NEGATION IN MODERN HINDI-URDU: THE DEVELOPMENT OF *nahII*

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ABSTRACT
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Negation in Modern Hindi-Urdu: The Development of *nahII*
(Under the direction of H. Craig Melchert)

There are three negative particles used for sentential negation in Hindi-Urdu – *mat*,

*na*, and *nahII*.  The particles *mat* and *na* are generally of restricted distribution in the modern

language, and their origins are relatively straightforward.  The status of the modern general

negative particle *nahII* is more problematic.  There are two common explanations for modern

Hindi-Urdu *nahII*: 1) *nahII* results from the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) general negative particle

*na* combining with a substantive/existential verb form; 2) *nahII* results from *na* combining

with the OIA emphatic particle *hi*.  In a recent account Elena Bashir offers support for both

explanations.  Based on evidence from a modern Hindi corpus and a reexamination of

Bashir's work, I conclude that modern Hindi-Urdu *nahII* likely has its origin only in the

existential, thus providing another example in support of William Croft's negation cycle.

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* from Ephesians 3:20, the Holy Bible, New International Version

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUX = auxiliary verb

conj. = conjunction

contr. = contrafactive

dem. = demonstrative

ERG = ergative

EMPH. = emphatic

EXIST. = existential

imp. = imperative

inf. = infinitive

NEG = negative particle

OBJ = indicates postposition for direct or indirect object

PASS = passive

pres. = present

REFL. = reflexive pronoun

subj. = subjunctive

# LIST OF SYMBOLS:*

a = "short" vowel

aa = "long" vowel

A (capitalization) = nasalized vowel

(C)h = aspirated consonant

D = voiced retroflex stop

G = voiced velar fricative

N = retroflex nasal

R = voiced retroflex flap

T = voiceless retroflex stop

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* There was a variety of transliteration styles used in my sources. I have standardized all of these, based on that used by Elena Bashir (2003). Exceptional forms have been listed.

Chapter I

Background

1.1  The Problem

According to Colin Masica in his comprehensive work *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, the system of negation in New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages is "neither straightforward nor simple" (1991: 389).  In light of Masica's assessment, my aim in this thesis is to determine the present distribution of negative particles in Hindi-Urdu, and to suggest how this distribution may have arisen.  There are three particles used for sentential negation in Hindi-Urdu: *mat*, *na*, and *nahII*. In the introductory sections I will briefly discuss *mat* and *na*, with their forms and functions in the modern language.  Most of what follows, however, will focus on the general negative particle *nahII*, because its origin is debatable, and its development ongoing.  There are two main explanations for the origin of this particle in the modern language.  On the one hand we can see it as the result of the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) negative particle *na* combining with an OIA emphatic particle *hi*.  On the other hand, we can conclude that it is *na* combined with an old form of the auxiliary verb.  Recent explanations by Masica (1991) and Elena Bashir (2003) have suggested that *nahII* stems from both sources.  Bashir treats Hindi-Urdu specifically and presents her analysis of the development of *nahII* in light of general interpretations of "negative cycles" given by Otto Jespersen (1917) and William Croft (1991).

Initially I will discuss the negation system in Hindi-Urdu and the various accounts of its origin, followed by a presentation of the typological negation systems described by Jespersen

and Croft.  I will then turn to Bashir's work on Hindi-Urdu *nahII*.  She argues that the two

"types" of *nahII* in an earlier phase of Hindi-Urdu have resulted in the current "default" status of

the particle.  To a large extent her arguments for "*nahII*-T" (*na* + present auxiliary) rest on the

fact that the present auxiliary, where it would exist in a positive sentence, is often dropped in the

presence of a *nahII*.  Presented within Croft's typological framework, this is a convincing

argument.  Arguments for "*nahII*-E" (*na* + emphatic *hi*) are much less convincing, depending

largely on the presence of emphasis in individual sentences.  Based on her presentation and

further corpus research, I will offer evidence in this paper for a single origin of contemporary

Hindi-Urdu *nahII*.


1.2 Negation in Hindi-Urdu: Distribution

There are three particles used for sentential negation in modern standard Hindi-Urdu.  In

general, these particles are immediately pre-verbal (Bhatia 1995: 17; Montaut 2004: 261).  The

following discussion will highlight the particles in order, from most restricted distribution to

least restricted distribution: *mat*, *na*, and *nahII*.

1.2.1 *Mat*

The most straightforward of the Hindi-Urdu negative particles is *mat*.  It occurs only in

negative commands.  In his *Negation in South Asian Languages*, Bhatia describes *mat* as the

particle used with the "non-honorific" imperative (1995: 12).[1]  Others simply describe *mat* as

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[1]Hindi-Urdu has five imperatives, excluding the 1st person plural present active subjunctive, which sometimes has
the sense of a polite imperative.  Bhatia's classification would place *mat* with the lower three of the following
(Bhatia 1995: 15).  Categories listed below are based on Snell (2003: 63).  Outlines of the imperative may also be
found in Jain (1995: 52-55) and Montaut (2004: 114).

        Imperative forms of *jaanaa* (to go): *jaaiyegaa* - you (extra-polite/honorific) go!
                                   *jaaiye* – you (formal/honorific) go!
                                   *jaao* – you (familiar) go!
                                   *jaanaa* - you (neutral) go!  (*jaanaa* is the infinitive)
                                   *jaa* - you (intimate) go! (*jaa* is the stem)

more emphatic, or "stronger." In her teaching grammar, Usha Jain provides a formal/informal

distinction, but also says that, as the "stronger negative," *mat* may be used with a typically

formal or neutral imperative "to emphasize the negation or to warn the person" (Jain 1995: 55).

Kellogg says that *mat* and the particle *na* may be used "indifferently," but *mat* is more

commonly found in isolation with the imperative verb form (1938: 459). In this thesis I will not

seek to clarify the honorific/non-honorific nature of *mat*. That *mat* is one of the three negative

particles and it is restricted to the negative imperative is sufficient. Below are listed a few

examples of its common usage.[2]

> 1.2.1.a
> mat   ghabraao
> *NEG  worry(IMP)*
> "Don't worry!"
> (Montaut 2004: 260)
>
> 1.2.1.b
> tuu   mat   jaa
> *you  NEG  go(IMP)*
> "Don't go!"
> (Bhatia 1995: 13)
>
>
> 1.2.2 *Na*

The second most-restricted negative particle in Hindi-Urdu is *na*. According to Bhatia's

classification, *na* occurs with non-indicative verb forms: conditional (1.2.2.a), participial

(1.2.2.b), and gerundive phrases (1.2.2.c); subjunctive (1.2.2.d); and honorific imperative

(1.2.2.e) (Bhatia 1995: 12).[3] Masica notes that *na* is always used in the negation of non-finite

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[2]Unless otherwise indicated, as in these examples, all translations come from one of two native speaker consultants, or are a collaboration between me and one of my consultants.

[3]In his 2003 dissertation, however, Rajesh Kumar presents an example in which *nahII* can also negate a subjunctive, with the qualification that "*na* is the preferred choice" (Kumar 2003: 98). See Chapter II, section 2.3.2 for my own evidence for this assertion.

forms and for "*neither… nor* constructions" (1.2.2.f) (Masica 1991: 394). Within the non-indicative context, *na* may be found specifically with the "contingent future" (simple subjunctive) and "contrafactive" (1.2.2.g ) (Masica 1991: 392; Montaut 2004: 117). As the negator for "honorific" imperatives, *na* is commonly found with the imperative forms *jaaiye* and *jaaiyegaa*. In addition to the above, *na* is also the form used in tag questions ("isn't it?") in Hindi-Urdu (1.2.2.h) (Masica 1991: 389). The examples below represent the distribution of *na* in contemporary Hindi-Urdu.[4]

1.2.2.a – Conditional
unhOne kahaa ki yadi ek paksha shaantipuurN tariiqO kaa istemaal
*he.ERG said that if one side peaceful manner of use*
karne par **raajii na ho** to surakshaa parishad ko yah adhikaar
*doing on pleased NEG EXIST(subj) then security council to this authority*
hai ki vah kaarvaaii kare
*is that(conj.) that(dem.) proceedings hold(subj.)*

"He said that if one party doesn't agree to use peaceful methods, then the security council has the right to act."
from-hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-09-07

1.2.2.b – Participial

suutrO ke mutaabiq, vaajpeyii saauth blaak **aafis na aakar** 7, reskors
*sources according to Vajpayi south block office not having come racecourse*
sthit apne nivaas se kaamkaaj calaayEge
*situated REFL. residence from work keep going(fut.)*

"According to sources Vajpayee, instead of coming to South Block Office 7, will work (administer) from his residence situated at Racecourse."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-10-23

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[4]All examples with the citation *from-hin-w-indiainfo-news* are from the EMILLE-CIIL Monolingual Written Corpora. See Ch. II section 2.2 and note 4 for additional information.

1.2.2.c – Gerundive

**naam na    bataane kii** shart      par ek  fraansiisii adhikaarii ne   kahaa
*name NEG  telling  of  condition on one French     official    ERG said*
ki          ham paakistaan ko samasyaa ke tvarit    samaadhaan hetu
*that(conj.) we Pakistan   to problem of speedy  resolution     interest*
pahal       karne    ke liye  kah rahe  hAI
*beginning  making  for     say  -ing  AUX(pres.)*

"On the condition of not disclosing the identity (name) a French officer said that we are asking Pakistan to initiate a speedy resolution to the problem."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-10-05

1.2.2.d – Subjunctive
DaakTarO ne     vaajpeyii se kahaa hai          ki         ve kuch  dinO tak
*Doctors    ERG Vajpayi to said  AUX(pres.) that(conj.) he some days  for*
apne     pAAvO par zyaadaa **bhaar na   DaalE**
*REFL. feet      on  too much weight NEG put(subj.)*

"Doctors have told Vajpayee that for a few days he shouldn't strain his feet."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-10-23

1.2.2.e – Polite Imperative
na     jaaiye
*NEG  go(IMP)*
"Don't go!"
(Kachru 1980: 110)

1.2.2.f – *neither…nor*
halAAki   shah ne    pulis se kahaa thaa         ki **na to  vah choTaa**
*however   Shah ERG police to said  AUX(past) that neither he  Chota*
**shakiil ko  jaante hAI        na hii    choTa shakiil use        pahacaantaa**
*Shakil  OBJ know AUX(pres.) nor EMPH Chota Shakil  him.OBJ recognize*
**hai**
*AUX(pres.)*

"Although Shah has said to the police that neither he knows Chota Shakil, nor does Chota Shakil recognize him.
From-hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-01-09

1.2.2.g– Contrafactive
lekin paakistaan ke log    yadi rishvat lete to  vo  kabhii  **pakaRe na**
*but  Pakistan  of  people  if   bribe   take then they sometimes catch  NEG*
**jaate**      aur yadi kisii  maaii ke laal      ne    unhE     Tep kiyaa
*PASSIVE  and if   some bold young man ERG  them.OBJ  tape did*
hotaa           to  ve   kabhii    itnii  maamuulii rakam  **sviikaar na**
*AUX(past,subj) then they sometimes so   ordinary   amount assent  NEG*
**karte**
*do*

"But if the people of Pakistan took a bribe, they would never be caught, and if some bold young man had recorded them then they would never have accepted such a small amount of money."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-04-10


1.2.2.h – Tag Question
tum   aaoge      **na**?
*you   will come  NEG*
"You will be coming, won't you?"
(Montaut 2004: 265)


1.2.3 *NahII*

The least-restricted of the negative particles in Hindi-Urdu is *nahII*. It is used primarily for negating finite and indicative verb forms (Montaut 2004: 260), but, as noted, may be used in other contexts as well. Bhatia refers to *nahII* as the "elsewhere" particle, and Bashir describes it as "the default negative particle in Hindi-Urdu" (Bhatia 1995: 12; Bashir 2003: 14).

In his *Indo-Aryan Languages*, Colin Masica provides a good illustration of the differing functions of *na* and *nahII*. He notes, in particular, that sometimes the use of *na* indicates the presence of a "contrafactive" clause, while *nahII* indicates the so-called "present habitual." This difference would otherwise be unclear due to the deletion of an auxiliary in negated present habitual forms. (For example, *nahII jaataa* is translated as "he doesn't go," while *na jaataa* is "[if he] didn't go/hadn't gone" [Masica 1991: 392].)

For the purposes of the current research I am assuming the following distribution of negative particles in Hindi-Urdu: *nahII* is the general negator, traditionally associated with the indicative; *na* is restricted to tag questions, disjunctive constructions, and non-indicative clauses – subjunctive, imperative, non-finite forms. *Mat* is used only for the imperative, particularly in an emphatic or non-honorific prohibition.

## 1.3 Origins of Negative Particles

The formal development of the Hindi-Urdu negative particles appears relatively uncomplicated. A brief description of previous accounts follows.

### 1.3.1 Origins of *mat*

The modern negative imperative particle *mat* comes from the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) prohibitive particle *maa* (Masica 1995: 389). As we will see with *nahII*, we will assume the form *maa* has undergone contamination with another form in the language, resulting in a shortened vowel and final *–t*.

### 1.3.2   Origins of *na*

*Na* was the OIA general negative particle (Masica 1995: 389; Schwarzschild 1959: 44).

### 1.3.3   Origins of *nahII*

There are two accepted theories accounting for the formal development of the modern Hindi-Urdu general negative particle *nahII*. First, according to Kellogg, "the common negative *nahII*… has arisen from the combination of the negative *na*, with the 3rd singular *aahi*, of the substantive verb" (1938: 281).[5] The primary support for this theory is that the presence of *nahII* in a Hindi-Urdu sentence permits the dropping of the present tense auxiliary/existential in such

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[5]According to Schwarzschild some, like Kellogg, attribute the substantive portion to Sanskrit *as-* "to be," while others say it descends from *bhu-* "to be" (1959: 44-45).

forms as the present imperfective (habitual), present perfect, and the existential (Masica 1995: 392; Bashir 2003: 3).

Examples of this tendency are given below.[6]

1.3.3.a – Present Imperfective (-AUX)
…mAI hinsa tathaa logO kii hatya mE bharosaa **nahII rakhtaa**
 *I slaughter and people of murder on faith NEG keep*

"… I don't believe in the slaughter and murder of people."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-02-15

1.3.3.b – Present Perfect (-AUX)[7]
… kAAgres yaa unkii sarkaar ne is maamle mE kisii tarah kii
 *congress or him.of government ERG this matter in any type of*
 **dohrii baatE nahII kII**
 *double talk NEG did*

"… Congress or his government has never double-talked in this matter."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-04-30

1.3.3.c – Existential
… haakii aur krikeT ke maamle mE bhaarat-paakistaan se acchaa anya
 *hockey and cricket of matter in India Pakistan than good other*
 koii mukaablaa **nahII**
 *any rivalry NEG*
"… in the matter of cricket and hockey there is not a better rivalry than India-Pakistan."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-03-05 (*my translation*)

The second account of its origin says *nahII* is a combination of *na* and the OIA emphatic particle *hi* (Turner 1966: 7035). Support for this theory may be that Sanskrit did have a particle *nahi*, which, according to Whitney, was composed of the general negative and the emphatic particle *hi* : "*na* is combined with *hi*, both elements retaining their full meaning" (1931: 413).

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[6]Each of these could contain *hai*, the present auxiliary/existential form, after the bold-faced section.

[7]The present perfect –AUX form (deleted AUX) and the simple perfective, which never contains an AUX, are indistinguishable when negated. Therefore, this example could be the simple perfective, rather than the present perfect –AUX. I tried to choose an example where a native speaker used the English auxiliary "has" in the translation.

Schwarzschild says that the Sanskrit emphatic negative *nahi*, through contamination with a

Prakrit form *naaim*, survived into the literary Apabhramsas and later as *\*naahi(m)*, although

there is no direct evidence in the later Prakrits for the form *\*naahim* with the added nasal

(Schwarzschild 1959: 47-50).[8]  Masica concludes that *nahII* likely has elements of both *na +*

*aahi* and *na + hi*.  The two origins represent the larger New Indo-Aryan negation system: in

some NIA languages *nahII* (or its equivalent) displays more verb-like features, while in others,

such as Hindi-Urdu, it displays more particle-like features (Masica 1991: 393).

One characteristic that neither origin clearly accounts for is the *–II* ending of modern

*nahII*, with both a long vowel and nasalization in the final syllable.  In his account Schwarzschild

offers a reasonable explanation: "The lengthening of the final syllable that characterizes the

Hindi derivative (*nahII*) is probably based on the influence of the frequent final *–hII* of adverbs

such as *kahII* " (1959: 50).  Hindi-Urdu contains a number of these phonetically similar

(locative) adverbs: *kahII* ("somewhere"), *vahII* ("right there"), *yahII* ("right here").[9]

Schwarzschild would like to attribute the nasalization in modern *nahII* to the unattested

Apabhramsa form *\*naahi(m)* (see above), ending in the nasal, but since this does not account for

the long vowel, there is no reason not to attribute both the long vowel *and* the nasalization to the

analogy from the adverbs. The nasalization is thus equally compatible with either origin of *nahII*,

from the emphatic form or that containing the auxiliary.

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[8]Schwarzschild does not dispense entirely with an origin in the "to be" verb, but seeks to support R.L. Turner, who "emphasizes the possibility of contamination with the descendants of Sanskrit *nahi*, more than the preceding writers did" (1959: 45).

[9]*kahII = kahAA* ("where") + *hii* ("restrictive" particle)
*vahII = vahAA* ("there") + *hii*
*yahII = yahAA* ("here") + *hii*
(Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary; Montaut 2004: 49)
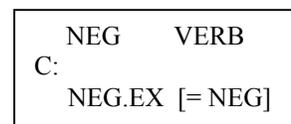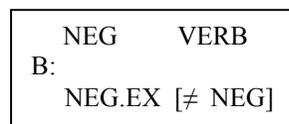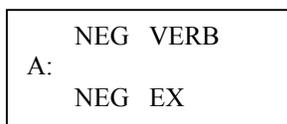
1.4 Development of Negation Systems

A few established "cycles" of negation are particularly relevant to the development of Hindi-Urdu *nahII*. Elena Bashir refers to the typologies of Otto Jespersen and William Croft as support for her description of negation. In order to establish the context for her discussion, I will present these theories and proceed to discuss Bashir's findings.

1.4.1 *Jespersen*

In *Negation in English and Other Languages* (1917) Otto Jespersen describes a cyclical process accounting for changes in negative forms over time: "the original adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word" (1917: 4). One theory of the origin of Hindi-Urdu *nahII* places the negation system easily within this framework. The emphatic particle *hi* has been combined with the original general negative *na*, thus strengthening it. Over time, then, the strengthened negative *nahi* has come to be the general negative, as *nahII*.

1.4.2  *Croft*

Observing synchronic states in various languages, William Croft constructs a diachronic typology of negation based on the existential predicate. His work ultimately leads to the establishment of three stages of negation. Croft presents the following diagram as an illustration of his typology (1991: 13):

| A: | NEG   VERB |
|    | NEG   EX |

| B: | NEG      VERB |
|    | NEG.EX  [≠ NEG] |

| C: | NEG      VERB |
|    | NEG.EX  [= NEG] |

In stage A, a general negative exists, which negates both non-existential and existential predicates. By stage B, two negators exist – the general negative and a special "negative existential" verb form. By stage C the negative existential remains and has also assumed the role of general verbal negator; the original general negator has been lost. The cycle begins again when the special negative existential function is lost, and this single form is *only* the general negator (Bashir 2003: 3). Between the three stages are intervening steps where, according to Croft, "synchronic variation" exists (Croft 1991: 6). This synchronic variation represents established diachronic processes – a) phonological fusion, b) emphasis/weakening, c) analogy (1991: 24). While Croft discusses the development of the general negative from the existential verb form, he also asserts that "the other significant factor in determining the distribution of language types in the negative-existential cycle is the association of negation with emphasis…." (1991: 20). Croft, then, while acknowledging the important role of emphasis, focuses on another possible explanation for the development of negation systems in the world's languages – "negative plus existential/auxiliary."

### 1.4.3 *Bashir*

A recent, specific treatment of the Hindi-Urdu negation system has been done by Elena Bashir. Bashir uses Croft's analysis to explain the formal development of *nahII* from *na*, and to account for *nahII* 's current status as the general negative particle in Hindi-Urdu. Drawing on both Jespersen's notion of "strengthening" a weakened negative adverb and Croft's emphasis on the auxiliary, Bashir claims that the status of *nahII* in modern Hindi-Urdu is largely due to its origins in *both* the auxiliary and an emphatic particle added to the negative. Her method is to compare frequencies of *na* and *nahII* within indicative contexts in a 1930s Hindi novel (*Godaan*) to their frequencies in a present-day Urdu newspaper (*DailyJang*). She concludes that, whereas

*na* was the default in *Godaan*, *nahII* has become the default in modern Hindi-Urdu (Bashir 2003: 14.) According to her analysis, it is only relatively recently (within the last 70 years) that *nahII* has assumed its role as "elsewhere" particle.[10]

Following Colin Masica's suggestion that "quite possibly the *nahII* (Hindi) /*naahii* (Marathi) forms owe something to both *na + hi* and *na* + Present Auxiliary" (1991: 393), Bashir argues that the Hindi presented in the novel has two forms of *nahII*: *na* + present AUX (*nahII*-T)[11] and *na* + EMPH (*nahII*-E) (2003: 2). She indicates that frequently *nahII* is found in contexts where a present auxiliary exists in the positive sentence, but has been lost in the negated sentence. This is evidence of *na* + AUX, corresponding to Croft's "Stage B" in which the negative particle has merged with the existential and the two become a negative existential verb (Bashir 2003: 7, 3). In *Godaan*, however, *nahII* also occurs where there is no motivation by a present tense AUX. According to Bashir these instances are evidence of *na* + EMPH (2003: 9). Thus it appears two types of *nahII* existed simultaneously, and they existed in specified circumstances. At the time *Godaan* was written, the default particle was *na*, and either a present auxiliary (NEG + AUX) or emphasis (NEG + EMPH) could motivate the use of *nahII* (Bashir 2003: 14).

In the end, Bashir ties the increased diachronic frequency of *nahII* to its status as *na* +AUX, which she believes led to a reanalysis of *nahII* as the general negative particle (2003: 15). If it is possible to establish a chronology of the two types, Bashir's analysis of *Godaan* might suggest that *nahII* -T was a newer innovation, added to the *nahII*-E that already existed.[12]

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[10]It is important to take into account, though, that literature is probably more conservative than the spoken language.

[11]T = tense

[12]Schwarzschild suggests the same, arguing for the influence of Sanskrit *nahi*: "Any influence of the verb "to be" *bhu* or *as* at this early date is unthinkable as there was no form of either of these verbs that resembled a type *aahi* which could coalesce with *na* to form *naahi* in the Ardha-Maagadhii" (1959: 47).

With the increased use of *nahII* resulting from *nahII*-T, the particle was reanalyzed as the general negator.[13] Bashir points out that in the contemporary language *nahII* occurs with just about every tense/aspect "except the subjunctive and imperative (although there is a tendency among some speakers now to use *nahII* even with imperatives)," and *nahII*-T has lost much of its association with the present tense auxiliary: "In contemporary Hindi-Urdu, to the extent that variation still exists, the analysis underlying *nahII*-E is replacing/has replaced that of *nahII*-T" (2003: 14).

In what follows, I would like to revisit the idea that Masica presented when he suggested that the general negative particle came from both sources. In contrast to his conclusion, is there any merit to the idea that *nahII* has come only from "negative plus auxiliary," which, at the time of *Godaan*, had already begun to spread such that it existed in places where there was no auxiliary motivating it?

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[13]"The appearance of *nahII* -T with negated present perfects and imperfects… has, because it increases the absolute number of occurrences of *nahII*, led to a reanalysis of *nahII* as the default negative marker, freed from its linkage to the present tense" (Bashir 2003: 15).

Chapter II

Data and Analysis

2.1  Introduction

In her paper "na and nahII in Hindi and Urdu" Elena Bashir says that modern Hindi-Urdu

*nahII* has two sources – 1) an Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) negative particle *plus* the OIA emphatic

particle *hi* and 2) the OIA negative particle *plus* an auxiliary form.  This conclusion is based on

her observations of negated, indicative sentences from two corpora.  Much of her discussion

details the data from *Godaan*, written in the 1930s.  It is in *Godaan* that Bashir observes the two

types of *nahII*, which she labels *nahII*-E (*na* + emphasis) and *nahII*-T (*na* + present tense).  She

implies that *nahII*-T was an innovation in the language of that time, added to a *nahII*-E that

already existed, possibly from Sanskrit *nahi*.[1]  In her count of modern negation, based on a

contemporary Urdu newspaper (*DailyJang*), Bashir found *nahII* to be the preference for negation

in all indicative categories.[2]   We must assume, then, that the introduction of *nahII*-T into the

language around the time of *Godaan* resulted in such an increase in instances of *nahII*, that, since

then, it has been reanalyzed as the "default negative marker" (2003: 15).  *Na*, in turn, has lost its

default status, and is now the negator of non-indicative and non-finite forms.[3]

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[1] See note 13, Chapter I.

[2] See Bashir's Table 4 for counts (2003: 7).  One exception to the "predominance of *nahII*" in the contemporary corpus is its use with "modal-like forms."  For example, Bashir notes that a large percentage of unmarked negated perfectives with *saknaa* ('to be able') still occur with *na*, though *nahII* is more common (2003: 13).

[3] See Chapter I, section 1.2.2 for examples of the present distribution of *na*.

Bashir has demonstrated that *nahII* is now the default particle in Hindi-Urdu, used in all indicative forms. Having read her conclusions, my initial goal in this thesis was to extend her count of present-day negation by examining another corpus and by including *all* instances of negation, indicative and non-indicative.

2.2   Corpus

The corpus used in the present research was a web-based Hindi newspaper, *IndiaInfo*, collected as part of the EMILLE-CIIL Monolingual Written Corpora.[4]  The corpus contains approximately 600,000 words from articles written between September 2000 and July 2001.

2.3 Distribution of *nahII – IndiaInfo* corpus

My initial count of the *IndiaInfo* corpus (approximately 600,000 words) included all of the negative particles – *mat*, *na*, and *nahII*.  I did not find any instances of the negative imperative *mat*.  Given the genre of the corpus (newspaper), however, it is not surprising that there would be few, if any, instances of the negative imperative.  There were approximately 468 instances of *na* in the corpus.  I ultimately narrowed my focus to the particle *nahII*.  As expected, the majority of negative sentences contained *nahII*, with approximately 3861 instances.  Below I will give examples of its distribution from the EMILLE-CIIL corpus.  Section *2.3.1* highlights the use of *nahII* with indicative verb forms.

2.3.1 Indicative[5]

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[4]The EMILLE-CIIL Monolingual Written Corpora is part of a collaborative effort (The EMILLE/CIIL Corpus) between the EMILLE Project, Lancaster University, UK and the Central Indian Institute of Languages (CIIL), Mysore, India.  It is distributed by the Evaluation and Language Resources Distribution Agency (ELDA), Paris, France.  All data containing the reference *hin-w-indiainfo-news* are from the corpora.

[5]Unless otherwise indicated, these are the translations of one of my consultants, or a collaboration between me and one of my consultants.

In addition to occurrences of *nahII* with present AUX-bearing forms (expected in *Godaan*), approximately 698 of the 3861 examples of *nahII* occurred in non-AUX, indicative contexts. The ratio of *nahII* to *na* in this context was around 698 to 3.[6] Below are examples of *nahII* with indicative verb forms, as observed in the *IndiaInfo* corpus.

2.3.1.a
raashtrapati parvej musharraf ke dabaav    mE aakar       unhE     pad    mukt
*president    Pervez Musharraf of influence in   having come   them.OBJ status free*
**nahII   karte   hAI**        to…
*NEG    does    AUX(pres) then*

"(If he), having come under the influence of President Pervez Musharraf, does not set them free then…"
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-04-30

Sentence *2.3.1.a* is an example of the present tense imperfective (habitual) usage of the verb, with auxiliary included. In the contemporary language, the negative also occurs without the AUX, as shown below in *2.3.1.b*.

2.3.1.b
…mAI hinsa     tathaa logO    kii hatya    mE bharosaa **nahII   rakhtaa**
 *I    violence and    people of murder in   faith     NEG keep*

"I do not believe in violence and the murder of people."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-02-15

*NahII* also occurs with the "present progressive", with AUX (*2.3.1.c*) and without AUX (*2.3.1.d*):

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[6]This count of *nahII* and *na* in non-AUX, indicative contexts did not include "simple perfective" forms. In addition, uses of *nahII* and *na* in disjunctive constructions were not included in this particular count.

2.3.1.c
… koii  bhii  paakistaanii bhaarat mE  **nahII rah  rahaa  hai**
  *any  even Pakistani    India   in NEG  live -ing    AUX(pres)*

"… no Pakistani is living in India."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-11-02

2.3.1.d
Tiim  ke kaptaan sTiiv waa aur  up-kaptaan   eDam gilkrisT   inglaiND kii
*team  of captain  Steve Wa and near-captain Adam Gilchrist  England  of*
Tiim  kamjor  **nahII AAk     rahe**
*team  weak    NEG appraise  -ing*

"The team's captain Steve Wa and vice-captain Adam Gilchrist are not evaluating
England's team as weak."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-05-31

Sentences *e, f,* and *g* below are examples of *nahII* with simple perfective (or present perfect

without AUX), present perfect, and past perfect forms.

2.3.1.e
…unhOne   suniil gaavaskar par kisii bhii  tarah kiicard **nahII uchaale**
  *he.ERG Sunil Gavaskar on   any  even way    mud   NEG  toss*
"He did not in any way insult Sunil Gavaskar."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-02-17

2.3.1.f
nyaayaalay ne     haalAAki faislaa  kii koi taariikh tay      **nahII kii**
*court      ERG however  decision of any date     decision NEG did*
**hai**
*AUX(pres)*

"However the court has not decided any date for the decision."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-10-31

2.3.1.g
apne     pichle    mishan mE 6 sitambar   ko unhE     raajakumar kii
*REFL.  previous mission in  6 September on  them.to Raj Kumar of*
rihaaii kii dishaa   mE  koi saphaltaa **nahII milii thii**
*release of direction in   any  success NEG  met AUX(past)*

"In their last mission of September 6th they did not have any success in the
direction of releasing Raj Kumar."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-09-21

17

Sentence *2.3.1.h* is an example of the future tense with *nahII*.


    2.3.1.h
    is    faisle      ke baad  DTH  duurdarshan  kii  milkiyat    **nahII   rahegii**
    *this decision  after     DTH   television    of  ownership NEG    will remain*

    "After this decision DTH television will not have ownership."
    from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-11-02


These data from the *IndiaInfo* corpus confirm Bashir's statement that "In contemporary Hindi and Urdu… *nahII* occurs with present and past imperfective (habitual), present and past progressive, present and past perfect, simple perfective, and future" (2003: 14).  Based on my observations of negation in the *IndiaInfo* corpus it is evident that *nahII* is not used exclusively in the indicative and with finite forms.[7]  Within the corpus there were approximately 38 occurrences of *nahII* with either the simple subjunctive or imperative, compared to approximately 84 uses of *na*.  With non-finite forms there were some 117 occurrences of *nahII*, compared to approximately 147 instances of *na* in the same context.[8]  Though *na* remains predominant in non-indicative and non-finite contexts, it is clear that *nahII* can be used.  In section *2.3.2* below, I present examples of *nahII* in non-indicative and non-finite contexts.

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[7]Also see note 3, Chapter I and additionally the quote from Bashir in section 1.4.3 (p.13).

[8]The non-indicative count did not include the contrafactive, highlighted in 2.3.2.f through 2.3.2.h.  Counts of non-finite forms included various uses of verbal nouns and participles.  Disjunctive uses of *na*, and various other, apparently non-verbal, uses of *na* are also excluded from this count.  See section 2.5.2, pp. 34-35 for further discussion.

2.3.2 Non-indicative/ Non-finite

Sentences *2.3.2.a* and *2.3.2.b* are examples of *nahII* with the subjunctive.

2.3.2.a
aise           sandigdh logO    par kaRii nazar      rakhii jaa    rahii hai
*this kind of  suspect   people on  strong vigilance kept  PASS -ing  AUX(pres.)*
jisse ki  ve    giraftaarii se      bacne      ke liye desh     se baahar **nahII  cale jaaE**
*so that  they  arrest      from  be saved  for      country  out of    NEG   set out(subj.)*

"Strong vigilance is being kept on this type of suspect people so that they don't go out of the country to escape arrest."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-12-16

2.3.2.b
… ve    S.P. hindujaa, G.P.  hindujaa va   P.P.  hindujaa ko    hiraasat mE  **nahII**
   *they S.P. Hinduja   G.P. Hinduja  and P.P. Hinduja OBJ. custody  into NEG*

**lE**
*take(subj.)*

"… they should not take S.P. Hinduja, G.P. Hinduja, and P.P. Hinduja into custody."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-01-10

Sentence *2.3.2.c* is an example of *nahII* with the imperative.[9]

2.3.2.c
yadi mujhe kisii      ko    vishva krikeT mE cunna         ho              tab mE
*if    me.to someone OBJ. all of cricket in   choose(inf.) EXIST(subj.) then I*
kahUUga ki  jOtii roDs   kii dishaa    mE koii bhii shaat khelne   kii **koshish**
*will say  that Jonti Rhodes of direction in   any even shot play(inf.) of attempt*
**nahII  karo**
*NEG   do(imp./subj.)*

"If I had to select someone in all of cricket then I would say that in the direction of Jonti Rhodes don't try to play any shot."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-05-01


Sentences *2.3.2.d* and *e* are examples of *nahII* with non-finite verb forms.[10]

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[9]The imperative *karo* is identical to a subjunctive form *karo*.  I have labeled the sentence as imperative based on the translation provided by a native speaker.  For the overall argument it does not make much difference whether we consider it imperative or subjunctive.

[10]Bashir does not discuss negation for non-finite forms.  Annie Montaut says, "There are two main negative particles in Hindi, *nahII*, used in actual statements, and *na*, in modal statements and with non finite verbs…" (2004: 260).  Bhatia assigns *na* to both participial and gerundive phrases (1995: 12).

2.3.2.d
ham **yuddh nahII  karne  kii sAdhi** caahte hAI
*we/I war  NEG  doing  of  treaty  want  AUX(pres.)*

"I want a treaty for not engaging in a war."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-09-07

2.3.2.e
… paakistaan  ke viruuddh **nahII  khelne  kaa  nirNaya** videsh  mantraalaya ne
   *Pakistan  against  NEG  playing  of  decision foreign minister  ERG*
liyaa hai     aur khel  mantraalaya ko sarkaar    dvaaraa lie gaye nirNaya
*taken AUX(pres.) and sports ministry  to government by   made  decision*
se  jantaa ko  avgat  karaanaa  hai
*of  public OBJ. informed  to make(inf.) AUX(pres.)*

"the foreign minister has made the decision of not playing sports with Pakistan and the
sports ministry has to make the public aware of decision made by the government."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-04-27


Perhaps the most striking atypical context in which *nahII* presently exists, based on

examples from *IndiaInfo*, is in the contrafactive clause.  In *The Indo-Aryan Languages* Colin

Masica says that the presence of *na* versus *nahII* with the imperfective participle (e.g. *jaataa*)

distinguishes the contrafactive from the present habitual (1991: 392).[11]  Thus we would expect a

statement with a contrafactive meaning to be negated by *na*.  However, within the *IndiaInfo*

corpus we find some apparent contrafactive sentences with *nahII*:

2.3.2.f
agar  meraa  yah  vishvaas  ho         ki      ham yahAA  ekdivasiiya
*if  my  this  belief  EXIST(subj.pres.) that(conj.) we  here  one-day*
shArkhalaa **nahII** jiit sakte tab vaisii sthiti   mE  mAI yahA **nahII  hota**
*series    NEG  win can  then  that  situation in  I   here  NEG  EXIST(contr.)*

 "If this were my belief that we couldn't win a one-day series then in that situation I
wouldn't be here."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-04-28

_____

[11]See fuller discussion of Masica's comments on contrafactive in 1.2.3.

2.3.2.g
yadi harbhajan **nahII hote**      tab aasTreliyaaii Tiim aauT hii     **nahII**
*if*    *Harbhajan NEG EXIST(contr) then Australian*    team *out*   *EMPH*   *NEG*
**hotaa**
*EXIST(contr)*

 "If Harbhajan were not there then the Australian team would not have been out."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-03-16


2.3.2.h
aaDvaaNii kaa maannaa        hai       ki yadi pahle is    maamle mE
*Advani*   *of*   *acknowledgment EXIST(pres) that if first this matter in*
haaiikorT kii ray    **le lii   hotii**       to   shaayad masjid girne kii naubat
*high court of opinion taken AUX(contr.) then perhaps mosque falling of moment*
hii      **nahII aatii**
*EMPH NEG come(contr.)*

"This is Advani's opinion that **if we had taken** the opinion of the high court in this matter then perhaps the moment of demolition of the mosque **would not have come**."
from DATAhin-w-indiainfo-news-01-05-14


That *nahII* does appear to exist with subjunctive, imperative, non-finite forms, and the

contrafactive has one major implication: whatever its origin, the particle has begun to spread into

the domain "traditionally" occupied by *na*.


2.4 Spread of *nahII*

Bashir presents *nahII* at two different time periods. In her paper, she shows that *nahII* is

certainly the default negative particle in the contemporary language, but seventy years ago it was

not. In the intervening time, the particle has spread from restricted environments to the

"elsewhere" position. If we consider *nahII* to be *nahII-E*, this spread may represent Jespersen's

cycle, involving the "strengthening" of the negative particle. If our point of origin is *nahII*-T, the

spread may represent Croft's analysis of the negative and the existential verb.[12]  Both Jespersen's and Croft's analyses are subsumed under a larger historical tendency presented in Kurylowicz's fourth law.[13]  First, a newer, marked form in a language (*nahII*) by overuse will lose its markedness.  Second, this now unmarked form (*nahII*) will encroach on the territory of the older form, pushing it into a "secondary" function (Hock 1991: 224).  Whatever the particular origin of *nahII*, it is evidently following this pattern.  Bashir shows how this has happened for indicative forms.  This tendency becomes even clearer when we consider the current evidence from *IndiaInfo*, presented in section *2.3.2*.  Not only has *nahII* spread into the indicative, by now it has begun to assume the non-indicative and non-finite roles of *na*.  We could reasonably expect, then, that *nahII* may at some point entirely replace *na* in the negative.

Bashir and I would agree that *nahII* is currently the default particle in Hindi-Urdu, and that, though at one time a marked form, it is now unmarked and has spread into contexts once occupied by *na*.  What is not clear to me at this point is how and when this spread began.  As Bashir presents it, the marked form *nahII* resulted from two separate augmentations of OIA *na*. The spread of *nahII* as an unmarked form began after *Godaan*, where *nahII*-E and *nahII*-T each still existed in specified circumstances.  This is Bashir's account of the origin and timing of the spread of *nahII*.  But does the end result, the default status of *nahII*, necessitate a particle with two origins that have merged into one particle within the last seventy years?  I would like to suggest an alternative, and simpler, explanation for the current status of *nahII*.

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[12]See Chapter I section 1.4 for brief summaries of Jespersen's and Croft's analyses.

[13]As presented in Hock 1991, Kurylowicz's fourth "law" of analogy is, "When as a consequence of a morphological [= analogical] change, a form undergoes differentiation, the new form takes over its primary ("basic") function, the old form remains only in secondary ("derived") function" (1991: 223).

2.4.1 Spread of *nahII* – Evidence from Bashir

First, we will begin with Bashir's evidence that, just as *nahII* exists today in "unexpected" contexts (subjunctive, imperative, non-finite), so it was in the language of *Godaan*.[14] Bashir presents examples of *nahII* with the past perfect and the future tenses:

2.4.1.a   Past Perfect[15]
mere lie  duudh **nahII aataa thaa**,         makkhan **nahII bAdhaa thaa**/ G-228-24ff
*me  for  milk  NEG  come  AUX(past)  butter      NEG   be fixed  AUX(past)*

"There was no milk or butter for me." (Bashir 2003:7, example 12)


2.4.1.b   Future
daataadiinaa ne     suratii   phAAkte hue kahaa 'kaam  kaise **nahII   karEge**? …. 'to
*Datadina       ERG   tobacco tossing      said    work  how   NEG   will do        so*
hori  kaam  **nahII  karEge**?' G-221-32ff
*Hori  work  NEG   will do*

"Tossing tobacco into his mouth Datadin said, "What do you mean he won't work?.... So Hori won't work?" (Bashir 2003: 8, example 17)


Because these verb forms do not contain the present auxiliary, the *nahII* that is present with each cannot on the surface be *nahII*-T. We know, however, that *nahII*-T does exist based on its interaction with the present auxiliary in other forms. A simple explanation for the negation in *2.4.1.a* and *b* is that they are instances of the early spread of a default *nahII* that originated in *nahII*-T. This explanation seems particularly reasonable given the behavior of *nahII* in the contemporary language. If at some point (now) a language is exhibiting a certain behavior (spread of *nahII*), then, if there is evidence of that same behavior (*nahII* in unexpected places) earlier in the language, by Occam's Razor we may logically assume the behavior (spread of *nahII*) also existed in the earlier language.

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[14]For *Godaan*, *nahII* is "unexpected" when it occurs with a verb that does not involve the present AUX. Bashir's explanation is that this is an example of *nahII*-E.

[15]Interlinear glosses for Bashir's examples are mine.

| | NOW | THEN (*Godaan*) |
|---|---|---|
| | Location of *nahII*: | Location of *nahII*: |
| | Indicative (expected) | AUX (expected) |
| | Non-indicative (unexpected) | non-AUX (unexpected) |
| | **Conclusion:** | **Conclusion:** |
| | *nahII* is spreading from | *nahII* was spreading from |
| | indicative→non-indicative | AUX→non-AUX |

Rather than placing the beginning of the spread after *Godaan*, and within the last seventy years, I would place it at some point before *Godaan*. At this point the marked particle *nahII*-T arose. By the time of *Godaan* we have evidence of *nahII*-T losing its markedness and beginning to spread. That is, anywhere in *Godaan* where *nahII*-T exists outside of the domain of a present auxiliary, it is an example of the spread of *nahII* as the general verbal negator. The following table illustrates the process by which *nahII* became the default particle. It is a modified version of Bashir's table, which contains both *nahII*-T and *nahII*-E, and is based on the stages William Croft establishes in "The Evolution of Negation" (1991):

| Stage | Structure(s) | Meaning | Form(s) |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | NEG | "not" | *na* |
| B | NEG | "not" | *na* |
| | NEG + AUX | "is not" | *nahII* (*na + aahi*) |
| C | NEG | "not"; "no"[16] | *nahII* |
| | NEG EXISTENTIAL | "is not" | |

(Bashir 2003: 3)

The OIA general negative particle *na* existed first. At some point the form *nahII* arose as a combination of the OIA general negative and the substantive verb (Kellogg 1938: 281). Then *nahII* began to be reanalyzed as the general negator. In *Godaan*, this would have meant that not

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[16]Generally, *nahII* is translated as "no" when it responds to a question. It does not seem to be capable of attaching to nouns like English "no" in "no one". See discussion in section 2.5.2.

only was *nahII* used in place of *na* + present auxiliary, it had also begun to be used with other verb forms – the future, the past imperfect, the simple perfective and the past perfect.[17] *Godaan* shows the beginning of the spread of *nahII*-T.

Bashir has presented examples from *Godaan* where *nahII* cannot be motivated by a present auxiliary. It is clear, then, that something must account for *nahII*'s presence in non-AUX(pres) locations. I have suggested that, given the current trajectory of *nahII*, these instances are examples of the early spread of the general negative *nahII*. As presented in Chapter I, Bashir attributes these "atypical" *nahII*s to *nahII*-E. The choice between her account and the alternative I have presented will depend crucially on the status of the unexpected *nahII* in *Godaan*.

2.5  Status of *nahII*-E:

We have established that there must be some explanation for occurrences of *nahII* outside the domain of a present auxiliary. In her discussion of these "irregular" instances, Bashir attributes them to *nahII*-E, resulting from the presence of some emphatic element in the sentence. For example, she says, "Occurrences of *nahII* together with a past-tense auxiliary show the contrastive emphatic function of *nahII* (*nahII*-E)" (Bashir 2003: 7). The underlying supposition seems to be that if one cannot attribute *nahII* to *nahII*-T, then it must be attributable to *nahII*-E. In order for the negation to be *nahII*-E, however, there must be some emphatic element in the sentence which can account for the original *hi*. Therefore the key question to resolving whether *Godaan* had one or two types of *nahII* will center on this idea of "emphasis." My next task, then, is to reexamine Bashir's examples of emphatic *nahII*.

Before I begin presenting her evidence, it is important to note that the idea of "emphasis" in itself is problematic, in that determining its presence or non-presence seems to involve a high

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[17]See Bashir's Table 4, presenting her counts of *nahII* and *na* according to tense in *Godaan* (2003: 7).

degree of subjectivity.[18]  In order to establish emphasis as a feature of *nahII*, then, it seems reasonable to demand that

A)  Whenever *nahII* (not attributable to AUX) appears, we consistently get an emphatic reading.

B)  Whenever *nahII* is absent in a negated sentence, an emphatic reading is also absent.


      2.5.1 Emphasis – Inverted Word Order

      In her paper Bashir presents several possible emphasis-bearing elements in a sentence, such as inverted word order (V NEG order) and "questions, with their inherent stress on the presupposed element" (2003: 8).  Other negated sentences in *Godaan* "involve clearly emphatic utterances" (2003: 8) or present "contrastive negation of a presupposed state/event" (2003: 7). According to Bashir it is the presence of one or more such elements which can account for *nahII*-E when there is no possibility of *nahII*-T.  Both Colin Masica and Annie Montaut also indicate that V NEG word order is emphatic (Masica 1991: 391; Montaut 2004: 260).[19]  According to Bhatia, V NEG can show the "contrastive function of negation."  For example:

      vo  **aayaa nahII, aayegaa**
      *he came  NEG   will come*
      "He did not come, (but) will come."
      (Bhatia 1995:20)

This gives us one idea, then, of how the language shows "emphasis."  On first glance the other arguments seem somewhat *ad hoc*.  Since V NEG word order appears to be the most compelling case for emphasis and is likewise easy to identify, I will begin with examples of it in my evaluation of *nahII*-E.

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[18]See note 19.

[19]In Masica's note (25), though, he says, "Not all speakers accept this interpretation …. It may be a question of what we mean by "emphasis": perhaps what is truly emphasized is the verb itself, not the negation…. (1991: 479).

In order to establish that native speakers do find emphasis in sentences with V NEG word order, I chose several modern examples from the *IndiaInfo* corpus and asked two native speaker consultants for translations. They were not told to anticipate any particular reading (*i.e.* emphasis). The example sentences are listed below, with translations (A and B) from both speakers.[20]

> 2.5.1.a
> baraak ne  kahaa ki  ve santuSHT nahII hAI  kyOki aise    kaThin
> *Barak ERG said that he satisfied  NEG EXIST. because this kind of difficult*
> evam saahasik nirNaya ke lie jaisaa    philiistiinii netutva  caahiye,
> *and bold  decision for  which kind of Palestinian leadership is needed*
> **vaisaa  hai   nahII**
> *that kind EXIST. NEG*
> from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-10-19
>
>
> Translation A: "Barak said he's not satisfied because the kind of Palestinian leadership which is needed for this type of difficult and courageous judgment, is not that kind (is not present)."
> Translation B: "Barak said they are not satisfied because the kind of Palestinian leadership needed for such a difficult and courageous decision is just not there."
>
>
> 2.5.1.b
> kyaa  yah nirNaya  le kar   gAAgulii ne  ek baat pakkii nahII kar lii ki
> *QUEST this decision having made Ganguli ERG one thing firm  NEG made that*
> **kam-se-kam unkii Tiim haaregii nahII**
> *at least   their team will lose NEG*
> from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-03-16
>
> Translation A: "Taking this decision, Ganguli has assured that at least their team won't lose."
> Translation B: "Having made this decision, didn't Ganguli make one thing clear (firm) that at least his team won't lose."

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[20] Slight modifications were made to some of the translations for smoother English, but not so as to change the behavior of the negative.

2.5.1.c
sabse mahattvapuurN baat  yah hai    ki  **ham haare nahII**
*all.of important        thing this EXIST that we   lost   NEG*
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-04-04

Translation A: "The most important thing is that we were not defeated."
Translation B: "The most important thing is that we didn't lose."


My consultants confirmed that the V NEG word order is emphatic.[21]  Here are Bashir's examples

from *Godaan* of V NEG word order, with her translations:


2.5.1.d
'vah kyaa jaantaa thaa,      inke biic mE    kyaa  khicRii pak rahii hai.'
*he   what know  AUX(past) them. between  what  mixture  cook –ing AUX(pres)*
'**jaantaa kyO nahII thaa**?'[22] G-124-43ff
*know    why  NEG  AUX(past)*

"He didn't know of what was being cooked up among them." **"What do you mean he
didn't know?"** (Bashir 2003: 7, example 13)

2.5.1.e
unko   jo    kuch      kahnaa hogaa      mujhe kahEgii, **tumse to bolEgii**
*she.to which something say(inf.) EXIST(fut.)   me.to will say  you.to    will speak*
**bhii  nahII**. G-135-13
*at all  NEG*

"She will say whatever she wants to say to me; **she won't speak to you at all**." (Bashir
2003: 8, example 16)[23]

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[21]Translation B of *2.5.1.a* clearly expresses the emphasis: "…is just not there."  The others do not overtly express emphasis.  I asked one of my consultants to compare each of these with a version of the sentence where V NEG order had been reversed.  It was at that point my consultant recognized the emphasis in V NEG vs. "unmarked" NEG V word order.

[22]The NEG in this sentence is actually situated between the imperfective participle and auxiliary which compose the past imperfect verb form.

[23] It is difficult to tell whether it is the *nahII* that would be emphatic here or the fact that it occurs with the *bhii*, which could by itself account for the "at all" in the translation.  We can also translate the particle *to* as "at all". (See Bhatia 1995:52-64 for a discussion of the particles *to*, *bhii*, and *hii* with negation.)

2.5.1.f
usne    jhuniyaa ko **jagaayaa nahII**. kuch       **bola   bhii    nahII**. cupke se
*he.ERG Jhuniya OBJ woke     NEG.    something spoke either NEG.    quietly*
khicRii  thaalii mE  nikaalii. G-281-07-09
*rice      plate   in    pour out*

"He **didn't wake** Jhuniya, and he **didn't say anything either**.  Quietly he put some rice in a plate." (Bashir 2003: 9, example 22)

The fact that my consultants did find emphasis in the modern V NEG sentences would support Bashir's claim that these sentences from *Godaan* are emphatic, and are thus compatible with an emphatic negative.  Based on this alone, it is possible for a *nahII*-E to exist.  The question remains, however, whether it is the negative word itself that is emphatic, or simply the placement of the negation.  If it is word order, the best way to decide between these options would be to compare sentences containing postposed *nahII* with sentences containing postposed *na*. However, other than in tag questions, *na* does not seem to appear after the verb that it negates.[24] This could be because it is not "emphatic" or that, for some phonological or prosodic reason, it simply does not occur in this location.  In the end, we will need to rely on judgments about the other emphatic sentences to help us determine the likelihood of *nahII*-E.

### 2.5.2 Emphasis – Other

As indicated, Bashir provides other reasons for judging a sentence as "emphatic", and thus requiring *nahII*-E.  After presenting the V NEG sentences from *IndiaInfo* to my consultants, I elicited translations for several of Bashir's examples from *Godaan,* again not indicating that there should be any special reading.  Recall that my aim is first, to verify that sentences with an unexpected *nahII* are emphatic, and second, to verify that emphatic sentences that are negated

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[24] Based on personal communication with one of my consultants.

use *nahII*.  I have listed below some of Bashir's "emphatic" negative sentences from *Godaan*

that involve the future tense.  Bashir's translation of each sentence is given first, followed by the

translations provided by my consultants.

> 2.5.2.a
> daataadiina ne suratii phAAkte hue kahaa 'kaam **kaise nahII karEge**?  Saal ke biic
> mE kaam <u>nahII choR sakte</u>/ jeTh mE choRnaa ho choR dE, karnaa ho karE/ uske  pahle
> <u>nahII choR sakte</u>/ gobar ne jamhaaii lekar kahaa, 'unhOne tumharii Gulaamii nahII
> likhii hai/ jab tak icchaa thii, kaam kiyaa/ ab <u>nahII icchaa hai</u>, <u>nahII karEge</u>/ ismE koii
> zabardastii <u>nahII kar saktaa</u>'/ to horii kaam **nahII karEge**?' 'naa!' G-221-32ff (Bashir
> 2003: 8)

Bashir's Translation:  "Tossing tobacco into his mouth Datadin said, 'What do you mean he
won't work?  He can't quit work in the middle of the year.  If he wants to quit in (the month of)
Jeth, he can quit; he can't quit before that.'  Yawning, Gobar said, 'He hasn't signed up to be
your slave.  So long as he wanted to he worked; now he doesn't want to (and) he won't work.
No one can force him to.'  'So Hori won't work?'  'No!' (2003:8; example 17)

Translation A:  Datadina said by tossing surti (tobacco) (in his mouth), "Why wouldn't he work?
He can't quit the job in the middle of the year.  If he wants to leave the job in Jeth (name of
month) he can, if he wants to continue he can.  Before that he can't quit."  Gobar said while
yawning, "He hasn't written your slavery (He hasn't enslaved you/ Working doesn't mean
you're a slave).  As long as he wished, he worked.  Now he doesn't wish, he won't work.  No
one can compel him."  "Hori won't work?"  *the* naa *is confirming this*[25]

Translation B:  Datadina said, popping a wad of tobacco into his mouth, 'How will he
not work?  (Of course he will work).  He can't quit in the middle of the year.  If he has to quit in
Jeth (month), then let him quit, if he has to work, then let him.  He can't quit before that.'
Gobar yawned and said, 'He hasn't signed on as your slave.  As long as he wanted, he worked.
Now he doesn't want to, he won't.  Nobody can force him in this matter.'  'So Hori won't
work?'  'Nope.'

Bashir describes the sections in bold-faced type as emphatic because they are "questions, with

their inherent stress on the presupposed element" (2003: 8):

> 1)  kaam **kaise nahII  karEge**?
>     *work  how  NEG    will do*
>     Bashir's translation – "What do you mean he won't work?"
>     Translation A – "Why wouldn't they work?"
>     Translation B – "How will he not work?" or "Of course he will work."

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[25]I have modified the pronouns used in this translation, to better correlate with Bashir's use of pronouns.  The verb
form can reflect a variety of pronouns – he, we, you (pl.).  My consultants were not given context, and thus had to
supply an appropriate pronoun.

2) to  horii  kaam  **nahII   karEge**?
   *so Hori   work   NEG    will do*
   Bashir's translation – "So Hori won't work?
   Translation A – "Hori won't work?"
   Translation B – "So Hori won't work?"

According to Bashir, emphasis is inherent in negative questions.[26]  I will provisionally

accept this claim.  But if negated questions are inherently emphatic because they contain a

presupposition (namely, truth of the predication being negated), then there is strictly speaking no

need for it to be overtly expressed. The simple fact that the sentence is in the form of a negated

question marks it as "emphatic".  If Bashir's claim is valid, then all negated questions in contexts

containing the auxiliary or existential verb must also be emphatic.  But these questions will

necessarily be negated with *nahII* (*i.e. nahII*-T). The appearance then of *nahII* also in negated

questions in other environments can once again reflect merely the spread of *nahII*-T.

Bashir describes the underlined phrases from the same passage as "clearly emphatic

utterances" (2003: 8).  Notice that some of them include negation with present imperfective

forms, minus the AUX.  Therefore we are not required to appeal to emphasis to account for *nahII*

in those sentences.  We may instead count (1), (2), and (4) as instances of *nahII*-T.

1) saal  ke biic   mE  kaam  <u>nahII  choR  sakte</u>
   *year of middle in   work  NEG leave   can*
   Bashir's translation – "He can't quit work in the middle of the year."
   Translation A – "He can't quit the job in the middle of the year."
   Translation B – "He can't quit in the middle of the year."

2) uske  pahle  <u>nahII  choR  sakte</u>
   *that   before NEG leave  can*
   Bashir's translation – "he can't quit before that."
   Translation A – "Before that he can't quit."
   Translation B – "He can't quit before that."

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[26]In her discussion of negation cycles, Bashir gives a general statement about presupposition, negation and
emphasis, referencing Givon (1978): "since to negate something presupposes its existence, negation occurs in
presuppositional contexts; hence the impetus to emphasize *non*-occurrence" (2003:3).

3) ab   nahII  icchaa  hai, nahII  karEge
   *now* NEG *desire  is*   NEG *will work*
   Bashir's translation – "now he doesn't want to (and) he won't work."
   Translation A – "Now he doesn't wish, he won't work."
   Translation B – "Now he doesn't want to, he won't."

4) ismE   koii        zabardastii  nahII kar  saktaa
   *this in  someone  compulsion*  NEG  *do   can*
   Bashir's translation – "No one can force him to."
   Translation A – "No one can compel him."
   Translation B – "Nobody can force him in this matter."

In addition, Bashir gives examples of *nahII* with the past tense auxiliary.  Recall that we

would expect *na* when the past tense auxiliary is used.  According to Bashir, "Occurrences of

*nahII* together with the past tense auxiliary show the contrastive emphatic function of *nahII*

(*nahII*-E)" (2003: 7).

2.5.2.b
jab tak      baccaa thaa,            duudh  pilaa diyaa/   phir  laavaaris kii tarah choR diyaa/
*as long as  child    EXIST(past) milk    gave to drink. Then orphan   like       left*
jo      sabne   khaayaa, vahii       mAIne  khaayaa/ mere lie duudh nahII   aataa
*what   all.ERG ate        same thing  I.ERG    ate        me.for   milk   NEG come*
thaa,              makkan nahII   bAdhaa   thaa/
*AUX(past)  butter   NEG    be fixed   AUX(past)*
G-228-24ff

Bashir's translation: "So long as I was a child (she) gave me milk (to drink).  Then she left me
like an orphan.  Whatever everyone else ate, I ate the same thing.  There was no milk or butter
for me." (2004: 7) (my underlining)

Translation A: "As long as/while I was a child, she fed me milk.  After that she left me like an
orphan.  Whatever all (everyone) ate, I ate the same thing.  Milk wouldn't come for me (wasn't
arranged for me), butter wouldn't be supplied.

Translation B: "As long as I was a baby, (they) gave (me) milk.  Then (they) left (me)
like an orphan.  What everyone ate, I ate the same.  I didn't used to get
milk, and we hadn't subscribed for butter.

Bashir attributes an emphatic reading to the underlined phrases above based on "contrast with

situation in the preceding sentence" (2003: 7).

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When we compare Bashir's translations to those of my consultants, the existence of emphasis is difficult to determine. In general there is no overt marking of emphasis in the English translations. A possible method for determining whether or not emphasis exists is to compare the speaker's understanding of present-day emphatic negation to his or her understanding of these sentences. One of my consultants took part in this exercise. After establishing that the *IndiaInfo* V NEG sentences seemed more emphatic than the NEG V sentences, I asked this consultant if she had the same sort of "emphatic" sense when she reading the *Godaan* sentences. For the most part, the consultant did not read the *Godaan* sentences as particularly emphatic.[27] This is not conclusive evidence against an emphatic reading. At the same time, the fact that this consultant *did* find emphasis in the V NEG sentences but *did not* find it consistently in the *Godaan* sentences raises questions about an emphatic interpretation. Our requirement that sentences with irregular *nahII* be emphatic consistently has not been clearly fulfilled. From this perspective, it has not been proven that *nahII* is present due to emphasis.

Our second test of the validity of the emphasis claim requires that, whenever an emphatic sentence is negated, it uses the emphatic negator (*nahII*-E). There is one example in Bashir's paper which is particularly problematic for drawing a correlation between emphasis and *nahII*.

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[27] One of the four passages, however, she determined was emphatic based on word choice:
"kahII naukar the lakhnauu mE?" gobar ne hekaRii ke saath kahaa "lakhnauu Gulaamii karne nahII gayaa thaa."
G-213-45ff

Bashir's translation: "Did you have a job in Lucknow?" Gobar said forcefully, "I didn't go to Lucknow to be a slave!" (2003: 7)

Translation A: "Were you a servant in Lucknow?" Gobar said proudly (exaggeratingly), "I didn't go to Lucknow to work as a slave (to be a slave)."

Translation B: "'Were you a servant somewhere in Lucknow?' Gobar said forcefully, 'I didn't go to Lucknow for slavery!'

Here, my consultant agrees with Bashir, who accounts for the emphasis in this passage by the "contrast of *naukar* 'employee' with *Gulaamii* 'slavery'" (2003: 7). The emphasis here could be due to the contrast of lexical items alone, though. An emphatic reading does not necessarily lie in the negative.

33

In order to show that *na* is clearly the default negator for the future tense in *Godaan*, Bashir

provides an example of an emphatic future sentence with *na*:

> 2.5.2.d
> yuvatii        ne   pati      kii or ghuur-kar       kahaa – <u>mAI na    jaaUUgii</u>, <u>na</u>
> *young woman ERG husband  toward having glared said    I    NEG will go   NEG*
> <u>jaaUUgii</u>, <u>na    jaUUgii</u>/puruS ne   jaise   alTimeTam diyaa – na     jaayagii? 'na
> *will go    NEG will go. Man  ERG sort of ultimatum  gave    NEG will go    NEG*
> jaaUUgii/' 'na     jaaUUgii?' 'na     jaaUUgii'/
> *will go.    NEG  will go      NEG  will go*
> G-138-51ff

Translation: "The young woman glared at her husband and said, '<u>I won't go, I won't go, I won't
go.</u>' The man gave a sort of ultimatum to her, 'You won't go?' (She replied) 'I won't go.' 'You
won't go?' 'I won't go!'" (Bashir 2003: 7, example 11)


The explanation for the presence of *na*, rather than *nahII*, is, "In the future, *na* is the default

negator, occurring even in some contexts involving strong emphasis" (2003: 7). If *na* can exist

in emphatic sentences, then an emphatic sentence does *not* necessarily require an emphatic

negative particle (*nahII*-E). This leaves room for negation in any emphatic sentence to have an

alternate source, and casts doubt on the argument for *nahII*-E.

At the beginning of section *2.5* I established two criteria by which we could know *nahII*-

E existed in *Godaan* – that the unexpected *nahII* always occurs in emphatic contexts, and that

negated emphatic contexts always contain *nahII*. If we assume that sentence *2.5.2.d* is emphatic,

clearly emphatic contexts do not require *nahII*. As for the "emphatic" contexts presented in

*2.5.2.a* and *b*, my consultant did not consistently replicate an emphatic reading. This is by no

means conclusive evidence against an emphatic reading, but the burden of proof is on the one

attempting to establish that "something extra" does exist.[28]  Since the examples from *Godaan* do

not clearly fulfill the criteria for establishing a connection between emphasis and *nahII*, we must

question whether *nahII*-E existed at all in *Godaan*.

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[28] "Something extra" comes from Bashir, in her discussion of *nahII* with the simple perfective (2003: 9).

Since the status of *nahII*-E in *Godaan* is questionable, I will again appeal to the simpler explanation for the origin of modern Hindi-Urdu *nahII*.  By the time of *Godaan*, there was one *nahII – nahII*-T – which had already begun to lose its markedness as "*na* plus AUX".  In *Godaan* we see the early spread of this *nahII* into unexpected contexts with the future tense and past auxiliary, and even with the present auxiliary.[29]

Additional support for this conclusion may come from a brief examination of the distribution of present-day *na*.  There are a few contexts in which only *na* still exists, namely in certain disjunctive ("neither…nor") constructions and as the tag question (Masica 1995: 389; Kellogg 1938: 537).[30]  For the disjunctive construction, in particular, sometimes the *na* separates two clauses, and sometimes two phrases.  That is, *na* is not necessarily construed with the verb. Sentence *2.5.2.e* is an example where "neither… nor" is distinguishing two phrases.

> 2.5.2.e lekin **na to   jahiir aur  na hii dighe par** iskaa    asar    paRaa
> *but   neither Zahir   nor        Dighe on   this.of  effect  fell*
>
> "Neither Zahir nor Dighe felt any effect."
> from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-03-22

There is a manner of expressing "neither…nor" using *nahII…na*, to which both Kellogg and Bashir allude (1938: 512; 2003: 2).  As sentence *2.5.2.f* below demonstrates, however, this use seems generally to be clausal rather than phrasal.  Further, whereas *na* in a similar context is placed in the pre-clausal position, *nahII* remains pre-verbal.[31]

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[29] See 2.5.2.a.: unhOne tumharii Gulaamii **nahII  likhii    hai**
                                        NEG   written AUX(pres.)

[30] For examples of the disjunctive construction and tag question, see Chapter 1, sections *1.2.2.f* and *1.2.2.h*.

[31] *NahII* was used approximately 12 times in disjunctive constructions, compared to 137 uses of *na*.  (I counted each instance of *na* in the disjunctive.  Generally there were two per sentence, sometimes three.)

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2.5.2.f haalAAki savaar logO ke bare mE koii byauraa nahII milii
*although passengers about any description NEG was available*
hai na hii yah pataa calaa hai ki vimaan
*AUX(pres.) NEG EMPH this known became AUX(pres) that airplane*
kaise apahrit kiyaa gayaa
*how hijacked did PASSIVE*

"Although we haven't found a description about the passengers nor is it know how the airplane was hijacked."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-00-09-20

*Na* may also immediately precede adverbs like *sirf* and *keval* ("only") to form the phrase "not only."[32]

2.5.2.f unOne is bhaavanaatmak mudde **ko na keval kuredaa balki**
*he.ERG this emotional matter OBJ NEG only went over but also*
ijraail kii jaantaa ko yaad dilaayaa ki…
*Israel of people OBJ reminded that*

"He not only went over in detail this emotional matter but he also reminded the people of Israel…."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-02-21

In contrast, *nahII* generally provides direct negation of verbal constructions. Bhatia cites Verma (1970) when comparing English and Hindi "NEG Incorporation": " 'the English noun phrase has the possibility of attracting NEG from its original position in the verbal part of the sentence under certain conditions. Hindi has no such possibility. The Hindi NEG stays in the verbal part of the sentence'" (Bhatia 1995: 66).[33] *NahII* is characteristically verbal, while *na* can exist in non-verbal contexts. Based on both Bashir's count and my own, *nahII* has clearly spread to indicative verb forms; but it is also encroaching upon non-indicative and non-finite forms. It is largely assuming the functions of *na* that involve verbal negation. There is perhaps an exception

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[32] There were approximately 31 instances of this construction in the corpus.

[33] Even in constructions that are translated as "no-one" or "nothing" – *koii nahII* and *kuch nahII* – the negation must be placed pre-verbally, and the sentence can also be translated as "someone doesn't _____" (Bhatia 1995: 67-68).

to this verbal trend.  Based on my examination of the *IndiaInfo* corpus, it appears *nahII* can be

non-verbal in a contrastive context.  Sentence 2.5.2.g and 2.5.2.h are examples.

2.5.2.g kisii   khilardii  ne   **nahII  balki** krikeT ke khel  ne    hii       unhE
*some   player   ERG  NEG   but   cricket of  game ERG EMPH  him.OBJ*
unkaa   sthaan  bataa diyaa
*him.of  place   told*

"Not some player, but the game of cricket told him his place."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-04-17

2.5.2.h unhOne    mumbaaii **hii  nahII  balki** puure desh     ko      sammaanit
*they.ERG  Mumbai   only  NEG   but   entire  country OBJ  honor*
kiyaa  hai
*did    AUX (pres)*

"Not only Mumbai but they have honored the entire country."
from hin-w-indiainfo-news-01-05-15

Determining the origin of this construction using *nahII* requires further research.  Based on most

of the evidence, *nahII* remains bound in some way to the verb.[34]

If we were to claim *nahII*-E as an origin for the general *nahII*, we would not expect the

spread to follow any particular pattern because emphasis is not restricted to verbal forms.  We

know it is possible in language for "emphatic negation" to exist with non-verbal elements.

Consider first the use of negation and emphasis in Rigvedic Sanskrit, where such constructions

as *nahi…na* ("neither…nor") and *nahi…kas' cid* ("no one at all") were not limited to modifying

verbs.[35]  In addition, consider English "at all": *We found it not at all strange….*  Hindi would

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[34] Randall Hendrick (pers. comm.) suggests the possibility that "*nahII* combines semantically with a predicate (or property, something that takes a semantic entity to give a truth value), while *na* combines with (semantic) entities. This, in semantic terms, gives the rough cut between co-occurring with a verb or co-occurring with a nominal.  The use of *nahII* in the 'not only' sense would be cast in these terms as *nahII* selecting the 'only' which is semantically a type of focus operator that patterns like a predicate (i.e., it is not a referring expression)."  I do not have time to pursue this fully, but it could be helpful in explaining the distribution of *nahII*, including in such contrastive contexts.  If it should hold up, it would support *nahII* as containing the existential and the typological account presented by Croft.

[35] *e.g.*  *nahí*       *devó  ná  mártyo  mahás  táva  krátum parah*  (Rigveda 1,19,2ab)
     not indeed  god   not mortal  of great your  power  over
     "Neither god nor mortal indeed (is) superior to your, the great one's, power."  (trans. by H. Craig Melchert)

translate this phrase using a preverbal *nahII*: *mAIne bilkul ajiib* **nahII paayaa**.[36] (The "at all" is rendered *bilkul*.) Since the spread of *nahII* seems to be occurring throughout verbal forms only (or first), it is reasonable to assume that *nahII* has a verbal element – in this case, the existential. And since *nahII* began in the indicative, we would expect it to spread to other indicative forms first. The examples of *nahII* in *Godaan* with the future tense and past perfect forms are the beginning of this spread into additional indicative, verbal forms. The behavior of the contemporary language is simply a continuation of this trend.

2.6  Conclusion

Modern Hindi-Urdu inherited a "split" negation system with different negatives for indicative and non-indicative functions. It has long been clear that the original OIA indicative form *na* (also used for non-finite and non-verbal contexts) was replaced in this function with an "augmented" form *nahII*, while *na* shifted to most non-indicative contexts replacing *maa* (*mat*) except in particular registers of the imperative. Within the overall development of the negation system, the disputed issue has been the origin of *nahII*: OIA *na* + emphatic *hi*, or *na* + auxiliary. Jespersen and Croft have shown that both origins are typologically common. Bashir argued that evidence from *Godaan* showed that *nahII* had both origins, and subsequently became the unmarked negative particle, which continues to spread at the expense of *na*. For this thesis I attempted to replicate Bashir's results with a new and varied sample, including negation of all types. My findings showed that *nahII* has indeed continued to spread to non-indicative contexts, but primarily to verbal contexts. On the other hand, my native speaker consultants did not consistently support Bashir's claims about the emphatic usage of non-auxiliary *nahII* in *Godaan*. Based on the continued spread of *nahII* and the pattern of its spread, in addition to the lack of

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[36] Translation provided by native-speaker consultant.

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evidence for emphasis, I conclude that modern Hindi-Urdu *nahII* reflects only *na* + AUX.

Hindi-Urdu would thus illustrate the negative cycle proposed by Croft.  My conclusion for

Hindi-Urdu does not preclude that an emphatic negative lies behind the general negative in other

modern Indo-Aryan languages.  Each case must be investigated for itself.

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