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ON THE ABSENCE OF PROPOSITIONAL NEGATION FROM HUNGARIAN POLAR *E*-INTERROGATIVES*

Hans-Martin Gärtner & Beáta Gyuris

Abstract. It is argued that the ban on propositional "inside" negation in Hungarian polar *e*-interrogatives can be derived as a syntactic intervention effect. An Agree-based formalization is sketched that crucially relies on a diachronically motivated negative formal feature on the interrogative particle *-e*. A putative counterexample is taken to be echoic. We indicate a way to capture the echoic licensing of propositional negation within an extended formalism.

1. Banning propositional negation from *e*-interrogatives

1.1. *e-interrogatives and "inside negation"*

Let us start our exploration by distinguishing Hungarian polar *e*-interrogatives, (1) (*e*-INT), from polar "rise-fall"-(/\-)interrogatives, (2) (/\-INT), and "rise-fall"-(/\-)declaratives, (3) (/\-DEC).

(1) *Esik-e az eső* \ ?
falls-Q the rain
'Is it raining?'

(2) *Esik az eső* /\ ?
falls the rain (Q)
'Is it raining?'

(3) *Esik* /\ *az eső* /\ !?
falls the rain
'It is raining!?'

As indicated, polar interrogatives in Hungarian are either marked by particle *-e* – standardly encliticized to the finite verb – accompanied by a globally falling contour (\), or a global rise-fall contour peaking on the

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penultimate syllable of the clause.[1] Rise-fall contours associated with every (non-correctively) accentable word of the clause are characteristic of Hungarian counterparts of "rising declaratives" (cf. Gunlogson 2003; Gyuris 2019). Justification for considering the former two types interrogatives and the latter a declarative comes from the distribution of negative polarity items (cf. König & Siemund 2007:293): (1) and (2) allow, but (3) disallows, addition of an NPI, as shown in (4) (Gyuris 2017:6).

(4) a. *Esik-e valahol is az eső* \ ? (*e*-INT)
falls-Q somewhere too the rain
'Is it raining anywhere?'
b. *Esik valahol is az eső* /\ ? (/\-INT)
'Is it raining anywhere?'
c. * *Esik* /\ *valahol is* /\ *az eső* /\ !? (/\-DEC)
(*) 'It is raining anywhere!?'

Equally, both *e*-interrogatives and /\-interrogatives allow insertion of the "reflectivity" particle *vajon*, signaling that a question is simply posed rather than asked of someone (Lyons 1977:755). /\-declaratives are incompatible with *vajon* (cf. Gärtner & Gyuris 2012, for further discussion and references).

(5) a. *Vajon esik-e az eső* \ ? (*e*-INT)
'Is it raining? (I wonder.)'
b. *Vajon esik az eső* /\ ? (/\-INT)
'Is it raining? (I wonder.)'
c. * *Vajon esik* /\ *az eső* /\ !? (/\-DEC)
'It is raining!? (I wonder.)'

Now, crucially, *e*-interrogatives differ from /\-interrogatives in disallowing propositional, or "inside," negation (IN) (Gyuris 2017:16). Thus, to check the validity of negative propositions like "It is not raining (either)," e.g, in a context where one's interlocutor has just uttered *Javul az idő*.

[1] We gloss the prosodic "Q-marker" in (2) and indicate through parenthesis that this is not standard practice.

Már nem fúj a szél ('The weather is improving. It's not windy anymore.'), one has to use a /\-interrogative. This is illustrated in (6).[2]

(6) a. * *Nem esik-e az eső sem* ? (*e*-INT)
not falls-Q the rain either
'Isn't it raining either?' / 'Is it not raining either?'
b. *Nem esik az eső sem* /\ ? (/\-INT)
'Isn't it raining either?' / 'Is it not raining either?'

We abbreviate the observation in (6a) in OT-style by saying that *e*-interrogatives obey the constraint *IN.

At the same time, both *e*-interrogatives and /\-interrogatives are compatible with "pragmatic," or "outside," negation (ON) (Gyuris 2017:17), as shown in (7). Utterances of interrogatives containing ON typically serve the purpose of (indirectly) suggesting the validity of a positive proposition, in our case that it is raining (too). Thus, both (7a) and (7b) would be appropriate follow-ups to one's interlocutor just having uttered *Rosszak a látási viszonyok. Sötét van* ('The visibility conditions are bad. It's dark.').[3]

(7) a. *Nem esik-e az eső is* ? (*e*-INT)
not falls-Q the rain too
'Isn't it raining too?'
b. *Nem esik az eső is* /\ ? (/\-INT)
'Isn't it raining too?'

Before we turn to a formal analysis of the pattern in (6)/(7) in Section 1.3, Section 1.2 will provide some motivating background for that analysis, drawing on diachrony – the development of *-e* – and language

[2] As correctly noted by an anonymous reviewer, judgments may be delicate where additional accents come into play. (6) and (7) are cases in point. Thus, *az eső* functions as a focus in the sense of Rooth (1985) that "associates" with *sem* in (6) and *is* in (7). For structural reasons that we cannot go into here (see É. Kiss 2002:136–142), this leads to an additional information-structurally licensed accent on (the first syllable of) *eső* only in (6), not in (7). In the current paper, we ignore such "lower" prosodic levels. All accents we are concerned with are licensed at the speech act level. Here, it is most important to be able to tell apart instances of /\-INT and /\-DEC prosodically. For this purpose, longer examples than the ones we use in the main text can be helpful. Thus consider (i).

(i) *Nem esik Budapesten az eső sem*
not rains Budapest.in the rain either

As can be gathered from Varga (2010:4), on the /\-INT-construal, *Budapesten* in (i) will be realized with low tones, "governed" by a spreading L* on *nem*. By contrast, it will project its own L*H-L%-pattern in /\-DECS. Note that in the latter case, *vajon* could not be inserted, as already shown in (5c). By contrast, *vajon* may appear in (6b) if used in the appropriate context. This makes (6b) a *bona fide* instance of /\-INT.

[3] For the IN/ON-distinction and diagnostics, see Ladd (1981) and Büring and Gunlogson (2000). *e*-INT and /\-INT also differ in "bias profile," as discussed in systematic detail by Gärtner and Gyuris (2017).

comparison – properties of and a particular approach to Chinese "A-not-A-interrogatives." Section 2 discusses a putative counterexample to the observation in (6a), arguing that we are dealing with echoic language in such instances (2.1). A proposal for extending the formal system to capture echoicity is sketched (2.2) and a challenge from echo-questions taken care of (2.3). Section 3 contains a brief summary and outlook.

1.2. *Diachronic and cross-linguistic motivation*

The proposal we are going to make to account for the contrast in (6)/(7) builds on an historical insight about *-e*, for which we cite Gyuris (2017:49):

> Although the majority of Hungarian historical linguists assume that *-e* originated as an interjection (cf. Benkő, 1967-1984) or as a demonstrative pronoun (cf. D. Mátai, 2003), Simoncsics (2003: 240-241) puts forward the claim that it is "without doubt the remainder of the Uralic negating verb stem **e-*, which has been assumed to have died out." According to the latter author, this negating verb attaches to a previous "statement" and creates a "polar question" together with it [. . .]

We follow Simoncsics (2003) and take the original bare *-e* to be paraphrasable as '(or) not is/does,' having functioned as a copula/auxiliary-based question tag.[4] The historical path from negative auxiliary to question particle is documented for, among others, Chinese *ma* (from *wu* 'not have'/'not exist') by Aldridge (2011; cf. Cheng, Huang & Tang 1996).

As for the (diachronic) syntax of *-e*, the following observations and assumptions are central. First, in earlier stages of Hungarian, *-e* can be found at the right edge of the clause (Kenesei 1994:342).[5] Second, in Modern Hungarian *-e* encliticizes to the finite verb (or otherwise preverbal material, if a finite verb is lacking). Third, this change in

[4] Closely related interrogative particles exist in other Uralic languages such as Kamass, Mansi, and Udmurt (Miestamo 2011:15–18), and transparently identifiable negative auxiliary tags seem to be used in Skolt Saami (ibid.:7), and Komi-Zyrian (ibid.:16). Comrie (1981) provides further discussion of Uralic negative auxiliaries.

[5] Kenesei (1994:342) presents examples from 15th century Hungarian, one of which stems from the so-called "Vienna Codex."

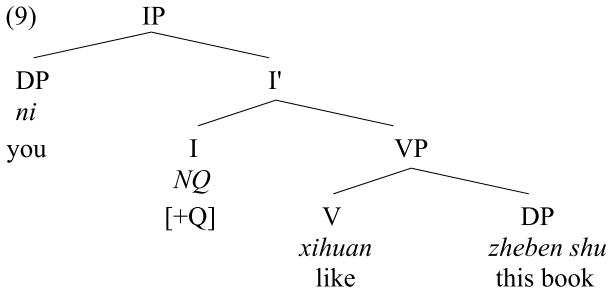
position is commonly correlated with the OV-to-VO-shift of Hungarian (É. Kiss 2013:2.2.3; Kenesei 1994:342). And, fourth, the standard position of *-e* is $I^0_{[+fin]}$ (Kenesei 1994:341).[6]

The formal analysis of Hungarian presented in Section 1.3 below takes inspiration from a particular perspective on Chinese "A-not-A-interrogatives" (ANAIs), an example of which is given in (8) (cf. Hagstrom 2006:174).

(8) *Ni xihuan-bu-xihuan zheben shu* ? (ANAI)
you like-not-like this book
'Do you like or not like this book?'

According to Hagstrom (2006:176; cf. Huang 1991:316; Huang, Li & Li 2008:253), the ANAI in (8) possesses the abstract underlying structure in (9).

(9)



Core ingredient of ANAIs is the abstract "NQ-component" in I^0. Choice of the term "NQ" is "intended to reflect both its negative and interrogative character" (Hagstrom 2006:176). *NQ* triggers insertion of the negator *bu*, which – together with a reduplication operation – leads to surface strings like (8).[7] At the same time, *NQ* bears [+Q], i.e., it serves as question operator. Given these "coincidences" – [+Q], inherent "negativity," position in I° – we are tempted to consider Hungarian *-e* a counterpart of *NQ*. Of course, "negativity" plays out differently in the

[6] Note the diacritic [+fin] on I^0, as finiteness has been shown to belong to the licensing conditions on *-e*, i.e., *e*-INT is finite (cf. Kenesei 1994:340). This again fits in nicely with the diachronic proposal by Simoncsics (2003) to derive *-e* from an auxiliary-based question tag attaching to "statements." The relevant attachment sites have to be finite, given that non-finite root clauses aren't used as assertions (cf. Rizzi 1993/94:375). We take I^0 to host [+fin] and thus provide a base-position for *-e*. This means that we follow Dalmi (2012:118) and Bacskai-Atkari (2018:185f.) in diverging from the lowering analysis proposed by Kenesei (1994:341). At the same time, we refrain from taking a stance on whether the projection hosting *-e* should be (re)labeled (as) FinP or FP, as suggested by the former two authors, respectively. Finiteness will not figure in our formal sketch in Section 1.3. See Adger (2007) for discussion and a proposal within a minimalist setting.

[7] For further detail, see Huang (1991: Section 3), which Hagstrom builds on.

two cases: its role in *e*-interrogatives is more abstract (as we are going to see).

Now, importantly, ANAIs are – often tacitly – assumed not to be able to contain any further negation, something one might plausibly account for in terms of a (more or less surface-oriented) ban on double negation. Ernst (1994:256), however, suggests that this be derived from a principle of scope preservation, according to which sentential negation c-commanding [+Q] at "S-structure" would have to scope over the question operator at LF.[8] The latter configuration is taken to be uninterpretable. Along similar lines, we speculate that *IN in Hungarian *e*-interrogatives can be made to follow from a minimality/intervention effect. We will try our hands at an implementation of this in the next section.

1.3. *A formal sketch*

The formal sketch presented here is inspired by, though not entirely faithful to, the minimalist Agree-based architecture of Chomsky (2000, 2001) and, among others, Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) and Zeijlstra (2012).[9] As for phrase structure, we take the clausal spine of Hungarian to contain the following hierarchy of projections:

(10) … ⟩⟩ ForceP ⟩⟩ … ⟩⟩ TypeP ⟩⟩ … ⟩⟩ PolP ⟩⟩ IP ⟩⟩ VP

Here, ForceP is reserved for genuinely illocutionary information and thus restricted to (dependent) root environments, while TypeP reflects general clausal typing (interrogative, declarative, relative, etc.) (cf. Coniglio & Zegrean 2012; Grewendorf 2002).[10]

Given this background, we assume first of all that Modern Hungarian *-e* introduces a question-operator in interaction with an unvalued type feature on Type^0 (cf. Dalmi 2012:120).

[8] It has to be added that Ernst (1994:3.3) takes the base position of *NQ*/[+Q] to be lower than I^0. Also, the empirical evidence against the possibility of adding negation to ANAIs is not entirely conclusive, since Ernst's example exhibits a (not-A)-not-A pattern (p.256), which doesn't conform to the A-not-A "template." Instead, (not-A)-not-(not-A), involving double negation in the second part, should have been tested. Independently, it has been shown by McCawley (1994:186f.) that the two parts of ANAIs cannot be inverted, i.e., *(not-A-A) (cf. Huang, Li & Li 2008:248). We also assume that ANAIs differ from Hungarian *e*-INTS like (7a) in observing *ON. This may not hold for "B-not-B" variants of ANAIs (Hagstrom 2006) with fronted *shì-bu-shì* ('be-not-be'), as pointed out to us by Lisa Cheng (p.c.) (cf. Schaffar & Chen 2001).

[9] We remain neutral as regards the direction of Agree (upward vs. downward) (cf. Preminger 2013), the controversy over which may be dissolved within frameworks that project features (via "labeling") (cf. Zeijlstra 2020).

[10] (10) leaves open the possibility that there are additional projections dominating ForceP. An example of this would be "SAP" ("speech act phrase"), which Haegeman and Hill (2013) take to host vocatives and particles encoding speaker authority or the seeking of attention. For recent comprehensive discussion, see Wiltschko (2021).

(11) a. *-e*: ⟨*u*TYPE:?⟩ b. Type^0: ⟨*i*TYPE:_⟩

In addition, we postulate that the finite verb obligatorily moves to I^0, which makes Spec,IP the canonical "EPP" position of "verbal modifiers" (VMs) (cf. Surányi 2009:229). The resulting core structure for the *e*-interrogative in (1) is provided in Figure 1.

Now, crucially, from its previous historical state as "negating verb stem," *-e* can be assumed to retain an uninterpretable negative "phantom" feature, phantomhood being marked by |φ.

(12) *-e*: ⟨*u*TYPE:?⟩,⟨*u*POL:–⟩|φ

The main characteristic of phantom features is that they do not actively participate in any Agree operations. Their role, as we are going to see right below, is confined to counting for intervention. That *-e* doesn't involve any interpretable negation can be concluded from the possibility of adding negative disjunctive "or not"-tags to *e*-interrogatives, as shown in (13).[11]

(13) *Esik-e az eső, vagy nem*? (*e*-INT)
'Is it raining, or not?'

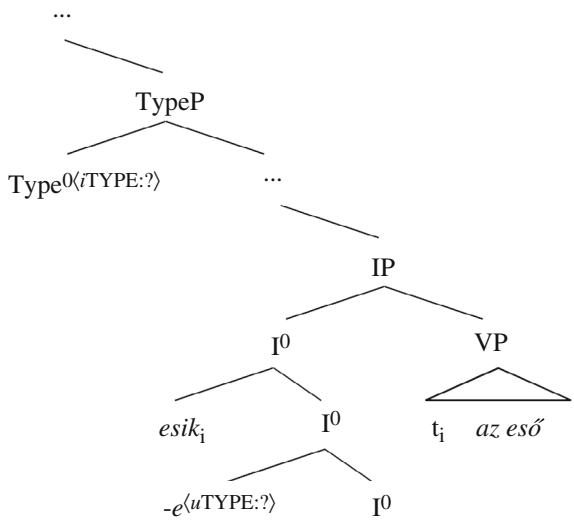


Figure 1. Core structure for *e*-interrogative in (1).

[11] Judgments vary on whether *vagy nem* in (13) can be "integrated" as in a genuine alternative question or has to constitute a more loosely attached afterthought. This does not affect the point we are making.

The exponent of inside negation, nem_1, is placed in Spec,PolP and induces propositional negation by valuing $\langle i\text{NEG:}\_\rangle$ on Pol^0.

(14) a. nem_1: $\langle u\text{NEG:}\neg\rangle,\langle u\text{POL:}-\rangle$ b. Pol^0: $(\langle i\text{NEG:}\_\rangle,)\langle i\text{POL:}\_\rangle$

This is accompanied by I^0-to-Pol^0 movement, which leads to V_{fin}(-*e*)-VM-inversion where a verbal particle or other type of VM occupies Spec,IP (e.g., … *nem megy(-e) le* … 'not goes down'). Accordingly, the illicit example in (6a) would receive the ill-formed core analysis in Figure 2.

More specifically, we would like to say that ill-formedness of (6a) results from $\langle u\text{POL:}-\rangle$ on nem_1 preventing Agree between -*e* and Type^0, due to intervention wrt $\langle u\text{POL:}-\rangle|\varphi$ on -*e*.[12] Ill-formedness as such is due to unvalued $\langle i\text{TYPE:}\_\rangle$ on Type^0. Alternatively, one can put it to a clash

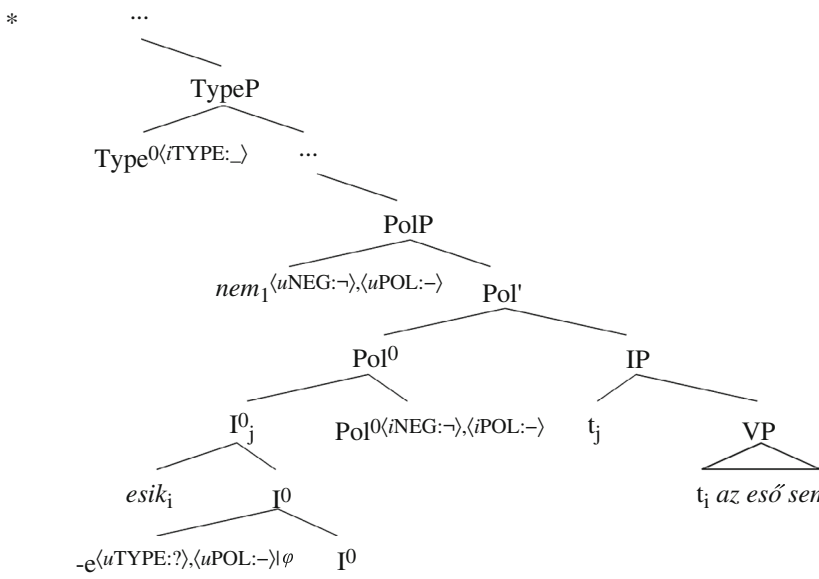


Figure 2. Core analysis of (6a).

[12] A much less selective application of "relativized minimality" has been advocated for dealing with the ban on a wide(r) range of quantificational items in Chinese ANAIs (cf. Hagstrom 2006: section 5) by Law (2004:3.1.7). *IN for ANAIs is enforced "indirectly" within a monoclausal approach by (a) generating the question operator in Neg^0, from where it moves to ForceP, (b) generating sentential negation (*m*) in Spec,NegP, and (c) ensuring that this negation together with a copy of V(P) ends up as the reduplicated NA-part of the ANAI. Essential parts of the structure are provided in (i) (cf. Law 2004:87).

(i) $[_{\text{ForceP}}$ Q-Op$_i$ $[_{\text{Force'}}$ $[_{\text{IP}}$ I $[_{\text{NegP}}$ *m* $[_{\text{Neg'}}$ t_i $[_{\text{VP}}$ . . .]]]] [Q]]]

The latter solution is problematic for Hungarian since base-generating -*e* in Pol^0, the counterpart of Neg^0, would force verbal modifiers (VMs) into Spec,PolP (or higher) in VM+V_{fin}+-*e* configurations like *Megérkezett-e Emma?* ('Has Emma come?') (Kenesei 1994:340). This is incompatible with our fixing the "EPP" position of VMs at Spec,IP.

between a last resort default specification of that feature as declarative ($\langle i$TYPE: $\vdash\rangle$) and the presence of $\langle u$TYPE:?$\rangle$ on I^0.

A full-fledged formalization of the notion of intervention that we rely on is beyond this work. However, its core ingredients are the following: First, we are dealing with a variety of "defective intervention" (cf. Chomsky 2000:127) in that $\langle u$POL:–$\rangle$ on nem_1 is already valued. And second, intervention can arise where features of the intervener match (cf. Chomsky 2000:122) those of one of the "Agree-participants." In our case, the sharing of $\langle u$POL:–$\rangle$ by nem_1 and *-e* meets this condition.[13]

The exponent of outside negation, nem_2, is equally placed in Spec,PolP and again I^0-to-Pol^0 is triggered (with concomitant V_{fin}(*-e*)-VM-inversion in relevant environments). However, nem_2 is an indicator of "pragmatic" negation, and values $\langle i$NEG:_$\rangle$ on Pol^0 accordingly. We assume that $\langle i$NEG:~$\rangle$ is semantically "trivial," i.e., it contributes an identity function ($\lambda f.f$). The "real" interpretive effect indicated by nem_2 is registered as "force modification," encoded by "$|\mu$."[14,15]

(15) a. nem_2: $\langle u$NEG:~$\rangle$,$\langle u$FORCE:~$\rangle|\mu$ b. $Force^0$: $\langle i$FORCE:_$\rangle|\mu$

[13] From the perspective of upward Agree, this relation between probing *-e* and intervening nem_1 would instantiate part of an "Inclusion" configuration of "Featural Relativized Minimality" (Villata, Rizzi & Franck 2016:78).

[14] Gutzmann (2015:6.5) shows for the interaction of sentence mood and modal particles how this kind of "modification" can be captured formally – for the structural underpinnings of this, see, for example, Struckmeier (2014) – and Gutzmann (2019:4.6–4.7) develops a treatment of expressive adjectives that explicitly employs the kind of Agree-based mechanism we adhere to. Views diverge on the exact interpretive type of force modification in the case of ON. According to Krifka (2015:340), we are simply dealing with standard negation scoping over a speech act component, while Krifka (2017) takes ON to involve a particular denegation operator. Within the approach by Repp (2013), ON can be seen as triggering the value "falsum" in a peripheral projection specialized for "common ground management" (cf. Romero & Han 2004). A more radical proposal is made by Seuren (1969:134f.), who assumes that negativity and question force fuse into or are replaced by the operator "SUGG ('I suggest that …')."

[15] Here the distinction between TypeP and ForceP becomes relevant. *-e* is "type-oriented," as it equally (and obligatorily) serves to mark subordinate polar interrogatives (Kenesei 1994:5.2). The "erotetic" illocutionary force (cf. Zaefferer 2001) of *e*-interrogatives arises in root environments by (default) specification of $Force^0$. These are the environments force modification by ON is confined to. Thus, dependent *e*-INTS involving ON count as "embedded root phenomena" in the sense of Hooper and Thompson (1973) extended to interrogatives (cf. McCloskey 2006; Woods 2016). By contrast, the question operator of /\-interrogatives, which resist genuine embedding, is both type- and force-oriented, inducing interrogativity ($\langle i$TYPE:?$\rangle$) as well as erotetic force ($\langle i$FORCE:E$\rangle$). The exact structural mechanism for achieving this remains to be determined.

The resulting analysis of (7a) is provided in Figure 3.

Given that *nem*$_2$ comes without polarity specification, there is no intervention effect wrt $\langle u\text{POL:}\_\rangle|\varphi$ on *-e*, which means that Agree-driven interrogative clausal typing (Type$^{0\langle i\text{TYPE:?}\rangle}$) succeeds and (7a) is correctly predicted to be acceptable.[16]

Finally, we stipulate that phantom features (can) go unchecked and delete at Spell-Out without compromising well-formedness.[17] This has already been tacitly assumed for the analysis of (1) in Figure 1, which should have contained *-e*$^{\langle u\text{TYPE:?}\rangle,\langle u\text{POL:}\_\rangle|\varphi}$.

Let us stress the pivotal role of PolP in our analysis. This allows us to capture the phantom negativity of *-e* via $\langle u\text{POL:}\_\rangle|\varphi$, assimilating it to "negation markers that cannot express sentential negation without support" (Zeijlstra 2013:805). At the same time, PolP is instrumental in

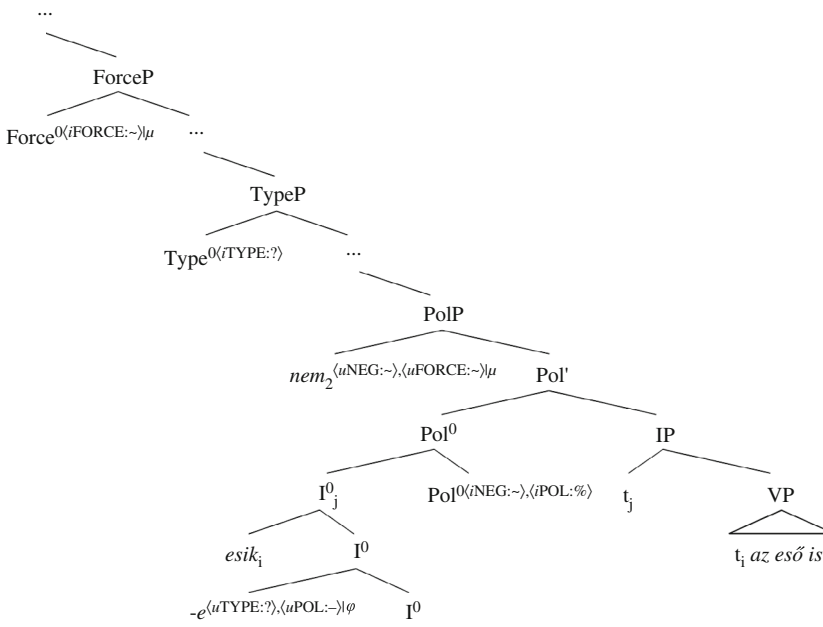


Figure 3. Analysis of (7a).

[16] An anonymous reviewer points out that the different featural specifications of *nem*$_1$ and *nem*$_2$ predict the possibility of languages making lexical distinctions between the exponents of IN and ON. At this stage, we have no empirical evidence in support of this. While broad-scale typology as reported on, for example, by Miestamo (2009) is still too coarse grained for answering such questions, work informed by the tradition of "micro variation" (e.g., Poletto 2016) may be close to unearthing pertinent facts. Note also that having *nem*$_2$ bear the feature $\langle u\text{NEG:}\neg\rangle$ would not be in conflict with our intervention account.

[17] Preminger (2014: chapter 5) takes this to hold of all uninterpretable features, i.e., he argues against their status as "derivational time-bombs." Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for directing our attention to this work.

distinguishing (the exponents of) IN and ON, where the former registers negative polarity, ⟨*u*/*i*POL:–⟩, and triggers the intervention effect, while the latter turns out polarity neutral, ⟨*i*POL:%⟩, a default due to non-specification of nem_2. We follow Breitbarth (2009:90) in taking the interpretive impact of polarity, ⟨*i*POL:−/%/+⟩, to concern the dimension of "affect." Neutral and positive values standardly coincide with the absence of ⟨*i*NEG:_⟩ on Pol^0, an option provided for by (14b).

Note further that we refrain from adopting an alternative analysis in terms of multiple NegPs that directly encode the distinction between IN and ON (cf. Munshi & Bhatt 2009). This is in spite of being aware that such an approach may make sense in the case of Hungarian "expletive negation" (EN), as argued for by Halm and Huszár (2021). Thus, importantly, EN in "surprise negation sentences" differs from IN/ON in disallowing V_{fin}-VM-inversion and requiring *nem*+…+VM+V_{fin}-patterns instead (Halm & Huszár 2021:561).[18] The latter are attested as only an additional option for the exponent of ON, nem_2, when it occurs in the topic field, i.e., between TypeP and PolP (Gyuris 2016:181). Also, given the force-related interpretive contribution of ON, which we model as "force modification," the positioning of nem_2 in the topic field (and disregarding of TypeP) would still be in need of an additional mechanism, such as Agree, that brings about interaction with $Force^0$. That is, the putative higher NegP would not be where ON is interpreted.[19] Evidence pointing in this direction comes from examples like (16).[20]

(16) *Valamikor nem fogják-e a választók megbánni a* (*e*-INT)
some.time.at not will-Q the voters regret.INF the
döntésüket ?
decision.their.ACC
'Won't the voters regret their choice at some point?'

The contribution of ON has to "outscope" the indefinite *valamikor* ('(at) some time') without its exponent, nem_2, c-commanding that indefinite.[21]

[18] For another variety of EN triggering VM+*nem*+V_{fin}-patterns, see Halm and Huszár (2021: section 4). For the interaction of negation and focus, see É. Kiss (2002: chapter 6).

[19] Halm and Huszár (2021:3.4) take EN in "suprise negation sentences" to be generated and interpreted in a projection closely corresponding to ForceP. This projection, however, would have to be situated lower than the putative NegP for ON, given that EN is not licensed in the topic field (Halm & Huszár 2021:3.3).

[20] (16) is modeled on one of several similar examples that can be found in the Hungarian National Corpus (Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014).

[21] In the German counterpart of (16), the negator *nicht* would preferably precede, and thus c-command, the indefinite. By contrast, Hungarian excludes the order *Nem valamikor …?* here.

2. Licensing propositional negation in echoic *e*-interrogatives

2.1. *Echoic* e-*interrogatives*

Interestingly, a corpus survey (Hungarian National Corpus, http://corpus.nytud.hu/mnsz) (Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014) has yielded a small number of examples of Hungarian *e*-interrogatives that seem to involve propositional negation, i.e., they seem to violate *IN. One such example is provided in (17).

(17) *A lakók valóban nem kapnak-e megfelelő* (*e*-INT)
the inhabitants really not receive-Q adequate
étkeztetést?
food.ACC
'Do the inhabitants really not receive adequate food?'

However, (17) occurs in a context where an "accusation" that the inhabitants do not receive adequate food has been made by an interlocutor. This claim is echoed in the scope of *-e* in (17).[22] We thus supplement the above analysis of *e*-interrogatives with a mechanism for such kinds of echoic licensing.

2.2. *A formal sketch*

To begin with, let us consider the familiar ban on, or awkwardness of, epistemic *must* in English polar V1-interrogatives (cf. Hacquard & Wellwood 2012:2.2; Jackendoff 1972:102f.).

(18) # *Must the burglar have had an accomplice*?

This effect can be suspended when echoing a previous utterance that contains a licit use of epistemic *must*, as shown in (19).

(19) a. A: *You must be hungry* b. B: *Must I*?

Descriptively, the epistemic reading of *must* is established via a declarative clause in (19a) and can be "imported" into the interrogative echoically, (19b).[23] Note also that echoic use is not quotation. At the

[22] The passage immediately preceding (17) is given in (i):

(i) *Miután azt Sósfalvi sem tagadja, hogy az anyagi gondok az ápolás és a gondozás rovására mennek, megkérdezzük, mi igaz a parlamentben is megfogalmazott vádakból.*
'Since Sósfalvy does not deny either that material difficulties led to the deterioration of the level of care, we ask whether the accusations also made in parliament are true.'

The literal accusation addressed by (17) has to be "accommodated" in ways similar to presupposition accommodation (cf. Beaver & Zeevat 2007).

[23] See Maché (2019:4.11 & 5.1.6) for discussion of potential causes of the infelicity.

same time, the grammar of echoic language seems to us to be close to the grammar of "mixed quotation," as described by Maier (2014). We come back to this below.

More concretely, our analysis of (17) builds on the idea that echoic language "re-uses" parts of the derivation (e.g., movements and valuations) of the source utterance but renders them (partially) "inert" wrt non-echoic parts. Notationally, we mark echoed material by pre-superscript η. Crucial ingredients for (17) will thus be the items in (20).[24]

(20) a. $^{\eta}nem_1$: ⟨*u*NEG:¬⟩,⟨*u*POL:–⟩ b. $^{\eta}\text{Pol}^0$: ⟨*i*NEG:¬⟩,⟨*i*POL:–⟩

The "declarative source" that (17) reacts to is given in Figure 4, and the analysis of (17) as an "echoic" *e*-interrogative licensing propositional negation in Figure 5.

Crucially, "inertness" of echoic material means that $^{\eta}nem_1{}^{\langle u\text{NEG:}\neg\rangle,\langle u\text{POL:}-\rangle}$ does not function as an intervener wrt non-echoic $\text{-}e^{\langle u\text{TYPE:?}\rangle,\langle u\text{POL:}-\rangle|\varphi}$. Interrogative clausal typing via Agree can therefore go ahead and yield a well-formed *e*-INT headed by $\text{Type}^{0\langle i\text{TYPE:?}\rangle}$. Thus, we do find propositional inside negation in Hungarian polar *e*-interrogatives, if it is "echoically licensed" ($^{\eta}nem_1{}^{\langle u\text{NEG:}\neg\rangle}/^{\eta}\text{Pol}^{0\langle i\text{NEG:}\neg\rangle}$).

Let us return to the affinity between echoic language and mixed quotation. One major challenge to a formal compositional analysis of the

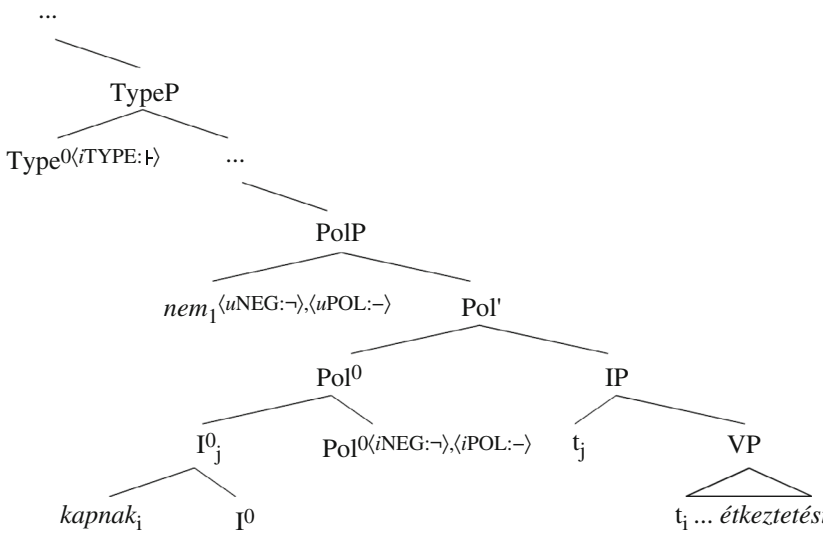


Figure 4. Analysis of declarative source for (17).

[24] Echoic re-use of negation ($^{\eta}nem$) is not to be confused with "negation which is external to an echoed proposition" called "echo-negation" by Cormack and Smith (2002:147).

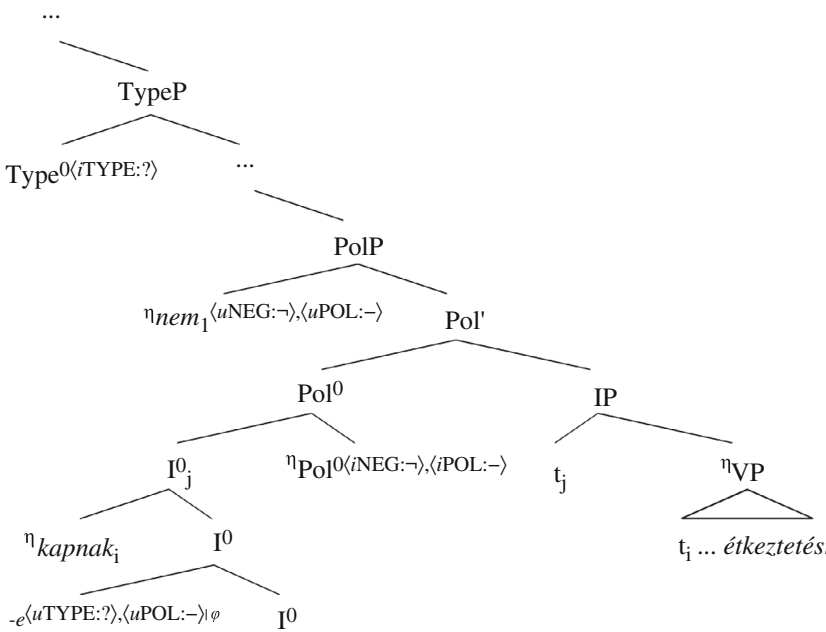


Figure 5. Analysis of (17).

latter are cases of non-constitutent quotation. In formal writing such cases are often signaled by brackets serving as "unquotation markers." Maier (2014:53) exemplifies this with (21).[25]

(21) *John complained that the teacher "misunderestimated* [*him*] *entirely"*

John's complaint concerns the attitude of complete misunderstanding and underestimation displayed by the teacher toward him, John. To report on this in the mixture of direct and indirect speech characteristic of mixed quotation, the current writer quotes the verb and intensifying adverb John used, but adjusts the object pronoun from direct first to indirect third person. Formally, in order to isolate the material that the quotation operator ("·") applies to, Maier employs λ-abstraction over expressions, i.e., at the level of syntax. This is illustrated in Figure 6 (Maier 2014:55).

Crucially, the object of *misunderestimate* is introduced as a variable. After combining the result with the adverb *entirely*, λ-abstraction creates

[25] (21) is used for illustrative purposes only. We agree with an anonymous reviewer that the example could underlyingly be structured as ... [[V ADV] NP] ... and thus not involve non-constituent quotation. However, this kind of easy way out is unlikely to be available in general, as slight modifications, such as in *misunderestimated* [*his*] *skills entirely*, already indicate.

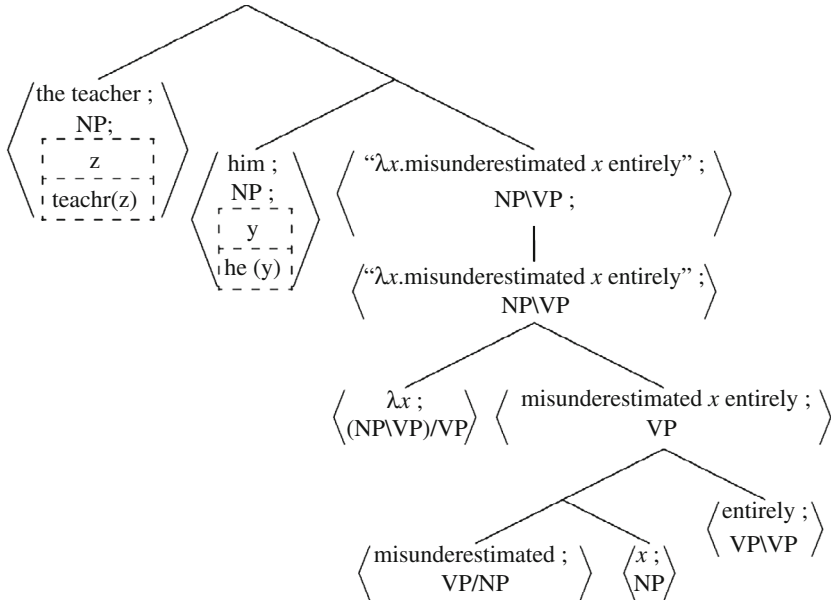


Figure 6. Unquotation by λ-abstraction (Maier 2014:55).

the "predicate" that the quotation operator applies to. Finally, *him* is introduced as first argument of that predicate and λ-conversion can apply to derive the correct linear surface position of *him*.[26]

Quite obviously, Maier's approach to mixed quotation can be adapted to a treatment of echoic language rather directly. The one thing to change is that instead of a quotation operator, one has to employ an echo operator ($^{\eta}$). Let us have a look at Figure 5 from this perspective. Figure 7 presents only the morphosyntactic part of the resulting structure and assumes that the entire original PolP is echoic. (We use "κ" as the constitutent variable.)

The idea is that *-e* surfaces right-adjacent to the finite verb *kapnak* without itself being echoic. According to the analysis in Figure 7, inertness of echoic expressions amounts to their being confined to an isolated sub-derivation. Interrogative clausal typing occurs outside of the echoic part of PolP, so that intervention by $nem_1^{\langle u\text{NEG:}\neg\rangle,\langle u\text{POL:}-\rangle}$ does not come into the picture.

[26] This operation is related to the one known as "wrapping" in categorial grammar, designed to deal, among other things, with discontinuity (cf., e.g., Morrill 1995). Such tools could be constrained in ways that they only apply in specific environments like quotation, echoing, or otherwise stylistically "marked" usages.

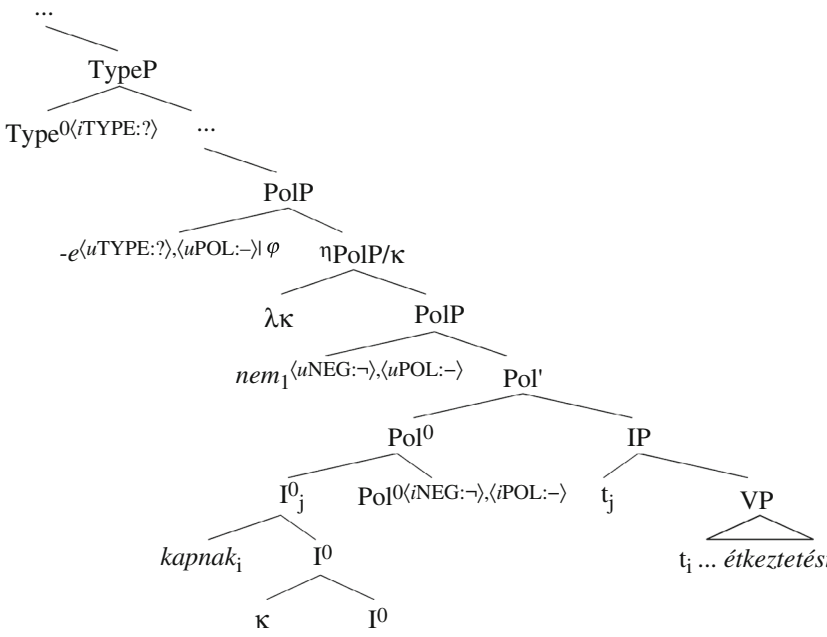


Figure 7. Analysis of (17) via unquotation.

2.3. *A challenge from echo-questions*

An anonymous reviewer has challenged our account, citing *e*-interrogatives used as a particular variety of echo-questions. Thus, as indicated in (22), if B hasn't properly heard or understood a polar question uttered by A, B can use an echoic *e*-INT – typically introduced by the subordinator *hogy* – for clarification (cf. Kenesei, Vago & Fenyvesi 1998:13).

(22) a. A: *Megcsináltátok a házit* /\ ?
VM.made.2PL the homework.ACC
'Have you done the homework?'
b. B: *Hogy megcsináltuk-e a házit*?
SUB VM.made.1PL-Q the homework.ACC
'Do you ask whether we have done the homework?'

Crucially, according to the reviewer, such *e*-interrogatives are incompatible with propositional negation, contrary to what cases like (17) seem to make one expect. The relevant example in (23b) is marked by % since judgments among the native speakers we consulted actually vary.

(23) a. A: *Nem csináltatok meg egy házit sem* /\ ?
not made.2PL VM one homework.ACC neither
'Have you not done any homework?'
b. B: % *Hogy nem csináltunk-e meg egy házit sem* ?
SUB not made.1PL-Q VM one homework.ACC neither
'Do you ask whether we have not done any homework?'

However, differences in acceptability between (17) and (23b), as well as the alternation of judgments regarding (23b), can be accounted for in terms of how the role of *-e* in interrogative typing and licensing echo-question force is construed (see also footnote 15). As for the former, echoing a polar interrogative requires use of a polar interrogative. Since the subordinator *hogy* cannot combine with /\-INT, *-e* must go proxy and bring about clausal typing (⟨*i*TYPE:?⟩). The resulting structure may therefore be treated as if *-e* had already been part of the echoed structure together with nem_1. Thus, whereas in (17) echoic nem_1 does not interfere with non-echoic *-e*, (pseudo-)echoicity puts *-e* on the same derivational level as echoic nem_1 in (23b) and an intervention effect may ensue.

Now, whether or not the mechanism just described is decisive depends on how echo-question force is derived. Where the latter is provided by an independent operator – signaled by a characteristic prosody – *-e* is confined to interrogative typing and a violation of *IN follows in the way sketched above. By contrast, if *-e* is taken to contribute "erotetic" force and interact with prosodic marking to form an echo-question operator, this may be considered its primary function and overrule the (pseudo-) echoicity involved in inducing the intervention effect.[27]

3. Conclusion and outlook

To recap, we have argued that the ban on propositional "inside" negation in Hungarian polar *e*-interrogatives can be derived as a syntactic intervention effect. For this purpose, we outlined an Agree-based formalization that crucially relies on a diachronically motivated negative formal ("phantom") feature on the interrogative particle *-e*. A

[27] We cannot here go any further into the role of *hogy* as marker of indirectness and "insubordination" (cf. Evans 2007; Mycock 2019:582f.). For recent relevant discussion of German counterpart constructions, see Reis (2013:108ff.) and Poschmann (2015: chapter 7). Intriguing prosodic evidence for the components of echo-question force is provided by Varga (2017). Accordingly, polar echo-questions like (22b)/(23b) standardly involve association of each accentable word with a "high monotone scalar contour" (‾) except for the last one, which is marked by the familiar rise-fall (/\). This similarity to /\-INTS may underlie the analysis by the speakers that postulate an outer echo-question operator independently of *-e*. Non-standard prosody exceptionlessly associates each accentable word with a rise-fall contour (/\) and thus assimilates polar echo-questions to /\-DECS (cf. Gyuris 2019). Here, question-force may be taken to require marking by *-e* to distinguish what is paraphrased as "are you asking . . .?" from "you are asking . . .!?".

putative counterexample was shown to be echoic and we indicated a way to capture the echoic licensing of propositional negation within a formalism allowing "unquotation" by λ-abstraction.

It goes without saying that what has been presented above is still sketchy. Most in need of clarification, perhaps, is the status of phantom features. A definitive determination of their formal properties and the identification of additional examples from other languages are still missing. Also, the issue of acquiring phantom features seems to be problematic in at least two ways. First, in our particular case of deriving *IN for *e*-interrogatives, what is required is indirect negative evidence.[28] This challenge, however, might be overcome under certain conditions related to the frequency/salience of "blocking" constructions – here /\-interrogatives displaying IN – in the input (Lasnik 1989; Lasnik & Lidz 2016). Second, and more seriously, the evidence in question would have to priviledge the phantom account for *IN over rivaling mechanisms.

Let us focus on this final point and ask what it requires to make progress here. To our knowledge, there hasn't so far been any survey to systematically establish incompatibilities between polar interrogatives and negation,[29] not to speak of such a survey taking the difference between IN and ON into account. Only after a reasonably large "typology" of cases has been obtained and individual structures have been analyzed can the question of rivaling mechanisms be assessed more seriously. At the current stage, we limit ourselves to listing four candidate types of mechanisms, two interpretive, two formal.

First, on the side of interpretation, it may be assumed that negation introduces a kind of bias that is incompatible with the specific use conditions of a particular type of polar interrogative. We have sidestepped this line of investigation here, but such an option would seem to still be open for an account of *IN in Hungarian *e*-interrogatives (Gärtner & Gyuris 2017; Gyuris 2017). However, the introduction of bias is not a cross-linguistically constant property of negation, as the cases of obligatory presence in Gitksan polarity questions (Matthewson 2019) and "neutralization" in Russian *li*-interrogatives (Brown & Franks 1995:4.1.1) suggest.

Second, polar interrogatives could be taken to introduce "or not" as a meaning component and thus be considered interpretively (more) complete, such as, for example, *Is John at home, or not?*. Addition of negation here (*Is John not at home, or not?*) could be felt to be flouting the question force or require construal in terms of double negation, which

[28] This is different in the case of "phantom arcs" in Arc Pair Grammar (Postal 1992), which are employed to extend the licensing options of the grammar.

[29] The survey by Miestamo (2009) touches on this point only very cursorily in that it lists a small number of languages for which the "range of PI [polar interrogative] constructions [is] restricted under negation." In one of the languages listed, i.e., Nubian, a particle-based marking strategy seems to have to give way to an intonational one (Abdel-Hafiz 2020).

might be "non-recoverable." We have discarded this line of approach to the synchronic contribution of *-e* in Section 1.2 above, but it could be a fruitful perspective on various question particles and has even been proposed for familiar cases like (positive) English V1-interrogatives (Guerzoni & Sharvit 2014).

On the formal side, it is possible to see negations and question operators as getting in the way of each other. This may, third, take the form of an intervention/minimality configuration, as we have suggested for Hungarian *e*-interrogatives in Section 1 above, inspired by work on ANAIs by Ernst (1994; cf. Law 2004). Alternatively, fourth, the incompatibility could arise from the two vying for the same structural position. Thus, it has been proposed that the question particle is base generated in Neg^0 in Sardinian *a*-interrogatives (Remberger 2010:576), blocking insertion of negation (cf. Duffield 2013:144, for Vietnamese). Conversely, negation in Quebec French *tu*-interrogatives has been argued to have to target the position of clausal typing already occupied by the question particle *tu* (Morin 2017:185f.). The latter movement operation has independently been postulated for Mandarin "Negative Particle Questions" by Cheng, Huang and Tang (1996:57).

We suspect that further options and refinements will come to the fore once the above challenge is tackled properly, but, reluctantly, we have to leave these matters for further research.

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