Negation and negative particles in Hungarian

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Overview

- types of negation
- negation and quantification
- negative indefinites and “negative concord”
- negative particle

Background: Hungarian sentence structure

- discourse configurational language [É. Kiss 1995, Surányi 2015]
  - sentence structure is determined by discourse-semantic functions
  - structural positions for topic and 'identificational' focus [e.g., É. Kiss 2004]
- word order in the postverbal field: free
- word order in the preverbal field: fixed
  - Topic(s) > UnivQ/also > Id-focus > Verb ...

(1) Mari-nak mindenki Peti-t is az irodá-ban mutatta be.
Mary-DAT everyone Pete-ACC also the office-INE introduced VPRT
'It was in the office where everyone also introduced PETE to Mary.'

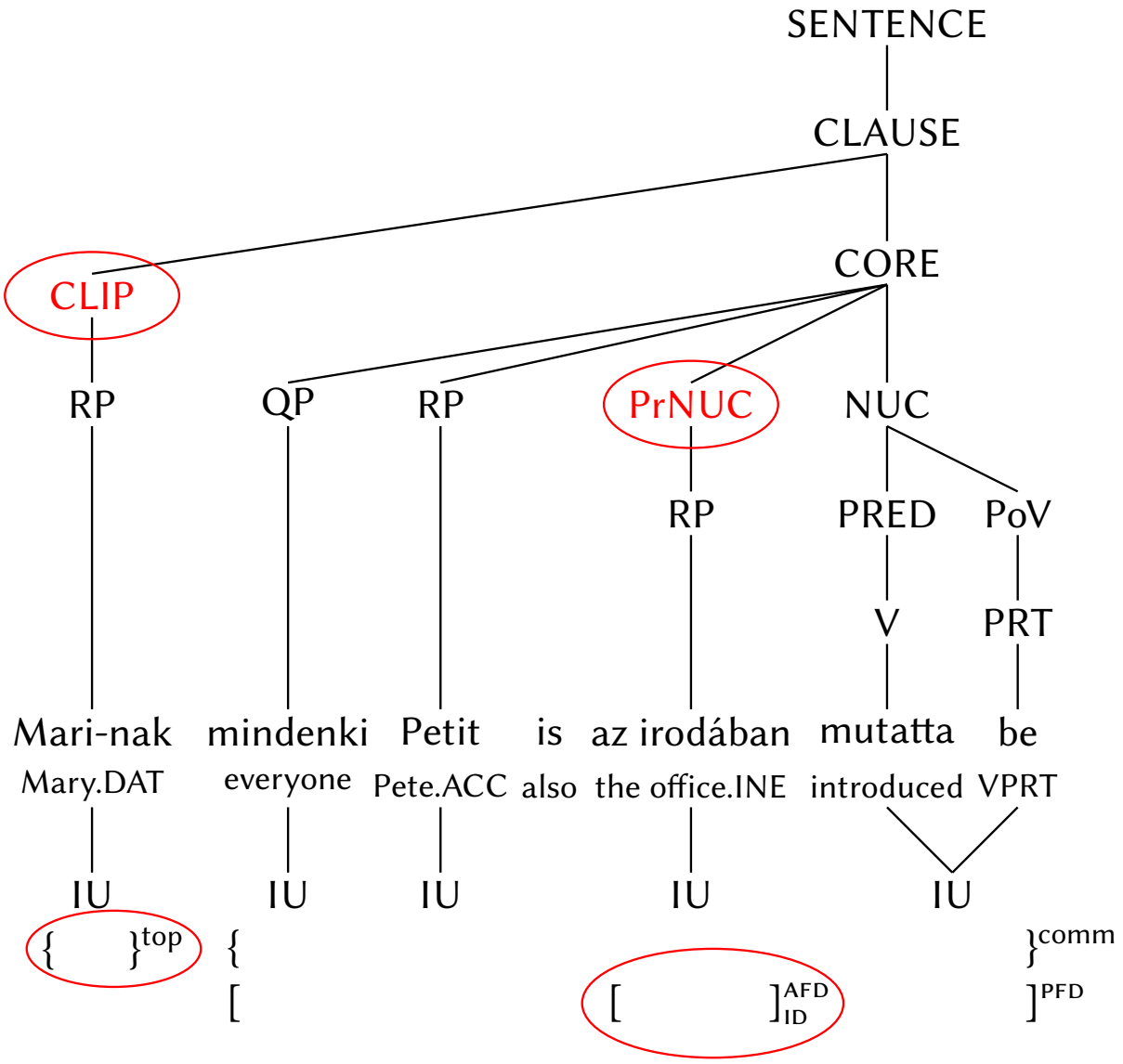
RRG: discourse pragmatics

- Focus Structure Projection [Van Valin 2005]
  - information units (IU)
  - actual focus domain (AFD)
  - potential focus domain (PFD)
- Balogh (2020): also represent topic-comment distinction → Information Structure Projection
- representation → notation variant
  - replace the triangle representation
  - similar representation for topic-comment and focus structure
  - possible to represent more different focus types, e.g.,
    - identificational focus $[.]^{\text{AFD}}_{\text{ID}}$
    - contrastive focus $[.]^{\text{AFD}}_{\text{CTR}}$

  - focus = AFD
  - background = TOP + (COMM − AFD)

Background: Hungarian sentence structure

[Balogh, forthcoming]



- clause-initial position (CLIP) → linked to topic
- pre-nuclear position (PrNUC) → linked to narrow focus (= AFD)
- core initial field → hosts universally quantified expressions and *also*-phrases

Negation in Hungarian

- expressed by the negative particle *nem* 'not'
- *nem* can appear at three places:
  - (i) right before the verb/predicate; (2a)
  - (ii) right before the preverbal focus; (2b)
  - (iii) right before the universal quantifier; (2c)

(2) a. Peti nem hív-t-a fel Kati-t.
Pete not call-PST-3SG.D VPRT Kate-ACC
'Pete did not call Kate.'

b. Peti nem Kati-t hív-t-a fel.
Pete not Kate-ACC call-PST-3SG.D VPRT
'It was not Kate whom Pete called.'

c. Peti nem mindenki-t hív-ott fel.
Pete not everyone-ACC call-PST[3SG] VPRT
'Pete did not call everyone.'

- cannot appear post-verbally → *nem* operates to the right

Negation in Hungarian

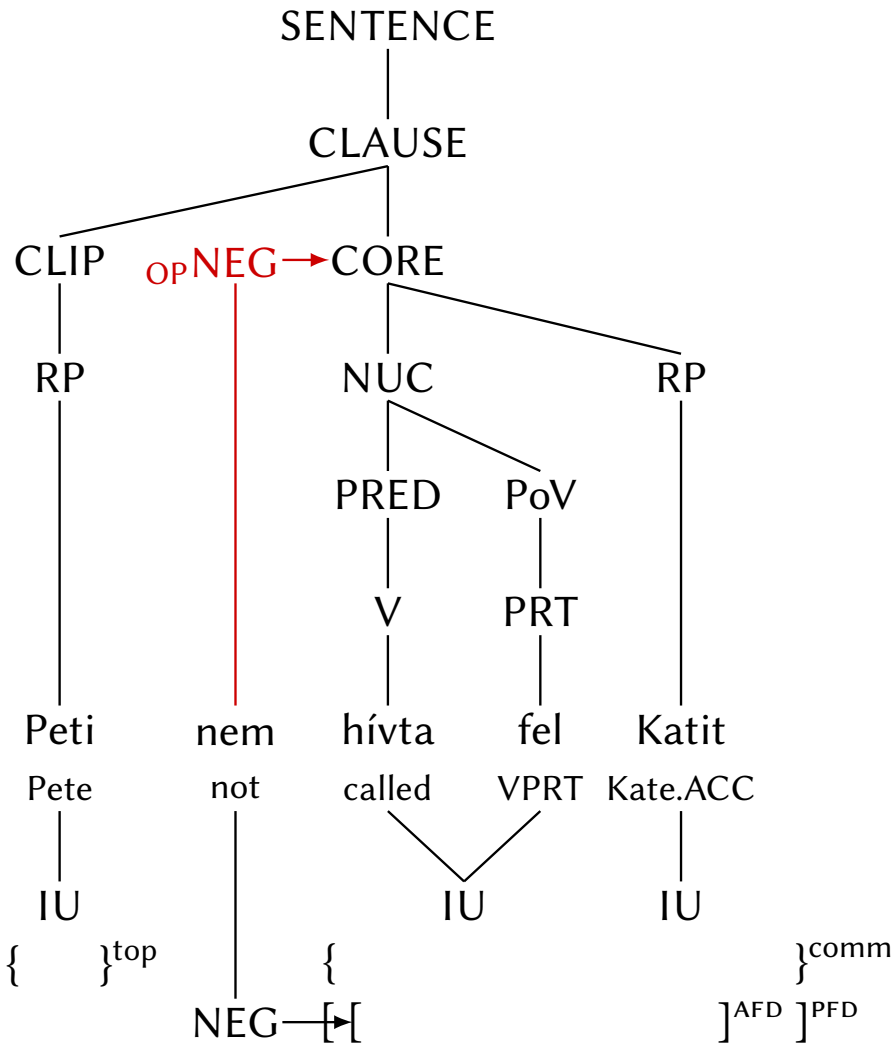
- negation in English:

(3) a. Pete did not introduce Sam to Bill.
b. Pete did not introduce SAM to Bill.
→ focus-sensitive negation [Krifka 2006]

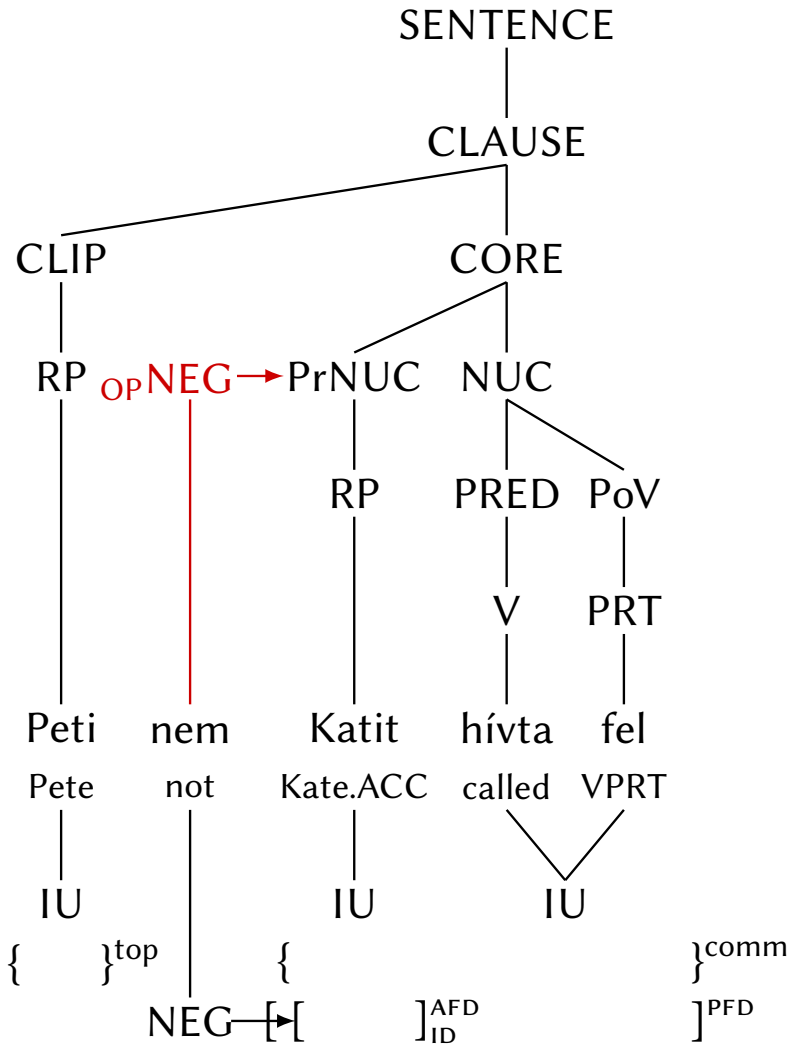
- Hungarian: two types of negation → structurally different
  (a) 'predicate negation'
  (b) 'focus negation'
- they operate on different places in the layered structure of the clause
  - 'predicate negation' operates at CORE
  - 'focus negation' operates at PrNUC
- the scope of negation is tied to the actual focus domain
- both operate on the 'main assertion' → $[.]^{\text{AFD}}$ and $[.]^{\text{AFD}}_{\text{ID}}$ respectively
  - 'predicate negation' → predicate focus structure
  - 'focus negation' → narrow (id-)focus structure

Types of negation

‘predicate negation’:



‘focus negation’:



Linearization constraints

Linearization constraints of the negative particle *nem* ‘not’:

1. The negative particle must appear between the topic field and the potential focus domain.
2. The negative particle must immediately precede the verbal element of the nucleus (predicate negation) or the element in the PrNUC position (focus negation).

Co-occurrence of ‘predicate negation’ and ‘focus negation’

- possible to have both negation types in one clause:

(4) Peti nem [Kati-t]$^{\text{AFD}}_{\text{ID}}$ nem [mutatta be Mari-nak]$^{\text{AFD}}$
Pete not Kate-ACC not introduced VPRT Mary-DAT
‘It was not Kate whom Pete did not introduce to Mary.’

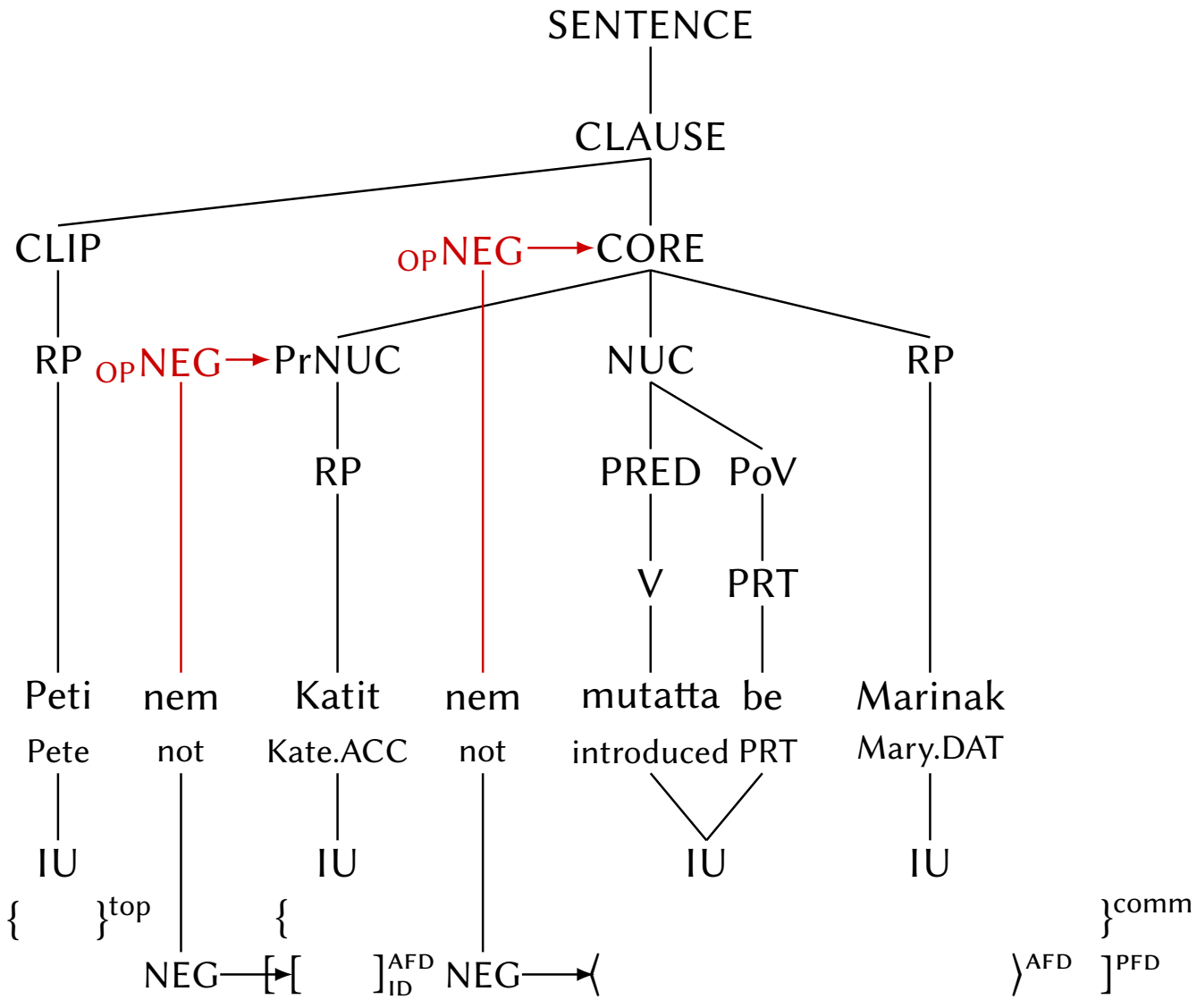
- Two AFDs???
  - identificational focus
  - predicate focus

- the NEG operating on the predicate focus is part of the background
  - see, for example, explicit contrast:

(5) Peti nem Kati-t nem mutatta be Mari-nak, hanem Vili-t.
Pete not Kate-ACC not introduced VPRT Mary-DAT but Bill-ACC
‘It was not Kate whom Pete did not introduce to Mary, but Bill.’

- the two AFDs are at different ‘levels’ in the discourse
- distinguish ‘focus within the background’ → $\langle$ XP $\rangle^{\text{AFD}}$

Co-occurrence of ‘predicate negation’ and ‘focus negation’

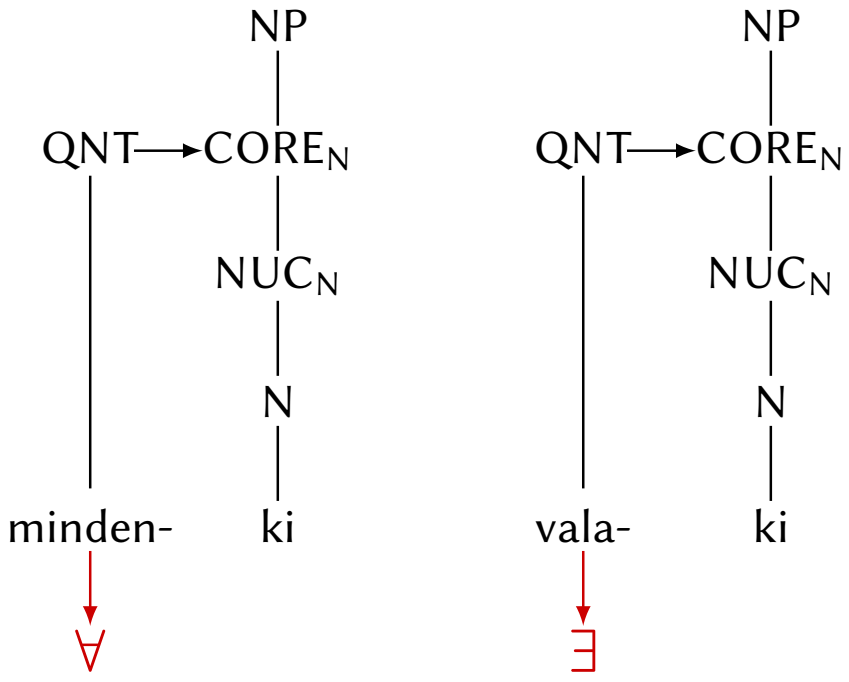


Negation and quantifiers

- third type: negation before universal quantifier
- two main issues
  - (1) structurally puzzling → univQ in focus position
    proposal: due to NEG it occupies PrNUC
  - (2) relation of negation and quantification
- two scope taking elements: quantifier (Q) and negation (¬)
- possible scope orders: ¬ > Q and Q > ¬
  ⇒ two readings: (1) ¬∀ / ∃¬, (2) ¬∃ / ∀¬
- **scope principle** in Hungarian: lineaire order = scope order
  - holds between two preverbal elements and between a preverbal and a postverbal element
- orders to investigate:
  - ... NEG ... *Q* ... V ...
  - ... *Q* ... NEG ... V ...
  - ... NEG ... V ... *Q*

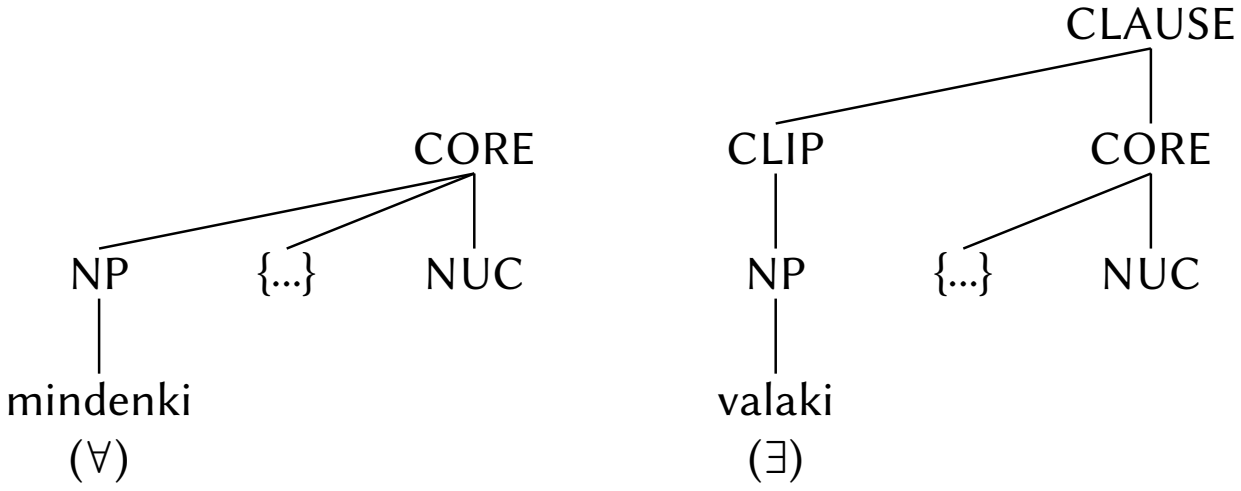
Negation and quantifiers

- universal quantifiers: *mind-*
  e.g.: *minden* ‘everything’, *mindenki* ‘everyone’, *mindenhol* ‘everywhere’ ...
- existential quantifiers: *vala-*
  e.g.: *valami* ‘something’, *valaki* ‘someone’, *valahol* ‘somewhere’ ...



Negation and quantifiers

- designated positions in the preverbal field
- universal quantifiers
  - cannot be preverbal focus
  - cannot occur in topic-field
  - in the core-initial field
- existential quantifiers
  - cannot be preverbal focus
  - in the topic-initial field



Negation and quantifiers

- reading 1: ¬∀ / ∃¬
  - straightforward by the scope constraint
  - overt scope marking

(6) a. Peti nem mindenki-nek mutatta be Mari-t.
Pete not everyone-DAT introduced VPRT Mary-ACC
'Pete did not introduce Mary to everyone.'
order: NEG ∀ V → reading: ¬ > ∀

b. Peti nem mutatta be Mari-t mindenki-nek.
Pete not introduced VPRT Mary-ACC everyone-DAT
'Pete did not introduce Mary to everyone.'
order: NEG V ∀ → reading: ¬ > ∀

c. Peti valaki-nek nem mutatta be Mari-t.
Pete someone-DAT not introduced VPRT Mary-ACC
'Someone did not call Peter.'
order: ∃ NEG V → reading: ∃ > ¬

Negation and quantifiers

- reading 2: $\forall\neg$ / $\neg\exists$
  - corresponding surface ordering is not possible!

(7) a. *Peti-t mindenki nem hívta fel.
Pete-ACC everyone not call-PST-3SG.D VPRT

b. *Peti-t nem valaki hívta fel.
Pete-ACC not someone call-PST-3SG.D VPRT

c. *Peti-t nem hívta fel valaki .
Pete-ACC not call-PST-3SG.D VPRT someone

Negation and quantifiers: negative indefinites

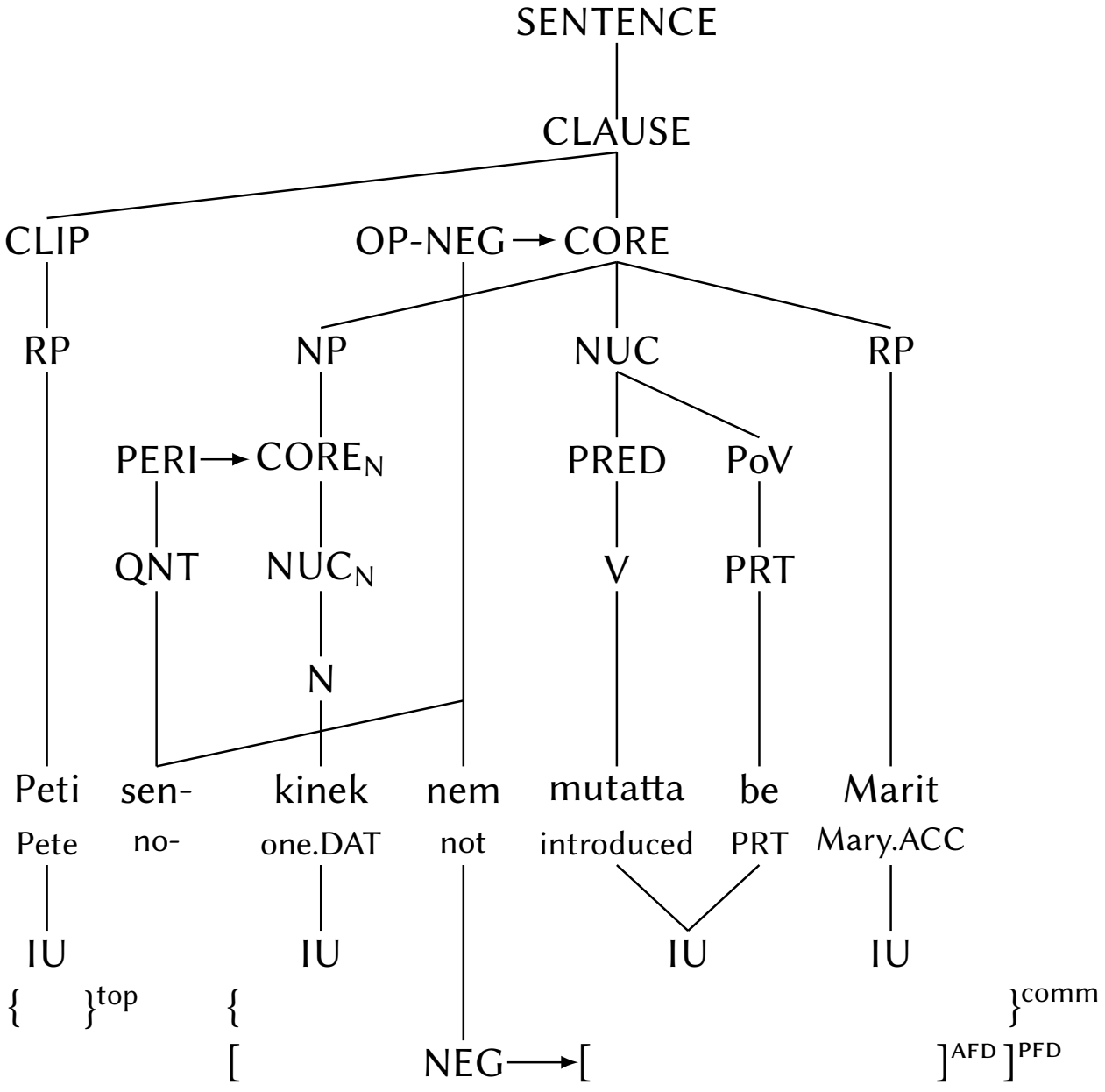
- for $\forall\neg$ / $\neg\exists$ reading: the quantifier is replaced by a negative indefinite
  e.g.: *sen-ki* 'nobody', *sem-mi* 'nothing', *se-hol* 'nowhere', ...

  (8) a. Peti-t senki nem hívta fel.
  Pete-ACC nobody not called VPRT
  b. Peti-t nem hívta fel senki.
  Pete-ACC not called VPRT nobody
  'Nobody called Pete.'

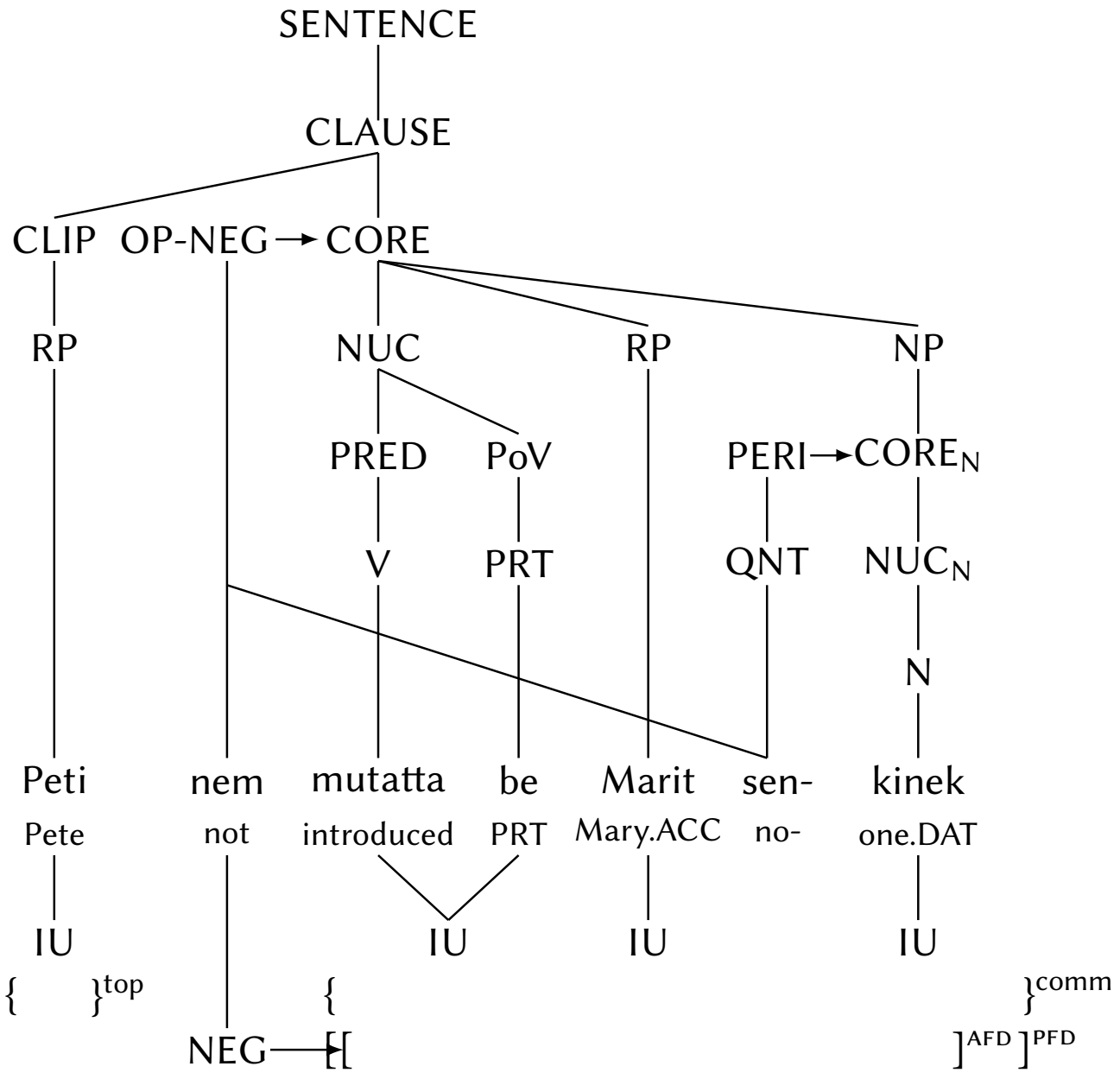
- both surface orders with both scope orders ⇒ scope principle is neutralized
- *se-* negative indefinites must appear with negation
  - negative concord + NPIs

  (9) a. *Peti-t senki hívta fel.
  Pete-ACC nobody called VPRT
  b. *Peti-t fel-hívta senki.
  Pete-ACC VPRT-called nobody

Negation and quantifiers: negative indefinites



Negation and quantifiers: negative indefinites



The negative particle *sem*

- alternative surface realizations

(10) a. Peti-t senki **nem** hívta fel.
Pete-ACC nobody not called VPRT

b. Peti-t senki **sem** hívta fel.
Pete-ACC nobody SEM called VPRT
both: 'Nobody called Pete.'

- *sem* simply an alternative realization of *nem*?
- no, they are distinct:

(11) Peti-t **nem** hívta fel senki **sem**.
Pete-ACC not called VPRT nobody SEM
'Nobody called Pete.'

(12) a. Peti nem/*sem mutatta be Mari-t Vili-nek.
Pete not/SEM introduced VPRT Mary-ACC Bill-DAT
'Pete did not introduce Mary to Bill.'

b. Peti nem/*sem Mari-t mutatta be Vili-nek.
Pete not/SEM Mary-ACC introduced VPRT Bill-DAT
'It was not Mary whom Pete introduced to Bill.'

The negative particle *sem*

sem as a plain negative marker

- requires a negative indefinite
- when the negative indefinite is preverbal, *sem* replaces the negative particle *nem*
- when the negative indefinite is postverbal, *sem* can optionally appear to its right

(13) a. Peti *(senki-nek) sem mutatta be Marit.
Pete nobody-DAT SEM introduced VPRT Mary-ACC
'Pete did not introduce Mary to anyone.'

b. *Peti senki-nek sem nem mutatta be Marit.
Pete nobody-DAT SEM not introduced VPRT Mary-ACC

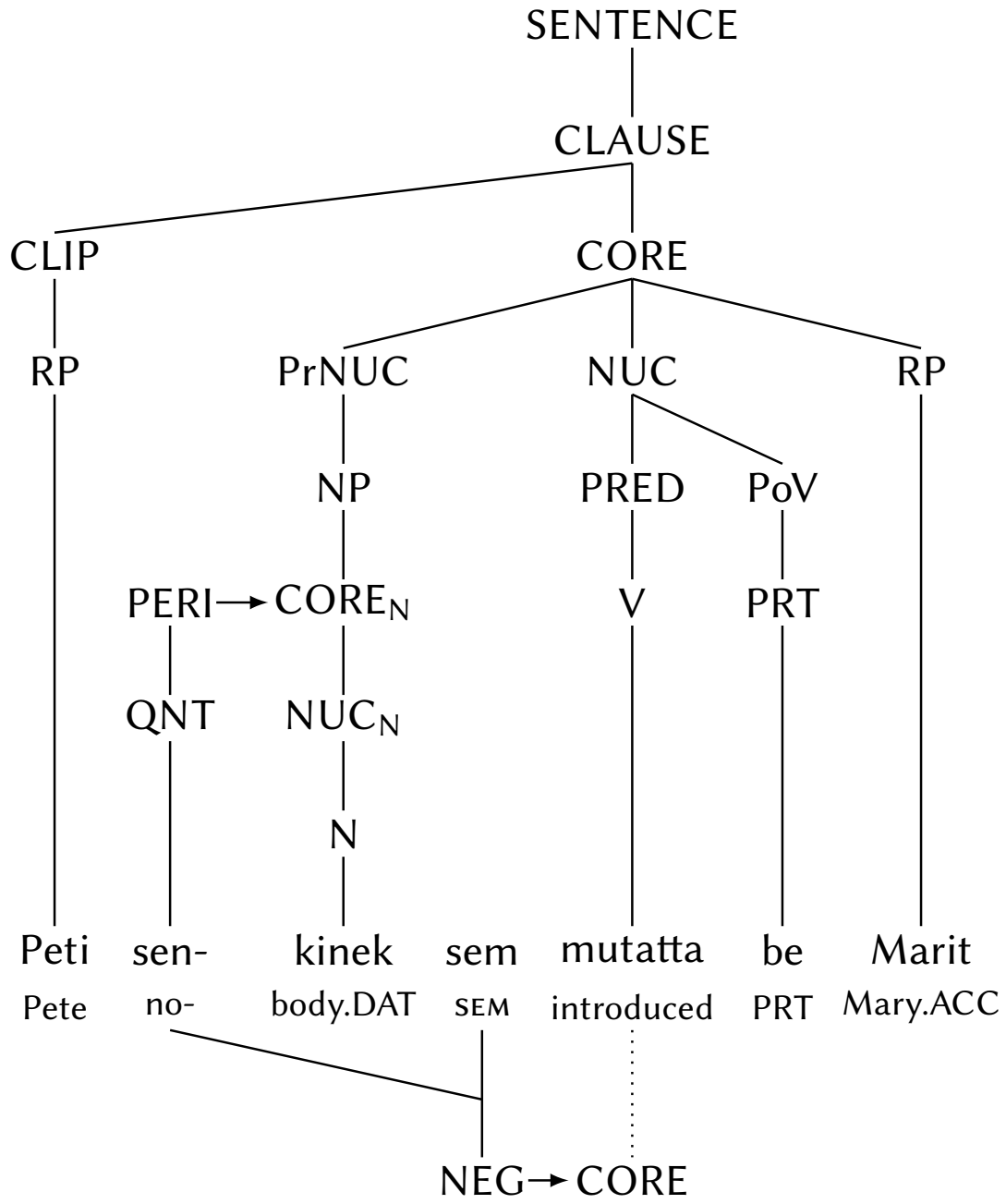
c. Peti nem mutatta be Marit senkinek (sem).
Pete not introduced VPRT Mary-ACC noone-DAT SEM
'Pete did not introduce Mary to anyone.'

The negative particle *sem*

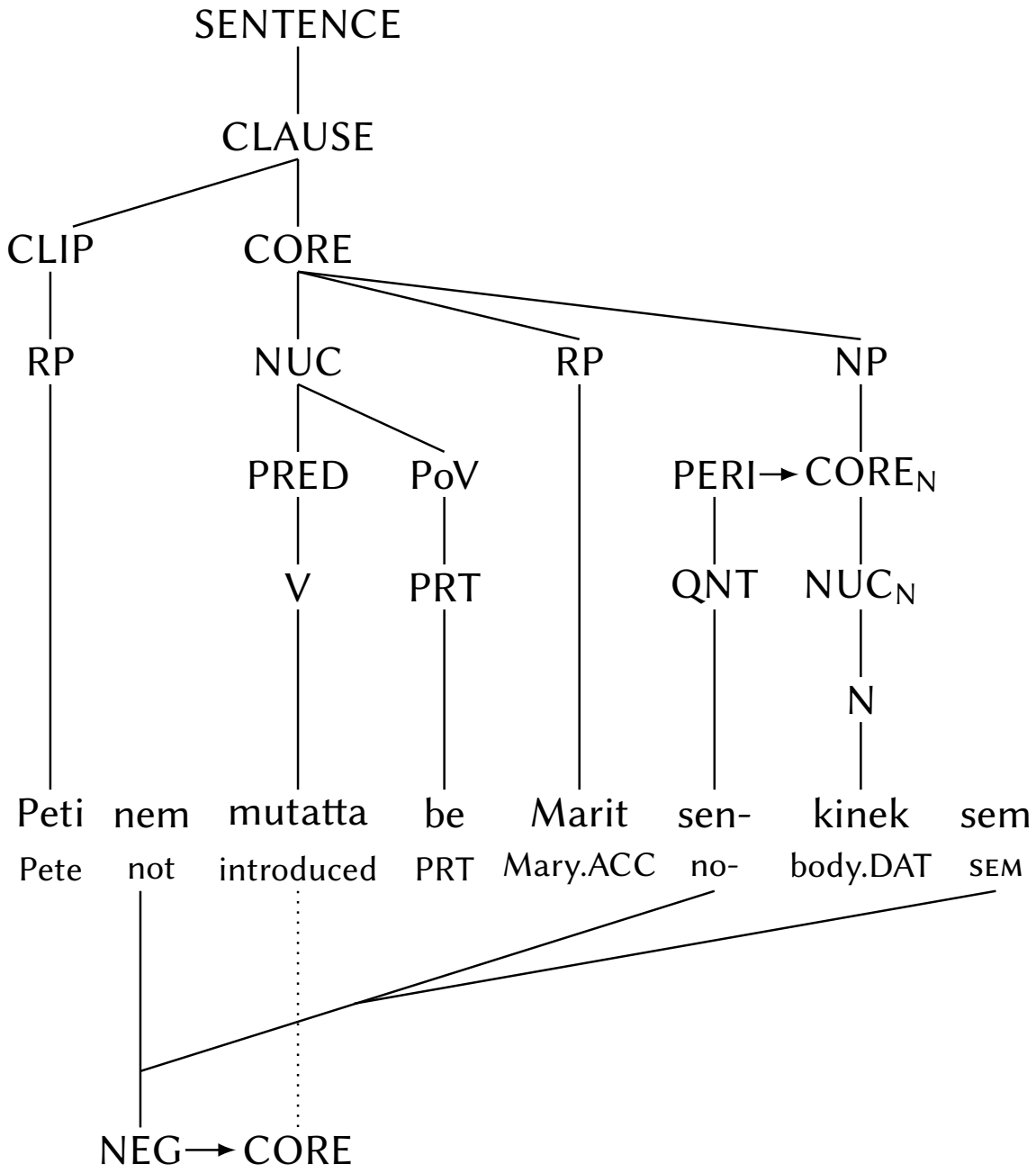
Proposal:

- a split operator analysis as before
- with the dependencies:
  - *sem* requires a negative indefinite
  - a negative indefinite requires OP-NEG
  - preverbally: *sem* takes over the function of *nem* as primary marker of the NEG-operator
  - postverbally: *sem* is merely an optional part of the operator

The negative particle *sem*



The negative particle *sem*



Summary

- types of negation: narrow vs. broad scope
- scope of negation = main assertion (AFD)
- multiple negation possible → second occurrence AFD
- negation and quantification
  - scope principle and linearization restrictions
  - when simple surface ordering is out → special construction

surface ordering	¬∀	∃¬
	nem ≺ *mind-*	*vala-* ≺ *nem*
surface ordering out	∀¬/¬∃	
	nem ≺ *se-* / *se-* ≺ *nem*	

- negative indefinites and negative particle *sem*
  - split operator analysis
  - dependencies

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