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The syntax of Spanish NPI ALGUNO

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The problem. Spanish, postverbal ALGUNO 'some' can co-occur with sentential negation; however, it has different interpretations depending on its position in relation to the noun. Prenominally, as in (1a), it is interpreted outside the scope of negation.[1] In postnominal position, as in (1b), ALGUNO is **always** interpreted under the scope of negation.

(1) a. No he leído **algún libro**.
not have-1.SG.PRE read.PAST-PART some book
'I haven't read some book'
∃x. x=a book. ¬(I have read x)

b. No he leído **libro alguno**.
not have-1.SG.PRE read.PAST-PART book some
'I haven't read any book'
¬∃x. x=a book. (I have read x)

Using Cinque's (2010, 2013) terminology, only direct modifiers to the NP (classificatory adjectives, thematic adjectives, non-predicative adjectives, parts of compounds) accompany the NP when it moves across ALGUNO, so they appear before it. Examples in (2) containing the classificatory adjective AMERICANA 'American' show this. Indirect modifiers (relative clauses, reduced relative clauses, prepositional phrases) consistently appear after ALGUNO. This is shown in (3), which contains a relative clause.

(2) a. No he visto **comedia americana alguna**.
not have.1.SG.PRE see.PAST-PART comedy American some
'I haven't seen any American comedy'

b. *No he visto **comedia alguna americana**
not have.1.SG.PRE see.PAST-PART comedy some American

(3) a. No tengo **amigo alguno que me pueda ayudar**.
not have.1.SG.PRE friend some that 1.SG.ACC can help
'I don't have any friend who can help me'

b. *No tengo **amigo que me pueda ayudar alguno**.
not have.1.SG.PRE friend that 3.SG.ACC can help some

Although reported in the literature (Bosque 1980; Sánchez López 2000), postnominal ALGUNO has not been accounted for in depth. In the present paper, I propose a syntactic analysis for postnominal ALGUNO. I claim that, inside the DP, the nominal phrase (NP) moves up to the specifier of a low negative projection headed by the negative marker NO 'not'. This projection is higher than the projection hosting ALGUNO and responsible for ALGUNO to be interpreted as a Negative Polarity Item (NPI), that is, under the scope of negation. If present, direct modifiers are pied-piped by the NP when it moves across ALGUNO; indirect modifiers are not. I interpret this distribution as suggesting that ALGUNO is merged in a position higher than indirect modifiers. Successive movements (explained below) are triggered in the syntactic structure I propose in (4):[2]

(4) [$_{\text{LowNegP}}$ *no* [$_{\text{FP5}}$ *alguno* [$_{\text{FP4}}$ [$_{\text{FP3}}$ IndMod [$_{\text{FP2}}$ [$_{\text{FP1}}$ DirMod [NP]]]]]]]

Postnominal ALGUNO as an NPI. Postnominal ALGUNO differs from the n-word NINGUNO 'no' in at least three respects. First, NINGUNO cannot appear postnominally.[3] Second, postnominal ALGUNO cannot appear in preverbal position, as shown in (5), or in fragmentary answers, as in (6).

(5) a. **Ningún libro** está en la mesa.
no book be.3.SG.PRE in the table
'No book is on the table'

b. ***Libro alguno** está en la mesa.
book some be.3.SG.PRE in the table

(6) a. –¿Compraste algún libro? –**Ningún libro**
–buy.2.SG.PAST some book –no book
'–Did you buy any book? –No book'

b. –¿Compraste algún libro? –***Libro alguno**
–buy.2.SG.PAST some book –book some

This suggests that postnominal ALGUNO is a Negative Polarity Item (NPI). It can be licensed by negation (as in (1b), (2a), and (3a)), n-words (as in (7a)), and negative particles. However, it is not licensed in all downward entailing contexts; for

[1] Although a few speakers accept negation scoping over ALGUNO in (1a), they all agree that the preferred reading involves ALGUNO outside the scope of negation.
[2] In the following structures, FP stands for "Functional Projection", whose concrete nature is not relevant here. FPs appear with different numbers to indicate they are different.
[3] Bosque (1980:64) points out that postnominal NINGUNO is an archaic form.

example, it is not licensed by MENOS DE 'less than' or POCOS 'few' (as shown in (7b)). It follows that postnominal ALGUNO is a strong NPI.

(7) a. **Nadie** vio **comedia americana alguna**.
nobody see.3.SG.PAST comedy American some
'Nobody saw any American comedy'

b. ***Pocos** vieron **comedia americana alguna**
few.PLU see.3.PLU.PAST comedy some American

From a semantic point of view, Krifka (1995) suggests strong NPIs are emphatic, so they appear in extreme environments, such as the scope of an operator at a scalar endpoint. Negation always conveys a scalar endpoint; a quantifier such as POCOS does not. However, Collins & Postal (2014) offer a syntactic approach to NPIs. They claim that the negation originates as part of the element called NPI. Let us analyze this proposal.

The syntactic structure for NPI ALGUNO. Following Collins & Postal (2014), the underlying structure of English NPI ANY is [NEG SOME]. NEG may raise to a position right adjacent to Aux. The higher occurrence of NEG is realized as N'T, and the lower occurrence of NEG is not pronounced (as in their example in (8)). The structure [<NEG> SOME] is mapped into ANY. Applying this analysis to Spanish NPI ALGUNO in sentence (1b) seems to involve an additional step, as shown in (9). The NP LIBRO 'book' moves over <NEG> ALGUNO to license the interpretation of ALGUNO under negation.

(8) a. I didn't see any widow.
b. I saw NEG SOME widow.
c. I did NEG see <NEG> SOME widow.
d. <NEG> SOME → ANY

(9) a. No he leído libro alguno.
b. He leído NEG ALGUNO libro
c. NEG he leído libro <NEG> ALGUNO <libro>
d. <NEG> ALGUNO libro → libro <NEG> ALGUNO <libro>

The wide scope of negation is due to immediate subcategorization of the projection hosting ALGUNO. I claim that the movement over the negation is triggered by an EPP feature, and ensures that ALGUNO cannot outscope negation (as shown in (10)). Spanish does not have a suppletive form for <NEG> SOME as English does (ANY), so the NPI reading maps ALGUNO as the PF form.

(10) $[_{\text{LowNegP}}\ [_{\text{LowNeg}}\ \langle\text{NEG}\rangle]\ [_{\text{FP}}\ \textit{alguno}\ [\ \text{NP}\ ]]\ ]$

Adding the NP modifiers. Assuming ALGUNO is merged in a higher position, successive movements of the NP generate the expected word order. In Spanish, direct modification adjectives can appear after the noun, so the NP moves over these projections, as illustrated in (11a). Indirect modifiers always appear after the noun and the direct modifiers, which suggests that the NP pied-pipes the direct modifiers over the indirect modifiers, as shown in (11b). I propose that there is no further movement in positive contexts or when ALGUNO is interpreted outside the scope of negation (see (1a), although there are no NP modifiers in this sentence). However, as explained in the previous section, the NPI reading is due to the presence of LowNegP, whose head moves up in the structure and linearly appears before the verb. When LowNegP is present, the NP pied-piping its direct modifier continues moving to reach the specifier of this projection. This is shown in (12):

(11) $[_{\text{FP5}}\ \textit{alguno}\ [_{\text{FP4}}\ [_{\text{FP3}}\ \text{IndMod}\ [_{\text{FP2}}\ [_{\text{FP1}}\ \text{DirMod}\ [\ \text{NP}\ ]\ ]\ ]\ ]\ ]\ ]$ (a, b)

(12) $[_{\text{LowNegP}}\ \langle\text{NEG}\rangle\ [_{\text{FP5}}\ \textit{alguno}\ [_{\text{FP4}}\ [_{\text{FP3}}\ \text{IndMod}\ [_{\text{FP2}}\ [_{\text{FP1}}\ \text{DirMod}\ [\ \text{NP}\ ]\ ]\ ]\ ]\ ]\ ]\ ]$

The phenomenon in Romance. Italian ALCUNO shows a similar pattern as Spanish NPI ALGUNO, so a unified description can be put forward. However, neither French nor Catalan have an NPI similar to ALGUNO. I claim that this is due to the difference between strict and non-strict negative concord languages (Giannakidou 1997). Acccording to Zeijlstra (2004), Italian NON and Spanish NO are negative markers that carry an [iNEG] feature, that is, they are negative operators. As such, I claim that they can immediately outscope ALCUNO or ALGUNO, respectively. In contrast, French NE and Catalan NO are negative markers that carry an [uNEG] feature, so they need an operator to be licensed. This suggests that there is an implicational correlation between the nature of the negative marker and the availability of NPIs such as ALGUNO.

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