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 of this study come from the Bavarian dialect of German (Germanic) and from Bangla (Indo-Aryan). In spite of the differences between these two languages, the similarity of the constraints which 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 give the reader 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 which 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):

(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.

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[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 sub-forms *Clitic left dislocation* (CLLD) in the Romance languages as explored in detail in Cinque (1990) and *Contrastive Left dislocation*; see Grohman & Boeckx (2007) for discussion.

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 will concentrate on the fact that these constructions are only possible under CP-preposing. (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. There is a ban against this kind of topicalization in embedded clauses which can only be lifted if the entire CP is topicalized. One can show that this type of topicalization is limited to the root clause. Examples (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 non-root context. It is not quite clear how the topics in (1) and (2) are attached. It is clear, however, that they are not in the specifier of CP. Modern English obeys the Doubly Filled Comp Filter (DFCF). If so, the topic cannot be in SpecCP. Elements in SpecCP are normally prosodically integrated so that no prosodic break occurs between XP and C. Precisely such a break occurs in the examples above 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

[2] Radford (2010) reports data from spoken British English which may be seen as a challenge to this judgment:

(i) They know, [*every time they go out there*, **that** they're taking their life in their hands] (Jockey, BBC Radio 5).

Radford assumes that the italicized phrase preceding *that* has been moved from the embedded TP. Then the question would be, however, why only adjuncts would make such a move. Slightly changing Radford's example (78b), (ii) is clearly ungrammatical:

(ii) *They know *this game* **that** they have to win.

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 the one discussed above exist in many if not in 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 are different, however, in that they crucially rely on a derivation that moves the topic to SpecCP or a similar functionally defined position. Significantly, since 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 SpecCP associated with a trace rather than HT. Section 3 shows that this construction involves a specific process of *Emphatic Topicalization* (ET) associating the Topic with the root sentence; our formal analysis of this hitherto unexamined process empha-

[3] In German, Left dislocation can appear in post-verbal 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.

sizes 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, just 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. In addition, 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*. (8b) shows that just 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 Hans$_1$ // [dass du DEN$_1$ 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 Hans$_1$ // [dass du DEN$_1$ kennst]].

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

(9) a. [Den Hans$_1$ // [wenn du DEN$_1$ siehst]] sag ihm er soll mich anrufen.
the Hans if you him see tell him he should me call
'As for Hans, if you see HIM, tell him he should call me'

b. *Sag ihm er soll mich anrufen [den Hans$_1$ // [wenn du den$_1$ siehst]].

The constituent which is prosodically disconnected from the CP must be a HT.[4] Since 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] However, as has been pointed out from Bayer (1984) onwards, the situation is rather different in Bavarian (spoken in Southeastern Germany, Austria and parts of Northern Italy). Bavarian is widely known for wh-

[4] As evidence for this claim, 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 Hans$_1$ // [wenn du DEN$_1$ siehst]] sag ihm er soll mich anrufen.
'the Hans-NOM if you him see tell him he should me call'.

[5] On the other hand, 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 DEN*$_1$ *kennst*]] vs *[*Den Hans*]$_1$ // *sag ihm er soll mich anrufen* [*wenn du DEN*$_1$ *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).

complements which retain the overt complementizer *dass*, as well as for relative clauses which 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 – and has been reported in Bayer (1984, 2001), Lutz (1997, 2001) – is that Bavarian also moves non-wh constituents to SpecCP:

(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.[6]
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'

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'

[6] Example from Merkle (1975).

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 of all, wh-movement cannot extract from adjunct clauses; secondly wh-movement to SpecCP is typologically widespread whereas XP_{-wh}-topicalization to SpecCP is extremely rare. These are clear indications that wh-movement to SpecCP is not on a par with XP-to-SpecCP 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) $[_{ForceP}\ [_{CP}\ TOP_2\ [_{C'}\ C°\ [_{TP}\ ...\ t_2\ ...]]]_1\ \ Force°\ ...\ t_1]$

Let us make the natural suggestion that in German V2 establishes a ForceP due to the finite verb that activates illocutionary force in what is traditionally referred to as the "C-position".[7] (13) shows topicalization inside the dependent CP across C°. The phrase structure as such does not differ from the one familiar from wh-complements and relative clauses (assuming the conventional GB analysis). So let us assume that the topicalized phrase lands in SpecCP. 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.[8] However, just as in the cases of HT considered so far, the CP in which topicalization has occurred is forced to undergo movement to SpecForceP. 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 kriag].
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 post-verbal 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 below 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

[7] 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), 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.

[8] A prosodic break makes the example ungrammatical to the first author's ear.

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. To see this, consider the contrast between (15) and (16):

(15) Standard German

a. *[Jeden/keinen Studenten$_1$ // [dass er den$_1$ kennt]] glaube ich nicht.
each/no student that he him knows believe I not

b. *[Jeden/keinen Studenten$_1$ // [wenn du den$_1$ siehst]] dann sag
each/no student if you him see then tell
ihm er soll mich anrufen.
him he should me call

(16) Bavarian

a. A jeder$_1$ dass t$_1$ so deppert is glaub-e ned.[9]
a everyone that so stupid is believe-I not
'I don't think that everybody is that stupid'

b. Neamad$_1$ / a jeder$_1$ wenn t$_1$ kummt, is-s aa ned recht.
nobody a everyone if comes is-it also not right
'If nobody/everybody shows up, it isn't ok 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.[10] The quantifier moves to the edge of the clause but takes scope within it. This can be demonstrated by various tests.[11] 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) [$_{CP}$ NegQP$_1$ C [$_{TP}$ ... [$_{NegP}$ t$_1$ [$_{Neg'}$ Neg°[$_{vP}$ ... t$_1$]]]]]

[9] The fact that there is an 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.

[10] Cf. Reinhart (1983); Grodzinsky and Reinhart (1993). For the differences between resumptives and gaps see Doron (1982), Sells (1984), Salzmann (2006), and especially with respect to CLLD Cinque (1990).

[11] No quantifier in topic position can bind a variable in the root clause, and neither can a NegQP license an NPI like *jemals* ("ever") as seen in (i) and (ii) respectively.

(i) *[A jeder$_1$ [dass t$_1$ vorbei kumma woidd]] glaub-e eam$_1$ ned
a everybody that along come wanted believe-I him not'

(ii) *[Koana$_1$ [wenn t$_1$ so wos duat]] kriagt jemals an Preis t$_1$
nobody if so something does gets ever a prize'.

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

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 SpecCP in order to value a "topic"-type feature of C, which we will formally characterize as a feature of emphasis.[12] 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.[13]

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 while Bavarian can rely on direct A-bar topic movement with variable binding and reconstruction.

3. Emphatic topicalization as a root phenomenon

Topicalization of XP to SpecCP does have something to do with 'contrastivity' in the sense that 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' (cf. Frey 2006; Bayer & Salzmann 2013 among others). However, XP movement to SpecCP cannot be exhaustively subsumed under an information-structural notion of 'topic'. As Bayer (2001a) 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-*v*P focus position. Focus checking is completed in ... [$_{\text{FocP}}$ focus [$_{v\text{P}}$ ... ~~focus~~ ...]]. Given that C is by no means a focus checker, what then motivates topicalization of a focal XP to SpecCP?[14]

Our answer to this question moves the discussion to root sentence phenomena. Relying on early insightful remarks in Behaghel (1932: vol IV), who spoke of "*die Erregung des Sprechenden*" ('the speaker's excitement'), Bayer (2001a) suggests a feature of *emphasis* that drives a process of EMPHATIC TOPICALIZATION (ET).[15] On assumptions now current, infor-

[12] 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 own 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 PF. Thanks to Klaus Abels (p.c.) for raising this point.

[13] 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 fail to see why any such restriction should hold.

[14] For pertinent recent discussion of types of A-bar topicalization in German the reader is referred to Fanselow (2002; 2004), Fanselow & Lenertová (2010) and to Frey (2006, 2010).

[15] 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 (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004) by which an utterance is marked (mostly by a suffix) as conveying information that is new or unexpected to the speaker (cf. Delancey, 1997 for cross-linguistic findings). The meaning is difficult to articulate precise-

mation structure in German is completely codified in the "Mittelfeld", i.e. before movements to Force° and to SpecForceP. Consider a focused phrase undergoing ET. Assuming the existence of FocP for German, a focal XP that has valued an uninterpretable feature *u*Foc does not necessarily need to freeze in SpecFocP.[16] XP may bear other features not yet valued and requiring further movement of XP. We postulate *i*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, the derivation proposed is as follows: In the numeration, an XP may be assigned *i*Foc and in addition *i*Emp. By virtue of *i*Foc, XP moves to SpecFocP; by virtue of *i*Emp, it moves to SpecCP or to the specifier of some head endowed with the unvalued uninterpretable feature *u*Emp (SpecForceP, we assume for concreteness).[17]

3.1 Feature sharing

In order to maximize readability in a context shaped by the widespread use of the version of probe/goal agreement proposed by Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), we shall invoke that account as our reference model, though lack of space prevents us from displaying all the derivations.[18] According to the standard minimalist version of probe/goal agreement, the uninterpretable feature always does the attracting and disappears after valuation. Pesetsky & Torrego have proposed 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

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ly. The common core seems to be that some referent x_1 is highest ranked on a scale of salient semantic alternatives $\{ x_1 < x_2 < \ldots < x_n \}$, and that attributing property P to x_1 is taken to be noteworthy along various dimensions (remarkability, surprise, incredibility, unexpectedness, disappointment etc.) (cf. Hartmann 2008; Zimmermann 2007; Frey 2010; Giurgea and Remberger 2011; Cruschina 2011; Haegeman 2012, who, 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.

[16] Cf. footnote 12.

[17] 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 (cf. 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. Cf. note 15.

[18] For agreement per se, Baker's (2008: 40-48, 148-9) account helps make sense of heteropersonal agreement in the sense of Dasgupta (2006: 148), a matter we intend to pursue in future work.

serve as probes or "attractors"[19] In a CP in which wh-movement applies, C° is, according to Pesetsky & Torrego, endowed with an interpretable/unvalued Q-feature (call it "*i*Q[ ]") through which it agrees with a wh-phrase bearing an uninterpretable/ valued interrogative Q-feature "*u*Q+interrog".[20] Likewise, unvalued and uninterpretable features can be probes, e.g. in an intermediate SpecCP position in trans-clausal 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 – while (20) shows the first step of cyclic wh-movement in which SpecCP is just an intermediate landing site for the wh-phrase, i.e. a position in which wh must not be interpretable.

(19) ... C° ... wh ... == AGREE==> ... C ... wh
*i*Q[ ] *u*Q[ ] *i*Q[**6**] *u*Q[**6**]

(20) ... C° ... wh ... == AGREE==> ... C ... wh
*u*Q[ ] *u*Q[ ] *u*Q[**6**] *u*Q[**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 *v*P-phase, a [*u*QForce] feature that may be associated with wh can be interpreted once the wh has moved to the root clause.

(21) Force° ... [wh C° ... == AGREE==> Force° ... [wh C° ...
*i*Q[ ] *u*Q[**6**] *i*Q[**6**] *u*Q[**6**]
*i*Qforce[ ] *u*Qforce[ ] *i*Qforce[**11**] *u*Qforce[**11**]

[19] Something similar holds for negative concord. The upper neg is interpretable – not the lower one, which needs to have its neg-feature deleted, e.g. 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, however. 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.

[20] This view is empirically supported (a) by the comparative syntax of clause typing (cf. 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 (cf. Haspelmath (2001) for a typological survey); for critical discussion of this generalization cf. Bruening (2007).

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. Since Q-force is interpretable but unvalued, one may suggest that it must "learn its value" by means of wh-movement.[21]

The approach developed so far 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. While 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 are calling 'emphasis' is an expressive dimension of the 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 λXP(p) along an implicit scale of potential alternatives YP, ZP etc. Attempts to integrate speaker and hearer into syntactic representation go back to the performative hypothesis (cf. Sadock 1969; Ross 1970) and have been revived in more recent work especially in cartographic syntax – such as Rizzi (1997); Cinque (1999), where a speech act phrase is proposed; Speas & Tenny (2003), where the C-projection is split into a speaker and hearer phrase; Miyagawa (2011), Haegeman & Hill (2010) and other authors. Of particular importance for V2-languages like Standard German and Bavarian are the accounts of Wechsler (1991), Brandner (2004), Bayer (2004) and Truckenbrodt (2006). Finite embedded (canonically V-final) and main (V2) clauses employ 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.[22] 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 which counts as an utterance – the root clause.

Assume then that an XP may be endowed with the feature *u*EmpForce[ ]. Such an XP will prepose to the Specifier of a complementizer to which an Emp-feature has been added in the numeration. As seen in (22), Emp carries a force feature along which, however, remains uninterpretable in C.

(22) ... C° ... XP ... == AGREE==> ... C ... XP ...
*u*EmpForce[ ] *u*EmpForce[ ] *u*EmpForce[**9**] *u*EmpForce[**9**]

[21] Cf. 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.

[22] This becomes particularly clear in Truckenbrodt's (2006) discussion – to which we refer the reader – of the interpretive differences between V2- and comp-introduced V-final but nevertheless autonomous sentences.

XP may raise to SpecCP but, given the lack of a force projection in CP, this will not yield an interpretable result. The constellation gives rise to derivations which 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* ('if', 'as') or *bai* (derived from German *sobald*, 'as soon as') is a free utterance. Examples of this sort, 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 Göödwenn-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.[23] (24) differs from (22) minimally – it has *i*EmpForce in C.

(24) ... C° ... XP ... == AGREE==> ... C ... XP ...
*i*EmpForce[ ] *u*EmpForce[ ] *i*EmpForce[**11**] *u*EmpForce[**11**]

In (24), the Emp-marked XP moves to SpecCP. 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 LF.

Let us then 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.[24] To this option we will turn now.

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

[24] 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.

3.2 Pied-piping CP

As the examples in (12) and (16) have shown, embedded CPs in which ET has occurred can be pied-piped to the specifier of Force. As has been argued in Bayer (2001), the emphatically topicalized XP in this case cannot have moved out of SpecCP. This is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that certain adjunct clauses allow ET. Extraction from adjunct clauses would violate the adjunct condition.[25] Secondly, it would become unclear why there is CP pied-piping in the first place. We can therefore be sure that XP stays in SpecCP, 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. Since CP is projected from C, if C is *u*EmpForce, then its CP is *u*EmpForce. If CP moves to SpecForceP, 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. $[_{\text{ForceP}}\ [_{\text{Force'}}\ \text{Force}_{\textit{i}\text{EmpForce}[\ ]}\ \ldots\ \ [_{\text{CP}}\ \text{XP}\ [_{\text{C'}}\ \text{C}_{\textit{u}\text{EmpForce}[\ ]}\ [\ \ldots\ \sout{\text{XP}}\ \ldots\ ]]]]$ =AGREE=>

b. $[_{\text{ForceP}}\ [_{\text{Force'}}\ \text{Force}_{\textit{i}\text{EmpForce}[\mathbf{23}]}\ \ldots\ \ [_{\text{CP}}\ \text{XP}\ [_{\text{C'}}\ \text{C}_{\textit{u}\text{EmpForce}[\mathbf{23}]}\ [\ \ldots\ \sout{\text{XP}}\ \ldots\ ]]]]$ =MOVE=>

c. $[_{\text{ForceP}}\ [_{\text{CP}}\ \text{XP}\ [_{\text{C'}}\ \text{C}_{\textit{u}\text{EmpForce}[\mathbf{23}]}\ [\ \ldots\ \sout{\text{XP}}\ \ldots\ ]]]\ [_{\text{Force'}}\ \text{Force}_{\textit{i}\text{EmpForce}[\mathbf{23}]}\ \ldots\ \sout{[_{\text{CP}}\ \text{XP}\ [_{\text{C'}}\ \text{C}\ [\ \ldots\ \text{XP}\ \ldots\ ]]]}]$

CP pied-piping takes the Emp-feature into SpecForceP 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). Like 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.[26]

[25] Take the examples (12d) and (12e). If ET were to extract the emphatic-marked XP from CP, these sentences would become classical island violations.

(i) *Da Xaver kriag-e wos z'essn wenn ~~da Xaver~~ hoam kummt '*Xaver, I get something to eat when _ comes home'

(ii) *D'Sunn han-s fuat wia ~~d'Sunn~~ aafganga is '*The sun they went off as _ appeared'

[26] 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 investiga-

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* etc., but also elsewhere, e.g. 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 specifier of another CP before the entire complex moves to the matrix SpecForceP. 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.[27]

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tion most interestingly, secondary movement extends in Tzotzil to focal DPs as pointed out in Aissen (1996: 473) and Abels (2012: 82).

[27] 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, i.e. leaving wh in SpecCP of the embedded CP which then ET-moves to the matrix clause. As shown in Bayer (2001: §5.3), this is indeed an option, albeit a marked one.

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

3.3 Intermediate summary

This concludes our presentation of the German (Bavarian) examples of emphatic topicalization (ET) and their theoretical interpretation.[28] 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 SpecCP, leaving a trace in *v*P 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-bar 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.[29] As long as we cannot detect semantic differences, we remain conservative and ascribe the difference between the competing constructions – regular A-bar movement versus CP pied-piping – to optionality for those cases in which no island violations would result from either of the derivations.

We will 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 is one of the eastern Indo-Aryan languages. It is a head-final language which, however, follows a typologically familiar pattern (Grosu & Thompson 1977; Dryer 1980 and Hawkins 1990) of employing postverbal sentential complements headed by an initial complementizer, cf. (29). Hindi[30] is perhaps the most familiar example of this type of South

[28] ET in Bavarian is connected to a number of further remarkable properties that cannot be discussed in this article, especially the licensing of parasitic gaps. Readers interested are referred to Lutz (1997), Bayer (2001) and Grewendorf (2012).

[29] 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 and 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.

[30] For reasons of economy, we speak of "Hindi" rather than "Hindi-Urdu".

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', cf. (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 -CF hear-PFC-3 COMP his father come -FUT-3
'The boy has heard that his father will come'

(30) chele-Ta [[or baba aS -b -en] **bole**] Sun-ech -e
boy -CF his father come- FUT-3 COMP hear-PFC-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 -CF hear-PFC-3

Bole-clauses prefer the preverbal position.[31] 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 which holds of all the other Indo-Aryan languages which have postverbal clausal complements, and for various SOV-languages from other language families.[32]

One remarkable fact about the canonically clause-initial particle *je* in Bangla (as well as 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, 2007a for Bangla; Bal 1990 for Oriya; we shall 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, cf. (34). The clause must either be raised to the preverbal position shown in (32) or topicalized, as seen 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 -CF his father JE come-FUT-3 (this) yet hear-3-NEG.PST
'The boy hasn't heard yet that his father will come'

[31] Cf. 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.

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

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

Our goal in this part of the article is to offer an account of these data; our strategy is based on the German/Bavarian data discussed in section 3.

4.2 Movement to the specifier of je

Comparison with the Bavarian examples in (12) would initially suggest movement to SpecCP 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 -CF this yet hear-3-NEG.PST
'That his father will come tomorrow, this the boy hasn't heard yet'

or baba kal 'his father tomorrow" is not a constituent. As a matter of fact, the constituent which moves to the immediate left of *je* must either bear stress or be a stressable item.[33] In (35), for instance, it is *kal* which 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)/(36a) cannot simply be identified as a C forcing a focal XP to move to its left. A straightforward transposition of the movement-to-SpecCP 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 will 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. This has led to

[33] The prosody of Bangla is not yet well understood. It is particularly unclear just how phonological focus is assigned. For discussion of Bangla prosody see Hayes & Lahiri (1991) and Truckenbrodt (2003).

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.[34] Following recent writing on wh-in-situ as movement to a FocP, let us assume that the wh-element has been moved to SpecFocP, a position immediately higher than *v*P. 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 SpecFocP to Spec*je*P.

(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, since focus is assigned to the immediately preverbal site, we now see evidence for movement to *je*P. Second, the wh-phrase in the specifier of *je*P is clearly not referential; it is an operator. Other operators can also move to to Spec*je*P. (38) shows a universally quantified DP.

(38) dilip prottek-Ta chele-ke **je** nemontonno kor-b-e ama-r ta
Dilip every -CF boy -OBJ JE invite do-FUT-3 I -GEN this
mon-e hO-Y na
mind-LOC 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 SpecFocP to Spec*je*P 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.[35] The question is just what features motivate valuation in the *je*-projection.

Movement of a constituent to Spec*je*P 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) above), 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').

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

[35] Readers are referred to notes 12 and 13.

(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-PFC-3
'Dilip came to office drunk'

b. matal hoYe je dilip ~~matal hoYe~~ Ofise eSeche, ...

As shown by (39) and (40), higher (speaker or subject-oriented) adverb(ial)s refuse to 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-OBJ 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 ho-cch -i
ABAR JE you him/her-OBJ tell-INF go-PST-2 this-CF see-CJV surprised be-PROG-1
'That you told him/her again is surprising to me'

While (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 seen 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 SpecCP 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 earlier, 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 will take a look at the morpho-lexical 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).[36]

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'

(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 as seen in (43). A topicalized complement clause does not permit the complementizer *je* in clause-initial position as seen in (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) etc.; these forms are capable of phonological prominence and can be fortified by a focus particle *-i*: *ja-ke-i* 'whomever', etc. 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 contrastable. But the complementizer *je* is different.

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

First of all it is a stand-alone particle and belongs to no morphological paradigm. Unlike the Germanic complementizers *that*, *dass*, *dat* etc. which can bear focus (as in the so-called "Verum-Fokus" construction), the *je*-complementizer can never be focused.[37] As a matter of fact there is good evidence, as noted in Dasgupta (1980, 2007a), that the *je*-complementizer is enclitic in nature and as such requires a host to its left which it can attach to.[38] 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).

(46) *chele-Ta [$_{CP}$ **je** or baba aS -b -en] Ekhono Son-e-ni
boy -CF 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. (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 <u>kalke ratr -e</u> [**je** dilip aS -b -e na]
Sipra me -OBJ told yesterday night-LOC JE Dilip come-FUT-3 not
'Sipra told me last night that Dilip will not come'

Intervention of the underlined adverbial material does not prevent *je* from taking its right edge as a clitic host. In fact, there is no prosodic break which 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.

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[37] 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

[38] Complementizers that are clitics have been reported from other languages. Van Craenenbroek (2010) mentions Dutch dialects in which the complementizer *dat* reduces to *–t* when it appears next to a head-type wh. For further references on clitic complementizers see Radford (2010).

(49) ami bol-ech-il -am **je** probal aS-b-e ebong (***je**) uSi ghOr buk kor-ech -e
I say-PFC-PST-1 JE Probal come-FUT-2 and JE Uschi room book make-PFC-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. This is independently confirmed by the fact that Bangla coordinators, *ar* or *ebong*, can never be targets of other comparable clitics like *to* 'of course', 'as you should know', either; **ar-to*, **ebong-to* are out. Thus, there is evidence that *je* as a complementizer is lexically a weak element, perhaps a genuine enclitic which 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.[39] Core properties of grammaticalization are semantic bleaching and phonological weakening. Both properties are found in the transition from relative pronoun to complementizer.

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. While German discourse particles come in the disguise of free standing (albeit immobile) adverbs, many of the Bangla particles are clitics which 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*.[40]

(50) a. kothaY-i **ba** gE-ch-e dilip?
where -I BA go-PFC-3 dilip
'Where is it actually that Dilip went?'

[39] Examples and references about grammaticalization in Traugott & Hopper (1993), C. Lehmann (1982), Roberts & Roussou (2003). The facts of Bangla complement clauses with medial *je* may turn out to be subsumable under Kayne's (to appear) proposal that declarative complementizers are actually relative-clause operators. For similar conclusions see Arsenijevic (2009) and Manzini (2014), who rightly (in our view) characterizes "complementizers" as "only a descriptive label".

[40] The full picture of *ba* is far too complex to be provided here. Readers interested are referred to Dasgupta (2005).

b. dilip badam kha-Y-ni -i **ba** kEno?
Dilip nut eat -3-NEG.PST -FOC BA why
'Why indeed did Dilip not EAT the nuts?' (he should have done so)
(German: 'Warum hat Dilip die Nüsse *eigentlich* nicht GEGESSEN?')

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.[41] Another example is the interrogative particle *ki*; *ki* appears in direct polar questions.[42]

(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 which 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 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.[43]

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

There is clear resemblance with German sentences containing discourse particles. (52a) corresponds to *Wo bist du **denn** hingegangen? Wo bist du **denn** gewesen?*, where the particle

[41] We will return, in section 4.6, to apparent exceptions to this claim.
[42] In embedded questions, the question marker is *ki na* (literally 'or not") which is formally identical with a choice question ('Will you come or not?')
[43] Cf. 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.

denn signals a special attitude of the speaker.[44] (61b) 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.[45] 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 will be 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 the Bavarian cases 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.[46] Furthermore in both Bangla and Bavarian German, non-referential XPs such as operators can appear in Spec*je*P. And in both languages, movement to the Spec-position leaves a trace rather than a resumptive pronoun. This strong parallelism suggests that we are indeed dealing with one and the same phenomenon. The phenomenon is what we have dubbed EMPHATIC TOPICALIZATION (ET) in section 3. The difference between German and Bangla is that the German complementizers are not simultaneously discourse particles. This can be 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.

[44] Details on German *denn* can be found in Bayer (2012) and in Bayer & Obenauer (2011).

[45] 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, i.e. the level of a full-fleged utterance unless an embedded clause is the complement of a verb of speaking and as such counts as quoted speech. See notes 15 and 16 above. 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 demonstrated for Bangla but space limitations prevent us from doing so.

[46] See Kabak and Revithiadou (2006) for discussion. A pertinent example from Bangla that does not involve the particle *je* is (50a) in the text; *kothaY-i-ba* is a phonological word that includes a clitic cluster.

(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![47]
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 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.[48]

Just how force is established in a language like Bangla is not yet understood. There is no clear marker on either side of the clause that unambiguously specifies force. Nevertheless, it

[47] It may be surprising to see a dative pronoun here. 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. Cf. Wegener (1989); Bosse and Bruening (2011).

[48] Example:
(i) Speaker A: Würdest du diesen Wagen kaufen? (Would you buy this car?)
(ii) Speaker B: Jederzeit ... Wenn ich mehr Geld hätte. (Any time ... if I had more money)

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 his/her 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. While *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 examples.

(57) a. o kal kothaY (***je**) ghumiy-ech-e?
he/she yesterday where (JE) sleep-PFC-3
'Where did he/she sleep last night?'

b. [o kal ki **je** kheY-ech-e ar kothaY **je** ghumiy-ech-e] ami Se-SOb
he/she yesterday what JE eat-PFC-3 and where JE sleep-PFC-3 I this-all
kichu -i jan-i na
anything-I know-1 not
'What he/she ate yesterday and where he/she slept last night, I have no idea'

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!'. 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. This example shows that 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 acci-

dent, 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.[49]

4.5 Hypotaxis or parataxis?

Reconsider example (33), reproduced here as (58).

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

In the 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*~~ *aSbe*], 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~~ aSbe]$_1$ [chele-Ta ta$_1$ 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), reproduced here as (69).

(60) chele-Ta [or baba **je** aS -b-en] (ta) Ekhono Son-e-ni
boy -CF 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 the other way round. Another demonstration can be given on the basis of binding facts. Consider (61) and (62). Both the examples allow a bound variable pronoun reading.

[49] 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* (να) which Roussou (2000) and Roussou & Tsangalides (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 'I want to leave'
want-1 NA leave-1

(ii) Na su p-o 'Hey, let me tell you!'
NA you tell-1

(61) [SikkhOk **je** tar Taka curi kor-e thak-te par-en] (Se kOtha) kono chatro
teacher JE his money steal do-CJV stay-INF can-3 this story any student
biSSaS kor -te par-e ni
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 mon-e
his mother-father JE him truly love-3 this story every boy mind-LOC
pran-e biSSaS kOr-e
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 which 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) $[[_{CP} \ldots \text{pronoun}_1 \ldots] \ QP_1 \ldots V \ [_{CP} \sout{\ldots \text{pronoun}_1 \ldots}]]$

Whatever 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 post-verbal base position in which *je*-clauses are normally merged, or, following a traditional analysis, the sequent phrase *Se kotha* is a copy of the pre-verbal CP which is first-merged in a low enough position to be c-commanded by the QP-subject.[50]

The conclusion that the pre-verbal *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.

[50] As said in note 39, theories which analyze complements as quasi-relatives, would reconstruct CP under the nominal which licenses the relative/complement clause. In (61) and (62), *Se kOtha* has either been scrambled over the QP subject or has been moved from postverbal position where it has left a copy.

4.6 Accounting for the clause-medial vs. the clause-initial position

Recall from section 4.1 that Bangla complement clauses can be either postverbal or preverbal. The central fact that we are concerned with in this study is that a complement *je*-clause (i) CANNOT stay in its postverbal position (see examples (31) and (46)) but (ii) MUST move to preverbal position as soon as emphatic topicalization has applied and (clause-internally) moved some emphatic-marked phrase to Spec*je*P (see example (34)). The account we will now propose is largely along the lines of our account of the Bavarian CP-licensing asymmetry in section 3. As we pointed out in section 4.2, the two analyses cannot be identical because Bangla allows more than one constituent to the left of *je*. The relevant example (35) is repeated here as (64).

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

Had Bangla worked exactly like the Bavarian dialect of German, *kal* would have been marked as emphatic and therefore preposed to Spec*je*P, a movement optionally followed by further topicalizations. In (35)/(64), the subject *or baba* would adjoin to CP/*je*P after ET had applied to CP/*je*P.[51]

(65) [$_{CP/jeP}$ or baba [$_{CP/jeP}$ kal [$_{C'/je'}$ **je** ~~or baba~~ ~~kal~~ aSben]]...

It is, however, unclear how further adjunction to CP/*je*P is supposed to be motivated.[52] On the other hand, we know from the syntax of discourse particles in Bangla that they occur in "clause-medial" positions and pattern exactly as in sentence-internal *je*-clauses. Following this lead, let us pursue a structure for medial *je* that steers as close as possible to the particle construction discussed in section 4.4. As was shown in 3.4, *je* as a discourse particle attracts an emphatic-marked XP, thus satisfying both ET-feature checking and the need of the enclitic *je* to lean on some host category. We would like to know where the particle's projection is

[51] We take it that the two constituents here do not count as multiple specifiers. We know already that only the XP to the immediate left of *je* associates with (emphatic) focus. Bangla does allow multiple wh-constituents to precede *je*, as in (i):

(i) ka-ke kOkhon kEno kibhabe je apni bhalobeS-e phel-b-en hOYto nije-o bujh-b-en na
who-OBJ when why how je you love-PCP AUX-FUT-2 perhaps yourself-FOC understand-FUT-2 NEG
'Who you will fall in love with, when, why, how, you yourself will hardly understand' (an example found on *Facebook*)

But even in such cases we refrain from jumping to the conclusion that *je* as a **complementizer** licenses multiple **wh**-specifiers. If it did, Bangla would belong to the class of "doubly-filled comp languages", like Bavarian; one would then expect wh+*je* clauses to be licit in postverbal position – which they are not. We leave open the question of the mechanisms enabling non-focal constituents to appear to the left of *je*'s emphatically focused immediate-left neighbor.

[52] In German (Bavarian-style), adjunction to an ET-CP as in (i) is impossible:

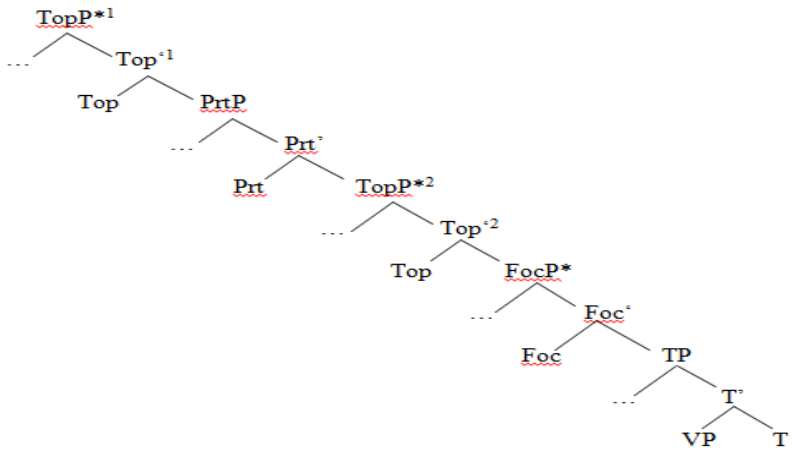
(i) *[$_{CP}$ [Sein Vater] [$_{CP}$ morgen dass ~~sein Vater~~ ~~morgen~~ kommen wird]], ...
his father tomorrow that come will

located in the clausal structure of Bangla. Let us start with an example endowed with a large number of positions. We take a constituent question because of its potential of indicating the focus position, and we work with a multiple question so that we can observe how the process whereby a wh-phrase moves to the particle treats multiple questions.

(66) tumi aj ka-ke je apon mon-e ki jiniS diy-ech-o,
you today who-OBJ JE own mind-LOC what thing(s) give-PFC-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:[53]

(67)



On this account, the structure of (66) is as in (68).[54]

(68) [$_{TopP*}$ tumi aj [$_{Top'}$ Top [$_{PrtP}$ kake [$_{Prt'}$ [$_{Prt}$ je] [$_{TopP*}$ apon mone [$_{Top'}$ Top [$_{FocP*}$ ki jiniS [$_{Foc'}$ Foc [$_{TP}$ ... [$_{T'}$ [$_{vP}$ ... diyecho] T]]]]]]]]] ...

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

[53] The asterisk is intended to indicate 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 which are also known to play a role in the cartography of the Bangla clause.

[54] We work here with a head-final *v*P 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 non-trivial issue immediately.

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 SpecFocP 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).

(69) [[dilip vODka-TODka adou kheY-ech-il-o] [je [~~dilip vODka-TODka adou~~
Dilip vodka-etc. at.all drink-PFC-PST-3 JE
~~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'

(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~~]]] tom-ra
at.all drink-PFC-PST-3 JE Dilip vodka-etc you-PL
ta-o jante na
that-EMP know-PST-2 not
'That Dilip ever DRANK stuff like vodka at all is another fact you guys didn't know'

Ignoring 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 non-finite verb form that moves to a comparable position while finiteness is spelled out by a dummy verb such as German *tun* ('to do').[55]

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

b. *[[Trink-t] [dass [Dilip Wodka und so etwas ~~trinkt~~]]] glaube ich nicht
drink-3 that Dilip vodka and such something believe 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-final positioning

[55] Nevertheless, Scandinavian languages show A'-movement of finite verbs. This is true at least for Danish (Anne Kjeldahl, p.c.) and for Swedish, cf. Källgren and Prince (1989).

derived through successive movements). Had *je* been merged to *v*P, ET could have produced (72), where the past participle form of the verb and the finite auxiliary move separately. But outcome (72) is unacceptable, which provides support for our structure (67):

(72) *[[adou kheY-e] je [dilip vODka-TODka ~~kheYe~~ chil-o]] tom-ra ta-o
at.all drink-PFC JE Dilip vodka-etc. PST-3 you-PL that-EMP
jan-t-e na
know-PST-2 not
'Drunk that Dilip ever had stuff like vodka is another thing you guys didn't know'

Given that *je*-medial clauses form a natural class with other particle clauses, let us now move to the question of how the clause-initial complementizer *je* is related to the clause-medial *je*. The latter behaves in all respects like a discourse particle. On the other hand we have good evidence that clauses in which it occurs are truly embedded. Notice furthermore that initial and medial *je* are in complementary distribution. They cannot co-occur in one and the same sentence.[56]

(73) *je [or baba je ~~or baba~~ aS -b -en]
JE his father JE come-FUT-3
that his father will come'

Thus, clause-medial *je* seems to perform the complementizer function in addition to its function as a discourse particle. This squares with early work on the phenomenon (Dasgupta (1980, 1984, 1987) spoke of the clause-medial *je* an "anchor" to distinguish it from its pure complementizer function where it is a "subjoiner"). Assume that the lexicon has an entry for *je* as in (74) that specifies that its complement must be a finite clause.

(74) *je*, C [__ XP_{fin}]

When *je* is merged with an appropriate maximal projection, say, $TopP_2$ in (67), it projects a CP because such a *je* is a pure subjoiner C. Assume now that in the numeration *je* also has the option of bearing the interpretable feature [*i*Emp] that triggers ET. So equipped, C now has the potential of probing for a goal with an uninterpretable Emp-feature. The two forms of *je* are summarized in (75).

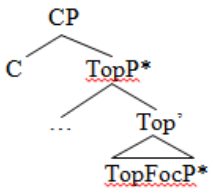
(75) a. *je* , [C] b. *je* , [C, *i*Emp]

[56] We admit that this is not the strongest of arguments, as there is an independent reason for the exclusion of (73): in post-verbal position it would crash on account of an unlicensed internal *je*. In pre-verbal position it would crash on account of an unlicensed initial *je*. However, it would take us too far afield if we were to stop the flow of the discussion here and provide separate motivation for the claim that a clause that contains clause-medial *je* is truly embedded. Motivating this claim would involve, for instance, showing that familiar root sentence options like the use of the positive polarity copula (Dasgupta 2007b: 20) are unavailable in such clauses.

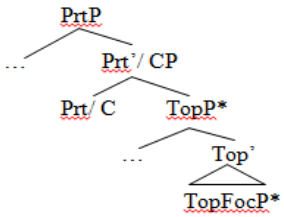
Once this featurally enriched *je* is merged, (75b) yields further projection of the *je*P to provide a landing site for some XP that will have to move. This is what turns the *je*-construction into a particle phrase (PrtP), a construction that frequently occurs in Bangla with particles such as *ki*, *ba*, *to*, etc. The fact that it is not only a CP but also a PrtP 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 PrtP. 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 phonologically speaking an enclitic. The choices (75a) and (75b) have distinct sets of consequences. If *je* is merged as a pure subjoiner (option 75a), the resulting CP gets stuck in the post-verbal position in which it is merged, since *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 (option 75b), the resulting structure calls for raising some emphatic-marked XP to SpecCP.[57] 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 as we have seen. The results of merging the different occurrences of *je* are shown in the partial trees of (76) and (77) respectively.

(76)



(77)



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. Prt gives rise to a certain utterance meaning. By virtue of Prt, an emphatic-marked constituent will prepose, and – as stated above – further projection may occur. It remains to be explained why (77), once it has become the object of a verb, cannot stay in post-verbal position, and why it is rescued by movement to a pre-verbal position. This issue will be addressed in 4.7.

[57] 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, i.e. with some XP in its c-command domain. This excludes the selecting predicate.

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.

4.7.1 Wh-scope

It has long been known that Bangla, like other known Indo-Aryan languages, prohibits trans-clausal scope from a clause that is embedded to the right of the matrix verb (Bayer 1990, 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-PFC-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-PFC-3
'*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 pre-verbal position. Pre-verbal 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-PFC-3
'Who have they heard will come?'
[unavailable: 'They have heard who will come"][58]

[58] 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):

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

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

Wide scope of *ke* voids the s-selection problem that emerges in (79). Provided that wh-phrases land in a focus position and take scope from there, it is natural to conclude that the pre-verbal wh-clause has been raised to the specifier of FocP of the matrix clause and as such turns the matrix clause into a wh-clause.[59]

(82) [... [$_{\text{FocP}}$ CP$_{u\text{Foc}}$ [$_{\text{Foc'}}$ Foc°$_{i\text{Foc}}$ [... [$_{v\text{P}}$ ... V° ~~CP~~$_{u\text{Foc}}$]]]]]

In (82) we write the feature as Foc rather than wh in order to avoid too hasty a conflation with the wh-movement process familiar from European languages. Nevertheless, it should be clear that the scope of a focus-sensitive operator that has imposed its feature on CP can be extended by pied-piping this CP into a higher FocP. If this line of analysis can be sustained, there is no need to invoke LF-movement.[60] The entire process rests on overt movement. Under the assumptions of the Minimalist Program, in terms of which this account is formulated, this is a desirable consequence.

4.7.2 The scope of ET

After this brief introduction to wh-scope in Bangla, we can show how similar the syntax of ET is in this language. When an emphatic-marked XP is raised to the specifier of *je* (alias

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(i) ora [ke aS -be] (SeTa) Sun-ech-e
they who come-FUT3 that hear-PFC-3
'They have heard who will come'

[59] We take it that the Foc-head is interpretable where it takes scope, and that the Foc-feature on CP itself is uninterpretable. See the feature sharing system introduced in section 2.

[60] The idea of wh-movement to a focus position comes from observable constituent movement. Bangla shows overt cross-clausal wh-movement, at the level of speakers' intuitions regarding certain spoken registers (we have never observed it even in informal writing): (i) is taken from Bayer (1996).

(i) tumi [ki OSukh -e] bhab-ch -o je ram [~~ki OSukhe~~] mar -a gE-ch -e?
you which illness-LOC think-PROG-2 JE Ram die -CJV go-PFC-3
'Of which illness do you think that Ram died?'

Following Jayaseelan (2001; 2004), one would assume a FocP which attracts the internally focused wh-XP from *v*P. This XP then moves on to the next higher FocP as shown in (ii).

(ii) [... [$_{\text{FocP}}$ XP Foc° [$_{v\text{P}}$ (...) V [$_{\text{CP}}$ je ... [$_{\text{FocP}}$ ~~XP~~ Foc° [$_{v\text{P}}$ (...) ~~XP~~ V]]]]]]

It is still unclear what the role of the CP is in the extraction process. An important fact is that (i) improves substantially for native speakers once *je* is dropped. But notice that in this case arguments in favour of long movement lose ground. Following the argumentation by Reis (1995) and Bayer & Salzmann (2013) for comparable German cases, what looks like the matrix clause may actually be a so-called "integrated parenthetical". This analysis is supported by the fact that the parenthesis can follow a direct question as in (iii). This is a case of "Slifting" (Ross, 1973).

(iii) ki OSukh-e ram mar-a gE-ch-e, tumi bhab-ch-o?
'Of which illness did Ram die do you think?'

If so, we are faced with intra-clausal and not with trans-clausal wh-movement, and the question of movement to SpecCP does not arise.

specifier of C), it marks the clause with an Emp-feature. The Emp-feature is, however, not interpretable in an embedded clause, ET being a root property that co-determines the illocutionary force of an utterance. Thus, the Emp-marked clause has to reach a domain allowing access to the outer layer of the root clause. According to (77), merger of *je* of type (75b), i.e. *je* [*i*Emp], yields a *je*P to whose specifier some XP must be moved that can value the unvalued Emp-feature. This is shown in the first movement step in (83).

(83) [... [$_{PrtP}$ XP$_{u\text{Emp}}$ [$_{Prt'}$ Prt° $_{i\text{Emp}}$ [... [$_{Foc'}$ Foc° [... [$_{vP}$ ... ~~XP~~$_{u\text{Emp}}$ ...V°]]]]]]]

While (83) could in principle be a converging structure, this is not so when V is merged with it. In that case, (83) will end up as an embedded sentence in which force cannot be interpreted. Convergence can, however, be attained if (83) is moved to SpecPrtP of the matrix clause as shown in (84).

(84) [... [$_{PrtP}$ [... [$_{PrtP}$ XP$_{u\text{Emp}}$ [$_{Prt'}$ Prt° $_{i\text{Emp}}$ [... [$_{Foc'}$ Foc° [... [$_{vP}$ ... XP$_{u\text{Emp}}$ ...V°]]]]]]]
[$_{Prt'}$ Prt° $_{i\text{Emp}}$ [... [$_{Foc'}$ Foc° [... [$_{vP}$ ...V° ~~[... [$_{PrtP}$ XP$_{u\text{Emp}}$ [$_{Prt'}$ Prt° $_{i\text{Emp}}$ [... [$_{Foc'}$ Foc° [... [$_{vP}$ ... XP$_{u\text{Emp}}$ ...V°]]]]]]]~~]]]]]]

Given that (84) is a root clause, the Emp-marked clause is interpretable because it is now in the appropriate position of a clause that by assumption is endowed with a layer of interpretable force. This formulation keeps in view the feature sharing system introduced in section 3. According to that system, it is not predetermined which link of a movement chain will ultimately possess the interpretable feature. The agreement process is expressed by (85).[61]

(85) ... Prt ... XP ... == AGREE==> ... Prt ... XP ...
*i*EmpForce[ ] *u*EmpForce[ ] *i*EmpForce[**23**] *u*EmpForce[**23**]

Agreement is in this system also available if two chain links are uninterpretable. This must be the case when (83) turns out to be an embedded clause. Since it is not yet clear what in the Bangla clause would exactly correspond to the force layer, we will leave this implementation as a suggestion subject to revision once there is more clarity about the formal structure of root sentences in Bangla. For the time being it should be clear, however, that the derivation of an interpretable complex Emp-structure closely resembles the derivation of a complex interpretable wide scope wh-question.[62] A wh-marked clause can survive the derivation as a depend-

[61] We cleave to the assumption that AGREE is independent of displacement. Recall that *je* in its (75b) version induces the movement of XP to its specifier position.

[62] In section 3.3 we indicated that in Bavarian ET may be licensed by regular A-bar movement instead of CP-pied-piping as long as the dependent clause is not an island. See also note 24. For Bangla we said in note 60 that according to speakers' intuitions long wh-movement may exist, but that we have not been able to verify such intuitions with corpus data. It seems to be no accident that the same is true for long ET-movement of an EMP-marked XP (XP ≠ CP). Examples were provided in (52) which suggest that [XP+*je*] is an EMP-marked non-sentential constituent. If [XP+*je*] is merged in a dependent clause, our account predicts that it cannot be interpreted unless it raises into the matrix clause. The fact is that [XP+*je*] cannot undergo such movement:

(i) *[ram je] tumi Sunecho [je amra dOS bOchor dhore bhabchi [~~[ram je]~~ phire aSbe]]

ent clause because wh as such is not confined to the root sentence. As seen in indirect questions like *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, on the other hand, 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.[63]

4.7.3 Recursive ET-scoping

At the end of section 3.2 we have shown that, in Bavarian, ET can apply recursively, the effect being that one ET raising-to-SpecCP construction appears in another ET raising-to-SpecCP 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.[64] In comparison with the derivation we have seen 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 je SEm Ter peY-e ja-b-e ami bujh-te par-i-ni

---

[Ram JE] you have.heard [that we ten years for have.been.thinking [[~~Ram JE~~] back will.come]]
This finding reflects the unavailability of long A-bar movement in Bangla – which is what forces scope extension to rely on the clausal pied-piping strategy. Examples like (i) in note 60 may eventually turn out to be cases of 'acceptable ungrammaticality' – rendered acceptable by extragramatically motivated exemptions.

[63] Bhattacharya (2002) proposes an entirely different explanation of the behavior of internal *je*-clauses. According to this work, the non-initial *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*je*P 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.

[64] Notice 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. (86) has the same status as the Bavarian example in (26) – it does not sound overly complex.

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]]~~

There is a natural explanation which resides in the fact that in Bangla the co-occurrence of DiPs is severely limited or downright impossible. We have pointed out in section 4.4 that unlike German *dass*, Bangla *je* has the typical properties of a discourse particle. Notice now that due to movement of the *ram je*-clause into the specifier of the lower *je*-clause in (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.[65]

(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 bujhte pari ni
you come-FUT-2 TO JE Ram thinks I believe could not

Since 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 PrtP ≠ FocP

In Bangla, pre- as well as post-verbal clauses can appear in a "bare" form, i.e. without an overt complementizer. Pre-verbal clauses with or without the final complementizer *bole* show wide scope wh-interpretation. We assume that a bare pre-verbal complement clause involves a zero element with the same feature composition as *bole*, while zero-complementizer clauses in post-verbal position are headed by a zero counterpart to *je*.[66] Clauses in pre-verbal position that show an internal *je* are incompatible with *bole*. Importantly and at first sight unexpectedly, such clauses never allow wide scope interpretation of wh. The wide scope reading of (89) is blocked with or without the parenthesized material:

[65] *to* has been briefly mentioned in section 4.4. Notice 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.

[66] See Bayer (1996: ch.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".

(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'
'*What does Ram know that you eat?'

Recall from the discussion of examples (80) and (81) that pre-verbal 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).

(90) ... [$_{PrtP}$ [$_{PrtP/CP}$ tomra je ~~tomra~~ ki kha-o (…)]$_1$ [$_{Prt'}$ Prt° [$_{vP}$ ram jane t_1]]]

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

Klaus Abels (p.c.) asks whether, given the relatively underdetermined 'PrtP' invoked in our account, the task of blocking a wide scope reading for wh in (90) is best served by insisting that this underdetermined PrtP is distinct from FocP. He rightly notes the relevance of the observation, made at (56)-(57), that – in a simplex clause containing both a wh-constituent and the discourse particle *je* – the *je* upstages its interrogative clause-mate, and the utterance ends up with an exclamative, not an interrogative meaning. We agree with Abels 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-PLJE 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 bole
you-PL JE tobacco sell do-2 that fact which journalist know-3 BOLE
tumi Sun-ech-o?
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 "PrtP ≠ FocP" idea for the time being is the need to address the following facts. Multiple interrogation in Bangla allows wh-"absorption" from post- as well as from pre-verbal clauses, as in (93a) and (93b) respectively.

(93) a. kon Sangbadik bheb-ech-il-o (je) SOrkar ram -ke ki puroSkar de-b-e?
which journalist think-PFC-PST-3 JE gov't Ram-OBJ what 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 (bole)
which journalist government Ram-OBJ what prize give-FUT-3 BOLE
bheb-ech-il-o?
think-PFC-PST-3 [same as (93a)]

We assume that "absorption" works by probe-goal agreement.[67] In both cases, the matrix wh probes the wh of the embedded clause as long as this has an active, i.e. 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 SpecFocP and is thus free to be probed for its wh-feature from outside. Notice now that this probing from outside is blocked when the pre-verbal clause is marked for Emp and has as a consequence undergone ET. (94a) is ungrammatical. Its relevant structure is given in (94b).

(94) a. *SOrkar je ram-ke ki puroSkar de-b-e kon Sangbadik bheb-ech-il-o?
gov't JE Ram-OBJ what prize give-FUT-3 which journalist think-PFC-PST-3

b. [$_{PrtP}$ SOrkar [je[~~SOrkar~~ ramke ki puroSkar debe]]$_1$ kon Sangbadik bheb-ech-il-o t_1?

Why can't the wh-subject, *kon Sangbadik*, 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 post-verbal position. Sentences in which the clause is spelled out in the trace position crash because ET cannot be interpreted; but, thanks to movement into SpecPrtP of the root clause, (94) is protected from an ET-violation. Clausal movement to SpecPrtP, however, puts the wh contained

[67] We are aware that this assumption raises questions for the PIC 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 SpecCP 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 like *Who knows where we bought what?*

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-OBJ what prize give-Fut-3 Ram-GEN friend-PL
din rat Se-Ta niye -i kOtha bOl-e
day night this-CF 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.

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 *je*'s left; 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 *je*'s left must be focusable items, capable of semantic membership in a set of contrastable choices. An element preposed to *je*'s left can be an operator, and can even be a wh-operator. It is independently clear that a wh-operator must first move to SpecFocP; 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 post-verbal complement clause is a weak element that must cliticize to some host to its left. This property makes its post-verbal 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* in Bangla 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. This is what we have called 'Emphatic Topicalization' (ET). We postulated two feature matrices for *je* - (a) a simple C, (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 post-verbal clause; both can take wide scope from a clause to the left of the matrix verb. Since 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 has provided evidence for the following conclusions:

(i) Emphatic Topicalization 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 non-trivial decomposition into constituent factors such as focus and speaker's attitude;

(ii) The ET feature links a constituent bearing it to the illocutionary Force of the utterance;

(iii) 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 SpecPrtP) that makes emphasis legible to the root clause;

(iv) 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 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*, WOHL the particle *wohl*.
1, 2, 3 first, second, third person respectively, ACC accusative, CF classifier, CJV conjunctive participle, COMP complementizer, COND conditional, EMP emphatic, FOC focus, FUT future, GEN genitive, IMP imperative, INF infinitive, LOC locative, NEG negative, NOM nominative, OBJ objective (case), PFC perfect, PROG progressive, PST past. In transcriptions: E O low, T D R retroflex, Y W mid, S palato-alveolar, M nasalization.