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This paper presents an account of verb movement in Kashmiri.¹ Kashmiri exhibits the verb-second phenomenon (V2) which has been argued by Raina (1991) to be a PF level constraint. A syntactic account of V2 in Kashmiri is presented. Like German, Kashmiri exhibits V2, but unlike German, it shows V2 effects in both main and embedded clauses.

1 Kashmiri Word Order

Tensed clauses in Kashmiri are subject to the verb second constraint; the finite verbal element in these clauses always occurs in the second position, i.e. the position immediately following the first phrasal constituent. Like German however Kashmiri is argued to be underlyingly SOV. Evidence for underlying SOV word order comes primarily from environments where V2 does not apply such as non finite clauses. Cf. (1), (2).²

- (1) *ram drav [shamas kitab dith]*
ram leave+pst sham+as book give+PART
'After giving the book to Sham, Ram left.'
- (2) *[tasInz kAm nI karni kin'] gav ram shamas naraz.*
his work not do+PART because go+pst Ram Sham+as angry
'Ram was angry with Sham because Sham did not do his work.'

Other such environments include relative clauses and *yithui-tithui* 'when-then' clauses. These are especially interesting because in these clauses, no V2 takes place and so we get overt SOV order in a finite clause. Cf. (3):

- (3) *[yus larki rath yot av] chu myon dost.*
which boy yesterday here come+pst be+prs. my friend
'The boy who came here yesterday is my friend.'

Other circumstantial evidence for SOV i.e. V-final word order comes from the structure of noun phrases, which are head final in Kashmiri and the fact that Kashmiri has postpositions(or postpositional morphology). So one suspects V also to be head final. One major exception however is C which in Kashmiri is head initial.

2 V2 in Kashmiri

In cases where there is an auxiliary verb that carries tense, it occupies the second position in the clause, otherwise if there is only one verb, then it carries tense and occupies the second position in the clause. Cf (4), (5), (6), (7).

¹I wish to thank Michael Hegarty for helpful discussion. Special thanks are due to Achla Misri Raina for providing me with both linguistic and native speaker judgements.

²An anonymous reviewer notes that if *nI* 'not' is a clitic then it is not clear that (2) is not V2 - this confusion can be clarified by considering infinitival clauses with three arguments such as 'Ram was angry with Sham because Sham did not give Sita the book' - here the word order in Kashmiri is '[the-book Sita not give because] was Ram Sham angry'. Here the infinitival clause displays unambiguously non V2 word order.

- (4) *ram chu shamas kitab divan.*
 Ram be+prs. Sham+as book give+prog.
 ‘Ram is giving a book to Sham.’
- (5) * *ram shamas kitab divan chu.*
 Ram Sham+as book give+prog. be+prs.
 ‘Ram is giving a book to Sham.’
- (6) *raman dits shamas kitab.*
 ram+infl. give+pst. sham+infl. book
 ‘Ram gave Sham a book.’
- (7) * *raman shamas kitab dits.*
 ram+infl. sham+infl book give+pst
 ‘Ram gave Sham a book.’

The clause initial position may also be occupied by something other than the subject. The following examples show that we can have objects, adverbials, adjective phrases, clausal arguments. Cf. (2), (8), (9), (10).³ Kashmiri permits a large degree of scrambling, all scrambling has to however obey the V2 constraint. In cases where there are two verbs in a clause, a finite auxiliary verb and a tenseless main verb, we can even have the tenseless verb move into the clause initial position. Cf. (11), (8) below, is also an example of double agreement.⁴

- (8) *su chusan bI vichan*
 he be+prs.+AgrS+AgrO I see+prog.
 ‘I am looking at him.’
- (9) *sethah dilchasp chi ramsinz kitab.*
 very interesting be+prs. Ram+infl. book
 ‘Ram’s book is very interesting.’
- (10) *varI-varI chu ram bat khevan*
 slowly be+prs. Ram rice eat+prog.
 ‘Ram is the eating the rice slowly.’
- (11) *divan chu ram shamas kitab.*
 give+prog. be+prs. Ram Sham+infl. book
 ‘Ram is giving Sham a book.’

³In (2), an entire infinitival clause occupies the clause initial position of the matrix clause.

⁴If we take the mirror principle seriously, the order of subject and object agreement on the verb, would force AgrSP to be lower than AgrOP. An alternative is to treat this subject/object marking as a pronominal enclitic.

V2 in Kashmiri is not restricted to finite matrix/overt complementizerless finite subordinate clauses but is found in all finite subordinate clauses. Unlike in Mainland Scandinavian or German, V2 in subordinate clauses is not restricted to bridge verb complements but is also found in non bridge verb complements. V2 also takes place in adjunct clauses in Kashmiri. Cf. (12), (13), (14). The point is that all finite clauses have a V2 structure irrespective of what the matrix verb may be.⁵

- (12) *raman von [ze [sham yi paga]]*
 Ram+infl say+pst. that Sham come+fut. tomorrow
 ‘Ram said that Sham would come tomorrow.’
- (13) *me chu aphisus [ze [su chu nI amut]].*
 I-dat be+prs. regret that he be+prs not come+perf.
 ‘I regret that he will not come.’
- (14) *ram gav shamas naraz [tikazi [shaman kAr nI tasInz kAm]].*
 Ram go+pst. Sham+infl. angry because Sham+infl. do+pst. not
 his work
 ‘Ram was angry with Sham because Sham did not do his work.’

2.1 Clause-Initial Position

We have seen in (9), (10) and (8) that adjective phrases, adverbs and objects can occupy the clause initial position. (11) shows that the non-finite verbal element can also occupy this position. However not everything can. Subordinating conjunctions (i.e. complementizers) and coordinating conjunctions are two such examples. Cf. (18), (15), (16), (17).

- (15) * *ram gav shamas naraz [tikazi [kAr shamas nI tasInz kAm]].*
 Ram go+pst. Sham+infl. angry because do+pst. Sham+infl. not
 his work
 ‘Ram was angry with Sham because Sham did not do his work.’
- (16) **[ram chu mon dost] tI [chi sita tasInz zanani]*
 Ram be+prs. my friend and be+prs. Sita his wife
 ‘Ram is my friend and Sita is his wife.’
- (17) *[ram chu mon dost] tI [sita chi tasInz zanani]*
 Ram be+prs. my friend and Sita be+prs. his wife
 ‘Ram is my friend and Sita is his wife.’
- (18) * *raman von [ze [yi sham paga]]*
 Ram+infl say+pst. that come+fut. Sham tomorrow
 ‘Ram said that Sham would come tomorrow.’

⁵*ze* ‘that’ is obligatory with embedded finite clauses.

3 Other V2 languages

Following work by Diesing (1990), Santorini (1989), Thrainsson (1985), Vikner (1991), Platzack (1985), and Iatridou and Kroch (1992), the languages of the Germanic family that exhibit V2 can be divided into three groups:

- German, Dutch - they are SOV, and have V2 in subordinate clauses only in the absence of an overt COMP.
- Mainland Scandinavian - these are SVO, and have V2 in subordinate clauses with an overt COMP only in bridge verb complements. Extraction from V2 subordinate clauses is not permitted.
- Yiddish, Icelandic - SVO, and have V2 in all subordinate and adjunct clauses. Extraction from V2 subordinate clauses is permitted.

V2 in German/Dutch is supposed to involve movement of the finite verb into C. Mainland Scandinavian uses movement into C along with CP-recursion and Yiddish and Icelandic use IP-V2 (following Santorini (1989), Diesing (1990)).

4 Possible Frameworks for V2 in Kashmiri

V2 in Kashmiri takes place only in finite clauses, and all finite clauses in Kashmiri have overt complementizers. Hence the German style solution of the finite verb moving into C, to provide lexical support to the feature [+F] is *prima-facie* blocked. Since the C is always full in subordinate clauses, clearly the finite verb cannot move into it. Even if we assume that the finite verb can adjoin onto C, we shall not get the correct word order. Cf. (19)

- (19) DS: ...C[IP.....V.....
 SS: ...[C C V][IP.....t....

Since we need a position to accommodate a constituent between the raised verb and the complementizer, we have two options now, CP-recursion and IP-V2. Looking back at the V2 paradigm of Kashmiri, we see that it patterns with that of Yiddish/Icelandic. Kashmiri has V2 in all finite subordinate clauses with overt complementizers, whether they are bridge verb complements or not. Similarly it also permits V2 in adjunct clauses, and extraction from V2 subordinate clauses with overt complementizers.

5 The CP-Recursion Analysis

Iatridou and Kroch (1992) have proposed the following constraint on CP-recursion:

- (20) CP recursion is possible only in CPs where
- the highest CP is governed by the verb
 - the highest CP does not have any content that cannot be recovered from the second CP.

This constraint is able to explain the distribution of CP-recursion successfully. It limits CP-recursion to the above contexts, we should not have CP-recursion structures in adjunct clauses and sentential subject clauses, because here the highest CP is not governed by the verb. Similarly interrogative or negative verbs should not be able to license CP-recursion according to this analysis since following standard analyses interrogative subcategorise for a [+wh] COMP. Similarly following Laka (1990), negative verbs are assumed to subcategorize for a [+Negative] COMP. Hence only bridge verbs can license CP-recursion structures in their complements.

Applying the above constraint to the V2 structures in Kashmiri, suggests forcefully that V2 in Kashmiri does not involve CP-recursion. We have, with V2, the following structures:

- Negative Verbs

- (21) *me chu aphsus [ze [su chu nI amut]].*
 I-dat be+prs. regret that he be+prs not come+perf.
 ‘I regret that he will not come.’

aphsus ‘regret’ is an archetypal non-bridge/negative verb and by the CP-recursion licensing conditions should not permit a CP-recursion structure because it has a [+Negative] complementizer whose content cannot be recovered from the lower C.

- Adjuncts

- (22) *ram gav shamas naraz [tikazi [shaman kAr nI tasInz kAm]].*
 Ram go+pst. Sham+infl. angry because Sham+infl. do+pst. not
 his work
 ‘Ram was angry with Sham because Sham did not do his work.’

If, as assumed, the licensing conditions for CP-recursion hold, (22) cannot be a CP recursion structure because the matrix verb does not govern the Adjunct clause at all.

- Question Verbs

- (23) *rameshan prutsh harias [ze [raman kya dut shamas]].*
 Ramesh+infl. ask+pst Hari+infl. that Ram+infl what give+pst.
 Sham+infl.
 ‘Ramesh asked Hari what Ram gave to Sham.’

(23) for reasons similar to those offered for negative verbs should not license CP-recursion, because its C contains [+wh] features which cannot be recovered from the lower C.

The above evidence argues forcefully against analysing V2 in Kashmiri as involving movement of the finite verb to C with CP recursion creating the required empty head and empty SPEC position. Later on in this paper, we shall see more evidence from extraction facts in Kashmiri supporting the above conclusion.

6 The IP-V2 analysis

The only alternative left to us now is the IP-V2 analysis proposed by Santorini (1989), Diesing (1990) to account for V2 facts in Yiddish and Icelandic. As has been observed earlier, Kashmiri patterns remarkably with Yiddish and Icelandic with respect to V2 facts. However there is one major difference between Yiddish and Icelandic on the one hand and Kashmiri on the other. Yiddish and Icelandic are SVO, Infl-medial languages i.e. Infl is head initial. Kashmiri however is an SOV language about which it is generally assumed that it is Infl-final. If Kashmiri is indeed Infl-final, then the IP-V2 analysis is not available, because the I-head which the IP-V2 analysis proposes the finite verbal element moves to, occurs at the end of the clause and so movement to it will not give us the desired word order. I adopt the highly articulated structure of IP proposed by Pollock (1990). According to this structure Infl consists of several heads such as T, AgrS, AgrO etc. Now most of the evidence for proposing that Kashmiri is Infl-final comes from participial clauses in which inflections on the non-finite i.e. tenseless verb occurred clause-finally.

- (24) *[tasInz kAm nI karni kin'] gav ram shamas naraz.*
 his work not do+PART because go+pst Ram Sham+as angry
 'Ram was angry with Sham because Sham did not do his work.'

In (24), the participial inflection *ni* (PART)⁶, occurs at the end of the clause. So there does seem to be a strong case for positing that the head of the participial phrase, say PART (a cover term for some collection of heads)⁷ is head-final. However there is no such evidence for tensed clauses. To the contrary, the finite tensed verbal element always occurs in the second position. So I posit that in Kashmiri, T is indeed head-initial, while all the other inflectional heads are head-final. This has important implications for agreement in Kashmiri, but I shall not pursue them here. Now a TP-V2 analysis seems feasible.

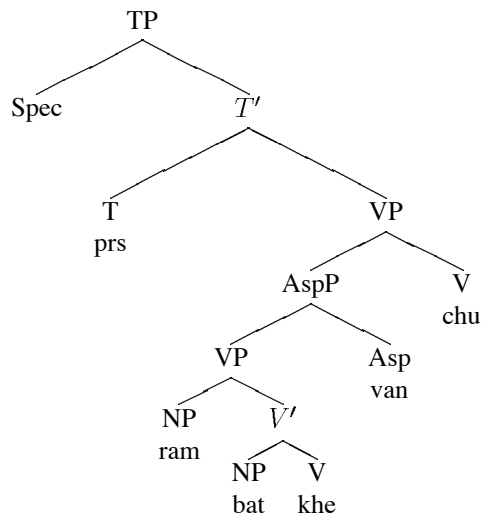
7 The TP-V2 analysis

IPs in their articulated form are postulated to have the following underlying structure (shown in tree (25)).

- (25) *ram chu bat khe-van*
 Ram+infl. be+prs. rice eat+prog
 'Ram is eating rice.'

⁶*kin'* 'because' is a complementizer. Thus while *ze* 'that' is head initial, it does not imply that all complementizers are head-initial. Since specifiers are to the right of the head in Kashmiri, it is not likely that *kin'* is in [SPEC,CP].

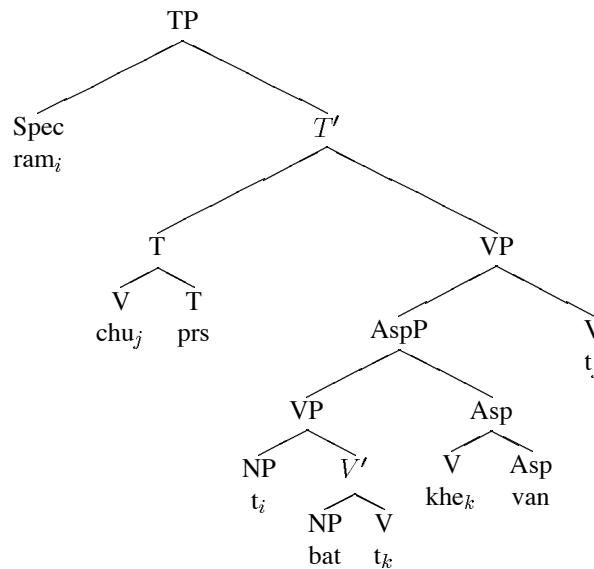
⁷In tree (25), for simplicity, I show only one of the many heads that are part of PART, the AspP (aspect phrase).



The following three movements take place to give us the surface word order, shown in the next tree: (26).

- the verb governed by T adjoins to T.
- a constituent moves into Spec-TP.
- the non-finite verb raises and adjoins to Asp.

(26)



The point made about the verb governed by T adjoining to T needs some refinement though. Here for reasons of simplicity, I have not shown any of the heads that can (and will) intervene between T and V. Then direct movement of V to T will violate the head movement constraint proposed by Travis (1984).

(27) Head Movement Constraint (HMC): An X can only move to the Y that properly governs it.

So to avoid violation of the HMC, the verb will rise cyclically through each of the heads that intervene between it and T, and it will be the verb complex in the head properly governed by T that will finally adjoin to T

A constituent has to raise to Spec-TP. I propose following Heycock (1990) that this is necessitated by the need of the verb to form a predication structure. It is to be noted that we do not stipulate that the constituent in Spec-TP should be lexical. In general, Kashmiri always has a lexical constituent in Spec-TP, but this, it will be argued follows from independent principles of grammar and has nothing to do with V2 itself. Cf. the discussion of extraction facts. Further, sufficiently rich discourse conditions are able to license a lexically empty [SPEC, TP] and produce V1 word order.

The non-finite verb carries an aspectual inflection. I propose that the non-finite verb raises to AsP and left adjoins to it. This allows to get away without having to lower AsP which creates problems of ungoverned traces. Following Iatridou (1989), I propose that both the verbal elements head their own maximal projections. This conclusion is almost forced upon us by aspectual morphology which appears only on the non finite verb and not the finite verb. The alternative structure in which both the verbs are part of the same structure, either leads to violations of minimality or requires excorporation of the finite verbal element. In fact even excorporation is unable to save our derivation because it still violates the HMC (unless we interpret HMC liberally to mean that if a head properly governs a complex head, it also properly governs all the heads the complex head is composed of, no matter how deeply those heads may be embedded).⁸

8 Extraction Facts

8.1 V3 Word Order

Wh-words in Kashmiri do not stay in-situ, they move to the left adjacency of the finite verbal element, thus giving an apparently V3 word order.

(28) *ram kya chu shamas divan*
 Ram what be+prs. Sham+infl. give+prog
 ‘What is Ram giving to Sham?’

(29) * *ram chu shamas kya divan*
 Ram be+prs. Sham+infl. what give+prog
 ‘What is Ram giving to Sham?’

The movement of the wh-word to left adjacency of the finite verbal element is not optional. It should be noted though that the wh-word is not really occupying a verb-second position, its association with the finite verbal element is much stronger. Kashmiri allows scrambling of arguments yet (30) is ungrammatical.

(30) * *kya ram chu shamas divan*
 what Ram be+prs. Sham+infl. give+prog
 ‘What is Ram giving to Sham?’

⁸This paper was written before reading Rakesh Bhatt & James Yoon (1994) or Rakesh Bhatt (1994). The analysis proposed there, also assumes that T in Kashmiri is head-initial - differing from the current analysis, it is also proposed that COMP consists of two heads - a subordinating comp and a mood phrase head - consequently there are two specifier positions and V2 in embedded clauses can be accounted for.

Similarly while the adverb *vari-vari* ‘slowly’ can intervene between any two constituents (V2 is an exception though) it cannot intervene between the wh-word and the finite verbal element. Cf. (31)

- (31) * *ram kya vari-vari chu shamas divan*
 Ram what slowly be+prs. Sham+infl. give+prog
 ‘What is Ram giving slowly to Sham?’

All this suggests strongly that the wh-word is cliticized to tense⁹, and so wh-sentences only form an apparent counterexample to the claim that all finite clauses in Kashmiri have V2.

8.2 Empty Categories and V2

A wh-phrase in an embedded finite clause with an overt complementizer can be extracted into the matrix clause. However it is not possible to have an empty category as the clause initial element between the overt complementizer and the finite verbal element. This has been used to draw the conclusion that V2 in Kashmiri is not sensitive to empty categories, it does not interact with syntax and is merely a PF level constraint. Cf. (33), (32).

- (32) * *raman kus_i buz [ze [t_i chu t_i sitai tshandhan]]*
 Ram+infl. who hear+pst. that be+prs. Sita+infl. look-for
 ‘Who did Ram hear that is looking for Sita?’

While (32) is ungrammatical, (33) is not demonstrating that it is possible to extract from within a V2 clause.

- (33) *raman kus_j buz [ze [sitai_i chu t_j t_i tshandhan]]*
 Ram+infl. who hear+pst. that Sita+infl. be+prs. look-for
 ‘Who did Ram hear that is looking for Sita?’

This contrast follows from independent principles of the grammar and thus does not constitute support for the claim that V2 is not sensitive to empty categories. What is happening in (32) is in fact just a COMP-trace violation and can be handled by whatever mechanism we use to rule out COMP-trace violations in English. In fact (32) provides indirect evidence for the TP-V2 analysis. Looking at the data from Kashmiri we can predict that if the TP-V2 analysis and the COMP-trace effect hold in both Yiddish and Kashmiri then the corresponding sentence in Yiddish should also be ruled out which in fact it is. Cf.(34) from Santorini (1989).

- (34) *What_i has he not wanted..... * [t_i az [t_i zoln di kinder leyenen*
that should the children read
t_i]]?

⁹All that is needed is that the wh-word and the tense form one unit something that is shown by (31). Wh-phrases can either move as a whole i.e. pied pipe or the wh-word may move alone. In case of multiple wh-words, at least one wh-word/phrase has to raise to tense. The movement of more than one wh-word is optional.

Wh-movement in Kashmiri has a rich and complicated paradigm and I shall not delve into it further here.

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