

The Grammaticalization of *Egész* ‘Whole’ in Hungarian

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This contribution is about the grammaticalization of the Hungarian adjective *egész* ‘whole’, ‘hale’ into the universal/maximality determiner *az egész* ‘all (the)’, and about some novel, unexpected aspects of this process. These concern the role of the adverbs derived from *egész*. The point is that the change from adjective to determiner was accompanied by processes that involved adverbs derived from *egész*. In addition, the ‘range’ of these processes varied: the final stage in the grammaticalization of the adjective *egész* was confined to Eastern dialects (Eastern Hungary, Transylvania and Moldavia).

The evolution of *az egész* is relevant, because its ‘multi-track’ property complements the straightforward ‘single-track’ grammaticalization model from Haspelmath (1995). Change along several trajectories (with potentially varying ‘range’ in the community) can also yield several types of output: The adjective *egész* became a D-quantifier, while its adverbs (originally meaning ‘in a healthy state/manner’) became A-quantifiers. This differentiation came with a division of syntactic and semantic labour.

The puzzle that initially motivated our investigation was the expression *az egész-en* lit. ‘the whole-N’ from Transylvanian Hungarian, which means ‘all from a given set’. Its so-called modal-essive suffix can only attach to numerals/determiners, and its output is a collection with a given cardinality, or a in a given relation to another set (e.g. ‘*hárm-an* vagyunk’, ‘there are three of us’; cf. Schvarcz 2019).

If *az egész* can bear the modal-essive suffix, then it has to be a determiner. This is borne out by the data.

According to OldH and MiddleH records (i) *egész*, *egez* initially meant ‘healthy’, ‘hale’, ‘intact’. (ii) Already in OldH it could be used with nouns denoting a collective entity (Piry Parchment, turn of 15/16th c-s: *mind egez embõri nemzet* — lit. ‘all whole human kind’, viz. ‘all humankind’), and (iii) it could acquire a distributive construal with such nouns. (iv) (*Az egész* lit. ‘(the) whole’ as a determiner of count nouns can be found in Transylvanian records from the 17. century onwards, as seen in (1). (The definite article is a later addition.) That is, the adjective *egész* on its own shows a fairly typical grammaticalization path.

- (1) Ezen ... **egész** épületek ... alnak készülendõ félben vakolatlan in Ruderibus
‘All these ... buildings ... stand half-finished, unplastered, amidst the rubble’ [1746 Branyicska (Brănişca) archive]

What is less typical, is that the change from adjective to determiner has been accompanied (in the entire community) by changes in adverbs derived

from *egész*. First, with expressions denoting scales, time, space or the stages of an event, OldH *mind* ‘all’ has been replaced by *egész* or one of its adverbs: OH *míjnd menyorzagiglan* ‘all the way to Heaven’ corresponds to Modern Hungarian *egészen a mennyországig*.

Second, adverbs derived from *egész* often have (or entail) an ‘object-oriented’ reading, especially, but not exclusively, with incremental Themes (ex. (2)). We propose that such adverbs are A-quantifiers over eventualities, and that they also involve quantification over the Theme argument. ‘Involvement’ with the Theme can range from resembling a depictive (Rothstein 2001), or the subtailments of collective interpretation (Dowty 1987), to entailment. In the first fuller draft of this work a system based on Champollion (2017) is used to relate events and individuals in the simplest cases.

- (2) (vagyonodat) **egez-len** el oztad ...
 (your fortune) ‘you gave it away completely’ \models ‘you gave all of it away’ (Jókai C., 14-15th c., 24)

The determiner *az egész* (cca. ‘all the’) now operates on mass terms or singular nouns denoting collective entities. In Transylvania it can also operate on ‘atomic’ count nouns. (Transylvanian Hungarians can say ‘*az egész* birds’, while in Hungary it has to be ‘*az egész* flock’.) In addition, only Transylvanians appear to make use of semantic operations on noun denotations (e.g. mapping -sets of- atoms to masses or quantities) that should in principle be available to all speakers, given the semantics of numberless common nouns in the language (Farkas–De Swart 2010). (E.g. *az egész répa* lit. ‘the whole carrot’ can mean ‘the entire amount/mass of carrots’ in Transylvania, but not in Hungary.)

The analysis proposed for *az egész* can so far provide a partial answer to this variation. *Az egész* is a supremum operator supplemented with Link’s *. (The definite article is merely an overt reflex.) The supremum for an entity like a committee will be the entity itself. Purely collective scenarios (e.g. carrying the piano) are judged as awkward, hence the * operator. For speakers in Hungary, the *Egész*-operator is sensitive to lexical sources, in that it is not defined for plural count nouns (hence, no ‘*az egész* birds’).

To conclude, in Hungarian the emergence of a D-quantifier has been accompanied by the emergence of A-quantifiers that can operate on Themes. Sentences with A- or D-quantifiers may have similar meanings, while the syntactic and semantic properties of the quantifiers themselves can vary considerably.

Selected References • Champollion, L. 2017: *Parts of a Whole. Distributivity as a Bridge Between Aspect and Measurement*. OUP. • Farkas, D.–H. de Swart 2010: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Plurals. *Semantics & Pragmatics* 3. pp. 1–54. • Haspelmath, M. 1995: Diachronic Sources for ‘All’ and ‘Every’. Bach, E. et al. eds. *Quantification in Natural Languages*. Kluwer. 363–382. • Rothstein,

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