

Indeterminates and Universal Quantification

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1 Introduction

The main question: What the term ‘quantification’ may mean in ‘indeterminate-based quantification’ in (Old) Hungarian (and possibly in other Uralic languages as well).¹

Indeterminate: a pronoun that receives universal, existential or universal quantification depending on its syntactic context (Kuroda (1965)). In the Japanese examples (1) and (2) below, this is *dare* ‘which’. Syntactic context, in this case: long-distance or local association with a particle. *Mo* \mapsto universal reading, *-ka* \mapsto existential reading, *-no* \mapsto interrogative reading.

- (1) a. [[Dono hon-o yonda] kodomo]-**mo** yoku nemutta
[[which book-ACC read] child]-MO well slept
‘For every book x the child who read x slept well’
b. Taro-wa [[dare-ga katta] mochi] -o tabemasita **ka**?
Taro-TOP who-NOM bought rice.cake -ACC ate Q
‘Who is the x such that Taro ate rice cakes that x bought?’

¹I-B Q: term by George Tsoulas et al.

(Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002))

- (2) a. Dare-ga ringo-o tabeta **no**?
who-NOM apple-ACC ate Q
‘Who ate an apple?’
b. Dare-**mo**-ga ringo-o tabeta.
who-MO-NOM apple-ACC ate
‘Everyone ate an apple.’
c. Dare-**mo** ringo-o tabe-nak-atta.
who-MO apple-ACC eat-NEG-PAST
‘No one ate an apple.’
d. Dare-**ka**-ga ringo-o tabeta.
who-KA-NOM apple-ACC ate
‘Someone ate an apple.’

(Watanabe (2004))

1.1 Quantifiers, quantificational readings

1. D(eterminer) quantification vs A-quantification (adverbs, adjuncts, affixes, argument structure adjusters; Partee (1995)):

Example (3-b): in West Greenlandic, quantifiers can appear as verbal affixes. (Bittner (1995), ex. (4) p.60).

- (3) a. **Every** man is mortal (Logic textbook, D-quantification)
b. ...quartuur-**tuaanna-ngajap**-p-a-a
...break-always-almost-ind-+tr-3s₁.3s₂
Full ex.: ‘When a boy gets a balloon, he almost always breaks it within ten minutes’

2. Indefinites are NOT quantifiers. (Proper analysis: a matter of choice. Predicates, choice functions, ...)
3. Indeterminate-based quantificational readings: orthogonal to A/D quantification.

Free relatives, correlates: unique/maximal readings. Not (textbook) quantification (Dayal (1995) and all the papers it has inspired).

- (4) **vala-ki** iste(n)nec zolgal orzagl vgy mint orozlan
VALA-who god-DAT serves reigns so like lion
Qui seruit deo regnat vt leo (Latin original in the codex)
‘He who serves God reigns like a lion’ (Guary C. 11)

1.2 Indeterminate-based “quantification” in Uralic languages

Indeterminates, —appearing to be— on their own

Tundra Nenets:

In adverbial clauses, if the verb is in the present tense: ambiguity between interrogative and declarative (existential) reading:

- (5) Maşa **xib'a-h** ti-m xada-qma-xəd^o to^o
 Masha who-GEN reindeer-ACC kill-PERF.AN-ABL come
 ‘Masha came after who killed the reindeer?’, or
 ‘Masha came after someone killed the reindeer’

(Nikolaeva (2014), ex. (70a): 312.)

Existential reading possible in alternative questions:

- (6) a. Maşa wāsako-nta **xən'ah** xā-qm'a-xəd^o mə nc^ora^o
 Masha husband-GEN.3SG where.to go-PERF.PART.ABL work-MOD
 pā-sa-q?
 begin-PAST.REFL.3SG
 ‘Masha started working after her husband left where?’, or
 ‘Did Masha start working after her husband went somewhere?’
 b. Maşa Wera-h **ηəmke-m** xada-qma-xəd^o to-sa
 Masha Wera-GEN what-ACC kill-PERF.AN-ABL come-INTER
 ‘Masha came after Wera killed what?’, or
 ‘Did Masha come after Wera killed something?’

(Nikolaeva (2014): p. 312, (71 a–b))

Old Hungarian:

(Positive) existential:

- (7) Kèt źaz penz arra keñèrèc nē èlegèc èzecn^c hog eg
 two hundred money price-to bread-PL not enough-PL this-PL-DAT that one
 mēdèn kèuèsèt **mit** vègē bènne
 every little-ACC what-ACC take-SUBJ.3SG from-it
 Ducentorum denariorum panes non sufficiunt eis, ut unusquisque modicum
 quid accipiat
 ‘Two hundred pieces’ worth of bread would not suffice to provide everyone
 with a little food’ (Munich C. 89vb, John 6:7)

Partitive–existential use:

- (8) **kÿ** kezeeÿt **kÿ** edes zemeÿt.
 who hand-POSS.PL.3SG-ACC who sweet eye-POSS.PL.3SG-ACC
 zaÿaat orcaÿaat apolgattÿaak vala nagÿ
 mouth-POSS.PL.3SG-ACC cheek-POSS.PL.3SG-ACC kiss-PST-3PL PAST great
 sÿrassal.
 crying-INSTR
 ‘Some were kissing his hands, some were kissing his sweet eyes, mouth and
 cheeks amidst great sobbing’ (Érdy C. 248 a)

Under clausemate negation:

- (9) Es tehat latek tewz langott menbelewle lejtewtt ...de
 And so saw-1SG fire flame-ACC heaven-from descend-PART-ACC ...but
 az egýebekrewle **nem** tudok **mýtt**
 the other-PL-about not know-1SG what-ACC
 ‘I saw a flame descended from Heaven ...but I know nothing about the rest’
 (Jókai C. 45)

Minimising/Polarity context; negated existential or ‘donkey’ construal (universal reading due to covert conditional):

- (10) Az jó lelke embernek kedeeg nagyob erdemót zerez vele
 The good soul-ADJ.SFX man-DAT and greater merit-ACC gain with.it
 csak **ký** neký ne enghegyen
 only who to.it not yield-IMPER.3SG
 ‘(Temptations) increase the merits of good souls; only, no-one should yield to them/if someone doesn’t yield to them’ (Érdy C. 82b)
- (11) a. Nagýob zerelmetósseege senkýnek nýnchen mýnt hogý **ký**
 greater charitableness-POSS.3SG no-one-DAT not.is than that who
 az ew eedes lelkeet vesse halarra ew
 the he sweet soul-POSS.3SG-ACC cast-SUBJ.3SG death-onto he
 barátýeert
 friend-POSS.3SG-for
 ‘Nothing is more charitable than sacrificing one’s soul for one’s friend’
 (Érdy 99a)
- b. maiorem charitatem nemo habet quam vt animam suam ponat quis pro
 amicis et scilicet inimicis suis (John 15:13)
 ‘Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.’ (King James)
- c. èttol nagob zèrètètè sènkin^c nīcèn hanēhog **valaki**
 this-than greater love-POSS.3SG no-one-DAT not.is but-that someone
 vèsse ɔ̇ lèlkèt ɔ̇ barat’t’aert
 cast-SUBJ.3SG he soul-POSS.3SG he friend-POSS.3SG-for
 — as above — (Munich C. 102ra)

Opaque context; about the Three Wise Men

- (12) gýorssak valanak ez Iambor wrrak ha **hol** es **mýkoron** Ballam
 fast-PL were the pious lords if where and when Balaam
 proffeta mondasa zerent az nagý zyletót kýralt
 prophet saying-POSS.3SG according-to the great born king-ACC
 megtalalhatnaak:
 PRT-find-POSS.COND-OPT-3PL
 ‘These pious lords were eager to find somewhere, at some time, the great king
 born to this world, as predicted by the prophet Balaam’ (Érdy C. 65a)

Opaque context:

- (13) yewel, athkozyad megh ez neepet, ha **my**
 come-IMPER.2SG, curse-IMPER.2SG PART this people-ACC, if what
 keppen el yzhetem eennen ewket.
 way away chase-POSS-1SG from-here them
 ‘Come, curse these people, maybe there is some way to chase them away’
 (Jordánszky C. 165)

Covert universal quantifier, tailor-made: In OH the Superlative = (*minden* ‘every’ + Comparative), or (*mi+sfx* + Comparative). (Or, equivalently: (Negation + S-word + Comparative) = Superlative. If there is no-one stronger than Samson, then Samson is the strongest. Cf. (11-a).)

- (14) a. (Masseus) **mendennel** kyssebnek aloytyauala magát leny
 (Masseus) everyone-than smaller-DAT believes-PAST himself-ACC be
 ‘Masseus believed that he was the most insignificant of all’ (Jókai C. 71)
 b. Nagyob zerelmetósseege **senkylenek nynchen** mynt hogy ky
 greater charitableness-POSS.SG no-one-DAT not.is than that who
 az ew eedes lelkeet vesse halarra ew
 the he sweet soul-POSS.3SG-ACC cast-SUBJ.3SG death-onto he
 barátjeert
 friend-POSS.3SG-for
 ‘Nothing is more charitable than sacrificing one’s soul for one’s friend’
 (Érdy 99a)
- (15) a. Ez ozlopnac feie **mentol** iob arañbol vala
 The column-DAT head-POSS.3SG what-ABL good-CMPR gold-ELA was
 ‘The capital of the column was made of gold of the best (purest) quality’
 (Vienna C. 122)
 b. Ez az elo paráčolat & **mentol** nagob
 This the first commandment and what-ABL great-CMPR
 ‘This is the first commandment, and it is the most important one’ (Munich C. 28rb)

⇒ Where are the operators?

- Default existential closure.
- Universal readings₁: under conditionals. These follow from predicate logic. (‘Donkey equivalence’)

- (16) a. If **someone** is in Athens, he is not in Rhodes.
 b. For **everyone** it holds that if he is in Athens, he is not in Rhodes.

- Universal readings₂: OH superlative readings with indeterminates. Could be *coerced* by comparative morphology.
- Universal readings₃: Free relatives, correlatives — briefly in the following subsection.

What we have seen so far does not conform to the Japanese pattern. No apparent tailor-made operators to bind indeterminates. The indeterminate undergoes existential closure by default; in conditionals, its universal construal follows from the laws of logic.

Superlative readings with indeterminates ((15)): even if a covert existential quantifier is assumed for this construction, I am not certain (at this stage) that one can extrapolate from it.

Indeterminate–particle complexes

Modern Hungarian:

- (17) a. *Vala-ki* égve hagyta a villanyt
 VALA-who burn-PART left the current-ACC
 Someone has left the lights on (Existential)
- b. *Minden-ki* aludt.
 every-who slept
 ‘Everyone was asleep’ (Universal)
- c. *Sen-ki* nem álmodott
 SEM-who not dreamed
 ‘No-one was dreaming’ (Negation)
- d. *Akár-ki* lehetett a tettes
 AKÁR-ki be-POSSIBLE-PAST.3SG the perpetrator
 ‘Anyone could have done it’ (Free Choice)

OH correlatives:

- (18) **vala-ki** iste(n)nec zolgal orzagl vgy mint orozlan
 VALA-who god-DAT serves reigns so like lion
 Qui seruit deo regnat vt leo (Latin original in the codex)
 ‘He who serves God reigns like a lion’ (Guary C. 11)
- (19) (frater Rufen) **Valamýkoron valakytewl** hýwatattýkuala
 (brother Rufen) VALA-what-when VALA-who-ABL call-PASS.3SG-PAST
 ... zauanak kesedelmeuel **ewtet hýuonak**
 ... word-POSS.3SG-DAT delay-POSS.3SG-INSTR he-ACC caller-DAT
 feleluala
 answer-PAST
 ‘(brother Rufen) whenever, whoever would address him, he would reply him haltingly’ (Jókai C. 59–60)

Why *vala-* cannot be taken as an overt relative operator (at least not when the codices were written): *vala-*expressions also served as indefinites.

- (20) az naptwl fogwa ew zwweben kezde gerýedezný
 that day-from she heart-POSS.3SG-INE began arise-INF some
valamelý zertzetnek rwhaýanak kewāsaga Es
 order-DAT habit-POSS.3SG-DAT wish-POSS.3SG And namely

ïeleswl attÿank zent damokosnak zerzetÿt
 father-POSS.1PL Saint Dominic-DAT order-POSS.3SG-ACC
 ‘Ever since that day, she (St Catherine of Siena) began to yearn in her heart
 for the habit of some order, namely, for the habit of our father Saint Dominic’
 (Érsekújvár C. 197vb)

FC/FR readings in Tundra Nenets:

- (21) **xən’ar’ina** yil’e-xə-d^om, s’ita t’en’eə-d^om
 where.LIM live-HORT-1SG he.ACC remember-1SG
 ‘Wherever I live, I remember him’ (Hortative)

(Nikolaeva (2014): page 87, (17))

- (22) **xīb’a** xərwa^o, t’ikid^o tod^o-ya
 who want this come-JUS
 ‘Whoever wants to, let them come’ (Jussive)

(Nikolaeva (2014): page 88, (19c))

Two problems:

1. In Uralic languages, universal quantifiers are usually not expressed with an indeterminate+particle complex. Why? What is exceptional about universal quantification? Is there a *principled reason* why this should be so?
2. In this light, Hungarian *minden* ‘every (Det)’, ‘everything’ (DP) — becomes the odd man out.

2 Quantifiers without Indeterminates

2.1 ‘Dependent’ operators

Tundra Nenets, distributivity operator on numerals:

- (23) xusuwey^o xən^o-h n’in’a s’id-ləd^oh ηamti
 each sled-GEN on two-DIST sit
 ‘Two people sit on each sled’ (Nikolaeva, ex. (40a))

OH: numeral reduplication

- (24) zerez” ennekem heeth oltarokath, es zerez
 get-IMPER.2SG I-DAT-1SG seven altar-PL-ACC, and get-IMPER.2SG
 myndenykre egy egy twlkot,
 each-onto one one ox
 ‘Build me seven altars, and before each of them bring a bullock’ (Jordánszky C. 168)

2.2 Suffixes

-kéd in OH: distributivity. *Egyenként*: one by one, one after the other.

- (25) Heten vadnak, Mel'eket, az 7 At'ok az 7rdog
 seven-ADV are, which-PL-ACC the she father-POSS-3PL the devil
mynd eęenkét kazdagon el hazasyta,
 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)

OH: *naponkéd* ('every day') was a full temporal quantifier; it interacted with other logical material in the sentence.

- (26) hogŷ kŷ napon**ked** eshetel wgŷan 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)
 (*wgŷan azon korsag* 'the same malady' is anaphoric to an explicitly mentioned
 disease name)

Sentence (26) doesn't have the reading 'It is possible that you get ill (and recover) daily', whereas a comparable MdH sentence would mean just that.

In the context of the codex, (26) could be paraphrased as follows: 'Someone has fallen ill with a certain disease, and every day, any day, you too might contract the same disease.'

OH *koronkeed* is comparable to a typical adverbial universal quantifier (*always*) in all relevant respects. Md Hungarian *időn-ként*, with the same morphological make-up, means *from time to time*. (And MdH *koron-ként*, *korszakon-ként* means *from one age/era to another*.)

(27): with state descriptions *koronkéd* meant 'without interruptions'.

- (27) De **koronkeed** dagalyosok voltatok mywltha foghwa ysmertelek
 But age-DIST swollen-PL be-PST-2PL since beginning know-PST-1SG

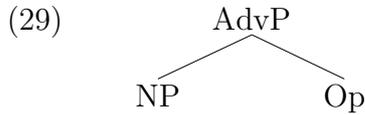
'But you've always been full of yourselves, ever since I've known you' (Jordánszky C. 220)

Koronkéd had a Restrictor and Nuclear Scope; the R–NS division could be recovered with the aid of context, information structure...

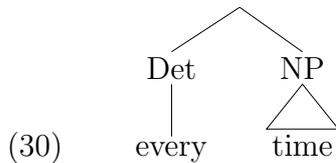
- (28) **koronkeed** bykath aldozyeek hŷ byneyerth es kosth
 age-DIST bull-ACC sacrifice-IMP-3SG he sin-3sg.pl-for and ram-ACC
 ystennek dyczeeretyre
 god-DAT praise-POSS.3SG-FOR
 'He (Aaron) should always sacrifice a bull for his sins, and a ram to praise
 God' (Jordánszky C. 99)
 'Whenever Aaron sacrifices something for his sins, it should be a bull, and

whenever he sacrifices something in praise of God, it should be a ram.’

A-quantification, SOV-style:



D-quantification, not SOV-style:



2.3 Wholes

Haspelmath (1995): crosslinguistic tendency for ALL to evolve from expressions meaning ‘whole’, ‘entire’.

Hungarian

Old Hungarian *mind* ‘all’ has been a textbook case of a (*variable-operator*) combination; nevertheless, it could mean almost all the things that reanalysed open-class expressions could. Haspelmath-style reanalysis of content words came later.

Modern Hungarian: *az összes*. *Összeg* means ‘sum’, *összművészet* is ‘Gesamtkunst’.
(As a quantifier not attested in O.H.)

The stem *ösz-* is Uralic; cognates according to Benkő (1993):

- (31)
- a. H. *ösz-*
 - b. Komi *vac* ‘gänzlich’
 - c. Udmurt *voć*
 - d. Mord.(E) *veše*

In Old Hungarian: adverb, quasi-postposition, verbal prefix (meaning *together*).

- (32)
- a. mene az helyre holot vala frater Bernald: hogÿ
 go-PAST-3SG the place-to where was brother Bernard that
 zolnanak **ewzue** ystenÿ mÿuelkedettrewl
 speak-COND-3PL together divine deed-about
 ‘(St Francis) was going to the place where brother Bernard was staying,
 so that together they discuss divine deeds’ (Jókai C. 9)
 - b. konkolt saggatvan w vele **wssw** kw nÿwitek az buzath
 weed-ACC tear-PART he COM-3LP together out squash-3PL the wheat
 es
 too
 ‘if you tear the weeds you’ll destroy the wheat as well’ (Székelyudvarhely
 Codex 362)

- c. bele veznek vala. merth le— zálnak vala mýnd az
 into perish-PL3 PAST because down— go-3PL PAST all the
 terehel **wzue** az vÿznek melsegebe.
 burden-INSTR together the water-POSS.3SG depth-poss.3g-ine
 ‘they perished (in the river), because they sank into the depths, together
 with all their burdens’ (Virginia Codex 109-110)

First occurrence AS A DETERMINER/D-QUANTIFIER: in 1793(!!!). In Transylvanian documents:

- (33) Ki számítása A’ Czegei **öszves** Robot napszámnak
 Out calculation-POSS.3SG the Czege-from total serfs’work daily-wage
 ‘Calculating all the daily wages for serfs’ work’ (1847, WassLt, archives of
 the Wass family)

Hungarian, Eastern dialects: *egész* ‘whole’, ‘entire’ being reanalysed, to mean ‘all’; even attested as a determiner comparable to ‘every’. (Possibly facilitated by the presence of Romanian *tot* ‘all’, ‘entire’.)

- (34) a. **Az egész-e-n** ott voltunk
 The whole-PRED.NMRL there be-PST.1PL
 ‘All of us were there’ (Transylvania, Romania)
 b. **Az egész** politikus szereti a pénzt
 The whole politician likes the money-ACC
 ‘Every politician likes money’ (Csángó reg. variant, Moldavia, Romania)
- (35) a. **Cu toți** am fost acolo
 With all-DEF.MASC.PL PERF.1PL there
 ‘All of us were there’
 b. La **toți** politicienii / **Tuturor**
 At all-MASC.PL politician-DEF.MASC.PL / All-DAT.PL
 politicienilor le plac banii
 politician-PL.DAT DAT.3PL like money-DEF.MASC.PL
 ‘All politicians like money’

Other Wholes

- (36) a. Nganasan: **bənsə** ‘whole’, ‘all’
 (Helimski (1998a))
 b. Selkup: **muntik** ‘all’, ‘entire(ly)’
 (Helimski (1998b))
 c. Tundra Nenets: **mal^oh** ‘all’, ‘whole’ (often w. mass Ns; Nikolaeva (2014))
- (37) s’a-ta **mal^o h** pad^or-cawey^o
 face-3SG all stripe-PROPR
 ‘his whole face was covered with tattoos’
 (Text1 in Nikolaeva (2014), p. 443)

2.4 Free Choice Items

Haspelmath (1995): (another) crosslinguistic tendency: Free Choice items can evolve into universal quantifiers. Romanian *fiicare* ‘each’ used to be, for instance, a Free Choice item (A. Cornilescu, p.c.).

(38) Romanian *fi-care* (be-SUBJ.3SG which) : *whoever, whichever* \mapsto *each*.

OH

In OH, FC items could not evolve into universal quantifiers, simply because these were not ‘consolidated’ at the time (*akár*-expressions typically occurred in an operator position in their own clause, and expressed so-called supplementary *any*; for a more complete presentation cf. Bende-Farkas (2015)). Instead, *minden* could (and did) act as a FC item.

(39) **mýnden** ký kaýnth megh olendy. heethzer ýnkab
everyone who Cain-ACC prt kill-FUT-3SG seven-times more
býntetýk.
punish-PASS-3SG
‘Anyone who kills Cain will be punished seven times more severely’ (Jordánszky C. IIIa)

Khanty?

Question:

(40) **mosa** a:mp **a:tul**
what dog -ever
‘every dog’, ‘whichever dog’ (Nikolaeva (1999), ex. (33) on p.19.)

3 Interlude: Indefinites

Observation:

(41) In Uralic languages, indeterminates and expressions built with them are typically indefinites: plain indefinites, specific indefinites, *n*-words or Free Choice items. Indefinites are **not** quantifiers.

‘Particles’ used to build indefinites from indeterminates: not operators; rather: concord markers. (Kratzer (2005).)

Relative pronouns in free relatives (correlatives) may appear to contribute to universal/maximal readings. This is due to (I think) a covert maximality operator in the structure. (Main empirical argument here: the versatility of Old Hungarian *vala*-expressions.)

Free Choice effect: maximality w.r.t. the domain of choice, not w.r.t. the element chosen. (With stably indefinite FC items.)

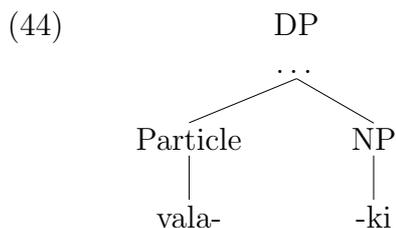
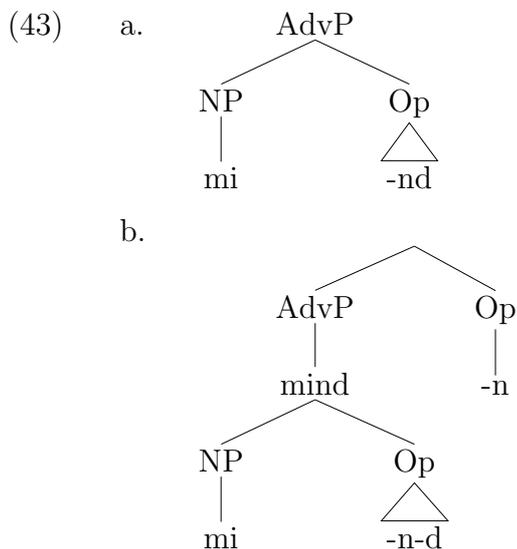
4 The Case of *Minden*

The catch: *mind* ‘all’ and *minden* ‘every’ are themselves built up from an indeterminate (*mi* ‘what’) and a cluster of suffixes. [TESz]

- (42) te veled **mendun** ige
 you INTR-2SG every word
 ‘Every Word (of God) is with you’ (Königsberg Fragment and Ribbons)

Hypothesis: *mind* ‘all’, *minden* ‘every’ older than other particle + pronoun complexes.
 Reasons:

1. Morphosyntax:



2. *Minden* could combine with other indeterminates, although more sparingly than in MdH:

- (45) a. **minden-hol** ‘everywhere’
 b. **minden-ha** lit. ‘every-when’

A short-lived experiment: *ki mind* lit. ‘who all’:

- (46) Egy éyel latanak mýnd ketten almath **ký mýnd**
 One night see-PAST.3PL all two-PREDNOM dream-ACC who all
 ennen feýeere
 own head-POSS.3SG-onto

‘One night they both had a dream; each dreamed about himself’ (The butler and the baker in Joseph’s tale)

What *minden* can do, could do, and ‘particles’ cannot (and presumably could not):

- Could combine with derivational suffixes: *minden-ütt* ‘everywhere’ (vs **vala-tt*);
- could be compounded: *minden-ható* ‘omnipotent’; (*hat*: have an effect);
- could express the right kind of meaning on its own; a particle like *vala-* on its own had nothing to do with indefiniteness, existential quantification, or free relatives.

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