Functional Structure and the Bangla Discourse Particle *to*

Josef Bayer, Probal Dasgupta, Sibansu Mukhopadhyay & Rajat Ghosh

1. What are discourse particles?

Bangla has, next to the emphasizers *–i* and *–o*, a range of particles, e.g. *abar*, *ba, go, je, jEno, na, poi, re, to, tObe/tahole, Ta*, that are found especially in spoken language. They are called "discourse particles" or "modal particles" because they have special discourse-oriented properties. They share some charactersitics with higher (speaker oriented) adverbs but are generally different from adverbs. Some of their main properties are:

    I.   clause-type dependence (decl / interr / imp)
    II.   restriction to the root clause, i.e. to direct speech
   III. fixed position (a property that we will demonstrate)
   IV. unaccented
    V.   impossible in isolation
   VI. most are enclitic
  VII. contribute expressive meaning, not propositional meaning, i.e. no interference with truth conditions

Section 2 will provide some elementary semantics for *to*. Section 3 will turn to the focus-sensitivity of the particle. Section 4 gives a preliminary syntactic sketch. Sections 5 turns to *to* in complement clauses. Section 6 explores the role of *to* as a functional head in the phrase structure of Bangla. Section 7 introduces means of combining with other discourse particles. Section 8 offers a tentative conclusion.

2. Basic semantics of *to*

Like many other languages, Bangla has three elementary sentence types: Declarative, imperative, interrogative. The interrogative type shows a split between polar questions and constituent questions. Examples (1), (2) and (3) from Dasgupta (2011).

(1)   ram Ekhon baRi phire jabe.   DECL
       Ram now home return.e go.Fut
       „Ram will now go home"

(2)   apni Ekhon baRi phire jan.   IMP
       you now home return.e go.Imp
       „You please go home now"

(3)   apni ki baRi phire jaben?   POLQ
       you ki home return.e go.Fut
       „Will you go home?"

(4)   apni Ekhon kEno baRi phire jaben?   KQ (=whQ)
       you now   why home return.e go.Fut
       „Why will you go home now?"

to can appear in declarative and in imperative sentences but not in interrogatives. The examples show variable word order.

(5)   a. dilip **to**   kal   aSbe   „Dilip will come tomorrow"
          Dilip TO tomorrow come.Fut3
       b. dilip kal **to** aSbe
       c. dilip kal aSbe **to**

(6)   a. eydike   eSo **to**!   „Come here!"
          This.side come TO
       b. agraY   **to** eSo, dilli-r   kOtha pOre bhaba   jabe
          Agra-Loc TO come Delhi-Gen speech later thinking go.Fut3
          "Come at least to Agra, we'll think about Delhi later"

(7)   a. *dilip **to** kal aSbe **ki**?
       b. *dilip kal **to** aSbe **ki**?
       c. *dilip kal aSbe **to ki**?

Without *to*, the examples in (5) translate into a flat declarative, namely that Dilip will show up tomorrow. With the addition of *to* as in (5) the reading involves the hearer of the utterance in a more interesting way. *To* makes indirect reference to the hearer's knowledge by adding something like "as you must/should know". As such, *to* invites reassurance by the hearer; reassurance requires, of course, that the speaker believes or hopes that the hearer may already know that the proposition p holds. The addition of *to* is then either a reminder directed to the hearer that p holds or a request that the speaker should agree that p holds. This may be the reason why sentences with *to* are occasionally confused with interrogative clauses. There is a big difference, however, between *to*-clauses and *ki*-clauses. Take (5c) as a model to start:

(8)   a. dilip kal   aSbe   **to**.
          D.   tomorrow come-fut3 TO
       b. dilip kal aSbe **ki**?

(8a) presupposes that Dilip will come tomorrow and invites the hearer to agree with this fact or simply reminds the hearer that it is a fact. As such the *–to* clause could at best be seen as a suggestive question, something similar to a tag question (*Dilip will come tomorrow, won't he?*). The polar question in (8b) is completely different. The truth value of p = (will-come (Dilip)) is entirely open. A negative answer would be as expectable as an affirmative answer.

Notice also: interrogatives, clauses with *ki* or other k-words, license negative polarity items (NPIs), *to*-clauses do not.

(9) a. dilip ki **ekTu-o**   Sahaojjo koreche?
       Dilip KI little-even help   did
       "Did Dilip help at all?"

    b. *dilip to **ekTu-o**   Sahajjo koreche?
      Dilip TO little-even help   did
      Intended "Did Dilip help at all?"

(9b) shows that *to* has no impact on NPI-licensing. The sentence is as deviant as a pure declarative clause which does not license an NPI.

    Similarly to German *doch* (as in *Komm **doch** her!*, "Please do come here!", *Mach **doch** die Tür zu!*, "Please do close the door!"), Bangla *to* has an adversative impact.[1] The speaker is afraid that the hearer does not know or acknowledge that p or is unlikely to make p true.

(10) The core semantics of *to*
     to (p) is pragmatically felicitous iff
     (i) the speaker believes that the hearer
       believes that p is true or that p should become true, and
     (ii) the speaker invites the hearer to acknowledge the truth of p
        or to acknowledge that p should become true.

(11) Imperatives
     a. tumi Ekbar eSo **to** eykhane!
       you once come TO here
       "please do come here!"

     b. dOrjaTa bOndho kore   daw **to**!
       door   close   making give TO
       "please do shut the door!"

As in the case of German *doch*, these imperatives are pragmatically felicitous if the speaker believes that the addressee has an attitude by which the proposition could be unlikely to become true.

Bangla actually has a more polite form to express this. This polite form uses the particle *na*.

(12) a. tumi Ekbar eSo **na** eykhane!
      you once come NA here
      "please do come here!"

     b. dOrjaTa bOndho kore   daw **na**!
      door   close   making give NA
      "please do shut the door!"

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[1] In Vedic, there is a particle *tú* which Meierhofer translates as "doch", "nun", "aber". It is hard to believe that the close phonological as well as semantic correspondence between Bangla *to* and German *doch*, Gothic þau and Engl. *though* is a pure accident. Thanks to Hans-Henrich Hock (p.c.) for communication.

3. Focus sensitivity

A characteristics of clitic heads such as *to* and *ki* is in Bangla that they have a focalizing effect on the element that moves to its immediate left, say, its specifier. Dasgupta (1980; 1984; 1987) has coined the term "anchor" for them. Its function is quite obvious. Consider first a *ki*-question:

(13) a. dilip kal aSbe **ki**?
        b. dilip **ki** kal aSbe?
        c. dilip kal **ki** aSbe?

(13a) is a wide focus question. The entire proposition p is in focus: Is it true or false that Dilip will come tomorrow? The focus is narrower in (13b): As for x, x = Dilip, is it true or false that x will come? The focus of (13c) is also narrow but this time affecting the time: As for the time y, y= tomorrow, is it true or false that Dilip will come at y?

Notice that exactly the same seems to hold for *to*.

(14) a. dilip kal aSbe **to**?
        b. dilip **to** kal aSbe?
        c. dilip kal **to** aSbe?

(14a) is an all-focus clause in which the speaker wants to remind the hearer that Dilip will come tomorrow and wants to get confirmation that this is so. In (14b) the speaker wants to remind the hearer that it is Dilip who will come tomorrow and wants to get confirmation that this is so. In (14c) the speaker wants to remind the hearer that it is tomorrow that Dilip will come and wants to get confirmation that this is so. Thus while the truth conditions for these alternatives appear to be the same, the hypotheses of the speaker w.r.t. to the knowledge of the hearer are from case to case different.

4. The syntactic environment

Discourse particles are typical root phenomena. This follows from the fact that their use depends on the anchoring of the proposition in an illocutionary act. As a rule of thumb one may say that discourse particles occur only in root clauses. As we shall see, this characterization is a bit too simple. Consider now the environments in which *to* can appear. As (15) shows, *to* can appear after any major constituent, including the entire clause.

(15) a. gOto bOchor **to** dilip Sipra-ke   EkTa notun SaRi diyechilo
          gone year   TO Dilip Sipra.acc one   new sari gave
          "Last year, Dilip gave Sipra a new sari"
        b. gOto bOchor dilip **to** Sipra-ke EkTa notun SaRi diyechilo
        c. gOto bOchor dilip Sipra-ke **to** EkTa notun SaRi diyechilo
        d. ?gOto bOchor dilip Sipra-ke EkTa notun SaRi **to** diyechilo
        e. gOto bOchor dilip Sipra-ke EkTa notun SaRi diyechilo **to**

The best and most frequent order (according to our corpus data) is the one in which *to* follows the first constituent as in (15a). This leads to the impression that *to* has next to its semantic

function also the function of a topic marker. Topic marking explains also the unmarked character of (15b); *gOto bOchor* (last year) can be a lead-in adjunct which is then followed by *Dilip* as the actual topic. The next popular order is the one in which *to* appears in clause-final position. Nevertheless, cases like (15c) are still possible. Since [*gOto bOchor*] [*dilip*] [*Sipra-ke*] [*EkTa notun SaRi*] is clearly no single constituent, we have to ask deeper questions about the left periphery of the Bangla clause. We have to leave this issue aside, which is visible in other work on Bangla and other South-Asian languages.

Intrusion of *to* in inseparable constituents is out:

(16)   a. *gOto **to**   bOchor dilip Sipra-ke   EkTa notun SaRi diyechilo
             gone TO year   dilip Sipra-obj one-cl new   sari give-past-3
        b. *goto bocor dilip Sipra-ke EkTa notun TO Sari diyechilo

Some cases appear to be unexpected but receive an explanation once it is recognized that Bangla allows DP-split such that the numeral is separated from NP, see especially the order in (17b).

(17)   a. gOto bOchor dilip Sipra-ke   EkTa   **to**   notun SaRi diyechilo
             gone year   dilip Sipra-obj one-cl TO   new   sari give-past-3
        b. gOto bOchor dilip Sipra-ke notun SaRi EkTa   **to**   diyechilo
             gone year   dilip Sipra-obj new   sari   one-cl TO give-past-3

We can generalize:

(18)   i. *to* follows a constituent XP.
       ii. i. does not imply that XP is the first constituent of the clause; (in other words
            we cannot claim that Bangla is a "*to*-second" language or an X-second language
            in general).

As said in II., *to* is generally restricted to the root clause. Placement of *to* in adjuncts seems to be possible to a limited extent.

(19)   a. ??[Sipra-ke   **to** EkTa notun SaRi diye]   dilip baRi phire   gElo
              Sipra-acc TO one.cl new   sari give.pastPart Dilip home returned went
              "Having given Sipra a new sari, Dilip went home"
        b. ??dilip [Sipra-ke **to** EkTa notun Sari diye] baRi phire gElo
        c.   ?*[Sipra-ke EkTa notun Sari **to** diye] dilip baRi phire gElo
        d.   [Sipra-ke EkTa notun Sari diye] **to** dilip baRi phire gElo

The examples appear to be more or less degraded, the exception being (18d). Notice though that in (18d) *to* is outside the adjunct island. The same holds for conditional (COND) infinitival clauses with the non-finite verb form –*le*.

(20)   a. ??[diliper theke **to** EkTa   notun SaRi pe -le]   Sipra khuSi hoy
              Dilip   from TO one-cl new   sari   get-COND Sipra happy becomes
              "If she is given a new sari by Dilip, Sipra is happy"
        b. ?*[diliper theke EkTa notun SaRi **to** pele] Sipra khuSi hoy
        c. [diliper theke EkTa notun Sari pele] **to** Sipra khuSi hoy

(19d) and (20c) are no problem because the adjunct marked by *to* is part of the root clause. If
we assume that *to* is a head in the root clause into whose specifier the adjunct has moved,
grammaticality is expected.

Bangla allows – as a somewhat marked option – infinitival clauses to appear also in post-
verbal position. Here an example with the conditional extraposed.

(21)   Sipra khuSi hoy [diliper theke EkTa notun Sari pele]

is ok for most speakers. Interestingly, the post-verbal occurrence becomes sharply
ungrammatical whenever *to* is is involved.

(22) a. *dilip baRi phire   gElo [Sipra-ke   **to** EkTa   notun SaRi diye]
          Dilip home returned went Sipra-acc TO one.cl   new   sari give.pastPart
          Intended: "Having given Sipra a new sari, Dilip went home"

   b. *Sipra khuSi hoy   [diliper theke **to** EkTa   notun SaRi pe -le]
          Sipra happy becomes Dilip   from TO one-cl new   sari   get-COND
          Intended: "If she is given a new sary ba dilip, Sipra is happy"

This shows that placement in postverbal position more or less supersedes the more fine-
grained grammaticality differences one finds in adjuncts in pre-verbal position. Clauses with
to are not totally happy in these adjunct clauses but they are uncontroversially unhappy when
the clause appears in post-verbal position.

The unclear status of infinitival adjuncts stands in an interesting contrast with *–te*
infinitives which have argument status and behave like complements of control constructions.
In this case we can observe the possibility of *to*'s free occurrence in the infinitival clause.

(23) a. dilip [Sipra-ke **to**   EkTa notun SaRi dite]   ceyechilo
       dilip [Sipra-obj TO one-cl new sari give-inf] want-past-3
       "Dilip wanted to give Sipra really a new sari"

   b. dilip [Sipra-ke EkTa notun Sari **to** dite] ceyechilo

   c. dilip [Sipra-ke EkTa notun Sari dite] **to** ceyechilo

These examples are once again in stark contrast with the following in which the infinitival
clause appears in post-verbal position, an option that exists in the grammar of Bangla also for
–te infinitives.

(24) a. *dilip ceyechilo   [Sipra-ke **to**   EkTa   notun Sari dite]
          dilip want-past-3 [Sipra-obj TO one-cl new sari   give-inf]

   b. *dilip ceyechilo [Sipra-ke EkTa notun Sari **to** dite]

   c. *dilip ceyechilo [Sipra-ke EkTa notun Sari dite] **to**

The contrast is reminiscent of the situation in German coherent infinitives. These are known
to be "transparent" for instance w.r.t. to the scope of negation but turn out to be "opaque"

when they appear in post-verbal position. Although Bangla is so far not known to employ coherent infinitival constructions, the well-formedness of the examples in (23) suggests that something equivalent to clause union must exist in Bangla. Adjunct clauses do not participate in clause union and are as such automatically excluded from providing internal material access to the root.

One further interesting case are adjunct clauses introduced by the complementizer *karon* ("because"). Although *karon*-clauses are clearly islands, they may contain *to*.

(25) a. dilip aj   khub SOkal-e uTheche [karon o **to** aj   SOhor-e EkTa mEla dekhte jabe]
          dilip today very   early   rise-pret-3 because he TO today city-loc one.cl fair   see-inf go-fut-3
          "Dilip got up early today because he will go to see a fair in the city"

      b. dilip aj khub Sokale utheche [karon o aj Sohore EktTa mEla dekhte jabe **to**]

The *karon*-CP is in post-verbal position but is nevertheless grammatical. How is this possible? A comparison with German may give a hint. Reason clauses introduced by *weil* ("because") can host the discourse particle related to Bangla *to*, *doch*, as well as other such particles.

(26) Dilip stand früh auf, weil   er **doch** / **ja** / **wohl** auf das Volksfest gehen wollte.
       Dilip got   early up because he DOCH / JA / WOHL to the fair   go   wanted

As Haegeman (2004; 2012), Coniglio (2011), Frey (2012) and others have shown, there are "peripheral" adverbial clauses which show root properties and as such seem to employ their own syntactic representation of illocutionary force. Bangla *karon*-clauses fall under this generalization.

5. *To* in the complement CP

Like other discourse particles, *to* cannot occur in a complement clause. (27) is ungrammatical.

(27) *ama.r   mon-e   hocche na [Se-dik   theke biSes subidha   hObe **to**]
        my.gen mind-loc is   not this-side from special convenience be.will TO
        Intended: "I don't think that from this side special special support will come"

The example is actually coined according to a real datum from our corpus in which the embedded clause has been topicalized. This example is grammatical.

(28) [Se-dik   theke biSes subidha   hObe bole   **to**] (ama.r) mon-e   hocche na
       this-side from special convenience be.will COMP TO my.gen mind-loc is   not
       "I don't think that from this side special special support will come"

This contrast is reminiscent of previous findings which show that Bangla complement CPs in post-verbal position are opaque for the scope of operators whereas placement of the CP in topicalized position renders them transparent for the scope of the operator. (28) shows this for the scope of wh. The data are from Bayer (1996: ch.7).
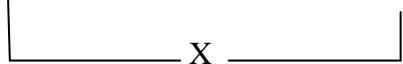
(29) a. ora Sune-che [**ke** aS -be]   narrow scope of *ke*
        they hear-past3 who come-FUT3
        "They have heard who will come"

      b. ora [**ke** aS -be]   Sune-che?   wide scope of *ke*
        they who come-FUT3 hear-PTS3
        "Who have they heard will come?"

      c. [**ke** aS -be]   ora Sune-che?   wide scope of *ke*
        who come-FUT3 they hear-PTS3
        "Who have they heard will come?"

Wide scope of wh is only possible once the CP has targeted a position in the left periphery of the matrix clause. Otherwise the scope remains in the post-verbal clause, and the sentence is interpreted as an indirect question.

Something similar is true for emphatic topicalization (ET) as shown in Bayer and Dasgupta (2011).

(30) a. *chele-Ta Ekhono Sone -ni   [or baba **je** ~~or baba~~ aS -ben]
        boy –cl   yet   hear -NEG/past   his father JE   come-FUT-3

      b. [or baba **je** ~~or baba~~ aS -b -en] chele-Ta (ta)   Ekhono Sone-ni
         his father JE   come-FUT-3   boy -cl this yet   hear -NEG/past
        "That his father will come, this the boy hasn't heard yet"

Movement to the left of the complementizer *je* as seen in (30) leads to an emphatic construction which is only licit as a root construction. It is reasonable to assume that the speaker's emphasis is part of the illocutionary act. We follow Rizzi (1997) in adopting a syntactic representation of force as the highest functional projection of the clause. If emp, *to* etc. do not get a license by a force head in their own CP, they cannot get the license from the dominating clause? The reason is locality. CP is a phase to which by standard assumptions Force° has no access.

(31) *[$_{ForceP}$ Force° [… [$_{TP}$ … V] [$_{CP}$ … { emp / *to*} …]]

              |_____ X _____|

The structure in (31) can be rescued by moving the entire emp- or *to*-marked CP to the high left periphery of the root clause as seen in (28) and in (30b). (32) implements this as clausal pied-piping to the specifier of the force-head of the root clause.

(32)   ✓[$_{ForceP}$ [$_{CP}$ … { emp / *to*} …] Force° [… [$_{TP}$ … V] [$_{CP}$ … { ~~emp / to~~} …]]]

Being in SpecForceP makes the assumed uninterpretable illocutionary features *u*EMP and *u*To interpretable.[2]

As the data in (29) show, the mechanism holds also for wh-complements. Once the wh-feature becomes readable by Force°, the structure converges and provides the wide scope reading. (29a) is grammatical because, unlike Emp and *to*, wh does not require illocutionary force. Intuitively it is clear that *ke aSbe* (who will come) in (29a) is not a question but rather a pure λ-abstracted proposition that ranges over the set of persons: $\lambda x, x \in \|person\|, x$ aSbe.

6. *to* as a functional head in phrase structure

So far, *to* fulfills all the criteria for discourse particles, repeated here, except III.

  I.   clause-type dependence (decl / interr / imp)
  II.   restriction to the root clause, i.e. to direct speech
  III. fixed position (a property that we will demonstrate)
  IV.   unaccented
  V.   impossible in isolation
  VI.   most are enclitic
  VII. contribute expressive meaning, not propositional meaning,
        i.e. no interference with truth conditions

It is not clear how *to* can occupy a fixed position in the Bangla clause. From the viewpoint of linearity it is simply wrong. It seems that *to* can move around in the clause. What in fact is wrong, however, is the idea that *to* moves. In current theory, movement is a Last-Resort operation that must be motivated. As (5) and (6) suggest, a motivation is immediately there if *to*'s position is fixed and constituents move to its left. Chunks of different size and information value may move to the left of *to* and yield different semantic effects. One impression is also that *to* functions next to its semantic contribution (cf. (10)) as a topic marker. This impression is nourished by the fact that clear non-topics cannot move to the left of *to*.

We suggest that *to* is a functional head into whose specifier focus-bearing constituents of different size can move. The semantics of focus licenses a constituent XP as +focus if and only if XP is member of a set of elements {XP, YP, ZP, …} such that XP's alternatives YP, ZP etc. can compete with XP for being selected (cf. Rooth 1985). This excludes non-contrastable elements although they may be phonologically strong.

(33) a. durbhaggobOSoto dilip elo   na
          unfortunately   Dilip came-3 NEG
          "Unfortunately, Dilip did not show up"

      b. *durbhaggobOSoto **to** ~~durbhaggobOSoto~~ dilip elo na, ...

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[2] In standard minimalist terminology, uninterpretable features are valued and disappear from the derivation. Here we must carefully distinguish between the semantics of Emp and *to* and their features of speech-act dependence. Only the latter can be deleted. They are quasi the signals that ask for communication with the seat of illocutionary force.

We assume that *to* is merged with TP and projects a *to*P. Movement of a contrastable XP to Spec*to*P serves semantics as well as phonology. Recall that *to* is an enclitic. (34) is out.

(34) ***to** dilip kal   aSbe
      To Dilip tomorrow come.Fut3

to must have an uninterpretable focus feature which is valued by a +focus XP.

(35) a. [$_{to'}$ *to*$_{u\text{Foc}}$ [XP$_{i\text{Foc}}$]]   ⇒
      b. [$_{to\text{P}}$ [XP$_{i\text{Foc}}$] [$_{to'}$ *to* $_{u\text{Foc}}$ [~~XP~~$_{i\text{Foc}}$]]

As said before, *to*-sentences with narrow focus – mostly after the first XP – presumably involve topic marking. If so we get (36a). In wide focus to the entire TP moves and to appears linearly in final position as in (36b).

(36) a. Narrow focus / topic marking

      b. Wide focus

Why should to be merged as high as TP? In Bangla, the finite verb can move to SpecPrtP, and the past participle can as well (as long as the sequence V+to+T forms a phonological word).

(37) a. dilip eyrokom uponnaS poR-e-chilo
        Dilip this.kind novel   read-Part-Pret3
      "Dilip read this kind of novel"

      b. poR-e-chilo **to** dilip eyrokom uponnaS

      c. poR-e **to** chilo dilip eyrokom uponnaS

In the Western languages, English, German etc., V-topicalization cannot affect the tensed verb, only a non-finite verb form. T must be spelled out on a dummy aux-verb.

The conclusion must be that III holds nevertheless, i.e. *to* has a fixed position as is known from other funtional heads. The impression of free word order comes from feature-driven raising of constituents to SpecPrtP.

7. Particle combinations with *to*

It is known from other langages, especially from German through the work of Thurmair (1989) and Coniglio (2012), that different discourse particles can combine in one and the same clause. In Bangla we find combinations of *to* with the particles *re, go, tObe/tahole, jEno, poi* and *abar* as well as with the emphasizing particles *–i* and *–o*. Not all of these have the same distributional properties as *to*, as one can expect. XPs which are emphatic-marked with *–i* and *–o* can freely move to the specifier of *to*, but can also appear independently.

(38) a. [kalke-i   **to**] tumi okhane giyechile
        yesterday-EMP   TO you   there   went
          "It was yesterday that you went there, right?"
      b. [kalke-i] [tumi **to**] okhane giyechile
      c. [tumi **to**] [kalke-i] okhane giyechile

There seems to be no ordering restriction. Things are different with other DiPs that can combine with *to*. Let us confine the discussion to the particle *re* and its counterpart *go*. Both particles have approximately the same function of expressing the speaker's politeness. In the honorification system of the Bangla address, *go* marks the addressee as at the same social level with the speaker, while *re* marks the addressee as socially inferior to or in a highly intimate relation with the speaker. If they co-occur with *to*, *go* and *re* must have scope over *to*. In addition they seem to lack the property of narrow focus that we have seen in *to*. Consider *re*.
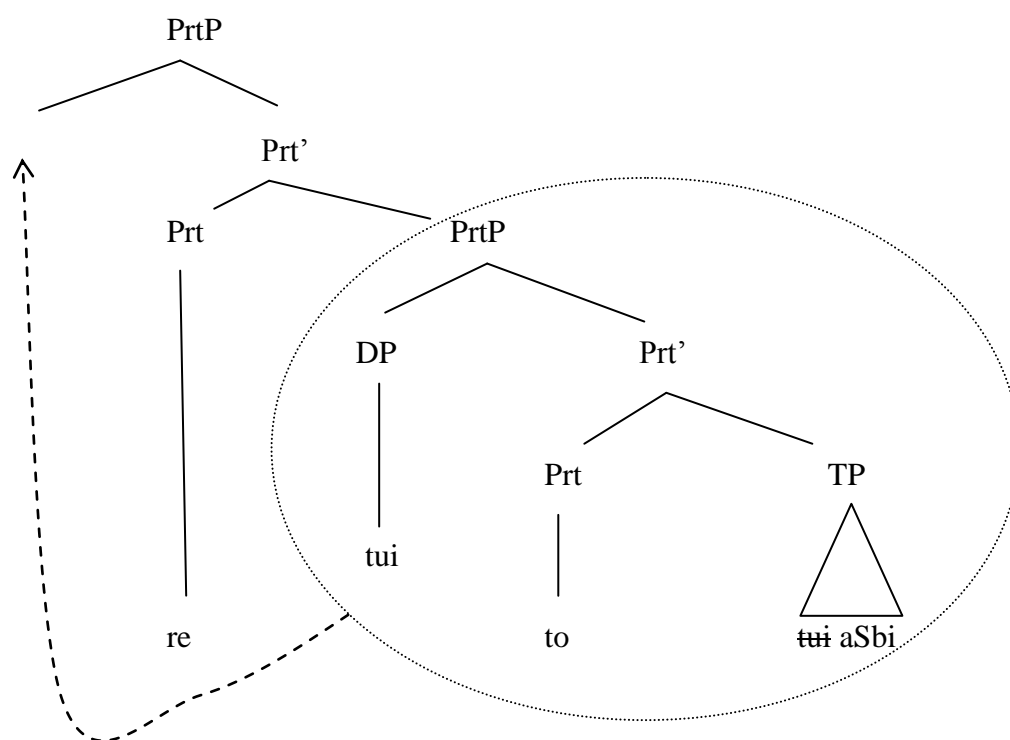
(39)   a. tui aSbi **to re**
          you come-fut2 TO RE
          "You will come, right"
      b. *tui aSbi **re to**
      c. tui **to** aSbi **re**

If *re* is merged with a PrtP headed by *to*, (39a,c) are derived straightforwardly while (39b) cannot be derived.

(40)   (=39a)
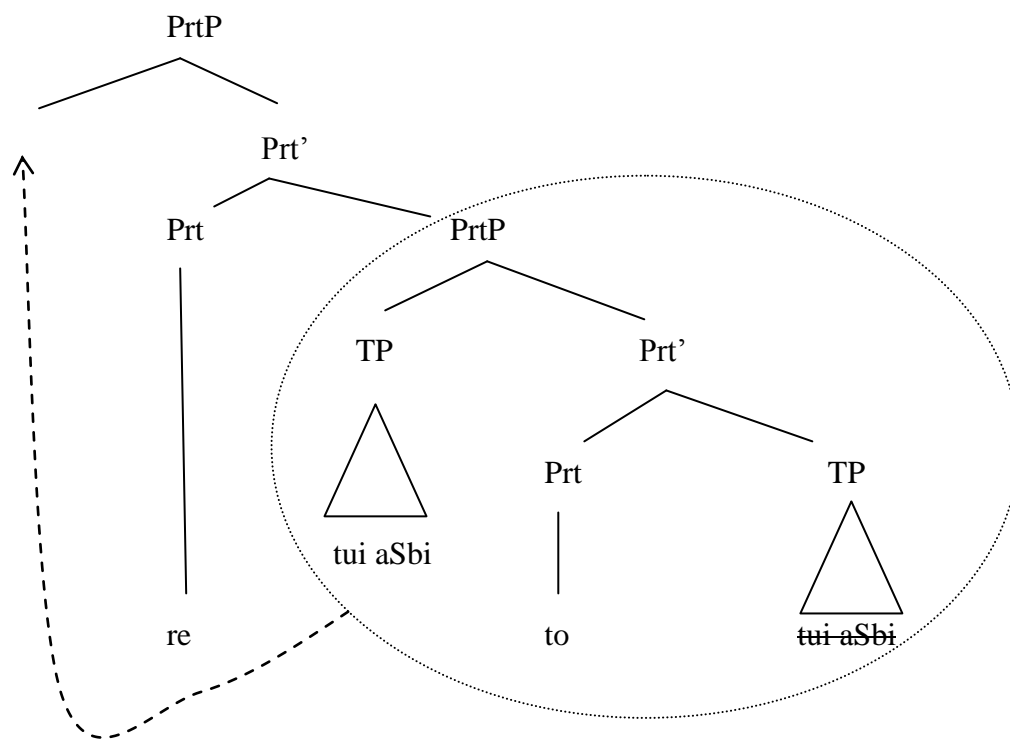
(41)   (=39c)

Elliptical forms with *re* and *go* are possible not only in exclamatives as in *ma go!* or *aha re!* but also in sentence fragments.
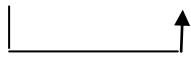
(42) tui   to   re # amar praner bon
       you TO RE my soul-GEN sister
       "You are my beloved sister!"

But as the hedge mark indicates, the first constituent *tui to re* seems to be disconnected from the clause and as such seems to be generated as a fragment.

We see that *re* has scope over *to*, and has generally clausal scope whereas *to* has clausal scope plus the option of attracting +focus XPs of sizes smaller than TP.

8. The full picture: a tentative conclusion

In comparison to many other "big" languages, the grammar of Bangla is seriously underresearched. One still knows little about the way the system of illocutionary force operates. If Bangla is a "well-behaved" language, its discourse particles should be under the umbrella of a force-head. But where is force actually? Let us suggest that it is the upper projection of the root-clauses that contains *to* and other exponents of expressive meaning. The the full picture is as in (43). The arrow indicates that Force° is the licenser of Prt(P), and that Prt can contribute to the illocusionary force which Force° establishes as a rough proto-type.

(43)   [$_{ForceP}$ Force° ... [$_{PrtP}$ Prt°... [$_{TP}$ ... V+T]

If so, we add as a critial note that Force is like a wild card with no further empirical support (unlike in German where it seems that the finite verb in C-position represents Force).

Given the syntactic framework that the minimalist program and the program of cartography have set up, one can cover some ground in explaining the highly interesting organization of Bangla clause structure. Nevertheless it is not so clear how far one can go with this relatively simple sketch.

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