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## SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH *ANY*- AND SLOVENE RANDOMNESS INDEFINITES\*\*

The present paper discusses semantic and pragmatic features of English *any*-indefinites, and Slovene *bare* and *koli*-indefinites. In the Slovene linguistic literature, both *bare* and *koli*-indefinites have been known as randomness pronouns. However, examples from the Slovene reference corpus Gigafida 2.0 show that these indefinites are not always interchangeable, as their mutual name might suggest. *Koli*-indefinites strongly resemble *any*-indefinites, which are negative polarity items: they seek downward entailing environments in which they can but need not be stressed, depending on whether their inherent *even*-operator is highlighted or not. What is more, both *any*- and *koli*-indefinites necessarily acquire stress and generate free-choice inferences in non-downward entailing modal contexts. Slovene *bare* indefinites, on the other hand, share only certain features of unstressed *any*-indefinites: they behave like existential quantifiers and express the speaker's ignorance or indifference. Unlike the *any*-series, the *bare* series can be used in the scope of non-adversative predicates and cannot trigger negative bias in questions. This might suggest that Slovene *bare* indefinites do not contain an *even*-operator. What is more, they are unable to generate free-choice readings, which are typical of *any*- and *koli*-indefinites.

*Key words:* negative polarity, freedom of choice, downward entailment, *even*-operators, indefinite pronouns, English, Slovene

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Slovene indefinite pronouns have received relatively little attention so far. With the exception of *n*-indefinites, described within the minimalist framework in

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Ilc (2019), they have recently not been studied in a manner that would do justice to the spectrum of their semantic and pragmatic features. The goal of the present paper is to remedy this state of affairs by describing characteristics of Slovene *bare* and *koli*-indefinites, and by comparing them to characteristics of English *any*-indefinites.

Following the line of linguistic inquiries initiated by Fauconnier (1975), the present analysis of English and Slovene indefinites focuses primarily on these items' semantic and pragmatic aspects. The features of *any*-indefinites – as outlined by Kadmon & Landman (1993), Horn (2005) and Israel (2011), among others – are compared with the characteristics of *bare* and *koli*-indefinites, which I have determined by analysing examples from the Slovene reference corpus Gigafida 2.0.

It transpires that – similarly to *any*-indefinites – *bare* and *koli*-indefinites cannot appear freely in all types of contexts. *Koli*-indefinites display both polarity sensitivity and the free-choice semantics, which makes them parallel to the *any*-series. *Bare* indefinites highlight the speaker's ignorance, but do not express the freedom of choice.

The paper is organized as follows: section 2 outlines the ideas of downward entailment and scalarity, both closely related to the treatment of polarity-sensitive and free-choice items; sections 3 and 4 present the relevant data on English *any*- and Slovene *bare/koli*-indefinites, respectively; section 5 closes the paper.

## 2. DOWNWARD ENTAILING CONTEXTS AND SCALARITY

Since Ladusaw's seminal work on the semantics of polarity items (1980), it has been widely accepted that negative polarity items (NPIs) are sensitive to the monotonicity of truth-conditional operators: they can appear in the scope of downward entailing (DE) operators, while their use in the scope of non-entailing or upward entailing operators yields ungrammaticality. DE operators are functions that reverse entailment relationships between sets and subsets (1). Negation is DE, as it inverts the direction of entailment between *apple* and its superset denominator *fruit* (2). Other prototypical operators of this kind are English n-words, *few*, *at most*, *hardly*, and *every/all* (in their restriction).

- (1) An expression  $\delta$  is DE iff

$\forall x \forall y [x \subseteq y \rightarrow [\delta'(y) \{\rightarrow/\subseteq\} \delta'(x) ]]$ <sup>1</sup> (Ladusaw, 1980: 112)

- (2) a. apple  $\subseteq$  fruit  
 b. John does not like apples.  $\nrightarrow$  John does not like fruit.  
 c. John does not like fruit.  $\rightarrow$  John does not like apples.

NPIs such as *any* appear not only in DE contexts, but also in complements of adversative predicates, in the scope of *glad*, in antecedents of conditionals and in questions, which cannot be described as DE if the definition in (1) is applied rigorously. Several accounts have tried to make these cases comply with Ladusaw's theory. Among the more influential ones has been Kadmon & Landman's account (1993), in which antecedents of conditionals and adversative predicates such as *sorry* are said to be DE if the speaker's perspective remains constant. Example (3) illustrates this kind of reasoning. *Glad*, on the other hand, is DE if its "settle-for-less" meaning is taken into consideration (ibid.), as illustrated in (4).

- (3) a. I am sorry he made a mistake.  
 b. I wanted him not to make a mistake.  
 c. It is his making a mistake, and nothing else, that bothers me.  
 d. I am sorry he made a mistake.  $\rightarrow$  I am sorry he made a spelling mistake.
- (4) a. I wanted first-row tickets.  
 b. Only last-row tickets were available.  
 c. I was prepared to settle for less just to be able to attend the event.  
 d. I was glad I got last-row tickets.  $\rightarrow$  I would be glad if I got first-row tickets.

The numerous attempts to adjust Ladusaw's theory to examples such as (3a) and (4a) have been made because the notion of monotonicity seems most in

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the symbols used in the paper:

- $\rightarrow$  'entails'  
 $\nrightarrow$  'does not entail'  
 $\subseteq$  'is a subset of'  
 \* 'the structure is ungrammatical/unacceptable'  
 \*(...) 'eliding the bracketed words makes the structure ungrammatical/unacceptable'  
 # 'the meaning of the structure does not correspond to the intended meaning'

tune with the common observation that the majority of NPIs straightforwardly denote scalar endpoints (e.g. *sleep a wink*, where *a wink* is the minimal unit of sleep). If an expression denotes the minimal amount of a given property, it does not entail any other, larger amounts (5), unless it appears in a DE environment, where the entailment relationships are reversed: the absence of the minimal amount necessarily entails the absence of larger amounts (6).

(5) \*I slept a wink last night.  $\nrightarrow$  I slept (a lot) last night.

(6) I did not sleep a wink last night.  $\rightarrow$  I did not sleep (a lot) last night.

The idea about NPIs' scalar character, which goes back to Fauconnier (1975), is further developed in Israel (2011), where polarity items are described as doubly scalar expressions with a maximal/minimal quantitative value (q-value) and a maximal/minimal informative value (i-value). The q-value depends on the literal meaning of a polarity item. The phrase *a wink* in the idiom *sleep a wink* has the minimal q-value, as it denotes the minimal amount of sleep. The i-value depends on the polarity item's logical interaction with other, alternative expressions: the more alternatives a polarity item entails, the higher its i-value. When used in a DE context, the NPI *sleep a wink* has the maximal i-value, as it logically entails all the alternatives that denote non-minimal amounts of sleep (6).

### 3. ANY-INDEFINITES

Pursuing Fauconnier's ideas (1975), Israel provides a scalar analysis of *any*-indefinites (2011). He claims that *any* (together with its derivatives) has a low q-value, since it "profiles an indefinite instance within an ordered set of alternatives" (ibid.: 177). This indefinite instance, known as the "phantom referent", is characterised by "the minimal effort, the absolute carelessness, it imposes on the selection of a referent from a set of possible alternatives" (ibid.: 179). In other words, *any*-indefinites have minimal q-values because they denote the least "exceptional" members of a given set. From the informative point of view, however, they are used to entail all the more specific, exceptional members of the same class and to produce highly informative statements (ibid.: 188). To accomplish these indefinites' rhetorical purpose, the speakers have to use them in DE contexts (7).

(7) I did not see any students.            the set of students: {Mary, John, Ann}  
 $\rightarrow$  I did not see Mary.

→ I did not see John.

→ I did not see Ann.

Israel presents *any*-indefinites as more or less typical NPIs which, however, do not have the same distributional and semantic features as minimizers such as *sleep a wink* (2001: 163–201). Most notably, *any*-indefinites obligatorily acquire strong stress and generate free-choice (FC) readings in certain non-DE modal contexts. They are then used to signal that all the alternatives from a set are equally acceptable (8).

(8) You can take ANY<sup>2</sup> book.

the set of books: {Mansfield Park, Emma, Persuasion}

→ You can take Mansfield Park, you can take Emma, you can take Persuasion.

*Any*-indefinites can attract strong stress in DE environments as well. While unstressed *any*-indefinites can be used in a relatively large set of DE environments, their stressed counterparts display a more restricted distribution (9). Krifka suggests that stressed *any*-indefinites contain an *even*-operator that highlights that the less prototypical members of a class are to be taken into consideration (1994: 203).<sup>3</sup> The presence of an *even*-operator is presumably responsible for the stressed *any*-indefinites' distributional restrictions and for the negative bias that these indefinites trigger in interrogative sentences such as (10).<sup>4</sup>

(9) Fewer than three children got {any presents/\*ANY presents (whatsoever)}.  
(Krifka, 1994: 197)

(10) Which of these people has fixed any/ANY of your cars? (Heim, 1984: 106)  
any: a plain information-seeking question  
ANY: a question conveying negative bias

According to Israel (2011), *any*-indefinites allow such diversity of use because of the type of scalar construal they create. Since they denote the most

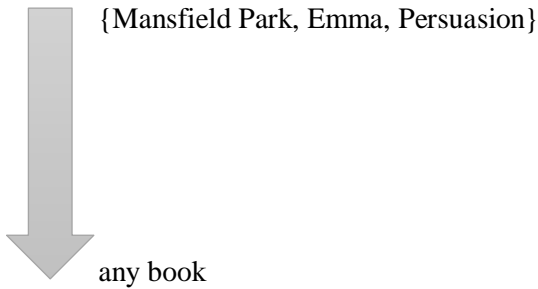
<sup>2</sup> Capitalization marks strong stress.

<sup>3</sup> Kadmon & Landman call this property of stressed *any*-indefinites “widening” (1993).

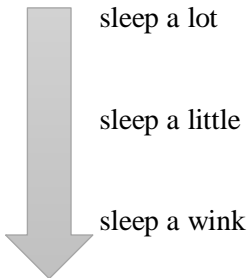
<sup>4</sup> *Even*-operators have been considered responsible for bias in questions at least since Heim (1984).

undistinguished entities of a set and do not indicate along which dimension the commonness of the entities is to be evaluated, they only trigger “weakly scalar construals” (ibid.: 181). This means that, while the entity denoted by an *any*-indefinite has the minimal q-value, its alternatives remain unordered with respect to one another. The only ordering that takes place is that between the *any*-indefinite and the set of its non-minimal alternatives (11). In the case of the “ordinary” scalar construal, however, all the entities are ordered, so that every one of them has a well-defined position on the pragmatic scale. Unlike the weakly scalar construal, which is usually triggered by function words, the ordinary scalar construal is triggered by content words and phrases, such as *sleep a wink/little/lot*. Since these phrases indicate the amount of time devoted to one’s sleep more explicitly, they can be ordered with respect to one another (12).

(11) **Weakly scalar construal**



(12) **Ordinary scalar construal**



According to Israel, unstressed *any*-indefinites are licensed because they background their (latent) high i-values; as a result, their scalar character is not the focus of attention anymore (2011: 177). Unstressed *any*-indefinites can therefore be used in more contexts than their stressed counterparts. Stressed *any*-indefinites are

either strict NPIs with their high *i*-values fully expressed, or they are items signalling the freedom of choice. In the latter case, they are generic (Kadmon & Landman, 1993; Israel, 2011) and thus acceptable only if the surrounding non-DE contexts do not force them to denote specific entities (Israel, 2011: 186).

Alternatively, if we adapt Krifka's theory, an *any*-indefinite can be seen as an item containing a latent *even*-operator. If the indefinite is stressed, the *even*-operator is foregrounded and it restricts the distribution of the indefinite. If the *any*-indefinite is unstressed, its *even*-operator remains in the background, which accounts for the indefinite's distributional flexibility. In what follows, I will show that Slovene *koli*-indefinites behave similarly to English *any*-indefinites, while Slovene *bare* indefinites do not.

#### 4. SLOVENE *BARE* AND *KOLI*-INDEFINITES

With the exception of *n*-indefinites, described within the minimalist framework in Ilc (2019), the last attempt at describing Slovene indefinites was made by Toporišič (2000). The latter identifies two series of pro-words expressing the speaker's ignorance or indifference (cf. the table below). He terms them randomness pronouns (ibid.: 311), probably because their referent is unspecified, which creates the impression that it can be chosen at random. Toporišič notes that randomness pronouns appear in conditional, optative, interrogative and exclamatory clauses or sentences (ibid.: 312), but he does not try to explain why. He also seems to neglect the fact that the two series of pro-words, while sharing certain similarities, show many differences as well. In the present paper, the two types of indefinites are termed *bare* and *koli*-indefinites, based on their morphological features. *Bare* indefinites have been derived from interrogative pro-words by conversion, while *koli*-indefinites have been formed from reflexive pro-words by the suffixation of *-koli*.

In the following paragraphs, I will highlight certain semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the *bare* and the *koli*-series. All Slovene examples of use in this section are taken from the reference corpus Gigafida 2.0.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> With the exception of omitting certain parts of the text that are irrelevant to the discussion in this paper, no changes have been made to the original corpus sentences.

Table 1: Slovene *bare* and *koli*-indefinites with their English equivalents

	<i>BARE</i> INDEFINITES	<i>KOLI</i> - INDEFINITES	ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS <sup>6</sup>
NOMINAL	<i>kdo</i>	<i>kdorkoli</i>	anyone
	<i>kàj</i>	<i>karkoli</i>	anything
ADJECTIVAL	<i>kàk(šen)</i>	<i>kakršenkoli</i>	any (specifying)
	<i>kateri</i>	<i>katerikoli</i>	of any kind
	<i>čigàv</i>	<i>čigarkoli</i>	anyone's
ADVERBIAL	<i>kje</i>	<i>kjerkoli</i>	anywhere
	<i>kàm</i>	<i>kamorkoli</i>	to anywhere
	<i>kdàj</i>	<i>kadarkoli</i>	anytime
	<i>kako</i>	<i>kakorkoli</i>	in any manner
	<i>koliko/kàj</i>	<i>kolikorkoli</i>	of any quantity

Both *bare* and *koli*-indefinites are acceptable in DE contexts (13–14). They are incompatible with episodic sentences, which suggests that they do not introduce referents in the actual world (15). This is probably why these indefinites usually cannot occur in sentence-final positions (16) which, in Slovene, are normally taken by focal items, i.e. semantically “heavy” expressions responsible for expanding the interlocutors’ common ground. Since *bare* and *koli*-indefinites present the existence of an entity merely as possible, they can hardly be seen as semantically substantial items appropriate for being placed in focus. The improved acceptability of examples with post-modified sentence-final indefinites seems logical, as post-modifiers bring additional semantic material, making the sentence-final phrase “heavier” (16).

- (13) Hiša je bila, ne da bi *kdorkoli kaj* vprašal,  
house be.3SG be-PCP not that would anyone-NOM anything-ACC ask-PCP  
prodana.  
sell-PCP

The house was sold, without anyone asking me anything.

<sup>6</sup> Even though *bare* and *koli*-indefinites do not correspond to *any*-indefinites completely, I will use *any*-indefinites as their translational approximations in interlinear glosses.



- (14) a. Dvomim, da bi *kdo* *kaj* vedel.  
 doubt-1SG that would anyone-NOM anything-ACC know-PCP  
 I doubt that anyone knows anything.
- b. Dvomim, da bi *kdorkoli* od vas privolil v vožnjo z letalom.  
 doubt-1SG that would anyone-NOM from you consent-PCP in ride with airplane  
 I doubt that any of you would consent to a ride on an airplane.
- (15) a. #Včeraj je *kdo* zaradi spolne usmerjenosti izgubil zaposlitev.<sup>7</sup>  
 yesterday be.3SG anyone-NOM because.of sexual orientation lose-PCP job  
 Yesterday someone might have lost their job because of their sexual orientation.
- b. \*Včeraj je *kdorkoli* naredil *karkoli* narobe.  
 yesterday be.3SG anyone-NOM do-PCP anything-ACC wrong
- (16) a. Dvomim, da bi *kdo* o njej vedel *kaj* \*(lepega).  
 doubt-1SG that would anyone-NOM about her know-PCP anything-ACC nice  
 I doubt that anyone knows anything nice about her.
- b. Če *kdorkoli* naredi *karkoli* \*(prepovedanega), zasluži kazen.  
 if anyone-NOM do-3SG.PRS anything-ACC forbidden deserve-3SG.PRS punishment  
 If anyone does anything illegal, they deserve punishment.

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<sup>7</sup> Example (15a) is acceptable, but the presence of the *bare* indefinite forces the reading on which the sentence is not episodic and factive, but conjectural.

In the above examples, the meaning of the italicized pro-words is roughly the same. The indefinites have the quantificational force of existential quantifiers, which is further illustrated by tests (i–iv) (cf. Giannakidou, 1998: 65–68).

(i) The pro-words can be used as predicate nominals:

Jama ni *kakšna/kakršnakoli* lepotica.  
 cave not.be.3SG.PRS any-NOM/any-NOM beauty  
 The cave is no beauty.

(ii) They cannot constitute fragment answers:

A: Je koga srečala pamet?  
 be.3SG anyone-ACC meet-PCP wisdom  
 Did anyone come to their senses?

B: \**Koga*/\**Kogarkoli*.  
 anyone-ACC/anyone-ACC

(iii) They cannot be modified by *skoraj* ‘almost’:

\**Dvomim*, da bi skoraj *kdolkdorkoli* kaj  
 doubt-1SG that would almost anyone-NOM/anyone-NOM anything-ACC  
 vedel.  
 know-PCP

(iv) They can bind variables outside of their syntactic scope:

Če bi *kdo<sub>i</sub>* *karkoli<sub>j</sub>* vedel, *ga<sub>i</sub>* prosimo, da *to<sub>j</sub>*  
 if would anyone-NOM anything-ACC know-PCP him ask-1PL.PRS that this  
 sporoči.  
 report-3SG.PRS  
 Should anyone know anything, we kindly ask them to report it.

In certain contexts, the *bare* and the *koli*-series – although equally acceptable – trigger different interpretations. The request in (17b) sounds friendlier than the one in (17a). The *koli*-indefinite in (17b) seems semantically closer to the pronoun *anything* in (18b), while the *bare* indefinite in (17a) resembles the pronoun *something* in (18a). The greater generosity expressed by the *koli*-indefinite might be attributed to the widening effect (cf. footnote 3): the *koli*-indefinite makes the domain of interpretation larger by highlighting that even the less prototypical entities are taken into consideration. The *bare* series seems incapable of such widening: if the *koli*-indefinite is left out in (19), where the domain of people is

being gradually widened (*kdo* ‘anyone’ < *kdorkoli* ‘anyone at all’ < *celo sam igralec* ‘even the actor’), the sentence becomes odd. In English, the widening function is typical of “supplementary *any*” (Horn, 2005: 187). This is shown in (20), where the second, stressed and post-modified, *any* widens the domain of beverages.

- (17) a. Če imate *kakšne* pomisleke, začnite pri svojem  
 if have-2PL.PRS any-ACC second.thoughts start-2PL.IMP by your-REFL  
 agentu.  
 agent  
 If you have second thoughts, consult your agent first.

- b. Če imate *kakršnekoli* pomisleke, se obrnite na  
 if have-2PL.PRS any-ACC second.thoughts REFL turn-2PL.IMP on  
 prodajalca.  
 salesman  
 If you have any second thoughts at all, contact your salesman.

- (18) a. Is there something I can do for you?  
 b. Is there anything I can do for you? (Kadmon & Landman, 1993: 367)

- (19) Film ne priznava nobene zunanosti, zaradi katere  
 film not acknowledge-3SG.PRS no exterior because.of which  
 bi lahko *kdo*, *\*(kdorkoli)*, *celo sam igralec*,  
 would easily anyone-NOM anyone-NOM even alone actor  
 podvomil, da gre zares.  
 doubt-PCP that go-3SG.PRS for.real  
 The film acknowledges no exterior that would allow anyone, anyone at all,  
 even the actor himself, to doubt whether the events are real.

- (20) If he drinks anything, anything {at all/whatsoever}, please let me know at  
 once.

(Horn, 2005: 187, ft. 7)

Dissimilarities between *bare* and *koli*-indefinites are detectable in questions as well. The *bare* series can only trigger bias when pre-modified by *splah* ‘even’. The *koli*-series can trigger bias on its own, by acquiring stress. Questions (21a) and (22a) are not biased, whereas questions (21b) and (22b) show bias towards negative

answers. Since *bare* indefinites need an overt *even*-operator to create biased questions, their combinations with *sploh* are very common. The corpus Gigafida 2.0 contains 3,078 examples of the phrase *sploh kaj* and 1,563 examples of the phrase *sploh kdo*. *Koli*-indefinites are bias-triggers on their own: it is therefore possible to assume that they have an inherent *even*-operator that is highlighted by stress. In the light of this hypothesis, using an overt *even*-operator in combination with *koli*-indefinites seems redundant. This explains why the Gigafida corpus contains only 93 examples of the phrase *sploh karkoli* and only 26 examples of the phrase *sploh kdorkoli*.

(21) a. Ali *kdo* dela analize?

Q anyone-NOM make-3SG.PRS analyses

Does anyone do the analyses?

b. Ali *sploh kdo* dela analize?

Does anyone at all do the analyses?

(22) a. Ali *kdorkoli* ve, kaj je prestajala?

Q anyone-NOM know-3SG.PRS what be.3SG go.through-PCP

Does anyone know what she was going through?

b. Ali *KDORKOLI* ve, kaj je prestajala?

Does anyone at all know what she was going through?

While *koli*-indefinites cannot occur in complements of non-adversative predicates (23), *bare* indefinites can (24a). However, when a *bare* indefinite is coupled with an overt *even*-operator such as *sploh*, its use in the complement of the non-adversative predicate becomes unacceptable (24b). This seems compatible with the hypothesis that *koli*-indefinites have an inherent *even*-operator, as *any* – which has been shown to contain a latent *even*-operator (cf. section 3) – also avoids non-adversative predicates (25).

(23) \*Prepričan je, da je *kogarkoli* podkupil.

convinced be.3SG.PRS that be.3SG anyone-ACC bribe-PCP

(24) a. Prepričan je, da je *koga* podkupil.

convinced be.3SG.PRS that be.3SG anyone-ACC bribe-PCP

He is convinced that he bribed someone.

b. \*Prepričan je, da je *sploh koga* podkupil.

(25) \*I'm sure I said anything.

(Kadmon & Landman, 1993: 380)

*Bare* indefinites also seem to have the exclusive ability to occur in epistemic modal contexts, where they produce the following modal variation inference: “more than one (but not necessarily all) alternatives in the relevant domain qualify as a possible option” (Aloni & Port, 2015: 119). The *bare* indefinite in (26) introduces alternatives, but does not insist that all of them be taken into consideration; the continuation in brackets is therefore completely acceptable. The *koli*-indefinite, be it stressed or unstressed, is unacceptable in epistemic modal contexts (27).

- (26) Zagotovo bom *kaj* spremenila, verjetno balkon.  
 definitely be.1SG.FUT anything-ACC change-PCP probably balcony  
 (Zagotovo ne kuhinje.)  
 definitely not kitchen  
 I will definitely change something, probably the balcony. (But definitely not the kitchen.)

- (27) \*Zagotovo bom *karkoli* spremenila.

Under deontic modals, *bare* indefinites again trigger the modal variation inference, whereas *koli*-indefinites trigger the FC inference: “all alternatives in the relevant domain qualify as a possible option” (ibid.: 119). In (28), where the *koli*-indefinite is obligatorily stressed, the interlocutor is allowed to take any dessert they like. By contrast, the *bare* indefinite in (29) implies that an – but not *just any* – idea can be copied. In other words, the *bare* indefinite does not induce the widening typical of *koli*- and *any*-indefinites (cf. (19) and footnote 3).

- (28) Za sladico lahko vzameš *KARKOLI* želiš.  
 for dessert easily take-2SG.PRS anything-ACC wish-2SG.PRS  
 You may take anything you want for dessert.
- (29) Od vsakega bi lahko *kaj* vzela in sestavila  
 from each would easily anything-ACC take-PCP and create-PCP  
 fantastičen meni.  
 fantastic menu  
 I could take something from each, creating a fantastic menu.

Since the stressed *koli*-series triggers the FC inference that is typical of the stressed *any*-indefinites (cf. section 3), *koli*-indefinites are expected to have the same features as *any*-indefinites in non-DE contexts. This prediction is borne out. Stressed *koli*-indefinites display the characteristics of universal quantifiers (i–iv).

- (i) When used as predicate nominals, the pro-words have the indiscriminative meaning in affirmative and the anti-indiscriminative meaning in negative sentences (cf. Horn, 2005):

Dekle ni *KDORKOLI*, temveč brazilska supermanekenka.  
 girl not.be.3SG.PRS anyone-NOM but Brazilian supermodel  
 The girl is not just anyone, she is a Brazilian supermodel.

- (ii) They can constitute fragment answers:

A: Kdo lahko jamči za to?  
 who easily vouch-3SG.PRS for this  
 Who can vouch for this?

B: *KDORKOLI*.  
 anyone-NOM  
 Anyone.

- (iii) They can be modified by *skoraj* ‘almost’:

Po operaciji lahko jem skoraj *KARKOLI*.  
 after surgery easily eat-1SG.PRS almost anything-ACC  
 After the surgery, I can eat almost anything.

- (iv) They cannot bind variables outside of their syntactic scope:

Vstopnine ni, pride lahko *KDORKOLI*<sub>i</sub>.  
 entrance.fee not.be.3SG.PRS come-3SG.PRS easily anyone-NOM  
 \*Reci mu<sub>i</sub>, naj s seboj prinese veliko dobre  
 tell-2SG.IMP him IMP.PTC with him-REFL bring-3SG.PRS much good  
 volje.  
 mood  
 There is no entrance fee, anyone<sub>i</sub> can come. \*Tell them<sub>i</sub> to come in high spirits.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Even though Toporišič (2000) unites *bare* and *koli*-indefinites under the term randomness pronouns, examples from the Slovene corpus Gigafida 2.0 show

that the two series of pronouns have significantly different characteristics. The *koli*-series seems to share a great deal of similarities with the English *any*-series. Both *any*- and *koli*-indefinites are sensitive to stress; unlike their stressed counterparts, unstressed indefinites do not trigger negative bias in questions. Since negative bias has been attributed to *even*-operators (cf. Heim, 1984), it seems reasonable to conclude that *koli*-indefinites contain an *even*-operator which may (but need not) be foregrounded by stress, just as is the case of *any*-indefinites.

The analysis of corpus data has shown that both *any*- and *koli*-indefinites are compatible with DE contexts and incompatible with non-DE episodic sentences. This makes them NPIs. When stressed, these indefinites can occur in non-DE modal contexts, generating the FC inference and adopting the characteristics of universal quantifiers.

Like *any*- and *koli*-indefinites, *bare* indefinites are generally compatible with DE contexts and incompatible with non-DE episodic sentences. However, the *bare* series can also occur in the scope of non-adversative predicates, which are not DE. What is more, *bare* indefinites cannot trigger negative bias in questions. This might suggest that they do not contain an *even*-operator. They also cannot induce domain widening and are unable to generate the FC inference, unlike *any*- and *koli*-indefinites.

Kristina Gregorčič

#### SEMANTIČKI I PRAGMATIČKI ASPEKTI ENGLJSKE ODREDNICE ANY- I SLOVENAČKIH IZRAZA NEODREĐENOSTI I NASUMIČNOSTI

##### *Rezime*

Slovenački jezik ima dve grupe izraza koje iskazuju govornikovo neznanje ili indiferentnost: one izvedene od upitnih reči (*kdo* 'iko', *kaj* 'išta', itd.) i one izvedene pomoću sufiksa *-koli* (*kdorkoli* 'iko', *karkoli* 'išta', itd.). Dve grupe su nazvane nasumičnim zamenicama (Toporišič, 2000), što je stvorilo pogrešan utisak da su one međuzamenljive. I pored toga što obe grupe izražavaju govornikovo neznanje ili indeferentnost u odnosu na svog referenta, njihovo pojavljivanje u datom kontekstu često uzrokuje različite interpretacije. Analiza primera preuzetih iz slovenačkog referentnog korpusa Gigafida 2.0 pokazuje da izrazi sa sufiksom *-koli* dele mnoge odlike sa engleskim izrazima sa *any*, dok izrazi izvedeni od upitnih reči u većoj meri pokazuju idiosinkratičko ponašanje.

Od vremena kada je autor Ladusaw (1980) objavio svoje delo, izrazi neodređenosti sa *any* i drugi izrazi negativne polarnosti analiziraju se kao izrazi sa osetljivošću na operatore silaznog logičkog zaključivanja, koji okreću u suprotnom smeru logičko zaključivanje koje

povezuje skupove i podskupove. Ova osetljivost je rezultat skalarnog karaktera izraza negativne polarnosti (Israel, 2011). Izrazi neodređenosti sa *any* su skalarni po tome što označavaju minimalne krajnje tačke (članove koji su u najmanjoj meri netipični u klasi) na kvantitativnoj skali, pri čemu do maksimuma dovode informativnu snagu iskaza u kojima se pojavljuju (ibid.). Ono što ove izraze neodređenosti čini posebnim je njihova sposobnost da daju zaleđe skalarnom karakteru koji je rezultat prisustva operatora sa *even* (cf. Krifka, 1994).

Slovenački izrazi neodređenosti sa sufiksom *-koli* imaju mnoge sličnosti sa engleskim izrazima neodređenosti sa *any*. Oni su kompatibilni sa kontekstima silaznog logičkog zaključivanja i nekompatibilni sa nemonotonim epizodičnim rečenicama, što ih čini izrazima negativne polarnosti. Kada su naglašeni, izrazi sa sufiksom *-koli* proširuju domen interpretacije, ističući da su čak i manje prototipični članovi klase uzeti u obzir. Naglašeni izrazi sa sufiksom *-koli* takođe izazivaju negativnu pristrasnost u pitanjima, dok njihovi nenaglašeni parnjaci nemaju tu sposobnost. Pošto je negativna pristrasnost izazvana i operatorima sa *even* (cf. Heim, 1984), razumno je zaključiti da izrazi sa sufiksom *-koli*, baš kao i izrazi sa *any*, sadrže operator sa *even* koji može biti stavljen u prvi plan naglaskom.

Kako nemaju sposobnost izazivanja negativne pristrasnosti u pitanjima, čini se da izrazi neodređenosti izvedeni od upitnih reči ne sadrže operator sa *even*. Ovi izrazi nisu toliko slični izrazima sa *any* kao izrazi sa sufiksom *-koli*. Oni su, uopšteno, kompatibilni sa kontekstima silaznog logičkog zaključivanja i nekompatibilni sa nemonotonim epizodičnim rečenicama. Međutim, oni se takođe mogu pojaviti i u neadverzativnim predikatima, koji nisu kontekst silaznog logičkog zaključivanja. U modalnim kontekstima, ovi izrazi neodređenosti generišu inferenciju o modalnoj varijaciji i zadržavaju karakteristike egzistencijalnih kvantifikatora, dok izrazi sa *any* i sufiksom *-koli* generišu inferenciju o slobodnom izboru i poprimaju osobine univerzalnih kvantifikatora.

*Ključne reči:* negativna polarnost, sloboda izbora, silazno logičko zaključivanje, operatori sa *even*, neodređene zamenice, engleski, slovenački.

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