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THE USE, MEANING AND FUNCTIONS OF SLOVENE BARE PRONOUNS

The paper presents selected aspects of the use and meaning of Slovene bare pronouns. An extensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of concordances from the reference corpus *Gigafida 2.0* allows for a new, more accurate classification of these pronouns in terms of their indefinite pronoun functions (Haspelmath 1997), as well as their categorization as epistemic indefinite pronouns and Negative Polarity Items. Furthermore, the corpus data show that the placement of bare pronouns in a clause is predictable, typically depending on the complexity of the pronominal phrase and the speaker's communicative intentions.

KEYWORDS: Slovene bare pronouns, epistemic indefinite pronouns, Negative Polarity Items, implicational map for indefinite pronoun functions, corpus analysis

Prispevek predstavlja izbrane vidike rabe in pomena poljubnostnih zaimkov. Obsežnejša količinska in kakovostna analiza konkordanc iz referenčnega korpusa *Gigafida 2.0* omogoča novo, točnejšo opredelitev poljubnostnih zaimkov z vidika funkcij nedoločnih zaimkov (Haspelmath 1997) ter njihovo uvrstitev med epistemične nedoločne zaimke in k negativni polarnosti usmerjene izraze. Poleg tega korpusni podatki kažejo na predvidljivost stave poljubnostnih zaimkov v stavku; ta je običajno odvisna od kompleksnosti zaimenske zveze in govorčevih sporočevalnih namenov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: poljubnostni zaimki, epistemični nedoločni zaimki, k negativni polarnosti usmerjeni izrazi, implikacijski zemljevid funkcij nedoločnih zaimkov, korpusna analiza

1 INTRODUCTION¹

In his monograph based on an analysis of indefinite pronouns in 140 natural languages, Haspelmath (1997) identifies nine functions that indefinite pronouns can perform in any language. An attempt to identify the functions of Slovene

¹ This paper is based on a broader and more comprehensive study that is detailed in *Semantični in pragmatični vidiki k negativni polarnosti usmerjenih nedoločnih zaimkov* (Gregorčič 2023).

indefinite pronouns à la Haspelmath (1997) has already been made by Willis (2013: 394). However, this attempt does not fully capture the various dimensions of use and meaning displayed by Slovene indefinite pronouns. Furthermore, Slovene grammars ascribe the status of indefinite pronouns either only to some pronoun series with characteristics of indefinite pronouns (Toporišič 2000), or to pronoun series that do not belong to the typological category of indefinite pronouns (Janežič 1863; Breznik 1916 and 1934; Bajec et al. 1973). It is therefore necessary to re-examine Slovene indefinite pronouns to provide an updated, more accurate classification.

Among the Slovene indefinite pronouns that have already been the subject of more detailed discussions are *ni*-pronouns (e.g., *nihče* ‘no one’, *nič* ‘nothing’), which are Negative Concord Items (Ilc 2019),² and *koli*-pronouns (e.g., *kdorkoli* ‘anyone’, *karkoli* ‘anything’), which belong to the group of Negative Polarity Items triggering the Free Choice implicature in non-negative modal contexts (Gregorčič 2021).³ There has been considerably less focus on *ne*-pronouns (e.g., *nekdo* ‘someone’, *nekaj* ‘something’) and bare pronouns (e.g., *kdo* ‘someone/anyone’, *kaj* ‘something/anything’). The purpose of our paper is to define the use, meaning and functions of the latter. SECTION 2 provides an overview of the treatment of bare pronouns in selected Slovene grammars. SECTION 3 outlines Haspelmath’s typology of indefinite pronoun functions (1997). SECTION 4 presents the results of our quantitative and qualitative study of randomly selected concordances with bare pronouns from the reference corpus of written standard Slovene *Gigafida 2.0*, focusing on the functions of bare pronouns in terms of Haspelmath’s typology (1997) and on the position of bare pronouns in a clause. SECTION 5 summarizes the main findings and concludes the paper.

² Negative Concord Items (NCIs) are expressions that require the presence of clausemate propositional negation for grammaticality. Although these expressions can be morphologically negative (Slovene NCIs, for instance, contain the negative morpheme *ni*-), negated clauses with one or more NCIs typically yield single negation interpretations, as opposed to languages without Negative Concord, such as standard English, where each negative pronoun contributes its own negative interpretation. A detailed discussion of Slovene NCIs is provided in Ilc (2019).

³ Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) are expressions that typically denote minimal values and are licensed in semantically negative environments, such as the scope of negation and other semantically negative expressions (e.g., *without* and *doubt*). The NPI-licensing environments were first described as a homogeneous group in Ladusaw (1980). A more detailed discussion of Slovene NPIs can be found in Gregorčič (2018, 2021 and 2023).

2 BARE PRONOUNS IN SLOVENE GRAMMARS⁴

Bare pronouns (for an overview, see TABLE 1), formed from interrogative pronouns by conversion, have not been the subject of detailed discussion in technical and scientific linguistic literature. Brief overviews of their use and meaning can be found in the grammars of Janežič (1863), Breznik (1916 and 1934), Bajec et al. (1973) and Toporišič (2000).

Janežič (1863) classifies bare pronouns within the category of indefinite pronouns, which include *ni*-pronouns (*nihče* ‘no one’, *nič* ‘nothing’), quantifying pronouns (*marsikdo* ‘many a person’, *marsikaj* ‘many a thing’), universal pronouns (*vsakdo* ‘everyone’, *vse* ‘everything’) and *ne*-pronouns (*nekdo* ‘someone’, *nekaj* ‘something’). He presents bare pronouns as descriptions of “possible, uncertain or merely imaginary” referents (Janežič 1863: 225), illustrating their use in descriptions of generic, iterative or stative eventualities (1a), in subordinate clauses of contingency (1b), and in negated modal existential *wh*-constructions with the verb *imeti* ‘have’ (1c).⁵ In the examples below, the relevant bare pronouns are bolded for the sake of clarity.

(1)

a. *Včasih se vržejo otroci po kom iz bližnje rodbine.*
 sometimes REFL throw.3PL.PRS children after NPI.person.LOC from near family
 ‘Sometimes children take after someone from their close family.’

(Janežič 1863: 225)

b. *Kdor očetu ali materi kaj vzame pa pravi:*
 who.REL father.DAT or mother.DAT NPI.thing.ACC take.3SG.PRS and say.3SG.PRS
ni greh – tovarš tolovajev je tak.
 NEG.be.3SG.PRS sin comrade bandits.GEN be.3SG.PRS like.this

‘Whoever takes anything from their father or mother, saying, “It is not a sin” – they are a comrade of bandits.’

(Janežič 1863: 225)

⁴ We gloss bare pronouns as follows: *NPI.ontological category*. We have adopted this approach to avoid confusion between Slovene bare pronouns and English indefinite pronouns of the *any*- and *some*-series. Even though both *any*-pronouns and bare pronouns belong to the category of NPIs, they yield different interpretations in non-negative modal contexts (see Gregorčič 2023). *Some*-pronouns, on the other hand, can refer to specific referents, which is not typical of bare pronouns. Consequently, Slovene bare pronouns do not consistently translate into English as *any*- or *some*-pronouns, as evidenced by our translations of the Slovene example sentences.

⁵ For more information about modal existential *wh*-constructions, see Grosu (2004).

c. *nima kaj prigrizniti*

NEG.have.3SG.PRS NPI.thing.ACC snack.INF

‘(s)he has nothing to snack on’

(Janežič 1863: 165)

Breznik (1916 and 1934) adopts Janežič’s classification (1863) of bare pronouns. In the first edition of his grammar, he defines bare pronouns as words with a “more general, indefinite meaning” compared to *ne*-pronouns (Breznik 1916: 108). In the second edition, he replaces his initial semantic description of bare pronouns with a more prescriptive usage description (Breznik 1934: 104). He emphasizes the preference for substituting the indefinite-article-like numeral *e(de)n* ‘one’ with bare pronouns in dependent and independent questions (2a), in structures expressing commands and wishes (2b), and in descriptions of future events (2c).

(2)

a. *Ali bi hotel priti kak večer (ne: en večer!)*

Q COND want.PTCP come.INF NPI.DET.ACC evening.ACC NEG one evening

k meni na prejo?

to me.DAT on spinning

‘Would you like to come to my place some evening (*not: one evening!*) to do a bit of spinning?’

(Breznik 1934: 104)

b. *No, Luka, pa reci kako (kakšno) pametno*

well Luka PTCL say.2SG.IMP NPI.DET.ACC NPI.DET.ACC smart.ACC

(*ne: eno pametno*).

NEG one smart.ACC

‘Well, Luka, say something smart then (*not: one smart thing*).’

(Breznik 1934: 104)

c. *Vam se bo enkrat še dobro godilo (prav: kedaj).*

YOU.DAT REFL AUX.3SG.FUT one.day PTCL well live.PTCP correct NPL.time

‘You will do well one day (*correct: someday*).’

(Breznik 1934: 104)

Bajec et al. (1973: 185) continue the tradition of classifying bare pronouns as indefinite pronouns. The authors define indefinite pronouns as descriptions of undefined or prototypical entities, with *ne*-pronouns referring to specific unnamed entities and bare pronouns referring to non-specific entities (Bajec et al. 1973: 189). The authors thus recommend the use of bare pronouns in generic (3a) and modal descriptions (3b), as well as negated clauses (3c). They also illustrate the use of bare pronouns in dependent and independent questions (3d), and in conditional clauses (3e).

(3)

a. *Po njej se pretaka življenje,*
 through her.LOC REFL flow.3SG.PRS life
ki nekaj velja (nam. ki kaj velja).
 REL something count.3SG.PRS instead REL NPI.quantity count.3SG.PRS
 ‘Through it flows life that is worth something.’

(Bajec et al. 1973: 189)

b. *Vprašati morate nekoga (nam. koga),*
 ask.INF must.2PL.PRS someone.ACC instead NPI.person.ACC
ki je dalj časa tu.
 REL be.3SG.PRS longer time here

‘You need to ask someone who has been here longer.’

(Bajec et al. 1973: 189)

c. *Nečesa takšnega ne zmore ves svet*
 something.GEN like.this NEG can.3SG.PRS whole world
(nam. kaj takega ali česa takega).
 instead NPI.thing.ACC like.this or NPI.thing.GEN like.this

‘The whole world cannot do anything like this.’

(Bajec et al. 1973: 189)

d. *Starost je priča, kako je kdo preživel mladost.*
 age be.3SG.PRS witness how AUX.3SG.PRS NPI.person.NOM spend.PTCP youth

‘Age bears witness to how someone has spent their youth.’

(Bajec et al. 1973: 185)

e. *Kaj bo, če pride kak vihar?*
 what be.3SG.FUT if come.3SG.PRS NPL.DET.NOM storm.NOM

‘What if there is a storm?’

(Bajec et al. 1973: 185)

Toporišič (2000) uses the term indefinite pronoun only to refer to *ne*-pronouns. For bare pronouns, he introduces the term randomness pronouns, as they are used when there are no restrictions on the choice of potential referents. As with all pronoun series, the author categorizes individual bare pronouns according to their word-class properties and the ontological categories to which they refer. An overview of bare pronouns, based on Toporišič (2000: 311, 335, 406), is given in TABLE 1.

NOMINAL			ADJECTIVAL		
PERSON	THING	PROPERTY	CLASS	POSSESSION	QUANTITY
<i>kdó</i>	<i>kàj</i>	<i>kàk(šen)</i>	<i>katéri</i>	<i>čigáv</i>	<i>kóliko (kàj)</i>
ADVERBIAL					
PLACE			TIME	PROPERTY	
LOCATION	DESTINATION	DISTRIBUTION		MANNER	QUANTITY
<i>kjé</i>	<i>kàm</i>	<i>kód</i>	<i>kdàj</i>	<i>kakó</i>	<i>kóliko</i>

TABLE 1: Bare pronouns according to their word-class properties and the ontological categories to which they refer

Toporišič (2000: 311–312) notes that – in contrast to *ne*-pronouns, which refer to specific entities that are known or unknown, but never named – bare pronouns refer to non-specific entities that can be freely chosen from the pronoun’s referential domain. In one of the examples, the author shows that both *ne*- and bare pronouns can refer to small quantities (4), but he explicitly characterises their mutual substitution as not recommended (2000: 344). Instead, he notes the interchangeability of bare pronouns with *koli*-pronouns,⁶ with the phrase *ta in oni* ‘this and that one’, and with the phrase consisting of a bare pronoun preceded by the emphatic particle *sploh* ‘even’ (2000: 312).

⁶ The interchangeability and semantic affinities between bare and *koli*-pronouns are also pointed out in Bajec (1972).

(4)

Kakšne orehe boš našla v skrinji ('nekaj orehov').

NPL.DET.ACC walnuts.ACC AUX.2SG.FUT find.PTCP in chest some walnuts

'You will probably find some walnuts in the chest.'

(Toporišič 2000: 344)

According to Toporišič (2000: 312), the typical environments for bare pronouns are conditional, desiderative, interrogative and exclamatory clauses. The author illustrates their use in descriptions of general truths, customs, predictions and wishes (5a–b), in conditional and semantically similar temporal clauses (5c), and in dependent and independent questions (5d).

(5)

a. **Močilar** mi je včasih **kaj** razkladal

Močilar me.DAT AUX.3SG.PRS sometimes NPL.thing.ACC tell.PTCP

o nekdanjih časih.

about past times

'Močilar used to tell me some stories about the old days.'

(Toporišič 2000: 311)

b. **Ko** bi mi **kdo** hotel pomagati!

if.only COND me.DAT NPL.person.NOM want.PTCP help.INF

'If only someone would help me!'

(Toporišič 2000: 312)

c. **Če** je **kdo** pred vrati, ga povabi noter.

if be.3SG.PRS NPL.person.NOM in.front.of door him.ACC invite.2SG.IMP inside

'If there is anyone at the door, invite them in.'

(Toporišič 2000: 312)

d. **Ali** je **kdo** pred vrati?

Q be.3SG.PRS NPL.person.NOM in.front.of door

'Is there anyone at the door?'

(Toporišič 2000: 312)

3 HASPELMATH'S TYPOLOGY OF INDEFINITE PRONOUNS (1997)

As illustrated in SECTION 2, Toporišič (2000) restricts the category of indefinite pronouns to *ne*-pronouns. In contrast, Janežič (1863), Breznik (1916 and 1934) and Bajec et al. (1973) propose an expanded category of indefinite pronouns that encompasses additional pronoun series, including bare, universal, quantifying and *ni*-pronouns. Vidovič Muha (2013: 293–298) presents a classification of pronouns based on their definiteness, which is determined by textual actualization. As textually indefinite pronouns, she characterizes *ne*-pronouns, bare pronouns, quantifying pronouns, as well as pronouns expressing otherness (*drugi* ‘other’) and paucity (*redkokdo* ‘few people’, *redkokaj* ‘few things’), as they all convey the speaker’s inability to pinpoint the identity and/or number of potential referents.

The use of the term indefinite pronoun presented so far does not align with Haspelmath’s typological definition (1997), which is based on an in-depth analysis of a more narrowly studied sample of 40 languages and an additional, more roughly studied sample of 100 languages.⁷ Haspelmath’s study shows that, crosslinguistically, indefinite pronouns share morphological, semantic and syntactic properties. Morphologically, they are derived from the numeral *one*, interrogative pronouns or generic expressions; their indefiniteness is indicated by special affixes, particle clusters, reduplication and/or root transformations (Haspelmath 1997: 22–29). Semantically, indefinite pronouns refer to one of the basic ontological categories: person, thing, place, direction, time, manner, cause, quantity, determiner or property (Haspelmath 1997: 21–22, 29–31). Syntactically, they are characterized by multifunctionality, which means that they are compatible with a number of different syntactic environments in

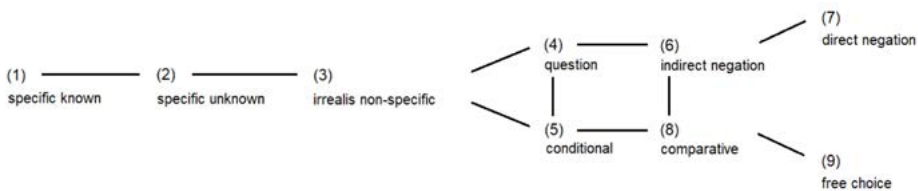


FIGURE 1: Implicational map for indefinite pronoun functions (Haspelmath 1997: 64)

⁷ The sampling method and the languages studied are detailed in Chapter 2 (Haspelmath 1997: 15–20). The monograph does not provide an analysis of Slovene indefinite pronouns.

which they yield fully predictable interpretations (Haspelmath 1997: 58–77). A single indefinite pronoun series is therefore expected to perform one or more of the nine functions presented on Haspelmath’s implicational map for indefinite pronoun functions (1997: 64), illustrated in FIGURE 1. Since semantically related functions are adjacent on the map, Haspelmath predicts that a particular pronoun series can only perform the combinations of functions that form a continuous field. On the far left of the implicational map are the functions of pronouns whose main characteristic is reference to a single, i.e., specific existing referent. This may be a known referent that the speaker does not wish to identify (6) or an unknown referent that they cannot identify (7).

(6)

Somebody called while you were away: guess who!

(Haspelmath 1997: 2, (5))

(7)

*I heard **something**, but I couldn’t tell what kind of sound it was.*

(Haspelmath 1997: 2, (6))

The semantically related *irrealis non-specific* function is located to the right of the *specific (un)known* functions. It is typical of pronouns used in descriptions of hypothetical, potentially viable, but not actual situations, which name a referent that cannot exist in the real world (8).

(8)

*Please try **somewhere** else.*

(Haspelmath 1997: 2, (7))

The *irrealis non-specific* function is followed on the right by the *question, conditional, indirect negation, direct negation* and *comparative* functions. These presuppose the use of indefinite pronouns in irrealis (interrogative, conditional and negated clauses) and realis environments (complements of comparatives) that allow for the quantitative use of superlatives enabling inferences from minimum to maximum values (see Fauconnier 1975). This kind of use is illustrated in (9): if a person does not have even the slightest difficulty, this necessarily implies that they do not have any major difficulty either.

(9)

Imeli ne boste niti najmanjših težav. = Imeli ne boste ne najmanjših ne majhnih ne velikih ne največjih možnih težav.

‘You will not have the slightest problem. = You will not have the slightest problem, nor a small problem, nor a big problem, nor the biggest problem possible.’

In addition to enabling the quantitative use of superlatives, the environments typical of the *question*, *conditional*, *indirect negation*, *direct negation* and *comparative* functions are compatible with Negative Polarity Items (Haspelmath 1997: 111–122).

Indefinite pronouns perform the *question* function if they are used in polar or content questions, whether rhetorical or not (10). The *indirect negation* function is characterized by the use of indefinite pronouns in the scope of semantically negative expressions (e.g., *without*, *doubt*, *be afraid of*) or in the scope of non-clausemate negation (11). In contrast, the *direct negation* function presupposes the use of indefinite pronouns in the scope of clausemate propositional negation (12).⁸

(10)

Did anybody tell you anything about it?

(Haspelmath 1997: 2, (8))

(11)

I don't think that anybody knows the answer.

(Haspelmath 1997: 2, (12))

(12)

Nobody knows the answer.

(Haspelmath 1997: 2, (11))

⁸ A proposition (or a part of it) is in the scope of an expression if the latter affects its interpretation. In example (i), the proposition *Anja ima čas* ‘Anja has time’ is in the scope of negation, which denies its truth. In example (ii), the proposition is in the scope of the conjunction *če* ‘if’, which places it in the category of hypothetical descriptions.

(i) *Anja nima časa. = Ne drži, da ima Anja čas.*

‘Anja does not have time. = It is not true that Anja has time.’

(ii) *Če ima čas, bo prišla na obisk. = Na obisk bo prišla pod pogojem, da ima čas.*

‘If she has time, she will come to visit. = She will come to visit on condition that she has time.’

Haspelmath (1997) illustrates the *conditional* function with examples of indefinite pronouns in dependent conditional clauses introduced by *if* and its equivalents in other languages (13). However, conditional relationship can also be conveyed with the restrictor of a universal quantifier (see Liu 2010), with unconditionals, which name sets of conditions (see Cazinkić 2002; Rawlins 2013), and with restrictive temporal clauses (see Farkas and Sugioka 1983). These are exemplified in (14a–c).

(13)

*If you see **anything**, tell me immediately.*

(Haspelmath 1997: 2, (9))

(14)

a. *Vsak učenec, ki bo pravilno rešil nalogo, bo nagrajen. ≈ Če bo učenec pravilno rešil nalogo, bo nagrajen.*

‘Every student who solves the task correctly will be rewarded. ≈ If a student solves the task correctly, they will be rewarded.’

b. *Kdorkoli bo pravilno rešil nalogo, bo nagrajen. ≈ Če jo bo pravilno rešil učenec a, če jo bo pravilno rešil učenec b, če jo bo pravilno rešil učenec c ..., bo nagrajen.*

‘Whoever solves the task correctly will be rewarded. ≈ If student a solves it correctly, if student b solves it correctly, if student c solves it correctly ..., they will be rewarded.’

c. *Ko učenec pravilno reši nalogo, je nagrajen. ≈ Če učenec pravilno reši nalogo, je nagrajen.*

‘When a student solves the task correctly, they are rewarded. ≈ If a student solves the task correctly, they are rewarded.’

The *comparative* function is characterized by the use of an indefinite pronoun in the nominal or clausal complement of a comparative. The indefinite pronoun establishes the standard of comparison which includes all alternatives of the compared item. In (15), the indefinite pronoun *anywhere* refers to all German cities except Freiburg, which is the compared item.

(15)

*In Freiburg the weather is nicer than **anywhere** in Germany.*

(Haspelmath 1997: 2, (10))

In the bottom right-hand corner of the implicational map is the *free choice* function, which is typical of indefinite pronouns that trigger the Free Choice implicature. They are used to convey a completely unrestricted choice between referential alternatives (see also Chierchia 2013), as illustrated in (16).

(16)

***Anybody** can solve this simple problem.*

(Haspelmath 1997: 3, (13))

Like the contexts of the *question*, *conditional*, *indirect negation*, *direct negation* and *comparative* functions, the contexts of the *free choice* function enable the quantitative use of superlatives. However, unlike the former, the latter allow inferences from maximum to minimum values, as in (17). If a detergent removes the toughest stain, it is expected to remove the less persistent stains as well.

(17)

To čistilno sredstvo lahko odstrani najtrdovratnejše madeže. = To sredstvo lahko odstrani najtrdovratnejše, trdovratne in netrdovratne madeže.

‘This detergent can remove the toughest stains. = This detergent can remove the toughest, tough, less persistent and the least persistent stains.’

On the basis of the properties of indefinite pronouns just presented, Haspelmath (1997: 11–12) excludes from this group of pronouns quantifiers of intermediate value such as *few*, generic pronouns such as *man*, universal quantifiers such as *all*, and pronouns of identity and otherness such as *same* and *other*. He argues that the expression of quantity, which is the central semantic property of quantifiers, is not a key feature of indefinite pronouns. Furthermore, universal quantifiers, which refer to all elements in a set, as well as identity and otherness expressions, which specify the identity of a referent, are definite and therefore fundamentally different from indefinite pronouns. Haspelmath’s definition of indefinite pronouns thus differs significantly from

the definitions in traditional grammars of Western languages, including the Slovene grammars listed in SECTION 2.

Slovene indefinite pronouns have already been classified according to Haspelmath's typology by Willis (2013).⁹ His implicational map for indefinite pronoun functions is presented in FIGURE 2.

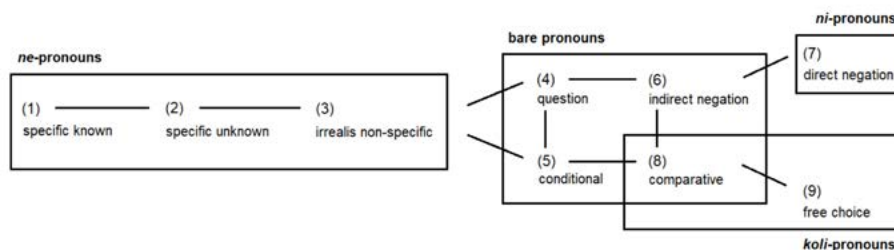


FIGURE 2: Implicational map for Slovene indefinite pronoun functions by Willis (2013: 394)

Willis (2013) does not provide a detailed analysis of Slovene pronouns, as his research aims to present the use of indefinite pronouns in all South Slavic languages. Consequently, the classification of Slovene indefinite pronouns in his study is not entirely accurate, as evidenced by the examples from Slovene grammars presented in SECTION 2. The functions of Slovene bare pronouns therefore need to be redefined.

4 SURVEY: BARE PRONOUNS IN THE REFERENCE CORPUS *GIGAFIDA 2.0*

4.1 RESEARCH GOALS AND METHODOLOGY

The referential quality of pronouns is contingent on their co-text and wider context (Vidovič Muha 2013). It is therefore important to define them using a sufficiently large representative sample. In the existing linguistic literature,

⁹ In light of the characteristics of indefinite pronouns described above, the colloquial pronoun *en* 'one' can also be considered as an indefinite pronoun. However, it is important to note that due to desemanticization, partial morphological and phonological reduction, and loss of syntactic flexibility, *en* is gradually acquiring characteristics of indefinite articles (see Bažec 2012). Similar processes can also be observed in the bare pronoun *kakšen* 'some/any', which shows signs of phonological reduction in the (colloquial) example below:

(i) *Včash probam kšn nov trend, včash mi je ful všeč, včash tut prbližn ne.*

'Sometimes, I try out a new trend; sometimes I like it a lot, sometimes not at all.'

Source: www.instagram.com/p/CT2g_zC1b08/?img_index=1 (published on 15 September 2021).

bare pronouns have only been the subject of rough and partly misleading descriptions (see SECTIONS 2 and 3). The aim of our research was to describe their use, meaning and functions on the basis of a more substantial set of examples.

Our research was based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of samples obtained from the corpus of written standard Slovene *Gigafida 2.0* using the *SketchEngine* tool.¹⁰ We examined randomly generated samples of 700–800 concordances with the bare pronouns listed in TABLE 1. The sampling process proved to be rather challenging, as bare pronouns are homographs of interrogative and some relative pronouns, and they are also tagged as either interrogative or relative pronouns in *Gigafida 2.0*. Consequently, the sampling was carried out in two to three steps.¹¹

The first step consisted of an advanced search by lemmas (*Advanced > Query type: Lemma*), followed by the extraction of random samples of 1,000 concordances (*Get a random sample*). The random samples were manually filtered to exclude any examples that were irrelevant to the study, i.e., those that contained interrogative or relative pronouns, but no bare pronouns. After eliminating irrelevant and duplicate concordances, different sample sizes were obtained, each containing fewer than 700 concordances. As a result, a second sampling step was conducted, in which most of the unwanted concordances containing interrogative and relative pronouns were filtered out using the advanced filtering function (*Filter > Advanced*). The sizes of the random samples extracted in this step were set in such a way that the final number of concordances gathered in both steps combined was between 700 and 800 per individual bare pronoun. This process yielded the final samples for the pronouns *kdo*, *kaj*, *kakšen*, *čigav*, *kdaj*, *kje* and *kam*.

The second sampling step for the pronouns *kod*, *kako* and *koliko* yielded only 226, 47 and 23 relevant examples of use, respectively, from the total of 1,000 randomly selected concordances. The third sampling step was thus needed, in which the queries were further adjusted to ensure a higher percentage of relevant concordances in the random samples. From the random samples of 1,000

¹⁰ Although *Gigafida 2.0* is considered a corpus of standard language, it should be noted that its composition is not balanced in terms of text genres: 64.3% of the corpus consists of articles from printed journals and newspapers, while 28.0% of the texts are from online sources, the most prominent of which are again media publications (Krek et al. 2019). It would be beneficial for future research to analyse the use of bare pronouns in non-journalistic and spoken texts as well.

¹¹ The methodology with all search queries is described in detail in Gregorčič (2023).

concordances, we retrieved 241 examples with the pronoun *kod*, 163 examples with the pronoun *kako* and 44 examples with the pronoun *koliko*. Given the low frequency of occurrence, we deemed it inappropriate to pursue further sampling, as speakers seem to use these pronouns much less frequently than other bare pronouns.

TABLE 2 presents the number of concordances included in each sample.

PRONOUN	<i>kdo</i>	<i>kaj</i> ¹²	<i>kakšen</i>	<i>kateri</i>	<i>čigav</i>	<i>kdaj</i>	<i>kje</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kod</i>	<i>kako</i>	<i>koliko</i>	TOTAL
NUMBER OF CONCORDANCES	723	747	703	734	270	718	769	758	421	220	58	6,121

TABLE 2: Sample sizes

We first classified the concordances according to Haspelmath's typology of indefinite pronouns (1997). As we observed a relatively predictable placement of bare pronouns, we subsequently classified all the concordances according to the position of the bare pronoun in a clause. We were particularly interested in whether the pronoun occurs in the clause-final position, which in the case of a stylistically unmarked sentence typically contains new information or the focus, or whether it occurs in the non-final position in a clause, which is usually reserved for the topic and the transition (Toporišič 2000: 668–678).

4.2 RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In SECTION 4.2.1, we present the use, meaning and functions of bare pronouns as defined by Haspelmath (1997). In SECTION 4.2.2, we focus on the placement of bare pronouns in a clause. All examples in this section are taken from *Gigafida 2.0*, unless otherwise stated. They have not been modified in any way, except for the shortening of longer passages that are not relevant to our present research.

4.2.1 THE USE, MEANING AND FUNCTIONS OF BARE PRONOUNS ACCORDING TO HASPELMATH (1997)

The first column of TABLE 3 presents the composition of all the samples of bare pronouns combined, while the subsequent columns show the composition of

¹² Our analysis focuses on the nominal pronoun *kaj*, not the homographic adverbial pronoun.

each individual bare pronoun sample in terms of Haspelmath's classification of indefinite pronoun functions (1997).

PRONOUN FUNCTION	TOTAL	kdo	kaj	kakšen	kateri	čigav
FREE CHOICE	/	/	/	/	/	/
COMPARATIVE	/	/	/	/	/	/
DIRECT NEGATION	14.1%	5.8%	23.6%	13.9%	6.3%	2.2%
INDIRECT NEGATION	8.3%	11.3%	11.9%	4.7%	8.2%	2.2%
CONDITIONAL	17.7%	27.1%	14.3%	15.1%	24.7%	3.7%
QUESTION	17.6%	17.4%	12.9%	11.9%	15.9%	75.2%
IRREALIS NON-SPECIFIC	42.3%	38.3%	37.3%	54.3%	45.0%	16.7%
SPECIFIC UNKNOWN	/	/	/	/	/	/
SPECIFIC KNOWN	/	/	/	/	/	/

	kdaj	kako	kje	kam	kod
FREE CHOICE	/	/	/	/	/
COMPARATIVE	/	/	/	/	/
DIRECT NEGATION	1.7%	14.5%	13.8%	30.7%	26.6%
INDIRECT NEGATION	17.1%	6.4%	4.9%	6.9%	3.1%
CONDITIONAL	16.2%	25.0%	20.8%	12.3%	13.5%
QUESTION	22.6%	10.9%	13.3%	6.7%	12.6%
IRREALIS NON-SPECIFIC	42.5%	43.2%	47.2%	43.4%	44.2%
SPECIFIC UNKNOWN	/	/	/	/	/
SPECIFIC KNOWN	/	/	/	/	/

TABLE 3: Structure of the samples according to Haspelmath's typology (1997)¹³

TABLE 3 indicates that bare pronouns do not name specific (un)known referents. In the majority of concordances in our samples, they perform the *irrealis non-specific* function,¹⁴ as they occur in a wide variety of modal environments and generic descriptions. The corpus data suggest that speakers tend

¹³ The data pertaining to the pronoun *koliko* are not reported in TABLE 3 due to the insufficient number of concordances in *Gigafida 2.0*. The scarcity of data suggests that this pronoun is only rarely used in modern Slovene.

¹⁴ The only exception is the sample of the pronoun *čigav*, whose usage patterns deviate from those exhibited by other bare pronouns in a number of aspects. In modern Slovene, *čigav* is used relatively infrequently, which is reflected in the small number of concordances in *Gigafida 2.0*. The deviation from the expected usage patterns is thus most likely a reflection of the pronoun's fossilization in a limited set of environments.

to associate bare pronouns with descriptions of possible events (18a), as well as with descriptions of states, habits and recurrent events (18b).¹⁵

(18)

a. *Morda lahko komu pomagata prav vi!*
 maybe easily NPL.PERSON.DAT help.2PL.PRS exactly you
 ‘Maybe it is you who can help someone!’

b. *Vsak dan se zgodi kaj zanimivega.*
 every day REFL happen.3SG.PRS NPL.thing.NOM interesting
 ‘Something interesting happens every day.’

In all concordances that illustrate the *irrealis non-specific* function, bare pronouns occur in the scope of a modal or generic operator (19). In this respect, bare pronouns are fundamentally distinct from *koli*-pronouns, which generally avoid the scope of modal operators (20) (Gregorčič 2023: 104).

(19)

Če ste vajeni spletnega nakupovanja, lahko kupite katero od zmagovalnih torbic.
 if be.2PL.PRS used.to online shopping easily buy.2PL.PRS
 NPL.class.ACC from winning handbags

‘If you are used to online shopping, you can buy one of the winning handbags.’

= It is possible for you to buy handbag a or handbag b or handbag c ...

(20)

Domišljija lahko v katerikoli situaciji zapolni praznino.
 imagination easily in NPL.class.LOC situation.LOC fill.3SG.PRS void

‘Imagination can fill the void in any situation.’

= For situation a and situation b and situation c ..., it is the case that imagination can fill the void in that situation.

¹⁵ A review of the concordances illustrating bare pronouns in the *irrealis non-specific* function reveals that 36.9% feature bare pronouns in the scope of expressions of probability and possibility (e.g., *verjetno* ‘probably’, *morda* ‘maybe’, *predvidevati* ‘suppose’), while 23.3% illustrate their use in descriptions of general truths and habits/recurrent events.

Modal environments highlight another semantic difference between bare and *koli*-pronouns. While the latter trigger the Free Choice implicature, suggesting unlimited freedom of choice between potential referents (see Gregorčič 2021 and 2023), the former are unable to do so, as is evident from the paraphrases of (19) and (20). Bare pronouns typically foreground the speaker’s ignorance or indifference, which is the defining characteristic of epistemic indefinite pronouns (see Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2015). This semantic feature of bare pronouns aligns with the *irrealis non-specific* function, which has been overlooked by Willis (2013: 394).

The corpus data also suggest that there is no reason to attribute the *comparative* function to bare pronouns, contrary to what has been proposed by Willis (2013: 394). In this function, pronouns are used in the complement of the comparative and are expected to establish the standard of comparison that includes all alternatives of the compared item (see (15)). Although bare pronouns can be found in complements of comparatives, they do not yield the predicted interpretation, as indicated in (21). The unbracketed part of the example is from *Gigafida 2.0*. In brackets is our own continuation of the corpus example that is semantically and pragmatically acceptable, and that precludes the interpretation that the phrase *katero drugo tekmovalje* refers to all other competitions.

(21)

<i>Na</i>	<i>tej</i>	<i>olimpijadi</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>bito</i>	<i>lažje</i>	<i>priti</i>
on	this	Olympiad	AUX.3SG.PRS	be.PTCP	easier	come.INF
<i>do</i>	<i>nagrade</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>katerem</i>	<i>drugem</i>	<i>tekmovalju.</i>
to	prize	than	on	NPL.CLASS.LOC	other	competition.LOC
<i>(Ne</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>lažje</i>	<i>kot na</i>	<i>vsakem</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>njih.)</i>
NEG	but	easier	than on	every	from	them

‘It was easier to win a prize at this Olympiad than at another competition.
(But not easier than at every other competition.)’

According to Willis (2013: 394), bare pronouns perform the function of *indirect negation*, but not *direct negation*. This is not entirely consistent with the corpus data. In fact, *Gigafida 2.0* contains a non-negligible number of concordances with bare pronouns in negated clauses. Bare pronouns interpreted in the scope of clausemate propositional negation typically form complex

phrases in which they are postmodified by adjectives, adverbs, pronouns or relative clauses. In (22), the phrase headed by the bare pronoun *česa* (i.e., *česa podobnega*) is in the scope of negation, as evidenced by the English translation: note that the English *anything* is a Negative Polarity Item (see FOOTNOTE 3), so it must occur in the scope of the negative pronoun *no one*.

(22)

Mislím, da česa podobnega ni poskusil še nihče.
 think.1SG.PRS that NPI.thing.GEN similar NEG.AUX.3SG.PRS try.PTCP yet no one
 ‘I think that no one has tried anything similar yet.’

The presence of a postmodifier plays an important role in determining the scopal interaction between the negator and the bare pronoun. When the bare pronoun lacks a postmodifier, it is interpreted outside the scope of clausemate propositional negation, as in (23). In the English translation of the sentence, the negator appears in a clause that is syntactically subordinate to the clause with the indefinite pronoun.

(23)

Če česa ni znala, je segla po strokovnih knjigah.
 if NPI.thing.GEN NEG.AUX.3SG.PRS know.PTCP
 AUX.3SG.PRS reach.PTCP along specialist books
 ‘If there was something that she did not know, she turned to specialist books.’

The relevance of the postmodifier in determining the scopal interaction between clausemate propositional negation and bare pronouns can also be verified by a minimal modification of corpus example (22). If the postmodifier *podobnega* is removed from the complex phrase headed by the bare pronoun, as in (22'), the bare pronoun can only be interpreted outside the scope of negation.

(22')

Mislím, da česa ni poskusil še nihče.
 think.1SG.PRS that NPI.thing.GEN NEG.AUX.3SG.PRS try.PTCP yet no one
 ‘I think there must be something that no one has tried yet.’

This phenomenon is similar to the inverse scope of negation illustrated in (24) and (25). Both examples feature the propositional negator *not* and have the subject realized by an indefinite nominal phrase preceding the negator (*anyone* in (24) and *a doctor who knew anything about acupuncture* in (25)). Despite the syntactic parallels between the two examples, the subject is in the scope of negation in (25), but not in (24).

(24)

**Anyone did not talk to me.*

(de Swart 1998: 178, (5b))

(25)

A doctor who knew anything about acupuncture was not available.

(Linebarger 1980: 227, (21a), cited in de Swart 1998: 180, (13c))

The scopal properties of the propositional negation in (24) and (25) are indicated by the (un)grammaticality of these examples. The indefinite pronouns *anyone* in (24) and *anything* in (25) are Negative Polarity Items, whose acceptability depends on whether they occur in the scope of semantically negative expressions (see FOOTNOTE 3). Given that the only negative expression in (24) and (25) is the negator *not*, we can conclude that *anyone* in (24) is not in the scope of the negator, since its use is ungrammatical. In contrast, *anything* in (25) is in the scope of the negator; if it were not, it would be just as ungrammatical as *anyone* in (24).

De Swart (1998) shows that the inverse scope of negation arises from the interplay of Grice's maxims of quantity and relevance.¹⁶ Extending the scope of negation reduces the informative value of an utterance.¹⁷ Such a reduction can be justified only if it is compensated for. This can be achieved by increasing the complexity of the message. The utterance thus becomes longer, which is disadvantageous from the point of view of the maxim of quantity, but this negative effect is counterbalanced by an enhanced informative value of the

¹⁶ According to the maxim of quantity, speakers must limit themselves to communicating only what is necessary; according to the maxim of relevance, they must convey what is most relevant to the topic of the communicative exchange (see Grice 1975).

¹⁷ There are many more true negative statements than true affirmative statements about the world, because the latter are more specific and thus easier to falsify (see Horn 1989).

message. In accordance with the maxim of relevance, the addressees assume that the selection of a longer utterance is crucial for the accurate interpretation of the message. Consequently, they interpret the more complex structures of the utterance contrastively. This generates a positive implicature, which increases the informative value of the utterance. The positive implicature of (25) is illustrated in (25').

(25')

Some doctor was available.

De Swart (1998) suggests that the entire subject in (25) is in the semantic scope of negation, but that the positive implicature – a pragmatic element of the utterance – leads the addressees to interpret the more complex part of the sentence non-negatively. The interpretation of (25), shaped by the interplay of semantic and pragmatic factors, is presented in (25'').

(25'')

A doctor was available, but not one who would know anything about acupuncture.

In light of de Swart's findings (1998), the interaction between negation and the bare pronoun in (22), which is repeated below, can be explained from a pragmatic point of view. Although the entire nominal phrase *česa podobnega* occurs in the semantic scope of negation, the bare pronoun *česa* is simultaneously interpreted in a non-negative pragmatic environment created by the positive implicature that someone must have tried something before. This enables the interpretation that while the predicate is not true of the set described by the complex phrase *česa podobnega*, this does not mean that it is also not true of its superset described by the bare pronoun *česa* alone (22'').

(22)

Mislim, da česa podobnega ni poskusil še nihče.

think.1SG.PRS that NPI.thing.GEN similar NEG.AUX.3SG.PRS try.PTCP yet no one

'I think that no one has tried anything similar yet.'

(22'')

Someone must have tried something before, but no one has tried anything similar.

The existence of this interpretation is supported by the examples from *Gigafida 2.0* in which the positive implicature is explicitly stated, as in (26).

(26)

<i>Videl</i>	<i>sem</i>	<i>nekaj</i>	<i>izjemnih</i>	<i>tekem,</i>
see.PTCP	AUX.1SG.PRS	some	extraordinary	matches
<i>česa</i>	<i>takega</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>še</i>	<i>nikoli.</i>
NPI.thing.GEN	like.this	but	yet	never

‘I have seen some extraordinary matches, but never anything like this.’

It is possible for unmodified bare pronouns to occur in the scope of clause-mate propositional negation as well, but in a completely different context. In our samples, more than half of the examples illustrating the *direct negation* function show the use of bare pronouns in modal existential *wh*-constructions introduced by the modal verbs *imeti* ‘have’ and *biti* ‘be’ (27).

(27)

<i>Hudo je,</i>	<i>da se</i>	<i>v krizi</i>	<i>nimaš</i>	<i>na koga</i>	<i>obrniti.</i>				
bad	be.3SG.PRS	that	REFL	in	crisis	NEG.have.2SG.PRS	on	NPI.person.ACC	turn.INF

‘It is terrible not having anyone to turn to in a crisis.’

However, the presence of the negator does not seem obligatory for the acceptability of bare pronouns in such contexts. Several concordances in our samples illustrate the use of bare pronouns in non-negated modal existential *wh*-constructions (28), whereby the bare pronoun assumes a hyperbolic meaning.¹⁸

¹⁸ We have verified this observation by searching the entire corpus. The results show that bare pronouns appear in 15,357 concordances with negated modal existential *wh*-constructions (query (i)), and in 2,471 concordances with non-negated constructions of this type (query (ii)). In the latter case, the modal existential *wh*-construction typically does not occur in the scope of any other semantically negative expression.

(i). [word="ne"][lemma="biti"&tag="G.....n.*"]|[lemma="imeti"]|[lemma="kaj|kdo|kakšen|kateri|čigav|kdaj|kje|kod|kam|kako|koliko"]|[tag="G..n.*"] | [lemma="biti"&tag="G.....d.*"]|[lemma="imeti"]|[lemma="kaj|kdo|kakšen|kateri|čigav|kdaj|kje|kod|kam|kako|koliko"]|[tag="G..n.*"] | [lemma="imeti"&tag="G.....d.*"]|[lemma="kaj|kdo|kakšen|kateri|čigav|kdaj|kje|kod|kam|kako|koliko"]|[tag="G..n.*"]

(ii). [lemma="imeti"&tag="G...s...n.*"]|[lemma="kaj|kdo|kakšen|kateri|čigav|kdaj|kje|kod|kam|kako|koliko"]|[tag="G..n.*"] | [word!="ne"][lemma="biti"&tag="G.....n.*"]|[lemma="imeti"]|[lemma="kaj|kdo|kakšen|kateri|čigav|kdaj|kje|kod|kam|kako|koliko"]|[tag="G..n.*"]

(28)

<i>Dandanes</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>ozreti</i> ;
nowadays	REFL	have.3SG.PRS	NPI.direction	look.INF
<i>tovarni</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>veliko</i>		<i>dal.</i>
factory.DAT	AUX.3SG.PRS	much		give.PTCP

‘Today, he has somewhere to look; he has given a lot to the factory.’

The question thus arises as to whether it is reasonable to assign the *direct negation* function to bare pronouns at all. We have shown that their use in the scope of clausemate propositional negation is enabled by the presence of a positive implicature; in its absence, the pronoun escapes the scope of negation. The exception to this is the modal existential *wh*-construction, in which bare pronouns always occur in the scope of the clausemate propositional negator, but do not depend on its presence.

Haspelmath (1997) does not examine the examples of use in individual languages in much detail, so it is not entirely clear what status he would assign to Slovene bare pronouns. He claims that pragmatic parameters, which are rooted in the expectations of discourse participants, have no bearing on whether a pronoun assumes a particular function on his implicational map (Haspelmath 1997: 82–86); the only relevant condition is that the pronoun occurs in the appropriate context and yields the expected interpretation. In the case of bare pronouns in the *direct negation* function, this means that they are expected to be interpreted in the scope of clausemate propositional negation with a non-specific meaning. In this respect, it seems reasonable to assign them the *direct negation* function. However, the examples provided by Haspelmath to illustrate the pragmatic effects triggered by indefinite pronouns are not entirely identical to those governing the use of bare pronouns in negated clauses. In (22) and (26) above, the presence of the positive implicature is necessary for the bare pronoun to be interpreted in the scope of clausemate negation at all. In contrast, the use of the English pronoun *some* in interrogative sentences such as (29), which Haspelmath (1997) cites to illustrate the pragmatic parameters influencing the interpretation of indefinite pronouns, is always possible and grammatical. The pragmatic effect of signalling the expectation of a positive answer is triggered by the pronoun itself, not by its context, as is the case in Slovene.

(29)

*Do you think those men want to do **some** work?*

(Lakoff 1969: 609–611, cited in Haspelmath 1997: 82, (151a))

Based on the results of our corpus analysis, we propose a revised implicational map for the functions of Slovene bare pronouns in FIGURE 3. The revised map differs from Willis' (2013) in three respects: bare pronouns (i) perform the *irrealis non-specific* function, (ii) do not perform the *comparative* function, and (iii) perform the *direct negation* function if certain pragmatic conditions are met. The black line in FIGURE 3 indicates the functions that can be attributed to bare pronouns based on corpus data, while the grey line indicates the functions attributed to these pronouns by Willis (2013: 394).

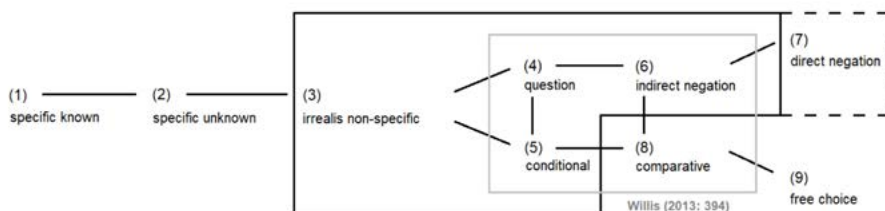


FIGURE 3: New implicational map for the functions of Slovene bare pronouns

4.2.2 THE POSITION OF BARE PRONOUNS IN A CLAUSE

TABLE 4 presents the proportion of nominal and adverbial bare pronouns in our samples, classified according to whether the phrase which they head occurs in the final or non-final position in a clause.

		Number of examples	Percentage
FINAL POSITION	WITH A POSTMODIFIER	1,440	28.2%
	WITHOUT A POSTMODIFIER	519	10.2%
	TOTAL	1,959	38.4%
NON-FINAL POSITION	WITH A POSTMODIFIER	534	10.4%
	WITHOUT A POSTMODIFIER	2,619	51.2%
	TOTAL	3,153	61.6%

TABLE 4: Nominal and adverbial bare pronouns according to their position in a clause

Speakers most often place phrases headed by bare pronouns in a non-final position in a clause. Their decision seems to be at least partly influenced by the presence of a postmodifier of the bare pronoun. When the postmodifier is present, speakers are more likely to place the phrase with the bare pronoun in the clause-final position. Bare pronouns without a postmodifier appear in the clause-final position only in a limited range of contexts: they are often reinforced by additive particles (e.g., *še* ‘also’, *tudi* ‘also’) (30a), or they occur in short clauses in which the clause-final position is the only available option for them. The most common types of construction in which this occurs are interrogative (30b), imperative (30c) and elliptical clauses, particularly elliptical negated modal existential *wh*-constructions (30d) and elliptical conditional clauses (30e).

(30)

- a. *Upam, da bo prišel še kdaj.*
 hope.1SG.PRS that AUX.3SG.FUT come.PTCP also NPI.time
 ‘I hope he will come back another time.’
- b. *Nikoli ne veš, kdo bo kje.*
 never NEG know.2SG.PRS who be.3SG.FUT NPI.location
 ‘You never know who will be somewhere.’
- c. *Storite kaj.*
 do.2PL.IMP NPI.thing.ACC
 ‘Do something.’
- d. *So ljudje, ki nimajo kam.*
 be.3PL.PRS people REL NEG.have.3PL.PRS NPI.direction
 ‘There are people who do not have anywhere to go.’
- e. *Če kdo, je Jože vedno vedel odgovor.*
 if NPI.person.NOM AUX.3SG.PRS Jože always know.PTCP answer
 ‘If anyone, Jože always knew the answer.’

The examination of individual concordances reveals that speakers select the position of a bare pronoun according to the information to which they want to draw the addressee’s attention. In the clause-final (i.e., focus) position, the

phrase headed by a bare pronoun is emphasized and understood as contributing new information; in the clause-initial (i.e., topic) position, it most frequently refers to the preceding clause or to referents whose identity is not essential to the message (see Toporišič 2000: 668–678). A phrase headed by a bare pronoun is part of the focus if the pronoun is postmodified, which narrows the set of potential referents of the pronominal phrase and thus contributes to the greater specificity of the message (31a), or if the speaker focuses on emphasizing the paucity of potential referents expressed by the pronoun (31b).¹⁹

(31)

- a. *Vsak dan se zgodi kaj zanimivega.*
 every day REFL happen.3SG.PRS NPI.thing.NOM interesting
 ‘Something interesting happens every day.’
- b. *Kar naprej se mi zdi, da je moja omara
 prazna in da nujno rabim še kaj.*
 just forward REFL me.DAT seem.3SG.PRS that be.3SG.PRS my wardrobe
 empty and that urgently need.1SG.PRS also NPI.thing.ACC
 ‘I keep feeling that my wardrobe is empty and that I urgently need something else.’

In general, speakers use bare pronouns more often in the topic position than in the focus position. When the bare pronoun is part of the topic, the focus is either on the participant of the event that is not referred to with the bare pronoun (32a), or on the event as a whole (32b). In (32b), the focus is on losing and forgetting in general; the exact identification of the affected entity (*kakšna reč*) or the setting (*kje*) is not central to the message.

(32)

- a. *Če bo kdo potreboval mojo pomoč,
 ve, kje me lahko najde.*
 if AUX.3SG.FUT NPI.person.NOM need.PTCP my help
 know.3SG.PRS where me.ACC easily find.3SG.PRS
 ‘If anyone needs my help, they know where they can find me.’

¹⁹ The expression of quantity is most often indicated by the presence of the additive particle *še* ‘also’ and the use of bare pronouns in emotionally marked elliptical structures (see (30a) and (30d–e) above).

- b. *Včasih kakšno reč izgubimo ali kje pozabimo,*
 sometimes NPL.DET.ACC thing.ACC lose.1PL.PRS or NPL.location forget.1PL.PRS
pa tega še opazimo ne.
 but this PTCL notice.1PL.PRS NEG
 ‘Sometimes we lose something or forget it somewhere, and we do not even notice it.’

Given that non-nominalized adjectival bare pronouns are incapable of forming independent phrases with sentence functions, their position was observed separately. The results are presented in TABLE 5.

	Number of examples	Percentage
FINAL POSITION	789	78.2%
NON-FINAL POSITION	220	21.8%

TABLE 5: Adjectival bare pronouns according to their position in a clause

Speakers usually use nominal phrases with adjectival bare pronouns in the clause-final position. However, the informative focus of such a nominal phrase is typically not on the pronoun, but rather on the nominal head and its non-pronominal modifiers. In (33), the bare pronoun *kakšna* could therefore be omitted without significantly affecting the message (see also FOOTNOTE 9 about the article-like behaviour of adjectival bare pronouns).

(33)

Nimamo dokaza, da je na Marsu kdaj obstajala
 NEG.have.1PL.PRS evidence that AUX.3SG.PRS on Mars NPL.time exist.PTCP
kakšna višja oblika življenja.
 NPL.DET.NOM higher.NOM form.NOM life.GEN

‘We have no evidence that any superior life form has ever existed on Mars.’

Speakers can use adjectival bare pronouns to express small quantities, particularly in modal and generic contexts. In such instances, the speaker’s intention is often discernible through the presence of the additive particle *še* ‘also’ or other contextual cues, as in (34).

(34)

Rokavi reke so ena sama velika prometnica, po kateri se
 arms river be.3PL.PRS one sole great thoroughfare along which REFL
vsak dan premika na tisoče čolničev, stotine malo večjih
 every day move.3SG.PRS on thousands boats hundreds little larger
barkač, nekaj deset velikih ladij in kakšna čezoceanka.
 tubs some ten large ships and NPL.DET.NOM ocean.liner.NOM

‘The river’s arms are great thoroughfares, carrying thousands of small boats, hundreds of slightly larger tubs, a few dozen large ships and the odd ocean liner every day.’

5 CONCLUSION

We have presented the use, meaning and functions of bare pronouns, identified through an extensive analysis of examples from *Gigafida 2.0*. In contrast to Toporišič’s classification (2000), we propose to classify bare pronouns as indefinite pronouns, which is in line with Haspelmath’s typological characterization (1997). The corpus data indicate that bare pronouns perform more functions on the implicational map for indefinite pronoun functions than proposed by Willis (2013). In modal environments, they perform the *irrealis non-specific* function and reveal the speaker’s ignorance or indifference, which makes them epistemic indefinite pronouns. In addition, they perform the *conditional*, *question*, *indirect negation* and *direct negation* functions, which are typical of Negative Polarity Items.

Nominal and adverbial bare pronouns typically occur in a non-final position in a clause, with the purpose of referring to event participants and circumstances whose precise identification is not essential to the informative value of the utterance. In the clause-final position, they are typically postmodified, which enhances the informativity of the phrases they form. Alternatively, they may be unmodified, in which case they emphasize the paucity of referents.

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SUMMARY

THE USE, MEANING AND FUNCTIONS OF SLOVENE BARE PRONOUNS

The paper presents selected aspects of the use and meaning of Slovene bare pronouns, identified through an extensive analysis of examples from the reference corpus *Gigafida 2.0*. The corpus data confirm our hypothesis regarding the inaccuracy of the existing classification of bare pronouns according to their indefinite pronoun functions (Willis 2013: 394). In most examples from our samples, bare pronouns perform the *irrealis non-specific* function, revealing the speaker's ignorance, which categorizes them as epistemic indefinite pronouns. They also perform the *conditional*, *question*, *indirect negation* and *direct negation* functions, typical of Negative Polarity Items. Their use in the scope of clausemate propositional negation seems to be restricted to modal existential *wh*-constructions, and to instances of the inverse scope of negation, stemming from the complexity of pronominal phrases.

The results of our analysis also show that the placement of nominal and adverbial bare pronouns in a clause is predictable. It primarily depends on the complexity of the pronominal phrase and the speaker's communicative intentions. Bare pronouns in clause-initial or medial positions indicate referents whose identity is not crucial to the message, whereas bare pronouns in the final position either emphasize the small number of referents or are part of more complex phrases in which the bare pronoun is followed by a postmodifier.

RABA, POMEN IN FUNKCIJE POLJUBNOSTNIH ZAIMKOV

Prispevek predstavlja izbrane vidike rabe in pomena poljubnostnih zaimkov, ki izhajajo iz obsežnejše analize zgledov iz korpusa *Gigafida 2.0*. Korpusno gradivo potrjuje izhodiščno hipotezo, da obstoječa opredelitev funkcij poljubnostnih zaimkov (Willis 2013: 394) ni točna. Poljubnostni zaimki namreč v največ zgledih v preučevanih

vzorci opravljajo funkcijo 'nespecifični nosnik v nestvarnih opisih'. V tej funkciji razkrivajo govorcevo nevednost, kar jih uvršča med epistemične nedoločne zaimke. Hkrati opravljajo funkcije 'pogoj', 'vprašanje', 'posredno zanikanje' in 'neposredno zanikanje', značilne za k negativni polarnosti usmerjene izraze. Korpusni podatki sicer kažejo, da se poljubnostni zaimki v neposrednem dosegu nikalnice ne pojavljajo prosto, temveč le v primeru rabe v modalnih strukturah z glagoloma *imeti* in *biti* ter ob pojavu obratnega dosega zanikanja, ki je posledica kompleksnosti zaimenske zveze.

Rezultati analize kažejo tudi predvidljivost stave samostalniških in prislovnih poljubnostnih zaimkov v stavku; ta je običajno odvisna od kompleksnosti zaimenske zveze in govorcevih sporočevalnih namenov. Na nekončnem mestu rabljeni poljubnostni zaimki označujejo nosnike, katerih identiteta za sporočilo ni bistvena. Na končnem mestu rabljeni poljubnostni zaimki izpostavljajo maloštevilnost nosnikov ali pa so del kompleksnejše besedne zveze, v kateri zaimku sledi desni prilastek.

