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DP-Internal NP Movement[*]

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Abstract

In this paper I show that there are clause-like NP-movements within the DP. There have been various proposals for N-movement within the DP (Bernstein 1993, Longobardi 1994 etc.) but none concerning NP-movement. I show that in Bangla (Bengali) at least two types of DP-internal NP movements take place, both of which are due to specificity. The analysis offered, in terms of a difference between nP and NP movement, additionally derives the result that the deixis obtained in phrases where the NP has moved leftward is non-locative.

1 NP 'Object Shift'

In this section, I will briefly[1] show that the first type of NP movement within the DP is similar to the clause-like NP movement known as Object Shift in languages like Icelandic. I will further show that this movement is based on phrasal specificity. Diesing (1992) shows that indefinite subjects in Dutch and objects in Turkish allow a specific interpretation of indefinite NPs in certain syntactic contexts. She 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. The core of the specificity effect (movement of the object NP out of the VP) that Mahajan proposes can be imported into the type of theory that Diesing discusses, which, in essence, forces all presuppositional material out of the VP at LF.

This proposal carries over directly to the following Bangla examples.

[*] I am indebted to Rita Manzini, Ad Neeleman and Neil Smith for comments, criticism and suggestions on earlier drafts of the paper; all remaining errors are mine. I am also thankful to two anonymous reviewers for some crucial suggestions. Shorter versions of parts of the paper were presented at conferences at the Universities of Manchester and York.

[1] For details see Bhattacharya (forthcoming)

(1) a. kal Ek-Ta lOmba chele eSechilo[2]
yesterday one-CLA tall boy came
'a tall 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 referent. It shows that the shifted nominal *chele* 'boy' can receive a specific reading for the noun phrase. The presuppositional nature of the nominal in (1b) is clear if we consider the fact that (1b) alone can be an answer to a *which* NP question (2b) not (1a) (similar facts observed by Kidwai (1995) for Hindi/ Urdu).

(2) a. kal ke eSechilo?
yesterday who came
'who came yesterday?'
b. kal kon chele-Ta eSechilo?
yeserday which boy-CLA came
'which boy came yesterday?'

Presupposing the existence of some boy or boys, the question in (2b) targets the identity of the boy involved. The data in (1) and (2) 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 that gives rise to such specific interpretations.

Let us look at the distinction between the following.

(3) 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'

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

The phrase in (3a) is the base order. Note, that the specificity effect is not clear from the English gloss in (3). However, in the case of (3b) 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 (3b) indicates a specific reading of the NP *lal boi* 'red books'. The N is specific or presuppositional in (3b) and therefore it must move up. This leftward movement of the NP is shown in (4):

(4) $[_{DP}$ ei $[_{ClaP}$ $[_{NP}$ lal boi] duTo $t_{NP}]]$[3]

I propose that a feature of [specificity] on the Cla head (containing *du-To* as above) ATTRACTS the NP to its spec as shown, giving rise to the specific reading. I call this NP 'OBJECT' SHIFT. I assume that when the [specificity] feature of Cla is not selected the DP is non-specific as in (3a), similar to Collins and Thráinsson's (1996) assumption regarding the optional character of the strong N feature of Agr_o in Icelandic Object Shift at the clausal level.

The NP movement above raises the question: 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 (4) in terms of a feature. Let us assume that a filled Cla comes with an optional feature of specificity in the numeration.[4] Following Chomsky (1995: 277) we will assume that optional features are added arbitrarily as the LI enters the numeration. In the present theory, this option is exercised by the Cla in a specific DP in Bangla.

Again, essentially following Chomsky (1995: 281) since the features of the target which enter into checking relations are non-interpretable, I assume that the Cla head bears a -

[3] I will modify the Bangla DP structure in (4) where the demonstrative (Dem) *ei* is shown to be a part of the D-domain and instead suggest that the Dem is generated lower. In (3) Cla represents Classifier which is the head of the middle 'layer' and may include either a Num (like *du* 'two' above) or a Q (like *kOek* 'some'). To keep the account as economic as possible, I will consider Cla as a complex head containing a Cla and either a numeral or a quantifier.

[4] An anonymous reviewer suggested that specificity be represented by a constant +Intp feature and the marked word order for specific DPs be considered as a result of a strong +N feature on the same head. I would like to suggest that since the specificity effect obtained in Bangla is configurational/ syntactic, it is best represented as a -Intp feature which display, to quote Chomsky (1995: 278) "the special role of the property of displacement of categories that is characteristic of human language". Also, it avoids invoking another feature like +N on the Cla head.

Interpretable syntactic feature of specificity and therefore, must be checked at the latest by LF. To ensure that the checking occurs in overt syntax, I assume further that this optional feature picked up by a Cla as it enters the numeration is STRONG. It is only when a Cla is morphologically present, can a [specificity] feature be optionally selected. To see that this is so, consider the following.

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):

(5) 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'

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

(6) 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

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

(7) a. *deS duier moitri
b. *caka tiner gaRi
c. *bOchor tin[5]
d. *paS car
e. *diktin
f. *gOj dui[6]
g. *hat#tin
h. *miTar car
i. *ca paMc peala[7]

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

(8) $[_{DP}\ [_{ClaP}\ car\ [_{NP}\ paS\ ]]]$

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

Now consider the nature of this feature. Since I presume this feature to be non-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 Cla head of ClaP with a specificity feature as a lexical option made available if

[5] The order is acceptable for a 'vague' meaning like *three years or so*; however, a vague meaning is far from a specific meaning

[6] The order in (7f) gives a vague meaning as in (7c)

[7] That the order gives only a topicalised meaning (and not a specific meaning), is strengthened by the fact that there is a distinct pause after *tea*

the Cla is morphologically present. Does this mean that the post-Cla NP must move leftward whenever Cla occurs morphologically? No, for in the nonspecific DP examples in (1a) and (3a), the post-Cla NP remains in-situ despite the presence of Cla. Choosing among formal possibilities, I assume that in a given derivation, the option of assigning the strong specificity feature to the Cla may or may not be exercised. But once such feature assignment has taken place, there is no further choice. The complement NP must prepose overtly to check this strong feature. This account assumes a standard mechanism to drive the movement of NP to the Spec of ClaP. If, however, the numeration contains a nonspecific Cla, then there is no need for feature checking and hence no overt preposing in case of nonspecific (1a) and (3a).

Now consider the cases in (5) and (6). These DPs are without a classifier. According to the analysis presented above, the Cla 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 Cla. The point that (5, 6) help establish is that, in the absence of classifiers, the Cla bears no attractor feature that could trigger complement NP preposing.

This indicates that specific NPs cannot occur in Bangla, even though their features would be interpretable, unless they enter into a checking relation with a specific classifier. In section 3 where I investigate the nature of DP-internal deixis, I suggest that both specificity and deixis are syntactic effects that obey a general Affect Criterion which has been shown to include such diverse syntactic effects as Wh-criterion, Neg-criterion and Focus-criterion. I argue that *both* (and not either) the spec and the head of a functional projection need to be filled to obtain DP-internal specificity and deixis (see note 19).[8]

To conclude, what I have suggested is the following: If there is no morphological Cla, there is no strong feature of specificity in the complex Cla head. If there is a morphological Cla, then it has the option of picking up a strong non-interpretable feature of [specificity] which then effects the leftward movement of the post-Cla NP.

[8] This observation about the specificity of Bangla DPs which has a parallel in English WH-questions, where a WH expression must check its feature even though interpretable, may be called the SPECIFICITY CRITERION as suggested by an anonymous reviewer.

2 Kinship Inversion[9]

2.1 Introduction

In this section, I will present further evidence of leftward NP movement based on data -- previously unnoticed in this or any related language -- involving kinship terms. I will show that the marked word order NP-Possessive in (9) is due to **K**INSHIP **I**NVERSION (KI), a descriptive label for this movement. Unlike in other languages (e.g. in Italian, Longobardi 1994), in Bangla, I will show that the NP, rather than the N, moves up stranding the possessive XP *amar* 'mine' in its base-generated position within the nP-shell[10].

(9) $[_{DP}\ [_{ClaP}\ [_{NP}$ buRo baba] Cla] $[_{nP}$ amar [t_{NP}]]] (KI)
old father my-GEN
'the old father of mine ...'

I will claim that the landing site for this movements is also [Spec,ClaP]. That is, I will argue that it is the specifier of ClaP (rather than the specifier of DP) which is the landing site for specific NPs. However, before proceeding further, we need to sort out the structure of the Bangla DP in relation to the position of the Poss and the Dem that will form the basis of the discussion in the rest of the paper.

2.2 Possessives

I will begin the discussion by considering the position of the possessive (Poss) inside the DP in Bangla. The structure of the DP in (4) and (8) provides an analysis for data like (10a) where the Poss *amar* 'mine' is in [Spec,DP] and the Dem *ei* 'this' is in D as shown in (11). (10b) shows that the Poss cannot be lower than the Dem in the structure:

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[9] A more detailed version of some of the ideas presented is discussed in Bhattacharya (1998a)

[10] The presence of a nP-shell in the full-blown DP structure is justified in the next section (see (16)) and in Bhattacharya (1998b).

(10) a. ama-r[11] ei du-To boi
my-GEN this two-CLA book
'these two books of mine'
b. *ei amar du-To boi

(11) [$_{DP}$ amar [$_{D}$ ei] [$_{ClaP}$ du-To [$_{NP}$ boi]]]

The following phrases also support the structure in (11):

(12) a. ram-er gaRi
Ram-GEN car
'Ram's car'
b. toma-r du-To lal boi
you-GEN two-CLA red book
'your two red books'
c. rakhal-er bORo bhai
Rakhal-GEN big brother
'Rakhal's elder brother'

So far we have seen that the Poss phrase occurs highest in the tree. But consider the following:

(13) a. baba amar khub gorib![12]
father mine very poor
b. chele amar khub duSTu!
son mine very naughty
c. ma amar SOt manuS!
mother mine honest human

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

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

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

The data above shows that the normal, unmarked order of Poss-NP (as in 10 and 12) is reversed with certain kinship expressions.[13] Apart from the marked order of NP-Poss, the data in (13) also shows that the Poss need not be highest in the tree. We have evidence from other languages that the restriction to kinship terms is not unexpected. For example, in Longobardi (1994), it is reported that in Italian, kinship terms have a cluster of properties not shared by other common nouns. He suggests that kinship terms, in fact, behave like proper nouns. Proper nouns in Longobardi's theory obligatorily move to D. Thus we can say that kinship Ns in Bangla are like proper names (as in Italian) and therefore they move to D to give the order we notice above.

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

(14) a. amar buRo baba khub bhalo (unmarked Poss-NP order)
my old father very good
'my old father is very good'

b. [$_{NP}$ buRo baba] amar t_{NP} khub bhalo (marked NP-Poss order)
(Lit.) 'Old father (of) mine is very good!'

c. *baba amar buRo khub bhalo

The clause in (14b) above in contrast with (14c) clearly indicates that the N moves up along with its modifiers[14]. In Bangla, therefore, it is a case of NP movement and not N (to

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[13] Notice that the use of this order is dictated by the stage or individual nature of the predicate in KI cases if by Stage and Individual level we mean temporary and permanent properties of the subject respectively:

(i) # baba amar aSben (stage level)
father mine come-will
'father mine will come'

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

This contrast is clearer in Hindi:

(iii)* baba mere aayenge (stage level)
father mine come-will

(iv) baba mere acche aadmii haiM (individual level)
father mine good man is

[14] I have provided some evidence in Bhattacharya (forthcoming) in support of [Spec,NP] status of Adj in Bangla. However, even without such an assumption, the point about NP movement can be made by

D) movement as noticed in Italian and other languages. I will call this phenomenon Kinship Inversion (KI). This will form the core of the discussion to follow. I will specifically show that KI involves NP movement, that is, similar to DP-internal 'Object' Shift in 1 which also involved leftward NP movement.

Let us begin by considering the base and the derived position of the Poss in the DP structure.

Since Poss is not highest in the tree, the only other XP position available in (4) or (11) for the Poss is the [Spec,ClaP] position. Placing the Poss in [Spec,ClaP] creates more problems than it solves. We have earlier proposed that a [specificity] feature of the Cla head may attract a NP leftward to [Spec,ClaP]; therefore, the following, involving a Poss, is also possible:

(15) amar boi$_i$ du-To t_i
my book two-CLA
'my two books'

That is, the Poss *amar* 'my' precedes the moved specific noun *boi* 'book'. Now, if we claim that the Poss is generated (or even, ends up) at [Spec,ClaP] then the NP 'Object' Shift story is problematic unless we resort to multiple specs for ClaP. There is nothing in principle to avoid generating multiple specs for ClaP but crucially, a Poss argument has nothing to do with a Classifier Phrase, i.e. it does not 'classify' or quantify. There seems to be no reason, therefore, to generate it at [Spec,ClaP]. Where does it come from, then?

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

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considering participial modifiers like the following:

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

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

(16) $[_{nP}$ Poss $[_{NP}$ ADJ N]]

This would suggest that to derive a DP like (15), the Poss would need to move all the way up to [Spec,DP] past the Cla head consisting of the Num-Cla complex *duTo*.[15] In KI cases as in (13), I will claim that the NP moves out of the nP stranding the Poss. KI, therefore, is another instance of DP-internal NP movement. Two questions arise at this point: *What triggers this movement?* and *What is the landing site for the NP in KI?*

Before we answer these questions, let us briefly discuss the position of the Dem in the Bangla DP as it bears crucially upon the discussion to follow.

2.3 Demonstratives

2.3.1 Introduction. Consider the following data:

(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
'these two red books' (specific)

The starred b phrase shows that leftward movement of the object NP across the Dem *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 based on data as in 10, 12) or any other head between D and Cla.

The proposal that the Dem may not be equated with D^0 is well established in the literature (Giusti (1997), Bernstein (1993), Brugé (1996) etc). They argue that the definite article (at D^0) and the Dem can co-occur in many languages:

[15] Although nothing crucial in the present analysis depends on it, this movement is triggered by the presence of a relevant feature ([Poss]) in D. In the case of KI (as in 13 and 14) this movement does not take place in the overt syntax. I discuss this in detail in section 2.4.

(18) a. el libro este/ ese/ aquel (Spanish) Brugé (1996)
the book this/ that/ that
'this book'

b. bäiat-ul acesta (frumos) (Rumanian)Giusti (1997)
boy-the this nice
'this nice boy'

For (18b), Giusti suggests that N to D movement of *bäiat* '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, (18c) below shows that the Dem also blocks AP movement to [Spec,DP] which is otherwise allowed in Rumanian.

(18) c. frumosul (*acesta) bäiat
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. We saw in (14) that in Bangla there is no N to D movement. There is no compelling evidence, therefore, to posit a head X^0 between D^0 and Cla^0; nevertheless the Dem behaves like an XP.

Some analyses on focusing at the clausal level posit a pre-verbal FP projection where the head carries a feature of [focus] (Brody 1990). If we acknowledge the strong similarity between clauses and phrases then we may want to posit a similar focus-like head in the pre-ClaP position in the DP, that would provide us with a spec position for the Dem. Let us see if there is any independent evidence for doing so, i.e. is there any evidence for a Focus head in the DP? Giusti (1996), based on data from Albanian, proposes a FocP within the DP.[16] However, I will differ from Giusti in terms of the position of the Dem

[16] Giusti's suggestion is based on the following. In Albanian, Adjs appear postnominally (i) but can be prenominal *if* the Adj is emphasised as in (ii):

(i) një grua e bukur
a woman the nice
'a nice woman'

(ii) një e bukur grua
'a NICE woman'

Giusti considers this to be due to a movement of the AP to [spec,FP]. I have extended this proposal for a FocP inside the DP to include contrastive focus as well as the following discussion will show (see section 3.1).

(which is at [Spec,DP] for her) and suggest that the Dem is merged at the specifier of the Focus Phrase. My reasons for proposing a FP inside the DP in Bangla are different from the ones proposed for Albanian (or Russian) in Giusti. I will provide empirical evidence from Old IE and Bangla and theoretically, I will suggest that a DP-internal Focus position derives the nature of deixis more economically. I will specifically propose that deixis in the Bangla DP is obtained through the interaction of the Focus head with the lower head Cla (see section 3).

2.3.2 DP-Internal Focus. Given the theoretical assumptions proposing a functional projection for the Dem and given what we have seen so far for Bangla, let us propose an FP within the Bangla DP. The F head is silent in Bangla (as in other languages mentioned in Bernstein (1997) who also proposes a functional projection, not Focus though, below the level of DP) but carries a strong [focus] feature, if Selected, that must be erased before the derivation reaches spell-out. The new structure for the Bangla DP is given in (19). That is, we have generated the Dem as a specifier of the intermediate FP projection. There are several historical studies (Peterson 1930, Hamp 1980, Hazelkorn 1983 and Sheilds 1994) of IE personal pronouns supporting a focus analysis of Dems in general. These studies broadly conclude that the deictic particles attached to IE pronouns were "emphasising" particles. I argue that Dems in Bangla are derived from personal pronouns plus the particle *-i*.[17]

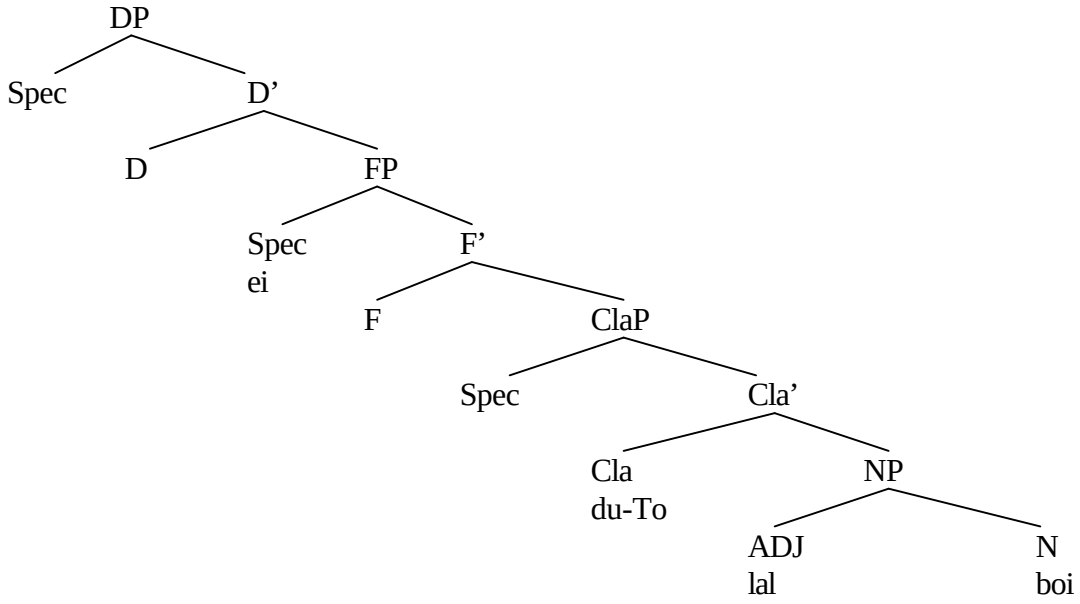
[17] Notice that the augment *-i* used to form Dems like *ei*, *oi*, *Sei* 'this (proximal), that (distal), that (sequent)' from personal pronouns like *e*, *o*, *Se* is homophonous with the emphatic particle *–i* in Bangla:

(i) a. rajen-i baRi jabe
Rajen-EMP home go-will
'Only Rajen/ Rajen himself will go home'

b. rajen baRi-i jabe
'Rajen will go to the house itself'

c. rajen baRi jabe-i
'Rajen will definitely go home'

(19)



The new DP structure now explains the inability of the NP to move across Dem in (17b) in terms of minimality. Let us now see how the above structure can derive the simple DP in (20):

(20) ei du-To boi
this two-CLA book
'these two books (here)'

I suggest that a functional head F with a strong [focus] feature is selected from the Numeration after merging of the Cla *duTo* and the NP *boi* has taken place. This strong feature induces raising of the Cla head to F and thus 'Dem-hood' is established. I am assuming that the Dem *ei* is merged at [Spec,FP]. This is shown in (21):

(21) $[_{FP}$ ei $[_{F}$ duTo$]$ $[_{ClaP}$ $[_{Cla}$ ~~duTo~~$]$ $[_{NP}$ boi$]]]$

Deixis is obtained by achieving a certain syntactic configuration and is not a lexical or a featural property of a particular lexical item. We will utilise this concept of deixis in our analysis in section 3.2.

Let us take stock of the developments so far. We started with a quest to chart out the movement of the Poss in examples like (10). We rejected the possibility of generating it at [Spec,ClaP] and went on to reassess the three-tiered DP structure proposed in (4, 11). We

concluded, by looking at the behaviour of the Dem in Bangla, that a three-tiered structure can no longer be maintained and that we need to posit a head (of which the Dem is the specifier) between the D and Cla as in (19). As it seems reasonable that the Poss is generated at a lower shell and moved to a Case position, let us look at the DP that we started with. However, looking at (10) again, repeated here as (22), the structure above seems inadequate as the Dem as an XP would block the movement of the Poss XP across it. This is clearly not the case in (22b):

(22) a. ama-r ei du-To boi
my-GEN this two-CLA book
'these two books of mine'
b. *ei amar du-To boi

We have already seen that the Dem cannot be a head and that it is generated as the spec of FP. There is no reason to assume that the Poss is a head since it is a full NP with genitive Case. We have also seen that the Dem blocks movement of other NPs across it (17) but not the Poss (as above). Is there a way out of this?

Given either the MLC (Chomsky 1995) or the scopal MLC of Manzini (1998), shown below (23), movement of the Poss to [Spec,DP] is not a problem since the Dem is not an attractor of the [poss] feature.

(23) Given an attractor feature F and an attractee feature A_F, F attracts A_F only down to the next attractor F' for A_F

The Poss in our theory moves up to [Spec,DP] to check the [poss] featue – presumably a Case feature -- at D. This checking takes place overtly in case of overt Poss movement to [Spec,DP] as in (22a), or after spell-out in case of KI when the Poss is stranded in its base-generated position. This may be considered similar to Kayne's (1994) suggestion that in English the Poss NP (as in *John's*) raises past an empty D^0 head at LF. Overt/ covert movement for Case checking is reflected on the obligatory presence of Genitive Case on Poss in all cases.

2.4 KI trigger

Having decided the base position of the Poss and Dem in the last two sections, we are now

in a position to answer the questions raised immediately below (16). KI involves shifting the kinship NP to the left of the Poss in case of certain predicates (see note 13). I will now proceed to show that a feature of the Cla head induces the inversion noticed with kinship terms. First, the following pair shows that inversion is obligatory when an 'affectionate' *Ti* instead of the regular *–Ta* is used with kinship terms:

(24) a. bon-Ti amar khub Sada-Sidhe
sister-CLA my very plain-straight
'sister mine is very plain and simple'
b. * amar bon-Ti khub Sada-Sidhe

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

(25) a. rakhal-er bhai/ *bhai rakhal-er khub bhalo
Rakhal-GEN brother/ brother Rakhal-GEN very good
'Rakhal's bother is very good'
b. bhai-*Ti* rakhal-er khub bhalo
'the brother of Rakhal is very good'

This example again show that a feature of the Cla head (instantiated by the Cla morpheme) is responsible for KI in (25b).

Now that we know that a certain feature of the Cla head is responsible for KI, it is also reasonable to assume that the feature of [specificity], responsible for NP- 'Object' Shift, may be involved in case of KI. The fact that proper names do not undergo KI without the overt presence of the Cla may have something to do with the base position of such nouns given that their semantic status is different from common nouns, however, we do not deal with issue further in this paper.

In (26), the reading obtained is specific, i.e. something is being said about two specific brothers.

(26) bhai duTo amar, ...
brother two-CLA mine
'brothers two (of) mine, ...'

KI in the case of (26) therefore must involve raising of the NP *bhai* through [Spec,ClaP] inducing the observed specificity. On the surface, there is no way to distinguish NP movement to [Spec,ClaP] or further up to [Spec,DP] if there is no other head present in between. Investigating this further will lead us to answering the second question raised in the paragraph following (16), namely, *What is the landing site for the NP in KI?*

2.5 Landing site for the Kinship NP

In connection with (16), I mentioned that the Poss in KI is stranded in its base position within the nP shell. The Poss in such cases, therefore, does not check the [poss] feature at [Spec,DP]. Let us consider the following data in this connection:

(27) amar BON khub bhalo, bhai-Ta-i bOjjat
my sister very good brother-CLA-EMP nasty
'my SISTER is very good, it's only the brother who's nasty!'

The focus on *bon* 'sister' now picks out *bon* as opposed to other objects that may belong to the set already created by *amar*.[18] Let us now consider the following where the Poss is focused:

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

Comparing (27) and (28), we find that in the unmarked Poss-NP order, both the possessed and the possessor can be focused. Let us now see if this is the case for the other order we have been looking at, that is, the marked order of NP-Poss in KI. The inversion, I suggest, breaks up the relation normally obtaining between the Poss and the NP. That is, if there is a θ-role of POSSESSION which normally obtains between the possessor and the possessed, it is unavailable in case of KI. I will assume that in a typical KI case as in (13), the thematic properties of the Poss are satisfied in the covert component. In the overt syntax,

[18] In the theory of Rooth (1985), focusing creates several alternate sets one of which is then picked up by the denotation of the NP.

therefore, the Poss remains in its merged position during the derivation.

Let us see the effect of focusing on the marked order:

(29) a. CHELE$_i$ amar t_i khub bhalo, ...
son mine very good, ...
'SON mine is very good, ...'
b.* chele$_i$ AMAR t_i khub bhalo, ...

We conclude that in the marked order of NP-Poss, the Poss cannot be focused. This empirical conclusion is imported into our analysis of KI (see section 3.2 for details) where NP movement leaves the Poss stranded. Does this mean that the NP, then, raises all the way up to [Spec,DP] in these cases? If it did, then the following data will be problematic.

(30) a. ei bhai amar
this brother mine
b.* bhai ei amar

If the kinship noun *bhai* 'brother' raises to [Spec,DP] to check some feature on the D, the unacceptability of (30b) is strange. It is, therefore likely that the NP does not raise all the way up but only up to [Spec,ClaP]. Therefore, in (30a) the NP *bhai* moves to [Spec,ClaP]. This is one reason to analyse KI as NP movement. However, any movement to this position has been analysed so far as movement due to specificity. Both (26) and (30) therefore indicate that the landing site for the NP in KI is [Spec,ClaP] and is brought about by the feature of [specificity] responsible for NP- 'object' Shift discussed in section 1.

3 Deixis inside the DP

3.1 Introduction

In this section, I will investigate the nature of the deixis which obtains inside the DP and show that DP-internal NP movement leaves similar deictic results for both 'Object' Shift and KI. I will claim that the analysis offered here obtains the DP-internal deictic facts for free. However, as a result of this investigation, I hope to show that although on surface these two types of NP-movements look similar, they may involve moving different "chunks" of the NP-shell.

Bernstein (1997) points out the difference between the pair in (31) by suggesting that in

(31a), the deictic effect is obtained by moving the Dem to D^0, this movement does not take place in the syntax for (31b).

(31) a. this woman (right here) (Bernstein's (19))
= 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 the case of the indefinite there is no movement of the Dem.

Bernstein's account of deixis is unsatisfactory on at least one ground. She proposes movement of an XP (Dem) to an X (D^0), but she does not specify what feature triggers this process. Based on empirical evidence, I will suggest that deixis is not obtained through movement to D^0 but rather of a lower head into the head of which the Dem is a specifier, FP in our formulation. I will suggest that the deictic effect in (32a) is obtained through the Dem being merged at [Spec,FP] *and* some lower head moving to F (also see 21).[19]

(32) a. ei du-To boi (deictic)
this two-CLA book
'these two books (here)'
b. ei boi_i du-To t_i (specific)
'these two books'

The data shows that in (32a) the deictic meaning is more important (shown in the translation by *here*), whereas in (32b) the specificity of the books is more important. In (32a), I will assume that the Cla has head moved into F resulting in the kind of deixis obtained. An absence of this head-movement in (32b) results in, what I will call, 'NON-LOCATIVE' deixis. Let us look at the nature of DP-internal deixis in greater detail.

[19] 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^0
b. A [+F] X^0 must be in a speck-head agreement with a [+F] operator

3.2 NP Movement and deixis

In this section I will investigate the effect of DP-internal NP movement on the nature of deixis inside the DP. Particularly, I will show that NP movement makes the deixis of the phrase non-locative in a sense to be made precise. The difference in deixis will also lead us to propose a distinction between two types of NP movements (section 3.2).

The pattern obtained in (32) is reflected in a larger set of data involving the Dem and the Poss. In connection with (33), I will claim that whenever there is a Poss preceding the Dem, the nature of deixis obtained is contrastive (as in 33a). That is, apart from performing its deictic function of 'pointing', the Dem seems to contribute a contrastive meaning to the phrase as well. The deixis obtained in (33b) is non-locative. That is, there is no 'here and now' interpretation of the Dem in the latter.

(33) a. ama-r ei du-To chele (contrastive)
my-GEN this two-CLA son
'these two sons of mine'
b. ama-r ei chele du-To (non-locative)
my-GEN this son two-CLA
'these two sons of mine'[20]

The contrastive meaning of (33a) is suggested by the full sentence (34) where the Dem clearly contrasts the set of two boys with another set consisting of *Rakhal*.

(34) ama-r ei du-To chele khub bhalo, rakhal-Ta-i boka
my this two-CLA son very good Rakhal-CLA-EMP foolish
'these two sons of mine are very good, it's only Rakhal who's a fool'

That is, the set of two sons is contrasted against another consisting of *Rakhal*. In (34) *ei duTo chele* is the constituent in focus which is set in contrast with the phrase appearing within the negative contrastive adjunct -- a necessary and sufficient diagnostic for focus in Rochemont (1998). Notice that the NP has not moved across the Cla *duTo*, that is, there is no 'object' shift involved here. Note further that the Dem in (32a) is used deictically whereas in its specific counterpart (32b), the Dem loses its deictic effect. We note that

[20] The similarity of the English gloss indicates the impossibility of the *boys two* order for specific two boys. However, the fact that the natural focus for this expression in English is carried by *these* confirms the contrastive nature of the deixis obtained for the Bangla equivalent.

specificity overrides deixis inside the DP. Crucially, leftward NP movement involved in NP 'Object' Shift renders the deictic effect of the Dem 'non-locative'.

Similarly, in the case of NP movement due to KI, the resulting deixis of the phrase is non-locative. This is shown in (35).

(35) a. ei du-To bhai amar .... (contrastive)
this two-CLA brother mine
'these two brothers (of) mine, ...'
b. ei bhai du-To amar (non-locative)
'these two brothers (of) mine, ...'

In the next section we will show that the difference between the two DPs in (35) is one of specificity. This would entail movement of the NP to [Spec,ClaP] in the case of the specific version (35b). I will also show that the type of DP-internal deixis obtained with NP movement is predictable from the analysis.

3.3 nP/ NP Movement

3.3.1 Introduction. In this section, I will first show that the grammar of the Bangla DP must distinguish between at least two types NP movements. In other words, I will provide well-motivated reasons to move different "chunks" of the nP within the DP. This distinction will be shown to necessitate generating the F head. In the course of the discussion we will also see that the type of deixis obtained falls out as a consequence of the analysis.

To get a quick overview of what we are going to propose, let us look at the following:

(36) a. amar ei bhai duTo (NP'O'S; nP movement)
my this brother two-CLA
'these two brothers of mine'
b. ei bhai duTo amar … (KI; NP movement)
'these two brothers of mine …'

That is, these two operations, NP 'Object' Shift and KI, in effect, result in different 'chunks' of NPs being moved. As expected, the deicticity effect obtained in both (36a) and (36b) is non-locative, since both NP'O'S and KI induce non-locative deixis (section 3.1).

However, in their non-specific counterparts, the order of things is different:

(37) a. amar ei duTo bhai (nonspecific; Poss movement)
my this two-CLA brother
'these two brothers of mine'
b. ei duTo bhai amar … (nonspecific KI; NP movement)
'these two brothers of mine …'

I will suggest that the deixis obtained in both a and b of (37) is contrastive. Notice that in both cases nothing intervenes between the empty F head and *duTo*, the Cla head. The Cla, therefore, can head move to F in each case, in effect, deriving the contrastive deixis obtained. I claim this to be the theoretical justification for a head between D and Cla.

3.3.2 nP Movement. In this section I will propose that movement due to specificity is nP movement to [Spec,ClaP] followed by a movement of the Poss to [Spec,DP] if present. That is, NP'O'S is re-interpreted as nP movement. The following pair shows the specific vs non-specific order:

(38) a. ei du-To bhai (non-specific; deictic)
this two-CLA brother
'these two brothers (here)'
b. ei $bhai_i$ du-To t_i (specific)
'these two brothers'

In the case of (38a) the base generated order of the Cla head *duTo* followed by the NP *bhai* is manifested. However, notice that (38a) is purely deictic (see (32a) above). Deixis in our theory is obtained by merging the Dem at [Spec,FP] and by moving a lower head to F (see the discussion in connection with (32) and note 19). In (38a), therefore, I suggest that *duTo* head moves to F as follows:

(39) $[_{FP}$ ei $[_{F}$ duTo$]$ $[_{ClaP}$ ~~duTo~~ $[_{nP}$ bhai$]]]$

In (38b) the NP is specific and therefore moves up to [Spec,ClaP] to check the strong [specificity] feature of the Cla head. The Cla in this case does not head move and we obtain non-locative deixis as desired (see (32b) in this connection). This movement of *bhai* in this case does not obtain for us any difference that may exist between nP movement and NP movement. To decide this, let us now consider the following where a full nP is

generated due to the presence of Poss.

(40) a. amar duTo bhai (contrastive)
my two-CLA brother
'my two brothers'
b. amar bhai duTo (specific)
'(these) two brothers of mine'

Similar to (38a), the order in (40a) is base-generated except for the movement of the Poss to [Spec,DP]. Although this movement can be motivated by the scopal-MLC of Manzini (1998), I will suggest that the movement of the Poss takes place via [Spec,ClaP] followed by its movement to [Spec,DP] based on recent work by Ghomeshi (1997) which shows that the Poss must take a presupposed/ definite object in the Indo-Iranian language Persian. Object nouns in Persian may occur with the definite marker – , the indefinite enclitic –*i*, or without any marker as shown in (41a). However, whenever a Poss is present, the object NP must appear with the definite marker (41b).

(41) 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'

What we gain from this is the following. We can say that there is reason to believe that Poss induces specificity effects and that perhaps they stop by an intermediate spec position, possibly either/ both [Spec,ClaP] (for specificity) and [Spec,FP] position (for Focus). This prediction is supported syntactically, since the Poss can use an intermediate spec position as an escape hatch before moving out to [Spec,DP]. The final movement of the Poss to its derived -- that is, the [Spec,DP] position -- is due to some feature [poss] in D which attracts a Poss to its spec.

Coming back to (40a), notice that the phrase is contrastive even though there is no Dem here. Therefore, although there is no Dem, the contrastive reading is obtained by head movement of the Cla to F. This is shown in (42).

(42) [$_{DP}$ amar [$_{FP}$ [$_{F}$ duTo] [$_{ClaP}$ ~~amar~~ [$_{Cla}$ ~~duTo~~] [$_{nP}$ ~~amar~~ bhai]]]]

If we compare the derivations in (39) and (42), we will notice that in (39) Cla→F results in deixis and in (42) the same movement produces contrast. I will repeat the earlier suggestion that in the former, deixis is obtained not only by moving the Cla to F but additionally by merging the Dem at [Spec,FP]. In the case of (42), since there is no Dem, Cla→F produces just a contrastive reading.[21] Note that we are assuming that the F head selected in (42) carries a strong feature of Focus.

In the case of (40b), however, this head movement does not take place as the Focus feature is not strong. In effect, this means the NP gets a specific interpretation when the Cla→F movement does not take place. The set of movements that derive (40b) consists of a movement of the Poss to [Spec,DP] through [spec,ClaP] followed by the NP moving leftwards to [Spec,ClaP] to induce specificity. However, in effect, this is similar to moving the whole nP to [Spec,ClaP] first and then moving the Poss out to the higher Spec next. As we have already established the need to have Poss and NP movement in the grammar, there is no need to introduce another kind of NP movement. However, the number of steps required for the derivation with nP movement is less than with Poss+NP movements. Therefore, for economy reasons, I will consider movement due to specificity in non-KI cases as nP movement:

(43) $[_{DP}$ amar $[_{FP}$ $[_{ClaP}$ $[_{SPEC}$ ~~amar~~ bhai] $[_{Cla}$ duTo] $t_{nP}]]]$

On the face of it, this seems like a strange result to fall out of the analysis. However, I will suggest that the specificity effect is obtained by the "joint" action of something moving into [Spec,ClaP] and the presence of some relevant head in Cla. This is identical to the requirement that deixis is obtained by the joint action of merging the Dem in [Spec,FP] and movement of a lower head into F, which, in turn was suggested to be part of a general Focus Criterion of Brody (1990) (see note 19). This requirement of having both the Spec and the Head filled to obtain certain syntactic effect is the property shared by deixis and specificity.[22]

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[21] Notice that I am assuming that the specificity effect obtained by Poss movement in (40a) is 'overshadowed' by the contrastive requirement. I am not sure as to the semantic implications of such a possibility.

[22] 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, including Hungarian 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.

Let us now see if this redefinition of specificity works for the following examples involving Dems.

(44) a. amar ei du-To bhai (non-specific; contrastive)
my this two-CLA brother
'Lit: my these two brothers'
b. amar ei $bhai_i$ du-To t_i (specific; non-locative deixis)
'these two brothers of mine'

In (44a) there must be Cla→F movement since a contrastive reading is desired. However, notice that Dem is also merged at the [Spec,FP] in (44a). Given our analysis of deixis as the joint action of merging the dem at [Spec,FP] and moving Cla to F, (44a) must also involve deixis. I will call this state of affairs 'CONTRASTIVE DEIXIS'. This is shown in (45a).

(45) a. $[_{DP}$ amar $[_{FP}$ ei $[_{F}$ duTo] $[_{ClaP}$ ~~amar~~ $[_{Cla}$ ~~duTo~~] $[_{nP}$ ~~amar~~ bhai]]]]

For the non-locative version in (44b), I suggest that the whole nP moves to [Spec,ClaP] followed by the Poss moving to [Spec,DP]. However, since (44b) is specific, both the spec and the head of ClaP must remain filled with the result that head movement of Cla cannot take place. And since there is no Cla→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 in non-locative. This is shown below.

(45) b. $[_{DP}$ amar $[_{FP}$ ei $[_{ClaP}$ $[_{SPEC}$ ~~amar~~ bhai] $[_{Cla}$ duTo] t_{nP}]]]

3.3.3 NP movement. Now that we have charted the movement of the Poss all the way up to the highest Spec in the DP, let us look at the data in connection with kinship terms. Consider, e.g., the data in (35) repeated here:

(46) a. ei du-To bhai amar .... (contrastive)
this two-CLA brother mine
'these two brothers (of) mine, ...'
b. ei bhai du-To amar (non-locative)
'these two brothers (of) mine, ...'

Notice that the Poss in all cases so far carries the GEN Case marker. This would indicate that in all cases, including the ones of KI where the Poss is stranded, D is generated since that is the domain of GEN Case checking. We will therefore assume that the Poss satisfies the [poss] feature of the D in KI cases covertly.

From (46) we can see that whenever the Dem is used in KI order, it is either contrastive (as in 46a) or non-locative (as in 46b). Let see us now see how we derive (46). The difference between the two versions, as we noted earlier, is that of specificity, the b version, therefore, must involve movement to [Spec,ClaP] to induce the specificity effect when the Cla head is filled:

(47) $[_{DP}\ [_{FP}$ ei $[_{ClaP}$ bhai $[_{Cla}$ duTo] $[_{nP}$ amar ~~bhai~~]]]]]

KI takes place in (46a) as well. KI is always obtained in our analysis by NP movement. Movement to [Spec,ClaP] on the other hand will induce specificity if the Cla head also remains filled by spell-out. Since the a. version is not specific, Cla head-moves to F (see 48). As a result of this movement we obtain contrastive deixis, as desired, for free.

(48) $[_{DP}\ [_{FP}$ ei $[_{F}$ duTo] $[_{ClaP}$ bhai $[_{Cla}$ ~~duTo~~] $[_{nP}$ amar $[_{NP}$ ~~bhai~~]]]]]

The deixis facts obtained in (46) fall out of the analysis that we have proposed based on a difference between nP and NP movement.

4 Conclusions

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

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

In section 3, the nature of deixis obtained inside the DP is investigated. I have shown that NP movement results in ‘non-locative’ deixis. This in turn was explained on the basis of a distinction between nP and NP movement. In particular, it was claimed that both

specificity and deixis are obtained by something moving into the head as well as the specifier of a relevant projection (ClaP and FP respectively) – in effect, similar to the Affect Criterion known in the literature to subsume the WH/NEG Criterion.

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