

## 1. The problem

- Spanish ALGUNO is an epistemic indefinite quantifier that conveys lack of knowledge (Alonso-Ovalle & Men ndez-Benito 2013).
- In postverbal position and co-occurring with higher negation, it has different interpretations depending on its relative position:

### (1) a. Prenominal ALGUNO (ALGUNO + noun)

(Creo que) no le gust  alg n [N retrato].  
believe.1SG.PRE that not 3SG.DAT please.3SG.PAST ALGUNO portrait  
'(I think) she didn't like some portrait'

∃x[portrait(x) & ¬like(she, x)] ← **Outside the scope of negation**

### b. Postnominal ALGUNO (noun + ALGUNO)

(Creo que) no le gust  [N retrato] alguno.  
believe.1SG.PRE that not 3SG.DAT please.3SG.PAST portrait ALGUNO  
'(I think) she didn't like any portrait'

¬∃x[portrait(x) & like(she, x)] ← **Under the scope of negation**

- Postnominal ALGUNO has been accounted for only in terms of nominal head movement (Martins 2012, 2015). This approach makes incorrect predictions when adjectives co-occur with postnominal ALGUNO.

- Instead, postnominal ALGUNO can be explained due to the presence of a **strong Negative Polarity Item (NPI)**, which triggers a **nominal phrase-movement inside the DP** (  la Cinque 2010).

## 2. Word order in postnominal ALGUNO

- Narrow scope ALGUNO has a restricted distribution involving **word order**. It is licensed only postnominally (1) and postverbally (2). These restrictions make it different from n-words such as NINGUNO 'no' (3), which appears prenominally only (3a) and is allowed in preverbal position (3b).

### (2) \*Preverbal noun + ALGUNO

\*[N Libro] alguno [v est ] en la mesa.  
book ALGUNO be.3SG.PRE in the table

### (3) a. Prenominal NINGUNO (but \*postnominal NINGUNO)

No le gust  ning n [N retrato].  
not 3SG.DAT please.3SG.PAST NINGUNO portrait  
'She didn't like any portrait'

### b. Preverbal NINGUNO + noun

Ning n [N libro] [v est ] en la mesa.  
NINGUNO book be.3SG.PRE in the table  
'No book is on the table'

## 3. Polarity in postnominal ALGUNO

- Narrow scope ALGUNO has also a restricted distribution involving **negative polarity**. It is licensed by a c-commanding negative operator (1b), (2), but not by quantifiers such as MENOS DE 'less than' or POCOS 'few' (4):

### (4) a. \*LESS THAN + postnominal ALGUNO

\*Menos de tres estudiantes vieron [N comedia] alguna.  
less of three students see.3PL.PAST comedy ALGUNO.FEM

### b. \*FEW + postnominal ALGUNO

\*Pocos estudiantes vieron [N comedia] alguna.  
few students see.3PL.PAST comedy ALGUNO.FEM

- Also, postnominal ALGUNO expresses the endpoint of a scale. It does not allow modification by CASI 'almost', OTRO 'other' or M S 'more' (5).

### (5) a. \*ALMOST + postnominal ALGUNO

\*No vino casi [N profesor] alguno.  
not come.3SG.PAST almost teacher ALGUNO

### b. \*(OTHER) + postnominal ALGUNO + MORE

\*No quiero (otra) [N queja] alguna m s.  
not want.1SG.PAST other complaint ALGUNO.FEM more

- The word order and polarity requirements of postnominal ALGUNO suggest the presence of a **strong NPI**.

## 4. Adjectives and postnominal ALGUNO

- Adnominal adjectives have two distinct sets of interpretive properties (Larson 1995, 1998; Cinque 2010, 2013) and different syntactic positions:
  - Classificatory, thematic, non-predicative adjectives (AP) appear before postnominal ALGUNO (6a).
  - (Reduced) relative clauses ((Red) RC) appear after ALGUNO (6b)

### (6) a. Noun + AP + ALGUNO (but \*Noun + ALGUNO + AP)

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 + (Red)RC (but \*Noun + (Red)RC + ALGUNO)

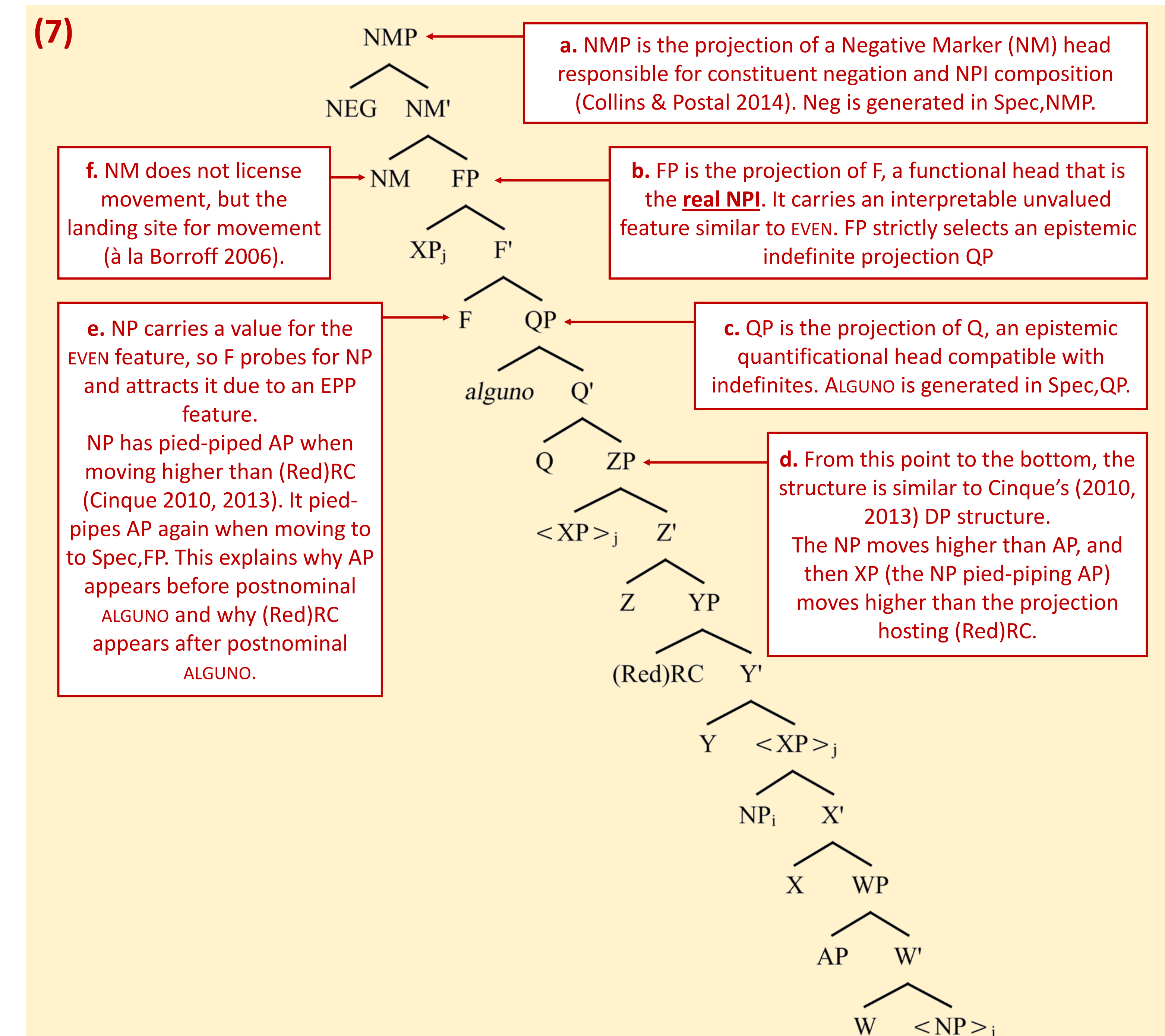
No tengo [N amigo] alguno nacido en Uganda.  
not have.1SG.PRE friend ALGUNO born in Uganda  
'I don't have any friend born in Uganda'

- The head-movement approach (Martins 2012, 2015) fails because it predicts that (6a) is ungrammatical, contrary to the data.

- The distribution of adjectives suggests that **ALGUNO is merged higher than (Red) RC** (Cinque 2010, 2013) and that **phrase movement is involved**.

## 5. The structure for NPI ALGUNO

- 'NPI ALGUNO' is a shorthand for the structure illustrated in (7).



## 6. The phenomenon in Romance

- In Romance, there is an implicational correlation between the negative concord status of the language and the availability of an ALGUNO-like NPI with slightly different restrictions (such as word order) (8). This correlation is part of my current research.

Word order	Romance Languages				
	With Strict Negative Concord No overt ALGUNO-like NPI		With Non-Strict Negative Concord Possibility for an overt ALGUNO-like NPI		
	French	Catalan	Spanish	Italian	Portuguese
a. noun > NPI	×	×	✓	✓	✓
b. NPI > noun	×	×	×	✓	×
c. noun > n-word	×	×	×	×	✓
d. n-word > noun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓