

Relaxing the V-2 Constraint on Kashmiri Word Order¹

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In earlier work on Kashmiri we have shown that V-2 word order is observed in some types of embedded clauses if the first position is not taken by certain complementizers (Hook and Koul 1996). The complementizers that block the occurrence of the finite verbal element in V-2 position are those that synchronically or diachronically have some relation with the relative series of pronouns and adverbs: *yus* 'who', *yi* 'which', *yatyi* 'where', *yelyi* 'when', *yot taam* 'until', etc. Complementizers such as *zyi* which do not have any etymological relation² to the relative series are compatible with the occurrence of the finite verbal element in second position. Thus the position of the finite form *paryi* 'will read' in the embedded clauses of (1) and (2): varies depending on the etymological source of the two complementizers

- (1) *bi oosu-s khoots-aan |yithi-ni swa myeenyi ciThy par-yi|*
 I was-1sN fearing lest-not she my letter read-Fut3sg
 'I was afraid she would read my letter.'

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² Turner derives the Kashmiri complementizer *zyi* from the conjunctive participle of OIA *japati* 'mutters': T 5120.

- (2) bi oosu-s khoots-aan [zyi swa (maa)par-yi myeenyi ciThy]
 I was-1sN fearing that she (Neg) read-Fut3sg my letter
 'I was afraid she would read my letter.'

Recently we have become aware of another set of elements that do not permit the finite verbal element to occur in second position. These are the asseverative particles *hay* and *nay*. When one of these occurs it usually comes in second position with the finite verbal element in fourth position:

- (3) esy hay zuv dyi-mav caanyi baapath
 we indeed life give-Fut1pl your sake
 'You know, we will give up our lives for your sake.' (O.N. Koul D66³)

- (4) yi hay mye nazdyiik hyotu-n vaat-un
 this(Msg).Nom indeed me.Dat near began.Msg-3sE arrive-Inf.Msg
 'Indeed he did begin to come close to me.' (Jan 1992:11)

- (5) magari mye hay Dikshanaryii manz vuch⁴
 but I.Erg indeed dictionary in looked
 'But I did look in the dictionary.' (Mohyuddin 1975:13)

- (6a) pralay hay hyot-mut oos sapid-un ...
 deluge indeed begun-PP was occur-Msg

³ Inasmuch as this paper deals with questions for which we can provide only partial answers, we have packed it with a great many example sentences, both elicited and collected from published texts, in hopes that others may find these data of use in further efforts to identify and resolve the many mysteries of word order in Kashmiri.

⁴ This could just as well be taken as an instance of the finite verbal element coming *last* in its clause. Cf (10) & (11).

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'Indeed the Final Deluge had begun to take place ...'
(Zutshi 1998:13)

- (6b) *kayaamat hay vwatlyith eesi-n hyets-mits y-iny*
Judgement.Day indeed arise-CP was-3sE begun-PP
come-Inf

'Indeed the Day of Judgement had begun to come (upon us).'
(Zutshi 1998:13)

After a vowel or an /h/ the particle *hay* may occur as a cliticized *-ay*:

- (7) *eekhir duniyaah-ay vuch-n-i baapthi-y chu ti..."*
finally world-indeed see-Inf-Abl for-Emph is and

'After all the world is there to be seen!'
(Pompur B18)

- (8) "aa, *yoh-ay jooS hyuv chu-m baas-aan" jelly vonu-s.*
Yes this-indeed burning like is-1sD seem-ing Jol.Erg said-3sD
"Yes, this does feel like I am burning," said Jol to her.'
(Malmohi C81)

Sometimes *hay* and *nay* seem to function as contrastive topic markers:

- (9) *zuvici kamzuuryi hay yelaaj banyi ti akilyi.hinzyi kamzuuryii kyaa*

body's weakness.Dat Top remedy becomes and mind's weakness.Dat what
banyi?

becomes

'For weakness of body there are remedies, but for weakness of mind?'
(Koul n.d.)

- (10) *mye n-ay paan-as pEEsi chi. tsye katyi an-a-y ?*

me.Dat Neg-Top self-Dat money are you.Dat where bring-Fut1sg-2sD

'I don't have any money for myself. How will I spare any for you?'

While most of the examples we have encountered in texts have *hay* or *nay* in second position and the finite verbal element in fourth, there are others in which the finite element comes last:

- (11) *esy hay tsye beey chi-y. muslamaan ti baTi chi seeryii hyivi-y.*

we indeed you.Dat brothers are-2sD muslims and pandits are all
same-Emp

'You know we are your brothers. Muslims and Pandits we are all the same.'
(Koul D64)

- (12) *paninyis nyecivyis nay kyE dyivaan chus; tsye kyaa dyi-ma-y ?*

self's son.Dat indeed.not anything giving am you.Dat what give-1sg-2sD

'To my son I'm not giving anything. What, then, will I give you?'

- (13) *dwad hay su dwahay cevaan chu; caay kyaazyi ceyi-n az?*

milk indeed he daily drinking is tea why drank-3sgErg today

'Milk is what he drinks every day. Why then did he drink tea today?'

Other positions than fourth or last are also possible for the finite element:

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- (14) tsye-y ek-y(i)s-iy jaayi mUd chu-y aas-aan goo-mut.
you.Dat-indecd one-Dat-Emp place log is-2sD be-ing gone-PP

'"You know, you are stuck like a log in the mud!" (he said).' (from G.M. Azad's *TyeTh*)

- (15) bi tyi hay chus yemyi eny shahar-uk akh on farid
I too indeed am this blind city-Gen one blind person

'Indeed I, too, am a blind denizen of this blind city.'
(Jan 1992:16)

- (16) naay, geeb nay cha-ni gee-mits
no.F.Voc hidden indeed.not is-not gone-PP

'No, Ma'am, she did not disappear.'
(Bande 1996:98)

Testing by introspection indicates that with the exceptions of first position and second position the finite verbal element in a *hay-* or *nay-*clause is free to occur anywhere:

- (17a) yi hay baraabar mye siity maan karaan chu
he indeed at.same.pace me with competition doing is

(b) yi hay baraabar mye siity maan chu karaan

(c) yi hay baraabar mye siity chu maan karaan

(d) yi hay baraabar chu mye siity maan karaan

(e) yi hay chu baraabar mye siity maan karaan (Jan 1992:13)

(f) *yi chu hay baraabar mye siity maan karaan

(g) *chu yi hay baraabar mye siity maan karaan

'As for him, he was (walking) at the same pace (and) keeping up with me.'

This is similar to the freedom in word order possibilities found in Kashmiri protases (*if*-clauses)⁵:

(18a) agar su hamyeeshi vakhtas pyeTh daphtar vaataan chu tyelyi az kyaazyi
 if he always time.Dat on office arriving is then today why
 goo-s tsyeer ?
 went-3sgDat late?

(b) agar su hamyeeshi vakhtas pyeTh daphtar chu vaataan tyelyi az kyaazyi
 goo-s tsyeer ?

(c) agar su hamyeeshi vakhtas pyeTh chu daphtar vaataan tyelyi az kyaazyi
 goo-s tsyeer ?

(d) agar su hamyeeshi chu vakhtas pyeTh daphtar vaataan tyelyi az kyaazyi
 goo-s tsyeer ?

(e) agar su chu hamyeeshi vakhtas pyeTh daphtar vaataan tyelyi az kyaazyi
 goo-s tsyeer ?

⁵ For a parallel exposition and generalization about Kashmiri *if*-clauses see Munshi and Bhatt [MS: 11, (23abcde)].

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(f) agar chu su hamyeeshi vakhtas pyeTh daphtar vaataan tyelyi az kyaazyi goo-s tsyeer ?

(g) *chu agar su hamyeeshi vakhtas pyeTh daphtar vaataan tyelyi az kyaazyi goo-s tsyeer ?

'If he always arrives at the office on time, then why is he late today?'

The similarity⁶ in freedom of word order in these two datasets may be no accident: There is a synonym for *agar* and *yelyi* 'if' which has the same shape as contrastive *hay* but which (unlike *agar* or *yelyi*) must come in second position [cf Munshi and Bhatt MS: 11, exx (25abcd)];

(19) su hay az byeemaar pye-yihyee, su aas-yihyee-ni daphtar goo-mut
he if today sick fell-CTF3sg he be-CTF3sg-Neg office gone-PP

'If he had fallen sick today, he would not have gone to the office.'

Like asseverative-contrastive *hay*, this protatic *hay* may be cliticized to the first constituent:

(20) gar-ay su az yi-yihyee esy kar-ihav safeeyii
home-if he today come-CTF3sg we do-CTF1pl cleaning

'If he had come home today we would have done some cleaning.'

⁶ If we identify *hay* as an alternate form of *-ay* which occurs as a dependent element cliticized to the constituent in first position then we can explain the ungrammaticality of (17f) and the similarity in word order freedom in data sets (17) and (18) may be regarded as complete.

There are two expressions in Kashmiri that translate as 'if not': *yelyi-ni* and *nay*. The second of these has the same shape and position in the clause as the marker of negative contrast *nay*:

(21a) su yelyi-ni az byeemaar pye-yihyee, su aas-yihyee daphtar goo-mut
 he if-not today sick fell-CTF3sg he be-CTF3sg office gone-PP

(21b) su nay az byeemaar pye-yihyee, su aas-yihyee daphtar goo-mut
 he if.not today sick fell-CTF3sg he be-CTF3sg office gone-PP

'If he had not fallen sick today, he would have gone to the office.'

(22) "tsuur-as nay muur aas-yi, san kyithi Srapy-as?"
 thief-Dat if.not stick be-Fut3sg loot how.Abl digest.Fut3sg-3sD

"If a thief is not thrashed, how will he enjoy his loot?"

(Pompur B12)

(23) hyekath nay aasyi ti kwas keem hyekyi aaseenyii-saan
 sapid-yith ...?

strength if.not be.Fut then which work can ease-with
 be.done-CP

'If one lacks strength then what will he be easily able to accomplish ...?'

(O.N. Koul, n.d.)

From these data it appears that there is both a semantic and a syntactic relation between *hay* 'if' and *nay* 'if not' on the one hand and *hay* 'indeed' and *nay* 'indeed not' on the other.

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The semantic relation between 'if' and topichood that shows up in many languages in different parts of the world is discussed in Haiman (1978). Indeed, some examples of clauses containing contrastive topic markers *hay* or *nay* are still understandable when read as 'if' or 'if not':

- (24) *dwad hay su dwahay cevaan chu; caay kyaa zy ceyi-n az?*
milk Top he daily drinking is tea why drank-3sgErg today

'Milk is what he drinks every day. Why then did he drink tea today?'

'If he drinks milk everyday, then why did he drink tea today?'

- (25) *paninyis nyecivyis nay kyE dyivaan chus; tsye kyaa dyi-ma-y?*
self's son.Dat Neg.Top anything giving am you.Dat what give-1sg-2sD

'To my son I'm not giving anything. What, then, will I give you?'

'If I'm not giving anything to my son, what will I give you?'

- (26) *zuvici kamzuury hay yelaaj banyi ti akilyi.hinzyi kamzuuryii kyaa banyi?*

body's weakness.Dat Top remedy becomes and mind's weakness.Dat what becomes

'For weakness of the body there are remedies, but for weakness of the mind?'
(Koul n.d.)

'If there are remedies for weakness of the body then what is there for weakness of the mind?'

But as not all of such clauses can be read that way, we must retain the concept of contrastive topic:

(27) yi hay mye nazdyik hyotu-n vaat-un

(Jan 1992:11)

this.Nom indeed me.Dat near began.Msg-3sgErg arrive-Inf.Msg

'Indeed he began to come close to me.' (Not: 'If he began to come close to me...')

(28) magarmye hay Dikshanaryii manz vuch

(Mohyuddin 1975:13)

but I.Erg indeed dictionary in looked

'But I did look in the dictionary.' (Not: 'But if I looked in the dictionary...')

While we are not able to provide an answer to the prior question as to why the position of the finite verb in Kashmiri protases should be free, by looking at the etymologies of the contrastive topic markers *hay* and *nay* we can explain the freedom of finite verb placement in their clauses as a survival of a syntactic feature found in Kashmiri *if*-clauses. Whatever explanation is eventually found for the word order facts in *if*-clauses will apply as a kind of historical inheritance to *hay*- and *nay*-clauses, too.

This paper provides another instance of the role diachrony can play in synchronic analysis of syntax, a role that modulates both the formal generative and the functional-typological approaches. While the meanings or grammatical functions of particular items change over time, it is not always the case that their syntactic properties change at the same pace. This can lead to situations in which the syntactic behaviour of a given item does not necessarily make sense from the strictly synchronic points of view that are the built-in assumptions of most formal and/or functionalist explanations of linguistic phenomena. Some features of a language can only be understood as accidents of its history.

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