Universal Quantification in Old Hungarian

Ágnes Bende-Farkas
RIL–HAS
agnesbf@gmail.com

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1 Introduction

1.1 Aims, Main Focus

1. Hypothesis$_1$: in early Old Hungarian so-called A-quantification was prevalent. ⇒ Reconstruct as much as possible on the basis of data from OH codices.

2. Hypothesis$_2$: early OH also had sentential quantifiers that could bind alternatives long-distance (Kratzer–Shimoyama). ⇒ Present data that support this hypothesis, and speculate on consequences.

3. Hypothesis$_3$ So-called D-quantification (quantification expressed by means of determiners, quantifying DPs) is a relatively late development in OH. Explore the consequences.

4. In addition: OH had correlatives, another, rather non-standard means of conveying maximal/universal readings. ⇒ The landscape of quantification in Hungarian must have been rather mixed. Aim: disentangle some of the strands.

1.2 Tools, Methods

D-quantification vs A-quantification

Barbara Partee: how NL expresses quantification.

1. D-quantifiers: determiners, quantifying DPs.

D-quantification is selective, local (wrt binding), and island-sensitive. Sensitivity to islands: the absence of certain scope configurations. In island-free environments, scope relations can be flexible due to covert quantifier movement.

(1) *Every* cat is fond of *its* kittens. *She* caught a lot of mice.

Islands:

(2) a. *Every* professor heard the rumour that *every* student of his had been summoned to the dean’s office.

b. If *every* friend of mine comes to the party it will be a riot.

c. *Every* semanticist moved to Tübingen because *every* computational linguist was working there.

Scope flexibility

(3) a. The ambassador of *every country* was invited to the reception

b. There was a policeman at *every corner*.

OH example of narrower-than-surface scope:

(4) Es sonha meg nem sert tyteket valamyben ha mynden
and never PRT not hurt you.PL-ACC something-INE if every
nappon fogattok neky adnya eleg eledelt
day-SUP promise-2PL DAT-3.SG give-INF enough food-ACC
‘And he (the wolf) will never cause you any harm if you promise to give
him enough food every day’ (Jókai C. 151)

The point of the example: the scope of *mynden nappon* ‘every day’ is confined to the infinitival clause. (The reading is “You promise to give him enough food *every day*”, and NOT “Every day, you promise to give him enough food”.)

(5) Thowaba megh nem emlekezem soha mynden ò
Further PRT not remember never every he
alnoksaghy rol
dupl icity-POSS.PL-3SG-about
‘Furthermore, I shall never recall all his duplicity’ (Érsekújvár C. 77vb)

(6) akoron wolthak wolna Ierwsalembe sok Irasthwdok myndë
then were PAST Jerusalem-INE many learned-men every
nemzetekbol
d n ations-from
'At the time there were in Jerusalem many learned men from every nation’
(Érsekújvár C. 80rb)

A-quantification: adverbial quantifiers are predicted to have frozen scope (since they are generated in situ), and can be non-selective.

(7) Men *seldom* make passes at girls who wear glasses. (Dorothy Parker)
    Few ⟨man, girl-with-glasses⟩ pairs are such that the man makes a pass at the girl. (Peters and Westerståhl (2006))

NB D-quantifiers are no longer considered unselective.

**Long-Distance Binding of Alternatives**


Japanese: indeterminate pronouns (Kuroda (1965)) that acquire existential, universal or interrogative force via (long-distance) association with certain particles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dare</th>
<th>nani</th>
<th>dono</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td>‘which’ (Det)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q  dare ... ka  nani ... ka  dono ... ka
∃  dare ... ka  nani ... ka  dono ... ka
∀  dare ... mo  nani ... mo  dono ... mo

Hamblin semantics: i. pronouns introduce alternatives; alternative meanings of larger constituents are computed compositionally. *Ka, Mo*: propositional operators that bind alternatives.

(8) a. \[[\text{dare}]^w,g\] = \{x|human(w)(x)\}
    b. \[[\text{nemutta}]^w,g\] = \{λx.λw.[sleep(w)(x)]\}
    c. \[[\text{darenemutta}]^w,g\] = \{p|∃x.[human(w)(x) ∧ sleep(w)(x)]\}

(9) [[Dono hon-o yonda] kodomo]-mo yoku nemutta

‘For every book \(x\) the child who read \(x\) slept well’ ≈

‘Every child who read a book from the set of alternative book slept well’

Similarly for:

(10) [[Dono gakusei-ga syootaisita] sensei]-mo odotta

‘For every student \(x\) the teacher \(x\) had invited danced’ ≈

‘Every teacher invited by some student (from among alternative students) danced’
2 The Expression of Universal/Maximal Readings in Old Hungarian

An inventory

1. A-quantifier: the suffix -keed (today’s distributive/pluractional suffix -ként). Modern Hungarian: -ként, -tal-te are more like frequency markers:

(11) a. Vegyen be naponta három tablettát
    Take-IMP.2SG in day-LY three tablet-ACC
    ‘You should take three tablets a day’

b. Ez a lap kéthente jelenik meg
    This the journal two-week-ly appears PRT
    ‘This journal appears biweekly’

c. Péter időnként elkésik
    Peter time-DIST PRT-late-SFX-3SG
    ‘From time to time, Peter is late’

The point of (11-c): MH időnként is similar in composition to OH koronkéd. Nevertheless időnként is a plural existential (‘from time to time’, ‘sometimes’) and koronkéd was a universal quantifier. It could also mean ‘incessantly’ (when it combined with a state description).

Hypothesis: -kédt was a distributivity marker. The point of (12): each of the devil’s daughters is married off richly, viz. it is not the case that they receive a large dowry as a group (so that individual shares need not count as rich).

(12) Heten vadnak, Mel’eket, az ő At’ok az
    seven-ADV are, which-PL-ACC the she father-POSS-3PL the
    űrdog mynd egenkét kazdagon el hazasyta,
    devil all oneADV-DIST richly away marries
    ‘They (the daughters of cupidity) are seven in number, all of whom their father the devil marries off generously, one by one’ (Székelyudvarhely C. 95r–v)

(13) Es lakozýk wala naponkeed nagý gýenýerewseggel
    And dwell PAST day-N-LY great pleasure-INS
‘And he dwelt (there) with great pleasure every day’ (Érsekújvár C. 5r)

naponked presumably combines with the manner adverb: ‘And he dwelt there, and each day he felt great pleasure’

Scope interaction between -ked and modal: $\forall > \diamond$ rather than $\diamond > \forall$.

(14) hogỳ ky naponked eshetel wgỳan azon korsagban
that who day-ly fall-poss-2sg same that illness-acc
‘Every day it is possible for you to come down with the same illness’ (Érsekújvár C. 211vb)

Koronkeed: ‘always’. Restrictor: the usual mechanisms (context, Focus, presupposition, subordinate clause . . .).

(15) De koronkeed dagalyosok voltatok mywltha foghwa
But age-dist swollen-pl be-pst-2pl since beginning
ysmertelek
know-pst-1sg
‘But you’ve always been self-important, ever since I’ve known you’ (Jordánszky C. 220)

The relevance of (15): koronkeed combines with a state description; accordingly, it does not mean ‘from time to time’, ‘ever and anon’. Rather, its meaning is ‘at all times within an interval’, ‘incessantly’.

(16) koronkeed bykath aldozyeek hỳ byneyerth es
age-dist bull-acc sacrifice-imp-3sg he sin-3sg.pl-for and
kosth ystennek dyczeeretyre
ram-acc god-dat praise-poss.3sg-for
‘He (Aaron) should always sacrifice a bull for his sins, and a ram to praise God’ (Jordánszky C. 99)
‘Whenever Aaron sacrifices something for his sins it should be a bull, and whenever he sacrifices something in praise of God, it should be a ram.’


(17) zereuel mỳnd egỳmasvtan. mỳnden gondolatyty
in-order all each-other-after every thought-poss.3-acc
meg monda
PRT said-IMPF
‘She related every thought of the (other) nun, all in good order, one after the other’ (St Margaret’s Legend, 59r)

(17) Reduplication: ki-ki lit. ‘who-who’. Hypothesis: Preverbal, reduplicated ki-ki is a vestige of (times when) unattached indeterminate pronouns (were rampant).

(18) mindonok feel tamadnak az alkolmas allapatba: meel
every-PL up surge-3PL the appropriate state-INE which
kinek kynek nezy ônon termezettit:
who-DAT who-DAT regard-3SG own nature-POSS.3SG-ACC
‘Everyone will be resurrected in the appropriate state, which takes into account the nature of each’ (Kazinczy C. 96v–97r)


4. A short-lived A-quantifier: egyminden(-ik) lit. ‘every one (of them)’. (Esp. in the Vienna and Munich codices.) Could be a floating quantifier:

(19) a. Es ad onèkic eg mendenneç ûuet a. mëzöben
And gives them one-every-DAT grass-ACC the meadow-in
‘And he gave them, to each of them, grass in the meadow’ (Vienna C. 308)
b. Ime en adoc ñemberekët egmendent o
Lo I give-1SG man-PL-ACC one-every-ACC he
fèlenèc kézebë
brother-POSS.3SG-OBL hand-POSS.3SG-into
‘And lo, I hand over people, each and every one, into the hands of his brother’ (Vienna C. 310)
c. a maradeki mègmariac egmenden
the remainder-POSS.3SG.PL prt-bite-3PL he
ô fèlenèc husat
brother-POSS.3SG-DAT flesh-POSS.3SG-ACC
‘the remainder/the survivors will bite, every one of them, the flesh of their brethren’ (Vienna C. 311)

5. Aside: (reduplicated) pronoun + mind: ki mind, ki-ki mind. Vera Hegedûs (p.c.): ki(-ki) mind could be a short-lived ‘experiment’ to express ‘everybody’, ‘each person’. 
(20) ... **ky nynd** el temethween ew elsew zylőtteet
   who all away bury-PART he first born-POSS.3SG-ACC
   ‘Having all buried their firstborn’ (Jordánszky C. 188)

(21) **ky ky mind** miwelkoðethe zerenth wegón:
   who who all deed-POSS.3SG according.to take-SBJV.3SG
   awagh lot: awagh gonožth:
   or good-ACC or evil-ACC:
   ‘Each should partake according to his deeds, whether it be of good
   or evil’ (Kazinczy C. 89v)

6. Bare nouns in generic/habitual sentences. See also Barbara Egedi’s work.

(22) **ember, ez velagi** morhat ey nappa
   man, this world-ADJ.SFX riches-ACC night day-TRANSL
   keresi, el iç az halal, es **mind** el
   seek-3SG, away come-3.SG the death, and all away
   vesi őtôle :—
   take+def.3sg from-him
   ‘man pursues worldly riches night and day, but up comes death and
   takes them all away from him’ (Bod C. 4v)

(22) Free relatives/Correlatives.

(23) **valamy** zylendydk hym nemzeth, **azth koronkeed**
   something be-born-FUT.3SG male issue that-ACC age-DIST
   wr ystenuek aldozzad
   lord god-DAT sacrifice-IMP.2SG
   ‘whatever male issue is born, that should always be sacrificed to
   God’ (Jordánszky C. 233)

Scope issues. Discussion: question period?

7. Bare pronouns in conditionals/under other operators.

   Prelude: Under negation.

(24) Es tehat latek tewz langott menbelew1
   And so saw-SG1 fire flame-ACC heaven-from
   leýtewtt ...de az egýebekrewl **nem** tudok
   descend-PART-ACC ...but the other-PL-about not know-SG1
   **mýtt**
   what-ACC
“I saw a flame descending from Heaven . . . but I know nothing about the rest” (Jókai Codex 45)

mỳtt ‘what’ bound by negation. Clear from syntactic context that it is not an embedded question (à la ‘I don’t know what to say’).

A donkey sentence: ky has a universal construal.

(25) Ha ky kerdenee honnan volt az. Azzonywnk
    if who ask-COND.3SG where-from was that. lady-POSS.1PL
    marianak hogy semy terheet nehesseegeet nem zenwette
    Mary-DAT that none burden-ACC difficulty-ACC not suffered
    legyen Reea felelnek doctorok mondwan.
    be-SBJV.3SG SUB-3SG reply-3PL doctors say-PART . . .
    ‘Should someone ask how come that Our Lady Mary had no difficulty (in giving birth) learned men reply saying . . . ’ (Érdy C. 44a)

(26) Ha kedeeg my kewessee annal nagyobot
    if CONJ what little-TRANS that-ADE bigger-ACC
    zolt volna. hyzóm hogy mind ez vylaag
    speak-PST.3SG be-COND believe-1SG that all this world
    sem foghatta volna meg
    neither catch-POSSIB-PERF.3SG be-COND PRT
    ‘And if he (St John) had spoken somewhat louder / any louder I believe that not even the whole wide world could have grasped it’
    (Érdy C. 54a)

Sentence (26) is arguably also a donkey sentence: my acquires a universal construal under ha ‘if’: ‘For every measure x larger than the original loudness (of John’s speaking out in Revelations) it holds that the world could not have grasped John’s message’


9. Universal FC items akár + pronoun, vala + pronoun. Akár+ pronoun was confined to a sentence-initial operator position. Vala+pronoun combination often conveyed FC construals but they were in fact ordinary indefinites.

Hypothesis: in early Old Hungarian A-quantifiers were predominant. Also: quantificational effects by long-distance binding of indeterminate pronouns (Kratzer–Shimoyama). Binders: negation, conditional, A-quantifiers(?).
The first strong D-quantifier: *minden* ‘every’, ‘everyone’. First attested in the Königsberg Fragment and the Jókai Codex. In the Jókai Codex: several compounds with *minden* (*mindenhol* ‘everywhere’, *mindenkor* ‘on every occasion’, ‘always’, *mindenható* ‘omnipotent’).

3 Discussing *minden*

*Minden* was not the only D-quantifier in OH. Apart from *monno* ‘both’ and *egy-minden* it was the only strong quantifier. Several weak determiners attested as early as the Jókai Codex:

(27) a. belmenuen varasba ezkeppen mezeytelenewl **valamyt**
    into-go-PART town-ILL this-like naked-ly something-ACC
    predicaly neppeknek
    preach-IMP.SG people-DAT
    ‘as you go into town preach something to the people, naked as you are’ (Jókai C. 56–57)

b. Es **nemy** zakadozt gyekenek ualanak alattak
    and some tattered rushes were under-3PL
    ‘And they had some tattered straw mats under them’ (Jókai C. 86)

3.1 As Expected

Binding:

(28) mi atyank bodog fferench **menden** miuelkedetiben:
    we father-POSS.1PL blessed Francis every deed-POSS.PL.3SG-INE
    istenhez volt hassonlatos:
    god-ALL was similar
    ‘In all his deeds our father the Blessed Francis was like God’ (Jókai C. 1)

(29) **menden** yozagat zegenekne eloztuan:
    every asset-POSS.3SG-ACC poor-PL-DAT away-divide-PART
    ‘having distributed every one of his assets among the poor’ (Jókai C. 8)

(30) **menden** test ne gyczewlkewgyek **ew** lelkeben
    every body not glorify(-REFL-)SBJV.3SG he soul-POSS.3SG-INE
    ‘Nobody should glorify his soul’ (Jókai C. 128)
    ‘For everybody it holds that he is not to praise his own soul’ Flexible scope. A new example:

(31) **Sokan** halnac meg **menden** h`elen
    Many-GR die-3PL PRT every place-on
‘Many are dying/have died everywhere’ (Vienna C. 228)
‘Everywhere many are dying/have died’

No exx attested with collective verbs (‘gather’, ‘meet’, ‘surround’). No exx attested with collectivity markers or reciprocals in Nuclear Scope. Several such exx with mind ‘all’:

(32) a. Téhat mind az zentők egetombe mondanak: Ez az zyz
Thus all the saint-PL together say-PL3: This the virgin:
‘Thus all the saints said together: This is the virgin’ (Kazinczy C. 9v)
b. Az kővetkező nap mind az nep fel goluen: ...az
The following day all the people up gather-VÉN:
kornől allok: mind Codallyak uala:
...the around stand-GER-PL: all admire-PRES.3SG be-PERF
‘The following day all the people having assembled, all those around it admired it’ (Kazinczy C. 17r)

(33) Tehat ime az hagot napra es helre mind özue golenek:
Thus lo the leave-PART day-onto and place-onto all together
gather-IMP-3PL:
‘Thus they all assembled on the appointed day, at the appointed place’
(Kazinczy C. 61r)

(34) mend vv scentuí es unuttei cuzicun iov all he saint-POSS.PL.3SG and chosen-POSS.PL.3G among right felevl iochtotnia ílezie vvt. from arrive-CAUS-INF-3SG resurrect-SBJV.3PL he-ACC
‘May He resurrect him to be sent to the right of God, among all His saints and His anointed’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)

Mind and Reciprocals:

(35) kyk mind eleygben yonek eġ maasnak es who(Rel)-PL all before-POSS.3PL come-3PL one other-DAT and wg tiztolyk eġ maasth that-way respect-3PL one other-ACC
‘who all come forward to meet each other, and thus show respect toward each other’ (Sándor C. 5v)
No exx attested with distributivity markers in the Nuclear Scope of *minden*. Examples with *mind* abound (e.g. (12)). Later: what look like counterexamples can be explained if one assumes loose, discoursal mechanisms.
(Discussion later.)

(36)  
\[ \text{mindonok feel tamadnak az alkolmas allapatba: meel kinek every-PL up surge-3PL the appropriate state-INE which who-DAT kynek nezy oonon termezettit: who-DAT regard-3SG own nature-POSS.3SG-ACC} \]
‘Everyone will be resurrected in the appropriate state, which takes into account the nature of each’ (Kazinczy C. 96v–97r)

\[ \Rightarrow \text{Mind and minden display the (relatively) well-studied divergence one can see with all and every.} \]

### 3.2 Less expected, but still predictable

The use of *minden* as a scope marker. More precisely: using *minden* ... *nem* instead of *semmi* ... *sem*.

(37)  
\[ \text{a. menden titk nem lèhètètlèn tenèked Every secret not impossible you-DAT} \]
\[ \text{‘No secret is impossible before thee’ (Vienna C. 136)} \]
\[ \text{Lit. ‘Every secret is not impossible before thee’} \]
\[ \text{b. egmenden gonozt ne gondollon o baratt’a èllèn one-every evil-ACC not think-IMP.SG he friend-POSS.3SG against} \]
\[ \text{‘No-one should think ill of his brethren’ (Vienna C. 305)} \]
\[ \text{c. mynden ydöben be ne mennyen az sanctuariomba,...,} \]
\[ \text{every time-in in not go-IMP.3SG the sanctum ...that hogh megh ne hallyon PRT not die-IMP.3SG} \]
\[ \text{‘(Aaron) should never enter the sanctum, lest he should die’ (Jordánszky C. 99)} \]
\[ \text{Lit. ‘At every/any time, Aaron must not enter the sanctum, lest he should die’} \]

\[ \Rightarrow \text{Minden could serve a purely ‘logical’ role. Precondition: a particular stage of the Jespersen cycle. Mind has not been attested in such a role (unlike egminden).} \]
3.3 The Unexpected

Rarities from the codices. They shed light on

- the meaning of *minden* as ‘full’, ‘complete’, and
- a period of OH when variable binding in the logic textbook sense coexisted (and interfered) with antecedent–anaphora relations.

1. *Minden* could (and still can) combine with abstract nouns (e.g. *jó* ‘good’). This has more to do with the domain of *N*/*NP*s than with the nature of quantifiers. (Tovená)

   (38) *Ez zamos zent napokban* myndden eletewnket meg this numerous holy days-INE every life-POSS.1PL-ACC PRT yobbohok improve-SBJV.1PL
   ‘During these many feast days we should improve our entire life’ (Érdy C. 4a)

2. One example with *minden* as a modifier:

   (39) *ez velagon zegen legy evrevmest. es menyorzagban* this world-SUP poor be-IMP.SG gladly and heaven-INE
   legy *menden* kazdag. be-IMP.SG every rich
   ‘In this world be poor gladly, and in heaven be all-rich (full of riches)’ (Cornides C. 81v)

3. One example of *minden + -keed* in Restrictor:

   (40) *zollywnk arrol ky mynden naponkeed* speak-SBJV.1PL that-DEL which every day-SUP-DIST
   zemewnk elót forog
   eye-POSS.1PL before revolve-3SG
   ‘Let us speak about that which is before our eyes every day’ (Érdy C. 20a)
   (Lit.: *every daily*)

⇒ Question: the distributivity of OH *minden*.
4. Double case marking: appositives?

(41) mėguon menden varost & mėdent a.
PRT-take-PST.3SG every town-ACC and every-ACC the
foldon lakozot
earth-SUP dwell-PART-ACC
‘He conquered every town and every inhabitant of the land’ (Vienna C. 14)

5. Interference with relatives/correlatives1:

(42) Menden valaki kaialtanga vrnac
Every(one) someone cry-FUT.3SG lord-DAT
nēuet vuozol
name-POSS.3SG-ACC redeem(-ed)
‘Everyone who cries the name of the Lord will be redeemed’

valaki ‘someone’ was a relative pronoun in OH. It usually introduced correlatives/free relatives, but it could also be embedded under quantifiers. ⇒ this is a problem for the history of Hungarian indefinites.

6. Interference with correlatives2:

(43) menden,nek meg ada aztj aky,nek myj evuej vala
everyone,-DAT PRT gave that-ACCj whoj,DAT whatj hisj be-PST
‘She gave everyone his due’ (Cornides C. 178r)
‘She gave everyone, thatj to whomj whichj was hisj (due)’

(44) a. Mindenki,nek megadta (azt). Ki,nek
everyone,-DAT PRT-give-PST.3SG (that-ACC) whoj-DAT
mi j az ōvéj volt (megadta neki). whatj the hisj be-PST.3SG (PRT-give-PST.3SG DAT.3SG)
‘She gave it to everyone. Whoever had something as his due, she gave it to him.’

b. Kinek, mi j az ōvéj volt, (mindenki,nek)
who-DAT what the his be-PST.3SG (everyone-DAT)
megadtaj
PRT-give-PST.3SG
‘Whoever had something as his due, she gave that to him/to everyone’

7. Requantification? Sensitivity to spoken discourse?
Every task of his, which had been assigned by his Holy Father, he accomplished everything’ (Érsekújvár C. 68ra)

‘from every order there were angels who fell together with the accursed Lucifer, who had all yielded to him and sinned’ (Érsekújvár C. 68rb)

Furthermore, everyone who heard them, each (hearing the disciples) speak in his tongue’ (Érsekújvár C. 80va)

4 What’s in a Landscape

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<th>Movement of operator</th>
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<th>A-quant-s</th>
<th>D-quant-s</th>
</tr>
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<td>Scope</td>
<td>Frozen</td>
<td>Frozen (mostly)</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
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<tr>
<td>Binding</td>
<td>Discharge of alternatives</td>
<td>Depends on the quantifier</td>
<td>Logical</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selective?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Depends on the quantifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>Not sensitive</td>
<td>Not sensitive</td>
<td>Sensitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Some conjectures:

1. The quintessential A-functor could well be the group forming suffix -n, said
to enter the composition of mind. Minden is hypothesised to contain another dose of -n.

(48) a. Hányan érkeztek idejében?
How-many-N arrived in-time
‘How many people arrived in time?’

b. Öten.
Five-N
‘A group of five has arrived in time.’

⇒ Mind could initially have been a tailor-made supremum operator. (Or, in the spirit of Szabolcsi, it could have been an expression needing to be embedded under a supremum operator.)

2. From the Jókai Codex onward: composite pronouns abound: né+ pronoun, vala+pronoun for indefinites, se(m/n)+ pronoun for n-words, several combinations for relative pronouns, akár + pronoun for marked FC items.

With extreme caution, these can be regarded as (operator + variable) compounds. Minden (+pronoun) obviously follows this pattern.

Question: what made pronouns combine locally with their operators?

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References


