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Word Order and Polarity in Spanish postnominal ALGUNO

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Postnominal ALGUNO

- Spanish ALGUNO is an existential/indefinite quantifier which conveys information about the speaker's epistemic state (lack of knowledge) (Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2013).
- When in postverbal position and co-occurring with higher negation, it has different interpretations (Bosque 1980; Sánchez López 2000):
 - Prenominally, as in (1a), it is interpreted outside the scope of negation.
 - Postnominally, as in (1b), it is interpreted under the scope of negation.

(1) a. ALGÚN + noun

(Creo que) no le gustó **algún** [_N retrato].

believe.1SG.PRE that not 3SG.DAT please.3SG.PAST ALGUNO portrait

'(I think) she didn't like some portrait'

$\exists x[\text{portrait}(x) \ \& \ \neg \text{like}(\text{she}, x)]$

b. Noun + ALGUNO

(Creo que) no le gustó [_N retrato] **alguno**.

believe.1SG.PRE that not 3SG.DAT please.3SG.PAST portrait ALGUNO

'(I think) she didn't like any portrait'

$\neg \exists x[\text{portrait}(x) \ \& \ \text{like}(\text{she}, x)]$

Previous account (1/2)


- Martins (2012, 2015) offers an account for postnominal ALGUNO in terms of head movement.
 - She claims that the sequence noun + ALGUNO is an NPI built in the syntax.
 - ALGUNO is generated in Spec,NumP and is left behind when the noun cyclically moves to incorporate in the DP-internal Neg head.

(2) a. Aquí no vive **[_N animal] alguno.**

here not live.3SG.PRE animal ALGUNO

'No animal lives here'

b. [DP [D' [e] [NegP [Neg' [animal_i]_k [NumP alguno [Num' [animal_i]_k [NP animal_i]]]]]]]



Previous account (2/2)

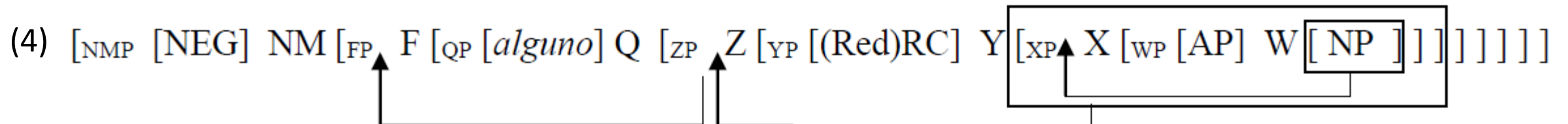
- Further data from Spanish:
 - Direct modifying adjectives (classificatory adjectives, thematic adjectives, non-predicative adjectives, in the sense of Cinque 2010, 2013) appear between the noun and ALGUNO, as shown in (3).
 - Martins's head-movement approach **cannot** explain this case.

(3) a. Noun + Direct Modifier + ALGUNO
No he visto [_N **comedia**] **americana alguna**.
not have.1SG.PRE seen comedy American ALGUNO.FEM
'I haven't seen any American comedy'

b. *Noun + ALGUNO + Direct Modifier
*No he visto [_N **comedia**] **alguna americana**
not have.1SG.PRE seen comedy ALGUNO.FEM American

My proposal

- I propose a **phrase-movement analysis** for postnominal ALGUNO.
 - I claim that NP moves up to the specifier of a functional projection merged higher than the projection hosting ALGUNO.
 - If present, direct modifiers are pied-piped by the NP when it moves across ALGUNO.
 - The syntactic structure I propose is shown in (4):



Roadmap

- I show the differences between postnominal *ALGUNO* and the n-word *NINGUNO* 'no', and conclude that the distribution of postnominal *ALGUNO* suggests the presence of a strong NPI.
- I propose a syntactic structure for postnominal *ALGUNO* involving phrasal movement of the NP. I claim that a functional head licensed by negation and selecting the projection hosting *ALGUNO* is responsible for the NPI reading.
- I add the adjectives into the syntactic structure to show that the phrase-movement I propose is on the correct track.
- I explore some generalizations of the phenomenon in other Romance languages.

NINGUNO vs. postnominal ALGUNO (1/3)

- In Spanish, a quantifier in object position and under the scope of negation is subject to Negative Concord, and surfaces as the n-word NINGUNO 'no'.
- Note that NINGUNO appears prenominally as in (5a); it cannot appear postnominally, as in (5b).

(5) a. NINGÚN + noun

No le gustó **ningún** [_N retrato].

not 3SG.DAT please.3SG.PAST NINGUNO portrait

'She didn't like any portrait'

$\neg\exists x[\text{portrait}(x) \ \& \ \text{like}(\text{she}, x)]$

b. *Noun + NINGUNO

*No le gustó [_N retrato] **ninguno**.

not 3SG.DAT please.3SG.PAST portrait NINGUNO

NINGUNO vs. postnominal ALGUNO (2/3)

- Syntactically, postnominal ALGUNO needs to be c-commanded by a local negation; NINGUNO does not have such requirement.

(6) a. Preverbal NINGUNO

Ningún libro está en la mesa.

NINGUNO book be.3SG.PRE in the table

‘No book is on the table’

b. *Preverbal noun + ALGUNO

***Libro alguno está** en la mesa.

book ALGUNO be.3SG.PRE in the table

(7) a. NINGUNO in fragmentary answers

–¿Compraste algún libro? –No, **ningún libro**

buy.2SG.PAST ALGUNO book not NINGUNO book

‘–Did you buy any book? –No, no books’

b. *Noun + ALGUNO in fragmentary answers

–¿Compraste algún libro? –*No, **libro alguno**

buy.2SG.PAST ALGUNO book not book ALGUNO

NINGUNO vs. postnominal ALGUNO (3/3)

- Semantically, postnominal ALGUNO expresses the endpoint of a scale; NINGUNO does not.

(8) a. ALMOST + NINGUNO + noun

No vino *casi ningún profesor.*

not come.3SG.PAST almost NINGUNO teacher

'Almost no teacher came'

b. *ALMOST + noun + ALGUNO

*No vino *casi profesor alguno.*

not come.3SG.PAST almost teacher ALGUNO

(9) a. NINGUNO + (OTHER) + noun + MORE

No quiero *ninguna (otra) queja más.*

not want.1SG.PAST NINGUNO.FEM other complaint more

'I don't want any other complaint'

b. *(OTHER) + noun + ALGUNO + MORE

*No quiero *(otra) queja alguna más.*

not want.1SG.PAST other complaint ALGUNO.FEM more

Postnominal ALGUNO's interpretation

- Postnominal ALGUNO needs to be strictly c-commanded by a local negation and expresses the endpoint of a scale. This suggests the presence of a strong Negative Polarity Item (NPI).
 - On NPIs:

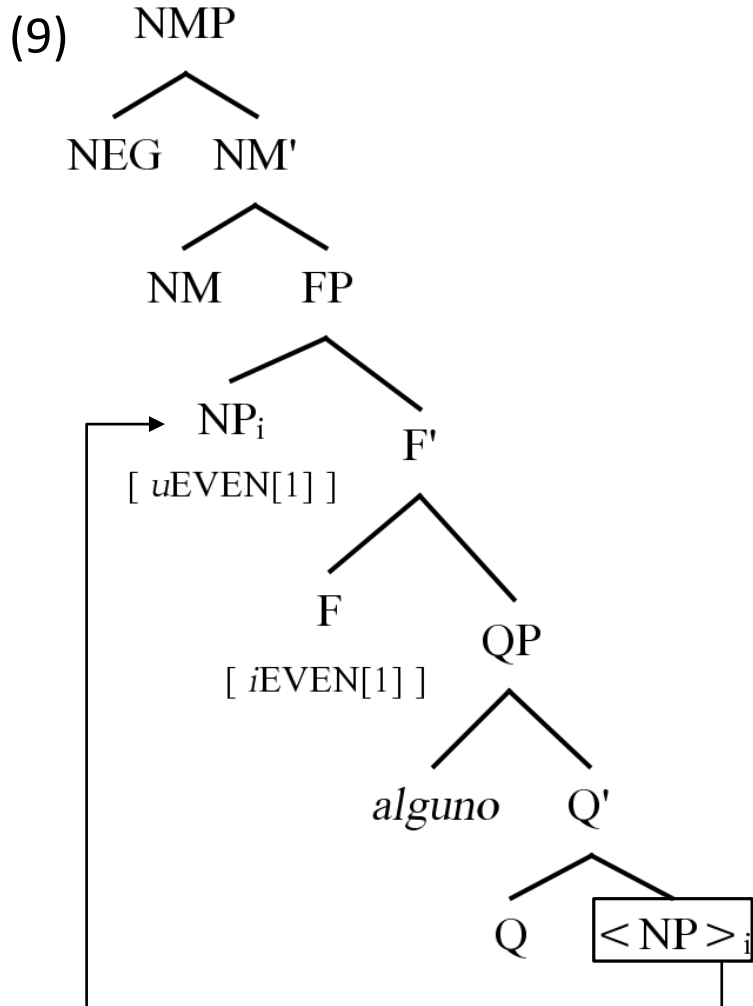
Kadmon & Landman (1993) argue that an NPI widens the denotation of its restriction or domain, and in doing so creates a stronger statement.
 - On strong NPIs:

Krifka (1995) suggests that strong NPIs are emphatic, so they appear in extreme environments, such as the scope of an operator at a scalar endpoint (i.e. negation).
- Postnominal ALGUNO conveys an emphatic negation that is stronger than the use of the n-word NINGUNO.

Postnominal ALGUNO's syntactic structure (1/2)

- I claim that the emphatic reading of postnominal ALGUNO is due to the presence of a functional head F projecting an FP licensed by negation.
- F seems to have a semantics that reminds that of SIQUIERA 'even' (i.e. expressing highly likelihood and focalizing a constituent).
- FP which selects an epistemic indefinite projection that hosts ALGUNO.
- F carries an interpretable unvalued feature (let us call it EVEN) and probes for NP, a focalized constituent carrying a value for EVEN. NP moves up to Spec,FP attracted by F's EPP feature.
- Therefore, negation does not license movement; rather, it licenses the landing site for movement (à la Borroff 2006).

Postnominal ALGUNO's syntactic structure (2/2)



- Quantifier (Q) is an epistemic head (Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2013) compatible with indefinites and selecting a nominal projection. ALGUNO is generated in Spec,QP.
- Negative Marker (NM) is a local negative head responsible for constituent negation and NPI composition (Collins & Postal 2014). Neg is generated in Spec,NMP
- NM selects FP, the projection of the NPI F. FP strictly selects an epistemic indefinite projection.
- F probes for the NP in order to check its unvalued feature EVEN. The NP is a focalized constituent that moves up to Spec,FP attracted by an EPP feature on F, and values F's EVEN feature.

Adding the adjectives (1/2)

- There are two sources of adnominal adjectives associated with two distinct sets of interpretive properties (Larson 1995, 1998; Cinque 2010, 2013). Their distribution is different with respect to postnominal ALGUNO:
 - Direct modifiers (classificatory adjectives, thematic adjectives, non-predicative adjectives) appear between the noun and ALGUNO, as shown in (10).
 - Indirect modifiers (relative clauses, reduced relative clauses, prepositional phrases) consistently appear after ALGUNO, as shown in (11).

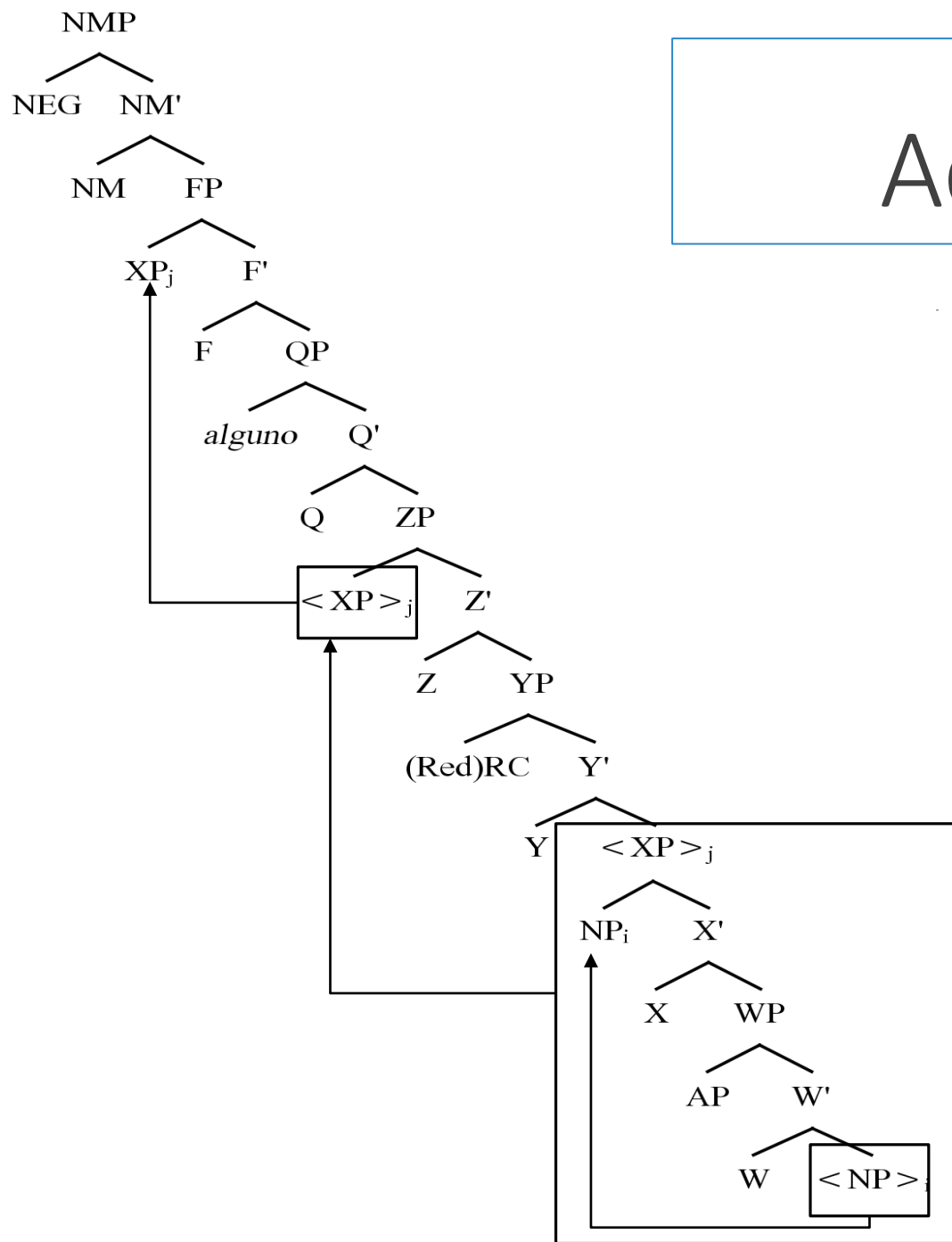
(10) a. Noun + Direct Modifier + ALGUNO
No he visto **comedia americana alguna**.
not have.1SG.PRE seen comedy American ALGUNO.FEM
'I haven't seen any American comedy'

b. *Noun + ALGUNO + Direct Modifier
*No he visto **comedia alguna americana**
not have.1SG.PRE seen comedy ALGUNO.FEM American

(11) a. Noun + ALGUNO + Indirect Modifier
No tengo **amigo alguno nacido en Uganda**.
not have.1SG.PRE friend ALGUNO born in Uganda
'I don't have any friend born in Uganda'

b. *Noun + Indirect Modifier + ALGUNO
*No tengo **amigo nacido en Uganda alguno**.
not have.1SG.PRE friend born in Uganda some

(12)



Adding the adjectives (2/2)

- I interpret the distribution of the two types of adjectives as suggesting that the quantificational projection that hosts ALGUNO is merged higher than Red RC, in a structure that follows Cinque's (2010, 2013) DP projection.

The phenomenon in Romance

		Romance					
		Strict Negative Concord Languages		Non-Strict Negative Concord Languages			
		No possibility for <i>ALGUNO</i> -like behavior under negation		Possibility for <i>ALGUNO</i> -like behavior under negation			
Word order		French	Catalan	Spanish	Italian	BrPort	EuPort
NINGUNO >	noun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
noun >	NINGUNO	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
ALGUNO >	noun	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗
noun >	ALGUNO	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓

Conclusions

- ALGUNO is an epistemic indefinite that has narrow scope when in postverbal position and co-occurring with higher negation.
- Postnominal ALGUNO's distribution and interpretation suggest the presence of a strong NPI.
- F, the head of FP, is a strong NPI with the semantics of (NI) SIQUIERA 'even'. F is licensed by negation and is impossible without it. NP moves up to Spec,FP to value F features.
- If present, direct modifiers are pied-piped by the NP when it moves across ALGUNO.
- The phenomenon is present in other Romance languages with slightly different restrictions.

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