Who invokes silent negation?
The view from a hybrid negative concord language
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Background

Italian (non-strict NC)			Czech (strict NC)			(Zeijlstra 2004—2022)
non	iNeg	¬	ne	uNeg		
nessuno	uNeg	∃	nikdo	uNeg	∃	
Op¬	iNeg	¬	Op¬	iNeg	¬	

Two critical points: Strict/non-strict NC differ wrto Negative Markers (NM)
                             NCIs are invariably uNeg (invoke Op¬)

Hungarian is a "true hybrid NC" language.
The NM, NEM is never optional, unlike in Catalan, Russian SL, Modern Greek...
If the preverbal NCI is bare SENKI, NEM must follow (strict NC).
If preverbal SENKI is in the spec of SEM, NEM must not follow (non-strict NC).

(1) a.	Nikto	ne	videl	nichego.	* w/o ne	'No one saw anything'
(2) a.	Nessuno		ha visto	niente.	* with non	'No one saw anything'
(3) a.	Senki	nem	látott	semmit.	* w/o nem	'No one saw anything'
(4) a.	Senki sem		látott	semmit sem.	* with nem	'No one saw anything'

(1) b.	Marija	ne	videla	nichego.	* w/o ne	'M didn't see anything'
(2) b.	Maria	non	ha visto	niente.	* w/o non	'M didn't see anything'
(3) b.	Mari	nem	látott	semmit.	* w/o nem	'M didn't see anything'
(4) b.	Mari	nem	látott	semmit sem.	* w/o nem	'M didn't see anything'

Postverbally, all combinations are available:

{Sen-ki / Mari}	{nem / sem}	látott	se-hol (sem)	sem-mit (sem).
{N-one / Mari}	{NM / NOR}	saw	N-place (NOR)	N-thing (NOR)

Questions
- The hybrid system requires a single unitary NM. Should it be uNeg or iNeg?
- Should NCIs be uNeg?

Proposed answers for the hybrid system
- NM is uNeg. (as in Zeijlstra for strict-NC)
- NCIs are not uNeg. Their relation to ¬ is indirect. They are exhaustified, and an independently supplied intervening ¬ ensures logical coherence. (as in Chierchia 2013 for non-strict NC)
- Hungarian SEM is an overt counterpart of Chierchia's null head NEG, which invokes a silent ¬. NCIs never "self-license." (as in Szabolcsi 2017, 2018a,b)

This proposal builds on, but differs from, Surányi 2006 and Kenesei 2009.

It differs from Szabolcsi 2018a,b in that the unitary NM NEM is uNeg, not iNeg.

The analysis of NCIs is the same as in Szabolcsi 2018a,b.

Part One: The Hungarian NM is uNeg

1. How do we know that Hungarian NEM is uNeg? Three arguments.

- Argument from fragment NCI answers, à la Zeijlstra

Everybody assumes that (unless NCIs are themselves negative), fragment NCI answers need a deleted uNeg element and a null [iNeg, ¬] it invokes.

Szabolcsi 2018a, with NM=[iNeg, ¬] cannot account for the strict-NC case. (How would this NM scope over SENKI? How is it elided in positive context? This problem was recognized but not taken very seriously in my earlier work.)

Ki szólt?	Senki	[nem szólt].	Hungarian strict-NC
who spoke	N-one	NM spoke	

The non-strict case was okay, b/c SEM (like Chierchia's NEG) is uNeg:

Ki szólt?	Op¬ Senki sem	[szólt].	Hungarian non-strict NC
who spoke	N-one NOR	spoke	

- Argument from ¬ scoping over material preceding the NM, à la Zeijlstra

If [...] is in Spec, NegP by remnant movement, NM=[iNeg, ¬] scopes over it:

[Senki egy szót   nekem]   nem szólt.
N-one   one word-acc to.me   NM   spoke
`Nobody said one word to me'

But consider KATI IS `Kati too'. It has no reason to be in Spec, NegP. It is in its canonical IsP position (a subtype of DistP); it is not a contrastive topic, and it does not reconstruct. If NM is ¬, it is not predicted to scope over `Kati too'.

(Mari segít, de ez nem elég).   Ha   KATI is   nem segít, baj   lesz.
Mary helps but this not enough   if   Kati too NM helps   trouble will-be
`... If it is not the case that Kati helps too, there will be trouble.'

The plain meaning can only be computed if NM scopes over `Kati too'.
Note: The conditional is needed, b/c IS `too' is a PPI (needs to be "rescued").

- A new argument from `neither... nor' constructions: see Section 10.

2. Why is NM mandated in <u>strict-NC</u> sentences?

If NCIs are uNeg, they already suffice to invoke silent Op¬.
Zeijlstra doesn't give a robust answer to why NM is still mandated.

Op¬ [iNeg] Senki[uNeg] nem[uNeg] látott semmit[uNeg].
            N-one   NM   saw   N-thing

If, however, NCIs are not uNeg and their relation to ¬ is indirect, then uNeg NM can be mandatory, because it is the only thing that invokes silent [iNeg, ¬]:

Op¬ [iNeg] Senki ∃ nem[uNeg] látott semmit ∃.

If NCIs can demand being in the immediate scope of negation without being uNeg, then the "Why NM in strict-NC?" question receives a satisfactory answer.

3. Why must NCIs be in the immediate scope of negation?

Chierchia 2013 argues that NCIs are strong NPIs. In his theory, all NPIs have grammaticized active domain-alternatives, which must be exhaustified. (Different kinds of NPIs and NCIs differ as to how they must be exhaustified.) Exhaustification amounts to negating non-entailed alternatives. This, in turn, means that if a positive sentence (p) is exhaustified, we get a contradiction, #.

With a vanilla NPI: # Op-EXH (There is **any** cookie in the kitchen) =
                      There is a cookie in the kitchen but
                      there is no cookie on the kitchen table and
                      there is no cookie in the kitchen cupboard and …

If (¬p) is exhaustified, the alternatives are not entailed, so Op-EXH is vacuous. The intervention of ¬ between Op-EXH and NPI/NCI prevents contradiction:

With a vanilla NPI: Op-EXH (There isn't **any** cookie in the kitchen) =
                      There isn't any cookie in the kitchen

Turning to NCIs, let uX be "has active alternatives, needs to be exhaustified." (Expository only; I am not committed to [uX]-[iX] feature checking.)

Op[iX, EXH] Op[iNeg,¬] Mari nem[uNeg] látott   semmit[uX, ∃] (Hung.)
Op[iX, EXH] Op[iNeg,¬] Maria non[uNeg] ha visto niente[uX, ∃]   (Ital. AS)

Big gain: If the relation of NCIs to (overt or silent) negation is always indirect, then it is explained why [uNeg] NM is mandatory in strict-NC systems. Only it can invoke Op¬. NCIs cannot.

4. What to conclude? Does the NM have uNeg in just the NC languages that are "basically" strict, or in all NC languages, or in all languages? The main evidence for Italian NON having iNeg seems to be the one type *Molto non... *¬ > much*.

Mne mnogo ne nuzhno.	Molto (pizza) non ha mangiato.
to.me much NM needed	much (pizza) NM has eaten
¬ > much: `I don't need much'	* ¬ > much: `She hasn't eaten much'

But even non-NC English allows negation to scope over preceding material: `if it were not the case that even/also the Newtonian philosophy is permitted...'

"If *even the Newtonian philosophy were not* permitted to be questioned, mankind could not feel as complete assurance of its truth as they now do."
(J S Mill 1859, On Liberty, Chapter II https://www.utilitarianism.com/ol/two.html)

More fine-grained research is needed to determine when the NM can scope over various kinds of preceding material.

Part Two: The other face of the hybrid: Non-strict NC in Hungarian

Why is non-strict NC important to us? The belief that NCIs are uNeg is based on the view that in languages like Italian, preverbal NCIs are "self-licensers" (invoke a silent iNeg Op¬). Chierchia offers a different story in terms of NEG, and Hungarian supports that since, as I argue, SEM is an overt counterpart of NEG. This is the critical point, not the details of exhaustification.

5. Hungarian SEM `nor' is an overt counterpart of Chierchia's null NEG head.

Chierchia says NCIs must be exhaustified by the operator that he calls O_{ALT}. In addition, he introduces a null syntactic head NEG with feature [[n-D]] that
(i) needs an agreeing NCI in its specifier, and
(ii) requires an abstract negation, ¬ to scope right above its projection.
Note that the [[n-D]] feature corresponds to Zeijlstra's [uNeg] – in effect, though not in content. [[n-D]] is checked by the exhaustifier O_{ALT}, not by ¬.

Nessuno ha telefonato.   `No one called'
      Op[iNeg, ¬] nessuno[uNeg] ha telefonato   Zeijlstra
O_{ALT} ¬ (nessuno[[+n-D]] **NEG**[[+n-D]] ha telefonato)   Chierchia

Szabolcsi 2018a,b argued that Hungarian preverbal SEM `nor' head is an overt counterpart of Chierchia's NEG. The n-word SENKI is in its specifier:

O_{ALT} ¬ (senki[[+n-D]] **sem**[[+n-D]] telefonált)

The received wisdom in the literature on Hungarian:
IS `too' is a focus-associating head on the clausal spine, and
SEM is its counterpart in the immediate scope of negation.

This makes for a natural connection with Chierchia's NEG, with one difference. IS/SEM needs a focus-accented phrase in its specifier. It accommodates a variety of such elements, including lexical expressions and quantifiers. SEM doesn't specialize in hosting NCIs, unlike Chierchia's null NEG.

6. IS has a sparse semantics: it just activates alternatives

Szabolcsi 2017 argues that Hung. IS, Serbo-Croatian I, and Hindi BHII are "TOO-particles" that build additives, NPIs, NCIs, and FCIs, often aided by other particles. In Fox/Chierchia style theories these all involve exhaustification.

Hungarian	Serbo-Croatian	Hindi	English
Mari **is**	**i** Josip	Raam **bhii**	X too
még Mari **is**	(čak) **i** Josip	Raam **bhii**	even X
Mari **sem**	**ni** Josip	Raam **bhii**	X either

Hungarian	Serbo-Croatian	Hindi	English
valaki **is**	**i**-(t)ko / [bilo (t)ko]	koii **bhii**	anyone, NPI
még/akár csak Mari **is**	(čak/makar) **i** Josip	Raam **bhii**	even X, NPI
akár Mari **is**	(čak) **i** Josip	(koii **bhii**)	even X, FCI

E.g., consider the teamwork that builds the NPI *még/akár csak Mari is*.

Kevesen/*Sokan gratuláltak *még/akár csak Marinak is.*
`Few/*Many people congratulated even Mari (let alone others)'

(i) Abrusán 2007 argued that *még* and *akár* are *even*-style exhaustifiers.
(i) Unlike the indefinite *valaki*, *Mari* does not inherently fall at the low end of any scale. The presence of *csak* brings that about; here *csak* is similar to Dutch scalar *slechts* `mere(ly)', see Szabolcsi 1994.
(iii) Finally, the particle IS is absolutely critical here. *Valaki*, by itself, is `someone,' a PPI, not an NPI. *Még/akár (csak) Mari*, by itself, is a word salad.

Since IS plays a critical role in building as different things as additives, NPIs, FCIs and NCIs, it must have a sparse semantics: just what is common to them.

Chierchia assumes that it is a lexical property of some expressions that they have obligatorily active alternatives. The Hungarian/Serbo-Croatian/… data suggest that activating alternatives is a function that can be delegated to a separate morpheme. Active alternatives then must be figured into the meaning of the sentence, e.g. by exhaustification, performed by a separate operator.

In sum, SEM (i) activates the specifier's alternatives and, like Chierchia's NEG, (ii) calls for an exhaustifier, and (iii) invokes an abstract negation.

O_{ALT} ¬ ((még) "Mari **sem**[[+n-D]] telefonált))
        `Mari didn't call either / Even Mari didn't call'

7. Matters related to locality (phases and intervention)
-- Skippable --

Postverbal SemPs are located in reiterating lower fseqs:

VALAKI IS/SENKI SEM and MARI IS/MARI SEM can occur post-verbally:

Ha láttam valakit is / Marit is, ...
`If I saw anyone(lit. someone IS) / Mary too, ...'

Nem láttam senkit sem / Marit sem.
`I didn't see anyone / Mary either'

Following Hallman 1997, Szabolcsi 1997 and Brody & Szabolcsi 2003 propose that the same sequence of operator heads that is clearly visible in the preverbal field reiterates postverbally, above each inflectional head that will be suffixed onto V. The only exception is Neg, which only occurs in the preverbal field. The low fseqs host all manner of quantifiers. IS and SEM heads happily occur there.

So, post-V occurrence is not an obstacle for the SEM ≈ NEG correspondence.

Postverbal SEM heads cannot invoke Op¬. This is clear from the fact that they require an overt NM or a preverbal SEM. I assume this is because Op¬ can only show up in the same high phase as the overt NM, and postverbal SEM is too far below (inside vP).

Hungarian has at least two distinct NegPs (Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000, App. B)

[NegP2 Nem [FocP "**Mari** [NegP1 nem [TP telefonált]]]].
`It is not Mary who didn't call' (absolutely not Double Negation)

The pre-focus Neg supports preverbal NCIs, but not postverbal NCIs:

<u>Senkinek</u> <u>nem</u> "**Mari** nem telefonált.
`For no one was it Mary who didn't call him/her'
* It was not Mary who didn't call anyone'

Nem "**Mari** <u>nem</u> telefonált <u>senkinek</u>.
`It was not Mary who didn't call anyone'
* For no one was it Mary who didn't call him/her' (unless *senkinek* scopes up)

Facts first observed and analyzed in Szabolcsi 1981 (assumed NCI=∀).
Kenesei 2009 revisits this, with NCI=∃; attributes missing readings to phases.
Szabolcsi 2018a proposes, instead, that the exhaustive operator of contrastive focus intervenes between pre-focus NEM and low-scoping SENKI. Compare:

* Nem mindenki látott senkit.
* Not everyone saw anyone

Part Three: Two types of SEM

8. Two types of quantifier particles: SEM occurs in both types
(Szabolcsi 2018b)

Descriptive diagnostics:

Head on the clausal spine: **IS**, SEM	Quantifier-phrase internal: MIND, VAGY, AKÁR, SEM
Particle follows host. Need not be part of a tuple. Tuple-internal connective: ÉS 'and'. Doesn't build quantifier words. Builds non-strict NCIs.	Particle precedes host. Must be part of a tuple. Tuple-internal connective: PEDIG. Builds quantifier words. Builds strict NCIs.

(a)   X **is**   `X too'
        X sem   `nor X'

(b)   X **is**, Y **is**   `X as well as Y'
        X sem, Y sem   `not X, nor Y'

(c)   *is-ki

(d)   * **vagy** X
        * sem X

(e)   **vagy** X, **vagy** Y `either X or Y'
        sem X, sem Y `neither X nor Y'

(f)   **vala**-ki   `someone'
   sen-ki   `n-one'

We have already encountered SEM as a head on the clausal spine – it is the counterpart of Chierchia's NEG.

In Section 10, we will use SEM as a quantifier-phrase internal particle to build a new argument that the NM, NEM invokes silent negation.

The argument is based on the fact that SEM X, SEM Y is a strict-NC construction. In the absence of ellipsis, both X and Y must contain their own NMs – but the whole sentence has just one high-scoping negation.

9. Heads on the clausal spine vs. quantifier-phrase internal particles

- In the first construction, each particle is a head on the clausal spine, with a focus-accented constituent of the complement moved to its specifier. The reiteration is in fact a coordination of self-contained propositions.

where   IS `too'
          SEM `nor'
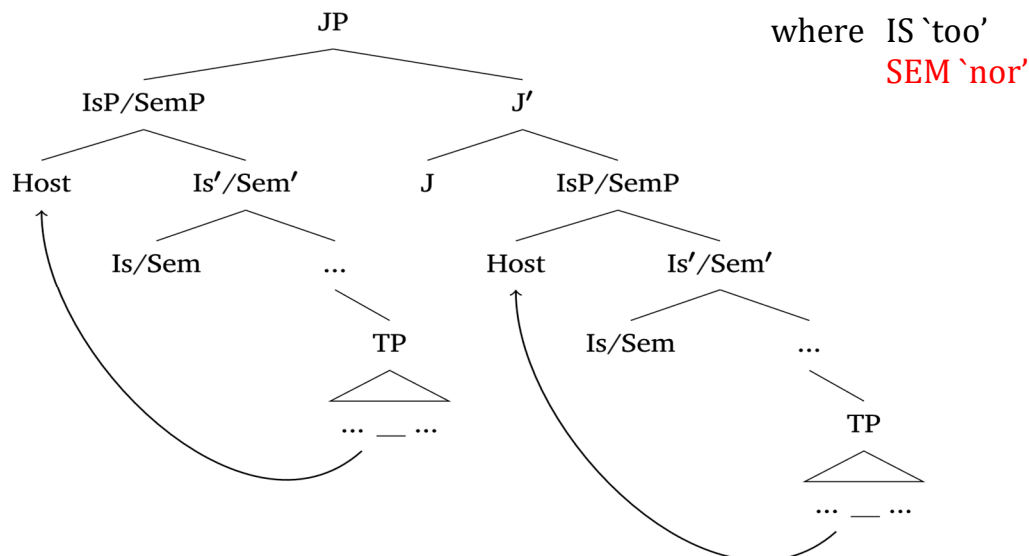
A	hó	**is/sem**	esik,	(és)	a	szél	**is/sem**	fúj.
the	snow	**too/nor**	falls	and	the	wind	**too/nor**	blows

'The snow is falling, likewise the wind is blowing'
`The snow isn't falling, likewise the wind isn't blowing'

- In the second, truly reiterated construction, the particles precede their hosts. The overt particles are uninterpreted and merely signal the presence of a contentful but unpronounced propositional quantifier at the periphery, cf. Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002.

where   MIND `all'
          VAGY `or'
          AKÁR `FC whether'
          SEM `nor'
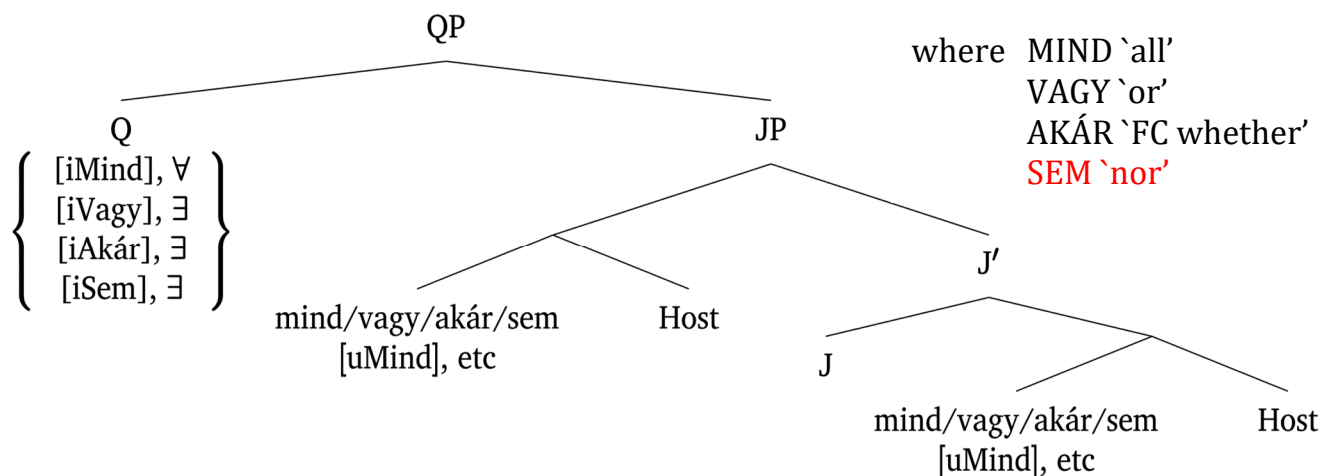
Sem	a	hó	nem	esik,	**sem**	a	szél	nem	fúj.
nor	the	snow	NM	falls	**nor**	the	wind	NM	blows

`Neither the snow is falling, nor the wind is blowing'

10. A new syntactic argument in favor of the Hungarian NM being uNeg

The QP-internal `neither_nor' takes the shape SEM S_a , SEM S_b.

This is a strict-NC construction: it mandates the presence of the NM, NEM.

(a) Sem Mari nem evett, sem Kati nem evett/ivott.   (NM in pre-V NegP1)
NOR Mari NM ate,   NOR Kati NM ate/drank
`Neither did Mari eat, nor did Kati eat/drink'

Ellipsis is possible when both juncts have the same predicate:
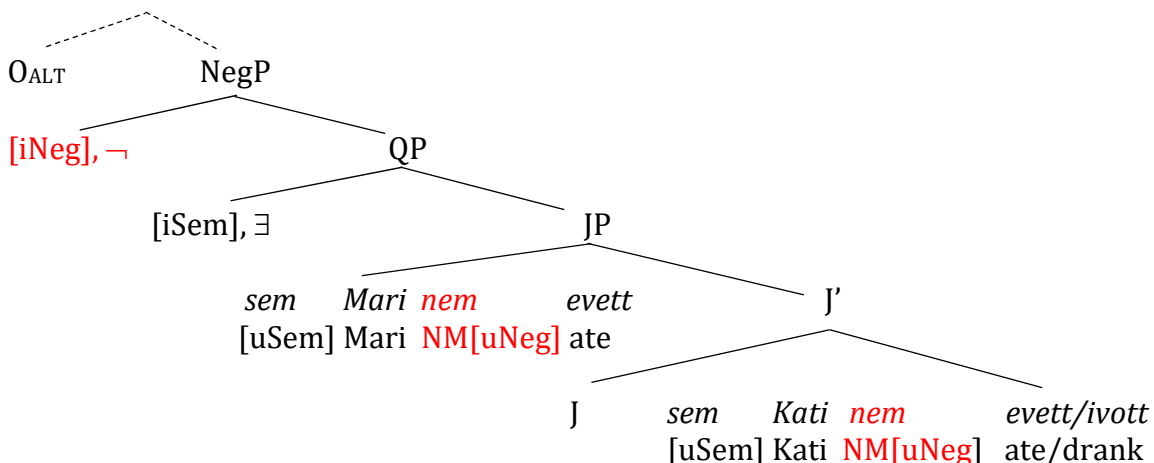Sem Mari [nem evett], sem Kati nem evett.

(b) Peti   sem   nem evett, sem nem ivott.[1]   (NM in pre-V NegP1)
Peti   NOR NM   ate,   NOR NM drank
`Peti neither ate nor drank'

(c) Sem nem "**Mari** evett, sem nem "**Kati** evett/ivott.   (NM in pre-Foc NegP2)
NOR NM   Mari ate,   NOR NM   Kati ate/drank
`Neither was it Mari who ate, nor was it Kati who ate/drank'

All these sentences mean, `There is no true proposition in the set {p , q}' i.e.
¬ ∃r : r ∈ {p, q} . r is true.

How come the NMs occur inside each junct, but ¬ scopes highest, above ∃ ?

Using (a) as an example, the only way to compose the strings and obtain the desired meaning is this, where NegP is modeled after the propositional QP:

O_ALT   NegP

[iNeg], ¬   QP

       [iSem], ∃   JP

            sem   Mari nem   evett   J'
            [uSem] Mari NM[uNeg] ate

                                          J   sem   Kati nem   evett/ivott
                                          [uSem] Kati NM[uNeg]   ate/drank

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[1] Modern Hungarian differs from Russian, discussed in Tiskin 2017. The NM-less pattern exists only in archaic, frozen expressions (É. Kiss 2015):

Petja ni   (*ne) jel, ni   (*ne) pil.   Peti se   látott, se hallott.
Petja NOR NM   ate, NOR NM   drank   Peti NOR saw   NOR heard
`Petja neither ate nor drank'                  `Peti neither saw nor heard =
                                                was too excited to perceive anything'

Szabolcsi (2018a,b) assumed that the Hungarian NM, NEM is [iNeg, ¬]. That made the patterns (a)-(b)-(c) entirely puzzling. The NegP exhibited above was proposed as the only possible way to derive them, noting its unfortunate incompatibility with the assumption about NM.

Now I have argued that NEM is generally [uNeg], so the puzzle disappears. The (a)-(b)-(c) patterns offer a new argument for this, rather than pose a problem.

Finally, we now see that all three Boolean operators, ∃, ∀, and ¬ present themselves in syntax in the shape of meaningless functional elements that point to silent actors at the left periphery, generalizing the picture in Szabolcsi 2015 in the spirit of Carlson 2006.

11. Leftover issues

11.1 Impossible sequences: Minimality

Surányi 2006 observed the following facts:

Both the NM, NEM and the clausal head SEM can be preceded by multiple NCIs:

Senki   soha   semmit   nem szólt.
N-one   N-time N-thing   NM   spoke
`No one ever said anything'

Senki   soha   semmit   sem szólt.
N-one   N-time N-thing   NOR spoke
`No one ever said anything'

But there can be no more than one clausal head SEM in the preverbal domain,

* Senki sem   semmit sem   szólt.
N-one   NOR N-thing NOR   spoke
Intended: `No one said anything'

and the clausal head SEM cannot appear above NEM, either lower or higher, unless they are separated by the focus phrase:

* Senki sem nem szólt.
N-one   NOR NM   spoke
Intended: `No one spoke'

* Senki sem   nem "**Marinak** szólt.
N-one   NOR NM   to.Mari   spoke
Intended: `For no one was it not Mari to whom he spoke'

Senki   sem "**Marinak** nem szólt.
N-one   NOR to.Mary   NM spoke
`For no one was it Mari to whom he did not speak'

Recall that I argue that both the NM and the clausal head SEM are [uNeg]. My descriptive generalization is this:

There cannot be more than one [uNeg] head on the clausal spine within the same phase.

I assume that such co-occurrence would interfere with the [uNeg]-[iNeg] relations. Probably, it would be a Minimality violation.

Kenesei 2009 argued that the Hungarian FocP tops off a phase. If so, when SEM and NM are separated by a focus phrase, they are not in the same phase.

Likewise, when the clausal head SEM occurs postverbally, it is inside vP and in a different phase. (The relevant discussion was in the skippable Section 7.)

Note that the SEM NEM data in Section 10 involve the NCI SEM that precedes its host, not the clausal head SEM which follows its host and which I argued was a counterpart of NEG. So, these data do not conflict with the "no more than one [uNeg] head" generalization.

11.2 Contentful NMs? Double Negation (DN) and lexicalizations

Puskás 2012 correctly describes the patterns that she calls strong DN and weak DN (=reconstruction) in Hungarian. But her actual examples are often unacceptable to me and to another semanticist native speaker. The main problem is, DN is really not productive in Hungarian. I am putting DN aside.

(i) The lowest scoping NCI must be SEMMIT `N-thing.acc'. Puskás's examples have SENKI `N-one' and they are unacceptable.

(ii) Even with SEMMIT, only a restricted set of verbs support DN. I haven't figured out the generalization yet, but some examples:

OK as DN: "**Senki** nem mondott semmit   (verum focus)
`Nobody said nothing = Everybody's speech was contentful'

OK as DN: Semmit\/ nem mondott senki   (contrastive topic)
`idem'

OK NC, # DN: Senki nem érzett/magyarázott el/vett észre/tört le semmit.
                 `Nobody felt/explained/noticed/broke off nothing =
                 Everybody felt/explained/noticed/broke off something'

OK NC, #/?? DN: Semmit\/ senki nem érzett/magyarázott el/vett észre/tört le.
                 `idem'

Maybe DN is okay with some fragment answers to negative questions (see Surányi 2006 and Falaus—Nicolae 2019). I have no reliable intuitions here.

Hungarian has a very restricted set of NCI-based nouns and adjectives:

a   (nagy) semmi   egy (nagy) senki
the   (big)   nothingness   a   (big)   niemand

sehonnai bitang ember   semmirekellő / semmitérő
`person who has no homeland'            `good-for-nothing'

11.3 NM inside nominalization can't support NCI; clausal NM is needed

Semmilyen adósság   ki   nem fizetése   *(nem) elfogadható.
N-kind   debt   pfx NM paying.poss.3sg   NM   acceptable
`The non-payment of any kind of debt is not acceptable'

Appendix A

Naturally occurring data for IS... NEM   `¬ > too'

https://mesenapok.hu/a-tyukocska-halalrol-grimm-mesek/

Most már a kakaska egyedül maradt a tyúkocskával, ásott neki egy gödröcskét, abba belétette, a sírt szépen felhalmozta, arra ráfeküdt, s sírt, sírt keservesen. Addig sírt, hogy meghalt ő is.

Ha a kakaska is meg nem halt volna, az én mesém is tovább tartott volna.

`If the little rooster had not died too, my tale would have been longer'

https://www.nepmese.hu/mesetar/mesek/zoeld-peter

Miért sírsz, te Zöld Péter? - Azért sírok - mondja -, mert a király azt mondta, hogy ha három reggel el nem bújok úgy, hogy az ő lánya ne lásson meg, akkor fejemet veszi. Kitátotta a száját a hal, és azt mondta Zöld Péternek: - Bújj be ide, Zöld Péter. Zöld Péter bebújt, és a halacska lebújt a tengernek a fenekére, még oda is a homokba beásódott. A királylány kiállott a folyosóra, megtörölte a szemét, és azt mondta: - Gyere elő, Zöld Péter, a halnak a szájából, a tengernek a fenekéről, a homokból beásódva. Meglátta. Hát Zöld Péter előjött, kijött a partra, és kiszállt a halnak a hasából nagy búsan, és elment a királyi palotába. Másnap reggel megint csak elindult nagy bánatosan, s azt mondja: - Hova bújjak én, hova bújjak én? Elébe állott a kis madár. - Miért sírsz, Zöld Péter? - Hogyne sírnék,

ha még holnap reggel is el nem bújok, hogy meg ne lásson a király leánya, akkor fejemet veszik.

`If I don't hide even tomorrow morning, so the king's daughter doesn't see me, they'll chop off my head'

Appendix B

The two kinds of negative concord have been stable in Hungarian for over 500 years.

Excerpts from K. É. Kiss (2015), A negative cycle in 12-15th century Hungarian. In Biberauer & Walkden (eds.) *Syntax over Time: Lexical, Morphological, and Information-Structural Interactions.* OUP, pp. 86-101.

"Gugán (2012) argues that the Hungarian negative particle **nem** is also the result of a negative cycle having taken place in Proto-Hungarian. Most Uralic languages have a negative auxiliary, which also existed in Proto-Ugric in the form ***e ~ä ~a.*** In Proto-Hungarian, however, its negative force underwent weakening, and an indefinite pronominal element reconstructed as **nëm8** was introduced to reinforce it (Sipos 1991: 395). Eventually, the negative auxiliary disappeared (except in *yes-no* questions, where it has survived as an interrogative particle), and the pronoun assumed the role of negative operator. The negative particle **nem** is the descendant of **nëm8,** hence it is cognate with the indefinite pronouns and proadverbs **né-mi** 'some-what', ...

In the late Proto-Hungarian period, the cycle began anew. As a first step (resulting in stage 2 of the new cycle), negated indefinites were strengthened by the emphatic/ additive/ distributive particle **es,** and the numeral **egy, egyik** 'one'... Recall **es num igg ember** 'even not one man', an example from 1193-95 ... Negation was strengthened by **es** also in the case of indefinite pronouns in the scope of negation.

In the third stage of the cycle, the morphological fusion of **es+nem**, and, especially, the morphological fusion of **es+nem**+pronoun complexes lead to the semantic weakening of negation, and created a need for further strengthening. This was attained by the adjunction of another negative particle to the verb. The reintroduction of the negative particle was first optional. The **se**-pronouns **soha** and **senki**, whose morphological structure had become completely opaque owing to word-internal phonological processes, lost their negative force and came to require an additional negative particle prior to the Old Hungarian period. In the case of the rest of *se* expressions, the additional, V-adjoined negative particle was still optional in the first Old Hungarian documents. According to the evidence of 14th-15th century codices, the pattern without a reinforcing negative particle was becoming less and less common, and by the end of the 15th century it had disappeared completely. In stage 4 of the negative cycle, Hungarian became a strict negative concord language, where negation is conveyed by a negative particle, and *se*-expressions are negative polarity items. ...

Since the Old Hungarian negative cycle reached its final stage, only minor changes have taken place in the syntax of negation. Until the end of the 14th century, sentences could only contain a single *se*-expression, confined to the left periphery. From the 15th century on, we also find postverbal *se*-phrases, which is evidence of their analysis as negative polarity items ...

The history of negative indefinites involving **sem** and the numeral **egy** 'one' has been somewhat different from the history of **se**-pronouns. Both **es** and **sem** (**es+nem**) were premodifiers in the earliest Old-Hungarian documents. Later **es** also came to be used as an enclitic, and its two positions came to be associated with different functions. **És,** the

standard Modern Hungarian version of the proclitic variant, is the connective corresponding to *and*. ***Is***, the descendant of the enclitic, is an additive/distributive particle today. ***Sem**, incorporating the additive particle, acting as a premodifier in the early Old Hungarian period, has also become a postmodifier*. Jókai Codex [14th century] contains, in addition to the regular archaic structure and the regular novel structure, two patterns which seem to anticipate the change in the position of ***sem*** …

(27)   a *sem egy* N V:
        ew kerelmenek **sem egy haznalattyat aloytuan**
        his request-GEN not one use-POSS.3SG-ACC assuming
        'not assuming any use of his request' (*Jókai* 153)
      b *sem egy* N *nem* V:
        kyben **semegy nugodalmat nem akaruala** ew
        what-in not-one rest-ACC not want-3SG-PAST his
        sebynek vettny (*Jókai* 65)
        wound-DAT give
        'where he didn't want to give any rest to his wound'
      c *sem egy* N *sem* V:
        Es hogy ottegyel **semegy lakas semuala** holot
        and that there not-one dwelling not-was where
        feyet le haytana (*Jókai* 27)
        head-POSS.3SG-ACC down lay-COND-3SG
        'And that there was no dwelling where he could lay his head'
      d *egy* N *sem* V:
        az tonak… zygetebe kyben meglen **egy**
        that lake-GEN island-POSS3SG-to where still one
        ember-sem lakott-uala (*Jókai* 26)
        man not live-PERF-3SG-PAST
        'to the island of that lake where still no man had lived'

The variants in (27a-d) may correspond to subsequent stages of a diachronic process. (27a) contains no negative particle in addition to that incorporated in the particle ***sem*** associated with the indefinite. In (27b) the negative particle is reintroduced in a position left-adjoined to the verb. … . In (27d) [***egy ember-sem lakott-uala***], which also occurs only once in Jókai Codex, but has become the winning pattern in the long run, the proclitic ***sem*** is missing, but the indefinite is followed by a ***sem***. If the prosody of (27d) was the same as it is today, then its ***sem*** is not the stressed negative particle but an unstressed enclitic modifying the indefinite. … [T]he enclitic ***sem*** could only retain its negative force when cliticized to a focussed, hence immediately preverbal, indefinite, where it could be reanalyzed as the occupant of the adjacent Neg position. Non-focussed, postverbal indefinites in the scope of negation require the presence of both the negative particle ***nem***, and the minimizing enclitic ***sem***."

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