The Grammaticalisation of *Egész* 'Whole' in Hungarian

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1 What, Why, How

Aims:

i. Report on the grammaticalisation of the adjective *egész* 'whole' from late Old Hungarian onwards. Adjective ⇒ Determiner.

ii. Comparison with models or attested grammaticalisation processes of adjectives with the same meaning (Haspelmath 1995).

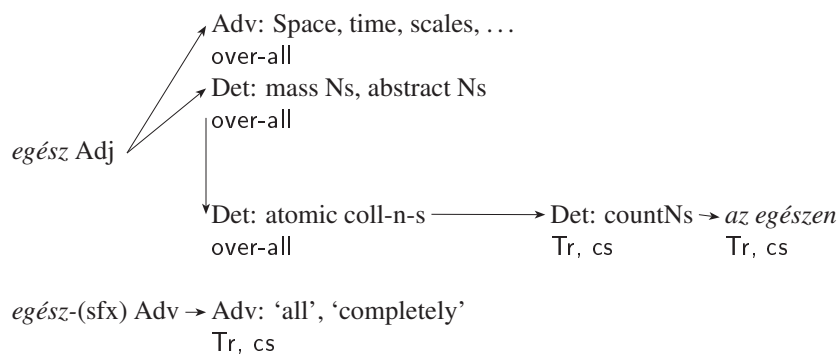The point: at least three paths.

- Adjective → Determiner.

- Adverb (Adj. + Sfx) → A-quantifier.

- Replacing *mind* 'all' as 'associate' of spatial/temporal/scalar expressions. (See FULL paper.)

(1) a. *az ev kÿaltass-ok **mÿnd** menyorzag-iglan fel hallÿk*
   the he cry- POSS.3PL all heaven- TERM up hear(middle)
   vala.
   PAST
   'their cries could be heard all the way to Heaven' (MargL 41v)

 b. *az ő kiáltás-uk **egész-en** a menyország-ig*
   the he cry-POSS.3PL whole-textscmanner the heaven-TERM
   fel-hallatszott
   up-heard(middle)
   'their cries could be heard all the way to Heaven' (Modern Hungarian)

iii. Issues in dialectal variation (over time). The final stages of the change from adjective to determiner present in Transylvania and Moldavia; present-day Hungary: earlier stages. Change to A-quantifier and supplanting *mind*: everywhere. (The point: the grammaticalisation of *egész* was by no means confined to Transylvania or Moldavia.)

iv. Semantic issues: 1. Plurality, entailed/subentailed (Dowty) meanings. 2. Mapping events to individuals.

A schematic map for points 1 to 3: what changed, and in what areas. ('Over-all': change everywhere; Tr: Transylvania; cs: Moldavia, the Csángó community.)

(2)

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                              ┌→ Adv: Space, time, scales, …
                              │   over-all
                          ┌──→ Det: mass Ns, abstract Ns
                          │   │ over-all
                          │   │
    egész Adj ────────────┘   │
                              ↓
                          Det: atomic coll-n-s ──────→ Det: countNs →  az egészen
                          over-all                     Tr, cs          Tr, cs


    egész-(sfx) Adv → Adv: 'all', 'completely'
                      Tr, cs
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2 The Clue: *The Whole of Us Were There*

Transylvania, Moldavia: *az egész* can be suffixed with the so-called Modal-Essive suffix *-n*. Reading: 'All from a contextually given group'. 'Contextually given': deictic, with a discourse antecedent, inferrable.

(3)   **az egész-en** *megérkez-t-ünk*
        the whole-N arrive-PAST-1PL
        'All of us have arrived'

The Modal-Essive suffix attaches to determiners (or DPs -?-) and yields a collective entity with the given cardinality, or in the given relation with the Nuclear Scope (Schvarcz 2019).

(4)   a.   **Hárm-an/Sokan/Mind** *megérkez-t-ek*
               Three-N/Many-N/All   arrive-PAST-3PL
               'Thre/Many/All of them have arrived'
        b.???*A   könyvek közül   **sok-an** *eláztak*
               The books   from.among many-N got.soaked
               Intended: 'Many of the books got soaked' (Animacy constraint)

(5)   a.   {*A diákok/*a   könyvek*} **hárm-an** *voltak*
               The students/*the books   three-N   were
               'The students/the books were three.'
        b.   *A **legtöbb-en** {az elsős   diákok/??a vadász-kutyák} voltak*
               the most-N   the first.year students/the hunting-dogs   were
               'The first-year students/the hunting dogs were the most numerous.'
        c.   {*A diákok/*a   könyvek*} **mindannyi-an** *a   szobában voltak*
               the students/the books   all.as-many-N the room- INE were
               'The students/the books were all in the room.' (Csirmaz & Szabolcsi (2012),
               ex. (3), 400)

Az egészen is substandard in Transylvania, many educated speakers are almost ashamed of it. With (Haspelmath 1995) in mind, one can guess that *az egészen* is the product of a grammaticalisation process, i.e. it is 'legitimate'. The Modal-Essive suffix itself provided the clue, since it can only attach to determiners (OK, to DPs with a silent NP). That is, *az egész* in *az egész-en* has to be a determiner. Aside: other Hungarian determiners 'containing' the definite article: *a legtöbb* 'most' and *az összes* appx. 'all'.

3 A Diachronic Tendency: *Whole, Hale → All*

(Haspelmath 1995) on the diachronic sources of *all* — Several languages: adjectives meaning *whole, hale* become quantifiers (typically, but not necessarily, determiners) meaning *all*. (English *all* is itself the product of such a change.)

Latin → Romance: *totus* (adj., 'entire', 'whole') becomes a quantifier (Fr. *tous*, Italian *tutti*, Romanian *toţi*, ...). Where change occurs: with nouns/NP-s in the plural:[1]

(6)   a.   ...*cuj   senatus **tota-m**   re-m   publica-m commiserat*
              who.DAT senate   whole-ACC thing-ACC public-ACC had.entrusted
              '...to whom the senate had entrusted the whole state.' (Cic.Mil. 23, 61)

      b.   *Pervigilat   noct-es   **tota-s***
              remain.awake night-ACC.PL whole-ACC.PL
              'She remains awake during entire nights' (Plaut. Aul. 1, 1, 33; Haspelmath
              1995 (1a–b), 365)   (Latin)

(7)   a.   *N-am   dormit **toat-ă**   noapte-a*
              Not-PERF.1SG slept   whole-SG.FEM night-DEFART.SG.FEM
              'I havent't slept all night' — the entire night

      b.   **Toat-e**   *nopţ-i-le*   *a*   *stat de veghe*
              all-PL.FEM night-PL-DEFART.PL.FEM PERF.3SG stood of vigil
              'All nights/Every night he kept vigil'

      c.   *Nopţ-i **întreg-i** a   stat de veghe*
              Night-PL whole-PL PERF.3SG stood of vigil
              'Entire nights/For nights on end he kept vigil'   (Romanian)

From Ancient Greek to Modern Greek:

(8)   a.   ***hólēn*** *tēn hēméran*
              whole the day
              'the entire day'

      b.   ***hólous*** *oíkous*
              entire   families
              'entire families' (NOT 'all families')   (Ancient Greek)

(9)   a.   ***óli*** *tí méra*
              entire the day
              'the entire day'   (Modern Greek)

      b.   ***óla*** *tá spítia*
              all the houses
              'all the houses' (this and example (8): Haspelmath 1995, (3)–(4), 365)

In present day German the adjective *ganz* 'whole', 'entire', can mean 'all' (with plural noun phrases). The examples cited in Haspelmath are not entirely standard, but can be understood by speakers of German.

(10)   a.   *Wer hat denn **die**   **ganz-en** Punkte hier gemalt?*
             who has then the.FEM.PL.ACC whole-PL points here painted
             'Who painted all these dots here?'

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1 In Romance languages *tot-* with a singular NP can still mean 'whole', e.g. Rom. *toată casa* 'the entire house'. Back to this later.

b. ***Die*** ***ganz-en*** *Tassen sind verschwunden!*
the.FEM.PL whole-PL cups are vanished!
'All the cups have vanished!' (Haspelmath 1995, (6a–b) 366) (Ger-
man)

The point of no return according to Haspelmath: when WHOLE(-PL) + PLURAL NP is
taken to mean ALL + PLURAL NP,

(11) ***az egész*** *ház(-ak)*
the whole house(- PL)
Old meaning: 'the entire house', 'the entirety of (some) houses'
New meaning: 'every house' or 'all houses'

Issues with number marking in Hungarian. Officially, NPs are unmarked for number. Un-
officially, a lot of hesitation in OldH or MiddleH.

4   Tracing Grammaticalisation Paths

Preliminary: *whole, wholly* as a quantifier. On the 'entire', 'entirely' meaning: a nano-
quantifier, paraphraseable as 'nothing is missing', 'everything is in place'. What changes
in grammaticalisation: the domain.

(12)   a.   The shirt was **all** dirty.
       b.   **All** the shirts were dirty.
            À la (Roberts 1987), goes back to Barbara Partee.

Back to Hungarian: Rather strict division of labour. The adjective *egész* → the de-
terminer *-az- egész*. Adverbs derived from *egész* → A-quantifiers. (Derivation: usu. the
manner suffix *-n*, ∅, and one or two other suffixes.)

4.1   Adjective → Determiner

Initially, *egész* (usu. written as *egez*): 'healthy', 'whole', 'intact'.
    ▷ Healthy:

(13)   *De mert   akoron **egez** barat-ok es   beteg-ek nagÿ vÿgasag-ual elnek uala*
       But because then   hale friar- PL and sick- PL great joy- INSTR live   PAST
       'Since at that time hale and sick friars lived with great joy.' (Jókai Codex 91)

    ▷ Intact:

(14)   *Nemde **èǵez-ec**   ė a iég-ec*
       Not.but whole-PL Q the mark-PL
       'The seals are intact, aren't they?' Vienna C. 175
       Scenario: the king is checking the seals on a door.

    ▷ Whole: initially with NPs with collective reference.
    First step: 'whole' with NPs denoting collective entities.

(15)   *En kedeeg azt   mond-om **mind egez** embọri nemzet-nek*
       I   then   that-ACC say-1SG all   full human kind-DAT

kep-e-ben...
image- POSS.3SG-INE
'Then I say in the name of all humankind...' (Piry P.)

(16) *Ki   meg dǫgl-et-i   mind **az egez** kerezt'énseget*
Who pfx die-CAUS-3SG all   the whole Christendom
'He who will make all Christendom die' (=the devil) Bod C. 9v

(17) *es **az egezz** 9uēt   elett-e   pcessio-ual   mēń-en*
and the whole convent before-POSS.3SG procession-INSTR go-SUBJ.3G
'and the whole convent should walk before her, in a procession' (Birk C. 4a)

(18) *Ez   level ada-ss-ek   barthva-n   az **egess** tanacz-nak*
This letter give- PASS-SUBJ-3SG Bártfa-SPRSSVE the entire council- DAT

nekem   vra-ÿ-m-nak   esss somsÿd-im-nak.
Dat-1SG lord- POSS.1SG.PL-DAT and neighbour- POSS.1SG.PL-DAT
'Let this letter be delivered to the entire council of Bártfa, to my good lords and neighbours.'
(1530, János Tarczay to the council of Bártfa (Barejov, Slovakia), Letters: letter 94)

4.1.1   Transylvania, from the 17th Century

Source: Historical Dictionary of Transylvanian Hungarian (HDTH), Erdélyi magyar szótörténeti tár. Unless otherwise specified, all Middle H exx are from HDTH.

Attested: *-az- egész* with plural count nouns. In the vast majority of cases accompanied by the definite article *az*.

(19) ***Az Egez** Istallo-k-ott   zekerzentt   vgy Czinal-tas-sa   hogy mind*
The whole stable- PL-ACC cart.according.to so   make- CAUS-3SG that   all
Egy veg-b(en) le-gyen
one end- INE be- SUBJ.3SG
'He should have all stables built according to the (measure of?) carts, so that all of them should be aligned' (1623; Törzs. (core coll.) instructions from Prince Gabriel Bethlen)

(20) *mindnyaja(n) **az egesz** Atyafi-ak kep-ek-b(en)   azon*
all   the whole siblings image- POSS.3PL.PL-INE that
Testamentum-nak minden resz-e-i-ben   contradical-nak
will-DAT   every   part-POSS.3SG.PL-INE contradict- 3PL
'all of them, on behalf of all siblings and kin, contest all provisions of that will' [Kv (Kolozsvár, Cluj); TJk VIII/11. 112]

(21) a. *ittenis azonn nyavalya annyira el   hatalmazott, hogy **tsaknem egész***
here.too that   illness so.much away spread,   that almost   whole
Város-i   Ember-eink   Cseléd-estől ab-ban fetrenge-nek
town-ADJ.SFX people- POSS.1PL.PL servant-SOC that-INE writhe-3PL
'that malady here too has spread so far and wide that almost all our townsfolk are suffering from it, along with their servants' [1730 Kv (Kolozsvár, Cluj); Ks]

b. **az egész** *vér-ek-et* [rokonokat] *legitime meg kinal-tat-t-a*
the whole kin- PL-ACC [relatives] lawfully pfx offered- CAUS-3SG
(h)ogy ve-gy-ék meg, mert ... közelebb akar magá-nak venni
that buy- SUBJ-3PL pfx, for ...closer wants self- DAT buy- INF
(birtok-ot)
estate- ACC
'he offered it lawfully to all his kinsfolk, because he wanted to buy an estate nearby' [1733 Ap. 4 correspondence of Péter Apor]

The last example makes it clear that *egész épületek* (lit. 'whole buildings') is to be understood as 'all buildings'.

(22) *Ezen eddig describált* **egész** *épületek ...alnak készulendó fél-ben*
These so.far described whole buildings ...stand half.built half-INE
vakolatlan in Ruderibus
unplastered in the.rubble
'All these previously described buildings ...stand half-finished, unplastered, amidst the rubble' [1746 Branyicska (Brănişca) H; JHb LXXI 2. 23]

A surprise: The writings of Péter Pázmány, who was born in Nagyvárad (Oradea), i.e. NOT in Transylvania proper, and spent his adult life in Rome, today's Austria and Slovakia. His writings are roughly from btw 1600 and 1637. (Cardinal Pázmány was a flamboyant defender of Catholicism during the counter-Reformation. His place of birth places him in the so-called Tisza–Körös dialectal region, i.e. the Eastern fringe of today's Hungary plus the Norhwestern fringe of today's Romania.)

(23) a. *azt nemcsak a láthatandó eklézsiá-rúl kell érte-ni;*
that not.only the visible church-DELATIVE must understand-INF;
hanem **az egész** *választott-ak-rúl ...*
but the whole chosen-PL-DELATIVE
'that is to be understood not only about the Church which is before our eyes, but about all the chosen...' (Pázmány, p. 76)
b. *Kitetszik* **az egész** *egyház-i históriák folyás-á-ból*
Is.apparent the whole church-ADJ.SFX histories flow-POSS.3SG-ELATIVE
'This is apparent from the course all histories of the Church take' (Pázmány p. 270)

4.2 *Adverb → A-Quantifier*

1. *Egészen*: 'in health', 'in a healthy state':
    (Scenario: Saint Margaret of Hungary is contemplating the large numbers of people suffering, in pain, who have gathered in the church. The reading of the adverb *egezzen* can be deduced from the contrast between the sickness seen by Margaret and her own state of health.)

(24) *hala-t ado-k az en teremte-m-nek ...engem-et*
gratitude- ACC give- 1SG the I creator- POSS.1SG-DAT ...me

egezz-en   *teremt-et. es mÿnd ez ma-y*   *nap-yk*
health- ADV.SFX created. and all this today- ADJ.SFX day- TERM
egezz-en   *fel neuelt.*
health- ADV.SFX up brought
'I am grateful to my Creator … who created me to be healthy and has raised me in health to this very day' (Margaret's Legend 30r/59)

     2. *Egészen*: 'completely', 'entirely', 'all the way' (or 'in an intact state'):

(25)   *(az angyal) kez-e-tt*   *fog-uan*   *frater Bernald-ot*
      (the angel) hand- POSS.3SG-ACC take- PARTICIPLE brother Bernard- ACC
      zem-nek egÿ pÿllontas-a-ban   *az vÿz-nek mas*
      eye- DAT one glimpse- POSS.3SG-INE the water- DAT other
      fel-e-re   ***egezen***   *uette.*
      part- POSS.3SG-SUBL completely took
      'the angel took Brother Bernard's hand and in the blink of an eye he carried him all the way to the other bank.' (Jókai Codex 19)

The adverb *egész-len* meant 'fully', 'completely':

(26)   *Mert nem czak tÿed-et*   *beusegest ad-a-d*   *es cristus-nak*
      For not only yours-ACC plentifully give-PAST-2SG and Christ- DAT
      zerelm-ÿ-ert   ***egez-len*** *el oztad* …
      love-POSS.3SG-CAUSFIN completely away dispersed …
      'It's not only that you gave generously from what was yours, and for the love of Christ gave it away completely/gave all of it away' (Jókai Codex 24)

The adverb *egészlen* 'completely' can have an 'individual-oriented' reading, entailed by its 'event-related' reading: A complete giving away of someone's assets implies that the entirety of the these assets has been given away. The fact that such an individual-oriented, distributive reading is entailed by (26) is an important stage (or at least an important factor) in the grammaticalization of *egész*.

(27)   *farkas vram*   *Rezedeth*   *Belewlew kÿ wegÿed,*   *es*
      Farkas lord-POSS.1SG share- POSS.2SG-ACC from.it out take- IMP.2SG, and
      *Thÿzthan **Egezlen*** *lossonczÿ Isthwan wra-m-nak*   *Bÿr-nÿ-a*
      cleanly completely Losonczy István lord- POSS.1SG-DAT possess- INF-3SG
      Enge-gÿed
      allow- IMP.2SG
      'from the disputed possessions, my lord Farkas, take your share, and hand them over in their entirety to my lord István Losonczy' (it is not clear what exactly, or how much is to be handed over)
      (1540, Judgement in the lawsuit between István Losonczy and Farkas Csapy, Letters: letter 201.)

In sentence (27) we have an object-oriented reading entailed by the event-related reading: if something is handed over in full, then all its parts are handed over.

(28)   *Romlás-ban vagyon **egész-ben** a kis eklézsiá-cská-ban a templom*
      Decay- INE is whole-INE the small parish-DIMIN-INE the church

'The church in the small parish is completely in ruins/all ruined' (1755 Unoka (Onuca) MT; ETF 107.24)

(29) **egesz-en**   's   nem csak resz szerent vesz-ünk   el
complete-MANNER and not   only part acc.to   perish-1PL away
'We are going to perish completely, not only in parts.'(!!!)
Possible reading: 'All of us are going to perish, not only some of us' (1659 Borb II ambassador's report from Constantinople)

   ▷ NOT ONLY INCREMENTAL THEMES!

(30) *mind* **egész-en** *papista az Falu   a   huva   valo   ö*
all   fully   Popist   the village that where.from be. PRES.PART he
'the village he is from is all Popist.'   (1772 Köbölkút K; Bet. 6. Clara nobilis Georgii Kolosvarj conc. (53) (witness test.))

(31) *Nemes Des Vaross-a-t*   **egiszszen** *illető*   *Level-ek-(ne)k*
Noble Des town-POSS.3SG-ACC fully   relevant.for letter-PL-DAT
szam-ok   *ekkipen vadnak* . . .
number-POSS.3PL like.this are   . . .
'The number of letters fully involving (addressed to?, affecting?) the noble town of Dés is like this . . .' (end of 17th century, Dés (Dej); DLt 509)

(32) *az orzag güles-e-re*   *avagy tiszt   uramek,*   *vagy*
the country assembly- POSS.3SG-SUBL either officer lord- POSS.1SG-PL, or
v(a)r(me)gye követ-i   *Le*   *vigyek*   *az Levele-k-ett*
county   delegate- POSS.3SG.PL down take- IMP.3PL the letter- PL-ACC
egeszszen
fully
'The letters are all to be taken to the session of parliament, either by my lords the officers or by the delegates of the county'
'The entire package of letters must be taken to the session of parliament...' (1682 Felőr (Uriu) SzD; Ks 21. XVII. 12)

5   Present

5.1   Moldavia

Informants at the Csángó Workshop at RIL–HAS (2013).

(33) *nyirásza adott nekijek mindig egy-egy servet-et,*   *vetett* **az egész**
bride   gave   them   always one-one napkin-ACC, gave   the whole
keresztany-já-nak   *külön külön...*
godmother-POSS.3SG-DAT apart apart...
'The bride always gave them a napkin each, she gave one to each of her godmothers...' (ÁN, File 1)

In the dialogue from (34) we see the interaction of (*mind* 'all') *az egész* with distributive marking. If there is no overt distributivity marking on the direct object, subject-*az egész* has a cumulative reading (as indicated in ÁN's response in the last sentence). The distributive reading is present, for instance, in the presence of reduplicated *egy-egy*, as in sentence

(34) a. *S ha mondja, vót három leány, s **mind az egész** kapott egy-egy*
   And if say, was three girl, and all the whole got one-one
   tizenöt-öt,
   fifteen- ACC,
   'And if you say that there were three girls, and each of them received fifteen.'
   (ÁBF)

  b. ***Az egész*** *egy-egy tizenöt-öt*
   The whole one-one fifteen- ACC
   'All of them got fifteen (each).' (ÁN)

  c. *És azt   mond-om, hogy **az egész-en** kap-t-ak?*
   And that- ACC say- 1SG, that the whole-N received- PAST-3PL
   'And if I say that all of them received (fifteen)?' (ÁBF)

  d. *Akkor **az egész mind** a három egy hee-tt*
   Then the whole all the three one place- LOCATIVE
   'Then it's all three of them together.' (lit. 'in one place'; ÁN; File 1)

(35) a. ***Az egész*** *politikus szereti a pénz-t*
   The whole politician loves the money- ACC
   'All politicians love money.' (ÁN, File 2)

  b. ***zegész*** *politikus-nak van autó-ja*
   whole politician- DAT is car- POSS.3SG
   'Every politician has a car' (ÁN, File 2)

Sentence (36) shows *az egész* as a DP:

(36) *Böcsülje   meg **a zegész-et**, ki-t   ismer*
  Cherish- SUBJ-3SG pfx the whole- ACC, who- ACC know
  'He should cherish and respect everyone he knows' (ÁN, File 5)

Example (37) again shows the DP *az egész*, with plural marking on the verb.

(37) *akkor oda-gyűl-t-**ek**   **az egész***
  then there-assemble- PAST-3PL the whole
  'then all of them gathered there' (ÁN, File 3)

The examples in (38) again show *az egész* as a determiner, and its interaction with other DPs in the sentence.

(38) a. *Egy fá-n   vot **az egesz** madar*
   One tree-SPRSSVE was the whole bird
   'All the birds were in one tree.' ('One tree held all the birds', ÁN, File2)

  b. ***Az egész*** *fá-n   van egy-egy madar*
   The whole tree- SPRESSV is one-one bird
   'There is a bird in every tree.' (ÁN, File2)

The examples in (39) and (40) show the negation of *az egész*: (39a) looks like constituent negation; in the other cases the preverbal negation particle *nem* has scope over postverbal

az egész.

(39) a. ***Nem az egész-nek*** *vót a kez-i-be* *éveg*
Not the whole- DAT was the hand- POSS.3SG-ILL bottle
'Not all of them had a bottle in their hands' (GyB, File2)

b. ***Nem*** *játsz-ott-ak* ***az egész-szel****,* *de csak **az egész** egy-egy-vel.*
Not play- PAST-3PL the whole- INSTR, but only the whole one-one- INSTR
'They didn't play with all of them, each one of them played with only one'
(ÁN, File2)
(Scenario: Every boy is playing with a ball, there is a ball no-one is playing
with)

(40) ***Nem*** *vett **az egész** egy-egy tíz lej-t.*
Not cast the whole one-one ten leu- ACC

'Not all of them gave ten lei (each).' (ÁN, File 4)

Finally, (41) shows *az egész* with the MOE suffix *-n*. This is relevant, because earlier our
informants denied the possibility of such a combination. When queried explicitly, they
exchanged *az egész-en* for expressions like *mindenki* 'everyone' or *az egész*.

(41) a. *Három nap-ig* *imádkozik **az egész** család, ... ?*
Three day- TERM prays the whole family, ...?
'The whole family prays for three days...?' (Linguist 2)

b. *Három nap-ig* *imádkoz-t-unk...*
Three day- TERM pray- PAST-1PL...
'We prayed for three days...' (GyB)

c. ***Az*** *egész-en...*
The whole-N...
'All of us...' (ÁN; the entire exchange is from File 5)

5.2 Transylvania, (Present-day) Hungary

Somewhat surprising: **az egész** as a determiner can be found with Transylvanian speakers
as well, including natives of Klausenburg, which is ca 200 km to the W of Szeklerland
(Diószegi).

▷ Collective noun with overt distributivity marker:

(42) ***Az** **egész** rokon-ság-tól kért* *egy-egy video-t*
The whole kin-SÁG-ABL asked.for one-one video-ACC
'(My daughter-in-law) asked for a video from everyone in the family'
Lit.: 'From the whole family she requested one video each' (Traveling companion
on the Cluj-Budapest train; from Szeklerland, retirement age)

(43) *Vágták le* ***az egész** csirké-k-et*
Cut down the whole chicken-PL-ACC
'All chickens were slaughtered (during the avian flu epidemic)' (Traveling com-
panion on the Budapest-Cluj train, 2020 mid-August; from Szeklerland, youngish)

In (44) singular *az egész* 'associates' with a plural DP; it is thus on a par with standard
Hungarian *mindegyik* 'each and every one', or *az összes* (lit. the sum total).

(44)   *Sies-s,*   *leány-om,*   *hoz-z-ad*   *le*   *a*   *zsák-ok-at*
           Hurry- IMP-2SG, daughter- POSS.1SG, bring- IMP-2SG down the the
           a   *padlás-ról **az***   ***egész-et**!*
           sack- PL-ACC the   attic- DELA the   whole- ACC!
           'Hurry up, my daughter, bring down the sacks from the attic, all of them!' (Diószegi
           2002, 33)

In the next batch of examples *az egész* combines with NPs denoting amounts or quantities. In some cases the non-plural NP it combines with is understood as a collection (or, which is almost the same thing, it is understood as the portion of matter that makes up a collection of objects). In (45) one has a quantity of feathers, in (46) one has a quantity of sowing seeds. Similarly, in (47) one has an amount of clothes to be washed.

(45)   *A*   *háziasszony le-hozta*   ***az egész** toll-at,*   *ami*   *volt a*
           The hostess   down-brought the whole feather- ACC, what(REL) was the
           padlás-ra kosara-k-ba   *té-ve*   *szárad-ni*
           attic- SUBL basket- PL-ILL put- PASS.PART dry- INF
           'The hostess brought down all the feathers, which had been stored in baskets in
           the attic to dry out' (Diószegi 2002 41)
           (girls would gather at houses to prepare feathers and down for filling pillows,
           a.s.o.)

(46)   *Végre Apá-m*   *el-szórta*   ***az egész** mag-ot*
           Finally Father- POSS.1SG away-scattered the whole seed- ACC
           'At last Father had sown all the seeds/the entire quantity of seeds' (Diószegi 2002
           55)

(47)   *Másnap már*   *ki-mos-t-am*   ***az egész** fehér ruhá-t*
           Next.day already out-wash-PAST-1SG the whole white clothing- ACC
           'The following day I had already washed all the white garments/clothing' (Diószegi
           2002 111)

The last example in the series of numberless NPs denoting amounts is (48); it is perhaps the most conspicuous illustration of the 'collectivisation' underlying these examples. The point is, the default interpretation of *murok* 'carrot' is 'atomic', or 'singular', whereas in (48) it denotes an amount of carrots. (The sentence is about the carrots harvested from a plot of land, which then have to be carted home.)

(48)   *fel-rak-t-uk*   *ott*   *a*   *sötét-ben jó*   *magas-ra **az egész** murk-ot*
           up-load- PAST-1PL there the dark- INE good high- SUBL the whole carrot- ACC
           'There in the dark we loaded/piled high all the carrots (onto the cart)' (Diószegi
           2002 187)

Examples like those in (48) rely on the over-all semantics of number marking in Hungarian: the plural is marked, so *toll-ak* 'feather- PL' denotes at least two feathers, whereas *toll* can denote either a single feather, or several. *Az egész* then combines with the collective or mass variant of a numberless NP. That is, such examples rely on 'standard' semantic possibilities available to all Hungarians, and then the question could be how come speakers from other regions do not exploit these possibilities.

     The last two examples from 20th century Transylvania involve plural NPs. In these

cases *az egész* is a universal determiner on a par with *minden* 'every' or *az összes* 'every', 'the totality of'.

(49) *Mikor **az egész** Magyar utca-i   szép   hóstát-i*
When the whole Magyar street- ADJ.SFX beautiful hostat- ADJ.SFX
ház-ak-at   le-bont-ott-ák,   ő kacag-ott
house- PL-ACC down-demolish- PAST-3PL he laughed
'When all the beautiful Hóstát houses of Magyar street were demolished, he laughed' (Diószegi 2002 87)

(50) *Én meg-mutatom **az egész** ruhá-ink-at*
I   pfx-show- 1SG the whole clothes- POSS.1PL-ACC
'I'll show you all our clothes.' (Diószegi 2002 96)

Data from present day Hungary:
    Authors from Eastern Hungary (Bihar region, . . .):
    Amount or mass reading – *az egész kávé* lit. 'the whole coffee' meaning 'the entire amount of coffee beans'.

(51) *Egyébként azt ne higy-gyé-tek,   hogy egyedül darál-om meg **az   egész***
Other.wise that not believe-IMP-2PL that   alone   grind-1SG the whole coffee
kávét.

'By the way, you shouldn't think that I am going to grind all the coffee on my own.' (Sarkadi 1961)

'Anaphoric' *az egész*, construed as 'all of them':

(52) *itt   már   nincs mit   ten-ni, agyon kell ver-ni a   másik kettő-t   is.*
here already not.is what to.do, brain- must hit-INF the other two-ACC too.
*Mert   vagy **az egész-et**,   vagy egy-et   se*
Because or   the whole-ACC, or   one-ACC neither.
'there is nothing more we can do, the other two have to be killed as well. For either (we do away with) all, or (with) none.' Szabó 1962.
Scenario: Two robbers are killed, and two remain alive. The magistrate(?)/village elder(?) rules that the other two have to be killed as well. (Katalin É.Kiss, p.c.)

    Central Hungary – To date, we two utterances, reported by Tamás Halm (p.c.). Child language (experimenting with possibilities) and what may be classed as a performance error.

(53) ***az egész** mindenki, **az egész** gyerek-ek*
the whole everyone, the whole child- PL
'everyone', 'all children' — 4 year old boy, born in Budapest, no previous contact with Transylvanians
(Tamás Halm, p.c., 19 January 2019)

(54) *Az antifóná-t   először   el-énekel-jük mi, aztán **az egész** hív-ek*
The antiphony- ACC first(Adv) pfx-sing-3PL we, then   the whole churchgoer-PL
'The antiphony will be first sung by us, and then by all the congregants'

In lieu of conclusion Some issues:

What kind of quantifier is *-az- egész*?

 – Already the adjective: *whole*: Nothing is missing, everything is in place. Similarly for certain construals of English *all* → According to (Roberts 1987), *all* is a **generalised** distributivity operator.

(55)   a.   **All** the trees were covered in soot.
       b.   The trees were **all** covered in soot. (À la Roberts 1987)

(56)   *Nemde **ėǵez-ec** ė a iég-ec*
       Not.but whole-PL Q the mark-PL
       'The seals are intact, aren't they?' Vienna C. 175
       Scenario: the king is checking the seals on a door.

– What grammaticalisation has changed: The nature of 'everything' that is in place.

(57)   a.   Your shirt is **all** dirty – 'All bits and pieces that make up your shirt are dirty'
           'The state of your shirt satisfies criteria for counting as "dirty"'
       b.   **All** your shirts are dirty – 'Every shirt that belongs to you is dirty'

– N(P)s denoting collections: supremum; distributive readings: subentailments, coercion due to lexical semantics of verbal predicate(?).

 – With count nouns: introduce a collection and take its maximal element. Count nouns: groups constructed bottom-up. → ease of distributive readings and overt distibutivity operators. → The possibility to convert to amount readings.

 – Amount readings: again, bottom-up (???)

 – Some observations relating to the last two questions:

   i. *Az egész* and amounts/quantities;

     (58)   a.   Felraktuk **a répát** a szekérre
             'We loaded the carrots on the cart' OK in pr-day Hungary
         b.   Felraktuk **az egész** répát a szekérre
             'We loaded all the carrots on the cart' Iffy in pr-d-H

   ii. NPs denoting collections, groups:

     (59)   a.   Meghívtam **az egész** rokonságot
             'I've invited the whole family' – OK in pr-d-H
         b.   Meghívtam **az egész** rokonokat
             'I've invited all relatives' – weird in pr-d-H, OK and substandard in Transylvania, Moldavia

     (60)   a.   Lebontották **az egész** házsort
             'The entire row of houses has been demolished' – OK in pr-d-H
         b.   Lebontották **az egész** házakat
             'All the houses have been demolished' – weird in pr-d-H

(61) *Ezen   eddig describált **egész** épületek …alnak készulendó fél-ben*
These so.far described whole buildings …stand half.built   half-INE
vakolatlan   in Ruderibus
unplastered in the.rubble
'All these previously described buildings …stand half-finished, unplastered, amidst the rubble' [1746 Branyicska (Brănişca) H; JHb LXXI 2. 23]

(62) *Mikor **az egész** Magyar utca-i   szép   hóstát-i*
When the whole Magyar street- ADJ.SFX beautiful hostat- ADJ.SFX
ház-ak-at   le-bont-ott-ák,   ő kacag-ott
house- PL-ACC down-demolish- PAST-3PL he laughed
'When all the beautiful Hóstát houses of Magyar street were demolished, he laughed' (Diószegi 2002 87)

In present-day Hungary, *az egész* is acceptable with nonplural NPs denoting kinds of collections. It does not combine with plural NPs denoting sets of atoms that make up a collective entity. I.e. 'family' vs 'relatives', 'terrace' vs 'houses', 'congregation' vs 'worshippers', a.s.o.

iii. Distributive readings for collections/groups 1:

Distributive construal OK in Hungary if it follows from lexical semantics.

(63) **Az egész** csoport a menzán ebédel
'The entire group is having lunch at the mensa' – OK in pr-d-H

(64) *es **az egezz** 9uēt elett-e   pcessio-ual   mēń-en*
and the whole convent before-POSS.3SG procession-INSTR go-SUBJ.3G
'and the whole convent should walk before her, in a procession' (Birk C. 4a)

iv. Distributive readings for collections/groups 2:

Overt distributivity markers (e.g. reduplicated numerals) OK only in Transylvania, Moldova.

(65) a. A tanár beszedte **az egész** osztálytól a dolgozatokat. 'The teacher collected the papers from the class' OK H
   b. A tanár **az egész** osztálytól beszedett **egy-egy** dolgozatot. 'The teacher collected one paper each from all (students in) the class' Iffy in H
   c. A tanár **az egész** tanulóktól beszedett egy-egy dolgozatot 'The teacher collected one paper from each of the students.' Out in H

(66) *nyirásza adott nekijek mindig egy-egy servet-et,   vetett **az egész***
bride   gave them   always one-one napkin-ACC, gave the whole
keresztany-já-nak   külön külön…
godmother-POSS.3SG-DAT apart apart…
'The bride always gave them a napkin each, she gave one to each of her godmothers…' (ÁN, File 1)

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