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).

\[(2)\quad [DP...[NegP[Neg'[coisa, alguma]]_k[NumP[Num'[coisa, alguma]]_k[NP coisa]...]]]\]

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:

\[(3)\quad [DP[D'[e][NegP[Neg'[animal]]_k[NumP alguno[Num'[animal]]_k[NP animal]]]]]]]\]

European Portuguese:

\[(4)\quad [DP[D'[animal, algum]]_k[NegP[Neg'[animal, algum]]_k[NumP[Num'[animal, algum]]_k[NP animal]]]]]]]\]

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)).

\[(5)\quad a.\quad [DP[NumP[PIP[NP...]]]] \\
\quad b.\quad [DP[NegP[NumP[NP...]]]]\]
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 *algum*/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 *não* (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.’

(11) *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.

(ii) 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?’

          he not reads nothing
     b. *Ele não lê nenhum coisa.  
          he not reads not-one thing
     c. Ele não lê coisa nenhum.  
          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 doesn’t read anything.’
B) Negative answers to polar questions

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 apartment?’
      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 nenhum  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?’
      No.
b. De  maneira nenhum.
      of  manner  not-one
c. De forma  alguma
      of  form  some
d. *De nenhum  maneira.
      of  not-one  manner
      ‘Not at all.’

---

1 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:

(i) [A] Já sei que vais vender a casa da tua avó.
   ‘I’ve heard that your are selling your grandmother’s house.’
      not  go-1SG  nothing  sell-INFIN  the house of-the my grandmother
b. Não vou nada vender a casa da minha avó
   not  go-1SG  nothing  sell-INFIN  the house of-the my grandmother
   {coisa  nenhum/ *nenhuma coisa}
   {thing  not-one/  *not-one thing}
c. Não vou nada vender {casa  nenhum/ *nenhuma casa}.
   not  go-1SG  nothing  sell-INFIN  {house  not-one/  *not-one house}
   ‘No, I am NOT!’
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.\(^2\)

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.\(^3\)

\[(15)\]
\[a.\] The key doesn’t enter in the lock of not-one way
\n\n\n\n`The key doesn’t enter in the lock in any possible way/position.'

\[b.\] The key doesn’t enter in the lock of way not-one/some
\n\n\n\n`The key doesn’t enter in the lock at all.'

\[(16)\]
\[a.\] You see, the cat didn’t eat any fish. The three of them are still in the aquarium.

\[b.\] The cat didn’t eat any fish. Its fish meal is still laying in its dish.

\[(17)\]
\[a.\] We don’t have any fear/luck (at all).'

\[b.\] *We don’t have any fear/not-any luck*.

\[c.\] We don’t have any fear/some luck

\[d.\] *We don’t have any fear/some luck*.

\(^2\) 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.

\(^3\) 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 nenhum* (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.’

(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 nenhum*.
   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.’

(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 asamblea no planteó *problema alguno* a la propuesta.
   the assembly not raised problem some to the proposal

[^4]: 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 dilemma.’

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 nominal negative inversion with *alguno* is only licensed under the scope of negation, typically in postverbal position.5

(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 some

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... [NegP [Neg' [ cosa; alguna]k [NumP [Num' [ cosa; alguna]k [NP cosa ]]]]]]]

Besides negation proper, also “weak negative contexts” – i.e. “modal contexts”, in the sense of Bosque (1996) – license postnominal *alguno* 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.

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5 It is also licensed as the complement of the preposition *sin* (‘without’), as exemplified in (i) below.

(i) A los ricos los dejó *sin* cosa alguna.
 to the rich them left without thing some
‘He took everything from the rich ones.’
(26) a. Durante la peregrinación, constantemente nos sacábamos nuestros zapatos (...) antes de entrar a lugar alguno [sagrado].
   throughout the pilgrimage constantly we took-off-1PL our shoes (...) before entering a place some sacred
   ‘Throughout the pilgrimage, we would always take our shoes off before entering any sacred place.’

b. Jamás mi país le ha prohibido a nadie que viaje a lugar alguno que desee.
   never my country has forbidden to anybody that travel to place some wish
   ‘My country has never forbidden anyone to travel anywhere one may wish.’

c. tendrá, por mala que sea, más entradas que otra 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].’

(27) Durante a peregrinação constantemente tirávamos os sapatos antes de entrar em {algum lugar / *lugar algum} sagrado.
   throughout the pilgrimage constantly took-off-1PL the shoes 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 nominal negative inversion with alguno does not 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.
   not know-1SG book some of mathematics that discusses this theorem
b. *No conozco 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 interesante some
   not attended-1SG to lecture interesting some
   ‘I did not attend any worthy lecture.’
(30) a. *No hay avería alguna eléctrica en este barrio.
not is failure some electrical in this neighborhood
b. No hay avería eléctrica alguna en este barrio
not is failure electrical some in this neighborhood
‘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:

\[
(31) \quad \left[DP \left[D \left[e \left[NegP \left[Neg \left[animal_i \right] \k \left[Nump \left[alguno \left[Num \left[animal_i \right] \k \left[Num \left[animal_i \right] \right]\right]\right]\right]\right]\right]\right]\right]\right]
\]

European Portuguese:

\[
(32) \quad \left[DP \left[D \left[animal_i \algum \right] \k \left[NegP \left[Neg \left[animal_i \algum \right] \k \left[Nump \left[Num \left[animal_i \algum \right] \k \left[Num \left[animal_i \algum \right] \right]\right]\right]\right]\right]\right]\right]\right]
\]

3. Diachronic and cross-linguistic evidence supporting the analysis

A) European Portuguese used to be like Spanish:

- Licensing under the scope of negation required\(^6\)
- 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 algum comprre 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.’
b. Os admitidos antes de auerem cousa algum darão fianças 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)

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\(^6\) 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.’

(35) Coisa alguma há mais deliciosa que a sua alegria, nem mais
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.’

(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
no antegozo de uma aventura.
in-the anticipation of an adventure
‘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.’

(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 coisaíssima 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 (from 16% in the eighteenth century it raises to 43% in the nineteenth century and approaches 50% in the twentieth century, in Corpus do Português). 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.

### TABLE 1: Postnominal nenhum and algum in Corpus do Português

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NENHUM</th>
<th></th>
<th>ALGUM</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prenominal</td>
<td>Postnominal</td>
<td>Prenominal</td>
<td>Postnominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th century</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>63 – 16,2%</td>
<td>2220</td>
<td>391 – 15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th century</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>504 – 42,9%</td>
<td>8726</td>
<td>1152 – 11,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th century</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1066 – 46%</td>
<td>9821</td>
<td>812 – 7,6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 2: Postnominal ninguno and alguno in Corpus del Español

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NINGUNO/NINGÚN</th>
<th>ALGUNO/ALGÚN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prenominal</td>
<td>Postnominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th century</td>
<td>1206</td>
<td>235 – 16,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th century</td>
<td>1553</td>
<td>135 – 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th century</td>
<td>3587</td>
<td>539 – 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th century</td>
<td>3636</td>
<td>100 – 2,7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. See (38) to (41).

---

7 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 18th to the 19th century, just after the second step of the change of algum comes into view (and separates Portuguese from Spanish).

8 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:

(i) a. Não vivem aqui animais selvagens quase/absolutamente nenhuns.
   not live-3PL here animals wild-PL almost/absolutely none-PL
b. *Animais selvagens quase/absolutamente nenhum vivem aqui.
   Animals wild-PL almost/absolutely none-PL live-3PL here
c. Quase/absolutamente nenhuns animais selvagens vivem aqui.
   almost/absolutely none-PL animals wild-PL live-3PL here
   ‘There aren’t any wild animals (at all) living here.’
(38) [A] Vas allá mañana?  (Spanish)
   ‘Are you going there tomorrow?’
    of manner not-one
b. De ninguna manera.
    of not-one manner
   ‘Not at all.’

(39) a. No tenemos ningún miedo.  (Spanish)
    not have-1PL. not-one fear
b. No tenemos miedo ninguno. (marked/emphatic)
    not have-1PL. fear not-one
   ‘We don’t have any fear (at all).’

(40) Nunca, jamás, en ningún tiempo.  (Spanish)
   never nevermore in not-one time
   ‘NEVER! (at any time or under any circumstances)’

(41) a. Nunca, jamais, em tempo algum.  (European Portuguese)
    never, nevermore, in time some
b. Nunca, jamais, em tempo nemhum.
    never, nevermore, in time not-one
   c. *Nunca, jamais, em nemhum tempo.
      never, nevermore, in not-one time
   ‘NEVER! (at any time, or under any circumstances)’

▪ 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 X0). 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-themseleves 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)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ALGUM vs. ALGUÉM</th>
<th>NENHUM vs. NINGUÉM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Algum</td>
<td>Alguém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th century</td>
<td>1596</td>
<td>172 – 9,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th century</td>
<td>1466</td>
<td>417 – 22,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th century</td>
<td>5038</td>
<td>1564 – 23,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th century (EP)</td>
<td>4361</td>
<td>3275 – 42,9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16th c.</th>
<th>Positive Context</th>
<th>Polarity Context</th>
<th>Negative Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aucun N</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N aucun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16th c</th>
<th>Positive Context</th>
<th>Polarity Context</th>
<th>Negative Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>21.1% (16)</td>
<td>60.5% (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>10.5% (8)</td>
<td>5.3% (4)</td>
<td>2.6% (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *li 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
c. 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
b. *Mammifero alcuno* (non) vive qui.
   mammal *ALCUNO* (not) lives here
   ‘{Some/No} animal lives here.’
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References


