowed with the unvalued uninterpretable feature $u\text{Emp}$ (Spec,ForceP, we assume for concreteness).¹⁶

3.1. Feature Sharing

To maximize readability in a context shaped by the widespread use of the version of probe–goal agreement proposed by Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), we invoke that account as our reference model, although lack of space prevents us from displaying all the derivations.¹⁷ According to the standard minimalist version of probe–goal agreement, the uninterpretable feature always does the attracting and disappears after valuation. Pesetsky & Torrego propose a more symmetrical theory in terms of feature sharing.

(18) Agree (feature-sharing version)

- (i) An unvalued feature F (a *probe*) on a head H at syntactic location α (F_α) scans its c-command domain for another instance of F (a *goal*) at location β (F_β) with which to agree.
- (ii) Replace F_α with F_β , so that the same feature is present in both locations.

Abandoning the valuation/interpretability biconditional of standard minimalism, version (18) admits uninterpretable/valued and interpretable/unvalued features, also allowing the latter to serve as probes or “attractors.”¹⁸ In a CP in which *wh*-movement

¹⁵ Compare footnote 11.

¹⁶ ET in Bavarian has some similarity with the type of topic that Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) identify as “A-topic” (aboutness-shift topic). An A-topic is “an instruction on how to update the propositional CG [common ground]”; as such it pertains to the speaker’s CG management (see Krifka 2008). Given that the speaker is represented in direct speech, the A-topic is a root phenomenon. Of course, introducing and shifting the A-topic relies on information structure and is as such distinct from the expressive dimension that is introduced by ET. Compare footnote 14.

¹⁷ For agreement per se, Baker’s (2008:40–48, 148–149) account helps make sense of heteropersonal agreement in the sense of Dasgupta 2006:148, a matter we intend to pursue in future work.

¹⁸ Something similar holds for negative concord. The upper neg is interpretable—not the lower one, which needs to have its neg-feature deleted, as in Italian, *Non ho visto nessuno* ‘not have-1 seen nobody’ must ultimately turn into ‘[NOT [have-1 seen someone]]’. One reviewer suspects a weakness of the apparatus because an operator may induce a feature rather than “the standard other way round.” This evaluation rests on a misunderstanding. Feature sharing does not “create” or “induce” features. It simply says that some feature F may be present in more than a single position. The semantics of operator status and operator scope is orthogonal to agreement.

applies, C^0 is, according to Pesetsky & Torrego, endowed with an interpretable/unvalued Q-feature (call it “ $iQ[]$ ”) through which it agrees with a wh -phrase bearing an uninterpretable/valued interrogative Q-feature “ $uQ+\text{interrog}$ ”.¹⁹ Likewise, unvalued and uninterpretable features can be probes, such as in an intermediate Spec,CP position in transclausal movement. Agreement between two unvalued occurrences of F_α and F_β is possible and results in a single F (with two instances). This unvalued F must be valued by subsequent agreement with a valued F_γ to ensure that an uninterpretable feature is valued and deleted for convergence at the C-I interface. Thus, the Pesetsky & Torrego approach is free of the directionality requirement that endows every probe with an uninterpretable and every goal with an interpretable feature. In their account, agreement is expressed by an arbitrary value that fills the empty slot in $[]$. Thus, one-step wh -movement runs as in (19)—in these examples **6** is chosen as the arbitrary value to be shared by the two chain links—whereas (20) shows the first step of cyclic wh -movement in which Spec,CP is just an intermediate landing site for the wh -phrase—that is, a position in which wh must not be interpretable.

$$(19) \dots C^0 \dots wh \dots = \text{AGREE} \Rightarrow \dots C \dots wh$$

$$iQ[] \quad uQ[] \quad iQ[\mathbf{6}] \quad uQ[\mathbf{6}]$$

$$(20) \dots C^0 \dots wh \dots = \text{AGREE} \Rightarrow \dots C \dots wh$$

$$uQ[] \quad uQ[] \quad uQ[\mathbf{6}] \quad uQ[\mathbf{6}]$$

There are two versions of the feature Q. In indirect questions, Q lacks illocutionary force. Force is normally activated by movement to the left edge of the root clause. Once the wh -phrase accesses the root clause, it is in the specifier of ForceP (modulo the possibility that some other specification of the left periphery landing site may turn out to be required). Ignoring intermediate landing sites in the vP phase, a $[uQ\text{Force}]$ feature that may be associated with wh can be interpreted once the wh has moved to the root clause.

$$(21) \text{Force}^0 \dots [wh C^0 \dots = \text{AGREE} \Rightarrow \text{Force}^0 \dots [wh C^0 \dots$$

$$iQ[] \quad uQ[\mathbf{6}] \quad iQ[\mathbf{6}] \quad uQ[\mathbf{6}]$$

$$iQ\text{force}[] \quad uQ\text{force}[] \quad iQ\text{force}[\mathbf{11}] \quad uQ\text{force}[\mathbf{11}]$$

Given that Q force is interpretable, what is the motivation for wh to undergo movement to its specifier? Appeals to feature strength or an EPP feature have always sounded stipulative and become severely problematic on feature-sharing assumptions. Given

¹⁹ This view is empirically supported (a) by the comparative syntax of clause typing (see Cheng 1991) and (b) by the related fact that in many languages wh -pronouns are understood as indefinites except when they are associated with Q (see Haspelmath 2001 for a typological survey); for critical discussion of this generalization see Bruening 2007.

that Q force is interpretable but unvalued, one may suggest that it must “learn its value” by means of *wh*-movement.²⁰

This approach helps us to formulate rigorously the major difference between *wh*-movement and ET: the latter is always associated with the interpretation of the root clause. Whereas *wh*-clauses may either lack illocutionary force (this holds of non-root-like embedded *wh*-clauses) or bear illocutionary force (being a main clause or an embedded clause with root-like properties), ET clauses must be associated with the matrix Force projection. Why should this be so? Notice that what we call “emphasis” is an expressive dimension of the speaker’s attitude. From the point of view of the speaker, the denotation of the topic XP is noteworthy in relation to the open proposition $\lambda XP(p)$ along an implicit scale of potential alternatives YP, ZP, and so on. Attempts to integrate speaker and hearer into syntactic representation go back to the performative hypothesis (see Sadock 1969, Ross 1970) and have been revived in more recent work, especially in cartographic syntax—such as Rizzi 1997 and Cinque 1999, where a speech-act phrase is proposed; Speas & Tenny 2003, where the C projection is split into a speaker and hearer phrase; and Miyagawa 2012, Haegeman & Hill 2013, and others. Of particular importance for V2 languages such as Standard German and Bavarian are Wechsler 1991, Brandner 2004, Bayer 2004, and Truckenbrodt 2006. Finite embedded (canonically V-final) and main (V2) clauses use the same V, which is endowed with the same ϕ -features and tense. There is evidence, however, that V2 (implemented as movement of V/T to C) “activates” these features in the sense of linking them directly to the actual speech act.²¹ If emphasis is a grammaticalized phenomenon associated with the actual speaker, it follows that an *emp*-feature can only be interpreted in the minimal domain of the clause that counts as an utterance—the root clause.

Assume then that an XP may be endowed with the feature $uEmpForce[]$. Such an XP will prepose to the specifier of a complementizer to which an *Emp*-feature has been added in the numeration. *Emp* carries a force feature along which, however, remains uninterpretable in C:

$$(22) \dots C^0 \quad \dots XP \dots \quad = \text{AGREE} \implies \dots C \quad \dots XP \dots$$

$$uEmpForce[] \quad uEmpForce[] \quad \quad \quad uEmpForce[\mathfrak{9}] \quad uEmpForce[\mathfrak{9}]$$

XP may raise to Spec,CP but, given the lack of a force projection in CP, this will not yield an interpretable result. The constellation gives rise to derivations that crash unless the “*Emp*-uninterpretable” CP is raised to a domain in which its *Emp* feature can be valued.

Bavarian has another construction that has not been mentioned so far. In this construction, the embedded clause, usually an adjunct clause introduced by *wenn*

²⁰ See Pesetsky & Torrego 2007 for the metaphor. Although it is only a metaphor, it may help us all to move toward a theory without morphosyntactic stipulations. Thanks to Klaus Abels (p.c.) for raising this point.

²¹ This becomes particularly clear in Truckenbrodt’s (2006) discussion of the interpretive differences between V2- and comp-introduced V-final but nevertheless autonomous sentences.

‘if/as’ or *bai* (derived from German *sobald* ‘as soon as’) is a free utterance. Such examples, which abound in Bavarian, are interpreted as exclamatives, (exclamatory) optatives, or threats. Consider the following examples, all of which may occur as independent utterances, and all of which have an undeniable expressive meaning.

- (23) a. Da Vatter wenn dees no dalebt häid! Exclamative
 the father if this still through-lived had
 ‘If Father had lived through that!’
- b. A Gööd wenn-e häid! Optative
 a money if-I had
 ‘If I only had money!’
- c. Da Vatter bai hoam kummt! Threat
 the father as-soon-as home comes
 ‘Wait until Father comes home! (Then you’ll see what will happen.)’

Let us for these cases assume that C can exceptionally bear an interpretable feature attributing emphasis to the illocutionary force that these constructions quite clearly have.²² Example (24) differs from (22) minimally; it has *iEmpForce* in C.

- (24) ... C⁰ ... XP ... = AGREE => ... C ... XP ...
iEmpForce[] *uEmpForce*[] *iEmpForce*[11] *uEmpForce*[11]

In (24), the Emp-marked XP moves to Spec,CP. Once it is valued, the uninterpretable feature disappears. After XP has been stripped of this feature and Emp is interpretable, it is the copy of XP that remains at Logical Form (LF).

Let us return to (22) and ask how this constellation can converge in a derivation. One way could be to move the Emp-marked XP on to the left edge of the matrix clause. Emp-checking would then be parallel to *wh*-checking. The more challenging case is, however, the one in which the entire CP is raised to the left periphery of the root clause.²³ We turn to this option now.

3.2. Pied-Piping CP

As (12) and (16) show, embedded CPs in which ET has occurred can be pied-piped to the specifier of Force. As argued in Bayer 2001, the emphatically topicalized XP in this case cannot have moved out of Spec,CP. This is most clearly shown by the fact that certain adjunct clauses allow ET. Extraction from adjunct clauses would violate

²² An alternative would be to declare C-initial utterances as cases in which the matrix sentence is elided. For reasons of space, we do not explore this option here.

²³ It is not really clear whether +emp XP movement formally competes with +emp CP movement. Had they been true competitors, Heck’s (2008) repair theory of pied-piping would have blocked CP movement in favor of XP movement.

the adjunct condition.²⁴ Second, it would become unclear why there is CP pied-piping in the first place. We can therefore be sure that XP stays in Spec,CP and that the interpretive conflict is resolved as a consequence of CP pied-piping. How can Emp become interpretable without moving to the matrix Force projection? By making its CP inherit the uninterpretable EmpForce feature and move as a whole to that Force projection. Because CP is projected from C, if C is μ EmpForce, then its CP is μ EmpForce. If CP moves to Spec,ForceP, it can (by effecting agreement) value the corresponding and so far unvalued interpretable features of Force. The process corresponds to familiar examples of spec–head agreement.

(25) a. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{Force}'} \text{Force} \dots [_{\text{CP}} \text{XP} [_{\text{C}'} \text{C} [\dots \text{XP} \dots]]]]] \quad = \text{AGREE} \implies$
 $i\text{EmpForce}[\] \quad \quad \quad \mu\text{EmpForce}[\]$

b. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{Force}'} \text{Force} \dots [_{\text{CP}} \text{XP} [_{\text{C}'} \text{C} [\dots \text{XP} \dots]]]]] \quad = \text{MOVE} \implies$
 $i\text{EmpForce}[\mathbf{23}] \quad \quad \quad \mu\text{EmpForce}[\mathbf{23}]$

c. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{CP}} \text{XP} [_{\text{C}'} \text{C} [\dots \text{XP} \dots]]] [_{\text{Force}'} \text{Force} \dots \{[_{\text{CP}} \text{XP} [_{\text{C}'} \text{C} [\dots \text{XP} \dots]]\}]]]$
 $\mu\text{EmpForce}[\mathbf{23}] \quad \quad \quad i\text{EmpForce}[\mathbf{23}]$

CP pied-piping takes the Emp feature into Spec,ForceP of the matrix clause where it can be valued. The process is familiar at least from analyses of *wh*-scope in languages such as Basque (Ortiz de Urbina 1993, Arregi 2003), Quechua (Hermon 1985), Tlingit (Cable 2010), and Sinhala (Hagstrom 1998, Kishimoto 2005). As in Bavarian emphatic raising to the left edge of CP, these languages show what Heck (2008) and Abels (2012) describe as “secondary movement.” In most cases this is CP-internal *wh*-movement to the edge of the CP that undergoes pied-piping. All the evidence suggests that exactly such a process is at work in Bavarian emp-movement.²⁵

Pied-piping is recursive, as shown in *wh*-DPs such as *who*, *whose professor*, *whose professor’s secretary*, *by whose professor’s secretary’s dog*, and so on, but also elsewhere, for instance as pointed out by Heck (2008:214–216) for German PPs. If CP pied-piping works along the lines of our account of ET, we expect recursive CP pied-piping to be an option. This expectation is met. As Grewendorf (1988:256) and Bayer (2001) point out, ET-type movement may apply within a CP that itself ET-moves to the

²⁴ Consider (12d,e). If ET were to extract the emphatic-marked XP from CP, these sentences would become classical island violations.

(i) *Da Xaver krieg-e was z’essn wenn ~~da Xaver~~ hoam kummt.
 Intended: ‘Xaver, I get something to eat when _ comes home.’

(ii) *D’Sunn han-s fuat wia ~~d’Sunn~~ aafganga is.
 Intended: ‘The sun they went off as _ appeared.’

²⁵ A classical demonstration of secondary movement comes from Aissen’s (1996) discussion of pied-piping in Tzotzil. In this language, a possessor follows the possessed but in *wh*-pied piping it obligatorily precedes it. For the present investigation most interestingly, secondary movement extends in Tzotzil to focal DPs as pointed out in Aissen 1996:473 and Abels 2012:82.

specifier of another CP before the entire complex moves to the matrix Spec,ForceP. Consider Grewendorf's example in (26), which for a Bavarian speaker is not unnaturally complex.

- (26) Da Peter dass bled is, dass-e g'sagt hom soi, is glatt g'lo:ng.
 the Peter that stupid is that-I said have should is straightly lied
 'As for Peter, it is a downright lie that I said that he is stupid.'

This example is derived by repeated interleaving of ET and Merge as shown in (27):

- (27) a. [dass da Peter bled is] = ET =>
 b. [da Peter dass ~~da Peter~~ bled is] = merge =>
 c. dass-e g'sagt hom soi [da Peter dass ~~da Peter~~ bled is] = ET =>
 d. [[da Peter dass ~~da Peter~~ bled is] dass-e g'sagt hom soi [~~da Peter~~
~~dass da Peter bled is~~]] = merge (+V2) =>
 e. is [[da Peter dass ~~da Peter~~ bled is] dass-e g'sagt
 hom soi [~~da Peter dass da Peter bled is~~]] glatt g'lo:ng is = ET =>
 f. [[da Peter dass ~~da Peter~~ bled is] dass-e g'sagt hom soi [~~da~~
~~Peter dass da Peter bled is~~]] is [[da Peter
 dass da Peter bled is] dass-e g'sagt hom soi [~~da Peter dass~~
~~da Peter bled is~~]] glatt g'lo:ng is

Recursive CP pied-piping is the only convergent derivation. The alternative, long movement of the Emp-marked DP, is ungrammatical as it would involve extraction from a subject sentence in the second cycle.²⁶

- (28) *Da Peter is glatt g'long [~~da Peter~~ dass-e g'sagt hom soi
 *the Peter is straight lied that-I said have should
 [~~da Peter~~ dass ~~da Peter~~ bled is]].
 that stupid is

²⁶ Given that Bavarian allows long topicalization as well, the subject DP can also move in the first cycle and terminate at the next higher ET position. For convergence, this entire complex must undergo further ET movement to the left edge of the root clause. The result is grammatical, as predicted by our theory: *Da Peter dass-e g'sagt hom soi, dass da Peter bled is, is da Peter dass-e g'sagt hom soi, dass da Peter bled glatt g'lo:ng.* As expected, Bavarian can echo ordinary *wh*-movement by means of ET—that is, leaving *wh* in Spec,CP of the embedded CP, which then ET-moves to the matrix clause. As shown in Bayer 2001:sect. 5.3, this is indeed an option, albeit a marked one.

3.3. Intermediate Summary

This concludes our presentation of the German (Bavarian) examples of ET and their theoretical interpretation.²⁷ We have argued that (i) the ET construction needs to be distinguished from the familiar HT construction, although (ii) the two constructions belong to a natural class as they are both root phenomena, and (iii) that ET is movement to Spec,CP, leaving a trace in vP or TP. We have shown that paradoxically ET nevertheless applies in the dependent clause. If the dependent clause is an object clause, the Emp-marked XP can be extracted along the familiar lines of A'-movement. In Bavarian, ET may however also apply in adjunct clauses (see (12d,e) and (16b)), as well as in subject clauses (see (26)). CP pied-piping is an option of the grammar that serves the root requirement of ET while circumventing violations of island constraints. Of course, one cannot be sure that this is the only reason.²⁸ As long as we cannot detect semantic differences, we remain conservative and ascribe the difference between the competing constructions—regular A'-movement versus CP pied-piping—to optionality for those cases in which no island violations would result from either of the derivations.

We now turn to a similar ET process that has been noticed in Bangla.

4. ET in Bangla and the Different Faces of *je*

4.1. Complementation

Bangla, an eastern Indo-Aryan language, is a head-final language that follows a typologically familiar pattern (Grosu & Thompson 1977, Dryer 1980, Hawkins 1990) of using postverbal sentential complements headed by an initial complementizer (see (29)). Hindi²⁹ is perhaps the most familiar example of this type of South Asian language. Unlike Hindi and more like the Dravidian languages, Bangla also exhibits complement clauses that canonically occur in preverbal position. Such complements, if they have an overt head, must have a clause-final head, here *bole*, a quotative particle homonymous to a verb that means 'having said' (see (30)). Clauses headed by the initial head (*je*) are not allowed in preverbal position.

- (29) chele-Ta Sun-ech-e [*je* [or baba aS-b-en]].
 boy-CLF hear-PRF-3 COMP his father come-FUT-3
 'The boy has heard that his father will come.'

²⁷ ET in Bavarian is connected to a number of further remarkable properties that cannot be discussed further here, especially the licensing of parasitic gaps. Readers are referred to Lutz 1997, Bayer 2001, and Grewendorf 2012.

²⁸ There may be an independent functional reason why long extraction from Comp-headed clauses is not the most preferred option of German syntax. As Fanselow & Weskott (2010) show, German dialects differ a great deal with respect to the acceptance or rejection of long extraction from C-headed clauses. Nevertheless, Bavarian seems to be the comparatively most liberal dialect. So the question why Bavarian resorts to CP pied-piping even in cases in which extraction would also have been an option cannot be answered conclusively.

²⁹ For reasons of economy, we speak of "Hindi" rather than "Hindi-Urdu."

(30) chele-Ta [[or baba aS-b-en] **bole**] Sun-ech-e.
 boy-CLF his father come-FUT-3 COMP hear-PRF-3
 ‘The boy has heard that his father will come.’

(31) *[**je** [or baba aS-b-en]] chele-Ta Sun-ech-e.
 COMP his father come-FUT-3 boy-CLF hear-PRF-3

Bole clauses prefer the preverbal position.³⁰ Thus, the two types of sentential complements are almost in complementary distribution. As far as we know, the ban against the preverbal C-initial complement seen in (31) is a highly stable fact that holds of all the other Indo-Aryan languages that have postverbal clausal complements and for various SOV languages from other language families.³¹

One remarkable fact about the canonically clause-initial particle *je* in Bangla (also in Assamese and Oriya) is that a particle that looks identical to it may also occur in clause-medial position (Bayer 1996; Bhattacharya 2001, 2002; Dasgupta 1980, 1984, 1987, 2007b for Bangla; Bal 1990 for Oriya; we later argue that clause-initial and clause-medial occurrences of *je* are in fact not identical). When it does, *je* is immediately preceded by a constituent that may or may not bear focus but must be interpretable as a member of a potentially contrastive set of semantic alternatives. Clauses with medial *je* are in complementary distribution with the type in (29) in the sense that they *must* be preposed (see (34)). The clause must either be raised to the preverbal position shown in (32) or topicalized, as shown in (33); the resumptive pronoun *ta* is optional in (32) but virtually obligatory in (33).

(32) chele-Ta [or baba **je** aS-b-en] (ta) Ekhono Son-e-ni.
 boy-CLF his father *JE* come-FUT-3 this yet hear-3-NEG.PST
 ‘The boy hasn’t heard yet that his father will come.’

(33) [or baba **je** aS-b-en] chele-Ta ta Ekhono Son-e-ni.
 his father *JE* come-FUT-3 boy-CLF this yet hear-3-NEG.PST
 ‘That his father will come, this the boy hasn’t heard yet.’

(34) *chele-Ta Ekhono Son-e-ni [or baba **je** aS-b-en].
 boy-CLF yet hear-3-NEG.PST his father *JE* come-FUT-3

Our goal here is to offer an account of these data on the basis of the German/Bavarian data discussed in section 3.

³⁰ Compare Singh 1980; note, however, that *bole* clauses still allow extraposition as a more marked option. *Bole* may also head an adjoined reason clause. In the latter case, extraposition is entirely free and unmarked.

³¹ Among the closely related languages in which it holds are Assamese, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, and Oriya. It also holds at least in Persian, Turkish, Khalka-Mongolian, and Uzbek.

4.2. Movement to the Specifier of *je*

Comparison with the Bavarian examples in (12) would initially suggest movement to Spec,CP and therefore a structure along the lines of (13). A simple template matching exercise does not work, however. Bangla does not show anything like the strict X-second constraint familiar from German and other Germanic languages. In (35) more than one constituent precedes *je*.

- (35) [or baba kal **je** aS-b-en] chele-Ta ta Ekhono Son-e-ni.
 his father tomorrow *JE* come-FUT-3 boy-CLF this yet hear-3-NEG.PST
 ‘That his father will come tomorrow, this the boy hasn’t heard yet.’

The words *or baba kal* ‘his father tomorrow’ do not make a constituent. The constituent that moves to the immediate left of *je* must bear stress or be a stressable item.³² In (35), *kal* receives stress. The example becomes ungrammatical if one places stress on the phrase further to the left of *kal*. Compare (36a) with (36b).

- (36) a. [or baba KAL **je** aSben] chele-Ta ta Ekhono Soneni.
 b. *[OR BABA kal **je** aSben] cheleTa ta Ekhono Soneni.

The phonological facts are not always crystal clear; but in cases where stress is clearly detectable, it falls on the constituent to the immediate left of *je*. This suggests movement of a single constituent to the specifier of *je*, obviously a functionally defined position. Assuming that the functional head C is peripheral, the *je* that we see in (35) and (36a) cannot simply be identified as a C forcing a focal XP to move to its left. A straightforward transposition of the movement-to-Spec,CP account from Bavarian would miss the point. The problem cannot be articulated and addressed without taking a closer look at the complementizer *je*. In section 4.6, we return to the issue of multiple constituents to the left of *je*.

Another important observation is that operators can move to the left of *je*. Consider *wh*-operators. In Bangla, *wh*-phrases appear immediately to the left of the verb, which has led to the conclusion that Bangla is a *wh*-in-situ language. Alternatively it has been argued that the *wh*-phrase has been moved to this position in analogy to *wh*-movement.³³ Following recent work on *wh*-in-situ as movement to a FocP, let us assume that the *wh*-element has been moved to Spec,FocP, a position immediately higher than vP. Assuming that the *wh*-operator has checked the focus feature of Foc and that movement can only be leftward movement, *je*P must be higher than FocP. Example (37a), with the structure as in (37b), shows that a *wh*-constituent may move on from Spec,FocP to Spec,*je*P.

³² The prosody of Bangla is not yet well understood. It is particularly unclear how phonological focus is assigned. For discussion of Bangla prosody, see Hayes & Lahiri 1991 and Truckenbrodt 2003.

³³ See Jayaseelan 2001, 2004, and Simpson & Bhattacharya 2003. In closer agreement with the proposal that the phase below CP is vP, Manetta (2010) argues that *wh* moves to or through Spec,vP. A decision is immaterial to our account.

- (37) a. dilip kObe je aS-b-e ami ta Ekebare-i jan-i na.
 Dilip when *JE* come-FUT-3 I that at.all-*I* know-1 not
 ‘WHEN Dilip will come, I have no idea.’
 b. dilip [_{jeP} kObe **je** [_{FocP} kObe [_{VP} dilip kObe aSbe]]] ami ta...

This result is interesting for three reasons. First, because focus is assigned to the immediately preverbal site, we see evidence of movement to *jeP*. Second, the *wh*-phrase in the specifier of *jeP* is clearly not referential; it is an operator. Other operators can also move to to Spec,*jeP*. Example (38) shows a universally quantified DP.

- (38) dilip prottek-Ta chele-ke **je** nemontonno kor-b-e ama-r ta mon-e
 Dilip every-CLF boy-OBJV *JE* invite do-FUT-3 I-GEN this mind-LOC
 hO-Y na.
 be-3 not
 ‘That Dilip will invite EVERY boy, I don’t think.’

Bangla turns out to resemble Bavarian, where we have seen that quantifiers can undergo ET leaving a trace behind. Third, the derivation of (37b) suggests that the purpose of movement from Spec,FocP to Spec,*jeP* must be independent of focus movement, a finding that echoes what we have found about ET in Bavarian: Movement of XP to Foc leads to freezing only with respect to the Foc-feature. XP may freely move on if there are other features to be valued.³⁴ The question is just what features motivate valuation in the *je* projection.

Movement of a constituent to Spec,*jeP* is not unrestricted. Although Bangla does not have focus-resistant pronouns such as German *es* and *man*, which refuse to move to the specifier of *dass* (see (18b)), it does have higher adverbials that cannot invoke a contrastive set of alternatives. Consider the adverbials *OboSSo* ‘however’ and *durbhaggobOSoto* ‘unfortunately’ in comparison with lower adverbials such as *matal hoYe* ‘drunk’.

- (39) a. OboSSo dilip aSte par-b-e na.
 however Dilip come can-FUT-3 NEG
 ‘Dilip however will not be able to come.’
 b. *OboSSo je dilip ~~OboSSo~~ aSte parbe na,...
- (40) a. durbhaggobOSoto dilip e-l-o na.
 unfortunately Dilip come-PST-3 NEG
 ‘Unfortunately, Dilip did not show up.’
 b. *durbhaggobOSoto je ~~durbhaggobOSoto~~ dilip elo na,...
- (41) a. matal hoy-e dilip Ofis-e eS-ech-e.
 drunk become-CJV Dilip office-LOC come-PRF-3
 ‘Dilip came to the office drunk.’
 b. matal hoYe je dilip ~~matal hoYe~~ Ofise eSeche,...

³⁴ See footnotes 11 and 12.

As shown by (39) and (40), higher (speaker or subject-oriented) adverb(ial)s do not move to Spec,*je*P whereas lower (event-oriented) adverb(ial)s do not show such a restriction. Another example is provided by *abar*, which is ambiguous between an adverb meaning ‘again’ and a discourse particle. Consider the following pair of examples.

- (42) a. tumi abar o-ke bol-te ge-l-e kEno?
 you ABAR him/her-OBJV tell-INF go-PST-2 why
 (i) ‘Why did you tell him/her again?’ Adverb
 (ii) ‘Why on earth did you tell him/her?’ Discourse particle
- b. abar je tumi o-ke bol-te ge-l-e e-Ta dekh-e Obak
 ABAR JE you him/her-OBJV tell-INF go-PST-2 this-CLF see-CJV surprised
 ho-cch-i.
 be-PROG-1
 ‘That you told him/her again is surprising to me.’

Although (42a) allows for two interpretations of *abar*, a literal adverbial one as well as a discourse particle interpretation, the movement of *abar* to Spec,*je*P in (42b) allows only the regular adverbial one. Thus, there is strong evidence that Spec,*je*P in Bangla is subject to more or less the same restrictions as Spec,CP in Bavarian. In both cases, the requirement seems to be that the XP to be moved must come from a set of semantic alternatives. As noted previously, this notion cannot be equated with contrastive focus. In the unmarked case of Bangla *je* clauses with a single preposed XP, this XP does not need to bear contrastive stress. The requirement is obviously the same as in Bavarian. For XP to qualify as an ET in Spec,*je*P, XP must be moved from the focus projection of the clause. In a focus projection, phonological prominence typically appears only on the rightmost accentable constituent of a larger phrase that counts as new information. Thus, the constituent that moves need not bear stress. In the next section we look at the morpholexical characteristics of *je*.

4.3. The Clitic Nature of *je*

The Bangla complementizer particle *je* corresponds to the Sanskrit neuter singular relative pronoun *yat*, which also doubles as a complementizer particle and is built on the root *ya* (य).³⁵ In the synchronic grammar of modern Bangla, the particle is homonymous with the relative pronoun *je* ‘who’ and the relative determiner ‘which’. The following examples of correlative (alias “sequential”) relative clauses are from Dasgupta 2006:

- (43) **je** ja ca-Y Se ta paY na.
 who what want-3 s/he it get-3 NEG
 ‘For *x*, *y* such that *x* wants *y*, *x* does not get *y*.’
 ‘Whoever wants something will not get it.’

³⁵ See Dasgupta 1980:12 for the typological status of this particle–pronoun syncretism and Chatterji (1926) 1975:840ff., 1076–1078 for the etymology of *je*; it reflects Vedic Sanskrit *yakah*, a variant of the masculine-singular relative pronoun.

- (44) *bela je SOhor-e ja-Y hiren Se SOhor-e ja-Y na.*
 Bela which town(s)-LOC go-3 Hiren that town(s)-LOC go-3 NEG
 ‘Hiren doesn’t go to the town(s) that Bela goes to.’

As noted in Dasgupta 2006:165, topicalized *je* clauses, in which (we propose here) movement to Spec,*je*P must have occurred, partly resemble “correlative” relatives. In both cases, a *J* clause is followed by a parallel clause with a sequent pronoun. However, the relative pronoun *je* is animate, correlated with the sequent *Se* ‘(s)he’; in the case of a topicalized complement clause, the sequent pronoun used is the inanimate pronoun *ta*. Another important property of a sequential relative clause is that the relative pronoun *je* can be clause-initial (see (43)). A topicalized complement clause does not permit the complementizer *je* in clause-initial position (see (31)). In spite of their common origin and phonological identity, the relativizer *je* and the complementizer *je* are quite distinct, presumably a contrast that pertains to the lexical strength of *je*. The relative pronoun *je* is a member of a paradigm including forms like *ja-r* (genitive), *ja-ke* (objective), *ja-ra* (plural), *ja-der* (plural, genitive), and so on; these forms are capable of phonological prominence and can be fortified by a focus particle *-i*: *ja-ke-i* ‘whomever’ and so on. Seen from the semantic side, the choice of a relative pronoun makes a commitment to the selection of an item from a set of competitors. In this sense, *je* is taken from a contrastive set and as such is contrastable. But the complementizer *je* is different. First, it is a stand-alone particle and belongs to no morphological paradigm. Unlike the Germanic complementizers *that*, *dass*, *dat*, and so forth, which can bear focus (as in the so-called Verum-Fokus construction), the *je* complementizer can never be focused.³⁶ There is good evidence, as noted in Dasgupta 1980, 2007b, that the *je* complementizer is enclitic in nature and as such requires a host to its left that it can attach to.³⁷ The context in (29) provides the necessary environment. If implemented as a syntactic operation, cliticization of *je* turns (29) into the partial representation seen in (45).

- (45) ...Suneche+**je** [_{CP} **je** [_{TP} ...]]

If the *je* CP moves to the very left edge of the root clause as in (31), there is no host onto which *je* could cliticize. A *je* CP also fails to undergo scrambling as shown by the ungrammaticality of (46).

³⁶ Notice verum focus in German as in (i), in contrast to the unavailability of such focal stress in Bangla as seen in (ii).

(i) Aber ich weiss, DASS er so denkt.
 but I know THAT he so thinks
 ‘But I know that he DOES think that way.’

(ii) *kintu ami jani JE o oy rOkom bhab-ch-e.
 but I know THAT (s)he this way think-PROG-3

³⁷ Complementizers that are clitics have been reported from other languages. Van Craenenbroeck (2010) mentions Dutch dialects in which the complementizer *dat* reduces to *-t* when it appears next to a head type *wh*.

- (46) *chele-Ta [CP **je** or baba aS-b-en] Ekhono Son-e-ni.
 boy-CLF COMP his father come-FUT-3 yet hear-3-NEG.PST

The question is why *je* cannot cliticize to the XP *chele-Ta* in (46). Scrambling this type of CP, which is arguably a prosodic unit that cannot undergo any restructuring, the CP is prosodically disconnected from the matrix clause. Example (46) is actually as in (47), where the prosodic separation of what seem to be intonation phrases is signaled by double slashes.

- (47) *cheleTa // [CP **je** or baba aSben] // Ekhono Soneni

Thus, cliticization of *je* fails as it would have to apply across a strong clause boundary. This is not the case when the *je* CP extraposes further to the right of the selecting matrix verb.

- (48) Sipra ama-ke boleche **kalke** **ratr-e** [je dilip aS-b-e na].
 Sipra me-OBJV told yesterday night-LOC *JE* Dilip come-FUT-3 not
 ‘Sipra told me last night that Dilip will not come.’

Intervention of the boldfaced adverbial material does not prevent *je* from taking its right edge as a clitic host. In fact, there is no prosodic break that would be comparable to the prosodic break that appears before a scrambled clause.

Further support for *je* being a clitic element comes from coordination. Unlike English *that* or German *dass*, *je* cannot survive coordination.

- (49) ami bol-ech-il-am **je** probal aS-b-e ebong (***je**) uSi ghOr buk
 I say-PRF-PST-1 *JE* Probal come-FUT-2 and *JE* Uschi room book
 kor-ech-e.
 make-PRF-3
 ‘I said that Probal will come and (that) Uschi has booked a room (for him).’

Je cannot cliticize to a coordinator-type functional element, as independently confirmed by the fact that Bangla coordinators, *ar* or *ebong*, can never be targets of other comparable clitics such as *to* ‘of course’, ‘as you should know’, either; **ar-to* and **ebong-to* are out. Thus, there is evidence that *je* as a complementizer is lexically a weak element, perhaps a genuine enclitic that requires to its left a host which it can cliticize to. Given that *je* derives historically from the relativizer, its development appears to follow a familiar path of grammaticalization.³⁸ Core properties of grammaticalization are semantic bleaching and phonological weakening. Both properties are found in the transition from relative pronoun to complementizer.

³⁸ See examples and references about grammaticalization in Hopper & Traugott 1993, Lehmann 1982, Roberts & Roussou 2003. The facts of Bangla complement clauses with medial *je* may turn out to be subsumable under Kayne’s (2014) proposal that declarative complementizers are actually relative-clause operators. For similar conclusions, see Arsenijevic 2009 and Manzini 2012, which rightly (in our view) characterize *complementizers* as “only a descriptive label.”

4.4. *je* as a Discourse Particle

So far we have seen *je* in its relative pronoun and complementizer functions. Here we present yet another role that this element can play. When *je* is a clitic, it can also be used as a discourse particle. Discourse particles (alias “modal particles”) are widely known from descriptions of German. It should be noticed, however, that Bangla is another language with many similar particles. Whereas German discourse particles come in the disguise of free standing (albeit immobile) adverbs, many of the Bangla particles are clitics that attract some focused or at least focusable XP to their left. Consider the particle *ba* (which is lexically related to the disjunctive connective meaning ‘or’). This particle requires a host to its immediate left that is suffixed with the focus marker *-i*. Here we look at cases in which *ba* occurs in a question and attracts either a *wh*-phrase or a verbal projection, both suffixed with *-i*.³⁹

- (50) a. kothaY-i **ba** gE-ch-e dilip?
 where-*I* BA go-PRF-3 Dilip
 ‘Where is it actually that Dilip went?’
 b. dilip badam kha-Y-ni-i **ba** kEno?
 Dilip nut eat-3-NEG.PST-*I* BA why
 ‘Why indeed did Dilip not EAT the nuts? (He should have done so.)’
 (German: ‘Warum hat Dilip die Nüsse *eigentlich* nicht GEGESSEN?’)

The particle *ba* can appear almost everywhere except in clause-initial position. It attracts smaller or larger constituents (as long as they are suffixed with the focus marker *-i*). In questions, *ba* yields a special interpretation that gives the question a suggestive (German *Suggestivfrage*) rather than information-seeking force. The *-i ba* construction is confined to the root clause.⁴⁰ Another example is the interrogative particle *ki*; *ki* appears in direct polar questions.⁴¹

- (51) a. tumi **ki** kal aS-b-e?
 you *KI* tomorrow come-FUT-2
 ‘Will you come tomorrow?’
 b. tumi kal aS-b-e **ki**?
 you tomorrow come-FUT-2 *KI*
 ‘Will you come tomorrow?’

Again, this particle can appear after any constituent that can be in the focus of a question. The fact that *ki* is clitic-like, is confined to the root clause, and involves preposing of smaller or larger constituents from the domain it c-commands puts it in the same class as other particles such as *ba*. The same holds for the particle *to* (similar to German *doch*). Notice now that in terms of its distribution and functional role in

³⁹ The full picture of *ba* is too complex to be provided here; see Dasgupta 2005.

⁴⁰ We return in section 4.6 to apparent exceptions to this claim.

⁴¹ In embedded questions, the question marker is *ki na* (lit. ‘or not’), which is formally identical with a choice question (‘Will you come or not?’)

the clause the clitic *je* is very similar to *ba*, *ki*, and *to*. The examples in (52) show that *je* can appear in single-clause utterances.⁴²

- (52) a. tumi kothaY **je** giy-ech-il-e.
 you where *JE* GO-PRF-PST-2
 ‘I wish I knew where the hell you had gone.’
 b. ami toma-ke kOto-bar **je** bol-l-am.
 I you-OBJV how.many-times *JE* tell-PST-1
 ‘I told you this so many times!’

There is clear resemblance with German sentences containing discourse particles. Example (52a) corresponds to *Wo bist du denn hingegangen? Wo bist du denn gewesen?*, in which the particle *denn* signals a special attitude of the speaker.⁴³ Example (52b) corresponds to *Wie oft habe ich es dir denn schon gesagt!* or *Ich habe es dir doch schon so oft gesagt!*, the latter version being the result of shifting from interrogative to declarative mood in which *denn* is inapplicable. The use of *je* contributes expressive features that are presumably interpretable only if the clause in which this element occurs is an autonomous utterance. Only utterances have illocutionary force.⁴⁴ Therefore, *je* in its appearance as a discourse particle must be considered a root phenomenon.

Now that we have established that, in addition to its role as a relative pronoun and as a complementizer, *je* is also a discourse particle, it is necessary to enhance our understanding of how these functions interact. We will ignore its role in relativization and concentrate instead on the relation between the complementizer and discourse particle functions. We have seen so far that *je* is a functional head to whose specifier constituents of different size may move. In Bangla it is even more evident than in Bavarian that the raised XP is in a specifier position and not in a less tightly attached HT position. The reason is that *je*, unlike the German complementizers, is an enclitic element that shows the tight connection between the head and the raised constituent even phonologically. Part of XP and *je* form a phonological word as established either by recursion or by an autonomous process of phonologically defined clitic cluster formation.⁴⁵ Furthermore, in both Bangla and Bavarian German, nonreferential XPs such as operators can appear in Spec,*je*P. And in both languages, movement to the

⁴² Compare Dasgupta 1980, Bayer 1996, and unpublished work by Tanmoy Bhattacharya, who according to one reviewer argues that *je*'s root orientation be limited to cases in which the *je* clause is unembedded.

⁴³ Details on German *denn* can be found in Bayer 2012 and Bayer & Obenauer 2011.

⁴⁴ In some of the earlier writing about the clausal left periphery, there is a confusion between sentence type and force. In Rizzi 1997, force is something like a clausal typing operator. Let us maintain here that force is confined to the root clause—that is, the level of a full-fledged utterance unless an embedded clause is the complement of a verb of speaking and as such counts as quoted speech. See footnotes 14 and 15. Further qualifications would certainly be required. Adverbial clauses are normally be taken to lack illocutionary force, but Haegeman (2004, 2012) provides much evidence that this holds only for center-embedded but not for peripheral adverbial clauses. See also Frey 2012 on German. The same could easily be shown for Bangla, but space limitations prevent us from doing so.

⁴⁵ See Kabak & Revithiadou 2006. A pertinent example from Bangla that does not involve the particle *je* is (50a); *kothaY-i-ba* is a phonological word that includes a clitic cluster.

specifier position leaves a trace rather than a resumptive pronoun. This strong parallelism suggests that we are dealing with one and the same phenomenon—what we dubbed ET in section 3. The difference between German and Bangla is that the German complementizers are not simultaneously discourse particles. This is seen in free-standing C-initial/V-final utterances, which occur frequently in German. They require the presence of an extra discourse particle. Without the particle, they cannot be used as free-standing utterances.

- (53) a. Dass du ***(ja)** ruhig bist!
 that you *JA* quiet are
 ‘Make sure that you keep quiet!’
 b. Dass du ***(mir)** nicht in der Nase bohrst!⁴⁶
 that you *me-DAT* not in the nose dig
 ‘Make sure you don’t pick your nose!’
 c. Dass er ***(doch)** zum Teufel gehen soll!
 that he *DOCH* to-the devil go should
 ‘May he go to hell!’
- (54) a. Ob er ***(wohl/etwa)** noch hier ist?
 if he *WOHL/ETWA* still here is
 ‘I am wondering whether he is still here.’
 b. Ob man hier ***(denn/wohl)** rauchen darf?
 if one here *DENN/WOHL* smoke may
 ‘I am wondering if smoking is permitted here.’
- (55) a. Wenn ich ***(nur)** mehr Geld hätte!
 if I *NUR* more money had
 ‘If I only had more money!’
 b. Wenn du ***(doch)** den Mund gehalten hättest!
 if you *DOCH* the mouth kept had
 ‘Had you only kept quiet!’

Clearly, in all these cases, C by itself cannot fully establish illocutionary force. C types the clause as declarative or interrogative or conditional, but this minimal specification is not sufficient to arrive at a full interpretation. Unambiguous illocutionary force can only be co-established by the use of the discourse particles. Without such a particle, the structures are well-formed but must be understood as embedded clauses with an elided matrix clause.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ It may be surprising to see a dative pronoun. It has, however, been argued that this kind of free dative, which is limited to first person, significantly the speaker, fulfills the function of a discourse particle. See Wegener 1989 and Bosse & Bruening 2011.

⁴⁷ (i) A: Würdest du diesen Wagen kaufen? ‘Would you buy this car?’
 B: Jederzeit...wenn ich mehr Geld hätte. ‘Any time...if I had more money.’

Just how force is established in a language such as Bangla is not yet understood. There is no clear marker on either side of the clause that unambiguously specifies force. Nevertheless, it is clear that a particle, when present, makes a semantic contribution to the force of the utterance. Consider (56).

- (56) a. *ekhane kOtokkhon boS-e ach-i?*
 here how.long sit-CJV be-1
 ‘How long have I already been sitting here?’
 b. *uph, ekhane kOtokkhon je boS-e ach-i!*
 wow here how.long JE sit-CJV be-1
 ‘Oh my god, how long I have been sitting here! (I have had enough of it)’

As (56a) shows, the sentence without *je* is a straight question. It can be answered with *paMc ghOnTa* (‘five hours’). The addition of *je* in (56b) turns the utterance into an exclamative in which the speaker expresses frustration. A constituent answer would be infelicitous. This twist in meaning can be induced by *je* or by heavy-duty intonational devices not addressed in this study. Therefore, we can assume that in Bangla *je* enters semantic composition in the formation of discourse-semantic meaning. Although *je* cannot occur in direct questions with an interrogative reading, it does occur in indirect constituent questions, where the exclamative supplement does not upstage its interrogative character. Consider the following:

- (57) a. *o kal kothaY (*je) ghumiY-ech-e?*
 he/she yesterday where JE sleep-PRF-3
 ‘Where did he/she sleep last night?’
 b. [*o kal ki je kheY-ech-e ar kothaY je ghumiY-ech-e*]
 he/she yesterday what JE eat-PRF-3 and where JE sleep-PRF-3
ami Se-SOb kichu-i jan-i na.
 I this-all anything-I know-1 not
 ‘What he/she ate yesterday and where he/she slept last night, I have no idea.’

The fact that *je* is not compatible with a canonical interrogative speech act is seen in (57a) (a string that can be used as an exclamative meaning approximately ‘Heaven knows where s/he slept last night!’). The fact that it can be used in (57b) must be due to the fact that *je* has complementizer properties. On the other hand, the use in (57b) nevertheless invokes an emphatic reading of *ki* ‘what’ and *kothaY* ‘where’. The speaker is (perhaps with an undertone of criticism) wondering about the place where the person spent the night. Clearly, its use as a complementizer and its use as a discourse particle cannot be separated.

Now that it is established that in addition to its function as a relative pronoun *je* is not only a complementizer but also a discourse particle, and that this is in all likelihood not an accident, we need to return to the data that launched the discussion

at the beginning of section 4 and consider them in the light of what we have been able to establish up to this point.⁴⁸

4.5. *Hypotaxis or Parataxis?*

Consider again (33), repeated here as (58).

- (58) [or baba **je** aS-b-en] chele-Ta ta Ekhono Sone-ni.
 his father *JE* come-FUT-3 boy-CLF this yet hear-NEG.PST
 ‘That his father will come, this the boy hasn’t heard yet.’

In light of what we have learned about *je* as a discourse particle, it is tempting to argue that constructions with a clause-medial *je* are not embedded. According to such an analysis, (58) consists of a first clause, [or baba **je** ~~or baba~~ aSben], which is actually an autonomous utterance with its own illocutionary force. This utterance is then followed by another, formally independent clause [chele-Ta ta Ekhono Sone-ni] in which the pronoun *ta* is a discourse anaphor that links up with the first utterance. This amounts to a paratactic representation as shown in (59).

- (59) [or baba **je** ~~or baba~~ aSben]₁ [chele-Ta ta₁ Ekhono Soneni]

Bangla prefers a pronoun such as *ta* in such cases, but it is not obligatory. A missing pronoun would not jeopardize the paratactic analysis, though, because Bangla can drop its pronouns quite freely, including object pronouns. Difficulties for a paratactic analysis emerge from examples such as (32), repeated here as (69).

- (60) chele-Ta [or baba **je** aS-b-en] (ta) Ekhono Son-e-ni.
 boy-CLF his father *JE* come-FUT-3 this yet hear-3-NEG.PST
 ‘The boy hasn’t heard yet that his father will come.’

Here the *je* clause appears centrally embedded. One can hardly opt for parenthetical insertion of the *je* clause. In cases of parenthesis and Ross-style Slifting, it is the superordinate structure that is parenthetically inserted into the dependent clause, not

⁴⁸ Our analysis of *je* as complementizer in the service of the pragmatic function of a discourse particle is corroborated by the analysis of the Greek complementizer *na* ($\nu\alpha$), which Roussou (2000) and Roussou & Tsangalidis (2010) identify together with other elements as discourse particles (alias modal particles). Next to the prototypical constellation in (i) one finds *na* also in root clauses as in (ii), the common core being its function as a modality marker.

- (i) Thel-o na fig-o.
 want-1 *NA* leave-1
 ‘I want to leave.’
- (ii) Na su p-o.
NA you tell-1
 ‘Hey, let me tell you!’

the other way around. Another demonstration can be given on the basis of binding facts. Consider (61) and (62), which both allow a bound-variable pronoun reading.

- (61) [SikkhOk **je** tar Taka curi kor-e thak-te par-en] (Se kOtha) kono
 teacher *JE* his money steal do-CJV stay-INF can-3 this story any
 chatro biSSaS kor-te par-e ni.
 student believe make-INF can-3 NEG.PST
 ‘No student could believe that a teacher would be stealing his money.’

- (62) [tar ma-baba **je** take Sottii bhalobaS-en] (Se kOtha) prottek chele
 his mother-father *JE* him truly love-3 this story every boy
 mon-e pran-e biSSaS kOr-e.
 mind-LOC soul-LOC believe make-3
 ‘Every boy deeply believes that his parents love him.’

These examples are standardly explained by reconstruction of the preposed CP into its base position. In its base position, the CP is c-commanded by the operator-type subject of the main clause, *kono chatro* and *prottek chele*, respectively, which then allows the bound-variable interpretation of the pronouns that occur in the reconstructed CP. Provided that CP preposing has left an inaudible copy behind as shown in (63), this inaudible copy is used for the computation of variable binding.

- (63) [[_{CP} ...pronoun₁...] QP₁...V [_{CP}...pronoun₁...]]


Regardless of one’s views about the role of the optional resumptive element in the reconstruction process, here *Se kOtha*, the binding facts militate against a parataxis solution. We thus take it that either the CP itself originates in some postverbal base position in which *je* clauses are normally merged or, following a traditional analysis, the sequent phrase *Se kOtha* is a copy of the preverbal CP which is first-merged in a low enough position to be c-commanded by the QP subject.⁴⁹

The conclusion that the preverbal *je* CP (with clause-medial *je*) is hypotactically connected seems to contradict the result of the previous section—namely, that *je* is a discourse particle and as such is only compatible with a root clause. The next two sections develop an account that solves this dilemma.

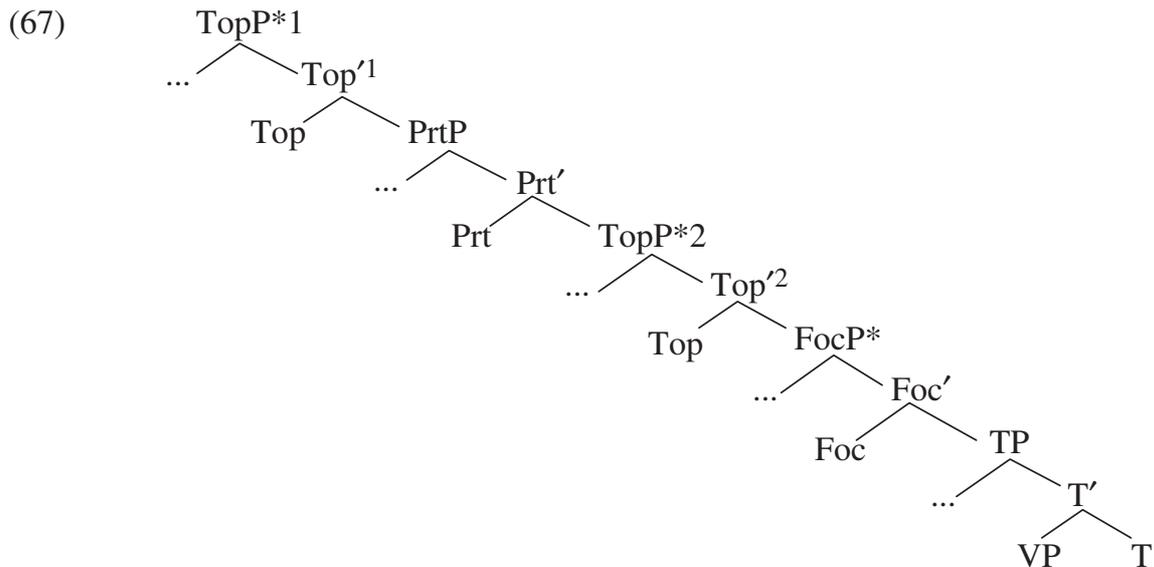
4.6. Accounting for the Clause-Medial versus the Clause-Initial Position

Recall from section 4.1 that Bangla complement clauses can be postverbal or preverbal. The central fact we are concerned with here is that a complement *je* clause (i) *cannot* stay in its postverbal position (see (31) and (46)) but (ii) *must* move to

⁴⁹ As noted in footnote 38, theories that analyze complements as quasi-relatives would reconstruct CP under the nominal that licenses the relative/complement clause. In (61) and (62), *Se kOtha* has been scrambled over the QP subject or moved from postverbal position, where it has left a copy.

- (66) *tumi aj ka-ke je apon mon-e ki jiniS diy-ech-o,*
 you today who-OBJV *JE* own mind-LOC what thing(s) give-PRF-2
(ta ami Ekebarei jani na).
 this I at-all know not
 ‘Just what you gave to whom today on an impulse (of all this I have
 absolutely no idea).’

This sentence allows us to identify at least the following structure:⁵²



On this account, the structure of (66) is as in (68).⁵³

- (68) [_{TopP*} *tumi aj* [_{Top'} Top [_{PtcpP} *kake* [_{Ptcp'} [_{Ptcp} *je*] [_{TopP*} *apon mone* [_{Top'} Top
 [_{FocP*} *ki jiniS* [_{Foc'} Foc [_{TP} ... [_{T'} [_{VP} ... *diyecho*] T]]]]]]]]]]]. . .

By moving *wh* into Spec,FocP we converge with the assumptions made by various authors. As has already been pointed out in connection with (37b), the second *wh*-phrase must have passed through a recursively iterable FocP before it moves on to Spec,PtcpP (here Spec,*je*P). Our assumption is that this happens because a *wh*-phrase can be endowed with the emphasis feature [*uEmp*].

Bangla offers evidence that *je* must be merged at a site high enough to provide it with a FocP sister. We have seen that material from Spec,FocP may move to this particle. As a matter of fact, the entire complement can move in this fashion, as shown in (69), as can the finite verb as shown in (70).

⁵² The asterisk indicates that the positions are iterable. For instance, *tumi* and *aj* in (66) are in one and the same topic field. This neither means that they form a single constituent nor that there can be more than one aboutness topic. Rather, it means that more than one element can be familiar from previous discourse. For the sake of readability, we leave out NegP and some other projections that are also known to play a role in the cartography of the Bangla clause.

⁵³ We work here with a head-final vP and TP because Bangla does not give evidence for the syntactic representation of functional categories v and T. These elements are instead part of the verb. We will come back to this nontrivial issue immediately.

- (69) [[dilip vODka-TODka adou kheY-ech-il-o] [je
 Dilip vodka-etcetera at.all drink-PRF-PST-3 *JE*
~~[dilip vODka-TODka adou kheYechilo]]] tom-ra ta-o jan-t-e na.
 you-PL that-EMP know-PST-2 not
 ‘That Dilip ever drank stuff like vodka at all is another fact you guys didn’t
 know.’~~

Example (69), which requires a particular intonation (with a pause after *je*) to sound acceptable, expresses emphatic marking of the entire clause. According to the architecture in (67) it would also be possible to have a smaller chunk move to Spec,*je*P; (69) is only one of several structural options. Consider (70).

- (70) [[adou kheY-ech-il-o] [je [dilip vODka-TODka ~~adou kheYechilo]]]
 at.all drink-PRF-PST-3 *JE* Dilip vodka-et cetera
 tom-ra ta-o jante na.
 you-PL that-EMP know-PST-2 not
 ‘That Dilip ever DRANK stuff like vodka at all is another fact you guys didn’t
 know.’~~

If we ignore the possibility of remnant VP movement (irrelevant in the present discussion, as is the adverb *adou* ‘at all’, which ensures full acceptability but is not essential), (70) shows that the finite verb can raise to Spec,*je*P, leaving the rest of the clause behind, in which case the two arguments of the verb could be in the lower Top region. The fact that the finite verb can undergo ET is remarkable. In German (including the Bavarian dialect), as in many other European languages, it would be a nonfinite verb form that moves to a comparable position whereas finiteness is spelled out by a dummy verb such as German *tun* ‘to do’.⁵⁴

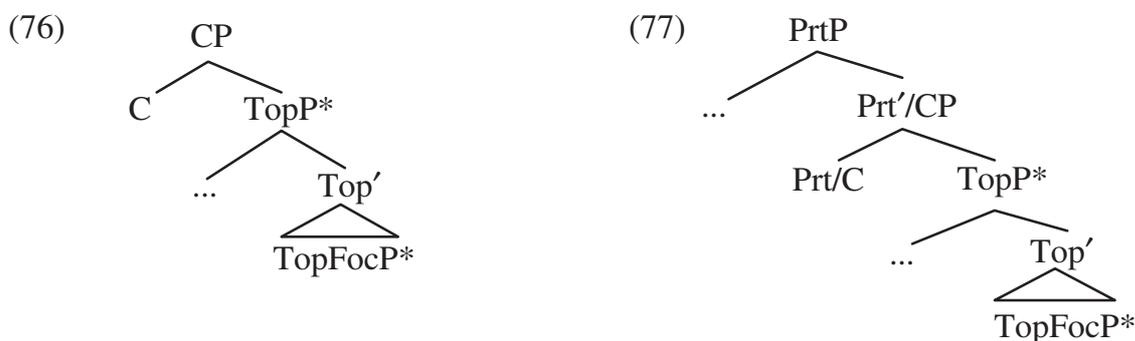
- (71) a. [[Trink-en] [dass [Dilip Wodka und so etwas ~~trinken~~ tu-t]]]
 drink-INF that Dilip vodka and such something do-3
 glaube ich nicht.
 believe I not
 ‘That Dilip DRINKS vodka and such stuff, I don’t believe (although he
 sells it).’
 b. *[[Trink-t] [dass [Dilip Wodka und so etwas ~~trinkt~~]]] glaube
 drink-3 that Dilip vodka and such something believe
 ich nicht.
 I not

This fact suggests that V and T are morphosyntactically inseparable; we express this property in (67) in terms of the basic head finality of T (rather than a surface head-

⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Scandinavian languages show A’-movement of finite verbs, at least in Danish (Anne Kjeldahl, p.c.) and Swedish (Källgren & Prince 1989).

Once this featurally enriched *je* is merged, (75b) yields further projection of the *je*P to provide a landing site for some XP that will have to move. This is what turns the *je* construction into a particle phrase (PtcpP), a construction that frequently occurs in Bangla with particles such as *ki*, *ba*, *to*, and so on. The fact that it is not only a CP but also a PtcpP must be responsible for the possibility of an ongoing projection. We can at this point only speculate, but it seems plausible that principles of information packaging are responsible for the option of projecting another TopP above PtcpP. The selection of *je* as in (75a) has a different consequence. If this option is chosen, merger of *je* will terminate in a plain CP projection.

Recall that *je*—like several other particles of the language—is an enclitic, phonologically speaking. The choices (75a) and (75b) have distinct sets of consequences. If *je* is merged as a pure subjoiner (as in (75a)), the resulting CP gets stuck in the postverbal position in which it is merged, because *je* will consistently find a potential host to its left to which it can cliticize. If *je* is merged as a subjoiner enriched with the Emp-feature (as in (75b)), the resulting structure calls for raising some emphatic-marked XP to Spec,CP.⁵⁶ As a consequence, the need for *je* to cliticize is fulfilled within the projection of *je*. (We cleave to our provisional assumption that this cliticization needs to be executed within the syntax; other treatments are, of course, possible.) This makes the *je* projection mobile, a desirable consequence. The results of merging the different occurrences of *je* are shown in the partial trees of (76) and (77), respectively



Summarizing so far, C as a bare subjoiner projects directly to CP. If a C is endowed with the feature [*i*Emp], it is simultaneously a discourse particle. Ptcp gives rise to a certain utterance meaning. By virtue of Ptcp, an emphatic-marked constituent will prepose, and—as stated previously—further projection may occur. It remains to be explained why (77), once it has become the object of a verb, cannot stay in postverbal position and why it is rescued by movement to a preverbal position. This issue is addressed in the next section.

4.7. *Emphatic Interpretation in the Root Clause*

Our discussion begins with an important generalization about the scope of *wh*. With this generalization in place, it becomes easy to see the pattern of the Emp facts, which closely parallels the *wh* pattern.

⁵⁶ The question emerges why *i*Emp could not equally be valued by an *u*Emp-marked matrix verb. Although CP is a phase, during merger of V, V could still interact with a feature on C. If C is a probe, it can, however, only interact with a goal—that is, with some XP in its c-command domain. This excludes the selecting predicate.

4.7.1. *Wh-scope*

It has long been known that Bangla, like other known Indo-Aryan languages, prohibits transclausal scope from a clause embedded to the right of the matrix verb (Bayer 1991, 1995, 1996; see also Wali 1988 for Marathi, Srivastav 1989 for Hindi, and much subsequent work).

- (78) ora Sun-ech-e [**ke** aS-b-e].
 they hear-PRF-3 who come-FUT-3
 ‘They have heard who will come.’ (Unavailable: ‘Who have they heard will come?’)

The *wh*-complement in (78)—whose acceptability increases when the complementizer particle *je* is absent, for reasons we do not fully understand—does not allow wide-scope interpretation of *ke* (‘who’). If the matrix predicate cannot s-select a *wh*-clause as is the case in (79), the result is sharply unacceptable.

- (79) *tumi mon-e kOr-o [**ke** khun kor-ech-e].
 you mind-LOC do-2 who murder do-PRF-3
 Intended: ‘You think who has committed murder.’

The ungrammaticality of (79) confirms the semantic intuition that the *wh*-operator cannot scope out of the embedded clause in cases like (78). The picture changes drastically when the *wh*-clause appears in preverbal position. Preverbal clauses have a final complementizer, *bole*, or no complementizer at all. As (80) shows, such sentences do exhibit the wide-scope reading.

- (80) ora [**ke** aS-b-e (bole)] Sun-ech-e
 they who come-FUT-3 *BOLE* hear-PRF-3
 ‘Who have they heard will come?’ (Unavailable: ‘They have heard who will come.’)⁵⁷

As expected, sentences with matrix predicates as in (79) become grammatical when the complement is in preverbal position.

- (81) tumi [**ke** khun kor-ech-e (bole)] mon-e kOr-o?
 you who murder do-PRF-3 *BOLE* mind-LOC do-2
 ‘Who do you think has committed murder?’

⁵⁷ With *bole* missing, defocused *ke*, and either with or without a following pronominal, *SeTa*, as in (i), one can marginally also get a narrow-scope reading. This option seems to be generally unpreferred, in the sense that a native speaker, seeing a written string “ora ke aSbe Suneche” without punctuation, would strongly prefer to read the string as (80) rather than as (i).

(i) ora [ke aS-be] (SeTa) Sun-ech-e].
 they who come-FUT.3 they hear-PRF-3
 ‘They have heard who will come.’

confined to the root sentence. As seen in indirect questions such as *It is unclear when John will arrive*, a *wh*-marked clause can be semantically an open proposition without being connected to an erotetic speech act. An *Emp*-marked clause, however, cannot survive the derivation as a dependent clause because *ET* is only interpretable as a property of an utterance. Utterances can be emphatic; propositions cannot. Apart from this well-motivated difference, the mechanics of wide *wh*-scope and of wide *Emp* scope rest on the same architecture. This fact in itself and the close parallels with the Bavarian facts make it likely that the line of inquiry pursued here will stand up to scrutiny.⁶²

4.7.3. Recursive *ET* scoping

At the end of section 3.2 we showed that *ET* can apply recursively in Bavarian, the effect being that one *ET* raising-to-*Spec,CP* construction appears in another *ET* raising-to-*Spec,CP* construction. Bangla shows a closely similar although not the same option.

- (86) [[ram je aS-ch-e na] [SEm je Ter peY-e ja-b-e]]
 Ram *JE* come-PROG-3 not Shyam *JE* find.out-CJV go-FUT-3
 ami bujh-te par-i-ni.
 I understand-INF can-1-NEG.PST
 ‘That Shyam will find out that Ram is not coming, I did not see.’

The structure is in all likelihood such that the *ram* clause moves into a preverbal position of the *SEm* clause and the *SEm* clause moves into a preverbal position of the *ami* clause.⁶³ In comparison with the derivation we saw in (26)/(27), one should, however, expect (87a), with the structure in (87b). In (87b), the *ram* clause moves right into the specifier of the *SEm* clause. Somewhat surprisingly, (87) is ungrammatical.

- (87) a. *ram je aS-ch-e na je SEm Ter peY-e ja-b-e ami bujh-te par-i-ni.
 b. [[ram je aS-ch-e ram na] je SEm Ter peY-e ja-b-e] [~~ram je aS-ch-e ram na~~]
 ami bujh-te par-i-ni [~~ram je aS-ch-e ram na~~] je SEm Ter peY-e ja-b-e [~~ram je aS-ch-e ram na~~]

A natural explanation resides in the fact that in Bangla the co-occurrence of DiPs is severely limited or downright impossible. We pointed out in section 4.4 that unlike German *dass*, Bangla *je* has the typical properties of a discourse particle. Note that owing to movement of the *ram je* clause into the specifier of the lower *je* clause in

⁶² Bhattacharya (2002) proposes an entirely different explanation of the behavior of internal *je* clauses. According to him, the noninitial *je* clause is an incomplete phase and therefore not a constituent at all; instead *je* is merged in the root clause. The focal element that in our account is raised to *Spec,jeP* does so only indirectly by moving into the root clause as part of a VP remnant. That account, which leaves many questions unaddressed, can hardly be compared with the present one. As far as we can see, it must deny relations with free-standing *je* clauses, and it must take the parallelism with *wh*-scope to be accidental.

⁶³ Note the contrast between (86) and its center-embedded permutation: *ami [SEm je [ram je aSche na] Ter peYe jabe] bujhte parini. The reason for its unacceptability is surely to be sought in a processing constraint that disfavors excessive center embedding. Example (86) has the same status as the Bavarian example in (26)—it does not sound overly complex.

(87), *je* appears twice in the very same clause or, more concretely, under the very same source of root illocutionary force. There is independent, albeit not fully understood, evidence that such co-occurrence is generally ruled out in the language. Consider (88a,b), examples in which a phrase in the specifier of another DiP—namely, the particle *to*—has been moved to Spec,*je*P.⁶⁴

- (88) a. *[[*tumi to*] [*je ~~tumi-to~~ kal aS-b-e*]] *ami (Ta) jantam na.*
 you *TO JE* tomorrow come-FUT-2 I this knew not
 b. *[[*tumi aS-b-e to*] [*je ram bhabche {~~tumi aS-b-e-to~~}*]] *ami*
 you come-FUT-2 *TO JE* Ram thinks I
 bujhte pari ni.
 believe could not

Given that all such examples are impossible, we can conclude that (87) is ruled out for the very same reason. A solution to this problem must be left for future research. In spite of this complication, we feel that the form of recursivity that shows up in (86) is in support of the syntactic reality of ET and the raising mechanics that underlies ET according to the present account.

4.7.4. *PtcpP* ≠ *FocP*

In Bangla, preverbal as well as postverbal clauses can appear in a “bare” form—that is, without an overt complementizer. Preverbal clauses with or without the final complementizer *bole* show wide scope *wh*-interpretation. We assume that a bare preverbal complement clause involves a zero element with the same feature composition as *bole*, whereas zero-complementizer clauses in postverbal position are headed by a zero counterpart to *je*.⁶⁵ Clauses in preverbal position that show an internal *je* are incompatible with *bole*. Importantly, and at first sight unexpectedly, such clauses never allow a wide-scope interpretation of *wh*. The wide-scope reading of (89) is blocked with or without the parenthesized material.

- (89) *tom-ra je ki kha-o (ar-kew na jan-uk) ram (ta) jan-e*
 you-PL *JE* what eat-2 else-anyone not know-IMP-3 Ram this know-3
 ‘Ram knows (even if nobody else knows) what you eat.’
 (Unavailable: ‘What does Ram know that you eat?’)

Recall from the discussion of (80) and (81) that preverbal *wh*-clauses usually have wide *wh*-scope. Why, then, is wide scope blocked in (89)? The answer that our account provides is as follows. Consider the structure of (89) given in (90).

⁶⁴ The particle *to* was briefly mentioned in section 4.4. Note that *to* is enclitic just like *je* and *ki* and some other Bangla particles and can attract to its specifier XPs of different sizes, including the entire TP.

⁶⁵ See Bayer 1996:chap. 7. A zero *je* would, of course, be a pure subjoiner. But a zero discourse particle would be a controversial postulate. One might conceivably find some use for such a device to make sense of intonation quirks that other descriptive devices cannot handle, but features distinguishing any particular discourse particle from other members of the category would obviously be inoperative in the case of a “zero discourse particle.”

(90) ... [_{PtcpP} [_{PtcpP/CP} tomra je ~~tomra~~ ki kha-o (. . .)]_I [_{PtcpP'} Ptcp⁰ [_{VP} ram jane t₁]]]

In (90), the Emp-marked complement of the verb *jane*, of category PtcpP/CP, has moved to a preverbal position that we have now identified as the specifier of a Ptcp projection. This is the place in which the Emp feature of PtcpP/CP can be interpreted. The *wh*-operator *ki*, in the embedded focus position, would need to invoke *wh*-scope extension via the matrix FocP to take matrix scope. Given the hypothesis that PtcpP ≠ FocP, that Foc-to-Foc chain option is blocked by the heterogeneity of the Foc-Ptcp-Foc trajectory involved.

Klaus Abels (p.c.) asks whether, given the relatively underdetermined “PtcpP” invoked in our account, the task of blocking a wide-scope reading for *wh* in (90) is best served by insisting that this underdetermined PtcpP is distinct from FocP. He rightly notes the relevance of the observation, made in (56) and (57), that—in a simplex clause containing both a *wh*-constituent and the discourse particle *je*—the *je* upstages its interrogative clausemate, and the utterance ends up with an exclamative, not an interrogative meaning. We agree that, if a description of that fact could afford to simply state that a single matrix clause cannot license both *je* and a *wh*-constituent, then (90) would be subsumed under such a description. However, that route is not open to us; such a generalization would incorrectly rule out sentences like (91), where the matrix clause licenses both the raised *je* clause and the *wh*-constituent merged upstairs, and (92), where the matrix clause licenses both the twice-raised *je* clause and the *wh*-constituent merged in the intermediate cycle.

(91) tom-ra je tamak bikri kOr-o Se kOtha kon Sangbadik jan-e?
 you-PL *JE* tobacco sell do-2 that fact which journalist know-3
 ‘Which journalist knows that you people sell tobacco?’

(92) tom-ra je tamak bikri kOr-o Se kOtha kon Sangbadik jan-e
 you-PL *JE* tobacco sell do-2 that fact which journalist know-3
 bole tumi Sun-ech-o?
BOLE you hear PST-2
 ‘Which journalist did you hear knows that you people sell tobacco?’

Another factor that persuades us to continue to work with the “PtcpP ≠ FocP” idea for the time being is the need to address the following facts. Multiple interrogation in Bangla allows *wh*-“absorption” from postverbal as well as from preverbal clauses, as in (93a,b), respectively.

(93) a. kon Sangbadik bheb-ech-il-o (je) SOrkar ram-ke ki
 which journalist think-PRF-PST-3 *JE* government Ram-OBJV what
 puroSkar de-b-e?
 prize give-FUT-3
 ‘Which journalist thought (that) the government would give Ram what prize?’

- b. kon Sangbadik SOrkar ram-ke ki puroSkar de-b-e
 which journalist government Ram-OBJV what prize give-FUT-3
 (bole) bheb-ech-il-o?
 BOLE think-PRF-PST-3

We assume that “absorption” works by probe–goal agreement.⁶⁶ In both cases, the matrix *wh* probes the *wh* of the embedded clause as long as this has an active—that is, unvalued—feature. Under current assumptions this is possible as long as the lower FocP lacks the *wh*-feature. In that case, *wh* cannot be valued in Spec,FocP and is thus free to be probed for its *wh*-feature from outside. Note that this probing from outside is blocked when the preverbal clause is marked for Emp and has as a consequence undergone ET. Example (94a) is ungrammatical, with the relevant structure as in (94b).

- (94) a. *SOrkar je ram-ke ki puroSkar de-b-e kon Sangbadik
 government JE Ram-OBJV what prize give-FUT-3 which journalist
 bheb-ech-il-o?
 think-PRF-PST-3
 b. [_{PtcP} SOrkar [je [~~SOrkar~~ ramke ki puroSkar debe]]₁ kon Sangbadik
 bheb-ech-il-o *t*₁?

Why can the *wh*-subject, *kon Sangbadik*, not probe the object of the embedded clause, *ki puroSkar*? It should be able to do so on the basis of the copy that is left in the postverbal position. Sentences in which the clause is spelled out in the trace position crash because ET cannot be interpreted; but, thanks to movement into Spec,PtcpP of the root clause, (94) is protected from an ET violation. Clausal movement to Spec, PtcpP, however, puts the *wh* contained in this clause in a position from which it cannot be “absorbed” any longer. Thus, the conclusion must be that the *wh*-position cannot establish “absorption”-relevant communication with a *wh* in an ET clause. Note that an ET clause can indeed contain a *wh*, provided it takes narrow scope.

- (95) [SOrkar je ram-ke ki puroSkar de-b-e] ram-er bondhu-ra
 government JE Ram-OBJV what prize give-FUT-3 Ram-GEN friend-PL
 din rat Se-Ta niye-i kOtha bol-e.
 day night this-CLF about-*I* story tell-3
 ‘What prize the government is going to give Ram is precisely what his friends
 can’t stop talking about.’

In (95), the *wh*-phrase *ki puroSkar* takes scope in the embedded clause. Thus, the restriction that ET sets up is a restriction against wide scope.

⁶⁶ We are aware that this assumption raises questions for the Phase Impenetrability Condition that we cannot answer within the scope of this paper. What role the CP phase plays in languages that show no evidence for the activation of Spec,CP is one of the familiar problems awaiting a widely accepted solution. When such an answer does emerge, it will presumably also address the question of *wh*-agreement into islands as seen in classical cases such as *Who knows where we bought what?*

4.7.5. *Intermediate summary*

Bangla complement clauses are headed either by a clause-initial complementizer *je*—these are postverbal—or by a clause-final complementizer *bole*—these complement clauses canonically occur in preverbal position. The particle *je* is homonymous with the relative pronoun *je* ‘who’ and historically derives from the relative system. A *je*-headed complement clause can exceptionally prepose a constituent (and sometimes two or more constituents) to the left of *je*; such a *je*-medial complement clause must move to a position to the left of the matrix verb or to the left edge of the matrix clause, making a resumptive pronoun plausible in the matrix clause. Elements preposed to the left of *je* must be focusable items, capable of semantic membership in a set of contrastable choices. An element preposed to the left of *je* can be an operator and can even be a *wh*-operator. It is independently clear that a *wh*-operator must first move to Spec,FocP; the further movement to Spec,*je*P must then be motivated by some factor other than focusing. The clause-initial complementizer *je* of a canonical postverbal complement clause is a weak element that must cliticize to some host to its left. This property makes its postverbal placement the only option. This fact about *je* is also one factor that helps explain the preposing of constituents to its left in clauses exhibiting exceptional clause-internal preposing. Independently of its other functions, *je* also serves as a discourse particle that must be associated with a root sentence. When *je* plays this role, it triggers preposing of some contrastable constituent to its left—what we have called ET. We postulated two feature matrices for *je*: (a) a simple C and (b) a C endowed with a special emphatic feature that forces ET and requires access to the root clause. The scope properties of *je*_(b) closely parallel those of *wh*; neither *je*_(b) nor *wh* can take wide scope out of a postverbal clause; both can take wide scope from a clause to the left of the matrix verb. Given that *wh* can receive a narrow-scope reading but ET cannot, it follows that *wh*-clauses can but *je*_(b)-clauses cannot occur to the right of the matrix verb.

5. Conclusions

This study provides evidence for the following conclusions. First, ET is a distinct phenomenon, which we provisionally encode in terms of an ET feature available to lexical items as they enter the numeration, without prejudice to some nontrivial decomposition into constituent factors such as focus and speaker’s attitude. Second, the ET feature links a constituent bearing it to the illocutionary Force of the utterance. Third, a constituent bearing the ET feature may directly move to the matrix clause to interact with Force, or the CP containing this constituent may move to a designated functional position (such as Spec,PtcpP) that makes emphasis legible to the root clause. Finally, the syntax of ET scope closely parallels that of *wh* scope at least in Bangla; whether this result extends to ET elsewhere remains to be explored.

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Glossing and Transcription Conventions

ABAR denotes the particle *abar*, *BA* the particle *ba*, *BOLE* the complementizer *bole*, *DENN* the particle *denn*, *DOCH* the particle *doch*, *ETWA* the particle *etwa*, *I* the emphatic particle *i*, *JA* the particle *ja*, *JE* the particle *je*, *KI* the particle *ki*, *NA* the complementizer/particle *na*, *NUR* the particle *nur*, and *WOHL* the particle *wohl*. Also, *CLF* classifier, *CJV* conjunctive participle, *EMP* emphatic, *OBJV* objective (case), and *PRF* perfect. In transcriptions: E O are low, T D R retroflex, Y W mid, S palatoalveolar, and M nasalization.