Negative particles and negative pronominals in Hungarian

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Overview

Negation in Hungarian

- types of negation: 'predicate negation' and 'focus negation'
- negation and quantification
- negative pronominal and "negative concord"
- negative additive 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 preverbal field
  - ▸ 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.'

- neutral vs. non-neutral sentences
  - ▸ distinct structural and intonational patterns
  - ▸ neutral ≈ broad focus constructions
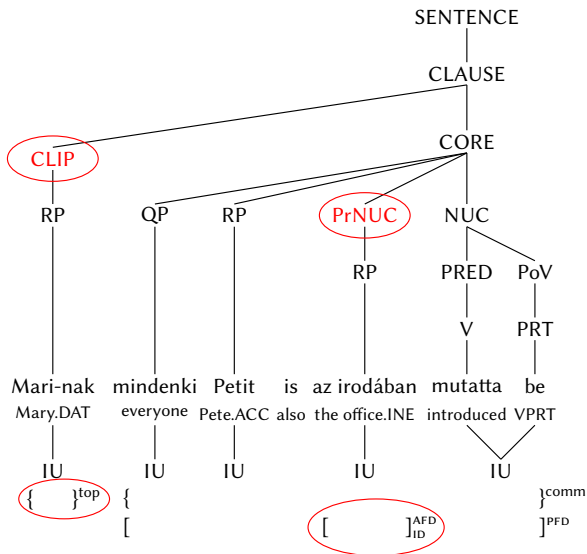 - ▸ non-neutral of contrastive: with negation or identificational focus

RRG notation variant

- RRG: discourse pragmatics → Focus Structure Projection
- Balogh (2020): Information Structure Projection
  - ▸ also represent topic-comment distinction
- focus structure representation
  - ▸ replace the triangle representation
  - ▸ domains represented similarly to topic-comment
  - ▸ possible to represent more different focus types, e.g.,
    - ○ identificational focus $[.]_{ID}^{AFD}$
    - ○ contrastive focus $[.]_{CTR}^{AFD}$

IU   IU   IU   IU   IU

$\{ \quad \}^{top} \quad \{ \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \}^{comm}$

$[\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad [\qquad\qquad]_{ID}^{AFD} \qquad\quad]^{PFD}$

Background: Hungarian sentence structure

[Balogh, forthcoming]

SENTENCE
CLAUSE
CORE
CLIP
RP   QP   RP   PrNUC   NUC
                            RP   PRED   PoV
                                    V   PRT

Mari-nak   mindenki   Petit   is   az irodában   mutatta   be
Mary.DAT   everyone   Pete.ACC also the office.INE introduced   VPRT

IU   IU   IU   IU   IU
{   }top   {   [   ]AFD   }comm
        [ID   ]PFD

Negation in Hungarian

- expressed by the negative particle *nem* 'not'
- *nem* can appear at three places:
  - (i) right before the verbal complex; (1a)
  - (ii) right before the preverbal focus; (1b)
  - (iii) right before the universal quantifier; (1c)

(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
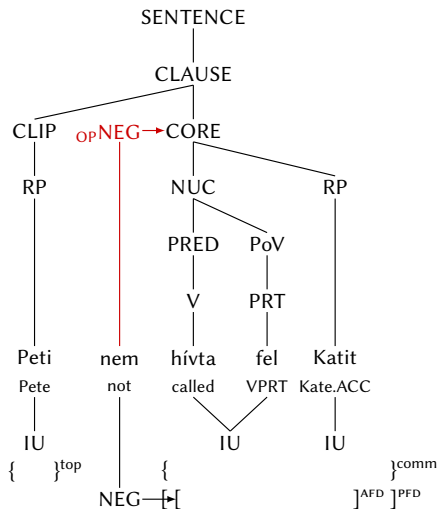   'It was not Kate whom Pete called.'

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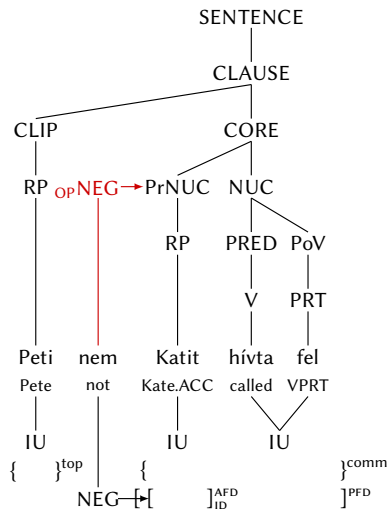
Negation in Hungarian

- two types of negation
  - (a) 'predicate negation'
  - (b) 'focus negation'
- different scope: broad (a) vs. narrow (b)
- 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

Types of negation

'predicate negation':

'focus negation':

(3) Peti nem [Kati-t]$_{\text{ID}}^{\text{AFD}}$ nem [mutat-t-a   be   Mari-nak]$^{\text{AFD}}$
     Pete not   Kate-ACC   not   introduce-PST-3SG.D 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 second occurrence / part of the background
- AFD is at 'different level' in the discourse
- proposal: mark as [.]$^{\text{AFD-SO}}$ = second occurrence focus

# Co-occurrence of 'predicate negation' and 'focus negation'
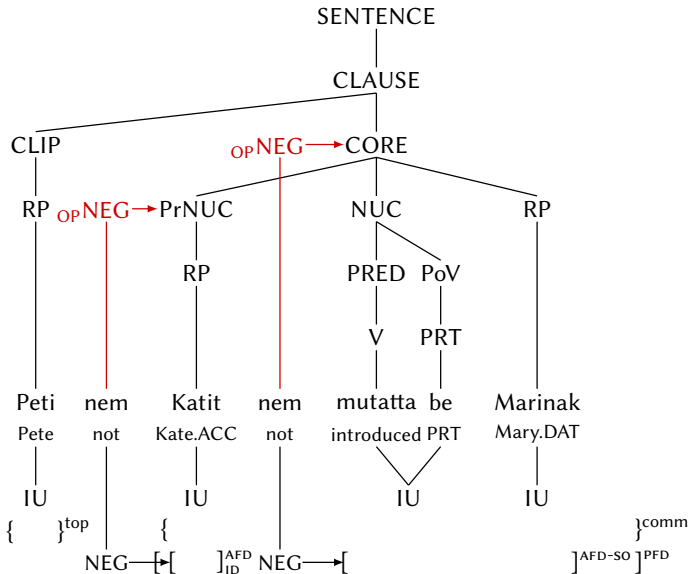
Negation and quantifiers

- third type: negation before universal quantifier
- issue of the relation of negation and quantification
- two scope taking elements: quantifier (Q) and negation (¬)
- possible readings: ¬ > Q and 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' ...
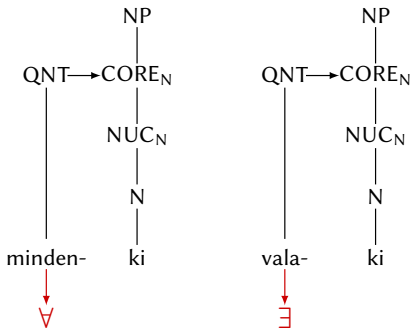
Negation and quantifiers

- 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
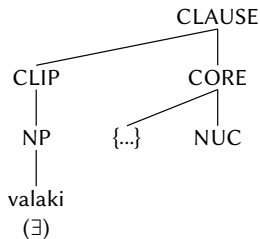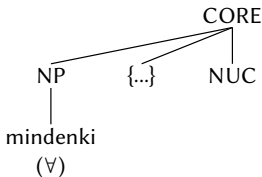
Negation and quantifiers: constructions

- linearization restrictions
  - *nem < mindenki* (not < everyone)
  - *valaki < nem* (someone < not)

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

        b.   Peti-t   nem hív-t-a   fel mindenki.
              Pete-ACC not call-PST-3SG.D VPRT everyone
              'Not everyone called Pete.'

        c.   *Peti-t   mindenki nem hív-t-a   fel.
              Pete-ACC everyone not call-PST-3SG.D VPRT

(5)   a.   Peti-t   valaki   nem hív-t-a   fel.
              Pete-ACC someone not call-PST-3SG.D VPRT
              'Someone did not call Peter.'

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

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

Negation and quantifiers: scope principle

- **scope principle** in Hungarian: lineaire order = scope order
- together with linearization restrictions:
  - ▸ the reading of ¬∀ / ∃¬ is straightforward

    (6) a. Peti-t   nem mindenki hív-t-a   fel.
             Pete-ACC not everyone call-PST-3SG.D VPRT
             $\neg\forall x.call'(x, peter)$

         b. Peti-t   valaki   nem hív-t-a   fel.
             Pete-ACC someone not call-PST-3SG.D VPRT
             $\exists x.\neg call'(x, peter)$

  - ▸ the reading of ∀¬ / ¬∃ is non-trivial

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

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

Negation and quantifiers: negative pronominals

- for the reading $\forall\neg$ / $\neg\exists$ a special construction
- the quantifier ($\forall$ or $\exists$) replaced by *se-* negative pronominal
  e.g.: *sen-ki* 'nobody', *sem-mi* 'nothing', *se-hol* 'nowhere', ...

 (8)   a.   Peti-t   senki   nem hív-t-a   fel.
                        Pete-ACC nobody not   call-PST-3SG.D VPRT

              b.   Peti-t   nem hív-t-a   fel senki.
                        Pete-ACC not   call-PST-3SG.D VPRT nobody
                        'Nobody called Pete.'

- scope principle is neutralized
- no linearization restrictions
- *se-* negative pronominals can only appear with negation

  (9)   a.   *Peti-t   senki   hív-t-a   fel.
                        Pete-ACC nobody call-PST-3SG.D VPRT

              b.   *Peti-t   fel-hív-t-a   senki.
                        Pete-ACC VPRT-call-PST-3SG.D nobody

Negation and quantifiers: negative pronominals
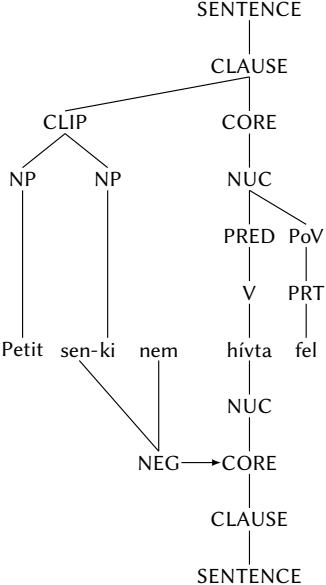
Negative additive particle

- additive particle *is*
- negative additive particle *sem* (or *se*)

(10) a. Peti Kati-t   is   fel-hív-t-a.
          Pete Kate-ACC also VPRT-call-PST-3SG.D
          'Pete also called Kate.'
          ↝ for Kate also holds that she was called by Pete

     b. Peti Kati-t   sem   hív-t-a   fel.
          Pete Kate-ACC also.not call-PST-3SG.D VPRT
          'Pete also did not call Kate.'
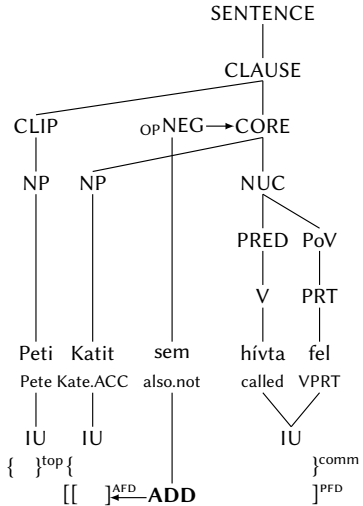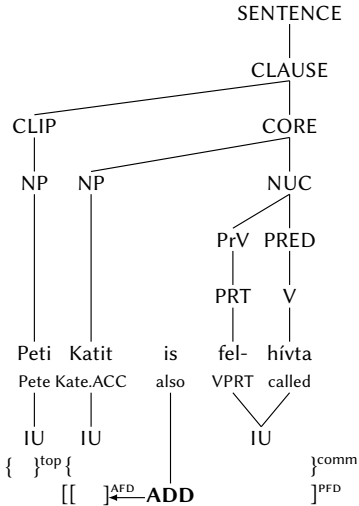   ↝ for Kate also holds that she was not called by Pete

- *sem = is + nem*
     Peti Kati-t   [is   nem] hív-t-a   fel.
     Pete Kate-ACC [also not] call-PST-3SG.D VPRT
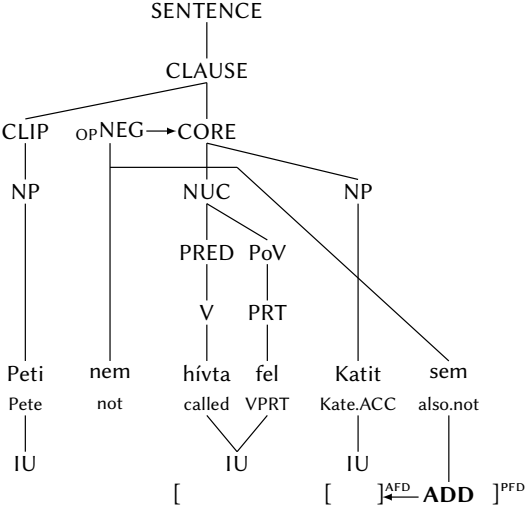
- however:

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

Negative additive particle

Left diagram:

SENTENCE
CLAUSE
CLIP — CORE
NP NP — NUC
PrV PRED
PRT V

Peti — Katit — is — fel- — hívta
Pete — Kate.ACC — also — VPRT — called

IU IU IU
{ }top { }comm
[[ ]AFD←**ADD**]PFD

Right diagram:

SENTENCE
CLAUSE
CLIP OpNEG→CORE
NP NP NUC
PRED PoV
V PRT

Peti — Katit — sem — hívta — fel
Pete — Kate.ACC — also.not — called — VPRT

IU IU IU
{ }top { }comm
[[ ]AFD←**ADD**]PFD

Negative additive particle

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*	

Summary

- remaining issue: inverse order of verb and particle
- triggered by id-focus and by negation
  - ‣ 'predicate focus': inverse order by *nem*
  - ‣ 'focus negation': inverse order by PrNUC
- also with negation before universal quantifier
  - ‣ universal quantifier never occupies PrNUC
- relation of prosody and main assertion
- requires further work on prosodic structure

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