1 Introduction

Home page of (first) Diachronic Generative Syntax project for Hungarian:
http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/en-intro.html
(Digital versions of codices, some normalized. Searchable, tagged corpus of
OH on the basis of the earliest surviving texts and ‘full’ codices, viz. complete
books.)
Proto–Hungarian: separation from the other 2 Ugric tribes → settling in
today’s Hungary (end of 9th century).
Old Hungarian: settling in today’s Hungary →≈ mid-16th century. (Turkish
invasion, reformation, printing, . . .)

Main Points

Indefinite pronouns in OH and MH: (particle + pronoun). Particles ‘mark’
syntactic status/interpretation. (MH sen-, sem: n-words, MH akár: FC, MH
a-: relative pronouns.) Main focus: vala-indefinites in OH.

Some MH indefinites:

(1) a. sen-ki ‘no-one’
   b. akár-ki ‘anyone’
   c. vala-ki ‘some-one’
   d. a-ki ‘who’–Relative

Particles marking semantic classes of indefinites (a.k.a. indefinite pronouns)
in Hungarian (OH and MH): no semantic contribution of their own. ⇒ in OH
vala- was NOT a marker for epistemic (non-specific) or FC readings or FC-
relative readings (à la whatever a.s.o.)

In OH vala-pronouns could be DPs inside the sentence (‘plain’ indefinites,
polarity/FC readings) or relative pronouns in correlatives (maximality). Proposal:
vala-expressions were uniformly Kamp–Heim indefinites (plus feature
content). Maximal readings in correlatives: follow from interpreting correla-
tives as conditionals (Andrews).

2 The inventory of indefinites in MH

• indefinite determiners: egy ‘a’, ‘one’, némi ‘some (amount of), (egy)
néhány ‘a few’, ‘several’; valamennyi, valahány ‘some’;
némely, néha; néhol (‘somewhere’); néha: ‘iterated’ reading (‘from time to time’)

vala-pronoun: plain indefinites, PPIs; (except: valaha ‘vala-when’ is a polarity/FC item; valamennyiszer ‘a number of times’: ambiguous between an existential and a comparative correlative; valamennyi ‘vala-how.much’ ambiguous between an existential and a universal);

akár-pronoun; (‘any—’, ‘—ever’); FC;

bár-pronoun (‘any—’, ‘—ever’); FC. .

This may be better:

Epistemic specific: egy, vala-pronoun,

Partitive specific: egy, vala-pronoun, valamelyik, némelyik. (Aside: what -ik does.)

Dependent 1: reduplicated numeral.

Dependent 2: vagy egy ‘or one’ (vaegy, vajegy). (Cf. Romanian vre-un, vre-a.) Vala-mi, vala-mi-féle as a determiner (some, some sort of).

Plain indefinites (PPIs): vala-indefinites. Scope over clausal mate negation:

(2) János nem látott valakit
    John not saw someone-ACC
    ‘There is someone John didn’t see’

Negative indefinites: senki, semmi, . . .

FCIs/NPIs: akár-series, bár-series (both: with or without is), vala-series + is.

The vala-series in MH

Vala-ki ‘vala-who’, vala-mi ‘vala-what’:

PPI:

(3) a. János dühös, mert nem találkozott valakivel
    John angry because not met someone-DAT
    ‘John is angry because he didn’t meet someone’ (not ambiguous)

b. Nem hiszem, hogy János találkozott (volna) valakivel
    Not think-1SG that John met (cond) someone-DAT
    ‘I don’t think that John has met someone/anyone’ (ambiguous)

Scope out of islands; topicalisation.

(4) a. Mindenki hallotta a pletykát, hogy valakit
    Everyone heard the gossip-ACC that someone-ACC
    bekísérték az egyetemről
    in-accompany-PAST-3PL the university-DELA
    ‘Everyone heard the rumour that someone from the university had been taken to police headquarters’
b. **Valaki** tegnap égve hagytá a villanyt
   Someone yesterday burn-PART left the current-ACC
   ‘Someone left the lights on yesterday’

c. **Valaki** tiközületek elárul
   Someone you-among-from-2PL PRT-betray(-3SG)
   ‘Someone from among you will betray me’

Valamennyi ‘vala+ how-much’: existential and universal reading. Universal reading: syntactically, intonationally marked. **Fossil.**

(5) a. János hozott **valamennyi** kávét
    John brought vala-how.much coffee-ACC
    ‘John has brought some coffee’ (exist. reading with mass terms)

b. **Valamennyi** diák megbukott
   vala-how.much student PRT-tripped
   ‘All students have flunked’

Vala-ha ‘vala-if’/‘vala-when’: from ‘at some (non-present) time’ to ‘ever’. **Fossil.**

(6) a. **Valaha** otthon szöttek
   vala-if at-home wove-PAST-3PL
   ‘Once upon a time people wove (the stuff for their clothes) at home’

b. Kötve hiszem, hogy ez megoldódkik **valaha**
   Tie-PART believe-1SG that this PRT-solve-REFL-3SG vala-if
   ‘I strongly doubt that this will ever be solved’

   Valahány-szor ‘vala-how.much-times’: ‘existential’ adverb (‘a number of times’), correlative comparative. **Fossil.**

(7) a. Mari járt **valahányszor** Párizsban
   Mary went vala-how.much-times Paris-INE
   ‘Mary has been to Paris a few times’

b. **Valahányszor** Péter Párizsban jár, utána elmegy
   vala-how.much-times Peter Paris-INE goes after-3SG PRT-goes
   Londonba is.
   London-ILLA too.
   ‘Whenever Peter goes to Paris he goes to London afterwards.’

3  **Vala + pronoun** in OH

3.1 Background: indefinites in OH

(8)
Descriptive inventory:

- NPs with *egy, egynéhány* ‘one-né-how.much, numerals;
- NPs with *valami(nemű)* as determiner: *some* (kind of);
- *né+pronom: né-ki* (‘a certain person’), *né-ha* (‘at a given –past– time), *né-mely* lit. ‘né-which’ ‘someone’/something);
- *vala+pronom: DP*;
- *akár+pronom: was usually confined to a particular syntactic environment (subordinate clauses, contrast or ‘concession’, supplementary ‘any’):

(9) **akar meed** űl ecdően ember a cselekedteben.
    akar which well live-IMP.3SG man he life-POSS.3SG-INE
    azon valyék meg. ha veggre vonzja.
    that-PRESSIVE cleaves PRT if end-SUBL carry-3SG.DEFO
    ‘No matter how well should one live his life, what matters (for his redemption) is whether he carries it (goodness) to the end’ (Érdy C. 603b)

(10) **Nékýk eeggý keppen nekýk** mas keppen űrnak
    né-who-PL one-way né-who-PL other way walk-3PL the
    az istennek wtan . . . De az
    god-DAT road-POSS.3SG-SUPERESSIVE . . . but the holy
    zent űrasnak býzonsaga zerre akar
    scripture-DAT testimony-POSS.3SG acc.to akar who
    kő* mýkeppen yarýon gazollýon
    what-way walk-SUBL-3SG tread-SUBL-3SG no-one-DAT
    senkýne nem aggýaak
    nothing-SUBL not give-3PL
Some follow god’s path in some manner; some follow it in another manner. But, according to the testimony of the Holy Scripture, whoever should follow it, in whatever manner possible, no-one is given [redemption] for free” (Érdy C. 602b)

A bit more about (10), just to show how OH indefinite pronouns worked:

- Nekyk . . . nekýk . . .: Partitive-existential ‘construction’, like stressed some . . . some . . . in English.
- akar ký mýkeppen (lit. AKÁR who what-way) ambiguous wrt the status of mýkeppen: Akar can be understood to ‘distribute’ over BOTH pronouns: akar ký (akar) mýkeppen, but it can also be analysed as combining with the first pronoun only. In that case mýkeppen is a ‘bare’ pronoun.
- No Negative Concord for the second n-word semý ‘nothing’.

NC reading of senkýnek semýre nem aggýaak: ‘it is not given to anyone, for any price’.

(One) non-NC reading of senkýnek semýre nem aggýaak: ‘no-one gets it for free’, ‘no-one gets it if he gives nothing in exchange’. (I.e. the first n-word, senkýnek is in concord with nem ‘not’, the second n-word, semýre is not. This reading is made plausible by the first part of (10), plus some assumptions concerning (global) religious context.)

NB, no bár-series in OH. Is ‘too’, ‘even’ had different roles as a discourse particle.

- N-words existed, but their use was not widespread. Often: minden . . . nem V (‘every . . . not V’) where MH would use senki nem/sem. Likewise, nem . . . V valaki or even valaki . . . nem V was used, instead of nem V . . . senki.

(11) menden test ne gýczewlkewgýek ew lelkeben
Every body not glorify-IMP.3SG he soul-POSS.3SG-INE
‘No-one should praise himself in his soul’
Lit.: ‘For everyone it holds that…’ (Jókai C. 128)

- Specific: egy–NPs, né–NPs. Typically, in matrix, introduce discourse referents that are salient/will be picked up in subsequent discourse. (Karttunen’s top level, survivor discourse referents. Szabolcsi’s notion of ‘utôspecifikusság’, ‘post-specificity’.)

(12) Azkeppen bodog ferencz vala nemý tarsy
That-way blessed Francıs is some companion-POSS.3G.PL
tyzenket apostoloknak zamara gyewlekeztetk
twelve apostle-PL-DAT number-SUBL assembled
boczata kettewt kette wt ez vylagotmya predicalný let-PAST-3SG two-ACC two-ACC this world-through preach-INF (Jókai C. 128–129)

‘The Blessed Francis had some companions, the same number gathered as the twelve apostles; he sent them in twos to preach all over the world’

(13) (az üres székét a mennyben) nemýnemew
(the empty chair-ACC the heaven-INE) NÉ-what-kind.of Anglýaý nagý papnak tartanaak.
England-ADJ great gpriest-DAT hold-COND-3PL
‘(the empty chair in heaven) would be reserved for a certain great priest from England (namely, for St Thomas à Becket)’ (Érdy C. 183a)

(14) Wgý mond nýhol zent Agoston doctor kýy mýnd
So says NÉ-where Saint Augustine doctor who all ezeeben vegýec:
mind-POS.3SG-INE take-SUBJ.3SG
‘So says Doctor St Augustine somewhere (a particular locus in a particular work of his); everyone should bear it in mind’ (Érdy C. 46a)

Né-ha: temporal specificity/definiteness ((15) below). Past scenario: Simeon the Wise was at Christ’s presentation at the temple. He recognized Christ as the Messiah and predicted that Mary’s heart would be pierced by the dagger of sorrow. (And this is the time that niha in (15) refers back to.)

(15) en erzem ez bu-thuruth kyt niha egyre
I feel this sorrow-dagger-ACC who-ACC NÉ-when promised
‘I can feel the dagger of sorrow that he promised/predicted for me’ (at a definite past time) (Mary’s Lament)

Straw mats in (16): NOT specific!

(16) Es nemy zakadozt gyekenek ualanak alattak
and NÉ-what tattered rushes were under-3PL
‘And they had some tattered straw mats under them (to sleep on)’ (Jókai C. 86)

• Partitive specific: Typically, né–NPs. (Typically, iterated. Aside: this is how néha could come to mean sometimes, from at a given —past— time.)
• Some (amount of/kind of): valami(nemű), némi(nemű).
• Weirdly specific: valaki. (Could be epistemic specific, without having wide scope. ?: epist. spec. without identification by ostension or naming.)
• Plain indefinites: typically vala-indefinites. Satisfied Jayez and Tovena’s criteria for FC-ness: ignorance and indifference.
Dependent indefinites: reduplicated numerals.
NPIs/FCI-s.

3.2 **Vala-indefinites**

Hypothesis (for the record): proto-Hungarian and old Hungarian had indeterminate pronouns, ‘bound’ (long-distance) by propositional operators (à la ?). Early OH(???): indeterminate pronouns set up shop with newly-minted determiners/operators. né- ️ certain (a choice function?); akár- (from akar ‘want’); domain-widening any (typically, in concessive clauses). az-, ha-, hogy-: relative operators.

**Vala**: derived from lenni ‘be’/ van ‘is’. Diachronic lex community in Hungary: the vala we see in indefinites is NOT the past/imperfective 3SG form vala, i.e. a finite form. Instead, it is an allomorph (phonological variant) of the nonfinite form való (‘being’, ‘that which is/was/….’).

Category labels:

- Det: vala-mi, valaminemű, valamennyi, valahány: ‘some’, ‘some amount of’.
- Det: valamely: ‘some’, valamelyik: ‘some of them’;
- DP: valaki ‘someone’, valami ‘something’, valamelyik ‘one of them’;
- XPs: valahol ‘somewhere’, valamikor ‘at some time’,
- more like adverbs: valahányszor, valamennyiszer (‘some/a number of times’).

Uses:

- Typically, syntactically/logically embedded. ‘Plain’ indefinites: NOT indefinites that introduce salient discourse entities for subsequent reference.
- Can nevertheless be ‘weirdly’ specific. (Epistemic specificity with narrow scope; can be under intensional operator.)
- Can (and often do) scope under negation.
- FCI-s/NPI(?);
- Relative pronouns/relative expressions. Typically, in free relatives/correlatives. Typically, in generalisations. Episodic sentences: a handful of known cases (known to ÁBF, that is). Relative clauses: sometimes embedded under quantifiers.

**Something, no matter what**:

Saint Francis orders one of his companions to strip down to his underclothes, go to the next town and preach to the people of that town:
(17) belmennem varasba ezkepen mezeytelenewl valamyn
into-go-PART town-ILL this-like naked-ly VALA-what-ACC
predically nepeke
preach-IMP.SG people-DAT
‘when you go into town preach something to the people, naked as you
are’ (Jókai C. 56–57)

Some, no matter what/how much:

(18) Es hogy valamennyet yartuolna esmeg hûua ewtett
And that VALA-how.much-ACC walked-PAST again called he-ACC
smonda . . .
and-said . . .
‘After walking a little/some distance, he called him again and said: . . .’
(Jókai C. 28)

Scoping under negation:

(19) a. akara megmosdani a gino1lê kërtbê mert heu vala.
    wanted PRT-wash-INF the fruit garden-INE because hot was
    & nê vala ot valaki a kêt êl réitezet
    and not was there VALA-who the two hidden old.man-ABL
    ventol megyvaluâ
except
‘She(Susanna) wanted to have a wash in the orchard, because it
was hot, and there was no-one there, except for the two old men
who were hidden’(Vienna Codex 168–169)

b. akarom hogy fogagyad emnekm hogy sonha
    want-1SG that promise-IMP-2SG DAT-1SG that never
    valamely lelkest meg ne sercz . | auagy
    vala-which soul-ADJ.SFX-ACC PRT not hurt-2SG or man-ACC
    embert | sem valamy kart
    nor vala-what damage-ACC every-kind.of entity-INE
    mendenemew allathan tenny ne merý
    do-INF not dare-IMP-2SG
‘I want you to promise me never to hurt any living thing or any
man, and that you will not (dare to) do any harm to anyone.’
(Jókai Codex 149)

FC/polarity:

(20) Es el fordola tarsihoz nagy
And away turned companion-POSS.3SG-PL-ALLATIVE great
czudalatossagual monda melyet valaha lattam volna
wonder-INSTR said which-ACC VALA-if/when saw-1SG PAST
olynagy allatýw ez
such-big being-ADJ.SFX this
‘Turning to his companions, greatly wondering, he said: ‘This is as large
as I have ever seen’” (Jókai C. 22)
De zent fferencez ewnek yewueset but saint Francis he-dat-3sg coming-poss.3sg-acc yogondellatyat es kysalasat annak good-though-poss.3sg-acc and strife-poss.3sg-acc that-dat elewte meg tuda ewelekeben my elewtt before-poss.3sg part knew he-soul-poss.3sg-ine what before valamit nek'y mondott volna: VALA-what-acc he-dat-3sg said past
‘But St Francis had known about his arrival, his good thoughts and about his strife, before he had told him anything.’ (Jókai C. 77)

Tempting at this point: Vala-indefinites were epistemic indefinites (with the occasional FC reading). Vala- had something to do with this property. (Earlier hypothesis: vala could have been an epistemic operator, à la Dayal / von Fintel’s ever. Later: Accepting —for the sake of the argument — Kratzer and Shimoyama’s concord analysis: covert ∃ operator with narrow scope; FC, epistemic readings: conventionalised implicatures).

Specificity: ‘specific unknown’ (Haspelmath); epistemic, non-specific (Jayez–Tovena): existence inferred ((22) and (24)). Kamp–BF: epistemic specific (perceptual anchors). NB1: the role of some participant’s perspective (in (23) the person who made the request knew perfectly well what she was going to ask Jesus). NB2: vala-indefinites were perfectly compatible with subsequent identification of their referent in discourse ((23), (24), and (34) as a later example).

(22) az sororok hallottak jnadsagnak jdeyen mynt the sisters heard prayer-dat time-poss.3sg-superessive like ha valakyvel zolt volna. Az zoot hallyak vala de nem if vala-who-com spoke cond the word-acc hear-3pl past but not erthetyk vala understand-poss-3pl past
‘At prayer time the sisters heard her, as if she had been conversing with someone. They heard the words but could not understand them’ (St Margaret’s Legend, 15–16, a.k.a. 8 r–v)

(23) Tahat vepec ò hozia zebedeus fiaiainc So stepped he allative-3sg zebedee son-poss.3sg-pl-dat a‰noã fiaiual õzuö imaduan mother-poss.3pl she son-poss.3sg.pl-instr together worshiping & kerœu valamit ò tólo . . . õ ket fiamnac and asking VALA-what-acc he abl-3sg this two son-poss.3sg-dat eggic vil‘on te iog fêtollèd one-1k sit-imp.3sg you right side
‘He was approached by the mother of Zebedee’s sons, accompanied by her sons; worshiping him, and requesting something from Him . . . may one of these sons of mine sit on your right (in Heaven)’ (Munich C. 26ra)

(24) a. & vala nemineö nemberi ver fol’atban...
and was né-what-kind-of woman blood flow-ine
‘and there was a (certain) woman who had been bleeding (for twelve
A suspicious case: (25). Open: whether the speaker had a particular kind of understanding in mind, or whether the exact content of this arrangement would be negotiated with the addressee (St Francis).

(25) En aka
en[eric!] va
lanýt te ve
lend zerzenen en
I want-
COND-3SG VALA-what-
acc you INSTR-2SG contract I
lekennek yðus
erewl
soul-
POSS.1SG-DAT redemption-
POSS.3SG-DERATIVE
‘I would like to reach some (kind of) understanding with you concerning my salvation’ (Jókai C. 38)

Partitive:

(26) hogya baratok
nak valamelyk elhezendo
Akarok that-if friar-
PL-DAT VALA-which-IR away-be.
lost-FUT.3SG want-1SG
ewerte tartoznom v
rnak ocot
he-CASUAL-FINAL-3SG owe-INF-1SG lord-DAT reason-
acc
adnyá
give-INF-3SG
‘If one of the brethren is lost, I want to be accountable for him before God’ (Jókai C. 119)
(Domain: Franciscan friars)

Correlatives. Relative pronouns/Relative expressions:

OH: relative-
vala in free alternation with sentence internal vala. Jókai
dex (15th century, 162 pages): 56 sentence internal
vala-expressions, 29 in correla-
tive clauses (as relative pronouns).
Crosslinguistic parallels: Old French quel-
quel, Telugu (Balusu, NELS36).
Correlatives (e.g. introduction in Lipták):

- Free relatives;
- typically sentence-initial;
- several relative expressions;
- correlate in matrix.
Interpretation of correlatives: concealed conditionals (Andrews). Other analyses: Dayal, Bittner, Brasoveanu, Gajewski.

OH vala-correlatives: generalisations. Few examples with uniqueness + FC (wherever you go, I’ll go with you). Two (2) episodic examples.

(27) valaki iste(n) nec zolgal orzagl vgy mint orozlan
   VALA-who god-DAT serves reigns that-way like lion
   Qui servit deo regnat vt leo (Latin sentence in the codex itself)
   ‘He who/Whoever serves God reigns like a lion’ (Guary Codex 11)

(28) Es hogy valaky mend ew yonhual zeretne
   And that VALA-who all he heart-poss.3sg-instr love-cond.3sg
   ez zerzetett legymely ygen bewneslegyen Demaga
   this order-acc be-subj.3sg-which very sinful-be-subj.3sg but
   yrgalmaz neky ysten
   has.mercy dat-3sg god
   ‘He who loves this order from all his heart, however sinful he might be,
   God will have mercy on him’ (Jókai C. 104)

Brief comment on (28): Supplementary any in action. legymely was a one-time combination for however (lit. ‘be-it-which’, ‘be-it-how’). Instead of saying ‘God has mercy on anyone who loves this order’, the sentence says: ‘Someone loves this order, God has mercy on him, however sinful he may be.’

The examples below: correlative clauses standing for subject, object, possessor, adjuncts:

(29) a. Mert valaky hatra nez nem melto mennyeknek
    for VALA-who back looks not worthy heaven-dat
    orzagara:
    land-poss.3sg-subl
    ‘(For) He who/whoever looks back is not worthy of Heaven’ (Kőnyvecse 2v)

b. valamit parácolandaz têzem
   VALA-what-acc order-fut-2sg do-1sg
   ‘I’ll do what(ever) you order me to do’ (Vienna Codex 6)

c. walakinek azert elleten feie es
   VALA-who-dat this-for such head-poss.3sg and
   homloka wagun: ez elleten termezetzerent elos
   forehead-poss.3sg is this such nature.by sharp
   elmeiq:
   mind-adj.sfx
   ‘Whoever/Anyone who has a head and forehead like this is very intelligent by nature’ (Tihany Codex 53r)

(30) a. Valahoua menêndez mêgéc
   VALA-where-to go-fut-2sg go-1sg
   ‘Wherever you go I’ll go with you’ (Vienna Codex 2)

b. valahol lakozadal en es lakozom.
   VALA-where live-fut-2sg I too live-1sg
   ‘Where/Wherever you (might) dwell, I’ll live there as well’ (Vienna Codex 2)
(31): One of the few episodic examples. Scenario: Judas is asked by the soldiers how they can identify Jesus. Judas says that Jesus is the one he is going to kiss.

(31) Valakit megapolandoc ő az fogiatoc otét
VALA-who-ACC PRT-kiss-FUT-1SG he that grab-IMP-2PL he-ACC
‘The one I am going to kiss, he will be the one. Grab him.’ (Munich C. 33rb)

The other episodic example: (32).

(32) valaký elezer az veternýeere mennee. kények mýklos ees
VALA-who first the vespers-onto go-COND who-DAT Nicholas too
vona newe azth teenneek pýspekkee
be-COND name-POS.3SG that-ACC put-COND-3PL bishop-TRANSFL
‘He who will be the first to go to vespers, and, in addition, his name is Nicholas, that is the one they should appoint as bishop’ (Érdy C. 157a)

Vala-clause: plain relative clause embedded under minden ‘everyone’ in (33).

(33) Minden valaki attafiat őlőli ez el’etén
Every VALA-who father-son-POS.3SG-ACC hates this such
embor űlcos
man murderer
‘Everyone who hates his brethren is a murderer’ (Guary Codex 6)

?: crosslinguistic variation in the evolution of correlatives/free relatives. Relative expression based on demonstrative(s): unique (episodic) reading first. Relative expression based on pronoun: law-like, ‘general’ readings first. OH: unique (episodic) readings facilitated by the emergence (and spreading) of relative expressions of the form (demonstrative + pronoun).

3.3 A wide spectrum indefinite?

Why opt for a uniform analysis of vala-expressions: great versatility, from the Jókai Codex onward. From narrow scope epistemic specific use to FC and donkey readings.

An illustration of versatility: three different uses on three subsequent pages of the Érsekújvár Codex, from the legend of St Catherine of Siena:

Specific:

(34) az naptwl fogwa ew zwweben kezde gerýedezný
that day-ABL starting her heart-POS.3SG-INE began awaken-INF
valamely zerzetnek rwhánanak kewásaga És
VALA-which order-DAT dress-POS.3SG-DAT wish-POS.3SG and
ýeleswl attýyank zent damokosnak zerzetýt
namely father-POS.1PL saint Dominic-DAT order-POS.3SG-ACC
‘Since that day she began to yearn for the habit of some/a certain order, namely, the order of our father Saint Dominic’ (197vb)

Partitive: In a vision St Catherine sees a great many saints, every one of them is the founder of a religious order.
(35) Es m"ykoron m"ynd az zentek kater"ynath "ynte"yek hogi
And when all the saints Catherine-ACC advise-COND-3PL that
walameliet az zent zerketek keezwl walaztana ew
VALA-which-ACC the holy orders from choose-COND.3SG she
maganak . . . keezde larnh"y at"yank zent domokos
self-DAT . . . began approach-INF father-POSS.1PL Saint Dominic
eleyben
before-POSS.3SG-INE
‘And when all the saints advised Catherine to choose one of the holy
orders for herself, . . . she approached our father St Dominic’ (198ra)

Under negation (in an imperative). FC? Epistemic use? Saint Dominic to Saint
Catherine:

(36) Es ne zegienl"y walam"y banthalmat ez zerzetben
And not shame-IMP-2SG VALA-what harm-ACC this order-INE
wananon
experience-INF-2SG
‘And don’t be ashamed to suffer any harm in this order’
BIG IF: ‘Whatever harm you might suffer in this order, don’t be ashamed
of it’ (198rb)

Something similar. Catherine’s father consents to her becoming a nun.

(37) Es "ynnen towa m"y tegedet walam"yben te
And here-from away we you-ACC VALA-what INE you
m"ywelkedet"yttwl meg nem wonzwnk awag"y bantwnk
action-POSS.3SG.PL-ABL PRT not dettract-1PL or harm-1PL
‘And from now on we will not impede your actions in any way’ (?)
(198rb)

Some more correlatives

Just for fun. Also: whether the second correlative had a ‘plain’ existential
reading. ÁBF thinks not.

(38) (frater Rufen) Valam"ykoron valakytewl
(brother Rufen) VALA-what-when VALA-who-ABL
h"ywattat"ykuals . . . zuanak kesedneuel
call-PASS.3SG-PAST . . . word-POSS.3SG-DAT delay-POSS.3SG-INTR
ewtet h"yuonak feleuala
he-ACC caller-DAT answer-PAST
‘(brother Rufen) whenever, whoever would address him, he would reply
to him haltingly’ (Jókai C. 59–60)

(39) Es azert valam"ykoron m"ytt zohula zent
And that-for VALA-what-when what-ACC says-PAST saint
f"erenczrewl mond"yauala f"fret[er] lleo En dragalat"osim mend
Francis-DELA say-PAST brother Leo my dear-POSS.1SG.PL all
nag"yok: de zent f"erencz es nagy
great-PL but saint Francis also great
Whenever brother Leo said anything about St Francis he added: "My dears, they are all great, but Saint Francis is also great" (Jókai C. 44)


(40) valaký az kőczynded weethkezettel nem gondol lassan lassā Igen vala-who the small sin-instr not thinks slowly slowly very nagyra newekedýk big-subl grows
‘if someone doesn’t care for small sins these eventually grow into very grave sins’ (Ersekújvár K. 130ra)

Issues of cardinality: relative vala-expressions could be unmarked for number and have a plural (or unspecified) construal. (41): mind ‘all’ in the matrix (‘associated’ with plural DPs). (42): singular morphology in correlative clause, plural morphology in matrix.

(41) De valamý zolgaltat mend zolgáltatyk ystený
But VALA-what serve-causative all serve-causative divine bewlwesegtewl wisdom-abl
‘Whatever is provided, it is all ministered by divine providence’ (Jókai K. 131)
Latin original: ‘sed quidquid aliud est, totum a providentia divina ministatur’

(42) valaký ez aŷetatossagot tewkelletest te pelladal
VALA-who this the prayer-acc perfectly you
kewenet boldogsagnak orzagabalol example-poss.2sg-instr follows happiness-dat
vadnak batorok land-poss.3sg-ela are secure-pl
L: quimque hoc desiderium exemplo tui perfecto sequentur, de regno beatitudinis sunt securi
‘Whoever follows this prayer/desire perfectly, according to your example (they(!!!)) will be reassured of the realm of happiness’ (Jókai C. 134)

3.4 Vala-indefinites were Kamp–Heim indefinites

Conjecture: relative vala+pronoun contributed a free variable, unspecified for number. Correlatives: concealed conditionals or simply juxtaposed structures linked by (pronoun – correlate).

(43) \[ x \quad \text{serves-god}(x) \quad \Rightarrow \quad y \quad y = x \quad \text{reigns-like-lion}(y) \]
This accounts for embeddability under minden ‘every’, for ‘plain’ relative uses, and for the scarcity of ‘concessive’ (akárdi, bárki style) readings.

Possible ‘trajectory’ of vala-expressions: relative clauses/correlatives → overt conditionals → other embedded contexts → matrix clauses. Free variable could be ‘captured’ by modals/negation.

Finally: vala-indefinite in matrix, separate relative pronoun (az hogy ki lit. ‘that(pron) that(Comp) who’). This is one of its kind.

4 What OH vala-expressions reveal

First, some fossils (mostly repeated):


(46) a. János hozott valamennyi kávét
   John brought VALA-how.much coffee
   ‘John has brought some coffee’ (exist. reading with mass terms)

b. Valamennyi diák megbukott
   VALA-how.much student PRT-tripped
   ‘All students have flunked’

Vala-ha ‘vala-if’/‘vala-when’: from ‘at some (non-present) time’ to ‘ever’:

(47) a. Valaha otthon szőttek
   VALA-if at-home wove-PAST-3PL
   ‘Once upon a time people wove (the stuff for their clothes) at home’

b. Köve hiszem, hogy ez megoldódik valaha
   Tie-PART believe-1SG that this PRT-solve-refl-3SG VALA-if
   ‘I strongly doubt that this will ever be solved’

Valahány-szor ‘vala-how.much-times’: ‘existential’ adverb (‘a number of times’), correlative (comparative):

(48) a. Mari járt valahány-szor Párizsban
   Mary went VALA-how.much-times Paris-IN
   ‘Mary has been to Paris a few times’

b. Valahány-szor Péter Párizsban jár, utána elmegy
   VALA-how.much-times Peter Paris-IN goes after-3SG PRT-goes
   Londonba is.
   London-ILLA too.
‘Whenever Peter goes to Paris he goes to London afterwards.’

(49) a. Esik eső karikára, Kossuth Lajos kalapjára
Falls rain hoop-onto, K L hat-poss.3SG-onto
‘Rain is falling all around, on the hat of Lajos Kossuth’

b. Valahány csopp esik rája, Annyi áldás
VALA-how.many drop falls onto-3SG that.much blessing
descent onto-3SG
‘May he be blessed so many times as there are raindrops on his hat’

(19th century song)

Conclusions

• ‘Concessive’ (maximal domain widening) behaviour can be distinct from other FC attributes (ignorance, indifference). (MH akár- FCIs vs . . . ).

• Ignorance and indifference can be cancelled with relative ease.

• ‘Epistemic’ component remains relevant (Condoravdi’s alternative semantics, Aloni & Post’s conceptual cover analysis rely implicitly on what is accessible to an epistemic agent, and in what manner.) (NB, ‘epistemic’ ≠ non-specific.)

Open empirical question(s):

1. What to do with features. (E.g. +Affective, à la Jäger.)

2. How one series influenced another.

• Introduction of wide scope, topical, long-lived discourse referents: reserved for nö-indefinites.

• The significance of the changes undergone by akár-expressions (became ‘normal’ FC items integrated into the sentence).

• The significance of the reinforcement of Negative Concord. (Emergence of sem- n-words → no need for nem . . valaki.)

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