

Verb Position and Question Markers in a Verb-Second Language

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Abstract

Polar and alternative questions have received relatively little attention in the robust literature concerned with questions in Indic languages (Mahajan 1990; Dayal 1994; Simpson and Bhattacharya 2003; Manetta 2010; Slade 2012; Bhatt and Dayal 2014). Due to the presence of two distinct overt morphological question markers, polar and alternative questions in the verb-second language Kashmiri have the potential to resolve several mysteries concerning the fine structure of its rich left periphery. Further, the facts in Kashmiri contribute more broadly to the wider research program on the *whether/Q* operator and its morphological spellout (Larson 1985; Schwarz 1999; Han and Romero 2004; Beck and Kim 2006; Den Dikken 2006; Cable 2010). The account presented here argues for an approach to verb-second in Kashmiri (following Manetta 2010), in which the second position verb is always found in C regardless of clause type. Ultimately, I argue more holistically that Kashmiri is less exceptional than it might at first appear in the way in which its grammar constitutes and marks interrogatives. It marks with overt morphology multiple types of dependencies (whether polar/alterative operators or *wh*-dependencies) that are not overtly marked in related Indic languages.

1 Introduction¹

While *wh*-questions have been at the forefront of research into the shape of the clausal periphery and the nature of A-bar dependencies in Indic languages (Mahajan 1990, 2000; Dayal 1994, 2000, 2010;

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Simpson and Bhattacharya 2003; Manetta 2010, 2011; Bhattacharya and Simpson 2012), considerably less attention has been paid to non-wh-question structures (though see Bhatt and Dayal 2014 for an initial discussion). Polar questions are interrogatives to which the expected answer is *yes* or *no*, as in (1).

- (1) a. Are the children sleeping?
 b. Has the volcano erupted recently?

The semantics and pragmatics of polar questions in well-studied languages has long been of interest (Hamblin 1973; Bolinger 1978; Ladd 1981; Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984; Roberts 1996; Buring and Gunlogson 2000; Romero and Han 2002; Gunlogson 2003; Farkas and Bruce 2010; Romero 2014), and their syntax has also provided important information about the syntax of head movement and the fine structure of left-periphery crosslinguistically (e.g., McCloskey 1991; Rizzi 2001; Li 2006; Jayaseelan 2008; Holmberg 2000, 2013).

Indic languages often make use of question markers in polar and alternative questions that do not appear in wh-questions. The relatively understudied Indic language Kashmiri is especially revealing as it is a verb-second language with a rigidly structured left periphery and features two independent question markers. Consider the typical polar question in (2):

- (2) *k'aa tsI gatsh-kh-aa pagaah garI*
 Y/N you go-2SGPS-Q tomorrow home
 'Will you go home tomorrow?'²

Polar questions such as (2) feature both an optional standalone question particle *k'aa*, as well as an obligatory interrogative clitic *-aa* cliticized to the inflected verb. Throughout this paper I will gloss *k'aa*, which appears optionally in initial position, as Y/N. Breaking with the descriptive tradition which glosses both markers identically (Wali and Koul 1997), I will gloss the enclitic *-aa* as Q. This is not a

² Except where noted in the text, glosses in this article correspond to those found in the descriptive grammar Wali and Koul 2007 and are as follows: SG – singular; PS – person suffix (=pronominal enclitic); M – masculine; F – feminine; ERG – ergative; DAT – dative; NOM – nominative; PROH – prohibitive; PRF – perfective; AUX – copular auxiliary; FUT – future; INF – infinitive; NEG – negation; Y/N – yes-no force marker; Q – Q-particle.

theoretically neutral choice, but reflects the analysis that I will pursue here, as will become clear below. Although most of the world's languages employ polar question markers (Ultan 1978, Dryer 2004, Bruening 1997), languages featuring two question markers in polar interrogatives are relatively rare (Dryer 2013).

The investigation of polar questions in Kashmiri in this article has three primary goals. First, polar questions in Kashmiri prove to be a useful diagnostic for locating elements in the left periphery, and this article explores their word order in both matrix and embedded contexts. Indeed, it has been claimed by Wali and Koul (1997) that embedded alternative polar questions are one of the few non-verb-second environments in the language. Verb-final domains in Kashmiri have proven vital in revealing underlying word-order patterns (Bhatt 1999; Munshi and Bhatt 2010). A purported verb-final domain that appears to have gone unanalyzed to this point is the only one also compatible with polar interrogative morphology: alternative questions.

Interestingly, a careful comparison of Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri alternative questions reveals that these environments do indeed have the syntax of a verb-second clause in Kashmiri, but that this is obscured by unusual discourse-motivated displacement. I argue here that the richness of the left periphery made plain in polar questions in general supports the syntax for Kashmiri developed in Manetta 2011.

The second goal of this article is to make a contribution to the wider investigation into the typology of question markers. Specifically, what is the relation between overt polar question morphology and the mechanisms of matrix and embedded question interpretation and question scoping? While some languages such as Kashmiri feature overt markers in polar questions, other languages such as English lack question markers, and instead rely on special syntax and/or intonation to signal a polar question. In line with the established approach to all question types in which the question interpretation arises from question feature or morpheme 'Q' (e.g., Katz & Postal 1964; Cheng 1991; Chomsky 1995), many have proposed that in polar questions an operator *whether/Q* is present in the CP domain which signals interpretation as a polar or alternative question (Larson 1985; Schwarz 1999; Han and Romero 2004; Beck and Kim 2006; Den Dikken 2006). This operator may either be overtly realized as a Q particle or have no corresponding morphological spellout.

Proposals differ as to whether the *whether/Q* operator undergoes movement. For alternative questions containing disjunction, they

also disagree concerning the size of the constituent being disjoined. We will investigate these differences further in section 3.2 below, when we turn to alternative questions in Kashmiri. Nevertheless, in a language with two overt question markers in polar questions, located in different positions (clause-initially and as a verbal enclitic) the first point of analytic concern is whether one of the two question markers corresponds to the operator Q, or indeed whether that function might be distributed across multiple morphological exponents. Here I will argue for an approach to the clausal architecture of Kashmiri in which *k'aa* is understood as a marker of clausal interrogative force, while *-aa* is understood the Q-particle (in part following Bhatt and Dayal 2014), and will discuss how Kashmiri might then fit into a wider understanding of polar question markers crosslinguistically.

A third goal of this article is to investigate the link between the syntax of the imperative and the syntax of the polar interrogative. Kashmiri features a unique construction in which a polar question can be negated using a morphologically and syntactically distinct imperative negative particle (the prohibitive, glossed PROH), as in (3). The force of this negated polar imperative is of a polite command (Jaya Chowdhury, p.c.), as I have tried to suggest with the English translation:

- (3) **kyaa** tsI m-aa gatsha-kh pagaah garI
 Y/N 2SG PROH-Q go-2SGPS tomorrow home
 ‘Won’t you go home tomorrow?’

Alongside the interrogative, researchers have proposed that the syntax of imperatives is also mediated by a syntactic operator (e.g., Han 1999)—one with overt morphological reflex in a language like Kashmiri. Indeed, some accounts of Kashmiri have proposed a dedicated phrase within an expanded CP, MoodP, which can host mood-marking morphology in its head (Bhatt and Yoon 2002; Munshi and Bhatt 2010). Data such as the negated polar imperative in (3) show that these approaches cannot adequately account for the interaction between the negated imperative (or prohibitive) and the polar question markers. We will instead propose here that the prohibitive features and the Q features must arise in the C head, and these morphemes must combine prior to the head movement that results in verb-second word order.

Overall this article develops a holistic picture of left peripheral word orders in Kashmiri. I argue here that the richness of the left periphery made plain in polar and alternative questions supports a symmetric approach to Kashmiri V2 in which the second-position verb is always found in the C head and this head may have multiple specifiers (as in Manetta 2011), over an asymmetric approach in which the second-position verb may be found in distinct heads in the expanded CP domain depending on the clause type (as in Munshi and Bhatt 2010). Further, I assert here that Kashmiri is less of an exception than it might at first appear to be in the way in which its grammar constitutes and marks interrogatives. This result becomes especially useful when considered alongside the broader crosslinguistic typology of the mechanisms languages use to establish interrogative scope.

2 Kashmiri word order

Kashmiri is unusual among Indic languages in exhibiting the verb-second (V2) property, more familiar from Germanic. To the left of the verb, a number of constituent types may be found at the clause edge. The finite verb appears as the second constituent of a finite declarative clause. Any of the arguments (or other constituents) may appear first. Example (4a) exhibits the unmarked order, and (4b-e) are also grammatical (all from Wali and Koul, 1997: 89).

- (4) a. aslam-an dits mohn-as kitaab ra:m-ini khətrI raath
 aslam-ERG gave Mohan-DAT book Ram-DAT for yesterday
- b. mohn-as dits aslam-an kitaab ram-ini khətrI raath
 Mohan-DAT gave Aslam-ERG book Ram-DAT for yesterday
- c. kitaab dits aslam-an mohn-as ram-ini khətrI raath
 book gave Aslam-ERG Mohan-DAT Ram-DAT for yesterday
- d. ra:m-ini khətrI dits aslam-an mohn-as kitaab raath
 Ram-DAT for gave Aslam-ERG Mohan-DAT book yesterday
- e. raath dits aslam-an mohn-as kitaab ra:m-ini khətrI
 yesterday gave Aslam-ERG Mohan-DAT book Ram-DAT for
 ‘Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday.’

Sentential negation follows the second position verb, attaching as an enclitic.

- (5) raath khy-av-na larRk-av batI
 yesterday eat-PRF-NEG boy-PL food
 ‘The boys did not eat the food yesterday’. (Bhatt 1999)

In a sentence with a tensed auxiliary, it is the auxiliary that occupies second position (and serves as the host for negation), while the unmarked verb typically remains clause-final. Alongside the limited clause types that require verb-final word order, discussed in greater detail below, this fact is frequently taken as evidence that the verb is underlyingly in final position (Bhatt 1999).

- (6) a. laRk chu dohay skuul gatsh-aan
 boy AUX daily school GO-PART
 ‘The boy goes to school every day.’ (Bhatt 1999)
- b. *laRk dohay skuul gatsh-aan chu

Non-subject pre-verbal constituents in (4b-e) are generally interpreted as focused. In constituent questions, the focused interrogative phrase must appear immediately before the verb, as in (7). Other positions for the interrogative constituent are strongly dispreferred.

- (7) a. kəm həv šiilas nəv kitaab raath
 who.ERG show-PRF Sheila new book yesterday
 ‘Who showed a new book to Sheila yesterday?’
 (Wali and Koul: 12)
- b. kəmis chi vaariyaah pəəsI?
 who.DAT has lot money
 ‘Who has a lot of money?’ (Wali and Koul: 14)

An additional pre-wh constituent in (8) may occur just when the wh-word is present, and it is interpreted as a Topic (Bhatt 1999).

- (8) a. raj-an kəmis həv nəv kitaab?
 Raj-ERG whom show-PRF new book
 ‘As for Raj, to whom did he show his new book?’
 (Wali and Koul: 12)

b. mohnan k'aa kor panIni gaRI
 Mohan what do his-at house

'As for Mohan, what did he do at his house?'

(Wali and Koul: 12)

It is ungrammatical to have more than one topic (as in (9a)), to have the *wh*-phrase precede the topic (9b), or to have a topic precede a non-interrogative focus (9c) (judgments all Jaya Chodhury, p.c.).

(9) a. *raj-an nəv kitaab kəmis həv

Raj-ERG new book whom show-PRF

Intended: 'As for Raj, as for the new book, to whom did he show it?'

b. *kəm' tsI chu-y baasaan ki mohn-as dits kitaab
 who you aux think that Mohan-DAT give.PRF book

Intended: 'As for you, who do you think Mohan gave the book to?'

c. *gari bI goos vakht-as peth
 home I went time-DAT on

Intended: 'As for home, I went there on time.'

Subordinate clauses are identical to matrix clauses in their word order (they are uniformly verb-second), except that they are optionally preceded by the particle *ki* 'that'. This particle is not counted in determining verb-second position.

(10) miraayi cha pat-aa **ki kəmis dits mohn-an kitaab.**

Mira AUX know-PRF.M that who.DAT give.PRF Mohan-ERG book

'Mira knew who Mohan gave a book to.'

(Wali 2002)

(11) miraayi cha pat-aa **ki mohn-an kəmis dits kitaab.**

Mira AUX know-PRF.M that Mohan-ERG who.DAT give.PRF book.

'Mira knew who Mohan gave a book to.'

With this essential background in mind, we can now turn to polar questions.

3 The structure of polar questions in Kashmiri

3.1 Polar questions

As was mentioned in the introduction, neutral polar questions in Kashmiri optionally feature two question markers: the standalone clause-initial *k'aa* and the obligatory verbal enclitic *-aa*, which follows primary agreement with the nominative/absolutive and secondary person clitics on the inflected verb.³

- (12) (k'aa) tsI gatsh-kh-aa pagaah garI
 Y/N you go-2SGPS-Q tomorrow home
 'Will you go home tomorrow?'

- (13) (k'aa) mohn-an əəs-aa buləv-mIts miiraa
 Y/N mohan-ERG be-Q invite-PRF Mira
 'Did Mohan invite Mira?'

The preferred position for *k'aa* is sentence-initial, though other preverbal positions are marginally acceptable. Post-verbal positions are unacceptable.

- (14) a. ?? tsI k'aa gatsh-kh-aa pagah garI
 you Y/N go-2SGPS-Q tomorrow home
 'Will you go home tomorrow?'
- b. *tsI gatsh-kh-aa k'aa pagah garI

In negated polar questions, the Q morpheme *-aa* attaches to sentential negation, which itself attaches to the second-position verb following all inflectional morphemes (as in (5) above). Once the question marker is attached, NEG+Q is typically represented as a separate orthographic word, though it is indeed part of the complex inflected verb.

³ Interestingly, there seems to be some difference of opinion concerning the obligatory nature of the verbal enclitic *-aa*. Wali and Koul (2007:5) suggest that this marker may be omitted and rising intonation can still signal a neutral yes/no question. On the other hand, my Kashmiri-speaking consultants are adamant that the *-aa* must be present and reject any attempt to form a neutral yes/no question without it. I do not know what might condition this difference (or indeed whether it could be dialectal), but for the purposes of this chapter, I will be describing their variety of Kashmiri, which requires the presence of *-aa*.

(15) tsI gatsh-kh nI pagaah garI
 you go-2SGPS NEG tomorrow home
 ‘You will not go home tomorrow.’

(16) (k’aa) tsI gatsh-kh n-aa pagaah garI
 Y/N you go-2SGPS NEG-Q tomorrow home
 ‘Will you not go home tomorrow?’ (Wali and Koul: 6)

In embedded contexts, rogative predicates allow for embedded polar questions (for Hindi-Urdu, see Bhatt and Dayal 2014). Once again both the Y/N and Q markers can appear. The Y/N particle *k’aa*, when present, must follow the embedding particle *ki*.

(17) toh’ chiv prItsh-aan (*k’aa) ki (k’aa) me pər-aa kitaab?
 You AUX ask-PART Y/N that Y/N 1SG.ERG read-Q book
 ‘You are asking if I read a book.’

In what follows, we will approach the basic syntax of polar questions through the unusual word order found in a particular sub-type of alternative question.

3.2 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are those questions presenting a set of alternatives separated by disjunction. The most cooperative answer to an alternative question is simply one of the alternatives. Consider the English exchange in (18).

(18) Speaker A: Did Ana climb Diamond Head or Koko Head?
 Speaker B: Koko Head.

Notice that in English the string in the alternative question in (18A) can also be interpreted as a polar question that does not ask the addressee to choose one of the two alternatives, but instead asks whether the proposition $p = \text{“Ana climbed Diamond Head or Koko Head”}$ is true or false. In this case Speaker B could answer “yes” if Ana climbed either crater, and “no” if she did not climb either one.

Alternative questions in Kashmiri, like polar questions, also feature the polar interrogative marker *-aa* cliticized to the second-position verb, as in a canonical polar question. As is commonly found in

Indic, there are several disjunctions in the language. Matrix alternative questions are formed when the disjunction *kinI* ‘or’ separates constituents of any type or size:

- (19) a. *kyaa Seliim cey-aa coffee kinI caay?*
 Y/N Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or tea
 ‘Will Selim drink coffee or tea?’
- b. *gur ch-aa teez pakaan kinI vaarl vaarl*
 horse AUX-Q fast walk-PRP or slowly
 ‘Does the horse walk fast or slowly?’
 (Wali and Koul 1997: 110)

The disjunction *yaa* ‘or’ is typically used for ‘either...or’ structures, as in (20).

- (20) *yaa peyi az ruud yaa peyi az shin*
 either fall.FUT today rain or fall.FUT today snow
 ‘Either it will rain or it will snow today.’

Interestingly, *yaa* can also be used as the disjunction in embedded alternative questions that do not take matrix scope. These are questions that would be introduced with *whether/if* in English. In embedded alternative questions with *yaa*, the verb can appear adjacent to the disjunction, in a position that at first glance appears to be clause-final (the claim by Wali and Koul that this verb is indeed in final position will be contested in what follows). Compare (21) and (22).

- (21) *me chu nI pataa [ki səliim cey-aa coffee yaa caay] v2*
 1SG AUX NEG know that Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or tea
- (22) *me chu nI pataa [ki səliim coffee cey-aa yaa caay] YAA-ADJACENT*
 1SG AUX NEG know that Selim coffee drink.FUT-Q or tea
 ‘I don’t know whether Selim will drink coffee or tea’.

Of this second construction, Wali and Koul write: “It should be noted here that in this construction the subordinate verb may be optionally placed at the end of its clause ... [T]his behavior of the verb contrasts with the one in the regular finite subordinate clause...” (Wali and Koul 1997:9). This certainly seems to be the case, as two

non-interrogative DPs precede the verb in (22). As (23) shows, this is generally not an accepted configuration.

- (23) *raj-an nəv kitaab kəmis həv
 Raj-ERG new book whom show-PRF
 ‘Who did Raj show his new book to?’

Otherwise, Kashmiri only exhibits verb-final word order in non-tensed clauses (as in (24)), as well as in isolated tensed domains such as relative and adverbial clauses (Wali and Koul 1997; Munshi and Bhatt 2010). For instance, in the correlative construction in (25), the verb *dits* ‘give’ clearly occupies the clause-final position.

- (24) Miiraayi gəyI məshIth [raaj-as kitaab raath **din’**]
 Mira-DAT AUX forgot Raj-DAT book yesterday give.INF
 ‘Mira forgot to give the book to Raj yesterday.’
 (Wali and Koul 2007: 15)

- (25) [yosI kitaab samiir-an raaj-as **dits**] [so kitaab.....]
 which book Samir-ERG Raj-DAT give.PST.FSG that book....
 ‘The book that Samir gave to Raj, that book...’
 (Munshi and Bhatt 2010: 214)

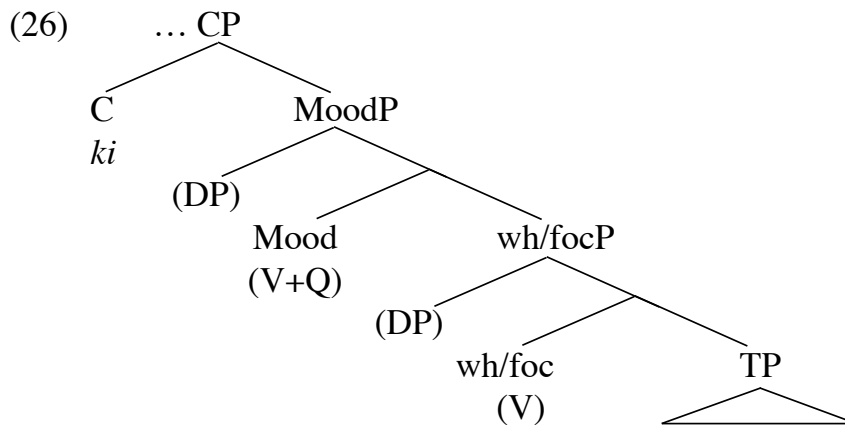
Verb-final domains have played a vital role in elucidating the underlying word-order patterns in the language. If embedded alternative questions indeed represent a heretofore overlooked verb-final environment, it would be important to probe what they share with other tensed verb-final contexts.

There is also something of an analytical challenge here. Leading accounts of Kashmiri clause structure to date (Bhatt 1999; Munshi and Bhatt 2010; Manetta 2011) have considered the Q-marker *-aa* to be generated relatively high in the clause structure, within the left peripheral expanded-CP domain, as we will see below in section 3.3. If this is so, then how would the allegedly clause-final verb in (22) become cliticized with the Q-marker *-aa*? Short of an elaborate proposal for affix-lowering across the entire clause, this data point seems to be a problem for current approaches. Thus, proposing a basic clausal architecture for Kashmir non-wh-questions generally depends on a clear understanding of this marginal, embedded alternative question. A comparison with alternative question structures

in Hindi-Urdu has the potential to shed light on this puzzle, and it is to this comparison that we will turn in 3.4 below.

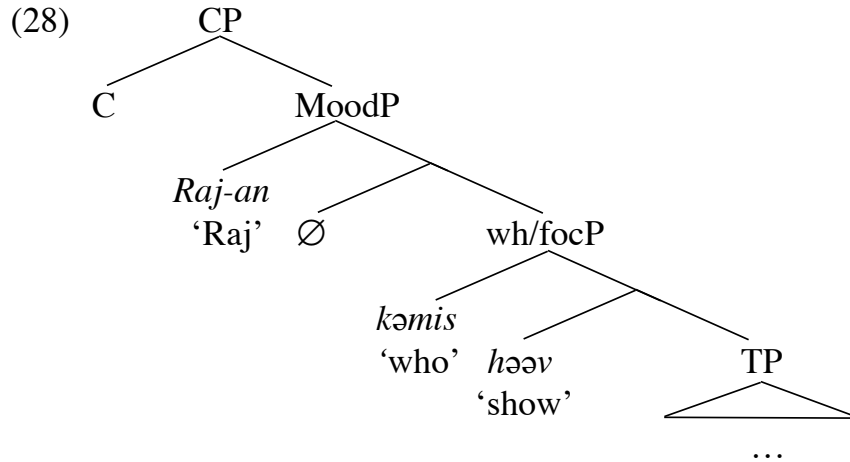
3.3 Approaches to Kashmiri phrase structure

Any approach to the left periphery of the Kashmiri clause must account for at least the following: the second position of the verb, the position of the clause-initial constituent, the position of the pre-verbal wh-phrase, the particle that precedes embedded clauses *ki*, the position of sentential negation, and the heads in which the two question markers are generated (*k'aa* and *-aa*). Several accounts developed over the past decades in Bhatt and Moon (1992), Bhatt (1999), and Munshi and Bhatt (2010) feature an expanded-CP which includes a MoodP, whose head hosts dependent mood morphology and a wh/focP which hosts focus-XPs and wh-XPs in its specifier. The basic backbone of the structure is schematized in (26).



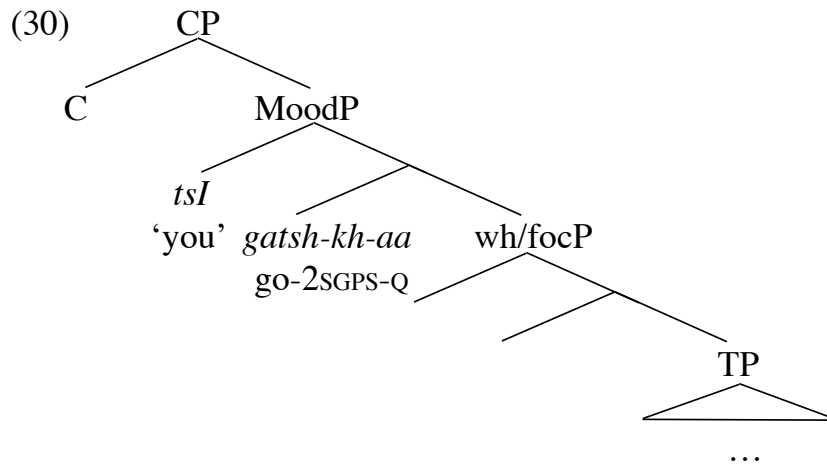
In the most recent version of this account found in Munshi and Bhatt (2010), second-position verbs do not have a fixed position in the syntactic structure. Instead, they can be found in one of two left-peripheral heads depending on the sentence type. In a wh-question, in which two DP constituents may precede the verb as in (27), the second-position verb would appear in the wh/foc head, the wh-phrase in Spec, wh/focP, and the topic DP in the specifier of MoodP (the Mood head would be obligatorily empty in this scenario).

- (27) raj-an kəmis həv nəv kitaab?
 Raj-ERG whom show-PRF new book
 ‘As for Raj, to whom did he show his new book?’
 (Wali and Koul: 12)



In a polar question such as (29), the verb would move all the way to the Mood head, where it would be cliticized with the Q-marker *-aa*. The preverbal DP would appear in Spec, MoodP.

- (29) *tsI gatsh-kh-aa pagaah garI*
 you go-2SGPS-Q tomorrow home
 ‘Will you go home tomorrow?’

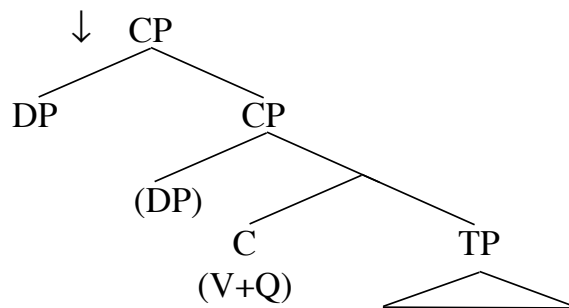


I will call this approach to Kashmiri left-peripheral structure “asymmetric” in reference to the asymmetric approaches to verb-second in Germanic languages (Travis 1984; Zwart 1993). Although the heads in question are different from those in the accounts cited above (and are both decidedly in the CP domain and outside the TP), in the MoodP approach to Kashmiri, the second-position verb is not found in a uniform head in every clause.

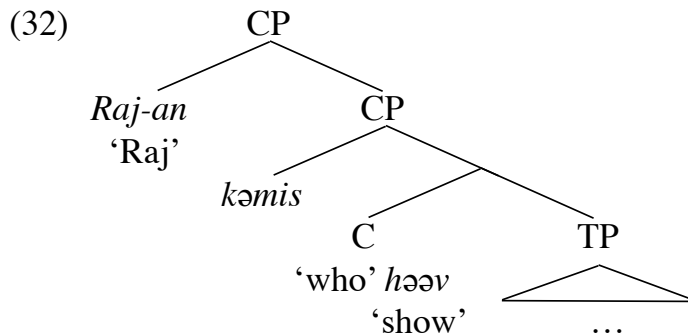
Under this account, in an embedded clause the embedding particle *ki* appears in the C head (there is no Spec, CP), and it is unclear where the Y/N-marker *k'aa* might fit (though possibly in an additional projection intervening between the C head and MoodP, since in embedded clauses *k'aa* must follow *ki*). We will return to this concern below.

An alternative view of the Kashmiri left periphery is presented in Manetta 2011. In this view, schematized in (31) below, the second position verb always undergoes movement to the head C, irrespective of the nature of the clause itself. We will call this the “symmetric” approach to the clause structure in what follows.

(31) ... *ki*

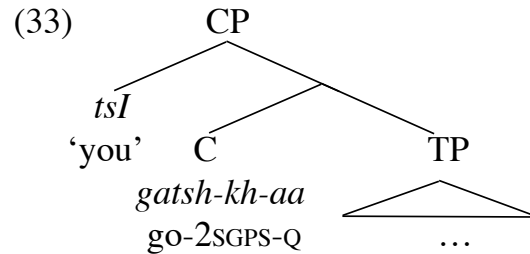


In the approach in (32), CP can feature multiple specifiers in wh-questions in which two constituents appear before the verb.⁴



⁴ The account in Manetta (2011) argues for multiple specifiers on empirical grounds. Independent of topic+wh word order, Kashmiri is a multiple wh-fronting language, in which all wh-phrases in a multiple wh-interrogative may appear in the preverbal position (literally throwing the verb into the *n*th position behind *n-1* wh-phrases). These fronted wh-phrases exhibit specific ordering restrictions and in other ways pattern like what Rudin 1998 terms “multiply-filled specifier languages” like Bulgarian, prompting an analysis in which CP may host multiple specifiers (as in Koizumi 1994; Rudin 1988; Bošković 2002; Stepanović 2003 *inter alia*). Please see Manetta 2015 for further detailed argumentation.

The Q-marker *-aa* is hosted in the C head in polar questions as in (33). It is thus cliticized to the second-position verb once the verb undergoes head movement to C.



In embedded clauses, the subordinating particle *ki* is inserted post-syntactically as a marker of the left CP-edge, as in Manetta (2006, 2011) and Bhatt and Dayal (2014). To this point, this analysis has no clear position for the Y/N-marker *k'aa* either, but it would need to dominate the CP projection.

It is important to note that these two approaches are not merely notational variants. They make several distinct predictions about Kashmiri word order. First, the asymmetric approach suggests that there will never be a clause in which the inflected verb is suffixed with a mood marker that has two pre-verbal DP-constituents. The symmetric approach, on the other hand, would permit this configuration. Second, the asymmetric approach rules out verbs suffixed with mood morphology in *wh*-questions. This is because the verb would need to move into the mood head to combine with mood-marking morphology, but would then precede *wh*-material, which is fronted to the lower Spec, *wh*/focP. The symmetric account does not rule out such a structure. These predictions will be tested in what follows. Crucially for our purposes at this point, neither approach would permit a final position verb to be inflected and to combine with the Q morpheme under the assumed head-movement combinatory mechanisms, so (22) above remains mysterious under the verb-final analysis.

3.4 Comparison with alternative questions in Hindi-Urdu

In exploring clues to the puzzles presented by polar and alternative question word order in Kashmiri, Hindi-Urdu becomes a useful point of comparison. Han and Romero (2004) make the important observation that in Hindi-Urdu, which has unmarked verb-final order, alternative question readings for questions containing disjunction

are only available when the verb appears adjacent to the disjunction *yaa*, as in (34).

- (34) *kyaa* Chandra-ne coffee **p-ii** yaa chai HINDI-URDU
 Q Chandra-ERG coffee drink-PRF or tea
 ‘Which of these two things did Chandra drink: coffee or tea?’

If the disjunction appears in between the two alternatives (in this case *coffee* and *chai* ‘tea’) then only the polar reading is available.

- (35) *kyaa* Chandra-ne coffee yaa chai **p-ii?** HINDI-URDU
 Q Chandra-ERG coffee or tea drink-PRF
 ‘Is it the case that Chandra drank coffee or tea?’⁵

We cannot compare the word order variation in Hindi-Urdu to the equivalent Kashmiri sentence, because in matrix alternative questions in Kashmiri the position of the verb is fixed (second position). For this string, both the alternative and the polar reading are available.

- (36) *kyaa* Seliim cey-aa coffee kinI caay? KASHMIRI
 Y/N Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or tea
 ‘Will Selim drink coffee or tea?’
 (polar and alternative readings available)

The same holds true for the readings available for both embedded alternative question word orders. The alternative question reading is available for either configuration: the one in which the verb is in second position and the one in which the verb is adjacent to the disjunction.

- (37) verb second
 Me chu nI pataa [ki səliim **cey-aa** coffee yaa caay]KASHMIRI
 1SG AUX NEG know that Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or tea
 ‘I don’t know whether Selim will drink coffee or tea’.
 (= polar or alternative reading)

⁵ I will gloss over what appears to be some complexity about the availability of an alternative question reading here with strong multiple focus intonation and obligatory *kyaa*, likely derived via a right node raising structure. The observation stands that given unmarked intonation, the yes/no reading is the most natural.

(38) *yaa*-adjacent

Me chu nI pataa [ki səliim coffee **cey-aa** yaa caay] KASHMIRI
 1SG AUX NEG know that Selim coffee drink.FUT-Q or tea
 ‘I don’t know whether Selim will drink coffee or tea’.
 (= polar or alternative reading)

Three (linked) questions arise at this point concerning (34)-(38):

- (a) Why do both word orders in Kashmiri permit both readings, whereas in Hindi-Urdu the alternative question reading is not available in the case in which the verb is not adjacent to the disjunction *yaa*?
- (b) Is the embedded alternative question indeed a verb final environment in Kashmiri? If so, how is it related to other finite verb final environments (e.g., relative clauses)?
- (c) Where is the Y/N-marker *-aa* base-generated in Kashmiri and how does it come to be cliticized to the verb in each configuration?

Let us begin with a previous account of the facts in Hindi-Urdu. Han and Romero (2004) propose an account of alternative questions crosslinguistically which relies on both null operator movement (following Larson 1985) and the form of ellipsis known as gapping (following Schwarz 1999). They propose that alternative question readings only arise when the disjunction connects clausal (IP/VP-sized) constituents. A null *whether/Q* operator that is base generated at the edge of the disjunction of clauses moves to Spec, CP to mark the scope of the disjunction.⁶

Recall that Hindi-Urdu is verb-final. In (39) below is a schematization of their approach to the question string in which the verb is adjacent to the disjunct, and intervenes between *coffee* and *chai* ‘tea’. Han and Romero’s analysis claims that gapping in the second disjointed clause, in which both the subject and finite verb are elided, leaves behind just a focal remnant, *chai* ‘tea’.

⁶ Larson (1995) presents evidence for the movement of the null operator that indicates that alternative questions cannot be embedded inside of an island. The alternative reading is unavailable for (i).

(i) Do you believe the claim that Ana resigned or retired?

- (39) kyaa [NullOP_i [*t_i*[Chandra-ne coffee p-ii]
 Q Chandra-ERG coffee drink-PRF
 yaa [~~Chandra-ne~~ chai p-ii]]]
 or Chandra-ERG tea drink-PRF
 ‘Which of these two things did Chandra drink: coffee or tea?’

Thus in Han and Romero’s account, (39) represents a context in which two propositions are disjoined. The alternative question reading is then available, as the addressee is being asked to choose from among these two alternatives {Chandra drank coffee, Chandra drank tea}.

This contrasts with the structure Han and Romero propose for (40) in which the disjunction *yaa* appears between the two DPs (and is not adjacent to the verb). In this case, they claim, two DPs are disjoined. No gapping occurs. This syntax results in only the polar question reading; the addressee is being asked whether the proposition *p*= “Chandra drank coffee or tea” is true. The alternative question reading is unavailable in (40).

- (40) kyaa Chandra-ne [[coffee] yaa [chai]] **p-ii?**
 Q Chandra-ERG coffee or tea drink-PRF
 ‘Is it the case that Chandra drank coffee or tea?’

In sum, the polar question (without an alternative reading) arises when only DPs are disjoined, while the alternative question reading becomes available when IP/VP-sized constituents are disjoined and the word order is created via gapping (and a null operator signals question scope).

Let us next try to apply this basic approach to the syntax of alternative questions in Kashmiri. In the case of the surface string in which the verb appears in second position, whether in a matrix or embedded alternative question, the disjunction appears between the two DPs. For this string, two underlying structures seem to be available, as in the (a) and (b) examples below. In (41a) and (42a) the underlying structure features disjoined DPs, while in (41b) and (42b) we see disjoined verb-second clauses followed by gapping. Han and Romero’s approach would then correctly predict that in addition to the polar question reading, the alternative question reading should be available.

- (41) a. kyaa Seliim cey-aa [[coffee] kinI [caay]]? KASHMIRI
 Y/N Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or tea
- b. kyaa [Seliim cey-aa coffee] kinI [seliim cey-aa caay]]? KASHMIRI
 Y/N Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or Selim drink-Q tea
 ‘Will Selim drink coffee or tea?’ (both alternative and polar reading)
- (42) a. Me chu nI pataa [ki səliim cey-aa [[coffee] yaa [caay]]
 1SG AUX NEG know that Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or tea
- b. Me chu nI pataa [ki [səliim cey-aa coffee] yaa [seliim cey-aa caay]]
 1SG AUX NEG know that Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or Selim drink.FUT-Q tea
 ‘I don’t know whether Selim drank coffee or tea’
 (both alternative and polar reading)

Note in (41)-(42) that I have not yet added the position of the alternative question scoping operator that is null in Hindi-Urdu. This is because we may well find that this operator has a morphological spellout in Kashmiri. I briefly postpone this discussion until section 4.4 below, while we examine how the word orders themselves are generated. So far, Han and Romero’s account provides us with a neat explanation as to why this Kashmiri word order, in which the disjunction intervenes between DPs, permits both readings, in contrast to Hindi-Urdu in which only the polar reading is available. Because Kashmiri is verb second, the apparent disjointed DP word order is consistent with an underlying alternative question TP/VP-sized disjunction as well.

On the other hand, in the case of the Kashmiri embedded alternative question string in which the verb appears to be clause-final, and adjacent to the disjunct, the solution is not so clear. Recall that this was the mysterious string that Wali and Koul had suggested was a verb-final domain. The clausal conjunction approach followed by gapping would only be viable if we assume the first clause (and perhaps both clauses) to be truly verb-final, as schematized in (43).

- (43) Me chu nI pataa [ki [səliim coffee cey-aa]
 1SG AUX NEG know that Selim coffee drink.FUT-Q
 yaa [seliim caay cey-aa]]
 or Selim tea drink.FUT-Q
 ‘I don’t know which of these Selim drank: coffee or tea.’

It is unclear why the clauses in (43) should be verb final, as no particular feature of the environment seems to condition this status. Recall that embedded finite clauses are obligatorily verb-second, as in (44). Polar questions and matrix alternative questions are also verb-second, in (45)-(46).

(44) *miraayi cha pat-aa ki raj-an dits mohn-an kitaab.*
 Mira AUX know-PRF.M that Raj-ERG give.PRF Mohan-ERG book
 ‘Mira knew who Mohan gave a book to.’

(45) *k’aa tsI gatsh-kh-aa pagaah garI*
 Y/N you go-2SGPS-Q tomorrow home
 ‘Will you go home tomorrow?’

(46) *kyaa Seliim cey-aa coffee kinI caay?*
 Y/N Selim drink.FUT-Q coffee or tea
 ‘Will Selim drink coffee or tea?’

Finally, in a strange twist, the second of two finite clauses disjoined with *yaa* is preferentially a verb-first environment, as in (47) below (Wali and Koul 1997:106-107). Of course, this doesn’t bear precisely on the question at hand, since it is the word order of the first clause adjacent to the disjunction that is at issue above. The first clause in (47) is of course obligatorily verb-second.

(47) [*MohnI pari kitaab*] *yaa [lehki shiilI cith’.]*
 Mohan read.FUT book or write.FUT Sheila letter
 ‘Mohan will read a book or Sheila will write a letter.’
 (Wali and Koul:107)

It seems that the puzzle surrounding verb-final word order in polar alternative questions has deepened further, and has two key components. First, both leading accounts of Kashmiri word order generate the dependent Q-marker— *-aa* in a head in the left periphery—the position targeted by second-position verb movement. It is unclear how *-aa* could then become cliticized to a clause-final verb. Second, if Han and Romero’s account of Hindi-Urdu can indeed be extended to Kashmiri, then the underlying structure of alternative questions featuring two disjoined clauses would require those clauses to be verb-final. However, there doesn’t seem to be a clear factor

in the environment of these finite clauses that would condition non-canonical word order. Given these challenges, we are led to explore an alternative possibility: perhaps these alternative polar question clauses are not verb-final after all.

3.5 Verb final or a full left periphery?

There is some evidence that embedded alternative polar questions are indeed not verb-final contexts. Recall that in a typical Kashmiri clause it is the tensed, inflected verb that occupies second position. When an auxiliary verb is present, the tensed auxiliary is found in second position, while the main verb is typically clause final.

- (48) laRk chu dohay skuul gatsh-aan
 boy AUX daily school GO-PRF
 ‘The boy goes to school every day.’ (Bhatt 1999)

When we compare true verb-final domains that contain auxiliary verbs, such as relative clauses, we find that they behave quite differently from embedded alternative questions with auxiliary verbs. In the relative clause in (49), the tensed, inflected auxiliary verb occurs clause-finally, following the participial form of the main verb.

- (49) [yeli(-yeli) raaja dili **gatshaan chu**]...
 when(-when) Raja Delhi go.IMPFV AUX.MSG.
 ‘Whenever Raja goes to Delhi...’

By contrast, in the embedded alternative polar questions, the auxiliary verb naturally falls after the two DP constituents (50a), preceding the participial form of the main verb. Importantly, it cannot follow the participial main verb, as in (50b), nor can the verbal complex be truly clause final if disjoined DPs precede it as in (50c).

- (50) a. Me chu nI pataa [[ki raja
 1SG AUX NEG know that Raj
 Srinagar **chaa gatshaan**] yaa [Dili]
 Srinagar AUX go.IMPFV or Delhi
 ‘I don’t know whether Raj goes to Srinagar or Delhi.’

- b.*MechunI pataa[[ki raja Srinagar**gatshaan chaa**] yaa[Dili]]
 c.*Me chu nI pataa [ki raja Srinagar yaa Dili **gatshaan chaa/cha**
gatshaan]

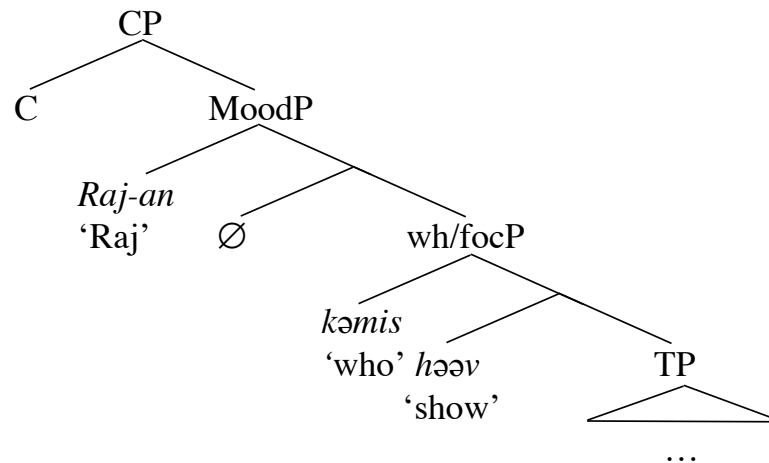
So if (50a) is not indeed verb final, how is it derived and why does an environment arise in which the verb is in third position, following two DPs?

Other verb-third contexts in Kashmiri include wh-questions, which have the unmarked word order topic-whDP-V.

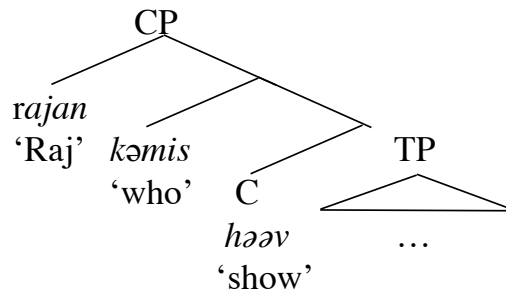
- (51) Raj-an kəm-is **həə-v** nəv kitaab?
 Raj-ERG who.DAT show.PST-FSG new book
 ‘To whom did Raj show his new book?’ (Wali and Koul: 12)

In the two leading accounts of the Kashmiri left periphery, the wh-question in (51) has the structures in (52) and (53).

- (52) asymmetric structure



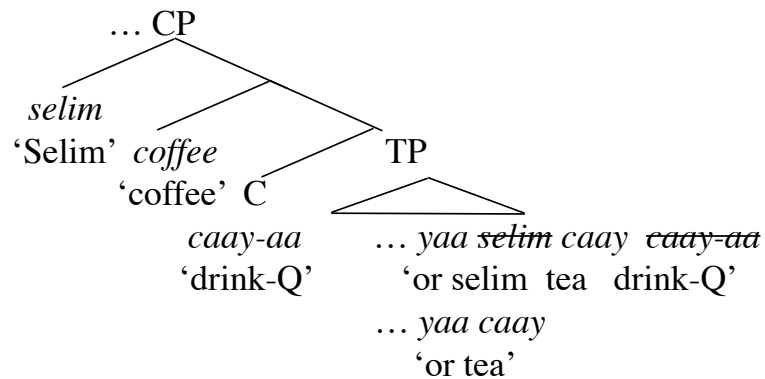
- (53) symmetric structure



In order to extend this approach to the verb-third structure in alternative questions, we would need to determine where the second pre-verbal DP would appear. In the asymmetric approach to the Kashmiri left periphery, the Q-marker is generated in the Mood head. For a verb to be cliticized with Q, it must move into Mood⁰. However, the Mood head may only have a single specifier, and in this account CP has no specifiers. There is therefore only enough space for a single DP constituent to precede a verb in any non-wh context. It seems that without significant modification, this structure cannot accommodate the verb-third order in (50a) above.

Alternatively, in the approach to the left periphery in which the second position verb is found in C, there may be multiple specifiers of CP. The Q-marker *-aa* is generated in C, and so a verb cliticized with Q has moved to C. We would then assume that in the alternative polar question in (54) the immediately preverbal DP moves to the inner Spec, CP to be associated with focus. Note that this displacement would create the correct surface word order string irrespective of whether the underlying structure is a disjunction of clauses or of DPs.

(54)



The evidence from polar alternative questions favors the symmetric approach to verb-second and the syntactic representation of the left periphery of the Kashmiri clause featuring multiple specifiers.⁷ This provides us with an explanation for the appearance of verb-finality

⁷ As it turns out, this is not a verb-final environment, but we might ask then why is it a verb-third environment? The other verb-third environment (with natural intonation and without a marked pause between preverbal constituents—see Bhatt 1999) is a wh-question, in which one DP constituent can precede the wh-focus. In the case of this embedded alternative question, strong contrastive focus is placed on the preverbal DP. Since verb-third order is impossible in declarative contexts, we must assume that this possibility is likened to the interrogative (Q) features present

in these questions, which indeed turns out to be illusory. We can now turn to the task of establishing a basic syntax for matrix and embedded non-alternative polar questions, and in particular those that feature both the Q-marker and the Y/N-marker.

4 Q-markers and more questions

Kashmiri has two overt phonological markers of polar questions: the verbal clitic *-aa* and a clause peripheral particle *k'aa* homophonous with the *wh*-word *what*. We have to this point understood the dependent Q-marker *-aa* to be base-generated in the C head and thereby be cliticized to the inflected verb when it moves to C to create verb-second word order. Now we turn to the clause-peripheral Y/N-marker *k'aa* and to the ways in which these question markers interact with sentential and imperative negation.

4.1 The position of *k'aa*

The optional clause-initial Y/N-marker *k'aa* appears in addition to the verbal enclitic Q-marker *-aa*.

- (55) *k'aa tsI gatsh-kh-aa pagaah garI*
 Y/N you go-2SGPS-Q tomorrow home
 'Will you go home tomorrow?'

In addition, when *k'aa* appears in an embedded clause, it must follow the embedding particle *ki*.

- (56) *toh' chiv pritsh-aan ki kyaa me per-aa kitaab.*
 2SG AUX ask-PRT that Q 1SG read-Q book
 'You are asking whether I read the book.'

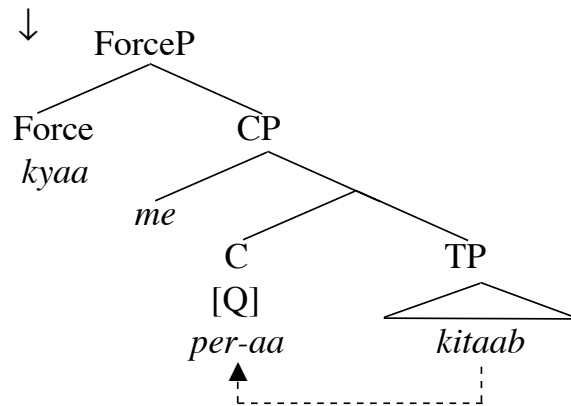
In neither of the syntactic structures proposed above is there a clear place for *k'aa* at the clause periphery. In the asymmetric MoodP approach the Q-marker *-aa* must go in the Mood head in order to be cliticized to the verb, and the subordinator *ki* must go into the C

on C (which permit an additional EPP associated with focus). My informants suggest that this non-interrogative verb third order is dispreferred in matrix clauses. Why this should be is not clear in the present account.

head. There is no intervening head (nor specifier) to accommodate *k'aa*. In the symmetric approach featuring multiple specifiers of CP, the Q-marker *-aa* is in C and the subordinator *ki* is inserted post-syntactically at the left edge of the phase, so there is also no obvious head which could accommodate the Y/N-marker. Either proposal would at this point require modification.

Bhatt and Dayal (2014), in recent work on polar questions in Hindi-Urdu, have proposed that the homophonous Y/N-marker *kyaa* in that language is not an overt realization of the polar operator but instead an optional marker of Force on the clause edge. If this is taken in combination with the assumption in Manetta (2011) (and employed in Bhatt and Dayal 2014) that *ki* is a clause boundary marker, not a complementizer as above, we could assume the following structure for the embedded clause of the Kashmiri sentence in (57):⁸

(57) *ki*



⁸ The analysis of *kyaa* in which it is inserted as a marker of the phase boundary in Manetta 2011 is based on several empirical observations. First, *ki* is optional whenever it precedes a clause following a verb, and prohibited when a clause is preposed (in mirror image to the distribution of English *that*), suggesting it is not selected for by the preceding verb. Second, it may appear irrespective of the force of the subordinate clause (whether declarative or an embedded question). Third, it appears clause-initially in an otherwise head-final language, and finally, it appears to have no appreciable semantic content. Though the original approach to *kyaa* in Manetta 2006, 2011 was not couched in terms of PF insertion of dissociated morphology (as in Embick 1997, 1998; McFadden 2004; Embick and Noyer 2007, inter alia) it could very well be recast similarly to the PF-insertion analysis of “prepositions” in otherwise head-final Amharic proposed in Baker and Kramer (2010), as head adjunction to the force projection during post-syntactic morphological processes.

The structure in (58) is consistent with the fact that in Kashmiri *k'aa* cannot appear following the second position verb (Wali and Koul 1997).

- (58) *tsI gatsh-kh-aa k'aa pagaah garI
 you go-2SGPS-Q Y/N tomorrow home
 Intended: 'Will you go home tomorrow?'

At this point we have established a fully functional architecture for the left periphery of the Kashmiri clause that can accommodate the variations on verb-second word order found in *wh*-questions, polar questions, and alternative questions.

4.2 Negated polar questions

Recall that in the case of a negated polar question, *-aa* is cliticized to sentential negation, which itself must strictly follow the second position verb. Kashmiri negation is normally understood to form a single morphological word with the tensed verb (Munshi and Bhatt 2010), and we will assume here that the NEG+Q morpheme *-naa* is also a dependent morpheme cliticized to the tensed verb following all inflection. Note that the *-naa* morpheme cannot be separated from the tensed verb by any intervening material as in (60).

- (59) su pari-**n-aa** kitaab
 he read.FUT.3SG-NEG-Q book
 'Will he not read the book?'
- (60) a. *su pari- kitaab **n-aa**
 he read.FUT.3SG book NEG-Q
- b. *su par-aa kitaab nI
 he read.FUT.3SG-Q book NEG
 'Will he not read the book?'

Munshi and Bhatt (2010) claim that sentential negation in Kashmiri can occur in one of two positions. The high/outer NEG is a feature on a head in the expanded CP domain (*wh/foc*), whereas low/inner negation is found in a right-headed projection below TP. They also suggest that the facts could be explained by a view of negation in

which it is always a feature on a head, such that high/outer negation is on a head in the CP domain and lower/inner negation is on T. Both views are compatible with our account of the structure of polar questions thus far, so I will assume that NEG is either a feature of the C head (high/outer) or a feature of the T head (low/inner) and in both cases becomes cliticized to the second position verb during head movement.

4.3 Negated polar imperatives

Let us now turn to a curious sub-type of polar question that I will call the negated polar imperative.

- (61) **k'aa** tsI m-**aa** gatsha-kh pagaah garI
 Y/N 2SG PROH-Q go-2SGPS tomorrow home
 'Won't you go home tomorrow?'

The sentence in (61) makes use of imperative negation, often called in the descriptive literature the *prohibitive* (and glossed here as PROH), and has the force of a polite command.⁹

Unlike regular sentential negation, which is cliticized to the second-position verb, the prohibitive word *mI* must precede the inflected verb (literally taking the second position itself). Imperative negation and the verb cannot be separated by any intervening material, so although they do not appear to form a single phonological word in the way that the verb and the regular sentential negation enclitic do, they also cannot be ultimately found in separate heads that would permit any intervening constituent.

- (62) *tsI mI kitaab par!
 2NDSG NEG book read.IMP
 'Don't read a book!'

⁹ Research on better-studied languages has investigated the similarities between the imperative and the polar interrogative. For instance, Potsdam (2007) examines inverted imperatives in English as in (ia) and concurs with Beukema and Coopmans (1989) that they have the same syntax as the English polar interrogative in (ib)—that is, the subject remains in Spec, TP while the verb moves into C.

(i) a. Don't you touch that!
 b. Did you touch that?

Indeed, it is the English negated inverted polar question/imperative that provides the best translation for the Kashmiri prohibitive imperative here.

Also, *mI* can be suffixed with the precative mood marker, in addition to the verb, reinforcing the notion that both negation and the verb are found in a head associated with mood-marking morphology.

- (63) a. *kitaab par-tI*
 book read.IMP-PREC
 ‘Please read the book.’
- b. *Cith’ ma-tI leekh-tI*
 Letter NEG-PREC write.IMP-PREC
 ‘Please don’t write a letter.’

It appears that *mI* and the verb must form a complex head of some kind, but the puzzle then remains as follows: why is it that it is imperative negation and not the verb itself that becomes cliticized with the Q-marker *-aa*?

The symmetric account of verb-second that has been advocated, featuring a single C head to which the verb moves, assumes a transparent correspondence between syntactic and morphological structure. We will adopt the standard Minimalist perspective that the complex morphological structure that is the inflected verb is composed via head movement to C. Given this basic architecture, we will assume that imperative negation, captured in a single morpheme expressing the prohibitive *mI*, is base-generated in C. In the previous section it was claimed that the dependent Q-marker morpheme *-aa* (the interrogative mood marker) is also base-generated in the C head. These two morphemes then have the opportunity to combine in the C head before the verb has undergone head movement. Once the verb reaches C it cannot combine with the independent amalgam of PROHIBITIVE+Q, so the two independent phonological words simply share the C head (and thus the second position).

4.4 Two question particles: completing the account

Bhatt and Dayal (2014) claim that for Hindi-Urdu polar *kyaa* is not an overt realization of the polar question operator, but instead an optional marker of interrogative force. In Hindi-Urdu, they maintain, the polar question operator and alternative question operator are null as in (64).

(64) hindi-urdu

POL Q: [CP2 polar-*kyaa* [CP1 Null-Yes/No-Operator [IP]]]
 ALT Q: [CP2 polar *kyaa* [CP1 Null-whether_i [t_i [IP or not]]]]

Extending this line of reasoning to Kashmiri, I claim that the polar and alternative operator is overt, and takes the form of the Q-marker *-aa*. The Y/N-marker *k'aa* is, as in Hindi-Urdu, the optional indicator of polar interrogative force.

We now have the opportunity to return to and complete the account of alternative questions begun above. For both Han and Romero (2004) and Bhatt and Dayal (2014) (following Larson (1985)), the null alternative operator is base-generated at the edge of the disjoined constituent and then moves into the CP domain to mark the scope of the alternative question. In Kashmiri, we can see that *-aa* is the overt realization of both the Q-marker in polar questions and the *whether/Q* operator in alternative questions. Thus, as under the movement/ellipsis account proposed by Han and Romero, the Q-marker *-aa* in Kashmiri alternative questions is base-generated at the edge of the disjoined constituent. It then moves into the C head, into which the second-position verb will also move. The dependent morpheme *-aa* can then be cliticized to this verb.

Examined in a wider comparative context, this approach makes sense. The lexicon and syntax of Kashmiri conspire to require overt phonological realization of operators and dependencies that are not overtly realized in Hindi-Urdu across the board. For instance, in the case of *wh*-dependencies, Kashmiri requires full *wh*-fronting to the left periphery, where as Hindi-Urdu must establish the clausal scope of a *wh*-phrase by some non-overt means (e.g., Mahajan 1990; Dayal 1996; Manetta 2011). Thus Kashmiri requires phonologically overt realization of the point of interpretation of the *wh*-phrase, while Hindi-Urdu does not.

YES/NO-QUESTIONS

(65) **k'aa** me per-**aa** kitaab.
 Y/N 1SG read-Q book
 'Did I read the book?'

KASHMIRI

- (66) **kyaa** anu-ne uma-ko kitaab dii HINDI-URDU
 Y/N Anu-ERG Uma-ACC book give.PFV.F
 ‘Did Anu give a/the book to Uma?’

WH-QUESTIONS

- (67) Raj-an **kəm-is** həə-v nəv kitaab? KASHMIRI
 Raj-ERG who-DAT show.PST-FSG new book
 ‘To whom did Raj show his new book?’ (Wali and Koul: 12)
- (68) Vo aap-ko hamesha **kyaa** pil-aa-ta hai? HINDI-URDU
 3SG 2PL-ACC always what drink-CAUSE-PRF.M AUX
 ‘What does he always have you drink?’ (Schmidt 1999)

Cheng’s (1991) Clausal Typing Hypothesis famously suggests that languages with overt polar question particles should not also be languages that exhibit overt wh-fronting. Bruening (2007), among others, has revealed that there are a number of languages (30 or more), including Kashmiri, to which this generalization cannot apply. Given the present account, though, we might actually say that a language with an overt polar or alternative question particle and with wh-fronting is not so surprising. Indeed, both represent overt realizations of scope and of dependencies at a distance—a language with an “active” periphery might well be expected to have both.

5 Conclusions

One might assume that the relatively unusual constructions explored here in a lesser-studied language such as the prohibitive polar question and the embedded alternative question would reveal a syntax equally remarkable—a basic structure that differs significantly even from closely related languages. On the contrary, we find a basic architecture of the left periphery that is largely in line with, remarkably, both symmetric approaches to verb-second and with recent approaches to the left periphery of polar questions in other Indic languages.

In fact, we can now begin to develop a relatively holistic picture of the symmetric account of left peripheral word orders in Kashmiri:

- V2 orders are those in which there is a single specifier of CP and V is in C [garden variety declaratives]
- VN orders are those in which there are multiple specifiers of CP and V is in C [(multi)wh-foci, (multi)non-interrogative foci]

Further, we can conclude that Kashmiri is less exceptional than it might at first appear in the way in which its grammar constitutes and marks interrogatives. It marks with overt morphology multiple types of long-distance dependencies (whether polar/alterative operators or wh-dependencies).

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