

MEANING CHANGE: CHANGES IN CALCULATING DOMAINS

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Two cases of meaning change from Old Hungarian to Modern Hungarian are discussed in this contribution; both cases involve existential versus universal readings. It is argued that here the main factor in semantic change has to do with the way in which domains are calculated, viz. whether witnesses (cases that make the sentence true) are evaluated relative to a restricted or nonrestricted domain. This contribution generalises from earlier empirical studies, postulating a new type of semantic change.

The first case is that of the distributive suffix *-n-kéd*. In OH *koronkéd* was a universal adverb of quantification (cf. (1)), whereas in MH two morphologically analogous adverbs are plural existentials (*időként*: ‘from time to time’, *helyenként* ‘in places’, cf. ex. (2)). The second case is that of certain *vala*-expressions, among them *valamennyi* lit. ‘VALA-how-much’, which are existential in some syntactic contexts, and have a marked universal reading in others (cf. (3)).

The common core of the proposed analysis is that the entries of the relevant expressions are said to lack quantifiers. The requisite readings are seen to emerge from certain structures and their interactions with their (syntactic) environment.

In earlier work *-nként* was analysed as a pluralizer, plus a function (a bijection) onto eventualities (generalizing a proposal by G. Boolos and S. Rothstein). OH *koronkéd* was a higher order function, from eventualities onto functions onto eventualities. Hence the universality effect, and stricter domain restriction, due to a Restrictor/Nuclear Scope division. MH *-n-ként* (in the cases shown in (2)) is a ‘simplex’ function from times/places into eventualities, so it mimics a Kamp–Heim plural indefinite with an unspecified domain.

With *vala*-expressions, the point of departure of the analysis is that the universal reading has survived from OH, and so have (some of) the components of its meaning: In OH *valamennyi*, like all other *vala*-expressions, could be either a sentence-internal indefinite DP or a correlative pronoun with a universal / Free Choice construal (ex. (6), (4)). *Valamennyi* (and *valahány(-szor)* lit. VALA-how.many(-times)) are uniformly analysed as Kamp–Heim indefinites, i.e., as expressions containing a free variable. The universality/maximality effect in correlatives was derived in earlier work from a covert conditional analysis of correlatives (Andrews, Lipták, Belyaev–Haug) — this accounts for the universal reading, and allows the *vala*-expression to remain an indefinite.

In Modern Hungarian *valahányszor* is existential in simple clauses and universal/maximal in complex clauses (ex. (5)), while *valamennyi* can convey universality/maximality in simple clauses — if it is in the appropriate syntactic position, and is intonationally prominent (ex. (3)). As in the case of Old Hungarian, the expressions themselves are not taken to be ambiguous:

no universal quantifiers are inserted into Logical Form. ‘Universal’, ‘maximal’ readings are derived from a binary (Restrictor/Nuclear Scope) structure without a universal quantifier, and from assuming the Restrictor to contain a variable over context sets. This structure, which is similar to strong *many* or *some* (Partee 1989/2008), is responsible for the lack of admissible exceptions.

In both kinds of cases the universal/maximal reading is more marked, in that exceptions are not tolerated. The ‘existential’ cases on the other hand are underspecified with respect to exceptions.

Examples

- (1) **valamy** zyletendyk hym nemzeth, **azth koronkeed** wr ystenuiek aldozzad
‘whatever male issue is born, that should always be sacrificed to God’
(Jordánszky C. 233)
- (2) **Időnként, helyenként** fagyhat márciusban
In March, sometimes there can be frost in places.
- (3) a. János leszüretelt **valamennyi** szőlőt
‘John harvested soome grapes’
b. A János születésnapjára ”**valamennyi** kollégája eljött
‘All his colleagues have come to John’s birthday (party)’
- (4) **Wala menýen** ewtteth weweek ada nekýk embernek fýaya lenný hathtalmath
Whoever/All who embraced Jesus, they were given the power/the ability to become the sons of Man (Festetics C. 415)
- (5) a. János **valahányszor** járt Párizsban
‘John has been to Paris a number of times’ (existential)
b. János **valahányszor** Párizsban jár, elmegy a Sainte Chapelle-be.
Whenever John goes to Paris he visits the Sainte Chapelle.

All *vala*-expressions could introduce correlatives:

- (6) **valaki** iste(n)nec zolgal orzagl vgy mint orozlan
Qui seruit deo regnat vt leo
‘He who serves God reigns like a lion’ (Guary c. 11; Latin version in text)

Selected References • Belyaev, O. –D. Haug 2014: The Genesis of Wh-Based Correlatives: From Indefinites to Relativization. *SuB* 2014, Workshop *Formal Theories of Meaning Change*. • Eckardt, R. 2006: *Meaning Change and Grammaticalization*. OUP. • Lipták, A. ed. 2009: *Correlatives Crosslinguistically*. Benjamins. • Partee, B.H. 1989/2008: Many Quantifiers. ESCOL 5 paper, republished as Ch. 12 in *Compositionality in Formal Semantics*. Wiley. • Rothstein, S. 1995: Adverbial Quantification over Events. *NaLS* 3: 1–31.