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AN LFG ACCOUNT OF NEGATION IN HUNGARIAN SENTENCES

1. Introduction

Consider the sentence in (1) illustrating the most salient word order properties of Hungarian finite clauses, schematically presented in (2).

(1)   *János   szerencsére   minden   könyv-et   oda   adott   Mari-nak   a   könyvtár-ban.*
       John.NOM   luckily   every   book-ACC   VM   gave   Mary-DAT   the   library-in
       'Luckily, John gave every book to Mary in the library.'

(2)	TOPIC	PREDICATE			
	(A) (contrastive) topic / sentence adverb	(B) quantifier	(C) focus/VM	(D) verb	(E) postverbal constituents

     VM (= verbal modifier) is a cover term for verbal particles, bare nouns, idiom chunks and designated XP arguments.

Elsewhere, we have developed an LFG analysis, motivated by É. Kiss (1992, 1994). In the analysis we did not treat negation at all. We are aware of only one LFG-friendly (i.e. OT) analysis of some negation phenomena in Hungarian: Payne & Chisarik (2000). In the talk, we will show in a detailed fashion that it is rather fragmentary and inconsistent in important empirical and theory-internal respects. Then we will develop the first LFG analysis of negation in Hungarian sentences, and we will also make some systematic comparisons between our approach and É. Kiss' (1992, 1994) GB account and É. Kiss' (2002) MP analysis of negation, by pointing out that we adapt (and extend) the former in our LFG model. Consider the following sentences. (3a) contains simple sentence negation, and (3b) contains two/three instances of negation: the FOCUSSED constituent may or may not be negated.

(3)   a.   *Péter   nem   hívta   fel   a   barátjá-t.*
             Peter.NOM   not   called   up   the friend.his-ACC
             'Peter didn't call up his friend.'
      b.   *Nem   mindenki   (NEM)   A BARÁTJÁ-T   nem   hívta   fel.*
             not   everybody.NOM   (not)   the friend.his-ACC   not   called   up
             'It wasn't true for everybody that it was(n't) his friend that he didn't call up.'

2. The basic negation facts to be accounted for in LFG (in the spirit of É. Kiss (1992, 1994))

A. There are two types of negation: constituent negation and sentence (predicate) negation.

B. Double or even treble negation is also possible.

C. When an ordinary constituent is negated then it must obligatorily occupy the preverbal focus position. Such a constituent cannot occur anywhere else in the sentence. (In the talk we will point out that Payne & Chisarik's (2000) analysis fails to capture this trivial fact).

D. When a quantifier is negated, there are two scenarios. (A) When there is no (other) focus constituent in the sentence, the negated quantifier constituent must occupy the Spec,VP position (just like any ordinary negated constituent). (B) When there is (another) focussed constituent in the sentence, the negated quantifier constituent has to be adjoined to the VP, just like ordinary non-negated quantifiers.

E. Sentence (predicate) negation has two varieties. (A) The negative particle immediately precedes the verb, and the particle may or may not be preceded by a focussed constituent. If it is preceded by a focussed constituent, that constituent may or may not be negated. (B) The negative particle precedes a focussed constituent.

F. On the basis of 3 and 5B, certain sentences can be ambiguous between ordinary constituent negation and (VP-type) sentence negation. This ambiguity is typically resolved prosodically (and/or, additionally: contextually). In VP-type sentence negation, the negative particle is unstressed, as a rule. In the case of constituent negation in focus, the default prosodic pattern is that the negative particle carries the main stress of the constituent, but this is not necessarily so. However, when the negative particle is unstressed and ambiguity arises, then the context usually disambiguates.

3. The crucial aspects of our analysis

   (A) In the spirit of Toivonen (2001), we assume that the negative particle is (potentially) a non-projecting word (Nêg), and as such, it can head-adjoin to V^0. It can also have a phrasal projection (NegP), and in this case, it occupies typical XP positions.

   (B) *Constituent negation.* **(1)** In both types, the NegP is adjoined to the maximal projection of the constituent involved. **(2)** We ensure that ordinary constituent negation obligatorily targets the Spec,VP (focus) position by employing an LFG-XLE style CHECK feature in the following way. In an optional format, we add the constraining member of the following feature: (↓ CHECK _NEG-POLARITY)=c + to the standard focus annotational disjunct associated with Spec,VP: (↑ GF)= ↓   (↑ FOCUS)= ↓. The defining member of this feature pair is, again, optionally encoded in the lexical form of the negative particle. This treatment automatically applies to negated quantifiers as well, if they occupy the Spec,VP position. **(3)** We capture the fact that negated quantifiers can also be VP-adjoined, provided that there is a focussed constituent in Spec,VP in the following way. So far, the XP,VP position has had the following quantifier annotational disjuct associated with it: (↑ GF)= ↓ (↓ CHECK _QP)=c +. All we have to do is to add the following optional device: the combination of a CHECK feature and existential constraint: (↓ CHECK _NEG-POLARITY)=c + (↑ FOCUS). The original CHECK feature ensures that on this scenario only a quantifier can occupy

this position (quantifiers are lexically marked for this feature), and the latter optional combination enables the constituent-negated version of the quantifier to appear in this position iff there is a focussed constituent in the sentence.

(C) *Sentence negation.* **(1)** When there is a focussed constituent, there are two varieties of negation: **(i)** the negative particle precedes the focussed constituent **(ii)** the negative particle follows the focussed constituent. Structurally, we treat (i) as É. Kiss (1992, 1994): we assume that the NegP is adjoined to VP. We handle (ii) as É. Kiss (1994), contra É. Kiss (1992). The latter assumes that NegP is adjoined to V', thereby intervening between the focus and the verb. The former head-adjoins Neg^0 to V^0, and we make the same assumption, in the spirit of Toivonen (2001), see (A) above. **(2)** The third type of sentence negation is when (at least in descriptive terms) the negative particle is in complementary distribution with VMs (and other Spec,VP elements: focus and 'WH'-phrases), that is, the Spec,VP position is not occupied, but despite this fact a VM must occur postverbally, see (3a). For É. Kiss (1992, 1994) this is the same case as (ii): the Spec,VP position is not filled by either a focussed constituent or a 'WH'-phrase, and NegP/Neg is adjoined to V'/V^0. É. Kiss claims that the reason why a VM occurs (i.e. remains) in its base-generated postverbal position is that it has to be in the scope of negation. By contrast, in my LFG analysis we assume that NegP occupies the Spec,VP position, that is why it is in complementary distribution with all Spec,VP-prone elements, including VMs. **(3)** The details of the analysis are as follows. Both the NegP adjoined to VP or occupying the Spec,VP position and the non-projecting Nêg adjoined to V^0 get the functional head annotation: they are functional coheads with VP, V' and V^0, respectively. They encode negative polarity for the sentence: (↑ POLARITY)= neg, and their (obligatory rightward) scope can be described in terms of f-precedence). **(4)** Sentence negation licenses negative polarity items. This can be encoded in the lexical forms of these elements by dint of a constraining equation via inside-out functional uncertainty: (POLARITY GF* ↑)=c neg.

(D) In (B2-3), we have shown that the c-structure positional limitations on the occurrence of constituent negation can be straightforwardly encoded by a constraining equation associated with the two designated positions: (↓ CHECK _NEG-POLARITY)=c +. Encoding the fact that in sentence negation Nêg adjoins to V^0, and NegP occurs in Spec,VP or it adjoins to VP is also simple. We only need to include the following optional existential constraint in the lexical form of the negative particle under the assumption that all verbal elements have a TENSE feature with [±finite] values: (↑ TENSE). Given that in all the three types of sentence negation the particle is a cohead with the verb, this guarantees that sentence negation will target V(P)-related positions. Below is a schematic c-structure representation of the analysis.

(4)
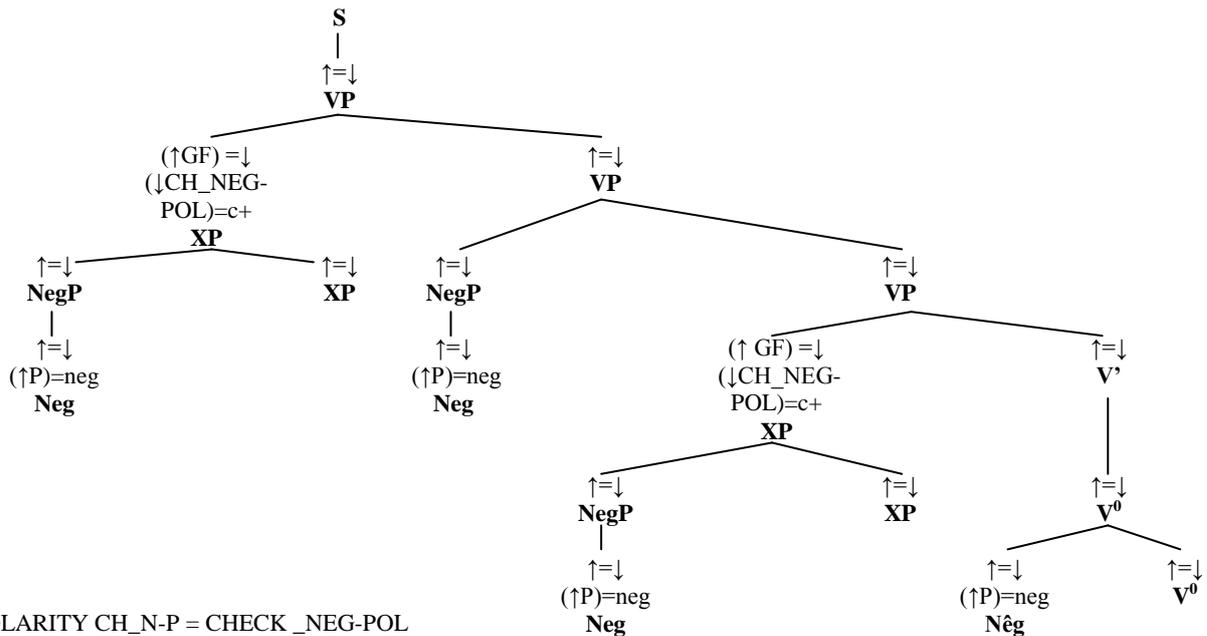
P = POLARITY CH_N-P = CHECK _NEG-POL

We assume the following lexical form for the negative particle.

(5) *nem*, { Nêg: (↑POLARITY)=neg (↑TENSE)
        | Neg: (↑POLARITY)=neg {(↑CHECK _NEG-POLARITY)=c+ | (↑TENSE)}}

This encodes the following properties. (A) When it is a non-projecting word, it has to adjoin to a verbal element (V^0). (B) When it projects a phrase (NegP), it targets **(i)** a position available to constituent negation **(ii)** a VP/V' related position.

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