A negative cycle in 12-15th century Hungarian

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1. Introduction

This paper analyzes the changes having taken place in the syntax of negation in 12-15th century Hungarian. It points out a change in the position of the negative particle, and shows it to be related to the change of basic word order from 'SOV' to 'TopFocVSO'. The central topic of the paper is a negative cycle induced by the morphological fusion of the negative particle with different types of indefinites in the scope of negation. The opaqueness of the resulting morphological complexes necessitated the reintroduction of negation into sentences with indefinites, and led to the reinterpretation of negative indefinites as expressions with no negative force, participating in negative concord. The newly introduced negative particle, though morphologically identical with the negative particle that was input to the fusion with indefinites, assumed a different syntactic status in the new 'TopFocVSO' sentence structure; it acted as a functional head, eliciting verb movement.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides a background by surveying the syntax of negation in present-day Hungarian. Section 3 describes the structural positions of the

negative particle in Old Hungarian, and section 4 analyzes the syntax of negative indefinite noun phrases and pronouns. Both sections point out an archaic pattern surviving from Proto-Hungarian, and a new variant. Section 5 attempts to reconstruct the diachronic process emerging from the declining and novel patterns of negation in 12-15th century Hungarian documents.

2. Background: Negation in Modern Hungarian

Although this paper focuses on the history of negation in 12-15th century Hungarian, the directions of changes are clearer if we look at them from the perspective of the present-day language.[1]

Negation in Modern Hungarian is encoded by the negative particle *nem*, assumed to head a NegP. NegP has two possible merge-in sites. In the case of predicate negation, it subsumes TP.[2] Observe the affirmative sentence in (1a), and its negated counterpart in (1b). Notice that the subject has no distinguished position in the left periphery; Spec,TP is reserved for the predicative complement of the verb, most often a verbal particle. Neg elicits V-movement across the verbal particle into a functional head (F) intervening between Neg and TP.

(1) a János **meg látogatta** Marit.

John PRT visited Mary-ACC

'John visited Mary.'

b János **nem látogatta meg** t_V Marit.
John not visited PRT Mary-ACC
'John did not visit Mary.'

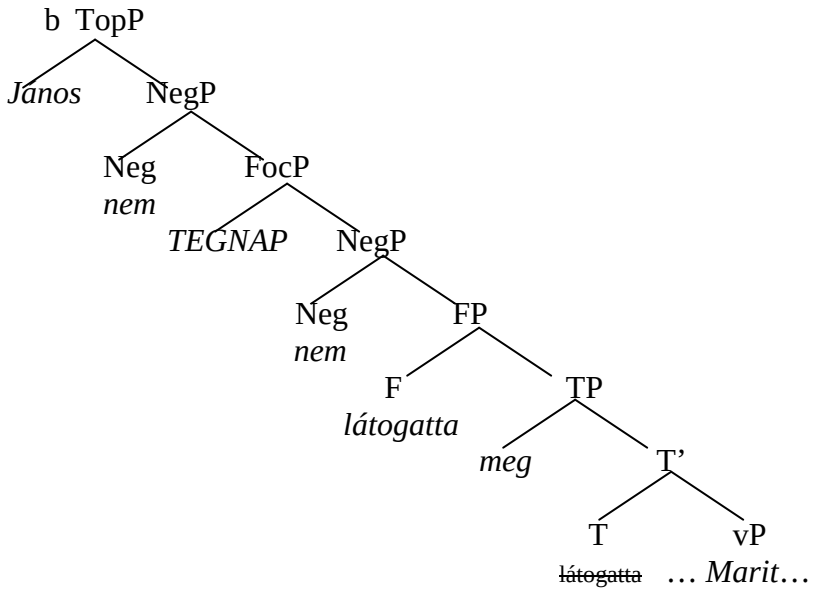
The Hungarian sentence often also includes a focus projection above TP, which also elicits V-to-F movement across the verbal particle in Spec,TP (2a). The focus projection can also be negated, i.e., it can also be subsumed by a NegP (2b).

(2) a János TEGNAP **látogatta meg** t_V Marit.
John yesterday visited PRT Mary-ACC
'It was yesterday that John visited Mary.'

b János **nem** TEGNAP **látogatta meg** t_V Marit.
John not yesterday visited PRT Mary-ACC
'It wasn't yesterday that John visited Mary.'

The primary predicate and the focus (an identificational predicate) can also be negated simultaneously:

(3) a János **nem** TEGNAP **nem** látogatta meg Marit.
'It wasn't yesterday that John didn't visit Mary.'



Hungarian is a negative concord language. Universal pronouns with scope over negation and existential pronouns in the scope of negation have a negative version beginning with *se*/*so*-, which is licensed by an overt negative particle. Indefinite lexical noun phrases in the scope of negation are obligatorily supplied with the minimizer *sem*.

(4) **Soha senki nem** késett el egy óráról **sem**.
never nobody not was.late PRT one class-from not.even
'Nobody has ever been late for even one class.'

3. The position of the negative particle in Old Hungarian

In the 12th-15th century Old Hungarian texts examined (among them *Halotti Beszéd és Könyörgés* 'Funeral speech and invocation', a 50-clause sermon from 1193-95, *Jókai Codex,* an 1448 copy of a 14th century translation of the Legend of St Francis, and the *Bécsi* 'Wiener', *Müncheni* 'Münchener' and

Apor Codices, containing 15th-century copies of various parts of the so-called Hussite Bible, translated after 1416), the majority of negative sentences represent predicate negation. Structural focus and focus negation also occur, though they are less common than today. Here is an example of focus negation, with the negative particle in pre-focus position as in present-day Hungarian:

(5) **nem** PAYZUAL fegyuerkedet de ZENT
not shield-with armor-REFL-PAST-3SG but holy
KERESTNEK YEGYUEL (*Jókai Codex* p. 147)
cross's sign-with
'It wasn't a shield that he armored himself with but the sign of the holy cross.'

Sentences with predicate negation belong to two word order types, which co-occur in the same texts. The negative particle may intervene between the verbal particle and the V:

i. … *PRT nem V…*

(6)a hogy ezt *senkynek* **meg-nem yelentene** (*Jókai* 27)
that this-ACC nobody-DAT PRT-not report-COND-3SG
'that he would not report this to anybody'

b ha **meg nem kayaltandod** kegyetlennek ew

if PRT not shout-FUT-2SG cruel his

kegyetlensegett (*Jókai* 95)

cruelty.ACC

'if you do not declare his cruelty to be cruel'

Alternatively, the negated verb precedes the verbal particle. In this case, the verb and the particle are not necessarily adjacent:

ii. …*nem V*… *PRT* …

(7)a Te nemynemew kewekrel … **nem fyzettel** telyesseguel

you some stones-SUBL not paid completely

meg (*Jókai* 7)

PRT

'You have not paid completely for some stones'

b hogy en lelkem *semegyben* **nem zegyengett meg**

that my soul nothing-in not shamed PRT

engemett (*Jókai* 48)

me

'that my soul has not shamed me in anything'

Of the two patterns, pattern (i) is the more archaic variant. It represented the majority pattern in early Old Hungarian, and it has been losing ground to pattern (ii) ever since (cf. Gugán 2010). At present, pattern (i) is productively used only in two

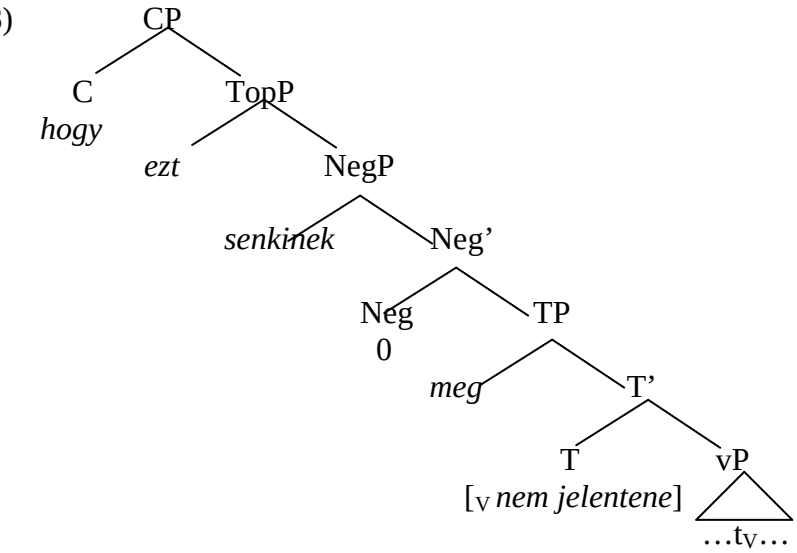
subordinate clause types: in *amíg* 'as long as/until' clauses and in conditional clauses in combination with *hacsak*, meaning 'unless'. It is presumably a relic of the SOV Proto-Hungarian period. Jäger (2008) derives a similar pattern in Old High German by the rightward movement of the VP-final V to a right-hand side Neg head.

I assume that in sentences displaying the '…PRT *nem* V…' order, the negative particle is adjoined to the verb. Pattern (ii), on the other hand, involves a left-peripheral negative head attracting the verb across the verbal particle. Since the basic word order of Hungarian had shifted to TopFocVSO by the time of the first surviving coherent Hungarian texts (cf. É. Kiss 2011), it seems likely that Old Hungarian speakers analyzed both patterns in the framework of a head-initial verb phrase preceded by left-peripheral functional projections. This hypothesis is confirmed by the distribution of the two word order patterns, related to the the presence or absence of a negative pronoun or negative indefinite (a *se*-expression) in the left periphery. In Jókai Codex, 60% of sentences displaying the '…PRT *nem* V…' order contain a *se*-expression in post-topic position, at the left edge of the comment., but only 13% of sentences displaying the '…*nem* V…PRT…' order do so. This suggests that in the emerging TopFocVSO sentence structure of Old Hungarian, with separate thematic and functional domains, operators were expected to precede and c-command their

scope. In sentences with a *se*-expression in the left periphery, the *se*-expression acted as the scope marker of negation. In sentences with no *se*-expression, the scope principle, requiring that the scope of negation be preceded and c-commanded by an overt negative constituent, elicited the preposing of the negated V. First it may have been the negated verb that moved; then the negative particle must have been reanalyzed as a head generated in the left periphery, attracting the V.

This is the structure I hypothesize for sentences displaying the '…PRT *nem* V…' order:

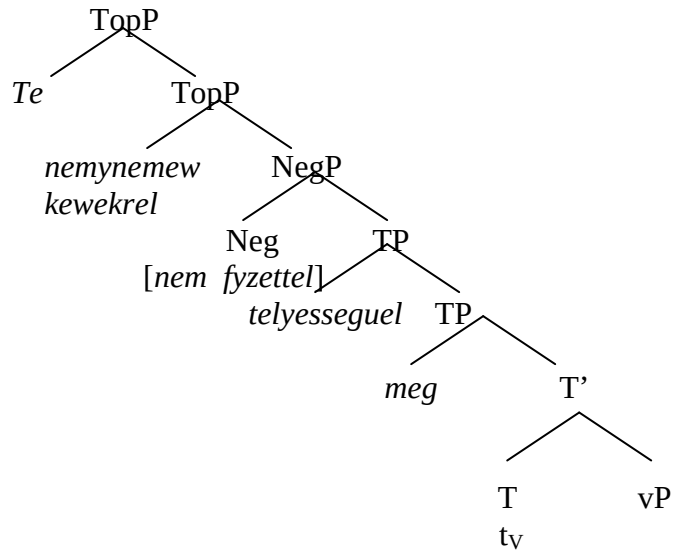
(8)



that this-ACC nobody-to PRT not report-COND.3SG

If the NegP projection is not lexicalized by a *se*-pronoun, the negated V is preposed into the Neg head:

(9)



you some stones not paid completely PRT

In the minority of Old Hungarian sentences that display a '…PRT *nem* V..' order but contain no *se*-expression, I assume a phonologically empty NegP, whose head position is filled by the negated verb in LF. Ürögdi (2009), analyzing the present-day relic of this construction occurring in *amíg*-clauses, e.g., that in (10a), argues for a similar structure, with *nem* LF-moved into the left periphery. The LF attributed to (10a) reflects the fact that negation must have scope over the adverb *hirtelen* 'suddenly' - otherwise the need of the adverb *amíg* 'as long as' for a complement clause denoting a durative eventuality is not satisfied.

(10)a Olvastam, amíg hirtelen ki **nem** aludt a fény.
read-I as.long.as suddenly out not went the light
'I was reading as long as it wasn't the case that suddenly the light went out.'

LF: b Olvastam [$_{CP}$ amíg **nem** [$_{TP}$ hirtelen [$_{TP}$ ki t_{nem} aludt a fény]]]

Particle + V combinations display the same word order as predicative nominal + copula combinations both in Modern Hungarian and in Old Hungarian, with the particle/predicative nominal in Spec,TP, and the verb/copula in T. Interestingly, whereas the preposing of the negated verb across the particle still represents a minority pattern in early Old Hungarian, the preposing of the negated copula across the nominal predicate nearly always takes place – even in the presence of *se*-expressions. E.g.:

(11) *sonha* **nem lez** **zomoro** t_V (*Jókai* 55)
never not be-FUT.3SG sad
'he will never be sad'

Kádár (2006) argues that the Hungarian copula is not a verb; it is an expletive generated in T, providing lexical support for inflection. Apparently, overt T-to-Neg became obligatory earlier than overt [V+T]-to-Neg in the history of Hungarian.

4. *Se*-expressions in Old Hungarian

Though Modern Hungarian is a strict negative concord language, in early Old Hungarian texts we find negative

sentences in which the *se*-expression is not accompanied by a negative particle. These sentences are so sharply ungrammatical for present-day speakers that historical linguists generally regard them as mistakes due to Latin interference. However, there is evidence that in Proto-Hungarian, and, to some extent, in early Old Hungarian, as well, *se*-pronouns had negative force. First of all, there are fossilized expressions with a *se*-expression conveying negation, e.g.:

(12) semmit-tevés, semmit-mondó
nothing.ACC-doing nothing.ACC-saying
'idleness' meaningless'

semmire-kellő, semmibe vesz
nothing.SUBL-needed nothing-ILLAT take
'good-for-nothing' 'disregard'

Modern Hungarian also has a productive finite negative construction with no negative particle. This sentence type contains an indefinite in the scope of negation with the minimizer *sem* cliticized to it, preposed into focus position, where it is left-adjacent to the position of the missing negative particle. Since in this construction the minimizer *sem* appears in the same linear positon where the negative particle is expected, present-day speakers obviously reanalyze it as a negative

particle, an allomorph of *nem*. If the indefinite is in postverbal position, the negative particle must be spelled out. Compare:

(13) a **Egy ember sem** indult el.
one man MINIMIZER left PRT
'No man left.'

cf. b **Nem** indult el **egy ember sem**.
'No man left.'

The crucial evidence against the claim that the occasional lack of the negative particle in the presence of *se*-expressions in Old Hungarian derives from Latin interference is provided by the fact that the lack of *nem* is not random but is systematic to a large extent.

In the non-finite clauses of Jókai Codex, the negative particle is never spelled out in the presence of a *se*-expression. Non-finite clauses, especially *-ván/vén* participle phrases, represent the most archaic clause type of Old Hungarian, often retaining, for example, the morphologically caseless object of Proto-Hungarian. The negative pattern they have preserved, in which negation is expressed by a *se*-phrase, without the particle *nem*, is also likely to be a Proto-Hungarian archaism. Cf.

(14)a ystentewl meg-ualuan **semmyt** velek vyseluen

God.from PRT parting nothing-ACC with.them wearing

’Parting with God, wearing nothing on them’ (*Jókai* 20)

b mendenestewlfoguan **semegyben** meg-haraguuan

altogether nothing-in PRT being.angry

’not being angry for anything at all’ (*Jókai* 21)

c ew kerelmenek **sem egy haznalattyat** aloytuan

his request-GEN not one use-ACC assuming

’not assuming any use of his request’ (*Jókai* 153)

In finite clauses, the presence or lack of the negative particle is related to the lexical choice of the *se*-phrase. *Semmi* ’nothing’, *semegyben* ’in nothing’, *semegyképpen* ’in no way’, *semegyik* ’none’, as well as lexical noun phrases modified by *sem-egy* ’not one [no]’ can occur either without *nem* (15) or with *nem* (16):

(15)a es azokes **semmyre** valanak yok (*Jókai* 86)

and they-too nothing-SUBL were good-PL

’and they, too, were good for nothing’

b **Semmy** ygazb ezeknel (*Jókai* 93)

nothing true-COMP these-ADESS

’Nothing is more true than these’

c **semegyk** mendenestewlfoguan indoltatyk-uala
none altogether leave.3SG-PAST
'none of them left at all' (*Jókai* 139)

(16)a ky kewnuek **semmyre** yok **nem** leznek
which books nothing-SUBL good-PL not be-FUT.3PL
'which books will not be good for anything' (*Jókai* 109)

b **Semegykeppen** **nem** lehett hug …
not-one-manner-in not was.possible that
'It was not possible in any way that …' (*Jókai* 3)

c hogy mendenestewlfoguan **semmy** meg **nem** yelennek
that altogether nothing PRT not appear-COND-3SG
'that nothing at all would appear' (*Jókai* 66)

The *se*-words *senki* 'nobody' and *soha* 'never', on the other hand, always require the presence of a negative particle:

(17)a *De meg nyttuan az kapput* **senkett** ***nem*** *lele*
but PRT opening the door nobody-ACC not found
'But opening the door, he did not find anybody'
(*Jókai* 17)

b *kytt* **sonha *nem*** *latam-uala* *ez* *vilagban*
whom never not see.PERF.1SG-PAST this world-in
'whom I had never seen in this world' (*Jókai* 47)

In negative subjunctive, imperative and optative clauses, the *ne* allomorphe of the negative particle is used. *Ne* is never omitted in the company of a *se*-expression:

(18) Hogy **semegy frater** az zerzetben hust **ne** ennek
that no brother the convent-in meat-ACC not eat-COND.3SG
'that no brother should eat any meat in the convent'

The fact that a *ne* accompanying a *se*-expression is always spelled out must be due to the fact that, in addition to the negative feature it shares with the *se*-expression, it also carries a modal feature.

The fact that *semegy* 'no', *semegyik* '[+specific] none', and *semmi* 'nothing' can occur without the negative particle, whereas *senki* 'nobody' and *soha* 'never' always require the presence of *nem/ne* in Old Hungarian is obviously related to their morphological makeup. *Se*-words have a complex morphological structure, involving the particle *sem,* and the numeral *egy* 'one' or its specific counterpart *egyik,* or an indefinite pronoun (*mi* 'what', *ki* 'who', *ha* 'when'). *Sem* is also

a complex morpheme, the fusion of *es*, a particle with various (additive, distributive, and emphatic) functions, and the negative particle *nem*. These ingredients are still transparent in the following example from 1193-95. (The vowel of the negative particle, spelled as *u*, may have been pronounced as [ü].)

(19) isa **es** **num igg** ember mulchotia ez vermut
surely even not one man avoid-can this pit-ACC
'surely, no [not even one] man can avoid this pit'
(*Funeral Speech*, 1193-95)

Es has the allomorph *s* in present-day Hungarian, and it might have had it in Old Hungarian, as well. Old Hungarian did not tolerate word-initial consonant clusters, so a fused *snum/snem* predictably developed into *sum/sem*.

As a next step, *sem* fused with the indefinite pronouns. Although the preposing of indefinite pronouns into the left periphery was not obligatory, as shown by the example in (20), it was very general. They may have been preposed via focus movement.

(20) de az egyebekrewl **nem** tudok **mytt**
but the rest-about not know-I what-ACC
'but about the rest, I don't know anything' (*Jókai* l45)

In view of these, the *se*-expressions of Old Hungarian had the following underlying morphological structure:

(21) semegy: [es+nem]+egy
semegyik: [es+nem]+egyik
semmi: [es+nem]+mi
senki: [es+nem]+ki
soha: [es+nem]+ha

The *se*-expressions that could convey negation in early Old Hungarian were those in which the particle *sem*, resulting from the fusion of *es+nem*, was still transparent. In the case of *senki*, and, especially, in the case of *sonha* (Modern Hungarian *soha*), the fusion of the constituent morphemes was so advanced that *sem*, let alone the underlying *nem*, were not recognizable any longer. *Senki* only preserved the vowel of *nem*. In the case of *sonha*, both the vowel of *sem* was assimilated to the back vowel of *ha*, and its *m* was affected by the adjacent *h* as regards its place of articulation (before disappearing completely). Mary's Lament from 1300 preserved an earlier form of *sonha/soha*:

(22) qui **sumha** **nym** hyul
which never not ceases
'which never ceases'

Apparently, the more opaque a morpheme complex including the negative particle was, the less it could preserve its negative force. The morphologically opaqe *senki* and *soha* obligatorily needed the presence of a separate negative particle. For the morphologically more transparent *semmi, semegy, semegyik*, reinforcement by a preverbal negative particle was still optional in the Old Hungarian period under investigation.

The negative particle also fused with the dual connective *es*… *es*… 'both… and…', yielding *sem.*.. *sem*… 'neither… nor…'. The insertion of an additional negative particle was optional in coordinate clauses introduced by *sem.*.. *sem*…, as shown by the following example of *Jókai Codex*, where the second coordinate clause contains an additional *nem*, and the first one does not.

(23) Tehat zent ferenc **sem** magat valta az
so Saint Francis neither himself-ACC shifted that
heylbelewl **sem** arczayat le **nem** hayta
place-from nor face-his-ACC down not turned
menbewl
heaven-from
'So Saint Francis neither moved himself from that place, nor turned his face down from heaven.' (*Jókai* 16)

5. A negative cycle in 12-15th century Hungarian

Interestingly, the negative construction that represented the initial stage of the changes having taken place in Old Hungarian was the output of a former negative cycle. The Hungarian negative particle *nem* is claimed to be the result of a Jespersenian negative cycle (cf. Jespersen 1917) having taken place in Proto-Hungarian. Most Finno-Ugric languages have verbal negation. Hungarian must also have had a negative auxiliary, which had been lost. *Nem* is cognate with the indefinite pronoun *né-mi* 'some-what' (originally meaning 'something', today meaning 'some'), a member of a family of indefinites also including *né-hol* 'somewhere', *né-ha* 'somewhen', *né-mikor* 'sometime', and *né-hány* 'some-many'. Gugán (2011) hypothesizes that the indefinite pronoun *némi* first served to strengthen the negative auxiliary, before replacing it. Jäger (2008:118) has reported similar processes from Old High German and Middle High German, where the indefinite pronouns *uuiht* and *iht*, respectively, were introduced to strengthen the negative particle, and came to replace it. *Ik* has survived as the negative particle in certain Upper-German (Bavarian) dialects until now.

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’ – as also happened in Latin. (*Egy* is identical with today’s indefinite article, however, in the Old Hungarian period examined, there was no indefinite article yet in the language.) Recall *es num igg ember* ’even not one man’, an example from 1193-95, quoted in (19) above. Negation was strengthened by *es* also in the case of indefinite pronouns in the scope of negation.

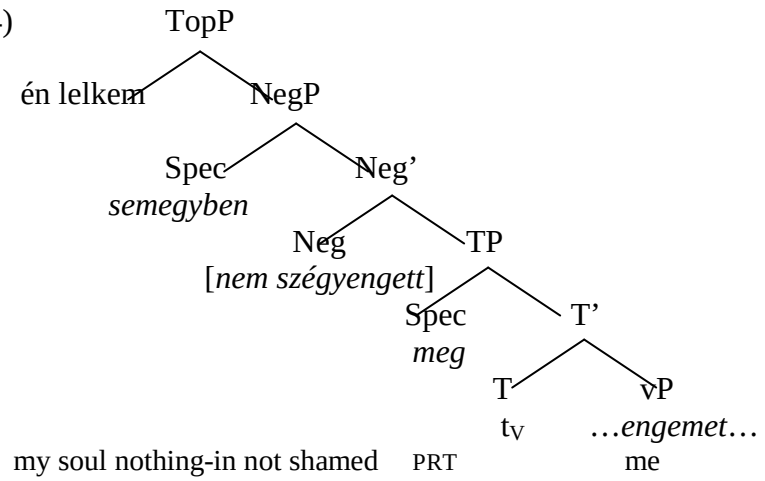
In the third stage of the cycle, the morphological fusion of *es+nem*, and, especially, the morphological fusion of *es*+*nem*+pronoun complexes lead to the semantic weakening of negation, and created a need for further strengthening. This was attained by the adjunction of another negative particle to the verb. The reintroduction of the negative particle was first optional. The *se*-pronouns *soha* and *senki*, whose morphological structure had became 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.

The process of reinforcing negation – first optionally, later obligatorily – by the addition of a negative particle went on parallel with the syntactic restructuring of negative sentences, as a result of which the negative particle assumed head status eliciting verb movement. (Van Kemenade (2000) argues that the negative particle becoming a functional head merging with the verb is a key element in negative cycles). As was discussed in connection with (6) and (8), in the archaic type of negative sentences, the *se*-expression occupies the specifier of a left-peripheral NegP. The negative particle, if any, behaves like an adverb; it is left-adjoined to the V, and appears sandwiched between the verbal particle and the verb. In the emerging new pattern, discussed in connection with (7) and (9), Neg attracts the negated verb, which moves forward crossing the verbal particle and the elements adjoined to TP. If the sentence also contains a *se*-phrase, the negated verb is adjacent to it:

(24)



’my soul hasn’t shamed me in anything’

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.[3] From the 15th century on, we also find postverbal *se*-phrases, which is evidence of their analysis as negative polarity items:

(25) **ninč** te bèzėdidbèn **sem eg-megfèddės**
isn’t your speech-PL-2SG-IN not one-scolding
’there isn’t any scolding in your speech’
(*Bécsi Codex* (1416/1450), Iudith VIII)

In Middle and Modern Hungarian, *se*-expressions can also be stacked, and can stand either pre- or postverbally. This may be the consequence of the analysis of [+specific] *se*-expressions as universal quantifiers (cf. É. Kiss 2009, 2010) with scope over negation. As such, they are subject to Q-raising, which is an iterable operation with no fixed direction, realizable as either left- or right-adjunction. Observe an example of the Hungarian National Corpus from 1881:

(26) **nem** lopott el **senki** **semmit**
not stole PRT anybody anything

’Nobody stole anything.’

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 contains, in addition to the regular archaic structure in (27a) and the regular novel structure in (27b), two patterns (those in (27c) and (27d)) 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 thinking

’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-POSS3SG-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 corrrespond 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. (Since the sentence contains

no verbal particle, the preposing of the negated verb from T to Neg is string-vacuous, hence it cannot be verified.) In (27c) we find two *sem* particles; the second one is between the *se*-phrase and the verb, in exactly the same position where the negative particle *nem* should appear. I hypothesize that in this unique example, *sem* does, in fact, occupy the position of *nem*; it is a *nem* phonologically assimilated to the preceding *sem*. This pattern, not found elsewhere, may represent an intermediate stage in the change to (27d). In (27d), 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. Its status as an enclitic of a minimizing role is shown in present-day Hungarian by the fact that it can be moved together with the indefinite:

(28) a **Nem** lakott **egy ember sem** a szigeten.
not lived one man sem the island-on
'No man lived on the island.'

b **Nem** lakott a szigeten **egy ember sem**.

As is clear from these Modern Hungarian examples, and the Old Hungarian example in (25), the enclitic *sem* could only

retain its negative force when cliticized to focussed, hence immediately preverbal, indefinites, 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*.

6. Summary

This paper has shown that Hungarian negative constructions of the late Proto-Hungarian period, representing the output of a former negative cycle, underwent another cycle in the 12th-15th century. This more recent cycle was set off by a morphological change. Negated indefinites came to be reinforced by the emphatic/additive/distributive proclitic *es*, which fused with the negative particle *nem*, yielding *sem*. *Sem* underwent further fusion with indefinite pronouns. Owing to word-internal phonological processes, the *sem*+indefinite pronoun complexes became morphologically more and more opaque. When the incorporated negative particle ceased to be recognizable, it was reintroduced adjoined to the verb, and negative pronouns were reinterpreted as pronouns participating in negative concord. The *sem* particle accompanying indefinite noun phrases lost its negative force owing to a change in its position (originally a proclitic, it became an enclitic, and came to be interpreted as a minimizing particle, the negative polarity

counterpart of the additive *es*). It could retain its negative force in a single construction: in the case of focussed, i.e., immediately preverbal, negated indefinites, where the enclitic *sem* could be reanalyzed as the negative particle preceding the verb.

These changes went on parallel with the restructuring of the Hungarian sentence from SOV to TopFocVSO, a sentence structure with separate thematic and functional domains. In the new sentence structure, the negative particle is the head of a functional projection, eliciting V-movement.

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[1] For analyses of Hungarian sentence structure, see É. Kiss (2002; 2008).

[2] For further details, see Surányi (2006a,b), Olsvay (2006), and É. Kiss (2009, 2010).

[3] A *se*-expression can be extraposed though, when it is explicitely contrasted, e.g.:

(i) Es **nem** zeretek egÿebet **semmÿt** hanem czak tegedet
and not love-I else nothing but only you
'I love nothing else but you' (*Jókai* 47)

(ii) Azert **nenczen** **semÿm** hanem Czak engalya
therefore isn't nothing-1SG but only engalya
ruham (*Jókai* 46)
dress-1SG
'Therefore I have nothing but only an engalya dress'