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 embőri 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 készulendő félben vakolatlan in Ruderibus

‘All these ... buildings ... stand half-finished, unplastered, amidst the rubble’ [1746 Branyicska (Brănișca) 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 mőn̄d menyorszagiglan ‘all the way to Heaven’ corresponds to Modern Hungarian egészten a menyországig.

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 subentailments 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’ |= ‘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.