

Negative quantifiers in Hungarian¹

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Abstract

This paper derives the properties of Hungarian *se*-pronouns from independently motivated assumptions, among them an adjunction theory of Q-raising allowing both left- and right-adjunction. *Se*-pronouns are identified as negative polarity quantifiers not conveying any negation, licensed by the negative particle. Based on results of Surányi (2006a,b), *se*-pronouns interpreted universally are analyzed as universal quantifiers, whereas *se*-pronouns interpreted existentially are analyzed as Heimian indefinites bound by existential closure. Universal and existential *se*-pronouns have different word order possibilities. The former, targeted by Q-raising, are left- or right-adjoined to NegP (either to the NegP dominating PredP, or to the NegP dominating FocP). Right-adjoined quantifiers participate in the free PF-linearization of postverbal constituents. Existential *se*-pronouns can be left in situ in the verb phrase, or can be focus-moved into Spec,FocP. The scope interpretation of *se*-pronouns is determined by the Scope Principle. The particle *sem* is analyzed as a negative polarity item, a minimizer to be preceded by *nem*, or to be fused with it.

1. Goal

This paper describes the grammar of Hungarian *se*-pronouns and *se*-proadverbs, analyzing them as universal and existential expressions appearing in negative sentences. It aims to account for their licensing, their word order behavior, their

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scope, and their prosody – to the extent prosody interacts with scope interpretation. It shows that Hungarian is a strict negative concord language, in which negation is conveyed by a negative particle heading NegP, and is also indicated on universal and existential pronouns and proadverbs under appropriate conditions. [+specific] *se*-pronouns are universal quantifiers undergoing overt Q-raising to NegP. If Q-raising is analyzed as adjunction freely linearizable as either left-adjunction or right-adjunction, then all their properties follow from independent constraints. [-specific] *se*-pronouns, interpreted as existentials, on the other hand, are Heimian indefinites bound by existential closure below negation, potentially undergoing focus movement – as proposed by Surányi (2002, 2006a,b).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the empirical facts to be accounted for. Section 3 discusses Hungarian sentence structure. Section 4 surveys current theories of Hungarian quantification (Szabolcsi 1997, Brody & Szabolcsi 2003, Surányi 2002, 2006a,b, and É. Kiss 2007), and argues for an adjunction theory of Q-raising. Section 5 puts forward the proposed account of *se*-pronouns, identifying their two types in 5.1, analyzing universal *se*-pronouns in 5.2, and existential ones in 5.3. Section 6 contains a novel account of the behavior of the particle *sem*. Section 7 is a summary.

2. The problems

An analysis of negative quantifiers (referred to as *n*-words in Universal Grammar, and as *se*-pronouns and *se*-proadverbs in Hungarian syntax) must answer the questions enumerated under (i)-(vi).

(i) What are their licensing conditions? How can we account for the distribution of grammaticality in sentences like (1a-g) and (2a-c)?

(1) a. ***Senki** *jelent meg.*

nobody showed up

b. **Senki** *nem jelent meg.*

nobody not showed up

‘Nobody showed up.’

c. ***Mindenki** *nem jelent meg.*²

everybody not showed up

d. *Nem jelent meg senki.*

not showed up nobody

‘Nobody showed up.’

e. *Nem jelent meg mindenki.*

not showed up everybody

‘Not everybody showed up.’

f. *Nem mindenki jelent meg.*

not everybody showed up

‘Not everybody showed up.’

² (1c) is acceptable with a hat contour, i.e., with a fall-rise on the universal quantifier. This is not the intended reading; the universal quantifier is to be pronounced with the usual falling tone.

g. *Mindenki csak az első órán nem jelent meg.*

everybody only the first class-on not showed up

‘For everybody it was only the first class where he did not show up.’

(2) a. **Nem érkezett valaki.*

not arrived somebody

b. *Nem érkezett senki.*

not arrived nobody

‘Nobody arrived.’

c. *Valaki nem érkezett meg./Nem érkezett meg valaki.*

somebody not arrived PRT

‘Somebody did not arrive.’

As shown by (1a,b), a *se*-pronoun requires a clause-mate negative particle. (1c) suggests that a *se*-pronoun is a kind of universal quantifier confined to negative sentences. However, as the minimal pair in (1d-e) shows, the presence of a negative particle is not enough to license a *se*-pronoun. We might suspect that the positive universal quantifiers in (1e-f) are not affected by the presence of the negative particle because they are in the scope of negation instead of taking scope over it, but (1g) refutes this assumption. In the minimal pair in (2a,b) the *se*-pronoun appears as an alternative to the existential pronoun *valaki* ‘somebody’. (2c) raises a further question: the pronoun *valaki*, required to be replaced by the negative *se*-pronoun in (2a,b), becomes grammatical after the addition of a

perfectivizing verbal particle to the sentence. The role of the particle may actually be indirect; the perfectivizing particle has been argued to change the selectional requirements of verbs of creation and appearance/coming into being. Whereas a bare verb of creation and appearance/coming into being selects a [-specific] theme argument, the particle variant – presupposing the creation event, and asserting its completion – selects a [+specific] theme (cf. É. Kiss 2006a).

(ii) Some *se*-pronouns and *se*-proadverbs are interpreted universally, some are understood existentially, and some are ambiguous:

(3) a. *Senki nem érkezett a déli vonattal.*

nobody not arrived the noon train-with

‘There isn’t anybody who has arrived with the train at noon.’

b. *Senki nem érkezett meg a déli vonattal.*

nobody not arrived PRT the noon train-with

‘Everybody is such that he/she has not arrived with the train at noon.’

(4) *Senki nem jelent meg a vizsgán.*

nobody not showed up the exam-at

a. ‘There isn’t anybody who showed up at the exam.’

b. ‘Everybody is such that he/she didn’t show up at the exam.’

(5) a. *Senki nem PÉNTEKEN vizsgázott.*

nobody not Friday-on took.exam

'Everybody was such that it wasn't on Friday when he took the exam.'

b. *Soha nem a PROFESSZORNÁL vizsgáztam.*

never not the professor-with took.exam-I

'Never was it the professor who I was examined by.'

What does their interpretation depend on? Do universal and existential *se*-pronouns represent the same semantic category and display the same syntactic behavior?

(iii) How can all the word order possibilities of *se*-pronouns and proadverbs be derived? As is well-known, in the preverbal section of the sentence the word order of *se*-pronouns is strictly fixed; postverbally, on the other hand, it is completely free. Compare (6) and (7). In (6) *senkit sem* 'nobody-ACC' must precede the focussed *csak két cikket* 'only two paper', and must follow the topicalized subject. In (7), where these constituents have been crossed by verb movement, their relative order is free.

(6) a. *A vizsgára senki sem csak két cikket olvasott el.*

the exam-for nobody not only two paper read PRT

'Nobody read only two papers for the exam.'

b. **Senki sem a vizsgára csak két cikket olvasott el.*

c. **Csak két cikket a vizsgára senki sem olvasott el.*

(7)a. *EZÉRT nem olvasott el csak két cikket **senki sem** a vizsgára.*³

therefore not read PRT only two papers nobody MIN the exam-for

‘That was why nobody read only two papers for the exam.’

b. *EZÉRT nem olvasott el a vizsgára csak két cikket **senki sem**.*

c. *EZÉRT nem olvasott el csak két cikket **senki sem** a vizsgára.*

Question (iii) is related to question (ii), i.e., word order position affects interpretation. For example, a *se*-pronoun in pre-focus position can only be universal – see (5a,b).

(iv) What determines the stress of *se*-pronouns and proadverbs?

The *se*-pronouns in (1b,d) are obligatorily stressed. Those in (8a,b), licensed by a negative particle below focus, on the other hand, are obligatorily destressed:

(8) a. *Péter csak EGYSZER nem hívott meg **senkit sem** vacsorára.*

Peter only once not invited PRT nobody MIN dinner-for

‘It was only once that Peter did not invite anybody for dinner.’

b. *Péter csak EGYSZER nem hívott meg vacsorára **senkit sem**.*

(v) What determines the scope interpretation of *se*-pronouns and proadverbs?

What is the role of word order, and what is the role of prosody? Compare:

³ On the minimizing particle *sem* see section 6.

- (9) a. *'Senki nem KÉT TÁRGYBÓL nem vizsgázott le.*
 nobody not two subject-from not passed PRT
 'For nobody was it two subjects that he didn't pass.'
- b. *'Nem KÉT TÁRGYBÓL nem vizsgázott le 'senki.*
 'For nobody was it two subjects that he didn't pass.'
- c. *'Nem KÉT TÁRGYBÓL nem vizsgázott le senki.*
 'It wasn't two subjects that nobody passed.'

The scope order of the preverbal scope bearing elements in (9) corresponds to their linear order. The scope of the postverbal *se*-pronoun, on the other hand, depends on its stress: the stressed *se*-pronoun in (9b) has scope over the focus, whereas the unstressed *se*-pronoun in (9c) is in the scope of the focus and the higher negation.

(vi) Can *se*-pronouns and proadverbs be negative?

The grammatical examples under (1) suggest that they cannot; negation is carried by the negative particle *nem*. However, the negative particle can also be absent; it is missing when a *se*-pronoun supplemented by the optional minimizing particle *sem* is preposed into preverbal position, as in (10b-d).

- (10) a. *Nem jelent meg soha sem senki sem.*
 not showed up never MIN nobody MIN

‘Nobody ever showed up.’

- b. *Soha sem (*nem) jelent meg senki sem.*
- c. *Senki sem (*nem) jelent meg soha sem.*
- d. *Senki (*sem) soha sem (*nem) jelent meg.*

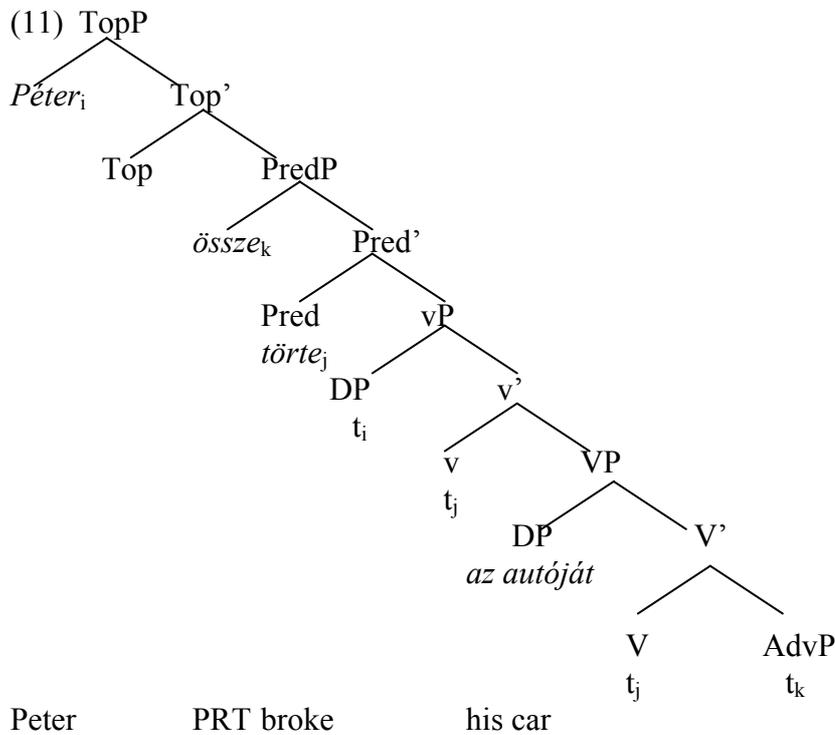
In (10b-d) *sem* blocks the appearance of the negative particle *nem*, which raises the possibility that logical negation is expressed by the *se*-phrase modified by *sem*. Interestingly, only the rightmost one of preverbal *se*-pronouns can have a *sem* cliticized to it, as shown by (10d). It needs to be clarified what governs the distribution of the particle *sem* and the cooccurrence of *sem* and *nem*.

3. Hungarian sentence structure

The answers to these questions must follow from Hungarian sentence structure, from the syntax of negation and quantification, and from general principles of universal grammar.

I assign to neutral Hungarian sentences the base structure in (11). The layered vP is dominated by PredP, a projection proposed by Zwart (1994) and Koster (1994) for Dutch particle verbs, establishing a specifier-head relation between the secondary and the primary predicates, thereby ensuring their complex predicate interpretation. The PredP projection also has an aspectual function; situation aspect depends on whether Spec,PredP is filled by a resultative/terminative element, or a bare nominal, or is left empty. TenseP is assumed to dominate PredP, but is not represented in (11) since it does not alter word order. The

functionally extended verbal projection is optionally subsumed by a TopP projection.

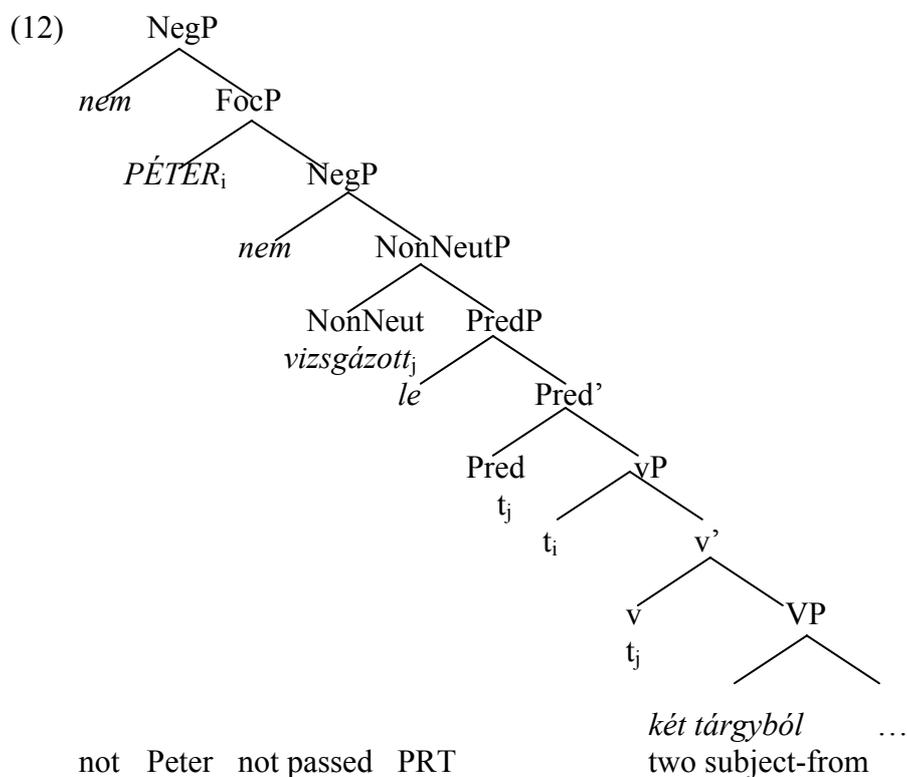


‘Peter broke his car.’

PredP cannot be directly combined with focus or negation; first it has to be turned into a V-initial structure (which presumably serves to signal a type-shift of the neutral predicate). The landing site of V-movement is the head position of a so-called Non-Neutral Phrase (a term of Olsvay 2000a). The NN head can be merged with a FocP, and with both a lower NegP, and a higher one, dominating FocP. A focussed constituent occupies the specifier of FocP, and the negative

particle occupies the head (or perhaps the specifier) of NegP. A non-neutral sentence can also be extended into a TopP.⁴

The proposed structure also determines scope interpretation: operators adjoined to NNP have scope over their c-command domain. The c-command domain of focus, the so-called presupposition, is destressed. Presupposed material is also destressed in the scope of negation.⁵



'It wasn't Peter who didn't pass in two subjects.'

⁴ For a more detailed justification of this structure, see É. Kiss (2008a).

⁵ Destressing is due to the following rule:

(i) Destress Given (Féry – Samek-Lodovici 2006)
 A given phrase is prosodically nonprominent.

Alternative theories of Hungarian sentence structure assume that the V moves up into the lower Neg and Foc heads (see, e.g., Brody 1990, 1995, Puskás 2000, and Surányi 2002); however, Horvath (2000, 2005) provides conclusive evidence against this view. For example, the V-initial section of a focus construction is subject to deletion and coordination, which is evidence of its maximal projection status.

Surányi's (2002) and Puskás's (2000) sentence structures only have room for a single NegP projection. Puskás treats the pre-focus negation as constituent negation, which does not explain why it triggers negative concord (see (5)). Surányi extends the verb phrase into a so-called a ZP, a projection with two specifiers, one for a focus, another one for negation. He claims that in the case of a '*...neg, focus, neg, V...*' string, the first negation is „metalinguistic negation” (cf. Horn 1989). His evidence is prosodic: he claims that it induces an obligatorily fall-rise contour. This claim is contrary to fact; for example, (12), involving two negations, is to be pronounced with a falling tone.⁶

A characteristic feature of Hungarian sentence structure is the free constituent order of the postverbal section. I have argued in É. Kiss (2007; 2008b) that the free linearization of the postverbal string is a PF phenomenon; it does not affect interpretation, and it is conditioned by a PF constraint, Behaghel's Law of

⁶ In Surányi's example the fall-rise contour is induced by the contradictory conjunct beginning with *hanem* 'but':

- (i) Nem Mari nem jött el, hanem ...
not Mary not came PRT but
'It wasn't Mary who didn't come but...'

Growing Constituents, requiring that phonologically light constituents precede heavier ones (Behaghel 1932).

4. Theories of quantifier-raising

Se-pronouns, or at least a subset of them, have been analyzed as quantifiers; hence their syntax is determined by how we analyze quantification.⁷ In generative syntax, quantifiers were traditionally assumed to undergo quantifier-raising. In the nineteen eighties and early nineties, Q-raising was analyzed as adjunction (cf. May 1984), taking place invisibly in LF in most languages, but being part of visible syntax in Hungarian. Q-raising was assumed to be triggered by the Condition on Quantifier Binding (12), and to be subject to the Condition on Proper Binding (13):

(13) *Condition on Quantifier Binding:*

Every quantified phrase must properly bind a variable.

(14) *Condition on Proper Binding:*

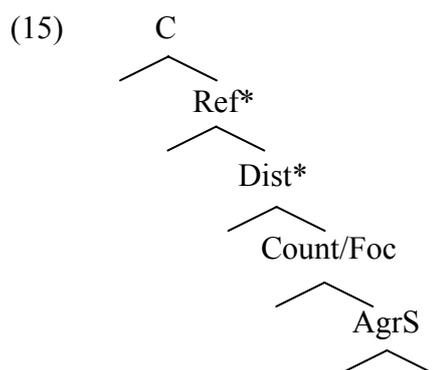
Every variable in an argument position must be properly bound.

⁷ Whereas the analysis of the *n*-words of the Indo-European languages was modelled on the analysis of *wh*-operators by Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991), Hungarian approaches have treated *se*-pronouns analogous to positive universal and existential quantifiers – see, among others, É. Kiss (2002a,b), and Surányi (2002, 2006).

This theory did not seem to fit in with the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995), where movement is triggered as a last resort by the requirement that a morphological feature of the moved category and that of a functional head enter into a checking relation in a specifier–head configuration. In the case of Q-raising, there is no functional head in need of feature checking, and – depending on which version of Q-raising we adopt – either the landing site of Q-raising, or Q-raising itself involves optionality. Another problem of traditional Q-raising is its non-differential formulation. Well-known facts of Hungarian (cf. É. Kiss 1987, 1991) have made it clear that different types of quantifiers are targeted by different syntactic operations, and Q-raising should only be restricted to monotone increasing distributive quantifiers (Szabolcsi 1994).

Szabolcsi (1997), Beghelli and Stowell (1994, 1997), and Brody and Szabolcsi (2001, 2003) reacted to this situation by elaborating a differential theory of Q-raising, in which different types of quantifiers are attracted to the specifiers of different functional heads in need of feature checking (after Spell-out in English, and in visible syntax in Hungarian). In Szabolcsi’s version of the theory, distributive QPs (such as *mindenki* ‘everybody’, *mindegyik diák* ‘each student’) move to the specifier of a DistP projection, and Counting QPs (such as *kevés diák* ‘few students’, *hatnál több diák* ‘more than six students’, *hat diák* ‘six students’ under a non-specific interpretation) land in the specifier of a CountP projection (possibly representing a subtype of FocP). Group-denoting QPs (i.e., definite and specific indefinite noun phrases) land either in Spec,RefP (referred to in the Hungarian literature as Spec,TopP) or in Spec,CountP. Szabolcsi (1997), and

Brody and Szabolcsi (2001, 2003) do not discuss negative quantifiers, but according to Beghelli & Stowell (1997), they should land in Spec,NegP. The series of clausal functional projections assumed in the Hungarian sentence by Brody and Szabolcsi (2001, 2003) is represented under (15).



Q-raising is obligatory; QPs in the postverbal section of the Hungarian sentence occupy the same types of specifier positions as they do preverbally. It is assumed that the Ref(P)–Dist(P)–Foc(P) series of functional projections is iterated above the lexical as well as the morphosyntactic projections of the V, i.e., above v(P), AgrO(P), T(P), and AgrS(P). Quantifiers landing in lower series surface postverbally because the V moves across the lower series into the AgrS head. For example:

- (16) a. [_{Dist} *Mindenki* [_{Count} *kevés* *filmet* [_{AgrS} *látott*]]]
 everybody few film-ACC saw
 ‘Everybody saw few films.’
- b. [_{Count} *Kevés* *filmet* [_{AgrS} *látott* [_{Dist} *mindenki*]]]

‘Few films were seen by everybody.’

Quantifiers in a higher series take scope over those in a lower series. The possibility of inverse scope is derived from Brody’s Mirror Theory (Brody 1997). Brody claims that the syntactic head–complement relation is the mirror image of the morphological complement–head relation, i.e., whereas a syntactic head precedes its complement, including the quantifiers it takes scope over, a morphological head follows its complement, with which it forms a morphological word. Invisible scope-bearing heads, i.e., Ref, Dist, and Count/Foc, can be analyzed as either syntactic or morphological heads. Quantifiers taking inverse scope are specifiers of a morphological Dist head.⁸

⁸ Brody and Szabolcsi (2001, 2003) derive certain types of inverse scope via reconstruction; however, the data assumed to necessitate reconstruction are nonexistent in my dialect. According to Brody and Szabolcsi, (i) is ungrammatical; its meaning can only be expressed by the permutation in (ii) – because *a legtöbb x* ‘the most x’ has a [+ref] feature, which must be checked in Spec,RefP.

- (i) **Minden tanár a legtöbb osztályban HATNÁL TÖBB PÉLDÁT adott fel.*
every teacher the most class-in six-from more problem gave PRT
‘Every teacher gave more than six problems in most classes.’
- (ii) *Minden tanár HATNÁL TÖBB PÉLDÁT adott fel a legtöbb osztályban.*
‘Every teacher gave more than six problems in most classes.’

Brody and Szabolcsi derive the reading of (ii) under which *a legtöbb osztályban* ‘in most classes’ has scope over *hatnál több példát* ‘more than six problems’ by reconstructing *hatnál több példát* into the Spec,CountP of a lower series. For me, however, (i) is fully grammatical. In my dialect, noun phrases involving the determiner *legtöbb* ‘most’ are ambiguous between a referential and a quantificational reading, and can land either in Spec,RefP, or in Spec,DistP, as happens in (i).

Brody and Szabolcsi (2003) also assume reconstruction in the derivation of the inverse scope reading of (iii):

- (iii) *Valamit kölcsön-adott mindenk.*
something-ACC lent everyone-NOM
‘Something, everybody lent.’

I assume that *valamit* under a seemingly narrow-scope reading is a contrastive topic, and it is to be analyzed as discussed in É. Kiss and Gyuris (2003). This paper argues that non-individual-denoting expressions, among them quantifiers, can be made suitable for the topic role if they are

Though theoretically appealing, this theory faces a number of empirical problems, as shown by Surányi (2002) and É. Kiss (2007). Thus it leaves unexplained why DistP and RefP are iterable in every series, whereas CountP/FocP is not iterable in the highest series; and why a counting QP must raise to the highest empty Spec,CountP/FocP, whereas a group-denoting QP or a distributive QP can also stop in a lower series, leaving the higher Spec,RefP and Spec,Dist positions empty. Furthermore, the assumption of iterated functional series does not account for all the word order possibilities attested. In (17), for example, the theory predicts a clause-final position for the verbal particle; it is unclear how the particle comes to precede an operator series.

(17) [_{CountP} *KÉT* *DIÁK* [_{AgrSP} *bukott* [_{?meg} [_{DistP} *háromszor* *is* [_{DistP} *mindkét*
 two student failed PRT three-times MAX both
tárgyból]]]]]]
 subject-from

‘It was two students who three times failed in both subjects.’

A problematic aspect of Szabolcsi and Brody’s feature-checking theory of Q-raising is that there is no obvious way in which it could be extended to negative quantifiers. In Beghelli and Stowell’s version of the theory, a negative quantifier

individuated by being set into contrast. Individuation by contrast enables non-individual-denoting expressions to be interpreted as semantic objects (properties) which the rest of the sentence predicates a (higher-order) property about. A quantifier functioning as a contrastive topic denotes a property of plural individuals, and its apparent narrow scope arises from the fact that it is considered to be a predicate over a variable inherent in the lexical representation of the verb.

is attracted to the specifier of NegP, the lowest operator projection. In Hungarian focus constructions either the background, or the focus, or simultaneously both of them, can be negated, hence two NegPs must be assumed, confined to the highest series of functional projections. The lower NegP must be located between AgrSP and CountP/FocP, and the higher NegP must be located between CountP/FocP and DistP. For example:

- (18) a. [_{CountP} *KI* [_{NegP} *nem* [_{AgrSP} *vizsgázott le?*]]]
 who not pass PRT
 'Who didn't pass?'
- b. [_{CountP} *Csak KÉT DIÁK* [_{NegP} *nem* [_{AgrSP} *vizsgázott le*]]]
 only two student not passed PRT
 'Only two students didn't pass.'
- c. [_{NegP} *Nem* [_{CountP} *csak KÉT DIÁK* [_{NegP} *nem* [_{AgrSP} *vizsgázott le*]]]]]
 not only two student not pass PRT
 'It wasn't only two students who didn't pass.'

In the framework elaborated by Beghelli and Stowell (1997), the negative quantifier occupies the specifier of NegP, whereas the Neg head is taken by the negative particle. Under this assumption and those of Brody and Szabolcsi, a postverbal wide-scope negative quantifier (e.g. those in (19b) and (20b)) is the right-hand side specifier of a morphological Neg head. However *nem*, a visible morpheme, precedes its complement in (19b) and (20b), behaving as a syntactic

head. (19c) is even more problematic: *senki*, having scope over the whole sentence, follows one half of the complement of Neg, and precedes the other half.

(19) a. *Senki nem vizsgázott le két tárgyból.*

nobody not passed PRT two subject-from

‘Nobody passed in two subjects.’

b. *Nem vizsgázott le két tárgyból senki.*

‘Nobody passed in two subjects.’

c. *Nem vizsgázott le senki két tárgyból.*

‘Nobody passed in two subjects.’

(20) a. *Senki sem KÉT TÁRGYBÓL vizsgázott le.*

‘For nobody was it two subjects that he passed an exam in.’

b. *Nem KÉT TÁRGYBÓL vizsgázott le ‘senki sem.*

‘For nobody was it two subjects that he passed an exam in.’

The interaction of negation and universal quantification raises a further problem. A postverbal distributive quantifier can have scope over NegP and be in the scope of CountP/FocP – see (21). Since negation is not present in the lower series, the distributive quantifier in (21) must be the right-hand side specifier of a projection intervening between CountP/FocP and negation in the highest operator series – but the model does not allow a DistP between CountP/FocP and AgrSP:

(21) *Ki nem vizsgázott le több mint két tárgyból?*

who not passed PRT more than two subject-in

‘Who didn’t pass in more than ten subjects?’ who > more than 10 > not

Surprisingly, a universal quantifier can also appear below NegP (in which case it does not participate in negative concord). The quantifier can also stand postverbally, under the same scope reading:

(22) a. *Nem **mindenki** jött el.*

not everybody came PRT

‘Not everybody came.’

b. *Nem jött el **mindenki**.*

In the framework under discussion, *mindenki* ‘everybody’ ought to be in the specifier of a DistP intervening between AgrSP and NegP – but the theory licences no DistP under NegP, either. Bernardi and Szabolcsi (2006) analyze *nem mindenki* as a negated constituent, presumably a counting quantifier. This analysis does not predict the following facts:

(23) a. *Nem **mindenki** SZINTAXISBÓL bukott meg.*

not everybody syntax-from failed PRT

‘Not everybody failed in SYNTAX.’

b. **Nem **mindenki** meg bukott szintaxisból.*

If *nem mindenki* is a counting quantifier, it is not expected to precede a focus, as happens in (23a), as both target the same specifier position. If it is categorized as a distributive quantifier, then its pre-focus position in (23a) is accounted for, but the ungrammaticality of (23b) is inexplicable.

Surányi (2002, 2006) subjected the DistP theory of Q-raising to thorough criticism, pointing out that there is no evidence of either a Dist head and a DistP projection, or of an iterated Ref head and a RefP projection (except for a TopP immediately below CP harboring the logical subject of predication).⁹ On the contrary, the fact that distributive quantifiers have a great variety of potential landing sites argues for the adjunction analysis of Q-raising. Surányi treats Q-raising as left-adjunction, allowing both overt and covert Q-raising. The stress of wide-scope postverbal quantifiers, e.g., those in (19b,c) and (20b), is claimed to indicate that they undergo Q-raising in LF – although the question how to associate stress with LF-movement in the T-model of grammar, in which there is

⁹ Surányi claims that „identifying the movement of universals to their scope position as driven by feature checking in functional projections appears to go against the robust generalization that these movements are clause bound” (2002:95). Apparent cases of long Q-raising represent A-bar scrambling into topic position according to him. I disagree with this argument (though I share the view that Q-raising involves no feature checking); in examples of the following type the quantifiers originating in the embedded clause bear the pitch accent assigned to the leftmost constituent of the comment in a topic–comment structure:

- (i) 'Mindenkit_i megígért, hogy meghív t_i.
everybody-ACC promised-he that invites-he
'He promised that he would invite everybody.'
- (ii) 'Minden kollégámmal_i szeretném, ha megismerkednél t_i.
each colleague-my-with like-COND-1SG if got-acquainted-you
'I would like you to get acquainted with each of my colleagues.'

no direct interaction between PF and LF, i.e., how to differentiate (14b) and (16), is left unanswered.

In É. Kiss (2007), I also argued against the feature-checking analysis of Q-raising.¹⁰ I claimed that the differences between focus movement and Q-raising (the presence of V-movement in the case of the former, and the lack of V-movement in the case of the latter; the fixed landing site of the former and the variable landing site of the latter; as well as the fixed direction of the former, and the free (either left or right) direction of the latter) represent differences between substitution and adjunction. The potential landing sites of quantifier adjunction are the functional projections in the extended verb phrase, i.e., all functional projections but TopP and CP. (The impossibility of quantifier adjunction to TopP must be related to the fact that topics are referential, hence they are outside the scope of any quantifier.) If we adopt the null hypothesis that adjunction can be linearized either as left-adjunction or as right-adjunction, the word order, scope, and stress of pre- and postverbal quantifiers follow – without assuming multiple series of operator projections, covert Q-raising, or reconstruction. Compare the structures assigned to (14a,b) and (16):

(24) a. [_{FocP} 'Mindenki [_{FocP} kevés *filmet* [_{NNP} látott [_{PredP} t_V]]]]

everybody few film-ACC saw

‘Everybody saw few films.’

b. [_{FocP} *Kevés *filmet** [_{NNP} látott [_{PredP} *mindenki* [_{PredP} t_V]]]]

¹⁰ In some of my studies, e.g., É. Kiss (2002), I also adopted basic elements of Szabolcsi’s theory, namely, the existence of a DistP projection, and the analysis of Q-raising as substitution into Spec,DistP.

‘Few films were seen by everybody.’

c. [_{FocP} [_{FocP} *Kevés filmet* [_{NNP} *látott* [_{PredP} *tv*]]]] ’*mindenki*]

‘Everybody saw few films.’

(24a) and (24c) are different linearizations of the same structure with the same reading: the universal quantifier, adjoined to FocP, has scope over the focussed quantifier. In (24b) the universal quantifier has been Q-raised only as high as PredP. The PredP-adjoined universal quantifier is c-commanded by the focus; hence it has narrow scope with respect to it, and – as part of the presupposition – it undergoes destressing.

Actually, the adjunction analysis of Q-raising has been claimed to be compatible with the Minimalist framework. Fox (1995), Chomsky (1995), and Reinhart (1995) have argued that optional adjunction should be allowed in case it yields a new interpretation. As Chomsky (1995:377) put it, certain maximal functional projections (those providing landing sites for Q-raising) have an optional affix feature allowing them to host a [quant] category. This affix feature is regulated by economy considerations; it is licensed if „it makes a difference”. If Q-raising yields a scope reading that is also available without Q-raising, the derivation is rejected as uneconomical. In Hungarian, in fact, Q-raising to an A-bar position takes place invariably, whether or not it derives a new scope reading. If overt Q-raising in Hungarian is the same operation as the covert Q-raising of English, this might suggest that Q-raising is obligatorily triggered – presumably by the Condition on Quantifier Binding, requiring that every quantifier bind a

variable. (The Scope Principle, requiring that an operator c-command its scope, can also be satisfied by an operator in situ.)

Adjunction is a spatial operation, creating a c-command relation between a quantifier and its scope. Standard Minimalism (not incorporating the antisymmetry theory of Kayne (1994)) contains no grammatical principle that requires an adjunct to be linearized before – rather than after – its host category, i.e., the null hypothesis is to allow both left adjunction and right adjunction.

5. Negative quantifiers

Se-pronouns have been claimed to be quantifiers confined to negative contexts, but not expressing negation in themselves – cf. Puskás (2000), Surányi (2000), É. Kiss (1998; 2002). They require the presence of a negative particle, and their (multiple) occurrence does not yield multiple negation. On the basis of these criteria, Hungarian has been categorized as a ‘strict negative concord’ language – cf. Giannakidou (2002). Giannakidou argues that *n*-words across languages, among them *se*-pronouns, are negative polarity items. They are either universal, or ambiguous between a universal and an existential reading. Negative polarity universals take scope over negation, whereas negative polarity existentials are bound by an existential in the scope of negation. As shown by Surányi (2002; 2006a,b), Hungarian *se*-pronouns are of the ambiguous type. I will argue that their behavior can be derived from the Hungarian sentence structure presented in

section 3 without any stipulations, adopting only independently motivated assumptions.

5.1. *Universal versus existential se-pronouns*

Examples (1a-j) suggested that both universal and existential pronouns alternate with *se*-pronouns in negative contexts. Positive universal and existential pronouns behave differently in Hungarian syntax. The former undergo overt Q-raising – see (24a-c). Existential pronouns, on the other hand, are not quantifiers to be raised into scope positions. They are Heimian indefinites, i.e., they either act as variables bound by existential closure or by an unselective quantifier, in which case they remain in the vP, or they are understood referentially, in which case they can be topicalized (cf. É. Kiss 2002a: 9-10 (fn 1)). The former options are illustrated in (25a,b), the latter, in (26).

(25) a. *János meg-hívott **valakit**.*

John invited somebody

b. *Mindenki meg-hívott **valakit**.*

everybody invited somebody

(26) ***Valakit** mindenki meg-hívott.*

somebody-ACC everybody invited

‘Somebody was invited by everybody.’

If both universal and existential quantifiers are replaced by *se*-pronouns in negative contexts, then it is reasonable to expect that *se*-pronouns display a dual syntactic behavior, depending on whether they are universals or existentials.

The assumption that the set of *se*-pronouns comprises both universals and existentials is based on solid empirical evidence. Reacting to a debate on the universal or existential status of negative pronouns (cf. Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman (1995), Puskás (2000), and Giannakidou (2000) versus Ladusaw (1992, 1994), and Acquaviva (1993, 1997)), Surányi (2006a) tested various occurrences of Hungarian *se*-pronouns for symptoms of universal and existential quantification. He checked (i) whether they can be modified by ‘almost’, like universals; (ii) whether they can be modified by ‘at all’, like existentials; (iii) whether they are necessarily associated with an existential presupposition, like universals; (iv) whether they can occur as the designated, necessarily non-specific argument of ‘definiteness effect’ verbs, like existentials; (v) whether they allow a split reading with modal verbs (neg > modal > quantifier), like existentials; and (vi) whether they are incompatible with collective predicates, like universals. Surányi has found that *se*-pronouns appearing in the canonical positions of left-adjoined universal quantifiers share the properties of universals. Postverbal *se*-pronouns, on the other hand, can be either universal or existential (the former are claimed by him to be Q-raised covertly). A VP-internal existential is bound by existential closure (a default existential operator with scope over the verb phrase, and subsumed by negation).

An existential *se*-pronoun is shown by Surányi to be able to undergo focus movement.

The account to be proposed in this paper shares some of the basic elements of Surányi’s approach, but – since it assumes Q-raising to be linearizable as either left or right adjunction – it does not need covert movement. *Se*-pronouns with scope over negation, like that in (27a), are analyzed as Q-raised universals, whereas *se*-pronouns in the scope of negation, like that in (27b), are analyzed as existentially bound indefinites. *Se*-pronouns in Spec,FocP, e.g., that in (27c), are identified as indefinites focus-moved from inside the verb phrase.

- (27) a. [_{NegP} **Senkit** [_{NegP} *nem* [_{FocP} *JÁNOS* [_{NNP} *hívott* [_{PredP} *meg*]]]]]]
 nobody-ACC not John invited PRT
 ‘Everybody was such that it wasn’t John who invited him.’
- b. [_{TopP} *János* [_{NegP} *nem* [_{NNP} *hívott*_{*t*}_{*i*} [_{PredP} *meg* *t*_{*i*} [_{VP} *t*_{*i*} **senkit**]]]]]]]
 ‘John didn’t invite anybody.’
- c. [_{TopP} *János* [_{FocP} **SENKIT**_{*j*} [_{NegP} *nem* [_{NNP} *hívott*_{*i*} [_{PredP} *meg* *t*_{*i*} [_{VP} *t*_{*j*}]]]]]]]]]
 ‘John didn’t invite ANYBODY.’

5.2. The licensing of universal *se*-pronouns

The *se*-pronoun in (27a) is interpreted as a universal quantifier with negation in its scope; i.e., (27a) is a negative equivalent of (28):

(28) *Mindenkit JÁNOS hívott meg.*

everybody-ACC John invited PRT

‘Everybody was invited by JOHN.’

It is a generally accepted claim of Hungarian generative grammars (e.g., Puskás 2000, 2002, É. Kiss 1998, 2002a) that *se*-pronouns and *se*-proadverbs are pronominal elements appearing in negative sentences. Indeed, as shown by example (1a) reproduced here as (29a), a *se*-pronoun is ungrammatical if no negative particle is present. At the same time, the presence of a negative particle is not sufficient to license a *se*-pronoun – as shown by examples (1b-g), reproduced here as (29b-g). A preverbal universal is realized as a *se*-pronoun if it is left-adjacent to the negative particle – cf. (29b, c, f, g). It is harder to detect what licences a postverbal universal. The distance of the negative particle and the pronoun is not restricted, as long as they are clause-mates (29d), and what is even more perplexing, the positive and the negative universal pronoun appear to occur in exactly the same context (29d,e).

(29) a. **Senki jelent meg.*

nobody showed up

b. *Senki nem jelent meg.*

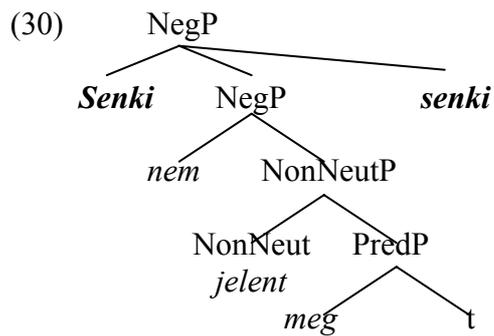
nobody not showed up

‘Nobody showed up.’

- c. **Mindenki nem jelent meg.*¹¹
 everybody not showed up
- d. *Nem jelent meg senki.*
 not showed up nobody
 'Nobody showed up.'
- e. *Nem jelent meg mindenki.*
 not showed up everybody
 'Not everybody showed up.'
- f. *Nem mindenki jelent meg.*
 not everybody showed up
 'Not everybody showed up.'
- g. *Mindenki csak az első órán nem jelent meg.*
 everybody only the first class-on not showed up
 'For everybody it was only the first class where he did not show up.'

To account for these facts, let us assume that a negative universal pronoun is licensed if and only if it is adjoined to NegP in the course of Q-raising. (29c) is ungrammatical because it contains a positive polarity universal adjoined to NegP. (29b) and (29d) represent two possible linearizations of the same hierarchical structure, with the *se*-pronoun adjoined to NegP.

¹¹ (29c) is grammatical if *mindenki*, instead of being adjoined to NegP, is topicalized. Not being referential, it can only be a contrastive topic, having narrow scope with respect to negation.



Whether *senkit* is pronounced left or right, it c-commands NegP, thereby satisfying both the Scope Principle, and the Condition on Quantifier Binding.

In (29e,f), the universal quantifier has been Q-raised to a non-negative functional projection in the scope of NegP, whereas in (29g) it has been Q-raised to a non-negative functional projection above NegP. These contexts can only license a positive polarity universal. (29e) is structurally ambiguous; the universal can be adjoined either to PredP, or to NNP, as shown in (31a,b). In (29f), the universal quantifier is left-adjoined to NNP – see (32a). In (29g), it is adjoined to FocP – see (32b).

(31) a. [_{NegP} *Nem* [_{NNP} [_{NNP} *jelent* [_{PredP} *meg*]]] ***mindenki***]]
 not showed up everybody

b. [_{NegP} *Nem* [_{NNP} *jelent* [_{PredP} [_{PredP} *meg*] *mindenki*]]]]

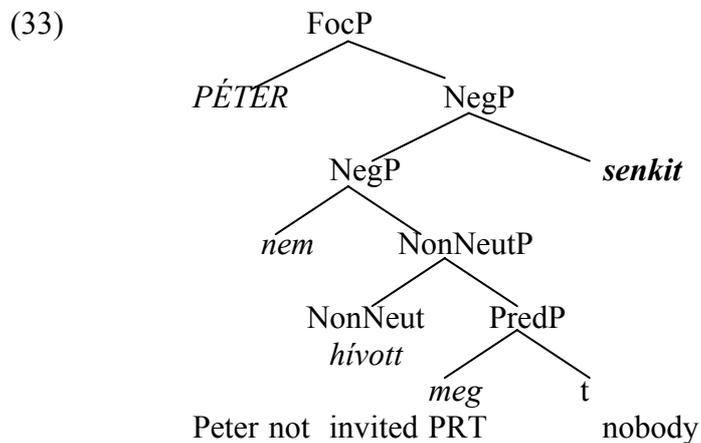
(32) a. [_{NegP} *Nem* [_{NNP} ***mindenki*** [_{NNP} *jelent* [_{PredP} *meg*]]]]]¹²

¹² Left-adjunction to NNP is blocked if NNP is dominated by FocP – presumably by a phonological constraint, requiring that the (possibly negated) V and the focus constitute one phonological word:

(i)* [_{FocP} *Csak* *TEGNAP* [_{NegP} *nem* [_{NNP} ***mindenki*** [_{NNP} *jelent* *meg*]]]]]
 only yesterday not everybody showed up

- b. [_{FocP} *Mindenki* [_{FocP} *csak az első órán* [_{NegP} *nem* [_{NNP} *jelent meg*]]]]
 everybody only the first class-on not showed up

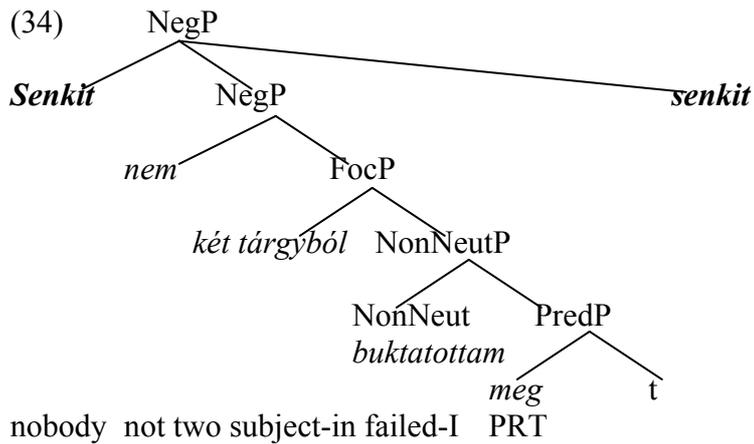
A *se*-pronoun adjoined to the lower NegP can be subsumed by a FocP projection, as in (33). Owing to an independently motivated phonological constraint, the focus and the (negated) V must form one phonological word; consequently, the *se*-pronoun can only be right-adjoined in such cases. Nevertheless, it takes scope over NegP, and it is in the scope of the focus. As it is part of the presupposition, it is destressed (recall the ‘Destress Given’ rule of Féry and Samek-Lodovici (2006), quoted in fn. 7). Its PF position among the postverbal constituents is free (thus it could precede the verbal particle, but the ‘particle, *se*-pronoun’ order is preferable because it observes the Law of Growing Constituents).



‘It was Peter who didn’t invite anybody.’

Recall that the Hungarian sentence also contains a higher NegP above FocP.

Universals adjoined to the higher NegP, e.g., that in (34), must also be of the negative polarity type.



‘For nobody was it two subjects that I failed him/her in.’

Example (6), reproduced here as (35), contains two NegPs and a right-adjoined *se*-pronoun. Notice that both negative particles express logical negation; negative concord only involves the *se*-pronoun. The *se*-pronoun is licensed by the NegP to which it is adjoined. Because of the free PF linearization of the postverbal section of the sentence, the string in (35a) can spell out either the S-structure in (35b), with the pronoun adjoined to the higher NegP, or that in (35c), with the pronoun adjoined to the lower NegP. In the latter case, the *se*-pronoun is part of the presupposition c-commanded by the focus, as a consequence of which it is distressed.

(35) a. *Nem KÉT TÁRGYBÓL nem vizsgázott le senki.*

not two subject-in not passed PRT nobody

b._{[NegP [NegP *Nem* [FocP *KÉT TÁRGYBÓL* [NegP *nem* [NNP *vizsgázott le*]]]]] **'senki'**}

‘For nobody was it two subjects that he didn’t pass an exam in.’

c._{[NegP *Nem* [FocP *KÉT TÁRGYBÓL* [NegP [NegP *nem* [NNP *vizsgázott le*]]] ***senki***]]]}

‘It wasn’t two subjects that nobody passed an exam in.’

5.3. The licensing of existential *se*-pronouns

The interpretation assigned to a ‘universal *se*-pronoun, *nem*’ string is considered to be logically equivalent to the interpretation of a ‘*nem*,...existential *se*-pronoun’ string ($\forall x, \neg Px$ versus $\neg \exists x, Px$). In natural language, however, they do have a meaning difference; a universally quantified noun phrase outside the scope of negation is interpreted as specific (denoting members of a discourse-given set), whereas an existentially bound noun phrase in the scope of negation is understood as non-specific – as also predicted by Ladusaw (1994). Corresponding to the formula $\neg \exists x, Px$, an existential *se*-pronoun is licensed if it is in the scope of negation, internal to the verb phrase, as in (2b), reproduced here as (36a). In (2c/36c), the existential is specific (referential), outside the scope of negation, that is why it is not a negative polarity existential.

(36) a. *Nem érkezett **senki**.*

not arrived nobody

‘Nobody arrived.’

- cf. b. **Nem érkezett valaki.*
 not arrived somebody
- c. [_{TopP} *Valaki* [_{NegP} *nem érkezett meg*]]
 somebody not arrived PRT
 ‘Somebody did not arrive.’

Certain types of verbs are known to select the specificity feature of their theme argument. Verbs of existence, appearance, and coming into being, called ‘definiteness effect verbs’ in the literature, only allow a non-specific subject in Hungarian. The reason is (cf. Szabolcsi 1986, Bende-Farkas 1995, É. Kiss 1995, Kálmán 1995, Bende-Farkas 2001, Piñón 2006a,b, Peredy 2007, 2008) that these verbs assert the existence or coming into being of the subject, hence their subject cannot be associated with an existential presupposition (unless it is part of the presupposition in a focus construction). Interestingly, most of these verbs also have a particle-verb equivalent in Hungarian, which presupposes the existence of its subject, and asserts the completion of the event of coming into being.

Compare:

- (37) a. *Érkezett egy vendég/két vendég /valahány vendég /valaki*
 arrived a guest /two guests /some guests /somebody
 /*a vendég/*minden vendég.
 /*the guest /*every guest
- b. *Vendég érkezett /vendégek érkeztek.*

Guest arrived /guests arrived

c. *Meg-érkezett a vendég/minden vendég/egy vendég /két vendég*

PRT arrived the guest /every guest /a guest /two guests

/valahány vendég/valaki.

/some guest /somebody

d. **Meg-érkezett vendég. / *Meg-érkeztek vendégek.*

PRT arrived guest /PRT arrived guests

The determiners *egy* ‘a, one’, *két* ‘two’, *valahány* ‘some’, and *valaki* ‘somebody’ are understood as non-specific in (37a-b) and as specific in (37c-d). *Se*-pronouns display the same behavior (cf. É. Kiss 2002b, Surányi 2006a). They can function as the subject of either verb type, however, a *se*-pronoun complementing a definiteness effect verb is understood as a non-specific existential, whereas a *se*-pronoun complementing its particle-verb counterpart is understood as a specific universal. This is illustrated in (3a,b) and (38)-(39):

(38) a. *Nem érkezett **senki** a déli vonattal.*

not arrived nobody the noon train-with

‘There isn’t anybody who has arrived with the train at noon.’

b. ***Senki** nem érkezett a déli vonattal.*

(39) a. ***Senki** nem érkezett meg a déli vonattal.*

nobody not arrived PRT the noon train-with

‘Everybody is such that he/she has not arrived with the train at noon.’

b. *Nem érkezett meg a déli vonattal senki.*

An existential *se*-pronoun is not targeted by Q-raising. It is either left in situ in the verb phrase, as in (38a), where it can be freely linearized in PF, or – as shown by Surányi (2006a,b) – it is focussed, as in (38b). For a detailed discussion of the semantics of focussed existential *se*-pronouns, see Surányi (2006a,b). The universal *se*-pronoun in (39a,b) is Q-raised to NegP.

In the case of verbs not determining the specificity feature of their arguments, both an immediately preverbal and a postverbal *se*-pronoun can be ambiguous, and the two readings derive from structural ambiguity. Thus the *se*-pronoun adjoined to NegP in (40a) is a universal, whereas the focused *se*-pronoun in (40b) is an existential:

(40) a. [_{NegP} **Senki** [_{NegP} *nem* [_{NNP} *jelent* [_{PredP} *meg*]]]]
nobody not showed up

‘Nobody showed up.’

b. [_{FocP} **Senki** [_{NegP} *nem* [_{NNP} *jelent* [_{PredP} *meg*]]]]¹³

Similarly, the *se*-pronoun right-adjoined to NegP in (41a) is a universal, whereas the *se*-pronoun bound existentially in situ in (41b) is an existential:

¹³ Surányi (2006a) claims that (40a,b) are prosodically different; the negative particle in (40) is stressed, and that in (40b) is not.

(41) a. [_{NegP} [_{NegP} *Nem* [_{NNP} *jelent* [_{PredP} *meg*]]] *senki*]

b. [_{NegP} *Nem* [_{NNP} *jelent* [_{PredP} *meg* *senki*]]]

It is only a pre-focus *se*-pronoun that can only be interpreted as a universal adjoined to NegP:

(42) [_{NegP} ***Senki*** [_{NegP} *nem* [_{FocP} *A FELESÉGÉVEL* [_{NNP} *jelent* [_{PredP} *meg*]]]]]

nobody not his wife-with showed up

‘Nobody showed up WITH HIS WIFE.’

If *se*-words are either in situ in the vP, or assume their surface position via focus-movement or Q-raising across NegP, then *se*-adverbs must originate below NegP: either in the vP, or adjoined to vP, or adjoined to PredP. A sentence adverbial external to the clausal functional projections is predicted to have no *se*-form. Indeed, whereas the selected *se*-adverb in (43b) has both an existential and a universal interpretation, its clausal adjunct equivalent in (43a) is uninterpretable:

(43) a. ****Semmiért*** *nem fogok elkésni.*

nothing-for not will-I be.late

‘I will not be late for anything.’

b. ***Semmiért*** *nem haragszom.*

nothing-for not angry.am-I

‘I am not angry for anything.’

6. The role of *sem*

Non-specific noun phrases in the scope of negation supplied with the indefinite article must have the particle *sem*, a minimizer (cf. Surányi 2006a), cliticized to them. (*Érkezik* is a definiteness-effect verb, only allowing a non-specific subject.)

(44) *Nem érkezett egy vendég *(sem).*

not arrived one guest even

'No guest arrived.'

Specific indefinites, which take scope over negation, can also be accompanied by *sem*. This *sem* is the negative polarity equivalent of the maximizer *is*, which turns numerically modified noun phrases into quantifiers targeted by Q-raising.

Compare (45a,b), whose predicate, the particle verb equivalent of *érkezik*, requires a [+specific] subject:

(45) a. [_{PredP} [_{PredP} *Meg* [_{VP} *érkezett*]]] *két vendég is*]

PRT arrived two guest even

'As many as two (of the) guests arrived.'

b. [_{NegP} [_{NegP} *Nem* [_{NNP} *érkezett* [_{PredP} *meg*]]]] *két vendég sem*]

not arrived PRT two guest even

‘Not even two (of the) guests arrived.’

Sem can optionally be cliticized to *se*-phrases, as well:

(46) *Nem jelent meg senki (sem) semelyik előadásán (sem).*

not showed up nobody even no talk-at even

‘Nobody (at all) showed up at any talk (at all).’

Sem can freely occur attached to postverbal *se*-pronouns and indefinite noun phrases. Preverbally, however, only a single *sem* is allowed. What is more, in the presence of a preverbal *sem*, the negative particle *nem* expected on its right must be absent:

(47) a. *Egy vendég sem (*nem) érkezett.*

a guest even not arrived

‘No guest arrived.’

b. *Egy vendég sem (*nem) érkezett meg.*

a guest even not arrived PRT

‘None of the guests arrived.’

In the case of multiple preverbal *se*-pronouns, only the rightmost one can have *sem* cliticized to it. Compare with (46):

(48) *Senki (*sem) semelyik előadásom sem (*nem) jelent meg.*

nobody even no talk-at even not showed up

‘Nobody showed up at any talk (at all).’

The *nem* particle of the higher, pre-focus NegP is also dropped after a *sem*-phrase:

(49) *Soha sem (*nem) A PROFESSZOR ÓRÁJÁRÓL hiányoznak a diákok.*

never even not the professor’s class-from are-absent the students

‘It is never the professor’s class that the students are absent from.’

The obligatory absence of *nem* after an immediately preceding *sem*, illustrated in (47)-(49), has elicited various explanations in the literature. É. Kiss (1994) and Olsvay (2000b, 2006) attributed it to haplology, a PF process deleting of one of two similar adjacent syllables. According to Surányi (2002), both *sem* expressions and the negative particle *nem* carry logical negation, and compete for the same position, the specifier of ZP, where the [+neg] feature of the functional head Z needs to be checked.¹⁴ In (47)-(49) the [+neg] feature of Z has been checked by a *sem*-expression, hence a *nem* particle would be redundant. Surányi’s explanation assumes a particular framework, that put forth in Surányi (2002), where the head of ZP can be specified for either or both of the features [+neg] and [+foc]. A ZP whose head is specified for both features has two specifiers. Under these

¹⁴ ZP is Surányi’s version of Laka’s (1990) Σ -phrase.

assumptions, the grammaticality of (50a) and the ungrammaticality of (50b) fall out, but the grammaticality and the interpretation of (51) does not follow:

(50) a. *Senki sem MA jött el.*

nobody not today came PRT

‘Nobody came TODAY.’

b. *MA *senki sem* jött el.

(51) *Senki sem KÉT TÁRGYBÓl nem vizsgázott le.*

nobody not two subject-in not passed PRT

‘For nobody was it two subjects that he/she didn’t pass an exam in.’

In (50a) the [+foc] feature of Z is checked by *ma* in the inner specifier of ZP, and the [+neg] feature of Z is checked by the *sem* expression in the outer specifier of ZP. In (50b), the *sem* expression is claimed to check both the [+neg] and [+foc] features simultaneously, i.e., there is no feature left for *ma* to check; that is why it cannot be focused. In (51), there is double negation, hence *sem* must carry negation; however, the inner specifier of ZP is taken by the negative particle, the outer specifier is taken by a focus, so it is unclear what licences *senki sem*.

If the *sem* expressions in (47)-(49) were carrying logical negation, these sentences would represent ‘non-strict negative concord’ constructions in the sense of Giannakidou (2002); however, they do not share crucial properties of them. In the non-strict negative concord constructions of e.g. the Romance languages,

logical negation is conveyed by the highest *n*-word. Furthermore, a branching nominal, with the *n*-word in determiner or specifier position, cannot function as the carrier of logical negation. The *sem*-expression e.g. in (48) violates both of these criteria: it is not the highest *n*-expression in the sentence, and it is a branching nominal.

Here I will propose a less technical solution, based on the constraint in (52) – stipulated in the present context, but attested in the case of various types of negative polarity items across languages, e.g., *any*-phrases in English.

(52) A minimizer cannot precede the negative particle licensing it.

A *sem* cliticized to a postverbal expression trivially satisfies this requirement, whereas a *sem* left-adjacent to the negative particle avoids violating it by fusing with the negative particle. The *sem* resulting from the fusion of *sem+nem* occupies the position of *nem* under Neg in syntax, and assumes the clitic status of *sem* in phonology. Thus a *sem* particle¹⁵ can be licensed in two ways. (i) A *sem* cliticized to an expression preceded by the negative particle is a mere minimizer, a negative polarity item. (ii) A *sem* not preceded by a negative particle is a minimizer fused with *nem*; it is in Neg position.

The first *sem* in (48) is ungrammatical because it is not licensed in either way. It cannot be a mere minimizer because it is not preceded by negation, and it cannot be fused either with the lower *nem* because it is not immediately followed by the

¹⁵ We must distinguish the minimizer *sem*, an enclitic particle, from the proclitic *sem...sem...*, a pair of coordinating conjunctions. These observations only apply to the former.

verb, or with the higher *nem* because it is not immediately followed by a ‘focus, (lower *nem*,) verb’ string. If both *sem* and *nem* are spelled out in (47a,b), then *sem* is not licensed because it is neither preceded by *nem*, nor fused with it. In (49), (50a), and (51) *sem* is fused with *nem* under the higher Neg. In (50b) *sem* and *nem* are fused under the lower Neg; what is ungrammatical is the focussing of *ma*. If *senki* is a focussed existential, then *ma* cannot be focussed because the focus position has already been taken. If *senki* is a universal left-adjoined to NegP, then it blocks the satisfaction of the requirement that the focus and the (negated) verb form one phonological word.

7. Summary

This paper has aimed to derive the properties of Hungarian negative quantifiers from independently motivated assumptions, among them the Hungarian sentence structure represented in (11)-(12), and an adjunction theory of Q-raising allowing both left- and right-adjunction.

Se-pronouns and *se*-proadverbs have been shown to be negative polarity quantifiers not conveying any negation, licensed by a negative particle heading a NegP. On the basis of this, Hungarian has been identified as a ‘strict negative concord language’ (cf. Giannakidou 2002).

Based on results of Surányi (2006a,b), it has been assumed that negative pronouns and proadverbs interpreted universally are universal quantifiers,

whereas negative pronouns and proadverbs interpreted existentially are Heimian indefinites bound by existential closure. *Se*-pronouns are ambiguous between the two meanings, but in the case of predicates selecting the specificity feature of their argument (e.g., verbs of existence and coming into being, requiring a non-specific subject), one or the other reading may be suppressed.

Universal and existential *se*-pronouns have different word order possibilities. The former, targeted by Q-raising, are left- or right-adjoined to NegP (either to the lower NegP, dominating PredP, or to the higher NegP, dominating FocP). Right-adjoined quantifiers participate in the free PF-linearization of postverbal constituents. Existential *se*-pronouns can be left in situ in the verb phrase, or can be focus-moved into Spec,FocP.

The scope interpretation of *se*-pronouns is also determined by independent principles. Universal *se*-pronouns have scope over their c-command domain. Left-adjoined universals not only c-command but also precede their scope. Existential *se*-pronouns are non-specific, hence internal to the scope of negation.

Prosody is relevant to the interpretation of *se*-pronouns in sentences involving two NegP projections and a right-adjoined *se*-pronoun. If the *se*-pronoun is destressed, it is part of the presupposition c-commanded by the focus, i.e., it is adjoined to the lower NegP.

The particle *sem* has been analyzed as a negative polarity item, a minimizer to be preceded by *nem*, or to be fused with it.

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