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 $\Rightarrow$ Determiner.

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

The point: at least three paths.

- Adjective $\Rightarrow$ Determiner.
- Adverb (Adj. + Sfx) $\Rightarrow$ A-quantifier.
- Replacing *mind* ‘all’ as ‘associate’ of spatial/temporal/scalar expressions. (See FULL paper.)

(1) a. *az ev kíáltass-ok mýnd menyorszag-iglan fel hallýk*  
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 fel-hallatszott*  
the he cry-POSS.3PL whole-textscmanner the heaven-TERM  
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.)


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 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 egész* is substandard in Transylvania, many educated speakers are almost ashamed of it. With (Haspelmath 1995) in mind, one can guess that *az egész* 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 *toți*, . . . ). 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 haven’t slept all night’ — the entire night

b. *Toat-e nopt-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. *Nopt-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 hēmēran*  
whole the day  
‘the entire day’

b. *hólous oiktous*  
entire families  
‘entire families’ (NOT ‘all families’) (Ancient Greek)

(9) a. *óli tī méra*  
entire the day  
‘the entire day’ (Modern Greek)

b. *óla tā spītia*  
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?’

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

\[(11) \text{ az egész ház(-ak)}
\]

- 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. Unofficially, a lot of hesitation in OldH or MiddleH.

## 4 Tracing Grammaticalisation Paths


\[(12) \text{ a. The shirt was all dirty.}
\]

\[(13) \text{ b. All the shirts were dirty.}
\]

À la ([Roberts 1987](#)), goes back to Barbara Partee.

Back to Hungarian: Rather strict division of labour. The adjective *egész → the determiner -az- egész*. Adverbs derived from *egész → A-quantifiers*. (Derivation: usu. the manner suffix -n, 0, and one or two other suffixes.)

### 4.1 Adjective → Determiner


#### Healthy:

\[(13) \text{ De mert akoron egez barat-ok es beteg-ek nagý výgasag-ual elnek uala}
\]

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:

\[(14) \text{ Nemde égez-ec e a iég-ec}
\]

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.

\[(15) \text{ En kedeeg azt mond-on mind egez embori nemzet-nek}
\]

I then that-ACC say-1SG all full human kind-DAT
(15) *Ki meg dogl-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 mēn-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 vro-ÿ-m-nak esss somsýd-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 (HDTTH), Erdélyi magyar szótörténeti tár. Unless otherwise specified, all Middle H exx are from HDTTH.

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

(19) *Az Egez Istallo-k-ott zekerzett 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 contradiction-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-estöl 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. \textbf{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 \textit{egész épületek} (lit. ‘whole buildings’) is to be
understood as ‘all buildings’.

(22) \textit{Ezen eddig descriált 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 (Brănișca) 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 Northwestern fringe of today’s Romania.)

(23) a. \textit{azt nemcsak a láthatandó eklézsiá-rúl kell érte-ni;}
that not.only the visible church-DELATIVE must understand-INF;
\textit{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. \textit{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 \textbf{Adverb $\rightarrow$ A-Quantifier}

1. \textit{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 \textit{egezzen} can
   be deduced from the contrast between the sickness seen by Margaret and her own state of
   health.)

(24) \textit{hala-t ado-k az en teremt-m-nek . . . engem-et}
gratitude- ACC give- 1SG the I creator- POSS.1SG-DAT . . . me
egezz-en teremt-et es mőnd ez ma-y nap-yk
health-ADV.SFX created. and all this today-ADJ.SFX day-TERM

egész-en fel neutelt.
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 egy pőllontas-a-ban az vőz-nek mas
eye-DAT one glimpse-POSS.3SG-INE the water-DAT other
fel-e-re egez-len 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 tőyed-et beuegoes ad-a-d es cristus-nak
For not only yours-ACC plentifully give-PAST-2SG and Christ-DAT
zerelm-y-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 kő wegýed, es
Farkas lord-POSS.1SG share-POSS.2SG-ACC from.it out take-IMP.2SG, and
Thýzthan Egezlen lossonczý Isthwan wra-m-nak Býr-ný-a
cleanly completely Losonczy István lord-POSS.1SG-DAT possess-INF-3SG
Enge-gyéd
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) egész-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 egiszzen 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 50 9)

(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
egeszzen 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
keresztyan-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- I SG, 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 egész madar
One tree-SPRESSVE 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
(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)
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 lei-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 companion 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).
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 padlás-ra kosara-k-ba* té-ve *szárad-ni***

The hostess down-brought the whole feather-ACC, what(REL) was the 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-szörta *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-IPL 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 ègéz-ec è 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 distributivity 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
Ezen eddig descriált egész épületek... alnak készulendő 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 (Brănișca) H; JHb LXXI 2. 23]

Mikor az egész Magyar utca-i szép hóstát-i
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le-bont-ott-ák, ö kacag-ott
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’, ‘con-
gregation’ vs ‘worshippers’, a.s.o.

iii. Distributive readings for collections/groups 1:
Distributive construal OK in Hungary if it follows from lexical semantics.

Az egész csoport a menzán ebédel
‘The entire group is having lunch at the mensa’ – OK in pr-d-H

es az egezz 9uêt elett-e pcessio-ual mēn-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.

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

nyirásza adott nekijek mindig egy-egy servet-et, vetett az egész
bride gave them always one-one napkin-ACC, gave the whole
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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