

## The Multiple Faces of Hindi-Urdu *bhii*

The Hindi-Urdu particle *bhii* is often taken in recent semantic literature to be the lexical correspondent of English *even*, following an influential proposal by Lahiri (1998). I provide empirical evidence to show that this characterization is incorrect, at least in its simplest form. I start instead with what I take to be the basic meaning of *bhii*, namely an additive expressions more in line with English *also*, and derive the *even* meaning from its interaction with focus. I provide evidence from internal and external *bhii*, *ek bhii baccaa* “one also child” vs. *ek baccaa bhii* “one child also”, as well as from correlatives which are semantically definite, not indefinite, *jo bhii laRkii* “which also girl”, to argue against the standard view of *bhii* as *even*.