Mood and Modality in Bangla : A Morpho-syntactic Investigation of Subjunctive Construction

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Abstract : Though the future imperative and subjunctive of Bangla are traditionally considered identical, strong evidence for exclusive functions of subjunctive are found in various morpho-syntactic contexts. Comparing Bangla mood and modality to English, and doing historical analysis of Bangla mood, it has been revealed that [-io] and [-uk] are subjunctive themes or markers of 2nd and 3rd persons respectively. As well as 3rd person honorific does not have any subjunctive marker. Basically, subjunctive forms of verbs are found in simple sentences, whereas some particular complementizers like [ɉe] and [ɉat·e] determine the subjunctive mood in complementizer phrases.

Introduction

The primary goal of this paper is to show Bangla modal system in morpho-syntactic domain as well as revealing the structure of subjunctive. This is well established in Bangla linguistics that there is no marker for subjunctive and any other mood in Bangla. But Old Indo-Aryan had five moods: indicative, imperative, optative, subjunctive, and injunctive. According to some grammarians, Sanskrit as well as Bangla lost the last three moods (Majumdar, 1979, p. 351). On the other hand, along with Suniti Kumar Chatteji some linguists claimed that Bangla has optative and subjunctive moods other than indicative and imperative moods (Chatterji, 1926, Bhattacharya, 2015). Although they did not find any subjunctive or optative marker, they found some subjunctive paradigm in sentence. For example, Chatterji (1926 : 900) showed that Bangla subjunctive acts as conditional and past habitual such as, [ɉodi ami kaɉti ʃeʃ kortam]

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Basically, [–am] works as past habitual marker. But when [ɟodi] is added in a sentence, the mood of verb is changed. The subjunctive is formed in Bangla with the help of the conjunction [ɟodi] which has ousted the old Bangla [ɟai] (Chatteji, 1926, p. 902). Dasgupta and Bhattacharya proposed that Bangla has some Verbs of subjunctive as, [cai], [iccha], and also has some subjunctive triggers like, [ɟate], [ɟe], [eɟonno], [ɟodi] (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 73-77). These triggers are known as complementizer (c) in Bangla. After discussing basic notion of mood and modality, the ultimate objective of this paper is to investigate the subjunctive construction in contemporary Bangla (CB).

A theoretical overview of mood and modality

There are two ways in which a language deals grammatically with an overall category of modality. These can be distinguished in terms of: (a) modality and (b) mood (Palmer, 1986, p.4). Both may occur within a single language such as, German. For example, German has a modal system of modal verbs like, dürfen, können, mögen, möchten, müssen, sollen, wollen; and moods (indicative and subjunctive). These categories closely associated with tense and aspect but not always marked within the verbal complex. Modality differs from tense and aspect and it refers to the status of the proposition. To analyze its function one possible approach is to make a binary distinction between factual and non-factual or real and unreal. The terms realis and irrealis have been used for this distinction. The realis portrays situation as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situation as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination (Mithun, 1999, p.173). In case of mood, all or most clauses are either realis or irrealis. For example, there is a strict contrast between indicative and subjunctive in European languages. The indicative indicates the clauses realis and on the other hand the subjunctive indicates the clauses irrealis. But there is no typological difference between indicative and subjunctive or realis and irrealis.

Finding Bangla mood and modality compared to English

The term mood is traditionally restricted a category in verbal morphology. In Latin, there are three marked moods. For example,

Indicative: ama-o-s
            love.IND-PRES-2.SG
            'You love'

Subjunctive: ame-o-s
            love.SUBJ-PRES-2.SG
            'You may love'

Imperative: ama
            love.IMP.SG
            '(You) love'

Here, in Latin, [-a] and [-e] are the markers of the moods of indicative, imperative and subjunctive respectively. However, all languages do not have these types of markers for moods. There are no specific markers for moods in contemporary English (CE) as well as Contemporary Bangla (CB). Here, we are going to compare the moods and modality between English and Bangla.

1.1.   Moods in CE and CB

1.1.a. Indicative

Generally, declarative sentences express indicative mood in many languages. English shows likely the indicative mood in declarative sentence. For example, in English:

I/we   love   chocolate
            VERB.PRES-0
You   love   chocolate
            VERB.PRES-0
He   loves   chocolate
            VERB.PRES.3.SG-0
I   loved   chocolate
            VERB.PAST-0
You   loved   chocolate
            VERB.PAST-0
He   loved   chocolate
            VERB.PAST-0

In Bangla: ami   cɔklet   bʰalobaʃi
            I   chocolate   VERB.PRES.IP-0
            'I love chocolate'
            ṭumi   cɔklet   bʰalobaʃo
            You   chocolate   VERB.PRES.2P-0
            'You love chocolate'

ʃe   cɔklet   bʰalobaʃe
he/she   chocolate   VERB.PRES.3P-0
'She/he loves chocolate'
ami   cɔklet   bʰalobeʃecʰilam
I   chocolate   VERB.PAST.1P-0
'I loved chocolate'

ʈumi   cɔklet   bʰalobeʃecʰile
you   chocolate   VERB.PAST.2P-0
'You loved chocolate'

ʃe   cɔklet   bʰalobeʃecʰilo
she/he   chocolate   VERB.PAST.3P-0
'She/he loved chocolate'

From these examples, it is clear that both languages do not have any indicative marker. Bangla has person markers but they do not indicate the inactive mood.

1.1.b. Imperative

In English, look   at the photo

            VERB.PRES-0

In Bangla, cʰobitir   ɖike   ʈakao
            photo   at   VERB.2P.PRES-0
            'look at the picture'

            cʰobitir   ɖike   ʈakio
            photo   at   VERB.2P.SG.FUTIMP
            'you may look at the photo'

In case of imperative, there is no marker for imperative in present simple in the both languages. Whereas, Bangla has future imperative marker [-io] and [–eo] which had been analyzed by Chatterji (Chatterji, 1926, p.899-901).

Sometime this future imperative marker acts as subjunctive, such as,

ɟanalati kʰule rekʰo ɟate gʰɔre baʈaʃ aʃe
window open keep.2P.SG.SUBJ so that room.LOC air   come.SUBJ
'Keep the window open so that air can blow in the room'

The future imperative mood of Bangla will be discussed later in this paper.

1.1.c. Subjunctive

The subjunctive in CE is generally optional and stylistically marked variant of other construction. It is realized likely imperative by the base form of the verb. Thus, apart from the third person singular present tense and the indicative form of 'be'. There is no difference between subjunctive and indicative form in CE.

In English, subjunctive can be classified as, (a) Mandative subjunctive (b) formulaic subjunctive and (c) irrealis 'were' subjunctive. For example, they proposed that Ashraf be elected.

In English, this subjunctive mood can be used with verb, if the subordinate clause is introduced by expression of demand, recommendation, proposal, etc. Thus, the following verbs are commonly used to introduce a mandative subjunctive in CE: decide, insist, order. Similarly, Dasgupta has found some Verbs of subjunctives and subjunctive triggers in CB, such as, [cai], [iccʰa], [ɟe], [ɟate], etc (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 73-77). If we translate the English example of mandative subjunctive into Bangla then it will be,

ʈara prosʈab korecʰilo ɟe aʃrapʰ nirbaciʈo hok

they propose VERB.PAST that Ashraf   elected become.SUBJ

'They proposed that Ashraf be elected'

(b) Formulaic subjunctive usually is found in an independent clause. The formulaic subjunctive generally conveys the meaning of let or may. It is close to the optative mood.

For example, God   save   the Queen.

                            VERB.SUBJ

If 3rd person singular marker is added to the verb, its subjunctive mood would be lost like,

God   saves   the Queen

            VERB.3P.SG

We can write those sentences in Bangla as,

kʰoḍa ranike bãcie rakʰuk
god   queen   VERB.SUBJ
'God save the queen'

kʰoḍa ranike bãcae
god   queen   VERB.3P.SG
'God saves the queen'

(c) Irealis 'were': For example, If I were you...
                                I wish the journey were over

These types of sentences are very frequent in CE. This 'were' structurally indicates past 2nd and 3rd person plurality but in those sentences it shows 1st person singular form. Thus, it express 1st person's subjunctive mood.

In CB, Bengali speaker often say,

ami ɟoḍi ḍoni hot•am...
I   if   rich become
'If I were rich'

Basically, it is not clear that if the [–am] is a subjunctive marker or not. Since [-am] is a marker of past habitual form of verb such as,

ɟɔkʰon ami cʰoto cʰilam tɔkʰon kagoɟ die nouka banaṭam
When I kid was.1P.SG.PH then paper with boat   make.IP.PH
'When I was a kid I used to make boat with paper'

1.2. Modality in CE and CB

There are certainly nine modal verb forms in CE. They are: can, could, may, might, must, will, would, shall, and should. But these modal verbs must have a verbal complement and sentence will be incorrect without the verbal complement. For example, one character of William Shakespeare's play *The Taming of the Shrew* says, 'there, there, Hortensio will you any wife?' (Shakespeare, 2007, p.23). Here, we see that 'will' is a modal verb and there is no verbal complement. In CE this is an incorrect sentence. These types of modality can be distinguished as dynamic, deontic and epistemic.

1.2.a. Dynamic modality

Dynamic modality relates to the ability or willingness, which comes from the individual concerned. In CE, for example: John can run faster than anyone else.

I asked him to leave but he won't.

In the first sentence, the modal 'can' express the ability and in the second sentence 'will' express the willingness. The translations sentences into Bangla are as follows:

[ɟɔn ɟe karo ceye ɟore d̪ourat̪e pare]

[ami t̪ake cole ɟabe kina ɟiggaʃa korecʰi kint̪u ʃe ɟabe na]

From these examples, we get a Bangla modal [para] as a dynamic modal. But [para] has various semantic expressions as English modal 'can'. Therefore, we cannot say that [para] or 'can' denotes the dynamic modality in particular in Bangla and English. Likely, in the second example of English 'will' express the dynamic modality, even though 'will' shows some different expressions in different sentences. However, we do not find any dynamic modal verb in the second example of Bangla.

1.2.b. Deontic modality

The term deontic comes from Greek. It means obligation, duty, and necessity. Thus deontic modality typically has to do with notions such as, obligation and permission. For instance, in English, there are several types of deontic modality, like,

Giving permission: you can come here if you wish.

Request: can you pass me the salt please?

Strong obligation: you must come here.

Possibility: you may want to solve this problem later.

In Bangla, we have some different sorts of expressions unlikely English such as, the translated sentences of Bangla of the above examples are,

[apni/ t̪umi caile ek•ane aʃt̪e paren/paro]

[amake lɔbonta ektu diben/dibe]

[t̪omake ɔboʃʃoi ekʰane aʃt̪e hɔbe]

[t̪umi pɔre ʃɔmoʃʃatar ʃɔmad̪ʰan cait̪e paro]

Here, it is assumed that English modal 'can' and Bangla modal [para] not only express the dynamic modality, but also deontic modality. From

the English examples, 'must' and 'may' function as deontic modal to express strong obligation and possibility. On the contrary, we don't get any other modal verb other than [para] in Bangla examples.

1.2.c. Epistemic modality

The term epistemic derives from the Greek word *epistemikus* which means understanding, knowledge, etc. for example, epistemic modality can be divided into three types,

Possibility: He may be ill

Necessity: He is playing tennis so he must be better

Probability: That will be the postman

Again, we see that may, must and will function as epistemic modal verb in those above examples in English. In Bangla, epistemic modality is expressed by a compound verb [hote pare] or a single verb [hɔoa] which means 'may be' or 'to become'. But [hɔoa] is not a modal verb. Therefore, it is seemed that there is no structurally particular element for epistemic modality in Bangla.

From the comparison between English and Bangla sentences, it is realized that Bangla does not have an organized modal system as English. We can assume that, Bangla has one modal verb [para] and this verb has versatile uses. Besides, this verb we do not have any evidence of modality in Bangla.

Historical evidence of Bangla mood

In this section, the discussion of Banglamood will be proceeded by diachronic approach. It is relevant to look at the verb conjugation system of Indo-European (IE), Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) and Old Bangla to understand the conjugation and modal system of contemporary Bangla (CB).
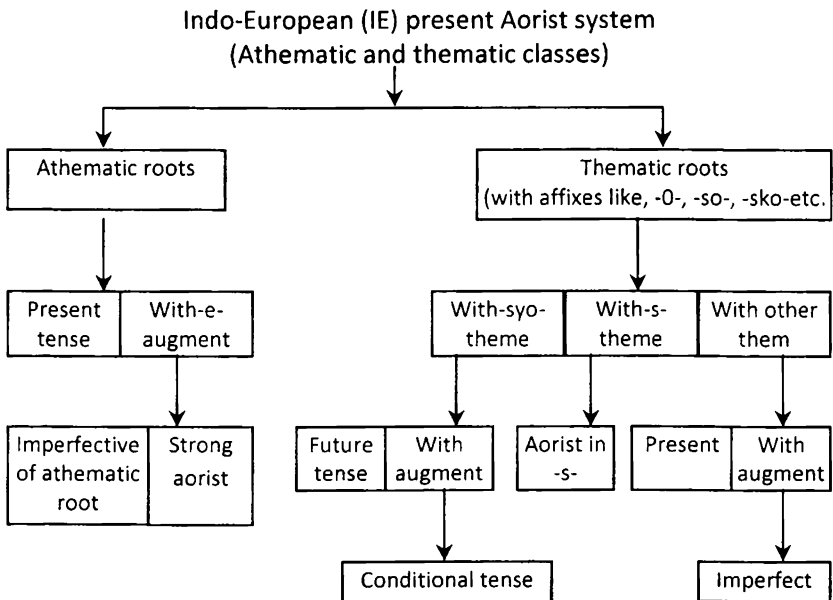
According to the most of the theoretical linguists, there are two moods in Bangla. But they have found historical evidence of different mood markers in Old and middle Bangla. However, OIA actually possesses several moods. CB possesses two moods: indicative and imperative. The imperative occurs in the second and third person only, and in the present tense. It is sometimes called the 'imperative tense'. An old future for the second person is used as a precative or future

imperative. The other moods of the OIA are: subjunctive or conjunctive, optative, injunctive and precative which have been entirely lost in Bangla. (Chatterji, 1926, p. 899)
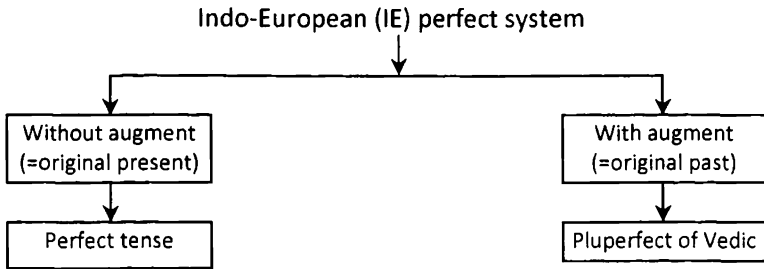
Verb conjugational system of IE and OIA

The conjugational system of Primitive Indo-European was exceedingly simple such as, there was no distinction of tenses and the subjunctive and optative moods were just evolving out of the indicative (Chatteji, 1926, p. 861). The conjugations of verb in IE were in two types: (a) Present-Aorist system (b) Perfect system. To understand past an adverbial [-e] was added, which is called augment, which was always stressed and was placed before the verb form. The combination of [*-e] (> Indo-Aryan= [-a]) and verb form indicated the imperfect and aorist tenses in Vedic and Sanskrit. These [*-e] and [*-o] vowels which placed before the ending of a word, noun, adjective, and verb in the IE languages are called thematic and those without the vowels are athematic. In particular thematic vowel is any vowel found at the end of the stem of a word. IE verbs and nominal (nouns and adjectives) consist of three parts: root, suffix and ending. Here, Chatteji's conjugation table is given,

(a)

Indo-European (IE) present Aorist system
(Athematic and thematic classes)

(b)

Indo-European (IE) perfect system

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┌─────────────────────┐                    ┌─────────────────────┐
│ Without augment     │                    │ With augment        │
│ (=original present) │                    │ (=original past)    │
└─────────────────────┘                    └─────────────────────┘
          │                                          │
          ▼                                          ▼
┌─────────────────────┐                    ┌─────────────────────┐
│   Perfect tense     │                    │ Pluperfect of Vedic │
└─────────────────────┘                    └─────────────────────┘
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(Chatterji, 1926, p. 862-863)

Basically, there were two moods in IE, the indicative and imperative. The conjunctive and optative were developed from the indicative. Firstly, the thematic vowels [*-ĕ], [*-ē], [*-ŏ], [*-ō] denoted some aspect of indicatives. Afterward, came to acquire the sense of a special mood, that of conjunctive or subjunctive. Like, the [*-ĕ], [*-ē], [*-ŏ], [*-ō] and [*-sye], [*-syo] was changed to the future. The group of themes [*-yé], [*-yə́] and [*-éye], [*-éyo] became the affixes of the denominative and causative forms respectively. The affixes [*-yē], [*-yə], [*-ı], [*-oi] came to be associated with the optative mood.

The present system of moods of Chatterji's conspectus of OIA verb-forms are given below (here, indicative, imperative and subjunctive moods have only been taken) (Chatterji, 1926, p. 863-865)

Root: [car] or [cal] means 'to move', 'to walk'

A. Indicative mood
    (a) With primary personal affixes: (1) Active voice: cár-a-ti (2) passive voice: cár-yá-ti
    (b) With secondary personal affixes: (1) Active voice: cár-a-t (2) passive voice: sū-yá-ta

B. Subjunctive mood

    (a) With primary personal affixes: (1) Active voice: cár-ā-ti, cár-ā-ti (2) passive voice: uh-y- ấ-t- ē

C. Imperative mood

    (a) With secondary personal affixes: (1) Active voice: cár-a, cár-a-ta (2nd person plural) (2) Passive voice: hū-yá-sva

From the above examples, we have strong evidence that OIA had indicative, subjunctive and imperative mood markers such as, [a], [ā] and [á].

Moods of New Bangla (NB) and Contemporary Bangla (CB)

Chatterji analyzed Bangla mood in diachronic approach and he showed how themes or mood markers of Bangla have evolved from OIA (Chatterji, 1926, p. 863-870). Thus it was not relevant to illustrate various markers of Bangla in his work. In spite of, he assumed and categorized different features of Bangla verbs which are still significant for the investigation of mood of CB. In his opinion compared with the elaborate conjugational system of OIA that of the NIA shows a very great simplification. And Bangla is perhaps more simplified than any other of its sisters and cousins. Chatterji denoted contemporary Bangla in his time as New Bangla (NB). NB evolved by a curtailment process from OIA. Here, a short illustration of the evolution of present system of mood of NB is given below,

The present system of mood of NB and CB

The OIA themes have been in a few instances retained in the root in NB

A. Indicative mood

The forms for the present tense alone have been retained in indicative mood.

Person	OIA	NB	CB
1st person	calāmi >	cɔli	cɔli
2nd person	calatha>	cɔlɔ, cɔlo	cɔlo
2nd person (Inferior)	calasi>	cɔli- sɔ	cɔliɔ
2nd person (honorific)	calanti>	cɔlen	cɔlun
3rd person	calati>	cɔlē	cɔle

B. Imperative mood

Person	OIA	NB	CB
2nd person	calata>	cɔlɔ,cɔlo	cɔlo
2nd person (Inferior)	cala>	cɔl	cɔl
2nd person (honorific)	calantu>	cɔluna>cɔlun	cɔlun
3rd person	calatu>	cɔlɔu>cɔ lɔu-ka>cɔluk	cɔluk

C.   Future imperative

The indicative future in [sýo] was inherited in OB, but in NB retained only the forms for the 2nd person as a future imperative or precative, like,

OIA	NB	CB
calisyasi>	cɔlis, coliʃ	coliʃ
calisyatha>	cɔlihɔ> cɔliō>cōlō	colo

Here, we have got an important marker or theme [-io] in 2nd person from NB which function as both future imperative and subjunctive in different contexts in CB.

For example,   ṭumi   amake   boita   ḍio
               You   me-LOC   book   give-SUBJ
               'Please give me the book'

               ṭumi   kaʒti   koro
               You   work   do-SUBJ
               'Please do the work'

In the same way we find another theme or marker [-uk] which works as future imperative and subjunctive such as,

ora   maṭ•e   kʰeluk
they   playground-LOC   play-SUBJ
'They may play in the playground'

raju   sinema   dekʰuk
raju   cinema   see-SUBJ
'Raju may watch the cinema'

For 2nd person honorific, it has been noticed that simple future of verb sometimes act as subjunctive like,

apni   kaʒti   korben/*koiren/*koren

you   work   do-SUBJ

'Please do the work'

Although [koiren] is frequently used in some dialectical variation of Bangla, it is not standard form. Sometimes [-ie] theme is added to express subjunctive mood for 2nd person honorific,

apni   amake   boita   dien/*diben
you   me-LOC   book   give-SUBJ
'Please give me the book'

From the above discussion it can be said that [-io], [-uk], [-ie] are themes or markers of 2nd and 3rd person which transform verbs into subjunctive or future imperative mood. To illustrate Bangla subjunctive and future imperative, a list of the most frequent Bangla verbs of subjunctive form is given here,

Verb	Meaning	Subjunctive form (2nd person)	Subjunctive form (3rd person)
kɔra	To do	koro korben, (koren/koiren)[1] {hon.}[2]	koruk
bɔla	To say	bolo bolben, (bolen/boilen) {hon.}	boluk
bɔʃa	To sit	boʃo boʃben, (boiʃen) {hon.}	boʃuk
dʰɔra	To hold	d•oro d•orben, (d•oiren) {hon.}	dʰoruk
pɔra	To read	poro porben, (poren/poiren) {hon.}	poruk
cɔla	To move	colo colben, (coilen/colen) {hon.}	coluk
hɔoa	To be	hɔu, (hoio) hɔben, (hoien/hoen) {hon.}	hok
ʃona	To hear	ʃono/ʃuno/ (ʃuino) ʃunben, (ʃuinen) {hon.}	ʃunuk
ʃoa	To lie down	(ʃuio) ʃuben, (ʃuien) {hon.}	ʃuk, ʃok
dʰoa	To wash	(dʰuio) dʰuben, (dʰuien) {hon.}	dʰuk, dʰok
bojʰa	To understand	(buijʰo) bujʰben, (buijʰen) {hon.}	bujʰuk

[1] The first brackets ( ) have been used to indicate the Non-standard conjugated form of verbs in the chart.
[2] {hon.} = second person honorific form

otʰa	To wake up	(uitʰo) utʰben, (uitʰen) {hon.}	utʰuk
cʰoa	To touch	cʰuo cʰuben, (cʰuien) {hon.}	cʰuk
kʰoɟa	To search	kʰoɟo, (kʰuiɟo) kʰuɟben, (kʰuiɟen) {hon.}	kʰuɟuk
kʰola	To open	kʰulo, (kʰuilo) kʰulben, kʰuilen {hon.}	kʰuluk
d̪ækʰa	To watch	d̪ekʰo d̪ekʰben, (d̪eikʰen) {hon.}	d̪ekʰuk
kʰæla	To play	kʰelo, (kʰeilo) kʰelben, (kʰeilen) {hon.}	kʰeluk
bæca	To sell	beco, (beico) becben, (beicen) {hon.}	becuk
pʰæla	To throw	pʰelo, (pʰeilo) p•elben,(pʰelen/pʰeilen) {hon.}	pʰeluk
lekʰa	To write	likʰo, (leikʰo) likʰben, (leikʰen) {hon.}	lekʰuk, likʰuk
ʃekʰa	To learn	ʃikʰo ʃikʰben {hon.}	ʃikʰuk
kena	To buy	kino kinben, kinen {hon.}	kinuk
d̪eoa	To give	d̪io d̪iben, d̪ien {hon.}	d̪ek
neoa	To take	nio niben, nien {hon.}	nek
cʰẽra	To tear up	cʰĩro cʰĩrben, cʰĩren {hon.}	cʰĩruk
pʰera	To return	pʰiro pʰirben, pʰiren {hon.}	pʰiruk
kʰaoa	To eat	kʰeo kʰaben, (kʰaien) {hon.}	kʰak
ɟaoa	To go	ɟeo ɟaben, (ɟaien) {hon.}	ɟak

caoa	To want	ceo caiben {hon.}	cak
paoa	To get	peo paben, (paien) {hon.}	pak
gaoa	To sing	geo gaben, (gaien) {hon.}	gak
aʃa	To come	eʃo aʃben, (aiʃen) {hon.}	aʃuk
ɟana	To know	ɟeno ɟanben, (ɟainen) {hon.}	ɟanuk
hãta	To walk	hẽto hãtben, (hãiten) {hon.}	hãtuk
t̪ʰaka	To stay	t̪ʰeko t̪ʰakben, (t̪ʰaiken) {hon.}	t̪ʰakuk
bʰaba	To think	bʰebo bʰabben, (bʰaiben) {hon.}	bʰabuk
naca	To dance	neco nacben, (naicen) {hon.}	nacuk
tana	To stretch	teno tanben, (tainen) {hon.}	tanuk
rakʰa	To keep	rekʰo rakʰben, (raikʰen) {hon.}	rakʰuk
para	To be able	pero parben, (pairen) {hon.}	paruk
kata	To cut	keto katben, (kaiten) {hon.}	katuk

Some significant observations from the list are,

(1)   There is no marker or theme as well as verb form for 2nd person honorific in Standard Bangla.

(2)   In Non-standard or colloquial Bangla, [-io] theme is added with the root to conjugate 2nd person honorific such as, [koiren], [bʰaiben] which are not acceptable in Standard Bangla.

(3)   There are exceptions for 2nd person like, [ceo], [kʰulo], [beco], [pʰelo], etc.

(4)   Sometimes verb conjugate with the [-io] theme is not acceptable in Standard Bangla, for instance, [leikʰo], [kʰuilo], [kʰeilo], [ʃuio], [buijʰo], [dʰuio]. But these types of verb forms are very common and acceptable in colloquial Bangla.

Syntactic analysis of bangla subjunctive

Dasgupta and Bhattacharya have found some subjunctive Verbs (e.g. cai, iccʰa), and subjunctive triggers (e.g. ɟate̪, ɟe) that have been mentioned at the beginning of this paper (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 73-77). Generally, these Verb forms and triggers are used in complex sentence; and they transform the verb of the sub-ordinate clause into subjunctive form. For instance,

(a) ami   cai   ɟe t̪umi aɟ rat̪e amar bat̪i   aʃo/*eʃo

     I want that you today night-LOC my-GEN house come-SUBJ

     'I want that you come to my house tonight'

(b) amar iccʰa   ɟe   o   aɟ   aʃuk/ *aʃe/ *aʃbe

     my-GEN desire that he/she today come-SUBJ

     '(It is) my desire that she/he comes today'

(c) ami eʃecʰi   ɟat̪e   ʃe   pʰire   aʃe/ *aʃuk

     I   come-have so that she/he return come-SUBJ

     'I have come so that she/he comes back'

(d) ami ʃunecʰi ɟe t̪umi aɟ rat̪e amar bat̪i aʃbe/ *aʃo/ *eʃo

     I heard that you today night my-GEN house come-FUT

     'I heard that you will come to my house tonight'

     (Bhattacharya, 2015, p.1)

In example (a) the verb conjugation of the complementizer phrase (CP) is similar to the imperative, and the subjunctive form [eʃo] of the verb is not acceptable. In Bhattacharya's opinion, it is accepted since in Sanskrit the subjunctive in the 1st person was incorporated in the imperative paradigm. Later, grammarians interpreted 1st person imperative as the subjunctive (Bhattacharya, 2015, p.1). As there is a 1st person subjunctive verb [cai] has been incorporated in the Verb phrase (VP), the CP does not accept another subjunctive verb form,

like, [eʃo]. As a result 2nd person imperative form of the verb functions as subjunctive mood.

On the contrary, in example (b) subjunctive form of verb is acceptable in case of 3rd person but not acceptable in the example (c). Basically, the subjunctive and imperative form of 3rd person are identical in Bangla and in particular the verb form [aʃuk] is acted as subjunctive in this sentence.

In case of example (c) the subjunctive or imperative marker [-uk] of 3rd person is not taken to conjugate the verb, rather the verb is conjugated with the marker of indicative mood. In this sentence the indicative form of verb is functioned as subjunctive mood.

Mood determination in CP

From the previous discussion it can be assumed that the complementizers or subjunctive triggers can play significant role to determine the subjunctive mood in CP.

Here, some examples of incorporating [ɟe], different persons, subjunctive verb forms, and CP structures are given below,

(1) ami cai ɟe tumi/apni porikkʰae paʃ   koro/koren
     I   want that you   exam   pass do-SUBJ
     'I want that you pass the exam'

(2) ami aʃa kori ɟe tumi/apni porikkʰae paʃ   koro/ koren
     I   hope do   that you   exam   pass do-SUBJ

     'I hope that you pass the exam'

(3) ami doa kori ɟe   tumi/apni porikkʰae paʃ   koro/ koren
     I   pray do   that you   exam   pass do-SUBJ

     'I pray that you pass the exam'

(4) tumi   porikkʰae paʃ   koro
     you   exam   pass do-SUBJ
     'May you pass the exam'

(5) ami   cai ɟe   ʃe   porikkʰae paʃ   koruk/ *kore
     I   want that she/he exam   pass do-SUBJ
     'I want that she/he pass the exam'

(6) ami aʃa   kori ɟe   ʃe   porikkʰae paʃ koruk/*kore
    I   hope do   that she/he exam   pass do-SUBJ
    'I hope that she/he pass the exam'

(7) ami doa   kori ɟe ʃe   porikkʰae paʃ koruk/*kore
    I   pray do   that she/he exam   pass do-SUBJ

    'I pray that she/he pass the exam'

(8) ʃe porikkʰae paʃ koruk/*kore
    she/he exam   pass do-SUBJ
    'May he/she pass the exam'

From these examples, it is realized that the complementizer [ɟe] does not allow the subjunctive form of 2nd person simple and 2nd person honorific to conjugate the verb in CP. Rather, it takes the indicative or imperative form of verb and functions as subjunctive mood. However, in order to conjugate the verb in subjunctive mood with subjunctive marker sentence has to be simple without CP like, example (4). On the other hand, the complementizer [ɟe] allows the subjunctive form of 3rd person to conjugate the verb in CP as well as in simple sentence. Therefore, it can be said that [ɟe] functions differently in constructing different subjunctive form of persons.

We have another complementizer or subjunctive trigger [ɟaʈe]. Some examples of using [ɟaʈe], different persons, subjunctive verb forms, and CP structures are given below,

(1) ami eʃecʰi ɟat·e tʰumi/apni ṭaṛaṭaṛi rɔconati ʃeʃ   koro/kɔren
    I   came so that you   quickly essay   finish do-SUBJ
    'I have come so that you can finish the essay quickly'

(2) ami eʃecʰi ɟaʈe ʃe ṭaṛaṭaṛi rɔconati ʃeʃ kɔre/*koruk
    I   came so that you quickly essay   finish do-SUBJ
    'I have come so that she/he can finish the essay quickly'

(3) ṭumi/apni ṭaṛaṭaṛi rɔconati   ʃeʃ   koro/korben
    you   quickly   essay   finish do-SUBJ

    'May you finish the essay quickly'

(4) ʃe   ṭaṛaṭaṛi rɔconati ʃeʃ   koruk
    she/he quickly essay   finish do-SUBJ

    'May she/he finish the essay quickly'

From the above examples, it is seen that the complementizer [ɟatˑe] acts slight differently than [ɟe] in constructing the subjunctive mood of verb in CP. Like, in case of both 2nd person and 3rd person, [ɟatˑe] only allows the indicative or imperative form to conjugate the verb in CP. But the conjugated verbs of CP are functioned as subjunctive. As the previous examples, subjunctive marker is added in order to conjugate the subjunctive form of verb in simple sentence.

Dasgupta and Bhattacharya observed Bangla subjunctive through some diagnostic tests and then they gave some observations. Here, two of their important observations are given below,

(1) The Bangla subjunctive exhibits pre-verbal negation
(2) The Bangla subjunctive excludes true auxiliaries   (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 74-78)

To describe the first observation following examples can be given,

(a) ami cai ɟe ʈumi aɟ raʈe amar baɽi na aʃo/*aʃo na

I want that you today night-LOC my-GEN house come-SUBJ not

'I want that you will not come to my house tonight'

(b) amar iccʰa ɟe o aɟ na aʃuk/ *aʃuk na
my-GEN desire that he/she today not come-SUBJ

'(It is) my desire that she/he will not come today'

(c) ami eʃecʰi ɟaʈe ʃe pʰire na aʃe/ *aʃe na/*aʃuk na
I come-have so that she/he return not come-SUBJ
'I have come so that she/he will not come back'

From these examples, it is realized that subjunctive verb forms and subjunctive triggers do not allow post verbal negation. To show the individual function of subjunctive triggers, the above examples have been split up and the complementizer phrases have been taken like,

(a.1) ɟe ʈumi aɟ raʈe amar baɽi na aʃo/*aʃo na

that you today night-LOC my-GEN house come-SUBJ not

'that you will not come to my house tonight'

(b.1)   ɟe   o   aɟ   na   aʃuk/ *aʃuk na

that he/she today not   come-SUBJ

'that she/he will not come today'

(c.1)   ɟate   ʃe   pʰire   na   aʃe/ *aʃe na/*aʃuk na

so that she/he return   not   come-SUBJ
'I have come so that she/he will not come back'

Since these are the examples of clauses, they do not express complete meaning. Yet, the subjunctive triggers do not allow the post verbal negation in clause level. If we omit the triggers from the above examples, the examples will no more remain CP. Then the examples would be complete simple sentences such as,

(a.1.1)   tumi   aɟ   rate   amar   baɽi   na eʃo /eʃo na
/*na aʃo/*aʃo na

you   today night-LOC my-GEN house   come-SUBJ not

'you will not come to my house tonight'

(b.1.1)   o   aɟ   na   aʃuk/ *aʃuk na
he/she   today not   come-SUBJ
'she/hewill not come today'

(c.1.1)   ʃe   pʰire   na   aʃuk/ *aʃe na/*aʃuk na

she/he return   not   come-SUBJ
'she/he will not come back'

Although these sentences seem incomplete, they express complete sentential proposition.

Therefore, in case of simple sentence, Bangla subjunctive does not allow post-verbal negation also except example (a.1.1). In this example it has been seen that 2nd person allows both types of negations.

For the second observation following examples can be given,

(d)   ʃe   taɽataɽi   pʰirlo   ɟate   ʃomoe hate   tʰake/*acʰe

he/she   early   returned so that time   hand-LOC AUX-HAB/AUX-STAT

'he/she returned early so that some time is left in hand'

(e) ʃe   cae   ɟe   rajib   aɟ   baɽi   tʰakuk/*acʰuk
    he/she want that rajib today home AUX-HAB-SUBJ
    'he wants Rajib to stay home today'

(f) ʃe æʈo ʈaɽaʈaɽi pʰirlo ɟaʈe ʃomoe haʈe   tʰake/acʰe
    he/she so early   returned so that time   hand-LOC AUX-
    HAB/AUX-STAT
    'he/she has returned so early that some time is left in hand'
    (Bhattacharya, 2015, p. 2-3)

The subjunctive [ɟaʈe] or [ɟe] trigger takes always the habitual auxiliary, whereas indicative can take both the habitual and stative form of the auxiliary.

At the end of this paper we can summarize Bangla subjunctive by following points,

(a) Subjunctive marker is taken to conjugate the verb in simple sentence.
(b) In case of complex sentence, the complementizer determines the subjunctive structure of verb in CP.
(c) The subjunctive trigger or complementizer [ɟe] allows the indicative or imperative form of verb of 2nd person but it acts as subjunctive. On the other hand, [ɟe] takes the subjunctive form of 3rd person to conjugate the verb in CP. It has been mentioned that the imperative and subjunctive form of verb of 3rd person are identical in Bangla.
(d) The subjunctive trigger or complementizer [ɟaʈe] shows the same function in constructing subjunctive form of both 2nd and 3rd person to conjugate the verb in CP. It always takes the indicative or imperative form of verb but functions as subjunctive.
(e) Bangla subjunctive does not allow post verbal negation in both simple and complex sentences.
(f) The complementizer does not have any function in determining the position of negation in CP. Basically, the subjunctive form of verb determines the position of negative word in sentence.

Although it is difficult to make a concrete distinction between future imperative and subjunctive, we have found morpho-syntactic function of subjunctive in different pragmatic context in Bangla. As well as, it is realized that Bangla has specific markers, triggers, and verb forms for subjunctive mood.

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