

# SOME Q PARTICLES IN BANGLA AND WHERE TO FIND THEM

## The puzzle

- ❖ Four different discourse particles found in Bangla questions show different embeddability properties.
- The particle *kina* shows up in regular embedded polar questions and can be embedded under rogative and responsive predicates.
- The polar Q particle *ki* can only be embedded under some rogatives and modified responsives and represent quasi-subordination (along the lines of Hindi *kyaa*).
- The particles *je* and *jyano* cannot be embedded under any type of predicate and show properties of being connected to the speaker.
- ❖ These varying properties indicate that the four particles are not located at the same point in the left periphery.
- ❖ The Bangla facts are explained, adopting the proposal in Dayal (2021) that there are at least three levels at the left periphery where question particles can be found– SpeechActP, PerspectiveP, and CP.
- ❖ Crucially, SAP particles cannot be embedded, PersP particles can only be quasi-subordinated, and CP particles can be embedded without any restriction.

## 4 Q particles in Bangla

- The particle *kina* shows up in embedded polar questions and is equivalent to the English +Q complementizer *whether*. (in 7a, 7b)
  - Obligatory in embedded polar Qs. (in 7a, 7b)
  - Concatenation of the disjunction operator *na* and its scope marker *ki* (Q-Disj complex head). It marks interrogative disjunction in AltQs and also functions as *whether* (Bhadra 2017). But consider this:
1. (a) Tumi (ki) skul ja-be (\***kina**)? (b) Tumi kal ki skul ja-be **kina** bari thak-be?  
you PQP school go-fut KINA you tomorrow PQP school go-fut KINA home stay-fut  
Intended: ‘Will you go to school?’ ‘Will you go to school tomorrow or stay at home?’
- *Whether-kina* cannot appear in matrix (polar) Qs, but *disjunction-kina* can appear in matrix (Alt) Qs.
  - The particle *ki* shows up optionally in polar questions.
2. onu (**ki**) ja-be?  
anu PQP go-fut  
‘Will Anu go?’
- Behaves like the Hindi polar Q particle *kyaa*, analyzed by Bhatt and Dayal (2020). I adopt the semantics from Dayal 2021.
3. [ ki ] = At-issue: λQ. Q  
Presupposition: λx. Q is potentially active for x.
- Bhadra (2020) classifies *ki* as a Q morpheme in Bangla, and states that Q morphemes play the pragmatic role of updating the Table (an ordered stack of issues or set of propositions that need to be resolved) and the DC<sub>ADDR</sub>\*(the tentative commitment set of the addressee).
  - The particle *je* gives rise to mirativity in questions. It is unclear if *je* makes a contribution to simple declarative constructions.
4. onu aaj skul e-lo na **je**?  
anu today school come-pfv NEG JE  
‘How is it that Anu didn’t come to school today?’
- Q: How is it that p  
Presupposition: p ∉ Expectation set<sub>SPKR</sub>  
where Expectation set is the set of propositions that speaker expects at t in w.
- We wouldn’t expect that the polar question particle (PQP) *ki* would be bad in this environment but that is exactly what we find.
5. onu (\*ki) cha kha-be **je**?  
anu PQP tea eat-fut JE  
Intended: ‘How is it that Anu will drink tea?’
- Bhatt and Dayal (2020) show that the Hindi PQP is infelicitous in a similar environment: possibility of this being a clash between PQP and exclamatives.
  - The particle *jyano* gives rise to remind-me presuppositions (Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2017).
6. onu ki khe-te bhalobashe **jyano**?  
onu wh eat-inf love.impf.3P JYANO  
‘What was it that Anu loves to eat?’
- Q: What does Anu love to eat?  
Presupposition: The speaker used to know but has forgotten what Anu loves to eat.
- Not restricted to questions (unlike English again and like Japanese kke)
  - Doesn’t show up in polar Qs unless the alternative is made explicit. This aligns with German noch mal but not with Japanese kke.
7. \*onu (ki) cha kha-be **jyano**?  
onu PQP tea eat-fut JYANO  
Intended: ‘Again, will Anu drink tea?’
- *jyano* questions have a counterfactual reading as well.
8. onu **jyano** koto skule jay?  
onu JYANO how school go  
‘As if Anu goes to school a lot?’

## Embeddability properties

- kina*
- Can be embedded without any restriction.
7. (a) robi [anu cha khabe \*(**kina**)] jigesk kor-ch-e (rogative)  
ravi anu tea eat-fut-3 KINA ask do-prog-3  
‘Ravi is asking if Anu will drink tea.’
- (b) robi jaan-e [anu ash-b-e \*(**kina**)] (responsive)  
ravi know-3 anu come-fut-3 KINA  
‘Ravi knows whether Anu will come.’
- ki*
- Cannot be embedded under responsive predicates .
8. \*robi jaane je onu **ki** skul ja-b-e (rogative)  
ravi knows SUB anu PQP school go-FUT-3  
Intended: ‘Ravi knows whether Anu will go to school’
- However, it can undergo quasi-subordination under special predicates like *jaante-caowa* ‘want to know’ and *proshno-Ta holo* ‘the question is’ (similar to Hindi *kyaa*).
9. (a) robi jaan-te cay. je onu **ki** skul ja-be? (rogative)  
ravi know-inf want SUB anu PQP school go-fut  
‘Ravi wants to know whether Anu will go to school.’
- (b) proshno-Ta holo onu **ki** skul jabe? (responsive)  
question-CL is anu PQP school go  
‘The question is whether Anu will go to school.’
- je*
- Cannot be embedded under any predicate.
10. (a) \*proshno-Ta holo robi boi-Ta por-ch-e **je**? (rogative)  
question-CL is ravi book-CL read-prog-3 JE  
Intended: ‘The question is how is it that Ravi is reading the book?’
- (b) \*robi jaan-te cay je onu boi-Ta por-ch-e **je**? (responsive)  
ravi know-inf want SUB anu book-CL read-prog-3 JE  
Intended: ‘Ravi wants to know how is it that Anu is reading the book?’
- (c) \*robi onu-ke jigesk korlo je shey boi-Ta por-che **je**? (rogative)  
ravi anu-dat ask do SUB she book-CL read-prog-3 JE  
Intended: ‘Ravi asked Anu that how come she is reading the book.’

## *jyano*

- Like *je* this particle cannot be embedded under any predicate either.
11. (a) \*proshno-Ta holo robi **jyano** kon boi-Ta porche? (rogative)  
question-CL is ravi JYANO which book-CL read.PRES.3P  
Intended: ‘The question is which book is Ravi reading, again?’
- (b) \*robi jaante cay je onu **jyano** kon boi-Ta porche (responsive)  
ravi know-INF want SUB anu JYANO which book-CL read.PRES.3P  
Intended: ‘Ravi wants to know which book Anu is reading, again?’
- (c) \*robi onu-ke jigesk korlo je shey **jyano** kon boi-Ta porche (rogative)  
ravi anu-DAT ask do SUB she JYANO which book-CL read.PRES.3P  
Intended: ‘Ravi asked Anu which book she was reading, again?’

12. To summarize:

Particles:	Responsive Preds	Rogative Preds.
<i>kina</i>	✓	✓
<i>ki</i>	✗	✓
<i>je</i>	✗	✗
<i>jyano</i>	✗	✗

## Where we stand

- ❖ The different properties of embeddability for the four particles show us that these particles are located at different points in the left periphery
  - ❖ The four particles *kina*, *ki*, and *je/jyano* are located in three levels of the left periphery: CP, PersP, and SAP.
  - ❖ Adopting Dayal(2021), this would give us the following structure for these particles: 13.
- $$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{je/jyano} \\ \text{SAP} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ki} \\ \text{PersP} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{kina} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \left[ \text{TP} \dots \right] \right] \right] \right]$$
- ❖ Open questions: (A) Why can’t the PQP *ki* occur in exclamative/*je* questions?  
(B) Why can’t the PQP *ki* occur in *jyano* questions? In general, what blocks the PQP to occur in these environments?

## Selected References

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