Left-adjoined correlatives as specificational pseudoclefts in Bangla

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ABSTRACT

This paper looks at specificational pseudoclefts as discussed in Akmajian (1970) and Higgins (1973) and compares them with correlative structures in Bangla, following Srivastav's (1991) analysis for Hindi. It is shown that right-adjoined relative structures in Bangla cannot constitute specificational pseudoclefts while left-adjoined correlatives can. This is because the particular semantics and syntax of correlatives attributed by Srivastav are compatible with the characteristics given for specificational pseudoclefts in the literature. This also addresses the debate over base-generation vs derivational analyses of specificational pseudoclefts. Lastly, it also explains the obligatory occurrence of the quirky copula holo in these constructions.

1 Introduction

Following Akmajian (1970), pseudocleft sentences can be characterised as copular constructions which have a semantic variable, often instantiated by a wh-clause in English, and a focus item that provides the 'value' for the variable, as in (1)[1]. Pseudoclefts in Bangla correspond to correlative structures where there is a relative clause with a relative marker and a main clause usually initiated by a demonstrative (2)[2].

(1) What Herman bought was that tarantula.

(2) ja Herman kinechhe ta holo oi TaranTula-Ta
REL Herman bought DEM COP that tarantula-CL
'What Herman bought was that tarantula'.

Though pseudoclefts in English are usually identified by the presence of a wh-relative clause, (Higgins 1973:64) notes that sentences with 'noun antecedents' like (3) should also be considered pseudoclefts. These sentences have a noun modified by a relative clause (with or without an optional relative marker like *that*) as their subjects and are thus internally headed as opposed to the wh-clause antecedents in (1) and (4). Such sentences can also be ambiguous with respect to specificational and predicational interpretations[3] like conventionally known pseudoclefts such as (4) is.

[1] I have used a Romanized style for the transcriptions, and the following characters in the examples can be interpreted as the corresponding sounds: ch - tʃ ; chh - tʃʰ ; T - ʈ ; sh - ʃ ; o - o ; O - ɔ.

[2] The form of the relative marker and demonstrative show concord with respect to honorificity and number specifications of the head noun so their forms might be different in other examples.

[3] In the predicational sense, we get a description for the discarded object; in the specificational sense, we learn which object was discarded. (see Akmajian 1970:175)

(3) The thing that John threw away was a valuable piece of equipment.

(4) What John threw away was a valuable piece of equipment.

The observation that sentences like (3) should be brought under the realm of pseudoclefts carries over to Bangla (5) in a very obvious way because in this language the internally-headed 'variable' constituents obligatorily require a relative marker in the antecedent clause.

(5) *(je) jiniS-Ta John hariyechhe she-Ta holo ek-Ta mulloban shOronjam
REL object-CL John lost DEM-CL COP one-CL valuable equipment
'The thing that John lost is a valuable equipment.'

In (6) we have the externally headed version of (5), corresponding closely to the English wh-pseudocleft.

(6) ja John hariyechhe ta holo ek-Ta mulloban shOronjam
REL John lost DEM COP one-CL valuable equipment
'What John lost is a valuable equipment.'

Thus, pseudoclefts of both types manifest as correlatives in Bangla. However, it must be noted here that the ambiguity between the specificational and predicational interpretations in sentences (3) and (4) is not seen in case of Bangla owing to the quirky copula *holo*. Only specificational correlatives can carry this copula, as indicated by their incompatibility with an additional adjective in (7).

(7) ja John hariyechhe ta holo ek-Ta mulloban shOronjam, (*bipOjjOnok-o)
REL John lost DEM COP one-CL valuable equipment dangerous-EMPH
Intended: What John lost is a valuable equipment, and important too.

(8) ja John hariyechhe ta ek-Ta mulloban shOronjam, bipOjOnnok-o
REL John lost DEM one-CL valuable equipment dangerous-EMPH
'What John lost is a valuable equipment, and important too.'

Correlatives can appear in three possible word orders in Bangla. I apply the nomenclature in Srivastav (1991) for Hindi correlatives to Bangla as they correspond to Bangla structures as well.

(9) je meye-Ta gaan shunchhe she lOmba
REL girl-CL music listening DEM tall
'The girl who is listening to music is tall.' [left-adjoined]

(10) she meye-Ta lOmba je gaan shunchhe
DEM girl-CL tall REL music listening
'The girl who is listening to music is tall.' [right-adjoined]

(11) she meye-Ta je gaan shunchhe lOmba
DEM girl-CL REL music listening tall
'The girl who is listening to music is tall.' [embedded]

Interestingly, only the left-adjoined correlative is grammatical with the specificational sense. The purported right-adjoined version (29) is ungrammatical, with or without the quirky copula.

(12) ja Herman kinechhe-e ta holo oi TaranTula-Ta
REL Herman bought-3 DEM COP that tarantula-CL
'What Herman bought was that tarantula.'

(13) *ta (holo) oi TaranTula-Ta ja Herman kinechhe-e
DEM COP that tarantula-CL REL John bought-3
'That tarantula was what Herman bought.'

In this work, I will address primarily try to answer two questions: (i) why are specificational pseudoclefts only expressed through left-adjoined correlatives and not the other types of correlatives in Bangla; (ii) where does the Bangla data figure in the literature on pseudoclefts, and predication in general. For the first question, we will analyse the syntactic and semantic attributes of the different correlative structures in Bangla, as given in Srivastav (1991) vis-a-vis specificational and predicational characteristics. Regarding the second point, we will look into the transformation vs base-generation approaches to pseudoclefts as exemplified in Akmajian (1970), Higgins (1973), among others, and put the data and the discussion in the perspective of Minimalist theories on predication (Adger & Ramchand 2003, Den Dikken 2006).

2 Background

As one might have noticed, I have referred to the copula in the Bangla examples above as a *quirky* copula. This is because it is not a regular copula by any means as we will see in the next sub-section. Besides specificational pseudoclefts, they have been found to be obligatory in root equative clauses (14a) and optional in root specificational (14b) and identificational (14c) constructions. They are incompatible with root adjectival predicational constructions (14d).[4]

(14) a. Peter Parker *(hol-o) Spiderman
Peter Parker COP-3 Spiderman
'Peter Parker is Spiderman.'

b. Gora-r lekhok (hol-o) Tagore
Gora-GEN writer COP-3 Tagore
'The writer of Gora is Tagore.'

c. o (hol-o) John
3 COP-3 John
'He is John.'

[4]See Dey (2023) for more details on the Bangla data

d. meye-Ta (*holo) klanto
girl-CL-3 COP tired
'The girl is tired.'

This copula has also been attested in the corresponding form in Odia and descriptions of this copula have been given in terms of 'focus' or 'emphasis' (Dasgupta 2006 and Thompson 2003). However, there has been no formal analysis of its structural position as far as I know.

2.1 The quirky coopula

This copula raises questions about its form and structural position for at least the following two reasons. First, the copula can only occur between DP1 and DP2 and cannot occur clause-finally. This is curious because Bangla has SOV order canonically, though it allows other orders pertaining to information structure constraints. Second, it takes the past form (*holo*) or the progressive form (*hochchhe*) of the verb 'be' *(hOwa*), though they are interpreted in the present tense in this position. If they appear in the default final position they would be interpreted as *becoming* (15b) or *became* (15c), as expected, though they sound odd owing to pragmatic reasons. The main point is that the last two examples definitely do not yield the identity relation depicted in (15a).

(15) a. Peter Parker ho-l-o / ho-chchh-e Spiderman
Peter Parker be-PERF-3 / be-PROG-3 Spiderman
'Peter Parker is Spiderman.'

b. Peter Parker Spiderman ho-chchh-e
Peter Parker Spiderman be-PROG-3
'Peter Parker is becoming Spiderman.'

c. Peter Parker Spiderman ho-l-o
Peter Parker Spiderman be-PERF-3
'Peter Parker became Spiderman.'

Since *holo* and *hochchhe* are interchangeable in (15a) as far as I can tell, I will only use *holo* in my work to refer to the quirky copula for the sake of simplicity.

2.2 Base-generation and extraction approaches

Before getting into the analysis of the correlatives qua pseudoclefts in Bangla, I will briefly discuss the literature on English pseudoclefts. Broadly speaking, there have been two approaches to specificational pseudocleft constructions in the early days of generative syntax, as summarised in Den Dikken (2007): transformation and base-generation. I have mostly referred to the analyses in Higgins (1973), who argues for an exclusively base-generation approach, and Akmajian (1970) who claims that both extraction and base-generation are valid ways of deriving pseudoclefts.

In the base-generated approach, the relative clause (i.e. the 'variable') is deemed to emerge in the surface subject position itself.

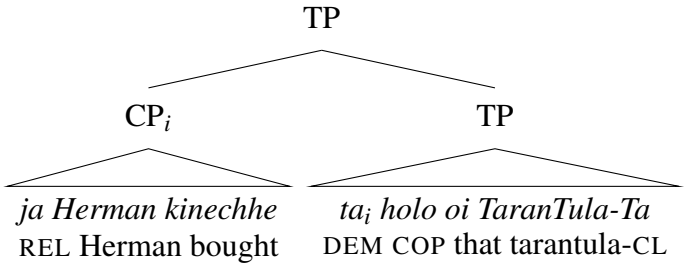
> ...pseudo-cleft sentences of all types are generated by the base rules in a form essentially identical to their surface structure form. In particular, the phrase which appears to the right of the copula is generated in that position by the base rules. (Higgins 1973:150)

Thus, there is no c-command relation between the pre- and post-copular constituents in this representation. He characterised the predicate constituent of the specificational pseudocleft to embody 'in some way the content or constitution' of the relative clause subject.

The analysis of Hindi left-adjoined correlatives in Srivastav (1991) can be looked at as an independent example for base-generated pseudoclefts qua correlatives: examples such as (2), repeated below, are shown to be base-generated in the CP-IP order (17).

(16) ja Herman kinechhe-e ta holo oi TaranTula-Ta
REL John bought-3 DEM COP that tarantula-CL
What Herman bought was that tarantula.

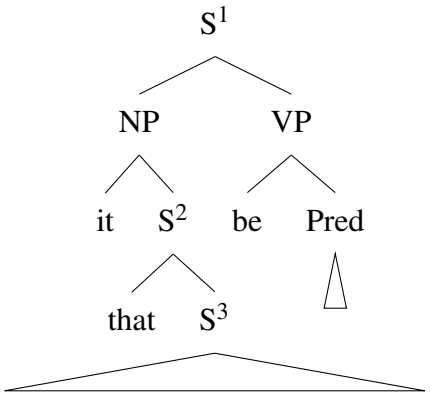
(17)



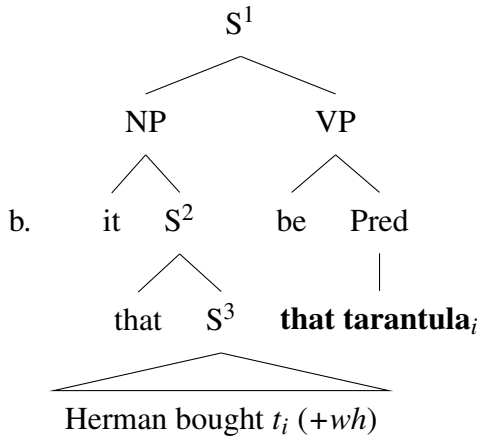
The left-adjoined correlative has different semantic and syntactic characteristics from the other two, which we will discuss in the following sections.

The transformational approach to pseudoclefts itself involved two possibilities: deletion and extraction, and we will only discuss the latter as it is more relevant here. The extraction approach was pursued in Akmajian (1970) among others. In this approach, the post-copular position is base-generated empty (18a); the 'value' constituent emerged within the embedded pre-copular constituent and ended up in the post-copular position in the surface structure following an extraction transformation (18b). The relative clause structure of the 'variable' is yielded from a separate *wh* transformation on the trace of the extraposed element.

(18) a.



b.

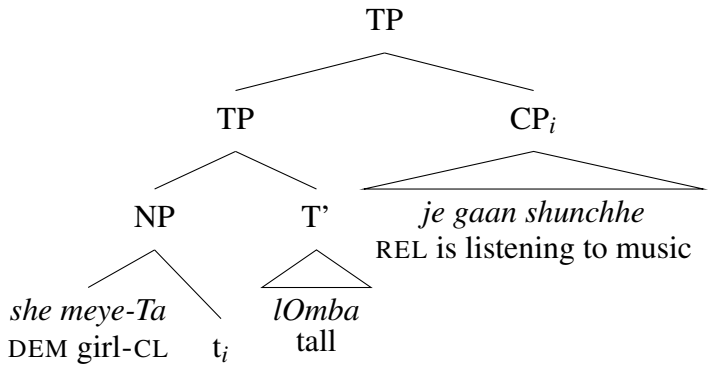


Though this would not be admissible within GB or Minimalist theories owing to violation of locality conditions (the extracted constituent would not be able to C-command over its trace), there have been other attempts to overcome this structural deficiency, as pointed out in (Den Dikken 2007: 386). What is pertinent to the current discussion is that as opposed to the base-generated structure, the value [focus] constituent is extracted to its surface position in the latter analysis. While Akmajian (1970) argued that both are admissible in the grammar and pointed out specific syntactic contexts where one would be favoured over another. Higgins (1973) maintained that only the base-generated approach is syntactically coherent.

Apropos the extraction analysis: incidentally, Srivastav's analysis for Hindi correlatives shows that the right-adjoined correlatives [a Bangla equivalent is provided in (10), repeated below] are actually derived following the right extraposition of the relative clause from a lower complement position (this underlying structure is the so-called embedded correlative). The details are applicable in a straightforward way to Bangla.

(19) she meye-Ta lOmba je gaan shunchhe
DEM girl-CL tall REL music listening
'The girl who is listening to music is tall.'

(20)



(21) she meye-Ta lOmba je gaan shunchhe
DEM girl-CL tall REL music listening
'The girl who is listening to music is tall.' [right-adjoined]

Thus, in a way, Bangla seems to attest both mechanisms posited to account for pseudoclefts – base-generation [as seen for left-adjoined correlatives in (9) and 17] and transformation [as seen for right-adjoined correlatives in (10 and 20)]. But as pointed out earlier, specificational pseudoclefts can only render themselves through the [base-generated] left-adjoined correlatives [(29), repeated below]:

(22) *ta holo oi TaranTula-Ta ja Herman kinechhe
DEM COP that tarantula-CL REL John bought
'That tarantula was what Herman bought.'

It is then clear that specificational pseudoclefts in these languages exclusively choose the base-generated structure though extraposition is also available in the languages. Thus, it becomes an interesting empirical point of departure to weigh in on this classical debate over the theory of pseudoclefts. However, current approaches towards predication present other considerations that need to be taken into account before we attempt an analysis of specificational pseudoclefts in Bangla and we will look into those in the next section.

3 Theory of Predication

Since the analysis of Italian copular constructions in Moro (1997), it has been a standard approach to collapse all copular constructions into either canonical order (23) or inverse order structures (24) – the predicates are indicated in bold.

(23) The picture of the wall is **the cause of the riot**.

(24) **The cause of the riot** is the picture of the wall.

Within this general view, specificationals (and equatives) are seen as inverse copular constructions where the surface subject is actually the underlying predicate which has undergone movement. For instance, Den Dikken 2006 shows how the precopular element in

equatives like (25) are actually reduced relative clauses with a covert relative marker a pro-predicate, which need to be obligatorily moved to the Spec of a functional head (such as T in English) that would license the pro-predicate.

(25) Cicero is Tully.

(26) [TP [Pred PRO-PREDICATEϕ [CP Op$_i$ [Cϕ [RP Cicero [RELATORϕ t$_i$]]]]$_j$ [T′ RELATOR$_k$=be [RP Tully [t$_k$ t$_j$]]]] [Den Dikken 2006:73]

The subject of the predication is an external argument mediated by a Relator, which can be instantiated by some functional category in Den Dikken's account. Thus, the subject and the predicate are in an asymmetrical relationship making a base-generated equative relation untenable, unless the copula is endowed with equative semantics in itself. Indeed, one of the difficulties for the view that considers predication as the primitive relation is accounting for the referential post-copular element in equatives. This challenge extends to specificational pseudoclefts as well, since the post-copular 'value' entity is usually referential. Den Dikken's analysis maintains an underlying predicational structure for equatives and specificational pseudoclefts without implying that the post-copular element is not referential.

On the other hand, there are accounts such as Heycock & Kroch (1999) which characterise specificational pseudoclefts as equatives. They do not assume the existence of an equative copula either but they achieve equative semantics through type-shifting operations. Thus, there is no requirement of an inversion analysis of equatives or specificational pseudoclefts for them.

In her 2012 paper, Heycock however maintains that inversion takes place in specificational constructions but raises doubts about the predicate status of the inverted constituents. She argues that the inverted elements behave somewhat like arguments and certain inversions can only take place when there is a type match as shown by the ungrammaticality of (28). She takes this requirement for type match an indication for an equation relation. Thus, she maintains the equation relation even in the inverted account of specificationals.

(27) Mary is the second kind of nurse

(28) *The second kind of nurse is Mary. (Heycock 2012:225)

I have followed the broad approach of considering predicationals as the underlying structure of all copular constructions, while other types are derived through inversion or some other operation as in Adger & Ramchand (2003), Den Dikken (2006), Heycock (2012) etc to pursue the inversion approach towards specificationals. Specifically, I will assume an underlying predicational structure for all copular construction and that inverted predicates move to the Spec of a functional category to be licensed, following Den Dikken (2006).

Under this view, there would naturally be a resistance in analysing specificational pseudoclefts as base-generated structures as Higgins and Akmajian suggested. However, we saw in the previous section that Bangla only uses the base-generated correlative clause for specificationals, seemingly exemplifying their position. In the next section, I will show that left-adjoined correlatives in Bangla can still be maintained to be base-generated without abandoning the predication-first stance.

4 Specificational pseudoclefts as left-adjoined correlatives

In the context of Bangla, following Srivastav, we have seen three possible surface orders for correlatives qua pseudoclefts. An empirical question was raised: why only left-adjoined correlatives are suitable for specificationals.

(29) *ta (holo) oi TaranTula-Ta ja Herman kinechhe
DEM COP that tarantula-CL REL John bought
'That tarantula was what Herman bought.'

Conversely, one can ask why are right-adjoined correlatives barred from expressing specificational pseudoclefts in Bangla. In order to address both these related questions, we will review Srivastav's syntactic and semantic analysis of the correlative structures. My attempt will be to show that left-adjoined correlatives independently embody semantic attributes that capture certain qualities of specificationals, which the right-adjoined correlatives lack.

The structural descriptions of the left-adjoined and right-adjoined structures yield different constraints in certain syntactic environments, supporting the analysis of different underlying structures. The different underlying syntactic structures also correspond to different semantic characteristics, which seem to be relevant for predication / specification. First, I will briefly demonstrate two empirical contexts Srivastav uses for Hindi and replicate them in Bangla to provide evidence for the different underlying syntactic structures in Bangla as well. Then I will show how the structure and the semantics of left-adjoined correlatives map to specificational pseudoclefts.

Srivastav points out that the left-adjoined correlative clauses can have an internally-headed relative clause (the head noun in bold) while the right-adjoined and embedded correlative clauses cannot. The following examples from Bangla corroborate with her observation for Hindi correlatives.

(30) je **meye-Ta** gaan shunchhe she meye-Ta lOmba
REL girl=CL music listening DEM girl-CL tall
'The girl who is listening to music is tall.' [left-adjoined]

(31) she meye-Ta lOmba je (***meye-Ta**) gaan shunchhe
DEM girl-CL tall REL girl-CL music listening
Intended: The girl who is listening to music is tall. [right-adjoined]

(32) she lOmba je (***meye-Ta**) gaan shunchhe
DEM tall REL girl-CL music listening
Intended: The girl who is listening to music is tall. [embedded]

This is a fallout of the fact that relative clauses in the embedded and right-adjoined correlatives are posited to emerge as complements to the noun (20); thus they do not contain the noun themselves. On the other hand, the relative clause in left-adjoined correlatives (17) emerge as independent CPs, and contain a nominal position.

This difference has an effect on the predication vs specificational divide seen between the left-adjoined and right-adjoined correlatives. The right-adjoined clause clearly behaves like a relative clause in English, yielding a predicative clause, unlike the one in left-adjoined correlatives.

The syntactic difference between right-adjoined and left-adjoined correlative structures that she points out is that the latter (34) cannot drop the demonstrative in the main clause (cf. 33).

(33) meye-Ta lOmba je gaan shunchhe
girl-CL tall REL music listening
The girl who is listening to music is tall. [right-adjoined]

(34) *je meye-Ta lOmba meye-Ta gaan shunchhe
REL girl-CL tall girl-CL music listening
Intended: The girl who is listening to music is tall. [left-adjoined]

This difference speaks to the semantic difference between these two structures. She points out that the obligatory presence of a demonstrative in the main clause of a left-adjoined relative is a result of the the relative marker being a quantifier that has to quantify over a variable (the demonstrative in this case) in the main clause. The relative marker in the right-adjoined correlative does not have this requirement since the relative clause here modifies the noun as shown above, thus not giving rise to a quantificational relationship. This brings us to the semantic attributes of the relative clauses in the respective correlative structures given by Srivastav: "internally-headed relatives are generalised quantifiers, while ordinary relatives can be set-denoting terms".

The CPs in right-adjoined correlatives are sets that intersect with the set denoted by the noun phrase [remember they are extraposed from the nominal complement position]. For instance, a relative clause like *meye-Ta je gaan shunchhe* 'the girl REL music listening' would have the depiction as in Figure 1.

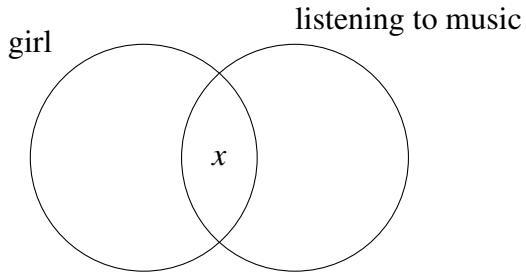


Figure 1: Set intersection of *girl* and *listening to music* in (33)

On the other hand, the relative clause in left-adjoined correlatives are not base-generated as a complement to a noun. Srivastav shows that the CP in these constructions is a set of

sets[5]. Thus, in a sentence like (30) the relative marker would yield a set of sets containing the intersection of the nominal set and the predicate *listening to music*. The entire clause is deemed true if the main clause clause is a set that is identical to any set within the set of sets in the CP (Figure 2).

$$\{x\} \in \{\{x\} \ldots\}$$

Figure 2: Relation between main clause and relative clause in left-adjoined correlatives

The fact that specificationals are compatible with correlatives that embody 'a set within a set of sets' is not puzzling. However, one might still ask why right-adjoined structures cannot express specification in Bangla. My conjecture for that is that the moved relative clause fails to take scope over the nominal, owing to independent scope restrictions in the language, thus failing to mediate a quantificational relation. The inability of the right-extraposed element to bind over lower variables can be shown independently as in (35). This in turn indicates that establishing a binding / quantificational relation between the value and variable constituents of a specificational pseudocleft is crucial in Bangla.

The following example show that rightward scrambled quantifier expressions fail[6] to take scope over lower constituents (as shown for Hindi in Bhatt & Dayal 2019):

(35) taar$_i$ bhai merechhe [prottek-Ta lok-ke]$_i$
3-GEN brother beat.PST each-CL man-ACC
Intended: His$_i$ brother beat [each man]$_i$.

The inference that Bangla has a strong quantification requirement for specificationals is compatible with informal descriptions of the (matrix or pseudocleft) specificational relation given in the literature. In the beginning of the article we already came across Akmajian's characterisation where he calls the relative clause a 'variable' and the post-copular entity the 'value'. Higgins describes specificationals as list denotation and points out that actual sentences with lists like (37) are 'very similar in meaning' to (36):

(36) What I bought was a punnet of strawberries and a pint of clotted cream.

(37) I bought the following things: a punnet of strawberries and a pint of clotted cream.
[Higgins 1979: 155]

Though I do not have a formal way of connecting the 'set within a set of sets' depiction of left-adjoined correlatives to the above observations on specification pseudoclefts yet, I would argue that they correspond closely. However, indirect evidence that specificationals are sensitive to scope effects comes from negation scope interaction in specificational and

[5]She assumes a type-shifting function to that takes an entity and abstracts over its properties, like in the case of generalised quantifiers.

[6]Leftward scrambled quantifier expressions are able to take scope

predicational sentences, as pointed out in Higgins (1973) and also Declerck (1988). For instance, only the value or the focus constituent can be negated in specificational sentences, resulting in a contrastive negation interpretation and never a neutral negation interpretation (cf. the predicational example in (40):

(38) ?The best candidate is not John.

(39) The best candidate is not John, but Bill.

(40) The best candidate is not tall.

In other words, specificational sentences cannot take wide scope, as Declerck points out, though predicationals can have both narrow scope and wide scope negation.

The other interesting data point in (41) is from Den Dikken (2007) who quotes these examples from Declerck (1988) during a discussion on exhaustivity implicature of specificationals. What we see here is that if exhaustivity is an entailment in a relative clause and there is only a unique value that can satisfy it then the post-copular constituent in a specificational blocks *only*, as seen in (41b).

(41) a. The one who murdered Smith is my neighbour. [ambiguous]

b. The one who murdered Smith is only my neighbour. [only predicational]

This could be taken as an indication there the post-copular constituent here is inherently sensitive to the quantificational requirement imposed by the relative clause, and thus blocks the extraneous *only*.

There are works (Heycock 2012 and Selvanathan 2016) that admit inversion in specificational contexts, while positing a relation of equation between the two terms. However, if one wants to maintain the stance that the semantics of equation is difficult to admit in the grammar (see Adger & Ramchand 2003, Roy & Shlonsky 2019 for discussion) then the Bangla data can be used to suggest that quantificational scope can be explored as the relevant factor for specificationals.

However, though we find base-generated specificational pseudoclefts in Bangla I will not suggest that specification can be ascribed a primitive function like that of predication. As I will show in the next section, it still requires predicate inversion inside the main clause to yield a specificational structure.

5 Inversion in specificational correlatives

There is some evidence from Bangla data and precedence in the literature to suggest that predicate inversion takes place within the main clause in the specificational correlatives. Essentially, the demonstrative is base-generated in the predicate position in specificational pseudoclefts. On the other hand, the demonstrative emerges in the surface subject position in predicational correlatives. We have precedence of this kind of analysis in specificational and predicational English *it*-clefts in Den Dikken (2013). While the *it* in the specificational clause (42) cannot exert CONTROL (since it emerges in the predicate position and is not referential), the *it* in a predicational clause (43) can:

(42) it$_i$ was Ryan who murdered Brian, besides PRO$_i$ being a bad guy.

(43) it$_i$ was an interesting meeting I went to last night, despite PRO$_i$ being poorly organised.

The specificational and predicational pseudoclefts in Bangla also exhibit similar differences with respect to the referentiality of the demonstrative in the main clause. A specificational clause like (44) cannot tolerate a referential distal deictic demonstrative like *o-Ta* in the main clause while a predicational one (45) can[7]:

(44) *Bheem je kaaj-Ta niyechhe o-Ta holo shikhOkOta
Bheem REL work-CL taken 3PRON-CL COP teaching
'The job Bheem that has taken up is teaching.'

(45) ?Bheem je kaaj-Ta niyechhe o-Ta koThin
Bheem REL work-CL taken 3PRON-CL difficult
'The job that Bheem has taken up is difficult.'

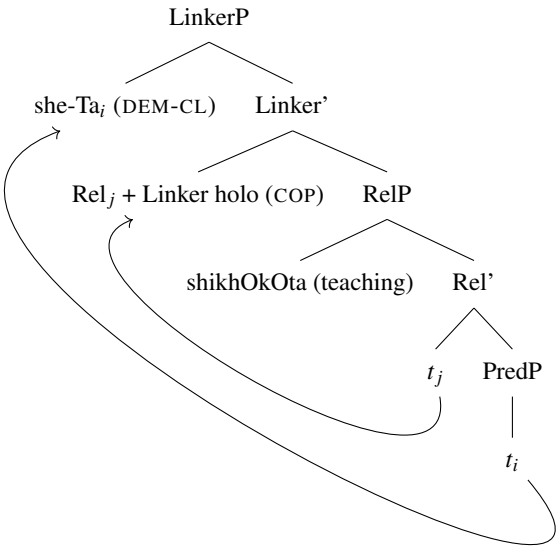
The crucial evidence for predicate inversion in Bangla specificational pseudoclefts would be the requirement of the semantically vacuous copula that occurs clause-medially here:

(46) Bheem je kaaj-Ta niyechhe she-Ta *(holo) shikhOkOta
Bheem REL work-CL taken DEM-CL COP teaching
The job that Bheem has taken up is teaching.

I have tried to show in Dey (2023) how the obligatory quirky copula in Bangla matrix equatives is a syntactic reflex of the Linker projection to enable inversion of the underlying predicate since Bangla lacks overt tensed copulas in predicational copular constructions (in a language like English, T serves as the Linker). Since the quirky copula is obligatory in specificational pseudoclefts as well, I will infer that predicate inversion applies in this context too. The underlying predicate position of the demonstrative in specificationals thus explains the ungrammaticality of (44). In (47) we see inversion of the demonstrative in the main clause of a specificational sentence like (46).

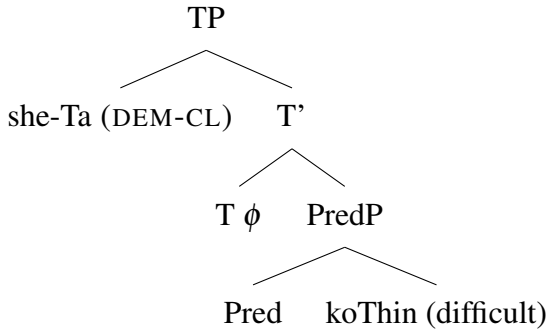
[7]The predicational example (45) is slightly odd: as Bagchi (1994) notes, 'in a Bangla correlative structure an anaphoric correlative pronoun is preferred over a diectic one'. But when it comes to specificationals as in (44) the deictic demonstrative is completely out.

(47)



The demonstrative in a predicational correlative like (45) emerges in the surface subject position (48), thus (somewhat) allowing referential demonstratives and not triggering the presence of the quirky copula *holo*[8].

(48)



There is possibly another way to interpret this data – scrambling. It has been argued in Heycock (2012) that certain traits of predicate inversion with respect to information structure can be explained in terms of scrambling in a language like German. Data from Hindi is particularly instructive to explore this idea further. This is because Hindi, unlike Bangla, has an overt tensed copula in predicationals but it still requires the copula to obligatorily occur clause-medially in specificationals (50).

(49) Bheem-ne jo kaam lia hai vo hai apne bareme kitab likhna
Bheem-ERG REL work taken be.PRES.3 DEM COP.3 self about book to.write
The job Bheem has accepted is to write a book about himself.

(50) *Bheem-ne jo kaam lia hai vo apne bareme kitab likhna hai
Bheem-ERG REL work taken be.PRES.3 DEM self about book to.write COP.3

[8]I am not committed to the maximal projection of the finite clause in predicational correlatives being a TP

The job Bheem has accepted is to write a book about himself.

The predicational structure bears the copula clause-finally as expected:

(51) Bheem-ne jo kaam liya hai vo uske liye peeDa ka karan hai
Bheem-ERG REL work taken be.PRES.3 DEM him for pain GEN source COP.3
The job Bheem has accepted is a source of pain for him.

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