

Specificity in the Bangla DP

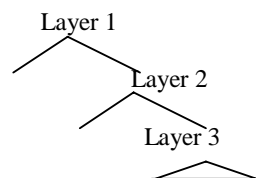
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In this paper* I offer an analysis of the DP structure in Bangla (Bengali) based on specificity effects obtained within the DP. I propose that the Bangla DP has a three-layered structure, the layer intermediate between the DP and NP being a QP, based on the position of the Q/Num + Classifier complex in the DP. The specifier of the QP acts as the landing site for specific NPs. This leftward movement, I suggest, is due to a [specificity] feature of the Q head. Kinship Inversion is another instance of DP-internal NP movement which I claim to be driven by the same [specificity] feature of the Q head. These two types of movement out of a nP-shell are instances of overt NP movement inside the DP in Bangla.

1.0 Introduction The paper is organised as follows. In this section, I suggest a three-layered structure of Bangla DP. In section 2, I suggest that the XP intermediate between the DP and the NP is a QP. In sections 3 and 4, I investigate the position of the demonstrative (Dem) and the nature of the complex head Q which I argue contains Q/ Numerical (Num) and classifiers (Cla). In section 5, I briefly look at the position of Adjectives (Adj) in Bangla and suggest that they may be generated as NP-specifiers. In section 6.0, the main section of the paper, I examine the specificity effects obtained inside the Bangla DP. The last section provides the final argument in favour of equating clausal and phrasal structure through an investigation of the base position of the Possessive (Poss).

1.1 The Layered DP Most of the research in the syntax of DPs has concerned the similarity between clausal and phrasal structure. A plausible hypothesis is that these approaches can be subsumed under a common structure like the following:

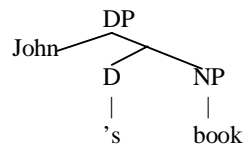
(1)



The most influential approach is due to Abney (1987) who argues that Noun Phrases are headed by the functional category Determiner (D). D is known to be similar to the Infl in accommodating agreement features. In the following structure (2), for example, John gets Case in [Spec,DP] from the 's morpheme in D, similar to clausal subjects getting Case from INFL by specifier-head agreement.

(2)

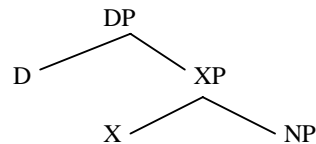
* I am indebted to Rita Manzini, Neil Smith, Michael Brody and Probal Dasgupta for comments, criticism and suggestions on earlier drafts of the paper; all remaining errors are mine.



Szabolsci (1983) had earlier argued in favour of an INFL head in Noun Phrases in her study of Hungarian possessor constructions. She further argues (Szabolsci 1995) that Noun Phrases also contain a pre-determiner, COMP-like, A' position.

Later research concentrated on the region between the DP and the NP (Ritter 1988, Valois 1991). These studies, more or less, proposed the following structure for DPs:

(3)



What is the X of Fig 3? There have been several ideas:

- X = NumP (Ritter 1991 for Hebrew, Valois 1991 and Bernstein 1993 for French)
- X = QP (Giusti 1991 for Romanian, Löbel 1989 for German)
- X = KP (Sigurdsson 1993 for Icelandic; Tang 1990 for Chinese for whom it is a "Klassifier" Phrase)
- X = ArtP (Santelmann 1993 for Swedish)
- X = BP (Dasgupta and Bhattacharya 1993, Bhattacharya 1995, Bhattacharya and Dasgupta 1996, for Bangla where B= "Badge")

In fact, there has been a general proliferation which means more than one XP between DP and NP of functional projections within the DP structure – for all we know, there could be several XPs between DP and NP, or so the trend indicates.

I would like to propose, against this trend, that perhaps the DP structure should be really seen as in 3 in line with the classical sentential structure. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that independent of the sentential structure, research in nominals in general (that is, irrespective of the framework) has tended to report such tripartite partitioning in nominal phrases.¹

In this connection, let us look at Bangla. Notice that numeral-classifier and adjective noun in 4 behave like independent units; the word order is relatively free. To keep the account easy to follow, we will assume, at this point, that all the phrases below have similar truth conditions.

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------|-----|---------|
| (4) | a. | <u>ei</u> | <u>tin-Te</u> | <u>Sobuj</u> | <u>boi</u> ² | Dem | Num-Cla | Adj | N |
| | | this | 3-cla | green | books | | | | |
| | | ‘these three green books’ | | | | | | | |
| | b. | <u>ei</u> | <u>Sobuj</u> | <u>boi</u> | <u>tin-Te</u> | Dem | Adj | N | Num-Cla |
| | c. | <u>tin-Te</u> | <u>Sobuj</u> | <u>boi</u> | <u>ei</u> | Num-Cla | Adj | N | Dem |
| | d.? | <u>tin-Te</u> | <u>ei</u> | <u>Sobuj</u> | <u>boi</u> | Num-Cla | Dem | Adj | N |
| | e.* | <u>tin-ei-Ta</u> | <u>Sobuj</u> | <u>boi</u> | | Num-Dem-Cla | Adj | N | |
| | f.* | <u>tin-Te</u> | <u>Sobuj</u> | <u>ei</u> | <u>boi</u> | Num-Cla | Adj | Dem | N |

There are probably more (im)possible orders but this is enough to show that there is enough freedom of

movement as long as Dem, Num-Cla, Adj N form three separate units. There is, therefore, reasons to believe that Bangla noun Phrases may perhaps fit into a tripartite structure of the Noun Phrase.

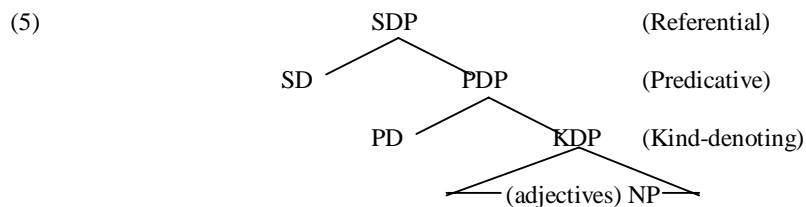
A comparison between 3 and the classical clause structure (CP-IP-VP) would lead us to think of XP to be similar to IP in nature. The Infl being a functional element, it takes predicates as arguments, for example, it quantifies over predicates of events provided by the VP. It makes sense therefore to think of the XP to be predicative in nature. However, in proposing the classical DP structure, Abney (1987: 76) used similar arguments to equate D with Infl:

The function of the Det is to specify the reference of the NP. The N provides a predicate; and the Det picks out a particular number of the predicate's extension. The same function is performed in the verbal system by tense, or Inflection. In a clause, VP provides a predicate, ie, a class of events and the T locates a particular event in time.

In this system, D seems to be doing two things at the same time: fixing up the reference of the phrase as well as quantifying over the event variable (or its nominal equivalent) of the NP. I suggest that these two functions be separated. Such a division of labour will need to make reference to another functional position between D and N which is predicative in nature.

Based on recent research on the LF positions of quantificational elements in a clause (Beghelli & Stowell 1997) and given the maximal identity between clausal and phrasal syntax, I claim that the highest functional position of a phrase is the position for referential elements. The quantificational/ predicative function of Abney's D, I claim, is performed by X. One evidence in support of this theory

(Zamparelli 1996) actually instantiates this XP as a "Predicative Phrase". He proposes the following structure:



In 5 SD is the strong Determiner head and PD is the weak Determiner head. SDP in this system is the only 'referential' part of the DP and is the locus of pronouns, demonstratives, proper names and strong determiners, as well as numerals and (in)definites in their strong/ referential sense. PDP denotes the predicative part of the DP. It is the locus of weak determiners: indefinites and numerals in their nonspecific reading. It denotes a property which is predicated of the SD head. KDP is the kind-denoting part of the DP, containing the NP proper.³ Z's arguments for noun phrases containing predicative material is based on the evidence that they can be negated and modalised.⁴

All that 5 shows, for us, is that there is indeed predication involved between D and NP. Without going into further detail, we therefore note that the "space" between DP and NP in a configuration like [DP ... NP] is predicative in nature.

2.0 The Quantifier Phrase

My proposal will be to suggest that this "space" is uniquely occupied by a Quantifier Phrase QP. I will present the specificity argument for QP in section 6.0 which will further verify the need for the intermediate XP to be QP. Löbel (1989) also proposes a similar structure for

German. She observes that the relation between the Q and the N is that of ‘countability’ or rather the function of the category Q is to ensure the countability of the NP. For a [+Count] N, Q may be morphologically realised as a plural suffix in English and German:

- (6) a. drei [_Q ∅] Bäum-e COUNT
 three tree-s
- b. drei [_Q stück] Wild-∅ MASS
 three head game
 ‘three head of game’

Now let us look at some more data from Bangla before we proceed further to propose any structure.

- (7) tomar ei notun SaRi-Ta
 your this new sari-cla
- (8) tomar ei SOB notun SaRi
 your this all new sari
- (9) tomar ei kOek-Tanotun SaRi
 your this some-cla new sari
- (10) tomar ei tin-Te notun SaRi
 your this three-cla new sari

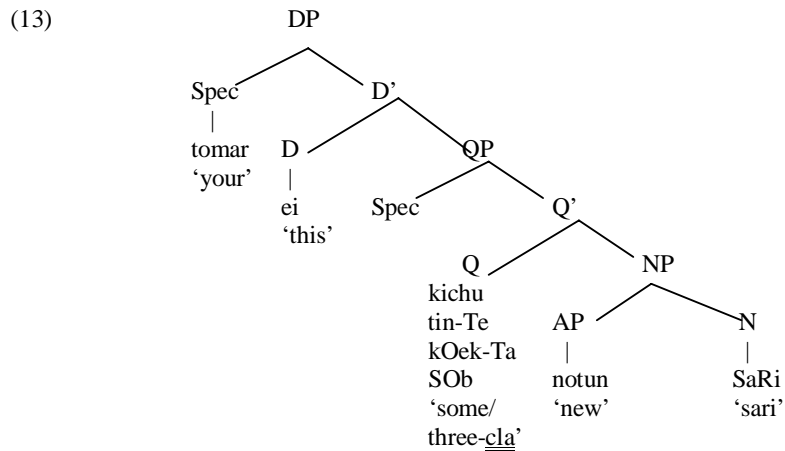
So a maximally occupied phrase may have the following order of constituents:

- (11) Poss D Num-Cla Adj NP-(Cla)
 Q-(Cla)

If we accept that numerals or quantifiers are quantifying expressions, then their occurrence at the same position is not surprising. Moreover, these two different kinds of quantifying expressions can never occur:

- (12)* tomar ei kichu tin-Te notun SaRi
 your this some 3-TA new sari

Furthermore, if we assume that the possessive phrase tomar ‘your’ occupies the [Spec,DP] position at some stage of the derivation, then we have a structure like the following:



What is immediately visible about this structure is that a head-initial word order is presumed in 13. Bangla is typically an SOV language. How do we explain this?

I assume with Kayne (1994) that the universal underlying word order is Specifier-Head-Complement (S-H-C). Languages which display a different word order on the surface must employ movement to arrive at some non-universal outcome. Any movement in Kayne's model is leftward by default since asymmetric C-command will imply precedence.

I adopt the S-H-C order or the LCA based on the following:

- (14) Dasgupta (1996) has provided an account of Oblique Case in Hindi/ Urdu and the phenomena of agreement in the postpositional phrase which crucially relies on the conjecture that Kayne's assumptions hold. In that account, the complement of the adposition moves to the specifier of a P-related functional head, yielding argument-adposition order and the agreement details.

Kayne (1994) reported that agreement between an adposition and its complement is observed only in case of postpositional languages. Hindi/ Urdu, which is closely related to Bangla, shows a confirmation of this prediction.

To be more precise, Kayne (1994) (based on pc with Hale) reports that there are postpositional languages which show agreement between the adposition (postposition) and its complement, while prepositional phrases never show such agreement. Maracz (1989) (cited in Kayne) reports that P-DP order is possible in Hungarian only when the adposition is of the class that never shows agreement. If we compare this with Dasgupta's analysis of Hindi/ Urdu Oblique Case as a case of DP-P agreement then we get confirmation of Kayne's prediction. To see the issues more clearly, consider the following Hindi data:

- (15) a. [makaan ke]_i paas t_i
house gen near
masc (obl) masc
- b. [makaan kii]_i or t_i
house gen towards
fem (obl) fem

The facts of agreement (oblique) and Case choice are explained in terms of complement-to-specifier movement of the agreement nominal by feature checking needs.

If we adopt an underlying SVO order for Bangla then we would expect the order D-NP within the DP. On the default assumption that the Dem is a D, D-NP is in fact the surface order within a Bangla DP. With the

S-H-C order, the phrase-initial position of the Dem in Bangla is explained.⁵

Having given some justification of the order adopted for 13, let us investigate the following properties in connection with 13 in turn:

- Dem as D⁰ (Section 3.0)
- Num/Q+Cla as fused Q⁰ heads (section 4.0)
- Adj-Noun order in Bangla (Section 5.0)
- Specificity in the DP (Section 6.0)
- Base position of Poss (Section 7.0)

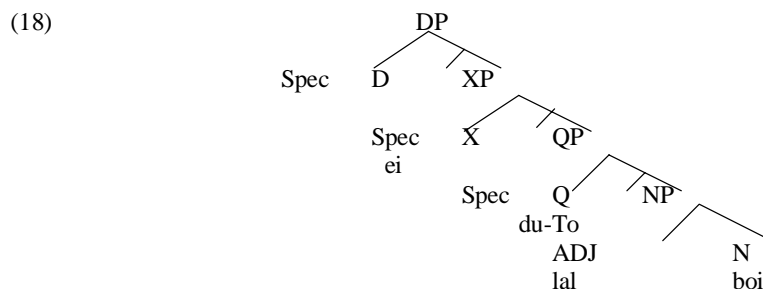
3.0 Dem and the Three-Layered DP

Consider the following evidence which puts into question the

headedness of Dems:

- (16) a. ei du-To boi
 this two-cla book
 ‘these two books’
- b.* boi_i ei du-To t_i
- c. ei boi_i du-To t_i
- (17) 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

The starred b phrases show that leftward movement of the NP across ei ‘this’ is barred. The crucial barrier here seems to be the Dem. If the Dem is a head, then it is difficult to see how it can act as a barrier to XP movement. If the Dem is not a head then it cannot occupy either D (our initial conclusion as in 13) or any other head we may now be forced to place between D and Q. Suppose there is one, does it make our task easier? Consider the following structure for the DP:



That is, I have generated the Dem as a specifier of the intermediate XP projection. The fact 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:

- (19) 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

For 19b, Giusti suggests that N to D movement of băiat ‘boy’ takes place across the Dem as well as the Adj, if present. This shows that the Dem is neither at D, which has the article -ul, nor in an intermediate head, otherwise the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) would be violated for this local-N movement. Additionally, 19c below shows that the Dem also blocks the AP movement to [Spec,DP] which is otherwise allowed in Rumanian.

- c. frumosul (*acesta) băiat
 nice this 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. However, in Bangla, as I will show later (section (7.0)), there is no N to D movement in general. There is no convincing evidence, therefore, to posit a head X^0 between D^0 and Q^0 although the Dem behaves like an XP. One alternative is to generate the Dem as an adjunct to QP.

3.1 Dem as QP Adjunct As it will be argued in section 6.0, specific NPs move to [Spec,QP]. Both this movement and our decision to postulate an XP between DP and NP are driven by specificity. It is therefore important to ask if there is any specificity-Dem interaction. Consider the following:

- (20) a. ei du-To boi (deictic)
 this two-cl_a book
 ‘these two books (here)’
 b. ei boi_i du-To t_i (specific)
 ‘these two books’

In other words, in 20a the deictic meaning is more important (shown in the translation by here), whereas in 20b the specificity of the books is more important. We will look at the specificity effect obtained in 20b in greater detail later. The deictic effect in 20a is less easily stated in syntactic terms. Bernstein (1997) analyses the following contrast in terms of the idea that the deictic effect in 21a reflects a Dem to D^0 that does not take place in the syntax for 21b.

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

That is, for Bernstein, deixis is obtained through a movement of the Dem to D^0 whereas in case of the indefinite there is no movement of the Dem. Imagine, however, a system where the Dem is ambiguous not between a deictic and an indefinite interpretation but rather between a deictic and a definite interpretation. Applying Bernstein’s system to such a language would involve viewing both deixis and definiteness (which most standard analyses relate to D) as due to some interaction with D^0 . In other words, Bernstein’s system is unable to distinguish between the two different effects associated with Dem in terms of the two types movement.

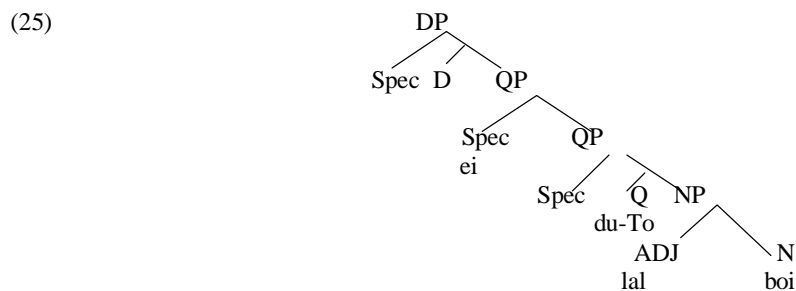
Bernstein’s account of deixis is unsatisfactory for another reason. She proposes movement of an XP (Dem)

to an X (D⁰), a conceptually undesirable move for which she provides no specific motivation. I suggest that deixis is made possible by the maximal Dem merging at [Spec,QP]. This is then the mechanism responsible for the deictic effect in 20a, for example.

Let us now see if there is any evidence for the existence of a head between D and Q. In Bernstein (1997) an FP is proposed where the functional head F is the ‘Demonstrative reinforcer’ like here/ there in colloquial Scandinavian varieties and non-standard English:

- (22) a. den här mannen (Swedish) (Bernstein 1997)
 the here man-the
 ‘this man’
- b. den där bilen
 the here car-the
 ‘that car’
- (23) a. den herre klokka (Norwegian)
 the here watch-the
 ‘this watch’
- b. det derre huset
 the there house-the
 ‘that house’
- (24) a. this here guy (English)
 b. this there car

The Dem in her system is the Specifier of this FP. Whether such a head is well-motivated for Bangla is unclear.⁶ I will, therefore, settle for the solution that Dems are generated as QP adjuncts, noting perhaps the difference between two specifiers as sites for two different syntactic effects. The revised structure, with Dem as adjunct to QP, is presented below:



What we have learned from this section is as follows: Dems behave as XPs rather than as heads and that since there is no independent motivation in Bangla to posit a head between D and Q, the only alternative is to generate the Dem as an adjunct to QP.

4.0 Q+Cla as a Fused Head

In this section I will discuss the content of the Q head, as in 25, and claim that Num-Cla (and Q-Cla) in Bangla is part of the QP domain. I will show that both a Q+Cla and a Num+Cla quantifies a following nominal argument (N or Adj+N). A quantifier in Bangla followed by a cliticised Ta appears to modify a Noun. Consider the following cases of Q-Cla sequences:

- (26) a. kichu-Ta doi

- b. some-cla curd
SOB-Ta doi
all-cla curd
- c. khanik-Ta doi
some-cla curd

Let us now see how a Q+Cla sequence combines with verbs:

- (27) a. kichu-Ta dekhechi
 some-cla seen-1
 ‘(I) have seen some’
- b. SOB-Ta dekhechi
 all-cla seen-1
 ‘(I) have seen all’
- c. khanik-Ta dekhechi
 some-cla seen-1
 ‘(I) have seen some’

This is similar to the set in 26 if it implies a zero N; 27a, for example, means I have seen some of it. In both these sets I take it that the Q quantifies over Ns. Consider also the following set of data where the Q-Cla sequence seem to quantify over an adjective:

- (28) a. dilli-r cee kichu-Ta bORo
 Delhi-Gen than somewhat-cla big
 ‘Somewhat bigger than Delhi’
- b. ag-er cee khanik-Ta bhalo
 before-gen than a little-cla good
 ‘A little better than before’
- c. ekhan theke Onek-Tadur
 here from a lot-cla far
 ‘Quite far from here’

The data above shows that a Num/Q-Cla sequence is followed either by N (26), zero N (27), Adj (28), or Adj-N (9, 10). In other words, the maximal sequence noted in 13 and revised in 25 for the Bangla DP can account for the data above.

Consider the following additional data involving a Q-Cla sequence (the data can be replicated for other Qs and Numerals).

- (29) a. ami boi du-To dekhechi
 I book two-cla seen-1P
 ‘I have seen the two books’
- b. o phOl kO-Ta kheyeche
 s/he fruit some-cla eaten-has-3P
 ‘s/he has eaten some (specified) fruits’

29b may have a more clearly definite reading in contexts that invite it, a matter I do not investigate here. The specific reading shown in the gloss provided suffices for our purpose. Notice that 29 above must be syntactically related to the following example where the Q precedes the nominal, and where the DP has an indefinite (and default non-specific) reading:

- (30) a. ami du-To boi dekhechi
 I two-cla book seen-1P
 ‘I have seen two books’
- b. o kO-Ta phOl kheyeche
 s/he some-cla fruit eaten-has-3P
 ‘S/he has eaten some fruits’

Comparing 29 and 30, we see that 29 gives the effect of a floating quantifier.⁷ In other words, the quantifier is stranded. To see this more clearly, recall a floating quantifier example from a better-studied language, French:

- (31) a. tous les enfants ont vu ce film
 all the children have seen this movie
- b. les enfants ont tous vu ce film
 the children have all seen this movie

In 31b the quantifier tous appears dislocated from its position in 31a. These sentences are identical at some level of representation since the universal force of the quantifier tous is identical in both sentences. tous is, however, crucially a subject-oriented quantifier. The predominant view in the literature is that floated quantifiers mark the position of the subject traces. Bobaljik (1995: 131) argues that in object-shift languages, object-oriented floated quantifiers appear on the left edge of the VP. If NP is the phrasal equivalent of VP then we can assume that in the context of a noun phrase, the left edge of the VP is where the QP is in 25.

Sportiche’s (1988) analysis of the structure of this construction shows that there is no actual “floating” of the quantifier involved. Instead, generalisation 32 provides a better key to the distribution of floating Qs:

- (32) (Floating) Qs may appear in the NP-initial position (Sportiche, 1988:427)

This generalisation, coupled with the VP-internal subject hypothesis proposed by Sportiche, leads to the following possibility. The subject originates within VP. When subject moves out to the [Spec, IP] position, it strands the Q, which thus remains at the left edge of the VP.

We return now to 29 on the basis of this understanding of the phenomenon of Q stranding which I take 29 to exemplify. Our account of the relation between 30 and 29 is that the nominal moves out of its base-generated position to a higher position. Based on Sportiche’s analysis and incorporating Bobaljik’s (1995) claim that object-oriented FQs are possible in object-shift languages, I conclude that 29 involves phrasal equivalent of object shift that leaves the Q stranded.

The movement of the NP across Q-Cla (or Num-Cla as a special case) in 29 is acceptable, which means it does not count as a violation of any locality constraint on movement, which I take to show that the Q-Cla must be a head. I will thus interpret the floating Q behaviour of the Q-Cla sequence as evidence that this sequence as a whole counts as a Q head. In the next section I will find additional evidence for treating Q-Cla as the head of QP.

5.0 Adjective-Noun in Bangla Before we proceed to look at specificity facts within the Bangla DP, let us briefly discuss the placement of the Adj in the Bangla DP. If we look at our canonical DP structure in 25 again, we notice that the adjective phrase is in the Spec of NP. The status of attributive adjectives has been controversial. I will adopt an NP-shell structure with the adjective as the specifier of NP. We will see (in 35 below) that an Adj-N unit may not be broken in Bangla. One way of dealing with such a descriptive fact would be to propose that Adj and N in Bangla form a constituent. AP as a spec of NP achieves this effect. If adjectives were to head an AP with a NP complement, then ‘object’-shift (suggested for 29 above and discussed in detail later) would require whole APs to move leftward to [Spec,QP] in our structure; there is no strong motivation for such a movement, for example, adjectives are not ± definite/ specific in Bangla.

Bangla does not (while the closely related language Hindi/ Urdu does) show any agreement of the Adj and the head N. The attachment site of the A (or AP) in Bangla, therefore, should not affect the analysis of DPs that I am proposing here. However, as I have noted earlier in 4, adjective-N nevertheless forms a close unit in terms of distribution in the clause. Keeping the possibility of adjectival agreement in Hindi/ Urdu in mind, a structure which proposes the placement of APs on the specifiers of NPs seems optimal. Notice that in such a structure, it is possible to check agreement features in a spec-head configuration to account for the Hindi/ Urdu facts.⁸ Extending the move made by Chomsky (1995) for the verbal projection, I am postulating nP as the (maximal) projection of the N system, in other words, as the outermost NP-shell.

Notice that enlarging the NP-shell in our canonical DP structure in 25 thus would still maintain the three layered structure that I intended to preserve as far as possible. Conceptually motivated along the lines of Chomsky’s enlargement of the VP projection, this nP proposal receives initial empirical support from Adj-N agreement in Hindi. Additional evidence for the nP shell will be presented in section 7.0 where I discuss the base position of the Poss.

Consider now a base-generated Dem Q Adj N sequence in Bangla:

- (33) ey duTo lal boi
 this two-cla red book
 ‘these two red books’

The preferred order is Dem QP Adj N as in 33 above. Notice that the Numeral-Classifier sequence may occur right after the Dem as in 33 or postnominally as in 34, but never in an intermediate position as in 35.

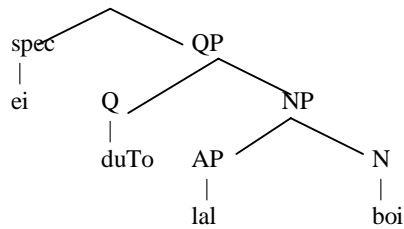
- (34) ey lal boi duTo Dem Adj-N QP
 this red book two-cla
 ‘these two red books’

- (35)* ey lal duTo boi *Dem Adj QP N
 this red two-cla book

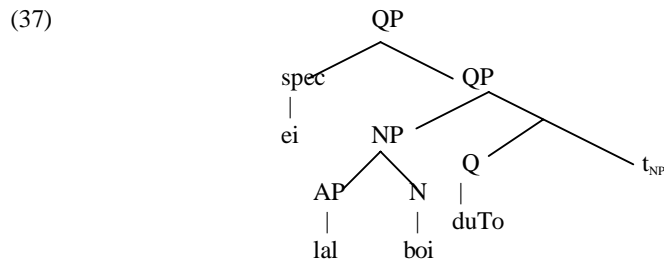
With regard to 35, I noted earlier (in 4) that the Adj-Noun unit may not be broken. This descriptive fact falls out of the DP structure that I have proposed in 25 above since AP-N forms a constituent NP in 25. Bangla also disallows any leftward movement of the adjective in the overt syntax. In other words, extraction of the specifier of NP in general is not allowed.

In order to understand how 34 is derived, let us look at the structure for 33. I propose that 33 is derived from 36, ignoring the fine-grained nP shell structure for the the moment.

- (36) QP



The derivation of 34 from 36 proceeds by moving the whole phrase NP to [Spec,QP] to yield the following:



Analysis 37 gives rise to an observation and a query:

- (38) (i) NP movement leaves the Q stranded as in cases of Q-float
(ii) What drives the leftward NP-movement?

Regarding 38i we note that it provides additional justification for treating a Q-Cla structure as a complex Q head. If Q and Cla were two different heads, we would need additional head-to-head movement of the Q to Cla, and two leftward movements of the NP (first to [Spec,QP] and then to [Spec,ClaP]) to derive the right order for 34. A fused Q head, therefore, not only maintains the three-layered DP structure but supports a more economical derivation of specific DPs.

With regard to 38ii, I propose 39 below for which section 6.0 provides independent language-specific evidence.

- (39) A presuppositional/ specific feature of the Q head drives leftward movement.

6.0 Specificity In Bangla Diesing (1992) equates specificity with presupposition. For most authors, specificity essentially presumes an identified discourse referent. Mahajan (1990) proposes to treat nominal specificity in Hindi/ Urdu as a syntactic property. This move, as Kidwai (1995) shows, does not work since it is not the case that all DPs that trigger verb agreement or are Case-marked are necessarily and unambiguously definite/specific in Hindi/ Urdu. Since Bangla does not show number/gender agreement, there is in any case no obvious way of implementing Mahajan's proposals for Bangla. At least for Bangla, then, we accept by default the idea that Case and agreement facts alone cannot be used to decide whether a particular nominal is specific. We may note that the core of the specificity effect (movement of the object NP out of the VP) that Mahajan discusses can be imported into the type of theory that Diesing discusses, which, in essence, forces all presuppositional material out of the VP in LF.

Note that in Bangla sentences like 40 below, the moved nominal induces a presuppositional/ specific reading 40a. In other words, 40a presupposes a prior discourse referent for books. It seems unnecessary to appeal to any syntactic definiteness feature in the Bangla DP (located, say, at D) to explain the fact that the

DP in 40a is specific. We may also note here that according to Groenendijk and Stokhof (1981) specificity ranges over not only indefinites but definites, numerical expressions, singulars and plurals. What matters in 40a is, therefore, specificity, the in the English gloss notwithstanding:

- (40) a. ami boi du-To dekhechi
 I book two-cl_a seen-1P
 ‘I have seen the two books’
- b. ami du-To boi dekhechi
 I two-cl_a book seen-1P
 ‘I have seen two books’

I shall then presume that the phenomenon connected with the leftward movement of the NP in Bangla DP is specificity and rather than definiteness. I adopt Diesing’s suggestion that specificity can be equated with presuppositionality. Her theory represents, at LF, the syntactic reflex of the semantic/pragmatic notion of presupposition. Indefinite subjects in Dutch, and objects in Turkish allow a specific interpretation of indefinite NPs in certain syntactic contexts. Diesing notes that this can be explained by considering the essential semantic content of specificity to be presuppositionality. This proposal carries over directly to the following Bangla examples.

- (41) a. kal Ek-Ta chele eSechilo (non-presuppositional)
 yesterday one-cl_a boy came
 ‘a boy came yesterday’
- b. kal chele-Ta eSechilo (presuppositional)
 ‘the boy came yesterday’

The nominal in the b example presupposes a prior discourse mention of its reference. It shows that the shifted nominal chele ‘boy’ can receive a specific reading for the noun phrase. The presuppositional nature of the nominal in 41b is clear if we consider the fact that 41b can only be an answer to a which NP question (42b) but not a what question (42a).

- (42) a. kal ke eSechilo?
 yesterday who came
 ‘who came yesterday?’
- b. kal kon chele-Ta eSechilo?
 yesterday which boy-cl_a came
 ‘which boy came yesterday?’

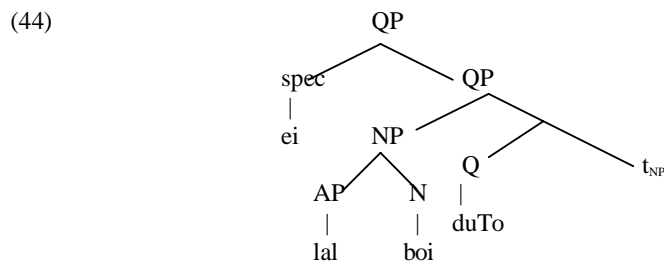
presupposing the existence of some boy or boys, the question in 42b targets the identity of the boy involved. The data in 41 and 42 constitute the evidence for a presuppositional analysis of DP-internal specificity in Bangla.

I now turn to the task of working out, within the syntax of the Bangla DP, the mechanism responsible for the NP preposing that gives rise to such specific interpretations.

- (43) a. oi duTo lal boi
 those two-cla red book
 ‘those two red books’
- b. oi lal boi duTo (specific)
 those red book two-cla
 ‘those two red books’

Note, that the specificity obtained is not clear from the English gloss in 43. However, in the case of 43b where the nominal boi has moved out of its base position, the phrase is felicitous only if the nominal has a prior discourse reference.

I extend Diesing’s analysis here to NPs and suggest that a specific NP moves out of its immediate nP-shell to a higher position. Notice that 43b indicates a specific reading of the NP lal boi ‘red books’. The N is specific or presuppositional in 43b and therefore it must move up.⁹ This leftward movement of the NP as shown in 37 above is repeated here:



An important question to ask at this point is: What drives this movement? Since movement in the framework adopted for this purpose (Chomsky 1995) is feature-driven, the default option would be to formulate a mechanism for the movement observed in 44 in terms of a feature. Let us return to 39, where I suggested a feature of specificity (or presuppositionality). Let us now assume that a filled Q comes with an optional feature of specificity in the numeration. Certain nonsubstantive heads (like C, T or D in English) can be assigned a particular feature when they are chosen for the numeration. I propose that this option is exercised by the Q in a specific DP in Bangla. In Chomsky (1995), it is the feature of the attractor (in this case Q) that forces movement.

I propose that specificity is a non-interpretable feature and therefore, according to Chomsky (1995), must be checked either in overt syntax or at LF. To ensure that the checking occurs in overt syntax, I propose further that this optional feature picked up by a Q as it enters the numeration is strong. I constrain the proposal by adding that only a Q head that contains a Classifier element has the option of picking up this strong, non-interpretable feature [specific].

In support of this aspect of the proposal, consider the following evidence. So far we have observed numeral expressions in Bangla carrying a Classifier Ta. There are, however, certain classifierless Num-N sequences in the language. The following examples are from Dasgupta (1983):

- (45) a. du deS-er moitri
 two country-gen friendship
 ‘friendship between two countries’
- b. tin caka-r gaRi

- three wheel-gen vehicle
 'three-wheeled vehicle'
- c. tin bOchor
 three year
 'three years'
- d. car paS
 four sides
 'Four sides'
- e. tin dik
 three direction
 'three directions'
- f. ora car bon tin bhai
 they four sister three brother
 'they are four sisters, three brothers'

A similar classifier-less Num N sequence appears in the following measure expressions:

- (46) a. du gOj
 two yard
- b. tin hat
 three hand/arm
 'three cubits'
- c. car miTar
 four metre
- d. paMc peala ca
 five cup tea

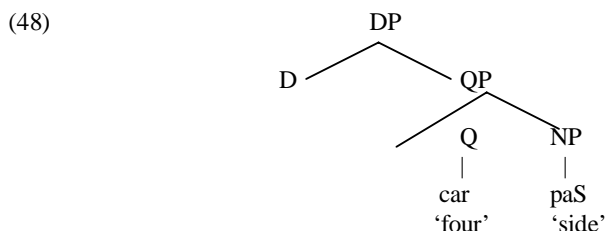
(Dasgupta 1983)

Note that, crucially, in none of these phrases can the NP move leftward to give a specific reading. The following, therefore, are not possible:

- (47) a.* deS duier moitri
 'friendship between the two countries'
- b.* caka tiner gaRi
 'the three-wheeled car'
- c.* bOchor tin
 'the three years',¹⁰
- d.* paS car
 side four
 'the four sides'
- e.* dik tin
 directionthree
 'the three directions'
- f.* bon car bhai tin
 'the four sisters, three brothers',¹¹

- g.* gOj dui
 'the two yards'¹²
- h.* hat tin
 arm three
 'the three cubits'
- i.* miTar car
 metre four
 'the four meters'
- j.* ca paMc peala
 'the five cups of tea'¹³

A typical structure for the grammatical examples will be as follows:



I take this data to mean that the Q head in these cases never exercises the option of picking up a specificity feature when it enters the numeration. We notice two things about these examples: that Q lacks a classifier element, and that the NP cannot prepose across the Q. These two facts --- the absence of specificity and the absence of leftward NP movement -- must be correlated. The account that I propose, based on 39, explains this correlation by giving the Q-head the option of choosing a non-interpretable formal feature of specificity.

Now consider the nature of this feature. Since I presume this feature to be -Interpretable, it must be checked in a Spec-Head configuration either in the covert or the overt component. In the immediately preceding discussion, I have shown the need to endow the Q head of QP with a specificity feature as a lexical option made available if the Cla features are present. Does this mean that the post-Q NP must move leftward whenever Cla occurs? No, for in the nonspecific DP examples 40b, 41a, 43a the post-Q NP remains in situ despite the presence of Cla in the Q. Choosing among the formal possibilities, we propose that 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 (delete) this strong feature. This account provides a standard mechanism to drive movement of NP to the Spec of QP. If, however, the numeration contains a nonspecific Q, as in 40b, 41a, 43a, then there is no need for feature checking and hence no overt preposing.

Now consider the cases in 45, 46. These DPs are without a classifier. According to the analysis presented above, the Q head in these DPs cannot carry any feature of specificity. The impossibility of using classifiers with these expressions is a morphological reflection of this fact. Why? Because the absence of classifiers precludes the choice of the strong specificity feature for Q. It may be of interest to point out that the Ns in

these expressions seem to form a class of their own. These are similar to the bare adverbs discussed in Larson (1985).¹⁴ Temporal NPs that Larson discusses include ‘calendrical’ Ns where particular intervals of calendar years function as proper Ns for temporal periods. This property appears in our data set at 45c. Larson discussion of NPs denoting location, direction and manner seems relevant also to our 45d,e. For the rest of the NPs in 45, one could imagine a function of ‘relation’ to be included in this special class of Ns.¹⁵ As for 46, measure phrases form a class of their own.¹⁶

Larson’s specific proposal offers an account of Case marking for NPs headed by Ns of this special class without appealing to mechanisms outside the DP. While this idea is compatible with the framework I am using, I do not pursue it here. In the given context, the point that 45, 46 help establish is that, in the absence of classifiers, the Q bears no attractor feature that could trigger complement NP preposing. Larson is relevant only to the extent that his idea might help future work trying to relate the unusual (classifierless) type of Q in such DPs with the apparently unusual N type that seems to cooccur with it. For the purpose of this paper, the task of explaining why the language tolerates bare Qs and why these Qs seem to select special Ns is not urgent and can be postponed.

In conclusion I may note that one conceptually attractive property of our account of NP preposing in specific DPs in Bangla is the fact it provides yet another empirical argument for the Specifier-Head-Complement universal order that I have adopted on the basis of Kayne’s work. To return to the basic pattern, compare the following:

- (49) a. [V NP] \Rightarrow [_{VP} NP_i [V t_i]
 b. [Q NP] \Rightarrow [_{QP} NP_i [Q t_i]

Our analysis of the Bangla DP along with the obligatory movement (either in covert/overt syntax) of the NP to the left of the Q mirrors the situation in a clause. Notice that QP in our formulation is predicative in nature (see 5 in this connection) like the VP shell in a clausal structure.

7.0 Position of Poss In this section I will provide further evidence of DP-internal NP movement. I will claim that this new type of NP-movement -- based on data previously unnoticed in this or a related language -- nevertheless, is triggered by the same [specificity] feature responsible for clause-like ‘object’ shift inside the DP. For a detailed analysis of the data reported here, see Bhattacharya (forthcoming).

Examples 7-10 provided earlier show that in the default order within the DP the Poss occurs highest in the tree. This involves either base-generating Poss in this position or setting up a derivation that takes it there. If we were to base-generate Poss at [Spec, DP], we would have to recast the analysis of deixis in section 3.0 where I proposed to move Dem to [Spec, DP] to obtain a deictic reading. Before I address this issue, consider the following data:

- (50) a. baba amar khub gorib
 father mine very poor
 b. chele amar khub duSTu
 son mine very naughty
 c. ma amar SOt manuS
 mother mine honest human

These example indicates that the Poss need not occupy the highest available specifier slot in the tree. At

first sight, this order looks restricted to kinship terms.¹⁷ I will describe this phenomenon as ‘Kinship Inversion’. There is evidence from other languages that this type of inversion is not entirely 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, in these uses, behave like proper nouns. Proper nouns in Longobardi’s theory obligatorily move to D. This seems too good to be true -- I can simply 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 one crucial respect; in the former, it is the whole NP which moves up. Consider the following:

- (51) a. amar buRo baba khub bhalo
 my old father very good
 b. *baba amar buRo khub bhalo
 c. buRo baba amar khub bhalo
- (52) a. amar lakkhi ma ebar kheye nao
 my obedient mother now eat-CONJ take
 ‘my obedient daughter, please eat now’
 b. *ma amar lakkhi
 c. lakkhi ma amar

51b and 52b clearly indicate that the N moves up along with all its modifiers. In Bangla, therefore, it is a case of NP movement and not N (to D) movement as noticed in Italian and other languages.

The data above has shown us that Possessives are not the highest spec in the tree. Therefore I conclude that Poss is base-generated at a specifier that is not the highest in the DP. Could we merge it at [Spec, QP], then? But placing it there creates more problems than it solves. I have earlier proposed that a [specificity] feature of the Q head moves the NP leftward to [Spec, QP]. More importantly, the following is also possible:

- (53) amar boi_i du-To t_i
 my book two-cl_a
 ‘My two books’

That is, we can have a Poss (like amar ‘my’) preceding the moved specific noun. Now if I claim that the Poss is generated (or even, ends up) at [Spec, QP] then the ‘object’ shift story is problematic unless I resort to multiple specs. There is nothing in principle to avoid generating multiple specs for QP but crucially, empirically and conceptually, a possessive nominal has nothing to do with a Quantifier Phrase. There seems to be no reason, therefore, to generate it at [Spec, QP]. Where does it originate, then?

7.1 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:

- (54) amar chele khub bhalo

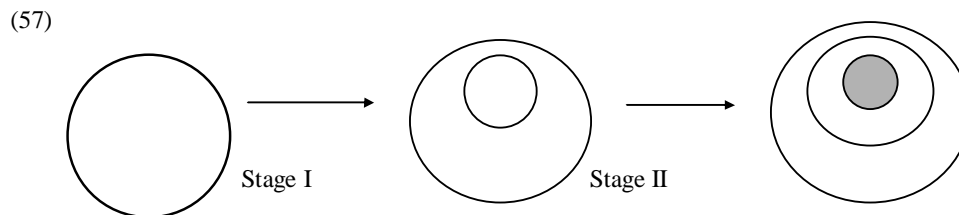
- my son very good
 a. 'my son is very good'
 b. 'MY son is very good'
- (55) robin-er gaRi-Ta gEche
 Robin's car-cla has gone
 a. 'Robin's car is gone!'
 b. 'ROBIN'S car is gone!'

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.

Let us investigate this position further. amar chele 'my son' as in 54 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:

- (56) amar CHELE khub bhalo, meve-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:

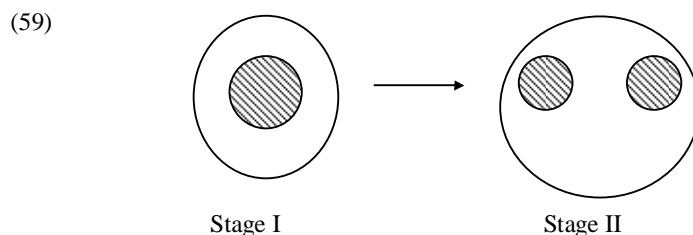


The diagram in 57 seems to imply that both Poss and Focus act as restrictive modifiers on a set. However, although it is arguable whether Poss can indeed be seen as a restrictive operation on a set, the 'reduction' in Stage II only indicates the set (out of other alternatives) finally chosen to receive the focus intonation.

Let us now consider the following:

- (58) 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 58 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:

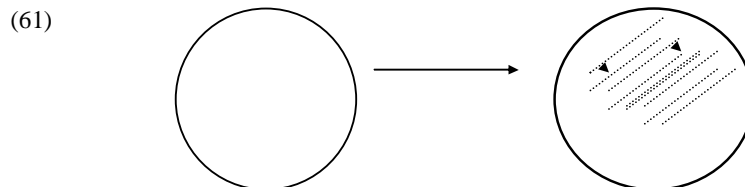


Stage I in 59 creates the my-set. Now, when the my of the my-set is focused, the alternative sets created must be from among members outside the domain of the my-set. That is, the alternative sets may be made up of objects bearing the relation of possession to you, him/her, or X. So, Stage II cannot take place inside the my-set. The diagram in 59 shows this state of affairs where Stage II depicts only one of the many possible alternative sets.

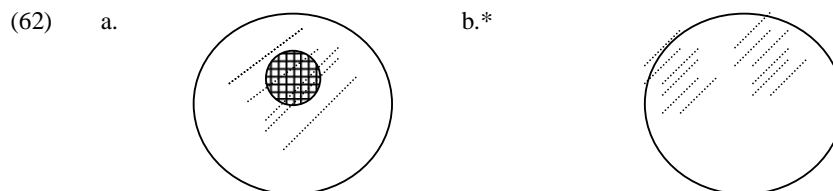
Let us see if this explanation holds water for the other order we have been looking at, that is, the marked order of NP-Poss. This order, I suggest, breaks up the thematic relation between the possessor and the possessed. I will assume that the thematic properties of Poss in 60 are satisfied covertly in the case of KI.

- (60) 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 61 represents an underspecified area. I believe that a general theory of underspecified semantics as in Reyle (1993) 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 61, it is still possible to perform a Stage II operation of the type shown in 57, but not a Stage II operation of the type shown in 59. This is due to underspecification. That is, 62a is a possible derivation from 61, but 62b is not.



Given what I have said, it would seem that in the marked order (NP-Poss), focusing the NP would still be acceptable but focusing of the Poss would 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 62b. Not surprisingly, the data corroborates this prediction:

- (63) 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 reason 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 64.

- (64) a. ama-r ei du-To boi
 my-gen this two-cla book

Apart from such obvious syntactic advantages as in 64, I will 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, the presence of a Poss makes the NP definite 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 65a. However, whenever a Poss is present, the object NP must appear with the definitivity marker (65b).

- (65) 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 the conclusion in section 6.0, presuppositionality is a LF reflection of syntactic specificity. I will therefore consider 65 as evidence in favour of a specificity analysis of Poss.

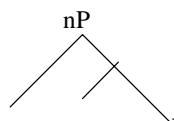
Secondly, such an analysis allows us to distinguish between two types of specificity – strong and weak – which is well established in the literature on specificity (Groenendijk and Stokhoff, 1981 and Ludlow and Neale, 1993 among others). I will claim that specificity due to Poss moving to [Spec,QP] is 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.

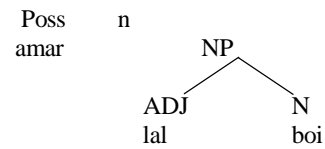
The final movement of the Poss to its derived position -- that is, to [Spec,DP] -- is due to a feature like [Poss] in D which attracts the Poss to its Spec. A piece of direct evidence that the theory outlined above is on the right track is the observation that the Poss does not move up to [Spec,DP] in case of kinship inversion. This is because, as I 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 I am 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 the 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).

There are these two facts to consider. We have seen that the Poss can pass through [Spec,QP] but cannot remain there. We have also seen that the Poss is not the highest Spec in the DP tree since kinship inversion leaves the Poss stranded. These pieces of evidence indirectly point to the conclusion that the Poss is base-generated at a position lower than [Spec,QP]. According to some authors (Giorgi & Longobardi (1991), Mallén (1992) and others) Possessives are like adjectives (for some languages) and therefore must be generated within the NP. If that is the case then in the current framework, we can generate the Poss within the nP-shell.¹⁸

(66)





With this I have now accounted for all the positions in the structure of the Bangla DP that I proposed in 25. In this section I have provided an additional motivation for the [Spec,QP] position (and therefore, QP), a position where the kinship noun moves to and through which the Poss moves up to [Spec,DP] in nonkinship DPs. The presence of the Poss in the nP shell in 66 brings about complete isomorphism with the vP shell structure of a clause. This is a final piece of evidence for the detailed comparability between clausal and phrasal structures.

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 Notes

¹Rijkhoff (1990: 24), working within the Functional Grammar framework, suggests the following to be the canonical structure of the NP:

(i) [Ω1[Ω2[Ω3]]]

where Ω1, Ω2, Ω3 are operators that indicate “locality”, “quantity”, and “quality”, respectively, of the phrase and each of them has scope over a different part of the underlying structure. According to Rijkhoff, Ω3 indicates the “nominal aspect” of the phrase. Quantifiers, cardinal numerals and number markers, on the other hand, being Ω2 operators, have scope over the qualified part, that is, the head, N, and its modifiers. Determiners are Ω1 operators and as such have a scope over the quantified part of the phrase.

²The transcription works as follows: T D R = Retroflex t d r; S = Palato-alveolar s; N = Velar n; E O = mid vowels ; M = Nasalisation.

³ Zamparelli (p.c) is not keen on calling it Kind Phrase anymore and would rather remain agnostic as to its semantic nature. See Zamparelli (1998) for a semantic analysis of Kind NPs.

⁴ The sentence in (i) can only have the (ii)a interpretation where the modal has scope only over the noun phrase:

- (i) The doctor examined [a possible case of cholera]
 (ii) a. The doctors examined *something*, which possibly was a case of cholera
 b. Possibly, the doctor examined a case of cholera (but maybe he didn’t examine anything at all)

⁵ Even if Dem turns out not to be the head of the DP, as will be the case in the present analysis (see 3.0 below), the position of the Q-Cla complex as in 11 finds a natural explanation in 13, which would otherwise require a lot more machinery if we started out with a head-final order.

⁶ In Bhattacharya (forthcoming) I have provided evidence for a silent FOCUS head by treating $-\dot{i}$ of $e\dot{i}$ ‘this’, which Dasgupta (1992) describes as the ‘anti-pronominaliser augment’, as identical to the true focaliser in Bangla.

⁷ We will consider this as a case of movement of the object (boi ‘book’ and phOI ‘fruit’) out of the NP shell to a higher position. Our analysis (see section 6.0) will crucially involve this leftward movement of the NP to account for the specificity effect that is obtained in the Bangla DP.

⁸ For Hindi/ Urdu, I suggest that adjectival agreement is obtained by moving the the N to n (see 65) and the Adj to a higher spec of nP (not shown in 65)

⁹ Notice the following with respect to ‘one’:

- (i)a. Ek-Ta boi b. boi-Ta c. *boi Ek-Ta
 ‘An/ one book’ ‘The book’

(b) is the specific variant rather than the expected (c). The existence of (b) has lead earlier researchers to posit Ta as a marker of definiteness paralleling the English gloss. In terms of the theory proposed here, the specificity effect of (b) is due to the overt object shift similar to the case in (43b). The Num of Num-Cla in case of (b) is “understood” to be ‘one’ where the derivation for the specific (b) can start with a ‘silent’

numeral understood to be ‘one’. For the non-specific reading, the understood numeral is actually instantiated for PF reasons. The type of Num selected for the derivation, quite possibly, has a role to play in the derivation:

- (ii)a. aRai-Te biskuT b.*biskuT aRai-Te
 2½-cl_a biscuit
 ‘Two-and-a-half biscuits’
- c. Egaro-Ta boi d.*boi Egaro-Ta
 eleven-cl_a book
 ‘Eleven books’

The examples in (ii) show that the object shift to take place the Q must contain a low-profile, whole numeral like two, three or an understood one. aRai ‘two-and-a-half’ is not a whole number and Egaro ‘eleven’ is not low-profile. This property of the numeral was noticed first in Dasgupta (1983) and can be accommodated in a feature-based theory by considering ‘recognisability’ as a sub-feature involved in determining the specificity of the DPs which undergo object shift. Thus ‘countability’ of a set, for example, of ‘three’, is not the core issue. Rather, it is the ‘recognisability’ of three-ness of a set of three which is at the core of the issue of specificity. However, at this stage of the work, it remains a conjecture.

¹⁰ The order is acceptable for a ‘vague’ meaning like three years or so; however, a vague meaning is far from a specific meaning

¹¹ The impression that the order is acceptable for a topicalised meaning like as for sisters, they are four, as for brothers, they are three; again, this is not a specific meaning as indicated in the gloss of 47f

¹² The order in 47g gives a vague meaning as in 47c

¹³ That the order gives only a topicalised meaning as in case of 47f, is further strengthened by the fact that there is a distinct pause after tea

¹⁴ Larson discusses the following types of NP adverbs:

- (i) I saw John [that day]/ [someplace you’d never guess]
 (ii) John headed [that way]
 (iii) Mary pronounced my name [every way imaginable]

¹⁵ Notice the use of Genitive with 45a,b in this connection

¹⁶ Whether Measure Phrases project a phrase of their own is a separate issue not dealt with in this paper, see in this connection, Zamparelli (1996) and references contained therein

¹⁷ At least this marked order is most productive in case of kinship expression; I discuss the possibilities arising out of this in detail in Bhattacharya (forthcoming)

¹⁸ Historical evidence indicates that Poss, unlike adjectives, is appositional in nature; this is reflected in the nP structure proposed here where Poss is an outer Spec