The Old Hungarian Suffix -(*n*)*kéd*: a Head-Final Quantifier

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This paper reports findings from Old Hungarian (OH) records (11th–16th century) relating to the distributive suffix (*-n*)*kéd*, and provides a first semantic analysis for the contributions of this morpheme. The main motivation for discussing this suffix is that its behaviour may offer new insights into the structuring of the logical space inhabited by propositional quantifiers (over times/events), distributivity operators and pluractional adverbials, which inhabit lower syntactic regions. In addition, *-nkéd* has diachronic and typological relavance: it provides a window into that stage of Hungarian when the language was head-final, and quantification was predominantly A-quantification.

The suffix (*-n*)*kéd* is remarkable because, depending on the common noun it attaches to, the interpretation of the output ranges from a full-blown adverb of quantification to a pluractional adverbial. *Kor-on-kéd* (*kor*: 'time') is comparable to English *always* or to MH *mindig*: With states, it could yield one uninterrupted state, as in (1-a); with event readings, sentences with *koronkéd* exhibit the partition problem, familiar from the literature on *always* (cf. (1-b)). *Ajtónkéd* (*ajtó*: 'door') corresponds to pluractional *from door to door*. *Fejenkéd* (*fej*: 'head'), *egyenkéd* (*egy*: 'one') were distributivity operators: They could form one complex with *mind* 'all', and did not impose strict temporal succession (cf. (3)).

(1) a. De **koronkeed** dagalyosok voltatok mywltha foghwa ysmertelek
'But you've always been full of yourselves, ever since I've known you' (Jordánszky C. 220; 1516–1519)

b. **koronkeed** bykath aldozyeek hẅ byneyerth es kosth ystennek dyczeeretyre
'Whenever Aaron sacrifices something for his sins it should be a bull, and whenever he sacrifices something in praise of God, it should be a ram. (Jordánszky C. 99)'

(2) ha zǫ́meidnek welagat el weztendǫ́d: zikseg nekǫ́d **aitonked** koldulnod:
'If you lose your eyesight you'll have to go begging from door to door' (Tihanyi C. 55r; 1530–32)

(3) a. Igǫ́n meltosagossok: merth istennek **mynd feÿenkeed** leanÿ es fÿaÿ
'They are venerable, since each and every one of them is the son or daughter of God' (Sándor C. 1v; before 1525)

b. Heten vadnak, Mel'eket az ǫ́ At'ok az ǫ́rdǫ́g **mind egenkét** kazdagon el hazasýta
(the daughters of cupidity) 'They are seven in number, and their father the

devil has married off richly each and every one of them' (Székelyudvarhely C. 95 r–v; 1526–28)

Analysis in a nutshell: *-n-kéd* is taken to introduce a set of eventualities (in (2) *-n-kéd* was like *from* and *to* rolled into one). In addition, it is taken to introduce an isomorphism (viz. an order-preserving bijection) that maps the atomic events of 'its' eventualities onto the set contributed by the N it combines with. Depending on the aspectual class of the matrix verb, *-n-kéd*-eventualities can form a linearly ordered sequence, but may also form a collection of states/situations, as in (3-a). Note that *-n-kéd* introduces no *thematic* restrictions on its N argument (cf. (2), where *ajtónkéd* adds a spatiotemporal path to the contribution of *koldul* 'beg'). Distributivity operators with *-n-kéd* (cf. (3)) are predicted to be event-distributive: (3-b) may mean that all marriage events involve a unique daughter of the devil's. Interaction with *mind* 'all' (analysed as a maximality operator) can mean that the inverse of the original function, itself a bijection, is to be employed, yielding a participant-distributive reading ('for every daughter of the devil's there was an event of marrying her off').

Koronkéd 'always' could be a propositional quantifier, complete with tripartite structure, because *kor* 'time' was in fact an incomplete description, with its own, independent event argument. (I.e. *kor* is interpreted as 'the time(s) when somehing holds/happens'). The combined effect of *kor* and suffix was 'At all times/events s.t. φ, there is a time/event s.t. ψ'. A similar account, with some fine-tuning, could be given for *naponkéd* lit. 'day-DIST' (not shown in this abstract), which, unlike *koronkéd*, appeared to hesitate between "high" quantifier and "low" pluractional status.

Later developments: Modern Hungarian lacks OH-style, universal *koronkéd* (modern *idő-n-ként/* is existential, meaning 'from time to time') . A notable development is that MH *-n-ként* conveys a dependency between (bearers of) θ roles: Whereas OH *fejenkéd* (head-DIST) was a plain distributivity operator, MH *fejenként* means 'per capita'.

In this paper a functional dependency of a particular kind has been employed, to mimic the effects of a universal quantifier. Variations in the status of the output have been ascribed to the nominal the suffix combined with. A functional account has the added advantage of leaving room for semantic change (the emergence of functional dependencies, the loss of universal force that accompanied the disappearance of *koronkéd*, a.s.o.).

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http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/en-codices.html (Project Generative Syntax for OH).