NEG-Raising
in crosslinguistic perspective

Master Thesis

University of Leipzig
Faculty of Philology
Department of Linguistics

submitted by:

Marie-Luise Popp

marieluisepopp@hotmail.de

First reviewer: Second reviewer:
Prof. Dr. Barbara Stiebels   Juniorprof. Dr. Sandhya Sundaresan

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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative		PL	plural
ANAPH	anaphoric pronoun		POL	polite
APPL	applicative		POT	potentialis
ART	article		PREP	preposition
AUX	auxiliary		PROHIB	prohibitive
CL	(noun) class		PRS	present
CLF	classifier		PST	past
COMP	complementizer		PTCL	particle
COND	conditional		PTCP	participle
DEF	definite		RFL	reflexive
DEM	demonstrative		REL	relativizer
DIM	diminutive		TERM	terminative
DIST	distal		VBLZ	verbalizer
EMPH	emphatic		VWL	vowel
ERG	ergative			
EXIST	existential			
EXP	experiential			
FIN	finite			
FORM	formal			
FUT	future			
GEN	genitive			
HUM	human			
IMPFV	imperfective			
IND	indicative			
INDEF	indefinite			
INF	infinitive			
INSTR	instrumental			
JUS	jussive			
LOC	locative			
NMLZ	nominamlizer			
NOM	nominative			
NEG	negation			
OBJ	object			
SG	singular			
SUBJ	subjunctive			
PASS	passive			
PFV	perfective			

1 Introduction

It has been discussed for a number of languages from widely divergent languages families that certain sentence-embedding predicates seem to have the property to somehow attract the negation of its complements (Jespersen 1917; Horn 1978; Moscati 2010). Thus, the sentence in (1-a) has one interpretation that is equivalent to the sentence in section (1-b).

(1) a. *I don't think that this paper is interesting.*
     b. *I think that this paper is not interesting.*

The phenomenon of NEG-Raising has been observed to be restricted to certain predicate classes like predicates of attitude or predicates of volition (Kalepky 1891; Horn 1989). In contrast, factive predicates such as *to know* have not been observed to allow NEG-Raising in a single language. However, Horn (1978) notes that it cannot be predicted for a particular language which predicates of these classes allow NEG-Raising as both intra- and interlinguistic variation has been observed.

As the typological research on NEG-Raising focuses mainly on data from Indo-European languages (Bernini & Ramat 1996), this master thesis aims to systematically investigate the crosslinguistic variation of NEG-Raising predicates for a broad range of languages by means of a typological study. In this study, I tested 15 predicates for their ability to allow NEG-Raising for a sample of 11 languages. The main result of the study is that only some of the tested items show crosslinguistic variation whereas a couple of predicates allows NEG-Raising in all languages of the sample.

This paper is structured as follows: In section 2, several theoretical approaches that aim to account for the phenomenon of NEG-Raising are presented. In section 3, I am going to describe the idea and the results of my study on the crosslinguistic variation of NEG-Raising. First, I am going to outline the design and the procedure of the study by the example of Mandarin Chinese. The results of the other languages are then summarised in the sections 3.2.1-3.2.10. I am going to discuss the overall results of the study in section 3.3 and offer a short summary of this thesis in section 4.

2 Theoretical Background

The literal meaning of the sentence in (2-a) is synonymous to the sentence in (2-b). However, Deutscher (1965) and Horn (1989) note that this reading is rather infrequent

as it can only be achieved by contrastive phonological stress on the negative marker in (2-a). Nevertheless, the sentence in (2-a) has a second, more salient reading, which is presented in (2-c). In other words, the negative marker in (2-a) seems to be in the wrong position: Even though it appears in the matrix clause, it is interpreted within the embedded clause.

(2)   (Horn 1978; p. 131)

    a.   *I don't think that he will come.*

    b.   *It is not the case that I think that he will come.*

    c.   *I think that will not come.*

As the negation seems to have moved from the embedded clause to the matrix clause, this phenomenon has been known as *NEG-Raising*, *Negative Transportation* or *not-hopping*.

It has already been observed by Jespersen (1917) that only a restricted number of predicates allows NEG-Raising. The data in (3) show that factive predicates like *to fear*, for example, cannot act as NEG-Raising predicates, as the sentence in (3-a) cannot be interpreted as the sentence in (3-b). It is therefore crucial to clarify that the negation cannot freely be moved from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. Rather, it is a property of certain predicates to attract the negative marker of its complements (Jespersen 1917; Moscati 2010).

(3)   a.   *I don't fear that he will come.*

    b.   *#I fear that he will not come.*

Horn (1978) notes that NEG-Raising is triggered by distinct but systematically related classes of predicates and proposes the following classification of NEG-Raising predicates in English:

(4)   (Horn 1989; p. 323)

    1. OPINION: *think, believe, suppose, imagine, expect, reckon, feel*

    2. PERCEPTION: *seem, appear, look like, sound like, feel like*

    3. PROBABILITY: *be probable, be likely, figure to*

    4. VOLITION: *want, intend, choose, plan*

    5. JUDGMENT: *be supposed to, ought, should, be desirable, advise, suggest*

The phenomenon of NEG-Raising has been observed in many different languages throughout genetically unrelated languages families (Horn 1978; 1989; Bernini & Ramat 1996). For a number of well-described languages such as French, Hebrew or Japanese, classifications of NEG-raising predicates similar to (4) have been suggested (Horn 1989). However, Horn (1978) notes that there is typological variation in the NEG-Raising predicates even within closely related languages such as Danish and English. The data in (5) show that the predicate *to hope*, for example, can act as a NEG-Raising predicate in Danish (see example (5-b)), but not in English, as only the literal interpretation of the sentence in (5-a) is possible.

(5)   (Horn 1978; p. 184)

    a.   *#I don't hope that you are feeling bad.*
        intended: 'I hope that you are not feeling bad.'

    b.   Danish

        Jeg håber ikke, at   Du blev   bange.
        I   hope NEG that you became afraid
        intended: I hope that you would not be afraid.'

As the phenomenon of NEG-Raising can shortly be described as the property of some predicates to allow their negation to be interpreted within the embedded clause, a theoretical approach to NEG-Raising does not only have to explain why the negation is not interpreted in its surface position but also why the phenomenon targets only a limited group of predicates.

As in NEG-Raising sentences, the negation appears in the matrix clause but is interpreted within the embedded clause, it seems natural to analyse the phenomenon of NEG-Raising as a process of overt syntactic movement. Fillmore (1963) argues in favour of this hypothesis, as he observed that NEG-Raising can apply cyclically, as seen in (6). As the negation of the matrix clause in (6-a) can even be interpreted on the lowest level of embedding, he takes this as strong evidence that NEG-Raising must be in fact a process of successive-cyclic movement.

(6)   (Fillmore 1963; p. 220)

    a.   *I don't believe that he wants me to think that he did it.*
    b.   intended: *I believe that he wants me to think that he didn't do it.*

More evidence in favour of a syntactic approach to NEG-Raising comes from Klima (1964) and Lakoff (1969) who point out that strict negative polarity items, which generally require a negative licenser within the same clause, can also be licensed in NEG-Raising

sentences. The sentence in (7-a) illustrates that the expression *this again* is a strict negative polarity item, as it cannot be used without a negative licensing element within the same clause. The NEG-Raising sentence in (7-b), however, is grammatical even though the embedded sentence does not contain a negative element that could possibly license the negative polarity item. Lakoff (1969) takes this as a compelling argument in favour of NEG-Raising being a syntactic moving process. He argues that the negation must have started out in the embedded clause where it licensed the negative polarity item and was then moved to the matrix clause.

(7)   a.   * *I need mention [$_{NPI}$ this again].*
        b.   *I don't suppose that I need to mention [$_{NPI}$ this again].*

Collins et al. (2014) continue the discussion about the licensing of negative polarity items under NEG-Raising predicates and bring up the argument that NEG-Raising must be a syntactic process as it is blocked by island constraints, as illustrated in (8). As seen in (8-a), *it's Ted* is a clause-internal cleft that blocks the *wh*-movement of *what*. The sentences in (8-b) and (8-c) contain the negative polarity item *a goddamn thing* that requires a negative element within the same clause. As the English predicate *to think* is a NEG-Raising predicate, it could be assumed that it would also be able to license the negative polarity item, as previously seen in (7-b). However, the sentence in (8-c) is ungrammatical. Collins et al. (2014) argue that this ungrammaticality arises from the fact that the cleft *it's Ted* blocks the movement of the negation from the subordinate clause to the matrix clause and takes this as a convincing argument that NEG-Raising must in fact be a syntactic process.

(8)   a.   *What do you think that [it's Ted] who said?*
        b.   *I think that [it's Ted] who did not say [$_{NPI}$ a goddamn thing].*
        c.   **I don't think that [it's Ted] who said [$_{NPI}$ a goddamn thing]*

Even though syntactic approaches to NEG-Raising can account for the negation not being interpreted in its surface position in NEG-Raising sentences, none of these approaches can explain why NEG-Raising is only allowed by a limited number of semantically related classes of predicates.

Horn (1989) proposes a pragmatic approach to NEG-Raising that can elegantly explain why NEG-Raising targets only a certain class of predicates. He argues that NEG-Raising is in fact a process of negative strengthening that can at least partially be motivated by politeness. In his paper, Horn (1989) compares NEG-Raising with the negation of gradable adjectives, like *good*. From a semantic point of view, *good* and its

antonym *bad* are contraries, as both expressions cannot be true but false at the same time. What is more, it is usually avoided to use the antonym *bad* for reasons of politeness. Therefore, the term of the contradictory *not good* is used as a polite synonym for *bad*. However, the meaning of *bad* differs from the meaning of *not good* as *bad* excludes the middle ground whereas *not good* includes it, as seen in Table 1. If *not good* is used to avoid the antonym *bad*, it is obvious that it absorbs its meaning excluding the middle ground. In other words, the expression *not good* is semantically the contradictory of the adjective *good*, but due to pragmatic reasons used like the contrary. As the contrary implies the contradictory and is therefore more informative, this process can be regarded as a process of process of negative strengthening.

	GOOD	NEITHER NOR	BAD
	coded range of *good*		
Contradictory		coded range of *not good*	
			implicated range
Contrary			coded range of *bad*

Table 1: Contradictories implicating contraries (Levinson 2000)

According to Horn (1989), NEG-Raising can also be seen as a process of negative strengthening, similar to the negation of gradable adjectives. It has been observed in a number of genetically unrelated languages that NEG-Raising sentences are generally perceived as 'more polite' than their counterparts in which the negation appears in the embedded clause. Horn (1978) argues that this effect arises as the strength of the negation decreases with the distance to the negated element.

As previously seen for the negation of gradable adjectives, the NEG-Raising sentence in (9-b) is logically implied by its counterpart in (9-a) and therefore less informative. However, it is avoided to use sentences like (9-a) due to reasons of politeness. Instead, the contradictory NEG-Raising sentences are used, leading to the interpretation of the contrary meaning. As the semantically weaker contradictory pragmatically implicates the semantically stronger contrary (see Table 2), Horn (1989) argues that the phenomenon of NEG-Raising is also a process of negative strengthening.

(9)   a.   *I believe that [not p].*
        b.   *I don't believe that [p].*

		BELIEVE	NEITHER NOR	BELIEVE THAT NOT
	coded range of *believe*			
Contradictory			coded range of *not believe*	
				implicated range
Contrary				coded range of *believe not*

Table 2: Contradictories implicating contraries (Levinson 2000)

In order to derive why only certain classes of predicates allow NEG-Raising, Horn (1989) makes use of the arithmetic scalar model presented in Figure 1. The epistemic adjectives *<certain, likely, possible>* form a scale with *certain* being the strongest and *possible* being the weakest item on the scale. These adjectives are mapped onto the arithmetic square in Figure 1 with the contraries *<impossible, not likely, not certain>* of the epistemic adjectives on the opposite side of the square. The corresponding contradictories are indicated by the dashed lines.

Moreover, Horn (1989) uses the tolerance test by Löbner (1985) to show that *likely* and its contrary *not likely* are intolerant: *It's likely she will go and likely she won't go.* Horn (1989) now comes to the generalisation that NEG-Raising is only allowed by relatively weak intolerant predicates, such as *likely*, as both the contrary and the contradictory of these predicates are close to each other and to the midline of the arithmetic square. By means of this generalisation, Horn (1989) succeeds in explaining why a large number of predicates does not allow NEG-Raising.
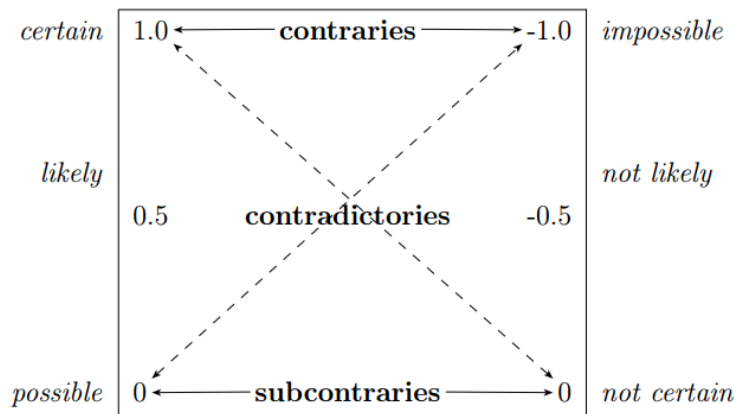

Figure 1: Epistemic predicates within the arithmetic square

The syntactic approaches shortly introduced in this section argue that NEG-Raising must be a process of syntactic movement. However, they fail to account for the fact that

NEG-Raising is only triggered by certain classes of predicates. The pragmatic account proposed by Horn (1989), in contrast, provides an explanation for the phenomenon of NEG-Raising being restricted to a limited class of predicates.

3 Typological Study

In the previous section, I have presented several theoretical approaches that try to account for the phenomenon of NEG-Raising. However, these approaches mainly base on data from Indo-European languages, as there has not been any systematic typological investigation of NEG-Raising that includes Non-Indo-European languages (Bernini & Ramat 1996). This study aims to fill this gap within the possibilities of the scope of a master thesis. In order to investigate the typological variation of NEG-Raising predicates, the idea of my study was to test 11 predicates for their ability to act as a NEG-Raising predicate for a genetically diverse sample of 11 languages. Additionally, four dummy items are included into the study.

A full list of the 15 predicates tested in this study is presented in Table 3. However, it is worth noting that other languages than English might not have 15 distinct predicates as some of the predicates might be polysemous. More about polysemous predicates can be found in the respective section on each language. Moreover, it has to be mentioned that four of the listed predicates are so-called *dummy*-items, which I never expect to allow NEG-Raising. The reasons why I still see them as useful for this study are explained in the following section.

This study required the cooperation of native speakers. As I was dependent on their residence in Leipzig, I could only choose from a small pool of available native speakers. Thus, a genetically well-balanced sample could not be achieved. My sample of 11 languages includes six Indo-European languages, two Sino-Tibetan languages, one Uralic language, one Austronesian language and one Niger-Congo language. The sample includes even closely related languages (three North-Germanic languages and two Romance languages) and can therefore be used to test Horn's observation that even closely related languages show typological variation regarding NEG-Raising (Horn 1978). The full sample of the study including the respective number of native speakers of each language is listed in Table 4.

predicates of attitude
to think
to believe
to hope
to suppose
to imagine
predicates of perception
to seem
predicates of volition
to want
to wish
to plan
predicates of judgment
to advise
other
to expect
dummy
to realize
to fear
to regret
to know

Table 3: Tested predicates

Language	Language Family	Native Speakers
Spanish	Indo-European	2
Italian	Indo-European	2
Swedish	Indo-European	1
Norwegian	Indo-European	2
Danish	Indo-European	1
Lithuanian	Indo-European	1
Mandarin Chinese	Sino-Tibetan	2
Tibetan	Sino-Tibetan	1
Indonesian	Austronesian	3
Hungarian	Uralic	2
Swahili	Niger-Congo	1

Table 4: Sample

In the following section, I am going to explain in detail the idea and the design of my study. Furthermore, I will illustrate how the study was carried out by the example of Mandarin Chinese. In section 3.2, the results of the other 10 languages are summarised. In section 3.3, I am going to present the overall results of the study and discuss potential problems of the design of the study.

3.1 Design

In this study, I want to investigate whether a predicate in a particular language allows NEG-Raising or not. In other words, I want to find out whether NEG-Raising sentences like in (2-a), here repeated as (10-a), can be interpreted like the sentence in (10-b).

(10)   (Horn 1978; p. 129)

    a.   *I don't think that he will come.*
    b.   *I think that he will not come.*
    c.   *It is not the case that I think that he will come.*

As already described in section 2, NEG-Raising sentences are ambiguous. Thus, the sentence in (10-a) has a second, less salient reading which is synonymous with the sentence in (10-c). It is obvious that this ambiguity is potentially problematic: If a sentence like (10-a) was grammatical in a particular language, it would not necessarily mean that this is an instance of NEG-Raising. Rather, it could be the case that only the literal, less salient reading is active. In order to avoid wrong results it is crucial to find a way to disambiguate these two readings and to suppress the less salient reading. In this study, this is achieved by embedding the target sentences into appropriate contexts which strongly enforce the sentence in (10-a) to be interpreted like the sentence in (10-b). Thus, the activation of the literal reading is rather unlikely to occur.

My proposition was therefore to test 15 sentence pairs for the 15 predicates I attempted to test within suitable contexts, which required careful preparation before the study could finally be carried out.

The sentence pairs are designed of a NEG-Raising sentence, which is the actual target sentence of the study (as in (11-a)), and a second sentence in which the negative marker appears in the embedded clause, as seen in (11-b). I have used the terms *NEG-Raising sentences* for sentences like (11-a) and *basic sentences* for sentences like (11-b) to distinguish both types of sentences from each other in this paper.

(11) a. *I don't PRED that [p].*   NEG-Raising sentence
      b. *I PRED that [not p]*   basic sentence

As already mentioned above, the sentence pairs are supposed to be tested within a suitable context which enforces the interpretation of the negation within the embedded clause and thus suppresses the unintended literal reading of NEG-Raising sentences. This leads to the prediction that the basic sentences should always be accepted by the participants, as the negation appears within the embedded clause in these sentences. The NEG-Raising sentences are the actual target sentences of the study. If a NEG-Raising sentence is accepted in a context which strongly enforces the interpretation of the negation within the embedded clause, then it must be an instance of NEG-Raising: Even though the negative marker of the NEG-Raising sentence appears in the matrix clause, it is obviously interpreted within the embedded clause. Hence, the predicate of the NEG-Raising sentence needs to be a NEG-Raising predicate.

Even though both the NEG-Raising sentence and the basic sentence basically have the same interpretation, it has to be mentioned that they are not pragmatically identical, as noted by Horn (1978). He observed that the strength of the negation decreases with its distance to the element which is negated. In other words, the NEG-Raising sentence is generally perceived as more polite than the basic sentence due to the position of the negative element. As Horn (1978) observed this politeness distinction in many non-related languages, such as Turkish or Swahili, I did not expect that both the NEG-Raising sentence and the basic sentence would be equally accepted by the participants in a particular situation. Hence, I decided not to present both sentences simultaneously, but to present the sentences one after another with the NEG-Raising sentence presented first. The participants were then asked to give a judgment on each of the sentences. Thus, the sentences are rated independently from each other. Moreover, the participants had the possibility to state whether one of the two sentences was preferred over the other in the particular context.

The sentence pairs were translated into the 11 target languages by a number of voluntary translators. The contexts, however, were illustrated by a semi-professional illustrator and could hence be presented visually. I preferred to present the contexts as an image over presenting the contexts as a short text. This is because texts would have required translating them into the different target languages. This would only have been possible on the expense of extra efforts on the part of the translators but also of the comparability due to free translations.

For some of the languages, more than one speaker participated in my study. If variation in the grammaticality judgments between the speakers occured, I decided to handle it the following way: In case of an odd number of native speakers, I decided in favor

of the decision of the majority of the speakers. In case of an even number of speakers, however, I decided in favor of NEG-Raising. In other words, if a NEG-Raising sentence was accepted by only one of two speakers, the predicate of that sentence was counted as a NEG-Raising predicate.

I am now going to describe exactly how the study was carried out by the example of Mandarin Chinese. Mandarin Chinese is a Sino-Tibetan language and with nearly a billion native speakers the largest language of the world (Lewis et al. 2015).

Standard negation in Mandarin Chinese is marked by the preverbal particle *bù*, whereas existential negation and negation of perfective tense is marked by *méiyǒu* (Lin 2001), as seen in the following sentences:

(12)   (Lin 2001; p. 175)

    a.   *Nàge xuésheng bú   yònggōng.*
           that student   NEG hardworking
           'This student is not hardworking.'

    b.   *Nàge xuésheng méiyǒu   yònggōng   guò.*
           that student   NEG.PFV hardworking EXP
           'This student has not been hardworking.'

Two native speakers of Mandarin Chinese participated in my study. If not indicated explicitly, their grammaticality judgments were similar.

The 15 predicates that were tested in Chinese are listed in Table 5. It is worth noting that the Chinese predicate *xīwàng* is polysemous and means both *to wish*, *to expect* and *to hope*. Hence, only 14 Chinese predicates correspond to 15 distinct predicates in English.

predicate	Chinese
predicates of attitude	
to think	*rènwéi*
to believe	*xiāngxìn*
to hope	*xīwàng*
to suppose	*gūjì*
to imagine	*xiǎng*
predicates of perception	
to seem	*kàn qǐlái*
predicates of volition	
to want	*yaò*
to wish	*xīwàng*
to plan	*dǎsuàn*
predicates of judgment	
to advise	*jiànyì*
other	
to expect	*qīwàng*
dummy	
to realize	*yìshí dào*
to fear	*hàipà*
to regret	*hòuhuǐ*
to know	*zhīdào*

Table 5: Tested Chinese Predicates

The order of the tested predicates was the same for all languages of the sample.

The first predicate I tested was the predicate of attitude *to believe*, which is said to be a typical NEG-Raising predicate (Kalepky 1891; Horn 1978; 1989; Collins et al. 2014)

The procedure was the same for all 15 predicates: The participants were first given the image that illustrates the context in which the target sentences are embedded. The context image for the predicate *to believe* is shown in Figure 2. The picture shows two people talking about an exotic fruit. The person on the left does not know the fruit and asks the other person if it is edible. The person on the right answers that the fruit is toxic. The participants were then given the NEG-Raising sentence, which is shown in (13-b).

They were asked whether the sentence is suitable in the situation which is shown in picture or not. In this case, both speakers accepted the NEG-Raising sentence which

Figure 2: Context - *to believe* -

shows that the Chinese predicate *xiāngxìn* is a NEG-Raising predicate.

(13)   Chinese: *xiāngxìn - to believe*

    a.   *?Wǒ xiāngxìn nǐ   bù   kéyǐ chī nàgè shuǐguǒ.*
            I   believe you NEG can eat that fruit
            'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

    b.   *Wǒ bù   xiāngxìn nǐ   kéyǐ chī nàgè shuǐguǒ.*
            I   NEG believe   you can eat that fruit
            intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

The picture in Figure 2 exemplifies the importance of the context images. It is obvious that the context disambiguates the two possible readings of the NEG-Raising sentence in (13-b). The literal reading of the sentence in (13-b) would mean that it is not the case that the person on the right believes that the other person should eat the fruit. However, this would indicate that he does not have any belief at all about the fruit being edible or not. As the person on the right knows that the fruit is toxic, this reading of the sentence in (13-b) is very unlikely to occur. Rather, he has the opinion that the person on the left should not eat the fruit. Thus, the context suppresses the unintended reading of the NEG-Raising sentence and enforces the interpretation of the negation within the embedded clause.

The participants were then given the basic sentence (see (13-a)). As the context en-

forces the interpretation of the negation within the embedded clause, I expected that the basic sentences should always be grammatical. For *xiāngxìn*, however, the speakers of Mandarin Chinese strongly preferred the NEG-Raising sentence. The basic sentence was pragmatically dispreferred by the speakers even though they did not find it ungrammatical.

The second predicate of the study was the predicate *to hope*. For this predicate, the participants received a picture which shows a man under a tent (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Context - *to hope* -

Again, the participants were first asked to give a judgment on the NEG-Raising sentence in (14-b), before they were given the basic sentence in (14-a).

(14)   Chinese: *xīwàng - to hope*

    a.   *Wǒ xīwàng, jīn wǎn bù huì#xià yǔ.*
           I   hope/wish this night NEG going.to rain
           'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   *Wǒ bù xīwàng, jīn wǎn huì#xià yǔ.*
           I   NEG hope/wish this night going.to rain
           intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

Both the NEG-Raising sentence and the basic sentence were accepted by the participants which indicates that the Chinese predicate *xīwàng* is a NEG-Raising predicate.

The third predicate of the study was the predicate of volition *to want*. For this predicate, the participants were given a picture which shows a mother yelling at her child for playing too many computer games.

Figure 4: Context - *to want* -

(15)   Chinese: *yaò - to want*

    a.   *?Wǒ yaò, nǐ bié   wán nǐ#de diànnǎo.*
        I   want you PROHIB play your   computer
        ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b.   *Wǒ bù   yaò, nǐ   wán nǐ#de diànnǎo.*
        I   NEG want you play your   computer
        intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

As the target sentence in (15-b) was suitable in situation shown in Figure 4, it became clear that the Chinese predicate *yaò* also allows NEG-Raising. As already observed for the predicate *xiāngxìn - to believe*, the NEG-Raising sentence was strongly preferred over the basic sentence by the speakers. The Mandarin speakers perceived the basic sentence as 'too impolite' and 'grammatically correct but not appropriate in this situation'.

The next predicate that I seeked to test was the predicate of attitude *to suppose*. For this predicate, the participants were given a picture which showed a mother scolding her son for not having watered a plant, as seen in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Context - *to suppose* -

(16) Chinese: *gūjì - to suppose*

    a. *Wǒ gūjì   nǐ hái méiyǒu jiāo nà zhū zhíwù.*
         I   suppose you yet NEG.PFV water that CLF plant
         'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

    b. *Wǒ bù gūjì   nǐ jiāo-le   nà zhū zhíwù.*
         I   NEG suppose you water-PFV that CLF plant
         intended: 'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

As seen in (16), the Chinese predicate *gūjì - to suppose* allows NEG-Raising. However, the basic sentence was strongly preferred by the native speakers, as they perceived the NEG-Raising sentence as very formal.

As seen for the first four predicates of the study, the NEG-Raising sentence and the basic sentence of NEG-Raising predicates do generally have the same interpretation, but there are minor pragmatic differences between both sentences.

The fifth predicate of the study - *to regret* - is the first so-called *dummy predicate* of the study. I expected that these predicates would not allow NEG-Raising in any of the 11 languages. Nevertheless, I decided to include four dummy predicates into the study, as dummy items are useful for the procedure of the study. I experienced that the participants forgot about the actual task and were eager to find pragmatic differences between the NEG-Raising sentence and the basic sentence of NEG-Raising predicates. This can be prohibited by incorporating dummy items into the study. In contrast to potential NEG-Raising predicates, dummy predicates show a big semantic difference

between the basic sentence and the sentence in which the negation appears within the matrix clause. In the cases of dummy predicates, the participants noticed this difference immediately and rejected the sentence that was semantically inappropriate in the given situation. Therefore, the dummy items served as a perfect tool to make the participants aware of the actual task.

For the predicate *to regret*, the participants were given a picture which shows a man standing in front of a grave (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Context - *to regret* -

(17)   Chinese: *hòuhuǐ - to regret*

    a. *Wǒ hòuhuǐ, wǒ qùnián shèngdàn#jié méiyǒu   bàifǎng tā.*
        I   regret   I   last   Christmas   NEG.PFV   visit   her
        'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

    b. #*Wǒ bù   hòuhuǐ, wǒ qùnián shèngdàn#jié bàifǎng tā-le.*
        I   NEG regret I   last   Christmas   visit   her-PFV
        'I don't regret that I visited her last Christmas.'
        intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

It becomes clear from (17) that the dummy predicate *hòuhuǐ - to regret* does, as expected, not allow NEG-Raising. The basic sentence, in which the negative particle appears in the embedded clause, is semantically appropriate in the situation shown in Figure 6. The sentence in (17-b), however, is grammatical but semantically not suitable in the given situation, as the negative marker in (17-b) can only be interpreted within the

matrix clause. Thus, (17-b) clearly shows that the Chinese dummy predicate *hòuhuǐ - to regret* does not allow NEG-Raising.

The next predicate of the study was the predicate *to advise*. For the predicate *to advise*, the participants received a picture showing a doctor and a pregnant woman.

Figure 7: Context - *to advise* -

(18)   Chinese: *jiànyì - to advise*

    a.   *Wǒ jiànyì nǐ   bùyào   chōuyān.*
           I   advise you NEG.POL smoke
           'I advise you not to smoke.'

    b.   *Wǒ bù   jiànyì nǐ   chōuyān.*
           I   NEG advise you smoke
           intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

As already mentioned earlier, the purpose of embedding the target sentences into appropriate contexts was to enforce the interpretation of the negation within the embedded clause. In the case of the predicate *to advise*, the effect of the context interacted with the politeness effect of NEG-Raising leading to the result that the basic sentence was preferred over the NEG-Raising sentence in the given situation throughout the whole sample. The speakers had the opinion that a doctor would rather utter a sentence like (18-a), whereas a friend of the pregnant woman could use a sentence like (18-b). Many speakers perceived the sentence in (18-b) as 'too polite' or 'not strong enough' in the given situation. In other words, the case of the predicate *to advise* shows that contexts can also have inhibiting effects. However, this had only a minor influence on the results of the study as the NEG-Raising sentence is always presented first and therefore rated independently from the basic sentence.

The seventh predicate of the study is the second dummy predicate. For the predicate *to realize*, the participants were given a picture which shows a man who litters food while his wife is not watching (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Context - *to realize* -

(19)   Chinese: *yìshí dào - to realize*

     a.   *Zuótiān,   wǒ   yìshí   dào   wǒ de qīzi bù   huì zuò fàn.*
           yesterday I   awareness reach my of wife NEG can do   food
           'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

     b.   *#Zuótiān, wǒ méiyǒu   yìshí   dào   wǒ de qīzi huì zuò fàn.*
           yesterday I   NEG.PFV awareness reach my of wife can do   food
           'Yesterday, I did not realize that my wife can cook.'
           intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

The sentences in (19) clearly show that the Chinese predicate *yìshí dào* does not allow NEG-Raising, as only the basic sentence in (19-a) fits in the situation in Figure 8. Again, the sentence in (19-b) is not ungrammatical, but not suitable in the given situation.

The next predicate of the study was the predicate *to imagine*, for which the participants were given a picture which shows a crying woman and a man who is packing his clothes into a suitcase (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Context - *to imagine* -

(20)   Chinese: *xiǎng - to imagine*

a.   *Wǒ xiǎng,   tā bù   huì líkāi wǒ.*
       I   imagine he NEG can leave me
       'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

b.   #*Wǒ méiyǒu   xiǎngdào, tā huì líkāi wǒ.*
       I   NEG.PFV think   he can leave me
       intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

The actual purpose of the context image was to suppress the literal reading of the NEG-Raising sentences. However, I noticed during the procedure of the study that the context for the predicate *to imagine* did actually permit both readings of the NEG-Raising sentence. The literal reading of the sentence in (20-b) would mean that the woman in Figure 9 would have had no imagination about her husband leaving her, which is perfectly suitable in the situation in the picture. As the literal reading of the NEG-Raising sentence cannot be suppressed by the context for this predicate, it is not easy to determine whether the predicate *to imagine* allows NEG-Raising in a particular language or not. In many languages, such as Chinese, this could be clarified by further discussions with the speakers. For some languages, however, it could therefore not be made out whether *to imagine* is a NEG-Raising predicate or not.

The next predicate is the third predicate *to fear*. For this predicate, the participants received the picture shown in Figure 10.
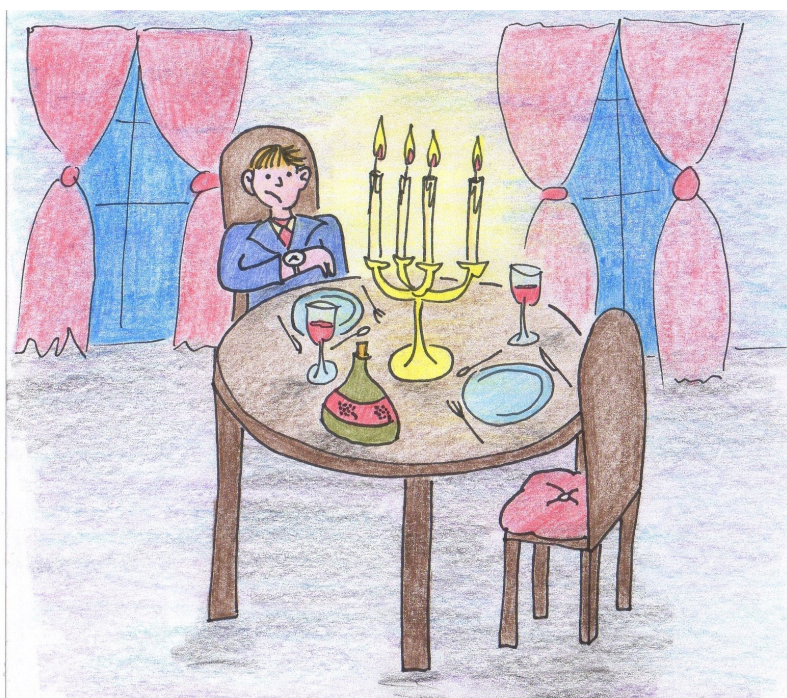
Figure 10: Context - *to fear* -

(21)   Chinese: *hàipà - to fear*

    a.   *Wǒ hàipà, wǒ de nǚ péngyǒu bù huì lái.*
          I   fear   my of girl partner NEG can come
          'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

    b.   #*Wǒ bù hàipà, wǒ de nǚ péngyǒu huì lái.*
          I   NEG fear   my of girl partner can come
          'I don't fear that my girlfriend will come.'

          intended: 'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

As expected, the Chinese predicate *hàipà - to fear* does not allow NEG-Raising (see (21)), as the negative particle of (21-b) can only be interpreted in the matrix clause.

The tenth predicate of the study was the predicate of attitude *to think*. For this predicate, the participants were given a picture showing a politician talking about weapons (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Context - *to think* -

(22)   Chinese: *rènwéi - to think*

    a.   *Wǒ rènwéi Déguó   bù   yīnggāi mài wǔqì.*
           I   think Germany NEG should sell weapons
           'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b.   *Wǒ bù   rènwéi Déguó   yīnggāi mài wǔqì.*
           I   NEG think Germany should sell weapons
           intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

As already observed for the predicate *to advise*, the context of the predicate *to think* enforced the interpretation of the negation within the embedded clause so much that many speakers perceived the NEG-Raising sentences as pragmatically inappropriate. Some speakers argued that a sentence like (22-b) would rather be uttered by a friend, but not by a politician. Again, the speakers claimed that the sentence in (22-b) is 'too polite' to be uttered by politician.

The next predicate tested was the predicate *to plan*. For this predicate, the participants were given a picture showing a man announce his New Year's resolutions (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Context - *to plan* -

(23)   Chinese: *dǎsuàn - to plan*

    a.   *Wǒ dǎsuàn míngnián bù   chōuyān.*
          I   plan   next.year NEG smoke
          'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   #*Wǒ bù   dǎsuàn míngnián chōuyān.*
          I   NEG plan   next.year smoke
          intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

It becomes clear from the sentences in (23) that the Chinese predicate *dǎsuàn - to plan* does not allow NEG-Raising. The basic sentence in (23-a) expresses the man's New Year's resolution as he has the intention not to smoke during the next year. The sentence in (23-b), however, means that the man does not have any plans on smoking and is therefore not suitable in the situation in Figure 12.

The next predicate of the study is the predicate *to wish*, for which the participants received a picture showing a woman waiting for the result of a pregnancy test (see 13).
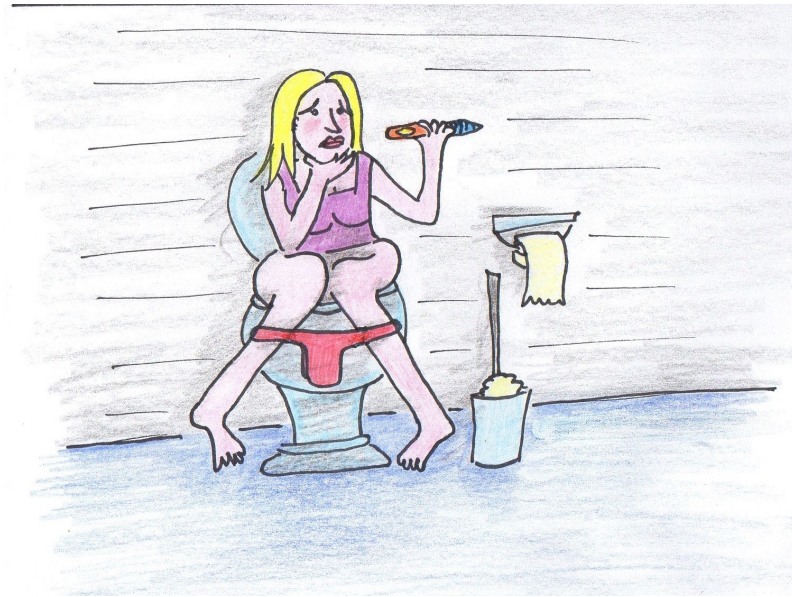
Figure 13: Context - *to wish* -

(24)   Chinese: *xīwàng - to wish*

    a.   *Wǒ xīwàng,   wǒ méiyǒu   huáiyùn.*
        I   hope/wish I   NEG.EXIST pregnant
        'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

    b.   *Wǒ bù   xīwàng,   wǒ huáiyùn-le.*
        I   NEG hope/wish I   pregnant-PFV
        intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

As the Chinese predicate *xīwàng* is polysemous, it had already become clear from (14) that *xīwàng* is a NEG-Raising predicate. The sentences in (24) confirm this result.

The next predicate of the study is the last dummy predicate. For the predicate *to know*, the participants were given a picture which shows two men talking about an old woman. The man on the left asks about the health of the old woman and the man on the right answers that she is in a wheelchair at the moment.

(25)   Chinese: *zhīdào - to know*

    a.   *Wǒ zhīdào tā   bù   néng zǒulù.*
        I   know   she NEG can   walk
        'I know that she cannot walk.'

    b.   #*Wǒ bù   zhīdào tā   néng zǒulù.*
        I   NEG know   she can   walk
        I don't know that she can walk.'

        intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'
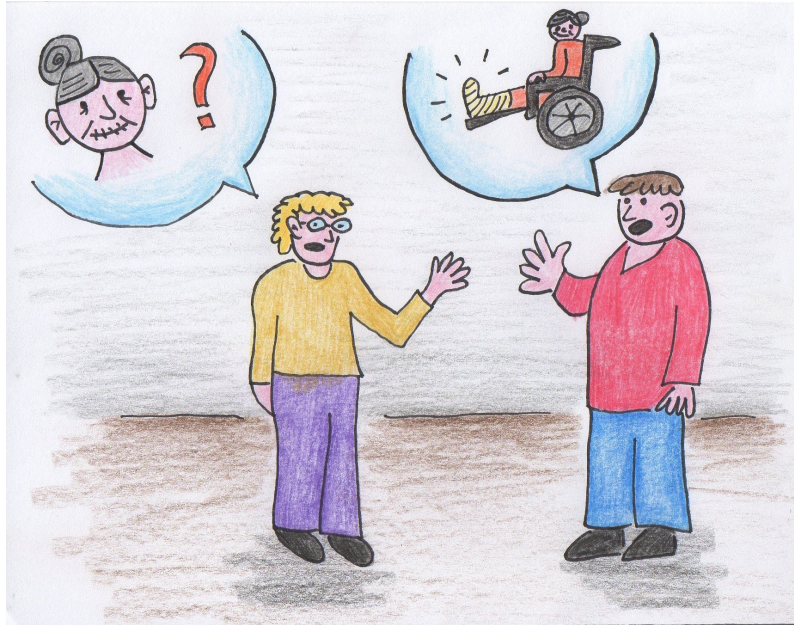
Figure 14: Context - *to know* -

The data in (25) clearly show that the Chinese predicate *zhīdào - to know* is, as expected, not a NEG-Raising predicate. It is worth noting that in some languages of the study, such as Spanish or Swahili, the sentences that were similar to the sentence in (25-b) were ungrammatical. I assume that this ungrammaticality arises due to reasons of evidentiality as it is inappropriate to utter what a person does not know in these languages. As this observation affected only one of the dummy predicates, I did not investigate this aspect any further.

The next predicate I tested is the predicate *to seem*, for which the participants received a picture showing a teacher and his baffled student in front of a class (see Figure 15).

(26)   Chinese: *kàn qǐlái - to seem*

    a.   *Tā kàn#qǐlái bù   zhīdào dá'àn.*
          he seem   NEG know answer
          'He seems not to know the answer.'

    b.   **Tā bù   kàn#qǐlái zhīdào dá'àn.*
          he NEG seem   know answer
          intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

As the sentence in (26-b) is ungrammatical, it seems as if the Chinese predicate *kàn qǐlái - to seem* does not allow NEG-Raising. However, the speakers emphasised that (26-b) is not only inappropriate in the given situation but ungrammatical in Chinese. They pointed out that the only correct position of the negative marker *bù* would be in front

Figure 15: Context - *to seem* -

of the verb of the embedded clause (like in (26-a)), as *kàn* and *qǐlái* form a complex predicate. This indicates that (26-b) might be ungrammatical due to independent reasons. As uncovering the grammar of complex predicates in Mandarin Chinese would go beyond the scope of this thesis, I need to leave this issue unresolved at this point.

The last predicate of the study was the predicate *to expect*. For this predicate, the participants were given the picture shown in Figure 16. The picture shows two boys who are preparing a present for their mother. Unfortunately, their sister has watched them wrapping the present and is now talking to their mother.

(27)   Chinese: *qīwàng - to expect*

a.   *Wǒ qīwàng tā bùyào gàosù wǒmen de māmā guānyú lǐwù de shì.*
     I   expect she NEG.FUT tell   our   of mother about present of thing
     'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

b.   *Wǒ bù   qīwàng tā qù gàosù wǒmen de māmā guānyú lǐwù de shì.*
     I   NEG expect she go tell   our   of mother about present of thing
     intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

The data in (27) point out that the Chinese predicate *qīwàng - to expect* allows NEG-Raising. However, one of the speakers claimed that the predicate *qīwàng* was not suitable in the situation in Figure 16. She noted that *qīwàng* rather means 'to expect greater things' (e.g. the reunion of Germany) and proposed to use the polysemous predicate *xīwàng*, which also means *to hope* and *to wish*.

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Figure 16: Context - *to expect* -

The results of the study are summarised for Mandarin Chinese in Table 6. NEG-Raising predicates are marked by ✓, whereas predicates that do not allow NEG-Raising are marked by ✗.

As expected, none of the dummy predicates allowed NEG-Raising. The predicate *kàn qǐlái* is marked by ✗*, as it is not clear if the predicate does not allow NEG-Raising or if the sentence in (26-b) is ungrammatical for independent reasons.

predicate	Chinese	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*rènwéi*	✓
to believe	*xiāngxìn*	✓
to hope	*xīwàng*	✓
to suppose	*gūjì*	✓
to imagine	*xiǎng*	✗
predicates of perception		
to seem	*kàn qǐlái*	✗*
predicates of volition		
to want	*yaò*	✓
to wish	*xīwàng*	✓
to plan	*dǎsuàn*	✗
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*jiànyì*	✓
other		
to expect	*qīwàng*	✓
dummy		
to realize	*yìshí dào*	✗
to fear	*hàipà*	✗
to regret	*hòuhuǐ*	✗
to know	*zhīdào*	✗

Table 6: Tested Chinese Predicates

3.2 Results

In the preceding section, I explained in detail how the study was carried out by the example of Mandarin Chinese. The results of the remaining 10 languages are summarised in the following section. The elicitated sentences and judgments are added to the Appendix for reasons of space.

3.2.1 Spanish

Spanish is a Romance language, spoken by almost 400 millions speakers in Spain and great parts of the Americas (Lewis et al. 2015). Standard negation in Spanish is marked by the particle *no*, which precedes the main verb of a clause (Bradley & MacKenzie

2004). If the predicate of a clause contains an auxiliary, the negative particle prededes the auxiliary, as seen in (28-a). Pronouns clitics may be placed between *no* and the negated element (see (28-b)).

(28) (Bradley & MacKenzie 2004; p. 248)

    a. *No   has   puesto   tu   edad.*
        NEG have.2SG put.PTCP 2SG.POSS age
        'You haven't filled in your age.'

    b. *No lo veo   muy claramente.*
        NEG it see.1SG very clearly
        'I don't see it very clearly.'

If negative indefinite pronouns, such as *nada - nothing* or *nadie - nobody*, occupy a postverbal position, the verb needs to be preceded by the negative particle *no* (see (29-a)). If negative indefinite pronouns occur preverbally, however, they are not accompanied by the negative marker *no*, as seen in (29-b):

(29) (Bradley & MacKenzie 2004; p. 250)

    a. *La teoría no tiene   nada   novedoso.*
        the theory NEG have.3SG nothing new
        'The theory has nothing new.'

    b. *Nadie quiere   ser asociado   con ella.*
        nobody want.3SG be associated with her
        'Nobody wants to be associated with her.'

The Spanish predicates that were tested in the study are listed in Table 7. Two native speakers of Spanish participated in my study. Their judgments are added to the Appendix.

For the predicate *imaginar (se) - to imagine*, no results could be achieved as the context did not suppress the unintended literal reading of the NEG-Raising sentence, as previously explained in section 3.1.

predicate	Spanish	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*pensar*	✓
to believe	*creer*	✓
to hope	*esperar*	✗
to suppose	*suponer*	✗
to imagine	*imaginar(se)*	n.a.
predicates of perception		
to seem	*parecer*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*querer*	✓
to wish	*esperar*	✗
to plan	*planear*	✗
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*aconsejar*	✓
other		
to expect (think)	*esperar*	✓
to expect (demand)	*esperar*	✗
dummy		
to realize	*darse cuenta*	✗
to fear	*temer*	✗
to regret	*lamentar*	✗
to know	*saber*	✗

Table 7: NEG-Raising predicates in Spanish

Like the predicate *xīwàng* in Mandarin Chinese, the Spanish predicate *esperar* is polyse-mous and means *to wish*, *to hope* and *to expect*. However, the Spanish predicate *esperar* allows NEG-Raising only with the meaning of *to expect*, as seen in (30-b). This sentence is ungrammatical with *espero* translated as 'I hope' but perfectly grammatical when the predicate means 'to expect'.

(30)   Spanish: *esperar - to hope*

    a.   *Esper-o   que no lluev-a   esta noche.*
          hope-1SG that NEG rain-SUBJ.3SG this night
          'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   *No esper-o   que lluev-a   esta noche.*
          NEG expect/*hope-1SG that rain-SUBJ.3SG this night
          *'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'
          intended: 'I expect that it will rain tonight.'

The English predicate *to expect* itself is polysemous as it allows two possible readings. One of the readings is synonymous to the predicates *to assume* and *to think* whereas the other reading means *to demand something from somebody*. This is also the case for the Spanish predicate *esperar*. However, the data in (31) indicate that only one of the readings of the Spanish predicate *esperar - to expect* allows NEG-Raising. In (31-a), *esperar* means *to expect something from somebody*. However, this interpretation is not available in (31-b). In this sentence, *esperar* has a reading which is synonymous to the English predicate *to assume*. Thus, it can be summarised that only the *think*-reading of the Spanish predicate *esperar* allows NEG-Raising.

(31)   Spanish: *esperar - to expect*

    a.   *Esper-o   que no le diga   a nuestra mamá del   regalo.*
          expect-1SG that NEG her say.SUBJ.3SG to our   mother of.the present
          'I expect (want) that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

    b.   *No esper-o   que le diga   a nuestra mamá del   regalo.*
          NEG expect-1SG that her say.SUBJ.3SG to our   mother of.the present
          intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

The data in (32) clearly point out that also the Spanish predicate *querer - to want* is a NEG-Raising predicate.

(32)   Spanish: *querer - to want*

    a.   *Quier-o que no juegu-es   con la   computadora.*
          want-1SG that NEG play-SUBJ.2SG with ART computer
          ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b.   *No quier-o   que juegu-es   con la   computadora.*
          NEG want-1SG that play-SUBJ.2SG with ART computer
          intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

It is striking that this NEG-Raising predicate seems to be able to license a negative indefinite pronoun across a clause boundary, as seen in (33), which is a sentence originally taken from the Bible. When I tested this sentence with the native speakers, all of them

strongly preferred the negative indefinite pronoun to the positive indefinite pronoun which indicates that this phenomenon is not restricted to biblical Spanish.

(33)   Spanish - Mark 9,30

El no   quer-ía   que nadie   / ?alguien   lo supiera.
he NEG want-IPFV.3SG that nobody   somebody it know.SUBJ.IMPFV.3SG

lit: 'He did not want that anyone should know it.'

As already mentioned in the previous section, some languages of the sample do not allow to negate the predicate *to know* together with its complement. This can be seen in (34-b). In Spanish, it is ungrammatical to use the negated form of *saber* in the present tense together with a complement. Instead, the native speaker proposed to use the imperfective form of the verb. As the reasons for this ungrammaticality do not concern the topic of this thesis, I did not investigate this phenomenon any further and need to leave this issue open at this point.

(34)   Spanish: *saber - to know*

  a. *Sé   que no pued-e   caminar.*
      know.1SG that NEG can-IND.3SG walk
      'I know that she cannot walk.'
  b. *No sabía/*sé   que pued-e   caminar.*
      NEG know.IPFV.1SG/know.1SG that can-IND.3SG walk
      intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

3.2.2 Italian

Italian is a Romance language which is spoken by almost 60 million speakers in Italy (Lewis et al. 2015).

The negation patterns of Italian are similar to the negation patterns found in its closely related language Spanish, which were described in the previous subsection. Standard negation in Italian is marked by the particle *non*, which is placed immediately in front of the main verb of a sentence, as seen in (35-a). In compound verbal constructions containing an auxiliary, as in (35-b), the negative particle precedes the auxiliary (Maiden & Robustelli 2014). As in Spanish, pronoun clitics may intervene between the negative particle *non* and the negated verb.

(35)   (Maiden & Robustelli 2014; p. 403)

a. *Non parl-a.*
   NEG speak-3SG
   'She / He does not speak.'

b. *Non ha   parla-to.*
   NEG have.3SG speak-PTCP
   'She / He has not spoken.'

If a negative indefinite pronoun, such as *nessuno - nobody*, follows the verb, the verb needs to be preceded by a negative element (Maiden & Robustelli 2014). If the negative indefinite precedes the verb, the verb is not accompanied by *non*.

(36)   (Maiden & Robustelli 2014; p. 407f.)

a. *Non è   arrivato   nessuno puntuale.*
   NEG AUX.3SG arrive.PTCP nobody in.time

b. *Nessuno è   arrivato   puntuale.*
   nobody AUX.3SG arrive.PTCP in.time
   'Nobody has arrived in time.'

Maiden & Robustelli (2014) dealt with the topic of NEG-Raising in their grammar and list the following 7 predicates as NEG-predicates in Italian:

predicate	Italian
predicates of attitude:	
to think	*pensare*
to believe	*credere*
predicates of perception:	
to seem	*sembrare*
predicates of intention:	
to want	*volere*
to wish	*desiderare*
to intend	*intendare*
other predicates:	
to expect	*aspettarsi*

Table 8: NEG-Raising predicates in Italian (Maiden & Robustelli 2014)

Two native speakers of Italian participated in my study. The results that are summarised in Table 9 confirm the work by Maiden & Robustelli (2014) and indicate that their list is not complete.

predicate	Italian	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*pensare*	✓
to believe	*credere*	✓
to hope	*sperare*	✗
to suppose	*supporre*	✗
to imagine	*immaginare*	✓
predicates of perception		
to seem	*sembrare*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*volere*	✓
to wish	*augurarsi*	✗
to plan	*avere intenzione*	✓
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*consigliare*	✓
other		
to expect (think)	*aspettarsi*	✓
to expect (demand)	*aspettarsi*	✗
dummy		
to realize	*rendersi conto*	✗
to fear	*temere*	✗
to regret	*rimpiangere*	✗
to know	*sapere*	✗

Table 9: NEG-Raising predicates in Italian

Like the Spanish predicate *querer*, the Italian predicate *volere* allows NEG-Raising, as seen in (37-b). As already observed in Mandarin Chinese, the basic sentence of the predicate *to want* is pragmatically dispreferred by the speakers as it is perceived as 'rude' and 'impolite'.

(37) Italian: *volere - to want*

    a. *?Voglio che tu non giochi con il tuo computer.*
        want.I that you NEG play.SUBJ.2SG with ART 2SG.POSS computer
        ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b. *Non voglio che tu giochi con il tuo computer.*
        NEG want.I that you play.SUBJ.2SG with ART 2SG.POSS computer
        intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

As the licensing patterns of negative indefinite pronouns are similar in Italian and Spanish, I elicited the sentence from the Bible with the native speakers of Italian in order to investigate whether or not the negative indefinite pronouns would also be licensed under NEG-Raising in Italian. However, the sentence in (38) shows that the Italian predicate *volere* is not able to license a negative indefinite pronoun across a clause boundary, in contrast to the Spanish predicate *querer*.

(38)   *Gesù non vol-eva   che qualcuno / *nessuno lo*
       Jesus NEG want-IMPFV.3SG that somebody   nobody   it
       sapesse.
       know.SUBJ.IMPFV.3SG
       'Jesus did not want that anybody should know it.'

The sentences presented in (39) clearly show that the Italian predicate *aspettarsi* is a NEG-Raising predicate. As previously seen for the Spanish predicate *esperar*, only the reading which is synonymous to the English predicate *to assume* allows NEG-Raising (see (39-b)).

(39)   Italian: *aspettarsi - to expect*

   a. *Mi   aspett-o   che lei non dica   niente a nostra madre*
       1SG.DAT expect-1SG that she NEG say.SUBJ nothing to our   mother
       riguardo il   regal.
       about   ART present
       'I expect (want) that she will not tell anything about the secret to our mother.'

   b. *Non mi   aspett-o   che lei dica   qualcosa a nostra madre*
       NEG 1SG.DAT expect-1SG that she say.SUBJ anything to our   mother
       riguardo il   regal.
       about   ART present
       int: : 'I expect (*want) that she will not anything about the present to our mother.'

3.2.3 Swedish

Swedish is a North-Germanic language, spoken by about 9 million speakers in Sweden and parts of Finland. In Swedish, standard negation is usually marked by the particle *inte* (Holmes & Hinchcliffe 1997) . In main clauses, the negative particle follows the verb. In embedded clauses, however, it immediately precedes the finite verb, as seen in (40).

(40)

    a.   *Peter komm-er inte idag.*
         Peter come-PRS NEG today
         'Peter isn't coming today.'

    b.   *Olle sa   att Peter inte komm-er idag.*
         Olle say.PST that Peter NEG come-PRS today
         'Olle said that Peter isn't coming today.'

Only one native speaker of Swedish participated in my study. The results are presented in Table 10.

predicate	Swedish	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*att tycka*	✓
to believe	*att tro*	✓
to hope	*att hoppas*	✓
to suppose	*att anta*	✗
to imagine	*att föreställa sig*	✗
predicates of perception		
to seem	*att verka*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*att vilja*	✓
to wish	*att önska*	✗
to plan	*att planera*	✗
to intend	*att tänka*	✓
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*att råda*	✗
other		
to expect (think)	*att förvänta*	✓
to expect (demand)	*att förvänta*	✗
dummy		
to realize	*att inse*	✗
to fear	*att frukta*	✗
to regret	*att ångra*	✗
to know	*att veta*	✗

Table 10: NEG-Raising predicates in Swedish

For the North-Germanic languages, I also tested the predicate *to intend*. For this pur-

pose, I used the same context pictures as for the predicate *to plan*. The data in (41) indicate that the predicate *att planera - to plan* is not a NEG-Raising predicate in Swedish.

(41)   Swedish: *att planera - to plan*

    a.   *Jag planer-ar att inte rök-a   nästa år.*
          I   plan-PRS to NEG smoke-INF next   year
          'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   *#Jag planer-ar inte att rök-a   nästa år.*
          I   plan-PRS NEG to smoke-INF next   year
          intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

It becomes clear from the sentence in (42-b) that the Swedish predicate *att tänka - to intend*, however, does allow NEG-Raising. This difference is particularly striking as *to plan* and *to intend* are semantically very similar.

(42)   Swedish: *att tänka - to indend*

    a.   *Jag har   tänk-t   att inte rök-a   nästa år.*
          I   have intend-PTCP to NEG smoke-INF next   year
          'I have intended not to smoke next year.'

    b.   *Jag har   inte tänk-t   att rök-a   nästa år.*
          I   have NEG intend-PTCP to smoke-INF next   year
          intended: 'I have intended not to smoke next year.'

3.2.4 Danish

Danish is a North-Germanic language which is spoken by more than 5 million speakers in Denmark. As described by Lundskær-Nielsen & Holmes (2011), standard negation in Danish is marked by the particle *ikke*. As common for North-Germanic languages, the position of the negative element varies. In main clauses, the negative particle follows the verb (see (43-a)). In subordinate clauses, however, *ikke* precedes the finite verb, as seen in (43-b).

(43)   (Lundskær-Nielsen & Holmes 2011; p. 221)

    a.   *De leg-er   ikke.*
          they play-PRS NEG
          'They do not play.'

    b.   *De ved, at jeg ikke løb-er.*
          they know that I   NEG run-PRS
          'They know that I do not run.'

One native speaker of Danish took part in the study. The results of the study are be summarised for Danish in Table 11. It is crucial that the predicate *at synes* is not a polysemous predicate in Danish. The attitude predicate *at synes* can easily be distinguished from the predicate which is synonymous to the English predicate *to seem* by its different syntactic behaviour.

predicate	Danish	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*at synes*	✓
to believe	*at tro*	✓
to hope	*at håbe*	✓
to suppose	*at antage*	✗
to imagine	*at forestille sig*	n.a.
predicates of perception		
to seem	*at synes*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*at ville*	✓
to wish	*at ønske*	✗
to plan	*at planlægge*	✗
to intend	*at have til hensigt*	✓
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*at råde*	✗
other		
to expect (think)	*at forvente*	✓
to expect (demand)	*at forvente*	✗
dummy		
to realize	*at indse*	✗
to fear	*at frygte*	✗
to regret	*at angre*	✗
to know	*at vide*	✗

Table 11: NEG-Raising predicates in Danish

Some Danish predicates that were tested in the study, such as *at råde - to advise -*, *at planlægge - to plan* or *at synes - to seem*, usually take infinitival complements. In sentences with infinitival complements, the negative marker always appears to the left of the complementizer and can generally be interpreted both within the matrix clause and within the subordinate clause, as seen in (44).

(44)   Danish: *at planlægge - to plan*

    a.   *Jeg planlægg-er [ikke at ryg-e   næste år].*
        I   plan-PRS   NEG at smoke-INF next year
        'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   #*Jeg planlægg-er ikke [at ryg-e   næste år].*
        I   plan-PRS   NEG that smoke-INF next year
        intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

In order to be able to discriminate both interpretations, I tested the sentence in the perfect tense, in which the position of the negative marker differs, as seen in (45).

(45)   Danish: *at planlægge - to plan*

    a.   *Jeg har planlag-t [ikke at ryg-e   næste år].*
        I   have plan-PTCP NEG to smoke-INF next year
        'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   #*Jeg har ikke planlag-t   [at ryg-e   næste år].*
        I   have NEG plan-PTCP to smoke-INF next year
        intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

3.2.5 Norwegian

Norwegian is a North-Germanic language which is spoken by 4.7 million speakers. In this paper, I refer to the Norwegian variant *bokmål*, which is spoken by the vast majority of the population of Norway (Strandskogen & Strandskogen 1986; Lewis et al. 2015). In Norwegian, standard negation is marked by the particle *ikke*. As in the closely related languages Swedish and Danish, the position of the particle varies. In main clauses, *ikke* follows the finite verb while it occupies a preverbal position in embedded clauses, as seen in (46) (Strandskogen & Strandskogen 1986).

(46)   (Strandskogen & Strandskogen 1986; p. 188ff)

    a.   *De vil   ikke reise ennå.*
        they want NEG travel yet
        'They do not want to leave yet.'

    b.   *… at   han ikke har vært her på lenge.*
          that he   NEG has been here on long
        ' … that he hasn't been her for ages'

Two native speakers of Norwegian participated in my study. Their judgments are added to the respective section of the Appendix. The results of the study are sum-

marised in Table 12. As in Danish, the predicate *å synes* is not a polysemous predicate in Norwegian.

predicate	Norwegian	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*å synes*	✓
to believe	*å tro*	✓
to hope	*å håpe*	✓
to suppose	*å anta*	✗
to imagine	*å forestille seg*	✗
predicates of perception		
to seem	*å synes*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*å ville*	✓
to wish	*å ønske*	INF
to plan	*å planlegge*	✗
to intend	*å tenke*	✓
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*å råde*	✗
other		
to expect (think)	*å forvente*	✓
to expect (demand)	*å forvente*	✗
dummy		
to realize	*å innse*	✗
to fear	*å frykte*	✗
to regret	*å angre*	✗
to know	*å vite*	✗

Table 12: NEG-Raising predicates in Norwegian

The Norwegian predicate *å ønske - to wish* allows both finite and infinitival complements. However, the predicate only allows NEG-Raising in infinitival complements, as seen in (47).[1] This confirms the observation by Horn (1978) that NEG-Raising predicates tend to govern subjunctival or infinitival complements.

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[1] As in Danish, the negative particle in Norwegian sentences with infinitival complements appears to the left of the complementizer and thus renders the sentence ambiguous. However, intonation could be used to discriminate between both interpretations.

(47) Norwegian: *å ønske - to wish*

    a. *Jeg ønsk-er   at   jeg ikke er   gravid.*
        I   wish-PRS that I   NEG be.PRS pregnant
        'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

    b. *#Jeg ønsk-er   ikke at   jeg er   gravid.*
        I   wish-PRS NEG that I   be.PRS pregnant
        intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

    c. *Jeg ønsk-er   IKKE [å vare   gravid.]*
        I   wish-PRS NEG   to be.INF pregnant
        intended: 'I wish not to be pregnant.'

This is also the main difference to the closely related languages Swedish and Danish. In these languages, the predicate *to wish* does not allow NEG-Raising, as described in the sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.

3.2.6 Lithuanian

Lithuanian is a Balto-Slavic language spoken by 2.8 million people in Lithuania (Lewis et al. 2015).

Negation in Lithuanian is marked by the preverbal affix *ne-* (Ambrazas 2005). Moreover, the direct object of negated verbs receives genitive case instead of the accusative case which is assigned in affirmative sentences, as seen in (48).

(48)   (Ambrazas 2005; p. 667)

    a. *Studeñt-ai lañkė   pãskait-as.*
        student-PL attended lecture-ACC
        'The students attended lectures.'

    b. *Studeñt-ai ne-lañkė   pãskait-ų.*
        student-PL NEG-attended lecture-GEN
        'The students did not attend lectures.'

The Lithuanian predicates that were tested in the study with the help of a native speaker a listed in Table 13. The Lithuanian predicate *manyti* is a highly frequent attitude predicate and means both *to think* and *to believe*.

predicate	Lithuanian	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*manyti*	✓
to believe	*manyti*	✓
to hope	*viltis*	✗
to suppose	*spėti*	✗
to imagine	*įsivaizduoti*	✓
predicates of perception		
to seem	*atrodyti*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*norėti*	✓
to wish	*linkėti*	✓
to plan	*planuoti*	✓
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*patarti*	✓
other		
to expect (think)	*tikėtis*	✓
to expect (demand)	*tikėtis*	✗
dummy		
to realize	*suvokti*	✗
to fear	*bijoti*	✗
to regret	*gailėtis*	✗
to know	*žinoti*	✗

Table 13: NEG-Raising predicates in Lithuanian

The data in (49) show that the Lithuanian predicate *manyti - to believe* is a NEG-Raising predicate. However, it cannot trigger genitive case on the object of the embedded clause. This becomes clear from (49-b), where the object of the embedded clause has to be assigned accusative case. These data show that the so-called *genitive of negation* in Lithuanian cannot occur with NEG-Raising predicates, as it rather needs to be licensed by a negative marker within the same clause.

(49) Lithuanian: *manyti - to believe*

    a. *Aš*   *man-au,*   *kad* *ne-gal-im-a*   *valgy-ti*
       1SG.NOM think-1SG.PRS that NEG-can-PTCP.PRS.PASS-NEUT eat-INF
      to   *vais-iaus.*
      that.MASC.GEN.SG fruit-GEN.SG
      'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

    b. *Aš*   *ne-man-au,*   *kad* *gal-im-a*   *valg-y-ti*
       1SG.NOM NEG-think-1SG.PRS that can-PTCP.PRS.PASS-NEUT eat-INF
      tą   *vais-ių*   / **vais-iaus.*
      that.MASC.GEN.SG fruit-ACC.SG   fruit-GEN.SG
      intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

The sentence in (50-b) looks like a counterexample to the sentences in (49), as the object of the embedded clause bears genitive case, even though there is no negative marker within the same clause. In this sentence, however, the object has to be marked with genitive case as it is a mass noun.

(50) Lithuanian: *manyti - to think*

    a. *Aš*   *man-au,*   *kad* *Vokietij-a*   *ne-turė-tų*
       1SG.NOM think-1SG.PRS that Germany-NOM.SG NEG-have-COND.3SG
      par-dav-inė-ti   *ginkl-ų.*
      PTCL-give-IMPFV-INF weapon-GEN.PL
      'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b. *Aš*   *ne-man-au,*   *kad* *Vokietij-a*   *turė-tų*
       1SG.NOM NEG-think-1SG.PRS that Germany-NOM.SG have-COND.3SG
      par-dav-inė-ti   *ginkl-ų.*
      PTCL-give-IMPFV-INF weapon-GEN.PL
      intended: 'I think that Germany shoud not sell weapons.'

3.2.7 Indonesian

Indonesian is an Austronesian language, spoken by more than 20 million speakers in Indonesia (Lewis et al. 2015). Standard negation in Indonesian is marked by the pre-verbal particle *tidak* (see (51)). *Tidak* can be used to negate verbs and adjectives, but not nouns (Sneddon 2010).

(Sneddon 2010; p. 202)

Mereka tidak menolong kami.
they   NEG   help   us

'They did not help us.'

Three native speakers of Indonesian participated in my study. For some predicates, their grammaticality judgments varied greatly from each other. I assume that this is due to the large dialectal variation within Indonesia. The judgments of the speakers are listed in the Appendix.

Except for the dummy predicate, all of the Indonesian predicates that were tested in the study allow NEG-Raising, as seen in Table 14. It has to be mentioned that two of the predicates in the table are polysemous. The Indonesian predicate *berharap* means *to hope*, *to wish* and *to expect*. The attitude predicate *berpendapat* means *to think* and *to suppose* but it is not used very frequently in spoken language. Thus, 13 Indonesian predicates correspond to 15 distinct predicates in English.

predicate	Indonesian	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*berpendapat*	✓
to believe	*kira*	✓
to hope	*berharap*	✓
to suppose	*kira*	✓
to imagine	*sangka*	✓
predicates of perception		
to seem	*tampak*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*mau*	✓
to wish	*ingin*	✓
to plan	*berencana*	✓
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*saran*	✓
other		
to expect (think)	*berharap*	✓
to expect (demand)	*berharap*	✗
dummy		
to realize	*sadar*	✗
to fear	*takut*	✗
to regret	*sesal*	✗
to know	*tahu*	✗

Table 14: NEG-Raising predicates in Indonesian

3.2.8 Hungarian

Hungarian is a Uralic language, spoken by more than 12 million people (Kenesei et al. 2002; Lewis et al. 2015). Sentential negation in Hungarian is marked by the preverbal particle *nem* and its allomorph *ne*. *Ne* is obligatory when sentences in jussive or subjunctive mood are negated and cannot occur in any other moods, as seen in (52).

(52)   (Kenesei et al. 2002; p. 112f.)

    a.   *Anna nem / (*ne) olvassa   a   könyv-et.*
          Anna NEG   NEG   read.3SG.DEF the book-ACC
          'Anna is not reading the book.'

    b.   *(*Nem) / Ne   olvas-d   a   könyv-et!*
          NEG   NEG read-2SG the book-ACC
          'Don't read the book!'

The position of the negative particle is always preverbal, even in sentences where focussed elements are moved to a preverbal position. Thus, *nem* and *ne* are the only elements that can occur between the verb and a focussed constituent, as illustrated in the following example (Kenesei et al. 2002):

(53)   (Kenesei et al. 2002; p. 113)

    Anna a   könyv-et   nem olvasta.
    Anna the book-ACC NEG read.DEF

    'It is the book that Anna has not read.'

Negative indefinite pronouns, such as *senki - nobody* and *semmi - nothing*, require negative concord (Kenesei et al. 2002; Rounds 2009).

(54)   (Kenesei et al. 2002; p. 117)

    Anna semmi-t   *(nem) olvasott.
    Anna nothing-ACC NEG   read

    'Anna has not read anything.'

Kenesei et al. (2002) points out that the Hungarian verb *hisz - to believe* is a NEG-Raising predicate. If the subordinate clause contains a negative indefinite, as in (55-a), and the negative marker is then moved to the matrix clause, the indefinite pronoun needs to be replaced by the positive indefinite pronoun, as seen in (55-b).

(55)   (Kenesei et al. 2002; p. 119)

    a.   *Azt   hisz-em,   hogy Anna nem olvasott semmi-t.*
        it.ACC think-1SG.DEF that Anna NEG read   nothing-ACC
        'I believe that Anna has not read anything.'

    b.   *Nem hisz-em,   hogy Anna olvasott valami-t   is.*
        NEG think-1SG.DEF that Anna read   anything-ACC PTCL
        'I don't believe that Anna has read anything.'

Two native speakers of Hungarian participated in my study. The results are summarised in the following table:

predicate	Hungarian	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*gondol*	✓
to believe	*hisz*	✓
to hope	*remél*	✗
to suppose	*feltételez*	✗
to imagine	*elképzel*	✓
predicates of perception		
to seem	*tűnik*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*akar*	✓
to wish	*kíván*	✓
to plan	*tervez*	✓
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*tanácsol*	✓
other		
to expect (demand)	*elvár*	✗
dummy		
to realize	*rajön*	✗
to fear	*fél*	✗
to regret	*sajnál*	✗
to know	*tud*	✗

Table 15: NEG-Raising predicates in Hungarian

In contrast to the languages that have been discussed so far, the Hungarian predicate *elvár - to expect* is not polysemous and has only one reading which means *to expect something from somebody*. This is indicated by the ablative object *töle*, which refers to the

person who has to fulfil the expectations of the subject of the sentence. The sentence in (56-b) points out that the Hungarian predicate *elvár* does not allow NEG-Raising.

(56)   Hungarian: *elvár - to expect*

    a.   *Elvárom   töle,   hogy el   ne   meseljen anyukanknak*
        expect.1SG.DEF 3SG.ABL that PTCL NEG tell.JUS   mother.DIM.1PL.DAT
        az ajándékrol.
        the present
        'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

    b.   #*Nem várom#el   töle,   hogy elmeseljen anyukanknak   az*
        NEG   expect.1SG.DEF 3SG.ABL that tell.JUS   mother.DIM.1PL.DAT the
        ajándékrol.
        present
        intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

3.2.9 Swahili

Swahili is a Niger-Congo language which is spoken mainly in Tanzania and great parts of Kenya (Brauner & Herms 1986; Lewis et al. 2015). In this paper, I refer to the variant which is spoken in Kenya.

In Swahili, negative sentences differ from affirmative sentences in many respects, as seen in (57). First, the pronominal affixes used in affirmatives sentences are replaced in negative sentences. Moreover, the tense affix is dropped. Furthermore, the final vowel of negated verbs changes from *a* to *i*. However, this is not the case in loan words, which retain their final vowel.

(57)   (Brauner & Herms 1986; p. 126)

    a.   *Ni-na-tak-a.*
        1SG-PRS-want-VWL
        'I want.'

    b.   *Si-tak-i.*
        1SG.NEG-want-VWL.NEG
        'I don't want.'

The results of the study that are summarised in Table 16 were achieved with the help of a native speaker of Kenyan Swahili. It has to be mentioned that the predicate *kutarajia - to expect* cannot have a demanding meaning in Swahili. Instead, the speaker proposed to use the predicate *kutaka - to want* in this case.

predicate	Swahili	NEG-Raising Predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*kufikiria*	✓
to believe	*kuamini*	✓
to hope	*kutarajia*	✗
to suppose	*kudhani*	✓
predicates of perception		
to seem	*kuonekana*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*kutaka*	✓
to wish	*kutarajia*	✗
to plan	*kupanga*	✗
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*kuhusia*	✓
other		
to expect (think)	*kutarajia*	✓
dummy		
to realize	*kugundua*	✗
to fear	*kuhofia*	✗
to regret	*kujuta*	✗
to know	*kujua*	✗

Table 16: NEG-Raising predicates in Swahili

Like some other languages that have already been discussed, Swahili does not have 15 distinct predicates, as some of the predicates in Table 16 are polysemous. As there is no distinct predicate which is synonymous to the English predicate *to imagine*, the translator used the Swahili predicate *kuamini - to believe* instead. The predicate *kutarajia* is also polysemous and means *to hope*, *to wish* and *to expect*.

Similar to the case in Spanish, the predicate *kutarajia* allows NEG-Raising only with the meaning of *to expect*, but not when it is interpreted as *to hope*, as seen in (58).

(58)   Swahili: *kutarajia - to hope*

    a.   *Mimi   ni-na-taraji   leo   usiku hakuto-nyesha.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG-PRS-epect/hope today night NEG-rain
        'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   #*Mimi   si-taraji   kama leo   usiku kuta-nyesha.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-expect/*hope COMP today night INF.FUT-rain
        *'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'
        intended: 'I expect that it will rain tonight.'

3.2.10 Tibetan

Central Tibetan is a Sino-Tibetan language, which is spoken by more than 1 million people in the Tibet Autonomous Region of China (Lewis et al. 2015). Its basic word order is SOV. In contrast to the other 10 languages of the sample, Tibetan is an ergative language. However, ergative case is only assigned to the agent of a transitive verb in the perfective tense (Vokurková 2008).

Negation in Tibetan is generally expressed by the particle *ma*. In many cases, however, the negative marker is a fused form containing tense and evidentiality information and pronominal affixes, as seen in the following sentence:

(59)   (Vokurková 2008; p. 202)

    khong bod#skad   shes gi-yod-pa-med.
    3SG   Tibetan.language know IMPFV-EPIST-EVID-NEG

    'From what I know, he does not speak Tibetan.'

This can also be exemplified by the sentences in (60), which were elicited in the study for the predicate *to hope*.

In the basic sentence in (60-a), the predicate of the matrix clause consists of the stem *re ba* and the auxiliary *yod*. In the NEG-Raising sentence in (60-b), this auxiliary was substituted by the negative auxiliary *med*, which also bears information about person, evidentiality and tense.

(60)   Tibetan: *re ba - to hope*

    a.   *[Do#dgong char#pa ma   gtong pa-]'i   re#ba yod.*
           tonight   rain   NEG send NMLZ-GEN hope   PTCL AUX.1SG
           'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   *[Do#dgong char#pa gtong pa-]'i   re#ba med.*
           tonight   rain   send NMLZ-GEN hope   PTCL NEG.1SG
           intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

As Tibetan has only a very limited number of distinct predicates, I reduced the number of tested items from 15 to 8 and tested these predicates with the help of a native speaker of Tibetan. Except for the dummy predicates, all of the tested predicates in Tibetan allowed NEG-Raising, as seen in Table 17, in which the results of the study are summarised.

predicate	Tibetan	NEG-Raising predicate?
predicates of attitude		
to think	*bsam*	✓
to hope	*re ba*	✓
predicates of volition		
to want	*'dod*	✓
to plan	*rtsis*	✓
predicates of judgment		
to advise	*bslab*	✓
dummy		
to realize	*ha go*	✗
to regret	*rgyod*	✗
to know	*shes*	✗

Table 17: NEG-Raising predicates in Tibetan

3.3 Discussion

In the previous sections, I have presented the results of the study for each of the 11 languages of the sample. The total results of the study are presented in Table 18. NEG-Raising predicates are marked with the symbol ✓ while predicates that do not allow NEG-Raising are indicated by the ✗-symbol. For some predicates, a number of languages of the sample did not have a corresponding predicate. Furthermore, the results

for the predicate *to imagine* could not be achieved for four languages. Both cases are marked with the letters *n.a.* in the table.

	Spanish	Italian	Swedish	Danish	Norwegian	Lithuanian	Indonesian	Hungarian	Swahili	Tibetan	Chinese
to think	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
to believe	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.a.	✓
to hope	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
to suppose	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	n.a.	✓
to imagine	n.a	✓	✗	n.a.	✗	✓	✓	✓	n.a.	n.a.	✗
to seem	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.a.	✗*
to want	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
to wish	✗	✗	✗	✗	INF	✓	✓	✓	✗	n.a.	✓
to plan	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
to intend	n.a.	n.a	✓	✓	✓	n.a	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
to advise	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
to expect (think)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.a	✓	n.a.	✓
to expect (demand)	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
to realize	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
to fear	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	n.a.	✗
to regret	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
to know	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗

Table 18: Total results of the study

As expected, the dummy predicates do not allow NEG-Raising in any of the 11 languages of the sample. Furthermore, it becomes evident from Table 18 that the predicates *to think*, *to believe*, *to want* and *to seem* allow NEG-Raising in each of the 11 languages of the sample. The only counterexample to this generalisation is the Chinese predicate *kàn qǐlái - to seem*, as seen in (26), here repeated as (61). However, the native speakers of Mandarin Chinese indicated that the ungrammaticality of (61-b) arises due to independent reasons, as *kàn qǐlái* is a complex predicate (see section 3.1). Therefore, the Chinese predicate *kàn qǐlái* cannot be considered as a counterexample to this generalisation.

(61)   Chinese: *kàn qǐlái - to seem*

    a. *Tā kàn#qǐlái bù   zhīdào dá'àn.*
        he seem   NEG know answer
        'He seems not to know the answer.'

    b. **Tā bù   kàn#qǐlái zhīdào dá'àn.*
        he NEG seem   know answer
        intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

Moreover, the NEG-Raising sentences of these four predicates were generally preferred over the basic sentences, which were perceived as pragmatically inappropriate for these predicates. A counterexample to this observation was the predicate *to think*. As discussed in section 3.1 the context of the predicate *to think* caused that the basic sentence was preferred over the NEG-Raising sentences. This was because the NEG-Raising sentence was perceived as 'too polite' due to the politeness effect of NEG-Raising (Horn 1978). It would be necessary to test the predicate *to think* within another context in order to find out whether or not this predicate is a counterexample to the generalisation that the NEG-Raising sentences are preferred to the basic sentences for these predicates.

As I have shown that these four predicates contrast strongly with the other predicates of the study, I call these four predicates *strong NEG-Raising predicates*. The rest of the tested predicates are labelled *weak NEG-Raising predicates*, as seen in Table 19.

	to think	to believe	to want	to seem	to hope	to suppose	to imagine	to wish	to plan	to advise
	Strong NEG-Raising predicates				Weak NEG-Raising predicates					
Spanish	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	n.a.	✗	✗	✓
Italian	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓
Swedish	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Danish	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	n.a.	✗	✗	✗
Norwegian	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	INF	✗	✗
Lithuanian	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Indonesian	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hungarian	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Swahili	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	n.a.	✗	✗	✓
Tibetan	✓	n.a.	✓	n.a.	✓	n.a.	n.a.	n.a	✓	✓
Chinese	✓	✓	✓	✗*	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓

Table 19: Strong vs. weak NEG-Raising predicates

The predicate *to expect* is in many respects one of the most striking predicates that were tested in the study. As seen in Table 18, it allows NEG-Raising in all languages of the sample. However, it differs greatly from other strong NEG-Raising predicates, as the NEG-Raising sentence of *to expect* is generally not preferred to the basic sentence. This becomes particularly clear in (62). For the Norwegian predicate *å forvente*, the NEG-Raising sentence is grammatical, but highly marked, as seen in (62-b).

(62)   Norwegian: *å forvente - to expect*

     a.   *Jeg forvente-r at   hun ikke vil fortell-e vår mor   om   presang-en.*
         I   expect-PRS that she NEG will tell-INF our mother about present-DEF
         'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

     b.   *?Jeg forvente-r ikke at   hun vil fortell-e vår mor   om   presang-en.*
         I   expect-PRS NEG that she will tell-INF our mother about present-DEF
         intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

Moreover, the English predicate *to expect* is polysemous. In one of its meanings, it is similar to the verb *to think* or *to assume*. The second meaning of the predicate is *to expect something from somebody*. The predicate *to expect* is not polysemous in each of the languages of the sample. In some of the languages, such as Hungarian or Swahili, the corresponding predicate allows only one of the two possible interpretations. Therefore, it is a particularly striking result of the study that the predicate *to expect* allows NEG-Raising only with the meaning of *to think* throughout the whole sample of the study. In the meaning *to demand*, however, it did not act as a NEG-Raising predicate in any of the 11 languages of the sample.

Horn (1978) observed that even closely related languages such as English and German show typological variation with respect to NEG-Raising. As the sample of this study includes two Romance languages and three North-Germanic languages, it can be used to test this observation. The results in Table 18 indicate that there are indeed differences between closely related languages. It has already been mentioned in section 3.2.5, that the Norwegian predicate *å ønske - to wish* allows NEG-Raising with infinitival complements, while the corresponding predicates in the closely related languages Swedish and Danish cannot act as NEG-Raising predicates. Furthermore, the predicate *to plan* allows NEG-Raising in Italian, but not in the closely related language Spanish. Even though the results in Table 18 prove that there is in fact variation between related languages, it cannot be denied that genetic relationship has an effect on NEG-Raising, as there is only little variation between closely related languages. Morever, there are similarities in the results of closely related languages that distinguish them from the other languages of the samples. The North-Germanic languages, for example, are the

only languages of the sample in which the predicate *to advise* does not allow NEG-Raising.

Another striking result of the study is the interaction of the NEG-Raising predicate *to want* and the licensing of negative indefinite pronouns in the closely related languages Spanish and Italian. As seen in (63), prevously presented as (33), the Spanish predicate *querer* is able to license the negative indefinite pronoun *nadie*.

(63)   Spanish - Mark 9,30

   El no quer-ía   que nadie / ?alguien lo supiera.
   he NEG want-IPFV.3SG that nobody somebody it know.SUBJ.IMPFV.3SG

   lit: 'He did not want that anyone should know it.'

In Italian, however, this is not possible, as seen in (38), repeated here as (64).

(64)   *Gesù non vol-eva   che qualcuno / *nessuno lo*
   Jesus NEG want-IMPFV.3SG that somebody nobody it
   sapesse.
   know.SUBJ.IMPFV.3SG
   'Jesus did not want that anybody should know it.'

This difference between Spanish and Italian is not expected as both the Spanish predicate *querer* and the Italian predicate *volere* allow NEG-Raising. These data are particularly interesting from a theoretical perspective. As previously illustrated in section 2, it has been argued by Lakoff (1969) and Collins et al. (2014) that NEG-Raising must in fact be a process of syntactic movement. It is obvious that the difference between the Spanish sentence in (63) and the Italian sentence in (64) is potentially problematic for syntactic approaches of NEG-Raising. If the negative marker would have moved syntactically from the embedded clause to the matrix clause, it would be unexpected that it licenses the negative indefinite pronoun in Spanish but not in Italian.

The Lithuanian data previously presented in (49) pose a problem for a syntactic approaches to NEG-Raising, as well (see ex. (65)). If NEG-Raising was actually a process of syntactic movement from the embedded clause to the matrix clause, it would have been expected that the negative particle *ne-* triggers genitive case on the direct object of the embedded clause. However, the object of the embedded clause has to be assigned accusative case in this sentence, as seen in (65-b).

(65)   Lithuanian: *manyti - to believe*

a.   *Aš*   *man-au,*   *kad* *ne-gal-im-a*   *valgy-ti*
     1SG.NOM think-1SG.PRS   that   NEG-can-PTCP.PRS.PASS-NEUT   eat-INF
     to   *vais-iaus.*
     that.MASC.GEN.SG   fruit-GEN.SG
     'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

b.   *Aš*   *ne-man-au,*   *kad* *gal-im-a*   *valg-y-ti*
     1SG.NOM NEG-think-1SG.PRS   that   can-PTCP.PRS.PASS-NEUT   eat-INF
     tą   *vais-ių*   / **vais-iaus.*
     that.MASC.GEN.SG   fruit-ACC.SG   fruit-GEN.SG
     intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

In this section, I have presented the design and the results of my study on the typological variation of NEG-Raising. I am now going to give a short summary of this thesis by concluding the main idea of the study and discussing potential problems in the design of the study.

4   Conclusion

In this master thesis, I have presented the idea, the design and the results of study that I carried out in order to investigate the typological variation of NEG-Raising.

In section 2, I introduced the phenomenon of NEG-Raising and several theoretical approaches that try to account for the fact that certain classes of predicates allow their negation to be interpreted within their complements. NEG-Raising has been observed in many languages throughout divergent language families. However, even closely related languages show typological variation in the predicates that allow NEG-Raising. The goal of this study was to investigate the crosslinguistic variation of NEG-Raising predicates systematically. This goal was operationalised by testing the same 15 predicates in appropriate contexts in 11 different languages. The purpose of embedding the target items into suitable contexts was to disambiguate the NEG-Raising sentences and to enforce the intended NEG-Raising interpretation. For the predicates *to advise* and *to think*, however, the contexts effected the participants in a way that could not be predicted. In these cases, the basic sentences were generally preferred over the NEG-Raising sentences as the NEG-Raising sentences were perceived as 'too weak' in the given situation. This is an interesting result of the study as it confirms the observation by Horn (1978) that the strength of negation decreases with its distance to the negated element. A potential problem in the design of the study is the context of the predicate *to imagine*. When the study was carried out, it turned out that the unintended literal reading of NEG-Raising sentences was not suppressed in this

context. Even though a result could still be achieved for the majority of the sample, it would be necessary to test this predicate within a better context that suppresses the literal reading in order to gather valid data for all languages of the sample. The results of the study show that the four predicates *to think*, *to believe*, *to want* and *to seem* allow NEG-Raising in all languages of the sample with the exception of the Chinese predicate *kàn qǐlái - to seem*, which has been discussed in detail in section 3.1. These so-called *strong NEG-Raising predicates* differ from the rest of the tested predicates, which I label *weak NEG-Raising predicates*, to the extent that the basic sentences of the strong NEG-Raising predicates are often dispreferred to the NEG-Raising sentences and perceived as pragmatically inappropriate. However, it needs to remain open for further research how these differences between strong and weak NEG-Raising predicates can be accounted for. Moreover, it became apparent that the Lithuanian data previously discussed in section 3.2.6 and the difference in the negative indefinite pronouns under NEG-Raising between Spanish and Italian are problematic for syntactic approaches to NEG-Raising. This shows that the results of this master thesis are not only interesting from a typological but also from a theoretical perspective.

5 Appendix

5.1 Spanish

(66)   Spanish: *creer - to believe*

    a.   *Cre-o   que no pued-es   com-er esa fruta.*
           believe-1SG that NEG can-IND.2SG eat-INF this fruit
           'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

    b.   *No cre-o   que pued-as   com-er esa fruta.*
           NEG believe-1SG that can-SUBJ.2SG eat-INF this fruit
           intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(67)   Spanish: *suponer - to suppose*

    a.   *Supon-go   que no ha-s   rega-do   la   planta.*
           suppose-1SG that NEG have-2SG water-PTCP ART plant
           'I suppose that you did not water the plant.'

    b.   *#No supon-go   que ha-yas   rega-do   la   planta.*
           NEG suppose-1SG that have-SUBJ.2SG water-PTCP ART plant
           intended: 'I suppose that you did not water the plant.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(68)   Spanish: *lamentar - to regret*

    a.   *Lament-o no hab-er=la   visita-do   en la   última navidad.*
           regret-1SG NEG have-INF=her visit-PTCP in ART last   Christmas
           'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

    b.   *#No lament-o hab-er=la   visita-do   en la   última navidad.*
           NEG regret-1SG have-INF=her visit-PTCP in ART last   Christmas
           intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(69)   Spanish: *aconsejar - to advise*

   a.   *Te   aconsej-o   que   no   fum-es.*
        2SG.OBJ advise-1SG that NEG smoke-SUBJ.2SG
        'I advise you not to smoke.'

   b.   *No   te   aconsej-o   que   fum-es.*
        NEG 2SG.OBJ advise-1SG that smoke-SUBJ.2SG
        intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(70)   Spanish: *darse cuenta - to realize*

   a.   *Ayer   me   di#cuenta   de que   mi   esposa no*
        yesterday 1SG.RFL realize.PST.1SG of that 1SG.POSS wife   NEG
        sab-e   cocinar.
        know-3SG cook
        'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

   b.   *#Ayer   no   me   di#cuenta   de que   mi   esposa*
        yesterday NEG 1SG.RFL realize.PST.1SG of that 1SG.POSS wife
        sab-e   cocinar.
        know-3SG cook
        intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(71)   Spanish: *imaginar - to imagine*

   a.   *Imagin-é   que   no   me dej-aría.*
        imagine-1SG.PST that NEG me leave-COND.3SG
        'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

   b.   *#No imagin-é   que   me dej-aría.*
        NEG imagine-1SG.PST that me leave-COND.3SG
        intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

no results

(72)   Spanish: *temer - to fear*

   a.   *Me   tem-o   que   mi   novia   no   ven-drá.*
        1SG.RFL fear-1SG that 1SG.POSS girlfriend NEG come-FUT.3SG
        'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

   b.   *#No tem-o   que   mi   novia   venga.*
        NEG fear-1SG that 1SG.POSS girlfriend come.SUBJ.3SG
        intended: 'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(73)   Spanish: *pensar - to think*

    a.   *Pienso   que Alemania no   deb-ería   vender armas.*
        think.1SG that Germany NEG must-COND.3SG sell   weapons
        'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b.   *No pienso   que Alemania deb-a   vender armas.*
        NEG think.1SG that Germany must-SUBJ.3SG sell   weapons
        intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(74)   Spanish: *planear - to plan*

    a.   *Plane-o no fuma-r   el   próximo año.*
        plan-1SG NEG smoke-INF ART next   year
        'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   *#No plane-o fuma-r   el   próximo año.*
        NEG plan-1SG smoke-INF ART next   year
        intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(75)   Spanish: *esperar - to wish*

    a.   *Esper-o que no est-é   embarazada.*
        wish-1SG that NEG be-SUBJ.1SG pregnant
        'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

    b.   *#No esper-o que est-é   embarazada.*
        NEG wish-1SG that be-SUBJ.1SG pregnant
        intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

Speaker 1: with infinitive Speaker 2: with meaning *to expect*

(76)   Spanish: *parecer - to seem*

    a.   *Parac-e no sabe-r   la   respuesta.*
        seem-3SG NEG know-INF ART answer
        'He seems not to know the answer.'

    b.   *No parac-e sabe-r   la   respuesta.*
        NEG seem-3SG know-INF ART answer
        intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

5.2 Italian

(77)   Italian: *credere - to believe*

    a.   *Cred-o   che   tu   non possa   mangia-re questo frutto.*
        believe-I that you NEG can.SUBJ.2SG eat-INF   this   fruit
        'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

    b.   *Non credo   che   tu   possa   mangia-re questo frutto.*
        NEG believe-I that you can.SUBJ.2SG eat-INF   this   fruit
        intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(78)   Italian: *sperare - to hope*

    a.   *Sper-o   che   non piova   stasera.*
        hope-I that NEG rain.SUBJ.3SG tonight
        'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   *#Non sper-o che   piova   stasera.*
        NEG   hope-I that rain.SUBJ.3SG tonight
        intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(79)   Italian: *supporre - to suppose*

    a.   *Suppongo che   tu   non abbia   innaffia-to le   piante.*
        suppose.I that you NEG have.SUBJ.2SG water-PTCP ART.PL plant.PL
        'I suppose that you haven't watered the plants.'

    b.   *#Non suppongo che tu   abbia   innaffiato le   piante.*
        NEG   suppose.I that you have.SUBJ.2SG water-PTCP ART.PL plant.PL
        intended: 'I suppose that you haven't watered the plants.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(80) Italian: *riampiangere - to regret*

    a. *Rimpiang-o (il fatto) che non sono andato a veder-la lo   scorso*
       regret-I   ART fact   that NEG be.I gone   to see-her ART last
       natale.
       Christmas
       'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

    b. *#Non rimpiang-o (il fatto) che sono andato a veder-la lo   scorso*
       NEG   regret-I   ART fact   that be.I gone   to see-her ART last
       natale.
       Christmas
       intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(81) Italian: *consigliare - to advise*

    a. *Ti   consigli-o di non fuma-re.*
       2SG.OBJ advise-I   of NEG smoke-INF
       'I advise you not to smoke.'

    b. *Non ti   consigli-o di fuma-re.*
       NEG 2SG.OBJ advise-I   of smoke-INF
       intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(82) Italian: *rendersi conto - to realize*

    a. *Ieri   mi   sono reso#conto che mia   moglie non sa*
       yesterday 1SG.DAT be.I realize.PTCP that 1SG.POSS wife   NEG know.3SG
       cucina-re.
       cook-INF
       'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

    b. *#Ieri   non mi   sono reso#conto che mia   moglie sa*
       yesterday NEG 1SG.DAT be.I realize.PTCP that 1SG.POSS wife   know.3SG
       cucina-re.
       cook-INF
       intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(83)   Italian: *immaginare - to imagine*

    a.   *Mi   immagina-vo   che non mi   avrebbe   lascia-to.*
        1SG.DAT imagine-3SG.IMPFV that NEG 1SG.ACC have.COND leave-PTCP
        'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

    b.   *Non mi   immagina-vo   che mi   avrebbe   lascia-to.*
        NEG 1SG.DAT imagine-3SG.IMPFV that 1SG.ACC have.COND leave-PTCP
        intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓

(84)   Italian: *temere - to fear*

    a.   *Tem-o che la   mia ragazza non verrà.*
        fear-I that ART my   girl   NEG come.FUT
        'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

    b.   *#Non   tem-o che la   mia ragazza   verrà.* NEG *fear-I   that* ART *my*
        intended: 'I   fear that my girlfriend will   not come.'
        *girl come.*FUT

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(85)   Italian: *pensare - to think*

    a.   *Pens-o che la   Germania non dovrebbe   vende-re armi.*
        think-I that ART Germany NEG must.COND sell-INF weapon.PL
        'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b.   *Non pens-o che la   Germania dovrebbe   vende-re armi.*
        NEG think-I that ART Germany must.COND sell-INF weapon.PL
        intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(86)   Italian: *avere intenzione - to plan*

    a.   *Ho   intenzione di non fuma-re   il   prossimo anno.*
        have.I intention   of NEG smoke-INF ART next   year
        'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   *Non ho   intenzione di fuma-re   il   prossimo anno.*
        NEG have.I intention   of smoke-INF ART next   year
        intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(87)   Italian: *augurare - to wish*

    a. *Mi   augur-o che io non sia   incinta.*
        1SG.DAT wish-I   that I NEG be.SUBJ pregnant
        'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

    b. *#Non mi   augur-o che io sia   incinta.*
        NEG   1SG.DAT wish-1SG that I be.SUBJ pregnant
        intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(88)   Italian: *sapere - to know*

    a. *So   che lei non può cammina-re.*
        know.1SG that she NEG can walk-INF
        'I know that she cannot walk.'

    b. *#Non so   che lei può cammina-re.*
        NEG   know.1SG that she can walk-INF
        intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(89)   Italian: *sembrare - to seem*

    a. *Sembra che lui non sappia   la   risposta.*
        seem   that he NEG know.SUBJ ART answer
        'He seems not to know the answer.'

    b. *Non sembra che lui sappia   la   risposta.*
        NEG seem   that he know.SUBJ ART answer
        intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

5.3 Swedish

(90)   Swedish: *att tro - to believe*

    a. *Jag tro-r   att du inte kan ät-a   frukt-en.*
        I   believe-PRS that you NEG can eat-INF fruit-DEF
        'I believe that you cannot eat the fruit.'

    b. *Jag tro-r   inte att du kan ät-a   frukt-en.*
        I   believe-PRS NEG that you can eat-INF fruit-DEF
        intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat the fruit.'

(91)   Swedish: *att hoppas - to hope*

    a.   *Jag hoppas att   det inte regn-ar i#natt.*
         I   hope   that it   NEG rain-PRS tonight
         'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   *Jag hoppas inte att   det regn-ar i#natt.*
         I   hope   NEG that it   rain-PRS tonight
         intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

(92)   Swedish: *att vilja - to want*

    a.   *Jag vill att   du inte spel-ar   på dator-n.*
         I   want that you NEG play-PRS on computer-DEF
         ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b.   *Jag vill inte att du spel-ar   på dator-n.*
         I   want NEG that you play-PRS on computer-DEF
         intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

(93)   Swedish: *att anta - to suppose*

    a.   *Jag anta-r   att du inte har vattn-at   blomma-n.*
         I   suppose-PRS that you NEG have water-PTCP flower-DEF
         'I suppose that you have not watered the flower.'

    b.   *#Jag anta-r   inte att du har vattn-at   blomma-n.*
         I   suppose-PRS NEG that you have water-PTCP flower-DEF
         intended: 'I suppose that you have not watered the flower.'

(94)   Swedish: *att ångra - to regret*

    a.   *Jag ångr-ar   att jag inte besök-te henne förra år-et.*
         I   regret-PRS that I   NEG visit-PST her   last year-DEF
         'I regret that I did not visit her last year.'

    b.   *#Jag ångr-ar   inte att jag besök-te henne förra år-et.*
         I   regret-PRS NEG that I   visit-PST her   last year-DEF
         intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her last year.

(95)   Swedish: *att råda - to advise*

    a.   *Jag råd-er   dig   att inte rök-a.*
         I   advise-PRS 2SG.OBJ to NEG smoke-INF
         'I advise you not to smoke.'

    b.   *#Jag råd-er   dig   inte att rök-a.*
         I   advise-PRS 2SG.OBJ NEG to smoke-INF
         intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

(96)   Swedish: *att inse - to realize*

   a. *I#går   insåg   jag att min   fru inte kan lag-a   mat.*
      yesterday realize.PST I   that 1SG.POSS wife NEG can make-INF food
      'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

   b. *#I#går   insåg   jag inte att min   fru kan lag-a   mat.*
      yesterday realize.PST I   NEG that 1SG.POSS wife can make-INF food
      intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

(97)   Swedish: *att föreställa sig - to imagine*

   a. *Jag har föreställ-t   mig att han inte skulle lämn-a   mig.*
      I   have imagine-PTCP RFL that he   NEG should leave-INF me
      'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

   b. *#Jag har inte föreställ-t   mig att han skulle lämn-a   mig.*
      I   have NEG imagine-PTCP RFL that he   should leave-INF me
      intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

(98)   Swedish: *att frukta - to fear*

   a. *Jag frukt-ar att min   flickvän inte komm-er.*
      I   fear-PRS that 1SG.POSS girlfriend NEG come-PRS
      'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

   b. *#Jag frukt-ar inte att min   flickvän komm-er.*
      I   fear-PRS NEG that 1SG.POSS girlfriend come-PRS
      intended: 'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

(99)   Swedish: *att tycka - to think*

   a. *Jag tyck-er   att Tyskland inte borde sälj-a   vapen.*
      I   think-PRS that Germany NEG should sell-INF weapon.PL
      'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

   b. *Jag tyck-er   inte att Tyskland borde sälj-a   vapen.*
      I   think-PRS NEG that Germany should sell-INF weapon.PL
      intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

(100)   Swedish: *att önska - to wish*

   a. *Jag önsk-ar mig att jag inte är   gravid.*
      I   wish-PRS RFL that I   NEG be.PRS pregnant
      'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

   b. *#Jag önsk-ar mig inte att jag är   gravid.*
      I   wish-PRS RFL NEG that I   be.PRS pregnant
      intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

(101)   Swedish: *att veta - to know*

    a.   *Jag vet   att hon inte kan gå.*
          I   know that she NEG can go.INF
          'I know that she cannot walk.'

    b.   *#Jag vet   inte att hon kan gå.*
          I   know NEG that she can go.INF
          intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

(102)   Swedish: *att verka - to seem*

    a.   *Han verk-ar   att inte vet-a   svar-et.*
          he   seem-PRS to NEG know-INF answer-DEF
          'He seems not to know the answer.'

    b.   *Han verk-ar   inte (att) vet-a   svar-et.*
          he   seem-PRS NEG that know-INF answer-DEF
          intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

(103)   Swedish: *att förvänta sig - to expect*

    a.   *Jag förvänt-ar mig att   hon inte ska   berätt-a för mamma om*
          I   expect-PRS RFL that she NEG shall tell-INF for mother   about
          present-en.
          present-DEF
          'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

    b.   *Jag förvänt-ar mig inte att hon ska   berätt-a för mamma om*
          I   expect-PRS RFL NEG that she shall tell-INF for mother   about
          present-en.
          present-DEF
          intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

5.4 Danish

(104)   Danish: *at tro - to believe*

    a.   *Jeg tro-r   at   du ikke kan spis-e frugt-en.*
          I   believe-PRS that you NEG can eat-INF fruit-DEF
          'I believe that you cannot eat the fruit.'

    b.   *Jeg tro-r   ikke at   du kan spis-e   frugt-en.*
          I   believe-PRS NEG that you can eat-INF fruit-DEF
          intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat the fruit.'

(105)   Danish: *at håbe - to hope*

    a.   *Jeg håb-er   at   det ikke vil regn-e   i aften.*
        I   hope-PRS that it   NEG will rain-INF in evening
        'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   *Jeg håb-er   ikke at   det vil regn-e   i aften.*
        I   hope-PRS NEG that it   will rain-INF in evening
        intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

(106)   Danish: *at ville - to want*

    a.   *Jeg vil   at   du ikke spill-er   computer.*
        I   want that you NEG play-PRS computer
        ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b.   *Jeg vil   ikke at   du spill-er   computer.*
        I   want NEG that you play-PRS computer
        intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

(107)   Danish: *at antage - to suppose*

    a.   *Jeg antag-er   at   du ikke har vandet   plant-en.*
        I   suppose-PRS that you NEG have water.PTCP plant-DEF
        'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

    b.   *#Jeg antag-er   ikke at   du har vandet   plant-en.*
        I   suppose-PRS NEG that you have water.PTCP plant-DEF
        intended: 'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

(108)   Danish: *at angre - to regret*

    a.   *Jeg angr-er   at   jeg ikke tidigere besøg-te   hende.*
        I   regret-PRS that I   NEG earlier   visit-PST her
        'I regret that I did not visit her.'

    b.   *#Jeg angr-er   ikke at   jeg tidigere besøg-te   hende.*
        I   regret-PRS NEG that I   earlier   visit-PST her
        intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her.'

(109)   Danish: *at råde - to advise*

    a.   *Jeg råd-er   dig   til ikke at ryg-e.*
        I   advise-PRS 2SG.OBJ to NEG to smoke-INF
        'I advise you not to smoke.'

    b.   *#Jeg råd-er   dig   ikke til at ryg-e.*
        I   advise-PRS 2SG.OBJ *neg* to to smoke-INF
        intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

(110)   Danish: *at indse - to realize*

    a.   *Igår   indså   jeg at min   kone ikke kan lav-e   mad.*
        yesterday realize.PST I   that 1SG.POSS wife NEG can do-INF food
        'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

    b.   *#Igår   indså   jeg ikke at min   kone kan lav-e   mad.*
        yesterday realize.PST I   NEG that 1SG.POSS wife can do-INF food
        intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

(111)   Danish: *at forestille sig - to imagine*

    a.   *Jeg har altid forestill-et   mig at han ikke ville   forlad-e mig.*
        I   have always imagine-PTCP RFL that he   NEG will.PST leave-INF me
        'I have always imagined that he would not leave me.'

    b.   *Jeg har ikke forestill-et   mig at han ville   forlad-e mig.*
        I   have NEG imagine-PTCP RFL that he   will.PST leave-INF me
        intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

Speaker 1: no result

(112)   Danish: *at frygte - to fear*

    a.   *Jeg frygt-er at   min   kæreste ikke vil   komm-e.*
        I   fear-PRS that 1SG.POSS beloved NEG will come-INF
        'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

    b.   *#Jeg frygt-er ikke at   min   kæreste vil   komm-e.*
        I   fear-PRS NEG that 1SG.POSS beloved will come-INF
        intended: 'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

(113)   Danish: *at synes - to think*

    a.   *Jeg synes at   Tyskland ikke må sælg-e våben.*
        I   think that Germany NEG may sell-INF weapons
        'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b.   *Jeg synes ikke at   Tyskland skal sælg-e våben.*
        I   think NEG that Germany shall sell-INF weapons
        intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

(114)   Danish: *at have til hensigt - to intend*

    Jeg har til hensigt   ikke at ryg-e   næste år.
    I   have to intention NEG to smoke-INF next   year

    intended: 'I intend not to smoke next year.'

(115)   Danish: *at ønske - to wish*

    a.   *Jeg ønsk-er   at   jeg ikke er   gravid.*
         I   wish-PRS that I   NEG be.PRS pregnant
         'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

    b.   #*Jeg ønsk-er   ikke at   jeg er   gravid.*
         I   wish-PRS NEG that I   be.PRS pregnant
         intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

(116)   Danish: *at vide - to know*

    a.   *Jeg ved   at   hun ikke kan gå.*
         I   know that she NEG can go.INF
         'I know that she cannot walk.'

    b.   #*Jeg ved   ikke at   hun kan gå.*
         I   know NEG that she can go.INF
         intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

(117)   Danish: *at synes - to seem*

    a.   **Han synes   at ikke kend-e   svar-et.*
         he   seem.PRS to NEG know-INF answer-DEF
         'He seems not to know the answer.'

    b.   *Han synes   ikke at kend-e   svar-et.*
         he   seem.PRS NEG to know-INF answer-DEF
         intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

(118)   Danish: *at forvente - to expect*

    a.   *Jeg forvent-er   at   hun ikke vil fortæll-e vores mor   om   gave-n.*
         I   expect-PRS that she NEG will tell-INF our   mother about gift-DEF
         'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

    b.   *Jeg forvent-er ikke at   hun ikke vil   fortæll-e vores   mor*
         I   expect-PRS *neg* that she will tell-INF our   mother about
         om   gave-n.
         gift-DEF
         intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

5.5 Norwegian

(119) Norwegian: *å tro - to believe*

    a. *Jeg tro-r   at du ikke kan spis-e frukt-en.*
        I   believe-PRS that you NEG can eat-INF fruit-DEF
        'I believe that you cannot eat the fruit.'

    b. *Jeg tro-r   ikke at du kan spis-e frukt-en.*
        I   believe-PRS NEG that you can eat-INF fruit-DEF
        intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker: 2: ✓

(120) Norwegian: *å håpe - to hope*

    a. *Jeg håpe-r   at det ikke bli-r   regn i kveld.*
        I   hope-PRS that it   NEG become-PRS rain in evening
        'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b. *Jeg håpe-r   ikke at det bli-r   regn i kveld.*
        I   hope-PRS NEG that it   become-PRS rain in evening
        intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker: 2: ✓

(121) Norwegian: *å ville - to want*

    a. *Jeg vil   at du ikke spille-r   med datamaskin-en.*
        I   want that you NEG play-PRS with computer-DEF
        ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b. *Jeg vil   ikke at du spille-r   med datamaskin-en.*
        I   want NEG that you play-PRS with computer-DEF
        intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker: 2: ✓

(122) Norwegian: *å anta - to suppose*

    a. *Jeg anta-r   at du ikke har vann-et   plant-en.*
        I   suppose-PRS that you NEG have water-PTCP plant-DEF
        'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

    b. *#Jeg anta-r   ikke at du har vann-et   plant-en.*
        I   suppose-PRS NEG that you have water-PTCP plant-DEF
        intended: 'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker: 2: ✗

(123)   Norwegian: *å angre - to regret*

    a. *Jeg angre-r   at   jeg ikke besøk-te henne.*
        I   regret-PRS that I   NEG visit-PST her
        'I regret that I did not visit her.'

    b. *#Jeg angre-r   ikke at   jeg besøk-te henne.*
        I   regret-PRS NEG that I   visit-PST her
        intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker: 2: ✗

(124)   Norwegian: *å råde - to advise*

    a. *Jeg råde-r   deg   til å ikke røyk-e.*
        I   advise-PRS 2SG.OBJ to to NEG smoke-INF
        'I advise you not to smoke.'

    b. *Jeg råde-r   deg   til ikke å røyk-e.*
        I   advise-PRS 2SG.OBJ to NEG to smoke-INF
        'I advise you not to smoke.'

    c. *#Jeg råde-r   deg   ikke til å røyk-e.*
        I   advise-PRS 2SG.OBJ NEG to to smoke-INF
        intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker: 2: ✗

(125)   Norwegian: *å innse - to realize*

    a. *I#går   innså   jag at   min   kone ikke kan lag-e   mat.*
        yesterday realize.PST I   that 1SG.POSS wife NEG can make-INF food
        'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

    b. *#I#går   innså   jag ikke at   min   kone kan lag-e   mat.*
        yesterday realize.PST I   NEG that 1SG.POSS wife can make-INF food
        intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker: 2: ✗

(126)   Norwegian: *å forestille seg - to imagine*

    a.   *Jeg har alltid forestil-t   meg at han ikke ville forlat-e meg.*
            I   have always imagine-PTCP RFL that he NEG would leave-INF me
            'I have always imagined that he would not leave me.'

    b.   *#Jeg har ikke forestil-t   meg at han ville forlat-e meg.*
            I   have NEG imagine-PTCP RFL that he   would leave-INF me
            intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker: 2: ✗

(127)   Norwegian: *å frykte - to fear*

    a.   *Jeg frykt-er at   kjæresten min   ikke vil komm-e.*
            I   fear-PRS that beloved   1SG.POSS NEG will come-INF
            'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

    b.   *#Jeg frykt-er ikke at   kjæresten min   vil komm-e.*
            I   fear-PRS NEG that beloved   1SG.POSS will come-INF
            intended: 'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker: 2: ✗

(128)   Norwegian: *å synes - to think*

    a.   *Jeg synes at   Tyskland ikke skal selg-e   våpen.*
            I   think that Germany NEG shall sell-INF weapons
            'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b.   *Jeg synes ikke at   Tyskland skal selg-e   våpen.*
            I   think NEG that Germany shall sell-INF weapons
            intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker: 2: ✓

(129)   Norwegian: *å planlegge - to plan*

    a.   *Jeg planlegg-er ikke å røyk-e   neste år.*
            I   plan-PRS   NEG to smoke-INF next year
            'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   *#Jeg planlegg-er å ikke røyk-e   neste år.*
            I   plan-PRS   to NEG smoke-INF next year
            intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker: 2: ✗

(130)   Norwegian: *å tenke - to intend*

    a.   *Jeg tenke-r   å ikke røyk-e   neste år.*
        I   intend-PRS to NEG smoke-INF next year
        'I intend not to smoke next year.'

    b.   *Jeg tenke-r   ikke å røyk-e   neste år.*
        I   intend-PRS NEG to smoke-INF next year
        intended: 'I intend not to smoke next year.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker: 2: ✓

(131)   Norwegian: *å vite - to know*

    a.   *Jeg vet   at   hon ikke kan gå.*
        I   know that she NEG can go.INF
        'I know that she cannot walk.'

    b.   *#Jeg vet   ikke at   hon kan gå.*
        I   know NEG that she can go.INF
        intended'I know that she cannot walk.

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker: 2: ✗

(132)   Norwegian: *å synes, å virke som - to seem*

    a.   *Han synes å ikke vit-e   svar-et.*
        he   seem to NEG know-INF answer-DEF
        'He seems not to know the answer.'

    b.   *Han synes ikke å vit-e   svar-et.*
        he   seem NEG to know-INF answer-DEF
        intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker: 2: ✓

(133)   Norwegian: *å forvente - to expect*

    a.   *Jeg forvente-r at   hun ikke vil fortell-e vår mor   om   presang-en.*
        I   expect-PRS that she NEG will tell-INF our mother about present-DEF
        'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

    b.   *?Jeg forvente-r ikke at   hun vil fortell-e vår mor   om*
        I   expect-PRS NEG that she will tell-INF our mother about
        presang-en.
        present-DEF
        intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker: 2: ✓

5.6 Lithuanian

(134)   Lithuanian: *viltis - to hope*

    a.   *Aš   vil-iuo-si,   kad   šį   vakar-ą*
        1SG.NOM hope-PRS.1SG-RFL that THIS.ACC.SG evening-ACC.SG
        ne-li-s.
        NEG-rain-FUT
        'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   *#Aš   ne-si-vil-iu,   kad   šį   vakar-ą*
        1SG.NOM NEG-RFL-hope-PRS.1SG that THIS.ACC.SG evening-ACC.SG
        li-s.
        NEG-rain-FUT
        intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

(135)   Lithuanian: *norėti - to want*

    a.   *Aš   nor-iu,   kad   tu   ne-žais-tum   su*
        1SG.NOM want-PRS.1SG that 2SG.NOM NEG-play-COND.2SG with
        kompiuteriu.
        computer
        ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b.   *Aš   ne-nor-iu,   kad   tu   žais-tum   su*
        1SG.NOM NEG-want-PRS.1SG that 2SG.NOM play-COND.2SG with
        kompiuter-iu.
        computer
        intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

(136)   Lithuanian: *spėti - to suppose*

    a.   *Spė-ju,   kad   tu   ne-pa-laist-ei   augal-o.*
        suppose-PRS.1SG that you NEG-PFV-water-PST.2SG plant-GEN.SG
        'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

    b.   *#Ne-spė-ju,   kad   tu   pa-laist-ei   augal-ą*
        NEG-suppose-PRS.1SG that you PFV-water-PST.2SG plant-ACC.SG
        intended: 'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

(137) Lithuanian: *gailėtis - to regret*

     a.   *Man   gaila, kad   ne-ap-lank-iau   jos   per*
          1SG.DAT pity   that   NEG-PTCL-visit-PST.1SG 3SG.FEM.GEN during
          praei-t-as   Kalėd-as.
          go.by-PTCP.PST.PASS-ACC.PL christmas-ACC.PL
          'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

     b.   #*Man   ne-gaila, kad   ap-lank-iau   ją   per*
          1SG.DAT NEG-pity that   PTCL-visit-PST.1SG 3SG.ACC during
          praei-t-as   Kalėd-as.
          go.by-PTCP.PST.PASS-ACC.PL christmas-ACC.PL
          intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

(138) Lithuanian: *patarti - to advise*

     a.   *Patar-iu   tau   ne-rūky-ti.*
          advise-PRS.1SG 2SG.DAT NEG-smoke-INF
          'I advise you not to smoke.'

     b.   *Ne-patar-iu   tau   rūky-ti.*
          NEG-smoke-PRS.1SG 2SG.DAT smoke-INF
          intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

(139) Lithuanian: *suvokti - to realize*

     a.   *Vakar   su-vok-iau,   kad   mano žmona ne-mok-a*
          yesterday PFV-realize-PST.1SG that my   wife   NEG-can-PRS.3
          gamin-ti   maist-o.
          make-INF food-GEN
          'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

     b.   #*Vakar   ne-su-vok-iau,   kad   mano žmona mok-a*
          yesterday NEG-PFV-realize-PST-1SG that my   wife   can-PRS.3
          gamin-ti   maist-ą.
          make-INF food-ACC
          intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

(140) Lithuanian: *įsivaizduoti - to imagine*

     a.   *Į-si-vaizd-av-au,   kad   jis manęs   ne-ap-leis-s.*
          PTCL-RFL-image-PST-PST.1SG that he 1SG.GEN NEG-PTCL-leave-FUT.3
          'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

     b.   *Ne-į-si-vaizd-av-au,   kad   jis mane   ap-leis-s.*
          NEG-PTCL-RFL-image-PST-PST.1SG that he 1SG.ACC PTCL-leave-FUT.3
          intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

(141)   Lithuanian: *bijoti - to fear*

     a.   *Bij-au,   kad   mano   draug-ė   ne-at-ei-s.*
        fear-PRS.1SG that   my   friend-FEM.NOM.SG NEG-PTCL-walk-FUT.3
        'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

     b.   #*Ne-bij-au,   kad   mano   draug-ė   at-ei-s.*
        NEG-fear-PRS.1SG that my   friend-FEM.NOM.SG PTCL-walk-FUT.3
        intended: 'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

(142)   Lithuanian: *planuoti - to plan*

     a.   *Plan-uo-ju   ne-rūky-ti   kit-ais   met-ais.*
        plan-PRS-PRS.1SG NEG-smoke-INF other-INSTR.PL year-INSTR.PL
        'I plan not to smoke next year.'

     b.   *Ne-pla-nuo-ju   rūky-ti   kit-ais   met-ais.*
        NEG-plan-PRS-PRS.1SG smoke-INF other-INSTR.PL year-INSTR.PL
        intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

(143)   Lithuanian: *linketi - to wish*

     a.   *Link-iu   sau   ne-bū-ti   nėšč-ia.*
        wish-1SG ANAPH.DAT NEG-be-INF pregnant-INSTR.SG
        'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

     b.   *Ne-link-iu   sau   bū-ti   nėšč-ia.*
        NEG-wish-1SG ANAPH.DAT be-INF pregnant-INSTR.SG
        intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

(144)   Lithuanian: *žinoti - to know*

     a.   *Žin-au,   kad   ji   ne-gal-i   vaikščio-ti.*
        know-PRS.1SG that she NEG-can-PRS.3 walk-INF
        'I know that she cannot walk.'

     b.   #*Ne-žin-au,   kad   ji   gal-i   vaikščio-ti.*
        NEG-know-PRS.1SG that she can-PRS.3 walk-INF
        intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

(145)   Lithuanian: *atrodyti - to seem*

     a.   *Atrod-o,   kad   jis   ne-žin-o   atsak-ym-o.*
        seem-3SG.PRS that he NEG-know-PRS.3 answer--NMLZ-GEN
        'He seems not to know the answer.'

     b.   *Ne-atrodo,   kad   jis   žin-o   atsak-ym-ą.*
        NEG-seem-3SG.PRS that he know-PRS.3 answer--NMLZ-ACC
        intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

(146)   Lithuanian: *tikètis - to expect*

    a.   *Tik-iuo-si,   kad ji ne-pa-saky-s   mūsų   mam-ai*
        expect-PRS.1SG-RFL that she NEG-PFV-tell-FUT.3 1PL.GEN mom-DAT.SG
        apie   dovan-ą.
        about gift-ACC.SG
        'I expect that she will not tell our mom about the present.'

    b.   *Ne-tik-iu   kad ji pa-saky-s   mūsų   mam-ai*
        NEG-expect-PRS.1SG that she PFV-tell-FUT.3 1PL.GEN mom-DAT.SG
        apie   dovan-ą.
        about gift-ACC.SG
        intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mom about the present.'

5.7 Indonesian

(147)   Indonesian: *kira - to believe*

    a.   *Saya men-gira anda   tidak boleh   makan buah itu.*
        I   FIN-believe you.FORM NEG be.allowed eat   fruit DEM.DIST
        'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

    b.   *Saya tidak men-gira bahwa anda   boleh   makan buah*
        I   NEG FIN-believe COMP you.FORM be.allowed eat   fruit
        itu.
        DEM.DIST
        intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✗

(148)   Indonesian: *berharap - to hope*

    a.   *Saya berharap malam#ini tidak hujan.*
        I   hope   tonight   NEG rain
        'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

    b.   *#Saya tidak berharap malam#ini hujan.*
        I   NEG hope   tonight   rain
        intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(149) Indonesian: *mau - to want*

    a. *Saya mau   anda   tidak main dengan computer anda.*
       I   FIN-want-APPL you.FORM NEG play with   computer 2SG.POSS
      ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b. *Saya tidak mau   anda   main dengan computer anda.*
       I   NEG FIN-watt-APPL you.FORM play with   computer 2SG.POSS
      intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(150) Indonesian: *kira - to suppose*

    a. *Saya men-gira   anda   tidak men-yiram tanaman.*
       I   FIN-suppose you.FORM NEG FIN-water plant
      'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

    b. *#Saya tidak men-gira   anda   men-yiram tanaman.*
       I   NEG FIN-suppose you.FORM FIN-water plant
      intended: 'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✗

(151) Indonesian: *sesal - to regret*

    a. *Saya men-yesal tidak men-gunjung-i-nya pada Hari#Natal yang lalu.*
       I   FIN-regret NEG FIN-visit-APPL-3SG PREP Christmas   REL last
      'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

    b. *#Saya tidak men-yesal men-gunjung-i-nya pada Hari#Natal yang lalu.*
       I   NEG FIN-regret FIN-visit-APPL-3SG PREP Christmas   REL last
      'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

(152) Indonesian: *saran - to advise*

    a. *Saya men-yaran-i   anda   untuk tidak me-rokok.*
       1   FIN-advise-APPL you.FORM to   NEG FIN-smoke
      'I advise you not to smoke.'

    b. *Saya tidak men-yaran-i   anda   untuk me-rokok.*
       1   NEG FIN-advise-APPL you.FORM to   FIN-smoke
      intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(153)   Indonesian: *sadar - to realize*

    a. *Kemarin, saya men-yadar-i istri-ku   tidak bisa   masak.*
        yesterday I   FIN-realize-APPL wife-1SG.POSS NEG be.able cook
        'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

    b. *#Kemarin, saya tidak men-yadar-i istri-ku   bisa   masak.*
        yesterday I   NEG FIN-realize-APPL wife-1SG.POSS be.able cook
        intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(154)   Indonesian: *sangka - to imagine*

    a. *Saya men-yangka dia   tidak akan men-inggal-kan-ku.*
        I   FIN-imagine 3SG.HUM NEG FUT FIN-bleiben-CAUS-1SG.POSS
        'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

    b. *Saya tidak men-yangka dia   akan men-inggal-kan-ku.*
        I   NEG FIN-imagine 3SG.HUM FUT FIN-bleiben-CAUS-1SG.POSS
        intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(155)   Indonesian: *takut - to fear*

    a. *Saya takut pacar-ku   tidak akan datang.*
        I   fear partner-1SG.POSS NEG FUT come
        'I fear that she will not come.'

    b. *#Saya tidak takut pacar-ku   akan datang.*
        I   NEG fear partner-1SG.POSS FUT come
        intended: 'I fear that she will not come.'

(156)   Indonesian: *berpendapat - to think*

    a. *Saya berpendapat bahwa Jerman seharusnya tidak men-jual senjata.*
        I   have.opinion COMP Germany necessarily NEG FIN-sell weapons
        'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b. *Saya tidak berpendapat bahwa Jerman seharusnya men-jual senjata.*
        I   NEG have.opinion COMP Germany necessarily FIN-sell weapons
        intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(157)   Indonesian: *berencana - to plan*

        a.   *Saya berencana untuk tidak me-rokok   tahun depan*
             I   have.plan to   NEG FIN-smoke year   next
             'I plan not to smoke next year.'

        b.   *Saya tidak berencana untuk me-rokok   tahun depan*
             I   NEG have.plan to   FIN-smoke year   next
             intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(158)   Indonesian: *ingin - to wish*

        a.   *Saya meng-ingin-kan untuk tidak hamil.*
             I   FIN-wish-APPL to   NEG pregnant
             'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

        b.   *Saya tidak meng-ingin-kan untuk hamil.*
             I   NEG FIN-wish-APPL to   pregnant
             intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(159)   Indonesian: *tahu - to know*

        a.   *Saya tahu dia   tidak bisa   jalan.*
             I   know 3SG.HUM NEG be.able walk
             'I know that she cannot walk.'

        b.   #*Saya tidak tahu dia   bisa   jalan.*
             I   NEG know 3SG.HUM be.able walk
             intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

(160)   Indonesian: *tampak - to seem*

        a.   *Dia   tampak seakan dia   tidak tahu jawaban-nya.*
             3SG.HUM seem   like   3SG.HUM NEG know answer-3SG.POSS
             'He seems not to know the answer.'

        b.   *Dia   tidak tampak seakan dia   tahu jawaban-nya.*
             3SG.HUM NEG seem   like   3SG.HUM know answer-3SG.POSS
             intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

(161)   Indonesian: *berharap - expect*

a. *Saya berharap dia tidak mem-beritahu ibu   kami   tentang hadiah.*
I   expect   3SG NEG FIN-verraten mother 1PL.POSS about   present
'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

b. *Saya tidak berharap dia mem-beritahu ibu   kami   tentang hadiah.*
I   NEG expect   3SG FIN-verraten mother 1PL.POSS about   present
intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓, Speaker 3: ✓

5.8 Hungarian

(162)   Hungarian: *hisz - to believe*

a. *(Azt)   hiszem,   hogy nem eheted   ezt a   gyümölcs-öt.*
(this.ACC) believe.1SG.DEF that NEG eat.POT this the fruit-ACC
'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

b. *Nem hiszem,   hogy eheted   ezt a   gyümölcs-öt.*
NEG believe.1SG.DEF that eat.POT this the fruit-ACC
intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(163)   Hungarian: *remél - to hope*

a. *Remél-em,   nem fog   esni   az esö ma   éjszaka.*
hope-1SG.DEF NEG AUX.FUT.3SG fall.INF the rain today night
'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

b. *#Nem remél-em,   ma   éjszaka fog   esni   az esö.*
NEG   hope-1SG.DEF today night   AUX.FUT.3SG fall.INF the rain
intended: 'I hope that it will not rain tonight.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(164)   Hungarian: *aka - to want*

a. *Azt   akar-om,   hogy nem játssz-ál számítógéped-den.*
this.ACC want-SUBJ.1SG.DEF that NEG play-2SG computer-on
' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

b. *Nem akar-om,   hogy játssz-ál számítógéped-den.*
NEG want-SUBJ.1SG.DEF that play-2SG computer-on
intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(165)   Hungarian: *feltételez - to suppose*

    a. *Feltételez-em,   hogy nem öntözted   a   virágot.*
        suppose-1SG.DEF that NEG water.PST.2SG.DEF the flower.ACC
        'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

    b. *#Nem teszem#fel,   hogy öntözted   a   virágot.*
        NEG   suppose.1SG.DEF that water.PST.2SG.DEF the flower.ACC
        intended: 'I suppose that you have not watered the plant'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(166)   Hungarian: *sajnál - to regret*

    a. *Sajnál-om,   hogy nem látogattam   meg   őt   tavaly*
        regret-1SG.DEF that NEG visit.PST.1SG PTCL 3SG.ACC last
        karácsonykor.
        christmas.TEMP
        'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

    b. *#Nem sajnál-om,   hogy látogattam   meg   őt   tavaly*
        NEG   regret-1SG.DEF that visit.PST.1SG PTCL 3SG.ACC last
        karacsonykor.
        christmas.TEMP
        intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(167)   Hungarian: *tanácsol - to advise*

    a. *Tanácsol-om, ne   dohányozz.*
        advise   -1SG.DEF NEG   smoke.NEG
        'I advise you not to smoke.'

    b. *Nem tanácsol-om,   hogy dohányozz.*
        NEG advise-1SG.DEF that smoke.JUS
        intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓

(168)   Hungarian: *rájön - to realize*

    a. *Tegnap   rájöttem   hogy a felésegem   nem tud*
       yesterday find.out.PST.1SG.DEF that the wife.1SG.POSS NEG know
       föz-ni.
       cook-INF
       'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

    b. *#Tegnap nem rájöttem   hogy a felésegem   tud*
       yesterday NEG find.out.PST.1SG.DEF that the wife.1SG.POSS know
       föz-ni.
       cook-INF
       intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓

(169)   Hungarian: *elképzel - to imagine*

    a. *Azt   képzel-t-em   hogy engemet nem fog   elhagy-ni.*
       this.ACC imagine-PST.1SG that 1SG.ACC NEG AUX.FUT.3SG leave-INF
       'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

    b. *El   nem képzel-t-em   hogy engemet el   fog   hagyni.*
       PTCL NEG imagine-PST.1SG that 1SG.ACC PTCL AUX.FUT.3SG leave-INF
       intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✗

(170)   Hungarian: *fél - to fear*

    a. *Attól   fél-ek   hogy a   barátnőm   nem fog*
       3SG.DEM fear-1SG.INDEF that the girlfriend.1SG.POSS NEG AUX.FUT.3SG
       jön-ni.
       come-INF
       'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

    b. *#Nem fél-ek   attól, hogy a   barátnőm*
       NEG   fear-1SG.INDEF 3SG.DEM that the girlfriend.1SG.POSS
       fog   jön-ni.
       AUX.FUT.3SG come-INF
       intended: 'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(171)   Hungarian: *gondol - to think*

    a. *(Azt)   én gondol-om,   hogy Németország-nak nem kéne*
        (this.ACC) I   think-1SG.DEF that Germany-DAT   NEG must.COND
        fegyver-ek-et   eladnia.
        weapon-PL-ACC sell.INF.3SG
        'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b. *Azt   én nem gondol-om,   hogy Németország-nak kéne*
        this.ACC I NEG think-1SG.DEF that Germany-DAT   must.COND
        fegyver-ek-et   eladnia.
        weapon-PL-ACC sell.INF.3SG
        intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✓

(172)   Hungarian: *tervez - to plan*

    a. *Tervez-em,   hogy következő évben   nem fog-ok   dohányoz-ni .*
        plan-1SG.DEF that next   year.LOC NEG AUX.FUT-1SG smoke-INF
        'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b. *Nem tervez-em   hogy dohányoz-ni fog-ok   következő évben.*
        NEG plan-1SG.DEF that smoke-INF   AUX.FUT-1SG next   year.LOC
        intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

Speaker 1: ✓, Speaker 2: ✗

(173)   Hungarian: *kíván - to wish*

    a. *Azt   kíván-om   hogy nem legyek   térhes.*
        this.ACC wish-1SG.DEF that NEG be.JUS.1SG pregnant
        'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

    b. *#?Nem kíván-om   hogy térhes   legyek.*
        NEG   wish-1SG.INDEF that pregnant be.JUS.1SG
        intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✓

(174)   Hungarian: *tud - to know*

    a. *Tud-om,   hogy nem tud   jár-ni.*
        know.1SG.DEF that NEG know walk-INF
        'I know that she cannot walk.'

    b. *#Nem tud-om,   hogy tud jár-ni.*
        NEG   know.1SG.DEF that know walk-INF
        intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

Speaker 1: ✗, Speaker 2: ✗

(175)   Hungarian: *tűnik - to seem*

    a. *Ùgy tűnik, (hogy) nem tudja   a   választ.*
        such seem (that) NEG know.DEF the answer
        'He seems not to know the answer.'

    b. *Nem úgy tűnik hogy tudja   a   választ.*
        NEG such seem that know.DEF the answer
        intended: 'He seems not to know the answer.'

Speaker 1: no result, Speaker 2: ✓

5.9 Swahili

(176)   Swahili: *kuamini - to believe*

    a. *Mimi   ni-na-amini   kuwa tunda hilo ha-li-fa-i*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG-PRS-believe that fruit   this 3SG.NEG-CL:3-good-NEG
        ku-liwa.
        INF-eat.PASS
        'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

    b. *Mimi   si-amini   kuwa tunda hilo ni   la*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-believe that fruit   this be.3SG CL:3.POSS
        ku-liwa.
        INF-eat.PASS
        intended: 'I believe that you cannot eat this fruit.'

(177)   Swahili: *kutaka - to want*

    a. *Mimi   na-taka usi-chez-e   na   tarakinishi yako.*
        1SG.EMPH PRS-want NEG.SUBJ-play-SUBJ with digital   yours
        ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

    b. *Mimi   si-tak-i   uwe   u-ki-cheza   na*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-want-NEG be.2SG.SUBJ 2SG-COND-play with
        tarakinishi yako.
        digital   yours
        intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play with your computer.'

(178) Swahili: *kudhani - to suppose*

a. *Mimi   na-dhani   kuwa hu-ja-ya-tia   miti maji.*
1SG.EMPH PRS-suppose that 2SG.NEG-PFV.NEG-OBJ-pour trees water
'I suppose that you have not watered the plant.'

b. *Mimi   si-dhani   u-me-ya-tia   miti maji.*
1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-suppose 2SG-PFV-OBJ-pour trees water
intended: 'I suppose that you have not watered that plant.'

(179) Swahili: *kujuta - to regret*

a. *Mimi   ni-na-juta   kuwa si-ku-m-tembelea*
1SG.EMPH 1SG-PRS-regret that 1SG.NEG-PST.NEG-3SG.OBJ-visit
yeye   wakati wa krismasi   iliyopita.
3SG.EMPH time   of Christmas pass.REL
'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

b. *#Mimi   si-jut-i   kuwa ni-li-m-tembelea   yeye*
1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-regret-NEG that 1SG-PST-3SG.OBJ-visit 3SG.EMPH
wakati wa krismasi   iliyopita.
time   of Christmas pass.REL
intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her last Christmas.'

(180) Swahili: *kuhusia - to advise*

a. *Mimi   ni-na-kuhusia   usi-vut-e   sigara.*
1SG.EMPH 1SG-PRES-advise 2SG.NEG.SUBJ-drag-SUBJ cigarette
'I advise you not to smoke.'

b. *Mimi   si-kuhus-i   ku-vuta sigara.*
1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-advise-NEG INF-drag cigarette
intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

(181) Swahili: *kugundua - to realize*

a. *Jana   ni-li-gundua   kuwa mke wangu ha-ju-i   ku-pika.*
yesterday 1SG.PST-realize that wife mine   NEG-know-NEG INF-cook
'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

b. *#Jana   si-ku-gundu-a   kuwa mke wangu a-na-jua*
yesterday 1SG.NEG-PST.NEG-realize that wife mine   3SG-PRS-know
ku-pika.
INF-cook
intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

(182)   Swahili: *kuamini - to imagine*

    a.   *Mimi   ni-li-amini   kuwa hato-niw-acha.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG-PST-imagine that NEG.FUT-1SG-leave
        'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

    b.   *Mimi   si-ku-amini   kuwa a-ta-niw-acha.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-PST.NEG-believe that 3SG-FUT-1SG-leave
        intended: 'I imagined that he would not leave me.'

(183)   Swahili: *kuhofia - to fear*

    a.   *Mimi   na-hofia kuwa mpenzi wangu hato-kuja.*
        1SG.EMPH PRS-fear that partner mine   NEG.FUT-come
        'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

    b.   *#Mimi   si-hofu   kuwa mpenzi wangu a-ta-kuja.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-fear that partner mine   3SG-FUT-come
        intended: 'I fear that my girlfriend will not come.'

(184)   Swahili: *kufikiria - to think*

    a.   *Mimi   na-fikiri U-jerumani   wa-si-uz-e   vi-faa*
        1SG.EMPH PRS-think CL:11-Germany 3PL-NEG.SUBJ-sell-SUBJ CL:8-tool
        vy-a   vita.
        CL:8-GEN war
        'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b.   *Mimi   si-fikiri-i   ni   sawa U-jerumani   ku-uza*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-think-NEG be.3SG good CL:11-Germany INF-sell
        vi-faa   vy-a   vita.
        CL:8-tool CL:8-GEN war
        intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

(185)   Swahili: *kupanga - to plan*

    a.   *Mimi   ni-na-panga kuto-vuta   tena sigara   mwaka ujao.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG-PRS-plan NEG.INF-drag again cigarette year   come.REL
        'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   *#Mimi   si-pang-i   ku-vuta sigara   mwaja ujao.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-plan-NEG INF-drag cigarette year   come.REL
        intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

(186)   Swahili: *kutarajia - to wish*

    a.   *Mimi   na-tarajia   kuwa mimi   si   mja#mzito.*
        1SG.EMPH PRS-expect/wish that 1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG pregnant
        'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

    b.   *#Mimi   si-taraji   kuwa mimi   ni   mja#mzito.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-expect/*wish that 1SG.EMPH 1SG pregnant
        intended: 'I wish that I am not pregnant.'

(187)   Swahili: *kujua - to know*

    a.   *Mimi   na-jua   kuwa ha-wez-i   ku-tembea.*
        1SG.EMPH PRS-know that 3SG.NEG-be.able-NEG INF-walk
        'I know that she cannot walk.'

    b.   **Mimi   si-ju-i   kuwa a-na-weza   ku-tembea.*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-know-NEG that 3SG-PRS-be.able INF-walk
        intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

(188)   Swahili: *kuonekana - to seem*

    a.   *I-na-onekana   kuwa   ha-ju-i jawabu.*
        3SG.HUM-PRS-seem 3SG.NEG-know-NEG answer
        'He does not seem to know the answer.'

    b.   *Ha-onekan-i   ku-jua   jawabu.*
        3SG.NEG-seem-NEG INF-know answer
        intended: 'He does not seem to know the answer.'

(189)   Swahili: *kutarajia - to expect*

    a.   *Mimi   na-tarajia kuwa yeye   hato-toa   siri   kuhusu*
        1SG.EMPH PRS-expect that 3SG.EMPH NEG.FUT-tell secret about
        zawadi kwa mama yetu.
        present for   mother ours
        'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

    b.   *Mimi   si-taraji-i   kuwa yeye   a-ta-toa   siri*
        1SG.EMPH 1SG.NEG-expect-NEG that 3SG.EMPH 3SG-FUT-tell secret
        kuhusu zawadi kwa mama yetu.
        about   present for mother ours
        intended: 'I expect that she will not tell our mother about the present.'

5.10 Tibetan

(190) Tibetan: *re 'dod - to want*

    a. *[Khyed#rang gis glog#klad rtsed#mo ma rtsed ba-]r re#'dod*
       you   ERG computer game   NEG play NMLZ-LOC want

       pa yod.
       PTCL AUX.1SG
       ' ≈ I want that you don't play computer games.'

    b. *[Khyed#rang gis glog#klad rtsed#mo rtsed ba-]r re#'dod pa*
       you   ERG computer game   play NMLZ-LOC want   PTCL

       med.
       NEG.1SG
       intended: ' ≈ I want that you don't play computer games.'

(191) Tibetan: *rgyod - to regret*

    a. *Ngas mo#rang na#ning lo#gsar la lta#bar ma phyin pa-r*
       1SG.ERG she   last.year new.year OBJ seeing NEG gone NMLZ-LOC

       rgyod pa yod.
       regret PTCL AUX.1SG
       'I regret that I did not visit her last New Year.'

    b. *#Ngas mo#rang na#ning lo#gsar la lta#bar phyin pa-r*
       1SG.ERG she   last.year new.year OBJ seeing gone NMLZ-LOC

       rgyod pa med.
       regret PTCL NEG.1SG
       intended: 'I regret that I did not visit her last New Year.'

(192) Tibetan: *bslab - to advise*

    a. *Khyed#rang tha#mag ma 'then rgyus nga#rang bslab bya rgyag*
       you   cigarette NEG smoke INF I   advise TERM VBLZ

       gi yod.
       PTCL AUX.1SG
       'I advise you not to smoke.'

    b. *Khyed#rang tha#mag 'then rgyur nga#rang bslab bya rgyag gi*
       you   cigarette smoke INF I   advise TERM VBLZ PTCL

       med.
       NEG.1SG
       intended: 'I advise you not to smoke.'

(193)   Tibetan: *ha go - to realize*

    a.   *[Kha#sang nga'i bza#zla kha#lag#bzo mi shes pa-]r   ha#go*
        yesterday my   partner cook   NEG know NMLZ-LOC realize
        byung.
        PST.1SG
        'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

    b.   *#[Kha#sang nga'i bza#zlas kha#lag#bzo shes pa-]r   ha#go ma*
        yesterday   my   partner cook   know NMLZ-LOC realize NEG
        byung.
        PST.1SG
        intended: 'Yesterday, I realized that my wife cannot cook.'

(194)   Tibetan: *bsam - to think*

    a.   *['Jar#man rgyal#khab gis   mtshon#cha tshong mi   dgos pa]-r*
        Germany   country   ERG weapons   sell   NEG must NMLZ-LOC
        bsam gyi   yod.
        think PTCL AUX.1SG
        'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

    b.   *['Jar#man rgyal#khab gis   mtshon#cha tshong dgos pa-]r   bsam*
        Germany   country   ERG weapons   sell   must NMLZ-LOC think
        gyi   med.
        PTCL NEG.1SG
        intended: 'I think that Germany should not sell weapons.'

(195)   Tibetan: *rtsis - to plan*

    a.   *Nga dus#sang tha#mag ma 'then rtsis yod.*
        1SG next.year cigarette NEG smoke plan AUX.1SG
        'I plan not to smoke next year.'

    b.   *Nga dus#sang tha#mag 'then rtsis med.*
        1SG next.year cigarette smoke plan NEG.1SG
        intended: 'I plan not to smoke next year.'

(196)   Tibetan: *shes - to know*

    a.   *Mo#rang gom#pa#rgyab mi thub pa-r   shes kyi yod.*
        she   walk   NEG able NMLZ-LOC know PTCL AUX.1SG
        'I know that she cannot walk.'

    b.   *#Mo#rang gom#pa#rgyab thub pa-r   shes kyi med.*
        she   walk   able NMLZ-LOC know PTCL NEG.1SG
        intended: 'I know that she cannot walk.'

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7 Selbstständigkeitserklärung

Ich versichere, dass ich die vorgelegte Masterarbeit ohne fremde Hilfe verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt habe. Ich bestätige ausdrücklich, Zitate und Quellenangaben mit größter Sorgfalt und Redlichkeit in der vorgeschriebenen Art und Weise kenntlich gemacht zu haben.

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