## NOMINAL NEGATIVE INVERSION WITH ALGUM/ALGUNO

Ana Maria Martins – University of Lisbon (FLUL/CLUL) Going Romance 2012, 6-8 December, KU Leuven

This talk explores the correlation between word order and polar interpretation displayed by DPs with *algum/alguno* ('some') in European Portuguese (EP) and Spanish. EP offers strong empirical evidence to support the analysis of the string [N+algum] as an NPI unit composed in the syntax. On comparative grounds, EP displays a higher level of grammaticalization of the NPI unit [N+algum] than Spanish and extended the availability of the inverted structure to the indefinite *nenhum* 'none'.

## MAIN FEATURES OF THE PROPOSAL:

A) The sequence [N+*algum*] in contemporary EP is an NPI built in the syntax through incorporation of the noun and the indefinite quantifier in a DP-internal abstract negative head (positioned above NumP), as illustrated in (2). Cyclic head-movement determines that N carries along to the incorporation site the indefinite quantifier (which heads NumP).

(2)  $[_{DP...} [_{NegP} [_{Neg'} [ coisa_i alguma ]_k [_{NumP} [_{Num'} [ coisa_i alguma ]_k [_{NP} coisa_i ] ] ] ] ]]$ 

B) 'Nominal negative inversion' shows in EP a higher degree of grammaticalization than in Spanish. In EP but not in Spanish there is further Neg-to-D movement.

Spanish:

(3)  $\left[ DP \left[ D' \left[ e \right] \left[ NegP \left[ Neg' \left[ animal_i \right]_k \left[ NumP alguno \left[ Num' \left[ animal_i \right]_k \left[ NP animal_i \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$ 

European Portuguese:

(4)  $[_{DP}[_{D'}[ animal_i algum ]_k [_{NegP}[_{Neg'}[ animal_i algum ]_k [_{NumP} [_{Num'}[ animal_i algum ]_k [_{NP} animal_i ] ] ] ]]]$ 

C) Diachronic and cross-linguistic evidence support the analysis: (i) EP used to be like Spanish until the nineteenth century (ii) a correlation of changes can be identified at the time when Neg-to-D emerges in EP; (iiI) the proposed grammaticalization path offers a new insight into the reanalysis of French *aucun* and Italian *alcuno* from PPIs to NPIs

I will be assuming (5a) as the basic structure for the DP (cf. Bernstein (1991, 2001), Zamparelli (1995), Heycock and Zamparelli (2000, 2005), Borer (2005), among others), and (5b) as the structure of a DP displaying 'nominal negative inversion' with *algum*. In (5b) the presence of DP-internal NegP blocks the occurrence of PIP. That NegP may be part of the functional structure of the DP has been proposed on independent grounds by different authors (see Haegeman (2002), Haegeman & Lohndal (2010), Troseth (2009), Aelbrecht (to appear)).

(5) a. [DP [NumP [PlP [NP...

b. [DP [NegP [NumP [NP...

#### 1. Nominal negative inversion in European Portuguese

The indefinite quantifier *algum* entails a positive or a negative interpretation depending on whether it surfaces in pre-nominal or postnominal position. The examples in (6) and (7) illustrate how word order drives the contrast in interpretation and take as term of comparison the regular PPI/NPI pair *alguém/ninguém* ('somebody/nobody').

- (6) a.. *Alguém* vive aqui. Someone lives here.
  b. *Ninguém* vive aqui. No one lives here
- (7) a. *Algum animal* vive aqui.Some animal lives here.'Some animal lives here.'
  - b. *Animal algum* vive aqui. animal some lives here 'No animal lives here.'

As for the interaction with sentential-negation, the inverted sequence [N+algum] displays the preverbal/postverbal asymmetry characteristic of EP n-words, so it obligatorily co-occurs with the predicative negation marker  $n\tilde{a}o$  (not) when postverbal but excludes the predicative negation marker when preverbal – see (8)-(9).

- (8) a. Não vive aqui *ninguém*. not lives here no one
  - b. \*Vive aqui *ninguém*. lives here no one
  - c. *Ninguém* vive aqui. no one lives here
  - d. \**Ninguém* não vive aqui.
    no one not lives here
    'No one lives here.'
- (9) a. Não vive aqui *animal algum*. not lives here animal some
  - b. \*Vive aqui *animal algum*. lives here animal some
  - c. *Animal algum* vive aqui animal some lives here
  - d. \*Animal algum não vive aqui.
    animal some not lives here
    'No animal lives here.'

Like the pronominal n-word *ninguém* ('no one, nobody'), but unlike the adjectival n-word *nenhum* ('not one'), postnominal *algum* blocks plural inflection, as exemplified in (10). Moreover, it must be strictly adjacent to the noun, as shown in (11).

- (10) a. *Alguns animais* vivem aqui. some-PL animals live-3PL here 'Some animals live here.'
  - b. \**Animais alguns* vivem aqui. animals some-PL live-3PL here 'No animal lives here.'
- \*Animal {selvagem/ do deserto} algum vive aqui.
   animal {wild/ of-the desert} some lives here
   `No wild animal lives here.' / `No animal of the desert lives here.'

All the facts can be shown to essentially follow from the structural analysis given above:

- (i) The sequence [N+*algum*] behaves like strong NPIs such as *ninguém* ('no one, nobody') because it is in fact an NPI built in the syntax with the contribution of the DP-internal neg head.
- Plural inflection is blocked because, by hypothesis, whenever NegP is part of the DP, Pl(ural)P is not projected.
- (iii) The strict adjacency requirement between the noun and postnominal *algum* is the regular outcome of cyclic head movement.

Empirical evidence supports the idea that whenever nominal negative inversion takes place the sequence [N+algum] is the NPI, not the indefinite quantifier by itself. Because nominal negative inversion in EP is extensible to the negative indefinite *nenhum* ('not one/any'), in what follows I will be looking at the parallel grammatical effects of word order alternation for *algum/nenhum*, though only the former exhibits polarity reversal dependent on word order.

• Evidence for DP-internal NPI composition (postnominal *algum* and *nenhum*)

A) Pronouns vs. full DPs

Postnominal *algum* and postnominal *nenhum* are allowed in contexts that require pronominal quantifiers (if available) and exclude full DP quantificational expressions. The fact that the sequences displaying nominal negative inversion (i.e. [N+*algum*]/[N+*nenhum*]) pattern with pronouns is evidence in favor of their analysis as a NPI unit composed in the syntax.

(12) [A] O que é que o Joãozinho gosta de ler? 'What does little John enjoy reading?'

					5 5	•
[B]	a.	Ele	não	lê	nada.	
		he	not	reads	nothing	
	b.	*Ele	não	lê	nenhum	a coisa.
		he	not	reads	not-one	thing
	c.	Ele	não	lê	coisa	nenhuma.
		he	not	reads	thing	not-one
	d.	Ele	não	lê	coisa	alguma.
		he	not	reads	thing	some
	e.	*Ele	não	lê	alguma	coisa.
		he	not	reads	some	thing
		'He d	loesn'	t read an	ything.'	-

#### B) Negative answers to polar questions<sup>1</sup>

The sequences [N+*algum*]/[N+*nenhum*] may constitute a well-formed negative answer to a polar question, while the non inverted sequences are excluded in the same context. The contrast can be explained under the view that nominal negative inversion joins the indefinite quantifier and the noun into a single negative word that may then enter the paradigm of possible polar answers (depending on the degree of referential vagueness of the noun).

(13) [A] Vais vender a tua casa?

'Are you selling your appartment?'

[B] a. Não.

No.

- b. Em *circunstância* {*nenhuma/alguma*}. in circumstance-FEM {not-one/some}
- c. Em *caso* {*nenhum/algum*}.
  - in case-MASC {not-one/some}
- d. \*Em nenhuma circunstância.
  - in not-one circumstance-FEM
- e. \*Em *nenhum caso*. in not-one case-MASC 'No way.'
- (14) [A] Vais lá amanhã?'Are you going there tomorrow?'
  - [B] a. Não.

No.

- b. De maneira nenhuma.
  - of manner not-one
- c. De forma alguma
  - of form some
- d. \*De *nenhuma maneira*. of not-one manner
  - 'Not at all.'

- [B] a. *Não* vou *nada* vender a casa da minha avó. not go-1SG nothing sell-INFIN the house of-the my grandmother
  - b. Não avó vender da minha vou nada a casa sell-INFIN the house grandmother go-1SG nothing of-the my not nenhuma/ \*nenhuma {coisa coisa} not-one/ \*not-one {thing thing }
  - c. *Não* vou *nada* vender {*casa nenhuma/*\*nenhuma casa}. not go-1SG nothing sell-INFIN {house not-one/ \*not-one house} 'No, I am NOT!'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The sequences formed by 'nominal negative inversion' may play a reinforcing role in the expression of emphatic negation, which the non-inverted sequences are typically barred from:

<sup>(</sup>i) [A] Já sei que vais vender a casa da tua avó.'I've heard that your are selling your grandmother's house.'

#### C) Count vs. mass nouns

Nominal negative inversion with *algum* and *nenhum* interacts with the mass/count distinction on nouns, apparently blocking the count interpretation.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that nominal negative inversion makes nouns be interpreted as mass can be derived as a consequence of the absence of the head Pl(ural) in the DP structure.

According to Borer (2005) nouns denote masses by default. To be more specific: in the absence of any grammatical specification contributed by the syntactic structure above NP, nouns are unspecified for any properties, including the mass/count property, and are interpreted by default as mass. It is the Cl(assifier)/Pl(ural) head that has the function of portioning-out noun's denotations making the count interpretation available. Whenever Cl/Pl is absent, nouns are interpreted as mass.<sup>3</sup>

- (15) a. A chave não fechadura de nenhuma entra maneira. na in the lock the key not enters of not-one way 'The key doesn't enter in the lock in any possible way/position.'
  - b. A chave não entra na fechadura de *maneira* {*nenhuma/alguma*}. the key not enters in-the lock of way {not-one/some} 'The key doesn't enter in the lock at all.'
- (16). a. Vês, o gato não comeu *nenhum peixe*. Estão os três no aquário see-2SG the cat not ate not-one fish are the three in-the aquarium 'You see, the cat didn't eat any fish. The three of them are still in the aquarium.'
  - b. O gato não comeu *peixe* {*nenhum/algum*}. Tem a comida toda no prato.' the cat not ate fish {not-one/some}. has the food all in-the dish 'The cat didn't eat any fish. Its fish meal is still laying in its dish.'
- (17) a. Não temos {medo nenhum/sorte nenhuma}.
  not have-1PL {fear not-any/luck not-any}
  b. \*Não temos {nenhum medo/nenhuma sorte}
  - not have-1PL {not-any fear/not-any luck}.
  - c. Não temos {*medo algum/sorte alguma*}.
  - not have-1PL {fear some/luck some}
  - d. \*Não temos {algum medo/alguma sorte}.
    not have-1PL {some fear/some luck}
    'We don't have any fear/luck (at all) '

<sup>&#</sup>x27;We don't have any fear/luck (at all).'

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Judgments vary across speakers with respect to the requirement that nominal negative inversion obtains with mass nouns such as 'fear', 'luck', 'water', 'time'. For speakers that judge sentences (17b/17d) as ungrammatical, the availability of the NPI unit formed in the syntax seems to have the same type of blocking effect attested in examples (13)-(14) above. But see Tovena (2003) on the distributional restrictions displayed by some negative determiners in relation to the count/mass distinction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Number Phrase (or Quantity Phrase) is responsible for the assignment of quantity to stuff (i.e. masses) or for the counting of portioned-out stuff. Cl(assifier) is in Borer's system what we are calling here Pl(ural).

#### D) Gradable quantifiers

Quantifiers like *muitos* 'many' and *poucos* 'few' admit degree modification. In Portuguese also *nada* can behave as a gradable quantifier (see example (17)). In the sequence [*coisa+alguma*], [*coisa+nenhuma*] the noun *coisa* ('thing') can be modified by the superlative suffix *-íssima* ('-est'), originating *coisíssima nenhuma* (although \**coisíssima* is ill-formed by itself). Crucially, the sequence \**nenhuma coisíssima*, with prenominal *nenhum*, is sharply ungrammatical. These data support the idea that 'nominal negative inversion' with *algum/nenhum* gives rise to a NPI unit that changes some of the original properties of its constitutive parts.

- (18) a. E ainda não fez nadíssima!
   and yet not did-1SG nothing-est
   'And he hasn't done absolutely anything!'
  - b. Acreditem, não quero vender *nadíssima* a ninguém. believe-3PL not want-1SG sell-INFIN nothing-est to nobody 'Believe me. I don't want to sell absolutely anything to anybody.'

(Google search)

- (19) a. Não me tem doído coisíssima {alguma/nenhuma}.
  not me has ached thing-est not-one
  'I haven't been feeling any aches or pains anywhere.'
  - b. Não senti dores, não senti nada. Não senti *coisíssima nenhuma*. not felt-1SG pains not felt-1SG nothing not felt-1SG thing-est not-one 'I didn't feel pain, didn't feel anything. I didn't feel anything at all.'

(CORDIAL-SIN)

(20) \*Não me tem doído *nenhuma coisíssima*.
not me has ached not-one thing-est
'I haven't been feeling any aches or pains anywhere.'

# 2. Spanish in contrast to Portuguese: the grammaticalization path of nominal negative inversion with $algum/alguno^4$

In Spanish, nominal negative inversion with *alguno* ('some') is available and blocks plural inflection like in Portuguese.

- (21) a. No he visto *película alguna* esta semana not have-1SG seen movie some this week I haven't watched any movie this week.'
  - b. La asemblea no planteó *problema alguno* a la propuesta. the assembly not raised problem some to the proposal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The examples in this section come from Rigau (1999:337), Sanchéz-Lopez (1999:2597-2598), and Montse Batllori (p.c.).

'The assembly didn't raise any objection against the proposal.'

- (22) a. No hay *solución alguna* para ese dilema. not is solution some for that dilemma 'There is no solution for such dillema.'
  - b. \*No hay *soluciones algunas* para ese dilema. not is solutions some-PL for that dilemma 'There aren't any solutions for such dilemma.'

Spanish crucially diverges from Portuguese in that <u>nominal negative inversion with *alguno* is</u> <u>only licensed under the scope of negation</u>, typically in postverbal position.<sup>5</sup>

- (23) a. No fue necesaria ayuda alguna. not was necessary help some
  b. \*Ayuda alguna fue necesaria. help some was necessary
  'It wasn't necessary any help.'
- (24) a. No vive aquí *persona alguna*. not lives here person someb. \*Persona alguna vive aqui.
  - Persona alguna vive aqui, person some lives here 'Nobody lives here.'

The sentential distribution of [N+alguno] in Spanish, typically occurring in postverbal position, is reminiscent of the distribution of bare nouns discussed by Longobardi (1994), which suggests an hypothesis to account for the contrast between EP and Spanish. The restricted distribution of [N+alguno] in Spanish would be a consequence of the need to license the null Determiner in a structure like (2) above, here repeated as (25). Since EP escapes such restriction, that appears to indicate that in EP Neg-to-D movement can take place to fill in the D position.

(25)  $[DP_{\dots} [NegP [Neg' [ coisa_i alguma ]_k [NumP [Num' [ coisa_i alguma ]_k [NP coisa_i ] ] ] ]]$ 

Besides negation proper, also <u>"weak negative contexts"</u> – i.e. "modal contexts", in the sense of Bosque (1996) – <u>license postnominal *alguno*</u> in Spanish as shown in (26). This is not the case in contemporary EP where n-words, including [N+*algum*], systematically behave as strong NPIs. As illustrated in (27) the correlates of the sentences in (26) are ungrammatical in contemporary European Portuguese.

We may hypothesize that an NPI formed in the syntax as the result of Neg-to-D movement is necessarily strong (cf. Zamparelli (1995) on the relation between the higher layer of the DP and strong elements). In this way the contrast between Spanish and Portuguese is thoroughly derived.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> It is also licensed as the complement of the preposition *sin* ('without'), as exemplified in (i) below.

 <sup>(</sup>i) A los ricos los dejó sin cosa alguna.
 to the rich them left without thing some 'He took everything from the rich ones.'

- peregrinación, (26) a. Durante la sacábamos constantemente nos nuestros during the pilgrimage constantly ourselves took-off-1PL our zapatos (...) antes de a *lugar* alguno [sagrado]. entrar shoes (...) before of enter-INFIN to place some sacred 'Throughout the pilgrimage, we would always take our shoes off before entering any sacred place.'
  - b. Jamás mi le há prohibido a nadie viaje país que never my country CL.DAT has forbidden to anybody that travel a lugar alguno que desee. to place some that wish 'My country has never forbidden anyone to travel anywhere one may wish.'
  - c. tendrá, por mala que sea, más entradas que *outra alguna* it-will-have though bad that it-may-be, more entrances than any other 'Poorly acted as it may be, it will still have more public than other [theater representations].'

(Google search, 30/12/2010)

(27)Durante peregrinação constantemente tirávamos sapatos a os during the pilgrimage constantly took-off-1PL shoes the {algum lugar / \*lugar algum} antes de entrar sagrado em before of enter-INFIN in {some place / place some} sacred 'Throughout the pilgrimage, we would always take our shoes off before entering any sacred place.'

Spanish also differs from Portuguese in that <u>nominal negative inversion with *alguno* does not</u> require strict adjacency with the noun. While prepositional modifiers are not allowed to intervene between the noun and the indefinite quantifier (see (28) below), evaluative adjectives may and relational adjectives must intervene (see (29) and (30), respectively). I will not deal here with the issue of adjectives. A possible way to derive the contrast between Spanish and Portuguese is to take Spanish *alguno* to merge in Spec,NumP and therefore be left behind when the noun cyclically moves to incorporate in the DP-internal Neg-head.

(28) a. No conozco libro alguno de matemáticas que discuta este teorema. of not know-1SG book some mathematics that discusses this theorem b. \*No conosco libro de matemáticas alguno que discuta este teorema. not know-1SG book of mathematics some that discusses this theorem 'I am not aware of any book of mathematics that might discuss this theorem.'

(29)	a.	No	asistí	a	conferencia	alguna	interesante.
		not	attended-1SG	to	lecture	some	interesting
	b.	No	asistí	a	conferencia	interesa	nte some
		not	attended-1SG	to	lecture	interesti	ng alguna.
	'I did not attend any worthy lecture.'						

(30) a. \*No hay avería alguna eléctrica en este barrio. not is failure some electrical this neighborhood in eléctrica b. No hay avería alguna en este . barrio is failure electrical some in this neighborhood not 'There isn't any electrical failure in this neighborhood.'

These facts, in tandem with the total exclusion of the correlate of *coisíssima alguma* 'thing-est some' in Spanish (see section 1.2), suggest that nominal negative inversion does not involve incorporation in Spanish. Thus a structure like (31) might be the right analysis for Spanish nominal negative inversion, whereas EP nominal negative inversion is represented in (32). From a diachronic perspective the two different structural representations feature a case of upward reanalysis along the functional hierarchy in the sense of Roberts and Roussou (1999).

Spanish:

(31)  $\left[ DP \left[ D' \left[ e \right] \right] \left[ NegP \left[ Neg' \left[ animal_i \right]_k \left[ NumP alguno \left[ Num' \left[ animal_i \right]_k \left[ NP animal_i \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$ 

European Portuguese:

(32)  $[_{DP}[_{D'}[animal_i algum]_k [_{NegP}[_{Neg'}[animal_i algum]_k [_{NumP}[_{Num'}[animal_i algum]_k [_{NP} animal_i ]]]]]$ 

## 3. Diachronic and cross-linguistic evidence supporting the analysis

A) European Portuguese used to be like Spanish:

- Licensing under the scope of negation required<sup>6</sup>
- Licensing in weak negative contexts possible (see example (33))
- Adjacency between the noun and *algum* possible (see example (34))
- Coisíssima alguma/nenhuma not attested
- (33) a. ali se defende que *pessoa alguma* compre trigo (...) para (...) vender there *SE* forbids that person some buy.SUBJ wheat to sell 'It is forbidden, according to that law, that anyone should buy wheat to sell it.'
  - admittidos antes de auerem alguma darão b. Os cousa fiancas the admitted before of have-3SG thing some will-give guarantees 'The ones admitted must offer guarantees before they are allowed to receive anything.'

### (Corpus do Português, 18th century)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In *Corpus do Português* I could not find any example of postnominal *algum* in subject position or other position outside the scope of negation throughout the seventeenth century. Very few examples appear in the eighteenth century. One has to wait until the nineteenth century to easily find attestations of the innovation.. The data found in the diary of *Conde da Ericeira*, ranging from 1729 to 1737, point in the same direction (cf. Lisboa, Miranda and Oliveira (2002, 2005, 2007)), showing that in the first decades of the eighteenth century the split between Portuguese and Spanish had not become visible yet. There are 57 occurrences of postnominal *algum* in the diary (among the total number of 1.064 occurrences of *algum*) and no single example of postnominal *algum* but in complement position under the scope of negation.

- (34) a. não acharão ... qualidade pessoal alguma mais que estas (17th century) not will-find quality personal some more than those
   'You will not find there any individual qualities besides those I referred...'
  - b. não havendo *comércio interno algum* em Portugal (18th century) not existing commerce domestic some in Portugal 'not existing any domestic commerce in Portugal.'
  - c. sem ... *elegância moderna alguma* (19th century) without elegance modern some 'Without any of the ancient solemnity or modern refinement.'

(Corpus do Português)

Earlier examples of postnominal *algum* in preverbal subject position and earlier examples of *coisíssima alguma/nenhuma*. These examples reveal the emergence of Neg-to-D in EP:

Late 18th century EP (from Corpus do Português):

(35) *Coisa* mais deliciosa alguma há que a alegria, nem mais sua thing some there-is more delicious than the her joy nor more penetrante que a sua ternura. penetrating than the her tenderness 'There is nothing more pleasant than her joy nor more moving than her tenderness.'

19th century EP (from *Corpus do Português*):

- (36) a. *Coisa alguma* escapou! thing some escaped 'Nothing was left.'
  - b. Namorado algum, dos mais ardentes. palpitou com tanta febre lover some of-the more ardent palpitated with such fever antegozo de uma aventura. no in-the anticipation of adventure an 'No lover was ever so deeply excited with the anticipation of an affair.'
  - c. *Em época alguma* tinham os criados conhecido Maurício tão caseiro. in time some had the servants known Maurício so domestic 'Never before had the servants seen Maurício so domestic.'

19th EP (from *Corpus do Português*):

(37) a. Nunca recebi favor do Sr. D. Pedro II, nem ele me deve never received-1SG favor of-the Sir D. Pedro II nor he me-DAT owe *coisíssima alguma*.
 thing-est some

'I have never been favored by His Majesty D. Pedro II, neither does he owe me anything at all.'

b. Não preciso dela para *coisíssima alguma*. not need-1SG her for thing-est some 'I do not need her for anything at all.' B) Other changes that appear to correlate with the emergence of Neg-to-D in EP

## POSTNOMINAL NENHUM

In the turn from the 18th to the 19th century, there is a striking rise in frequency of postnominal *nenhum* in European Portuguese (from16% in the eighteenth century it raises to 43% in the nineteenth century and approaches 50% in the twentieth century, in Corpus do Português).<sup>7</sup> These data appear to reveal that once Neg-to-D movement is available in European Portuguese, its range extends from algum to nenhum. At this point, inversion with the latter (i.e. [N+nenhum]) becomes an unmarked option, displaying the morphological and semantic effects discussed in section 1.

	NEN	HUM	ALGUM	
	Prenominal	Postnominal	Prenominal	Postnominal
18th century	325	63 – <b>16,2%</b>	2220	391 – <b>15%</b>
19th century	676	504 – <b>42,9%</b>	8726	1152 – <b>11,7%</b>
20th century	1250	1066 – <b>46%</b>	9821	812 – <b>7,6%</b>

TABLE 1: Postnominal nenhum and algum in Corpus do Português

TABLE 2: Postnominal ninguno and alguno in Corpus del Español

	NINGUNG	D/NINGÚN	ALGUNO/ALGÚN	
	Prenominal	Postnominal	Prenominal	Postnominal
17th century	1206	235 – <b>16,3%</b>	3239	879 – <b>21,3%</b>
18th century	1553	135 – <b>8%</b>	4605	2107 – <b>31,4%</b>
19th century	3587	539 <b>- 13%</b>	6066	2608 – <b>30%</b>
20th century	3636	100 − <b>2,7%</b>	5232	677 – <b>11,5%</b>

As expected, Spanish does not behave like Portuguese with respect to postnominal nenhum/ninguno. Not only it does not display the type of word order effects discussed in section 2 but it only allows postnominal ninguno as a marked option (some type of extraposition) with an emphatic import.<sup>8</sup> See (38) to (41).

(i) a. Não vivem aqui animais selvagens quase/absolutamente nenhuns. not live-3PL here animals wild-PL almost/absolutely b. \*?Animais selvagens quase/absolutamente nenhuns vivem

none-PL aqui. here

Animals wild-PL almost/absolutely none-PL live-3PL c. *Quase/absolutamente nenhuns animais selvagens vivem aqui.* almost/absolutely none-PL animals wild-PL live-PL here 'There aren't any wild animals (at all) living here.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Portuguese appears to be the only Romance language where the postnominal placement of *nenhum* is an unmarked option, as revealed by its very high frequency of use (close to 50% in the Corpus do Português and strikingly dominant in the CORDIAL-SIN). The change seems to be tied up with the evolution of postnominal algum, for the reasons discussed in this presentation and also because the rise in frequency of nenhum happens in the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, just after the second step of the change of *algum* comes into view (and separates Portuguese from Spanish).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Extraposition with *nenhum* is found in Spanish and European Portuguese as well. Differently from 'nominal negative inversion', extraposition of *nenhum* does not require adjacency with the noun and allows plural inflection:

(38)	[A	] Vas a	allá mañana?				(Spanish)	
		'Are you going there tomorrow?'						
	[B] a. *De manera ninguna.							
	of manner not-one							
	b. De ninguna manera.							
		of	0					
		'N	lot at all.'					
(39)	a.	No te	nemos ningú	in mi	iedo.		(Spanish)	
			we-1PL not-o					
	b.	No te	nemos mied	o ni	nguno. (n	narked/emphatic)		
		not ha	we-1PL. fear		•	1 /		
		'We doi	n't have any fea	ar (at a	ull).'			
			-	Ì				
(40)			5		ngún tie	1	(Spanish)	
		never	nevermore in		t-one tin			
		NEVE	R! (at any time	or und	aer any ci	ircumstances)		
(41)	a.	Nunca,	jamais,	em	tempo	algum.	(European Portuguese)	
		never,	nevermore,	in	time	some		
	b.	Nunca,	jamais,	em	tempo	nenhum.		
		never,	nevermore,	in	time	not-one		
	c. *	*Nunca,	jamais,	em	nenhum	tempo.		
		never,	nevermore,	in	not-one	time		
		'NEVE	R! (at any time,	or un	der any c	circumstances)'		
			·		2	,		

## • ALGUM/ALGUÉM and NENHUM/NINGUÉM as [+hum] pronouns

The fact that in Portuguese *algum* and *nenhum* as pronouns with [+hum] interpretation were, in the course of time, replaced by *alguém* ('someone, somebody') and *ninguém* ('no one, nobody') might be an indication of their weakening (in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke 1999), which is compatible with the change from maximal projections to heads (XP to  $X^0$ ). Historical grammarians place the loss of sentences like (42a-b) after the 16th century, but do not offer a precise chronology.

- (42) a. Encheron-sse (...) de augua sem lha deytando algum filled.3SG-themselves of water without them.DAT-it.ACC pouring someone '(The baptismal fonts) appeared filled with water without the intervention of anyone.' (Old Portuguese / \*EP)
  - b. *Nenhum* mostrava que era faminto.
    no-one showed that was starving
    'No one showed that he/she was starving.' (Old Portuguese / \*EP)

(43) a. Encheram-se de água sem que *alguém* a deitasse filled.3SG-themselves of water without that someone it poured-SUBJ
'(The baptismal fonts) appeared filled with water without the intervention of anyone.' (EP)

b. *Ninguém* mostrava estar faminto.
no-one showed to-be starving
'No one showed that he/she was starving.' (EP)

	ALGUN	A vs. ALGUÉM	NENHUM vs. NINGUÉM		
	Algum	Alguém	Nenhum	Ninguém	
17th century	1596	172- <b>9,7%</b>	949	494 – <b>34,2%</b>	
18th century	1466	417 – <b>22,1%</b>	494	370− <b>42,8%</b>	
19th century	5038	1564 – <b>23,7%</b>	2150	4729 – <b>68,7%</b>	
20th century (EP)	4361	3275 – <b>42,9%</b>	3628	6775 – <b>65,1%</b>	

TABLE 3: Algum/alguém and nenhum/ninguém in Corpus do Português

## C) Italian alcuno and French aucun

In Italian and French the correlates of *algum* were turned into lexical NPIs (cf. Roberts and Roussou 1999, Roberts 2007, Déprez and Martineau 2003, Paola Crisma, p.c.). Still, both French and Italian seem to offer evidence that nominal negative inversion would have been available at a certain point of the diachronic path of *aucun/alcuno* from PPI to NPI, and played a role in the change. That is to say, Italian and French likely attest how a PPI may develop into a lexical NPI through a stage in which the NPI is syntactically built.

The data displayed in Tables 4 and 5 (taken from Déprez and Martineau (2003)) are very revealing in two respects. They show that the negative interpretation of *aucun* in sixteenth century French is often associated with its postnominal placement (see Table 3). They also show that singular favors and plural disfavors the negative interpretation (see Table 4). This is precisely what is expected if nominal negative inversion was a grammatical option in French at a certain point in the diachronic development of *aucun*.

		× 1	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
16th c.	Positive Context	Polarity Context	Negative Context
aucun N	12	3	27
N aucun	1	11	23

TABLE 4: Aucun in pre-/postnominal positions in 16th c. French (Déprez & Martineau 2003)

TABLE 5: Aucun as a noun-modifying form in positive, polarity, and negative contextsin 16 th c. French (Déprez and Martineau 2003)

$16^{\text{th}} \text{ c}$	Positive Context	Polarity Context	Negative Context
Singular	0%	21.1% (16)	60.5% (46)
Plural	10.5% (8)	5.3% (4)	2.6% (2)

Italian is particularly interesting because only singular *alcuno* turned into an NPI, while plural *alcuni* is still a PPI. Under the hypothesis that nominal negative inversion with *alcuno* was available at some stage in the history of Italian and played a role in the change, the facts fall into place, because the restriction to singular is precisely an effect of the particular structure involved in nominal negative inversion, with DP-internal NegP blocking the projection of Pl(ural)P.

The Italian data displayed below illustrate the polarity contrast between *alcun(o)* (sg., 'any') and *alcuni* (pl., 'some'). Moreover, the data show that *alcuno* must be licensed under the scope of negation (like postnominal *alguno* in Spanish), and that *alcun(o)* ('any') differently from *alcuni* ('some') can be postnominal (though it does not display the type of word-order-dependent contrasts discussed in section 2 with respect to European Portuguese).

- (44) a. *Alcuni animali* vivono qui. some-PL animals live-3PL here
  - b. Qui vivono *alcuni animali*. here live-3PL some-PL animals
  - c. *Alcuni animali* non vivono qui. some-PL animals not live-3PL here
  - d. \**Animali alcuni* vivono qui. animals some-PL live-3PL here
  - e. \*Qui non vivono animali alcuni. here non live-3PL animals some-PL
    'Some animals {live/don't live} here.'
- (45) a. Qui non vive *alcun mammifero*. here not lives any-SG mammal 'No mammal lives here.'
  - b. Non viveva lì animale alcuno. not lived there animal any-SG
     'No animal lived there.'
- (46) b. Non c'è stata *alcuna obiezione*. not there-is been any-FEM-SG objection
  - Non c'è stata obiezione alcuna.
     not there-is been objection any-FEM-SG
     'There wasn't any objection'
- (47) a. \**Alcun mammifero* (non) vive qui. *ALCUN* mammal (not) lives here
  - \*Mammifero alcuno (non) vive qui. mammal ALCUNO (not) lives here
     {Some/No} animal lives here.'

Acknowledgements: I am much grateful to Montse Batllori, Paola Crisma, Ernestina Carrilho, and Anthony Kroch for invaluable data and discussion.

#### References

- Aelbrecht, Lobke (to appear). "Ellipsis in Negative Fragment Answers". International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology.
- Bernstein, Judy 1991. "DP's in French and Walloon: Evidence for Parametric Variation in Nominal Head Movement". *Probus* 3: 101-126.
- Bernstein, Judy 2001. "The DP Hypothesis: Identifying Clausal Properties in the Nominal Domain". *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, ed. by M. Baltin & C. Collins. Oxford UK/Cambridge USA: Blackwell.
- Borer, Hagit 2005. In Name Only. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bosque, Ignacio 1996. "La polaridad modal". Actas del Cuarto Congreso de Hispanistas de Asia. Seúl: Asociación Asiática de Hispanistas.
- Brocardo, Teresa, ed. 1997. Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / JNICT.
- Cardinaletti, Anna, and Starke, Michael. 1999. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns'. In Clitics in the Languages of Europe, eds. H. van Riemsdijk, 145-233. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Castro, Ivo, ed. 1984. *Livro de José de Arimateia*. Ph.D. dissertation. Lisboa, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa.
- Cintra, Luís Filipe Lindley, ed. 1954. *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*. Vol. 2. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda.
- CORDIAL-SIN: Syntax-oriented corpus of Portuguese dialects. Available at <u>http://www.clul.ul.pt</u>
- *Corpus do Português*: Davies, Mark and Michael Ferreira. (2006-) Corpus do Português: 45 million words, 1300s-1900s. Available online at http://www.corpusdoportugues.org.
- *Corpus del Español* : Davies, Mark (2002-) Corpus del Español : 100 million words, 1200s-1900s. Available online at http://www.corpusdelespanol.org.
- Déprez, Viviane and France, Martineau. 2003. "Microparametric Variation and Negative Concord". *Contemporary Approaches to Romance Linguistics*, ed. by J. Auger et al. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Dresher, Bezabel E. 1999. "Charting the Learning Path: Cues to Parameter Setting". *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 27-67.
- Fodor, Janet D. 1998. "Unambiguous triggers". Linguistic Inquiry 29: 1-36.
- Haegeman, Liliane 2002. "Some Notes on DP-internal Negative Doubling". *Syntactic Microvariation*. Electronic Publication. <u>http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/books/synmic</u>.
- Haegeman, Liliane and Terje Lohndal 2010. "Negative Concord and (Multiple) Agree: A Case Study in West Flemish". *Linguistic Inquiry* 41: 181-211.
- Heycock, Caroline and Roberto Zamparelli 2000. "Friends and colleagues: Coordination, plurality and the structure of DP". *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society* 30.
- Heycock, Caroline and Roberto Zamparelli 2005. "Friends and colleagues: Coordination, plurality and the structure of DP". *Natural Language Semantics* 13: 201-270.
- Lightfoot, D. 1991. *How to Set Parameters: Arguments from Language Change*. Cambridge/London: MIT Press.
- Lightfoot, D. 1999. The Development of Language: Acquisition, Change and Evolution. Blackwell.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe 1994. "Reference and Proper Names". Linguistic Inquiry 25: 609-665.

- Lisboa, João, Tiago C. P dos Reis Miranda and Fernanda Olival, eds. 2002. *Gazetas manuscritas da Biblioteca pública de Évora*, vol. 1 (1729-1731). Lisboa: Colibri, CIDEHUS, CHC-UNL.
- Lisboa, João, Tiago C. P dos Reis Miranda and Fernanda Olival, eds. 2005. *Gazetas manuscritas da Biblioteca pública de Évora*, vol. 2 (1732-1734). Lisboa: Colibri, CIDEHUS, CHC-UNL.
- Lisboa, João, Tiago C. P dos Reis Miranda and Fernanda Olival, eds. 2007. *Gazetas manuscritas da Biblioteca pública de Évora*, vol. 3 (1735-1737). Lisboa: CIDEHUS, CHC-UNL. Unpublished.
- Martins, Ana Maria 2000. "Polarity Items in Romance: Underspecification and Lexical Change. *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, ed. by Susan Pintzuk, George Tsoulas and Anthony Warner. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Martins, Ana Maria 2002. "The Loss of IP-scrambling in Portuguese: Clause Structure, Word Order Variation and Change". *Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change*, ed. by David Lightfoot. Oxford University Press.
- Piel, Joseph-Maria and Irene Nunes, eds. 1988. Demanda do Santo Graal. Lisboa: IN CM..
- Rigau, Gemma 1999. "La estructura del Sintagma Nominal: Los Modificadores del Nombre". *Gramática Descriptiva de la lengua Española*, org. by Ignacio Bosque e Violeta Demonte. Madrid: Espasa. 311-393.
- Roberts, Ian 2007. Diachronic Syntax. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Ian and Anna Roussou 2003. Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization. Cambridge University Press.
- Sánchez López, Cristina 1999. "La Negación". *Gramática Descriptiva de la lengua Española*, org. by Ignacio Bosque e Violeta Demonte. Madrid: Espasa. 2561-2634.
- Tovena, L. M. (2003). "Distributional restrictions on negative determiners". In K. Jaszczolt and K. Turner (eds.), *Meaning Through Language Contrast*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 3-28.
- Troseth, Erika 2009. "Degree Inversion and Negative Intensifier Inversion in the English DP". *The Linguistic Review* 26.1: 67-134.
- Zamparelli, Robert 1995. Layers in the Determiner Phrase. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Rochester.