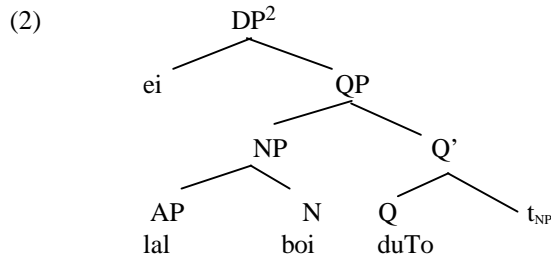


The phrase in (1a) is the base order. In (1b) where the nominal *boi* has moved out of its base position, the phrase is felicitous only if the nominal has a prior discourse reference. This, I take to be the essential definition of specificity. Applying Diesing’s analysis to NPs, I suggest that a specific NP moves out of its immediate nP-shell (to be elaborated in section 2) to a higher position. The leftward movement of the NP is shown in (2):



The specific reading is obtained by a feature of [SPECIFICITY] on the Q head (containing *du-To* as above) which attracts the NP to its spec as shown. I will call this, Phrasal ‘Object’ Shift (POS). I assume that the [SPECIFICITY] feature of Q is not selected where the NP is non-specific as in (1a), similar to proposals regarding the optional character of the strong N feature of Agr_o in Icelandic Object Shift at the clausal level.

Syntactic specificity is considered here to be a -Interpretable feature and therefore, must be checked at the latest by LF. The non-interpretability of a semantic notion like specificity is justified in Bangla since it is a configurational property of the language. In addition, associating non-interpretability with a fundamentally interpretable notion is not uncommon in the framework, for example, the feature Q in MP is one such feature. To ensure that the checking occurs in overt syntax, I assume further that this optional feature which is picked up by the Q head as it enters the numeration is STRONG. Only a Q head that contains a Classifier element has the option of picking up this strong, non-interpretability feature [SPECIFIC].

To show that a feature of the Q head is responsible for this leftward NP movement, consider the following.

- (3) a. car paS
 four sides
 ‘Four sides’
- b. *paS car
 side four
 ‘the four sides’

That is, certain classifierless Num-N sequences in the language do not undergo the specificity related NP movement. A typical structure for (3a) is as follows:

² I will modify the Bangla DP structure in 4 where the demonstrative (Dem) *ei* is shown to be a part of the D-domain and instead suggest that the Dem is generated lower.

(4) [DP [_{QP} car [_{NP} paS]]]

The Q head in case of (3a) does not exercise the option of picking up a specificity feature when it enters the numeration. These two facts --- the absence of specificity and the absence of leftward NP movement -- must be connected. This connection is established by endowing the Q-head with the option of choosing a non-interpretable formal feature of specificity. When a Q bears a strong specificity feature, it selects an NP complement with a similar (specificity) feature, this one Interpretable. In a given derivation, the option of assigning the strong specificity feature to the Q and concomitantly selecting the Interpretive specificity feature for its NP complement may or may not be exercised. But once such feature assignment has taken place, there is no further choice. The complement NP must prepose overtly to check this strong feature. This account assumes a standard mechanism to drive the movement of NP to the Spec of QP. If, however, the numeration contains a nonspecific Q, then there is no need for feature checking and hence no overt preposing in case of nonspecific (1a). In case of (3) the Q head does not carry any feature of specificity. The absence of classifiers precludes the choice of the strong specificity feature for Q. The Q, therefore, bears no attractor feature that could trigger complement NP preposing.

For reasons discussed in connection with the derivation in (2), it is clear that the landing site for the leftward NP movement inside the DP in Bangla is [Spec,QP] since movement due to a formal feature for the purpose of feature-checking must establish the Spec-Head configuration.

2. Kinship Inversion³

In this section, I will show that apart from POS discussed in the previous section, there is further evidence of leftward NP movement based on data -- previously unnoticed in this or any related language -- involving kinship terms. I will show that the marked word order NP-Possessive in (5b) is due to **KINSHIP INVERSION (KI)**, which is a purely descriptive label for this phenomenon. The order in (5a) is the unmarked order of Poss-NP⁴.

³ A more detailed version of some of the ideas presented is discussed in Bhattacharya (1999a)

⁴ I will consider possessives as understood in well-known languages like English (e.g. *John's*), and possessive pronouns as similar and not different in Bangla in terms of their status and Case marking. Notice, for example, that both *John's* and *my* get the same Genitive Case marker *-(e)r* as in (i):

- | | |
|--------------|----------|
| (i)a. jOn-er | b. ama-r |
| 'John's' | 'my' |

(5) a. amar baRi
 my.GEN house
 ‘My house’

b. chele amar khub duSTu!
 son my.GEN very naughty
 ‘My son is very naughty’

Apart from the inversion of the unmarked word order of Poss and NP in case of KI in (5b), notice that the inverted NP cannot be accommodated in the DP structure in (2). Let us look at this problem first. The structure of the DP in (2) provides an analysis for data like (6a) where the Poss *amar* ‘mine’ is in [Spec,DP] and the Dem *ei* ‘this’ is in D as shown in (7). Additionally, (6b) shows that the Poss cannot be lower than the Dem in the structure:

(6) a. ama-r ei du-To boi
 my-GEN this two-CLA book
 ‘these two books of mine’

b. *ei amar du-To boi

(7) [DP amar [D ei] [QP du-To [NP boi]]]

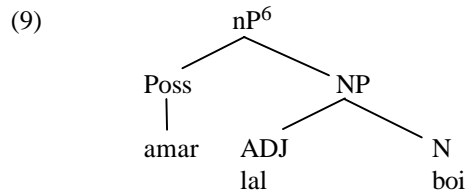
Now, as we have already seen in (5b), that with certain kinship expressions, the Poss is no longer the highest XP in the tree. This is further exemplified by the following examples:

(8) a. baba amar khub gorib!⁵
 father mine very poor

b. ma amar SOt manuS!
 mother mine honest human

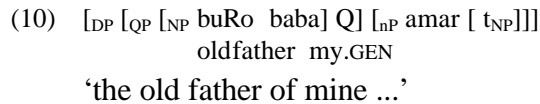
Given this, I will suggest following some authors (Giorgi & Longobardi (1991), Mallén (1997) and others) that Poss is like an adjective (in some languages) and therefore must be generated within the NP. In Lehman (1974), it is reported that attributive genitives in Old IE behave like attributive adjectives but unlike the latter, are appositional in nature. This would also suggest generating the Poss in a pre-nominal position within the NP. If that is the case then in the current framework, we can generate the Poss within the nP-shell as follows:

⁵ A term of endearment may be added to the kinship term in these examples in a free gloss to convey the sense of affection intended (indicated by the exclamation mark) when such phrases are used; e.g. *dear father, darling son* etc



This would suggest that a DP like (6) is derived by moving the Poss all the way up to [Spec,DP] past the Q head consisting of the Num-Cla complex *duTo*. Although nothing crucial in the present analysis depends on it, this movement is triggered by the presence of a relevant feature ([POSS]) in D. In the case of KI (as in 5b and 8) this movement does not take place in the overt syntax. In KI cases the NP moves out of the nP stranding the Poss. KI, therefore, is another instance of DP-internal NP movement.

Unlike in other languages (e.g. in Italian, Longobardi 1994), in Bangla, I will show that the NP, rather than the N, moves up stranding the possessive XP *amar* ‘mine’ in its base-generated position within the nP-shell.



I will claim that the landing site for this movements is also [Spec,QP]. That is, I will argue that it is the specifier of QP (rather than the specifier of DP) which is the landing site for specific NPs. We have evidence from other languages that the restriction to kinship terms is not unexpected. For example, in Longobardi (1994), it is reported that in Italian, kinship terms have a cluster of properties not shared by other common nouns. He suggests that kinship terms, in fact, behave like proper nouns. Proper nouns in Longobardi’s theory obligatorily move to D. Thus we can say that kinship Ns in Bangla are like proper names (as in Italian) and therefore they move to D to give the order we notice above.

Bangla, however, differs from Italian in that the whole NP moves up in Bangla. Consider the following:

- (11) a. amar buRo baba khub bhalo
 my oldfather very good
 ‘my old father is very good’
- b. [_{NP} buRo baba] amar t_{NP} khub bhalo
 (Lit.) ‘Old father (of) mine is very good!’

⁶ The content of the small n is not without problem for Bangla. However, in Bhattacharya (1998a) it is claimed that adjectival agreeement in Hindi is established via this head. Also, the stucture in (9) can explain the fact that some N-N expressions in Dutch are not compounds (as informed by Riet Vos), but are more like measure phrases with a light noun.

c. *baba amar buRo khub bhalo

The clause in (11b) above in contrast with (11c) clearly indicates that the N moves up along with its modifiers⁷. In Bangla, therefore, it is a case of NP movement and not N (to D) movement as noticed in Italian and other languages. KI, therefore, involves NP movement, that is, similar to POS in section 1 which also involved leftward NP movement.

Earlier, I have mentioned that KI is observed in certain cases. Perhaps the use of this order is dictated by the nature of the predicate in KI cases if by Stage and Individual level we mean temporary and permanent properties of the subject respectively:

(12) a. # baba amar aSben (stage level)
father mine come-will
'father mine will come'

b. baba amar khub bhalo manuS (individual level)
father mine very good man
'father mine is a very good man'

This contrast is clearer in Hindi:

(13) a.* baba mere aayenge (stage level)
father mine come-will

b. baba mere acche admii haiM (individual level)
father mine good man is

However, at the phrasal level, I show that this movement is motivated by a feature of the Q head. The nature of the predicate at the clausal level is perhaps reflected in this crucial feature located at the Q head at the phrasal level. Investigating this communication is, however, beyond the scope of the present paper. I will claim that similar to the case of POS a feature of the Q head attracts the NP to its specifier position in case of KI as well.

⁷ I have provided some evidence in Bhattacharya (1999a) in support of [Spec,NP] status of Adj in Bangla. However, even without such an assumption, the point about NP movement can be made by considering participial modifiers like the following:

(i) a. ghOre bOSa baba amar
home.LOC sit.PPL father mine
(Lit.) 'the home-sitting father mine!'

b.*baba amar ghOre bOSa
father mine home.LOC sit.PPL

(ib) is ungrammatical in the relevant phrasal sense; since the copula in the present is not expressed in Bangla, it can have the clausal meaning 'Father mine is sitting at home'. I thank J. R. Payne for raising this issue.

Before investigating the nature of the feature responsible for KI, let us briefly⁸ sort out the position of the last piece of the DP puzzle, i.e., the demonstrative (Dem). The following data shows that the Dem cannot be a head in Bangla:

- (14) a. *ei du-To lal boi*
 this two-CLA red book
 ‘these two red books’
- b.* [*lal boi*]_i *ei du-To t_i*
- c. *ei [lal boi]_i du-To t_i*
 ‘these two red books’ (specific)

As (14b) shows, the leftward movement of the object NP across the Dem *ei* ‘this’ is barred. If the Dem is not a head then it cannot occupy either D (contrary to what is shown in 7) or any other head between D and Q.

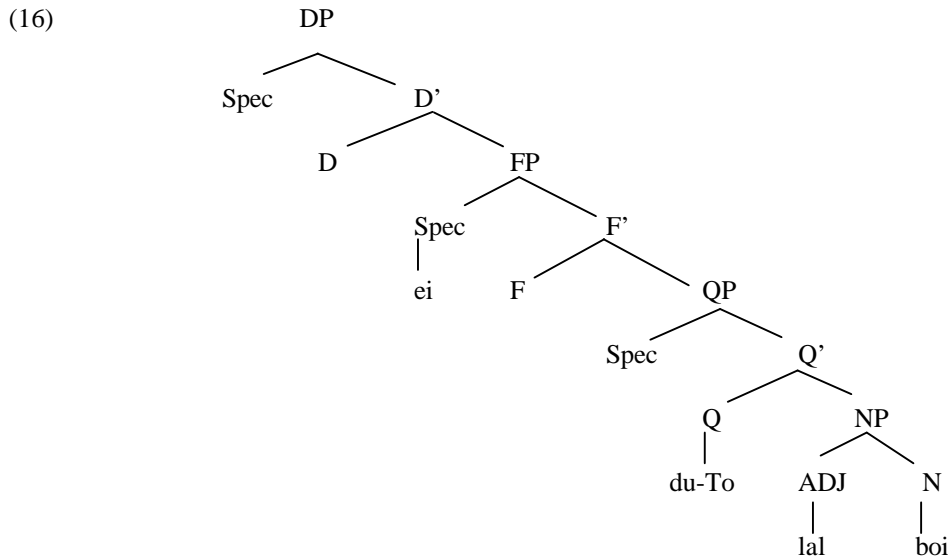
The proposal that the Dem may not be equated with D⁰ is well established in the literature (Giusti (1997), Bernstein (1993), Brugé (1996) etc). They argue that the definite article (at D⁰) and the Dem can co-occur in many languages:

- (15) a. *el libro este/ ese/ aquel* (Spanish) Brugé (1996)
 the book this/ that/ that
 ‘this book’
- b. *băiat-ul acesta (frumos)* (Rumanian) Giusti (1997)
 boy-the this nice
 ‘this nice boy’

The intermediate head position at whose spec the Dem is located, is needed as an escape hatch for the N to D movement to proceed.

Based on analyses on focussing at the clausal level which posit a pre-verbal FP projection where the head carries a feature of [FOCUS] (Brody 1990), I will suggest that reinforcing the strong similarity between clauses and phrases we may posit a similar focus-like head in the pre-QP position in the DP; the Dem, I claim, is located at the spec of such a Focus Phrase (FP). The following is the new structure for the Bangla DP:

⁸ A detailed analysis is available in Bhattacharya (1998b)



That is, we have generated the Dem as a specifier of the intermediate FP projection. There are several historical studies (see Shields 1994 and references therein) of IE personal pronouns supporting a focus analysis of Dems in general. These studies broadly conclude that the deictic particles attached to IE pronouns were “emphasizing” particles. I argue that Dems in Bangla are derived from personal pronouns plus the particle *-i*.⁹ The new DP structure now explains the inability of the NP to move across Dem in (14b) in terms of minimality.

2.1 Motivation for KI

Having decided the base position of the Poss and Dem, we are now in a position to answer the questions: *What triggers KI?* I will now proceed to show that a feature of the Q head induces the inversion noticed with kinship terms. First, the following pair shows that inversion is obligatory when an ‘affectionate’ Cla *-Ti* instead of the regular *-Ta* is used with kinship terms:

⁹ Notice that the augment *-i* used to form Dems like *ei*, *oi*, *Sei* ‘this (proximal), that (distal), that (sequent)’ from personal pronouns like *e*, *o*, *Se* is homophonous with the emphatic particle *-i* in Bangla:

- (i) a. rajen-i baRi jabe
 Rajen-EMP home go-will
 ‘Only Rajen/ Rajen himself will go home’
- b. rajen baRi-i jabe
 ‘Rajen will go to the house itself’
- c. rajen baRi jabe-i
 ‘Rajen will definitely go home’

- (17) a. bon-Ti amar khub Sada-Sidhe
 sister-CLA my very plain-straight
 ‘sister mine is very plain and simple’

b. * amar bon-Ti khub Sada-Sidhe

This shows that *-Ti* induces KI, i.e. both the use of this particular Cla and KI have matching requirements. More importantly, the Cla instantiates a feature to the Q head which is responsible for this inversion. Secondly, the following contrast shows that kinship terms when associated with Proper Names do not undergo KI, but may only do so in the presence of a Cla.

- (18) a. rakhal-er bhai/ *bhai rakhal-er khub bhalo
 Rakhal-GEN brother/ brother Rakhal-GEN very good
 ‘Rakhal’s bother is very good’

b. bhai-*Ti* rakhal-er khub bhalo
 ‘the brother of Rakhal is very good’

This example again show that a feature of the Q head (instantiated by the Cla) is responsible for KI in (18b). This establishes the fact that similar to the cases of POS, a certain feature of the Q head is responsible for KI. It is also reasonable to assume that the feature of [SPECIFICITY], responsible for POS, may be involved in case of KI. This is immediately visible in (19) where the reading obtained is specific, i.e., something is being said about two specific brothers.

- (19) bhai duTo amar, ...
 brother two.CLA mine
 ‘brothers two (of) mine,’

KI in the case of (19) therefore must involve raising of the NP *bhai* through [Spec,QP] inducing the observed specificity. In the following, I show that Poss in general induce specificity effects and thus must move through [Spec,QP].

2.2 Possession and Specificity

If we ignore the cases of kinship inversion, the derived position of the Poss is [Spec,DP]. Does the raising of *amar* ‘my’ proceed via [Spec,QP]? This should be easy to investigate since we have seen that only those NPs are attracted to this spec position which can check the [SPECIFICITY] feature of the Q head. The following data shows that a Poss always permits -- if the intonation is suitably modified -- a contrastive reading:

- (20) amar chele khub bhalo
 my son very good
 a. ‘my son is very good’
 b. ‘MY son is very good’

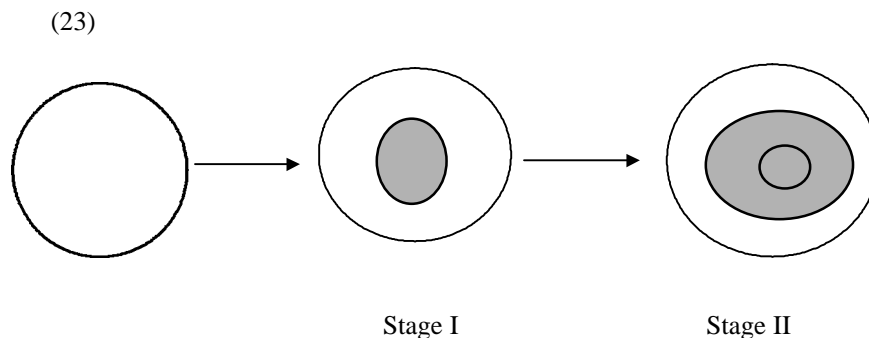
- (21) robin-er gaRi-Ta gEche
 Robin's car-CLA has gone
 a. 'Robin's car is gone!'
 b. 'ROBIN'S car is gone!'

Although this reading can be forced upon any noun when emphasised, the Poss by its very function restricts the set of possible 'sons' or 'cars' in the above examples. That is, the Poss always picks out a member from a particular set of nouns. 'My son' or 'Robin's car' are identifiable, specific son or car.

Amar chele 'my son' as in (20) above contrasts *chele* 'son' with other members in the set of relations/ things/ objects belonging to me. So the very use of *amar* reduces the set of objects that belong to everybody to objects that belong to me. Consider the following sentence:

- (22) amar CHELE khub bhalo, meye-Ta-i bOjjat
 my son very good daughter-CLA-EMP nasty
 'my SON is very good, it's only the daughter who's nasty!'

The focus on *chele* 'son' now picks out and contrasts *chele* as opposed to other objects that may belong to the narrow set already created by *amar*. The other members of the MY-set each denote alternative sets in the sense of Rooth (1985). However, at the moment of calculating the focus, only one of the alternative sets is picked out by the denotation of the NP. This state of affairs is represented as follows:

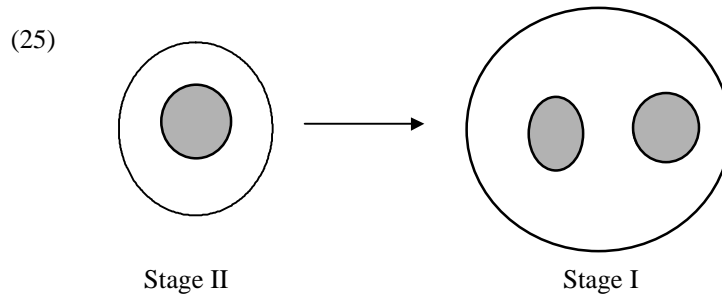


The diagram in (23) seems to imply that both Poss and Focus act as restrictive modifiers on a set. However, although it is arguable whether Poss can indeed be seen as a restrictive operation on a set, the 'reduction' in Stage II only indicates the set (out of other alternatives) finally chosen to receive the focus intonation.

Let us now consider the following:

- (24) AMAR chele khub bhalo, (tomar-Ta bojjat)
 my son very good your-CLA nasty
 'MY son is very good, (it's yours who is nasty!)

In (24) Stage I has taken place but not Stage II, as focus on *amar* sets it up against a similar Poss-set outside the *my*-set:



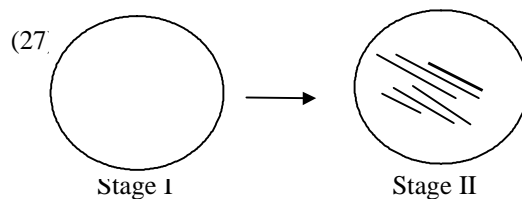
Stage I in (25) creates the MY-set. Now, when the *my* of the MY-set is focused, the alternative sets created must be from among members *outside* the domain of the MY-set. That is, the alternative sets may be made up of objects bearing the relation of possession to *you, him/ her, or X*. So, Stage II cannot take place inside the MY-set. The diagram in (25) shows this state of affairs where Stage II depicts only one of the many possible alternative sets.

Let us see if this explanation holds water for the other order we have been looking at, that is, the marked order of NP-Poss. The inversion, I suggest, breaks up the relation that normally obtains between the Poss and the NP. That is, if there is a θ -role of POSSESSION which normally obtains between the possessor and the possessed, it is unavailable in case of KI. I will assume that in a typical KI case, the thematic properties of the Poss are satisfied in the covert component. In the overt syntax, therefore, the Poss remains in its merged position during the derivation.

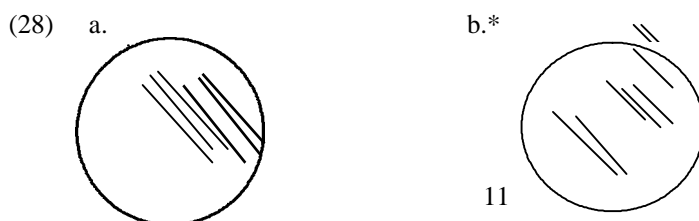
I will assume that the thematic properties of Poss in (26) are satisfied covertly in the case of KI.

(26) bhai amar ar chaRbe na
 brother mine any more leave-will not
 ‘Brother mine will not leave me any more!’

As per the set-theoretic account offered so far, I take this to mean that the MY-set that is created is in some sense ‘diffused’. I represent this state of affairs as follows:



The shaded portion in (27) represents an underspecified area. I believe that a general theory of underspecified semantics can be implemented for such underspecified sets. However, such an exercise is beyond the scope of the present paper. For the present, note that in (27), it is still possible to perform a Stage II operation of the type shown in (23), but not a Stage II operation of the type shown in (25). This is due to underspecification. That is, (28a) is a possible derivation from (27), but (28b) is not.





Given what we have said, it would seem that in the marked order (NP-Poss), focusing the NP would still be acceptable but focusing of the Poss will not be allowed, since the only meaningful function of the latter would be to set it up against another Poss-set, which due to underspecification, cannot take place in (28b). Not surprisingly, the data corroborates this prediction:

- (29) a. CHELE_i amar t_i khub bhalo, ...
 son mine very good, ...
 ‘SON mine is very good, ...’

b.*chele_i AMAR t_i khub bhalo, ...

In a nutshell, we can say that, a priori, there is no semantic ground to prevent the Poss (in syntax) from passing through the [Spec,QP] position. This prediction supports syntactic constraints on local movements as in a phrase like (30).

- (30) ama-r ei du-To boi
 my-GEN this two-CLA book

Apart from such obvious syntactic advantages as in (30), I claim that an analysis of possession in terms of specificity has at least two other distinct advantages. Firstly, it has been noticed in some languages, that the presence of a Poss makes the NP definite or presupposed. Ghomeshi (1997) reports this fact for Persian. Object nouns in Persian may occur with the definite marker *-râ* the indefinite enclitic *-i* or without any marker as shown in (31a). However, whenever a Poss is present, the object NP must appear with the definitive marker (31b).

- (31) a. ketab-o/ ketab-i/ ketab xund-am
 book-râ/ book-INDEF/ book read-1s
 ‘I read the book/ a book/ books’
- b. ketab-e jiân-o/ *jiân-i/ *jiân xund-am
 book-EZ Jian-râ/ Jian-INDEF/ Jian read-1s
 ‘I read Jian’s book’

Given our demonstration in section 1.0 that presuppositionality is a LF reflection of syntactic specificity, I will therefore consider (31) as evidence in favour of a specificity analysis of Poss.

Secondly, such an analysis allows us to distinguish between two types of specificity – strong and weak – which is well established in the literature on specificity (Groenendijk and Stokhoff, 1980 and Ludlow and Neale, 1993 among others). I will claim that specificity due to Poss moving to [Spec,QP] is weak specificity which does not require the identification of the referent whereas specificity due to NP moving to [Spec,QP] is strong specificity which strongly requires such identification.

The final movement of the Poss to its derived position -- that is, to [Spec,DP] -- is due to a

feature like [POSS] in D which attracts the Poss to its Spec. What support the theory outlined above is the observation that the Poss does not move up to [Spec,DP] in the case of kinship inversion. This is because, as we have mentioned earlier, inversion breaks up the thematic relation of, say, Possession. It is now straightforward to see that in these cases there is no [POSS] feature to check at [Spec,DP], with the result that the Poss remains in its base-generated position in kinship-inversion cases.

What we are suggesting is this: the Poss can indeed raise up to [Spec,QP] to check the [SPECIFICITY] feature of the head but cannot stay there. This is not only because the surface order of Dem-Poss-NP is not allowed in Bangla, but because the Poss in question has another Interpretable feature which checks a similar feature of the D at [Spec,DP] and we end up getting the order Poss-Dem-NP as in 64. It is not a coincidence that Poss are marked with Genitive. This marking reflects their derived position, which is [Spec,DP]. That [Spec,DP] is a site for GEN Case checking is independently suggested by various scholars (Ritter 1988, Miyagawa 1993, and others).

3.0 Conclusions

The main findings of this paper are as follows. In section 1, I have shown that there are clear cut cases of NP movement inside the DP in Bangla (Bengali) brought about by specificity, in particular, a feature of [SPECIFICITY] located at the Q head which in this language surfaces morphologically as the classifier.

In section 2, I have presented further evidence of DP-internal NP movement by looking at new data on Kinship Terms. The proposed movement, Kinship Inversion, is also shown to be triggered by a [SPECIFICITY] feature located at the Q head. The base-generated positions of the Possessive and the Demonstrative inside the Bangla DP are shown to be the nP-shell and the specifier of a Focus-related head F respectively.

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