'The Whole of Us Were There'
A Little-known Grammaticalisation Process in Hungarian

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The first aim of this work is to provide an explanation to an exotic-looking expression used in Transylvania and in the Csángó regional variant of Hungarian. *Az egészen* lit. 'the whole-N' is synonymous to *mind* 'all (from a given set)'. This expression is shown to be the product of a grammaticalisation process starting with *egész* 'healthy', 'whole', 'complete'. This was to be expected, as such processes have occurred in several languages, and there is even an ongoing process in present-day German (Haspelmath 1995). Historical records have provided the missing links between the adjective *egész* and the operator *az egészen*. Records have revealed that this process in fact followed two diverging tracks, which is a finding of theoretical, as well as empirical, interest. One of these tracks characterises the entire Hungarian linguistic community, and only the last stages of the second track (*az egész* as a universal determiner of count nouns) are confined to Transylvania and the csángó variant. Yet another track we discovered was the reanalysis of adverbs derived from *egész*: some of these adverbs entail a so-called individual-oriented reading (paying the money in full entails paying all the money). Such readings could have facilitated the emergence of today's *az egészen*, but they are also relevant in their own right.

Keywords: *grammaticalisation, diachronic semantics, quantification.*

1   Introduction

This contribution was motivated by an observation: there is a peculiar expression in present-day Hungarian, *az egészen* lit. 'the whole-N', which is used synonymously with *mind, mindnyájan* 'all'.[1] The suffix *-n* is the same suffix that attaches to numerals of determiners (e.g. *hárman* 'three-N', or *sokan* 'many-N'); this suffix will receive some discussion in Section 2. A first example with *az egészen* is (1) below. *Az egészen* is typical of Transylvania and the Csángó regional variant of Hungarian (spoken in the Moldova/Moldavia region of Romania), and is not used by speakers in Hungary. It is sub-standard, and is judged as inappropriate or 'ugly' by educated speakers in Transylvania. Data from present-day Csángó

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[1]   This paper uses the following abbreviations for grammatical terms: ABL = Ablative, ACC = Accusative, ADJ.SFX = adjectival suffix, CAUS = Causative verbal suffix, CAUSFIN = Causal Final, COND.OPT. = Conditional Optative, DAT = Dative, DEF.ART = definite article, DEFO = verbal suffix for definite object, DELA = delative, DIMIN = diminutive suffix, ELA = Elative, FEM = feminine, ILL = Illative, IMP = Imperative, INE = Inessive, INF = Infinitive, INSTR = Instrumental, MASC = masculine, MOE = Modal-Essive, PART = Participle, PASS = Passive, PFX = Prefix, PL = Plural, POSS = Possessive, PRES = Present, PRES.PART = Present participle, REFL.SFX = reflexive verbal suffix, SG = Singular, SOC = Sociative, SPRESSV = Superessive, SUBL = Sublative, SUBJ = subjunctive, TEMP = Temporal, TERM = Terminative.

have revealed that there is also a quantificational determiner *az egész* lit. 'the whole', which can combine with count nouns, and acts like a universal quantifier. This will be discussed in detail in section 4.

(1)   *Meg-érkez-t-ünk*   **az egész-en.**
         PFX-arrived-PAST-1PL the whole-N
         'All of us have arrived.'

The guiding hypothesis of this work has been that *az egész-en* is the result of a grammaticalisation process attested in several languages (Haspelmath 1995): An open-class adjective (or adverb) meaning 'entire', 'whole' is reanalysed as a maximality operator meaning 'all'. The existence of suffixed *az egész-en* indicates that a similar process must have been at work during the history of Hungarian, so that the adjective *egész* 'whole', 'entire' has evolved into an operator/quantifier. Throughout this paper *az egészen* will be taken as a synonym of *mind* 'all'; *mind* in turn was defined in earlier work as a maximality operator that takes a collection as input, and returns the maximal individual from that collection. Since this paper does not offer a rigorous formal analysis, nothing hinges on the assumption that *az egészen* is equivalent to *mind*.

The principal aim of this paper is to find evidence for such a process, and to map its stages. The data (collected from several sources, including Old Hungarian codices, and the Historical Dictionary of Transylvanian Hungarian) confirm the existence of a grammaticalisation process. In addition, there are several unexpected results. Perhaps the most conspicuous finding is that the evolution of (*az*) *egész* involved several pathways so to speak, and that some of these paths are not exclusive to Transylvania or the Csángó community. The data have also raised several questions relating to semantic theory, more exactly, to the semantics of plurals and mass terms, and to the mapping between individuals and events. These issues are clearly outside the scope of this paper; here, we could but hint at them.

This paper is structured as follows.[2] Section 2 presents the main data on *az egész-en* from Modern Hungarian, and a brief description of the syntax-based semantics of *az egész-(en)* is offered. Section 3 presents a cross-linguistically attested grammaticalisation path, from adjectives meaning 'whole', 'entire', to quantifiers/operators meaning 'all'; presentation will follow Haspelmath (1995) quite closely. The next section presents diachronic data, which show that (i) this grammaticalisation process did in fact take place, and (ii) it was not confined to Transylvania or the Csángó region. In section 4.7 it is shown that *egész* is used as 'all' in the entire Hungarian linguistic community, albeit with special construals. With these construals, *az egész* has practically replaced *mind* (the 'official' entry for *all*). Against this background, the original data from present-day Transylvanian and Csángó are shown to be the final stage of the grammaticalisation process. That is, we need to revise our initial assumption that *az egész-en* is the reflex of an ongoing process.

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[2]   This paper contains a large quantity of data. Readers more interested in discussions can skip the data and jump to summaries and discussions. In particular, subsections 2.1, 4.4 and 4.5 can be skipped altogether.

2   *Az egészen*: Data from the 20th and 21st centuries

In this section we present and discuss data with *az egész-en* 'all', gathered from the Internet. Most of these hits either quote spoken utterances, or are written (directly on the Web) by speakers of a 'substandard' register. (The discussion in 2.2 will also present data generated by the author.)

2.1   The data proper

The example in (2) illustrates a salient property of *az egészen* 'all': A collective entity (a team of thirty or forty people) is introduced in the first sentence, and *az egész-en* in the second sentence refers back to this entity.

(2)   a.   *Amikor Brassó-ba   ér-t-ünk,   harminc–negyven fő-s   csapat*
              when   Braşov-ILL arrive-PAST-1PL, thirty-forty   head-ADJ.SFX team
              le-tt-ünk.   …
              became-PAST-1PL. …
              'By the time we arrived in Braşov (by train), we became a team of thirty or forty.'
       b.   *Este   a szentgyörgy-i   vonat-on   egy fülké-ben*
              evening the St.George-ADJ.SFX train-SPRESSV one compartment-INE
              *ül-t-ünk   **az egész-en.***
              sat-PAST-1PL the all-N
              'In the evening, on the train to St. George, all of us would be sitting in the same compartment.'
              (Edó Gergely's blog, edo.transindex.ro, 3 May 2012)

The following example, (3), is relevant because it is from Slovakia. This is the only attested example from outside Romania.

(3)   a.   *Nagymama oszt visza-jöt   karácsony-kor   is,*
              Granny   then back-came Christmas-TEMP too,
              'Then Granny came back at Christmas as well,'
       b.   *it   ül-t-ünk   **az egész-en.***
              here sit-PAST-1PL the all-N
              'all of us would be sitting here' (L. Juhász 2002, 160)

In example (4) the relevant collection is spelled out: It is the sum of the addressee's stepfather, his brother, and the adressee himself.

(4)   a.   *"azt   mondta na, mi itt, itt vagy-unk   **az egész-en.***
              that-ACC said   well, we here, here be-PRES.1PL the all-N
              'He (the stepfather) said, well, all of us are here now.
       b.   *Itt   van mostohaapá-d,   Jani bátyá-d,   és … itt vagy te*
              here is   stepfather-POSS.2SG, Jani brother-POSS.2SG, and … here are you
              is,   …"
              too, …
              'Your stepfather is here, your brother Jani is here, and … you too are here'
              (muvelodes.ro, Csongor Könczei quoting Sándor Netti Fodor, 2008)

The attentive reader may have noticed that all the examples so far involve a group that includes the speaker; the associate of *az egész-en* in these cases is a first person plural pronoun (overt or covert). One may wonder (as, indeed, a reviewer has wondered) whether the use of *egészen* is confined to such deictically anchored groups. The following examples show that this is not always the case. Although the overwhelming majority of cases involve groups including the speaker, it is also possible to have groups that include the hearer, or even groups that lack any kind of deictic feature.

(5)   *ők   Peti, Robi és   Tomi, és   **az egész-en** egy kis   szobá-ban lak-nak*
          they Peti, Robi and Tomi, and the whole-N one little room-INE live-3PL
          'they (a group of comedians) are Peti, Robi and Tomi, and they all share one small room.'
          (transindex.ro, *A Szomszédnéni Produkciós Iroda ismét támad* (*The Neighbour Auntie Bureau on the Offensive Again*), 7 March 2002)

The following is from a novel by Gábor Boros of Máramarossziget, the author of several romances and fantasies.

(6)   *–Gondol-t-am, hogy er-re   fog-tok   gondol-ni **az egész-en!** – néz-ett*
          –thought-1SG, that this-SUBL FUT.AUX-2PL think-INF the whole-N – looked
          vég-ig   az ember-ünk   a   család többi tagjá-ra
          end-TERM the man-POSS.1PL the family other member-POSS.3SG-SUBL
          '–I knew all of you would think of this – our man swept his gaze over the other members of the family.' (Boros, 189)

Interlude: Why *az egészen* is officially unacceptable

Currently, *az egész-en* is used relatively frequently in Transylvania and in the Csángó community, while a kind of collectively formed normative judgement (discernible from online discussions) condemns it.[3] One reason for this could be that speakers are aware that it is not part of the over-all Hungarian inventory; another reason could be that Hungarians in Transylvania (most of whom are also speakers of Romanian) perceive a parallel with Romanian *tot, toţi* 'entire', 'all', which could very well 'taint' *az egészen* for them.

(7)   a.   *Ion   a   măturat **toat-ă**   cas-a.*
            John has swept   all-FEM.SG house-DEF.ART.FEM.SG
            'John has swept through all the house/the entire house.'
      b.   *Ion   a   măturat (prin)   **toat-e**   case-le.*
            John has swept   (through) all-PL.FEM house-DEF.ART.FEM.PL
            'John has swept (through) all the houses.' (not necessarily a full sweep in each house)   (Romanian)

The plural form of *tot*, viz. *toţi*, can also be used on its own, to link to a familiar collection:

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[3]   *Az egész-en* is hard to find, especially in written texts, since it is substandard. With the advent of the Internet, and with formal registers losing some of their prestige, *az egész-en* is expected to be more frequent. At present the author has a mini-corpus of about 100 sentences, culled from the Internet.

(8)   a.   *Toţ-i*   *au   venit*
             All-PL.MASC have come
             'All of them have come.'
       b.   *Suntem   aici   toţ-i/cu toţ-ii*
             Are-PL.1 here all/with all-DEF_ART.PL.MASC
             'All of us are here.'   (Romanian)

Even though the presence of Romanian *tot–toţi* could have facilitated the evolution of *egész* in Transylvania, it is useful to bear in mind that diachronic data will show that this process can be detected over the entire Hungarian linguistic community. The influence of Romanian may have led to some divergences between 'mainstream' Hungarian on the one hand and Transylvanian, Csángó on the other, but it was by no means the sole factor in the evolution of *az egész-en*.

2.2   *Az egészen* and the suffix *-n*

The following is a concise checklist of morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the data shown so far. Discussion will eventually shift to the syntax and semantics of the suffix *-n*.[4]

1.   In the examples shown here, *az egész-en* is interpreted as 'all from a contextually given set'. As such, it is a synonym of *mind* 'all' or *mindnyájan* 'all from a given set'. The set 'invoked' by *az egészen* can be made explicit in discourse, but it can also be deictically given, or inferred.

2.   *Az egész-en* has become a fixed expression, the definite article being mandatory, as noted by a reviewer. (Later examples will show that the determiner *az egész* 'all' is also of this form.) This is similar to *az összes* 'all', and *a legtöbb* 'most', which are used by the entire linguistic community. These expressions seem to conform to the thesis in Matthewson (2001), viz. universal/strong determiners contain, or involve, a definite article; at this stage, however, there has been no in-depth analysis of Hungarian determiners that would explain the obligatory presence or absence of the article. The reviewer also mentioned *az összes-en*, derived from the determiner *az összes*, similarly to *az egész–az egész-en*. The possiblity of suffixing *az összes* and *az egész* with *-n* is limited to Transylvania and the Csángó region (cf. remarks in Schvarcz 2019).

3.   The data collected so far do not make it clear whether *az egész-en* is compatible with a (genuinely) collective or a reciprocal reading. According to our own judgement, the collective reading of (9a) is at least awkward, whereas (9b) is acceptable. It is noteworthy that *mind* 'all' behaves in a similar manner:

(9)   a.   ??***Az egész-en*** / ??***Mind*** *fel-vitték a   zongorá-t az   emelet-re.*
             the all-N   / all   up-took the piano-ACC the upper.floor-SUBL.
             'All of them carried the piano upstairs.' (Intended: 'The piano was carried upstairs, and all of them participated in this event.')
       b.   ***Az egész-en*** / ***mind*** *körül-áll-t-ák   a   bíró-t*
             the all-N   / all   around-stand-PAST-3PL.DEFO the referee-ACC
             'They all surrounded the referee.'

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4   It has been suggested by a reviewer that the suffix *-n* deserves a lengthier discussion, perhaps a separate section or subsection. This would unfortunately have made this paper even longer; luckily, a meticulous and formally explicit analysis has recently been offered in Schvarcz (2019).

Reciprocal readings are acceptable, whether it is with the reciprocal pronoun *egymás* 'each other', or with a verbal suffix. Again, *az egészen* patterns with *mind* 'all'.[5]

(10)   a.   ***Az egész-en / Mind*** *keze-t   fogtak   egymás-sal.*
               The all-N   / All   hand-ACC grab-PAST-3PL each.other-INSTR
               'They all shook hands with each other.'
        b.   ***Az egész-en / Mind*** *össze-vere-ked-t-ek.*
               The all-N   / All   together-beat-REFL.SFX-PAST-3PL
               'All of them started to beat up on each other.'

Collective predicates and reciprocals show *az egész-en* patterning with *mind* 'all', from which we can conclude that *az egész-en*, like *mind*, does not require distribution over single atoms.

4.   The suffix -*n* is the same suffix that in Hungarian (in the entire linguistic community) is attached to numerals and determiners. The exact nature of its output is a matter of debate. According to Csirmaz & Szabolcsi (2012), Hungarian has a single, semantically underspecified suffix -*n*. This suffix can yield an adverb (e.g. *gyors* 'quick', 'fast' vs. *gyors-an* 'quickly', 'fast', ex. (2) on p. 400). In addition, "[t]he same suffix on a quantifier yields a predicative element. The predicative quantifier requires a human argument" (Csirmaz & Szabolcsi 2012, 400).[6] Indeed, in all of Csirmaz and Szabolcsi's examples the suffixed numeral/determiner contributes a property of an overtly introduced collection:

(11)   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)

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[5]   DPs with *minden* 'every' do not 'tolerate' collective predicates or reciprocals:

(i)   a. ???***Minden*** *fiú fel-vitte a   zongorá-t az emelet-re.*
             every   boy up-took the piano-ACC the upper.floor-SUBL
             'Every boy carried the piano upstairs.'
        b. ???***Minden*** *fiú körül-áll-t-a   a   bíró-t.*
             every   boy around-stand-PAST-3PL-DEFO the referee-ACC
             'Every boy surrounded the referee.'
        c. ???***Minden*** *fiú keze-t   fogott egymás-sal   / össze-vere-ked-ett.*
             every   boy hand-ACC grabbed each.other-INSTR / together-beat-REFL.SFX-PAST
             'Every boy shook hands with each other/started to beat up on each other.'

[6]   The term 'predicative quantifier' is directly related to Keenan's Questionnaire (Keenan 2012), *viz.* whether a language can have bare quantifiers as predicates.

Csirmaz and Szabolcsi do not discuss cases when the N-marked quantifier has subject-like properties, and appears, for instance, in the preverbal Topic position:

(12) **Hárm-an** *már*   *meg-érkez-t-ek*
      Three-N already PFX-arrive-PAST-3PL
      'Three (of them) have already arrived.'

According to Schvarcz (2019), the suffix that attaches to numerals/determiners is a modal-essive (MOE) suffix, and its output is a 'nominal', 'nominal' in this context meaning 'DP denoting a collection'. Indeed, *hárman* in (12) appears to be the subject of the sentence. For Schvarcz's analysis 'predicative' construals of MOE-marked determiners are derived, whereas on Csirmaz and Szabolcsi's account it is the quasi-nominal, or DP-like construal of 'predicative quantifiers' that requires an explanation. In this paper we cannot go into a detailed commentary of these two types of approaches, nor can we develop our own analysis. That being said, the intuition is that the DP-like construal of MOE-marked determiners is their primary construal, and a predicative construal needs to be derived, perhaps similarly to the manner that predicative interpretations of indefinites and other DPs are derived (Partee 1987).

5. As regards their syntactic category, determiners suffixed with *-n* look like DPs, with a silent NP component. The silent NP has to be at least animate, as seen in the contrast between (14a) and (14b) (and also in (11), cited from Csirmaz & Szabolcsi 2012).[7]

(13) a. *Egy kosár-csapat-ban* **öt-en** *vannak*
          one basket-team-INE five-N are
          'A basketball team has five players.'
      b. *Egy kosár-csapat-ban* **öt** *játékos van*
          one basket-team-INE five player is
          'A basketball team has five players.'

(14) a. *Egy kosár-csapat-ban* **a** *játékos-ok öt-en* *vannak*
          one basket-team-INE the player-PL five-N are
          'In a basketball team the players are five (in number).'
      b. ???*Egy víz-molekulá-ban*   *a*   *hidrogén-atom-ok* **kett-en** *vannak.*
          one water-molecule-INE the hydrogen-atoms two-N are.
          Intended: 'Water molecules contain two hydrogen atoms.'

Since *az egész-en* is clearly synonymous with *mind* 'all', which has tested positive for adverbial tests (e.g. Hámori 1957, Bende-Farkas 2014b), it is tempting to define *az egészen* as an adverb. Pending a more detailed investigation of *az egészen*, we will simply label all *-n*-marked DPs as XPs.

6. Syntax, in the sense of sentence-internal distribution: Like other XP-s with *-n*, *az egész-en* can only be a subject. Whether *az egészen* is a subject in its own right, or whether it doubles a covert subject is a matter for syntactic research.[8]

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[7] In the remainder of this section, unless otherwise indicated, all examples with *az egészen* have been generated by the author, for testing purposes.

[8] A *syntactic* difference between *az egészen* and *mind* 'all' is that floating *mind* can associate with an overt subject or object:

(15) a. **Meg-buk-tat-t-am   **kett-en-t** / **az egész-en-t**.*
          PFX-flunk-CAUS-PAST-1SG two-N-ACC / the whole-N-ACC
          Intended: 'I've flunked two/all of them.'

    b. **A tanár jeles-t   adott **kett-en-nek** / **az egész-en-nek**.*
          the teacher A.plus-ACC gave two-N-DAT / the whole-N-DAT
          Intended: 'The teacher gave an A-plus to two/all of them.'

When preverbal, *az egészen*-XPs are typically part of the so-called preverbal Focus field, an 'area' for expressions that are somehow marked from an information structure point of view. (The Hungarian Focus field is said to properly include the Focus position itself, and is also the natural habitat of XP-s with *is* 'too' or *még …is* 'even'. The concept was introduced in Brody 1990; see also Piñón 1992.) Returning to *az egészen*-XPs: They cannot occupy the Focus position itself, as indicated by the position of the verbal prefix *el-* 'away'.[9]

(16) *Tegnap **az egész-en** / **mind** el-jöttek   / *jöttek el.*
       yesterday the whole-N / all   away-came / came away
       'Yesterday all of them came around.'

The following two examples show that such an XP can have a Focus discourse function, without actually occupying the Focus position itself. That is, *az egészen* (like *mind* 'all' and its ilk) can be congruent to a question such as (17a), even though it does not fill the Focus position itself. (On the discrepancies between the Focus discourse function, viz. question–answer congruence, and Hungarian syntactic Focus, cf. Kenesei 1998, Kenesei 2009, or Roberts 1998.)

(17) a. *Hány-an   buktak meg?*
          how.many-N flunked PFX
          'How many (students) have flunked?'

    b. ***Kett-en** buktak meg.*
          two-N   flunked PFX
          'Two (students) have flunked'

(i) a. *A lány-ok **(mind)** meg-érkez-t-ek   **(mind)**.*
         the girl-PL (all)   PFX-arrive-PAST-3PL (all)
         'The girl-PL have (all) arrived.'

    b. *János **mind** el-olvas-t-a   az újság-ok-at.*
         John all   PFX-read-PAST-3SG-DEFO the paper-PL-ACC
         'John has read all the newspapers.'

Where *az egészen* is concerned, it is less clear what its exact syntactic status is in the presence of an overt subject. It could be argued, for instance, that in such a case it 'reverts' to its property-denoting role, as proposed by Csirmaz and Szabolcsi.

(ii) *A lányok meg-érkez-t-ek   **az összes-en***
      the girl-PL PFX-arrive-PAST-3PL the whole-N
      'The girl have all arrived.'

[9] In Hungarian, if the Focus position is filled, the lexical verb is 'attracted' to a Focus-adjacent position, and the verbal particle — if there is one — is left behind.

 c. ***Az egész-en* / *mind** meg-buktak*
   the whole-N / all PFX-flunked
   'All (students) have flunked.'

Az egész-en XPs cannot occupy the preverbal Topic position, unlike weak XPs like *ketten, hárman* ('two-N', or 'three-N'). Under special circumstances they can, however, be contrastive Topics.

(18) a. *****Az egész-en** *tegnap jeles-t kaptak.*
   the whole-N yesterday A.plus-ACC received
   Intended: 'As for all of them, they each got an A+ yesterday.'
  b. ***Az egész-en*** ↗ *nem* ↘ *kaptak jeles-t*
   the whole-N not received A.plus-ACC
   'Not all of them got an A+.'
  c. ***Mind/Mindnyáj-an*** ↗ *nem* ↘ *kaptak jelest*
   all/all-flock-N   not received A.plus-ACC
   — Same as (18b) —

Sentence (18a) shows that *az egészen*-XPs cannot be 'plain' topics. Sentence (18b) shows that they can be contrastive Topics when other universal-type XPs can be contrastive Topics; in this case *az egész-en* is marked with a rising intonation contour, and the negative particle *nem* 'not' is marked with a falling contour (Büring 2002, on Hungarian: Gyuris 2002). That is to say, as regards (non-)occurrence in left peripheric positions, *az egész-en* behaves like other universal(-like) expressions. (The reader could see that *az egészen* patterned with *mind* 'all', *mindnyájan, valamennyien* 'all of them'.)

7. It is important to recall that the modal-essive suffix operates on determiners/DPs, yielding XPs. The diachronic significance of this fact is that the adjective *egész* 'whole' cannot take this suffix. That is, in the grammaticalisation process that led to *az egész-en* 'all' there has to have been a stage when (*az*) *egész* was a determiner.

2.3 What we have learned about *az egészen*

In this section we have introduced a Hungarian maximality operator, *az egész-en* lit. 'the whole-N.'. It is used in Transylvania and among speakers of the Csángó variant of the language.

  It has been established that *az egész-en* 'associates' with a collective entity, which can be mentioned in preceding discourse, but its existence can also be inferred, or it can be salient in extralinguistic context. *Az egészen* bears the modal-essive suffix -*n*, which attaches to numerals or quantifiers (quantifying determiners), and yields XPs. *Az egészen* is thus an XP, with a silent NP component.

  Az egészen exhibits the properties typical of XPs marked with the suffix -*n*; in particular, it cannot be a direct object or an oblique. In the class of -*n*-marked XPs, *az egészen* patterns with strong XPs: it cannot occupy the preverbal Focus position, it cannot be Topicalised, but it can be a Contrastive Topic under the same circumstances when strong (universal) XPs can be Contrastive Topics.

There have been some broad hints in this section that we take *az egészen* to be the product of a grammaticalisation process. We have even established that in Transylvania or in the Csángó community the Romanian language may have facilitated this process, or it may have caused some divergences from Hungarian as spoken in Hungary. Furthermore, we have stated that, since (i) *az egészen* clearly goes back to the adjective *egész* 'whole', 'entire', and (ii) the suffix *-n* can only attach to determiners or DPs, there must have been a stage in the grammaticalisation process when *az egész* must have been a determiner (a Det or a QP).

Therefore, we now set aside the issue of the suffix *-n* and the intriguing puzzles of its syntax and semantics, and will instead concentrate on the evolution of *egész* (initially 'whole', 'entire') and its cohort of adverbs.

3   A grammaticalisation template: from *whole* to *all*

3.1   Prelude: Quantifiers and Operators

In this brief prelude we informally present the relevant array of Hungarian quantifiers (adverbs or deteerminers), together with a discussion of their semantically relevant properties. This discussion relies on Generalised Quantifier Theory (Barwise & Cooper 1981), and on the results of empirical work, for instance, the Amherst Project on Quantification from the nineteen-nineties (Bach et al. 1995; see also Szabolcsi 2010 and Szabolcsi 2015).

Hungarian *mind* 'all' is not inherently distributive: it is compatible with distributivity operators, as well as with collective predicates (*körüláll* 'surround'), expressions marking collective readings (*együtt* 'together'), and with reciprocals (*egymás* 'each other', 'one another'). (This was seen in 2.2). In earlier work (Bende-Farkas 2014b) *mind* was not analysed as a universal quantifier complete with Restrictor and Nuclear Scope. Instead, it was defined as a maximality operator that presupposes the collection on which it operates.

Hungarian *minden* 'every' resembles English *every*. On its evolution and some subtle differences between *minden* and *every* the reader is referred to Bende-Farkas (2014b).

Where *az egész* is concerned, two cases need to be distinguished: (i) Modal-essive marked *az egészen* resembles floating *mind* 'all'. Pending further research, it is assumed to have the same definition as *mind*. (ii) The determiner *az egész* (lit. 'the whole') is not always interchangeable with *minden* 'every'. Similarly to another late development, *az összes* ('the sum-total'), or to German *gesamt*, it appears to involve a Restrictor–Nuclear Scope division, but is more 'tolerant' of collective predication (cf. Tovena 2003, or Champollion 2010 and Beck 2017 on recent changes involving Engish *every*). In the paper the determiner *az egész* is sometimes paraphrased as 'all', which is not entirely accurate, but it is meant to convey precisely the compatibility of *az egész* (and *az összes*) with certain forms of collective predication.

3.2   From *whole* to *all*

In several languages maximality operators with the meaning of *all* have evolved from an adjective with the meaning 'whole', 'intact', 'complete'. We will review some cases, to show

that Hungarian *egész* is by no means unique. (This section follows Haspelmath 1995 quite closely.)

One case relevant for this paper is the evolution of Latin *totus* 'entire', 'whole' into Romance *tous, tutti, toți, …*, all of which mean 'all'. According to Haspelmath, the turning point is when a plural noun is *quantified over* by TOT(+PL), as shown in the contrast between Latin (19b) and Romanian (20b) (and also (7) in the preceding section):

(19) 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.'   (Latin)
                              (Plaut. Aul. 1, 1, 33; Haspelmath 1995, (1a–b), 365)

(20) a. ***toat-ă**   noapte-a*
          TOT-FEM.SG night-DEF.FEM.SG
          'all night long', 'during the entire time-span of one night'
      b. ***toat-e**   nopți-le*
          TOT-FEM.PL night-PL-DEF.FEM.PL
          'all nights', 'every night'
      c. *nopț-i   **întreg-i***
          night-PL whole-.PL
          'entire nights', 'full nights'   (Romanian)

The same contrast can be observed between Ancient Greek *hólos* and Modern Greek *ólos* 'all':

(21) a. ***hólēn** tēn hēméran*
          whole the day
          'the entire day'
      b. ***hólous** oíkous*
          entire families
          'entire families' (not 'all families')   (Ancient Greek)

(22) a. ***óli**   tí   méra*
          entire the day
          'the entire day'
      b. ***óla** tá spítia*
          all the houses
          'all the houses'   (Modern Greek)
                              (this and example (21): 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.

(23)   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 points here?'
        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)   (German)

The richness of crosslinguistic evidence on the evolution of an adjective (to be exact, a plural-marked adjective) into a maximality operator reinforces the hypothesis that the Hungarian adjective *egész* 'entire', 'whole' has evolved into a determiner with the meaning of 'all'. In Hungarian it was the form unmarked for number that evolved: in this language plural meaning is often unmarked; in fact, attributive adjectives are never marked for number. The situation is similar to the case of English *all*, where there is no plural marking on *all* itself. So, we expect the Hungarian operator to be of the form *egész* and not *egész-ek* (lit. 'whole-PL'). The (expected) turning point is when (*az*) *egész* combines with a count noun, and yields a quantificational reading, as in the hypothetical example (24) below.

(24)   ***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'

4   Historical data involving *az egész-en*

This part presents the data documenting the evolution of (*az*) *egész*. As the reader will see, *egész* associated with collective and abstract nouns from early on. Its use as a determiner–operator with count nouns can be attested in Transylvania at least from the first part of the 17th century. What is conspicuous in its absence is MOE-marked *az egész-en* 'all', although several adverbs marked with a modal suffix *-n* contribute to sentence meanings very similar to those with MOE-*az egész-en*.

4.1   Codices, Bible translations

The earliest attested occurrences of the adjective *egész* show a variation in meanings. According to the Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian (Benkő 1964–1987) *egész* could mean the following:

1. *Egész*: 'healthy', 'hale':

(25)   *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 friars and sick people lived with great joy.'[10]
                                                                          (Jókai Codex 91)

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[10]   A reviewer inquired whether *egez* in (25) does indeed mean 'hale', 'healthy', and whether it is in fact related to today's *egész* 'whole'. In Old Hungarian there was no regular orthography to speak of: vowel length was rarely marked; the letter 'z' could mark the sounds /s/ or /z/. For instance, the word *zyz* clearly means 'virgin', and corresponds to today's *szűz*. The first letter 'z' could be rendered as /s/ or /z/. Returning to *egez*

2. *Egész*: 'entire', approx. German 'gesamt':[11]

> (26)   *En kedeeg azt   mond-om **mind egez** embǫri 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.)

The sentence in (26) is the first attested example with an abstract/collective noun phrase (*emberi nemzet* lit. 'the human nation', 'humankind'). Here it denotes one (collective) entity, yet its presence is a necessary condition for distributive construals of similar collective nouns, which will characterise later examples.

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

> (27)   *Mert nem czak tjed-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 (27) is an important stage (or at least an important factor) in the grammaticalization of *egész*.

The adverb *egész-en* (where *-n* is a manner suffix) could have the following meanings:

1. *Egészen*: 'in health', 'in a healthy state':
    (Scenario: Saint Margaret of Hungary is contemplating the large numbers of people

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from the example: the 'healthy' construal can be deduced from contrast with *beteg-ek* 'ill-PL'. Its membership in the *egész*-family can be deduced from other occurrences of this stem in the same codex, cf. *egezlen* in (27) below.

[11]   Sentence (26) shows two operator-like expressions, *mind* 'all' and *egez* 'whole'/'entire'. Such 'doubling' of *mind* with another operator(-like) expression has been quite regular since Old Hungarian. This is problematic if *mind* and its companion are indeed taken to be bona fide operators Indeed, this point has been raised by one of the reviewers. To this we can reply that perhaps neither *mind* nor its companion (with the possible exception of *ki-ki* (lit. 'who-who', meaning 'each') are genuine operators; they could merely signal the presence of a covert operator in their immediate environment, as proposed in Szabolcsi (2015) for similar expressions in a variety of languages. This question is left open in this paper, since working out the implications of the 'non-operator' conjecture would be a long-term project in its own right. Two observations may offer some guidance: 1. While *mind* on its own can be a floating expression, all attested examples of *mind -az- egész, mind teljes, mind -az- összes,* ...are adjacent to their NP. 2. When the associate of *mind* was an abstract or collective noun phrase, *mind* did not float; it remained left-adjacent to its associate. That is, examples like (i) are not attested.

> (i)   *Jeruzsálem meg-ijede   **mind (az egész)**.*
>   Jerusalem PFX-got.frightened all   (the whole)
>   'All Jerusalem was frightened.'

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.)

(28)   *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':

(29)   *(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 fel-e-re*
      eye-DAT one glimpse-POSS.3SG-INE the water-DAT other part-POSS.3SG-SUBL
      egezen   *uette.*
      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)

Strictly speaking, (29) can have two readings: In the first reading, taken for granted in the English paraphrase, *egezzen* 'measures out' a spatial Path. In the second reading *egezzen* could be called 'object-oriented', and the sentence would say that Brother Bernard was taken to the other shore intact, without any harm.

Our observation is that already in the first attested occurrences of *egész* and related adverbs, there is at least the possibility of a maximality reading that comes very close to an operator-like use. This is apparent when *egész* combines with a collective noun (viewed as an 'atomic collection'), as in (26), or when the adverb *egészlen* 'completely' has an 'individual-oriented' reading, as in (27) from the Jókai Codex.

4.2   Letters

In a collection of letters and secular documents (from the late Old Hungarian period) one finds uses of *egész-en* where it means 'all'.[12] The starting point is when *egész* associates with a collective entity such as a city council in (30) below. Our conjecture is that via metonymy (a council in its entirety → the individual members of that council) *egész* could acquire a distributive construal *after* was introduced in discourse, as in the switch to the plural 'my good lords and neighbours' in (30). We also find underspecified cases, as in (31).

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[12]   Letters are presented separately, not only because they are more recent than the codices, but also because they represent a different register.

(30)   *Ez   level ada-ss-ek   barthva-n   az **egess** tanacz-nak nekem*
This letter give-PASS-SUBJ-3SG Bártfa-SPRSSVE the entire council-DAT Dat-1SG
vra-ÿ-m-nak   esss somsÿd-im-nak.
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), letter 94)

In sentence (31) *az egész dolgod* lit. 'the whole affair of yours' is underspecified: it can be about the entirety of one salient affair, or it can be about all the affairs of the addressee. (As suggested by a reviewer, this can ultimately be traced back to the underspecification of numberless nouns in Hungarian. *Dolog* lit. 'thing' in the context of the example can denote one affair or case, or it can denote a collection of several affairs/cases. The underspecification of *az egész* (the entirety of one affair vs all affairs) matches this.) Given the presence of *minden dolgodról* 'about every your affair of yours' in the preceding sentence, we are inclined to take *az egész dolgod* to mean 'all your affairs', 'the totality of your affairs'.

(31)   *ÿr-ÿ   ennek-em mÿnden dolg-od-rolÿ   mÿnd az hedervarÿ*
write-IMP.2SG dat-1SG every   affair-POSS.2SG-DELA both the Héderváry
*ferench halal-a   felol-ÿ   es mÿnd **az eges** dolg-od*
Ferenc death-POSS.3SG about-ADJ.SFX and all   the entire affair-POSS.2SG
felol
about
'write to me about all your affairs, both about the death of Ferenc Héderváry, and about your entire affair(=case) / about all your affairs' (1533, Lőrinc Héderváry to István Héderváry, letter 118)

(32)   *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, letter 201.)

In sentence (32) 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.

4.3   Transylvanian data from the second half of the 16th century onwards

This part shows data from the Historical Dictionary of Transylvanian Hungarian (Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár, Szabó T. ed.; henceforth, HDTH). The earliest data are from

second half of the 16th century: it should be noted that these are quite close in time to the latest of the codices and to most of the letters.[13]

Data from the HDTH confirms the initial hypothesis concerning the grammaticalisation of *egész*: *Az egész* could be used as a determiner of count nouns, with the meaning 'all', 'every'. In addition, *egész* (and adverbs derived from it) is used instead of Old Hungarian *mind* with spatial or temporal expressions; object-oriented readings of adverbs derived from the adjective *egész* abound.

4.3.1   The adjective egész

According to the HDTH, the adjective *egész* 'whole', 'entire' could have as many as eight distinct construals. Of particular interest to us are meanings 3 to 7.

The scale of meanings could range from 'basic' 'whole', 'full' 'complete' (meaning 1) to 'all', 'each and every' (meaning 6). Meaning 7 is also noteworthy: 'considered in its entirety, without exceptions or lacunae'. For the purposes of this article, meaning 6 ('all', 'each and every') is the most relevant, especially that it shows *az egész* combining with count nouns.

First, here are some examples illustrating meaning 3: 'regarded/considered as a complete, full assembly or collection'. The third type of meaning is found with collective nouns that can get a 'direct' or 'indirect' distributive interpretation. By 'indirect' we mean that the *egész*-DP itself is interpreted collectively, but its denotation/referent is interpreted distributively later in discourse, or even in the same sentence.

(33)   a.   ***egyz*** *waros kyp-y-ben*   *paranchiolat-tal hyw-a-nak   mynk-et*
             entire town image-POSS.3SG-INE order-INSTR   call-PAST-3PL we-ACC
             'we were summoned with an order issued in the name of the entire town'
                                                                          (1572 Dés (Dej) DLt 184)

        b.   *Teczet   eo kegm-ek-nek*   ***egez*** *waros-sul*   *hogy semmy*
             Pleased he lordship-POSS.3PL-DAT entire town-ADV.SFX that no
             wetas-t   ne(m) kelle-ne   chyeleked-ny…
             innovation-ACC not   have.to-COND.OPT accomplish-INF …
             'It pleased their lordships, the entire town(ful of them) that they didn't
             have to change anything' (1579, Kv (Kolozsvár, Cluj) TanJk V/3 189b)

So, data illustrating this point involve *egész* associating with collective entities; sometimes the NP denoting the collective entity is further associated with a collective expression that can be distributed over, as in (33b).[14]

A wealth of examples show that *az egész* could be a determiner combining with count nouns. (Meaning/use number 6: 'all', 'each and every'.

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[13]   The HDTH provides detailed lexical definitions for words (not only stems but also compunds and affixed forms). Definitions are complemented by paraphrases in Romanian and German. Every distinct meaning/construal of a given word form is accompanied by a wealth of examples, mostly taken from local archives from all over Transylvania. In the HDTH the labels for original sources contain a multitude of abbreviations. Some of these will be unfolded here; for the rest, the reader is referred to the online edition of the HDTH.

[14]   *Lt* = levéltár, 'archive'.

(34)   ***Az***   ***Egez***   *Istallo-k-ott*   *zekerzentt*   *vgy Czinal-tas-sa*   *hogy mind Egy*
       The whole stable-PL-ACC cart.according.to so   make-CAUS-3SG that all   one
       veg-b(en) le-gyen
       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)

(35)   a.   *nem vgy mint an-nak*   *elótt-e,*   *hanem ruttyat gyalazatos*
             not so like that-DAT before-POSS.3SG, but   ugly   miserable
             az-ok-kal,   ***az egesz*** *Iffiu*   *Mester-ek-et*   *illet-uen*
             those-INSTR, the whole young master-PL-ACC concerning
             'unlike before, he behaves miserably with those (people), involving all the
             young masters' (1639/1650; Kv (Kolozsvár, Cluj); ÖCJk)

   b.   *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)

   c.   *az szüret-re*   *hu-nak oda*   *álá*   *mind* ***az egész*** *Atyafi-ak*
             the grape.harvest-SUBL call-3PL there down all   the whole siblings
             'all siblings and kin invite (us?) down there for the grape harvest'
                                        (1681 Körtvélyfája (Periş) MT; Bál 1)

(36)   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 towns-
             folk are suffering from it, along with their servants'
                                     (1730 Kv (Kolozsvár, Cluj); Ks)

   b.   ***az gész*** *vér-ek-et [rokonokat] legitime meg kinal-tat-t-a*   *(h)ogy*
             the whole kin-PL-ACC [relatives]   lawfully PFX offered-CAUS-3SG that
             ve-gy-ék   *meg, mert …közelebb akar magá-nak venni*   *(birtok-ot)*
             buy-SUBJ-3PL PFX, for …closer   wants self-DAT   buy-INF 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)

   c.   *Ha az erdély-i*   *főgenerális*   *el-esett,*   *az*
             If   the Transylvania-ADJ.SFX chief.general away-fell, the
             erdély-i   ***egész*** *vármegyé-k-et az fejérvár-i*
             Transylvania=ADJ.SFX whole counties   the Fejérvár-ADJ.SFX
             főispán   *igazgatta harczon*
             chief.prefect directed   battle-SPRESSV
             'If the Transylvanian commander in chief fell (in battle), all the counties
             of Transylvania were led in battle by the prefect of Fejérvár.'
                                        (1736 MetTr 411)[15]

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[15]   *MetTr = Metamorphosis Transilvaniae*, treatise by Péter Apor (1736).

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

(37)   a.   *Kereszturi Krisztina Kis   Asszony vévé maga rész-é-re   az*
             Kereszturi Krisztina Little Woman took self   part-POSS.3SG-SUBL the
             mostan-i   Curia-(na)k Nap nyugot felöll valo   rész-é-t
             now-ADJ.SFX Curia-DAT   Sun down   from VALÓ part-POSS.3SG-ACC
             ***Egész** rajta lévő   épület-ek-kel*
             whole on.it being building-PL-INSTR
             'Miss Krisztina Kereszturi took for herself the Western part of today's Curia, with all buildings on it.'

                                          (1746, Náznánfv.(Nazna) MT; Berz. 13. IV/1)

       b.   *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)

Example (37b) makes it clear that *egész épületek* lit. 'whole buildings' does not mean 'entire buildings', since these buildings are but half-ready. Rather, (*ezen…*) *egész épületek* means 'all these buildings'.

4.3.2   The adverb egész *and its kin*

Egész could be used as an adverb on itw own, and (as an adjective) it could take adverbial suffixes. We reproduce some examples here, in search of today's modal-essive *az egész-en* ('all from a given set'). Although we haven't found any instances of today's *az egész-en* in the mini-corpus of the HDHT, we did find (i) *Egész, egész-en* associating with temporal and spatial expressions. This association, as discussed in Section 4.7, represents a parallel track in the grammaticalisation of *egész*. (ii) We also found what can be called 'individual-oriented' readings of the adverb *egész-ben* 'fully' 'in one piece', and of the manner adverb *egész-en* 'fully', 'completely' (similarly to depictives, Rothstein 2001), which may have facilitated the emergence of modern-day *az egész-en*.

The *adverb egész* co-occurred with spatial and temporal expressions, marking the end of a temporal or spatial Path. It could be paraphrased as 'all the way till ...', or as 'at all times until ...'.

(38)   *az en buza-m-at   mind **egez** ueg-igh   az*
        the my wheat-POSS.1SG-ACC all   whole end-TERM the
        brózda-ja-(n)   el   arat-t-uk
        furrow-POSS.3SG-SPRESSV away harvest-PAST-1PL
        'we have harvested my wheat (field) all the way to the end, along its furrows.'

                                   (1635 Mv (Marosvásárhely, Târgu Mureş); Mv Lt 290. 46b)

(39)   a.   *semmi (eső) nem volt **egész** szent Márton nap-ig*
             nothing (rain) not was whole Saint Martin day-TERM
             'there was nothing (no rain) until Saint Martin's day' (1580 ETA I, 35BS)

b.   ***egész*** *tél-ig*   *mind tarta a   pestis*
     whole winter-TERM all   lasted the plague
     'the plague (epidemic) lasted (all the time) until winter.'
                                                        (1653, ETA I, 146 NSz)

The adverb *egészben*: In modern Hungarian, *egész* plus the inessive suffix *-ban, -ben* means 'in one piece', 'intact'. In Middle and early Modern Hungarian it apparently meant 'fully', 'completely'. In the sentence (40b) the adverb appears to be underspecified, in that it can modify the process of decay, but it can also be used in describing the individual affected by that process. In the latter case, *egészben* distributes over material parts of the church in question. In the case of (40a) we can also argue for a reading where the *egészben* 'associates' with the object affected by the writing event. In fact, in both cases, the event-oriented reading *entails* the individual-oriented reading. For the entailment relation to hold, it is necessary for the adverb to be underspecified vis-à-vis the kind of entity it operates on, eventualities or 'plain' individuals.

(40)   a.   *egy arkos-nak a   negyed-i-t   ***egész-ben*** *be-irta*
             one sheet-DAT the quarter-POSS.3SG-ACC whole-INE into-wrote
             'he completely filled (with writing) one quarter of a sheet of paper'
                                                        (1736 MetTr 366)
        b.   *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)

Egész-en – the adjective *egész* could be suffixed with the manner suffix *-n*. (The manner suffix is homophonous with the MOE suffix *-n*, but its contribution is quite distinct.) According to the HDHT, the manner adverb *egész-en* could have the following meanings:

1.   *Egészen*: 'completely', 'fully'

(41)   ***egesz-en***   *'s   nem csak resz szerent vesz-ünk   el*
        completely 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)

Sentence (41) looks strange at first sight: how is partial perishing possible? One explanation would rely on the literal meaning of the prefixed verb *elveszni*, which is 'to be lost'. Arguably, it is possible for someone not to be completely lost. There, is, however, another explanation, which relies on the reconstruction of the first person plural subject. If the subject denotes an entire community, then the sentence conveys the meaning 'Our community will perish completely, without any exception'. On this reading perishing affects an entire community, and it is entailed that no sub-group or individual member can survive. Consequently, *rész szerent* 'in parts', is not about being partly lost, or partly perished; instead, it is about only parts of the community perishing (as opposed to total extinction).

If it is true that an entire community perishes, it also holds that all its members perish. Hence, a sentence like (41) entails its modern day Transylvanian variant (42):

(42)   ***Az   egész-en*** *el-vesz-ünk*
        The whole-N away-perish-1PL
        'All of us (will) perish.'

Modern-day *az egészen* 'all from a given set' is very different from Middle Hungarian individual-oriented *egészen* 'completely', nevertheless its over-all contribution to the sentence is quite similar.

2. *Egész-en* 'completely, in full'
    The sentences in (43) are further illustrations of 'individual-oriented' readings of adverbs. In (43a), full recovery of a sum of money entails the recovery of the entire sum. That is, the 'individual-oriented' reading is facilitated by the incremental object. In sentence (43b) the distributive reading is facilitated by metonymy: If a village is completely Catholic, this is tantamount to saying that everyone in it is a Catholic.

(43)   a. *ha penig nem tseleked-ne* ***egesz-en*** *meg ve-hes-sük   rajta   az*
            if and   not act-COND.OPT. completely PFX buy-POSSBL-1PL on-him the
            tizen harmadfel   forint-ot
            ten   three.and.half florin-ACC
            'and if he doesn't act, we can fully recover from him those thirteen and a half florins' (1682 Sz Jk 171)
        b. *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.))
        c. *ugy hirdetik, hogy talám az Marokház-i   erdő-k **egészszen** le*
            so say,   that maybe the Marokháza-ADJ.SFX woods fully   down
            vágat-tat-ván,   el   ad-od-ná-nak
            cut-PASSIVE-PARTICIPLE, away give-PASS-COND.OPT-3PL
            'it is rumoured, that the woods of Marokháza, having completely been cut down, will be sold' (1762 Dés (Dés); Ks 5. IX. 8 corresp. of Pál Haller)

Sentence (43c) is puzzling, in that it is not clear what would be for sale, the land, or the timber from the woods. What is even more puzzling is, what it means for a forest to be cut down (or to be completely cut down). One reading could be the atomic reading: the forest (as an atomic entity and/or as a piece of land with a forest on it) has been cleared of trees. The other reading is the distributive reading: all the trees in the forest are cut off. Again, we think, *egészen* is underspecified, and one reading entails the other. In this case it is the 'atomic' reading (the entire territory has been cleared of trees) that entails the distributive reading (all trees from that territory have been cut off).

3. *Egész-en*: 'in its entirety', 'in full':
    In sentence (44) the individual-oriented reading is, we think, the primary reading, if the direct object *részét* ('his share') is interpreted as one entity. The incremental

reading is also possible (as pointed out by a reviewer), once the contribution of the partitive phrase ('from carts and other household implements') is also factored in.

(44)   *Balasi   Peter allattya hogj néki   Ap-ja   Az Szeker-bòl és   holmi*
         Balassi Peter claims   that DAT-3SG father-POSS.3SG the cart-ELA   and some
         *ház-beli   eszkòzb-öl   rész-é-t   **egészszen** ki   nem adta*
         house-ADJ.SFX utensil-ELA share-POSS.3SG-ACC fully   out not gave
         'Peter Balasi is claiming that his father hasn't given him his full share of carts and other household items' (literally: 'his father hasn't fully given him his share') (1701 Kissolymos (Șoimușu Mic) U; Blev.)

Sentence (45b) is like (44), in that world knowledge blocks the reading where the validity of one law is only partial. What we take (45b) to mean is that all parts of a legislative system, or all parts and paragraphs of one law remain valid. That is, we take (45b) to have a distributive reading, entailed by the 'atomic' reading ('the law/the legislation remains valid in its entirety').

(45)   a.   *itt   valo   Udvarbiro azon föld-röl   a   Runkān Gabor*
              here being court.judge that plot-ADE the Runkān Gabor
              *Buza-ja-t   **egeszszen** el   vi-tet-é*
              wheat-POSS.3SG-ACC entirely   away take-CAUS-PAST-3SG
              'the magistrate from here had Gabor Runkán's wheat taken away completely(!) from that field' (1742 Bányabükk (Vâlcele) TA; JHb XIII/16)
       b.   *A' Bírák eo kglmek   törvénye   **egészszen** helyben marad*
              the judges he lordships law-POSS.3SG fully   in.place remains
              'legislation by their lordships the judges remains fully valid / valid in its entirety' (1746 Torockó (Rimetea); Bosla)

Sentence (45a) can have two readings, which, unlike other examples with *egészben* and *egészen*, do not entail each other. In (45a) *egészen* could in principle associate with a covert spatial Path, and then the sentence would mean that the wheat was carried all the way to some contextually given destination. In the other reading *egészen* 'in its entirety' is individual-oriented, and the sentence says that all the wheat was taken away. The 'spatial', or Path-oriented reading is unlikely: in spatial or temporal associations of *egész-* the 'associate' is practically always overt, denoting the Goal, and, accordingly, marked with the terminative suffix *-ig*.

4.   *Egész-en*: 'in its entirety':
     The sentence in (46) is puzzling on a first or even second reading. The source of the puzzle is the phrase *egészen illető* 'fully concerning' or 'fully involving'. One one reading the letters concern the town of Dés, and no-one else (similarly to the English phrase 'this is all yours', i.e. this doesn't involve or belong to anyone else'). On another reading the letters involve all the town; a third, less likely, reading would be about the total number of letters involving the town. That is, in the first reading *egészen* operates indirectly on the object by excluding the involvement or concern of other individuals. In the second reading *egészen* operates directly on the object: the English paraphrase would be 'The number of letters that involve the entire town is ...'. On the third, less likely reading, *egészen* operates on the subject, yielding the

largest number of letters, or the totality of letters, s.t. this collection has a given cardinality.

(46) *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)

5.   *Egész-en*: 'in full', 'without exception':

(47) *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)

Sentence (47) comes very close to Modern Hungarian *az egész-en* 'all from a given set' (similarly to sentence (41)). As with example (41), surface similarity and closeness in meaning conceals differences in syntax and semantics.[16] Note, for instance, that in (47) *egészen* combines with the inanimate direct object *az Levelekett* 'the letters', whereas modern day MOE-*az egész-en* cannot be a direct object or associate with one. Also, the associate of today's *az egész-en* cannot be a collection of inanimate objects. Nevertheless we hypothesise that examples like (47) and its kin facilitated the attachment of the modal-essive suffix *-n* to the determiner/DP *az egész* 'all'.

6.   *Egész-en*: 'all the way to …', 'from end to end':
Like the adverb *egész*, *egész-en* can also associate with a spatial Path:

(48) *A föld szél-e*   *régebben bé nyult*   *le*   **egész-en**   *a'*
The land edge-POSS.3SG of.old   into stretched down all.the.way the
kaszáló   *rét-ig*
scythe(verb)-PRES.PART meadow-TERM
'The edge of the plot used to stretch all the way to the hay meadow' (1799 Gyéresszentkirály (Ghiriş-Sâncrai) TA; Ks 89)

4.3.3 Interim summary

Data from the HDTH have shown examples of:

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[16] As in the case of (45a), *egészen* might have a spatial associate: 'The letters have to be taken all the way to the session'. This reading is highly unlikely, again for the reason that the relevant expressions are not of the right form.

1. The determiner (*az*) *egész* 'all', 'every' combining with count nouns. In examples (34)–(37) it clearly quantifies over its NP, so no metonymy is needed to provide access to individual members of a collective entity.

2. The adverb *egész* 'completely', and also the manner adverb *egész- en* 'completely', 'all the time until', 'all the way to...' associate with temporal and spatial expressions. We will see in section 4.7 that in these cases *egész-en-* is synonymous with (Old and Middle Hungarian) *mind* 'all'. Indeed, in present-day Hungarian, *egész-en-* has all but replaced such uses of *mind*.

3. The adverbs *egész-ben* 'in its entirety', and *egész-en* on its 'in its entirety' construal have a distributive 'individual-oriented' reading, which is entailed by an event-related or collection-as-atom oriented reading. The emergence of present-day *az egészen* 'all from a given set' has at least been facilitated by the distributive readings of examples like (41) or (47).

4.4   Csángó examples from the 21st century

This brief subsection presents data from the Csángó regional variant of Hungarian. They are especially relevant for attesting the continued presence of the determiner *az egész* 'all the'.

The first three examples are children's reports on a camping trip in 2010. The children are from the village Lészped (Lespezi) in the Moldova (Moldavia) region of Romania.[17]

(49)   *szombat-on*   ***az egész-en** men-t-ünk   haza*
       Saturday-SPRSSIVE the whole-N go-PAST-1PL home
       'On Saturday we all went home' (Péterke Bálint)

Sentence (50b) shows the determiner *az egész*. Note that the NP and the verb are in the plural. This was quite common in Old and Middle Hungarian (there is no exact count), but is no longer present in Modern Hungarian.

(50)   a.   *Szerdá-n   csinál-t-unk   csapat-ok-at hat-hat gyermek-ből,*
            Wednesday-SPRESSV make-PAST-1SG team-PL-ACC six-six child-ELA,
            'On Wednesday we formed teams of six children each',

       b.   *és **az egész** csapat-ok tanul-t-ak, hogy ostoroj-za-nak,   és*
            and the whole teams   learned   that crack.whip-SUBJ-3PL, and
            húj-z-anak   a   nyíl-val,
            pull-SUBJ-3PL the arrow-INSTR
            'and all the teams learned how to crack a whip and to shoot with a bow and arrow.' (Anna Julianna Bálint)

In (51a) we see the DP *az egész*, with the meaning 'everyone', 'all of them'.

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[17]   These examples were all taken from the web page of the Union of Hungarian Schoolteachers in Romania (rmpsz.ro), more exactly, from a subdomain dedicated to the teaching of standard Hungarian to Csángó children.

(51) a. *Szombat-on   el-men-t-ünk   haza. Meg-puszil-t-uk **az***
Saturday-sᴘʀᴇssᴠ away-go-ᴘᴀsᴛ-1ᴘʟ home. ᴘғx-kiss-ᴘᴀsᴛ-1ᴘʟ the
egész-et
whole-ᴀᴄᴄ
'On Saturday we went home. We kissed all of them /everyone.'

b. *és   mond-t-uk,   hogy találkoz-unk jövő-ben.*
and say-ᴘᴀsᴛ-1ᴘʟ that meet-1ᴘʟ   future-ɪɴᴇ
'and said that we would meet the following year' (Anna Julianna Bálint)

The second part of this subsection presents a sample of elicited and spontaneous utterances recorded at the Csángó Workshop at the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (March 2013). Our informants were GyB and ÁN, a married couple. (B and N stand for honorific terms.)

In (52) we see *az egész* as a determiner. The context is that, according to custom, the bride at a wedding would give each of her godmothers a napkin as a present.

(52) *nyirásza adott nekijek mindig egy-egy   servet-et,   vetett **az egész***
bride   gave them always one-one napkin-ᴀᴄᴄ, gave the whole
keresztany-já-nak   külön külön…
godmother-ᴘᴏss.3sɢ-ᴅᴀᴛ 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 (53) 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 (53b).

(53) 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-ᴀᴄᴄ,
'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-ᴀᴄᴄ
'All of them got fifteen (each).' (ÁN)

c. *És azt   mond-om, hogy **az egész-en** kap-t-ak?*
and that-ᴀᴄᴄ say-1sɢ,   that the whole-N received-ᴘᴀsᴛ-3ᴘʟ
'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-ʟᴏᴄᴀᴛɪᴠᴇ
'Then it's all three of them together.' (lit. 'in one place'; ÁN; File 1)

In (54) we encounter the determiner *az egész* 'every', 'all'. In (54b) it is made clear that it is distributive; the difference between (53c)–(53d) and this example is presumably

due to the internal structure of the direct object or the Predicate Phrase. The distributive reading of (54b) may also be facilitated by world knowledge about car ownership.

(54) 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 (55) shows *az egész* as a DP:

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

Example (56) again shows the DP *az egész*, with plural marking on the verb, as in (50b) earlier.

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

(57) 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 (58) and (59) show the negation of *az egész*: (58a) looks like constituent negation; in the other cases the preverbal negation particle *nem* has scope over postverbal *az egész*.

(58) a. ***Nem az egész-nek*** *vót a kez-i-be éveg*
bot 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.*
bot 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)

(59) ***Nem*** *vett **az egész** egy-egy tíz lej-t.*
bot cast the whole one-one ten leu-ACC
'Not all of them gave ten lei (each).' (ÁN, File 4)

Finally, (60) 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*.

(60)   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)

To conclude the presentation of the Csángó data, we would like to point out the following:
      In the Csángó regional variant of Hungarian:

1. *Az egész* can be a determiner; its NP can be unmarked for plural, or it can be in the plural (as in earlier stages of Hungarian).

2. *Az egész* can be a DP, with the meaning 'all of them', 'everyone'.

3. *Az egész* can take the MOE suffix *-n*. *Az egészen* means 'all from a given set'.

4.5   Data from Transylvania and Hungary (21st century)

In this part we present recently discovered data from modern Transylvania and Hungary. The data from Transylvania indicate that *az egész* as a determiner of count nouns has not become totally extinct there. The data from Hungary on the other hand indicate that the quantificational use of *az egész* is an option that is in principle available to the entire linguistic community, even if in the case of speakers from today's Hungary this manifests itself as an isolated, individual creative 'act'. (In the case of adult speakers from Hungary this may be facilitated by increased contact with Transylvanian speakers.)

Data from modern Transylvanian have been selected from Diószegi (2002); additional data can be culled from the Inernet.

In (61) 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).

(61)   *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 (62) one has a quantity of feathers, in (63) one has a quantity of sowing seeds. Similarly, in (64) one has an amount of clothes to be washed.

(62)   *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.)

(63)   *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)

(64)   *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 (65); 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 (65) 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.)

(65)   *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 (65) 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 (as we have seen in the earlier examples in 4.3) *az egész* is a universal determiner on a par with *minden* 'every' or *az összes* 'every', 'the totality of'.

(66)   *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)

(67)　*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: to date, we have two utterances, reported by Tamás Halm (p.c.).

(68)　***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)

(69)　*Az antifóná-t　először　el-énekel-jük mi, aztán **az egész***
　　　The antiphony-ACC first(Adv) PFX-sing-3PL we, then　the whole
　　　hív-ek
　　　churchgoer-PL
　　　'The antiphony will be first sung by us, and then by all the congregants'
　　　Choirmaster's instruction in Budapest, 2 June 2019 (Tamás Halm, p.c.)

4.6　Interim summary

In this section we have seen data that show that the adjective *egész* 'whole', 'entire', Old Hungarian 'healthy' has evolved into a maximality operator / universal quantifier. As an operator, it can be a determiner or a DP.

　　　The stages of grammaticalisation can be pinpointed as follows:

1. With abstract nouns (often denoting institutions) and nouns denoting collective entities, *egész* means 'entire', 'in its entirety', 'all' (collective), as in example (26).

2. These expressions are reinterpreted 'pointwise', presumably due to metonymy. Thus 'all Jerusalem' comes to mean 'everyone in Jerusalem', as in examples from letters, and from (71b). (Metonymy was also possible with *mind* 'all', as seen in (71a).)

3. The 'all' construal is extended to count nouns: As seen in the examples from 4.3, *egész* building(s) comes to mean 'all buildings' (and not 'the entirety of some buildings'). This is in fact the Hungarian variant of Haspelmath's point of no return in the grammaticalisation process of adjectives meaning 'whole'.

4. *Az egész* can also be used as a full DP, meaning 'all (from a given set)', as in (51a).

5. The suffix *-n* can be attached to *az egész*, yielding an expression with the meaning 'all from a given set'.

　　　The first stage of the grammaticalisation of *egész* can be attested in Old Hungarian. The second stage is detected in late Old Hungarian and early Middle Hungarian. These stages characterise the entire linguistic community. Data from letters are suggestive that the third stage may have commenced in Hungarian spoken in today's Hungary, but in later documents it is not attested with count nouns denoting 'ordinary' individuals. The

last three stages, we claim, were confined to Transylvania and the Csángó community. (A possible counterexample is (3), the single example from Slovakia. Until we are able to obtain more data from that area, we maintain our claim in its original form.)

4.7 *Az egész*, space-time, and a branching model

One important aspect of the evolution of *az egész* has not received a full discussion so far. The reason for is that the symptoms are hard to detect. If we take an 'oblique' approach, first looking at the evolution of the *synonyms* of *az egész*, we can see that an exchange has taken place.

In earlier work on quantification in Old Hungarian (Bende-Farkas 2014a,b, 2015), we noticed that Old Hungarian *mind* 'all' could be used with a very large variety of expressions, denoting practically anything from ordinary individuals (atoms and collective entities), to temporal intervals, spatial paths, scales (age scales, quantities of money), stages of an eventuality, and so on. In Modern Hungarian *mind* associates almost exclusively with individual-denoting expressions; its other uses are preserved in fossils such as *mind-halálig* '(at all times, always) until death', or *mind-végig* 'at all times/stages till the end'. (Examples will be provided in the Appendix.)

In Modern Hungarian, the 'non-individual' uses of *mind* have been replaced with *az egész* or *az összes* 'all', 'the sum total of'. NB in Modern Hungarian abstract and collective nouns associate with *az egész* and not with *mind*. The associates of present-day *mind* are collections of atoms or quantities of matter.

(70) a. ***mind** a   rendőrség*
          all   the police
          'all police', 'the entire police force'
      b. ***Mind** ki-bányászták az   arany-at*
          all   out-mined   the gold-ACC
          'All the gold has been extracted.'
      c. ***Mind** meg-érkeztek a   vendég-ek*
          all   PFX-arrived   the guest-PL
          'The guests have all arrived.'

The replacement of *mind* with *az egész* is illustrated first in (71) below. It is a quote from the Gospel of Matthew (II:3), translated into Hungarian in 1486 and 1561, respectively.
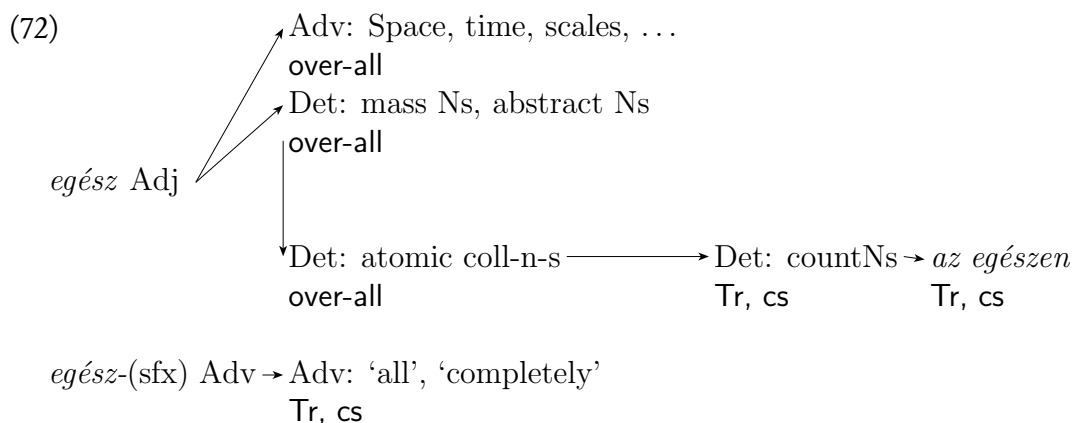
(71) a. *Haluan ke. herodes ḳiral' meg zomorottatec &   **mend** ihr̄lm   ọ*
          hearing and Herod king PFX saddened   and all   Jerusalem he
          vèlè
          INSTR-3SG
          'When Herod the king had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.'
                (OH: Munich codex, 1466, 8va-vb; English: King James Bible 1611)
      b. *Mikoron kedig ezz-ek-et   halotta vól-na   Herodes király, meg*
          when   and this-PL-ACC heard   be-COND.OPT-3SG Herod king,   PFX
          *haborodéc, és   **egész** Ierusalem o   vẹle*
          maddened,   and whole Jerusalem he INSTR-3SG
                (Gáspár Heltai, A3r; 1561)

> c.   Audiens autem Herodes rex turbatus est, et omnis Hierosolyma cum illo.
> (Vulgate)

The Appendix to this paper contains an inventory of examples from the Old Hungarian period, all of which contain *mind* 'all', accompanied with their present-day paraphrases, most of which involve (*az*) *egész* lit. 'the whole', 'the entire', or *egészen* 'entirely', 'all the way'/'all the time'.

    Data with spatial-temporal-scalar expressions show first and foremost that the grammaticalisation of (*az*) *egész* has by no means been confined to Transylvania and the Csángó area. The grammaticalisation 'map' of *egész* shows several divergent trajectories. From the data presented in this chapter the following types of change can be detected:

(72)

                          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

The map in (72) shows two kinds of change for the adjective *egész*. The lower branch encodes the change from adjective to a quantificational determiner, as outlined at the beginning of the Interim Summary to this section (4.6). The upper branch encodes the evolution of *egész* into a synonym of *mind* 'all' associating with times, spatial paths, scales, events, a.s.o. Eventually, *egész* supplanted *mind* in this role. Exchanging *mind* for *egész* characterises the entire linguistic community.

    As said earlier, with mass terms and abstract nouns *az egész* can be argued to be a determiner, and can also be shown to be synonymous with *mind* 'all'. Again, this characterises the entire linguistic community.

    Az egész can combine with 'atomic collections' (collective entities regarded as one whole). This holds for the entire community, from Old Hungarian onwards: in (72), the first stage of this type of change is not confined to Transylvania and the Csángó area. What is not present in Hungarian spoken in today's Hungary (at any stage of the language, with the possible exception of individual creative 'acts' such as (68), (69)) is (i) *az egész* combining with count NPs as a synonym of *minden* 'every', and (ii) the suffixation of *az egész* to yield *az egészen* 'all from a given set'.

    We have added the individual-oriented readings of adverbs derived from *egész*. These too are typical of Transylvania, and have reinforced and consolidated distributive readings with *egész*.

    As regards MOE-marked *az egész-en* 'all from a given set', in (72) it appears as the final stage of a grammaticalisation process, whose earlier stages involved *az egész* as a quantificational determiner.

5 Summary and Conclusions

In this paper we have followed the grammaticalisation process of the Hungarian adjective *egész* 'entire', 'whole' into a determiner / DP synonymous with 'all'. At least the necessary conditions for this change were already present in Old Hungarian. A crucial step in the process, the determiner *egész* 'all' combining with count nouns, can be attested from the Middle Hungarian period. The suffixed form *az egészen* 'the whole-N' has been found out to mark a relatively late stage in the process.

Somewhat surprisingly, adverbial forms of *egész* (*egészlen* in Old Hungarian, cf. (27), and *egészben*, *egészlen* in Middle Hungarian) have contributed to this process, through what we have called their 'individual-oriented' readings. These readings are entailed by the 'official' event-oriented reading.

The grammaticalisation process of *egész* 'whole' has proved to be more widespread and far-reaching than initially suspected: In present-day Hungarian *egész* has replaced an entire spectrum of uses for *mind* 'all', most conspicuously where spatial and temporal expressions are concerned. (Hungarian equivalents of *all the time, all the way*, and so on.) This process characterises the entire linguistic community.

We conclude therefore that the grammaticalisation process of *egész* involved at least three types of changes, two of which have occurred in 'mainstream' Hungarian. The third type of change, which lead ultimately to *az egészen* 'the whole-N', had several stages. The first stage was present in 'mainstream' Hungarian, and only the later stages were confined to Transylvania and to Csángó speakers. The first type of change (*egész* with spatial, temporal or scalar expressions), as well as the role of adverbs in the grammaticalisation of *egész* are to our knowledge novel in the literature, in that they add new tracks, or dimensions, to the single-track model of Haspelmath (1995).

This article concludes with several open questions. The most conspicuous open issue is the role of the MOE suffix -*n*, and a proper analysis of *az egészen* and other -*n*- marked determiners/DPs.

Another issue, not readily apparent from the discussion, is the semantics and pragmatics of plurals, in particular, the semantics of what we have dubbed as collections-as-atoms. The relationship between event-oriented and individual-oriented readings may be clarified along the lines of Champollion (2017).

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Appendix

In this Appendix we illustrate the ontological versatility of *mind* 'all' in Old Hungarian. In most cases, *az egész* replaces *mind* in Modern Hungarain paraphrases.

A few remarks are in order before the data are presented: First, it is not known whether old Hungarian *egész* could or could not associate with expressions of this ontological type. What we do know is that in the codices it is *mind* that usually associates with them, with *egész* (or *mind -az- egész* lit. 'all the whole') occasionally associating with collections-as-atoms. Also, it can be observed that *mind* is no longer used productively with temporal, spatial or scalar expressions; *egész* on the other hand is used in precisely those contexts where *mind* is no longer used. A precise count and a detailed road map of this 'exchange' is a task for the future.

Second, one might ask why an expression like *all the way* or a sentence like *the napkin was all dirty* would involve grammaticalisation. The answer to this is that in these uses *all*, together with Hungarian *mind* 'all' and *egész*, is like a micro-quantifier, distributing over all portions of matter, all times, all chunks of space, or all points on a scale (cf. Roberts (1987), where *all* is defined as a generalised distributivity operator).

• Collective individual, abstract entity:

(73) a. **mÿnd** az tellÿes conuent bÿzonsag-ot tevt rol-a
         all   the full   convent testimony-ACC did DELA-3SG
         'the entire convent corroborated it about it/her' (MargL 11r)

    b. *?Az* *egész* *zárda* *megerősítette*
       The whole convent confirmed
       'The entire convent corroborated it'

Sentence (73a) is one of the very few cases where *az egész* does not work as a replacement for *mind*. One reason could be the distributivity of (73a) (if the entire convent corroborated some piect of information, then every member of that convent corroborated it), and, possibly, with *egész*, taking the relevant collection as one undivided whole is still preferred.

    The Modern Hungarian version of (73a) was found acceptable by one of the reviewers. That is, an 'atomic collection' marked with *az egész* can apply to a distributive predicate. Our finding is that judgements depend on the kind of predicate used:

(74) ***Az*** ***egész*** *koalíció* *(éppen most)* *a* *menzá-n* *eszik*
     The whole coalition (right now) the mensa-SPRESSV eat-3SG
     'The whole coalition is having lunch at the mensa'
     'All members of the coalition are having lunch at the mensa'

In the sentences above, an atomic collection appears to be perfectly compatible with a distributive predicate, in an episodic sentence.
● Stages of change:

(75) a. *Idumea* *kiral-a-nac* *tètèm-i-t* *meg eǵètte* ***mend***
      Idumea king-POSS.3G-DAT bone-POSS.3SG.PL-ACC PFX burned all
      hamu-iglan
      ash-TERM
      'He burned the bones of the king of Idumea all the way, till they became ashes' (Vienna C. 216)
   b. & *a.* *tp̄lom* ***mend*** *fold-iglèn* *le-tọr-èt-tèt-et*
      and the temple all   ground-TERM down-break-PASSIVE-PAST-3SG
      'and the temple was demolished completely, to the ground' (Vienna C. 261)

Modern Hungarian: *egészen* a földig ('all the way to the ground'), *egészen* csontig ('down to the bone', all the way to the bone').
● The end point of a scale:[18]

(76) a. ***mēd*** *ọ-hoz-ia* *fọt-a-nac a* *kụsdèd-tọl* *fogvā* ***mēd*** *annagg-iclan*
      all   he-ALL-3SG ran-3PL the small.child-ABL starting all the.big-TERM
      'they all ran to him, from small children all the way to grown-ups' (Vienna C 38)
   b. kicsiktől **egészen** a nagyokig 'from small children all the way to big ones' (older children or adults)

---

[18]   In example (77a) *mind* 'all' can also associate with the direct object, as pointed out by a reviewer. Indeed, sentences with *mind* could be ambiguous in this respect, but this would take us to the semantics of Òld Hungarian *mind*, a subject clearly outside the scope of this paper. The point here is simply that *mind* could associate with scalar expressions, marked with the terminative suffix *-ig-len*.

(77) a. [*hogy meg-adassék a tartozás*] ***mind*** *men-tǫl kiss-eb*
[so-that PFX-give-PASSIVE-3SG the debt] all what-ABL smaller
fill'er-iglen
penny-TERM
'(so that all the debt should be repaid), down to the smallest penny' (BodK 17v)

b. **egészen** a legkisebb / az utolsó fillérig 'down to the smallest/the last penny'

- Spatial trajectories:

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

b. ...**egészen** a menyországig..., 'all the way to Heaven'

- Time: Expressions denoting full intervals:

(79) a. *vÿselven* ***mÿnd*** *az tellyes nap-ot nagÿ aytatos sÿralmas jmadsag-ban*
carrying all the complete day-ACC great pious tearful prayer-INE
'spending the entire day in greatly pious, tearful prayer' (MargL 7r)

b. MH: **az egész** napot: 'the entire/whole day'

- Temporal expressions denoting the initial segment of an interval:

(80) a. *mÿnden eztendev-ben* ***mynd*** *att-vl fogva. hog zent margit*
every year-INE all that-ABL starting. that saint Margaret
azzon-nac ÿo okossag-a volt ...
lady-DAT good cleverness-POSS.3SG was ...
'every year, ever since Lady Saint Margaret's intellect developed' (MargL, 6v)

b. MH: *egészen* attól fogva/kezdve – 'ever since', 'during the entire interval starting with a given time t'

- Temporal expressions denoting the end point of an interval:

(81) a. *ezen-kepen al vala* ***mÿnd*** *ebed-ÿg*
this-FORMAL stand PAST all lunch-TERM
'she would remain standing like this (all the time) till lunch' (MargL 5v)

b. MH: **egészen** ebédig — '(at all times) till lunch'

(82) a. *hanuazo zerda-tvl* ***mÿnd*** *husvet-ÿk ciliciom-ot visel vala*
ashing Wednesday-ABL all Easter-TERM nailed.belt wear PAST
'from Ash Wednesday until Easter she would wear a cilice (nail-studded belt, worn for penance)' (MargL 21r)

b. MH: **egészen** Húsvétig — '(at all times) until Easter'

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