

THE SEMANTICS OF FLOATING *Mind* ‘ALL’ IN OLD HUNGARIAN

This contribution presents a uniform formal semantic analysis of the various uses of floating *mind* ‘all’ in Old Hungarian (OH, henceforth). *Mind* is claimed to operate on pluralities, and its chief role is “pragmatic strengthening” (Dowty, Brisson), indicating that the main predicate of the sentence holds of the greatest collective individual corresponding to the plurality in question. *Mind* was (and is, to this day,) used as a conjunction as well; this use is derived from a coerced sum-formation operation.

This contribution is a report on ongoing investigation concerning quantification in Old Hungarian. For reasons of space it is confined to floating *mind*. In fact the analysis of *mind* will serve as the starting point for the analysis of the determiner/*DP mind-en* (roughly, ‘every’, ‘everyone’, everything). *Minden*, which appears in all OH texts except the oldest (the Funeral Sermon, ca 1290–1295) exhibits a number of systematic differences from *mind*, from which it was in fact derived. For many of the properties of *mind*, discussed here, the opposite can be safely taken to hold for *minden*. A detailed analysis of OH floating *mind* can also be relevant for a better understanding of quantifier float crosslinguistically: First, floating *mind* can be attested earlier than determiner quantification with *minden*; for Hungarian at least it makes sense to take floating quantifiers to be generated in their surface position. Second, OH *mind* was ontologically unspecified, in that it could combine with individual-denoting expressions, mass terms, spatial or temporal expressions alike. It is conjectured therefore that the semantic analysis of *mind* can be extended, for instance, to Romance *tot/tous*.

Old Hungarian *mind* (roughly, ‘all’) is analysed as a floating adverbial operator base-generated outside the phrase (*DP* or *PP*) it ‘associates’ with. It could be adjoined to verbal projections or to *DPs*, *PPs*. *Mind* is assumed to operate on plural individuals contributed by definite expressions; these can be explicitly mentioned or inferred via bridging, but they can also be ‘constructed’ by means of free relatives. A dynamic semantics for plurals (Nouwen, Braşoveanu) is assumed, where atomic and plural individuals are uniformly of type (e, t) (Bennet, Winter). *Mind* is said to presuppose a definite, non-atomic expression; presuppositions are assumed to be resolved as in DRT, with anaphoric equations. The presuppositional status of *mind* is supported by its affinity toward demonstratives (e.g. OH, MH *mind ezek* ‘all these’), and its role in OH codices to maintain discourse coherence. (A prerequisite for the analysis of *mind* is a weak semantics for plurals in the sense of Brisson, so that *a szentek* ‘the saints’ should contribute to weaker truth-conditions than *mind a szentek* ‘all the saints’.)

In a nutshell, *mind* is a polymorphic operator that yields either a maximal individual, a maximal quantity or the endpoint of a scale. When *mind* combines with a distributivity operator the output is equivalent to universal quantification in the usual sense.

This proposal can account for the following properties of OH *mind*:

- Floating *mind* was (and still is) unspecified w.r.t. potential associates. (Fordollatoc en hoziam *mind* tū zūuèteckèl (Vienna Codex 206) “You should all follow me your hearts”, or “You should follow me with all your hearts”.)

◦ *Mind* was (and still is) compatible with collective and reciprocal predication (unlike *minden*). (Tehat *mind* az zentők *egetombe* mondanak (Kazinczy Codex 9v) “Thus *all* the saints said *together*.”)

◦ *Mind* did not express contextually unrestricted universal quantification (after the emergence of *minden*). It operated on sets familiar from discourse or on sets constructed on the fly.¹ An indirect argument that *mind*, unlike *minden*, was ‘parasitic’ on set denoting expressions is provided by the fact that *mind* did not mean ‘always’; *mindenkor(-on)* ‘at all times’ is derived from *minden*.

◦ *Mind* could (and still can) associate with mass terms (sf az te testödet en *mind* el zagattattatom (Kazinczy Codex 15v) ‘I’ll tear your *entire* body to pieces’).

In OH it could also associate with count nouns or abstract nouns in a nonstandard way (c.f. the earlier example from the Vienna Codex). In the latter case OH *mind* corresponds to MH *teljes, egész* (‘entire’, ‘complete’).

◦ Unlike *minden*, *mind* could be exempt from scope interactions, when it operated on temporal or spatial scales, or on scales associated with eventualities (as in (1-d) below).

◦ *Mind* could associate with temporal or spatial expressions, with expressions denoting quantities, or with expressions denoting incremental change.²

- (1) a. *mēd* o hozia fvtanac a kvsédtoł fogvā *mēd* annaggiclan. (Vienna Codex 38)
 “from small children (*all the way, all age groups*) to adults, they *all* ran to him”
- b. *mend* napnugtaiglan munkalkodec (Vienna Codex 146)
 “He worked (*all the time*) until sunset”
- c. tahat az wtat *mínd* be vontat bíboral es barsoniál *mínd* azenteghazíglan (Lobkowitz Codex, 7)
 “Thus the road was all covered in purple and velvet, *all* the way to the cathedral”
- d. tetemit megegette *mind* hamuiglan (Vienna Codex 2/Amos/221/2/)
 “He burned his bones *completely* to ashes.

Mind as a conjunction can be taken as a special case of sum formation. This is supported by OH examples of the type *mind Ádámmal . . . egyetemben* ‘together with Adam’. The conjecture is that a singular expression associating with *mind* triggered a form of coercion: *mind* operated on the *join* of that singular expression *and* another, suitable expression.

¹Generalisations in OH codices were expressed by means of *minden*, Free Choice indefinites, or bare nominals simpliciter. A telling example is *minden-ható* ‘omnipotent’, which appears in this form in the earliest codices after the Funeral Sermon. There is no record of *mind-ható*.

²Surviving set phrases in MH include *mind-addig* (‘until then’), *mind-végig* (‘all along’, ‘to the very end’), *mind-halálig* (‘till death’).