

# Universal Quantification in Old Hungarian

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Aims, Main Focus

1. Hypothesis<sub>1</sub>: 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<sub>2</sub>: 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<sub>3</sub> 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.

2. A-quantifiers: adverbs, adjuncts, affixes, argument structure adjusters.

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 valamiben 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** o  
Further PRT not remember never every he  
alnoksaghörol  
duplicity-POSS.PL-3SG-about  
'Furthermore, I shall never recall all his duplicity' (Érsekújvár C. 77vb)
- (6) akoron wolthak wolna Ierwsalembe **sok** Irasthw dok **mýndē**  
then were PAST Jerusalem-INE many learned-men every  
nemzetekböl  
nations-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

Following Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002), Kratzer (2005).

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

	<i>dare</i>	<i>nani</i>	<i>dono</i>
	‘who’	‘what’	‘which’ (Det)
<i>Q</i>	<i>dare ... ka</i>	<i>nani ... ka</i>	<i>dono ... ka</i>
$\exists$	<i>dare ... ka</i>	<i>nani ... ka</i>	<i>dono ... ka</i>
$\forall$	<i>dare ... mo</i>	<i>nani ... mo</i>	<i>dono ... mo</i>

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

- (8) a.  $\llbracket dare \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{x | human(w)(x)\}$   
 b.  $\llbracket nemutta \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{\lambda x. \lambda w. [sleep(w)(x)]\}$   
 c.  $\llbracket darenemutta \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{p | \exists x. [human(w)(x) \wedge sleep(w)(x)]\}$
- (9)  $\llbracket [Dono\ hon-o\ yonda] kodomo \rrbracket -mo\ yoku\ nemutta$   
 which book-ACC read child -MO well slept  
 ‘For every book  $x$ , the child who read  $x$  slept well’  $\cong$   
 ‘Every child who read a book from the set of alternative book slept well’

Similarly for:

- (10)  $\llbracket [Dono\ gakusei-ga\ syootaisita] sensei \rrbracket -mo\ odotta$   
 which student-NOM invited teacher-mo danced  
 ‘For every student  $x$  the teacher  $x$  had invited danced’  $\cong$   
 ‘Every teacher invited by some student (from among alternative students) danced’

–alternatives are exhausted–

## 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 **kéthetente** 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: *-kéd* 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  
ordog **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 lakozyk wala napon**keed** nagy gyenjerewseggel  
And dwell PAST day-N-LY great pleasure-INS

‘And he dwelt (there) with great pleasure every day’ (Érsekújvár C. 5r)

*naponkeed* 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) hogÿ kÿ napon**ked** eshetel wgÿan 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 hÿ byneyerth es  
age-DIST bull-ACC sacrifice-IMP-3SG he sin-3sg.pl-for and  
koth 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.’

2. A-quantifier(?): *szeruel, szerével* ‘in good order’, ‘not at once’.

- (17) **zereuel mÿnd** egymasvtan. mÿnden gondolatyt  
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 alkalmas allapatba: meel  
 every-PL up surge-3PL the appropriate state-INE which  
**kinek kynek** nezy onnon 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)

3. A-quantifier: *mind* ‘all’. Discussion: later.

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 mendennèc** füuet a. mèzoben  
 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 èn adoc èmberekèt **egmendent** o  
 Lo I give-1SG man-PL-ACC one-every-ACC he  
 fèlenèc kèzebè  
 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 megmariac **egmenden**  
 the remainder-POSS.3SG.PL prt-bite-3PL he  
 o 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 Hegedűs (p.c.): *ki(-ki) mind* could be a short-lived ‘experiment’ to express ‘everybody’, ‘each person’.

- (20) ... **ky mynd** el temethween ew elsew zylótteet  
 who all away bury-PART he first born-POSS.3SG-ACC  
 ‘Having all buried their firstborn’ (Jordánszky C. 188)
- (21) **ky ky mind** miwelkødethe zerenth wegón:  
 who who all deed-POSS.3SG according.to take-SBJV.3SG  
 awagh Iot: awagh gonozth:  
 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 iõ az halal, es **mind** el  
 seek-3SG, away come-3.SG the death, and all away  
 vezi õtõle :—  
 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** zyletendyk hym nemzeth, **azth** **koronkeed**  
 something be-born-FUT.3SG male issue that-ACC age-DIST  
 wr ystenuék 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 tehát latek tewz langott menbelewl  
 And so saw-SG I fire flame-ACC heaven-from  
 leýtewtt ...de az egýebekrewl **nem** tudok  
 descend-PART-ACC ... but the other-PL-about not know-SG I  
**mýtt**  
 what-ACC

“I saw a flame descending from Heaven ...but I know nothing about the rest” (Jókai Codex 45)

**mÿtt** ‘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 nehesegeet nem zenwette  
 Mary-DAT that none burden-ACC difficulty-ACC not suffered  
 legyen Reea felelnék 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 keddeeg **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’

8. *Minden* ‘every’ and its derivatives.

9. Universal FC items *akár* + *pronoun*, *vala* + *pronoun*. *Akár*+ *pronoun* was confined to a sentence-initial operator position. *Vala*+*pronoun* combination often conveyed FC constrictals 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 hasonlatos:  
 god-ALL was similar  
 ‘In all his deeds our father the Blessed Francis was like God’ (Jókai C. 1)
- (29) **menden** yozagat zegeneknec elosztuan:  
 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** hèlen  
 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. Tehat **mind** az zentok **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 koutkezoz nap **mind** az nep **fel golen:** ... az  
 The following day all the people up gather-VÉN:  
 kornol 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 ozue 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 scentii es unuttei **cuzicun** iov  
 all he saint-POSS.PL.3SG and chosen-POSS.PL.3G among right  
 fevl iochtotnia ilzie 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 eë maasnak es  
 who(Rel)-PL all before-POSS.3PL come-3PL one other-DAT and  
 wg tiztolyk eë 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, discursal mechanisms.

(Discussion later.)

- (36) **mindonok** feel tamadnak az alkalmas allapatba: meel **kinek**  
 every-PL up surge-3PL the appropriate state-INE which who-DAT  
**kynek** nezy onnon 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)

⇒ *Mind* and *minden* display the (relatively) well-studied divergence one can see with *all* and *every*.

Furthermore: (i) *Minden* binds its variables in the approved textbook fashion. Working hypothesis: with *mind* discourse anaphora rather than binding individual variables. (ii) Prediction: frozen scope with *mind*.

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

⇒ *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 *egmenden*).

### 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 *Ns/NPs* than with the nature of quantifiers. (Tovena)

(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) mēguṃn                    **menden** varost    & **mēdent** a.  
PRT-take-PST.3SG every    town-ACC and every-ACC the  
fōldṃn    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  
nèuet                            vūṃzṃl  
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<sub>i</sub>nek** meg ada azt<sub>j</sub>                    aky<sub>i</sub>nek my<sub>j</sub> evue<sub>i</sub> vala  
everyone<sub>i</sub>-DAT PRT gave that-ACC<sub>j</sub> who<sub>i</sub>DAT what<sub>j</sub> his<sub>i</sub> be-PST  
'She gave everyone his due' (Cornides C. 178r)  
'She gave everyone<sub>i</sub> that<sub>j</sub> to whom<sub>i</sub> which<sub>j</sub> was his<sub>i</sub> (due)'
- (44) a. **Mindenki<sub>i</sub>nek** megadta                    (azt).                    Ki<sub>k</sub>nek  
everyone<sub>i</sub>-DAT PRT-give-PST.3SG (that-ACC) who<sub>k</sub>-DAT  
mi<sub>j</sub> az övé<sub>k</sub> volt                    (megadta                    neki<sub>k</sub>).  
what<sub>j</sub> the his<sub>k</sub> 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<sub>i</sub> mi<sub>j</sub> az övé<sub>i</sub> volt,                    (mindenki<sub>j</sub>nek)  
who-DAT what the his be-PST.3SG (everyone-DAT)  
megadta<sub>k</sub>  
PRT-give-PST.3SG  
'Whoever had something as his due, she gave that to him/to everyone'

7. Requantification? Sensitivity to spoken discourse?



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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