Word Order(*s) in Kashmiri*

Andrew Lee Zupon
zupon@email.arizona.edu
The University of Arizona
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Main Idea

1. Kashmiri has surface word orders that look like verb-initial, V2, V3, V4, and verb-final.

2. Kashmiri is a V2 language.

3. Kashmiri V1, V3, and V4 are structurally V2.

4. Kashmiri VF is a reflex of the V2 structure.

5. This fills a gap in the literature in the discussion of Kashmiri word order.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

1. Kashmiri is an Indo-Aryan language of the Dardic subgroup.

2. It is spoken by over 5.5 million people, primarily in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, to a lesser extent in Azad Kashmir in Pakistan.

3. Kashmiri exhibits a verb-second (V2) word order, unlike other Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991, Bhatt 1995).

(1) Kashmiri
    a.   mye **per** yi kyitāb az
          I read this book today
          'I read this book today.'
    b.   su **chusan** bI 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.'

(2) Hindi
    a.   miṅ āja isa kitāba **paṛhī**
          I today this book read
          'I read this book today'
    b.   *miṅ **paṛhī** āja isa kitāba
          I read today this book

1.2 Outline

- Overview of verb-second
- V2 in Kashmiri
- Verb-Initial constructions in Kashmiri
- V3 and V4 constructions in Kashmiri
- Verb-Final forms in Kashmiri
- Recap and conclusion

2 Verb-Second

1. V2 is typically viewed as a Germanic phenomenon.

2. Other V2 languages: O'odham, Ingush, Sursilvan Romansh, Kashmiri

3. In German, V2 only occurs in matrix clauses to the exclusion of embedded clauses (Fagen 2009)

(3)   German matrix clause

   Er **hat** dich gestern   nicht angerufen weil   er dich nicht stören wollte.
   he has you yesterday not   rung   because he you not   disturb want

   'He hadn't rung you yesterday because he didn't want to disturb you.'

(4)   German embedded clause

   . . . dass er dich gestern   nicht angerufen **hat**.
   . . . that he you yesterday not   rung   has

   '. . . that he hasn't rung you yesterday.'

4. In Icelandic, V2 occurs in both matrix and embedded clauses (Thráinsson 2007).

(5)   Icelandic matrix clause

   Margir **höfðu** aldrei lokið   verkefninu.
   many   had   not   finished the assignment

   'Many [people] had not finished the assignment.'

(6)   Icelandic embedded clause

   . . . hvort   María **hefur** ekki lesið bókina.
   . . . whether Mary has   not   read the book

   '. . . whether Mary has not read the book.'

5. In German, the V2 position is C

6. When C is filled with an overt complementizer, as in 4, the verb cannot move there.

7. In Icelandic, the V2 position is T (Bhatt 1995).

8. Even with an overt complementizer, as in 6, the verb can move to the V2 position.

3   V2 in Kashmiri

3.1   V2 Position

1. Kashmiri, like Icelandic, has V2 in both matrix and embedded clauses (Bhatt 1995).

2. The V2 position in Kashmiri is T.

3. This means that T must be left-headed in Kashmiri, as opposed to other functional projections such as V (Bhatt 1995).

(7)   Kashmiri matrix clause

mye **per** yi   kyitāb az.
I   read this book   today

'I read this book today.'

(8)   Kashmiri embedded clause

mye von zyi   mye **per** yi   kyitāb az.
I   said that I   read this book   today

'I said that I read this book today.'

4. Only tensed auxiliaries or a finite verb can occupy the V2 position (Bhatt 1995).

5. In 9, the tensed auxiliary is in the V2 position, while the main verb remains in V.

(9)   su **chu** kita:b *para:n*
he is   book   reading
'He is reading a book.'

3.2   Clause-Initial Element

1. Many different elements can occupy the clause-initial position (see 1 above).

2. Restrictions on what cannot occupy the clause-initial position include subordinating and coordinating conjunctions (Bhatt 1995).

3. This follows if the V2 position is T; conjunctions will be in a higher phrase than TP, leaving the clause-initial position unoccupied and EPP unsatisfied.

(10)   * raman von [ze   [**yi**   sham paga   ]]
           Ram said that come.fut Sham tomorrow
        'Ram said that Sham would come tomorrow.'

(11)   * [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.'

4   Verb-Initial

1. Kashmiri imperatives are often preceded by a topicalized element (Koul and Wali 2006).

(12)   shuris   **di**   mithə:y
        child.dat give.imp sweets
        'Give sweets to the child.'

2. Imperatives can stand alone when accompanied by pronominal objects, giving the appearance of a verb-initial order (Koul and Wali 2006).

(13)   **ha:v-um**
        show-1sg.ps
        'Show me.'

3. Imperatives often involve null subjects/topics (as in English).

4. The main verb in 13 is in T, a null subject/topic occupies the clause-initial position.

5. What surfaces as verb-initial is structurally identical to the V2 cases.

5   V3 and V4

1. Kashmiri shows a surface V3 pattern in yes/no questions and wh- questions (Koul and Wali 2006).

(14)   ram kya **chu** shamas   divan
        Ram what is   Sham.dat giving
        'What is Ram giving to Sham?'

(15)   (k'a:) tsI **gatsh-kh-a:** paga:h   garI?
        Q   you go-2sgps-Q   tomorrow home
        'Will you go home tomorrow?'

2. Surface V4 shows up with multiple wh- questions (Koul and Wali 2006).

(16)   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?'

5.1   Yes/no Questions

1. In yes/no questions, the question particle *k'a:* can appear sentence-initially, preverbally, or not at all (Wali and Koul 1997).

2. This variation depends on the speaker's dialect to some extent (Wali and Koul 1997).

(17)   (*k'a:*) tsI **gatsh-kh-a:** paga:h   garI?
        (Q)   you go-2sgps-Q   tomorrow home
        'Will you go home tomorrow?'

(18)   ?? tsI *k'a:* **gatsh-kh-a:** paga:h   garI?
            you Q   go-2sgps-Q   tomorrow home
        'Will you go home tomorrow?'

(19)   * tsI **gatsh-kh-a:** *k'a:* paga:h   garI?
        you go-2sgps-Q   Q   tomorrow home

3. In 17, the question particle is in C, not in the clause-initial position. Even though the verb is the third word in the sentence, it is in the V2 position, with the subject occupying the clause-initial position.

4. In 18, the speaker cliticizes the question particle to the finite verb.[1] In 18, the subject occupies the clause-initial position and the finite verb occupies the V2 position.

5. Even when the surface word order puts the verb in the third position, yes/no questions are structurally V2.

5.2   Wh- Questions

1. For non-subject wh- questions, Bhatt (1995) argues that the wh- word cliticizes to tense.

2. Nothing can intervene between the wh- word and the finite verb, and the wh- word must move.

3. Compare 20–22 with 14 above.

(20)   * ram **chu** shamas   *kya* divan
        Ram is   Sham.dat what giving

(21)   * *kya*   ram **chu** shamas   divan
        what Ram is   Sham.dat giving

(22)   * ram *kya*   vari-vari **chu** shamas   divan
        Ram what slowly   is   Sham.dat giving

3. In subject wh- questions, Bhatt's analysis runs into a problem.

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[1]This is similar to Bhatt's (1995) analysis of cliticization in Kashmiri wh- questions, as I will describe in the following section. However, more work needs to be done to see exactly how and why this occurs.

(23)   kəm'   **li:ch** cith' ra:th   daphtaras manz?
        who.erg wrote letter yesterday office.dat in
        'Who wrote a letter yesterday in the office?'

4. If the wh- subject in 23 cliticizes to T, the clause-initial position will be empty.

5. I propose that subject wh- words don't cliticize to T, but instead move to the clause-initial position.[2]

6. This analysis of subject and non-subject wh- questions also explains the surface V4 order in multiple wh- questions.

7. In 24, the two non-subject wh- words cliticize to T. The subject wh- word moves to the clause-initial position.

(24)   kəm'   kəmis k'a: **d'ut** ba:gəs   manz?
        who.erg who.dat what gave garden.dat in
        'Who gave what to whom in the garden?'

8. In Kashmiri, wh- questions where the finite verb is the third or fourth word in the sentence still have a V2 structure. The finite verb is in T with a clause-initial element in the clause-initial position.

6   Verb-Final

1. In relative clauses and clauses with non-finite verbal forms, the verb appears at the end of the sentence, similar to the standard position in other Indo-Aryan languages (Bhatt 1995).[3]

(25)   ram drav [shamas   kitab **dith**]
        ram left   sham.dat book give.PART
        'After giving the book to Sham, Ram left.'

2. In these clauses, the non-finite verb does not move to T, and so stays clause-final.

3. In these verb-final constructions, the V2 structure is still there, even if the verb has no motivation to move to T.

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[2]More data is required to test this hypothesis. If one can have a subject wh- question with a topicalized direct object, that would be evidence that the subject wh- word does cliticize to T. If so, the clause-initial position being empty in 23 needs to be explained.

[3]Koul and Wali's grammar of Kashmiri (2006) includes additional examples of non-finite subordinate and relative clauses that might show the verb in the V2 position. One issue is that their data mostly includes short non-finite clauses with only a subject/object and the non-finite verb, making it hard to tell if the verb is still in V or if it has moved to T, but is still final due to nothing else being in the clause.

7   Conclusion

7.1   Summary

1. Kashmiri is a V2 language.

2. The tensed auxiliary or finite verb moves to T, like in Icelandic.

3. Some imperatives show a surface verb-initial order, but these have the same V2 structure with a null subject/topic.

4. Questions in Kashmiri can show a surface V3 or V4 order. These involve cliticizing the question particle or wh- words to T, preserving the same V2 structure.

5. Non-finite constructions where the verbal element is final share the same V2 structure overall without the verb moving up to T.

6. This analysis fills a gap in the literature, which focuses mostly on the surface forms without consideration of the underlying syntactic structures.

7.2   Future Work

1. What are the implications of a left-headed T in Kashmiri?

2. What predictions are made if Spec-TP is the clause-initial position?

3. How and why does the cliticization of question particles and wh- words occur?

4. Get more and more-consistently-annotated data!

8   References

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