

## Weak deixis and possession inside the DP

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In this paper we show that DP-internal deixis is accounted for by a condition which requires both the head and the specifier of a particular functional XP to be filled. Absence of deixis (or non-locative deixis) is analysed as the result of a head (F) remaining unfilled. A corollary of this requirement accounts for the absence of possession, as in cases of non-possessive uses of a Possessive (Poss) – unreported in the syntactic literature -- which obtains as a result of an unfilled D head. Additionally, it is shown that non-possessive Poss in general obtains in generic contexts and in particular in the languages of South Asia, is accompanied by a ‘Relative Demonstrative’ particle which is a overt realisation of a Generic operator.

### 1. Weak deixis

In this section, we show that DP-internal deixis can be of two types, namely, contrastive and non-locative. We identify the latter as weak deixis. Based on Bhattacharya (1998, 1999a,b,c), we show that in Bangla the demonstrative (Dem) is an XP in South Asian languages in general. Note that the movement of the NP *lal boi* ‘red book’ in (1b) triggered by specificity is blocked by the Dem *ei* ‘this’:

- (1)a. *ei du-To lal boi*  
this two-CLA red book  
‘these two red books’  
b.\* [*lal boi*]<sub>i</sub> *ei du-To t<sub>i</sub>*  
c. *ei [lal boi]<sub>i</sub> du-To t<sub>i</sub>* (specific)  
‘these two red books’

If the Dem is a head, then it is difficult to see how it can act as a barrier to XP movement. The proposals that Dem and D are different is well established in the literature. The following data from Spanish and Rumanian show that the definite article and the Dem can co-occur:

- (2)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'

Furthermore Bernstein (1997) suggests that demonstrative reinforcers like *here* and *there* in Scandinavian languages are heads of a functional projection FP and that the Spec of FP is occupied by the Dems.<sup>1</sup> Notice that although Bernstein's analysis cites crucial support from the Scandinavian languages, it forces her to treat the determiner *den* in these languages as an XP<sup>2</sup>. This is problematic since most standard analyses of Scandinavian NPs treat it as the D<sup>0</sup> head.

However, the basic insight of Bernstein's analysis of Dem reinforcers as heads can be imported into Bangla. We suggest that the Dem in Bangla occupies a specifier position and the head of the projection of which it is a specifier is a focus-like head. The particle *je* in the following comes closest to the reinforcers in Scandinavian. This particle, we claim, has a strong deictic interpretation. Therefore, (3a), for example, can be used in the context where something is suddenly found at a particular place whereas (3b) can be used to locate/ point someone/ something in a nearby or distant place:

- (3)a. ei je!  
 'this HERE!'
- b. oi je!  
 'that THERE!'

The use of this particle to identify a location is also clear from the following examples:

- (4)a. ei je rakhal  
 this here Rakhal  
 'this guy here is Rakhal'
- b. oi je mandir  
 that there temple  
 'that one there is the temple'

It can also have a vocative function as follows<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> Bernstein gives the following examples from colloquial Norwegian:  
 (i)a. den herre klokka b. det derre huset  
 the here watch-the the there house-the  
 'this watch' that house'

<sup>2</sup> Although Bernstein remains silent about the status or nature of *den*, her analysis clearly implies that *den* is the Dem and is at [spec,FP] (FP is a functional projection) in these languages.

<sup>3</sup>This use is locational as well as it is used to demand attention of someone by calling out or by

- (5)a. ei je!  
 this JE  
 '(you) THERE!'
- b. ei je Sunchen  
 this JE listening.2.HON  
 'you there, are you listening?'

In all these cases the particle has a strong deictic interpretation and is typically accompanied by pointing. Generating this particle at the F head serves at least two clear-cut purposes for the analysis offered here. It accounts for the *strong* deictic interpretation since the F head is a Focus-like head and it brings about deictic interpretation of the phrase by the interaction of the Dem at [Spec,FP] and a filled F head. The reinforcer, therefore, establishes the deixis of the phrase. We will come back to this set of data in section 2.6 where we discuss association of *je* with focus.

Bernstein, furthermore points out the difference between the pair in (6) by suggesting that in (6a), the deictic effect is obtained by moving the Dem to D<sup>0</sup>, this movement does not take place in the syntax for (6b).

- (6)a. this woman (right here) (deictic)  
 = this woman
- b. this woman (from Paris) (indefinite specific)  
 = a woman

This proposal is suspect primarily because movement of an XP (Dem) to an X (D<sup>0</sup>) is unwanted and remains unmotivated in Bernstein's account.<sup>4</sup> Based on empirical evidence, we suggest that deixis is obtained not through movement to D<sup>0</sup> but rather of a lower head into the head of which the Dem is a specifier, that is, F<sup>0</sup>. Thus the deictic effect in a phrase like (7a) below is obtained through the Dem being merged at [Spec,FP] *and* some lower head moving to F.<sup>5</sup>

- (7)a. ama-r ei du-To chele (contrastive)  
 my-GEN this two-CLA son  
 'my these two sons'
- b. ama-r ei chele du-To (non-locative)

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placing the person at a particular space by the use of *je*.

<sup>4</sup> She provides the following examples from Boulogne Picard as the only piece of evidence for this claim:

- (i)a. chele école                      b. che monde  
 this school                              this world  
 'the school'                              'the world'

I.e., in this dialect of French, the Dem is used as a definite article. However, this evidence is too marginal to support a strong anti-structure preserving analysis involving XP to X<sup>0</sup> movement.

<sup>5</sup> Effectively such a condition is similar to the Focus Criterion of Brody (1990):

- (i)a. A +F-operator must be in spec-head agreement with a +F X<sup>0</sup>  
 b. A +F X<sup>0</sup> must be in a spec-head agreement with a +F-operator

my-GEN this son two-CLA  
 'my these two sons'

The data in (7) also distinguishes the two types of deixis mentioned earlier. The contrastive reading of (7a) is clear from the following expandable form:

- (8) ama-r ei du-To chele khub bhalo rOmeS-Ta-i boka  
 myt his two-CLA son very good Romesh-CLA-EMP foolish  
 'my these two sons are very good, it's only Ramesh who's a fool'

### 1.1. Kinship Inversion: NP Movement

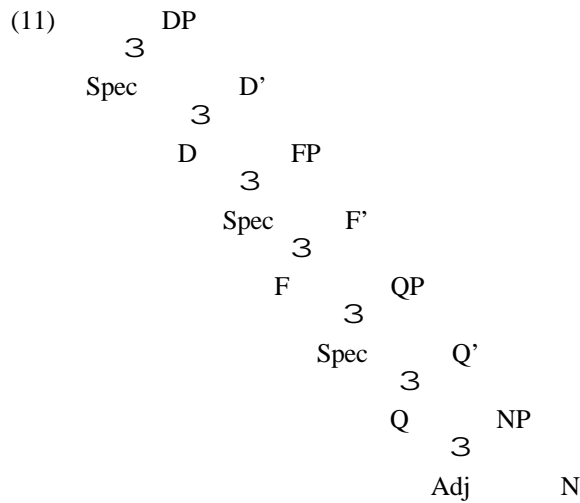
Bhattacharya (1999c) demonstrates a case of DP-internal NP movement, identified as Kinship Inversion (KI), based on kinship nouns. The pair in (9) shows that inversion is obligatory when an 'affectionate' Cla *-Ti* instead of the regular *-Ta* is used with kinship terms:

- (9)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. the use of this particular Cla and KI have matching requirements. Secondly, the following contrast shows that kinship terms when associated with Proper Names (PN) do not undergo KI (shown in (10a)), but may only do so in the presence of a Cla (shown in (10b)).

- (10)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'

We will now proceed to show how the following DP structure (11) based on the discussion in section 1.0 can account for KI and DP-internal deixis, among others. This structure implies that a special zero determiner is the head of the DP. This is similar to the account of Poss in Kayne (1994: 85) where a phonetically null but [+DEF] D selects a NP whose head is 's.



### 1.2. Generalised Licensing Condition (GLC)

In this section we show that the GLC as stated in (12) below derives the difference in deixis obtained inside the DP. In section 2 we will show that the same condition drives the syntactic effect of weak possession.

- (12) For a particular DP-internal syntactic effect to obtain both the head and the Spec of the relevant projection must be filled

Furthermore, we show that the grammar of the Bangla DP must distinguish between at least two types of NP movement, that is, different “chunks” of the nP moves within the DP. This distinction is shown on the one hand to necessitate generating the F head, and on the other it predicts the nature of DP-internal deixis discussed earlier.

Consider the following contrast in this connection:

- (13)a. amar ei du-To bhai (non-specific; contrastive deixis)  
       my this two-CLA brother  
       ‘my these two brothers’  
 b. amar ei bhai<sub>i</sub> du-To t<sub>i</sub> (specific; non-locative deixis)  
       ‘my these two brothers’

The respective derivations are shown below:

- (14)a. [<sub>DP</sub> amar [<sub>D'</sub> D [<sub>FP</sub> ei [<sub>F'</sub> du-To [<sub>QP</sub> amar [<sub>Q'</sub> ~~du-To~~ [<sub>NP</sub> amar bhai ]]]]]]]]  
 b. [<sub>DP</sub> amar [<sub>D'</sub> D [<sub>FP</sub> ei [<sub>F'</sub> F [<sub>QP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> amar bhai ] ] [<sub>Q'</sub> du-To t<sub>NP</sub> ]]]]]]]

The order in (13a) is base-generated except for the movement of the Poss to [Spec,DP]. The movement of the Poss takes place via [Spec,QP] followed by

its movement to [Spec,DP]. The contrastive reading is obtained by head movement of the Q to F. By the formulation of this paper, recall that FP is the domain of deixis, in the same way as QP is the domain of specificity. In accordance with GLC, since both the head and the spec of FP are occupied in (14a), the relevant syntactic effect, that is, contrastive deixis, is achieved.

In (13b) the DP is specific and therefore the strong [SPECIFICITY] feature of the Q head must be checked at [Spec,QP]. This is done through nP movement. Thus by GLC the syntactic effect of specificity is obtained as both the head and the spec of the relevant domain QP are occupied. Due to the presence of the strong [SPECIFICITY] feature in the Numeration, the Q in this case does not head move and we obtain a non-locative deixis as desired. Note that the number of steps required for the derivation with nP movement is less than with Poss movement followed by NP movement.

In sum, the syntactic effect of contrastive deixis is obtained by the joint action of merging the Dem in [Spec,FP] and movement of a lower head into F identical to the requirement that specificity is obtained by the joint action of something moving into [Spec,QP] and the presence of some relevant head in Q. This requirement of having both the Spec and the Head filled to obtain a particular syntactic effect is the property shared by deixis and specificity.<sup>6</sup> Since (13b) is specific, both the spec and the head of QP must remain filled with the result that head movement of Q cannot take place. And since there is no Q→F movement, the requirement that both the spec and the head of FP must be filled is not met, with the result that the deixis obtained is non-locative.

Similarly, in the case of KI as in (15), the derivation proceeds as in (16). Notice that in this case it is the NP rather than the nP which moves.

- (15)a. ei du-To bhai amar .... (non-specific, contrastive deixis)  
 this two-CLA brother mine  
 ‘these two brothers (of) mine, ...’  
 b. ei bhai du-To amar (specific; non-locative deixis)  
 ‘these two brothers (of) mine, ...’

- (16)a. [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D</sub> D [<sub>FP</sub> ei [<sub>F</sub> du-To [<sub>QP</sub> bhai [<sub>Q</sub> ~~du-To~~ [<sub>NP</sub> amar bhai ]]]]]]]]  
 b. [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D</sub> D [<sub>FP</sub> ei [<sub>F</sub> F [<sub>QP</sub> bhai [<sub>Q</sub> du-To [<sub>NP</sub> amar ~~bhai~~ ]]]]]]]]

In (16a) the Q head moves to F to give contrastive focus. In violation of the GLC therefore the specificity effect is *undone*.

## 2. Weak possession

In this part of the paper, we show that similar to the weak deixis effect

<sup>6</sup> This requirement runs counter to the suggestion in Giusti (1997) that only one of either the spec or the head D needs to be occupied to obtain definiteness in DP. However, in many languages the requirement is just the opposite of what Giusti states. That is, both the [Spec,DP] and the D must be filled to get a definite DP.

discussed in section 1, weak possession obtains as a result of a corollary of the GLC. The examples of weak possession that we elaborate are really cases of non-possessive possession. According to the theory proposed here, non-possession would mean that *neither* the Spec nor the head of the relevant projection is occupied. This is the corollary of GLC proposed in (12).

First, consider the possibility that the Poss is generated inside the lower nP-shell. In conformity with the similarity between clausal structure and the DP structure, we assume that similar to the  $\nu$ P shell at the sentence level, an nP shell is generated inside the DP:

(17) [<sub>NP</sub> POSS [<sub>NP</sub> Adj N]]

This would suggest that to derive a non-KI DP the Poss moves all the way up to [Spec,DP]. In KI, the Poss movement to [Spec,DP] takes place in the covert syntax.

### 2.1. Non-possessive Poss

These constructions, as far as we know, have miraculously escaped the usually alert attention of syntacticians. In what follows, we will attempt a preliminary analysis of the data based on the theoretical apparatus made available in this paper so far. As suggested in the previous section, these cases of weak possessives are really non-possessive or zero-possessive use of the Poss as shown in (18) below for English.

- (18)a. Your 20 something average Londoner  
 b. Your everyday BBC news reader  
 c. Your commonplace corner-store guy

Similar results obtain in South Asian (SA) languages:

- (19)a. ye jo aapkaa Nehru senTar hE ...<sup>7</sup> (Hindi)  
 this RD your Nehru Centre is  
 'Your Nehru Centre ...'  
 b. aa je tamaarii RajKapoor ni film thii ... (Gujarati)  
 this RD your RajKapoor of film from  
 'from your Raj Kapoor's film ...'  
 c. ei je tomar cal 52 Taka KG... (Bengali)  
 this RD your rice 52 rupees kg  
 'your rice being Rs 52/ Kg ...'

There are at least four differences between the English examples in (18) and the ones in (19):

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<sup>7</sup> For want of a better term and for purely descriptive reasons, we will refer to the particle *jo/je* as a *Relative Demonstrative* or RD. Note that this particle is homophonous to the relative pronoun in these languages.

(i) Derived position of the Poss: The Poss ends up at the highest (Spec) position in the case English whereas it does not move all the way up in the case of other languages.

(ii) Presence of the Dem: In English the Dem cannot co-occur with the Poss but its presence is obligatory in the case of SA languages. Absence of the Dem in this latter group of languages results in either ungrammaticality or a possessive meaning for the Poss.

(iii) Presence of the RD: Its presence is a typical property of the weak/non-possessive use of the Poss in SA languages and its absence definitely results in a possessive use of the Poss. It seems that the presence of the Dem and the RD coupled with the position of the Poss results in the weak/non-possessive use of the Poss in these languages.

(iv) We discuss the fourth difference between these two groups in detail in the following section.

## 2.2. LP and EP

Possessives are notorious for establishing a multiplicity of relations with the possessee. For example, *John's book* can mean the book owned by John or the book received by John or the book that John has in his hands and so on. From this seemingly endless semantic associations that a Poss can invoke, Barker (1995) attempts to reduce the confusion by making a distinction between Lexical Possessives (LP) as in (20) and Extrinsic Possessives (EP) as in (21):

- (20)a. John's child  
 b. John's nose  
 c. John's purchase  
 (21)a. John's cat  
 b. John's yoghurt  
 c. John's firetruck

Note that the possessee nominals in LP are all either kinship terms, body-part terms or derived nominals. In other words, broadly speaking, they are all relational. Barker calls these lexical since the possession relation is derived directly from the lexical meaning of the noun. In the case of EPs, the possessee nominal simply denotes a set of individuals rather than a relation. The relation between the possessor and the possessee in these latter cases is determined contextually.

The difference translates for Barker in terms of LPs denoting two-place predicates and EPs translating into a set-denoting expression. An empirical difference between the two types of Poss is seen when the Poss is used to refer to a novel entity in the discourse.

- (22)a. A man walked in  
 b. His daughter was with him  
 (23)a. A man walked in  
 b.# His firetruck was visible through the window



In (22b) although *His daughter* does not have prior discourse mention, it is felicitous but *his firetruck* in (23b) is not. This difference is the result of the fact that the possessee *daughter* is an inherently relational noun where *firetruck* is not.

A dyadic predicate, as in the case of LPs, corresponds to a predicate requiring two arguments, and so on. That is, the valence of a relation corresponds to the number of arguments it expects. According to Barker, denotations of some nouns are best expressed as relations over pairs of entities -- he calls them Relational Nouns (RN). The difference between relational and non-relations nouns can be seen in the pairs *day, birthday* and *animal, pet*. Whereas *birthday* crucially depends on the existence of a relation between a person and day and *pet* on a owner and the owned, *day* and *animal* do not imply any such relation. As an independent test RNs can take postnominal of phrases like *the birthday of Jane* but *day* cannot.

Furthermore, there are languages where the addition of a Poss marker takes the strong possessive meaning out and introduces a weak possessive relation.<sup>8</sup> In those cases, the presence of the Poss advances a non-lexical meaning. These non-lexical relations exemplify ephemeral relations (e.g. between you and the scorpion for the Tzotzil example cited in note 8 where a non-pet interpretation may mean the scorpion you have stepped on etc.). In the terminology of Barker, in LPs the 's or the Poss is semantically transparent – it does not contribute semantically but in the case of EPs, an extrinsic function is invoked which increases the valence of the possessee nominal.

In sum, in the case of LPs the Ns are inherently relational but not in the case of EPs. Given this, we will denote LPs as carrying [+Poss] feature on the D which the EP possessee does not have.

### 2.3. Weak/non-possessive Poss in LP/EP

In this section we investigate the nature of difference between the LP and the EP Poss elaborated in the previous section and their interaction with non-possessive and weak possessive use of the Poss. First, notice the use of the non-possessive Poss with LPs as in the following:

- (24)a.? Your average 60 something retired father  
 b.? Your average pierced nose  
 c. Your average high-street purchase ....

That is, these examples with the Poss *your* understood to be used non-possessively, are marginally acceptable in English. In the case of SA languages, they are completely ungrammatical:

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<sup>8</sup>E.g., in Tzotzil (reported in Barker 1995) *latzek* means 'your (pet) scorpion' but *latzek-al* means 'your (non-pet) scorpion'.

- (25)a.\* ye jo aapkaa saadhaaran awsar-praapt baap .... (Hindi)  
 this RDyour ordinary retied father  
 b.\* ei je tomar adhunik phuToM kOra nak (Bangla)  
 this RDyour modern pierced done nose  
 c.\* aa je tamarii sadhaaraniwaaLii-nii xariidii Gujarati  
 this RDyour ordinary Diwali-of shopping

Secondly, note that the non-possessive use of the Poss with EPs in English (26) and the SA languages (27).

- (26)a. your average selfish city-bred cat  
 b. your common super-store yoghurt  
 c. your everyday peace-disturbing firetruck

- (27)a. ye jo aapkii saadhaaran Saharii billii (Hindi)  
 this RD your ordinary city cat  
 'you ordinary city cat ..'  
 b. ei je tomar ganguram-er doi (Bangla)  
 this RD your Ganguram's curd  
 'your G's yoghurt ..'  
 c. aa je tamarii sadhaaran kaaLii TEksi (Gujarati)  
 this RD your ordinary black taxi  
 'your average black cab ...'

In order to account for this contrast, we propose that the availability of the [+Poss] feature is ultimately responsible for the type of possession obtained. However, the availability or non-availability of this feature is contingent upon whether or not the rest of the DP is generic. We further claim that the RD makes the DP generic (see section 2.5 for further discussion on this point). In this sense, the RD is an overt realisation of a **Gen** operator that is needed independently for generic predicates (Chierchia 1995). It is reasonable to assume that a Poss attached to a generic predicate will show non/ weak possessive behaviour. LPs cannot select a generic predicate and must therefore select a [+Poss] D and check for genitive at [Spec,DP]. That is, given the conclusion reached in the last section, since the D in LP must carry a [+Poss] feature, the Poss cannot remain lower down in the phrase and must move to [Spec,DP] to check this feature. The D of an EP is however [-Poss] and therefore does not require the Poss to move up. This then accounts for the contrast obtained between (25) and (27).

Now consider the use of the Poss for instantiating weak possession. Notice that this "English-type" position of the Poss is also available for the SA languages:

- (28)a. aapkaa ye jo Nehru senTar hE ... (Hindi)  
 your this RD Nehru Centre is  
 'your Nehru Centre ...'

- b. tamaarii aa je RajKapoor ni film hatii .. (Gujarati)  
 your this RD RajKapoor of film from  
 'from your Raj Kapoor's film ...'
- c. tomar ei je cal 52 Taka KG... (Bengali)  
 your this RDrice 52 rupees kg  
 'your rice being Rs 52/ Kg ...'

The Poss here is weak but not [-Poss] (unlike the Poss in examples such as (19) or (25)), i.e., it obtains a weak possession relation. Given the conclusion above, since relational Ns are inherently possessive, they must carry a [+Poss] D which is checked against the Poss at [Spec,DP]. Based on our account so far there is no reason to suspect that the RD *je/jo* too moves in this case. However in section 2.6 we show that the RD is an aspectual head that carries a [FOCUS] feature that must be checked against the F head between the Dem *ei* at [Spec,DP] and the RD.

#### 2.4. Evidence for lower Genitive

In enumerating the difference between English and SA weak/non-possessive use of the Poss, we noted that in the latter, the Poss occurs lower in the tree. In this section we provide some independent support of this possibility in terms of the structure of gerundives in Bangla:<sup>9</sup>

- (29)a. So-b-ar ghOr  
 sleep-GER-GEN room  
 'sleeping room'
- b. ei du-To So-b-ar ghOr  
 this two-CLA sleep-GER-GEN room  
 'these two sleeping rooms'

The evidence that the Gen Case on the gerundive is generated not at [Spec,DP], as standardly the case, but lower, is supported by the following:

- (30)a.\* So-b-ar ei ghOr  
 sleep-GER-GEN this room
- b.\* ei So-b-ar du-To ghOr  
 this sleep-GER-GEN two-CLA room
- e.\* So-b-ar tomar ghOr  
 sleep-GER-GEN your room

That is, the gerundive must occur after the Dem *ei* and the Q *du-To* both of which are below the D head (see the DP structure in 11). Genitive is assumed in this theory (and many others) to be checked at [Spec,DP]. The gerundive

<sup>9</sup> See Bhattacharya (1999b) for a discussion on the use of the term gerundive which has been wrongly used consistently in the generative literature since Chomsky (1970). In this paper, we reserve the term for gerund constructions of the above form where the Gen Case particle is preceded by gerundial infix *-b-*.

constructions above show that Gen is available early in the derivation also. Based on this, we conclude that Non-possessive Poss obtains lower down in the phrase. Given this distinction and given that both the Poss are Genitive, we assume the following:

(31)	Possessive 3	
F <sup>0</sup>	D <sup>0</sup>	X
Feature	[POSS]	[GENERIC]
CASE	[GENITIVE]	[GENITIVE]
LF	Possessives, Weak poss	Non-Possessives

What is X? Answering this question would require consideration of the other difference in the data above, namely, the presence of Dem and RD in the case of SA languages. Without the Dem, the examples above obtain full possessive relation, that is, the Poss moves up all the way to [Spec,DP] and checks Gen against a [+Poss] D. Perhaps the Dem or the RD contributes to (i) lower Gen checking and (ii) a non-possessive interpretation of Poss? We investigate these possibilities below.

### 2.5. RD as realisation of *Gen*

First, the RD is like an enumerator. As a relative pronoun it is cataphoric in these languages elsewhere. In the sense of Rooth (1992) the RD, like focus, picks out the ordinary semantic value of the expression from a set of alternatives. In other words the RD chooses one from a possible set of alternative Dems identifying a particular object. This can be shown as follows:

(32) RD [ this<sub>1</sub>, this<sub>2</sub>, this<sub>3</sub>, ....] X

In other words, the RD acts like a choice function which picks up the relevant object from a set of objects.

Secondly, by one plausible definition, a choice function must act on 2<sup>nd</sup> person since it provides a choice to the interlocutor. Now consider the possibility that genericity is due to this choice function property of the RD. Ramchand (1996) comes to a similar conclusion with regards to genericity based on the difference between a generic sentence and 'free choice' sentence:

- (33)a. Doctors will tell you that Vitamin C is good for you  
 b. Any doctor will tell you that Vitamin C is good for you

In the case of the latter, the speaker offers a completely free choice. Given this observation that a choice function is more felicitous in an imperative context, (32) can be re-stated as follows:

(34) 2<sup>nd</sup> : RD [ this<sub>1</sub>, this<sub>2</sub>, this<sub>3</sub>, ....] X; that X will ...

The observation that weak/non-possessive Poss must use an imperative context strengthens our claim that the RD denotes a choice function.

- (35)\* ei je amar/ or cal 52 Taka/ kg ....  
 this RD my/ his rice 52 Rs/ KG

Accordingly, the acceptable use of the 2nd Poss in such contexts as in (18-19) and (26-28) may have a matching feature of this aspect of the RD. We assume that this feature to be the [GENERIC] feature.

Chierchia (1995) assumes an operator **Gen** which is present either at [Spec,VP] or at [Spec,AspP] in his system. The Asp head in that system has +Q feature which can be checked against **Gen**. Given the similarity between clauses and DPs, we assume a similar story for the DP. In particular, we assume that *je/jo* instantiates an AspP and selects a [GENERIC] feature from the lexicon. We further propose that this aspectual feature is also responsible for Case checking inside the DP. This is similar to the predicate based accounts of Borer (1993), de Hoop (1992) and Tenny (1987). In particular we assume that the Case checked at [Spec,Asp] is Genitive. Thus, Gen is available at two places inside the DP: [Spec,DP] and [Spec, AspP]. Apart from the evidence of Gen Case checking lower in the tree in section 2.4, we provide the following additional evidence in favour of this claim. Note that the following compounds have a generic meaning (as denoted by *usually*):

- (36)a. Women's room (= room *usually* meant for women)  
 b. Sobar ghOr (= room *usually* meant for sleeping)

These compounds establish the connection between the Genitive and genericity since they also carry the Gen Case marker 's and -r. Based on this we claim that the lower Genitive Case checking takes place at [Spec,AspP].

This gives us the following modified view of (31):

- (37) Possessive  
 3  
 D<sup>0</sup> Asp  
 [GENITIVE] [GENITIVE]  
 Possessives, Non-possessives  
 Weak poss

The missing functional head therefore is Asp.

## 2.6. Relation between *je* and focus

Finally we show that the Gen head in Asp, assumed to be lexicalised as *je/jo* in these languages, has focal properties. In Chierchia (1995) (38a) translates as (38b) where C denotes a set of context variable which is crucially related to Focus in many studies.

- (38)a. Fred always smokes:  
 b.  $\forall s [C(f,s)] [\mathbf{smoke}(f,s)]$

Glossing over various details, the incorporation of focus in C which is part of the restrictive clause establishes for us the relation between generics in general (and the generic adverb *always* in this particular case) and Focus.

Secondly we provide further evidence of focus in the RD from deixis in these languages. As noted in section 1 (cf. 3-6), the particle *je/jo* can carry vocative/ locative function as follows:

- (39)a. *ei je !* (vocative)  
           ‘Hey you there’  
 b. *ei je!* (Locative)  
       *HERE!*

Given this, we assume that the RD merged at the Asp head carries a feature of [FOCUS/DEIXIS] which must be checked. In confirmation of the conjecture at the end of section 2.3 with regards to (28), it is now possible to see that the RD head moves to F to check the matching feature of [FOCUS/DEIXIS] at F. Recall from section 1.2 that FP is also the domain of deixis.

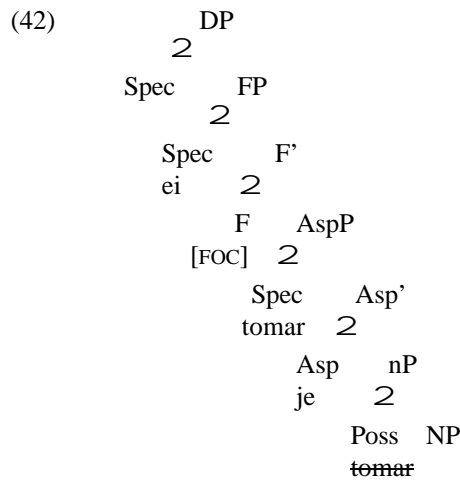
In this connection, note that the order Dem-Poss-RD is unacceptable in the case of (40a) but is acceptable for the Hindi example in (40b):

- (40)a.\* *ei tomar je .....* (Bangla)  
           this your RD  
 b. *ye aapkaa jo ....* (Hindi)  
       this your RD

This contrast is easily accounted for if we assume that the RD in Bangla has a feature that needs checking in the domain of FP, in other words a feature of [FOCUS/ DEIXIS]. In line with this reasoning, (40b) implies that the Hindi RD is *not* specified for this feature. This is borne out as in the following:

- (41)a.\* *ye jo!* (vocative)  
           this RD  
 b.\* *ye jo!* (Locative)

That is, in contrast with the data in (39) for Bangla, the Hindi RD does not have either a vocative or a locative function. Given this, we propose that the operator Gen is lexicalised at Asp which checks for Case at its Spec and then due to the presence of a feature of [DEIXIS/FOCUS] moves up to F. The absence of this head movement accounts for the ungrammatical DP in (40a) above. This is shown in (42) below. The [FOC] feature at F remains unchecked and the derivation crashes in the case of Bangla but obtains a convergent derivation for Hindi due to the absence of this feature in the latter.



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