

At All Times in Old Hungarian — MaSzAT Meeting —

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1 Introduction

Main focus:

- Range of readings of (nouns marked with) the suffix *-nkéd* in Old Hungarian. From universal quantifier to pluractional adverbial.
- Range of ‘quantifying’ expressions from independent quantifiers to dependent operators (crossly). Analyses of such expressions.

NB, the main concern is not the inventory + analysis of distributive/pluractional expressions in OH or MH.

1.1 Interlude: Modern Hungarian

MH *-nként* is officially a distributive case marker. *-nta/-nte*: distributive-temporal.

- (1) a. Mari **időnként** elkésik/beteg
Mary time-DIST is-late/ill
‘From time to time, Mary is late/ill’ – (plural) temporal existential
- b. Ebben a faluban **családonként** van három ló
This-INE the village-INE family-DIST is three horse
‘In this village there are three horses per family’
Every family has three horses.

- c. A beteghez csak **egyenként** léphettek be a látogatók
 The sick-ela only one-DIST step-POSS-PAST-3PL into the visitor-PL
 ‘Visitors could only enter the patient’s room one by one/one after the other’
- d. Mari **szálanként** festette be a haját
 Mary one.hair-DIST dyed into the hair-POSS.3SG-ACC
 ‘Mary dyed her hair one (piece of) hair at a time’

Rate phrases (Csirmaz–Szabolcsi, Keenan–Paperno):

- (2) a. Ez a lap **kéthetente** / **kéthetenként** jelenik meg
 This the journal two-week-TEMP.DIST / two-week-DIST appears
 MEG
 ‘This journal appears twice a month’
- b. Vegyen be **naponta** / **naponként** három aszpirint
 Take-IMP.2SG into day-TEMP.DIST / day-DIST three aspirin-ACC
 ‘Take three aspirin a day’
- (3) a. **Naponta** történik valami
 day-TEMP.DIST happens something
 ‘Every day there is something new/something new occurs’
- b. **Minden** nap / ?**Naponta** történhet valami
 Every day / ?day-TEMP.DIST happen-POSS something
 ‘Every day, any day, something (unexpected) may occur’
- (4) a. Mari **egyenként** / ?**fejenként** elbúcsúzott a diákjaitól
 Mary one-DIST / ?head-DIST away-said.goodbye-PAST the student-POSS.3SG.PL-ABL
 ‘Mary said goodbye to her students, one after the other’
- b. A katonák kaptak **fejenként** / ?**egyenként** egy lakktáskát és három csomag biztosítótűt
 The soldiers received head-DIST / ?one-DIST one patent.leather-case-ACC and three pack safety-pin-ACC
 ‘Each soldier was given a patent leather case and three packets of safety pins.’

Pluractional adverbials:

- (5) Ezt a tudást **nemzedékről nemzedékre** / ???**nemzedékénként** adták át

This-ACC the knowledge-ACC generation-DEL generation-SUBL / generation-DIST give-PAST-3PL through

‘This knowledge was passed from generation to generation’

- (6) Károli **versről versre** / ?**versenként** fordította a
Károli verse-DEL verse-SUBL / ?verse-DIST translated the
Bibliát
Bible-ACC
‘Károli translated the Bible verse after verse’

A little more about (plural) existentials:

- (7) a. Mari **időnként** kosarazik
Mary time-DIST basket-VBSFX-3SG
‘Mary sometimes plays basketball’
b. A divat **koronként** változik
The fashion age-DIST change
‘Fashion changes from one age to another’
c. Mari **nyaranta** a Pireneusokban túrázik
Mary summer-TEMP.DIST the Pyrenees-INE trek-3SG
‘In the summer Mary (usually/sometimes) goes trekking in the
Pyrenees’
(Weaker than habitual -?-)

2 –*Nkéd* in OH

2.1 Quantifiers

- *Koronkéd* \cong *Always*:

With state descriptions: one uninterrupted state. (This is the preferred reading; the ‘interrupted state’ reading is also available. The point: the existence of the ‘uninterrupted’ reading.)

- (8) De **koronkeed** dagalyosok voltak mywltha foghwa
But age-DIST swollen-PL be-PST-2PL since beginning
ysmertelek
know-PST-1SG
‘But you’ve always been full of yourselves, ever since I’ve known you’
(Jordánszky C. 220)
- (9) az wtolso kyrthnek zozattya **koronkeed**
the last trumpet-DAT cry-POSS.3SG always

fýlembe zenghedóz
 ear-POSS.1SG-ILL resonates
 ‘the blasts of the last (Judgment Day) trumpet are incessantly resonating in my ears’ (Érdy C. 10a)

- (10) De te kerdened azt tartozik e ember **mindõncoron** az imadsagra ígékozni auag nem ... ez el’eten imadsagra nem zügseg **coronked** a rea ualo ígékozet
 ‘You might ask whether one should always be eager to pray ... such prayers do not require that you always be eager and ready (to utter them)’ (Guary C. 121)
- (11) Soha az en zývem el ne alogýek de **koronked** hozad vígíazon
 ‘May my heart never fall asleep (slacken), may it always be alert for / attuned to you’ (Lobkowitz C. 1)
- (12) Lassatok hoó ne vtallyatok meg egyet ez kysdedek kezzel; mert vgy mondok tynektek, hogy hw óryzó angyaly menyorzagban **koronked** neezyk en atyamnak zynet, ky menyben vagyon
 ‘Beware lest you should repudiate but one of these children; for, I tell you, their guardian angels in heaven do at all times behold my heavenly father’ (Jordánszky C. 471; Mark 6)

Restrictor–NS division (and context):

- (13) **koronkeed** bykath aldozyeek hÿ byneyerth es
 age-DIST bull-ACC sacrifice-IMP-3SG he sin-3sg.pl-cslfnl and
 kosth ystennek dyczeeretyre
 ram-ACC god-DAT praise-POSS.3SG-CSL FNL
 ‘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.’
- (14) **valamy** zyletendyk hym nemzeth, **azth** **koronkeed**
 something be-born-FUT.3SG male issue that-ACC age-DIST
 wr ystenuiek aldozzad
 lord god-DAT sacrifice-IMP.2SG
 ‘whatever male issue is born, that should always be sacrificed to God’
 (Jordánszky C. 233)

In (14), the Restrictor is the correlative clause (‘whatever male animal is born (first)’), the NS is the (remnant of the) main clause (‘that should be

sacrificed to God’). Succinctly: ‘All firstborn animals are to be sacrificed to God’.

Analysis: your favourite analysis of *always*. Universal quantifier over times/eventualities (Rooth, von Stechow, de Swart, ...). Restrictor–NS division: Focus, presupposition, ellipsis... BFÁ’s secret favourite:

$$(15) \quad \forall \varepsilon. [C(\varepsilon) \rightarrow \exists \varepsilon'. [R(\varepsilon, \varepsilon') \wedge \varphi(\varepsilon')]]$$

• A somewhat fishy case: *Naponkéd* (lit. ‘day-dist’)

- (16) Es lakozyk wala napon**keed** nagy gyenyewseggel
 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 $\diamond > \forall$.

- (17) hogyk napon**ked** eshetel wgyan 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)

Paraphrase: ‘Someone has fallen ill, and every day, any day, you too may come down with the same disease’.

- (18) kirol **naponked tartozunk** mi halaadassal
 (Mary) ‘to whom every day we owe gratitude and thanksgiving’ (Tihany C. 62v)
 Scope problem (temporal / modal)
- (19) a. kinek **naponked harom ezor** uitezok alnakuala uduart
 (Euphemianus) ‘whose courtiers each day numbered three thousand knights’ (Tihany C. 10r)
 b. **Naponked** az o hazaba **harom aztal** zegeuok etetnek uala
 ‘Every day at his house the poor were fed at three tables’ (Tihany C. 10r)
 lit. ‘three tablefuls of poor people’
- (20) amí alamísnat adnak vala neký ísten zeretetyrt csak annýt hag vala maganak kíuel **naponked** meg ery
 ‘(St Alexa) whatever alms he was given for the love of God, he only kept for himself what he needed day after day’ (Lobkowitz C. 225–

226)

- (21) az istennek vtan az í zent eleteben kezde **naponked iobrol iobra**
neuekõdnie
(St Anne) ‘on the path to God she became better and better, day
after day’ (Kazinczy C. 23v)
- (22) the **naponked** az en ikõmnek tÿztõlletõt tez **ego gertÿaual**
(Christ to young man) ‘you pay your respects to my grandmother
by lighting a candle, day after day’ (Kazinczy C. 27v)
(‘dependent’ candle)

2.2 Distributivity operators

- (23) zollywnk arrol ky **mynden** naponkeed
speak-SBJV.1PL that-DEL which every day-SUP-DIST
zemewnk elõt 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**)
- (24) A baratoc **eggenkent kiki** nag síruan kí megen vala
The monks one-DIST whowho great cry-PART out go PAST
az ayton es čak õmmaga marada a feýedelm
the door-SUPRSSV and only he-self remained the prince
‘The monks left through the door one after the other, amidst great
sobs (each of them sobbing), and only the abbot himself remained’
(Nagyszombat C 401)
- (25) ennek vtanna **mínd** fel allanak **egenked egýmas vtan** es míndeník
vgýan predikallía vala mínt Bodog zent ferench
‘after this they (the bishops) all stood up, one by one, one after the
other, and every one of them preached just like the Blessed Saint
Francis’ (Lobkowitz C. 22)
- (26) Igõn meltosagossok: merth istennek **mynd feýenkeed** leanÿ es fÿaÿ
‘They are venerable, since each and every one of them is the son or
daughter of God’ (Sándor C. 1v)
- (27) Heten vadnak, Mel’eket az õ At’ok az õrdõg **mind egenkét** kazdagon
el hazasýta
(the daughters of cupidity) ‘They are seven in number, all married off
richly by their father the devil, one after the other’ (Székelyudvarhely

C. 95 r–v)

Dormition, Kazinczy C.:

- (28) a. tehat kezdek az apastalok **eġenked** azzonunkat dicernie:
‘so the apostles began the praise of our lady, one after the other’
(8r)
- b. Ennek vtanna v̄t̄ōl̄ōk **feÿenked** bucút von
‘After this she(Mary) said farewell to them, one after the other’
(9r)
- c. azzonunkat **sereġonked** k̄ōr̄n̄ōl̄ allak:
(the inhabitants of Heaven) ‘surrounded our lady, each in his cohort’ (9v)
(angels with angels, martyrs with martyrs a.s.o.)
- (29) a. kiket peldaznak touaba ez madarnak fiai: **feienked** minketh
‘What do the children of this bird stand for? They stand for each and every one of us’ (Tihany C. 8v)
- b. Mikepen azert az madarnak fiait az asp̄is keġo meġh ōÿ: Ez̄ōnkepen mies **feienked** az el̄s̄ō zilenknek uetk̄ōknek miattok **mnd**(sic!) meġh hotunk uala
‘Just as the fledglings were killed by the serpent, each and every one of us has died on account of the original sin of our first parents’ (Tihany C. 9r)
- c. mel eredet bin zalla **feienked** mi reank:
‘which original sin was inherited by each and every one of us’ (Tihany C. 33v)

2.3 Pluractional adverbials

‘Pluractionality’: a plurality of events (described by the verb). Pluractional vb morphology (cf. Henderson, diss). Pluractional readings due to bare plurals:

- (30) John found fleas on his dog **for a week** (Dowty)

Pluractional adverbials: *one by one, dog after dog, ...*

- (31) ha valami k̄ōnuet lath vala ottan oda futh vala es a t̄ōb ger̄m̄ōk̄ōk moġiara ġgen hannia uala **leuel̄ōnkent**
‘When he (St Thomas) saw a book he ran to it and, like the other children, he tossed page after page (in the book)’ (Debrecen C. 204)

- (32) Ezek nŷnĉenek heaba, mert **ŷgĕnkĕt** wrvnrk Crŷstvš mondasŷ
 ‘these are not empty words, since they are the sayings of our lord
 Christ, word after word’ (Székelyudvarhely C. 116v)
- (33) Akarta volna az vr isten hogŷ en voltam volna az jdevben ez velagon.
 es meteltettem volna **jzenkent foltonkent** az en vram iesesnak(sic!)
 zerelmert
 ‘How I wish God had wanted me to live then (among early Christians
 and martyrs) and be chopped up bit by bit for the greater love of
 my Lord Jesus’ (St Margaret (of Hungary)’s Legend 10v)
- (34) Mith tez zegen frater? ha zŷmeidnek welagat el weztendŷd: zikseg
 nekŷd **aitonked** koldulnod:
 ‘What are you to do, poor friar? If you lose your eyesight you’ll have
 to go begging from door to door’ (Tihany C. 55r)
- (35) walamŷnemw twodomanŷws belcz embernek meg hatnŷa hogŷ az
 egihazŷ zentseghes zolosmat **zerewel** zerzene **orankeed** ŷdeŷen ko-
 ran mondanŷ
 (the emperor asked the pope) ‘to appoint a wise scholar to devise
 a system / an order of holy chants to be sung hour after hour (the
 Chants of the Office)’ (Érsekújvár C. 158va)

Distributivity op. or pluractional? Bracketing?

- (36) ennek wthana az epŷstolakat ewangelyomokat **mŷnd eztendewnked**
 enekelwen
 ‘after this the epistles and gospels were all sung yearly / year after
 year’ (Érsekújvár C. 158va)

3 (Some) Analyses

3.1 Zwarts

Joos Zwarts (L&P 2013): plural reading of *N to/after/by N* built up com-
 positionally, from computing ‘sums’ of singularities.

3.2 Beck–von Stechow

Background: static semantics for plurals by Beck (à la Link, Sternefeld).

- (37) Dog after dog came in
1. Two plural entities: D (dogs), E (events).

2. Partition D and E (cells are atoms/singletons).
3. Order the cells of E (e.g. $e_1 \prec e_2 \prec e_3$). \prec is immediate precedence.
4. See if there is a bijection btw the cells from D and the cells from E.
5. Ignore the first dog.

3.3 Henderson, Henderson–Brasoveanu & followers

Dynamic plural logic (Van den Berg, Nouwen, Brasoveanu). Evaluation w.r.t. sets of assignments.

Individuals: \pm atomic. \rightarrow two sources for plural readings:

- The individuals themselves (if not atomic) — domain plurality
- the sets of assignments: if H is a set of assignments and x a variable one can obtain the set of values assigned to x by members of H ($\{d_i | d_i = h_i(x), h_i \in H\}$). — Evaluation plurality (if such a set is not a singleton).

Main ex (Brasoveanu–Henderson SALT 19):

- (38) a. The boys **each** recited a poem
 b. The boys recited a poem **one by one**

Main test: ‘internal’ vs ‘external’ different.

- (39) a. The boys each recited **a different** poem.
 (Internal reading OK: poems vary with boys)
 b. The boys recited **a different** poem one by one.
 (Only external reading: *different* anaphoric)

\rightarrow B&H: the expression responsible for storing pluractional dependencies is not accessible.

‘Storing’ dependencies:

- *Each*: ‘Decomposition’ yields a relation over individuals: $\{\langle g_i(x), g_i(y) \rangle | g_i \in G\}$. Side note: universal quantification in this framework:

$$(40) \quad \langle \text{Max}(R), \Delta(\text{NS}) \rangle$$

NL: Maximise Restrictor and distribute over Nuclear Scope.

$$\begin{array}{rcccc}
(41) & G & x(\text{boys}) & y(\text{poems}) & \dots \\
& & g_1 & \text{boy}_1 = g_1(x) & \text{poem}_1 = g_1(y) & \dots \\
& & g_2 & \text{boy}_2 = g_2(x) & \text{poem}_2 = g_2(y) & \dots \\
& & \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots
\end{array}$$

- *One after the other*: a relation over individuals and functions (viz. boys and fns matching boys with poems). ‘Encapsulation’.

$$\begin{array}{rcc}
(42) & x(\text{boys}) & f(\text{boys-poems}) \\
& g & \text{the.boys} = g(x) & g(f) \\
& & & \{\langle b_i, p_i \rangle | \dots\}
\end{array}$$

Given $g \in G$: $g(x) = \text{the-boys}$, and $g(f)$ is a correspondence btw members of $g(x)$ (individual boys) and poems.

One by one: a functional dependency btw individuals and events (!). Individual(s) denoted by an overt constituent from the same clause. B& H: the functional dependency is in fact a θ -role.

NL paraphrase of B& H’s proposal:

- (43) Given event predicate E and event e , collect (linearly ordered) atomic subevents e' of e , s.t. the image set of θ is not a singleton, and atomic e' s are assigned atomic values (by θ).

Dependency btw boys and poems mediated by the Davidsonian argument.

3.3.1 Panaitescu

Panaitescu (SuB 2012): redefining ‘traditional’ distinctions in terms of B&H:

- (44) a. ‘Event-external’ pluractionals \approx distribution. (Panaitescu: Romanian *tot* (reading: *again and again*)).
b. ‘Event-internal’ pluractionals \approx encapsulation. (Panaitescu: Spanish frequentative *andar*.)
- (45) a. ?El zorro **anduvo** matando una gallina
The fox walk.SP killing a hen
‘The fox has been killing a hen’ (repeatedly?) (Spanish)

- b. ?Vulpea **tot** ucidea o găină
 Fox-the all kill-IMPF one hen
 ‘The fox kept killing a hen’ (repeatedly?) (Romanian)
- (46) a. Juan ha **andado** llamando por teléfono a cada uno de sus amigos
 ‘John has been phoning every one of his friends’ (one after the other, one call per friend)
- b. Ion a **tot** sunat toți prietenii
 ‘John has been incessantly calling all his friends’ (several calls per friend)

‘Decomposition’ (acc. to Panaitescu) characterises quantifiers, distributive operators, event-external pluractionals. ‘Encapsulation’ (Panaitescu): event-internal pluractionals and (if and when necessary) *each* (B&H).

3.4 Observations concerning OH *-nkeed*

- (47) $\lambda P.\lambda Sthing.[Max(x, P), Op(Sthing(x))]$
P: the *N -kéd* attaches to. *Sthing*: the translation of the constituent *N-kéd* is adjoined to. Missing: correspondences and dependencies. First (tentative) hypothesis: *-kéd* could have originally been a (totally underspecified) distributivity operator. Reason: emergence of ‘purely’ quantificational and ‘purely’ pluractional interpretation easier to conceive.

1. Capable of decomposition and encapsulation. (Btw, in B&H’s framework *each* can also be analysed as decomposing or encapsulating).
2. Does not need clausemate ‘antecedent’.
3. Dependency need not rely on thematic roles. E.g. *ajtónkéd* ‘from door to door’: a correspondence between subevents and stages of spatial path (marked by doors).

- (48) azzonunkat **seregonked** kornol allak:
 (the inhabitants of Heaven) ‘surrounded our lady, each in his cohort’ (9v)
 (angels with angels, martyrs with martyrs a.s.o.)

Readings: (i) surrounding is a process, its stages marked by cohorts from heaven; (ii) ‘surround’ describes a state; heavenly cohorts correspond to spatial regions.

4. Point 1 \rightarrow (event-internal) pluractional reading not basic for *nkéd*.

More observations:

1. *-nkeed* introduced a plurality;
2. *-kneed* expressed a dependency between two variables; one of these bound the individual argument of the *N* it combined with.

Interlude: if Panaitescu is right, what distinguishes a quantifier from an event-external pluractional? (Some points: R–NS division, absence of functional dependencies, the need to impose a certain kind of structure on events...)

Main OH cases:

- (Propositional) quantifier: *koronkeed*.

(49) **koronkeed** bykath aldozyeek hw byneyerth es
age-DIST bull-ACC sacrifice-IMP-3SG he sin-3sg.pl-cslfnl and
koth ystennek dyczeeretyre
ram-ACC god-DAT praise-POSS.3SG-CSLFNL
‘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.’

- R – NS division. Dependency: relation between two eventualities. With state descriptions: quantification over times. (Reconsider *always* as quantifying over times?)
- Distribution over ‘own’ variable.

• Vacillating between quantificational and event-external pluractional interpretation: *naponkeed*. Quantifier status: scope relations. Pluractional reading: dependencies.

(50) hogy ky napon**ked** eshetel wgyan 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)

- (51) az istennek vtan az v zent eleteben kezde **naponked iobrol iobra**
 neuekõdnie
 (St Anne) ‘on the path to God she became better and better, day
 after day’ (Kazinczy C. 23v)

Needed: correspondence btw a succession of days and a succession of degrees.
 (The degree of day_n has to be greater than the degree of day_{n-1} .)

- Distributivity operators: should be easy. Correspondence between individuals and eventualities, without imposing a linear order on subevents. (Cf. *Each and every one of us died.*)

- Event-internal pluractional readings:

- (52) ha valami kõnet lath vala ottan oda futh vala es a tõb germõkõk
 mogiara igen hannia uala **leuelõnkent**
 ‘When he (St Thomas) saw a book he ran to it and, like the other
 children, he tossed page after page (in the book)’ (Debrecen C. 204)

Relationships:

- The book and its collection of pages.
- A linearly ordered sequence of events matching a sequence of pages.

Diachronic speculations:

⊕ The case of *fejenként*: distributivity marker → rate phrase. Possibly: functional dependency introduced/reinterpreted as dependency via θ -roles. (53-b) involves a relation between soldiers (Beneficiaries) and what they received (Themes).

- (53) a.???A katonák **fejenként** jöttek
 Int.: ‘Soldiers were coming, one after the other’
 b. A katonák kaptak **fejenként** / ?**egyenként** egy
 The soldiers received head-DIST / ?one-DIST one
 lakktáskát és három csomag biztosítóút
 patent.leather-case-ACC and three pack safety-pin-ACC
 ‘Each soldier was given a patent leather case and three packets
 of safety pins.’

⊕ *egyenként* ‘one by one’: in OH it marked distribution over atoms (+ pluractional dependencies). Missing: distribution over groups of cardinality n in general.

- (54) De mert meglén keuessen valanak az barátok nem boczathattya uala ewket **ketten ketten** : **mendenykyt kewlewn** boczattya uala Castellomokba es falukba
'But, since there were still few monks (in the Franciscan order) he (St Francis) could not send them off in twos: he sent them individually to castles and villages' (Jókai C. 82)

⊕ Loss of strict distributivity. MH *időnként* 'from time to time'.

- (55) **Mind az egész Bibliát versenként** fordítottuk
'We have translated the entire Bible verse after verse' (Károli, p. 44)
- (56) Noha pedig volt **darabonként** az Bibliának **valami része** megfordítva, de (teljes bibliafordítás eddig nem létezett)
'Although there have been partial translations of the Bible, **piece-ként**' (there has been no complete translation so far) (Károli, p. 44)
Valami rész (some part) — *darabonként* (in pieces, a piece here and a piece there)

Katalin É.Kiss (p.c.) in the Debrecen dialect *x darabban van* ('be in piece') means '*x* is incomplete, not full' (e.g. the wine in the barrel).

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Primary Sources

Károli: Gáspár Károli 1590: Szent Biblia, azaz Istennek ... (Preface to Bible translation). In Gábor, Csilla, ed. 2013: *Keresztyéni felelet. Hitviták a 16–17. századból. (Christian Retort. Debates on Religion from the 16th and 17th Centuries.)* Polis Kolozsvár (-Cluj-Klausenburg). Pp. 37–45.

For information on OH codices please consult

<http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/hu-codices.html> or

<http://nyelvemlekek.oszk.hu/tud/szoevegkiadasok>