

Chapter 3

Argentinian Spanish *cualunque* and Italian *qualunque*

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In this article, we describe the syntactic and semantic properties of Argentinian Spanish *cualunque* ‘common, unremarkable’, which originated from Italian *qualunque* ‘any’. As we will show, on the basis of different corpus data (mainly social media data), *cualunque* has a syntactic distribution different from that of Italian *qualunque*.

Our main hypothesis is that Arg.Sp. *cualunque* denotes a property of type $\langle e, t \rangle$, such as *es cualunque*, and has the meaning of ‘unremarkable’. It describes a property of atomic individuals (e.g., people or objects) or their kinds (see Carlson 1977) that do not have any particular or specific features that would distinguish them from other atomic individuals or their kinds. Thus, *cualunque* entails a contrast to specific or particular (kinds of) individuals with special and distinguished properties. The crucial point of the analysis suggested in this paper is that the atomic individuals or their kinds described by *cualunque* are evaluated on different scales, such as a frequency scale or some qualitative scale (e.g., scale of goodness). The neutral interpretation of *cualunque* as ‘common’, ‘widespread’, or ‘normal’ is yielded when the individuals described by *cualunque* are evaluated in the middle of these scales. The pejorative version of the meaning ‘common’ is analyzed as a predication over individuals or their kinds that are evaluated on the extreme end of a qualitative scale, such as the scale of goodness. On this interpretation, *cualunque* means ‘not outstanding’ or ‘bad’. It is the evaluation on scales that has triggered the reanalysis of *cualunque* as a gradable adjective or as a noun with the evaluative interpretation of ‘ordinary or bad person’ in Argentinian Spanish. Italian *qualunque* also expresses the evaluation on scales, but only as a pragmatic implicature, which is not (yet) lexicalized.



1 Introduction

Italian had an invasive influence on the variety of Spanish spoken in the Río de la Plata area. Its effects are visible in all aspects of the language, especially in the lexicon, which has been enriched by many Italianisms (see Meo Zilio 2001, Di Tullio 2003, Engels & Kailuweit 2011, among others). Argentinian Spanish (Arg.Sp.) *cualunque* is one of them.

The influence of the Italian language and its dialects on Argentinian Spanish was the result of prolonged and intense linguistic contact between the local population and the Italian community that had emigrated to Argentina in the 19th through mid-20th century (see Meo Zilio 1959, Di Tullio 2003, Conde 2011: pt. 2.1).¹ Most of these immigrants were illiterate, spoke only their local dialect, and had only a passive knowledge of Standard Italian (see De Mauro 2017 among others). In Argentina, they settled in urban environments, such as the city of Buenos Aires (see Baily 1999: pt. 2, Devoto 2002: 41). Figure 1 offers an overview of this historical context. It shows two maps that represent the Italian regions most affected by the migratory flow and the areas of major settlement by Italian immigrants in Argentina. Among these, there is the city of Buenos Aires, where the argot known as Lunfardo² was born, and a region adjacent to that city, where its use spread in the first half of 20th century (see Teruggi 1974: 32, Conde 2011: pt. 1.2, among others).³

Arg.Sp. *cualunque* is one of the many Italianisms that enriched Rioplatense Spanish. Its origin can be traced back to Italian (It.) *qualunque* ‘any’ (see Real Academia Española 2010, Haensch & Werner 2000: 223) or to a similar-sounding dialectal form, such as Piedmontese *qualonque* or Sicilian *qualunchi* (Brero 2001: 213, Piccitto & Tropea 1990: 1041). The exact historical development of *q/cualunque* is difficult to reconstruct due to a lack of sources of spoken Italian

¹Considering only the years of mass migration (1881–1914), 2,000,000 Italians arrived in Argentina. In 1914 Italians constitute ca. 12% of the entire Argentinian population (see Devoto 2002: 32ff.).

²Lunfardo is an argot, about 40% of whose vocabulary is derived from Italian. Its origin goes back to Buenos Aires in the second half of 19th century. Its use later spread first throughout the entire region and subsequently across the whole country, penetrating the spoken language of the Spanish-speaking population (see Teruggi 1974, Conde 2011).

³The map on the right in Figure 1 shows the Italian regions with the heaviest emigration from 1876 to 1915 as reported by the Italian Commissariat of Emigration. The map on the left in Figure 1 shows the regions of settlement in Argentina according to the Third Census of the Argentinian Republic in 1914.

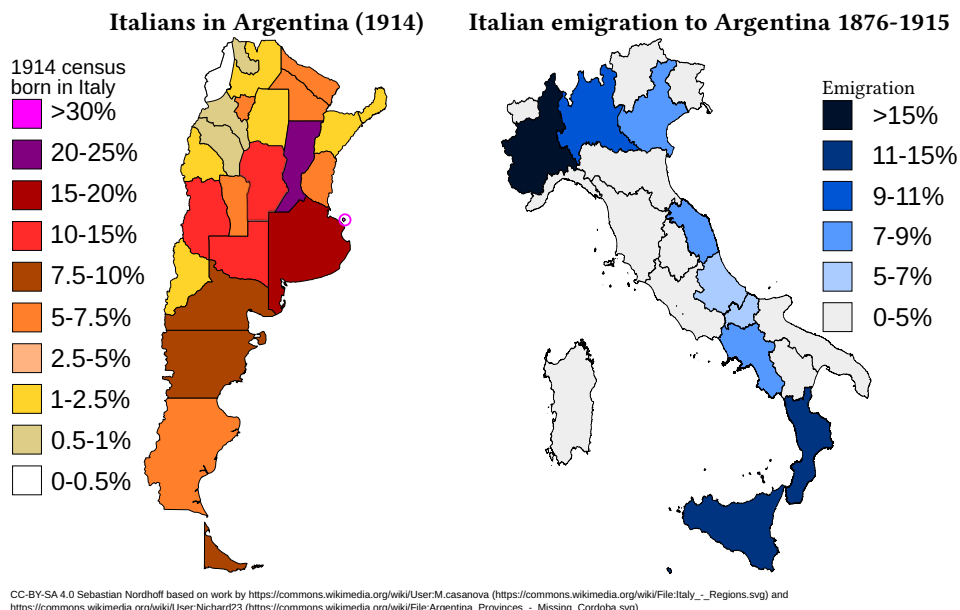


Figure 1: Regions of emigration from Italy and regions of Italian settlement in Argentina. Left: Adaptation of Italians in Argentina (1914), from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Italians_in_Argentina_\(1914\).png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Italians_in_Argentina_(1914).png). Right: Adaptation of Map 1 from Bailly (1999: 615).

and Spanish from that time. The first available diachronic source of *q/cualunque* starts with Cocoliche⁴, a *learner variety* of Spanish spoken by Italian immigrants and its imitation in literary contexts, so-called literary Cocoliche.⁵ The word was

⁴Cocoliche refers to the variety of Spanish that was spoken by Italian immigrants of first generation in Argentina in their everyday communication in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It was the result of language contact with colloquial Spanish spoken in the Río de la Plata area and Italian dialects at that time. It disappeared with the second generation. Cocoliche is characterized in the literature as an individual, spontaneous, and unconscious phenomenon with high instability and irregularity, as it could differ between speakers according to many factors, e.g., language of origin, level of education, permanence of residence in the country, and willingness to learn (see Cancellerier 2001: 73f. Di Tullio 2003: 51f. Engels 2010: 44f. Kailuweit 2004: 54, Meo Zilio 1964).

⁵In accordance with Kailuweit (2004), we refer to the imitation of Cocoliche in literary contexts, such as plays, novels, and short stories, as literary Cocoliche. Kailuweit (2004: 59) and Ennis (2015: 129f.) define this literary variety as a form of conceptual orality in the sense of Koch & Oesterreicher (2011). It is based on the perception that each author has with respect to the Spanish spoken by Italian immigrants. As a result, it can vary from one author to another with respect to linguistic elements they consider characteristic. At the same time, these linguistic elements form a literary tradition from which subsequent authors can benefit (Kailuweit 2004: 66).

later attested in Lunfardo (see Conde 2011) and then in an informal style of speech in Argentinian Spanish, in the sense of Koch & Oesterreicher (2011).⁶

Arg. Sp. *cualunque* has changed phonologically, semantically, and syntactically from the original source word It. *qualunque*.

In Italian, *qualunque* is an indefinite, which can be used as a prenominal determiner with a Free Choice (FC) interpretation in modal contexts. Thus, when embedded under an overt modal as in (1), it is interpreted as ‘every possibility is an option’ (see Chierchia 2006, Aloni & Port 2013, Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2017, Stark 2006, Kellert 2021b, among others).

(1) Italian (Kellert 2021b: 2)

Puoi scegliere **qualunque** **libro**
can.PRS.2SG choose QUALUNQUE book⁷

‘You can choose any book’

Conventional meaning: ‘You can choose a book’ and FC meaning: ‘each book is a possible option’.

Italian *qualunque* is also used as a postnominal indefinite with the meaning ‘ordinary/unremarkable’, often with copular verbs in the indicative present or past tense as in (2) and with indefinite nouns that assert the existence of some entity (see Kellert 2021c for Italian and Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2017 for Spanish *cualquiera*). When postnominal *qualunque* is used in a predicate position as in (2), it adds an evaluative interpretation, namely that ‘the book is unremarkable’.

(2) Italian (Kellert 2021b: 2)

The Stars è un libro **qualunque**

The Stars be.PRS.3SG a book QUALUNQUE

The Stars is a book (existential inference)

The Stars is unremarkable (evaluative meaning)

⁶We have found the first diachronic occurrences in texts of *cocolichesco* characters in plays and novels dating back to the beginning of the 20th century (see Section 7). Following the ethnolectal chain described by Engels & Kailuweit (2011: 238), we assume that the term was first used by Italians speaking Cocoliche in their everyday attempts to communicate with the hispanophone population (*first variety*). At the same time, it could be heard and read in popular media, such as in *sainetes*, tangos, and popular magazines (*secondary ethnolect*). The popularity of *cocolichesco* characters led to its ironic imitation by native Spanish-speakers outside the context of the media (*tertiary ethnolect*). In this way, *cualunque* entered as an Italianism into the Lunfardo lexicon and later into the Argentinian Spanish informal style of speech.

⁷Since It. *qualunque* and Arg.Sp. *cualunque* have a number of different interpretations, we will not translate them in the gloss.

Even though postnominal *qualunque* is possible in non-modal contexts such as with indicative present or past tense copular verbs as in (2) – something unpredicted by standard analyses of Free Choice Indefinites such as Chierchia (2006) – *qualunque* seems to still have the status of an indefinite rather than that of an adjective, as most standard syntactic tests targeting the category of adjectives do not apply to *qualunque* in Standard Italian (see Kellert 2021b). For instance, It. *qualunque* cannot be used as a predicate under copular verbs as in (3a), in comparative structures (4a,b), with degree modification (5), in coordination with other adjectives (6), and in uses with definite nouns (7) or quantifiers (8).⁸

(3) Predicative *qualunque* (Italian)

- a. * Gianni è qualunque
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG QUALUNQUE
 ‘Gianni is qualunque’
- b. Gianni è un uomo qualunque
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG a man QUALUNQUE
 ‘Gianni is an ordinary man’

(4) Comparatives (Italian)

- a. * Gianni è più/meno/tanto qualunque di/quanto te
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG more/less/as QUALUNQUE than/as you
 ‘Gianni is more/less/as qualunque than/as you’
- b. * Gianni è tanto qualunque quanto te
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG as QUALUNQUE as you
 ‘Gianni is as qualunque as you’

(5) Degree modification (Italian)

- Gianni è un uomo (*molto/*abbastanza/*poco) qualunque
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG a man very/pretty/little QUALUNQUE
 ‘Gianni is a (*very/*pretty/*not) ordinary man’

(6) Coordination (Italian)

- Gianni è un uomo (*molto/*abbastanza/*poco) qualunque
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG a man very/pretty/little QUALUNQUE
 ‘Gianni is a (*very/*pretty/*not) ordinary man’

⁸A linguistic experiment conducted in 2020 on 160 native Italian speakers from different regions of Italy suggests that It. *qualunque* may be on its way to being reanalyzed as an adjective, as some informants accept uses of the word with coordination, degree modification, and comparatives (see Kellert 2021d for an analysis of an online survey conducted by Francia 2020). Further research needs to be conducted on It. *qualunque*.

- (7) Definites/Demonstratives (Italian)
 *questa/*la ragazza qualunque
 this/the girl QUALUNQUE
 ‘this/the girl qualunque’
- (8) Quantifiers (Italian)
- a. *tutte le/*tante/*due ragazze qualunque
 all/many/two girls QUALUNQUE
 ‘all/many/two girls qualunque’
 - b. *nessuna/*qualche/*ogni ragazza qualunque
 no/some/each girl QUALUNQUE
 ‘no/some/each girl qualunque’

Unlike It. *qualunque*, Argentinian Spanish *cualunque* is used in all aforementioned syntactic contexts in (3–8). This is shown by degree modification in (9), a comparative clause in (10), coordination (11), morphological agreement with the noun *cualunque* modified in (12), a definite determiner in (13), and a quantifier in (14). Our hypothesis is that *cualunque* can be used as an adjective with the meaning ‘ordinary/common/unremarkable/low-class/bad’ (Real Academia Española 2010, Haensch & Werner 2000: 223). It can also be used as a noun with a similar adjectival meaning of ‘an ordinary (male/female) person’ in (13).

- (9) Degree modification (Argentinian Spanish)
 es un nombre re cualquier
 be.PRS.3SG a name very CUALUNQUE
 ‘It’s a very ordinary name’
 (Twitter, 2019, <https://twitter.com/lauritula/status/1103348577324154880>)
- (10) Comparatives (Argentinian Spanish)
 Más cualquier que gato atigrado
 more CUALUNQUE than cat tabby
 ‘It’s more common than a tabby cat’
 (Twitter, 2019,
https://twitter.com/Felicitas73_/status/1126985847314767872)
- (11) Coordination (Argentinian Spanish)
 qué cartel [...] ordinario y cualquier
 what banner [...] ordinary and CUALUNQUE
 ‘what an ordinary and unremarkable banner’
 (Twitter, 2020, <https://twitter.com/sebyo53/status/660538375246626816>)

- (12) Agreement (Argentinian Spanish)
 A todos los periodistas [...] cualquieres
 to all.PL the.PL journalist.PL [...] CUALUNQUE.PL
 ‘to all ordinary journalists [...]’
 (Twitter, 2016, <https://twitter.com/anaopera/status/704785632200138752>)
- (13) Definites (Argentinian Spanish)
 el cualquier es el que dice que la culpa la
 the.M.SG CUALUNQUE.SG be.PRS.3SG the that say.PRS.3SG that the fault it
 tienen otros.
 have.PRS.3SG others
 ‘the ordinary man is the one who says that others are at fault.’
 (*Tiempo Argentino*, 2018,
<https://www.tiempoar.com.ar/politica/damian-selci-el-militante-es-el-producto-mas-civilizado-que-puede-tener-una-sociedad/>)
- (14) Quantifiers (Argentinian Spanish)
 Todo virus cualquiere
 all virus CUALUNQUE
 ‘all common viruses’
 (Twitter, 2016,
<https://twitter.com/InfoGeneral4p/status/772112368461545473>)

Arg.Sp. *cualunque* can also be used as an indefinite with a Free Choice interpretation in modal contexts, such as imperatives (15), which we interpret as a modalized construction: ‘You can put any shirt’. However, *cualunque* is less frequently used in modal contexts, as we will show using the frequency distribution in §4.

- (15) Ponete una remerita cualquier y una calza: ¡listo!
 put.IMP.2SG a shirt CUALUNQUE and a leggings ready
 ‘Put on any shirt and a pair of leggings: ready!’
 (Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/LaSuvuelabajo/status/1179938401056952320>)

To sum up, Argentinian Spanish *cualunque* can be used as a gradable adjective, a noun with a meaning similar to that of a gradable adjective, and as a Free Choice indefinite (noun modifier).

It is important to note that Argentinian Spanish has another indefinite element, namely *cualquiera* ‘any’. This word is normally used as a Free Choice pronoun in Arg.Sp. and in other Spanish varieties (e.g., *Cualquiera puede hacerlo*. ‘Anybody

can do this.’). However, in Argentinian Spanish, in contrast to European Spanish, it can also be used as an adjective, similar to *cualunque* (see Rizzo Salierno 2013, Kellert 2021a):

- (16) es re/tan/muy cualquiera
be.PRS.3SG very CUALQUIERA
‘it’s very ordinary’
- (17) Un día re/tan/muy cualquiera
a day very CUALQUIERA
‘a very ordinary day’

Rizzo Salierno (2013) assumes that *cualquiera* has changed into an adjective as a result of analogy to *cualunque*. However, *cualquiera* and *cualunque* do not have similar uses in any respect. *Cualquiera* in contrast to *cualunque* can also be used as an indefinite under transitive verbs such as *hacer* with the meaning ‘something bad’ and under *mandar* with the meaning ‘incorrect/false’ (Di Tullio 2015, Kellert 2021a).

- (18) (Kellert 2021a)
Hizo cualquiera
do.PST.3SG CUALQUIERA
‘She/He did something bad.’
- (19) (Kellert 2021a)
Es así o mande cualquiera?
be.PRS.3SG like.this or say CUALQUIERA
‘Is it true or is it false?’

Moreover, *cualunque* and *cualquiera* are diatopically different as the geolocation of the tweets with these lexical items have shown (see §2). The latter is used everywhere in Argentina, whereas *cualunque* is used in a more restricted geographical area (in big cities such as Buenos Aires and Cordoba, where Italian immigrants have settled). Moreover, *cualunque* is used by a particular social group that has some Italian background or identifies with this background as the user profile analysis as well as the content analysis of the tweets show (see Kellert 2021d for details).⁹ For this reason, due to their syntactic, semantic, and

⁹The relation between cultural background and use of *cualunque* needs to be tested in the future on a large number of quantitative results. All examples studied so far seem to show some relation to Italy or Italian products:

(i) nada que envidiar al Barilla, que son fideos cualesques en Italia.
‘measuring up to Barilla, which are ordinary noodles in Italy’
(Twitter, 2015, <https://twitter.com/ElTanqueMartin/status/641040975561904129>)

sociolinguistic differences, we will refrain from pursuing a deeper analysis of *cualquiera* and *cualunque* in this article.

The main aim of this article is to understand the differences between modern Arg.Sp. *cualunque* and modern It. *qualunque* and to explain the conditions for variation and change with these lexical words.

This article is structured as follows: §2 provides a description of the methodology and corpora used for our investigation, as well as an overview of the graphical forms of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*. §3 describes diaphasic and diastratic factors of linguistic variation and correlates them to different orthographic forms found in the corpora. §4 describes the frequencies of syntactic properties of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*. §5 offers a semantic analysis of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*. §6 suggests hypotheses of the semantic and syntactic change in Argentinian Spanish. §7 gives a summary and an outlook for future research.

2 Data and methodology

In order to investigate the syntactic and semantic distribution of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*, we mainly based our research on corpus data from different sources. The data were collected from the *Corpus del Español* (CDE) by Mark Davies,¹⁰ in particular the CDE Web/Dialect and CDE News On the Web (CDE NOW). Both corpora are fully annotated and tagged for Part of Speech (PoS) and allow the user to limit the query to Argentinian Spanish. We also investigated data from a selected set of Google Books *n*-grams (BYU)¹¹ and from the online database *The Internet Archive*,¹² as well as data from Twitter localized in Argentina.¹³ We informally asked five native speakers of Argentinian Spanish about the use of *cualunque*. As to graphical variants, in order to cover a large range of forms,

¹⁰*Corpus del Español* by Mark Davies consists of five fully annotated and PoS tagged corpora: CDE (Genre/Historical); CDE Web/Dialect; CDE NOW (News On the Web); WordAndPhrase; Google Books *n*-grams (BYU). They are all accessible online via <https://www.corpusdelespanol.org>.

¹¹Google Books *n*-grams (BYU) is based on Google Books *n*-grams data. It consists of 45 billion words from 10 million books in Spanish published since the 19th century. It allows searching by part of speech, lemma, word, wildcards, synonym, syntactic construction, and collocations. However, it does not allow one to select a geographical region. We therefore selected a sample of books published in Argentina. The corpus is accessible online at <http://www.english-corpora.org/googlebooks/>.

¹²The digital library *The Internet Archive* provides approximately 250,000 books and texts in Spanish. The online database allows a search query by single terms and phrases, including Boolean operators. The data can be filtered by publication date and language as well. It is available at <https://archive.org>.

¹³The search on Twitter (<https://twitter.com>) was limited to tweets in Spanish published between 2006 and 2019. We considered 238 examples that were geotagged from Argentina.

we ran a search query for the sequence *alun* on CDE corpora, as well as for *cualunque*, *cualunques*, *cualunche*, *cualunches*, *qualunque*, *qualunques*, *qualunche*, *qualunches*, *qualunje*, *qualunjes*, *cualungue*, *cualunques*, *gualunque*, *gualunques*, *gualungue*, *gualungues*, *gualunche*, *gualunches* on *The Internet Archive* and on Twitter.

As a result, we obtained a corpus of 360 occurrences of *cualunque* in Argentinian Spanish, which includes the graphical forms listed in their order of frequency in Table 1.

Table 1: Graphical variants of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*

Graphical variants	<i>n</i>	%
<i>cualunque</i>	239	66.4%
<i>cualunche</i>	31	8.6%
<i>cualunques</i>	30	8.3%
<i>cualungue</i>	23	6.4%
<i>qualunque</i>	17	4.7%
<i>cualunches</i>	11	3.1%
<i>cualunje</i>	5	1.4%
<i>cualungues</i>	1	0.3%
<i>gualunque</i>	1	0.3%
<i>gualungue</i>	1	0.3%
<i>qualunques</i>	1	0.3%
Total	360	100%

The graphical variant *cualunque* is the most widespread form. The form *qualunque*, which is orthographically identical with It. *qualunque*, is less frequent than *cualunque*. The plural forms *cualunques* and *cualunches* are especially interesting, as Italian *qualunque* is invariant. The form *cualunche* with *-che(s)* is a mixed representation of Sp. *-cual-* and It. *-che* (lit. ‘that’), which might be explained in the future by the influence of Italian dialects spoken by Italian immigrants in Argentina or by an incorrect parsing of *-que* as the Italian complementizer *che* ‘that’.¹⁴ We will study these and other hypotheses that explain the variety of graphical forms in detail in the future.

¹⁴The Sicilian dialect has the form *qualunchi* (see Piccitto & Tropea 1990: 1041). In order to explain *cualunche* with the ending *-che*, we might assume that Sicilian orthography plays a role in the Arg.Sp. form *cualunche*. However, this assumption is problematic, given that it does not explain the phonological change of *-i* to *-e*. Another hypothesis is that speakers who use *cualunche* have parsed *-que* as the Italian complementizer *che* ‘that’, not knowing that *qualunque* is derived from Latin *unquam* and thus cannot be decomposed into *un-que*.

In the following section, we looked at whether different graphical forms correlated with specific register variations.

3 Correlation of form and register

The use of the most widespread form *cualunque* appears in contexts typically associated with an informal register, in sense of Koch & Oesterreicher (2011). This informal register is spread across different text types or genres, including expository texts (e.g., essays (20) and newspapers (21)); fiction (22); blogs about different topics (personal topics, politics, art reviews, sports, etc.), as in (23), from an educational blog, and in (24), from social media.

(20) (Silberstein 1967)

Esta fuerza de trabajo es una mercadería cualquier que
 this force of labor be.PRS.3SG a commodity.SG CUALUNQUE.SG that
 tiene un valor que está lado por el tiempo de trabajo
 have.PRS.3SG a value that be.PRS.3SG aside for the time of labor
 necesario
 necessary

‘This labor force is a commodity just like many other commodities that have a value that is set aside for the necessary labor time’

(21) Un militar de nombre cualquier, desconocido para el gran público.
 an officer of name.SG CUALUNQUE.SG unknown to the big public
 Murió el general Carlos A. Martínez.
 die.PST.3SG the general Carlos A. Martínez

‘A military officer of common name, unknown to the general public. General Carlos A. Martinez has died.’

(Télam S.E. Agencia Nacional de Noticias, 2013,
https://memoria.telam.com.ar/lesa-humanidad/202004/muri--el-general-carlos-a--mart-nez--ex-jefe-de-la-side-acusado-por-1200-cr-menes-de-lesa-humanidad_n2478)

(22) (Romano 1999: 193)

Primero apareció una ramita cualquier entre dos
 first appear.PST.3SG a twig.DIM.SG CUALUNQUE.SG between two
 ladrillos pero ahora hay toda una planta.
 bricks but now have.PRS.3SG all a plant

‘First a normal little twig appeared between two bricks, but now there is a whole plant.’

- (23) ¿qué tipo de movimiento es? Un MRUV sencillo y
 what type of movement be.PRS.3SG a MRUV simple.M.SG and
 cualquier como cualquier otro.
 CUALUNQUE.SG as any other
 ‘First a normal little twig appeared between two bricks, but now there is a
 whole plant.’
 (Blog post, http://ricuti.com.ar/no_me_salen/cinematica/c3fis_22.html)
- (24) A quién le puede interesar conocer los detalles de mi
 to whom to.him can.be.PRS.3SG interest to.know the details of my
 vida cualquier y cotidiana? La comparto como advertencia.
 life.F.SG CUALUNQUE.SG and daily.SG it be.PRS.1SG as warning
 ‘Who might be interested in knowing the details of my unremarkable and
 daily life? I share it as a warning.’
 (Twitter, 2015,
<https://twitter.com/MxAsterion/status/644188778869993474>)

The Italian form *qualunque* occurs in a more formal or written speech type in the sense of Koch & Oesterreicher (2011). Uses of *qualunque* in informal contexts are often related to the speaker’s intention to use a higher register, as in (26). In other cases, they show the speaker’s confidence with the political connotation related to Italian *uomo qualunque* ‘ordinary man’,¹⁵ as in (25).

- (25) El fascismo explícito y la reivindicación de el *uomo*
 the fascism explicit and the vindication of the.M *uomo*.SG
qualunque,
 QUALUNQUE.SG
 ‘Explicit fascism and the vindication of the “ordinary man”’
 (*Pagina/12* magazine, 2018, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/147316-un-giro-mas-a-la-derecha-que-afecta-a-sudamerica>)

¹⁵The Italian expression *uomo qualunque* refers to an ‘ordinary or average person’, the ‘man in the street’. The term became popular in Italy in the mid-1940s, when it started being used in satirical and political magazines, in childrens’ literature, and in radio programs broadcast nationwide. However, it was first with Guglielmo Giannini’s satirical magazine *L’Uomo qualunque* and later with his political party *Fronte dell’Uomo Qualunque* that the expression rose in popularity (see Cortellazzo & Zolli 1996: 1010) and took on a political connotation referring to ‘a man that is indifferent with respect to political ideologies, especially in politics’ (see Cocco 2014: 396). Note that in our corpus the first case of *uomo qualunque* is dated 1953, a few years after Giannini’s party was founded.

- (26) Segundo, aclararle que el libro que le recomendé del
 second clarify.you that the book that to.you recommend.PFV.3SG of.the
 Cardenal Ratzinger fue escrito cuando éste era Prefecto de
 Cardinal Ratzinger was write.PTCP when this be.IPFV.3SG Prefect of
 la Congregación para la Doctrina de la Fé (no era un
 the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith not be.IPFV.3SG a
 teólogo qualunque por ahí), y se lo cité porque
 theologian.SG QUALUNQUE.SG for there and refl. him cite.PFV.3SG because
 Ud. afirmó y pidió alguien.
 you affirm.PFV.3SG and ask.PFV.3SG someone
 ‘Second, to clarify that the book that I recommended to you from
 Cardinal Ratzinger was written when he was Prefect of the Congregation
 for the Doctrine of the Faith (he was not just any theologian out there),
 and I quoted it to you because you affirmed and asked for someone.’
 (Blog post comment, 2011, <https://padrefabian.com.ar/la-guitarra-no-se-puede-usar-en-la-misa/#comment-3128>)
- (27) Nada bueno hay para la #Argentina en la conjunción de un
 nothing good there.is for the Argentina in the conjuncture of un
 #Qualunque y un #Maoista
 QUALUNQUE.SG and a Maoist
 ‘There is nothing good for #Argentina in the conjuncture of a
 #Qualunque and a #Maoist’ (Twitter, 2015,
<https://twitter.com/Rampa1970/status/663505695938125824>)

Plural variants have only been found in informal text forms, illustrated by examples (28–30) from Twitter.

- (28) Son re cualquieres los auriculares estos
 be.PRS.3PL very CUALUNQUE.PL the.PL headphone.PL this.PL
 ‘These headphones are very ordinary’ (Twitter, 2013,
<https://twitter.com/juanialvar3z/status/352174155883495426>)
- (29) Cuantas cualunches mal vestidas que hay en
 how.many.PL CUALUNQUE.PL bad dressed.PL that have.PRS.3SG in
 shopping [sic] por dios.
 shopping for god
 ‘How many poorly dressed ordinary people there are in the shopping
 center for God’s sake.’
 (Twitter, 2013,
<https://twitter.com/floraguerov/status/348231214219526145>)

- (30) asi es tuitar, anonimo [sic] para los cuales como
so be.PRS.3SG Twitter anonymous for the.M.PL CUALUNQUE.PL like
yo
me
‘so it’s Twitter, anonymous for common people like me’
(Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/ratakmonodosico/status/1184171952736526336>)

In texts with a greater degree of informality and colloquiality (e.g. in comment areas and social media), *cualunque* shows a greater degree of polysemy and syntactic functions, as will be described in the following sections. In these texts, it is mainly used as a Lunfardism, such as to convey irony or anger, or to build a sense of group belonging and familiarity,¹⁶ as in the following example from a local magazine blog, where the author addresses the Argentinians, including himself.

- (31) Los argentinos no estamos acostumbrados a los sabores combinados, de ahí que las especias más usadas sean la pimienta y el pimentón, a lo sumo ají molido y orégano en algunos chimichurris. Pero hay vida más allá del salero. Muchas más especias, algunas realmente exóticas que pueden hacer que un arroz cualquier sea un plato gourmet.
‘We Argentinians are not used to combined flavors, so the spices used most are pepper and paprika, at most ground chili and oregano in some chimichurris. But there is life beyond the saltshaker. Many more spices, some really exotic, that can turn ordinary rice into a gourmet dish.’
(*Perspectiva Sur*, 2016, <https://www.perspectivasur.com/3/59064-especias-esenciales-para-darle-onda-a-tus-platos>)

To summarize this section, the Arg.Sp. form *cualunque* is usually used in informal speech and not in discussions of topics of a legal or scientific nature.

It is important to note that Italian *qualunque* shows a similar register or genre restriction when it appears in postnominal position, such as *un uomo qualunque* ‘an ordinary man’, but not when it is in prenominal position, such as *qualunque*

¹⁶Teruggi (1974: 334f.) lists several reasons that can lead a person to choose a Lunfardism instead of the current Spanish word. Among these are the intention to establish contact and easy communication, as well as to express a social code. A Lunfardism can also be chosen for humorous effect or to cause irritation, to express a social criticism, to demonstrate tenderness, or even to denote scorn or contempt. For this reason, it is not uncommon to find expressive uses of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*, especially in social media.

uomo ‘any man’ (see Kellert 2021b). Kellert (2021c) argues that the correlation between register variation, position, and meaning is not surprising, given that only postnominal *qualunque* can have the evaluative meaning of ‘unremarkable’ and that expressions with this meaning can only be used in a certain register (informal) and genre type (non-scientific, non-legal genre). It seems that the most widespread form Arg.Sp. *cualunque* mimics Italian postnominal *qualunque* in this respect. This might be interpreted as a hint for the source of linguistic change (see §6).

In the following section, we look at the frequencies of the syntactic functions of *cualunque* that can give us a hint concerning its syntactic and semantic development. For this reason, we classified the collected data according to their morphosyntactic and semantic properties. As for morphosyntax, we analyzed the distribution within the nominal phrase (NP) and its co-occurrence with: a) nouns; b) determiners, such as definite and indefinite articles, possessives, and demonstratives; c) all types of quantifiers; d) prepositional phrases; e) modifiers; f) coordination with adjectives; and g) plural agreement. We also classified Arg.Sp. *cualunque* with relation to its syntactic role and its co-occurrence with: a) different types of verbs, such as transitive, intransitive, copula, and modal verbs; b) different verb moods; and c) different clause types. As for the semantic properties, we analyzed a) *cualunque*’s function and interpretation; b) the semantic features of the nouns, such as [+human] or [–human]; and c) the lexical semantics of the verbs. We then looked into correlations between different meanings and different syntactic structures. We will report the results in the following sections.

4 Frequencies of syntactic properties of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*

In this section, we will mainly deal with the frequency and the extent to which they can tell us something about the variation and change of *cualunque*. We decided to show just a few examples of each variable in the table (for more examples see Appendix A).

Table 2 shows the frequency distribution of syntactic functions of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* in our corpus. The adjective (32) is the most frequent use, compared to the noun (33) and the indefinite use as in (15), repeated below as (34). Note that the indefinite use of It. *qualunque* (see, e.g., (1), §1) is the most frequent function in Italian (Kellert 2021b).

Table 2: Frequencies of syntactic functions of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*

	n	%
Adjective	193	81%
Noun	64	18%
Indefinite	3	1%
Total	360	100%

- (32) en realidad era un lazo cualquierque
in reality be.IPFV.3SG a bond CUALUNQUE.SG
‘it was actually a common bond’
(Blog comment, 2010,
<http://todosgronchos.blogspot.com/2010/11/todos-somos-vanesa.html>)
- (33) Ése es el Cualunque que designaron para dirigir la
that be.PRS.3SG the CUALUNQUE that appoint.PFV.3PL for lead the
Selección
National.Team
‘That is the ordinary person that was appointed to lead the National
Team’
(Twitter, 2017,
https://twitter.com/domingo_melia/status/945444579267969025)
- (34) Ponete una remerita cualquierque y una calza: ¡listo!
put.IMP.2SG a shirt CUALUNQUE.SG and a leggings ready
‘Put on any shirt and a pair of leggings: ready!’
(Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/LaSuvuelabajo/status/1179938401056952320>)

We suggest the following syntactic analysis of *cualunque* in Arg.Sp. for (32) and (33).¹⁷

(35) [Determiner *un/el* N Adj *cualunque*]

(36) [Determiner *un/el* N *cualunque*]

¹⁷As the indefinite use of *cualunque* represents only 1%, we do not analyze it in detail in this article.

Table 3 shows the frequency distribution of different positions in which the adjectival *cualunque* appears. The most frequent use is the adnominal position as in (32), followed by predicative position (37) and co-occurrence with a degree adverb (38).

Table 3: Positions of Adj *cualunque*

Positions of Adj <i>cualunque</i>	n	%
Adnominal (<i>cualunque</i> N, N <i>cualunque</i>)	261	89%
Predicative (N <i>es</i> <i>cualunque</i>)	20	7%
With degree adverbs (<i>re</i> <i>cualunque</i>)	12	4%
Total	293	100%

- (37) el ataque de Macri a Lifschitz era “cualunque”
the attack of Macri on Lifschitz be.IPFV.3SG CUALUNQUE.SG
‘Macri’s attack on Lifschitz was “ordinary”’
(*Página/12* magazine, 2016, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-55616-2016-07-22.html>)
- (38) Muy *cualunque*!
very CUALUNQUE.SG
‘very ordinary!’
(Twitter, 2017,
https://twitter.com/leo_argentino/status/826620435257294850)

Table 4 shows the distribution of noun, adjective, and indefinite *cualunque* with different types of determiners (+/– definite as in, e.g., *el/un* (N) *cualunque*, quantifiers as in, e.g., *todo/algún/dos* (N) *cualunque(s)*).

The co-occurrence of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* with quantifiers and definite nouns is especially interesting, as this distribution is impossible in Italian (see Kellert 2021b). Unlike its Italian counterpart, Arg.Sp. *cualunque* can occur with definite determiners, as in (33) and (39), cardinals (40), negative quantifiers (41), existential quantifiers, such as *cualquier* ‘any’ (42) and *algún* ‘some’ (43), universal quantifiers (44), and distributive quantifiers, as in (45).

Table 4: Distribution of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* in co-occurrence with determiner types

	Adj. <i>cualunque</i>		Noun <i>cualunque</i>		Indef. <i>cualunque</i>		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Det [–def]	161	55%	20	31%	3	100%	183	51%
Det [+def]	56	19%	17	27%	0	0%	73	20%
Det [Q]	9	3%	3	5%	0	0%	12	3%
[–Det]	67	23%	24	38%	0	0%	92	26%
Total	293	100%	64	100%	3	100%	360	100%

- (39) demonstrative
 este tirano *cualunque*
 this tyrant.SG CUALUNQUE.SG
 ‘this ordinary tyrant’
 (*La Nacion*, 2018, <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/espectaculos/teatro/la-farsa-dictaduras-nid2167685>)
- (40) cardinal number
 los dos apellidos más *cualunque* de la Argentina
 the.ART.M.PL two surname.M.PL more CUALUNQUE.PL of the Argentina
 ‘the two most ordinary surnames in Argentina.’
 (Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/blackflag1974/status/1191379957919944710>)
- (41) negative quantifier
 no tolera el pelo pecho en ningún hombre
 not tolerate.PRS.3.SG the hair.M.SG chest.M.SG in any man.SG
cualunque
 CUALUNQUE
 ‘(she) does not tolerate chest hair on any ordinary man’
 (Twitter, 2012, <https://twitter.com/laspfefes/status/190825845210877953>)
- (42) existential quantifier *cualquier* ‘any’
 termino poniendo Favorito *cualquier* tweet *cualunque*.
 finish.PRS.1SG put.GER favorite any tweet CUALUNQUE
 ‘I end up bookmarking any unimportant tweet’
 (Twitter, 2012,
https://twitter.com/Palladino_shu/status/233059298383626240)

- (43) existential quantifier *algún, a* ‘some’
 Si querés saber qué anda diciendo la prensa,
 if want.PRS.2SG know.INF what go.PRS.3SG say.GER the press
 escuchá 3 minutos a algún cualquier del montón
 listen.IMP.2SG three minute.PL to some CUALUNQUE of.the pile
 ‘If you want to know what the press is saying, listen for three minutes to
 some common person of the pile’
 (Twitter, 2015,
<https://twitter.com/Bastion2008/status/655911353639636992>)
- (44) universal quantifier *todo, a*
 A todos los periodistas y/o humanos cualquieres
 to all.PL the.PL journalist.PL and/or human.being.PL CUALUNQUE.PL
 ‘To all journalists and/or common human beings’
 (Twitter, 2016, <https://twitter.com/anaopera/status/704785632200138752>)
- (45) distributive quantifier *cada* ‘each’
 Va cada cualquier, mira si no va a poder ir
 go.PRS.3SG each CUALUNQUE look.IMP.2SG if not go.PRS.3SG to be.able go
 ella?
 she
 ‘Every unimportant person goes, let’s see if she is not going to be able to
 go?’
 (Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/MarceMolt/status/1126438286564757504>)

The distribution of different quantifiers and determiners supports our syntactic analysis in (35); that is, the element *cualunque* is an adjective and not a quantifier/determiner as suggested in the literature for It. *qualunque* (see Aloni & Port 2013):

- (46) [Quantifier/Determiner *el/todo/algún* N Adj *cualunque*]

The following table summarizes the differences in the distribution of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* and It. *qualunque*. Arg.Sp. *cualunque* can be used as a (gradable) adjective. It can also be used with definite articles. These two uses are impossible in Italian (see, e.g., (5) and (7) in §1).

Let us now look at the distribution of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* in relation to verbal mood. As Table 6 shows, the indicative verbal mood, as in (32) or (45), is the most

Table 5: Uses of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* and It. *qualunque*

Language/Use	Determiner [+def]	Determiner [−def]	(Degree) Adjective
Arg.Sp. <i>cualunque</i>	+	+	+
It. <i>qualunque</i>	−	+	−

frequent one (see Appendix B for further examples).¹⁸ Uses under the subjunctive, as in (47), the imperative, as in (34), or modal verbs, as in (48),¹⁹ are much less frequent.

(47) (Medina 1989: 287)

Si vos fueras un *cualunque*
if you.SG be.SBJV.2SG a CUALUNQUE
'If you were a common person'

(48) no se puede ver ni un *noticiero cualquier*
not REFL can.PRS.3SG see even a newscast CUALUNQUE
'you can't even watch a regular newscast'
(Twitter, 2018, <https://twitter.com/Buda48/status/1055953281929920522>)

Table 7 shows the distribution of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* with respect to verbal mood indicative and tense/aspect (see Appendix B for further examples). The most frequent use of *cualunque* is with the indicative present tense, as in (49), and the past tense with perfect and imperfect aspect, as in (50) and (51), respectively.

(49) No tenés una *parrilla cualquier*?
no have.PRS.2SG a grill CUALUNQUE
'Don't you have a common grill?'
(Twitter, 2018,
<https://twitter.com/blackflag1974/status/1022158271384379392>)

(50) (Marchetti 2014)
Me compré uno de esos *jugos cualquieres*
REFL buy.PFV.1SG one of those juice.PL CUALUNQUE.PL
'I bought one of those bad juices'

¹⁸Sentences with verbal ellipsis have not been counted. The number of cases with verbal ellipsis amounts to 95, constituting 26% of the total number of occurrences.

¹⁹Cases with structures of the type [Vmod Vinf] and [Vfin Vinf] have also been counted under [infinitive]. They constitute 23% and 15% of [infinitive] cases, respectively, with 9 [Vmod Vinf] and 6 [Vfin Vinf] occurrences out of 40.

Table 6: Arg.Sp. *cualunque* and verbal mood

V mood	n	%
Indicative	196	74%
Infinitive	40	15%
Subjunctive	13	5%
Gerund	9	3%
Imperative	4	2%
Conditional	3	1%
Total	265	100%

- (51) (Lozza & Pugliese 1985: 45)
 Iba con un traje *cualunque*.
 go.IPFV.3SG with a suit CUALUNQUE
 ‘He was wearing a cheap suit.’

Note that the distribution of verbal mood, tense, and aspect that co-occurs with *cualunque* stands in contrast to the distribution of verbal mood, tense, and aspect of Free Choice elements such as the prenominal It. *qualunque* or Engl. *any*, which are only possible in modal contexts and are ungrammatical in non-modal contexts such as with verbs with perfective aspect, indicative mood present, and past tense (see Quer 2000, Aloni & Port 2013, Giannakidou & Quer 2013, Kellert 2021a). We thus suggest that Arg.Sp. *cualunque* has undergone a process of word class change that is visible not only with respect to the type of Determiner Phrase (DP), but also with respect to Tense and Aspect. This change needs to be explained (see §5 and §6).

To sum up, we have shown major differences in the use of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* and It. *qualunque* which are: a) Arg.Sp. co-occurs with definite determiners, and quantifiers, b) it can be used as a gradable adjective, and c) it is not restricted to modal contexts, but often appears with indicative mood in the present or past tenses (with perfective aspect).

5 Semantic analysis of *cualunque*

In this section, we suggest a detailed semantic analysis of Arg.Sp. *cualunque*. We first start with the notion of the anti-specificity of indefinites and quantifiers in order to explain how this notion is related to It. *qualunque* or similar items in Italian dialects that were used by Italians who emigrated to Argentina. We will

Table 7: Distribution of Arg.Sp. *cualunque* with relation to indicative V tense

Indicative V tense and aspect	n	%
Present	142	72%
Perfect	31	16%
Imperfect	20	10%
Future	3	2%
Total	196	100%

then postulate that a sort of pragmatic strengthening happened in later periods that has induced a semantic and syntactic change of *cualunque* in Arg.Sp., which has been described in the present section.

5.1 Anti-specificity

When governed by a modal sentence, Free Choice indefinites such as It. *qualunque* are interpreted as triggering a set of alternatives (see §1). That is, under modals, *qualunque libro* or *un libro qualunque* denotes a set of possible books, such as this book or that book (see §1). The phrase *qualunque libro* or *un libro qualunque* ‘any book’ does not refer to a specific book, in contrast to *questo libro* ‘this book’ or *il libro che mi hai portato ieri* ‘the book you brought to me yesterday’. This contrast of +/- specific nouns has been already observed in the literature (see von Heusinger 2011, Etxeberria & Giannakidou 2014, Giannakidou & Quer 2013 and references therein). Specificity is indicated when “a speaker uses an indefinite noun phrase and intends to refer to a particular referent” (von Heusinger 2011: 10). Conversely, referential vagueness can be interpreted as an absence of specificity (von Heusinger 2011, Giannakidou & Quer 2013). Free Choice indefinites, such as *qualunque* and *cualquiera*, and epistemic indefinites, such as *algún* in (53), are anti-specific and express referential vagueness. They thus signal a lack of referential intent (von Heusinger 2011). Referential vagueness can be described as a variation in possible values of the expression and in uncertainty about which one is the actual value. The uncertainty about the actual value follows from the Free Choice interpretation, which states that any value is possible (see Aloni & Port 2013, among many others).

One way to test referential vagueness and anti-specificity is to use the specificity test, in which the referent of the indefinite noun is specified post-hoc, as in the *it*’s-clause in (52):

- (52) There is someone at the door. It's Mr. Smith.

Such continuations are incompatible with *algún*-phrases, as illustrated in (53) (see Menéndez-Benito 2010, Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2010):

- (53) (Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2013: 36)
 María se casó con algún médico. # En concreto con el Dr. Smith.
 'María married some doctor. Concretely, Dr. Smith.'

Free Choice indefinite phrases are also incompatible with continuations, such as (53) (see Chierchia 2006, Jayez & Tovená 2007, Fălăuș 2014).

Anti-specific indefinites never modify singleton nouns, that is, nouns that denote a single atomic individuum such as a single person or thing (the so-called "anti-singleton condition", cf. Menéndez-Benito 2010). They must occur with nouns that denote a set with at least two members. This prediction follows from the Free Choice interpretation of *qualunque*, which entails a consideration of at least two alternatives. This prediction is borne out empirically in our data, where N *qualunque* does not occur with singleton nouns, as shown in (54). Here, N *qualunque* entails at least two different individuals with the name Angela Merkel and at least two second world wars. However, this use is incompatible with our world, in which Angela Merkel refers to a single person, namely the German chancellor and in which the Second World War refers to a single war that occurred from 1940 to 1945:

- (54) # *un, a* singleton N *qualunque* 'any singleton N' (# means 'awkward')
 a. # *una Angela Merkel qualunque* 'any Angela Merkel'
 b. # *una Segunda Guerra Mondiale qualunque* 'any second world war'

Let us now see whether Arg.Sp. *cualunque* can be described with the notion of anti-specificity. Recall that in modal contexts such as imperatives, *cualunque* can have the Free Choice interpretation of 'any'; that is, every alternative is possible, and the speaker does not distinguish between some alternative or another. *Cualunque* as Free Choice is anti-specific:

- (55) Ponete una remerita *cualunque* y una calza: ¡listo!
 put.IMP.2SG a shirt CUALUNQUE and a leggings ready
 'Put on some shirt and a pair of leggings: ready!'
 (Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/LaSuvuelabajo/status/1179938401056952320>)

- (56) Almorzamos en una pizzería cualquier y comemos postre en la eat.PRS.1PL in a pizzeria CUALUNQUE and eat.PRS.1PL dessert in the casa de los azulejos, porque somos peronistas. house of the azulejos because we are peronistas.
 ‘Let’s eat in a pizzeria no matter which one and eat dessert in the house of azulejos, because we’re Peronistas (= member of a particular political party).’
 (Twitter, 2016, https://twitter.com/di__tir/status/813118305548570624)

In (21), repeated below as (57), *cualunque* is interpreted as ‘epistemically unknown’ (see Chierchia 2013 on a similar kind of interpretation with It. *qualunque*):

- (57) Un militar de nombre cualquier, desconocido para el gran público. Murió el general Carlos A. Martínez.
- a. ‘A military officer of some name, unknown to the general public. The general Carlos A. Martínez has died.’
 - b. ‘There is a military officer with a name that is unknown to the general public. This name is Carlos A. Martínez. He has died.’
- (Télam S.E. Agencia Nacional de Noticias, 2013, https://memoria.telam.com.ar/lesa-humanidad/202004/muri--el-general-carlos-a--mart-nez--ex-jefe-de-la-side-acusado-por-1200-cr-menes-de-lesa-humanidad_n2478)

The sentence in (57b) states that according to the general public (i.e. the agent of the epistemic modal base),²⁰ the officer’s name is unknown. From this it follows that the name can be every possible name. Thus, all names are the same, according to the general public’s knowledge. The Free Choice interpretation of *cualunque* is compatible with the ignorance interpretation indicated by *desconocido* ‘unknown’ given in the context of this example.

To sum up, Free Choice indefinites and epistemic indefinites are anti-specific, referentially vague, and never occur with singleton nouns.

As we will see in §5.2, Free Choice Indefinites can lead to a *pragmatic strengthening* (i.e. strengthening the unspecific meaning of *cualunque*), which can eventually lexicalize and lead to semantic change. In §6, we will claim that this is exactly what happened with Arg.Sp. *cualunque*.

²⁰The difference between this interpretation and the “epistemic unknown” interpretation of It. *qualunque* suggested in Chierchia (2013) is that in Chierchia’s analysis, the epistemic unknown refers to the speaker and not to the agent as is the case with Arg.Sp. *cualunque*.

5.2 Pragmatic strengthening

We saw in §4 that *cualunque* is used as an adjective and can have the neutral interpretation of ‘ordinary’, ‘common’, or ‘normal’, as in (58) or (59):

- (58) si sos cliente Black te atienden inmediatamente, si
 if be.PRS.2SG client Black you attend.PRS.3SG immediately, if
 sos *cualunque*, esperà [sic] dos horas.
 be.PRS.2SG CUALUNQUE, wait.PRS.3SG two hours.
 ‘if you are the client Black they attend to you immediately, if you’re an
 ordinary person, you have to wait for two hours.’
 (Twitter, 2013, <https://twitter.com/SuHerBre/status/292399334497058816>)
- (59) un dibujo clásico, tradicional, *qualunque*.
 ‘a classic, traditional, ordinary drawing’
 (Blog comment, 2013, <http://www.comiqueando.com.ar/secciones/el-podcast-de-comiqueando/programa-52/>)

The example of *cualunque* in (58) is used as a predicate describing clients that do not have any particular property and thus represent a kind of person that stands in opposition to a certain and particular type of client, namely *cliente Black*. The example *un dibujo cualquier* in (59) refers to a kind of drawing described as classic or traditional that does not have any particular properties distinguishing it from very unusual or modern drawings (e.g., drawings by Picasso). To summarize what has been said so far, N *cualunque* refers to a kind of people or object that does not have any specific or particular properties that would distinguish it from others of the same kind. This kind stands in a contrastive relation with another kind that describes people or objects that have particular or distinguishing properties such as *cliente Black* or drawings by Picasso.

The neutral meaning of N *cualunque* is used in a situation where *cualunque* refers to a set of individuals that do not have any distinguished properties. These individuals with no distinguished properties are evaluated somewhere in the middle of a scale that ranks individuals according to their distinguishing properties. For instance, *cualunque* in (59) refers to classic drawings that are opposed to distinguished drawings, which can be either especially good or especially bad (see also Alonso-Ovalle & Royer (2021) for an implicit ranking scale of *komon* on the ‘unremarkable’ reading in the Mayan language Chuj).

The neutral meaning of N *cualunque* often occurs when *cualunque* is evaluated on a frequency scale. The *cualunque*’s meaning as ‘common’ in *un día cualquier* refers to some property of the day, which is very typical for many days and is

thus very frequent, such as those filled with some usual activities such as waking up in the morning, going to work, and going to bed in the evening. This kind of a day is contrasted to some specific or particular day, such as a birthday, which may include unusual activities such as celebrating and staying home from work. Particular or specific days are rare because they have certain features that distinguish them from common days. Actually, all examples in the corpus with *N cualquier* that contain a noun denoting some expression of time, such as *domingo* or *día* as in (60), can be interpreted as situated in the middle of a frequency scale.

- (60) Noooo Bipolarlo es lo mejor de este domingo cualquier.
 Noooo Bipolarlo be.PRS.3SG the best of this sunday CUALUNQUE.
 Tiene la pluma de oro el que redacta esos
 hold.PRS.3SG the pen of gold the that edits these
 ‘No Bipolarlo is the best of this ordinary Sunday. The one who edits those tweets has the Golden Pen.’
 (Twitter, 2018,
<https://twitter.com/caradecumbiaok/status/1046464719530467328>)

Another example with the neutral meaning of *cualunque* as ‘common’ is given in (61), where the relative clause *camina por la calle* restricts the set of people to those who walk on the street and who can be observed very frequently. This relative clause makes thus reference to normal or common people:

- (61) Al porteño cualquier que camina por la calle
 the citizen of Buenos Aires CUALUNQUE who walk.PRS.3SG on the street
 no le interesa lo de la base militar china.
 not him interest.prs.3sg the of the base military Chinese
 ‘The common citizen of Buenos Aires who walks on the street is not interested in the Chinese military base.’
 (Twitter, 2015, <https://twitter.com/ton011972/status/562337257328508929>)

The common interpretation with reference to people is often given when the speaker refers to many people, including himself as *como nosotros* ‘like us’ in (62) or as *como yo* ‘like me’ in (63). Note that in the latter example, *cualunque* is used in contrast to a distinguished type of individuals: *gente de clase alta*.

- (62) [...], bardear a personas *cualunque* como nosotros en una red
to.fence to people CUALUNQUE like us in a network
social por opinar distinto es muy pedorro.
social for to.think different be.PRS.3SG very annoying
‘[...], to fence normal people like us in a social network for having a
different opinion is very annoying.’
(Twitter, 2019,
https://twitter.com/Felicitas73_/status/1174698124197212161)
- (63) Y no hablo de políticos o gente de clase alta, hablo
I not talk.PRS.1SG about politicians or people of class high, talk.PRS.1SG
de *cualunque* como yo
about CUALUNQUE like me
‘I’m not talking about politicians or upper-class people, I’m talking about
common people like me’
(Twitter, 2018, <https://twitter.com/KaroSci/status/1011244306898866176>)

The same analysis can be applied to *un dibujo cualquier* in (59). Classic or traditional drawings are more common in this speech context than drawings with certain properties that are distinguished from classic or traditional drawings (e.g., drawings by Picasso). Clients with undistinguished properties referred to by *cualunque* in (58) are more common than those with distinguished properties such as *cliente Black*.

To sum up, the ‘common’ meaning of *cualunque* is the result of considering individuals denoted by N *cualunque* as being in the middle of some scale, such as a scale of frequency or some other scale and the result of contrasting these individuals to particular and rarely observable individuals.

The derogatory meaning is the result of evaluating the qualities of the kind of individuals denoted by *cualunque* in contrast to specific individuals with positive qualities. Thus, the evaluation of *cualunque* shifts from the middle of a scale to an extreme end as the result of contrasting *cualunque* to a set of especially good individuals. The derogatory meaning of *cualunque* in (64) and (65) introduces a contrast between exceptional people such as *el actor original* or *periodista operadora* and unexceptional people with no distinguished qualities or a simple activist:

- (64) Pero que vuelva el actor original, no este cualquier
 but that return.SBJV.3SG the actor original, not this CUALUNQUE
 sacado de Antares.
 take.PST.PTCP from Antares
 ‘But let the original actor return, not this poor one taken from Antares.’
 (Twitter, 2019, <https://twitter.com/AlanG996/status/1115053249197953024>)
- (65) Manguel cayó de periodista operadora K a simple militante
 Manguel fall.PST.3SG from journalist operator K to simple militant
 cualquier. La degradaron.
 CUALUNQUE. Her degrade.PST.3PL
 ‘Manguel fell from journalist operator K to simple ordinary activist. She
 was demoted.’
 (Twitter, 2019,
https://twitter.com/La_gringai/status/1181608328549584896)

The same shift towards a negative meaning of ‘common/normal/usual’ can be observed in diachrony. We find lexicalized pejorizations of the meaning ‘common’ or ‘average’ in other languages such as Fr. *vulgaire*, Engl. *vulgar* or Fr. *médiocre* or Sp. *mediocre* (see Kleparski & Borkowska 2007: 43).

We leave it open for future research why *cualunque* is never contrasted to specific individuals or types that are exceptionally bad on the non-neutral interpretation. One could possibly derive this fact from the Gricean maxim of *informativity* (see Geurts 2010, Rosemeyer, p.c.). Thus, *cualunque* is not contrasted with bad because such a contrast would not be informative enough according to Gricean maxim of informativity. This is why we do not hear sentences like “he is not a bad writer, but an ordinary writer,” because being an ordinary writer does not contrast sufficiently enough being a bad writer. However, the contrast between a good writer and an ordinary writer is informative enough, because being ordinary can mean being bad in certain contexts. This is why we do hear sentences like “he is not a good writer; he’s an ordinary writer.”²¹

However, it seems to be a very general pattern that properties describing singleton nouns such as *unique*, *particular*, *outstanding* and *special* have a positive meaning more often than a negative one; for instance, a *grade with distinction* is an especially good grade. *John is a remarkable man* means that John has some positive properties that distinguish him from other men. *An extraordinary day* is generally an extremely good day and not an extremely bad day unless uttered

²¹We thank Malte Rosemeyer for discussing this point with us.

with a special intonation. This might explain why *cualunque* is usually contrasted with exceptionally good individuals on the non-neutral meaning.

To sum up so far, Arg.Sp. *cualunque* and It. *qualunque* can have the neutral meaning of ‘common’ as ‘widespread’ or some pejorative version of ‘common’ with the meaning ‘common’ as ‘worse than extraordinary’. We analyzed these meanings as a property over (kinds of) individuals, which imply different scales: a frequency scale and a scale of goodness.

6 Hypothesis on meaning change

We assume that *cualunque* underwent a change into a degree predicate *cualunque* in (66) and a noun in (67) from postnominal indefinite *cualunque*:

- (66) It. postnominal indefinite *qualunque* (original construction) >> Arg. Sp. postnominal *cualunque* (by lexical borrowing from Italian) >> degree adjective *cualunque* (by pragmatic strengthening and syntactic recategorization)
e.g., *cualunque* ‘any’ >> (re/tan) *cualunque* ‘very ordinary/bad’
- (67) *un,a qualunque* >> *un,a cualunque* (lexical borrowing from Italian) >> *el/la cualunque* (semantic shift/recategorization)
- a. las leyes son para los *cualunque*, o sea nosotros.
the laws be.PRS.3SG for the CUALUNQUE, or be.SBJV.3SG us
‘the laws are for normal people, that is, for us.’
(Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/maggiopalacios4/status/1180456730028851201>)
- b. Este *cualunque* que se cree presidente hasta cuando
this CUALUNQUE who REFL believe.PRS.3SG president until when
hay que soportar sus mentiras es un payaso como
have.PRS.3SG that support his lies be.PRS.3SG a clown like
Maduro de Venezuela
Maduro of Venezuela
‘This ordinary person that believes himself to be president until you have to believe his lies is a clown like Maduro of Venezuela’
(Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/Alfredo00649870/status/1085118326324514816>)

In order to explain the shift of *cualunque* into a degree adjective as represented in (66) or as an evaluative noun in (67), we assume that the scale of goodness,

which implies a degree scale (i.e., good is gradable), has been lexicalized in Argentinian Spanish. The lexicalization of the degree scale has driven the reanalysis of *cualunque* as a degree adjective or as a nominal element with an evaluative interpretation:

- (68) [DegP *re/muy* ‘very’ [Adj *cualunque*]] ‘very ordinary/bad’
(69) [DP [Noun [+eval] *cualunque*]] ‘someone ordinary/bad’

As already mentioned in §1, diachronic sources are very scarce. The first diachronic occurrences of *cualunque* in texts written in literary Cocoliche (see 70–72) have a Free Choice interpretation:

- (70) Cocoliche
Che cosa volete? – [...]. – Cualunque cosa,-
what want.PRS.2PL CUALUNQUE thing
‘What do you want? – [...] – Any thing’
(*La Mujer* magazine, 1900,
<https://archive.org/details/lamujer2140unse/page/n191?q=cualunque>)
- (71) Cocoliche
Lu arquila per dos peso in cualquier montepío.
it.ACC pawn.PRS.3SG for two pesos in CUALUNQUE pawnshop
‘He pawns it for two pesos in any pawnshop.’
(*P.B.T.* magazine, 1906,
<https://digital.iai.spk-berlin.de/viewer/fullscreen/861383842/105/>)
- (72) Cocoliche
Il cochiyo, la fareñera, la finyinga, [...] cualquier de cueli [...] te
the knife the dagger the stab CUALUNQUE of these you
vale mase que il cuore
be.worth.3SG.PRES more than the heart
‘The knife, the dagger, the stab, any of these are worth more than the heart’
(*Atlántida* magazine, 1930,
<https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=cB8QAAAAIAAJ>)

Finally, the degree predicate *cualunque* and the string [definite/demonstrative N *cualunque*] represent a recent development in Argentinian Spanish. Younger people are more likely to use *cualunque* as a degree adjective than older people, as our investigation of tweets and a linguistic poll on the Facebook group members

of Lingüística Argentina has shown (Kellert 2021a). This sociolinguistic contrast can be seen as one indicator of gradual language change (see Stein 1990, Seiler et al. 2018).

We assume that the syntactic change schematized in (67) is a consequence of the lexicalization of the pragmatic scale on which speakers and/or hearers evaluate individuals denoted by *N cualquier* in contrast to individuals with specific or special properties. This kind of process of lexicalization of pragmatic inferences is known in the literature on semantic change as *pragmatic strengthening*, described as the process by which meanings tend to be enriched in pragmatic contexts and the resulted implicatures can be eventually conventionalized. This conventionalization is what triggers semantic change (see Traugott 1989: 35, among others). Moreover, Traugott observes that “meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition” (Traugott 1989: 35). This process is known in the literature as *subjectification* or *pragmaticalization* (see (Diewald 2011)). We believe that *cualunque* is another example of pragmatic strengthening, subjectification, and pragmaticalization, because its new meanings are the results of contextual interpretation by the speaker and hearer and the evaluation of individuals on different scales.²²

Our analysis of *cualunque* denoting a property with different readings such as ‘common’ and the derogatory version of it as ‘not outstanding’ can account for the adjectival behavior of *cualunque* observed in §4.

7 Summary and outlook

We have analyzed the synchronic variation of *cualunque* in Arg.Sp. and *qualunque* in Italian and have identified different syntactic categories of *cualunque* with different interpretations:

²²The exact syntactic analysis of the postnominal indefinite *cualunque* in (66) (i.e. the original construction) needs to be studied in the future (see Kellert 2021a). One possibility is to assume a two-determiner-analysis of UN *N cualquier*, as has been suggested for UN *N qualunque* (see Zamparelli 2000, among others). On these accounts, *qualunque* is considered to be a strong quantificational determiner on the same lines as ‘every’, ‘some’, or ‘none’. As a consequence, the indefinite determiner *un* in *un N qualunque* is analyzed as an empty or weak element with no semantic value. One weak point of the determiner analysis of *qualunque* is that the change of Free Choice indefinites into degree predicates or evaluative nouns would be a case of degrammaticalization (see Kellert 2021a), because determiners are functional/grammatical categories that usually do not change into lexical categories. Usually, it is the opposite that occurs; that is, lexical categories change into functional/grammatical categories (see Roberts & Roussou 2003). Another weak point of the determiner analysis is that determiners in Romance languages are usually used in prenominal positions, rarely in postnominal positions (see Stark 2006 for some exceptions).

Cualunque as a Free Choice indefinite ‘any’ or as an epistemic indefinite ‘some’ with the meaning ‘epistemically unknown’.

Cualunque as a (gradable) adjective with the neutral meaning of ‘common’ as ‘widespread’ or ‘frequent’ or ‘normal’ or with the derogatory meaning of ‘common’ as ‘worse than outstanding’ or even ‘bad’. This syntactic use is not possible with Italian *qualunque*, although both interpretations are possible in Italian in the predicative context of *UN N qualunque*.

Cualunque as a noun with either a neutral or depreciative meaning. The nominal use is only possible with indefinite determiners in Italian, not with definite determiners or quantifiers as in Argentinian Spanish.

The analysis suggested in this article can be applied to similar cases in other Romance languages that allow similar indefinites in non-modal contexts such as predicative position. This is shown for French *n’importe quoi*, *quelconque*, and *cualquiera* in Argentinian Spanish or the nominalized *cualquiera* in European Spanish (see Kellert 2021a, see also Kellert & Enrique-Arias 2024 [this volume] for Catalan *qualsevol*):

- (73) French
C’est du n’importe quoi.
it.be.PRS.3SG of.the N’IMPORTE QUOI
‘It’s total nonsense.’
- (74) French
C’est très quelconque.
it.be.PRS.3SG very QUELCONQUE
‘It’s very ordinary.’
- (75) Argentinian Spanish
Es (re) cualquiera.
be.PRS.3SG RE CUALQUIERA
‘It’s really worthless/nothing special’
- (76) European Spanish
Juan es un cualquiera.
Juan be.PRS.3SG a CUALQUIERA
‘Juan is a nobody/low-class person.’

In the future, we will study the question what determines the pejorative or the neutral interpretation of *cualunque*. So far, it seems that one important feature

that biases one interpretation or the other is the inclusion or exclusion of the speaker in the set of ordinary people denoted by the meaning of *N cualquier* (see §6). If the speaker includes herself in the set of ordinary people, *cualunque* has a neutral meaning, whereas if the speaker does not, then *cualunque* has only the pejorative interpretation:

- (77) (exclusion of the speaker) pejorative meaning
 sos una cualquier.
 be.PRS.2SG a CUALUNQUE
 ‘You are an unimportant/low-class woman’
 (Twitter, 2013,
<https://twitter.com/BrendaCapello/status/369843684021252096>)
- (78) (inclusion of the speaker) neutral meaning
 las leyes son para los cualquier, o sea nosotros
 the laws be.PRS.2PL for the.2PL CUALUNQUE, or be.SBJV.3SG us
 ‘the laws are for normal people, that is, for us’
 (Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/maggiopalacios4/status/1180456730028851201>)

Another important factor that biases the pejorative use is the lexical semantics of the noun modified by *cualunque*. If the noun is a depreciative word, like *negro* in (79) (see Kellert 2021d), and the speaker excludes herself from the set, *cualunque* has a pejorative interpretation:

- (79) Sos un negro cualquier.
 be.PRS.2SG a NEGRO CUALUNQUE
 ‘You’re a (just) a simple person/You’re nobody important’ (pejorative use)
 (Twitter, 2020,
<https://twitter.com/LeluuArtero/status/233997516054601728>)

If the same lexical noun co-occurs with positive expressions such as *te quiero* ‘I love you’, this creates an ironic meaning due to the use of depreciative nouns like *negro cualquier* in a positive context:

- (80) luchiditatta si8siis te quiero negrito cualquier
 luchiditatta si8siis you love.PRS.1SG NEGRITO CUALUNQUE
 ‘I love you little unimportant person’
 (Twitter, 2014, <https://twitter.com/facuundit/status/438433004042846208>)

- (81) Nacho: Te amo negra cualunque♥
 Nacho: you love.PRS.1SG NEGRA CUALUNQUE
 ‘Nacho: I love you unimportant female person’
 (Twitter, 40, <https://twitter.com/MelaCerioli/status/431786831042994176>)

Another observation is that scalar focus particles can bias the derogatory meaning of *cualunque* as well (see Kellert 2021a). The focus particle *solo* ‘only/mere’ has the function of excluding high-value alternatives. In the following example, the focus particle *solo* associates with a focus alternative *una banda cualunque*, which leads to the exclusion of all other alternatives (‘particular bands’). This exclusion leads to the interpretation of *banda cualunque* as a band being low on the scale of high-quality bands:

- (82) Pense que el sabado ibamos a ir a una re fiesta, y al
 think.PST.1SG that the saturday go.PFV.1PL to go to a very party, and in
 final solo toca una banda cualunque.
 end only play.PRS.3SG a band CUALUNQUE
 ‘I thought that on Saturday we were going to a good festival, but in the
 end only an ordinary band was playing.’
 (Twitter, 2016,
<https://twitter.com/solariascelli/status/722543527159324672>)

An interesting shift in semantic interpretation can be observed with pets (see 83). There, the meaning of *cualunque* is ‘mixed-breed’, e.g., *gato cualunque* (84) ‘mixed-breed cat’ or *perro cualunque* (85) ‘mongrel’. We assume that this semantic shift is probably due to the meaning of *cualunque* as ‘not special/not outstanding’. In the domain of pets, the meaning ‘not-outstanding’ means not belonging to a ‘pure breed’.

- (83) Mis bebas son cualungues/mestizas osea no son
 my babies be.PRS.3SG CUALUNQUE/half-breed/mixed, i.e., not be.PRS.3PL
 de raza solamente mi ahijado [...] que se llama León
 of pedigreed, only my godson [...] that REFL be.called.PRS.3SG Leon
 y es un chihuahua.
 and be.PRS.3SG a chihuahua.
 ‘My babies are half-breed/mixed, i.e., they’re not pedigreed, only my
 godson [...] whose name is Leon and who’s a chihuahua.’
 (Twitter, 2018,
<https://twitter.com/maruuchis85/status/968997312113586176>)

- (84) (Medina 1989: 132)
 luego volvió a te con un gato cualquier
 later return.PST.3SG to you with a cat CUALUNQUE
 ‘(he) later came back to you with a mixed-breed cat’
- (85) A mi me gustan los perros cualquieres.
 to me me like.PRS.3PL the dogs CUALUNQUE.PL
 ‘I like mongrels.’
 (Twitter, 2017, <https://twitter.com/QmaxiQ/status/892576809400848387>)

This hypothesis needs to be checked in future research. In the future, we will provide a detailed semantic analysis of the evaluative meaning of *cualunque* (see Gutzmann 2013’s analysis of expressive elements).

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Appendix A Data reflecting Table 3 in §4

- (86) [cualunque N] (Boot 2012)
 un cualquier maestro mayor de obra.
 a CUALUNQUE master senior of work
 ‘a general contractor like any other’
- (87) [N cualquier]
 un programa cualquier de televisión
 a program CUALUNQUE of television
 ‘an ordinary TV program’
 (*Rock and Ball* magazine, 2013, <https://rockandball.com.ar/punto-de-vista/futbol-para-todos-menos-para-los-que-van-a-la-cancha-76096/>)
- (88) [N parece cualquier]
 me pareció re cualquier la interpretación
 to.me appear.PFV.3SG very CUALUNQUE the interpretation
 ‘I found the interpretation really bad’
 (Twitter, 2015, <https://twitter.com/LukeAKD/status/605901400157978624>)

- (89) [N es cualquier]
tus transmisiones de fútbol son ordinarias y cualquieres
your broadcast.PL of soccer be.PRS.3PL ordinary.PL and CUALUNQUE.PL
‘your soccer broadcasts are ordinary and of low quality’
(Twitter, 2016, <https://twitter.com/CCesaroni/status/696465325131460608>)
- (90) [DegP muy ‘very’ [Adj cualquier]]
Día muy cualquier en la oficina.
day very CUALUNQUE in the office
‘a very ordinary day at the office’
(Twitter, 2012,
<https://twitter.com/IvanDawidowski/status/217632663304011776>)
- (91) [DegP re ‘very’ [Adj cualquier]]
un tag re cualquier
a tag very CUALUNQUE
‘a very ordinary tag’
(Twitter, 2016,
<https://twitter.com/S4NFR4NC15C0/status/748491445858934785>)
- (92) [DegP tan ‘so’ [Adj cualquier]]
El día que nació fue tan cualquier que [...]
the day that be.born.PFV.1SG be.PFV.3SG so CUALUNQUE that
‘the day I was born was so ordinary that [...]’
(Twitter, 2013,
<https://twitter.com/casicasiperono/status/371041190012919808>)
- (93) [DegP más o menos ‘more or less’ [Adj cualquier]]
en un restaurante más o menos cualquier
in a restaurant more or less CUALUNQUE
‘in a more or less ordinary restaurant’
(Twitter, 2018,
<https://twitter.com/tamtenenbaum/status/1048597979416944640>)
- (94) [DegP medio ‘half’ [Adj cualquier]]
pero ese me parece medio cualquier... o no?
but that to.me seem.PRS.3SG half CUALUNQUE or not
‘but that one seems kind of ordinary... or does it?’
(Twitter, 2014,
<https://twitter.com/GuilleSandrini/status/442802662879137792>)

Appendix B Data reflecting Table 6 and Table 7 in §4

- (95) indicative present
 Pero, yo no soy un esquiador *cualunque*.
 but I not be.PRS.1SG a skier CUALUNQUE
 ‘but I am no ordinary skier’
 (*La púrpura de tiro*, 2019, <https://www.lapurpuradetiro.com.ar/index.php/numeros-anteriores/item/1111-lo-siento-senor-griggs>)
- (96) indicative past perfective
 la crisis [...] se trasladó al pueblo, a los *cualunque*s
 the crisis REFL pass.PFV.3SG to.the people to the CUALUNQUE.PL
 ‘the crisis [...] passed to the people, to the lower-class people’
 (*Tiempo Argentino*, 2018, <https://www.tiempoar.com.ar/politica/damian-selci-el-militante-es-el-producto-mas-civilizado-que-puede-tener-una-sociedad/>)
- (97) indicative past imperfective
 mirá como estaban ahí los *escribas* con una
 look.IMP how be.IPFV.3PL there the.PL scribe.PL with a
llamita *cualunque*
 flame.DIM.F.SG. CUALUNQUE
 ‘look how the scribes were there with a common little flame’
 (Twitter, 2016, https://twitter.com/vanesagiselle_/status/786411452735352832)
- (98) indicative future (Asis 2000: 82)
 el resto de su vida será un vendedor *cualunque*.
 the rest of his life be.FUT.3SG a salesman CUALUNQUE
 ‘the rest of his life he will be an ordinary salesman.’
- (99) modal verb *deber* ‘must’
 ¿Se debe comparar a un equipo *cualunque* con una
 REFL should.PRS.3SG compare to a team CUALUNQUE with a
maquinaria ideal y perfecta como es el *Barcelona*?
 machine ideal and perfect as be.PRS.3SG the Barcelona
 ‘Should we compare an ordinary team with an ideal and perfect machine like Barcelona?’
 (*Clarín* magazine, 2016, https://www.clarin.com/opinion/mania-discutirlo_0_EkX9qo-XW.html)

- (100) infinitive
 Me enferma oir [sic] a cualesques tratar de parecer
 me make.sick.PRS.3SG hear.INF to CUALUNQUE.PL try.INF of seem
 finas hablando con arrastre.
 elegant.PL speaking with affectation
 ‘It makes me sick to hear low-class people trying to look elegant
 speaking in an affected way.’
 (Blog post, 2018,
<http://nanopoder.blogspot.com/2008/04/cosas-odiosas.html>)
- (101) gerund
 Te estas [sic] comiendo una [sic] postre cualquier de chocolate
 you be.PRS.2SG eat.GER a dessert CUALUNQUE of chocolate
 simil serenito. No te hagas....
 similar cool not you do.SBJV.2SG
 ‘You’re eating a shitty chocolate dessert like nothing. Don’t do it...’
 (Twitter, 2018,
<https://twitter.com/prestoyvoila/status/960917953674956800>)
- (102) conditional
 con Suarseneguer u otro sería una peli cualquier
 with Schwarzenegger or other be.COND.3SG a film CUALUNQUE
 ‘with Schwarzenegger or someone else would be an ordinary movie’
 (Twitter, 2019,
<https://twitter.com/DiegolBarraza/status/1177618733788995584>)

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