Some Aspects of the Diachrony of *Ugye*

It is well-known that the Hungarian particle *ugye* functions both as a question tag (from now on QT-*u(gye)*) and (analog to) a "modal particle" (MP-*u*) (e.g. Péteri 2002:6.16). Structurally, *ugye* standardly combines with declarative clauses in more (MP-*u*) or less (QT-*u*) integrated fashion: central vs. peripheral position, dependent vs. independent prosody (for finer detail, see Molnár 2019). Pragmatically, QT-*u* can be considered consensus-seeking while MP-*u* is consensus-presuming or -pre-empting.

It can also be taken as uncontroversial that MP-*u* historically derives from QT-*u*. At the same time, no in depth study of this development has been carried out so far, leaving its historical record as well as its motivation underdetermined. The current presentation aims at making some progress in both directions. This crucially involves bringing the response particle *úgy* ("so," "thus," "yes") (RP-*ú*) into the picture, given the familiar observation that it provides the source for QT-*u* in combination with the interrogative clause-typing particle -*e*: *úgy-e* ("is is so?") (Benkő 1967).

Regarding the historical record, the above indicated ordering of RP-*ú* < QT-*u* < MP-*u* can be confirmed with first (clear) attestations in 1541, (1) [Sylvester, János: *Uy Teſtamentū*; http://oldhungariancorpus.nytud.hu], 1716, (2) [court record (Novák et al. 2018); tmk.nytud.hu], and 1869-72, (3) [http://clara.nytud.hu/mtsz], respectively.

(1) *Hiſʒedi ezt? Monda uneki. Vǵ vram.*
     "Do you believe this? He said to him: **yes**, my lord."

(2) *a !kükerérül jöttök most **ugje** Vajas János*
     "You are coming from the well, **aren't you**, János Vajas?"

(3) *Kifogtam rajta **ugye** [...]*
     "I tricked him, **as we know**. [...]"

In order to account for the development from QT-*u* to MP-*u* it is suggested here that one take the notion of presumption and pre-emption seriously. Thus, where the speaker is − or persuasively pretends to be − confident of addressee consent, *S* may presume upon *A* and cut the dialogic sequence of QT-*u* + RP-*ú* (S_1: "..., *ugye?*"; S_2: "*Úgy!*") short, "incorporating" the latter item into the former. This can be captured formally by means of the functional approach to question semantics (cf. Krifka 2011:4.2). Key here is the assumption that, as shown in (4a), question tags like QT-*u* combine with a declarative prejacent to yield a function that requires polarity operators as term answers. RP-*ú* denotes the positive polarity operator ("yes"), (4b), and MP-*u* arises as a combination of the two via (commuted) function composition, (4c).

(4) a. $[\![\textit{ugye}_{QT}]\!] = \lambda p \lambda f_{\in \{\lambda t.t, \lambda t. \neg t\}}[\, f(p)\,]$

     b. $[\![\textit{úgy}_{RP}]\!] = \lambda t.t$

     c. $[\![\textit{ugye}_{MP}]\!] = [\![\textit{ugye}_{QT}]\!] \bullet [\![\textit{úgy}_{RP}]\!] = \lambda q[\, [\, [\![\textit{ugye}_{QT}]\!](q)\,]([\![\textit{úgy}_{RP}]\!])\,] = \lambda q.q$

Although (4c) only captures the (trivial) affirmative core meaning of *ugye*$_{MP}$, it is designed − avoiding equivalent combinatory permutation by C: $[C([\![\textit{ugye}_{QT}]\!])]([\![\textit{úgy}_{RP}]\!])$ (cf. Bozşahin 2012:45) − to in spirit follow the logic of semantic change laid out by von Fintel (1995).

(4c) can be further improved upon within the commitment space model of Krifka (2015) via combining the analysis of "reverse question tags" (p.342) (for QT-*u*) with that of *yes* (for RP-*ú*) (p.334), as sketched in (5).

(5) $([\, C + S_1 \vdash \varphi\,] \cup [\, \{\surd C\} \cup C + S_2 \vdash \neg \varphi\,]) \cap [\, C + S_2 \vdash \varphi\,]$

(5) induces the presumptive "translocutionary" effect of MP-*u* introducing both speaker and addressee commitments such that the output state would be (a consistent superset of) $\{S_1 \vdash \varphi, S_2 \vdash \varphi\}$. What remains to be determined is the nature of the implied call-on-addressee, i.e., the

kind of "ratifying" action expected from S$_2$. Importantly, (5) has the additional advantage of being able to accommodate MP-*u* inside rhetorically used interrogatives (Gyuris 2009:167).

The account in (4) has at least two further noteworthy properties. First, it postulates a lexical change that involves type-lowering (QT-*u*: ⟨t,⟨⟨t,t⟩,t⟩⟩ >> MP-*u*: ⟨t,t⟩), which violates an economy condition (cf. Mitrović 2017) implicit in von Fintel's approach. And (consequently?), second, as becomes clear when looked at from the perspective of Wiltschko (2021), (4) is in conflict with the theory of "upward grammaticalization" (Roberts and Roussou 2003) (as are cases discussed by Groothuis 2021). Thus, while both QT-*u* and MP-*u* should be located in the outermost "interactional structure" (e.g. Wiltschko 2021:81), the former belongs to the "responding layer," which dominates the "grounding layer" hosting the latter.

Now, in addition to spelling out further details of the above sketch, this presentation will attempt (i) to clarify the relation of the current approach to the idea of "non-anchor commitment" unifying QT-*u* and MP-*u* according to Gyuris (2018) and Alberti et al. (2017), (ii) to comment on the RP-status of *úgy* as elliptical (Holmberg 2016) vs. anaphoric (Krifka 2013), (iii) to illustrate that German MP *ja* is likely to derive directly from an RP- rather than via a QT-counterpart (cf. Hentschel 1986), (iv) to speculate on whether or not MP- and QT-instances of *ugyebár* constitute evidence for diachronic cyclicity, and (v) to en passant show that an early (1541) putative occurrence of *ugye*$_{QT}$ (*hogy*) ... is likely due to direct translation from Latin, emplying standard *úgy* and *-e*, independently.

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