Disagreeing a Little in Hindi-Urdu

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1. Two Negations in Hindi-Urdu: Comparing *thoṛi:* with *nahĩ:*

- **Distribution:**

- In simple clauses, *thoṛi:* has a similar distribution as *nahĩ:*, the sentential negation of Hindi-Urdu: it can appear immediately before the main verb or between the main verb and the auxiliary:

(1) Ram=ne phal (thoṛi:) kha:-ya: (thoṛi:) tha:
Ram=ERG fruit THORI eat-PFV THORI be.PST
'Ram hadn't eaten the fruit.'

- But *thoṛi:* can also **follow** most constituents:

(2) Subj (THORI) IO (THORI) DO (THORI) V (THORI) Aux (#THORI)

- Unlike *nahĩ:*, *thoṛi:* **always needs an overt constituent to its left:**

(3) nahĩ:/*thoṛi: jaa-ũga:
NEG/THORI go-FUT.1.MSG
'I won't go.'

- Not constituent negation: negation takes **sentential** scope as shown by its ability to license subject NPIs:

(4) kisi=ne=bhi: yeh kita:b thoṛi: paṛh-i: hai
someone=ERG=EVEN this book.F THORI read-PFV.F be.PRS
'No one has read this book.'

- Needs overt constituent to its left because it puts **focus** on it:

(5) Ram=ne (thoṛi:) phal (thoṛi:) kha:-ya:
Ram=ERG THORI fruit THORI eat-PFV
'Ram didn't eat the fruit.'
thoṛi: follows *Ram*: someone else ate the fruit.
thoṛi: follows *phal*: Ram ate something else.

- Unlike *nahĩ:*, *thoṛi:* cannot appear in a number of environments: relative clauses, yes/no questions and *wh*-questions, *when/until* clauses, *if*-clauses:

(6) kyaa Mohit=ne Rina=se baat nahĩ:/#thoṛi: kii?
Q Mohit=ERG Rina=INST talk.F NEG/THORI did.F
'Did Mohit not talk to Rina?'

- **Scope:**

- With *thoṛi:*, negation must take **wide scope** over a preceding adverb; this is only one of two options with *nahĩ:*:

(7) Ram=ne hamesha: mehnat nahĩ:/thoṛi: kii
Ram=ERG always handwork.F NEG/THORI do.PFV.F
'Ram did not work hard all the time.'
nahĩ: easy: ¬ ≫ ALWAYS; marginal: ALWAYS ≫ ¬
thoṛi:: only: ¬ ≫ ALWAYS

- The universal quantifier *harek* 'each', which can take scope above or below *nahĩ:*, can only take scope below *thoṛi:*:

(8) a. *nahĩ:*
harek laṛke=ne mujh=se baat nahĩ: kii
each boy=ERG me=INST talk.F NEG do.PFV.F
'Each boy didn't talk to me.' (∀ ≫ ¬)
'Not every boy talked to me.' (¬ ≫ ∀)
b. *thoṛi:*
harek laṛke=ne mujh=se baat thoṛi: kii
each boy=ERG me=INST talk.F THORI do.PFV.F
Only: 'Not every boy talked to me.' (¬ ≫ ∀)

- Obligatory wide scope of *thoṛi:* over *have to:*

(9) a. *nahĩ:*
mujhe Dilli nahĩ: ja:-na: hai
me.DAT Delhi NEG go-INF be.PRS
'I don't have to go to Delhi.' (¬ ≫ HAVE_TO)
'I have to not go to Delhi.' (HAVE_TO ≫ ¬)
b. preverbal *thoṛi:*
mujhe Dilli thoṛi: ja:-na: hai
me.DAT Delhi THORI go-INF be.PRS
'I don't have to go to Delhi' (¬ ≫ HAVE_TO), maybe I have to go somewhere else.
c. postverbal *thoṛi:*
mujhe Dilli ja:-na: thoṛi: hai
me.DAT Delhi go-INF THORI be.PRS
'I don't have to go to Delhi' (¬ ≫ HAVE_TO), I'm just pretending that I have to go…

- **Disagreement:**

- *Thoṛi:* cannot be used in an 'out of the blue' context:

(10) Background: I ask you to tell me something about your friend Mayank, who I don't know anything about.
Mayank=ko aalsi: log pasand nahĩ:/#thoṛi: haĩ
Mayank=DAT lazy people like NEG/THORI be.PRS.PL
'Mayank doesn't like lazy people.'

(11) Background: S and A live in Amherst and want to go to a party in NYC. [modeled on Frana & Rawlins 2015]
a. no prior expectation that my sister has a car:
A: How are we going to get there?
S: pata: nahĩ:. aajkal meri: behen=ke paas car
know NEG these.days my sister=GEN near car
nahĩ:/#thoṛi: hai
NEG/THORI be.PRS
'I don't know. These days my sister does not have a car.'
b. prior expectation that my sister has a car:
A: How are we going to get there? Couldn't your sister give us a ride?
S: meri: behen=ke paas car nahĩ:/thoṛi: hai.
my sister=GEN near car NEG/THORI be.PRS
'My sister does not have a car.'

- Not necessary for the proposition negated to be articulated:

(12) Context: S tries to pick up a cat. The cat looks scared.
ḍaro mat! mẼ tumhẽ ma:rũga: thoṛi:
fear not I you.DAT hit.FUT.1SG THORI
'Don't be afraid. I'm not going to hit you.'

- The proposition that is being negated has to have been entertained in the preceding discourse and the contribution of *thoṛi:* is to express **disagreement** with this proposition (hence unacceptability in some environments like *if*-clauses).

- **Distinction between focus and disagreement:**

(13) A: Someone came.
B: #Mary thoṛi: aa-i:
Mary.F THORI come-PFV.F
Intended: 'It is not Mary$_F$ who came.' (Someone else came)

2. Adnominal *thoṛa:*: An Existential PPI Quantifier

- *Thoṛi:* lives another life as a **quantifier over individuals** with a restrictor (with no negative meaning).

- *thoṛi:* is very plausibly related to the adnominal modifier *thoṛa:* 'a little, a few'. As an adnominal modifier, *thoṛa:* agrees in number and gender with its noun phrase.

(14) Ram [thoṛe seb]/ [thoṛi: kita:bẽ]/ [thoṛa: tel]
Ram a few.MPL apple/ a few.F books/ a little.MSG oil
khari:d-ega:
buy-FUT.3MSG
'Ram will buy a few apples/a few books/a little(small amount of) oil.'

- Adnominal *thoṛa:* indicates that the relevant quantity is small, whatever might count as 'small' in the context.

- There is an existential entailment – so in the above examples, some apples/books/oil were actually bought.

- Adnominal *thoṛa:* is a **PPI:**

(15) Ram [thoṛe seb]/ [thoṛi: kita:bẽ]/ [thoṛa: tel] nahĩ:
Ram a few.MPL apple/ a few.F books/ a little.MSG oil NEG
khari:d-ega:
buy-FUT.3MSG
'Ram won't buy a few apples/a few books/a little(small amount of) oil.' (∃ ≫ ¬)

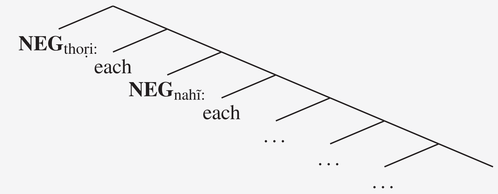
▷ The meaning of *thoṛi:* appears to be that of an **existential** (if we trust the link with adnominal *thoṛa:*);
▷ But it seems to contribute **negation** when it is used 'on the spine'.

3. Proposal: Very High Negation

- *Thoṛi:* is always an existential quantifier: when on the spine, it means 'in some way'; it is not an NPI;
- There is **a very high abstract negation** in Hindi-Urdu, NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ associated with *thoṛi:* (see the scope facts above);
- **NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ needs to have *thoṛi:*/*thoṛa:* in its scope;** it cannot be merged otherwise (cf. abstract negation and n-words in French);
- Stipulation: NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ must be merged if possible;
- *Thoṛa:* takes a restrictor, and *for that reason,* is a **PPI** cf. (15) (cf. Bhatt & Homer 2015 on trapping of PPIs in Hindi-Urdu: *kuch* becomes a PPI when it has a restrictor):
it cannot stay in the scope of NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ and therefore cannot license it.

4. Two Abstract Negations

- Like *thoṛi:*, *nahĩ:* is not negative by itself: when it appears, there is an abstract negation NEG$_{\text{nahĩ:}}$ sitting above it (see scope facts (7) and (9a));
- We can assume that NEG$_{\text{nahĩ:}}$ requires *nahĩ:* in its scope and must be merged if possible;
- NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ is higher than NEG$_{\text{nahĩ:}}$ ((7), (8) and (9));



- Because NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ is very high, we expect that it cannot appear in all environments;
- Some of the distribution restrictions follow from **height** (the others stem from the disagreement requirement).
E.g. infinitival negation (see Bhatt & Homer 2014-15):
When *nahĩ:* appears in an infinitival complement (e.g. the complement of *start*), negation can take scope in the matrix; we can block this option by having a PPI verb in the matrix: in that case NEG$_{\text{nahĩ:}}$ has to be merged in the embedded clause; but infinitival complements are **too small** to host NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ (see (9b)-(9c)):

(16) a. *nahĩ:*
us=ne phir=se Bible nahĩ: paṛh-naa shuru: kar
s/he=ERG again=INST Bible NEG read-INF start do
diyaa hai
give.PFV be.PRS
'S/he has again started to not read the Bible.'
b. *thoṛi:*
#us=ne phir=se Bible thoṛi: paṛh-naa shuru: kar
s/he=ERG again=INST Bible THORI read-INF start do
diyaa hai
give.PFV be.PRS
Intended: 'S/he has again started to not read the Bible.'

5. Conclusions and Prospects

- *Thoṛi:* is an existential quantifier; when it is not adnominal it puts the constituent to its left in **focus.** It is required by a high abstract negation NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$, which is merged if it can be;
- NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ cannot be merged when *thoṛi:* is adnominal (a quantifier over individuals) for the presence of a restrictor causes positive polarity;
- The **'disagreement' requirement** associated with *thoṛi:* only appears with 'sentential' *thoṛi:*: this suggests that it is actually tied to the presence of NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$;
- To satisfy the disagreement requirement, the NEG$_{\text{thoṛi:}}$ proposition must be **asserted.** This takes care of questions and antecedents of conditionals. Relatives and correlatives are also covered by a broader notion of what is asserted.