

The Russian *vsjakij*

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The quantifier *vsjakij* has drawn considerable attention from semanticists in the Russian tradition. This article proposes an analysis based on the morphological structure of the word, using Carlson's (1977) theory of kind reference. The result is an account that allows us to give a unified treatment to generic and "existential" uses of *vsjakij*, which, to my knowledge, has never been done before. There remain a number of problematic cases; those are noted and, where possible, analyzed as well. If the proposed account is correct, *vsjakij* turns out to be a near-exception to a well-known universal stating that no language has determiners specialized for kind reference (see, for example, Gerstner-Link and Krifka 1995, p. 967, Dayal 2004, p. 394).¹

1. Contexts of use for *vsjakij*

We start by listing a number of contexts where *vsjakij* can be used.

1. Generic universal quantifier: *vsjakij* can be used in generic sentences like (1), but it is ungrammatical in episodic contexts like (2). It is also bad with proper nouns (3) (examples from Kronhaus 1984):

- (1) *Vsjakij* čelovek smetren
 *vsjakij*_{NOM.MASC} man_{NOM} mortal
 `All men are mortal`
- (2) **Vsjakij* student prišel na lekciju
 *vsjakij*_{NOM.MASC} student_{NOM} came to lecture
 `Every student came to the lecture`

¹ Many of the examples in this paper are borrowed from the works cited. Examples from real texts have been found in the National Corpus of Russian Language (<http://ruscorpora.ru>). The author would like to thank Nicholas Asher, Maria Brykina, Philip Dudchuk, Nadya Frid, Natalia Kondrashova, Yuriy Lander, Elena Paducheva, Barbara Partee, Elena Rudnitskaya, Tatyana Yanko and the anonymous reviewers for helpful comments. The remaining errors are, of course, my own

- (3) **Vsjakaja* Aksinja živet v Sovetskom
 vsjakij_{NOM.FEM} A. lives in Soviet
 Sojuze
 Union
 'Every Aksinja (that is, every woman of that name) lives in the Soviet Union'
2. Meaning close to Russian *raznyj*, English *various*:
- (4) U nas žili *vsjake* koški
 at us lived vsjakij_{NOM.PL} cats
 'We have had all sorts of cats (in our house)'
3. Some, but not all contexts of "Indirect negation" in the sense of Haspelmath 1997: *vsjakij* van be used in the scope of implicit negation, but not in the scope of negation in a higher clause, nor in the scope of a downward entailing operator where no negation is present.
- (5) Vasja s'el sup bez *vsjakoj* ložki
 V. ate soup without vsjakij_{GEN.FEM} spoon
 'Vasya ate the soup without any spoon'
- (6) Ja poterjal *vsjakoe* terpenie
 I lost vsjakij_{ACC.NEUT} patience_{ACC}
 'I lost all my patience'
- (7) *Ja ne dumaju što *vsjakij* prišel
 I not think that vsjakij_{NOM.MASC} came
 'I don't think that anyone came'
- (8) *Malo u kogo iz prisutstvujuščix byli
 few at who from present were
vsjake *vozraženija*
 vsjakij_{NOM.PL} objections_{NOM}
 'Few of those present had any objections'
4. Standard of comparison:
- (9) Vasja zabintoval ranu lučše *vsjakogo* vrača
 V. bandaged wound better vsjakij_{GEN.MASC} doctor
 'Vasya bandaged the wound better than any doctor'
- The list of contexts is not exhaustive, and is intended as an initial data set against which to evaluate our proposal.

2. Previous accounts

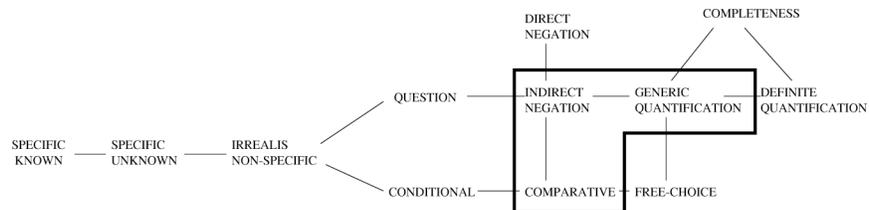
Early descriptions of the Russian quantifier system, such as

Levin 1973, Paduceva 1974 treat *vsjakij* as a simple universal quantifier similar to *každyj*. Levin notes, though, that *vsjakij* does not apply when the number of quantified objects is bounded. It was Kronhaus (1984) who noted the peculiarity of distribution in (1-3); his explanation is the following (my translation): “*Vsjakij* combines with a noun phrase associated with some property (intensional reference type). It means that the intensional property implies the predicate property irrespective of the object having that property”. Thus (2) is ungrammatical because here the ‘predicate property’ does not apply ‘irrespective of the object’ denoted by the subject NP. The ungrammaticality of (3) is due to proper names lacking intensions. However, Kronhaus deliberately narrows the scope of his investigation to just those contexts that are called ‘generic universal’ in the previous section.

Padučeva (1989) states that *vsjakij* requires the quantified set to be infinite, non-uniform, and the quantification happens not over individuals, but over properties of those individuals.

Tatevosov 2002 is an investigation of universal quantification across languages. The result is a semantic map extending one constructed for indefinite pronouns in Haspelmath 1997. This map divides uses of a pronoun or quantifier into classes. It is stated that classes of use for any linguistic item occupy a continuous area on the map. Moreover, it is expected that within each class of uses, an item that can be used in one context can also be used in others from the same class. The map for *vsjakij* is shown on Picture 1 (I extended it to cover the standard of comparison cases; Tatevosov considers them ungrammatical for some reason). Even though such a map does not in itself constitute an analysis², it can serve as a valuable tool in determining the distribution of a linguistic item. Note, however, that the second type of contexts (‘various’) has no place on this map.

² Indeed, Tatevosov 2002, along with Croft 2002, claims that no further analysis is possible.



Picture 1. Semantic map according to Haspelmath 1997, Tatevosov 2002.

3. Hints from morphology

It is well known that most Russian pronouns can be organized in a table where rows correspond to ontological classes, and columns to pronoun series. Pronouns are placed in the cells according both to their morphology and semantics. The correspondence is not perfect either way, but sufficient to make rough predictions.

<i>kto</i>	<i>kto-to</i>	<i>kto-nibud'</i>	<i>kto-libo</i>		<i>vse</i>
<i>čto</i>	<i>čto-to</i>	<i>čto-nibud'</i>	<i>čto-libo</i>		
<i>gde</i>	<i>gde-to</i>	<i>gde-nibud'</i>	<i>gde-libo</i>	<i>zdes'</i>	<i>vezde</i>
<i>kuda</i>	<i>kuda-to</i>	<i>kuda-nibud'</i>	<i>kuda-libo</i>	<i>sjuda tuda</i>	
<i>kogda</i>	<i>kogda-to</i>	<i>kogda-nibud'</i>	<i>kogda-libo</i>	<i>togda</i>	<i>vsegda</i>
<i>kakoj</i>	<i>kakoj-to</i>	<i>kakoj-nibud'</i>	<i>kakoj-libo</i>	<i>takoj</i>	<i>vsjakij</i>

As we see, *vsjakij* occupies the cell in the table belonging to the pronouns of the same ontological class as *kakoj* and the series of universal quantifiers. The strategy I will follow is to assume that its meaning is compositional³ — to try and derive it from the meaning of the row and column in the table where *vsjakij* resides. The goal of this paper is to investigate how far one can take such a hypothesis; to see where it works and where it breaks. We would expect that in some cases our analysis will give the right predictions, in others it will fail, but the way it fails may also be of interest.

This idea has been studied, in a less formal way, in Paducheva 1989:

³ This is not to say that I am ready to provide analyses for the *vs'*- and *-ak*- morphemes. The “compositionality” claim should be understood informally

In any case, the idea that individual properties of objects are irrelevant constitutes the main component of the meaning of the word *vsjakij*. Indeed, *vsjakij* in its non-quantifier uses means 'having arbitrary properties' (cf. *Ljudi byvajut vsjakie* 'There are all kinds of people', i.e., not only good, but also bad) ... The link between the word *vsjakij* and the idea of quality is predetermined by its morphology — the qualitative pronominal suffix *-ak-*, cf. the same suffix in the words *dvo-jak-ij* 'twofold', *in-ak-ij* 'different', *t-ak-ij* 'such', etc. (p. 19).

4. The meaning of *kakoj*

Before we can state our hypothesis formally, we need to provide some analysis for the *wh*-word *kakoj* ('which', 'what kind', 'like what').

At first sight it seems that, just as *kto* 'who' is for asking questions about animate entities, *čto* 'what' is for questions about inanimate entities, expressed, for example, by definite descriptions, *gde* 'where' is about places expressed by adverbs and PPs, in the same way by using *kakoj* one asks a question about the properties of the object referred to by its sister NP, expressed by adjectives.⁴ An answer to such a question should have the <<e, t>, <e, t>> type. Upon further examination, however, we find, first, that nonsubsecutive adjectives are not good answers to questions formed with *kakoj* (10c), and, second, that nouns designating subkinds of the sister NPs do serve as answers to such questions (10d):

- (10) — Kakaja u tebja sobaka?
 what at you dog
 'What kind of dog do you have?'
- a. — Bol'shaja.
 'A big one'
- b. — Staraja
 'An old one'
- c. — ??Igrušečnaja
 'A toy one'
- d. — Ovčarka
 'A shepherd'

⁴ There are at least two distinct meanings of *kakoj*. For the moment I disregard those uses that correspond to English *which* (but see section 9).

We arrive at the following conclusion: *kakoj* forms questions about subkinds of the kind expressed by its sister NP.

5. Formalizing the basic hypothesis

In parallel with *kakoj*, we hypothesize that *vsjakij* is a universal quantifier over subkinds of the kind denoted by its sister NP. This can be expressed by the following formula:

$$\mathbf{vsjakij} = \lambda Q \lambda P \forall k ((k < \text{nom}(Q)) \rightarrow P(k))$$

Here *nom* is a type shift operator converting a predicate into its corresponding kind (of type *e*) (Partee 1987), and the expression $k_1 < k_2$ means that k_1 is a subkind of k_2 .

One extra assumption is needed: when *vsjakij* forms a DP by itself, its *Q* argument is filled by the predicate **human** when *vsjakij* is in masculine, feminine gender or in plural (11), and by predicates **event** or **information** when it is in singular neuter (12), (13).⁵

- (11) *Vsjakij* obradovalsja etomu izvestiju
 vsjakij_{NOM.MASC} was glad this_{DAT} news_{DAT}
 ‘Everyone was glad to hear the news’
- (12) So mnoj vsjakoe slučalos’
 with me vsjakij_{NOM.NEUT} happened
 ‘All kinds of things happened to me’
- (13) O Vasje vsjakoe rasskazyvajut
 about V. vsjakij_{ACC.NEUT} they.tell
 ‘They say all kinds of things about Vasya’

6. Digression: kind-referring NPs

Before we start looking at the behaviour of *vsjakij*, we need to review briefly kind-referring NPs in general and Russian kind-referring NPs in particular. According to Carlson 1977, these NPs have two groups of uses: generic and “existential”. A limited number of predicates accept kinds as arguments directly, as in

⁵ I use English translations for Russian lexical entries in the formulas I write, hoping that no significant distortion is introduced.

- (14) Tigr ohranjaetsja zakonom
 tiger is.protected law_{INSTR}
 'The tiger is protected by law'

For most predicates, however, the truth value of the sentence is computed on the basis of truth values of the corresponding predicate applied to the specimens of the kind. In the case of generic use the sentence may be true, for example, when all the “normal” specimens have the requisite property:

- (15) Sobaki predany hozjainu
 dogs devoted master_{DAT}
 'Dogs are devoted to their master'

In the case of “existential” use, for a sentence containing a kind-referring NP to be true the predicate needs to hold for some “realisation” of the kind — that is, for some object belonging to the kind:⁶

- (16) Segodnja u menja po kuxne begali
 today at me along kitchen ran
 tarakany
 cockroaches
 'Today there were cockroaches running in my kitchen'

In English kind-referring NPs are of two types: singular NPs with the definite article and bare plurals. In Russian, an article-less language, bare singulars correspond to definite singular NPs in English, and bare plurals correspond to English bare plurals. Singular NPs are mostly used generically, plurals can have both generic and “existential” uses.^{7,8}

⁶ I omit the complications concerning stages.

⁷ Carlson 1977 states that the choice between interpretations lies within the predicate — individual level predicates select for generic interpretation of kind-referring NPs, and stage level for “existential” interpretation. However later (Carlson 1989) examples were found showing that other factors can influence the choice, topic-focus structure among them.

⁸ This treatment of Russian bare NPs conforms to Cheierchia 1998. In Dayal 2004, indefinite readings for bare singulars in article-less languages are also claimed to stem from kind reference. However, the following examples show that her analysis has problems with scopal and anaphoric behaviour of such NPs, at least for Russian:

(*) (Ne v každom dome byla koška,) a sobaka byla vezde
 (Not every house had a cat,) but dog was everywhere
 'Not every house had a cat, but there was a dog everywhere (∃A)'

(**) V komnate byla devuška_i. Ona_i govorila s drugoj devuškoj.
 'There was a girl_i in the room. She_i talked to another girl.'

7. Checking the hypothesis

7.1. Generic universal quantifier

Vsjakij-NPs in the singular (with count head nouns) are used almost exactly in the same contexts where kind-referring singular NPs are used. This explains the distribution we see in (1-3): (2) is ungrammatical, because singular kind-referring NPs are not used in episodic contexts; (3) because proper names do not have kinds associated with them.

Besides, our working hypothesis correctly predicts that

- (17) *Vsjakaja* sobaka predana svoemu xozjainu
 vsjakij_{NOM.FEM} dog_{NOM} devoted its_{DAT} master_{DAT}
 `Every dog is devoted to its master’

is more likely to allow exceptions than

- (18) Každaja sobaka predana svoemu xozjainu
 each dog devoted its_{DAT} master_{DAT}
 `Each dog is devoted to its master’

The translation we get for (17) is the following formula:

$$\forall k ((k < \mathbf{dog}) \rightarrow \text{NORMALLY}_x (R(x,k) \rightarrow \mathbf{devoted-to-master}(x)))$$

Two steps of quantification are involved here: one arises when we derive the meaning of the verb that takes kinds as arguments, and the other is the quantifier over kinds denoted by *vsjakij*. The first of these allows exceptions. In (18) there is just one, object-level quantifier, and no exceptions are allowed.

There arises a problem: *vsjakij* does not combine with predicates that select for kind as their argument:

- (19) ??*Vsjakij* tigr oxranjaetsja zakonom
 vsjakij_{NOM.MASC} tiger is.protected law_{INSTR}
 `Any kind of tiger is protected by law’

A possible explanation for this fact is that among the subkinds generated by *vsjakij* some are equally bad when combined with the predicate (if expressed by singular NPs):

- (20) *Staryj tigr oxranjaetsja zakonom
 old tiger is.protected law_{INSTR}
 `The old tiger is protected by law’

7.2 “Existential” use

Our analysis predicts the right truth conditions for sentences

containing *vsjakij*-NPs in plural, if one views them as always having “existential” interpretation. For example, (4) is analyzed as follows:

$$\forall k ((k < \text{nom}(\text{cat})) \rightarrow \exists x (\text{R}(x,k) \ \& \ \text{lived-with-us}(x)))$$

that is, for every subkind of the kind CAT, at least one representative of that kind lived in our house. Here $\text{R}(x,k)$ means that the individual x (or stage, if we follow Carlson's analysis literally) is an instance of kind k . (Cf., however, section 8.)

At the same time generic uses of NPs with *vsjakij* in plural are impossible:

$$(21) \quad *Vsjakie \quad \text{ljudi} \quad \text{snertny} \\ \text{vsjakij}_{\text{NOM.PL}} \quad \text{people}_{\text{NOM}} \quad \text{mortal}$$

Grammaticality judgements for bare kind-referring NPs and *vsjakij*-NPs can be summarized in the following tables:

Bare kind-referring NPs			<i>Vsjakij</i> -NPs		
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
Existential	-	+	Existential	-	+
Generic	+	+	Generic	+	-

We see that the tables are mostly similar, however the cell for generic plural remains problematic.

7.3. Indirect negation

For examples like (5), one needs to provide some analysis of *bez* ‘without’. Here is our proposal: sentence S *bez* X has the meaning

$$S'(e) \ \& \ \neg \text{participate}(X', e)$$

where e is the event described by the main clause (either a free variable whose value is supplied by the context, or a variable subject to existential closure), and $\text{participate}(x,e)$ means that entity x takes part in event e .

It is natural to stipulate that a kind participates in an event iff some realisation of it does. Under these assumptions, we arrive at the following analysis for (5):

$$\forall k ((k < \text{nom}(\text{spoon})) \rightarrow (\text{Vasja-ate-soup}(e) \ \& \ \neg \exists x (\text{R}(x,k) \ \& \ \text{participate}(x,e))))$$

which corresponds to its intuitively understood truth conditions.

It is also clear why (8) is bad. For this sentence our analysis gives two possible meanings : wide-scope *vsjakij*

$$\forall k ((k < \text{nom}(\text{objection})) \rightarrow \text{FEW}_x (\text{present}(x) (\exists y (\text{R}(y,k) \ \& \ \text{have}(x,y))))$$

(‘For each kind of objection, few of those present had such objections’),
and narrow-scope *vsjakij*

$$\text{FEW}_x(\text{present}(x))(\forall k (k < \text{nom}(\text{objection})) \rightarrow \\ \exists y (R(y,k) \ \& \ \text{have}(x,y)))$$

(‘Few of those present had objections of every kind’). While it is possible to get both of them under a highly marked intonation contour, neither of these readings corresponds to the meaning one would expect from an “indirect negation” indefinite pronoun by Haspelmath’s classification (‘Few of those present had any objections’). Here a wide-scope universal quantifier is not equivalent to a narrow-scope existential, thus *vsjakij* does not behave as an indefinite.

Examples like (6) are harder to deal with. In order to avoid presupposition failure (for the verb *poterjat* ‘lose’), we need to assume that *terpenie* refers only to those subkinds of patience that the speaker initially had. The particular mechanism providing such an accommodation is unclear.

As for the example (7), the meaning under consideration is unavailable since raising the quantifier would need to cross a tensed clause boundary, violating an island constraint.

As we see, the predictions of our analysis are more informative than those of the semantic maps approach, where all these contexts belong to the same cell of the map.

One problem with the account I present for indirect negation contexts is that, at least in the *bez* construction, the morphological number of *vsjakij*-NP corresponds to the number of objects that might participate in the event described. This casts serious doubts on the idea that kind reference is involved.⁹

(22) Vasja s’el sup bez vsjakoj
V. ate soup without vsjakij_{GEN.FEM}
ložki /?vsjakih ložek
spoon_{GEN} vsjakij_{GEN.PL} spoons_{GEN}
‘Vasya ate the soup without any spoon/?any spoons’

⁹ An anonymous reviewer proposes to view these examples as an evidence for polysemy. While I will need to treat *vsjakij* as polysemous (see sections 8 and 9), in this case I do not see how to restrict an additional quantify-over-individuals sense to just negative contexts, short of stipulation.

- (23) Vasja vtaščil rojal' na sed'moj etaž
 V. brought piano to seventh floor
 bez ?vsjakogo pomoščnika /vsjakih
 without vsjakij_{GEN.MASC} assistant_{GEN} /vsjakij_{GEN.PL}
 pomoščnikov
 assistants_{GEN}
 'Vasya lifted the piano to the seventh floor without any
 ?assistant/assistants'

7.4 Standard of comparison

Analysis of comparatives is a complicated task, and I am unwilling to take sides in the debates on this problem. Therefore I would like to keep the presentation in this section informal. Variants of formal analysis can be found in Schwarzschild and Wilkinson 2002, Heim 2000.

Note, however, that the semantics of comparatives involving *vsjakij* is consistent with it being a universal quantifier: compare

- (24) Vasja spel pesnju lučše každygo iz učenikov
 V. sang song better each_{GEN} of students
 'Vasya sang the song better than every student (in his class)'
 (25) Vasja svaril sup lučše vsjakogo povara
 V. cooked soup better vsjakij_{GEN.MASC} cook_{GEN}
 'Vasya cooked the soup better than any cook would'

It should also be noted that when an NP with an object level referent serves as a standard of comparison in an episodic sentence, the resulting sentence presupposes the existence of a real event with the participation of that object. For example,

- (26) Vasja narisoval košku bystree Peti
 V. drew cat faster P._{GEN}
 'Vasya drew a cat faster than Petya did'

presupposes that Petya has also drawn a cat. But if the standard of comparison is a kind-referring NP, this requirement no longer holds: in

- (27) no professional artist needs to draw anything in the real world.¹⁰
 (27) Vasja narisoval košku ne xuže
 V. drew cat not worse

¹⁰ A separate explanation is needed as to why negated comparatives are better in such examples.

professional'nogo xudožnika
 professional_{GEN} artist_{GEN}

'Vasya drew a cat no worse than a professional artist'

Considering this, sentences like (9) are analyzed adequately. The event 'bandaging the wound by a *k*-th doctor' here is as hypothetical as in (27), in contrast with (28):

(28) Vasja probežal stometrovku bystree každogo
 V. ran 100.meters faster each_{GEN}
 iz sportsmenov
 of sportsmen

'Vasya ran 100 meters faster than each of the sportsmen'

Thus we have an additional argument that *vsjakij* involves reference to kinds.

7.5. Predicate position

One more context where *vsjakij* is used (not mentioned in the list at the beginning of this paper) is in the position of the main predicate of the sentence:

(29) Vasja byvaet vsjakim
 V. is.at.times vsjakij_{INSTR.MASC}
 ≈ 'Vasya is different in different situations'

To analyze *vsjakij* in such examples, we assume that the trace left by quantifier raising is subject to the pred type shift, which converts it into a predicate. Thus (29) is interpreted in the following way: for every subkind of human, in some situations Vasja belongs to that subkind.¹¹ As a formula:

$$\forall k ((k < \text{nom}(\mathbf{human})) \rightarrow \exists s (\text{pred}(k)(s, \mathbf{v})))$$

7.6. Explaining the distribution of *vsjakij* on the semantic map

According to Haspelmath (1997), the set of contexts where a pronoun can be used always forms a continuous region on the semantic map in Picture 1. Thus it makes sense to look at the group of contexts adjacent to those occupied by *vsjakij* on Haspelmath's map, to see

¹¹ I chose *byvat'*, not *byt'* 'be' as the main verb, because otherwise Vasja would need to belong to all the subkinds simultaneously, which would make the sentence *Vasja vsjakij* self-contradictory or at least requiring a special context.

whether we can predict the non-occurrence of *vsjakij* in these contexts.

In the context of protasis of conditionals *vsjakij*, in order to receive the interpretation of an indefinite pronoun, would need to scope higher than the conditional itself, thus violating an island constraint on extraction:

- (30) *Jesli proizojdet *vsjakaja* neožidannost',
 if will.happen *vsjakij*_{NOM.FEM} unexpected.event
 Vasja prežde vsego obratitsja k Pete
 V before all will turn to P.
 'If anything unexpected happens, Vasya will first of all turn to Petya'

If the condition is expressed by an adjunct PP, rather than a tensed clause, *vsjakij* becomes possible:

- (31) Pri *vsjakoj* neožidannosti Vasja prežde vsego
 at *vsjakij*_{LOC.FEM} unexpected.event V. before all
 obratitsja k Pete
 will turn to P.

'In case of any unexpected event Vasya will first turn to Petya'

In the free choice contexts, as a rule, the choice to be made is not among subkinds, but among particular objects. When one constructs an example with choice among subkinds, *vsjakij* can be used:

- (32) Ty možeš povesti sebja *po-vsjakomu*
 you can behave like.*vsjakij*_{DAT}
 'You can act any way you like'

Note that both for conditionals and free choice uses our predictions are again more precise than Haspelmath's: his theory is not able to distinguish between uses that correspond to the same cell of the map.

As for questions, it seems impossible to build an example of question where our analysis of *vsjakij* would predict that it behaves as an indefinite pronoun.

- (33) *U tebja jest' *vsjakie* voprosy?
 at you are *vsjakij*_{NOM.PL} questions
 'Do you have any questions?'

Finally, in direct negation contexts in Russian, the usage of negative concord pronouns with *ni-* seems to be mandatory. So while there seem to be no semantic reasons for prohibiting *vsjakij* here, syntactic considerations overrule it. The same also holds for other Russian pronouns, like *každyj* and the *-libo* series (cf. Pereltsvaig 2004).

8. “Collective” use

Our analysis so far gives wrong predictions for examples like the following:

- (34) Vasja nabil škaf vsjakimi korobkami
 V. filled cupboard vsjakij_{INSTR.PL} boxes_{INSTR}
 ‘Vasya filled the cupboard with all sorts of boxes’

What this example means is not that for every kind k of boxes Vasja has filled the cupboard with boxes of that kind. Rather, the sentence says, first, that Vasja has filled the cupboard with boxes (which together form a collective object x), and, second, that each subkind of boxes had its representative within x .

Informally it is not hard to justify the existence of such use by analogy with the collective use of the quantifier *vse* ‘all, everybody’. Just like *vse* serves as the endpoint for enumerating individuals that constitute a collective:

- (35) V komnate sobralis’ Vasja, Petja, Maša, Sereža... v obščem, vse.
 In the room gathered V., P., M., S.... in short, everybody.

vsjakij is the endpoint for enumerating subkinds:

- (36) Vasja nabil škaf korobkami: bol’šimi, malen’kimi, kartonnymi, derevjannymi... v obščem, *vsjakimi*.
 Vasja filled the cupboard with boxes: big, small, cardboard, wooden... in general, all sorts of boxes.

As soon as we acknowledge the existence of such “collective” use, a question arises whether we still need the “existential” one separate from it, since the truth conditions are in most cases equivalent. The following example shows that the “existential” use does indeed exist:

- (37) Vasja učastvoval vo *vsjakih* sporah
 V. took.part in vsjakij_{LOC.PL} arguments_{LOC}
 ‘Vasya took part in all sorts of arguments’

This sentence does not describe one event, but a series of events and different realisations of subkinds of *spor* ‘argument’ participate in different events. Thus the “existential” reading allows us to derive the following analysis of the sentence:

$$\forall k ((k < \mathbf{argument}) \rightarrow \exists e \exists x ((R(x,k) \ \& \ \mathbf{take-part}(v,x)(e))))$$

which corresponds to the intended reading. When we try to apply the “collective” meaning to this example, we get the following: there is an

compound object x composed of arguments, for every subkind of arguments there is a representative in x , and Vasya took part in x . But to take part in a compound event, it is sufficient to take part in one of its components, so we clearly do not get the intended meaning. Moreover, the statement that Vasya took part in such a compound event is not more informative than the statement that Vasya took part in some argument — presumably this rules out ‘‘collective’’ reading on Gricean grounds.

9. More problematic cases. Historical development

Some more uses of *vsjakij* are hard to predict from our hypothesis. They are probably best described as a result of historical development.

The most frequent of these (in spoken Russian, this is perhaps the most frequent type of usage of *vsjakij* in general) are cases where *vsjakij* means ‘insignificant’, ‘not worth describing’. In this use, *vsjakij* can combine both with common nouns and proper names:

- (38) U nas žili *vsjakie* koški
 at us lived *vsjakij*_{NOM.PL} cats_{NOM}
 ‘Some (insignificant) cats lived in our home’
- (39) Ešče *vsjakie* Vasi budut mne sovetovat’!
 also *vsjakij*_{NOM.PL} Vasya_{PL} will me give.advice
 ‘Vasya wants to give me advice!’ (The speaker does not think Vasya is worth listening to)

This type of usage probably derives from the ‘‘existential’’ and ‘‘collective’’ uses we considered. (In fact, the only surface difference between (38) and (4) is that in the latter *vsjakij* bears sentence accent, while in the former it is unstressed.) The words *raznyj* and *različnyj*, both meaning ‘various’ or ‘different’, undergo similar development, as does the English expression *all sorts of*. In (38), (39), *vsjakij* can be replaced by *raznyj* with no change in meaning.

Other uses are probably remnants of an older situation, when *vsjakij* was used more widely than today. Consider the following examples from XVIII century Russian:

- (40) I tysjackie, gromoglasno objaviv sobranie vojska, na lobnom meste zapisyvali imena graždan dlja *vsjakoj* tysjachi.
 ‘And commanders of thousands, having proclaimed loudly the gathering of the troops, wrote down in the square the names of citizens for every thousand.’ [Karamzin. Marfa Posadnitsa]

- (41) My rasstalis' i poehali *vsjak* v svoju storonu.
 `We parted and each went his own way.' [Radiščev. A journey
 from St. Petersburg to Moscow]

This kind of development is unexpected. Normally the meaning of a lexical entry becomes less transparent and further removed from its inner form as language evolves.¹² Here the opposite seems to be the case. One possible explanation is to relate this old kind of use to a different meaning of *kakoj* — `which', which is also present in modern Russian, along with *kotoryj*. Then we will have two separate meanings for *vsjakij* in XVIIIth century Russian, parallel to the two meanings for *kakoj*. In the modern language one of them is mostly lost. However, with some groups of nouns the old usage remains.

One such group is formed by nouns denoting events or situations, namely *raz* and *slučaj*. *Na vsjakij slučaj* `just in case' is an idiom which involves no quantification at all.

The expression *vsjakij raz* does involve quantification. However the quantification is not over subkinds but simply over events. Moreover, the number of events is allowed to be bounded:

- (42) Vasja četyreždy zapeval pesnju, no *vsjakij* raz
 V. four times started song, but *vsjakij*_{ACC.MASC} *time*_{ACC}
 zabyval slova
 forgot words
 `Vasya started the song four times, but each time he forgot the
 words'

Vsjakij also behaves in a similar manner when combined with nouns designating time periods. This use is absent from the author's idiolect, but there are dozens of occurrences in modern texts from the corpus (see also Paducheva 1989, p. 17):

- (43) Okazyvajetsja, on *vsjakij* den' za pjat' verst prihodit v pomeščičij
 dom, čtoby prostyo poobedat'.
 `It turns out he walks five versts every day to the squire's house
 just to eat dinner.' [Moris Simaško. The Fifth Rome. Chapters
 from a book (2000). Oktjabr' N7, 2001]

¹² Examples are everywhere. The English word *redneck*, say, no longer means a person whose neck is necessarily red.

- (44) No kak tol'ko načinalo temnet', ja *vsjakuju* minutu, kak Zoluška, pogljadyvala na strelku normal'nyh čelovečeskih časov.
'But as soon as it began to get dark, I, like Cinderella, looked every minute at the hand of an ordinary normal watch.' [Irina Poljanskaja. *Passage of a shadow*. 1996]

It seems, however, that in this type of context the number of time periods quantified over cannot be bounded.

10. Conclusions

It is unlikely that a completely uniform account of the meaning of *vsjakij* is possible. However, our present hypothesis seems to fare reasonably well. It is the first analysis that is able to show the connection between the generic universal and the "existential" readings, and at least partially explains number marking on *vsjakij*. Indirect negation, standard of comparison and predicative uses are also analyzed adequately. Of the cases that do not fall under our basic analysis, "collective" readings, first noted here as a problematic case, are similar to collective readings of ordinary universal quantifiers like Russian *vse*, English *all*; other problems are probably best described as a result of historic development.

Our analysis is able to predict the distribution of *vsjakij* with greater accuracy than the description based on semantic maps.

Finally, it is a well known fact that no known language has a determiner specialized for kind reference. If our analysis of *vsjakij* is correct, it does not serve as a direct counterexample to this universal, but a universal quantifier that has reference to kinds as an essential component of its meaning could still be relevant data for those who investigate the range of possible typological variation.

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