

Kashmiri Word Order(*s)

V1, V2, V3, V4, and VF

Proposal

- **Surface V1, V3, and V4 orders are structurally V2**
- **Verb Final (VF) is a reflex of Kashmiri's V2 phenomenon**
- **This proposal unifies several disjoint analyses of Kashmiri word order**

Introduction

- Kashmiri (1) has a V2 paradigm, unlike most other Indo-Aryan languages [Masica 1991; Bhatt 1995]
- Kashmiri: subjects (1a), direct objects (1b), adverbials (1c), and more can appear in clause-initial position

- (1) Kashmiri
- a. mye **per** yi kyitāb az
 I read this book today
 ‘I read this book today.’
- b. su **chusan** bl vichan
 he be.prs I see.prog
 ‘I am looking at him.’
- c. az **per** mye yi kyitāb
 today read I this book
 ‘I read this book today.’

- V2 is the standard word order
- Kashmiri also shows apparent V1 (7), V3 (8), and V4 (12) word orders
- VF order arises from the absence of T

V2 in Kashmiri: Previous Analyses

- Kashmiri: V2 in matrix and embedded clauses

- (2) a. mye **per** yi kyitāb az.
 I read this book today
 ‘I read this book today.’
- b. mye von zyi mye **per** yi kyitāb az.
 I said that I read this book today
 ‘I said that I read this book today.’

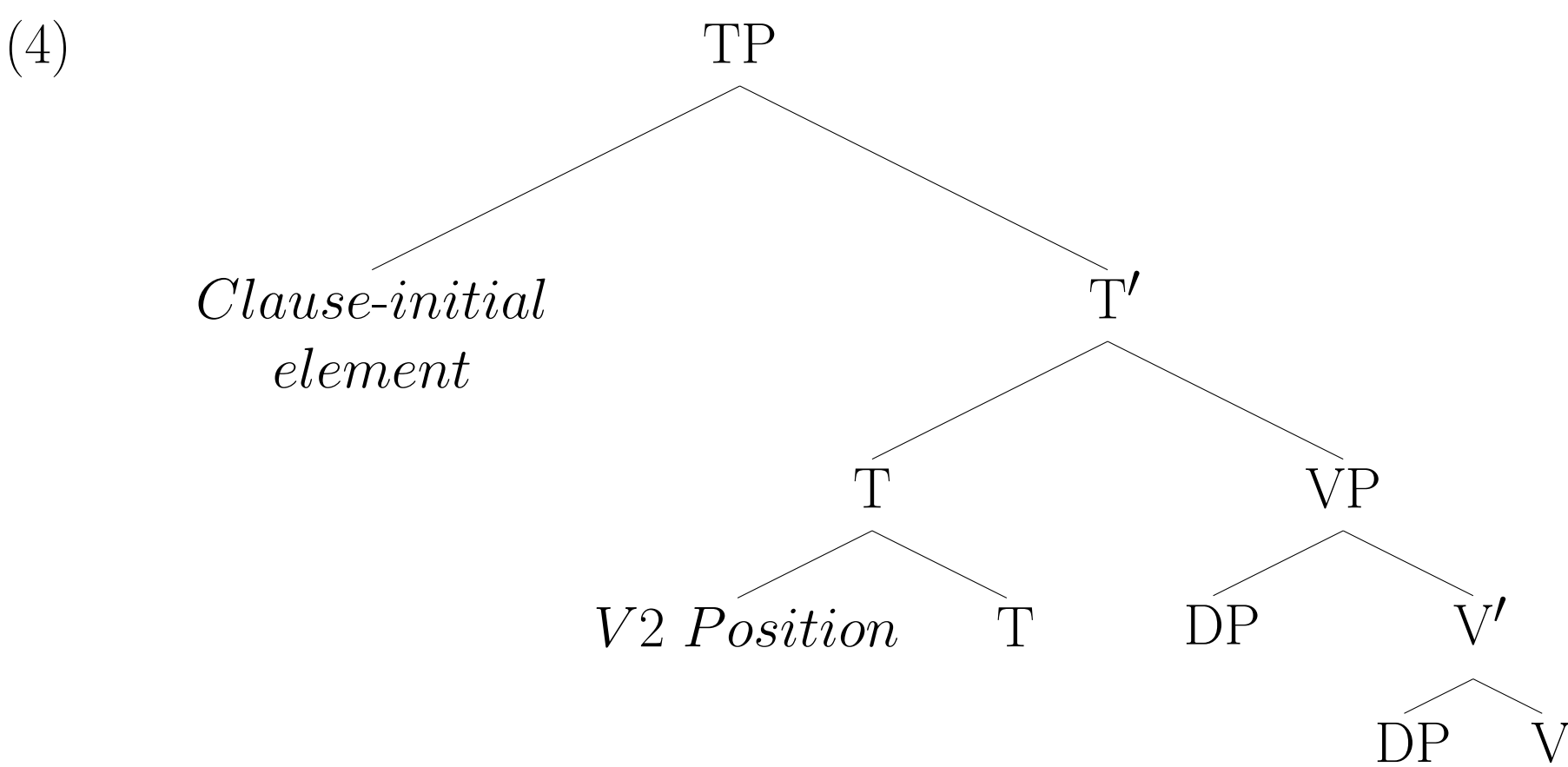
V2 Position

- In Kashmiri, the verb is in T [Bhatt 1995]
- Only tensed Aux. and finite verb can occupy V2 position; non-finite verb forms cannot [Bhatt 1995]

- (3) a. su **chu** kita:b para:n
 he is book reading
 ‘He is reading a book.’
- b. *su para:n kita:b **chu**
 he reading book is

- V2 position is T [Bhatt 1995]

- Indo-Aryan is typically right-branching but Kashmiri T is left-branching [Bhatt 1995]



Clause-Initial Element

- Clause-initial position is Spec-TP
 - Subject, direct object, indirect object, adverbials, adjective phrases, clausal arguments can all be the clause-initial element (see 1)
 - Subordinating (5a) and coordinating (5b) conjunctions cannot occupy clause-initial position, because V2 occurs in TP, not CP
- (5) a. *raman von [ze **[yi]** sham paga]]
 Ram said that come.fut Sham tomorrow
 ‘Ram said that Sham would come tomorrow.’
- b. *[ram chu mon dost] tI **[chi]** sita tasInz zanani]
 Ram is my friend and is Sita his wife
 ‘Ram is my friend and Sita is his wife.’

- Bhatt analyzes V2 and apparent V3 ordered sentences, but ignores a wide variety of constructions, including apparent V1 and V4 orders, and apparent V3 sentences with subject wh- questions

Apparent V1 in Imperatives

- Imperatives typically preceded by a topic [Koul & Wali 2006]

- (6) shuris **di** mithə:y
 child.dat give.imp sweets
 ‘Give sweets to the child.’

- Pronominal subjects may be null, yielding an apparent V1 surface order with a null topic [Wali & Koul 2006]

- (7) **ha:vum**
 show.1sg.ps
 ‘Show me.’

- Topics/subjects are often null in imperatives crosslinguistically

- Proposal: If the subject and the topic is null, the structure is identical to the V2 cases

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Apparent V3 in Interrogatives

- Kashmiri also shows an apparent V3 order in some wh- (8a) and yes/no (8b) questions [Bhatt 1995; Wali & Koul 1997]

- (8) a. ram *kya* **chu** shamas divan
 Ram what is Sham.dat giving
 ‘What is Ram giving to Sham?’
- b. (*k’a:*) tsI **gatsh-kh-a:** paga:h garI?
 Q you go-2sgps-Q tomorrow home
 ‘Will you go home tomorrow?’

Wh-Questions

- Bhatt (1995): no V3 analysis wh-questions
- Instead, the wh-word cliticizes to T
- Bhatt: nothing may intervene between the wh-word and the finite verb, and the wh-word must move up to T

- (9) a. *ram **chu** shamas *kya* divan
 Ram is Sham.dat what giving
- b. **kya* ram **chu** shamas divan
 what Ram is Sham.dat giving
- c. *ram *kya* vari-vari **chu** shamas divan
 Ram what slowly is Sham.dat giving

- Bhatt doesn’t account for subject wh-questions
 - In subject wh-questions, if the wh-word cliticizes to T, the preverbal position would be empty, yielding a V1 word order
- (10) *kəm’* **li:ch** cith’ ra:th daphtaras manz?
 who.erg wrote letter yesterday office.dat in
 ‘Who wrote a letter yesterday in the office?’

- Subject questions often behave differently from other kinds of questions across languages
- Proposal: Subject wh-words can’t cliticize to T, but instead occupy the clause-initial position

Yes/no Questions

- In yes/no questions, the question particle can appear sentence-initially, preverbally, or not at all [Wali & Koul 2006]

- (11) a. (*k’a:*) tsI **gatsh-kh-a:** paga:h garI?
 (Q) you go-2sgps-Q tomorrow home
- b. ??tsI *k’a:* **gatsh-kh-a:** paga:h garI?
 you Q go-2sgps-Q tomorrow home
 ‘Will you go home tomorrow?’

- This difference arises from where a speaker chooses to cliticize Q
- Most speakers cliticize Q to the clause-initial element, others cliticize Q to tense, some speakers omit Q entirely
- In any variant, Q doesn’t structurally intervene between the clause-initial element and the verb
- Structural V2 order is preserved



Apparent V4 in Interrogatives

- V4 surfaces in multiple wh-questions [Koul & Wali 2006]

- (12) *kəm’* *kəmis* *k’a:* **d’ut** ba:gas manz?
 who.erg who.dat what gave garden.dat in
 ‘Who gave what to whom in the garden?’

- These can be analyzed identically to regular interrogatives
- Direct and indirect object wh-words cliticize to T
- Subject wh-word can’t cliticize to T, instead it occupies the clause-initial position
- Surface V4 ordered sentences are structurally V2

VF in Relative and Non-Finite Clauses

- VF surfaces in relative and non-finite clauses [Bhatt 1995]

- (13) a. ram **dṛav** [shamas kitab dith]
 ram left sham.dat book give.PART
 ‘After giving the book to Sham, Ram left.’
- b. [yus larki rath yot av] **chu** myon dost
 which boy yesterday here came is my friend
 ‘That boy who came here yesterday is my friend.’

- This order results from how Kashmiri V2 manifests
- V2 sentences: the finite verb moves to T
- Relative and non-finite clauses: there is no T
- The verb cannot raise, so it remains in the final position

Conclusion

- **Kashmiri word order is uniformly V2**
- **Apparent V1, V3, and V4 are all structurally V2**
- **VF results from the absence of T**

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