

# The Interpretation of Infinitival Negation in Hindi-Urdu

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For a class of infinitival clauses in Hindi-Urdu, we find a puzzling state of affairs with negation: infinitival clause-internal negation seems to take matrix scope, as diagnosed by NPI-licensing and auxiliary deletion.

- (1) a. Embedded negation licenses matrix NPI:  
ek=bhii laṛke=ne [Mina=kii madad nahī: kar-nii] caah-ii  
one=even boy=Erg Mina=Gen.F help.F Neg do-Inf.F want-Pfv.F  
'Not even a single boy wanted to help Mina.'
- b. Embedded negation licenses matrix auxiliary deletion:  
Ram [Mina=kii madad nahī: kar-naa] caah-taa (hai)  
Ram Mina=Gen.F help.F Neg do-Inf want-Hab.MSg be.Prs.3Sg  
'Ram doesn't want to help Mina.'

▲ N.B.: Initially we will talk about *nahī:* and negation interchangeably.  
This will change once we get to the analysis where we provide reasons for distinguishing the two.

## *Roadmap:*

1. Basic facts about negation
2. The puzzle: exceptional scope of negation
3. It's not due to Neg-Raising
4. It's not due to High Attachment
5. Verbal Sequence Contiguity and Negation Scope
6. Movement and Licensing

## 1 Basic Facts about the Distribution of Negation in Hindi

The presence of negation is marked by *nahī:*, which appears in almost all environments with the exception of prohibitives, which require the special form *mat*. There is also *naa*, which is limited to non-restructuring infinitives and subjunctives.

### 1.1 Location of Negation

Negation appears as part of the verb sequence. The most normal position for it is the immediately pre-verbal one but postverbal negation is also possible.

- (2) a. Neg V Aux: default  
 Ram=ne seb nahī: khaa-yaa thaa  
 Ram=Erg apple.M Neg eat-Pfv.MSg be.Pst.MSg  
 ‘Ram had not eaten the apple/apples.’
- b. V Neg Aux: more emphatic, contrastive reading easily available  
 Ram=ne seb khaa-yaa nahī: thaa, (sirf su:nggh-aa thaa)  
 Ram=Erg apple.M eat-Pfv.MSg Neg be.Pst.MSg only smell-Pfv.MSg be.Pst.MSg  
 ‘Ram hadn’t eaten the apple(, he had merely smelled it.)’
- c. V Aux Neg: denial  
 Ram=ne seb khaa-yaa thaa nahī:  
 Ram=Erg apple.M eat-Pfv.MSg be.Pst Neg  
 ‘Ram had NOT eaten the apple/apples (I don’t know why you are saying that he had...).’

We will stick with the default order for now.

There can be only one negation in a simplex clause. For example the following ‘Neg V Neg Aux’ order is out/quite odd.

- (3) \*Neg V Neg Aux  
 \*/#Ram=ne seb nahī: khaa-yaa nahī: thaa  
 Ram=Erg apple.M Neg eat-Pfv.MSg Neg be.Pst.MSg  
 intended: ‘Ram had (not) eaten the apple/apples.’

## 1.2 Auxiliary Deletion

Ordinarily the progressive and habitual participles in Hindi-Urdu require auxiliaries to form complete free-standing clauses. This is in contrast to the perfective participle which can stand on its own.

- (4) a. progressive:  
 Ram seb khaa rahaa \*(hai/thaa/hogaa)  
 Ram apple eat Prog.MSg be.Prs/be.Pst/be.Pst  
 ‘Ram is/was/must<sub>epistemic</sub> be eating apples.’
- b. habitual:  
 Ram seb khaa-taa \*(hai/thaa/hogaa)  
 Ram apple eat-Hab.MSg be.Prs/be.Pst/be.Pst  
 ‘Ram eats/used to eat/must<sub>epistemic</sub> eat apples.’

However, in the presence of negation, the auxiliary can go missing. The resulting structure is interpreted as having present tense specification.

- (5) a. progressive:  
 Ram seb nahī: khaa rahaa  
 Ram apple Neg eat Prog.MSg  
 ‘Ram is not eating apples.’

- b. habitual:  
 Ram seb nahī: khaa-taa  
 Ram apple Neg eat-Hab.MSg  
 ‘Ram does not eat apples.’

We refer to this pattern as ‘auxiliary deletion’. In the above example, the absence of the auxiliary has no impact on anything else - everything else stays the same. This is not always the case. For example when the subject has 3FPI features, the absence of the auxiliary changes the form of the participle. See Bhatt & Keine poster for details.

### 1.3 NPI-Licensing

Sentential negation in Hindi-Urdu licenses both subject and object NPIs.

- (6) a. subject NPI:  
 ek=bhii laṛke=ne seb nahī: khaa-yaa  
 one=even boy=Erg apple.M Neg eat-Pfv.MSg  
 ‘Not even a single boy ate apples.’
- b. object NPI:  
 Ram=ne ek=bhii seb nahī: khaa-yaa  
 Ram=Erg one=even apple.M Neg eat-Pfv.MSg  
 ‘Ram did not eat even a single apple.’
- c. mahilaa aarakshaṅ=par SP ṭas=se mas nahī: huii  
 women reservation=on SP.F TAS-from MAS Neg be.Pfv.F  
 ‘The Socialist Party didn’t budge an inch on reservation for women.’

In fact, sentential negation even takes scope over preceding adverbs like *hameshaa* ‘always’:

- (7) adverb *hameshaa* ‘always’
- a. ek=bhii laṛke=ne hameshaa mehnat nahī: kii  
 one=even boy=Erg always handwork.F Neg do.Pfv.F  
 ‘Not even one boy worked hard all the time.’ (Neg > some > always)  
 (note: always > Neg > some reading is unavailable)
- b. Ram=ne hameshaa mehnat nahī: kii  
 Ram=Erg always handwork.F Neg do.Pfv.F  
 ‘Ram did not work hard all the time.’ (easy: Neg > always; marginally available: always > Neg)

► Negation is interpreted high in simplex clauses (no need to reconstruct subject NPIs).

## 2 Negation with Complementation

### 2.1 Finite Clauses

Somewhat unsurprisingly, a negation in an embedded finite clause cannot license NPIs in the matrix clause. It also cannot license auxiliary deletion in the matrix clause.

- (8) a. \* ek=bhii larke=ne kah-aa [ki Ram nahī: aa-yaa]  
 one=even boy=Erg say-Pfv that Ram neg came-Pfv.MSg  
 ‘Even a single boy said that Ram did not come.’
- b. Ram kah rahaa \*(hai) [ki Ravi seb nahī: khaa rahaa (hai)]  
 Ram say Prog.MSg be.Prs.3Sg that Ravi apple Neg eat Prog.MSg be.Prs.3Sg  
 ‘Ram is saying that Ravi is not eating apples/the apples.’

The behavior in the other direction is more surprising. A matrix negation can license an NPI in an embedded clause but it cannot license auxiliary deletion in the embedded clause.

- (9) a. Ram=ko nahī: lag-taa (hai) [ki koi=bhii aa-egaa]  
 Ram=Dat Neg seem-Hab be.Prs that someone=even come-Fut.3MSg  
 ‘Ram doesn’t think that anyone will come.’
- b. Ram=ko nahī: lag-taa (hai) [ki Mina aajkal aisii kitaabē paṛh rahii \*(hai)]  
 Ram=Dat Neg seem-Hab be.Prs that Mina these.days such.F books.F read Prog.F be.Prs.3Sg  
 ‘Ram doesn’t think that Mina is reading such books these days.’

► Auxiliary deletion requires the negation and the auxiliary to be closer than needed for NPI licensing.

## 2.2 Infinitival Clauses

### 2.2.1 ‘Transparent’ (Restructuring) Infinitives

These infinitivals typically appear as direct objects/internal arguments of the embedding predicate. They do not bear any overt case marking. Long Distance Agreement is typically possible out of these infinitivals.

- (10) negation inside infinitival clause:
- a. embedded negation licenses matrix NPI (Mahajan 1989):  
 ek=bhii larke=ne [Mina=kii madad nahī: kar-nii] caah-ii  
 one=even boy=Erg Mina=Gen.F help.F Neg do-Inf.F want-Pfv.F  
 ‘Not even a single boy wanted to help Mina.’
- b. embedded negation licenses matrix auxiliary deletion (Bhatt 2005):  
 Ram [Mina=kii madad nahī: kar-naa] caah-taa (hai)  
 Ram Mina=Gen.F help.F Neg do-Inf want-Hab.MSg be.Prs.3Sg  
 ‘Ram doesn’t want to help Mina.’

It is possible to have the negation in the matrix clause. The resulting structures seem to have the same meaning as the structures with negation inside the infinitival clause.

- (11) a. matrix negation licenses matrix NPI:  
 ek=bhii larke=ne [Mina=kii madad kar-nii] nahī: caah-ii  
 one=even boy=Erg Mina=Gen.F help.F do-Inf.F Neg want-Pfv.F  
 ‘Not even a single boy wanted to help Mina.’
- b. matrix negation licenses matrix auxiliary deletion:  
 Ram [Mina=kii madad kar-naa] nahī: caah-taa (hai)  
 Ram Mina=Gen.F help.F do-Inf Neg want-Hab.MSg be.Prs.3Sg  
 ‘Ram doesn’t want to help Mina.’

However, it is quite odd to have both negations at the same time. It is not clear what the structures mean.

(12) negation in matrix clause and infinitival clause: ???

Ram=ne [Mina=kii madad nahī: kar-nii] nahī: caah-ii  
 Ram=Erg Mina=Gen.F help.F Neg do-Inf.F Neg want-Pfv.F

intended: ‘Ram didn’t want to not help Mina.’

*naa* is not natural in these infinitives.

(13) \*/#ek=bhii larke=ne kitaab naa paṛh-nii caah-ii  
 one=even boy=Erg book.F NAA read-Inf.F want-Pfv.F  
 intended: ‘Not even a single boy wanted to read a/the book.’

We will refer to the following three effects:

- licensing of matrix NPIs by embedded negation
- licensing of matrix auxiliary deletion by embedded negation
- the oddness of ‘double negation’

as **exceptional scope of negation**.

### 2.2.2 ‘Opaque’ (Non-restructuring) Infinitives

Nor is it the case that all infinitives allow embedded negation to take wide scope. Exceptional scope of the kind in (1) is not possible with infinitival subjects or with overtly case-marked infinitival clauses.

(14) infinitival subject:

- a. embedded negation does not license auxiliary deletion  
 [mehnat nahī: kar-naa] buraa ho-taa \*(hai)  
 hard.work.F Neg do-Inf bad be-Hab be.Prs.Sg  
 ‘To not work hard is a bad thing.’
- b. embedded negation does not license matrix NPI  
 \*[mehnat nahī: kar-naa] katai acchaa ho-taa hai  
 hard.work.F Neg do-Inf a.bit good be-Hab be.Prs.Sg  
 intended: ‘To not work hard is a tiniest bit good thing.’
- c. ‘double negation’ is ok  
 [mehnat nahī: kar-naa] katai acchaa nahī: ho-taa hai  
 hard.work.F Neg do-Inf a.bit good Neg be-Hab be.Prs.Sg  
 ‘To not work hard is not good in the least.’

(15) Case-marked infinitival clause:

- a. embedded negation does not license NPI  
 \*kisi=ne=bhii Mona-se [Dilli nahī: jaa-ne]=ko kah-aa  
 someone=Erg=even Mona-with Delhi Neg go-Inf.Obl say-Pfv  
 ‘\*Anyone told Mona to not go to Delhi.’

- b. embedded negation does not license auxiliary deletion:  
 Ram Mona=se [Dilli nahī: jaa-ne]=ko kah-taa \*(hai)  
 Ram Mona=with Delhi Neg go-Inf.Obl say-Hab be.Prs.Sg  
 ‘Ram tells Mona to not go to Delhi.’
- c. ‘Double negation’ is ok:  
 Ram Mona=se [Dilli nahī: jaa-ne]=ko nahī: kah-taa (hai)  
 Ram Mona=with Delhi Neg go-Inf.Obl Neg say-Hab be.Prs.Sg  
 ‘Ram doesn’t tell Mona to not go to Delhi.’

(16) *naa* is ok in non-restructuring infinitives

- a. [mehnat naa kar-naa] buraa ho-taa \*(hai)  
 hard.work.F Neg do-Inf bad be-Hab be.Prs.Sg  
 ‘To not work hard is a bad thing.’
- b. Ram Mona=se [Dilli naa jaa-ne]=ko kah-taa hai  
 Ram Mona=with Delhi NAA go-Inf.Obl say-Hab be.Prs.Sg  
 ‘Ram tells Mona to not go to Delhi.’

*Summing up:*

- Restructuring infinitives: embedded negation behaves like matrix negation (licenses matrix NPIs, licenses matrix auxiliary deletion, double negation is odd)
- Finite clauses and non-restructuring infinitives: embedded negation behaves differently from matrix negation (does not license matrix NPIs, does not license matrix auxiliary deletion, double negation is ok)

### 3 Exceptional Behavior is *\*not\** Due to Neg-Raising

Given that our favorite restructuring verb *caah* ‘want’ is also a Neg-Raising predicate, it is tempting to derive the exceptional behavior of negation embedded inside the complement of ‘want’ from this aspect of its semantics. There are two arguments against this.

#### 3.1 Finite Subjunctive Complements

*Caah* ‘want’ can embed infinitival complements but it can also embed finite subjunctive complements. The choice of complement does not influence the Neg-Raising property of *caah* ‘want’.

- (17) a. ‘not want’:  
 Ram (yeh) nahī: caah-taa hai [ki Sita Dilli jaa-e]  
 Ram this Neg want-Hab be.Prs.Sg that Sita Delhi go-Sbjv.3  
 ‘Ram doesn’t want that Sita go to Delhi.’

b. ‘want not’:

Ram (yeh) caah-taa hai [ki Sita Dilli naa/nahī: jaa-e]  
Ram this want-Hab be.Prs.Sg that Sita Delhi Neg go-Sbjv.3

‘Ram wants that Sita not go to Delhi.’

note: (17a) shares an interpretation with (17b).

note: *naa* is possible in subjunctive complements.

However, despite the presence of a ‘neg raising’ semantics, embedded negation in subjunctive clauses is not enough to license matrix NPIs/matrix auxiliary deletion. Double negation is also possible.

(18) a. Embedded negation:

Ram (yeh) caah-taa hai [ki Sita Dilli naa/nahī: jaa-e]  
Ram this want-hab be.Prs.Sg that Sita Delhi Neg go-Sbjv.3

‘Ram wants that Sita not go to Delhi.’

b. no matrix auxiliary deletion:

\*Ram (yeh) caah-taa [ki Sita Dilli naa/nahī: jaa-e]  
Ram this want-hab that Sita Delhi Neg go-Sbjv.3

‘Ram wants that Sita not go to Delhi.’

c. no matrix NPI licensing:

\*ek=bhii laṛkaa (yeh) caah-taa hai [ki Sita Dilli naa/nahī: jaa-e]  
one=even boy this want-hab be.Prs.Sg that Sita Delhi Neg go-Sbjv.3

*Intended*: ‘Not even a single boy wants Sita to go to Delhi.’

d. Matrix negation:

Ram (yeh) nahī: caah-taa (hai) [ki Sita Dilli jaa-e]  
Ram this Neg want-hab be.Prs.Sg that Sita Delhi go-Sbjv.3

‘Ram doesn’t want that Sita go to Delhi.’

e. Matrix and embedded negation:

Ram (yeh) nahī: caah-taa (hai) [ki Sita Dilli naa/nahī: jaa-e]  
Ram Neg want-hab be.Prs.Sg that Sita Delhi Neg go-Sbjv.3

‘It’s not the case that Ram wants that Sita not go to Delhi.’

- here we see that the ‘missing’ double negation reading surfaces.

These subjunctive complements behave like finite clauses.

### 3.2 The Non Neg-Raising Predicate ‘start’

Moreover we find predicates that are not Neg-Raising e.g. *shuruu kar* ‘start do’ (start) but which still permit embedded negation to take matrix scope. Note that *start* is not Neg-Raising: *The printer has not started working (yet)* is quite distinct from *The printer has started not working (again)*. But an embedded negation in the infinitival complement of *shuruu kar* ‘start do’ (start) can license matrix NPIs and auxiliary deletion.

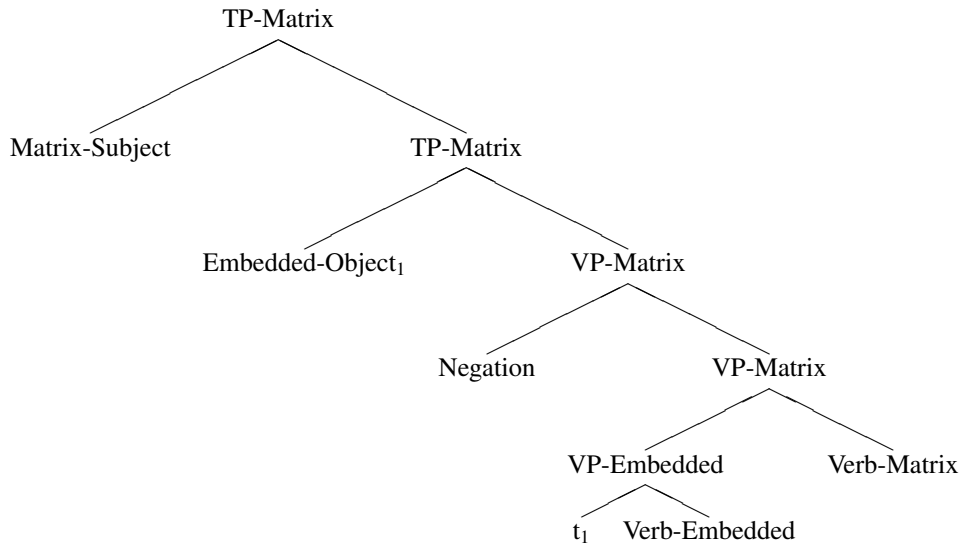
- (19) koi=bhii sarkaar apne aap apne adhikaarō=ko vikendrikrit nahī: kar-naa shuruu kar-tii  
some=even govt. itself self’s rights=Dat decentralize Neg do-Inf start do-Hab.F  
‘No government starts decentralizing its powers on its own.’

► Neg-Raising is neither sufficient nor necessary for exceptional scope of negation.

## 4 Exceptional Behavior is \*not\* due to High Negation Attachment

We also need to consider the possibility that the exceptional scope taking negation is in the matrix clause with scrambling of material from the infinitival clause making it appear that it is in the infinitival clause.

(20) Potential High Attachment of Negation structure:



This structure would require us to entertain the possibility of left adjoining *nahī*:. This is potentially problematic as sentential negation is in general not discontinuous from the verbal complex. To make left adjunction to VP get off the ground, we would also need to assume that VP-internal material scrambles over *nahī*: thereby allowing *nahī*: to be string-adjacent to the verbal complex.

The following are some arguments against this possibility.

### 4.1 The placement of *kyaa* ‘what’ w.r.t. *nahī*:

The interaction of *wh*-in-situ with negation provides an argument against this possibility. *Wh*-words in Hindi-Urdu like to be immediately pre-verbal. This is also the case with *kyaa* ‘what’ but to a much greater extent.

- (21) a. Ram=ne Sita=ko *kyaa* diyaa      b. ??Ram=ne *kyaa* Sita=ko diyaa  
 Ram=Erg Sita=Dat what give.Pfv      Ram=Erg what Sita=Dat give.Pfv  
 ‘What did Ram give to Sita?’      intended: ‘What did Ram give to Sita?’

Let us assume that this is because *kyaa* ‘what’ cannot be scrambled. If so, then the following example shows a case where a negation that takes matrix scope must be in the embedded clause on the surface.

- (22) Ram [*kyaa nahī*: khaa-naa] caah-taa (hai)?  
 Ram what Neg eat-Inf want-Hab be.Prs.3Sg  
 ‘What does Ram not want to eat?’

If *nahī*: was attached to the matrix clause, then *kyaa* would have to scramble over it. Given that scrambling of *kyaa* leads to deviance, the non-deviance of (22) tells us that there is no scrambling involved. Hence we can conclude that *nahī*: is in fact in the embedded clause.



## 4.2 High Attachment would overgenerate

We know that an embedded negation inside a non-restructuring infinitive does not license matrix NPIs or license matrix auxiliary deletion.

We also know that an embedded negation inside a restructuring infinitive licenses matrix NPIs and licenses matrix auxiliary deletion.

But if we allow the structure in (20) to allow a seemingly embedded negation to take wide scope with restructuring infinitives, it is not clear what would block wide scope with non-restructuring infinitives.

Scrambling out of non-restructuring infinitives is possible in Hindi-Urdu:

- (23) Ram=ne [merii kitaab]<sub>i</sub> Sita=se aaj subah [t<sub>i</sub> kal paṛh-ne]=ko kah-aa  
Ram=Erg my.F book.F Sita=Instr today morning tomorrow read-Inf=Dat say-Pfv  
'This morning Ram told Sita to read my book tomorrow.'

→ We conclude that embedded negation doesn't achieve matrix scope by the mechanism indicated in (20) (i.e. left adjunction to matrix VP followed by scrambling). Since scrambling is in fact possible quite generally, we presume that it is the left adjunction to VP option that is unavailable.

→ Embedded negation is truly inside the embedded infinitival clause.

## 5 Verbal Sequences and the Scope of Negation

In his 1989 *Lingua* paper, Mahajan notes the following surprising contrast:

- (24) a. S V O Aux:  
Ram khaa-taa sabzii thaa  
Ram eat-Hab.MSg vegetable.F be.Pst.MSg  
'Ram used to eat vegetables.'
- b. S Neg V O Aux: \*  
\*/???Ram nahī: khaa-taa sabzii thaa  
Ram Neg eat-Hab.MSg vegetable.F be.Pst.MSg  
intended: 'Ram didn't used to eat vegetables.'

If the displaced object appears after the auxiliary, the resulting structure is acceptable with and without negation.

- (25) S Neg V Aux O:  
Ram (nahī:) khaa-taa thaa sabzii  
Ram Neg eat-Hab.MSg be.Pst.MSg vegetable.F  
'Ram (didn't) used to eat vegetables.'

Note that the displaced object breaks up the verbal sequence in (24) but not in (25).

## 5.1 Verbal Sequences and Restructuring Infinitival Complements

We note that the same contrast holds with our embedded restructuring infinitival complements.

- (26) a. S  $V_{read}$  O  $V_{want}$  Aux: ok  
 Ram=ne paḥ-nii kitaab caah-ii thii  
 Ram=Erg read-Inf.F book.F want-Pfv.F be.Pst.F  
 ‘Ram had wanted to read a/the book.’
- b. S Neg  $V_{read}$  O  $V_{want}$  Aux: \*  
 \*/???Ram=ne nahĩ: paḥ-nii kitaab caah-ii thii  
 Ram=Erg Neg read-Inf.F book.F want-Pfv.F be.Pst.F  
 intended: ‘Ram had not wanted to read a/the book.’
- c. S Neg  $V_{read}$   $V_{want}$  Aux O: ok  
 Ram=ne nahĩ: paḥ-nii caah-ii thii kitaab  
 Ram=Erg Neg read-Inf.F want-Pfv.F be.Pst.F book.F  
 ‘Ram had not wanted to read a/the book.’

• One description of these facts:

1. *nahĩ:* needs to take clausal scope.

2. Disruption of the verbal sequence blocks the ability of *nahĩ:* to take clausal scope.

Background assumption: restructuring infinitives do not form a good domain for negation to take scope over.

## 5.2 Verbal Sequences and Non-Restructuring Infinitival Complements

We have seen earlier that *nahĩ:* inside non-restructuring infinitival complements takes scope inside the infinitival complement i.e. such infinitives are good domains for negation.

Hence we expect that disruption of the verbal sequence should not lead to ungrammaticality.<sup>1</sup>

- (27) a. ... (Neg)  $V_{read}$  DP  $V_{say}$  Aux: ok  
 Mina=ne [yah kitaab (nahĩ:) paḥ-ne]=ko Ravi=se kah-aa thaa  
 Mina=Erg this book.F Neg read-Inf-KO Ravi=Inst say-Pfv be.Pst  
 ‘Mina had told Ravi to (not) read this book.’
- b. ... (Neg)  $V_{read}$   $V_{say}$  Aux DP: ok  
 Mina=ne [yah kitaab (nahĩ:) paḥ-ne]=ko kah-aa thaa Ravi=se  
 Mina=Erg this book.F Neg read-Inf-KO Ravi=Inst say-Pfv be.Pst Ravi=Inst  
 ‘Mina had told Ravi to (not) read this book.’

## 5.3 Verbal Sequences and Optionally Restructuring Infinitival Complements

With certain infinitival complements, *nahĩ:* can take scope both inside and outside the infinitival clause.

<sup>1</sup>Rightward displacement of an object out of the following embedded infinitival feels degraded, negation or no negation. That’s why the example uses a matrix argument to break the verbal sequence.

Matrix construal of negation:

- (28) Ram=ne abhi=tak [Sita=se baat nahī: kar-naa] shuruu kiyaa hai  
Ram=Erg now=till [Sita=Inst talk Neg do-Inf] start do.Pfv be.Prs.Sg  
'Ram has still not started talking to Sita.'

To force a low construal, we use the aspectual light verb construction which is known to be anti-licensed by negation.

- (29) Ram=ne phir=se [kaam nahī: kar-naa] shuruu kar diyaa hai  
Ram=Erg again work Neg do-Inf start do GIVE-Pfv be.Prs.Sg  
'Ram has started not working again.'

The matrix construal is lost if we disrupt the verbal complex in (28).

- (30) [Sita=se baat nahī: kar-naa] Ram=ne shuruu kiyaa  
Sita=Inst talk Neg do-Inf] Ram=Erg start do.Pfv  
'Not talking to Sita was started by Ram.'

► These examples show that the problem with the examples from Mahajan in (24) is not the disruption in the verbal sequence caused by the displaced DP.

- negation does not prevent the scrambling.
- but the displaced DP breaks the verbal sequence, which restricts the scopal possibilities of negation. If no suitable domain is accessible to negation, we get ungrammaticality.

## 6 Proposal

### 6.1 Something Moves

A variant of Mahajan (1989)'s proposal:

- (31) a. There are dedicated positions for negation in finite clauses and non-restructuring infinitives. Restructuring infinitives lack such positions.  
b. *nahī:* or an associated element must get to one of these positions.  
c. Disruption of the verbal sequence blocks the ability of *nahī:* to access a higher licensing position.

→ The problems with double negation in simplex clauses and in restructuring infinitives follow.

### 6.2 And Something Stays Behind That Needs Licensing

Some low element seems to be polarity sensitive (NPI): if under negation, there is an expression that denotes a downward-entailing function (e.g. *bahut kam dafaa* 'rarely', (32a)), then the sentence is out.

- (32) a. either bad, or marginally ok under denial reading (neg > very few times)  
mĒ=ne un=kii bahut kam dafaa taariif nahī: kii hai  
I=Erg they-Gen.F very few times praise.F Neg do.Pfv.F is

‘I haven’t praised them very few times.’

note: unavailable reading: ‘On very few occasions, I have not praised them.’

- b. control example with ‘ever’:

mĒ=ne un=kii kabhii bhii taariif nahī: kii hai  
I=Erg they-Gen.F sometime ever praise.F Neg do.Pfv.F is

‘I have never praised them.’

Hypothesis: there is an NPI element associated with *nahī:* in the position in which *nahī:* appears; in (32a) (compare with (32b)), the environment in which *nahī:* appears is positive due to the composition of the two decreasing functions.

Plausibly something similar goes on with *sirf* ‘only’:

- (33) a. control:

Ram sirf somvaar=ko mandir nahī: gayaa  
Ram.M only Monday=KO temple Neg go.Pfv

‘Ram went to the temple on all days but Monday.’

- b. NPI subject:

\*ek=bhii larkaa sirf somvaar=ko mandir nahī: gayaa  
one=even boy only Monday=KO temple Neg go.Pfv

intended: ‘Not even a single boy went to the temple just on Monday.’

### 6.3 *sirf* ‘only’ patterns with *nahī:*

- (34) a. *sirf* ‘only’ takes wide scope:

us=ne abhii=tak sirf Bible parh-nii shuruu kii hai  
he=Erg now=till only Bible.F read-Inf.F start do.Pfv.F is

‘So far he has only started reading the Bible.’

- b. aspectual light verb forces narrow scope of *sirf* ‘only’:

us=ne [sirf Bible parh-naa] shuruu kar diyaa hai  
he=Erg only Bible.F read-Inf start do GIVE.Pfv is

‘He has started reading only the Bible.’

- c. disrupted verbal sequence forces narrow scope of *sirf* ‘only’:

sirf Bible parh-naa us=ne shuruu kiyaa thaa  
only Bible.F read-Inf he=Erg start do.Pfv be.Pst

‘Reading only the Bible was started by him.’