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Indefiniteness and Discourse Structure
WS at University of Cologne
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Vala-Indefinites in Old Hungarian
What Was Predetermined, and How
(amended version)
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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 correlatives 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; *valamennyiszor* '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.)
- Dependent₁: reduplicated numeral.
- Dependent₂: *vagy egy* 'or one' (*vaegy*, *vajegy*). (Cf. Romanian *vre-un*, *vre-o*.) *Vala-mi*, *vala-mi-féle* as a determiner (*some*, *some sort of*).
- Plain indefinites (PPIs): *vala*-indefinites. Scope over clausemate 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-company-PAST-3PL the university-DELA
 'Everyone heard the rumour that **someone** from the university had been taken to police headquarters'

- b. **Valaki** tegnap égve hagyta 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** kávé
 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’

Valaha ‘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 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. **Fossil**.

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

	<i>né-</i> spec.indef.	<i>vala-</i> plain indef. correlative	<i>akár-</i> FC, relative	<i>se-</i> n-word	<i>minden-</i> every-
<i>-ki</i> 'who'	<i>né-ki</i> 'someone'	<i>vala-ki</i> 'someone'	<i>akár-ki</i> 'anyone'	<i>sen-ki</i> 'no-one'	<u>minden</u> 'everyone'
<i>-mi</i> 'what'	<i>né-mi</i> 'something'	<i>vala-mi</i> 'something'	<i>akár-mi</i> 'anything'	<i>sem-mi</i> 'nothing'	<u>minden</u> 'everything'
<i>hány</i> 'how many'	<i>né-hány</i> 'some', 'a few'	<i>vala-hány</i> 'some amount of'	<i>akár-hány</i> 'any amount of'	<i>se-hány</i> 'no amount of'	— —
<i>-mi-kor</i> 'when'	<i>né-mi-kor</i> 'at a (given) time'	<i>vala-mi-kor</i> 'at some time'	<i>akár-mi-kor</i> 'anytime', 'ever'	<i>semmi-kor</i> 'never'	<i>minden-kor</i> 'always'
<i>ha</i> 'when'	<i>né-ha</i> 'at a (given) time'	<i>vala-ha</i> 'at some time'		<i>so-ha</i> 'never'	<i>minden-ha</i> 'always'

?, ? on European languages with such (particle+pronoun) paradigms: The particle is a concord marker. 'Concord' (à la Chomsky's AGREE) with a covert operator. (And à la ? or ?.) Indefinite pronoun: contributes a set of alternatives for a Hamblin style semantics. Operator: operates on a set of alternative meanings (à la Rooth's Alternative Semantics for Focus).

Descriptive inventory:

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

(9) **akar meel** *յօլ* *eellյen* *ember ew* *eeteeben*.
 akar which well live-IMP.3SG man he life-POSS.3SG-INE
 azon *valյk* *meg. ha* *veegre* *vonzյa*.
 that-SPRESSIVE 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) **Nekյk** *eeggյ* *keppen* **nekյk** *mas* *keppen* *յarnak*
 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 *յrasnak* *bյzonsaga* *zerent* **akar**
 scripture-DAT testimony-POSS.SG acc.to akar who
kյ **mյkeppen** *յarյon* *gazollյon*
 what-way walk-SUBJ-3SG tread-SUBJ-3SG no-one-DAT
senkյnek **semյre** *nem* *aggյaak*
 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” (Érly C. 602b)

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

- **Nekyk . . . nekyk . . .**: Partitive-existential ‘construction’, like stressed *some . . . some . . .* in English.
- **akar ky** ‘AKÁR- who’: FR with conventional FC reading.
- **akar ky mykeppen** (lit. AKÁR who what-way) ambiguous wrt the status of **mykeppen**: **Akar** can be understood to ‘distribute’ over BOTH pronouns: **akar ky (akar) mykeppen**, but it can also be analysed as combining with the first pronoun only. In that case **mykeppen** is a ‘bare’ pronoun.
- No Negative Concord for the second n-word **semj** ‘nothing’.
NC reading of **senkynek semjre nem aggyaak**: ‘it is not given to anyone, for any price’.
(One) non-NC reading of **senkynek semjre nem aggyaak**: ‘no-one gets it for free’, ‘no-one gets it if he gives nothing in exchange’.
(I.e. the first n-word, **senkynek** is in concord with **nem** ‘not’, the second n-word, **semjre** 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** gjczewlkewgyek 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. (Kartunen’s top level, survivor discourse referents. Szabolcsi’s notion of ‘utóspecifikusság’, ‘post-specificity’.)

(12) Azkeppen bodog ferencz vala **nemj** tarsy
 That-way blessed Francis is some companion-POSS.3G.PL
 tyzenket apostoloknak zamara gyewlekeztek
 twelve apostle-PL-DAT number-SUBL assembled

boczata **kettewt kette wt** ez vylagotmya predicalny
 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 széket a mennyben) **nemÿnemew**
 (the empty chair-ACC the heaven-INE) NÉ-what-kind.of
 Anglÿäy nagÿ 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) Wgÿ mond **nÿhol** zent Agoston doctor **kÿ** mÿnd
 So says NÉ-where Saint Augustine doctor who all
 ezeeben vegÿee:
 mind-POSS.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 *níha* in (15) refers back to.)

- (15) en erzem ez bu-thuruth kyt **níha** 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 Tovená’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 lx 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*, *valamennyiszor* (‘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.
- FCIs/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) belmenuen varasba ezkeppen mezeytelenewl **valamyt**
 into-go-PART town-ILL this-like naked-ly VALA-what-ACC
 predicaly neppeknek
 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 hogý **valamennýet** yartuolna esmeg hýua 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 gimöľč kèrtbē mert heu vala.
 wanted PRT-wash-INF the fruit garden-INE because hot was
 & **nē** vala ot **valaki** a kèt èl rèitezet
 and not was there VALA-who the two hidden old.man-ABL
 ventöl megvaluā
 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 ennekem 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
 mendennemew allatban 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 nagý
 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
 olynagý 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)

- (21) De zent fferencz ewnek yewueset
 but saint Francis he-DAT-3SG coming-POSS.3SG-ACC
 yogondolattyat es kysalaszat annak
 good-though-POSS.3SG-ACC and strife-POSS.3SG-ACC that-DAT
 elewttte meg tuda ewlelkeben mÿ elewtt
 before-POSS.3SG PART knew he-soul-POSS.3SG-INE what before
valamÿt nekÿ mondott uolna:
 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 Stechow’s *ever*. Later: Accepting —for the sake of the argument— Kratzer and Shimoyama’s concord analysis: covert \exists operator with narrow scope; FC, epistemic readings: conventional(ised) implicatures).

Specificity: ‘specific unknown’ (Haspelmath); epistemic, non-specific (Jayež–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 jmadzsagnak 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 o hozia zebedeus fiainac
 So stepped he ALLATIVE-3SG zebedee son-POSS.3SG-PL-DAT
 añnoc o fiaival ozuo imaduan
 mother-POSS.3PL she son-POSS.3SG.PL-INSTR together worshipping
 & kerue **valamit** o tollo ...è ket fiamnac
 and asking VALA-what-ACC he ABL-3SG this two son-POSS.3SG-DAT
 eggic vl’lon te iog félollèd
 one-1K sit-IMP.3SG you right side
 ‘He was approached by the mother of Zebedee’s sons, accompanied by
 her sons; worshipping 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 **nemineo** 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

- years)’
- b. hozia vepe hatmègol & illète o
to-him stepped back-behind-from and touched he
ruhaianac pèrèmèt
robe-POSS.3SG-DAT hem-POSS.3SG-ACC
‘stepping up to him from behind, she touched the hem of his robe’
- c. Es i^c mōda **valaki** vg illètēt èngemèt mert es èn tudō
And Jesus said someone so touched me for too I know
èn bèlōllèm iožagnac ki mentèt
me from-1SG virtue-DAT out leave-PART-POSS.3SG-ACC
‘And Jesus said: ‘So, someone touched me, for I too felt the power
streaming from me’
(Munich codex, 64va–64vb; Luke 8: 43–46)

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 akernek[sic!] **valamÿt** te veled zerzenem en
I want-COND-3SG VALA-what-ACC you INSTR-2SG contract I
lelkemnek ÿduessegerewl
soul-POSS.1SG-DAT redemption-POSS.3SG-RELATIVE
‘I would like to reach some (kind of) understanding with you concerning
my salvation’ (Jókai C. 38)

Partitive:

- (26) hogyha baratok**nak** **valamelyk** eluezend Akarok
that-if friar-PL-DAT VALA-which-1K away-be.lost-FUT.3SG want-1SG
ewerte tartožnom vrnak ocott
he-CAUSAL-FINAL-3SG owe-INF-1SG lord-DAT reason-ACC
adnÿa
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 codex (15th century, 162 pages): 56 sentence internal *vala*-expressions, 29 in correlative clauses (as relative pronouns).

Crosslinguistic parallels: Old French *quelque* (?), 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 seruit deo regnat vt leo (Latin sentence in the codex itself)
 'He who/Whoever serves God reigns like a lion' (Guary Codex 11)
- (28) Es hogÿ **valakÿ** mend ew yonhauall zeretne
 And that VALA-who all he heart-POSS.3SG-INSTR love-COND.3SG
 ez zerzetett **legymelÿ** ygen bewneslegÿen 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' (Könyvecse 2v)
- b. **valamit** parācolandaz tēzem
 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 waġon: **ez elleten** termezeterent elqs
 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** menēndéz mēgēc
 VALA-where-to go-FUT-2SG go-1SG
 'Wherever you go I'll go with you' (Vienna Codex 2)
- b. **valahol** lakozādal ěn 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 o az fogiatoc otèt
 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) **valakÿ** elezer az veternyeere mennee. kynek myklos ees
 VALA-who first the vespers-onto go-COND who-DAT Nicholas too
 vona newe azth teenneek pÿspekkee
 be-COND name-POSS.3SG that-ACC put-COND-3PL bishop-TRANSL
 ‘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) **Mindon valaki** atafiat gulöli ez el’eten
 Every VALA-who father-son-POSS.3SG-ACC hates this such
 embor gilcos
 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 Érsékújvár Codex, from the legend of St Catherine of Siena:

Specific:

- (34) az naptwl fogwa ew zwweben kezde gerÿedeznÿ
 that day-ABL starting her heart-POSS.3SG-INE began awaken-INF
valamelÿ zersetnek rwhaÿanak kewäsaga Es
 VALA-which order-DAT dress-POSS.3SG-DAT wish-POSS.3SG and
ÿeleswl attÿank zent damokosnak zersetÿt
 namely father-POSS.1PL saint Dominic-DAT order-POSS.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 mÿkoron mÿnd az zentek katerÿnath ÿnteneÿek hogi
 And when all the saints Catherine-ACC advise-COND-3PL that
walameliet az zent zerzetek kezzwl walaztana ew
 VALA-which-ACC the holy orders from choose-COND.3SG she
 maganak ... keezde iarwlnÿ atÿank zent domokos
 self-DAT ... began approach-INF father-POSS.1PL Saint Dominic
 eleÿben
 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** zegienÿ **walamÿ** banthalmat ez zerzetben
 And not shame-IMP-2SG VALA-what harm-ACC this order-INE
 wallanod
 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 ÿnnen towa mÿ tegedet **walamÿben** te
 And here-from away we you-ACC VALA-what-INE you
 mÿwelkedetÿttwl meg **nem** wonzwnk awagÿ bantwnk
 action-POSS.3SG.PL-ABL PRT not detract-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) **Valamÿkoron** **valakÿtewl**
 (brother Rufen) VALA-what-when VALA-who-ABL
 hÿwatattÿkuala ... zauanak kesedelmeuel
 call-PASS.3SG-PAST ... word-POSS.3SG-DAT delay-POSS.3SG-INSTR
ewtet hÿuonak feleluala
 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 **valamÿkoron** **mÿtt** zoluala zent
 And that-for VALA-what-when what-ACC says-PAST saint
 fferenczrewl mondÿauala ffret[er] leo En dragalatosim mend
 Francis-DELA say-PAST brother Leo my dear-POSS.1SG.PL all
 nagyök: de zent fferencz 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): Mismatched subordinate clause–matrix. In favour of the conditional analyses of correlatives.

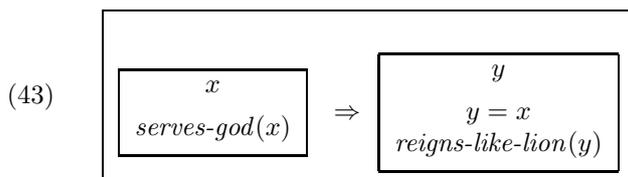
- (40) **walakÿ** az kÿczÿnded weethkezettel nem gondol lassan lassā Igen
 vala-who the small sin-INTSTR not thinks slowly slowly very
 nagÿra newekedÿk
 big-SUBL grows
 ‘if someone doesn’t care for small sins these eventually grow into very grave sins’ (Érsekújvár K. 130ra)

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 **valamÿ** zolgaltat **mend** zolgaltatyk ystenÿ
 But VALA-what serve-CAUSATIVE all serve-CAUSATIVE divine
 bewlczesegtewl
 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 ministratur’
- (42) **valakÿ** ez aÿtetatossagot tewkellest te peldadual
 VALA-who this the prayer-ACC perfectly you
 kewuetÿ boldogsagnak orzagabalol
 example-POSS.2SG-INSTR follows happiness-DAT
 vad**nak** 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).



$$(44) \left\langle \boxed{\begin{array}{c} x \\ \text{serves-god}(x) \end{array}} ; \boxed{\begin{array}{c} y \\ y = x \\ \text{reigns-like-lion}(y) \end{array}} \right\rangle$$

This accounts for embeddability under *minden* ‘every’, for ‘plain’ relative uses, and for the scarcity of ‘concessive’ (*akárki*, *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.

- (45) **Valakí az hoǒg kí** teǒyendí ezt lezen a
 vala-who that(Dem) that who do-FUT-3SG this-ACC will.be the
 crístusnak bizon kǒvetǒǒye
 Christ-DAT true follower-POSS.3SG
 Lit.: ‘Somenone, that who does this is a true follower of Christ’ (Nagyszombat C. 100–101)

4 What OH *vala*-expressions reveal

First, some fossils (mostly repeated):

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

- (46) a. János hozott **valamennyi** kǒvét
 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’

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

- (47) a. **Valaha** otthon szǒttek
 VALA-if at-home wove-PAST-3PL
 ‘Once upon a time people wove (the stuff for their clothes) at home’
 b. Kǒtve hiszem, hoǒg ez megoldǒdik **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-INE
 ‘Mary has been to Paris a few times’
 b. **Valahány-szor** 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.’
- c. **Valahányszor** Péter Párizsban járt, **ugyanannyiszor**
 VALA-how.much-times Peter Paris-INE went, *as-many-times*
 járt Londonban is.
 went London-INE too
 ‘The number of times Peter has been to Paris is equal to the times
 that/when he has been to London’
- (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** csepp esik rája, **Annyi** áldás
 VALA-how.many drop falls onto-3SG that-much blessing
 szálljon rája
 descend 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 *né*-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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