

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 *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?’
- [B] a. Ele não lê *nada*.
 he not reads nothing
 b. *Ele não lê *nenhuma 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 doesn’t read anything.’

B) Negative answers to polar questions¹

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?’

- [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.’

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 you are selling your grandmother’s house.’
- [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* vou *nada* vender a casa da minha avó
not go-1SG nothing sell-INFIN the house of-the my grandmother
{*coisa nenhuma/ *nenhuma coisa*}
{thing not-one/ *not-one 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!’

C) Count vs. mass nouns

Nominal negative inversion with *algun* 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. A chave não entra na fechadura de *nenhuma* maneira.
the key not enters in the lock 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).’

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 Tovina (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 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-1SG 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 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), Sánchez-Lopez (1999:2597-2598), and Montse Batllori (p.c.).

- (26) a. Durante la peregrinación, constantemente nos sacábamos nuestros
 during the pilgrimage constantly ourselves took-off-1PL our
 zapatos (...) antes de entrar a *lugar alguno* [sagrado].
 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 país le há prohibido a *nadie* que viaje
 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 a peregrinação constantemente tirávamos os sapatos
 during the pilgrimage constantly took-off-1PL the shoes
 antes de entrar em {*algum lugar* / **lugar algum*} sagrado
 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 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 interesante some
 not attended-1SG to lecture interesting alguna.
 ‘I did not attend any worthy lecture.’

- (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 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.’

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
 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.’

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 (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*).⁷ 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*

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

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

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

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.⁸ 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 nenhuns 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-PL here
‘There aren’t any wild animals (at all) living here.’

- (38) [A] Vas allá mañana? (Spanish)
 ‘Are you going there tomorrow?’
 [B] a. *De manera ninguna.
 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 nenhum.
 never, nevermore, in time not-one
 c. *Nunca, jamais, em nenhum 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-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)

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

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

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)

16th c.	Positive Context	Polarity Context	Negative Context
<i>aucun</i> N	12	3	27
N <i>aucun</i>	1	11	23

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

16 th 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
- 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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