Wh-Scope Marking Construction in Dakkhini

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Abstract:

The aim of the paper is to study wh-scope marking construction/wh-expletive construction in Dakkhini. In these constructions a wh-element typically 'what' is in the matrix clause and another wh-element is in the embedded clause. The wh-element in the embedded clause takes its scope in the higher clause that is the matrix clause. The wh-element in the matrix clause which marks the scope of the embedded wh-element is also termed as wh-expletive. The characteristics of wh-scope marking construction are discussed. The direct dependency approach (Riemsdijk, 1983) and indirect dependency approach (Dayal 1994) are used to explain the wh-scope marking construction in Dakkhini.

Keywords

Wh-scope marking, direct dependency approach, indirect dependency approach, wh-expletive/wh-scope marker, mixed dependency approach, true wh-element.

1. Introduction

Dakkhini is a dialect of Urdu language which is an Indo-Aryan language. Section 2 gives detailed account of Dakkhini dialect. Section 3 discusses the wh-scope marking construction in detail. Section 4 talks about the typology of wh-scope marking constructions. Section 5 highlights the presence of wh-scope marking/wh-expletive constructions in Dakkhini. Section 6 is about the different characteristic of wh-scope marking constructions in Dakkhini. Section 7 focuses on the analysis of wh-scope marking constructions using direct dependency approach (Riemsdijk, 1983) and indirect dependency approach (Dayal 1994). Section 8 concludes the article.

2. Dakkhini

Dakkhini is a dialect of Urdu language which is an Indo-Aryan language. It is spoken in southern states of India like Telangana, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. It is the native language of Muslims living in these regions. Jules Bloch suggested that Haryani should be studied for evolution of Dakkhini. In 13 century Haryani based Delhi vernacular was brought to the Deccan in 1295 A.D. along with the invading army of Alauddin Khilji and later in 1327 A.D. when Sultan Mohammad bin Tughluq shifted his capital from Delhi to Devagiri. This dialect came to be known as Dakkhini. Presently it has converged with the Dravidian languages spoken in the south.

3. Wh-Scope marking constructions

Wh-Scope marking is a construction discussed in the literature both in Syntax and Semantics. In wh-scope marking construction a wh-element typically 'WHAT' is in the matrix clause and another wh-element is in the embedded clause. The wh-element in the matrix clause marks the scope of the embedded wh-element. The scope marking wh-element is termed as wh-scope marker or wh-expletive. The wh-element in the embedded clause is termed as true wh-element. The true wh-element receives its interpretation with matrix scope whereas the wh-scope marker does not get any interpretation at all. This is not a contentful word. Hence it is referred to as wh-expletive. In languages which permit wh-fronting the scope marker is in Spec CP. It remains in-situ in in-situ languages. The wh-element in the embedded clause follows the standard question formation strategy of the concerned language. Wh-scope marking constructions are found in German as in 1.

1. was   glaubst   du, [wann   sie
    WHAT   think   you   when   she

    gekommen   ist]?
    come   is

    'When do you think she came?'
    (Lit. What do you think when did she come)

Along with this construction another construction coexist in German as in 2 which could be termed as full movement construction.

2. Wann   glaubst   du,
    when   think   you

[dass   sie   gekommen   ist] ?
that   she   come   is

'When do you think she came?'

Other languages where wh-scope marking/wh-expletive construction has been studied are Syrian Arabic, Hungarian, Finish, Warlpiri, Hindi, Bangla, and Kashmiri. It is absent in Dutch and English.

The wh-element in the matrix clause is usually the unmarked question word 'WHAT' but in languages like Polish does not employ the wh-element *co* 'what' but it employs *jak* 'how' as in 3a.

3a.   Jak   myślisz, kiedy$_i$ ona   przyjdzie t$_i$?
how   think   when she   will-come

Polish does not permit long distance wh-movement construction as in 3b.

3b.   Kiedy$_i$ myślisz, że ona   przyjdzie t$_{i?}$
when think   that she   will-come

Another important feature of wh-scope marking construction in Polish is that only verbs of thinking like myśleć 'to think', sądzić 'to suppose', uwazać̇ 'to consider' or wydawać się 'to seem' can occur in the matrix clause of wh-scope marking. It has limited occurrence but in German, Hungarian and Hindi a bigger range or verbs can occur in the matrix clause of wh-scope marking construction. German does not allow factive and certain volitional predicates (Fanselow 1999)

4. Typology of wh-scope marking constructions

Languages possessing wh-scope marking constructions are classified into three types depending on the nature of wh-scope marker.

A. Wh-expletive languages. In these languages a wh-expletive is present in the matrix clause as in German

4.   was   glaubst du   wen
WHAT   think   you   who-Acc

Irina   t   liebt?
Irina   loves

'Who do you believe that Irina loves?'

B. Bare wh-scope marking languages. These are the languages where wh-expletive element does not appear. As in 5

Malay   (Cole & Hermon, 2000)
5.   Ali   memberitahu   kamu tadi
Ali   tell.PAST   you   just now

[apa   (yang)   Fatimah   baca]?
what   that   Fatimah   read

'What did Ali tell you just now (that) Fatimah was reading?'

C. wh-element is optional in languages like Russian (Gelderen 2001). The wh-scope marker appears to be optional.

(Stepanov, 2000)
6a.   kak   vy   dumaete,
HOW   you.PL   think

[kto   čto   čitaet]?
who.NOM   what   read

'Who do you think read what?'

(Gelderen, 2001)
6b.   Ty   dumaesh, [kogo   ja
you.SG   think   who.ACC   I

videla]?
see.PAST

'Who do you think I saw?'

In languages like Iraqi Arabic if the embedded clause is non-finite then wh-expletive is optionally present (Wahba 1991).

5. Wh-scope marking construction in Dakkhini

Wh-scope marking construction is found in Dakkhini. It is exemplified in 7 below

7.   ali   kyaa   sõcaa   ahmǝd   kis-ku
Ali   WHAT   though   Ahmed   who.DAT

mara   ki
beat   that
'who did Ali think that Ahmed beat'

(Lit. what did Ali think who did Ahmed beat)

6. Characteristics of wh-scope marking constructions

Certain characteristics of wh-scope marking construction have been studied in literature.

I. The wh-scope marker/wh-expletive can scope mark any number of wh-phrases in an embedded clause. This is true with Dakkhini.

8. ali   kyaa   sõcaa   ahməd   kab
    Ali   WHAT   though   Ahmed   when

    kã   gaya   ki
    where   went   that

    'When and where Ali thought Ahmed went.'

    (Lit. What did Ali think when and where Ahmed went)

II. Anti-locality (Müller 1997) – A wh-expletive and a true wh-element cannot occur in the same clause.

German
9. *Was   ist sie   warum   gekommen?
     WHAT   is she   why   come
    'why has she come'

This characteristic seems to be true for Dakkhini as well.

10. *ali   kyaa   ahməd   kaiku   aya
     Ali   WHAT   Ahmed   why   came

III. The position of occurrence of wh-expletive/wh-scope marker is the focussed position. In Frisian a wh-fronting language, the wh-expletive occurs in the clause initial matrix scope position.

Frisian
11. Wa   tinke   jo   [dat   ik   sjoen
    who   think   you   that   I   seen

    haw]?
    have

    'who do you think (that) I have seen'

    wh-expletive construction

    Wat   tinke   jo   [wa't   ik
    WHAT   think   you   who.that   I

    sjoen   haw]?
    seen   have

    'Who do you think (that) I have seen?'

The preverbal position is the focused position in Dakkhini. Following construction is to be considered.

12. *ali   kyaa   abich   sõcaa   ahməd
     Ali   WHAT   now   though   Ahmed

    kab   aya   ki
    when   come   that

    (Lit what did Ali think now when did Ahmed come)

IV. The true wh-element can never appear in a clause higher than the one containing a wh-expletive.

German
13a. was   meinst du, [WAS   sie gesagt
     WHAT   think   you WHAT   she said

     hat,   [wann   sie   kommen   würde]] ?
     has   when   she   come   would

     'When do you think she said she would come?'

13b. was   meinst du, [wann   sie
     WHAT   think   you   when   she

     gesagt   hat,   [dass   sie   kommen
     said   has   that   she   come

     würde]] ?
     would

13c. *was   meinst du, [wann   sie
      WHAT   think   you   when   she

     gesagt   hat, [was   sie   kommen
     said   has   WHAT   she   come

     würde]] ?
     would

In Dakkhini also the true wh-element cannot occur in the higher clause than the wh-scope marker.

14a. ali   kyaa   sõcaa   [ahməd
     Ali   WHAT   though   Ahmed

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kyaa   bola] [abdul   kisku   mara ki]
WHAT   tell   Abdul   who   beat   that

14b. *ali   kyaa   sõcaa   [abdul   kis-ku
     Ali   WHAT   though   Abdul   who.DAT

     mara   ki]   [ahməd   kyaa   bola]
     beat   that   Ahmed   WHAT   tell

V. Every intervening clause between the clause containing wh-expletive/wh-scope marker and embedded clause containing true wh-element must contain a wh-expletive.

In some dialects of German wh-expletives are not obligatory in intervening clauses.

German   (Müller, 1997)
15. % was   meinst   du, [dass sie
       WHAT   think   you   that   she

     gesagt hat, [wann   sie   kommen
     said   has   when   she   come

     würde]] ?
     would

     'When do you think that she said that she would come?'

Unlike German Dakkhini needs to have wh-expletive 'kyaa' in the intervening clause.

16. ali   kyaa   sõcaa   ahməd
    Ali   WHAT   though   Ahmed

    kyaa   bola   abdul   kã   gaya ki
    WHAT   tell   Abdul   where go   that

    (Lit. What did Ali think that what did Ahmed told that where did Abdul go)

VI. The embedded clause in the wh-scope marking construction may be a yes or no question but there is cross linguistic variation regarding the presence of yes or no question in the embedded clause.

Hindi (Dayal 1994) and Hungarian permits yes or no question in the embedded clause of the wh-scope marking construction.

Hindi yes/no [+Q] complement
                    (Dayal, 1994)

17. Tum   kyaa   socte ho,
    you   WHAT   think

    [[+Q] ki   Mary-ne   Hans-se
           that   Mary-ERG   Hans-INS

    baat kyaa   yaa   nahiiN] ?
    talked   or   not

    'Do you think Mary talked to Hans or not?'

Hungarian yes/no [+Q] complement
18. mit   gondolsz, [[+Q]   hogy
    WHAT.ACC   think.2SG   that

    találkoztam-e   vele] ?
    meet.PAST.1SG-Q   with.3SG

    'Do you think whether I had met him/her?'

However, in German the grammaticality judgment differs regarding the presence of yes or no question in wh-scope marking constructions, many speakers consider it to be ungrammatical (Beck and Berman 2000).

German yes/no [+Q] complement
           (Fanselow and Mahajan, 2000)
19. % was   glaubst   du,
       WHAT   believe   you
    [[+Q] ob   sie   kommt] ?
          whether   she   comes

    'Do you believe whether she will come?'

Yes or no question in the embedded clause in wh-scope marking construction can occur in Dakkhini

20. ali   kyaa   sõcaa   ahməd
    Ali   WHAT   though   Ahmed

    baat   karta   ya   nai   bolke
    talk   do   or   no   that

    'What Ali thought is whether Ahmed will speak or not.'

VII. Non wh-expletives cannot occur along with wh-expletives.

Hungarian
21. *mit   azt   hallottál,
     WHAT.ACC   it.ACC   hear.PAST.2SG

    hogy   kit   látott
    that   who.ACC   see.PAST.3SG

	János ?
	John

'Who did you hear it that John saw?'

Dakkhini also does not allow both wh-expletive and non wh-expletive to occur together.

22.	*ali	ye	kyaa	sõcaa	ahmǝd
	Ali	this	WHAT	think	Ahmed

	kisku	mara	ki
	who	beat	that

'Who did Ali think it that Ahmed beat'

VIII. Negation is not permitted in the clause containing wh-expletive. In German negation is not permitted in the clause containing wh-expletive but it is permitted in the corresponding wh-fronting construction.

German	(Dayal, 2000)

wh-expletive construction

23a.	*was	glaubst	du	nicht,	mit
	WHAT	think	you	not	with

	wem	Maria	gesprochen	hat?
	whom	Maria	spoken	has

'Who don't you think Maria has spoken to?'

wh-fronting construction

23b.	mit	wem	glaubst	du	nicht,
	with	whom	think	you	not

	dass	Maria	gesprochen	hat?
	that	Maria	spoken	has

'Who don't you think Maria has spoken to?'

In Dakkhini negation is not permitted in the matrix clause containing wh-expletive/wh-scope marker.

24.	*ali	kyaa	nai	sõcaa
	Ali	WHAT	NEG	though
	kon	aate	ki	
	who	come	that	

'Who didn't Ali think will not come'

IX. Any wh-element can occur in the embedded clause of wh-scope marking constructions. It is illustrated in 25 in Dakkhini

25.	ali	kyaa	sõcaa	ahmǝd
	Ali	WHAT	think	Ahmed

	kab/kaiku/kã/kaise	gaya	ki
	when/why/where/how	went	that

'When/why/where/how Ali think that Ahmed went'

7. Analysis of wh-scope marking constructions/wh-expletive constructions

The relation between the wh-element in the matrix clause and the wh-element in the embedded clause has been discussed in literature. The first analysis of such construction came from Riemsdijk (1983) and McDaniel (1989). This approach is known as direct dependency approach. There is a direct link between the wh-expletive and the true wh-element. The wh-element in the matrix clause is semantically empty so it is called wh-expletive. Both the wh-expletive and the wh-phrase form a single wh-chain. Matrix wh-element is the unmarked wh-element of the language. It is replaced at LF by embedded wh-element.
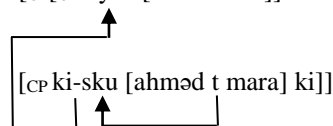
According to this approach the wh-element 'kyaa' of Dakkhini is based generated in the matrix clause and at LF the true wh-phrase moves and replaces it. Even the principle of full interpretation in government binding theory (Chomsky 1986a) views it in the similar way. The wh-expletive is directly coindexed with the true wh-phrase. According to the direct dependency approach the wh-scope marking construction in 26a is represented as 26b.

26a.	ali	kyaa	sõcaa	ahmǝd	kisku
	Ali	WHAT	though	Ahmed	who

	mara	ki
	beat	that

'who did Ali thing that Ahmed hit.'

26b. [CP[CP kyaa [ali t sõcaa]]

[CP ki-sku [ahmǝd t mara] ki]]

One of the limitations of direct dependency approach is given by Dayal (1996a; Stepanov, 2001). In 20 above yes or no question can occur in the

embedded clause. Here there is no wh-element in the embedded clause that can raise at LF to replace the wh-expletive. The principle of full interpretation is violated.

Another limitation of direct dependency approach is the possibility of occurrence of more than one wh-elements in the embedded clause. It is not clear which wh-element in the embedded clause is linked with the wh-expletive.

This approach also has a limitation that it encourages multiple cyclic movement which is rejected in the minimalistic program. It should be eliminated in favour of single cycle theory (Pesetsky, 2000).

Another important analysis of wh-scope marking is given by (Dayal 1994) which is known as indirect dependency approach. According to this approach the wh-scope marker and the true wh-phrase are not linked directly. The wh-element in the matrix clause is considered to be a regular wh-element and not an expletive. As in regular question it originates as an XP in the complement position of the matrix predicate. The wh-element in the matrix clause is coindexed with the embedded question containing the true wh-element that is the subordinate CP. Following this approach in Dakkhini the wh-elements raises to the edge of its CP at LF. Wh-element 'kyaa' moves to the specifier of matrix CP and the true wh-element moves to the specifier of adjoined CP. The wh-element and the adjoined CP are coindexed so a there is a single long distance dependency represented in 27b. This view is based on Hamblin (1973) which talks about the denotation of a question is a set of its prepositional answers. According to this view 27a denotes a set of prepositions of the form 'Ali thinks q' where q will have limited number of answers to the question 'Whom did Ahmed beat'. So the other prepositions from the answer set are eliminated.

27a. ali   kyaa   sõcaa   ahməd
     Ali   WHAT   though   Ahmed

     kis-ku   mara   ki
     who   beat   that

     'who did Ali think that Ahmed hit.'

27b. [CP[CP kyaa [ali t sõcaa]]

      [CP ki-sku [ahmed t mara] ki]]

The third approach is known as mixed dependency approach (Mahajan 1996). According to mixed dependency approach the wh-element in the matrix clause is an expletive linked with the true wh-element directly. The embedded question is a compliment of the wh-element 'kyaa'. Both wh-expletive and the embedded clause form a complex DP and it is the object of the matrix verb. At LF the embedded CP replaces the expletive.

8. Conclusion

This study concludes that wh-scope marking construction exists in Dakkhini. Dakkhini possess most of the characteristics of wh-scope marking construction found in various languages. The indirect dependency approach (Dayal 1994) is useful in analyzing these constructions in Dakkhini.

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