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## **THE POLISH PRONOUN *NIEKTÓRE* / *NIEKTÓRZY* AS A PARTITIVE QUANTIFICATION OPERATOR**

From a syntactic point of view, the pronoun *niektóre* / *niektórzy* ‘some’ always belongs to the noun phrase. As an exponent of reference and quantitative assessment it may occupy the first linear position in the phrase. The pronoun under study designates a part of what the co-occurring noun refers to. This part may not be characterized in a concrete manner with the use of numerals; see, e.g. *\*Niekórym dziesięciu uczniom przyznano nagrody*; *\*Niekórych uczestników olimpiady było czterdziestu*. Combination of *niektóre* with nouns denoting substances is deviates from the norm since the latter are assigned amorphic predicates; e.g. *\*niektóre mąki / mleka / masła*. The pronoun *niektóre* / *niektórzy* belongs to the class of indefinite pronouns. This qualification is confirmed by the contradiction arising from the addition of this pronoun to the demonstrative pronouns *te*, *ci*, *my*, *wy*. It is possible to add the pronoun under study to the noun phrase with a possessive pronoun, e.g. *Niektóre moje uczennice pracują naukowo*. The pronoun *niektóre* / *niektórzy* does not exclude in its co-text the definite reference of the set of entities to which it refers; e.g. *To jest środek na niektóre, czyli następujące owady: komary, kleszcze, muchy*. Some dictionaries of the Polish language acknowledge the existence of the pronoun *poniektóry* / *poniektórzy* ‘some,’ explaining its meaning as synonymous with that of the pronoun *niektóre* / *niektórzy*. The pronoun *poniektóry* / *poniektórzy* is regarded as archaic and pragmatically marked (colloquial, showing slight contempt) against the neutral *niektóre* / *niektórzy*. It had and continues to have a very low frequency in Polish written texts.

*Key words:* Polish language, syntax, semantics, pronoun, reference.

1. This article focuses on the syntactic and semantic properties of the indefinite pronoun *niektóre* ‘some’ (pl., non-masculine personal) / *niektórzy* ‘some’ (pl., masculine personal) as compared with other quantification operators. The pronoun has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest; however — to the best of my knowledge — no single work has offered a global view of its core properties. Besides, what is commonly known about

*niektóre / niektórzy* requires complementation and greater specification. The illustrative utterances found in this article have been excerpted from dictionaries and the *National Corpus of Polish* or invented in a manner resembling examples found in dictionaries and corpora. The utterances which prove or disprove the hypotheses advanced in this paper have been created by myself.

I use the term *pronoun* to refer to a class of lexical units which is grammatically heterogeneous and which is delimited based on semantic criteria. The focal pronoun (as well as functionally related pronouns, e.g. *wszystkie* ‘all,’ *wszelkie* ‘any,’ *jakieś* ‘some/any’) is an exponent of the reference of the noun phrase, that is its referential properties [Topolińska 1976: 39; see also Karolak 1999: 654, 657].

**2.1.** The pronoun under study belongs to the category of *pluralia tantum*. In most of the Polish-language dictionaries I know (except for [SPP; NSPP; SWJPDun]), one can find the entry *niektórzy* ‘some’ (sg.); however, the articles which they introduce clearly show that the pronoun has no singular form [Bańko, Krajewska 1994: 206; Bańkowski 2000/2: 303]. The same follows from the examples shown in the dictionaries: the word examined here appears in them only in the plural form. In the [WSJP PAN] dictionary, still being developed, the entry *niektórzy* does not exist at all.

The defective nature of the category of number is a feature of many Polish pronouns, including quantification operators. *Singularia tantum* include, for instance, the nominal pronouns *kto* ‘who,’ *co* ‘what,’ *nikt* ‘nobody,’ and *nic* ‘nothing.’ *Pluralia tantum* subsume the word *poszczególony* ‘individual/respective,’ which in my work has been classified as a representative of pronouns [Grochowski 2016]; *wszelki, wszystek* ‘any, all’ are characterised by limited collocability in the singular form [Grochowski 2000; 2017a: 124–125]; *wszelki* in the singular form is a constituent of numerous multi-unit lexical items (e.g. *za wszelką cenę* ‘at all costs,’ *na wszelki wypadek* ‘just in case,’ *poniżej wszelkiej krytyki* ‘beneath all criticism’); *wszelki* ‘any’ and *każdy* ‘each/every’ do not take the form of the masculine-personal in the nominative plural.

**2.2.** From a syntactic point of view, the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* always belongs to the noun phrase. When found in preposition in relation to the noun, it serves as its attribute and is governed by the gender and the case of the noun. It is then regarded as an adjectival pronoun, as in (1) and (2). In addition, it may take the position of the head of the noun phrase, thus representing the class of nominal pronouns, as in (3). Whenever it implies the preposition *z* (*spośród*) ‘from (out of)’ + gen., it represents the class of elective pronouns [Drózdź-Łuszczczyk 2006; Wierzbička-Piotrowska 2011]; see (4)–(6). In elective constructions, the noun which follows the preposition governs the gender of the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* (masculine-personal/non-masculine personal); see (5)–(6). See, e.g.:

- (1) *Niektóre gatunki zwierząt i roślin są pod ścisłą ochroną* ‘Some species of animals and plants are protected’ [USJP];
- (2) *Niektórzy ludzie nie jadają mięsa* ‘Some people do not eat meat’ [USJP];
- (3) *Niektórzy nie znoszą upałów* ‘Some do not like hot weather’ [USJP];
- (4) *Niektórzy z nas przywykli do tego bałaganu* ‘Some of us have got used to this mess’ [ISJP];

- (5) *Niektóre z uczennic dostały medale* ‘Some of the students received medals;’  
 (6) *Niektórzy z pracowników otrzymali odznaczenia* ‘Some of the employees received medals.’

**2.3.** In logical and semantic descriptions of natural languages, including Polish, sentences with indefinite descriptions which contain the pronoun analysed here (see *Niektóre róże nie mają kolców* ‘Some roses do not have thorns’) are regarded as synonymous with existential sentences (see *Istnieją róże bez kolców* ‘There are roses without thorns’) and interpreted as metasentences, e.g., in the following manner: “Know that we do not (always) have to adopt the interpretation worded as: ‘ta róża ma kolce’ <this rose has thorns>” [Wierzbicka 1969: 145; see also Bellert 1972: 32; Grzegorzczkowska 1982: 28; Karolak 1972: 114; 2001: 220].

The pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* as a specific quantifier [Karakol 1990; 2001] is one of the exponents of “collective reference to an indefinite set of entities” [Topolińska 1984: 322]. The set which subsumes the entities represented by the pronoun is definite. Noun phrases like *niektórzy ze studentów* ‘some of the students’ result from the reduction in two nominal strings such as *\*niektórzy studenci spośród tych studentów* ‘\*some of the students out of the students’ [ibid.: 368]. The aforementioned function of the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* in a predicate-argument structure indicates that the pronoun may not occupy the position of the predicate in the sentence (this applies also to the universal pronouns *każdy* ‘every/each (everyone),’ *wszyscy* ‘all (everyone),’ *wszelkie* ‘any’); see, e.g.:

- (7) *Ustaliliśmy terminy niektórych egzaminów* ‘We have determined the dates of some of the exams;’  
 (8) *\*Egzaminy, których terminy ustaliliśmy, były niektóre* ‘\*The exams, whose dates we have determined were some.’

According to the linear model of noun phrase constituents suggested by Topolińska [1984: 367–386], exponents of reference and quantitative assessment may occupy the first position. This condition is met by the pronouns *każdy* ‘each/every (everyone),’ *wszyscy* ‘all (everyone),’ and *żaden* ‘none (no one)’ mentioned by the linguist [see also Grochowski 2017a] as well as by the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* ‘some;’ see, e.g.:

- (9) *Niektórzy goście nagle odeszli od stolika* ‘Some guests suddenly left the table.’

**3.1.** The pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* designates a part of what the co-occurring noun refers to. This part may not be characterised in a concrete manner with the use of numerals, but it has to be composed of countable entities [Wierzbicka-Piotrowska 2011: 215]. Subjective use of the pronoun exceptionally with reference to one entity may not be excluded, see, e.g., the following allusive utterance [Grzegorzczkowska 2010: 138]:

- (10) *Widzę, że niektórzy w tym pokoju palą* ‘I see that some in this room are smoking.’

The relation between the said pronoun and numerals is that of exclusion [Bogusławski 1966: 50]. It is not possible to identify the predicate in the form of a numeral in the set designated by *niektóre / niektórzy* ‘some;’ see (11) with the set designated by *wszystkie* ‘all’ (12):

- (11) \**Niektórych uczestników olimpiady było czterdziestu* ‘\*Some of the participants in the Olympic Games represented a group of forty people;’  
(12) *Wszystkich uczestników olimpiady było czterdziestu* ‘All the participants in the Olympic Games represented a group of forty people.’

The syntactic role of the said pronoun is thus analogous to the role of cardinal numbers, see, e.g.: *niektóre ołówki* ‘some pencils,’ *pięć ołówków* ‘five pencils,’ *niektóre uczennice* ‘some (female) students,’ *pięć uczennic* ‘five (female) students,’ *niektórzy uczniowie* ‘some (male) students,’ *pięciu uczniów* ‘five (male) students.’ This analogy is corroborated by the fact that the combination of *niektóre / niektórzy* ‘some’ (pl.) (in contrast to *wszystkie / wszyscy* ‘all (pl.) (everyone)’) with a cardinal number is unacceptable, see:

- (13) \**Niektórym dziesięciu uczniom przyznano nagrody* ‘\*Some the ten students were granted awards;’  
(14) *Wszystkim dziesięciu uczniom przyznano nagrody* ‘All the ten students were granted awards.’

The numeral may occur only in the noun phrase with a preposition modifying the elective pronoun, see, e.g.:

- (15) *Niektórym spośród dziesięciu uczniów przyznano nagrody* ‘Some of the ten students were granted awards.’

3.2. The foregoing discussion shows that the pronoun examined here serves to quantify nouns denoting individual physical entities, that is those that may be assigned morphic predicates [Bogusławski 1973]. Combination of *niektóre* with nouns denoting substances is deviant since the latter are assigned amorphous predicates; see, e.g.: \**niektóre maki* ‘\*some flours’ / *węgla* ‘\*some coals’ / *mleka* ‘\*some milks’ / *margaryny* ‘\*some margarines’ / *wody* ‘\*some waters’ / *sole* ‘\*some salts’ / *wina* ‘\*some wines.’ This is a natural consequence of the fact that such nouns do not imply the singular vs. plural opposition within the grammatical category of number [Feleszko 1980]. The semantic basis for the said opposition is to be found in the number vs. quantity opposition [Bogusławski 1973]. The aforementioned deviant combinations may not be ruled out in the case of spoken language; however, the nouns shown above operate in them as generic names of substances or they refer to their portion [Grochowski 1992]; see, e.g.:

- (16) *Niektóre wody mają wyjątkowe walory kosmetyczne* ‘Some kinds of water have exceptional cosmetic properties;’  
(17) *Niektóre mleka dla niemowląt alergicznych robione są na bazie soi* ‘Some kinds of formula milk for allergic babies are soy-based;’  
(18) *Niektóre margaryny obniżają poziom cholesterolu, dzięki obecnym w nich substancjom roślinnym* ‘Some kinds of margarine reduce the level of cholesterol thanks to the plant ingredients they contain;’  
(19) *Niektóre sole mineralne przedłużają życie kwiatom* ‘Some kinds of mineral salt extend the life of flowers;’  
(20) *Niektóre wina są dobrym lekarstwem na przeziębienie* ‘Some kinds of wine are a good remedy for the common cold.’

4.1. The pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* (z...) ‘some (of...)’ represents a range within a set of entities which the predicate designates. It follows from the meaning of the pronoun that the predicate does not refer to the other (remaining) part of the range of the same set of entities. This portion, designated by *inne* ‘other’ (pl.) [Salińska 2006], forms an assessment which in relation to the first one, designated by *niektóre* ‘some’ (pl.), performs the function of a logical complement. See, e.g.:

- (21) *Niektóre towary od Nowego Roku podrożeją, a inne (pozostałe) od Nowego Roku nie podrożeją* ‘Some goods will be more expensive as of the New Year while others (the remaining ones) will not be more expensive as of the New Year.’
- (22) \**Mówiąc, że niektóre towary od Nowego Roku podrożeją, mówię, że wszystkie towary od Nowego Roku podrożeją* ‘\*By saying that some goods will be more expensive as of the New Year I say that all goods will be more expensive as of the New Year.’

The speaker does not indicate the entities represented by the pronoun; therefore, the recipient does not identify them. The motivation behind the speaker’s behaviour is extralinguistic. The speaker may not or does not want to indicate specific entities.

In some dictionary definitions of the pronoun analysed here [USJP 2003/2: 924] as well as in some studies which offer its semantic description, it is said that a portion of the set designated by *niektóre / niektórzy* is smaller than the remaining portion [see, e.g. Grzegorzczkova 1972: 16; 1987: 135, 139; 2010: 134]. The scholar refers to the pronoun as “a partitive operator of minority.”

This hypothesis is false. The said pronoun does not indicate the size of the set being partitioned. This claim is corroborated by positive results of a contradiction test; see, e.g.:

- (23) \**Mówiąc, że niektórzy urzędnicy biorą łapówki, mówię, że inni nie biorą łapówek i że tych urzędników, którzy biorą łapówki, jest mniej* ‘\*By saying that some officers accept bribes I say that other officers do not accept bribes and that the group of officers accepting bribes is smaller.’

as well as the semantically acceptable combination such as the following:

- (24) *Niektóre dzieci zaraziły się w przedszkolu świnką, zarażonych jest już połowa / więcej niż połowa* ‘Some children caught mumps in the kindergarten, half of them / more than half of them are already infected.’

4.2. My hypothesis is more conservative. From a semantic point of view, the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* ‘some’ (pl.) excludes the pronoun *wszystkie / wszyscy* ‘all (everyone)’ whereas its relation to other exponents of referential quantification is neutral. Following Karolak’s [1999: 657] old, however still valid, hypothesis that when using an indefinite pronoun (including *niektóre / niektórzy*), the speaker expresses negation of definite reference, see (25), it should be added that in its co-text it does not exclude the definite reference of the set of entities to which it refers. See (26) and (27):

- (25) \**Mówiąc, że w niektórych miastach województwa małopolskiego można jeździć bryczką, mówię, w których miastach tego województwa można jeździć bryczką* ‘\*By saying that in some of the cities in the Małopolska Province one can ride a horse-drawn carriage, I say in which cities in this province one can ride a horse-drawn carriage;’
- (26) *Niektóre książki ze szkolnej biblioteki, na przykład / między innymi Krzyżacy, Pan Tadeusz, Syzyfowe prace, są przeznaczone na wymianę* ‘Some books from the school library, for instance / *inter alia* “Krzyżacy”, “Pan Tadeusz” and “Syzyfowe prace” are to be exchanged;’
- (27) *To jest środek na niektóre, czyli (to znaczy) następujące owady: komary, kleszcze, muchy, pająki* ‘This preparation works against some, i.e. the following insects: mosquitos, ticks, flies and spiders.’

The definite reference of a set of entities in the immediate co-text is not possible if the speaker designates a set using the pronouns *któreś*, *jakiś* ‘any/some.’ What they have in common (as opposed to *niektóre*) is that the speaker does not know which entities represent a given set [see Topolińska 1984: 323]. Therefore, the speaker does not say that. See (26) showing a contradictory utterance:

- (28) \**Któreś / jakieś książki ze szkolnej biblioteki, na przykład / między innymi Krzyżacy, Pan Tadeusz, Syzyfowe prace, są przeznaczone na wymianę* ‘\*Any books from the school library, for instance / *inter alia* “Krzyżacy”, “Pan Tadeusz” and “Syzyfowe prace” are to be exchanged.’

The direct reference of a set of entities may take the form of enumeration. The relation holding between the pronoun examined here and the notion of a bounded set is neutral. The noun phrase with the *niektóre* attribute may be modified by a specificational coordinate phrase with a definite number of conjuncts, which is preceded by the exponent of the specificational relation *następujące* ‘the following’ [Grochowski 2018: 67]. This is illustrated for instance by (27). The pronoun *niektóre* ‘some’ is contrasted with the pronoun *wszelkie* ‘any’ denoting an unbounded class [Grochowski 2000: 6]. Thus, the utterance shown in (29) is deviant, by analogy to (27):

- (29) \**To jest środek na wszelkie, czyli (to znaczy) następujące owady: komary, kleszcze, muchy, pająki* ‘\*This preparation works against any, i.e. the following insects: mosquitos, ticks, flies and spiders.’

The reason for the deviation is the co-occurrence of the pronoun *wszelkie* ‘any’ with the metatextual operator *następujące* ‘the following,’ which results in a contradiction.

5. It is commonly claimed that the pronoun *niektóre* / *niektórzy* belongs to the class of indefinite pronouns [see, e.g. Wierzbicka-Piotrowska 2011: 57]. This qualification is confirmed by the contradiction arising from the addition of this pronoun to the demonstrative pronouns *te* ‘these’ (non-masculine personal), *ci* ‘these’ (masculine-personal), *my* ‘we,’ *wy* ‘you’ (pl.); see:

- (30) \**Te niektóre dzieci zostały zaszczipione na odrę* ‘\*These some children have been inoculated against measles;’

- (31) \**Ci niektórzy uczestnicy teleturnieju przeszli do finału* ‘\*These some participants in the game show qualified for the finals;’  
(32) \**My niektórzy pracownicy muzeum przygotowaliśmy tę wystawę* ‘\*We some employees of the museum have prepared this exhibition;’  
(33) \**Wy niektórzy organizatorzy demonstracji będziecie odpowiadać przed sądem* ‘\*You some organizers of the demonstration will be brought to justice in court.’

No contradiction, however, arises in the case of the co-occurrence of demonstrative pronouns with the pronoun *wszyscy* ‘all,’ see, e.g.:

- (34) *Te wszystkie dzieci zostały zaszczepione na odrę* ‘All these children have been inoculated against measles;’  
(35) *My wszyscy zrozumieliśmy, że sprawa jest poważna* ‘We all understood that this was a serious matter.’

It is also possible to add the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* to the noun phrase with a possessive pronoun which is in preposition in relation to the latter, as in, e.g.:

- (36) *Niektórzy moi sąsiedzi słuchają tylko muzyki rozrywkowej* ‘Some of my neighbors listen only to rock music;’  
(37) *Niektóre moje uczennice pracują naukowo* ‘Some of my (female) students undertake academic work.’

The speaker performs partitive quantification (with the use of *niektórzy*) of a bounded/definite set of entities (*moi sąsiedzi* ‘my neighbors,’ *moje uczennice* ‘my (female) students’). The possessive pronoun *mój* ‘my’ represents the argument of the two-argument predicate *ktoś jest czyjś sąsiadem / sąsiadem kogoś* ‘somebody is somebody else’s neighbor’ (*ktoś jest czyjś uczniem / uczniem kogoś* ‘somebody is somebody else’s student’). The reversal of this linear order leads to a contradiction. Indeed, it is not logically possible to quantify the same relational predicate without considering its argument. See (36) in conjunction with (37) and (38) in conjunction with (39):

- (38) \**Moi niektórzy sąsiedzi słuchają tylko muzyki rozrywkowej* — “\**Mam niektórych sąsiadów, oni słuchają tylko muzyki rozrywkowej*” ‘\*My some neighbors listen only to rock music’ — “\*I have some neighbors, they listen only to rock music;”  
(39) \**Moje niektóre uczennice pracują naukowo* — “\**Mam niektóre uczennice, one pracują naukowo*” ‘\*My some (female) students undertake academic work’ “\*I have some (female) students, they undertake academic work.”

6. The pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* belongs to a group of expressions which probably have a relatively simple semantic structure. Andrzej Bogusławski [1966: 51] suggested — and to the best of my knowledge he was the first one to do so — that three semes (semantically indivisible elements) should be distinguished in the class of quantifiers: *wszystkie* ‘all,’ *niektóre* ‘some,’ *jeden* ‘one.’ Thirty years later, Anna Wierzbicka [1996] classified the notion which is represented in the Polish language by the pronoun under study here as a semantic prime, adding it to the class of quantifiers classified in her earlier work as elementary [Wierzbicka 1989], namely *jeden* ‘one,’ *dwa* ‘two,’ *dużo* ‘much/many,’

*wszystko* (*wszystkie, wszyscy*) ‘everything/all (everyone).’ Considering the fact that Wierzbicka’s list of “indefinibilia” also includes notions represented by the words *część* ‘part/some’ and *nie* ‘no/not,’ I find the hypothesis about the indefinable meaning of the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* debatable. One may indisputably regard as its hypernyms two expressions; see *niektóre* ‘some’ X-y → *nie wszystkie* ‘not all’ X-y; *niektóre* ‘some’ X-y → *nie mówię, które* ‘I do not say which’ X-y. However, at present I do not have sufficient arguments to disprove Wierzbicka’s hypothesis. Among the arguments she advances in support of the indefinability of *niektóre*, the most strongly pronounced ones are those derived from aboriginal languages, which clearly makes disagreement with her arguments more difficult.

7. Some dictionaries of the Polish language acknowledge the existence of the pronoun *poniektóry / poniektórzy* ‘some,’ explaining its meaning as synonymous with that of the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy*. The pronoun *poniektóry / poniektórzy* is regarded as archaic and pragmatically marked (colloquial, showing slight contempt) against the neutral *niektóre / niektórzy*. It had and continues to have a very low frequency in Polish written texts. In [SFPW], which is being developed based on the frequency lists issued in the period 1974–1977, the word *niektóry* occupies the 253<sup>rd</sup> position (its absolute frequency being 219) while the word *poniektóry* is not attested, which means that its absolute frequency is lower than 4. These findings corroborate the data from the [NKJP], which includes nearly half a million utterances containing the pronoun *niektóre / niektórzy* and a mere 2,066 utterances with the pronoun *poniektóry / poniektórzy*.

The two pronouns juxtaposed here share a number of syntactic and semantic properties. *Poniektóry* as an adjectival pronoun is a noun attribute and it appears in preposition to the noun, as in (40) and (44). As a nominal pronoun, it constitutes the noun phrase, as in (41) and (42). Together with the preposition *z* (*spośród*) ‘from (out of)’ + gen., it represents the class of elective pronouns, (43). By analogy to *niektóre*, it may not occupy the position of the predicate, (45). See, e.g.:

- (40) *Poniektórzy wujowie gardzą deserem, ograniczając się do zasadniczej konsumpcji* ‘Some uncles despise dessert, limiting themselves to basic consumption;’
- (41) *Jak czytał teksty poniektórych, to nos robił mu się czerwony* ‘When he was reading texts written by some, his nose was going red;’
- (42) *Poniektóre czekają już tutaj od kilku dni* ‘Some have already been waiting here for a couple of days;’
- (43) *Poniektórzy z nich nie wywiązali się ze swoich obietnic* ‘Some of them did not keep their promises;’
- (44) *Poniektórych dzieci nie można było niczego nauczyć* ‘Some children could not be taught anything’ [USJP];
- (45) *\*Dzieci, których nie można było niczego nauczyć, były poniektóre* ‘\*The children who could not be taught anything were some.’

In some dictionaries [SJPD; USJP], one can find examples illustrating usage of the singular form *poniektóry* while in [SPP], in which the pronoun *niektóre* is to be found under the entry with its plural form, the word *poniektóry*, regarded as its synonym, is



represented by the singular form. It is therefore difficult to unequivocally determine the status of *poniektóry* as belonging to *pluralia tantum*. While the pronoun *niektóre* collocates freely with nouns which designate countable entities, a feature typical of *poniektóre* is that it co-occurs with personal nouns; its co-occurrence with impersonal nouns is indeed much rarer.

The word *co* ‘what’ which represents a one-unit class, that is a bounded set, is often found in preposition in relation to the two aforementioned pronouns. The absence of semantic and syntactic differences between the strings with *co* and those without *co* suggests that the strings including *co* should be regarded as two-unit lexical items (in traditional terminology: phraseologies). See, e.g.:

- (46) *Obłudni są co poniektórzy księża, którzy co innego głoszą w murach kościoła, a potem zupełnie co innego czynią* ‘Hypocritical are some of the priests who teach one thing in the church and who do another thing outside the church;’
- (47) *Co poniektóre zwierzęta wyszły z wody na ląd* ‘Some of the animals moved from water onto land;’
- (48) *Co poniektórzy z was powinni dostać porządne lanie* ‘Some of you should get a good hiding.’

8. Lexical quantification operators, which subsume *niektóre / niektórzy* ‘some,’ are a grammatically heterogeneous class which is unbounded. This class is represented by the well-known pronouns *ktoś* ‘somebody,’ *coś* ‘something,’  *pewien* ‘some,’ *jakiś* ‘some/any,’ *ten* ‘this,’ *każdy* ‘each/every,’ and *wszystkie* ‘all’ which for decades have been the subject of scholarly attention. Basing on descriptions of new lexical items, researchers begin to subsume under the aforementioned class also operators which represent various parts of speech and which serve to reference the noun phrase. This function is performed, for instance, by the adjectives *liczny* ‘numerous,’ *nieliczny* ‘sparse’ [Dróżdż-Łuszczczyk 2018a; 2018b], *poszczególony* ‘individual/respective,’ and *dowolny* ‘any/random’ [Grochowski 2016; 2017b].

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