

On the Existence of DPs and Bi-phasal Nominals in Bangla

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1. Introduction and Background: DP in Bangla

In Bangla, a canonical order of elements within a nominal constituent is numeral>classifier>adjective>noun as shown in (1), which yields an indefinite interpretation. An alternative word-order of adjective>noun>numeral>classifier as in (2) yields a definite interpretation as evident in the translation given for (2).

(1) du To lal boi (Canonical order)
one Cl red book
'two red books'

(2) lal boi du To (Alternative order)
red book two Cl
'the two red books'

This definite interpretation associated with the alternative word-order has been accounted for in the literature by a movement motivated by *definiteness*. Bhattacharya (1999), Chacon (2012), Dayal (2012) analyzed (2) to be generated from the order in (1) by movement of the adjective-noun sequence *red book* across the numeral-classifier sequence. This movement of *red book* is argued to be motivated by *definiteness*¹ reasons, and analyzed as moving from a lower base position in (1) to a higher position Spec, DP – and it is claimed that by virtue of this movement to DP, the indefinite interpretation in (1) gets a definite interpretation in (2). Schematically, this movement to DP is illustrated in (3):

(3) [DP [NP lal boi]_i du To t_i]
↑

That is, in all the previous works cited above, it is assumed that Bangla has a DP layer in the nominal constituent, and that is the landing site of the relevant phrasal movement. Note that Bangla is a language with no overt determiners, and an assumption of a DP layer essentially means a phonologically null D being present. The presence of a null D has been a standard assumption for many article-less languages in the literature; however, Bošković's (2008) influential work sparked the debate if article-less languages can have a DP (also see Fukui 1988, Corver 1992, William 2000, Baker 2003 for some no-DP accounts of article-less languages). Bošković (2008, 2009) suggests that nominal constituents in languages which do not have (definite) articles are 'NP languages' which do not project a DP level of structure, and he supports such an analysis with reference to a number of common syntactic characteristics present in NP languages, which it is claimed can potentially all be attributed to the absence of D/DP. This raises the debate if Bangla, a language with no articles, has a DP layer at all. In this paper, we will present arguments in favor of a DP-analysis for Bangla, which will in turn support that the landing site for the phrasal movement of *red book* in (2) is indeed Spec, DP. Then, building on work on nominal-internal

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¹ Although Bhattacharya's initial intuition was it is *specificity* that drives this movement, it is quite accepted now that it is rather definiteness and not specificity. For a more detailed discussion, see Chacon (2012) & Dayal (2012).

phases initiated in Syed (2015) and Simpson and Syed (2016), we will discuss an important consequence of the DP-analysis for Bangla: we will argue that the extended projection of noun phrases may contain two separate phases- in a way that resembles the occurrence of two *phasal* levels within clauses.

The outline for this paper is as follows: in Section 2, we discuss two major generalizations from Bošković that are analyzed in terms of the presence versus the absence of DP: namely neg-raising and the interpretation of MOST. We will argue that the Bangla data suggest that although Bangla is an article-less language, and hence superficially similar to NP languages such as Serbo-Croatian and Russian, it patterns like DP-languages. In Section 3, we will present some *binding* facts providing further support that Bangla has a DP-layer. Section 4 presents several independent arguments why it's hard to maintain a no-DP analysis for Bangla. Finally, in Section 5, we discuss the consequences of a DP-analysis for Bangla; we present arguments that DP in Bangla is a *phase* in addition to another nominal-internal phase QP argued in Syed (2015) and Simpson and Syed (2016). This suggests that nominal constituents may contain two separate phases- which is parallel to the occurrence two phasal levels within clauses.

2. Two Generalizations from Bošković (2008) and Bošković & Gajewski (2011)

Bošković (2008) presents a range of generalizations that emerge in languages with articles and without, and he accounts for them by positing a fundamental difference in the structure of the traditional noun phrase (TNP) in a language with articles and in one without- more precisely, he claims that a language without articles does not have a DP layer whereas a language with articles does. Among his set of generalizations, we will pick two major ones – neg raising and the availability of the *majority* reading of MOST- to conclusively argue that Bangla not only has more functional projections above NP, but it also has a DP layer.

2.1. Negative raising

Negative Raising (henceforth NR) is referred to the phenomenon where negation can be taken to be either in the matrix or the embedded clause of a sentence like *John does not believe she is smart*. In English, this embedded clause option can be shown with the use of NPI-s in the following examples from Bošković (2008).

(4) John didn't leave/*left [NPI *until yesterday*]

(5) John didn't believe [that Mary would leave [NPI *until tomorrow*]]

It is shown in (4) that *until tomorrow* requires negation, and (5) shows that this negation can be provided from the higher matrix clause- a property known in the literature as NR.

The generalization claimed in Bošković (2008) is as follows:

(6) “Languages without articles disallow NR, and languages with articles allow it”.

Bošković's reasoning behind such a generalization originally comes from the semantic analysis of NR predicates (NRP) in Gajewski (2005). Gajewski takes a presuppositional approach to NRPs, and argues the NR is triggered by the Excluded Middle Presupposition (FN *A believes that p* presupposes *A believes that p* or *A believes that not p*). In Bošković and Gajewski (2011), it is argued that the presence of D is required to trigger this Excluded Middle Presupposition, which they take as an argument why languages without articles (that is, without D, in Bošković's line of thought) should never have NR. A step-by-step of this reasoning is outlined below for cases where there is NR.

i) There is D.

ii) D licenses the Excluded Middle Presupposition.

iii) The Excluded Middle Presupposition triggers NR.

From the steps given above, one can conclude (7), and (8) follows straightforwardly from (7).

(7) If there is NR, there is a DP.

(8) If there is NR in Bangla, there is a DP in Bangla.

We are going to present data in (9) that shows Bangla allows NR, indicating that it patterns like typical DP languages, not NP languages. (9a) shows that the NPI *kono khabar* is in need of licensing by negation, as (9a) is only acceptable with the negated verb *khayni* but not acceptable without the negation as in *kheyeche*. (9b) indicates that this NPI can be licensed by negation in a higher clause (i.e. NR). Note that NR is a property of certain predicated (NRPs), and not a general property of any predicate in a language. This is evident in (9c) which shows that NR happens only in neg-raising predicates like *believe*, but not in a predicate like *see*.

(9)

- a. Ram kalke party-te kono khabar khayni/*kheyeche
 Ram yesterday party-Loc any food eat-neg/eat-pres-perf
 ‘Ram didn’t eat any food at the party yesterday’.
- b. ami biswas kori na je Ram kal party-te kono khabar kheyeche
 I belief do neg that Ram yesterday party-Loc any food eat-pres-perf
 ‘I don’t believe that Ram ate any food at the party yesterday’.
- c. *ami dekhini je Ram kal party-te kono khabar kheyeche
 I see-neg that Ram yesterday party-Loc any food eat-pres-perf

The discussion and the data in (9a)-(9c) clearly shows that Bangla allows NR. Following (8), we can then conclude that Bangla has DP.

2.2. The majority reading of MOST

The second generalization that we are going to discuss is the availability vs non-availability of the *majority* reading of MOST in DP and NP languages respectively. The generalization from Bošković & Gajewski (2011) is stated below in (10):

(10) “Only languages with articles allow the majority reading of MOST”

We take MOST as the morphological superlative of MANY (following Hackl 2010, Bošković & Gajewski 2011). MOST can be associated with two distinct interpretations- the majority reading and the relative reading. For instance, English and German allow both a relative reading (11a) and a majority reading (11b) for MOST.

- (11) Most people drink beer
 a. ‘More people drink beer than any other beverage’ (Relative reading)
 b. ‘More than half the people drink beer’ (Majority reading)

The generalization in (10) originally comes from an observation made in Živanovič (2007), who notes that in Slovenian, a language without definite articles, the use of MOST can only yield a relative reading but not a majority reading. This is shown in (12), which contrasts with the availability of both readings in English in (11).

- (12) Največ ljudi pije PIVO. (Slovenian)
 most people drink beer
 ‘More people drink beer than drink any other beverage.’
 (Unavailable reading: ‘More than half the people drink beer.’)

To account for the contrast observed in Slovenian (12) and in English (11) in terms of the availability of the majority reading for MOST, Bošković and Gajewski (2010) argues that the majority reading can be obtained only if a language has a DP. That is, the lack of DP is what blocks the availability of the majority reading in Slovenian. In the next paragraph, we sketch the reasoning behind such an account.

Bošković and Gajewski (2010) adopts the semantics of MOST given in Hackl (2010). The key details of Hackl’s account relevant to this paper are presented below:

- i) MOST is MANY + EST
- ii) To get the majority reading, -EST adjoins to NP.
- iii) To get the relative reading, -EST moves out of the TNP (Traditional Noun Phrase) completely (landing site is below the subject).

Based on Hackl's account of MOST, coupled with the assumption from Chomsky (1986) that adjunction to arguments is banned, Bošković and Gajewski explains why majority reading is obtained only in a language with a DP in the following way. In DP-languages like English, NP is contained within DP, and hence NP is not an argument by itself. -EST can adjoin to NP, and thus yields the majority reading. The relative reading, on the other hand, is yielded by movement of -EST out of the TNP completely. Thus, both the majority and the relative readings are obtained in English. In an NP-language, NP is an argument and by virtue of being an argument, it will not allow adjunction of -EST to it. Because -EST cannot adjoin to NP, the majority reading can NOT be available, and the only interpretation that can be obtained is the relative one by moving -EST out of the TNP completely.

Evaluating Bangla in light of the above discussion, if one can show that Bangla allows the majority reading for MOST, it will suggest that -EST can adjoin to the NP in Bangla, which in turn means that NP in Bangla is not an argument, which means that the NP in Bangla is contained within a DP. Thus, the availability of the majority reading of MOST in Bangla will suggest that Bangla has DP. The relevant data is given in (13), where both a relative and a majority reading are found possible.

- (13) *besirbhag lok kal party-te beer khelo*
most people yesterday party-Loc beer drink-past
 Available Readings: 'more people drank beer than any other beverage in the party yesterday'
 'more than half the people drank beer at the party' (majority reading)

We take the majority reading of MOST available in (13) to suggest that Bangla has DP.

3. Binding

In this section, we will present some *binding* facts in Bangla that will indirectly support our argument that Bangla has a DP layer. The logic of the argumentation of this section assumes the following definition of c-command given in (14).

- (14) X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories, X excludes Y and every category that dominates X dominates Y (X excludes Y if no segment of X dominates Y).

One needs to further assume Kayne's antisymmetry approach, where specifiers are adjuncts. With this assumption about specifiers and the given definition of c-command in (14), it follows that specifiers can c-command out of their category they are adjoined to. This would seem to incorrectly predict (15) and (16) to be ungrammatical in English, as the possessives *his_i* and *John_i*, being specifiers (and thus adjuncts in the Kaynean view), will c-command *John_i* and *him_i* respectively- thus violating Conditions C and B.

- (15) *His_i father considers John_i highly intelligent.*

- (16) *John_i's father considers him_i highly intelligent.*

To get around this incorrect prediction, Kayne had to make two proposals. First, following Szabolsci (1981, 1983), he assumes that the possessor is preceded by an independent D. He then proposes that it's the same in English, where the prenominal possessor is the specifier of a PossP, which is dominated by a DP with a null D head.

- (17) [DP ... [D [POSSP John [POSS 's [NP father]]]]]

The presence of this DP layer with the null D head explains the grammaticality of (15) and (16) while maintaining that specifiers are adjuncts in the following way: the additional null DP projected above the possessor prevents *his_i* and *John_i* from c-commanding *John_i* and *him_i* outside the DP and thus there is no violation of of Conditions C and B.

Despić (2013) uses this Kaynean analysis in a very interesting way to show that there is no DP in Serbo-Croatian; in this section we will argue that if Bangla did not have a DP, it will behave in a way similar to Serbo-Croatian contrary to the empirical facts- which we will take to suggest that Bangla in fact has a null DP layer, like English. Despić argues that if the internal structure of the English and the SC noun-phrase was the same, the DP above the possessor should prevent illicit c-command relationships between the possessor and co-indexed elements in the sentence. However, examples similar to (15) and (16) in SC are ungrammatical, as shown in (18) and (19).

- (18) *Kusturicin_i najnoviji film ga_i je zaista razočarao.
Kusturica's latest film him is really disappointed
'Kusturica_i's latest film really disappointed him_i.'
- (19) *Njegovi_i najnoviji film je zaista razočarao Kusturicu_i.
His latest film is really disappointed Kusturica
'His_i latest film really disappointed Kusturica_i.'

Despić argues convincingly that the ungrammaticality of (18) and (19) result from the fact that SC does not have a null head projection in the form of D that dominates the subject phrase, and hence 'Kusturica' in (18) can c-command 'him', and 'his' in (19) can c-command 'Kusturica' - which causes a violation of Binding Condition B and C. English translations of (18) and (19) are perfectly acceptable because there is a null DP-layer present in English but not in SC. If Bangla did not have a DP akin to SC, then it is expected that similar binding data in Bangla should also be unacceptable². Consider in that respect the following Bangla examples.

- (20) Rituporno_i-r sesh cinema Ta ta_i-ke khub hotash korlo
Rituporno-gen last film Cl he-acc very disappoint did
'Rituporno's last film really disappointed him'
- (21) ta_i-r sesh cinema Ta Rituporno_i ke khub hotash korlo
he-gen last film Cl Rituporno acc very disappoint did
'His last film really disappointed Rituporno'

The acceptability of examples (20) - (21) suggests that there is no principle B and C violation in Bangla. Given the previous discussion, we argue that there is no Principle B and C violation because there is a null DP projection in Bangla that prevents *Rituporno* in (20) to c-command *take* and *tar* in (21) to c-command *Rituporno-ke*. Further examples of this sort are presented in (22) and (23), which are again completely acceptable because there is no Principle B or C violation as the possessor cannot c-command the co-indexed elements in the sentence because there is a dominating DP projection higher.

- (22) Ram_i-er poSa pakhi kal ta_i-ke kamreche
Ram-gen pet bird yesterday he-acc has-bitten
'Ram's pet bird has bitten him yesterday'
- (23) ta_i-r poSa pakhi kal Ram_i-ke kamreche
he-gen pet bird yesterday Ram-acc has-bitten
'His pet bird has bitten Ram yesterday'

4. Further arguments against a no-DP analysis in Bangla

In Sections 2 and 3, we have argued that the Bangla noun phrase has a DP layer. In this section, we will present a range of supplementary arguments on why one should not pursue a no-DP analysis for Bangla just because it does not have overt articles. First, even though Bangla does not have articles, it has demonstratives like *that* and possessives. Typically, these items are analyzed to be in D unless there is strong evidence in a language that they are not D-elements. In other words, if one wants to entertain a

² Note that the existence of the DP in Bangla is also fully compatible with a 'Standard' (non-Kaynean) approach, where the possessor is a specifier of a universal DP projection.

no-DP analysis for a language with no articles (but which has *that* and *possessives*), one needs to show that these items are not in D. This is what Bošković does for SC- arguing *demonstratives* and *possessives* in SC are actually adjectives (and adjoined to NP) and not in D. We will discuss Bošković's arguments for analyzing these elements as adjectives below, and we will present data from Bangla that suggest that Bangla shows no signs that elements like *that* and *possessives* are adjectives (or not D). We will structure this section in two parts: first, in 4.1 we will present the discussion of SC and then in 4.2 we will discuss the Bangla data.

4.1. *Demonstratives and possessors in Serbo-Croatian*

SC- lacks articles (the prototypical D), but have items like *that* and *possessives*. Bošković argues that in SC, these items are not D but rather adjectives. There are three main arguments for such an adjectival analysis. First, Bošković argues that these elements are morphologically adjectives, and he draws evidence from the data given in (24).

- (24) Nekim mladim djevojkama nekih mladih djevojaka
some_{FEM.PL.INST} young_{FEM.PL.INST} girls_{FEM.PL.INST} some_{FEM.GEN.INST} young_{FEM.GEN.INST}
 girls_{FEM.GEN.INST}

Secondly, these items in SC can occur in typical adjectival positions, in contrast to English, as shown in (25).

- (25) Ova knjiga je moja
 *this book is my

Thirdly, SC allows some freedom in the relative ordering of such elements. This is shown in (26), where 'former John's house' is unacceptable in English, but its SC counterpart is perfectly grammatical.

- (26) Jovanova bivsa kuca / bivsa Jovanova kuca
 Jovan's former house / *former Jovan's house

In the light of the above three arguments, Bošković argues that *this* and possessors like *John's* are adjectives in SC, and are not D-elements.

4.2. *Demonstratives and possessors in Bangla*

Even though Bangla demonstratives may occur in copular positions, they do not show any sign of being morphologically adjectives. Bangla also does not allow any freedom of order between the demonstrative and the possessor, as shown in (27).

- (27) a. amar oi lal boi
 my that red book
 'that red book of mine'
 b. *oi amar lal boi
 that my red book

Furthermore, the Bangla counterpart of the SC example in (26) is unacceptable as well, showing that the Bangla data behave like English and the ordering of such elements is rigid. This is shown in (28), where the order *Ram's former girlfriend* in Bangla is acceptable, but *former Ram's girlfriend* is bad, similar to English but in contrast with SC.

- (28) a. Ram-er prakton bandhobi
 Ram's former girlfriend
 'Ram's former girlfriend'
 b. *prakton Ram-er bandhobi
 former Ram's girlfriend

We take these data to suggest that elements like *that* and *possessives* in Bangla are not simply adjoined to NP, but rather they occur in the specifier of DP.

Note that even though the data in (24) - (26) are used specifically for SC and are not part of the core generalizations given in Bošković (2008, 2009), the discussion in Section 4 is relevant for the general claims made in this paper in the following way. If Bangla is argued to not have a DP, one cannot analyze the *possessors* and *demonstratives* as prototypical D-elements anymore; we suggest here that unlike SC there are no indications in Bangla that these elements are not prototypical D (and not adjectives)- and they are most naturally analyzed as D-elements, which indirectly supports the hypothesis that Bangla has DP. It is also pertinent to mention that Bošković (2008) notes that counterparts of English complex possessors such as ‘my rich neighbor’s horse’ are not possible in SC, and suggests this is because possessors are adjectives SC, and adjectives cannot modify other adjectives. In Bangla, similar complex possessors are fully acceptable (see 29), indicating that Bangla patterns with DP languages, in which possessors are not adjectives but projected in the specifier of DP.

- (29) amar dhoni protibesi-r ghoRa
 my rich neighbor’s horse
 ‘my rich neighbor’s horse’

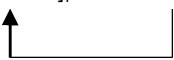
This, along with the discussion in Section 2 & 3, can be taken as evidence that the strong version of Bošković’s hypothesis that all languages that do not have overt articles do not have DP might not necessarily be true, as Bangla seems to project a null DP layer, which is the landing site for the movement of the adjective-noun sequence ‘red book’ in (2).

5. Consequences

Now that we have argued in support of the view that Bangla has a DP projection, we turn to what kind of consequences that bears in terms of the theory of phases. We extend the work on nominal-internal phases initiated in Syed (2015) and Simpson and Syed (2016)- where it’s claimed that a nominal-internal QP acts as a phase- in this paper we argue that in addition to the mid-level QP, the higher DP also acts as a phase. This suggests that the extended projection of noun phrases may contain two separate phases- in a way that resembles the occurrence of two *phasal* levels within clauses. The discussion of this section is structured in the following way: first in Section 5.1, we sketch a summary of the claim made in Syed (2015) and Simpson & Syed (2016) that QP is nominal-internal phase; then in 5.2, we provide arguments that suggest that DP in Bangla acts as a phase as well.

5.1. QP as a phase

In this part, we summarize the main argument from Simpson & Syed (2016) that QP is nominal-internal phase; for a detailed description please see Simpson & Syed (2016). Recall the examples in (1) and (2), repeated below.

- (1) du To lal boi
 one CI red book
 ‘two red books’
- Alternative order:
 (2) [DP lal boi]_i du To t_i]
- 

As mentioned in Section 1, the alternative order in (2) is analyzed in the literature (Bhattacharya 1999, Dayal 2012, Chacon 2012) as phrasal movement of *lal boi* from the base position in (1) across the numeral classifier, as schematized above. However this phrasal movement is blocked when the numeral is higher than *five* (see Syed 2015, Simpson & Syed 2016), as shown in (30).

- (30) ami lal boi du To/ tin Te/ char Te/ ?panc Ta/ *choy Ta/ *sat Ta/ *at Ta kinlam
 I red book 2 CI/ 3 CI/ 4 CI/ 5 CI/ 6 CI/ 7 CI/ 8 CI bought
 ‘I bought the 2/3/4/?5/*6/*7/*8 red books’

This blocking effect is accounted for in Simpson & Syed by an assumption that QP (which hosts the numerals in Bangla) is a phase. The essential ingredients of their analysis are as follows:

- a. QP is a *phase*
 - b. A movement out of a phase needs to satisfy PIC (Phase Impenetrability Condition), and must proceed via the *edge* of the phase (Spec, QP in this case)
 - c. There is a syntactic distinction between lower and higher numerals in Bangla: lower numerals (up to *four*) are generated as heads of QP, whereas higher numerals (*five* onwards) are specifiers of QP.
- Simpson & Syed argue that when *lal boi* moves to DP, it has to move via Spec, QP which is the edge of the phase. This movement is licit when there are lower numerals generated as heads of the QP (shown in Fig.1), but is blocked when the numerals are high because higher numerals being specifiers occupy Spec, QP and the phrasal movement of *lal boi* fails as it cannot proceed via the edge (shown in Fig.2).

Fig.1

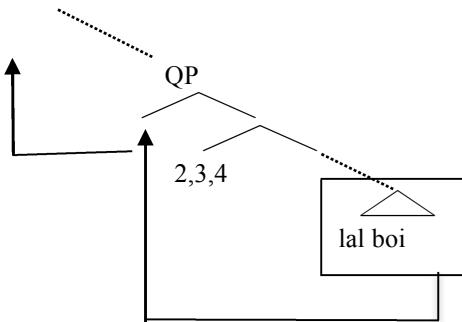
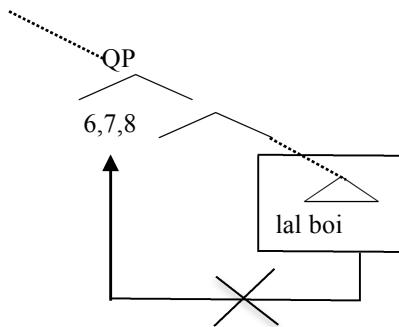


Fig. 2



5.2. DP as a phase

Now we turn to show that DP in Bangla is a phase as well. This contributes to the literature seeking parallelism between the clausal and the nominal domain by suggesting that both have two cyclic phases, one higher (CP in clause, DP in the nominal domain) and a mid-level (vP in clause, QP in the nominal domain) one. Support for the view that DP in Bangla also constitutes a phase can be provided by two sets of phenomena: namely, argument ellipsis and extraction from DP. Each of these phenomena are described below.

5.2.1. Argument ellipsis

Argument ellipsis is the term that has come to be associated with the omission of overt arguments from sentential structures in certain languages, where this critically results in the availability of of interpretations of sloppy identity (Hoji 1988, Oku 1998, Saito 2004, Aoun and Li 2008, Şener and Takahashi 2009, Simpson, Choudhury & Menon 2013 among others). This is illustrated in the Japanese example in (31) from Şener and Takahashi (2009).

- (31) a. Taro-wa [zibun-no kodomo-ga eigo-o sitteiru to] itta.
 Taro-TOP [self-GEN child-NOM English-ACC knows that said
 ‘Lit. Taro said that self’s child knew English’.
- b. Hanako-wa [e eigo-o sitteiru to] itta.
 Hanako-TOP English-ACC knows that said
 ‘Lit. Hanako said that e knew French.’
 Strict: Hanako said that Taro’s child knew English.
 Sloppy: Hanako said that her own child knew English.

In Bošković (2014), it is proposed that only *phases* may permit ellipsis, and that argument ellipsis in the nominal domain can be used as a diagnosis for the presence of a phase. In Simpson, Choudhury and Menon (2013), it is shown that argument ellipsis occurs commonly in Bangla, licensing interpretations of sloppy identity. This is shown in example (32) from Simpson, Choudhury and Menon (2013), where the antecedent for such ellipsis is a full DP (containing a possessor in SpecDP). This then suggests that DPs do indeed pattern as phases in Bangla.

- (32) Ram [nijer du-To receptionist-ke] boklo, kintu Raj _ proshongsha korlo.
 Ram self’s 2 CL receptionist-Acc criticize-PST but Raj praise do-PST
 ‘Ram_k criticized his_k two receptionists, but Raj_m praised (his_m two receptionists).’

5.2.2. Extraction out of DP

The second phenomenon is extraction out of a phase, a DP in this case. If DP is a phase, and if possessors occupy a unique Spec,DP position in the phasal edge, it is predicted that extraction out of DPs should not be possible when an overt possessor fills this escape hatch position. This expectation is fulfilled in (33) which shows that extraction out of a DP is not possible when there is a Poss occupying the Spec, DP³, suggesting that DP is a phase in Bangla.

- (33) *[NP boi]_k ami [DP Ram-er [QP t_k du-To t_k]] kinlam
 book I Ram-GEN 2-CL bought

To sum up this section, we have argued that in addition to a mid-level phase inside the nominal domain in the form of QP (following Simpson and Syed, 2016), DP is a phase as well- showing that there are two cyclic phases within the noun phrase, parallel to the claim made in the clausal domain.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, the contribution of this paper is twofold: first, we argue in support of the view that the nominal constituent in Bangla has a DP layer although the language does not have overt articles; secondly, we show that this existing DP layer bears significant consequences in terms of phase theory- we argue that in addition to a mid-level nominal phase in the form of QP (as argued for in Syed 2015, Simpson & Syed (2016)), the DP in Bangla also acts as a phase. This suggests that akin to the clausal structure where it is unanimously accepted that there are two cyclic phases, there are two distinct phasal levels within the nominal domain as well.

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³ Note that it becomes acceptable if there is no possessor present.

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