

# COMP-Internal Clauses in Bangla Revisited

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Instead of deriving the differences between languages by the parametric research technology, we derive these differences from within each concerned language; our job is to discover the *pressure points* created in a language which erupt into these so-called inter-language differences and to locate these pressure points at the Interfaces; Minimalism provides this opportunity.

## GOALS

- Previous work: Revised Standard Non-Linear Kaynean Algorithm (KA) with respect to Bangla C-internal clauses
- Planar account of the KA and its revision
- Matrix-C clauses: revised KA and Planar account
- Classifier and Copular sentences: A planar account

## 1 Bangla COMP-internal Clauses: Re-interpreting Kayne

In order to understand the Kaynean Algorithm (KA), I will review briefly previous work of mine on Bangla COMP-internal clauses explicating the algorithm (Bhattacharya, 2001, 2002). In doing so, I hope to also provide an account of the matrix-C clauses that will be examined later.

- (1) John knows [that mother will come].
- (2) a. John jane [je ma aSbe]. Bangla  
knows that mother come.fut.3
- b. John jantaa hai [ki maa aayegii]. Hindi/ Urdu  
knows is that mother come.fut.3sf

Pre-verbal positioning of the complement clause:

- (3) a. John [ma je aSbe] jane.  
b. [ma je aSbe] John jane.  
c. \*John [maa ki aayegii] jantaa hai. Hindi/ Urdu  
d. \*[maa ki aayegii] John jantaa hai. Hindi/ Urdu

Pre-verbal position only if C is internal:

- (4) a. \*John [je ma aSbe] jane  
b. \*[je ma aSbe] John jane

Bayer (1984) reports something akin to this in Bavarian:

- (5) [<sub>XP</sub> Da Xaver daß an Mantl kafft hot] hot neamad glaubt  
the Xaver that a coat bought has, has nobody believed

However, Bavarian also allows the following which is not possible in Bangla:

- (6) I woaß ned [<sub>XP</sub> wer daß des doa hot] Bavarian  
I know not who that this done has
- (7) \*ami jani na [ke je eTa koreche] Bangla  
I know not who that this done

### 1.1 Non-Linear Kaynean Algorithm

Kayne's (1998a,b, 1999) radical idea: C and its complement do not form a constituent.

- (8) a. Merge matrix V with IP
- b. Merge Comp with (a)
- c. Comp attracts IP to its Spec
- d. W is merged and C adjoins to it
- e. C (+W) attracts remnant VP to [Spec,W]

The algorithm derives the unmarked (postverbal) order (9), shading indicating items to be moved:

- (9) John janto [je Sudha phOl kheyechē]
- J knew that S fruit eat.ppl.3
- 'John knew that Shudha has eaten fruit.'

- (10)a. [v janto] + [iP Sudha phOl kheyechē]
- b. [cOMP je] + [v janto] + [iP Sudha phOl kheyechē]
- c. [iP Sudha phOl kheyechē] [cOMP je] + [v janto] + t<sub>IP</sub>
- d. [cOMP je] [iP Sudha phOl kheyechē] t<sub>COMP</sub> + [v janto] + t<sub>IP</sub>
- e. [v janto] + t<sub>IP</sub> [cOMP je] [iP Sudha phOl kheyechē] t<sub>COMP</sub> + t<sub>VP</sub>

#### 1.1.1 Some problems of KA

- (i) Apparently, since the constituency of the CP is destroyed (only in step (8d) C...IP come together in the right order), CP formation seems to be delayed. However, viewed in terms of traditional tree structures, step (8c) should complete the CP and turn it into a phase resisting further movement out of it
- (ii) In step (8e) the remnant VP is too deep to be attracted to the spec of the C+W complex
- (iii) In step (8d) the introducing of the phantom head W is unmotivated

#### 1.1.2 Solutions to the problems of KA

- Problem (i) doesn't prevent movement of the C head since the Head of the Phase drives further movement (Chomsky 2005b: 9: IM should be driven only by Phase heads, satisfying the Edge Feature (EF) of the Phase head)
  - Problem (ii) (and also problem (i)) are addressed if PIC is followed; accessibility of H and its Edge is only up to the next strong phase, thus in (11), the elements of HP are accessible to operations within the smallest strong ZP phase but not beyond:
- (11) [ZP Z ... [HP α [H YP]]]
- Problem (ii) above can also be resolved by invoking intervention effect as below:  
*A probe can agree with goals in its domain as long as a goal with no unvalued features is found, after which further search is blocked* (Chomsky 2005: 8)
  - Thus, the EF (a feature of a Lexical Item (LI) that permits it to merged) at W scans down the tree and can seek a goal only till it encounters another phase
  - I will address problem (iii) in the next section

### 1.2 The Revised Kaynean Algorithm (RKA)

The KA fails to account for the topic cases as in (12) which are instead derived as in (13):

- (12) John [Sudha je phOl kheyechē] janto
- S C fruit eat.ppl.3 knew

'As for the fact that Shudha has eaten fruits, John knew it.'

- (13)a. [v janto] + [iP Sudha [vP phOl kheyechē]]
- b. [cOMP je] + [v janto] + [iP Sudha [vP phOl kheyechē]]
- c. [vP phOl kheyechē] [cOMP je] + [v janto] + [iP Sudha t<sub>VP</sub>]
- d. [cOMP je] [vP phOl kheyechē] t<sub>COMP</sub> + [v janto] + [iP Sudha t<sub>VP</sub>]
- e. [iP Sudha t<sub>VP</sub>] [cOMP je] [vP phOl kheyechē] t<sub>COMP</sub> + [v janto] + t<sub>IP</sub>

In KA if W would also project to a phase, then the final step in either KA or RKA would be illegal by any count (PIC/ EF phenomenon). However, this is foreseen in KA. Thus there is good reason for keeping the phantom head introduction as a part of the KA; since target projects (Chomsky 1994), the resulting structure after the introduction of W cannot be another CP preventing another phase formation which would bar further movement in turn (problem (iii) is thus addressed); C → W is discussed further below.

### 1.3 Trigger for Head Movement

In KA, C and its complement IP are separated until the step c. above when the IP and its C come together but not necessarily in the required order. This is followed by the movement of the C which then gives us what we would traditionally start with, i.e., C+IP.

My reading is as follows: Breaking up the VP is an attempt to create a multi-clausal structure from a monoclausal structure. The structure created in (10) after following KA, can be seen as creating a biclausal structure. Thus the logic of creating a remnant VP is to obtain a biclausal structure.

The RKA tries to create another remnant, namely, an IP remnant, since it is less costly as it takes advantage of the fragility between the EA and the VP. Empirically too, IP remnant movement produces sound results:

#### Remnant VP movement:

- (14)a. hOyto [<sub>IP</sub> John [kal rate phOl kheyechē]] vacate VP →  
           probably last night.loc fruit eaten  
       b. phOl hOyto [<sub>IP</sub> John [kal rate kheyechē]] remnant VP →  
       c. \* kal rate kheyechē phOl hOyto [<sub>IP</sub> John t<sub>VP</sub>]

#### Remnant IP movement:

- (15)a. hOyto [<sub>IP</sub> John [kal rate phOl kheyechē]] vacate IP →  
       b. kal rate phOl kheyechē [hOyto [<sub>IP</sub> John t<sub>VP</sub>]] remnant IP →  
       c. John kal rate phOl kheyechē

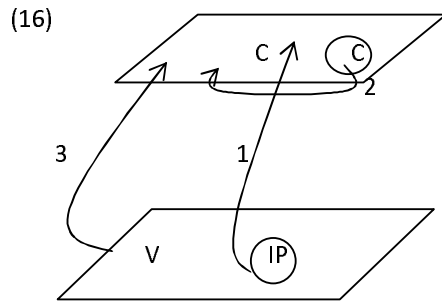
### 1.4 Non-Linearity: A Plane View of Interfaces

- KA is unmistakably non-linear
- Chomsky 2005 proposes that T inherits its features and *Agree* from C as it's desirable to spread to two domains (⇒ derivation of two planes)
- The real question: why is non-linearity needed?  
   ⇒ Only if sentence structure is assumed to be non-linear to start with
- We assume that C introduces a new plane

#### Minimalist assumptions:

- Identification of a plane as required by the interfaces
- Duality of semantics:
  - o IM is required to introduce or identify a new plane, whereas EM is intraplanar; Interplanar movements required for discourse semantics (topicality by C, specificity by CLA, etc.); planes represent information structure divide that we see between topic-comment
  - o The C/D domain in Bangla constitutes a strong phase, such that a clausal complement must be parsed as a separate Intonational Phrase (Kidwai, 2011)

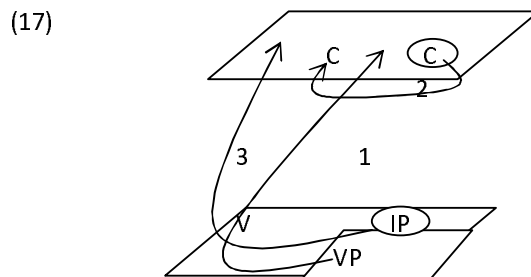
### 1.4.1 KA in a planar view



- i. The last movement is plane-incorporation
- ii. Both 1 and 3 are inter-planar and IM/discourse
- iii. C-I enforces the duality
- iv. bi-clausal structure is mono-planar

- Precedence relation falls out as a result of EF requirement of the embedding strong phase-head C
- Shows VACATE MAXIMALLY

### 1.4.2 RKA: A Planar View



- i. No plane-incorporation
- ii. A mono-clausal structure is bi-planar
- iii. 1 is to weaken IP to facilitate 3

- The extraction of the VP out of the IP is to weaken the IP along its “crack” so as to facilitate later separation of the V and the IP in the 3<sup>rd</sup> step
- Movement of the VP is plane-incorporation (Moro’s (1997) predicate raising analysis of copula sentences)

### 1.5 Matrix-COMP Clause

- (18)a. John jane [je ma aSbe]  
 knows C mother come.fut.3
- b. John hEmleT je poReche!  
 C read.ppl.3

The obligatory exclamation mark in (18b) indicates that *je* sentences are easily acceptable when they are embedded clauses, but becomes much harder (and one needs special intonation) when they are in the matrix clause.

#### Historical Explanation

- Change from embedded clause C to matrix clause C under way
- Intermediate stage when embedded clause *becomes* the matrix clause  
 ⇒ Deletion of the matrix clause

Independently, we’ve seen that when the embedded clause *je* appears inside the complement clause while the clause itself raises to a pre-verbal position, a topic interpretation for the complement is obtained:

- (19) [mother je come-will] John knew  
 'As for the fact that mother will come, John knew it'

Meaning of (19b) is thus:


- (20) "As for reading Hamlet, John has already done it"

⇒

This supports the conjecture above that (18b) is an embedded clause in the guise of a matrix clause.

### 1.5.1 Prosody of Matrix-C clauses

Pitch studies of these strange root C clauses reveal a weird contour:

- (21) Sudha je hEmleT poReche  
 C read.ppl.3
- 
- 'As for reading Hamlet, Shudha has already done it'
- ⇒ Hat contour over the verb

### 1.5.2 Epistemicity

- (22)a. ami biSSaS kori (je) ora ebar jitbe  
 I believe do c they this time win.fut  
 'I believe that they will win this time.'
- b. ?[ora ebar jitbe] ami biSSaS kori  
 c. [ora je ebar jitbe] ami biSSaS kori
- (23) John je ghumocche!  
 C sleep.prog.3  
 '(but) John is sleeping!'

The data in (22a) and (22bi) shows that epistemic main clauses prefer a clause-internal C when the complement clause is placed in a pre-verbal position. The improvement of (22b) with a clause-internal C highlights the topicality of the EC. When conditions such as these are met, eventually the main clause simply drops out of the frame due to extreme epistemicity. The erstwhile EC thus becomes, acts as, the main clause. The C matrix clauses in Bangla are therefore like epistemic uses of parentheticals in English:

- (24)a. It'll rain, I believe.  
 b. John is asleep, I think. Underhill (1988)

Thompson and Mulac (1991) show that epistemic use correlate with the greater possibility of dropping *that*, correlation is most prominent if the following conditions are met:

- (i) 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject are more likely to be used with epistemic parentheticals, as they express the degree of speaker commitments more truthfully
- (ii) *think* and *guess* are the most frequent verbs that occur with epistemic expressions
- (iii) If the main verb occurs with auxiliaries it is more likely to retain the comp
- (iv) main clause verb phrases with indirect object are more likely to retain *that*
- (v) main verb with adverbs retain *that* more than ones without adverbs
- (vi) when the complement subject is a pronoun, *that* is more likely to be used than when it's not, since pronouns indicate high discourse topicality

The following table summarise their findings:

	- <i>that</i> in percent	+ <i>that</i> in percent	Bangla
<b>person</b>			NSD*
1 <sup>st</sup>	90	10	
2 <sup>nd</sup>	90	10	
3 <sup>rd</sup>	64	36	
<b>main verb</b>			NSD
<i>think</i>	91	9	
<i>guess</i>	99	1	
Other	76	24	
<b>aux</b>			✓
with aux	71	29	
without aux	88	12	
<b>indirect object</b>			✓
with indirect object	47	53	
without indirect object	87	13	
<b>adverb</b>			✓
with adverb	65	35	
without adverb	88	12	
<b>subject of EC</b>			NSD
Full NP	79	21	
Pronoun	89	11	

\* NSD = No Significant Difference

The following example, which meets all the conditions for *that* retention, shows that C-deletion is not preferred:

- (25) John Sudhu mOdhu-ke bolchilo  
           only Madhu-dat say.be.past.prog.3  
 \*(je) Se piknik-e jabe na.  
 C s/he picnic-loc go.fut neg  
 'John was telling only Madhu that he won't go to the picnic.'

An examination of the conditions for *that* deletion (which aid in epistemic meaning of the main clause) reveals that for Bangla, the potentiality of a legal pre-verbal fronting is also dependent on a combination of these factors. This is shown by the following where such fronting improves the grammaticality progressively:

- (26)a. Robin John- ke taRataRi bojhacchilo  
           dat quickly make understand  
 \*(je) Mohon aj aSbe  
 C today come.fut  
 'Robin was quickly making John understand that Mohan will come today.'
- b. \*Robin John-ke [Mohon aj aSbe] taRataRi bojhacchilo  
 c. ?Robin John-ke [Mohon je aj aSbe] taRataRi bojhacchilo  
 d. [Mohon je aj aSbe] Robin John-ke (Se-Ta) taRataRi bojhacchilo  
           that-cla

Yidiny

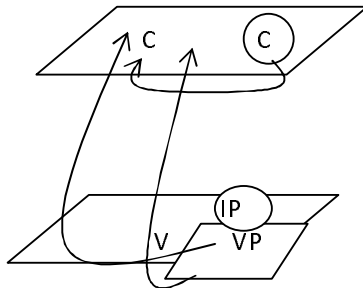
(27) ngayu ganguul bugaany nyundu  
 I.nom wallaby.abs eat.past you.nom  
 minya baga-lyunda  
 cla:edible.flesh.food.abs spear-subord  
 'I ate the Wallaby, which animal you speared.' (Dixon 1982)

This predicts that the matrix clause in Yidiny will never bleach epistemically to allow the EC to act as a main clause.

**1.5.3 A Planar Account of C Matrix Clauses**

- A planar account is superior in explaining how the C never gets deleted and gets reanalyzed as a part of the matrix clause.
- Reaffirm: Re-interpretation of KA in terms what must the sentential frame be composed of, namely, planes.

(28)



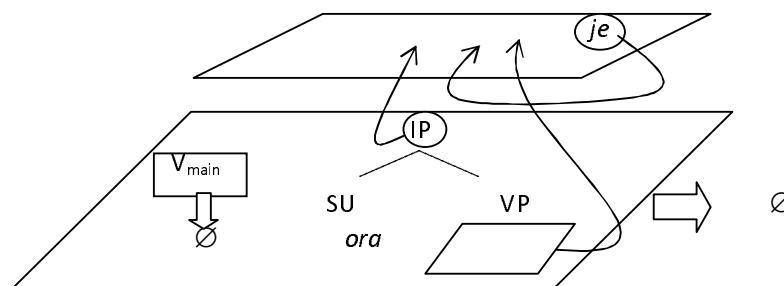
- No plane-incorporation
- Additionally, matrix C clauses derived without adding any extra mechanism
- plane-deletion facilitated by epistemic bleaching of the contents of the matrix clause

Advantages

- Ready explanation of why the C of the matrix clause is not deleted simply because C is introduced in a different plane
- Also accounts for the peculiar accent/ intonation on the final verb

Going back to (22), a planar view can now account for the preference for the comp *je* to appear clause internally when the complement is fronted.

(29)



A planar view also makes the Yidiny prediction more palatable; since the lower plane can never be deleted, we expect not to find matrix-C clauses in that language.

## 2 Why classifier in a copular sentence?

- The answer lies in the requirement of the C-I interface: “break symmetry” and to maintain the duality of Semantics
- Two disparate phenomena, C-internal clauses and copula-less nominal sentences are given a unified treatment by this model which raises the question in turn whether these are disparate phenomena at all.

(30) \*e      boi  
           this    book  
           ‘this is a book’

⇒ there should be some way to express the thought that *it* represents/ stands for *book* but is not *book* itself:

(31) e-Ta    boi  
       this-cla book  
       ‘this is a book’

A general classifier *-Ta* (a nominal device) is used with the representation of the thing (book) to convey the same thought which is expressed by a copula in English/ Hindi:

(32)a.	X = <i>book</i>	Intended message
b.	<i>is</i> (X, <i>book</i> )	English, Hindi-Urdu; X = <i>it/ yah</i> ‘this’
c.	X-def/spec <i>book</i>	Bangla

### The interface question

Why is it the case that a language chooses to use a nominal element (classifier) to complete a thought? In particular:

- Is it the case that the classifier is needed to express the distinction between the thing and its representation *because* the *be* verb can be dropped in certain cases, or
- Is it the case that the presence of the classifier triggers the deletion of the copula because they are both performing the same function?

### The true nature of “equatives”

- the purpose of so-called “equational” construction is really to “distinguish” X from Y
- If Bangla is a more prominent “planar” language (one way of viewing parameters now), a new plane is introduced when the relevant conditions are met
- employing the copula for equatives is a “weaker” strategy
- parametric difference: availability of enough relevant material to carry out plane realisation
- thus it’s not X *is equal to* Y but rather X *only stands for* Y

### Though chunk

(33) e            boi-Ta  
       this      book-cla  
       ‘this book’

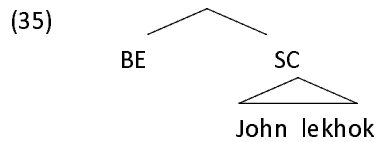
⇒ (33) fails to be a *thought-chunk* (TC) because no plane-introduction can take place as per the planar translation of the KA since it’s not an Event or State.

### 2.1 Copular Sentences

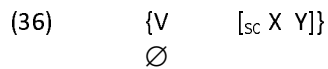
- Small clause complement of the predicate *be* (Stowell 1978)
- If *be* is zero then there is no way to break the symmetry between members of SC
- If it’s too symmetrical it will lead to a derivational crash at C-I
- Something else must be introduced to break the symmetry

(34) John   ?(Ek-jon)   lekhok  
           J       one- cla     writer  
           ‘John is a writer’

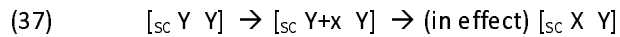




- If copula head is filled (as in English/ Hindi) it breaks the symmetry by inducing raising
- Breaking of the symmetry is a structural manifestation of the C-I requirement that an NP by itself cannot be a TC, it will then be an illegitimate language-object (LO) otherwise at that interface
- The phantom head introduction of Kayne now is seen as required by the C-I Interface
- For it to be a minimal TC, it needs to merge a predicate, but be is zero in Bangla:



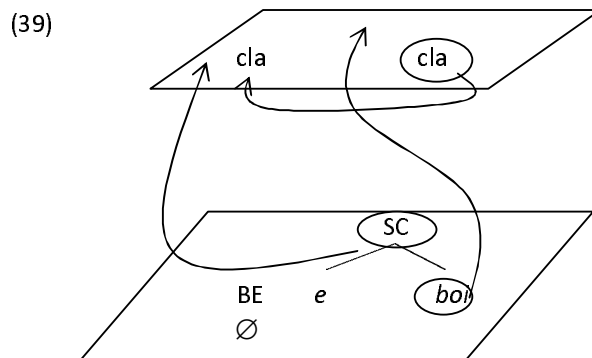
- So a different strategy for breaking the symmetry is employed:



## 2.1 Breaking Symmetry in the Planar View

- Breaking symmetry can be shown to be plane-introduction (phantom head)
- C-I requirement that the members of the SC should not be symmetrical is carried out by the CLA in Bangla which introduces a new plane

(38) e-Ta boi  
this-cla book  
'this is a book'



- As in the case of COMP, CLA introduces a new plane
- The sequence of movements is as in the (R)KA; first the SC is weakened by vacating it, followed by F head raising which enables the remnant movement
- the lower plane is not deleted although it has been maximally vacated (unlike in Epistemic contexts as in Matrix-C clauses), due to the null BE:

- (40)a. e-Ta boi chilo.  
this-cla book be.past  
'this was a book.'
- b. e-Ta boi nOY  
this-cla book neg.be.prs  
'this is not a book.'

This view will support the existence of expressions such as the following:

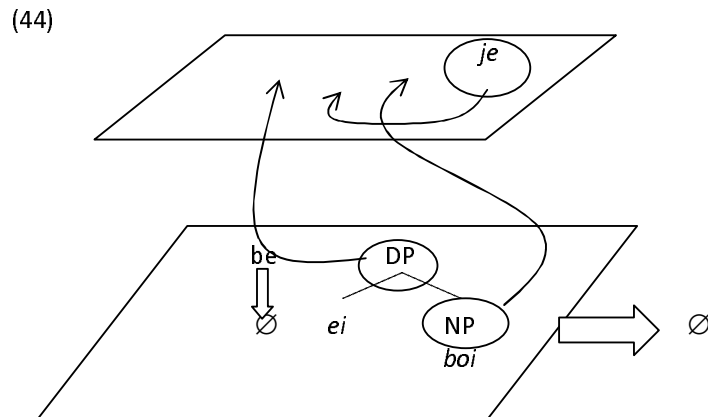
(41) ei je boi/ boi-Ta!  
this C book  
‘Here, (is) a/the book!’

- Since the noun *boi* has a special status (almost like a proper name), it is not a *stands-for* construction (therefore no SC is generated but rather a null *be* takes DP as the complement)
- The *cl* does not introduce a new plane as it comes pre-packed with the N (*cl* here does not create a subject-predicate like information structure divide and therefore does not introduce a plane); *boi-Ta* comes as it is and no SC is assumed
- 
- A discourse level *c<sup>0</sup>* *je* introduces a plane which triggers the movement from inside the DP followed by a remnant movement of the whole DP leaving the *be* plane suitable for deletion
- These essentially mono-planar structures are underlyingly sentences where the null *be* undergoes deletion
- This is supported the following impossibilities:

(42)a. \*ei je boi chilo.  
this c book was  
b. \*ei je boi nOY.  
neg

(43)a. \*ei je boi-Ta chilo.  
b. \*ei je boi-Ta nOY.

Deletion of the *be* plane ensures that no aux or neg can actualise the empty *be*. One sample derivation is provided below (for (41)):

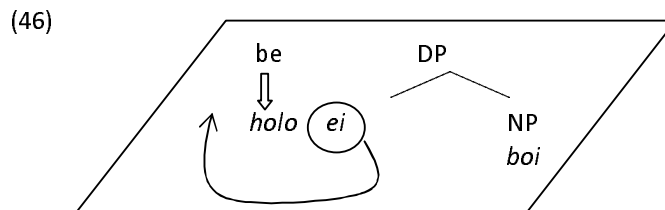


- The set of displacements essentially follows KA
- The derivation employs a similar strategy as in the cases of C-internal and C-Matrix clauses where the *C* introduces a new plane altogether
- Additionally, the expression in (41) has yet again a strange intonation which will not be expected or predicted if the movements are not inter-planar as shown

This account finds further support from the following SVO structures in both Bangla and Hindi/Urdu which exploit the actualisation of the *be* plane, which in fact happens to be the only possible plane in these sentences:

- (45)a.    ei       holo       boi                   [Bangla]  
           this    becomes    book  
           (i)    ‘Here, this is what is called a book.’  
           (ii)   ‘Here, this is (your) book.’/ ‘Here, take this/ the/ a book.’  
       b.    ye       huii/ rahii    kitaab               [Hindi/ Urdu]  
           this    becomes.f.s    book.f.s  
           (similar interpretations as in a.)

The derivation is as follows:



The intra-planar movement and the mono-planar structure for these SVO structures are supported by the following:

- (47)a.    \*ei    je       holo       boi  
           this   c       becomes    book  
       b.    \*ei    holo       boi-Ta  
           this    becomes    book-cla

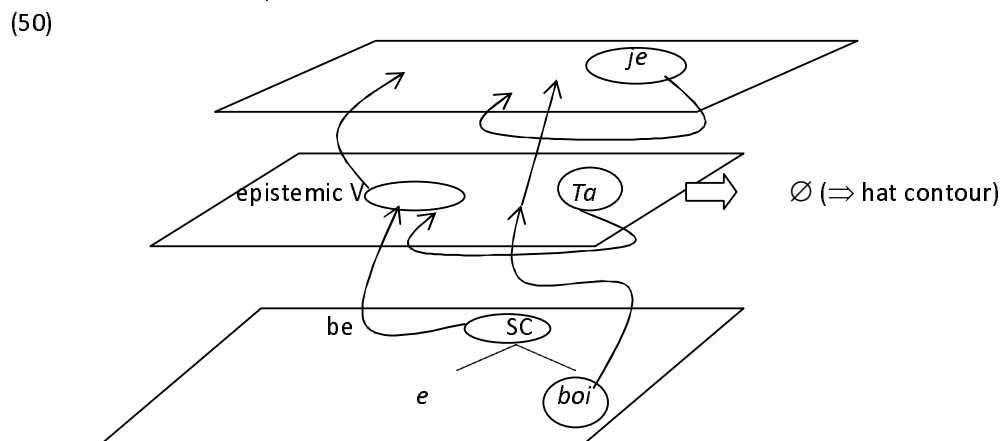
In other words, in Bangla, a potential plane-introducing functional material like a C or a CLA is not legal with these expressions, showing that these are purely mono-planar structures.

The expression in (48), however, is exactly like the matrix-C clauses with a multi-planar structure and an intonation that reminds us of the matrix-C clauses:

- (48)       e-Ta   je       boi!  
           this-cla c    book  
           ‘As for this, this is a book.’

A plane is deleted but the *be* plane is retained. The derivation is shown in (50).

- (49)a.    e-Ta   je       boi   chilo  
           this-cla c    book   was  
           ‘As for this, this was a book.’  
       b.    e-Ta   je       boi   nOY  
           this-cla c    book   neg.prs  
           ‘As for this, this is not a book.’



As in the case of matrix-C clauses, the epistemicity of the main clause is responsible for its ultimate demise (and the contour) and re-emergence of the embedded clause as the only clause:

- (51)a.   ami   bhablam   je   e-Ta   boi  
           I       thought   c    this-cla book  
       b.   \*ami   bhablam   je   ei    boi   *be*  
       c.   \*ami   bhablam   je   ei    boi-Ta *be*

Thus, given the similarity of intonation between matrix-C clauses and (48), if we were to reconstruct an earlier stage of the latter, it will still be grammatical (as in (51a)) but not for (41)). That is, the latter two (51b,c) could not have arisen as a result of matrix clause deletion due to extreme epistemicity. Note also that the derivation in (50) accounts for the topic meaning that (48) obtains, namely, 'As for X, ...', through the introduction of the c-plane.

### 3 Kidwai (2011)

The plane-representation KA, C-nternal (RKA), C-matrix-C and Nominal clauses above show that embedded C in Bangla indeed is a strong Phase head, requiring that clausal complements must be parsed as a separate Intonational Phrases (Kidwai, 2011).

The observation based on Guha (2011) that *je* is Bangla is a relativiser-turned-complementiser can be also transported into a plane-based account. However, Kidwai's claim that *therefore* the Bangla C<sup>0</sup> requires a nominal to its Spec in order to retain its strong phase character is not so obvious in this model since remnants have no particular property of being just nominal.

However, the plane-based model has certain obvious advantages:

- It accounts for the obvious information structural differences that a C-internal clause obtains
- RM accounts for non-constituency of all that finally appears to the left of the C
- It has a natural way of providing a uniform account of C-internal, C-matrix and Nominal clauses
- The plane-based model can be extended to the following case (embedded object is to the left of C<sup>0</sup>) easily by opting for local, intra-planar object movement to satisfy C's discourse properties instead of RM of the IP in step 3 of the derivation is (17) above:

- (52)       [kal-rat-e       ma   phOl   je    kheyechen]   Sudha jane  
           Last-night-LOC mother fruit   C       eaten.H       S       knows.3  
           'As for the fact that it was fruit that mother ate last night, Sudha knows'

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