

UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

FACULDADE DE LETRAS



Minimizers and the syntax of negation:

a diachronic and comparative approach from
European Portuguese

CLARA RAQUEL GONÇALVES PINTO

ORIENTADORAS: Professora Doutora Ana Maria Martins
Doutora Fernanda Pratas

Tese especialmente elaborada para a obtenção
do grau de doutor em Linguística

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«There is nothing permanent except change.»

Heraclitus

To Sara

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Resumo

A sintaxe da negação, o fenómeno de concordância negativa e a legitimação de itens de polaridade negativa (IPNs) têm sido tópicos amplamente estudados na literatura nas décadas mais recentes. Os minimizadores são um subtipo de IPNs que designam pontos mínimos em escalas de dimensão ou de valor (cf. Hoeksema 2001) e cuja frequência e diversidade sofreu alterações desde o Português Antigo até aos dias de hoje. O presente trabalho pretende caracterizar os minimizadores existentes em estádios mais antigos da língua e avançar uma possível explicação para o seu desenvolvimento incipiente na história do português, ao contrário do que se verifica em outras línguas românicas como o francês ou o italiano.

O Português Antigo (PA) dispunha de dois grandes grupos de minimizadores que, embora diferentes, se comportavam como IPNs fracos, sendo legitimados em contextos negativos e modais, mas não ocorrendo em contextos afirmativos. Por um lado, existia o grupo dos minimizadores partitivos e valorativos onde se incluíam elementos com traços escalares que designam pontos mínimos em escalas de dimensão (os partitivos), mas também de valor (os valorativos). Embora com pouca expressão nos dados do PA, este grupo permanece no Português Europeu Contemporâneo (PEC), apresentando variação nos elementos que o constituem, com o desaparecimento de alguns itens e a inclusão de novos elementos. Por seu turno, é possível encontrar no PA um segundo grupo: os minimizadores indefinidos. Neste grupo incluem-se os itens *al, cousa, pessoa, homem e rem* cuja ocorrência era bastante produtiva nos dados do PA, sendo a sua frequência, até determinada altura, superior à dos indefinidos negativos *nada, nenhum e ninguém*. Apesar da frequência com que se registam no PA, nenhum dos elementos deste grupo sobrevive para além do século XVI.

O desaparecimento de todos os minimizadores indefinidos acompanha a progressiva generalização dos indefinidos negativos, sugerindo um processo semelhante à competição entre gramáticas como proposto por Kroch (1989, 1994). Os dados analisados sugerem que os minimizadores indefinidos terão competido diretamente com os indefinidos negativos *nada e nenhum* [+humano] (e eventualmente *ninguém*), no mesmo tipo de contextos, estando estes últimos em melhores condições de ganhar a competição. Na verdade, o que parece verificar-se é a competição entre duas famílias construcionais, no sentido de Smet *et al.* (2018). A família construcional dos minimizadores indefinidos reunia elementos com diferentes níveis de gramaticalização, não apresentando uniformidade e coesão. Pelo contrário, a família construcional dos indefinidos negativos era coesa e composta por elementos com graus semelhantes de gramaticalização. Além disso, todos os seus membros beneficiavam do fator <n> (que sugeria negação), favorecendo a sua transformação em IPNs

fortes (cf. Martins, 1997, 2000). É possível considerar a existência de uma terceira família construcional composta pelos minimizadores partitivos/valorativos, mas cuja competição é pouco significativa. Apenas o seu elemento mais gramaticalizado, nomeadamente o item *nemigalha*, se apresentava como um competidor com significativa expressividade.

Embora a competição entre famílias construcionais possa explicar, em parte, o desaparecimento dos minimizadores indefinidos, não permite explicar a gramaticalização incipiente de outros minimizadores e a mudança na configuração de minimizadores menos gramaticalizados que passam a ocorrer antecidos do numeral cardinal UM, passando a ser esse o padrão observado para a generalidade dos minimizadores do PEC.

A grande maioria dos minimizadores do PA manteve as suas propriedades nominais, exibindo marcas de género e número, conservando o valor semântico do nome comum que lhes deu origem e admitindo modificação. Por esta razão, considero que permaneceram núcleos nominais, diretamente inseridos como núcleos de NP. No entanto, contrariamente ao que se verifica em PEC, os minimizadores nominais do PA ocorriam como *bare nouns*. Por exemplo, os minimizadores partitivos ocorrem exclusivamente sob a forma de *bare nouns* no século XIII, havendo os primeiros registos de ocorrência com numeral cardinal UM apenas no século XIV e de forma mais sistemática a partir do século XVI. Esta ocorrência coincide também com a generalização do uso de determinante indefinido a partir do século XIV, conforme afirma Ledgeway (2012). Tal como está descrito para línguas como o Francês, também o Português parece ter sofrido uma alteração no sistema D, perdendo a possibilidade de ter um D nulo e passando a ter de preencher essa posição com um elemento lexicalmente realizado. Os minimizadores partitivos passam, a partir de certa altura, a ocorrer com o numeral cardinal UM, tal como já sucedia com a maioria dos minimizadores valorativos. Por um lado, a presença do numeral cardinal passa a permitir satisfazer o requisito de ter um D lexicalmente preenchido. Por outro, codifica positivamente um traço [quantificação], podendo ser o único elemento a verificar positivamente esse traço, quando precede minimizadores sem o traço [+quantificação] ou estabelecendo concordância quando o próprio minimizador contém o traço [+quantificação], verificando-se assim concordância de traços entre os dois elementos. Sendo o numeral cardinal gerado como núcleo da projeção NumP, esta posição deixa de estar disponível para acomodar minimizadores, impedindo a sua reanálise como quantificadores.

O PA regista, contudo, alguns exemplos de gramaticalização bem sucedida, com os itens *ponto*, *rem* e *nemigalha*. Estes itens encontram-se atestados com função de quantificadores nominais com um Sintagma Preposicional partitivo e também como quantificadores

intransitivos. Nestes casos, verifica-se um processo semelhante ao que se encontra documentado para outros itens de diferentes línguas românicas, com a passagem de um item nominal, gerado como núcleo de NP, para um item mais funcional que projeta um Sintagma Quantificador, obedecendo ao processo de gramaticalização postulado por Roberts & Roussou (2003). Um elemento em N seleciona um complemento preposicional. Posteriormente, o elemento em N move-se para o núcleo de NumP. À medida que a gramaticalização avança, passa a ser diretamente inserido em Num, deixando de haver movimento de N para Num (*N-to-Num movement*). Finalmente, o minimizador é reinterpretado como núcleo do seu próprio sintagma quantificador. Num momento posterior, o quantificador pode tornar-se intransitivo, passando a ser ambíguo entre quantificador ou partícula de reforço da negação, com estatuto adverbial, em contextos específicos como, por exemplo, em frases com verbos opcionalmente transitivos (cf. Lucas 2007, Breitbarth *et al.* 2020, a.o.). Estes contextos gerados de ambiguidade são encontrados para alguns itens no PA, sobretudo para *nemigalba* que ocorre inclusivamente em contextos pressuposicionais e em estruturas de tópico-comentário.

A comparação dos dados do PA com dados do PEC parece confirmar a ideia de que a generalização do numeral cardinal à esquerda do minimizador condicionou a gramaticalização de minimizadores nominais. Embora o PEC apresente minimizadores com um grau avançado de gramaticalização, não há evidência de que estes tenham passado por um estágio em que fossem antecidos pelo numeral cardinal UM. Na verdade, minimizadores como *puto*, *bola* ou *peva* são relativamente recentes, mas apresentam um comportamento de quantificador e ocorrem inclusivamente como únicos elementos negativos na frase. Não há, contudo, estádios intermédios destes itens em que se registre a presença do numeral cardinal, o que sugere que foram recrutados sob uma forma *bare*, tendo rapidamente gramaticalizado com estatuto de quantificador. Além disso, minimizadores como *um boi* e *um caraças*, que se afastam de um comportamento nominal, também parecem não conter um numeral cardinal, mas antes um determinante expletivo, provavelmente gerado diretamente em D.

Em todo o caso, a comparação entre os dados do PA e do PEC mostra que a sintaxe dos minimizadores permanece idêntica, sendo candidatos a um estatuto mais gramaticalizado os elementos com condições para abandonarem o núcleo de NP e subirem para uma posição mais à esquerda, nomeadamente Num. Por outro lado, a configuração NUMERAL CARDINAL+MINIMIZADOR passa a ser a configuração por defeito, como consequência da perda de *bare nouns* em português.

Os dados do PA permitem contribuir para o estudo dos fenómenos associados à sintaxe da negação, numa perspetiva diacrónica, ilustrando aquilo a que Breitbarth *et al.* (2013) convencionaram chamar *Ciclo de Jespersen Incipiente*, dando conta de que a gramaticalização de minimizadores pode parar em qualquer momento, sendo este o cenário mais frequente.

Abstract

Minimizers and their interaction with the syntax of negation seem to be an inexhaustible topic of research, due to the richness of these items and the unexpected paths of evolution found for counterpart items across languages. The present work aimed at providing some insights from European Portuguese, in particular from early stages of the language.

Old Portuguese (OP) displayed two main groups of minimizers which behaved as weak negative polarity items (NPIs). On the one hand, there was the partitive/evaluative group which included items with a partitive reading and referring to low endpoints in a scale of size, but also items with an evaluative reading, originating from nouns associated to low endpoints in a scale of value. Partitive/evaluative minimizers manage to survive until nowadays. On the other hand, there was the group of indefinite minimizers, which included the items *al* ‘other thing/person’, *cousa* ‘thing’, *pessoa* ‘person’, *homem* ‘man’ and *rem* ‘thing’ which were very productive in OP. Contrary to expectations, all indefinite minimizers disappeared from the language until the end of the 16th century, including items which had reached the status of a quantifier element, as was the case of *rem*.

The disappearance of all indefinite minimizers until the 16th century can be explained under the hypothesis of grammar competition as proposed by Kroch (1989, 1994). Indefinite minimizers directly competed against the negative indefinites *nada* ‘nothing’, *nenhum* [+hum] ‘no one’ which were in a better position to win the competition. Indefinite minimizers on the one hand, and negative indefinites, on the other, constituted two different constructional families, in the sense of Smet *et al.* (2018). While the family of indefinite minimizers was unstable and contained items with different behaviour and different levels of grammaticalization, the family of negative indefinites was cohesive and consistent, benefiting from the so-called <n> factor, which allowed these items to, eventually, become strong NPIs. A third constructional family also competed against indefinite minimizers and negative indefinites, in particular through the item *nemigalha*, which originated as a member of the partitive/evaluative family.

Nevertheless, competition between constructional families does not fully explain the incipient grammaticalization of most items, since competition occurred mainly between the most grammaticalized forms of each constructional family. The OP data show that most minimizers in OP maintained their nominal properties, allowing modification and exhibiting gender and number features. For this reason, they are analysed as base-generated in N, as nominal heads. In any case, OP registers a few cases of minimizers that have reached more advanced stages of grammaticalization, behaving as quantifier-like elements, namely,

adnominal quantifiers taking a partitive PP and intransitive bare quantifiers, both projecting their own Quantifier Phrase. (QP) Items such as *rem*, *ponto* and *nemigalha* constitute examples of minimizers originating from common nouns which have become heads of a QP. They follow the grammaticalization path described for other minimizers in Romance, starting as heads of NP and moving leftward to become heads of NumP (cf. Roberts & Roussou 2003). They eventually start being directly merged as NumP heads, being reinterpreted as quantifiers. Additionally, they may start appearing as intransitive QPs, leading to ambiguity between a quantifier or a negation reinforcement particle in specific contexts.

Parallel to the disappearance of the more grammaticalized items, in the 16th century there seems to emerge a new configuration for minimizers which were still nominal heads. Partitive minimizers occurred exclusively under a bare form in the 13th century. The first examples of partitive minimizers occurring with a cardinal numeral to their left coincides with what is argued to be the period of widespread of the indefinite determiner (the 14th century). There seems to have been a change in the D system that resulted in the disappearance of bare nouns and in the need to have a lexically filled D. Partitive minimizers progressively start occurring with a cardinal numeral at their left. This, I proposed, allowed to fulfil the need to have a lexical D, with the numeral rising from the head of NumP, to the head of DP. The cardinal numeral also encoded a [+quantification] feature that agreed with the [+quantification] feature present in some minimizers; in the cases where the minimizer did not display a [+quantification] feature, the cardinal numeral alone encoded that feature. However, the insertion of the cardinal numeral blocked the rise of minimizers to Num, a position where they could be reinterpreted as quantifier elements. An argument in favour of this hypothesis is the fact that there are no registers of minimizers going from a CARDINAL NUMERAL+MINIMIZER configuration into a quantifier configuration. CEP shows us that minimizers behaving as adnominal and intransitive bare quantifiers are, in general, directly recruited under a bare form. In the few cases displaying a configuration UM+MINIMIZER, the minimizer exhibits a more advanced stage of grammaticalization and the element UM seems to be an expletive element, sitting in D, rather than a cardinal numeral.

All in all, Old Portuguese seems to illustrate quite well the functioning of an *Incipient Jespersen Cycle* (cf. Breitbarth *et al.* 2013), since it presented a few promising candidates to becoming independent negation markers but none of them remained in the language, despite displaying advanced stages of grammaticalization.

List of common abbreviations

AP	Adjectival Phrase
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
CEP	Contemporary European Portuguese
CP	Complementizer Phrase
DP	Determiner Phrase
D	Head of Determiner Phrase
FocP	Focus Phrase
IP	Inflectional Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
N	Head of Noun Phrase
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
NumP	Number Phrase
Num	Head of Number Phrase
OP	Old Portuguese
PlP	Plural Phrase
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PPI	Positive Polarity Item
QP	Quantifier Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
ΣP	Sigma Phrase/Polarity Phrase

List of abbreviations in the examples

CDAH	Crónica d'el rei D. Afonso Henriques
CDD	Crónica de D. Dinis
CDF	Crónica de D. Fernando
CDJ	Crónica de D. João I
CDPM	Crónica de D. Pedro de Menezes
CGE	Crónica Geral de Espanha
CGCC	Crónica General y de la Crónica de Castilla
CGGR	Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende
CIPM	Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval
CSM	Cantigas de Santa Maria
CTA	Corpus de Textos Antigos
DSG	Demanda do Santo Graal
DG	Diálogos de São Gregório
HT	Historia Troyana
JAR	Livro de José de Arimateia
LPGP	Lírica Profana Galego-Portuguesa
TMILG	Tesouro Medieval Informatizado da Língua Galega
VFBM	Vida de Frei Bartolameu dos Mártires

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1

1. MAIN GOALS AND GENERAL CONCEPTS WITHIN NEGATION.....	1
1.1. Introduction.....	2
1.2. Research questions and goals of the dissertation.....	3
1.3. Theoretical framework.....	4
1.3.1. The generative approach and the minimalist model.....	4
1.3.2. Diachronic variation and language change.....	5
1.4. Fundamental concepts within negation.....	8
1.4.1. Negative polarity items and n-words.....	8
1.4.2. Double negation and negative concord.....	13
1.4.3. The Jespersen Cycle.....	14
1.4.4. The concept of ‘minimizer’.....	16

CHAPTER 2

2. THEORETICAL OPTIONS AND EMPIRICAL DATA.....	19
2.1. Introduction.....	20
2.2. Adopting a unified concept of minimizer.....	21
2.3. Adopting a feature system (Martins 1997, 2000).....	26
2.3.1. The evolution of Negative Indefinites in OP explained by Martins’ (1997, 2000) feature system.....	28
2.4. Minimizers <i>versus</i> homonymous common nouns.....	32
2.5. Grammaticalization of minimizers.....	37
2.5.1. Grammaticalization steps: from noun to NPI.....	41
2.6. A diachronic corpus for the study of minimizers.....	46
2.6.1. Sources, challenges and limitations.....	46
2.6.2. Methodology, dimension and organization of the corpus.....	52
2.6.3. Information encoding using a database.....	53
2.7. Summing up.....	60

CHAPTER 3

3. MINIMIZERS IN THE DIACHRONY OF PORTUGUESE.....	61
3.1. Introduction.....	62
3.2. Partitive and Evaluative minimizers.....	63
3.2.1. Overview.....	63
3.2.2. General description of the data.....	66
3.2.3. Minimizer <i>ponto</i>	78
3.3. Indefinite minimizers.....	85
3.3.1. Overview.....	85
3.3.2. General description of the data.....	87
3.3.3. The indefinite minimizer <i>rem</i>	89
3.3.3.1. Previous analysis of <i>rem</i>	90
3.3.3.2. Frequency and distribution in the corpus.....	91

3.3.3.3. Grammatical properties and features.....	94
3.3.3.4. <i>Rem</i> in particular negative contexts.....	107
3.3.4. The indefinite minimizer <i>homem</i>	119
3.3.4.1. Previous analyses of <i>homem</i>	120
3.3.4.2. Minimizer <i>homem</i> and generic pronoun <i>homemr</i> : two independent items.....	124
3.3.4.3. Frequency and distribution in the corpus.....	133
3.3.4.4. Grammatical properties and features.....	135
3.3.4.5. <i>Homem</i> and special constructions.....	149
3.3.4.5.1. Degree constructions.....	149
3.3.4.5.2. Existential constructions.....	158
3.3.4.6. <i>Homem</i> in the context of <i>man</i> -constructions.....	171
3.4. Summing up.....	182
CHAPTER 4	
4. THE RISE AND FALL OF MINIMIZERS.....	184
4.1. Introduction.....	185
4.2. Minimizers and other competing items.....	186
4.2.1. Items with a [- animated] feature.....	188
4.2.2. Items with a [+human] feature.....	193
4.3. <i>Nemigalha</i> : from full grammaticalization to obsolescence.....	206
4.3.1. <i>Nemigalha</i> vs. <i>nada</i> in particular contexts.....	221
4.4. Summing up.....	227
CHAPTER 5	
5. THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MINIMIZERS.....	229
5.1. Introduction.....	230
5.2. Theoretical assumptions.....	231
5.2.1. Adopting the DP hypothesis and other projections internal to DP.....	231
5.2.2. Quantifier Phrase as a functional category.....	233
5.3. Proposals for the internal structure of minimizers crosslinguistically.....	236
5.3.1. English minimizers – Tubau (2016).....	236
5.3.2. French minimizers and n-words – Sleeman (1996), Déprez (2011), Roberts & Roussou (2003).....	237
5.3.3. Italian minimizers – Garzonio & Poletto (2008), Garzonio (2008).....	241
5.3.4. Minimizers crosslinguistically – Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020).....	242
5.4. The internal structure of minimizers in Old Portuguese.....	244
5.4.1. On the cardinality of UM/UMA.....	246
5.4.2. Minimizers as nominal heads.....	255
5.4.2.1. The internal structure of <i>homem</i>	262
5.4.2.2. On bare nouns in OP.....	268
5.4.3. Minimizers as quantifiers.....	275
5.4.3.1. Minimizers as adnominal quantifiers.....	276
5.4.3.2. Minimizers as intransitive bare quantifiers.....	287
5.4.4. A few remarks on <i>nemigalha</i> and the role of FocP.....	298
5.4.4.1. On topic-comment structures with <i>nemigalha</i>	300
5.5. Changes in the internal structure of minimizers.....	306
5.5.1. Loss of bare singulars and (in)definite determiner widespread.....	306

5.5.2. Lexicalized D and minimizers' internal features.....	312
5.5.3. Insights from CEP minimizers.....	314
5.5.3.1. Minimizers in CEP as intransitive bare quantifiers.....	316
5.5.3.2. The cases of <i>um boi</i> and <i>um caraças</i>	321
5.6. Summing up.....	326
6. CONCLUSION	329
REFERENCES.....	333
Appendix 1.....	357

Chapter 1

Main goals and general concepts within negation

1. MAIN GOALS AND GENERAL CONCEPTS WITHIN NEGATION

- 1.1. Introduction
- 1.2. Research questions and goals of the dissertation
- 1.3. Theoretical framework
 - 1.3.1. The generative approach and the minimalist model
 - 1.3.2. Diachronic variation and language change
- 1.4. Fundamental concepts within negation
 - 1.4.1. Negative polarity items and n-words
 - 1.4.2. Double negation and negative concord
 - 1.4.3. The Jespersen Cycle
 - 1.4.4. The concept of 'minimizer'

1.1. Introduction

Human concern with understanding negation is known to be as old as Plato's *Sophist*, but the analysis of negation from language and logic perspectives is due to Aristotle (cf. Horn, 1989). Being an old theme of study, negation has been far debated and analysed from different perspectives, including linguistically. However, despite the efforts, many things are still left unexplained.

One of the most explored topics within negation is the one concerning minimizers, given its connection with the concept of polarity items and its relevance to the phenomenon known in the literature as the *Jespersen Cycle* (Jespersen, 1917). This topic has received a great amount of attention and it is in the centre of an enduring debate. The idea that, cyclically, negation would suffer renewal is in consonance with the idea of Nature's own renewal. Nonetheless, just like changes in Nature are motivated, so are changes in language. The linguist's task is to understand change, find its motivation and be able to explain it.

The present work was driven by the lack of syntactic studies regarding minimizers and aims to present a detailed description of these items in previous stages of Portuguese, focusing on diachronic data from the 13th to the 16th century. In order to offer a contextualization on the topic, this introductory chapter will be dedicated to the presentation of the fundamental concepts concerning negation, as well as the foundations on which this work relies, its main goals and research questions. To this end, the present chapter is organized as follows:

Section 1.2 is dedicated to explain the research questions that conducted to this work, as well as its main goals. In section 1.3, I present the theoretical background, inserting the present work in the scope of generative grammar, in the Principles and Parameters theory, under its Minimalist Program. I will also address, in subsection 1.3.2, the concepts of *diachronic variation* and *language change*. Finally, in section 1.4, I will tackle some of the most prominent concepts within the literature on negation, which are fundamental in the course of the work.

1.2. Research questions and goals of the dissertation

The present dissertation is motivated by the absence of work on minimizers in Old (OP) or Contemporary European Portuguese (CEP). Apart from a short paper (cf. Meleiro, 2007), and some brief remarks, mostly in historical grammars, Portuguese minimizers have received little attention throughout the years.¹ Nonetheless, this is an ongoing topic of research in other languages.

In the first outline of this investigation an immediate question arose as to whether the words that function as minimizers in Contemporary European Portuguese already functioned as minimizers in older stages of the language. The answer to this first question motivated a systematic search for minimizers in texts comprehended between the 13th and the 16th centuries.

A second question was knowing what words could be interpreted as minimizers and how one could identify them on the basis of syntactic properties. The answer relied on the investigation of minimizers' internal structure. Should one consider that minimizers are reinterpreted as such only on pragmatic grounds or can one argue that differences between a common noun and a minimizer have a syntactic reflex?

Also, from a diachronic perspective, Portuguese minimizers are intriguing because part of them disappeared from the language at an early stage. One of the questions that emerged was precisely why these items had ceased to exist. Given the apparent possibility of alternation between negative indefinites and a particular set of minimizers, there were reasons to believe that two main groups of items – negative indefinites and indefinite minimizers – competed for the same function, following a perspective of grammar competition (cf. Kroch, 1989). The question that relied here was to figure out if the syntactic change that affected negative indefinites (cf. Martins 1997, 2000) could be also responsible for the disappearance of indefinite minimizers. Furthermore, the comparison with other Romance languages such as French also pointed to the need to investigate the impact that the changes in the Determiner system might have had in minimizers, especially in partitives and evaluatives.

The questions that I have presented functioned as research guidelines, but the answers obtained may not have been totally satisfactory at all times. Nevertheless, the present work aims at fulfilling the following goals:

¹ There are, however, a few works that deal with some Portuguese polarity items without referring to minimizers or even using the term 'polarity item' (cf. Duarte, 2011).

- To offer a detailed description and classification of some of Old Portuguese (OP) minimizers, while trying to track their evolution until nowadays. Data from OP can contribute to a better understanding of the topic crosslinguistically. I will, therefore, present a list of minimizers found in diachronic corpora and a detailed description of their syntactic/semantic behaviour, based on examples extracted from multiple sources;
- To put forth a proposal for a syntactic analysis of minimizers built on the model of generative grammar, in its Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995). The comparison with other analyses for other languages will be an important step towards better understanding these structures;
- To pursue the idea that the evolution of Old Portuguese minimizers is related to a phenomenon similar to the one of competition between grammars (Kroch, 1989), but also to a possible change in the Determiner system, which may have contributed to the disappearance of a bare configuration for minimizers;
- To contribute to the understanding of minimizers and negation crosslinguistically, with special emphasis on Romance languages;
- Finally, and being aware of the limitations that diachronic studies suffer from, I hope to have contributed, in a very humble way, to reinforce Labov (1994:11)'s idea that «historical linguistics can then be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data».

1.3. Theoretical Framework

1.3.1. The generative approach and the minimalist model

The present dissertation is developed under a generative perspective, assuming a framework based on the Principles and Parameters (P&P) theory, in its minimalist approach (Chomsky 1995, 2000). Here I will just make a very brief overview of general principles and concepts of P&P that will be needed in this work. I assume the underlying idea that there is a *Faculty of Language* which is universal and genetically determined. This means all speakers are endowed with this faculty or, in other words, are born with a Universal Grammar.

The P&P approach tries to explain the existence of different languages under two categories: principles and parameters, which are universal and independent from languages,

and the specifications of particular values for those parameters, which may change from language to language.

In terms of language processing, the P&P assumes the existence of a computational system which is responsible for the production of linguistic expressions. Linguistic expressions are produced by a linguistic component (the faculty of language) which interacts with a physical component, the Articulatory-Perceptual system, and a Conceptual-Intentional system. These two interfaces represent form and meaning and are the only possible levels of representation. We can, then, say that a linguistic expression has a Logical Form (LF), which encodes meaning, and a Phonological Form (PF), which encodes form.

The P&P, in its Minimalist Program, is settled upon the concept of feature checking. In order for a derivation of a linguistic expression to succeed, it cannot contain any uninterpretable features. According to Chomsky (1995), there are three types of features: phonological, semantic and formal. These features are encoded in the lexicon. In very general terms, we can say that uninterpretable features must be eliminated by feature checking with a category that contains an interpretable feature of the same nature. Feature checking is, of course, a quite complex process that I will not develop here.

Also, in the course of a derivation, the Minimalist Program considers that there are three possible syntactic operations involved: Merge, Agree and Move. Merge can be seen as the operation that allows to build syntactic structure, since it is responsible for combining two syntactic objects and creating a new syntactic unit. On the other hand, the operation Agree is responsible for feature checking. It can be seen as a matching operation between a Probe (which contains an uninterpretable feature) and a Goal (which contains an interpretable feature). In order to check an uninterpretable feature, a Probe must search for a Goal with which it can enter an agree relation in order to check its features. Finally, the operation Move is responsible for moving constituents from their base position to another. This operation must be syntactically motivated (for instance, by the need to check an uninterpretable feature) and obeys different constraints.

1.3.2. Diachronic variation and language change

Languages can be seen as living organisms and therefore, they are not static, they undergo variation and change across time and those changes can affect any area, from lexicon to morphology, phonology or syntax. We can think of language change as «a failure in the transmission across time of linguistic features», following Kroch (2001:699).

One of the most prominent works on language change is attributed to Lightfoot (1979, 1999). Lightfoot (1979, 1999) starts by considering that we cannot talk about the grammar of a language, and should rather contemplate the existence of as many grammars as the speakers of that language. He, therefore, adopts an individualist view of language. Lightfoot establishes a deep relation between language change and language acquisition, by considering that changes in grammar are the result of changes in trigger experiences of young learners, therefore excluding changes in grammar during adulthood. In his view, changes in grammar can only occur in early childhood and after a certain moment grammar becomes immutable. Lightfoot (1979, 1999) also suggests that changes in grammar occur in two ways: they are gradual when applied to the group of speakers of a language (at the social level), but they are abrupt and catastrophic on an individual level.

In general terms, Lightfoot (1979:147)'s *Theory of Change* shares the view that grammars cannot change into «something that is not a possible grammar of natural language» and that «there are no formal constraints on possible changes beyond those imposed by the theory of grammar». He positions himself against the idea that there are predictive laws of language change.

A different view on language change is introduced by Kroch (1989, 1994, 2001) and followed by Pintzuk (1991) and Santorini (1993). Kroch (1989, 1994, 2001) puts forth the concept of *grammar competition* (syntactic diglossia) to explain language change. According to the author, changes in the grammar of a language result from competition between two grammatical options which are grammatically incompatible. The origin of doublets is pointed out as probably being of sociolinguistic nature, originating from dialect and language contact, with the two forms often appearing in different registers or dialects. Kroch (1994) advocates that only one of the forms is learned by the speakers during the language acquisition process, but that the competing form can later be adopted by the speaker if they are exposed to it.

In order to assess the evolution of a new grammatical variant, Kroch (1989) proposes the *Constant Rate Hypothesis* which predicts that a new emerging syntactic variant may be favoured by specific contexts, but its frequency is expected to rise in the same proportion in all contexts of occurrence. This phenomenon is called *The Constant Rate Effect* and predicts that «the rate at which the newer option replaces the older one is the same in all contexts» (Kroch 1994:181). According to Kroch (2001:721), «The Constant Rate Effect links parametric change to grammar competition but it introduces a quantitative element into the picture that inevitably adds a non-grammatical element to the study of diachrony».

The general idea argued by Kroch is that, from the moment a community of speakers becomes diglossic in relation to a specific parameter setting, speakers start learning both variants. However, as Kroch (1994:184) explains: «Since the learner will postulate competing grammars only when languages give evidence of the simultaneous use of incompatible forms, s/he will always have positive and unequivocal evidence of competition».

The frequency of use of the new variant is regulated by *The Constant Rate Effect* and is applied by all speakers, meaning that the whole community will use the new variant with the same frequency. Eventually, variation is resolved with one of the variants winning the competition. According to Kroch (1994), this is so due to the intervention of the *Blocking Effect* (Aronoff 1976) which determines the exclusion of morphological doublets. The defeated variant can either disappear from the language or become specialized in a different function.

More recent approaches on grammar competition, such as the one presented by De Smet *et al.* (2018), highlight the importance of considering various analogical forces in the process of language change. When two forms present themselves as interchangeable in similar discourse contexts, we may get into a scenario of competition which is solved through *substitution* or *differentiation*. In the first case, one form wins over the other, while in the second one, the two forms acquire different specializations. This is the expected development when we talk about competition and, therefore, nothing new is added at this point. What constitutes an interesting new perspective raised by Smet *et al.* (2018) is the fact that competing forms may become functionally more alike in the process of competing for the same spot. The authors refer to *attraction* as the phenomenon that, at a given point in the competition, may approximate two competing forms, making them even more similar. On the other hand, the two forms may experience *differentiation*, diverging from each other. The attraction/differentiation process is ruled by many factors, one of each is of crucial importance. Smet *et al.* (2018) argue that in cases of competition, we usually have two forms belonging to different constructional families. Constructional families are described by Smet *et al.* (2018:205) as «networks of formally similar and semantically related expressions» and they may influence the behaviour of the items that relate to them, influencing the result of the competition. This is so because, according to Smet *et al.* (2018:218), «functionally similar expressions not only align their behaviour to each other through attraction, but also to their bigger constructional families». The intervention of constructional families in the process of grammar competition may constitute an

explanation for the outcome of some competition cases, even though the authors draw attention to the role played by different other factors.

1.4. Fundamental concepts within negation

1.4.1. Negative polarity items and n-words

The concepts of *Negative Polarity Item (NPI)* and *n-word* are commonly found when addressing negation and will, therefore, deserve my attention here.

Literature on polarity and polarity items is very vast and rich, making almost unattainable the task of revisiting it with due justice. In general terms, polarity can be seen as the grammatical encoding of the values of truth and falsity. An affirmative (positive) form is used to express the validity or truth of a basic assertion, while a negative form expresses its falsity. Therefore, affirmative assertions as the one in (1) are associated with the expression of truth and convey positive polarity, while negative assertions such as (2) are said to express falsity and convey negative polarity.

- (1) Peter won the lottery.
- (2) Peter didn't win the lottery.

Languages display certain lexical items that can only appear in environments associated with a particular polarity value: these items are known as polarity items and are usually divided into positive polarity items (PPIs), those that appear in affirmative contexts and negative polarity items (NPIs), which occur in negative (or other specific non-negative) environments. The contexts in which NPIs can be licensed has been a prolific topic of research. Despite being known as negative polarity items, a term coined by Baker (1970), the fact is that some of these items may occur in specific non-negative contexts. If we take as an example the English NPI *anything* (3), we realize that the contexts in which this item can occur are not necessarily negative. Only (3) is a negative context, since (4) is an interrogative sentence (in this last case, truth or falsity values cannot be assessed).

- (3) Peter didn't eat anything.
- (4) Did you see anything?

Klima (1964) was one of the first authors to notice the existence of other NPI licensing contexts that did not necessarily involve negation. Klima (1964) subsumes these contexts under the term ‘affective’ and suggests the intervention of an affective feature as stated below:

As for the grammatical similarities of neg, Wh and ‘only’, these will now be described as resulting from the presence of a common grammatico-semantic feature to be referred to as Affect(ive). Any Quant(ifier) in construction with a constituent that contains the feature Affect(ive) may ultimately appear as an indefinite.

(Klima 1964:313)

The licensing contexts identified by Klima (1964) were soon expanded by other works, namely by Fauconnier (1975), followed by Ladusaw (1979), who was responsible for the *Fauconnier–Ladusaw hypothesis*. Ladusaw (1979) introduced the notion of *downward entailing* to account for NPIs licensing contexts, since he realized that most English NPIs were licensed in downward entailing environments. According to Ladusaw (1980), «X is a trigger for negative polarity items in its scope iff X is downward entailing». However, the *Fauconnier-Ladusaw hypothesis* had flaws and could not account for a great number of licensing contexts that were non-downward entailing (for instance, the expression ‘exactly N’, in English). It was gradually replaced by the idea of nonveridicality put forth by Zwarts (1995) and explored by Giannakidou (1998, 2011). According to Zwarts (1995), NPIs licensing contexts can be explained under the notion of nonveridicality, which does not oppose to the previous idea of downward entailing, but actually comprehends it.

The notion of nonveridicality makes it possible to account for contexts that do not ensure truth, by inheriting the idea of veridicality from philosophy. As Giannakidou explains:

Veridicality is a property of sentence embedding functions: such a function F is veridical if Fp entails or presupposes the truth of p . If inference to the truth of p under F is not possible, F is nonveridical. More specifically, veridical operators express certainty and an individual’s commitment to the truth of a proposition, but nonveridical expressions express uncertainty and lack of commitment. Within the class of the nonveridical expressions, negation is identified as anti-veridical in that $\text{NOT } p$ entails that p is false.

(Giannakidou 2011:1674-1675)

Regardless of the semantic characterization of NPIs licensing contexts as ‘affective’, ‘downward entailing’ or ‘nonveridical’, the fact is that NPIs have been described to appear in all of the following environments: direct negation, indirect negation, non-affirmative predicates, negative prepositions, adversative predicates, restrictor of universal quantifier, restrictor of superlative, comparative sentences, predications of ‘excess’ with *too*, the protasis of a conditional clause.

Other authors, such as Haspelmath (1997), suggested the adoption of different terms to replace the label NPI.

Since negative polarity items are not restricted to negative contexts..., this term (coined by Baker 1970) is not particularly felicitous. [...] a term like ‘scale reversal’ would be much more appropriate than negative polarity (and negative polarity items should be called scale reversal items).

(Haspelmath 1997:34)

The difficult task of characterizing NPIs and making generalizations about their behaviour has become a major reason for the widespread of theories and terminology regarding polarity items, especially NPIs.

One of the most consensual properties of NPIs is noticed by Giannakidou (1997): NPIs are excluded from positive assertions with simple past, that is to say, from «positive episodic sentences that make reference to a single specific event». Similarly, scalarity has been seen as the fundamental property to help classify NPIs, given that most NPIs refer to a given point in a scale that may be unrelated to size (Hoeksema 2001 refers to scales of size and value). In more recent work, Giannakidou (2011) considered the existence of two main sources of lexical sensitivity: on the one hand, the so called scalarity and, on the other hand the notion of referential deficiency. Considering scalarity, we can say that there are two types of NPIs: those that display scalar properties and those that do not. In the first group we have scalar NPIs and they are said to appear in strong emphatic statements. The second group is considered to be non-scalar and is described as being weak and with low referentiality. Furthermore, Giannakidou adds that scalarity may have, in most cases, a morphological marking, such as a focus particle like *even*. What is interesting in Giannakidou’s (2011) proposal (which continues previous work presented in Giannakidou 1998 and Giannakidou & Quer 2010) is the idea of referential deficiency as a property of some NPIs. It is defined as «a difficulty in the NPI to refer to an object in the usual ways existential quantifiers do». This idea of some NPIs having a referential deficiency can help

explain the contexts of occurrences of some NPIs. Referring to the Greek NPI *kananeas*, Ginannakidou (2011:1695) considers it a *dependent existential*, as «it cannot assert existence in a default context». That means the referential deficiency of some items directly determines their contexts of occurrences, as the author points out:

In the indefinite theory of existentials, we would have to say that dependent indefinites contain variables that cannot be closed under Heim’s (1982) text level existential closure, i.e., they cannot receive values from the context. Such variables will not be able to be used in unembedded veridical sentences because they cannot receive a value. Under negation, happily, they will not be forced to refer, and likewise in embedded contexts.

(Giannakidou, 2011:1695)

The existence of non-scalar NPIs with low referentiality had already been noticed by Haspelmath (1997), who approaches the subject under the terms *specificity* and *non-specificity*. According to the author, the idea of specificity can account for the contexts of occurrence of certain NPIs.

Another proposal that tries to account for NPIs licensing contexts is Jäger’s (2010). The author starts by distinguishing three types of indefinites: positive polarity items, or, what she calls “normal” items (*something*), negative polarity items/NPI indefinites (*anything*) and negative indefinites (*nothing*). These three types correspond to a tripartition of contexts in which polarity items can occur: positive, affective and negative. Jäger (2010) proposes a two-feature system to account for the differences between the three types of indefinites: an [affective] feature (inspired in Klima, 1964) and a [negative] feature. The presence of a [+negative] feature determines the existence of the [+affective] feature. This feature system is combined with an underspecification theory, allowing only three possible combinations, as represented bellow.²

(5) [+affective], [+negative] : negative indefinites

[+affective]; [negative] : NPI indefinites

[negative]; [-affective] : PPI and ‘normal’ indefinites

(Jäger (2010) quoted by Biberauer & Roberts, 2010)

² The feature system proposed by Jäger (2010) shares some important characteristics with the system proposed by Martins (2000), which I will describe and adopt in the course of this work. Both systems are based on a tripartition of polar contexts and they both rely on a feature system. Similarly, they adopt the concept of underspecification to account for the three possible polar values.

Let me now address the concept of *n-words*. The term *n-word* goes back to Laka (1990) and is meant to reflect a feature common to most of these items: they usually start with an /n/, which does not necessarily reflect negative morphology since, as Laka (1990:108) pointed out, ‘nadie’ and ‘nada’ originate in (homines) *nati* ‘born man’ and (res) *nata* ‘born thing’, respectively, and have thus never been morphologically negative.

Items considered under the term *n-word* do not exhibit the same behaviour in all languages, which poses problems when we aim at a unifying approach. In languages such as Spanish, *n-words* are said to have a mixed behaviour: they can appear by themselves in negative contexts, with negative interpretation, in pre-verbal position (6), but they can also appear in non-negative contexts (7), just like other NPIs.

- (6) Mi preguntaron si nadie sabía la respuesta.
 ‘They asked me whether nobody knew the answer’
 (Laka 1990:111)

- (7) Perdimos la esperanza de encontrar ninguna salida.
 ‘We lost hope of finding any way out.’
 (Laka 1990:113, quoting from Bosque 1980)

However, in Portuguese, *n-words* are confined to negative contexts such as (8), being ungrammatical in sentences like (7), i.e., in the scope of ‘negative predicates’ as illustrated in (9) or in any of the NPIs licensing contexts, as, for instance, interrogatives sentences such as in (10).

- (8) Não vi ninguém na festa.
 NEG saw.^{1sg} nobody at.the party
 ‘I saw nobody at the party’
- (9) *Perdemos a esperança de encontrar ninguém na festa.
 lost.^{1pl} the hope of find nobody at.the party
- (10) *Viste ninguém na festa?
 saw.^{2sg} nobody at.the party

These differences pose a fundamental, but old question: what should be considered an *n-word*? Throughout the years, different positions have been defended. *N-words* have been classified as NPIs (or nonnegative existential quantifiers) (cf. Bosque 1980, Laka 1990), negative universal quantifiers (cf. Zanuttini 1997, Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991) and negative indefinites (cf. Acquaviva 1993, Ladusaw 1992) with quantificational value (Déprez 1997) or without quantificational value (Zeijlstra 2004). None of the classifications is consensual, though, especially because *n-words* are a heterogeneous group crosslinguistically.

Throughout this work, I will avoid using the term *n-word* to escape ambiguity. I will be referring to the Portuguese items *nada* ‘nothing’, *nenhum* ‘no one’/‘nobody’ and *ninguém* ‘nobody’ as negative indefinites, following Martins (1997, 2000), despite the differences these items present between Old and Contemporary Portuguese in terms of their polarity values and licensing contexts.

1.4.2. Double negation and negative concord

The concepts of *double negation* and *negative concord* (cf. Labov 1972, Haegeman 1995, Zanuttini 1997, Giannakidou 2000, Zeijlstra 2004, Watanabe 2004, Tubau 2008, among many others) usually appear hand in hand in the literature on negation, with *double negation* sometimes being used as synonym to *negative concord*.

In logical terms, the presence of two negative elements in a sentence would render a positive interpretation, but the phenomenon of negative concord results in two or more negative elements yielding one semantic negation.

In general terms, we can consider that regular negation is usually conveyed by a single negation marker, which is frequently a pre-verbal element, as in Portuguese or other Romance languages. The presence of a second negative element (or alike) in a sentence (usually an *n-word* or an NPI) may produce different interpretations, depending on whether it is a double negation (DN) or a negative concord (NC) language. In DN languages, the presence of a second negative element in the clause cancels the first logical negation, producing a positive reading, as illustrated in (11), for Standard English, which is commonly presented as a DN language.

- (11) Peter did not do nothing. = Peter did something.

On the contrary, NC languages always return a negative interpretation, despite the presence of two negative elements in the same clause. Contrary to logic, the two elements do not cancel each other, but they establish an agreement relation, conveying together semantic negation. This can be illustrated in (12), with an example from Portuguese.

- (12) O Pedro não fez nada.
The Peter NEG do nothing
'Peter did nothing'

A NC relation can be established between a negative marker and an n-word (or an NPI), but also between two or more n-words. The main difference between NC languages is the fact that for some of them the presence of the negative marker is mandatory and n-words cannot occur by themselves, while other languages allow the occurrence of n-words alone, in pre-verbal position. This difference motivates the distinction between Strict Negative concord languages and Non-strict Negative concord languages (cf. Giannakidou 1997, 2000). In Strict NC languages, as for example Greek, n-words are not allowed to appear alone, they demand the presence of the negative marker at all times. On the other hand, in Non-strict NC languages, such as Spanish or Portuguese, n-words usually occur with the negative marker, but they occur alone in pre-verbal position. The existence of non-strict NC languages poses the problem of explaining why n-words need to be licensed by a negative operator when they occur in post-verbal position but reject its presence when in pre-verbal position.³

1.4.3. The Jespersen Cycle

In his 1917's work, *Negation in English and Other Languages*, Otto Jespersen put forth interesting insights concerning the historical evolution of negation across different languages. He noticed that negation seemed to follow a cyclic pattern of renewal, as he explains:

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then

³ This phenomenon has been explained for Portuguese by Martins (1997) and will be briefly addressed in 2.3.1. in chapter 2.

found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as negative proper and may then in the course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

(Jespersen 1917:4)

This idea became known as the *Jespersen Cycle*, a designation introduced by Dahl (1979), and which is still an unavoidable topic within research on negation. In general terms, what Jespersen noticed was that negation was affected by cyclic change in its patterns. In a first stage, negation would be conveyed by a pre-verbal negative morpheme. At a given point in the process, the pre-verbal morpheme would suffer a phonological weakening (although Jespersen refers to phonological weakening, many others afterwards have proposed different motivations) and speakers would feel the need to start using a negative reinforcement particle, in post-verbal position. This would configure the second stage of the process. Although optional at the beginning, the post-verbal morpheme would gradually become mandatory, while the pre-verbal morpheme would lose its importance. Due to its frequent occurrence in a negative context, the post-verbal negator would eventually be interpreted as the real marker of negation and would replace the pre-verbal one. This would place it in the third stage of the process, with the cycle now being completed.

The example that is usually given to illustrate the *Jespersen Cycle* is the case of French. Negation was conveyed by the pre-verbal negation morpheme *ne*, which then started to appear reinforced by post-verbal *pas* 'step'.⁴ Nowadays, *pas* is being interpreted as the real marker of negation, having replaced pre-verbal *ne*, although this is still an ongoing process of change and written sources still maintain pre-verbal *ne*. It is also important to stress the fact that, despite reaching stage 3 of the cycle, the morpheme *pas* maintains a post-verbal position, contrary to the original morpheme *ne*, which was a pre-verbal element.

The English case, on the other hand, presents a more consolidated cycle, since it was able to restore the original word order of the first stage of the process, due to the insertion of *do*-support. Diachronically, the word *not* (lit. *nothing*) that started as a reinforcement particle of the pre-verbal negation marker *ne* was able to replace it and occupy a pre-verbal position, reestablishing the original pre-verbal position of the former negation marker.

⁴ In fact, *pas* was not the only post-verbal particle to appear in this context (other minimizers such as *mie* or *point* were frequent in Old French). It was, however, the only one which became a regular negation marker.

The phenomenon described relates to minimizers precisely because these items are good candidates to enter the *Jespersen Cycle*. For instance, the negation marker *pas* originally started as a common noun meaning *step*. Due to its scalar properties, it was reinterpreted as a minimizer, which worked as a negation reinforcement and it is now on the process of becoming the regular negation marker. The French *pas* and the English *not* are not isolated cases, since there are other attestations of the *Jespersen Cycle* in different languages, with minimizers completing the whole cycle and becoming new negation markers. Nevertheless, from the huge universe of minimizers attested in negative sentences as post-verbal reinforcers of negation, only a very scarce number is said to have become the regular negation marker in its language. Most of the items never go beyond the stage in which they are plain minimizers reinforcing negative sentences.

Even though the *Jespersen Cycle* has been revisited by several authors ever since its first formulation, the past decade has been a turning point in realizing that a complete *Jespersen Cycle* is a rare phenomenon. This led Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2013) to propose the existence of an *Incipient Jespersen Cycle* as a way to account for the fact that the majority of the items entering the *Jespersen Cycle* never go beyond the second stage. In fact, the *Incipient Jespersen Cycle* predicts that the grammaticalization process can stop at any time (as already highlighted by Haspelmath 2004) and a given item can reach the status of an independent sentential negator, but it is most likely to only become a negative polarity adverb or simply a negative polarity noun phrase.

In the case of Portuguese, there are no registers of an item ever completing the *Jespersen Cycle*, even though data to be discussed in Chapter 3 clearly shows that OP was rich in potential candidates. What we observe is the existence of multiple items that go through an *Incipient Jespersen Cycle* without ever reaching full grammaticalization as independent sentential negators.

1.4.4. The concept of ‘*minimizer*’

The term *minimizer* is frequently found in the literature on negation to indicate a set of items that refer to things with little size/value. It is usually used in opposition to the term *maximizer*, which is applied to things of great size/value.

Minimizers were first noticed by Pott (1857), who realized the existence of words or expressions associated with minimal quantities and that could be used to reinforce a negative sentence. Pott (1857) associated these items with the formula *nicht einmal das* (“not

even...”). Later on, Wagenaar (1930) contributed to the topic by collecting exhaustive lists of words that could function as minimizers in negative contexts. Wagenaar (1930) identified hundreds of minimizers from different semantic domains (culinary, animal and body parts, objects and others) and from various languages, such as Greek, Latin, French, Old Spanish, Italian, English, Dutch, among many others.

Bolinger (1972) also contributed to the understanding of minimizers by highlighting the fact that a minimizer combined with a negative predicate implied an interpretation of zero quantity.

In his work on the history of negation, Horn (1989:452) departed from Bolinger’s initial statement and defined minimizers as «those partially stereotyped equivalents of ‘any’», which «occur within the scope of a negation as a way of reinforcing that negation».

In a very broad sense, minimizers can be defined as items with scalar properties, which denote scalar endpoints. As Hoeksema (2001:175) points out, minimizers may denote small things but also «something worthless or distasteful», being used as «minimal endpoints for scales of size as well as scales of value». They are also frequently related to pejorative and taboo terms, including swear words and curses. Due to their minimal value, they become a frequent strategy to reinforce a negative idea. Given their idiosyncratic behaviour, minimizers are in constant renewal. Hoeksema (2001:176) considers the appearance of new minimizers as a productive process in which «new ones are added constantly, and old ones are being replaced». Curiously, the creation and decline of minimizers is very often transversal to different languages. The existence of cognates is intriguing, especially when we deal with languages from different families. For instance, the English minimizer *a red cent*, finds equivalents in other Germanic languages such as Dutch (*een rode cent*), but also in Romance languages such as French (*un sous*), Spanish (*un duro*), or Portuguese (*um tostão (furado)*).

As is well known, the use of minimizers is intimately related to negative contexts, since these items are commonly described as appearing in the scope of negation as a way of making that same negation more emphatic. However, minimizers become a problematic concept when we try to describe their contexts of occurrence and their syntactic properties.

Since Horn (1989), many other authors have contributed to the understanding of minimizers, but the discussion is far from closed. While debating the topic, Bosque (1980) considered minimizers to still be «an area of chaos». As a matter of fact, in spite of the growing interest in the study of minimizers and their relation to negation, the term *minimizer* itself is still a bit foggy. This is so because, on the one hand, the task of defining minimizers

cannot be accomplished without understanding and defining other related concepts, which are, themselves, problematic. On the other hand, as new studies bring to light new data, novel questions arise, sometimes challenging previous conclusions on the topic. Nevertheless, minimizers' classification as a subtype of NPIs seems to reunite consensus within the literature.

Chapter 2

Theoretical options and empirical data

2. THEORETICAL OPTIONS AND EMPIRICAL DATA

2.1. Introduction

2.2. Adopting a unified concept of minimizer

2.3. Adopting a feature system (Martins 1997, 2000)

2.3.1. The evolution of Negative Indefinites in OP explained by Martins' (1997, 2000) feature system

2.4. Minimizers *versus* homonymous common nouns

2.5. Grammaticalization of minimizers

2.5.1. Grammaticalization steps: from noun to NPI

2.6. A diachronic corpus for the study of minimizers

2.6.1. Sources, challenges and limitations

2.6.2. Methodology, dimension and organization of the corpus

2.6.3. Information encoding using a database

2.7. Summing up

2.1. Introduction

This second chapter is dedicated to the presentation and explanation of some fundamental theoretical and methodological decisions which are the foundations of the present work. The present chapter is organized as follows:

In section 2.2., I will start by justifying my option to use the term *minimizer* in a broader sense by considering indefinite minimizers as members of the group of minimizers, even though other terms were available in the literature.

In section 2.3., I present the feature system proposed by Martins (1997, 2000) to describe the evolution of negative indefinites in Romance languages, which I will adopt to classify Old Portuguese minimizers. The concepts of weak and strong NPI, which are used across this whole work, find their definition and explanation here.

Section 2.4. of this chapter is reserved for the distinction between minimizers and homonymous common nouns. By separating both sets of items, I try to isolate what will be the target of the present study, setting aside elements that I chose not to include in the corpus.

The description and interpretation of the data will be done following this crucial idea: that minimizers result from the grammaticalization of common nouns, but this process can reach different levels of evolution. In section 2.5. I will present the concept of grammaticalization adopted in this work, as well as the most representative proposals of grammaticalization applied to minimizers.

The final part of this chapter is dedicated to the empirical data that served as the fundamental basis of this work: a corpus specifically built for this end. In 2.6.1. I will start by mentioning the consulted sources and the challenges and limitations encountered by a diachronic corpus of this nature. In 2.6.2. I will describe the methodology used to collect entries, as well as the dimension and organization of the corpus. Finally, in 2.6.3. I present a brief overview of the database in which data are encoded. Section 2.7. presents a brief summary of the chapter.

2.2. Adopting a unified concept of *minimizer*

Minimizers are said to be negative polarity items with a nominal origin and which denote the smallest point of a scale. Nonetheless, under the label *minimizer* I have gathered items which may not fit into this strict notion. I am referring to the Old Portuguese items *al*, *rem*, *cousa* and *homem*. These items have referential deficiency and are usually associated with a generic reading, but they do not seem to refer to a low endpoint in a given scale, which is the core property of minimizers. It is, then, questionable to include under the umbrella *minimizer* items which apparently do not refer to minimal quantities. I will, therefore, start by presenting an overview of the classifications given in the literature to similar items and then I will justify my decision to include them in the universe of minimizers.

If we look at counterparts of *rem* and *cousa* in other languages (for instance, English *thing*, French *rien*, Catalan *res*, among others) we realize that there is not a consensual classification. In various occasions, the English counterpart of *rem/cousa* – (a) *thing* – appears among the lists of minimizers without being distinguished from other minimizers (cf. Horn 1989:453, Hoeksema & Rullman 2001:134, Hoeksema 2009:23, a.o.). Other authors have chosen to refer to them as generalizers (cf. Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006, Willis *et al.* 2013, Breitbarth 2014, Gianollo 2018) given the fact that they originate from common nouns which are themselves generalizers/generic nouns. Some of these items are also labeled according to their contemporary status in a given language, although they may share the same origin with items from other languages. That is the case of French *personne* and *rien*, which are usually referred to as *n-words* (cf. Déprez 2011) due to their status in contemporary French (they are, however, referred to as minimizers by Horn 1989:453). Similarly, Catalan *res* is presented as a negative polarity indefinite in Haspelmath (1997:35).

As we can see, the classification of these items is not straightforward and raises a number of questions that may not have an easy answer or even the same answer for all languages. Their classification varies between being considered among minimizers, being referred to as a different type of items called *generalizers*, being referred to according to their syntactic behaviour in contemporary stages of a language (and here we can have negative indefinites, n-words, indefinite pronouns) or, in alternative, being classified according to their polar behaviour as (negative) polarity items. To summarize, these items may receive classifications that focus mainly on their semantic properties or their syntactic properties and that privilege their contemporary status or their diachronic origin.

In Portuguese and, especially in Old Portuguese, minimizers have not been a much studied theme. In Meleiro (2007) *al*, *rem*, *cousa* and *homem* are referred to as minimizers along

with other items such as *parte* or *bocado*. Other references to some of these items are only found in historical grammars where they are usually classified as (indefinite) pronouns. Therefore, let us look in more detail at the two main classification options – minimizer or generalizer - considering the specific case of Old Portuguese items.

One of the possible classifications is the term *generalizer*. This label is adopted in Kiparsky & Condoravdi (2006) to refer to items which appear as negation reinforcers, along with minimizers. They may be nominal or adverbial. About nominal generalizers we find the following definition:

A nominal generalizer denotes a maximally general type or class, and strengthens the negation QUALITATIVELY, by extending its scope to include everything in that maximal sortal domain.

Kiparsky & Condoravdi (2006:4)

According to Kiparsky & Condoravdi (2006), generalizers thus refer to maximal general classes and reinforce negation qualitatively, as opposed to minimizers which reinforce negation quantitatively. The opposition quantitative/qualitative seems to be at the core of the distinction between what is called a minimizer and a generalizer. This opposition apparently disregards the fact that items which are commonly classified as minimizers may not involve a dimension scale but rather a value scale (for instance, minimizer *figo* ‘fig’ is considered a low endpoint in a scale of value, rather than a scale of size). If we agree that minimizers may be associated with scales of size as well as scales of value, as proposed by Hoeksema (2001)⁵ then we will have to agree on the fact that some minimizers strengthen negation qualitatively as well. Therefore, what is being used as a distinctive feature between minimizers and generalizers does not apply when we consider the existence of minimizers associated to little value. However, the term *generalizer* finds different definitions across the literature. In Gianollo (2018) we find it described as follows:

Generalizers are domain wideners, and carry the message that even considering the most marginal/irrelevant peripheries of the domain the proposition still does not hold.

Gianollo (2018:205)

⁵ The inclusion of items with minimal value in the notion of minimizers had already been implied since Pott (1857) and Wagenaar (1930), though. Both authors offer long and exhaustive lists of minimizers in which they include items that do not necessarily involve scales of size.

The focus here seems to rely on the fact that generalizers are associated with marginal/irrelevant endpoints, as opposed to minimizers which are associated with the lowest endpoint of such a scale. We may, then, consider that Old Portuguese *rem* is associated with a marginal/irrelevant endpoint, but that may also be applied to minimizers such as *figo* ‘fig’ or *caracol* ‘snail’, since they are interpreted as marginal/irrelevant or worthless things. Once again, the definition of generalizers may, up to a certain extent, be applied to certain minimizers as well, especially those which do not involve quantities.

In Breitbarth (2014) we also find reference to minimizers and generalizers, but in a more unified way. According to Breitbarth (2014:19) minimizers as well as generalizers denote «low points on pragmatic scales, in terms of dimension or specificity respectively». The distinction here is much smoother and may be analysed in terms of dimension *versus* specificity, but having a common property which is shared by both classes: scalarity. Breitbarth (2014) considers that, in scale-reverse contexts such as negation both types of items give rise to a universal scalar implicature (Haspelmath 1997:226). Breitbarth (2014) puts things in the following terms:

Since the given situation does not hold for the most minimal or least specific element out of the implicated set of alternatives, it does not hold for any larger or more specific elements either. Exploiting this implicature helps to emphasize that the situation does not hold at all.

(Breitbarth 2014: 19)

In Willis *et al.* (2013:13) we also find the use of the term *generalizer* with the following definition:

Generalizers, such as free-choice items, invite the hearer to expand the set of situations under consideration to include all possible worlds, expressing the idea that the current proposition does not hold in any of them.

Willis *et al.* (2013:13)

The possibility of including free-choice items such as English *anything* among generalizers makes it an ambiguous label. In addition, in Breitbarth (2014:195) the same term comprehends expressions such as *in this world* or *in his life*, which are quite different from the terms traditionally identified as minimizers.

So far, we have seen that the term *generalizer* is not used with the same definition in the literature. Nonetheless, it has the advantage of being transparent in terms of the semantic reading usually associated with these items: they tend to originate from nouns which refer to general classes. The problem is that the term *generalizer* can actually be used to refer to the common nouns denoting general categories and, therefore, cannot be used to exclusively refer to homonymous items with polar behaviour. That is to say that a common noun like *cousa* can be classified as a generalizer and so does the polarity item that originates from it. Using a term that can be ambiguous seems unsatisfactory, especially if both uses (common noun and polarity item) coexist in a language.

As I have mentioned earlier, the relevant items also appear referred to as minimizers, without any further distinction from items with partitive reading or designating the smallest point of a size/value scale. In fact, if we take as a starting point Bolinger's definition of minimizers, there is no reason to exclude these items. Bolinger (1972:121) refers to minimizers as «those partially stereotyped equivalents of 'any'» and Horn (1989:452) elaborates on this first definition adding that those items «occur within the scope of a negation as a way of reinforcing that negation». These definitions leave space for a broader interpretation of the concept of minimizer, despite the fact that previous definitions had already highlighted the association of minimizers with dimension scales (Pott 1857:410 had referred to minimizers as positive expressions referring to small or negligible quantities).

An argument in favour of the adoption of a common label to refer to standard minimizers as well as to *homem*, *rem* and *cousa*⁶ is the previously mentioned property that they both share: scalarity. The problem may be that a scalar interpretation is not obvious for the latter items, unless we take into account their historical path and their original meaning.

Homem, *rem* and *cousa* all have their origin in Latin, where they frequently appeared associated with the past participle *natus* in the expressions *homo natus* (lit. born man), *res nata* and *causa nata* (lit. born thing). As Llop (2018:107) highlights, «'natus' era el participi passat del verb 'nascor', lexicalitzat amb el sentit de "infant acabat de nàixer", I també amb el sentit de "fill o filla"». ⁷ The reinforcement of *natus* and the frequent occurrence in negative contexts are said to have contributed to a low value interpretation, where *natus* became synonym of *insignificant*. In negative sentences, *homo* frequently appeared as a reinforcer of the negative indefinite *nemo* in the sequence *nemo homo* (*natus*), meaning 'no man alive', 'not

⁶ I deliberately leave aside the item *al* since it behaves differently in many aspects.

⁷ Translation: 'natus' was the past participle of the verb 'nascor', lexicalized with the meaning 'new born child', and also with the meaning 'son or daughter'.

even a human being'. This interpretation associates *homo* with a low point of a value scale. The same way, when occurring within negation, *res nata* and *causa nata* could be interpreted as the most insignificant thing, giving space to a scalar reading as well, where a born thing is the most invaluable reality. The scalar implicature in scale-reverse contexts is that, if something does not apply to the most insignificant man/human being alive or to the most insignificant thing, then it does not apply to any reality whatsoever. According to Fruyt (2011:708) «the negation of scalar minimum» «asserts that the smallest element of a certain domain does not exist, and, therefore, that nothing exists». If we consider that *homem* and *rem/cousa* start as what Haspelmath (1997:52) calls 'ontological-category nouns', they may be understood as the most insignificant element of their domain. On the one hand, *homo natus* would represent the most insignificant element of the [+ human] category, while *res/cousa nata* would be the most insignificant entity within the category of [- animated] entities. This strong scalar value fades away when these items stopped being reinforced by *natus*. In Old Portuguese, the past participle *natus*⁸ is replaced by modification with *nullus/nulla* or *nenhum/nenhuma*. The scalar value associated with the original meaning becomes weak, which contributes to a loss of emphatic force. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that these items lose their scalar properties. What I argue is that the more these items grammaticalized, the more their scalar properties became related to a semantic scale rather than to a pragmatic scale (which demands scalar implicature). According to Hoeksema & Rullman (2001:129), scalar particles «often exploit pragmatic scales representing real-world rankings». Since these items underwent grammaticalization, their tendency was to stop referring to real-world things (*res nata*, for instance, stopped being interpreted literally at some point) and, therefore, stop being able to invoke pragmatic scales. They became closer to negative indefinites in this matter, being related to «endpoints on a semantic scale with universal quantifiers on the opposite end», as argued by Hoeksema & Rullman (2001:129), and the real-world ranking is replaced by «one of semantic implication».

⁸ I found 3 occurrences of modification with *nado* for the noun *homem*, such as the example below:

- (i) Non vos é daquest' enartado,| ante tenh' eu que
 NEG you.2pl.Dat is.3sg of.this ignorant on.the.contrary have.1sg I that
 é ben sabedor de posfaçar d' amigu' e de senhor| e
 is.3sg well wise to to.insult of friend and of lord and
 non guardar nen un ome nado| en posfaçar
 NEG keep not.even one man born in to.insult
 'He does not ignore this, on the contrary, I believe he knows well how to insult friends and lords
 without leaving a single born man to insult.'

(TMILG, LPGA)

As we can see, these items had, at some point, a marked scalar reading. Scalarity is the most important argument in favour of a unified classification of all items as minimizers. Furthermore, in the Old Portuguese context, I felt the need to adopt a label that could help work around the fact that these items coexisted with the common nouns from which they originate. As common nouns, *rem*, *cousa*, *homem* and *al* can be considered generalizers in the sense they designate broad categories, but they do not behave as polarity items and do not exhibit scalar properties nor interact with negation. To avoid misinterpretations, I adopted the term *generic nouns* (in the sense of Haspelmath 1997) to refer to these particular common nouns referring to generic ontological categories.⁹ The items *homem*, *rem*, *cousa* and *al* appear simultaneously as minimizers and as common nouns with a generic reading (within a definite or indefinite DP). The adoption of the term *minimizer* makes it possible to distinguish the common nouns from the polarity items, since the label *minimizer* only applies to polarity-sensitive items. Furthermore, the label *minimizer* allows for a better distinction of the various uses that the item *homem* could have in Old Portuguese. As we will see in Chapter 3, *homem* was also used as a generic pronoun, different from the minimizer *homem*.

All things considered, I believe that the choice of the term *minimizer* against the term *generalizer* should be seen as a unifying option. The use of the term *minimizer* allows me to refer to all scalar items which trigger negative concord; in addition, this terminological option avoids ambiguity relative to the distinction between generic nouns and polarity items originating from them.

2.3. Adopting a feature system (Martins 1997, 2000)

The classification of minimizers as NPIs of a particular type (with scalar properties) is quite widespread in the literature and seems to reunite consensus. I will, too, be considering minimizers as NPIs, but I will adopt a bipartite classification of NPIs into weak and strong,¹⁰ therefore considering the existence of weak NPIs and strong NPIs.

Throughout this work I will adopt the feature system proposed by Martins (1997, 2000) to classify, not only NPIs, but also other polarity items. The decision to adopt this feature system to classify minimizers is mainly because I consider it a clean proposal that allows to escape the problematic classifications found in the literature. On the other hand,

⁹ The term *generic nouns* appears in Willis *et al.* (2013) to refer to common nouns such as *pas*, *mie* or *point* used as minimizers.

¹⁰ See Wouden (1997) for a tripartite classification of negative polarity items (strong, medium and weak).

it is a unifying approach that enables the comparison of different items crosslinguistically. As we saw in Chapter 1, the concepts of NPI and *n-word* are not used consistently and they frequently face problems in justifying the behaviour of certain items that fail to follow the paradigm. Adopting this system enables us to justify the licensing of an item in a particular context by considering that the licensing contexts in which items can occur are a direct consequence of their feature values. It also allows to compare polarity items from different languages, since it can be applied to any language data. Furthermore, it allows to explain the evolution of polarity items (being them NPIs, minimizers, (negative) indefinites) from old stages to contemporary uses and, therefore, it can be seen as a unified explanation for the differences observed in the behaviour of different polar items (especially NPIs and negative indefinites). Also, adopting the same terminology and system that was used by Martins (1997, 2000) to analyse Portuguese negative indefinites makes it easier to establish a comparison between them and the items under study, which is a crucial point in this work.

The feature system proposed by Martins (1997, 2000) recovers the original proposal by Rooryck (1994) of importing the notion of *underspecification* from phonology to the encoding of syntactic features. The author proposes a feature architecture that enables to capture the evolution of indefinites across Romance languages. Martins (1997, 2000) considers the existence of three different features – affirmative, negative and modal – which can receive three values: specified (+), nonvariable underspecified (0) and variable underspecified (α). Before moving on, let me just make clear what is understood as negative, modal and affirmative contexts in Martins' proposal. Negative contexts are to be understood as contexts which display a negative element capable of conveying negation on its own (it may be the negation marker proper or an intrinsically negative item in pre-verbal position such as *nunca*¹¹ 'never'). Non-negative contexts (or, by other words, positive contexts) may be divided into two types: modal and affirmative. Modal contexts (cf. Bosque 1996) may also be considered 'non-assertive' (Milner 1979) and may include «questions, imperatives, conditionals, comparatives, the scope of modal verbs, the scope of words expressing prohibition, generic constructions, subjunctive clauses introduced by temporal connective *antes que* 'before'» (cf. Martins 2000:195). These are the contexts that cannot be assessed in terms of the truth value of the proposition (they cannot be classified as being

¹¹ I am only considering here its occurrence as a strong NPI, although it appears as a Modal Polarity Item either in the corpus.

true or false). Finally, affirmative contexts are non-negative assertive contexts, that is to say, declarative clauses.¹²

As far as the three possible values are concerned, the author predicts different characteristics for each one of them. Variable underspecified features (α) are context-sensitive, they have no value of their own and, therefore, need to be filled in with a value from a nearby element with which they establish a sort of agreement relation. On the other hand, nonvariable underspecified features (0) are considered neutral, they do not convey a positive or a negative value for the feature they refer to. As Martins (2000:203) explains, «the nonvariable underspecified value (0) for a certain feature is a notational device that marks the absence of the property conveyed by that feature». Finally, a specified (+) value marks the presence of the property represented by that feature.

It is the combination of different values for different features that derives the different polarity items. This proposal predicts the existence of strong and weak polarity items, based on the specificity or α -underspecificity of an item's features. A strong polarity item will have one (at most) specified feature, but no α -underspecified feature, while weak polarity items have at least one α -underspecified feature but no specified feature. This means that a strong negative polarity item will be [+neg, 0 mod, 0 aff], while a weak negative polarity item will be [α neg, α mod, 0 aff]. While the first one can only occur in negative contexts, the latter can be licensed both in negative and in modal contexts.

Martins (1997, 2000) uses this feature system to describe the behaviour of indefinite pronouns in several Romance languages and in a diachronic perspective. The underlying idea is that certain features saw their values changed from earlier stages of the language to later stages, as I will explain in the next section.

2.3.1. The evolution of Negative Indefinites in OP explained by Martins (1997, 2000)'s feature system

Unlike Latin¹³, which is described as a double negation language, Old Portuguese displayed negative concord, meaning that the presence of two negative elements in a sentence did not result in a positive interpretation. On the contrary, the two negative elements

¹² The term 'affirmative' is not synonym to 'positive' here. In fact, positive contexts are a broader category that includes affirmative and modal contexts, but excluded negative ones.

¹³ This assumption is only valid for Classical Latin, since Vulgar Latin already displays negative concord in specific contexts. For a periodization of Latin and the distinction between Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin, please see Väänänen (1981) and Gianollo (2018), ao.).

established a concord relation, conveying together a negative interpretation. Items such as *nada*, *ninguém* or *nenhum*, usually called negative indefinites or *n-words* (in the sense of Laka, 1990) triggered negative concord while in the scope of negation, as exemplified in (13), and required (up to a certain point in time) the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker at all times (cf. Martins, 1997, 2000). This is illustrated in (14), where the negative indefinite *nenhũu* co-occurs with the regular negation marker *nom* (NEG), even though it occurs in pre-verbal position.

- (13) ca tanto a nos e a uos prouge e
 because as.much to us and to you pleased and
 do preço ñõ ficou nada por dar
 of.the price NEG remained nothing to give
 ‘because it so pleased both to us and you and nothing remained unpaid’
 (Douro13A)

- (14) Saiu-se o Santo Graal do paaço que *nenhũu nom*
 Left.^{1s.REFL} the Holy Grail of.the palace that none NEG
 soube que fora delle nem por qual porta saira
 knew what was of.him nor by which door left.^{3s}
 ‘The Holy Grail left the palace in a way that no one knew it had been
 there nor through which door it had left.’
 (DSG, xxv)

Even though Contemporary European Portuguese (CEP) is still a negative concord language, sentences such as (14) are no longer possible. CEP is considered a non-strict negative concord language, as opposed to strict negative concord languages, since negative indefinites can occur alone in pre-verbal position (15) and produce ungrammatical results when occurring in pre-verbal position with the regular negation marker, as in (16):

- (15) *Ninguém* viu o acidente.
 Nobody saw the accident
 ‘Nobody saw the accident.’

- (16) **Ninguém* não viu o acidente.
 Nobody NEG saw the accident
 ‘Nobody saw the accident.’

Another difference in the behaviour of negative indefinites was the fact that they could display positive interpretation, being allowed in modal contexts (but not in affirmative-assertive environments), as illustrated in (17):

- (17) E, se seu padre foi muito amigo de Deus, ainda
 and if his father was much friend of God yet
 ele foy mais, que antes queria ser talhado por
 he was more that instead wanted.^{3sg} be cut by
 peças que fazer nada contra seu Salvador.
 pieces than do nothing against his Savior
 ‘And if his father was a good friend of God, he was even more since he
 would rather be cut into pieces than do anything against his Savior.’

(JAR, CXVIII)

The possibility of having negative indefinites in modal contexts and in pre-verbal position cooccurring with a regular negation marker (NEG) are the main differences between negation in Old and in Contemporary Portuguese. This evolution is explained by Martins (1997, 2000) based on the feature system described in section 2.3.

In Portuguese, just like in the other Romance languages described by Martins (1997, 2000), what was verified was a tendency towards the specification of values for certain features. The indefinites *nada*, *nenhum* and *ninguém* started as weak negative polarity items, displaying α -underspecified values for the negative and modal features and a non-variable underspecified value for the affirmative feature (i.e. [0 aff, α neg, α mod]). This means that negative indefinites were not inherently negative. They were neutral as far as the affirmative feature was concerned, and they did not possess an intrinsic value for the modal and negative features in their morphological information, eventually inheriting a value specification in context. They were, therefore, ruled out from affirmative assertive sentences, but they could occur in modal and negative contexts, positively activating their modal or negative feature, accordingly. These items have become intrinsically negative, though. Their morphological matrix became [+] specified for the negative feature, while

the modal feature became non-variable underspecified (0) and the affirmative feature maintained its non-variable underspecified (0) value. This change determined that the negative indefinites started occurring only in negative environments and produced ungrammatical results in affirmative-assertive and modal contexts.¹⁴

The change in the values of their features can also account for the main visible difference between Contemporary and Old data: the possibility of negative indefinites occurring in pre-verbal position without the regular negation marker and the ungrammatical results produced in its presence. Martins (1997, 2000) assumes that polarity features are encoded in clause structure, in a polarity projection, Polarity Phrase (PolP) (cf. Laka 1990, Zanuttini 1997 on the topic) which is the functional projection that encodes features corresponding to sentential negation. Whenever PolP is specified for negative features, it must have its features checked. It is argued that, since strong NPIs have a strong [+neg] feature, they can check the [+neg] of Pol in negative sentences. In languages where Pol's neg-feature is strong – that is said to be the case of Portuguese – feature checking happens before Spell-Out. Therefore, when a strong NPI reaches a checking position in the domain of Pol, the presence of the overt negative marker is not allowed, probably due to economy reasons. Since negative indefinites became strong NPIs, they became allowed to occur in pre-verbal position without the negation marker, differently from what happened in Old Portuguese.

I will be adopting the feature system proposed by Martins (1997, 2000) to classify minimizers, according to their contexts of occurrence. I will, nevertheless, show that, differently from negative indefinites, minimizers did not evolve to being strong NPIs (with *nemigalha* being a possible exception), their evolution was different, in part due to competition with other items and between them.

The adoption of this feature system also results in the use of the term *weak NPI* to refer to what is usually called simply NPIs and *strong NPI* to refer to items that are frequently (but not always) referred as *n-words*.

¹⁴ There is, at least, an apparently non-negative modal context where negative indefinites are still allowed to occur in CEP: in the second term of a comparative sentence, as illustrated in (i). This topic has been explored by Marques (2007).

(i) O Pedro corre mais depressa do que ninguém.
 The Pedro runs.^{3sg} more fast than nobody
 'Pedro runs faster than nobody.'

2.4. Minimizers *versus* homonymous common nouns

Before going any further, it is important to clarify at this point that minimizers are independent items from their homonymous common nouns. Despite originating from common nouns and, then, going through a process of grammaticalization which can assume different paces and have multiple results, minimizers coexist very often with the common nouns they originated from. Words such as *caracol* ‘snail’ or *passo* ‘step’ can still appear both as common nouns and as minimizers nowadays, being the common noun much more frequent, though. Therefore, in this section I will try to show the main differences between both uses and the main criteria followed to distinguish one use from another, bearing in mind, though, that in many cases ambiguity persists.

As I will show in the following subsections, minimizers may maintain nominal features in different degrees. They may still be preceded by determiners, they may admit modification of some kind and still maintain gender and number features. Nevertheless, they need to have lost part of their referential meaning, in order to be interpreted as polarity items. Therefore, the main feature that sets apart minimizers from their homonymous common nouns is referentiality.

Common nouns tend to combine with a determiner in order to be interpreted referentially. They cannot be referential on their own since they denote intentionally a set of properties and denote extensionally a class, but they cannot be used, alone, to represent one or more concrete instances of that class. Therefore, they need to combine with a specifier (a determiner or a quantifier) in order to refer to concrete entities. There is no apparent restriction regarding the nature of the specifier they combine with: we find common nouns anteceded by definite and indefinite determiners, but also demonstratives, quantifiers, and others. On the contrary, minimizers do not refer to concrete entities and can combine only with one type of specifier (let us call it for now an indefinite determiner *um* ‘a/one’).¹⁵

A second difference between common nouns and minimizers concerns polarity. Minimizers are polar sensitive elements, while common nouns are not. That is to say that minimizers are interpreted contextually, according to the polarity of the operator under whose scope they fall. By being weak NPIs, they will only assume negative or modal polarity import, being ruled out from affirmative-assertive contexts. In this way, polar context can

¹⁵ To the best of my knowledge, the only exception in CEP is the minimizer *ponta*, which can occur with a definite determiner (as in *a ponta de um corno* ‘the tip of a horn’). For further data on this, see footnote 114.

also be considered a distinctive factor. In the presence of an affirmative-assertive context we know that we will not come across minimizers.

In brief, common nouns will refer to one same entity in spite of the polarity of the context they occur in, while minimizers will be context-sensitive. This difference can be seen when comparing examples (18) and (19), featuring the common noun *homem*, on the one hand, and (20) and (21), featuring the minimizer *homem*, on the other.

- (18) Ja mais tal homem nom morrerá!
 already more such man NEG will.die
 ‘Such man will never die.’

(DSG, DCLXXIX)

- (19) [...] se o homem fizer todos os bens do
 if the man does.^{3sg} all the goods of.the
 mundo e em ãa vez mal, todo perde [...]
 world and in one time evil everything loses.^{3sg}
 ‘if a man does all the good deeds in the world, but fails once, he loses everything’

(JAR, XIV)

- (20) [...] ca nunca homem vio ir cavalleiro com tam
 [...] because never man saw go knight with such
 gram pesar.
 big suffering
 ‘because no one ever saw such a suffered knight’

(DSG, CV)

- (21) [...] e, pero mal talhado somos nós, |s’ omen
 [...] and but badly handsome are.^{2pl} we if man
 visse Pero da Ponte en cós [...]
 saw Pero of.the Ponte in waist
 ‘and we would be the ugly ones, if anyone saw Pero da Ponte half naked’

(TMILG, LPGP)

The pair (18) and (19) presents the common noun *homem* in a negative and a modal context, respectively. In both cases, the item in question refers to a specific man, despite the polarity of the sentence. The same is not verified in (20) and (21). While in (20), a negative context, *homem* is interpreted as equivalent to *ninguém* ‘nobody’, in (21) it has an existential interpretation equivalent to *alguém* ‘anyone’. It does not refer to a specific human being of masculine gender, and so it is not interpreted referentially.

Examples (22) and (23) help illustrate even better this difference.

- (22) Eu, senhora, dou-lhe a bolota a castanha e mais
 I lady give.you.^{dat} the acorn the chestnut and more
 o figo [...]

 the fig

‘I, lady, give you the acorn, the chestnut and the fig’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto do Duque de Florença*)

- (23) [...] e se lhe ella¹⁶ amarga, não se
 [...] and if DAT.^{3SG} it embitter NEG REFL
 me dá delle hum figo.
 DAT.^{1SG} give of.him one fig

‘and if it is unpleasant, I do not give a damn’

(Post Scriptum, CARDS1003)

Both sentences display an item with the lexical form *figo*. Nevertheless, while in (22) *figo* ‘fig’ belongs to the ontological category of *fruits* and refers to a specific element of the figs’ group, in (23), under the scope of negation, it is interpreted as a weak negative polarity item, equivalent to *anything*, by means of scalar reversing. The fact that minimizers are not interpreted referentially is also visible in contexts where an NPI is demanded, such as in the antecedent of an exceptive construction. In (24), an interpretation of *figo* ‘fig’ as a common noun referring to the fruit renders the sentence uninterpretable, as it can be seen by the translation in a). *Figo* must be interpreted as an NPI, acquiring the meaning *nothing* under the scope of the negative preposition *sem*, and so becoming an appropriate antecedent for exceptive *senão*.

¹⁶ In the context, the pronoun *ella* refers to *a verdade* ‘the truth’.

- (24) Meu pai senhor é finado/ sem nos ficar
 My father lord is.^{3sg} deceased without us stay
 nem um figo/ senam um asno pelado.
 not.even one fig but one donkey naked
- a) #My father is deceased and we were left without a fig but a donkey without fur.
 b) My father is deceased and we were left with nothing but a donkey without fur.

(cet-e-quinientos, *Farsa do Juiz da Beira*)

The fact that only common nouns can be recovered by clitic pronouns constitutes another test to distinguish them from minimizers. The unacceptability of sentence b) with the intended meaning in (25), where the minimizer *hua palha* ‘a straw’ was replaced by the accusative clitic pronoun *a* clearly shows that they cannot be interpreted as referential elements.

- (25) [...] por que vós por mha demanda | nunca destes
 because you.^{2pl} for my.^{1sg} quest never gave.^{2pl}
 hua palha.
 one straw
- a) ‘because you never cared about my quest’
 b) #Por que vós por mha demanda nunca **a** destes.

(TMILG, LPGL)

Even though the distinction between common nouns and minimizers is mainly based on their interpretation within context, there are a few other features that can also help differentiate both uses. In the case of indefinite minimizers, syntactic structure also helps identifying them. Unlike partitive/evaluative minimizers, indefinite minimizers do not appear anteceded by a determiner, i.e., as nominal heads inside definite/indefinite DPs. This criterion excludes occurrences in which the item is preceded by definite or indefinite determiners, such as *a/o* and *um/uma*, as in *a rem/a cousa/ o homem/o al, uma rem/uma cousa/ um homem*. I also excluded from the group of indefinite minimizers the occurrences which involved the presence of indefinite quantifiers/determiners (such as *algum, nenhum* or *outro*) before the item. Although the presence of an indefinite quantifier may give the common

noun a generic or indefinite reading and make it behave as a polarity item,¹⁷ these data were not considered at this point, since they involve a different syntactic configuration, despite producing an equivalent result in terms of interpretation. I therefore left aside occurrences such as *nenhuma rem/nenhuma cousa/nenhum homem*, *alguma rem/ alguma cousa/ algum homem*, *outra rem/outra cousa/ outro homem*.

The distinction between a nominal use and a minimizer use is not as straightforward as it may seem, though. Despite the fact that most occurrences of the common nouns under study are accompanied by a determiner, that is not always the case. We find examples such as the ones in (26) and (27), which can be considered ambiguous.

- (26) [...] non achamos cousa graada que aa estorya
 [...] NEG found.^{2pl} thing big that to.the story
 perteeça.
 belongs
 ‘We did not find any great thing that belongs to the story’
 (CGE, CCLXXXIV)

- (27) [...] nom desejarei tanto cousa como de morrer
 [...] NEG will.wish.^{1sg} so.much thing as to die
 por mão de tam bõo cavalleiro.
 by hand of such good knight
 ‘I will not wish anything as much as to die by the hand of such good knight’
 (DSG, XLV)

Both (26) and (27) are negative contexts where an item *cousa* appears in the scope of the negative operator (*non*). Although their interpretation may seem similar, I argue that it is not equal. In (26) the item *cousa* has a common noun interpretation favoured by the presence of the qualifying adjective, while in (27) it is interpreted as a polarity item, which has an undefined reading (it is interpreted as *anything*). The fact that (26) displays a bare noun that is not interpreted as a polarity item shows that it behaves like a common noun whose meaning is not determined by the polar context in which it occurs. The same does

¹⁷ See Martins (2015a, 2015b) for more information about this topic.

not happen in (27), where the item *cousa* is a minimizer and does not have a referential interpretation. Therefore, we can conclude that we have two items *cousa* with different behaviour. In any case, it must be stressed out that bare nouns do favour generic readings, and the combination of a bare configuration with a noun with generic interpretation (as is the case of *cousa*, which is a generic noun) makes it even harder to differentiate a bare noun from a minimizer in specific circumstances.

In the description for minimizers that follows, I will be assuming a path from noun to polarity item that progressively requires the loss of strong nominal properties. Therefore, I will look at minimizers from the perspective of maintenance or loss of the following core properties: a) nominal head inside a DP; b) referential meaning; c) phi-features; d) semantic specialization of cooccurring verbs. These and other properties will be discussed in more detail in the next section, from a grammaticalization perspective.

From this point on, I will be referring only to minimizers, leaving aside their homonymous common nouns, even in contexts where they may gain a polar interpretation, unless stated otherwise.

2.5. Grammaticalization of minimizers

In my description and analysis of minimizers in Old Portuguese, I will present the diachronic path of some items which were good candidates to enter the Jespersen Cycle. The passage of minimizers from common nouns to more functional items will be generally treated as a grammaticalization process, which goes through specific stages. Since grammaticalization is an underlying concept to this work, I will start by clarifying the general notion of grammaticalization.

The first use of the term *grammaticalization* is attributed to Meillet (1912), but the topic has gained important contributions along the years. According to Heine (2003), grammaticalization can be defined as a process that transforms lexical items in grammatical items and grammatical items into more grammatical items.¹⁸ The grammaticalization of a linguistic item is said to involve four interrelated processes: (i) dessemanticization or bleaching; (ii) extension (or context generalization); (iii) decategorization; (iv) erosion or phonetic reduction.

¹⁸ For an updated revision of bibliography on grammaticalization within different theoretical backgrounds, see Giomi (2020).

When we apply the concept of grammaticalization to minimizers, there seems to be a pattern of evolution that is shared by most items, regardless of the language they belong to. The most important proposals are the ones presented by Déprez (1997, 2000, 2011) and Roberts & Roussou (2003), which inspired later works by Garzonio & Poletto (2008, 2009), Garzonio (2008) and Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2013, 2020). What they all have in common is the fact that they consider minimizers' grammaticalization as a case of upward reanalysis through the functional hierarchy, in the sense of Roberts & Roussou (2003). In the development of the present work I will often make use of the term *grammaticalization* in a broad, theory-neutral sense, but will adopt a generativist concept of grammaticalization as in Roberts & Roussou (2003) as far as it applies to the evolution of minimizers. I will, therefore, present a brief overview of what has been proposed in the literature for the grammaticalization of minimizers.

The idea that the grammaticalization of minimizers is a matter of upward movement through the functional hierarchy (within the generative model of clause structure) was first presented by Déprez (1997, 2000, 2011) to explain the nature of French *n-words*. As Déprez (1997:122) summarizes, «French n-words are a type of numeral meaning something like zero», with *personne* and *rien* meaning «something like zero people or zero things, with the numeral incorporated through movement of the noun *personne* to the head of a functional projection NumP».

In Déprez (2011), the author tracks the evolution path of French n-words from medieval texts up to nowadays. She considers that French n-words evolved from common nouns with positive interpretation to negative elements and that change corresponds to the relevant items raising from N position to higher positions within the DP structure. The author observes that, during its evolution path, the n-words *personne* and *rien*, once feminine and pluralisable nouns, lost their inflection and became unmarked for gender and number. They also lost the ability to be modified by prenominal adjectives, and postnominal modification by means of an adjective ceased to be possible. Although up until a given moment, these n-words could be modified by *autre*, that possibility disappears in early 20th century, being replaced by the strategy of indirect modification with *d'autre*. Furthermore, they are said to disallow true partitives. Déprez (2011) considers that these alterations can be seen as arguments in favor of movement from N towards the highest functional layer of the DP, with n-words gaining quantificational nature.

Citing the work by Déprez & Martineau (2004) on the item *aucun*, Déprez (2011) draws attention to the fact that, until the 15th century, n-words behaved like common

nouns, with positive interpretation. In the beginning of the 16th century, however, n-words started being interpreted contextually, exhibiting characteristic features of NPIs. From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, n-words have acquired intrinsic negative value, being able to occur alone, with negative interpretation.

Following the insights of Déprez (1997, 2000), Roberts & Roussou (2003) claim that the changes suffered by French n-words are the result of the loss of relevant properties of the DPs they integrated. Roberts & Roussou (2003:137) argue that these DPs lost their independent quantificational force and, as a consequence, they «had to become part of an Agree relation involving the Negative feature», therefore acquiring negative meaning. They consider the change as reanalysis of N as Neg. Roberts & Roussou (2003) assume that these items stopped occupying the head position of the Nominal Phrase and began to sit in Num, a position also occupied by certain quantifiers. The fact that these words started being generated in Num determined that N-to-Num movement ceased to occur, which explains a series of restrictions verified for French n-words, namely the change in meaning, the loss of adjectival modification, the loss of phi-features and the impossibility of entering relevant Agree relations with Num.

The proposals by Déprez (1997, 2011) and Roberts & Roussou (2003) are informed by French data, where there is register of a successful case of a minimizer becoming the regular marker of negation. Nevertheless, that is not the case of most minimizers that initiate a grammaticalization process. Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2013) consider that grammaticalization is a process that includes many different steps and that most of the items never reach the final stage, only manifesting an incipient grammaticalization. The authors consider that an *Incipient Jespersen Cycle* should include items that are simply negative polarity noun phrases, as they have the potential to become sentential negation markers. They, then, focus on the behaviour of the items along their grammaticalization path, emphasizing the features that favour grammaticalization and the ones that delay it or even prevent it from happening.

One of the most important indicators of grammaticalization is the loss of argumenthood. Minimizers are generally verb arguments, mostly direct objects. The authors start by considering that minimizers may have different levels of restriction as far as the verbs with which they occur are concerned. Some of them can only occur as arguments of verbs related to their original meaning, or with verbs of indifference (such as *give, care*). Other minimizers are allowed to occur with other verbs, apart from the ones related to their original meaning, but still with argument function. They keep their animacy

features as well. Finally, a third type is considered. These are the minimizers that can occur freely with any verb and do not present transitivity restrictions, being allowed to occur without argument function.

There are some specific contexts of occurrence that have been considered as favouring reanalysis of minimizers as more functional items. Referring to the Arabic dialects, Lucas (2007) suggests that *optionally transitive verbs* are contexts that favour the interpretation of minimizers as non-arguments. Optionally transitive verbs have been considered ‘bridging contexts’ for the reanalysis of minimizers as adverbial-like items, instead of nominal items (cf. Lucas 2007, Willis *et al.* 2013, Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis 2013). According to Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2013:146):

when the object of these verbs is a negative polarity item denoting a minimal quantity (a minimizer), there is always the potential for this item to be reanalysed simply as a marker of sentential negation.

(Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis 2013:146)

In face of a context in which the minimizer may be the direct object or a negative polarity adverb, there would be a tendency for new speakers of a language to dissociate that item from an argument function. A similar case is that of verbs of succeeding and also verbs of caring which allow for an optional pseudoargument indicating the extent or degree of success/caring/indifference.¹⁹ This type of context gives space for the minimizer to be interpreted as negative polarity adverbs.

A different context that favours reanalysis is the occurrence of the minimizer as an adnominal quantifier, as well as (partitive) genitives of negation. Despite the existence of contexts that seem to favour reanalysis, there are other conditions which seem to restrict or block it. One of them is the maintenance of case marking in minimizers. The other is the retention of the core meaning. Ultimately, both realities indicate that the minimizer still holds nominal properties.

Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2013) also highlight other properties of some minimizers that may prevent grammaticalization from going further. Pragmatic aspects are one of the factors that may keep items in a certain level of grammaticalization, without going beyond it. The authors give the example of items such as Catalan *pa*, which is subject to

¹⁹ In Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020:50), the authors introduce the notion of pseudoarguments and optional pseudoarguments, referring to the difficulty in classifying the optional element as direct objects, adverbial complements or adverbial adjuncts.

information structure constraints. The pragmatic strength of some items may be seen as favourable to their reanalysis, but it may also help these items to persist in the language without becoming sentential negators.

On the other hand, the interaction with definiteness is presented as another aspect that may influence grammaticalization. The idea that grammaticalization of minimizers involves syntactic movement to positions higher than N has been argued for by several authors following initial proposals by Déprez (1997, 2000). An item can only be an eligible candidate to be a post-verbal negation marker when it is no longer a nominal head and is able to have quantificational interpretation.

The last factor that is considered to have some relevance in grammaticalization is language contact, with certain groups of languages being more prone to have items reaching stage 2 of the *Jespersen Cycle*.

Finally, it is important to go back to the idea that grammaticalization is a process that can stop at any stage, but it cannot go back. It has been argued that grammaticalization is unidirectional and once an item reaches a certain stage of grammaticalization, it cannot go back to its starting point since cases of degrammaticalization are quite rare. Haspelmath (2004) considers that, most cases where an item seems to retreat from a more functional form to a previous stage should be considered cases of *retraction*, as predicted by Haspelmath (2004):

As an item expands to the right and forms a grammaticalization chain, some of its earlier manifestations on the left typically disappear, so that the chain loses on the left what it gains on the right. Now we know that the older members of the chain do not have to be lost.

Haspelmath (2004:33)

This roughly means that a language can maintain less grammaticalized forms of an item. When a more grammaticalized item disappears, items on the left of the grammaticalization chain can regain expression and start to be more productive again, in case they were not lost.

2.5.1. Grammaticalization steps: from noun to NPI

The proposals presented above share a great number of features and basically rely on the idea that an item becomes functional when it stops behaving like a noun. This, of course, demands a progressive change from the nominal domain to higher positions in the DP structure and, eventually, further on with reanalysis as adverbial-like particles. For the description and analysis presented in this work I will depart from these proposals and rely

on the idea that minimizers start mostly as common nouns and progressively lose their nominal properties. TABLE 2.1 lists the set of properties that gradually cease to be verified when nouns grammaticalize as minimizers. It is inspired in the proposals above, but also in Garzonio & Poletto (2008) and tries to summarize the main properties of minimizers across their grammaticalization path.

Properties	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
a) Nominal head within a DP	yes	no	no
b) Admits modifiers or complements	yes	no	no
c) Takes a partitive PP	no	yes	no
d) Referential meaning	yes	no	no
e) Exhibits phi-features	yes	no	no
f) Semantic specialization of verbs	yes	less strict	no
g) Non-argument function	no	rarely	yes
h) Occurrence in positive contexts	yes	rarely	no
i) Unique negative element with negative interpretation	no	no	yes

TABLE 2.1: PROPERTIES OF MINIMIZERS IN DIFFERENT STAGES OF GRAMMATICALIZATION

In TABLE 2.1 I consider the existence of three stages of grammaticalization, but one item may not exhibit the same stage for all properties at once and stages are not to be considered watertight compartments. On the contrary, there are probably multiple micro-stages between each main stage, so they are to be seen mainly as a way to structure information.

The first six properties listed are intimately related since they help us measure the nominal nature of a minimizer. The last three properties try to assess the behaviour of the minimizer in terms of an element operating at sentence level.

The first property to be considered is related to the minimizer's internal structure. Since minimizers originate from common nouns, they are expected to start as nominal heads within a definite or indefinite DP. The presence of a determiner is also usually associated with a low level of grammaticalization. As the minimizer becomes more functional, it ceases to be the nominal head. Most partitive/evaluative minimizers in CEP display a determiner preceding the noun, which puts them at stage 1 of grammaticalization. It is worth noticing at this point that the determiners preceding the minimizer are almost always indefinite, which makes them ambiguous between determiners and cardinal numbers. This topic will be addressed in Chapter 5, when I discuss in detail the internal structure of minimizers.

The second property to be evaluated is the possibility of allowing modifiers and complements. I have considered mainly adjectival and prepositional modifiers, but also clausal modifiers. The presence of an Adjectival Phrase (AP) modifying the minimizer is to be understood as a sign that it still holds most nominal properties, since APs are mainly base-generated in the NP domain. As argued by Déprez for French *n*-words, these last ones distinguish themselves from their nominal counterparts in not allowing a prenominal adjective. Prenominal adjectives force a nominal reading since they are «constructed in a low nominal position». Therefore, the possibility of having adjectival modification with minimizers is a clear sign of an early stage of grammaticalization, mainly because they contribute to referentiality, which, as we have seen, needs to be progressively lost, in order for the minimizer to grammaticalize. I also contemplate here the existence of a complement. The existence of a complement can only be applied to a group of minimizers which originate from common nouns with a partitive complement. It is considered that, at a first stage, minimizers originating from this type of nouns will inherit their complement, but it will progressively cease to appear. The total loss of the complement is considered a sign of grammaticalization.²⁰

The third property is related to the possibility of having a partitive PP. Due to the possible confusion between this partitive PP and the PP complement described for the second property, let me clarify the difference between them. In diachronic, but mostly in contemporary data, some minimizers, which have no relation to partitive common nouns, may present a partitive-like complement that can actually be seen as an indicator of some level of grammaticalization. This is, however, different from partitive complements inherited from the common nouns. Firstly, because complements inherited from nouns need to have a semantic relation with the minimizer, while independent partitive complements do not (for example, in the case of *gota*, the PP complement needs to contain a noun that is liquid-related, but the CEP minimizer *puto* can take a partitive PP containing a noun of any semantic field). In fact, the difference, I argue, is structural. Minimizers which seem to have a partitive complement without originating from nouns with partitive complements are no longer functioning as nominal heads, but occupy a position higher than N° in the DP structure. I will get back to this point in Chapter 5. Therefore, the possibility of taking a partitive PP as listed in TABLE 2.1 refers exclusively to partitive PPs which cannot be interpreted as inherited complements of the minimizer. Since more

²⁰ The CEP minimizer *ponta* seems to be an exception, since it can occur with a frozen PP complement (*de um cornu*), but still allow a partitive PP. See footnote 114.

advanced items can appear without the partitive PP, under an intransitive bare form, I have considered that there is no partitive PP in a third stage (it seems to be an optional element).

The loss of referential meaning, as argued before, is a core property to reinterpret minimizers as more grammatical items. It is also transversal to other properties. The loss of referential meaning is accompanied by a loss of phi-features. If an item is no longer interpreted as a noun, it should progressively stop behaving as such. Common nouns are characterized by exhibiting morphological features of number and gender. An item that ceases to be interpreted as a noun will lose the ability to inflect, therefore disallowing gender and number variation. Singular and masculine are considered the default values and that is why minimizers tend to appear in their singular form. Furthermore, a minimizer that originates from a feminine noun may start behaving as a masculine element or, putting it in another way, as a neutral element, which is to be understood as the masculine gender by default. According to Garzonio (2008:130), «all the minimizers that have become sentential negations have lost any referential content and phi-features», which leads the author to the conclusion that «a minimizer can get a negative feature only if it has no phi-features» or, as Garzonio (2008:130) explains, «it cannot acquire an interpretable negative feature if it has phi-features that need to be valued». This shows that referentiality and phi-features are crucial properties.

Property f), semantic specialization of verbs, is also related to the loss of referential meaning. Minimizers first start appearing with verbs which are semantically related to the semantic field of the common noun they originated from. So, for instance a minimizer such as *crumb* will most likely start appearing with verbs related to food and eating. As it grammaticalizes, it will start occurring with unrelated verbs. A clear sign of an advanced stage of grammaticalization is the possibility of a minimizer occurring with any kind of verb. The less strict a minimizer is in terms of the verbs it allows, the more advanced is its stage of evolution.

The possibility of occurring without argument function is an important property that allows the interpretation of an item as more grammatical. As nominal elements, minimizers usually occur as direct objects. Only elements which have lost most nominal properties are allowed to occur without argument function, as adverb-like elements at sentential level. Garzonio & Poletto (2008:64) argue that only after becoming a functional item, can a minimizer be moved outside its original object position. According to Lucas (2007), the occurrence in sentences with optionally transitive verbs would be the bridging context that would allow the reinterpretation of minimizers as adverbial elements.

Optionally transitive verbs are verbs that may occur with or without a direct object. In order for a minimizer to be interpreted as non-nominal, it must have reached a stage in which it is no longer the nominal head within a DP, it cannot display phi-features or have referential meaning. It acts as a negative reinforcement particle, which operates at sentence level.

The next property is related to the possibility of an item occurring in positive contexts. A positive context is to be understood as a non-negative context. Technically, a 'positive context' would include non-negative modal contexts, but also the affirmative assertive ones. Data from Old and Contemporary Portuguese seems to rule out minimizers from these last contexts – affirmative assertive – which means that here I will be considering the occurrence of minimizers in non-negative modal contexts only. In fact, what is frequently referred to as a 'positive context' by several authors is, in fact, the non-negative modal context as the one exemplified in (19), in section 2.4. above.

The last property listed is related to the ability of a minimizer to occur with negative interpretation and without the presence of a licensing negative operator. An item which expresses negation alone is considered intrinsically negative and fully grammaticalized. This does not mean, though, that it has become the sentential negation marker replacing the previous pre-verbal negation marker, as predicted by the Jespersen Cycle. An item that can convey negation by itself must be considered an item that is truly functional and that has lost all its nominal properties.²¹ In any case, that is not synonym of becoming the standard regular negation marker.

The grammaticalization steps described in this section reflect the processes usually considered hallmarks of grammaticalization. We can easily consider that, as minimizers go from nouns to more functional items, they experience desemanticization or bleaching, since they lose their original referential meaning. The process of extension (or context generalization) can be verified in their ability to progressively occur with a larger set of verbs without semantic restrictions. The final stage of grammaticalization implies that an item that was once a noun has now become an adverb-like or quantifier-like element, which can be related to its decategorization. Finally, the process of erosion or phonetic reduction is probably the one with less expression when dealing with minimizers' grammaticalization. In Old Portuguese data the only case that can be considered to have some phonetic

²¹ According to Garzonio & Poletto (2008), there are some vulgar minimizer in some varieties of Central Italy that may occur as the only negative elements in a sentence, but still maintain nominal properties.

implication is the example of *nemigalba*, where we find morphological merge between the emphatic particle *nem* and the minimizer *migalba*.

2.6. A diachronic corpus for the study of minimizers

2.6.1. Sources, challenges and limitations

The task of describing and analysing minimizers in Old Portuguese demanded the observation of a considerable number of occurrences. This led to the need to build a work corpus that could serve as the empirical base for the analysis. Nevertheless, building a diachronic corpus poses several problems. First of all, we deal with the lack of data, since the testimonies of old stages of Portuguese are scarce and they may not always contain adequate data for the research. Secondly, we face the imbalance in the typology of texts available for the different centuries, which compromises the creation of a balanced corpus right from the start. And thirdly, the texts that survived until nowadays are frequently later copies of earlier manuscripts. This poses the question of deciding whether they should be considered representative of the century in which the original manuscript was written or the century the copy was made, or else if that crucially depends on the linguistic phenomenon we are studying in a particular text. In some cases, we also deal with Portuguese translations of an original text written in other languages, especially French and Spanish.²²

The first step for building the work corpus was the selection of the sources to be consulted. I have made use of the diachronic corpora available online, as well as of digitalized editions of relevant texts. Below I list the main sources that were used for systematic searches in each century, not excluding, however, some relevant examples from other sources.

a) Online Corpora

-*Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval*²³(CIPM) (Xavier, Coord.)

²² For a more detailed discussion on the challenges of building a diachronic corpus of Portuguese texts, see Mattos e Silva (1989).

²³ Among others, I consulted the following texts: *Dos Costumes de Santarém* (Alentejo/Oriola); *Vidas de Santos de um Manuscrito Alcobacense* (*Vida de Tarsis, Visão de Túndalo, Vida de Eufrosina, Vida de Santa Maria Egípcíaca*); *Orto do Esposo*)

- Titus Old Portuguese Corpus*²⁴ (on the basis of various editions electronically prepared by Gisella Ferraresi, Esther Rinke & Maria Goldbach, Hamburg 2005);
- Tesouro Medieval Informatizado da Língua Galega (TMILG)* (Varela Barreiro, dir.)
- Corpus Tycho Brahe*²⁵ (Galves, Coord.)
- Corpus Post Scriptum, Arquivo Digital da Escrita Quotidiana em Portugal e Espanha na Época Moderna* (P.S.) (Marquilhas, Coord.)
- Corpus de Textos Antigos*²⁶ (CTA) (Sobral, Coord.)
- Cet-e-quinzentos: Teatro de autores portugueses do séc. XVI* (Camões, Coord.)
- Cet-e-seiscentos: Teatro de autores portugueses do séc. XVII* (Camões, Coord.)
- Corpus do Português* (Davies & Ferreira, Coord.)

b) Full texts not included in corpora²⁷

- Documentos Notariais* (CHEL13 e DOURO13A e 13B) (edited by Martins, made available by the author in a digitalized edition);
- José de Arimateia* (JAR) (digitalized version of the edition by Castro, 1984);
- Demanda do Santo Graal* (DSG) (digitalized version of the edition by Piel & Nunes, 1988; whenever there were doubts concerning the edition, I also made use of the digitalization of the original manuscript and of the edition by Toledo Neto (2012-15) made available by the WochWel project (Martins, coord);
- Legal texts,²⁸ edited by António Matos Reis and available online at <https://sites.google.com/site/foraisextensos/> ;
- Crónica Geral de Espanha* (CGE) (digitalized editions prepared by Pedrosa, 2012 and Miranda, 2012 as part of their Master thesis);

²⁴ The texts consulted in this corpus were: *Auto de partilhas entre Rodrigo Sanches e seus irmãos Vasco, Mendo e Elvira; Elvira Sanches deixa o seu corpo e todos os seus bens ao mosteiro de Vairão (c. Vila do Conde); Notícia das malfeitorias feitas a Lourenço Fernandes da Cunha por D. Sancho I e por Vasco Mendes, por ordem do mesmo rei; Notícia das malfeitorias de que foi injustamente vítima Lourenço Fernandes da Cunha; Testamento de D. Afonso II.* (Braga) and *Catedral de Toledo.*

²⁵ The texts consulted in this corpus were: *Crónica del-Rei Dom Diniz; Crónica del-Rei Dom Afonso Henriques; Crónica del-Rei Dom João I; Cartas de D. João III; Peregrinação and Vida de Bartolameu dos Mártires*

²⁶ *Vida do Cativo Monge Confesso; Trasladação de S. Nicolau; Vida do honrado Infante Josafat, filho d'el Rei Avenir; Vida de Santa Eufrosina; Vida e milagres de Santa Senborinha de Basto.*

²⁷ Some of the texts listed here are also available in some of the corpora I have consulted. In these cases, my decision to consult one source or another varied from text to text. In some cases, I chose the source which made systematic searches easier. In other cases, I opted for the edition which I believed to be more accurate or which was available at the moment. For instance, in the case of *Demanda do Santo Graal*, I used the digitalized edition (a Word document) by Piel & Nunes (1988) since it was easier to search than through CIPM. Presently, there is also an online edition of DSG (using an edition by Toledo Neto, 2012-15) with POS and syntactic annotation, made available online by the project WochWel (Martins, coord.), which was not fully available yet at the time the corpus started being compiled.

²⁸ The texts consulted were: *Foros da Guarda; Foros de Beja; Foros de Évora - Alcáçovas; Foros de Santarém - Alvito; Foros de Santarém - Oriola; Foros de Santarém - Torres Novas.*

- Diálogos de São Gregório* (DG) (digitalized version of the semi-diplomatic edition by Machado Filho, 2013);
- Crónica de Dom Fernando* (CDF) (the edition consulted was that of Macchi 1975, in a digitalized version);
- Crónica de Dom Pedro de Meneses* (CDPM) (digitalized edition by Brocardo, 1997);
- Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende* (CGGR) (printed copy of the edition made by Dias, 1999);
- Imitação de Cristo* (printed copy of the edition by Cepeda, 1958);
- *O Livro de Exopo* (printed copy of the edition by Calado, 1991);
- Virgem de Consolaçon* (printed copy of the edition by Veiga, 1959);

In most online corpora, search has been exhaustive, using the search engines available on each corpus website. However, in a corpus such as Tycho Brahe, searches have only targeted texts which were comprehended between the relevant periods of time (from 13th to the 16th century). In the case of TMILG, mainly poetry was searched. Whenever there was no search tool available in the corpus website or I was using a full text not available in a digital corpus, searches were made by using the strategy *CTRL+Find*, available in most text editors. In the case of texts only available in paper support, search was done manually.

The compilation of a list of words/items to be searched was a back and forth process. The starting point were CEP minimizers, which I recognized, as a speaker, as being minimizers. Nevertheless, most items were found in OP texts by first going through all negative sentences in a text, in order to identify any item that could be interpreted as a minimizer. The most obvious and frequent items were easy to find, while uncommon items were only found by intensive scanning of negative contexts. Due to the nature of the process of identification of less frequent items, the list of items and examples may not correspond to the totality of items/examples contained in all the sources I have consulted.

After finding a context of occurrence of a minimizer or other relevant items, a broad context was copied into a database and information was added, as will be explained in subsection 2.6.3. where I describe the database.

The compilation of the corpus was not free from problems and non-consensual decisions, though. The first problem I faced while compiling the corpus was the distribution of texts by centuries. In the texts available through digital corpora, I have followed the chronology proposed by the corpus editors/coordinators. In the case of full text editions,

I have mainly relied on the chronology proposed by the editors. For instance, for a text such as *Diálogos de São Gregório* (DG), which is placed between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, I have followed the chronology proposed by Mattos e Silva (1989). The number of occurrences of the minimizer *rem* puts it in equal terms with the CGE texts, which reinforces the claim made by Mattos e Silva (1989) to consider it representative of the 14th century Portuguese.

Nevertheless, although the great majority of the texts do not pose problems regarding their dating, at least two of them are considered problematic. I refer to the two texts that integrate the Post-Vulgate Cycle: *José de Arimateia* (JAR) and *Demanda do Santo Graal* (DSG). The Post-Vulgate Cycle constitutes one of the most important literary cycles of Old French and it is centered in the stories around King Arthur and his twelve knights, in search of the Holy Grail. The French originals are said to have been written between 1230 and 1240, although they were not entirely preserved. The Portuguese translations are from the 13th century, but only later copies have survived until nowadays. The first text (JAR) is transmitted by a 16th century copy, while the second one (DSG) is transmitted by a 15th century copy. According to Mattos e Silva (1989:25-26), Carolina Michaëlis was a pioneer when she admitted, in 1907, that the Portuguese of the original manuscript of *Demanda do Santo Graal* corresponded to that of Afonso X in *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (CSM). However, the works by Castro (1993), Toledo Neto (2012) and Martins (2013) show that the copies which survived until nowadays (especially that of *José de Arimateia*) may display some properties that make them closer to 13th century Portuguese, but also other properties that reflect 15th or 16th century Portuguese.²⁹ For this particular case, the study of negation and minimizers, I decided to consider DSG as an example of 13th century Portuguese and JAR as an example of 16th century language, even though they may not reflect one same stage of the language at all times, especially as far as JAR is concerned.

Starting with *Demanda do Santo Graal*, I support my decision based on the high frequency of one of the items I will study: *rem*. According to Martins (2013), *rem* is surprisingly frequent in DSG, when compared with data from the 13th century extracted from the corpus TMILG. If we compare DSG with *Crónica Geral de Espanha* (CGE), a 14th century text, we realize that the item *rem* has a very low frequency in this last text, which is in agreement with its disappearance from the language until the end of the 14th century. Actually, the few occurrences of *rem* in CGE are only found in manuscript L, which is the one used in the edition I have consulted (cf. Pedrosa 2012 and Miranda 2012). According

²⁹ The corpus CIPM considers the text *Demanda do Santo Graal* as belonging to the 15th century.

to Cintra (1951-1990), manuscript L is from the first quarter of the 15th century and closer to the original text from 1344 (the original manuscript, called manuscript Y by Cintra (1951-1990) was lost). The comparison between lessons from manuscript L and manuscript P show that the scarce occurrences of *rem* in ms. L were later replaced by *cousa* by the scribe of manuscript P.³⁰ This clearly shows that the scribe of ms. P did no longer recognize *rem* as a productive item by the time the copy was made. Furthermore, examples of *rem* in 15th century texts are residual. The frequency of negative indefinite *nada*, for example, seems to be in consonance with other 13th century texts too. For this reason, it makes sense to consider DSG a good source of minimizers in 13th century Portuguese.

As for the text of *José de Arimateia*, it is harder to decide whether it should be considered more representative of the 13th or 16th century Portuguese, as far as minimizers are concerned. If we look at JAR in terms of frequency of minimizers, in comparison with other prose texts from the 16th century (for instance, *Peregrinação* or *A Vida de Bartolameu dos Mártires*), we realize that JAR is more productive in the use of most items. However, when comparing it with DSG and 13th century poetry, we see that there are no occurrences of *rem*, as one would expect in a text representing the 13th century language. The absence of *rem* is compensated by a higher frequency of the item *cousa* and the negative indefinite *nada*, which is not common in 13th century texts. *Nada* only starts being more frequent in the 16th century. Furthermore, JAR presents a high number of occurrences of *ninguém*, while compared to DSG or poetry extracted from *Lírica Profana Galego-Portuguesa* (LPGP). As we will see in further sections of this work (and was already pointed out in Martins, 2003), *ninguém* only starts being productive around the 16th century, when the use of *nenhum* with a [+ human] feature and the minimizer *homem* fade away. JAR, however, presents a higher frequency of the minimizer *homem*, when compared to other 16th century texts (in this sense it gets closer to 13th century texts). The nature of this text makes it very hard to place it in a period of time, without further doubts. All things considered, I have decided to treat examples taken from JAR as illustrative of 16th century, as far as the use of minimizers is concerned. Despite its positioning in the 16th century, I am aware that, in particular cases, these examples will raise questions and problems, especially when looking at the frequency rates of some items in each century and also regarding syntactic structures that may affect minimizers. I will comment on these particular cases when necessary.

The second challenge that I have faced is related to the corpus representativeness. In order to create a balanced corpus, I have tried to gather examples from different textual

³⁰ I will return to this topic in Chapter 4.

genres in each century. Nevertheless, that was not possible at all times, given the scarcity of sources. For example, for the period of time comprehended between the 13th and the 15th centuries, two different types of data are available: poetry and prose. Medieval poetry is documented in the three anthologies that survived until nowadays, namely the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* (a copy from the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century), *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti* (also known as *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* and also a copy from the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century) and *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (compiled in the end of the 13th century). To these anthologies we also added the codex of *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. As far as prose is concerned, we find literary and non-literary sources. The first group includes texts from the Post-Vulgata Cycle (which face dating issues, as pointed out in the previous paragraph), as well as historical prose. The second group comprehends mainly private and royal letters, local laws³¹ and general laws, according to Cintra (1963).

For the 16th century sample, apart from prose and poetry, I have also searched dramatic text, available in the *Corpus de Autores Portugueses do século XVI* (cet-e-quinhetos), which is a searchable online corpus of theatre plays. The corpus does not contain dramatic text in any other century sample, since it does not exist before the 16th century.

Despite the efforts, the corpus faces problems concerning the typology of the texts available for each century and the imbalance regarding the number of occurrences per text. For instance, looking at the 13th century, texts considered to belong to the typology of chivalry romance (*Demanda do Santo Graal*) contain a great number of occurrences of minimizers. However, those frequency rates contrast with texts from the same chronologic period but from different typology. Notarial and legal texts are not proportionally prolific in minimizers. This type of contrasts is present in other centuries, with other typologies of text. On the one hand, this may give us information regarding the type of texts favorable to the occurrence of minimizers. But, on the other hand, it poses a problem: for the periods of time in which the majority of texts belongs to a typology that does not seem to favor the use of minimizers, can the results be considered solid? In Appendix 1 I provide a list of all the texts from which examples were extracted, distributed by textual genre and century.

³¹ Local laws were divided in two types: *forais* or *forais breves* and *costumes*.

2.6.2. Methodology, dimension and organization of the corpus

The corpus comprehends mainly data from the 13th until the 16th century, although we can find a few entries from the 16th century to the 19th century, which were not the main focus of the analysis but were kept in the database for possible future work.

The corpus contains a total of 7565 entries. In a first moment I collected only occurrences of minimizers or items which could potentially be classified as such. In a latter moment, it became necessary to collect items of other nature, namely Indefinite Pronouns and Generic Nouns, for comparison purposes, due to their proximity with minimizers. TABLE 2.2 shows the distribution of items by type and the number of examples of each type contained in the database, by century.

Century	TYPE OF ITEM					
	Minimizers		Indefinite or generic pronouns (negative and non-negative)	Generic nouns	Others	Total
	Partitive/evaluative	Indefinite				
13th	40	1760	1038	320	252	3410
14th	35	223	366	231	24	879
15th	21	153	414	261	12	861
16th	127	359	1629	247	18	2380
17th-19th	24	2	7	1	1	35
Total	247	2497	3454	1060	307	7565

TABLE 2.2: DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS BY TYPE AND CENTURY IN THE CORPUS

It is worth stating at this point that only the number of occurrences of minimizers (partitive/evaluative and indefinite) reflects the totality of items of this nature found in all the consulted sources. As far as *Indefinite Pronouns and Generic Nouns* are concerned, I have collected a sample for comparison purposes, but the amount of examples presented in TABLE 2.2 may not correspond to the totality of the occurrences found in all the consulted sources. This is the case mainly for the 16th century data, when the volume of items became incredibly high, especially for the indefinite *nada*. Since minimizers were the main target of the corpus, and data for other items were collected for comparison purposes, I do not consider that this fact brings any damage to the research.

As one can see in TABLE 2.2, the total of entries for each century is not balanced, with the 13th century reuniting the highest amount of occurrences, followed by the 16th century. Results comprehended between the 17th and the 19th centuries are residual, merely

because search in these three centuries has not been exhaustive, since I am focusing only in data until the 16th century.

The group of minimizers contains two types of items: the partitive/evaluative³² and the indefinite minimizers (*al, cousa, pessoa, rem* and *homem*). Under the label *Indefinite or Generic Pronouns*³³ I have quantified the occurrences of the indefinites *algum, alguém, nenhum, ninguém* with a [+ human] feature, and the indefinites *nada* and *nemigalha*. In this group I have also added the occurrences of *nunca* ‘never’, the locatives *albur/nelbur* and the generic pronoun *homem*. The group of *Generic Nouns* contains occurrences of the nouns *al, cousa, rem* and *homem* preceded by the indefinite determiners *algum/nenhum*. Finally, under the category *Others*, I have gathered examples that did not fit any of the other groups. Most of them are examples that have been discarded as minimizers or that raised doubts concerning their classification but which I decided to keep in register. I have also decided to put in this category the entries of *homem* that I have considered to be ambiguous between an indefinite minimizer and a generic pronoun reading. This category also contains the entries of the minimizer *homem* found in the *Crónica Xeral e Crónica de Castela*, in the corpus TMILG, which I have decided not to include due to the proximity with the text of *Crónica Geral de Espanha*.

It soon became clear that the present corpus could not be reliable for statistical purposes, since it is not a balanced corpus in terms of number of entries per century, as well as in terms of distribution per textual genre. It cannot be a solid base to determine rates of frequency of the items as well as its productivity throughout the centuries, although it clearly gives us a general overview. The corpus has been useful, though, to assess the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the items and to evaluate on the use of minimizers and other probable competing items in different centuries and texts.

2.6.3. Information encoding using a database

Since handling a considerable amount of data demands organization, each relevant context of occurrence found for a relevant item was inserted into a database, using the program *FileMaker Pro Advanced* (version 12.0v1). For each occurrence, I have created a sheet where the relevant information regarding that particular example was filled. The creation of fields with different types of information was a progressive process, and not all fields were created

³² The list of all the items found under this category will be given in Chapter 3.

³³ The items grouped in TABLE 2 under the label ‘Indefinite and generic pronouns’ receive a specific label in the database. I have only grouped them here under one same label for reasons of space.

at once. The information was encoded according to specific search needs in given periods of the work and it was mainly done in a way that would help me handle data. Therefore, some of the fields and the information contained in them may not be transparent to the general public. In order for the database to be searchable by a general public, some adjustments would have to be made. Bellow I will explain the organization of the database, as well as the type of information contained in each field, with all the limitations they carry.

FIGURE 2.1 illustrates an entry from the database.

FIGURE 2.1:EXAMPLE OF AN ENTRY OF THE MINIMIZER REM IN THE DATABASE

As is visible, there are different levels of information encoded in one entry. *FileMakerPro* allows the creation of fields with predefined values, by means of a dropdown list or a checkbox, or values can be added manually for each entry. In most cases I have created a predefined list of values, to minimize typing errors or inconsistency.

The first information that is registered is the item (*Item*). In this case, we have an entry for the item *rem*. Then we find the context of occurrence, which corresponds to the sentence in which the item occurs (*Contexto*) and, on the left, there is a classification of the type of item. In this case, it was classified as being an indefinite minimizer. The next type of information is related to the polarity of the sentence in which the item occurs (polaridade da frase).³⁴ The field *Informação Sintática* gives us syntactic information about the item, namely, with what verb it occurs (*verbo* and *tipo-verbo*), its syntactic function, its position concerning the verb (*posição item*) and if we have a verbal complex (*complexo verbal*).

³⁴ In cases where the relevant item was intrinsically negative and corresponded to the only negative element in the sentence, the polarity of the sentences was marked as negative.

Finally we can signal tense and aspect information (*Tempo e Aspecto*). There is also place for information on Modification (*Modificação*) and Semantic Information (*Informação semântica*). If there are syntactic constructions associated to the item, they can be signaled in the field Associated Construction (*Construção Associada*). There is also a box for observations. The last row corresponds to extratextual information, concerning the sources, century and textual genre.

Bellow I offer a detailed description of the information encoded in each field and what motivated its creation or its overall relevance.

a) **Context** (Contexto) –this field contains the sentence in which the relevant item appears, as in the original textual source. Any correction to the original text was mentioned and properly justified. Orthography of the original text source/edition was maintained. In the generality of the cases, the extracted context corresponds to a whole sentence.

b) **Item** (item) – this field is used to identify the item being classified. Spelling was standardized in order to make searches easier (an item such as *rem* will appear listed as *rem*, even when it appears as *ren* or *rẽ* in context). This field identifies all types of items, being it minimizers, negative indefinites or others.

b.1) Type of Item (Tipo de item) – here a classification of the item in question is presented. There are eight possibilities: n-word, generic noun (nome genérico), partitive minimizer (minimizador partitivo), evaluative minimizer (minimizador valorativo), indefinite minimizer (minimizador indefinido), generic pronoun (pronome genérico), indefinite pronoun (pronome indef.) and other (outro). Under the label *n-word*³⁵ I have gathered the negative indefinites *nenhum*, *ninguém*, *nada*, *nunca* and *nemigalha*. The label ‘generic noun’ is used to identify the uses of *al*, *rem*, *cousa* and *homem* as common nouns preceded by the indefinite determiners *algum* or *nenhum*. The group of partitive minimizers includes minimizers with a partitive reading, such as *bocado*. Evaluative minimizers refers to minimizers which are associated to little value, such as *caracol*. The tag ‘indefinite minimizers’ is used to classify the minimizers *al*, *rem*, *cousa* and *homem*. The classification of ‘generic pronoun’ was used to identify a different use of the item *homem*, which behaves differently from the indefinite minimizer. I have used the tag ‘indefinite pronouns’ to refer

³⁵ Since the tag *indefinite* could be applied to both indefinite minimizers and negative indefinites, creating ambiguity, I have decided to use the tag *indefinite* only for indefinite minimizers. The label *n-word* is used here just for sake of simplicity and does not reflect a theoretical option. Its adoption serves only the purpose of simplifying automatic search, in alternative to having two tags with the word *indefinite* (indefinite minimizers and negative indefinites) which could compromise automatic searches in the database. That is also the reason why the label for indefinite pronouns (pronomes indef.) is shortened. Therefore, the label *n-word* is used here to refer to negative indefinites. Throughout the entire work, I will keep using the term negative indefinite to refer to the items *nada*, *nenhum*, *ninguém*, *nunca*.

to the items *algum, alguém* and also *albur/nelbur* as a way to distinguish them from negative indefinites (which are included under the *n-words* label). Finally, the group ‘other’ includes all the items that were discarded from the above identified groups but still kept in the database. They are mainly ambiguous examples.

c) **Polarity** (Polaridade) – since we are dealing with items which are sensitive to polarity, this field indicates the polarity of the sentence in which the item occurs and which determines the polar interpretation of the relevant item. Three values are possible: negative, affirmative and modal.

c1) Type of operator (Tipo de Operador) – here I indicate the type of operator responsible for licensing the relevant item. The list of types includes: *regular negation, n-word, negative preposition/ conjunction, subordination, interrogative, modal verb, imperative, subjunctive, negative predicate, adverb*, the expression ‘*ser impossível*’.

c2) Polarity operator (Operador de polaridade) – the main idea of this field was to further specify, whenever possible, the word or structure that licensed the relevant item. For instance, one can indicate that the licensing operator is a subordination structure and, then, specify here the type of clause, for instance, a comparative clause. In some cases the existence of two subfields to refer to licensing operators is productive (when one type of operator can have different realizations), but in other cases the information becomes redundant. If the type of operator is the use of subjunctive mood, it does not make sense to state it again in a different field. The list of possible values was built according to what was commonly found in the contexts. It contains the following values: *nom/não, nunca, sem, nem, doesn't exist, nem+ nunca, nenhum, jamais, comparative clause, consecutive clause, conditional clause, relative clause with subjunctive, indirect interrogative, completive clause, completive clause with subjunctive, adverbs ‘bem’ and ‘macar’ the expressions ‘antes que’, ‘and ‘ser excusado’.*

c3) Emphatic particle – this field signals the existence of any particle that may contribute to the emphatic reading in relation to the relevant item. The listed values are: n/a (does not apply), *nem, bem, sequer, só, mais.*

c4) Item position (Posição item) – this field is only filled when there is a negation marker in the sentence. In this case, the previous field should be filled with a specific negation marker and here I signaled the position of the item in relation to the negation marker. It can appear before (pre-neg) or after (pos-neg) negation.

d) **Syntactic Information**

d1) Syntactic function (função sintática) – the syntactic function of the item in the context is signaled here. The following options are available: *direct object*, *indirect object*, *oblique*, *subject*, *verbal modifier* (whenever the relevant item is part of a prepositional phrase at sentence level), *NP complement/modifier* (whenever the relevant item is a complement or a noun modifier, usually as part of a PP); *quantifier* (whenever the relevant item seems to be working as an adverb at sentence level, with quantificational properties); *subject predicative* and *agent of the passive*.

d2) Verb (Verbo) – here the exact verb with which the relevant item occurs is inserted. In some cases, the verb might be omitted and the field is left blank.

d3) Type of verb (tipo-verb) – from the moment it became clear that some items appeared more frequently with a certain type of verb, I have decided to encode this information. Nevertheless, when we have a verbal complex, the information is not always accurate since, in these cases, I classify the auxiliary or the semi-auxiliar verb, instead of the main verb. For instance, if the verb is *ver* ‘to see’, I would classify it as a transitive verb. However, if the form was *poder ver*, I would classify it as ‘modal verb’, despite the fact that the main verb is *ver*. This allowed me to be able to search for all cases of modal verbs, which was a relevant context for some items. The possibilities for verb type are: *transitive*, *optionally transitive*, *intransitive*, *copulative*, *existential* and *modal*.

d4) Item Position (posição do item) – this field signals the word order of the relevant item regarding the verb. Whenever there was a verbal complex, I have signaled the item position regarding the whole compound. Three possibilities can be signaled: *preverbal*, *postverbal* and *medial*. This last one – medial – was meant to capture the occurrence of the relevant item between two verbal forms, when there was a verbal complex. In this case, the option Verbal Complex is chosen as well.

d5) Tense and Aspect – here I signal the Tense, Mood and Aspect of the verbal form with which the relevant item occurs.

e) **Modification** (Modificação) – the designation chosen for this field is not as transparent as one would wish, but this label was chosen for sake of simplicity. In essence, what I aimed to encode here was if the relevant item was accompanied by elements on its left or right. Therefore, I am aware that the classification of all these items as modifiers is not accurate, since it gathers real modifiers, but also specifiers. In the list of pre-item modifiers I predicted the following options: *Não* (if there were none), *um/uma*, *o/a*, *algum/alguma*, *nenhum/nenhuma*, *nulbo/nulba*, *outro/outra*, *tal* and *qualquer*. As for the elements

appearing after the item (post-item), the list included: *Não* (if there were none), PP (a prepositional phrase), *algum/alguma, nenhum/nenhuma*, ADJ (an adjectival phrase), Or. Relativa (relative clause) and Other. For the option of the relative clause, there was the need to create subfields to encode more detailed information that proved to be important for some items. In case the relevant item was modified by a relative clause, it could also be signaled if it was a double relative (*dupla relativa*), a relative with subjunctive mood (*relativa com conjuntivo*) or a negative relative (*relativa negativa*), in case the relative clause displayed negative polarity.

f) **Semantic Information** – this field contains information regarding specific semantic features, which may not be relevant for every item. We distinguish here [human], [animated] and [locative] features, which can have a [+] or [-] value.

g) **Associated Construction (construção associada)** – this field was created to encode the presence of certain constructions or items which I thought could have some relation with the relevant items. Other constructions began being signaled after I realized they occurred frequently with specific items. Initially I signaled the presence of exceptive constructions, the pronouns *i/ende* and interpolation. Then the comparative and degree clauses were added to the list. In the case of comparative clauses, I also added the type of comparative (equality, superiority, inferiority and pseudocomparative), if relevant. In the case of degree clauses, the following subtypes are possible: *consecutive*, *superlative* and *tão+adjective*. If there is a consecutive clause being signaled, it is also possible to choose if there is a double consecutive or a negative consecutive. The presence of these constructions is only signaled if they directly relate to the item being described. For instance, the presence of an exceptive construction is signaled in case the item being annotated is the antecedent of the exceptive. I also created a subfield here to signal the presence of a PP partitive complement, in order to distinguish real partitives from PP modifiers.

h) **Pronominal element** (elemento pronominal) – this field was created with the single purpose of making searches easier at a given point of the data classification. It was used to distinguish the occurrences of the minimizer *homem* from the ones in which it is a generic pronoun or whenever I considered the item was ambiguous between the two readings. Choosing *não* ‘no’ allowed me to isolate the examples which were clearly minimizers. It is not used for any other item in the corpus.

i) **Presupposition denial** (negação pressuposicional) – this field was basically created to allow to retrieve faster the negative contexts which were considered examples of negation following a presuppositional context.

j) **Observations** (observações) – other informations worth being registered were inserted here.

Each single entry is also accompanied by the following extra-linguistic information:

k) **Century** (século) – it indicates to which century the texts from which the context was taken belongs to. Most entries are from the 13th to the 16th century.³⁶

l) **Text** (Obra) – this field is filled with the name of the text or book from which the context was taken. Even when the work was consulted as part of a corpus, this field is filled.

m) **Location inside book** (localização na obra) – here I indicate the exact number of chapter, part or page where the context can be found, whenever possible.

n) **Author** (autor) – if the author of the text (or the name of the bard, for medieval songs) is known, I add his name in this field. Otherwise the field is left blank.

o) **Corpus/Edition** (Corpus/edição) – if the text was consulted as part of a corpus, the name of the corpus will appear here. If it was a full text, I signaled the editor of the consulted edition.

p) **Textual genre** (género textual) – this classification refers to the text from which the context was taken. The following options can be selected: *poetry*, *medieval poetry*, *notarial text*, *religious prose*, *historical prose*, *literary prose*, *theatre* and *epistolary*.

The database allows us to search for all occurrences of a specific item, as well as to combine different field values in a single search. Entries can also be sorted by one or more specific fields.

This database has worked mainly as a tool to manage a large volume of data and to encode information that was necessary at a given moment of the investigation. Therefore, it must be seen as a means to an end and not so much as a finished product.

³⁶ In the case of the post-Vulgata texts, DSG and JAR, the century signalled in this field is the one I have considered the texts to be representative of, and not necessarily the century in which the original manuscript was produced or the currently existing copy was made. See above section 2.6.1.

2.7. Summing up

In this chapter I have argued in favour of the label *minimizer* to refer to different items with common properties. I have claimed that, although in different degrees, all of them have a scalar interpretation and behave as weak NPIs. The adoption of the feature system proposed by Martins (1997, 2000), allows us to classify minimizers as polarity items that contain variable underspecified features which need to be checked. Since minimizers are weak NPIs, they present an invariable underspecified [aff] feature and two variable underspecified features, [mod] and [neg] (therefore [α neg, α mod, 0 aff]). This translated into the impossibility of occurring in affirmative-assertive contexts, but being legitimated in modal and negative contexts. The fact that they are context-sensitive, along with other differences, allows us to distinguish them from common nouns, as we saw in 2.4, despite their coexistence.

In this chapter I have also shown that minimizers originate in common nouns and their grammaticalization into more functional items requires the verification of a few steps. The grammaticalization of a minimizer can stop at any moment, but it is expected to progressively lose its nominal properties. We saw that, as it grammaticalizes, it loses the semantic meaning inherited from the common noun, as well as other nominal properties, namely phi-features, the possibility of allowing modification or a complement. With the loss of nominal properties, the minimizer may start taking a partitive PP and becomes less frequent in modal contexts. Eventually, it may occur alone with negative interpretation.

Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I have presented the corpus which served as source for the present work and which has been compiled under the form of a database. It contains different levels of annotation. Due to the diachronic nature of this work, I have faced many challenges in the compilation of the corpus. The fact that some of the sources are copies or earlier manuscripts poses dating problems. Also, the scarcity or inexistence of all textual genres in the four centuries, did not allow the creation of a balanced corpus.

Chapter 3

Minimizers in the diachrony of Portuguese

3. MINIMIZERS IN THE DIACHRONY OF PORTUGUESE

- 3.1. Introduction
- 3.2. Partitive and Evaluative minimizers
 - 3.2.1. Overview
 - 3.2.2. General description of the data
 - 3.2.3. Minimizer *ponto*
- 3.3. Indefinite minimizers
 - 3.3.1. Overview
 - 3.3.2. General description of the data
 - 3.3.3. The indefinite minimizer *rem*
 - 3.3.3.1. Previous analysis of *rem*
 - 3.3.3.2. Frequency and distribution in the corpus
 - 3.3.3.3. Grammatical properties and features
 - 3.3.3.4. *Rem* in particular negative contexts
 - 3.3.4. The indefinite minimizer *homem*
 - 3.3.4.1. Previous analyses of *homem*
 - 3.3.4.2. Minimizer *homem* and generic pronoun *homem*: two independent items
 - 3.3.4.3. Frequency and distribution in the corpus
 - 3.3.4.4. Grammatical properties and features
 - 3.3.4.5. *Homem* and special constructions
 - 3.3.4.5.1. Degree constructions
 - 3.3.4.5.2. Existential constructions
 - 3.3.4.6. *Homem* in the context of *man*-constructions
- 3.4. Summing up

3.1. Introduction

Old Portuguese displayed a set of items that participated in negative concord structures and, due to their properties, fall under the classification of *minimizer*. Contexts such as the one presented in (28) are frequently found in Old Portuguese texts, especially from the 13th century.

- (28) Mas en aquel mōesteiro ponto d' agua non avia [...]
but in that monestery point of water NEG there.was
'But in that monastery there was no water'
(TMILG, CSM)

In (28) we find the cooccurrence of the standard preverbal negation marker *non* with the minimizer *ponto* 'point', in a negative concord configuration, which translates into a negative interpretation of the sentence. The context found in (28) is not exclusive of Old Portuguese, with minimizers being found in other Romance languages, such as French, in the same period, as exemplified in (29).

- (29) Mes de fruit n' ia il point.
But of fruit NEG there.was he point
'But there were no fruits'
(Martineau *et al.* 12XX-QUESTE,70.2481/ID)

The way minimizers evolved in OP is, nevertheless, different from their evolution in other Romance languages. While in OP a large number of minimizers disappeared until the 16th century, in French we find one of them, the minimizer *pas* 'step' becoming the standard marker of negation. This difference between the two languages is yet to be explained. Any quest for answers must start with a close look at the data, and therefore Chapter 3 is meant to be essentially descriptive, offering a detailed description of minimizers from the 13th to the 16th century, departing from the corpus which has been described in Chapter 2, sections 2.6.1. to 2.6.3.

I will start by proposing the division of OP minimizers into two main groups: on the one hand, the group of partitive and evaluative minimizers which contains items related to the lowest endpoint in a scale of size or value, and, on the other hand, the group of indefinite minimizers. The designations proposed rely mainly in the semantic value

associated to the items. In the group of partitive/evaluative minimizers we find items with strong scalar value, which are able to reinforce negation by means of a scalar implicature. In opposition, indefinite minimizers display weak scalar properties and have a generic/indefinite reading. As I will try to show along this chapter, the two sets of minimizers differ not only in the semantic value, but also in their syntactic properties and in their diachronic path. While the group of partitive/evaluative minimizers survived until nowadays, maintaining similar properties, the indefinite group disappeared from the language at a very early stage. This development may seem surprising since indefinite minimizers were much more frequent in the corpus than the partitive/evaluative ones. It is worth noting that both sets of minimizers occurred simultaneously in the language with another group of items, which I will refer as *negative indefinites* (following the designation in Martins 1997, 2000), which included the items *nada* ‘nothing’, *nenhum* ‘no one’ and *ninguém* ‘no one’.

This chapter is, then, organized as follows: Section 3.2 is dedicated to the description of partitive and evaluative minimizers, including a general description of the data in the corpus (as described in 2.6.1 to 2.6.3 above) and a more detailed presentation of the minimizer *ponto*. In section 3.3 I present a general description of indefinite minimizers. The items *rem* ‘thing’ and *homem* ‘man’ will deserve my particular attention throughout sections 3.3.3 and 3.3.4, respectively. Section 3.4 presents a brief summary of the chapter.

3.2. Partitive and Evaluative minimizers

3.2.1. Overview

The first group to be considered is the one of partitive/evaluative minimizers. Despite containing two different sets of items, I have considered that they can be analysed jointly, since they share essential features in terms of syntactic behaviour, scalar features and they both have survived (as a group) until contemporary data. I will refer to partitive and evaluative minimizers as a broad group, opposed to indefinite minimizers. Nevertheless, I will set them apart in justifiable circumstances.

Partitive minimizers originate from common nouns with scalar properties, frequently involving a partitive reading, that is, designating the smallest portion one can get from a certain unit (the whole). According to Climent (2001), partitive nouns may be of

three different kinds: grouping (group, pack, team), extracting (portions of a mass, elements of a collection) or referring to topological parts such as *end*, *tip* or *surface*. These are the kind of nouns that we expect to become minimizers. They are associated with a scale of size, referring to the lowest endpoint of the scale, as described by Hoeksema (2001). For instance, the partitive minimizer *gota* ‘drop’ comes from the common noun *gota*, which indicates the smallest quantity of a certain liquid: *uma gota de água* (‘a drop of water’). Due to their partitive nature, they are expected to occur with a prepositional complement, at least in an initial period. In CEP, they usually assume the form of an indefinite Determiner Phrase (DP), such as *um pingo de vergonha* ‘a drop of shame’.

Evaluative minimizers, on the other hand, do not display a partitive reading and do not refer to low points in dimension scales. They refer to what Hoeksema (2001:175) points out as «something worthless or distasteful», that is to say, to minimal elements in a scale of value. It is worth underlining that evaluative minimizers do not originate from evaluative nouns in the sense of Morzycki (2009) (such as, for instance the noun ‘idiot’), but they relate to scales of value, originating from nouns associated with little value/importance, sometimes even from vernacular or slang words. For example, the evaluative minimizer *caracol* ‘snail’ refers to an animal which, in a certain moment in time, became associated with little value (perhaps reinforced by its little size). Evaluative minimizers also assume the form of an indefinite DP but they do not have a prepositional complement (they may, sometimes, allow a PP modifier).

Despite originating from common nouns with different semantics, both types have fundamental properties in common and that is the main reason why I have considered them as members of a larger group. First of all, and going back to Israel (2011), they are both associated with some sort of scalar semantics and refer to the lowest point of a given scale (in the logic of the Scalar Model of Polarity (Israel, 1997, 1998)). Secondly, both partitive and evaluative minimizers tend to be very unstable groups, suffering constant renewal. New minimizers may be added to the group, while others disappear from the language, just as Hoeksema (2001) shows. This happens because, in most cases, minimizers tend to be idiosyncratic and can only be interpreted at a certain place and time, sometimes, only by a certain group of individuals. Take, for example, minimizers which originate from currency units.³⁷ The minimizer *ceitil* (30), which derived from the currency unit *ceitil* (the sixth part of a ‘real’) appeared during the 16th century, but became obsolete from the moment people

³⁷ This kind of minimizer is understood by Israel (2011:14) as a Resource, appearing in two participant roles, either as expenses or as possessions.

stopped interpreting the value associated to the corresponding currency unit. In the same manner, the contemporary minimizer *pitz* ‘bit’ (31) is currently used by teenagers, but is meaningless to other age groups and will probably disappear in a few years.

(30) Diabo: Que levais?

Devil: What take

‘Devil: What do you take?’

Ratinho: Nem um ceutil.

Little mouse: Not.even one farthing

‘Little mouse: Not even a brass farthing.’

(Cet-e-quinientos, *Auto da Ave Maria*)

(31) Durante quase 1 mês de férias não fiz pitz/
 During almost 1 month of holidays NEG did.^{1sg} bit
 nesta semana tenho alguma coisa todos os dias
 in.this week have.^{1sg} some thing every the days
 para fazer.
 to do

‘During almost a month of holidays I did not do anything /this week I have something to do every day.’

(Tweeter, consulted on 4/07/2016)

A third argument for considering these two types of minimizers jointly is the fact that their division into partitive or evaluative is not always obvious. The classification into partitive or evaluative may not be transparent at all times, especially in cases in which the origin of the minimizer is not straightforward. That is the case of *ponta* which may easily be considered a partitive minimizer in Contemporary European Portuguese (CEP) when we look at examples such as (32) where it appears with a PP complement.

(32) O Luís não fez a ponta de um corno para
 The Luís NEG did the tip of one horn to
 nos ajudar no trabalho.
 us.^{Acc.2sg} help tn.the work

‘Luís didn’t do anything to help us with the work.’

In CEP, *ponta*'s main meaning is that of (*sharp*) *edge of an object*. However, originally, *ponta* came from Late Latin *puncta*, which meant *estocada* 'thrust', a wound made with a fencing foil (cf. Corominas & Pascual 1980-91:694 and Nascentes 1955:410). The first examples of *ponta* as a minimizer in our corpus date from the 16th century and its main meaning by then was that of a partitive referring the smallest part of a pointy object. Therefore, it can be considered a partitive minimizer, despite its original meaning.

3.2.2. General description of the data

Partitive and evaluative minimizers are not very common in Old Portuguese data and they seem to occur more frequently in particular textual genres, while they are quite scarce in others. I will start by presenting the overall picture, with the distribution of partitive and evaluative minimizers found in the corpus and their distribution by centuries. TABLE 3.1 below presents the list of all partitive and evaluative minimizers found in the corpus and the number of occurrences distributed by centuries.

Item/Century	13 th	14 th	15 th	16 th	17 th -19 th	Total
bocado 'bit' ³⁸	4	1	0	11	4	20
caracol 'snail'	0	0	0	4	2	6
caralhete 'dick'	0	0	0	1	0	1
ceitil ³⁹	0	0	0	5	3	8
cornado ⁴⁰	0	0	0	2	0	2
dinheiro 'money' ⁴¹	1	0	0	0	0	1
figo 'fig'	3	0	0	9	0	12
fio 'string'	1	0	0	3	0	4
formiga 'ant'	1	0	0	0	0	1
grão 'grain'	0	0	0	0	1	1
gota 'drop'	1	2	0	4	0	7
joeira 'sieve'	0	0	0	1	0	1
jota 'iota'	0	0	0	5	0	5

³⁸ It comes from *boca* 'mouth', referring to the piece of bread that could fit into the mouth. In Corominas & Pascual (1980-1991:603) it appears as 'el pedazo de pan que piden los vendedores de leña sobre el precio de las cargas'

³⁹ Currency unit that was coined by D. João I, allegedly in honour of the Portuguese conquer of Ceuta.

⁴⁰ Old Spanish currency made of copper coined during the 13th and the 15th centuries.

⁴¹ Old Portuguese currency used from the 12th century to 1433.

mealha ⁴²	2	0	0	0	0	2
migalha 'crumb'	0	0	0	0	3	3
mosca 'fly'	1	0	0	2	0	3
palavra 'word'	1	0	0	17	2	20
palha 'straw'	3	1	0	5	0	9
palmo 'span'	0	1	1	5	0	7
pão 'bread'	2	0	0	0	0	2
parte 'part'	11	13	19	14	2	59
passo 'step'	2	0	0	1	0	3
ponta 'tip'	0	0	0	8	0	8
ponto 'point'	5	17	1	21	7	51
punhado 'handful'	0	0	0	1	0	1
real ⁴³	0	0	0	3	0	3
soldo ⁴⁴	2	0	0	1	0	3
tostão ⁴⁵	0	0	0	2	0	2
vintém ⁴⁶	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total of occurrences	40	35	21	127	24	247

TABLE 3.1: DISTRIBUTION OF PARTITIVE AND EVALUATIVE MINIMIZERS BY CENTURY, IN THE CORPUS

In the corpus, I was able to find 29 different items which behaved as minimizers. Despite the diversity of items, the total number of occurrences from the 13th to the 19th century is quite low, only 247 examples were found. When we look at the total amount of occurrences for each century, we realize that the frequency of use of these items does not reveal significant changes, apart from the 16th century, which gathers the greatest number of examples, with 127 entries.

Some minimizers do not consistently occur in the corpus in all centuries. This is the case, for instance, of the minimizers *passo* 'step' and *palavra* 'word', for which I found examples in the 13th century and then again only in the 16th century. This does not mean that they disappeared in the 13th century and emerged again in the 16th century. As a matter of fact, what TABLE 3.1 shows is that partitive/evaluative minimizers were scarce in written texts and the lack of examples in some centuries is circumstantial and a reflex of text typology. The occurrence of examples of almost all minimizers in the 16th century and the

⁴² Small coin, equivalent to half a *ceitil*.

⁴³ Portuguese currency unit used from 1430 until 1911.

⁴⁴ Unfractionated coin.

⁴⁵ Coin with the king's head (or forehead) engraved.

⁴⁶ The twentieth part of a *cruzado* (currency coined by Afonso V).

higher frequency of examples in this century is probably a reflex of the inclusion of theatre plays in the sample. If we look at TABLE 3.2, which groups the number of occurrences of minimizers by text typology, we realize that certain textual genres are more productive in minimizers than others.

Textual genre	n.º occurrences	%
Notarial/legal documents	3	1,2
Historical prose	40	16,2
Religious prose	18	7,3
Literary prose	43	17,4
Technical prose	5	2,0
Poetry	31	12,6
Theatre	91	36,8
Epistolary	16	6,5
<hr/>		
	Total: 247	100%

TABLE 3.2: DISTRIBUTION OF PARTITIVE AND EVALUATIVE MINIMIZERS BY TEXTUAL GENRE

As expected, theatre plays are responsible for a great part of the examples collected in the corpus, with 36,8% of all entries of partitive/evaluative minimizers. On the opposite side, we find notarial and legal documents, where I found 3 examples, representing only 1,2% of all entries. The textual genre seems to play an important role in the distribution of entries across centuries in the corpus. The relation between some grammatical constructions and a particular text type is not new. According to Günthner (2010:196), «grammatical constructions, as well as, for example, prosodic designs and lexical constraints, are often closely connected with particular communicative genres». If we consider that the use of minimizers is related to a more informal language register (or even to informal oral speech), it is not surprising that, for instance, technical prose and legal texts almost rule out this type of items. On the other hand, poetry – which includes medieval songs of mockery – literary prose and theatre plays in particular seem the best textual genres to display a higher number of examples of minimizers. Historical prose, however, did not seem a favouring context for the use of minimizers, due to its more formal nature. This makes the 16,2% of occurrences an intriguing case. Nevertheless, the great majority of the examples come from one single item, *parte* ‘part’, which seems to be slightly different from other minimizers since it does not have an idiomatic reading like most items do. As for the high frequency displayed in theatre plays, this particularity had been already noticed by Teyssier (2005). Referring to theatre plays by Gil Vicente, Teyssier (2005:612) relates the

use of minimizers such as *ponta*, *ponto* and *gota* to popular language and attributes its use to popular characters.

Having seen the overall distribution of minimizers in the corpus, I am now going to look at the syntactic and semantic aspects of these items. First of all, let us look at their polar behaviour, in order to determine what type of polarity item they are. Examples presented in (33) and (34) show that partitive and evaluative minimizers could occur in negative and modal contexts.

- (33) E então começou a cuidar e o seu reposteiro
 and then started.^{3sg} to care and the his servant
 foi tão espantado, que nem podia falar ãa
 was.^{3sg} so amazed that NEG could speak one
 palavra [...] word
 ‘And he started wondering and his servant was so amazed that could not speak a word.’

(JAR, xxxvii)

- (34) e com isto era já neste tempo
 and with this was.^{3sg} already in.this time
 que aqui cheguei, tamanho o medo em
 that here arrived.^{1sg} so.big the fear in
 todo o povo, que não havia pessoa
 all the people that NEG there.was.^{3sg} person
 que ousasse soltar palavra pela boca
 who dare realese word by.the mouth
 ‘and due to this, by the time I arrived here, the fear was so big among the people that there was no one who dared to say anything.’

(Tycho Brahe, *Peregrinação*)

TABLE 3.3 clearly shows that minimizers occur preferably and massively in the scope of negation, with occurrences in modal contexts being very scarce in the corpus.

Distribution by polarity		
Negative	Modal	Affirmative-assertive
243	4	0
98,4%	1,6%	0%

TABLE 3.3: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF PARTITIVE/EVALUATIVE MINIMIZERS, BY POLARITY, IN THE CORPUS

As it is also visible, there are no occurrences in affirmative-assertive contents, meaning that these items were ruled out from these contexts. Despite the high frequency in negative contexts, they demand the presence of a negative operator at all times. There are no examples in the corpus of a partitive/evaluative minimizer occurring on its own with negative interpretation. All these factors indicate that partitive/evaluative minimizers behaved as weak NPIs.

Since they usually originate from common nouns, minimizers tend to occur with verbs from semantic fields related to the original semantic meaning of the common noun. In the majority of the examples, minimizers occur with semantically related verbs or with verbs with a general meaning. For instance, the minimizer *parte* ‘part’ occurs almost exclusively with the verb *saber* ‘to know’, as in (35), functioning almost as a fixed expression meaning «knowing anything/nothing» (cf. DDGM).⁴⁷

- (35) Depois que isto lhes disse, somi-se,
 after that this them.^{3pl.Dat} said.^{3sg} disappeared-SE.^{Reflex}
 que nom souberam dele parte.
 that NEG knew.^{3pl} of.him part
 ‘After telling them this, he disappeared and they did not anything of him.’
 (JAR, LXXXVII)

Similarly, the minimizer *palavra* ‘word’ appears mainly with speech related verbs such as *falar* ‘talk’ or *dizer* ‘say’, while the minimizer *jota* ‘iota’ preferably occurs with the verbs *ganbar* ‘win’ or *faltar* ‘lack’. There are, however, some minimizers which occur with a wider range of verbs, some of them unrelated to the original semantic field of the common noun. That is the case of *bocado* ‘bit’, which occurs with verbs unrelated to eating activities, such as *ler* ‘read’. This is usually a clear indicator of some level of grammaticalization.

⁴⁷ DDGM=Dicionario de Dicionarios do Galego Medieval (<http://sli.uvigo.es/DDGM/index.html>)

An overall picture of the data from the working corpus shows us that until the 16th century, partitive/evaluative minimizers occurred more frequently in their bare form, rather than preceded by an indefinite determiner, as the values in TABLE 3.4 show. Also, when occurring preceded by a determiner, it was always the indefinite determiner *um/uma*.⁴⁸ There is only one exception to this rule in the corpus, with one single occurrence of *caralhete* with a definite determiner (*o caralhete*).

	Bare minimizer	Determiner + minimizer	Total
N.º of occurrences	163	84	247
%	66%	34%	100%

TABLE 3.4: TOTAL OF PARTITIVE/EVALUATIVE MINIMIZERS PRECEDED BY A DETERMINER AND UNDER A BARE FORM

More than half of the examples display the minimizer in its bare form, as in (36) rather than preceded by a determiner as in (37):

- (36) E vós nesta algemia não vedes palmo de terra.
 and you.^{2pl} in.this gibberish NEG see handspan of land
 ‘And you in this gibberish don’t see a thing.’
 (Cet-e-quinientos, *Comédia Ulissipo*)

- (37) [...] e de toda esta terra que te eu deixo
 and of all this land that you.^{2sg.dat} I leave
 de Estorgua até Lião não percas.^{2sg} de ela um
 from Estorgua until Lião NEG loose of it one
 palmo.
 handspan
 ‘And from all the land I leave you, from Estorgua to Lião, do not loose a
 bit of it.’
 (Tycho Brahe, CDAH)

However, a closer observation of the data from the 13th century reveals that there was an initial structural difference between partitive and evaluative minimizers. While

⁴⁸ For now I will refer to *um/uma* generically as indefinite determiners. I leave a more rigorous classification for Chapter 5.

minimizers with a partitive reading only appeared in their bare form, evaluative minimizers appeared almost exclusively preceded by the indefinite determiner *um* ‘a/one’ until the 16th century.⁴⁹ This difference in their initial behaviour is also reflected in the fact that only partitive minimizers register cases of adverbial-like behaviour without argument function. TABLE 3.5 below shows that there are almost no examples of partitive minimizers preceded by UM until the 16th century, apart from four examples from the end of the 14th century. On the other hand, the occurrence of evaluatives without the specifier UM only becomes more frequent in the 16th century.

Century	13 th		14 th		15 th		16 th		17 th -19 th	
	Bare	UM+Min	Bare	UM+Min	Bare	UM+Min	Bare	UM+Min	Bare	UM+Min
Partitive	21	0	30	4	21	1	50	14	10	6
Evaluative	3	16	0	1	0	0	26	36	3	5
Total	24	16	30	5	21	1	77	50	13	11
	40		35		22		127		24	

TABLE 3.5: DISTRIBUTION, BY CENTURY, OF PARTITIVE AND EVALUATIVE MINIMIZERS PRECEDED BY DETERMINER OR UNDER A BARE FORM

Minimizers tend to occur in their singular form. Depending on their level of grammaticalization, they may become neutral as far as number and gender are concerned. Nevertheless, in early stages of grammaticalization they may still exhibit phi-features. Although they are not very common, an example of the evaluative minimizer *caracol* ‘snail’ in its plural form is found in the corpus, as shown in example (38), dating from the 16th century. Similar examples are still found in contemporary data, as proven by (39) :

- (38) Tomé: Já que esse nom foi tão sóis/
Tomé: already that that NEG was.^{3sg} so alone
quem era o encavalgado?
who was.^{3sg} the horse.rider
Brás: Um Manuel Marques coitado/ que nom
Brás: A Manuel Marques poor that NEG
vale dous caracóis.
is.worth two snails

‘Tomé: Since that one did not go alone, who was the horse rider?’

⁴⁹ In 13th century data, there are only 3 occurrences of evaluative minimizers occurring in bare form. One of the examples is from the minimizer *palavra* ‘word’, while the remaining two are for *mosca* ‘fly’ and *mealha* ‘currency unit corresponding to half a ceitil’.

Brás: A Manuel Marques, poor man, who is not worth anything.’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Prática que Tiveram Brás e Tomê*)

- (39) agora matar-se um homem a troco de uma
 now kill.^{REFL.3sg} a man to change of a
 chalaça que não vale dois caracóis, isso é
 joke that NEG is.worth two snails that is.^{3sg}
 a bestialidade maior que pode praticar um homem
 the stupidity biggest that can practice a man
 ‘Now, a man killing himself over a joke that is not worth anything, that is
 the biggest stupidity a man can do.’

(Corpus do Português: Web/Dialects)

In (38) *caracol* appears in its plural form and it is preceded by the cardinal element *dois* ‘two’, but maintains its minimizer status and establishes negative concord, as the translation clearly shows. This indicates that *caracol* could, and still can, display number features.

Minimizers can also take complements or, eventually, adjectival modifiers. Their presence is, however, an indicator of a low level of grammaticalization. In this matter, there is an important distinction to be made between partitive and evaluative minimizers. Due to their nature, partitive minimizers originate from common nouns which take a partitive complement. Evaluative minimizers do not take complements, though. I have considered the existence of 156 examples of partitive minimizers. From those, 90 presented a partitive complement, which represents more than half (57%) of the cases of partitive minimizers. Examples (40) and (41) exemplify a partitive minimizer with a partitive complement.

- (40) passamdo hũu rio que dava quoamdo chegarão a
 passing one river that gave when arrived at
 elle por meya perna, antes que pasase a metade
 he for half leg before that passed the half
 da gente foy todo seco, sem ter gota d
 of.the people was.^{3sg} all dry without have drop of
 augoa.
 water

‘While passing a river that got to their knees when they arrived, it became all dry, without a drop of water, before half the people had crossed it.’

(CIPM, *Crónica dos Reis de Bisnaga*)

- (41) E vós nesta algemia não vedes palmo de terra
 and you.^{2pl} in.this gibberish NEG see span of land
 ‘And you in this gibberish don’t see a thing.’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Comédia Ulissipo*)

The minimizer functions as a sort of quantifier, quantifying over the noun inside the DP that is selected by the partitive PP. In these cases, even when the minimizer is the Direct Object, it is the DP within the PP that is interpreted as the semantic object. I will return to this idea in Chapter 5.

As far as modification is concerned, there are very few examples of it occurring with partitive/evaluative minimizers, as TABLE 3.6 illustrates.

	PP modifier ⁵⁰	AP modifier	CP modifier
N.º occurrences	0	4	1
%	0%	1,6%	0,4%

TABLE 3.6: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF DIFFERENT MODIFIERS WITH PARTITIVE/EVALUATIVE MINIMIZERS

As TABLE 3.6 shows, only 2% of all examples with partitive/evaluative minimizers actually displayed a modifier. In the case of adjectival modification, I found the adjectives *mínimo* ‘minimum’, *mal* ‘bad’ and *meio* ‘half’, as illustrated from (42) to (44):

- (42) [...] e nem em um mínimo ponto nos
 [...] and not.even in one minimal point ourselves
 desviemos da verdade.
 deviate.^{2pl} of.the truth
 ‘and that we do not deviate ourselves from the truth not even one bit.’

(Tycho Brahe, VFBM)

⁵⁰ I have deliberately excluded from the table the cases of PP partitive complements.

- (43) e digo | | que o que me consellades | sol
 and say.^{1sg} that the what me.^{1sg.acc} advise.^{2sg} only
 non val un mui mal figo
 NEG is.worth.^{3sg} one much badly fig
 ‘And I say that your advice is not worth not even a thing’
 (TMILG, CSM)

- (44) sempre folgais de zombaria/ porém essa zombaria/
 always have.fun of mockery but that mockery
 nam val um meio real.
 NEG is.worth.^{3sg} one half *real*⁵¹
 ‘You always have fun with mockery, but that mockery is not worth a thing’
 (cet-e-quinientos, *Auto dos Dous Ladrões*)

Usually minimizers only allow a restricted number of adjectives which contribute to reinforce their little value/size, as it is the case of the examples presented above. Adjectives *mui mal* ‘very bad’ and *mínimo* ‘minimum’ or even *meio* ‘half’ constitute reinforcers of little value. The presence of this kind of adjectives, which reinforce little value, is also attested for 16th century Spanish minimizers, with the use of the adjectives *mediano*, *malo* and *deshonesto* (cf. Coterillo-Díez 2007:354). It is legitimate to consider that other qualitative or quantitative adjectives which refer to positive features or quantities were ruled out from OP, as they are in CEP. It seems illogical to use minimizers to reinforce little size/value but characterize them with adjectives that express the opposite (great value/ dimension).

As for clausal modification, there is only one occurrence in the corpus, displaying a relative clause with subjunctive mood, as illustrated in (45).

- (45) [...] que me non destes, como x’ omen diz, |
 [...] that me.^{1sg.dat} NEG give.^{2sg} like REFLX man say
 sequer un soldo que ceass’ un dia
 even one soldo that eat one day
 ‘that you did not give me, as people usually say, not even a red cent to eat one day.’
 (TMILG, LPGP)

⁵¹ *Real* is a currency unit.

So far we have seen that partitive/evaluative minimizers in Old Portuguese appeared without modifiers, but very frequently with a partitive complement, in case they originated from a noun with partitive interpretation. Another important feature that is usually observed while assessing the grammaticalization path of such items is related to their function in the sentence. Bearing in mind that grammaticalization involves the loss of nominal features, these items are expected to progressively lose their initial kind-denoting interpretation, being also able to occur with no argument function. TABLE 3.7 shows the distribution of minimizers according to their syntactic function in the sentence in which they occur.

	Subject	Dir. Ob.	Ind. Ob.	PP modifier	Quantifier-like
N.º occurrences	8	184	0	14	41
%	3,4%	78,6%	0%	6%	17,5%

TABLE 3.7: FREQUENCY OF PARTITIVE/EVALUATIVE MINIMIZERS ACCORDING TO SYNTACTIC FUNCTION

As can be seen, the majority of the examples in the corpus present minimizers as internal arguments (Direc objects) (78,6% of the times), as in (46). They very rarely appear as Subjects (only in 3,4% of the cases) and, when they do, they occur with inaccusative verbs such as *ficar* ‘stay’, as in (47), in a position where they are under the scope of the negative operator. They may also appear as PP modifiers of the verb, as in (48), or as PP complements/modifiers of a noun, as in (49). Finally, in about 17,5% of the cases, the minimizers may appear without an argument function, acting as quantifier-like elements, such as in (50).

- (46) E Galat o perguntou muito, mas nom lhe
and Galat him.^{ACC.3sg} asked much but NEG him.^{DAT.3sg}
pôde tirar palavra
could take word
‘And Galat asked him repeatedly but could not make him say a word’
(JAR, cxiii)

- (47) Meu pai senhor é finado/ sem nos ficar
my.^{1sg} father lord is.^{3sg} deceased without us.^{OBL.2pl} leave
nem um figo/ senam um asno pelado.

not.even one fig except one donkey naked

‘My father passed away and left us with nothing but a naked donkey’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Farsa do Juiz da Beira*)

- (48) [...] vem Rodrigo/ trás Felipa que é aquela/
[...] comes.^{3sg} Rodrigo behind Felipa who is.^{3sg} that
que nam no estima num figo.⁵²
who NEG him.^{3sg.acc} appreciates.^{3sg} in.one fig

‘Rodrigo comes behind Felipa, who is the one that does not like him one bit’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Tragicomédia da Serra da Estrela*)

- (49) [...] e non dan delle[e] valia dun pan [...]
and NEG give.^{3pl} of.him value of.one bread [...]

‘and they do not value him one bit’

(TMILG, LPGP)

- (50) Bofá, pai, que enleado/ m’ hei d’ achar
In.good.faith father that entangled myself will of find
naquessa prática que eu não sei ler nem
in.that practice that I NEG know.^{1sg} read not.even
bocado

bit

‘In good faith, father, that I find myself entangled in that practice when I cannot read at all’.

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto de Dom André*)

⁵² Although the construction with the verb *estimar* ‘appreciate’ selecting a DO and a PP seems odd in CEP, I find a few examples of this construction in theatre plays from the 16th century. A similar example is given in (i):

- (i) E de mim crea que tudo lhe mereço e
and of me believe that everything you.^{2sg.Dat} deserve and
que estimo em muito a que me faz.
and appreciate in much the that me.^{1sg.Dat} do.^{2sg}
‘And believe me that I deserve everything from you and I appreciate much the one you do for me.’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Comédia Eufrosina*)

The 41 occurrences of minimizers without argument function correspond to cases of intransitive verbs, but also to contexts of optionally transitive verbs. As shown in TABLE 3.8, more than half of the cases correspond to the minimizer *ponto*, followed by 6 occurrences of *bocado*.

Minimizers without argument function							
Minimizer	bocado	gota	migalha	ponta	ponto	palavra	fio
N.º occurrences	6	1	1	2	29	1	1

TABLE 3.8: NUMBER OF ENTRIES OF PARTITIVE/EVALUATIVE MINIMIZERS WITHOUT ARGUMENT FUNCTION

In the next subsection I will present a brief overview of the minimizer *ponto* which seems to display a more advanced stage of grammaticalization than all other partitive/evaluative minimizers found in the corpus.

3.2.3. Minimizer *ponto*

In this section I will take a look at minimizer *ponto* ‘point’, which seems to be the one in a more advanced stage of grammaticalization among the partitive/evaluative minimizers attested in Old Portuguese. I will briefly show that, contrary to other items, it was in a better position to be reinterpreted as an independent negation marker, even though it did not reach that status, since it did not survive in the language.

The minimizer *ponto* may be considered more grammaticalized than others, in Old Portuguese, for three main reasons: it could quantify over a noun; it could occur with verbs from unrelated semantic fields and it could appear without argument function, as an adverbial-like particle.

The corpus data show that the majority of the occurrences of *ponto* correspond to a bare form, with a few cases where it appears preceded by the specifier UM, mainly in the 16th century. In fact, in 13th century data, *ponto* appears exclusively in its bare form, as illustrated in (51).

- (51) Poren[d]’ era mui coitado | | en aver a
 Therefore was.^{3sg} very unfortunate in have to
 jejuar | | e comer verças de prado | | sen

fast and eat vegetables of meadow without
 sal nen pont' y deitar [...]

salt nor point there pour

‘Therefore, he was very unfortunate in having to fast and eat vegetables
 without salt or anything.’⁵³

(TMILG, CSM)

First of all, it is clear that *ponto* no longer maintains its original semantic meaning, therefore being able to occur with verbs from different semantic fields, as is the case of *errar* ‘make a mistake’ in (52), which bears no direct relation with the original meaning of ‘point’.⁵⁴

- (52) Tudo já vejo cumprido/ que um ponto
 Everything already see.^{1sg} accomplished that one point
 se nam erra.
 IMPERS. NEG make.a.mistake.^{3sg}
 ‘I already see everything accomplished, with no mistakes.’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto de Deos Padre*)

Ponto is also frequently registered with a partitive PP complement, in which cases it behaves like a quantifier that quantifies over the noun inside the PP. When looking at example (53) bellow, we see that the minimizer *ponto* does not behave as a regular noun with a complement, but it actually quantifies over the noun which is contained in the PP complement (*ponto de coroa*), therefore not actually functioning as the head of the DP itself.

- (53) Depois uja ende sair outro, magro e
 after saw.^{3sg} from.there go.out other thin and
 catiuo, pobre e lasso, e que nom

⁵³ This example may admit, at least, another interpretation, in which the minimizer *ponto* quantifies over the noun *sal* ‘salt’ (as in *nen ponto de sal* ‘not even a bit of salt’). This interpretation is, nevertheless, problematic in terms of syntactic configuration, since the preposition is absent and the DP which would normally appear inside the partitive PP is left dislocated. This is not a syntactic pattern found in the corpus, and, for that reason, I have opted for the interpretation given in the translation. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the example in question resembles data described for Old Florentine *punto* (cf. Chapter 5, section 5.4.3.1).

⁵⁴ *Ponto* comes from the Latin *punctum*, which actually had several meanings. *Punctum* is registered not only as meaning a *sting* or a *small hole made by a sting* (‘punzada, herida de punta’), but it could also mean *point*, *small sign*, *note*, *moment of time*, *small space* (cf. Corominas & Pascual, 1980-91:693-695). In medieval texts one of the most frequent acceptations is the one related to time (a short period of time).

captive poor and tired and that NEG
 auia nem ponto de coroa [...]
 had.^{3sg} not.even point of crown

‘Then he saw another one getting out of there, thin and captive, poor and tired and who did not have a crown at all.

(DSG, ed. Toledo Neto 2012-15, chap. 200)⁵⁵

In order to assess the difference between the sequence *minimizer+partitive PP* present in example (53) and a regular noun taking a PP complement, let us start by considering example (54) where we find the deverbal noun *morte* ‘death’ followed by the PP complement *deste cavaleiro* ‘of this knight’.

(54) «Certas, muito averá gram pesar rei Artur,
 certainly much will.have.^{3sg} great grief king Artur
 quando souber a morte deste cavalleiro [...]
 when knows.^{3sg} the death of.this knight
 ‘Certainly, king Arthur will feel great grief when he finds out about the death of this knight.

(DSG, LXVIII)

In (54) the element satisfying the semantic selection properties of the verb *saber* ‘to know’ and acting as the direct object is the noun *morte* ‘death’ and not the noun inside the PP complement. This can be verified by the inadequacy of (55) when we omit the noun *morte* ‘death’ and we take the noun inside the PP, *este cavalleiro* ‘this knight’, as the direct object.

(55) #«Certas, muito averá gram pesar rei Artur,
 certainly much will.have.^{3sg} great grief king Artur
 quando souber este cavalleiro
 when knows.^{3sg} this knight

⁵⁵ For this particular example, I follow the edition of DSG by Toledo Neto (2012-15), since it contains the example as in the original manuscript. The edition by Piel & Nunes (1988) contains a transcription error that affects the minimizer. I reproduce below the version from Piel & Nunes (1988), which erroneously transcribed *ponto* as *ponte*.

(i) *Depois via ende sair outro, magro e cativo, pobre e lasso e que nom avia nem **ponte** de coroa, e tam mal vestido e tam mal guarnido que se os outros que ante saírom do rio semelhavam ricos, este semelhava pobre e malaventurado e deseioso de todo bem.* (DGS, Piel & Nunes 1988)

The same is not true with sentence (53) where the element satisfying the selection properties of the verb *haver* ‘there to.be’ is the noun inside the partitive PP and not the minimizer itself. In fact, the sentence could occur without the presence of the minimizer, as shown in (56), with the same interpretation, although lacking the emphatic reading conveyed by the minimizer.

- (56) Depois uja ende sair outro, magro e
 after saw.^{3sg} from.there go.out other thin and
 catiuo, pobre e lasso, e que nom auia coroa.
 captive poor and tired and that NEG had.^{3sg} crown
 ‘Then he saw another one getting out of there, thin and captive, poor and
 tired and who did not have a crown.’

The same is also verified in the example (57), as shown in (58), where the omission of the minimizer *ponto* is possible and does not change the intended meaning of the sentence.

- (57) Mas en aquel mōesteiro | ponto d’ agua non
 but in that monastery point of water NEG
 avia | | se non quant’ o cavaleiro | da
 there.was.^{3sg} if NEG how.much the knight of.the
 fonte lles dar queria.
 fountain them.^{3pl.dat} give wanted
 ‘But, in that monastery, there was no water (at all), except the knight from
 the fountain wanted to give them’

(TMILG, CSM)

- (58) Mas en aquel mōesteiro | agua non avia se
 but in that monastery water NEG there.was.^{3sg} if
 non quant’ o cavaleiro | da fonte lles
 NEG how.much the knight of.the fountain them.^{3pl.dat}
 dar queria.
 give wanted

‘But, in that monastery, there was no water, except the knight from the fountain wanted to give them’

This contrast shows that *ponto* quantifies over the noun inside the partitive PP, which is interpreted as the head of the DP itself. The occurrence of *ponto* with PPs containing unfractionable nouns such as in (59) is a clear indicator that it had acquired functional properties and it could no longer be considered a common noun.

(59) [...] et sen acorro dela nẽ ponto de
 [...] and without help of.her not.even point of
 uida [auian]
 life had.^{3pl}

‘[...] and without her help they would be dead’

(TMILG, HT)

In addition, *ponto* can be found in the so-called contexts of optionally transitive verbs, which constitute the classical contexts for reinterpreting an item as more functional. The example in (60) presents a context where *ponto* can be interpreted as the DO of the verb *errar* ‘to make a mistake’,⁵⁶ assuming a transitive interpretation of the verb, as in translation a). On the other hand, *errar* can also have an intransitive reading, in which case *ponto* would be interpreted as synonym to *at all*, reinforcing negation, as in translation b).

(60) Mas pois o letreiro ponto nam erra,
 but then the writer point NEG make.mistake.^{3sg}
 contará primeiro o estado da terra.
 will.tell.^{3sg} first the state of.the land

a. ‘But the writer is not one bit mistaken, he will first tell the state of the land.’

b. ‘But the writer is not mistaken at all, he will first tell the state of the land.’

(CGGR, vol 1,28)

⁵⁶ I consider the verb *errar* to be an optionally transitive verb, given the possible alternation between transitive and intransitive. I rely on the information from DDGM (http://sli.uvigo.es/DDGM/ddd_pesCUDA.php?pesCUDA=errar&tipo_busca=lema)

A similar situation is found with what Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020:50) present as optional pseudoarguments with verbs which allow an «optional argument indicating the extent or degree to which the predicate holds». In such cases, the classification of the minimizer as a pseudoargument or an adjunct (with adverbial behaviour) is not straightforward. These contexts allow a degree/extent reading of the minimizer, but also an emphatic reading of the type *at all*. For instance, in (61), *ponto* can be interpreted as an extent pseudoargument of the verb *dormir* ‘sleep’, as in translation a). But we can also consider an alternative interpretation, as shown in b).

- (61) Et n^o dormeu n^e ponto, atendendo a man^haa
 and NEG slept.^{3sg} not.even point waiting the morning
 a. ‘And he did not sleep one bit, waiting for the morning.’
 b. ‘And he did not sleep at all, waiting for the morning.’
 (TMILG, HT)

Even when *ponto* is not the internal argument, since that position is filled by another element, we can still find ambiguity in the interpretation of *ponto*. In example (62), the clitic *sse* (a clitic used with reciprocal verbs) is the direct object of the verb *amar* ‘to love’. This automatically excludes the minimizer *ponto* from a DO function. Nevertheless, it can be interpreted as a modifier expressing quantity/intensity or, in alternative, be considered an emphatic particle meaning *at all*.

- (62) [...] et n^o sse poupau^h de sse
 and NEG themselves.^{3pl.Reflx} spare.^{3pl} of themselves.^{3pl.Refl}
 ferir moy fortem^et, c^omo aqueles que sse
 hurt much strongly as thoses who each.other
 n^o amau^h n^e ponto.
 NEG love.^{3pl} not.even point
 a. ‘And they did not avoid hurting themselves very badly as those who did not love each other even one bit.’
 b. ‘And they did not avoid hurting themselves very badly as those who did not love each other at all.’
 (TMILG, HT)

In fact, sentence (62) can have two different interpretations for *ponto*. It can either be interpreted as ‘one bit’ (translation a), therefore being an optional pseudoargument introducing the extent/intensity of the predicate, or it can have a similar meaning to *at all* (translation b), therefore working as an emphatic particle. The same can be found in (63), with a small clause. The most likely interpretation for *ponto* is the one of an adverbial-like emphatic particle meaning *at all*, although an interpretation as a pseudoargument conveying the extension of the predicate cannot be totally put aside.

- (63) Et aquele caualeyro que o voso tem nã
and that knight who the yours.^{2pl} has.^{3sg} NEG
he cobardo nẽ ponto, diso Diomedes
is.^{3sg} coward not.even point said.^{3sg} Diomedes
‘And that knight who has yours is not coward at all, said Diomedes.’
(TMILG, HT)

The previous three examples show that *ponto* could already function as an adverbial-like particle, at sentence level. The fact that it can appear coordinated with the adverbs *mais* ‘more’ and *menos* ‘less’, as in (64), reinforces this idea.

- (64) Tambem eram nossos padres,/ entrando por outro
Also were.^{3pl} our.^{2pl} fathers getting.in by other
conto,/ maridos de nossas madres,/ nem mais,
tale husbands of our.^{2pl.F} mothers no more
nem menos, nem ponto.
no less no point
‘There were also our fathers, on the other side of the story, husbands of our mothers, no more, no less, no nothing.’
(CGGR, vol. 4, 89)

Although the limited number of examples does not allow a more detailed description of the behaviour of this minimizer, it seems clear that *ponto* reached a level of grammaticalization similar to what is described in the literature for its French and Italian counterparts *point* and *punto*, respectively, becoming an adnominal quantifier, but also an intransitive bare quantifier. In some of our attested examples, it could be interpreted as an

adverb-like emphatic element without argument function. The more functional behaviour of *ponto* may have been favoured by its frequent occurrence with the negative emphatic particle *nem*, which was present in more than 35% of the occurrences of *ponto* in the corpus, as example (63) above illustrates. Contrary to what was verified with *nemigalha*, the sequence *nem ponto* ‘not even point’ did not result in a univerbation. In fact, the minimizer *ponto* disappears from the language without ever becoming an independent negation marker.

3.3. Indefinite minimizers

3.3.1. Overview

Under the label *indefinite minimizer* I have grouped the items *al* ‘(other) thing/person’, *cosa* ‘thing’, *homem* ‘man’, *pessoa* ‘person’ and *rem* ‘thing’. Although they may exhibit different levels of grammaticalization, they share an important set of properties.

First of all, it is important to bear in mind that these items originate from generic common nouns⁵⁷ and coexist with them in Old Portuguese texts. Despite being homonymous lexical items, they behaved differently, as we have shown in section 2.4. of Chapter 2. The major difference between the generic noun and the corresponding indefinite minimizer is related to polarity. While generic nouns remain common nouns, indefinite minimizers are polarity items.

Indefinite minimizers can be described under two fundamental properties – scalarity and referential deficiency – as I will try to show. On the one hand, indefinite minimizers are scalar items which, in spite of evoking dimension or value scalar minimums, obtain their scalar interpretation by evoking a wide set of items. If a proposition cannot be applied to the general class, then it cannot be applied to specific elements of that class. As we have seen before, in Late Latin these items, still common nouns, frequently appeared modified by the past participle *natus* in the expressions *causa nata*, *rem nata* and *homo natus*. These expressions were interpreted as scalar minimums meaning the most insignificant thing/person alive. The reinforcement of negation was made by negating the scalar minimum: if something cannot apply to the most insignificant human being alive or to the most insignificant thing, then it cannot be applied to any existing reality. On the other hand, indefinite minimizers display a property inherited from the common nouns they originate

⁵⁷ Except, perhaps, *al*, which possibly originated from the Latin pronoun *alid* ‘other thing/person’, (classic *aliud*) (Corominas & Pascual 1980-91:99) although it is also attested as a common noun, among other uses.

from and that is referential deficiency. According to Giannakidou (2011), there are two main sources of lexical sensitivity, which are scalarity and referential deficiency. These concepts are defined by Giannakidou (2011) in the following terms:

(a) scalarity, which in most cases contains some sort of morphological marking via e.g., a focus particle such as EVEN (Giannakidou 2007a); and (b) referential deficiency, i.e., a difficulty in the NPI to refer to an object in the usual ways existential quantifiers do (Giannakidou 1998). Referentially deficient NPIs are in fact quite common, and referential deficiency comes in many forms, e.g., non-deictic (or dependent reference, as we will see below), free choice, referential vagueness (Giannakidou & Quer 2010).

Giannakidou (2011:1688)

Indefinite minimizers display referential deficiency in Old Portuguese, given the fact that they do not introduce specific discourse referents. They can be seen as containing variables that, in Giannakidou's (2011) words «cannot be closed under Heim's (1982) text level existential closure, i.e., they cannot receive values from the context. This property blocks them from appearing in unembedded veridical sentences since «they cannot receive a value», but they are frequent in negative and embedded contexts where they are not forced to receive a reference. Therefore, indefinite minimizers seem to contain what Giannakidou (2011) calls a non-deictic variable. Nevertheless, they also contain another important property, as we have mentioned before – scalarity. Both scalarity and referential deficiency are important properties of indefinite minimizers and they coexisted, but with different weights across time. Even though we might consider that these two properties were not compatible and should exclude one another, that is not so. Giannakidou (2011) predicts their coexistence with distributional implications.

If you are a non-deictic indefinite and have, e.g., a scalar implicature, you are bound to show distribution similar to that of *any*. There may also be tension between the two lexical properties — referential deficiency and scalarity — that may result in dominance, over different stages in time, of one property (and thus distribution) over the other.

(Giannakidou 2011: 1697)

Although indefinite minimizers do not behave as free choice items, their distribution is close to that of NPI *anything*.

It is not surprising that, apart from a homonymous common noun, there were also homonymous items with other uses in the language. For instance, the minimizer *homem* also

coexisted with a generic pronoun *homem*, and the minimizer *al* coexisted with a homonymous form that behaved as an indefinite pronoun. All these uses emerge from the referential deficiency of the generic noun at their origin. Nevertheless, the uses as generic/indefinite pronoun distinguish themselves from the uses as minimizer since only the minimizers combined referential deficiency with scalarity. This will be better illustrated in section 3.3.4.2, where I discuss the differences between the minimizer *homem* and the generic pronoun *homem*.

3.3.2. General description of the data

In order to study Old Portuguese indefinite minimizers, I have gathered in the corpus a total of 2497 contexts of occurrence of the items *al*, *cousa*, *homem*, *pessoa* and *rem*, comprehended between the 13th and the 19th centuries. Examples from the 16th century onwards are residual, since my main focus was the interval between the 13th and the 16th century. Their distribution is illustrated in TABLE 3.9.

Item/Century	13	14	15	16	17-19	TOTAL
<i>Al</i>	586	55	42	146	1	830
<i>Cousa</i>	86	49	78	144	0	357
<i>Rem</i>	852	47	7	0	1	907
<i>Homem</i>	236	72	24	68	0	400
<i>Pessoa</i>	0	0	2	1	0	3
TOTAL	1873	230	156	365	2	2497

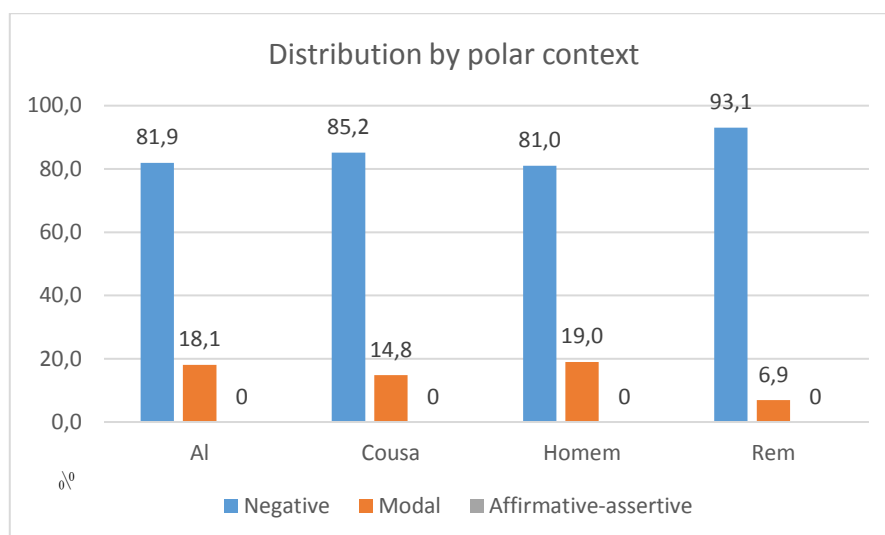
TABLE 3.9: DISTRIBUTION OF INDEFINITE MINIMIZERS IN THE CORPUS, BY CENTURY

As we can see, the item *rem* is the most productive in the corpus, with 907 contexts, followed by *al* with a total of 830 examples. On the opposite side we find the item *pessoa*, whose productivity is quite incipient, with only three cases in the entire corpus.⁵⁸ Also, as expected, indefinite minimizers are much more frequent in the 13th century and they suffer a huge decrease in productivity in the following centuries. The unexpected significant increase of the number of occurrences of *cousa* in the 16th century is most likely a result of the text typology of the corpus, with the inclusion of theatre plays, as seen before.

In Old Portuguese, the group of indefinite minimizers comprehended items that were in different stages of evolution. Although they may have started by occurring in all

⁵⁸ For this reason, I have left the item aside in the following charts and tables.

three polar contexts, the corpus shows that indefinite minimizers occurred in negative and modal contexts only. GRAPH 3.1 shows the rate of occurrence of each indefinite minimizer in the three polarity contexts, from the 13th to the 16th century (values are expressed in percentage).



GRAPH 3.1: FREQUENCY OF INDEFINITE MINIMIZERS BY POLAR CONTEXT

According to GRAPH 3.1, all minimizers appear very frequently in negative contexts, with *homem* and *al* being the ones with a higher percentage in modal contexts. On the other hand, *rem* is the one that appears less frequently in a modal context. None of them is found in affirmative-assertive contexts.

It is worth noticing at this point that the items with a higher frequency in modal contexts are also the ones displaying other uses parallel to the common noun and the minimizer, namely as indefinite or generic pronouns. For instance, *al* could also occur as an indefinite pronoun meaning *other thing/person*, while *homem* registers an homonymous generic pronoun (cf. section 3.3.4.2). The existence of homonymous forms acting as indefinite/generic pronouns seems to relate to the evolution verified for these minimizers, but I will postpone this work to future investigation. In any case, the generic nature of the common nouns in the base of these minimizers favoured, without doubt, the appearance of multiple uses/interpretations.

In the next subsections I will look closely to two of the four indefinite minimizers. I have narrowed down my description and analysis to the items *homem* and *rem*. These two items have been chosen over *cousa* and *al*, firstly because they allow me to study an item with [+human] features and another with [-animated] features. Secondly, the behaviour of

homem and *rem* is more systematic and less ambiguous, which diminishes the number of errors in the interpretation of the contexts. Finally, from a comparative perspective, *homem* and *rem* allow us to draw a parallel with similar items, originated from the same Latin sources, in other Romance languages. Contrary to *cousa* and *al*, which, to the best of my knowledge, do not register productive cases of evolution in other Romance languages,⁵⁹ outcomes of the Latin *res* are found in French and Catalan. In the case of *homem*, the coexistence of the minimizer with a generic pronoun in earlier stages of some Romance languages and the maintenance of equivalent forms of the generic pronoun in contemporary stages (as in French and dialects of Italian) is also worth exploring.⁶⁰

3.3.3. The indefinite minimizer *rem*

The item *rem* has its origin in the accusative form of the Latin word *res* ‘thing’,⁶¹ which can be found in Late Latin texts in various contexts, but also associated with a scalar reading as in the expression *res nata*, meaning literally ‘born thing’. As we have seen before, this expression could be used to emphasize little value, being interpreted as equivalent to ‘not even a born thing’ in negative sentences.

This section is organized as follows. In 3.3.3.1. I will start by looking at previous analyses of the item *rem*. Although for most minimizers we are limited to some brief remarks in historical grammars, *rem* benefits from a previous study, which aimed to trace the diachronic evolution of the item (cf. Duarte 2012). In section 3.3.3.2. I will look at the frequency and distribution of *rem* in the corpus, presenting an overview of its distribution through different centuries and different text typology. In section 3.3.3.3. I will look at the grammatical properties of *rem* in order to account for its grammaticalization stage. In 3.3.3.4. I will go through the occurrences of *rem* in negative contexts in order to evaluate whether the item actually occurred as the sole marker of negation with negative meaning, as argued in Duarte (2012).

⁵⁹ Exception being made to *cosa* in Aragonese, where it is described as a weak negative polarity item, used instead of the Catalan *res* (cf. Llop 2018:108).

⁶⁰ In addition, there are reasons of time and space to consider. The collection and analysis of data for the four items became such a herculean task that it would most likely fail to reach a productive end.

⁶¹ Cf. Corominas & Pascual (1980-1991:881-882)

3.3.3.1. Previous analyses of *rem*

The work on minimizers in Portuguese is quite scarce and apart from some information in historical grammars, there is not much literature on the topic.

Rem is presented as a pronoun in Said Ali (1931). About the use of *rem*, Said Ali (1931:22) says that *cousa nascida* ‘born thing’ or *rem nada* was a metaphor used in negative sentences to express the absolute inexistence of something.⁶² On the other hand, Mattos e Silva (1989:190) mentions that *rem* was used in place of the nominal phrase *nenhuma cousa*.⁶³ A search in the DDGM presents us the possible meanings listed for *rem* in the main glossaries of medieval texts. It appears both as a feminine noun and an indefinite pronoun in Nunes (1928), Vasconcellos (1920) and Mettman (1959-72) and its role as a negation reinforcement element in medieval lyrics is also attested by these authors.

Despite the scarcity of works on Portuguese minimizers, *rem* is the central theme of the study by Duarte (2012). The author tries to account for the grammaticalization path of *rem* in Old Portuguese from a positive item into a negative item. Duarte (2012) considers that *rem* appeared under the form of a common noun or a negative pronoun in three different structures: Negation + *rem*, with *rem* meaning ‘thing’; Negation + *rem*, with *rem* meaning ‘nothing’ and finally *rem* alone, meaning ‘nothing’.

The author also argues that *rem*’s first meaning of ‘thing’ was changed to ‘nothing’ by the frequent co-occurrence of *rem* with negation. As Duarte (2012:94) argues, «primeiro, *rem* significa ‘coisa’, mas com a presença de uma negação na oração, passa a significar ‘coisa alguma’». ⁶⁴ Duarte (2012) assumes that *rem* became an independent marker of negation, occurring without the presence of the regular negation marker *não* with a negative interpretation. She states that «mais autônomo passa a ser, então, com significado de ‘nada’, independente da presença ou não de negação na oração» (Duarte 2012:94).⁶⁵ In order to support her claim, the author offers sentence (65), which is taken to demonstrate the use of *rem* as the single negative element in a sentence.

- (65) Ante que ela rem podesse dizer.
Before that she thing could.^{3sg} say

⁶² In the original: «“cousa nascida” ou “rem nada” era metáfora de que a língua se socorria em frases negativas, para exprimir a inexistência absoluta de qualquer cousa» (Said Ali 1931:122)

⁶³ “Como substituto do sintagma nominal *nenhuma cousa* (11 ocorrências) há *nemigalha* (27), *rem*, *ren* (13) e *nada* (2)”

⁶⁴ First ‘*rem*’ means ‘thing’, but with the presence of negation in the sentence, it then starts to mean ‘nothing’ (my translation).

⁶⁵ It then becomes more autonomous, meaning nothing, regardless of the presence of negation in the sentence. (my translation)

‘Before she could say anything’.⁶⁶

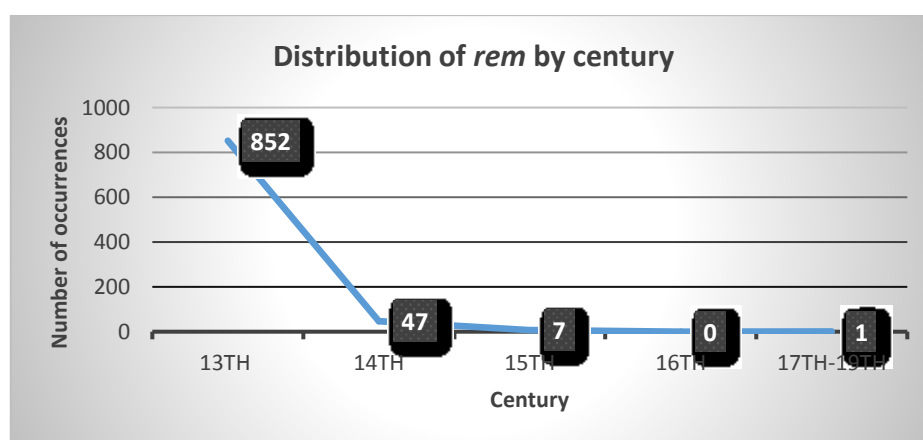
(Duarte 2012:93-94)

Although it is correct that there is no sentential negation marker in example (65), I disagree on the fact that the sentence would have a negative reading. In fact, I argue that, in this context, *rem* has an existential reading just as the translation with ‘anything’ accounts for, and that the sentence exhibits modal polarity (in the sense of Bosque 1996) due to the temporal expression *ante que*, which makes mandatory the use of subjunctive mood. *Ante(s) que* clauses (like English *before* clauses) are described in the literature as one of the (non negative) modal contexts that license weak NPIs (or in Bosque’s (1996) terms M(odal)PIs).

Since Duarte (2012) does not present any other examples of *rem* occurring as the sole expression of negation, I must assume that the author erroneously considers the modal contexts in which *rem* occurs as evidence of *rem*’s grammaticalization as a strong negative polarity item. The data contained in my working corpus point into a different direction, though.

3.3.3.2. Frequency and distribution in the corpus

Until the end of the 13th century, the item *rem* appears in abundance in the texts and sources I have consulted to build the corpus, being more frequent as a minimizer than as a common noun. For the present study, I have taken into account a total of 907 contexts of occurrence of the minimizer *rem*, comprehended between the 13th and the 15th century (with one isolated example from the 17th century), and with the distribution illustrated in GRAPH 3.2.



GRAPH 3.2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCURRENCES OF REM BY CENTURY

⁶⁶ The gloss and the translation are mine.

GRAPH 3.2 shows us that the great majority of the occurrences of *rem* are from the 13th century and that *rem*'s frequency rapidly declines in the following century. In the 15th century it was no longer productive and there are no examples of *rem* occurring afterwards, except for the isolated occurrence in the beginning of the 17th century, reproduced in (66), which represents an archaism at the time of the example.⁶⁷

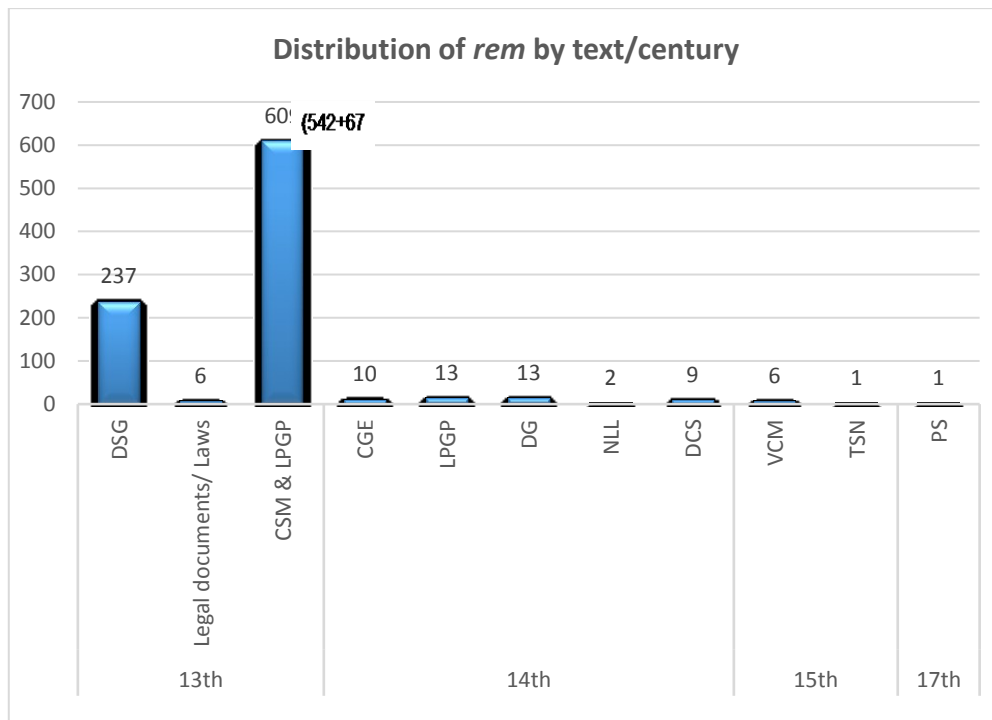
(66) Ao irmão Densião diaz de tavadere se
to.the brother Densião diaz de tavadere IMPERS.
perguntou per vM E disse que quanto
asked.^{3sg} for your.mercy and said.^{3sg} that how.much
dele na tinha re que se temer.
of.him NEG have.^{3sg} thing that IMPERS. fear
‘Brother Densião Diaz de Tavadere was asked for you and he said that, as
far as he was concerned, there was nothing to fear.’

(*Post Scriptum*, PSCR1413)

The high frequency of *rem* in the 13th century does not correspond to a widespread use of the item independently from the source text. As a matter of fact, there seems to be a very strong relation between text typology and frequency of use of indefinite minimizers such as *rem*. If we observe GRAPH 3.3, which shows the distribution of *rem* by text/century, we conclude that the great majority of the occurrences in the 13th century are taken from the Arthurian novel *Demanda do Santo Graal* (DSG) and from medieval lyrics. Although searches have been made in a much wider number of texts, GRAPH 3.3⁶⁸ shows only the texts in which occurrences of *rem* were found.

⁶⁷ This context is extracted from a private letter dictated by Inês de Mesquita, the wife of a merchant, in 1602. The author was from Pinhel (district of Guarda, in the north of Portugal) and declared to the Inquisition that she was unable to read or write. Although the use of the indefinite minimizer *rem* here is unexpected, the form *algorém* ‘something’, formed by the combination of the indefinite pronoun *algo* and the minimizer *rem* was still being used in this period (cf. Teyssier 2005:111-112)

⁶⁸ For reasons of space, in Graph 3.2 the texts are referred by their initials. The key is as follows: DSG=Demanda do Santo Graal; CSM=Cantigas de Santa Maria; LPGP=Lírica Profana Galego-Portuguesa; CGE=Crónica Geral de Espanha; DG= Diálogos de São Gregório; NLL= Livro de Linhagens; DCS=Dos Costumes de Santarém; VCM=Vida do Cativo Monge Confesso; TSN=Trasladação de São Nicolau; PS=Post Scriptum



GRAPH 3.3: DISTRIBUTION OF *rem* BY TEXT AND CENTURY

As GRAPHS 3.2 and 3.3. show, *rem* suffers a rapid decline from the 13th to the 14th century. Although the high frequency of the item in the 13th century could be explained due to text typology, the discrepancy in the frequency within the same text type confirms the disappearance of the item. If we compare the number of occurrences found in Medieval Galician-Portuguese songs (LPGP) in the 13th and then in the 14th century (542 examples against only 13), we realize that the text typology is not the main factor behind the decrease of occurrences. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was a strong tendency for *rem* to appear in fictional narrative and in poetry, but was hardly ever found in legal documentation. Furthermore, the high number of examples found in the Arthurian novel DSG can be a reflex of the influence of French *rien*, since the Portuguese text is a translation from French. Interestingly, also JAR is a 13th century translation of a French text belonging to the same Arthurian Cycle, but it does not provide any attestation of *rem*. This is a clear indication that *rem* was no more a common/familiar word in the 16th century, when the only surviving manuscript of JAR was done (see section 2.6.1 in Chapter 2, and Martins 2003).

3.3.3.3. Grammatical properties and features

In this section I will attentively look at the main properties of *rem*, having in mind the evidence given by the observation of the 907 examples extracted from the corpus.

As was already signaled, the indefinite minimizer *rem* always appears under a bare form, without the presence of a determiner to its left, as illustrated in (67).

- (67) [...] *ca eu nom acabarei i rem [...]*
 because I NEG finish.^{1sg} here thing
 ‘because I will not finish anything here’

(DSG, XII)

Although I assume that the indefinite minimizer *rem* first started as a common noun, there is little evidence to support the idea that *rem* was ever used as a minimizer while being a nominal head within a DP⁶⁹, as is attested, for instance, for evaluative minimizers.

We know that minimizers that originate from common nouns keep traces of the original meaning of the noun for some time. Its progressive loss is a sign of ongoing grammaticalization. In the case of *rem*, the fact that the common noun from which it originates already had a very generic interpretation, no specific semantic meaning is maintained. In the great majority of the cases, it is used to refer to [- animated] entities, as in (68), but there are a few examples of its use which allow for a [+ animated] or even a [+human] interpretation, as in (69).

- (68) «Senhor,» disse Galvam, «por esta razão que
 lord said.^{3sg} Galvam for this reason that
 me dizedes me semelha que, sendo eu
 me.^{1sg.Dat} say.^{2pl} me.^{1sg.Reflx} seems.^{3sg} that being I
 em pecado mortal, em vão me trabalharei
 in sin mortal in vain me.^{1sg.Reflx} will.work.^{1sg}
 desta demanda, ca nom farei i rem»
 of.this quest because NEG will.do.^{1sg} here thing

⁶⁹ I am not considering here the cases of co-occurrence of *rem* with *nulla/nenbuma* or *alguma* (*nulla rem*, *nenbuma rem* or *alguma rem*) that may have a polar interpretation.

‘Lord, said Galvam, for this reason you tell me, it seems to me that, being I in mortal sin, my effort in this demand is worthless, because I will not do anything here.’

(DSG, CLXI)

- (69) «Pos guardade-vos de mim», disse o cavaleiro,
 because keep.you.^{2pl.Dat} of me.^{1sg} said.^{3sg} the knight
 «ca nom ha rem do mundo que
 because NEG there.is.^{3sg} thing of.the world that
 tanto desame como os daquela casa».
 so.much dislike.^{1sg} as the of.that house
 ‘Keep away from me, said the knight, because there is no one in the world
 that I dislike as much as the ones from that house’.

(DSG, CCCLXXXI)

Nevertheless, if we confront an example of the common noun *rem* with the minimizer, it becomes clear that the minimizer can no longer be interpreted as meaning ‘thing’. Examples (70) and (71) illustrate this contrast:

- (70) Sabede que ellas som feitas da rem que
 know.^{2pl} that they are.^{3pl} made of.the thing that
 eu mais em mim amava, e se a muito
 I more in me loved.^{1sg} and if it.^{3sg.acc} much
 amava nom era grande maravilha, ca depois
 loved.^{3sg} NEG was.^{3sg} big wonder because after
 que rei Artur começou a regnar nom vio
 that king Arthur started.^{3sg} to reign NEG saw.^{3sg}
 homem tam fermosos cabellos como eu avia
 man so beautiful hairs like I had.^{1sg}
 ‘Know that they are made of the thing I loved the most in me, and if I
 loved it so much, it was no wonder, because, after king Arthur became
 king, no one ever saw hair as beautiful as the one I had.’

(DSG, CCCCXIX)

- (71) E porque viu que nom poderia durar
 and because saw.^{3sg} that NEG could.^{3sg} last
 rem contra o cavaleiro stranho.
 thing against the knight strange
 ‘And because he saw he could not last at all against the strange knight.’
 (DSG, CCCXCV)

As we can see, the common noun in (70) combines with a definite determiner and refers to a specific thing (the thing that the character loved the most, which was her hair), but that kind of interpretation is not possible in (71), which displays the minimizer. In *durar* ‘last’ *rem*, *rem* is not equivalent to *coisa* ‘thing’, referring to a specific thing. The reading ‘to last one thing’ is not adequate in that context, nor would the transitive structure *durar uma coisa* be a grammatical option in OP, similarly to CEP. Furthermore, the referential interpretation in (70) is confirmed by the fact that *a rem* is recovered by the accusative clitic pronoun *a* ‘it’ in *se a muito amava*. As we have seen in section 2.4. from Chapter 2, minimizers cannot be recovered by clitic pronouns, only common nouns can. This shows that the indefinite minimizer had lost its referential meaning and its interpretation was context-dependent, assuming a negative or an existential interpretation, according to the polarity of the licensing operator in the sentence. Since *rem* occurs in the scope of negation, it receives a negative interpretation and, in the specific context of (71) it assumes an emphatic interpretation equivalent to *at all*.

The loss of the original semantic meaning directly relates to the type of verbs with which *rem* could occur. Minimizers are expected to occur in specific contexts before spreading to more diverse contexts. TABLE 3.10 bellow shows the most frequent verbs that occur with *rem*:

Verb	N.º occurrences	%
<i>achar</i> ‘find/think’	12	1,3
<i>crer</i> ‘believe’	5	0,6
<i>cuidar</i> ‘think’	6	0,7
<i>dar</i> ‘give’	87	9,6
<i>dever</i> + infinitive ‘should’	11	1,2
<i>dizer</i> ‘say’	70	7,7
<i>esconder</i> ‘hide’	5	0,6
<i>falar</i> ‘talk’	12	1,3
<i>falecer</i> ‘fail’	8	0,9
<i>fazer</i> ‘do’	39	4,3
<i>fiar</i> ‘believe’	6	0,7

<i>ficar</i> 'stay'	5	0,6
<i>filhar</i> 'receive/take'	5	0,6
<i>ganhar</i> 'win'	12	1,3
<i>haver</i> 'there to be'	81	8,9
<i>leixar</i> 'leave'	11	1,2
<i>mentir</i> 'lie'	6	0,7
<i>minguar</i> 'run low'	6	0,7
<i>negar</i> 'deny'	8	0,9
<i>ousar</i> +Infinitive 'dare'	23	2,5
<i>pagar</i> 'pay'	5	0,6
<i>perder</i> 'lose'	11	1,2
<i>poder</i> + infinitive 'can'	115	12,7
<i>querer/querer</i> +infinitive 'want'	46	5,1
<i>responder</i> 'answer'	14	1,5
<i>saber</i> 'know'	67	7,4
<i>sentir</i> 'feel'	5	0,6
<i>ser</i> 'be'	40	4,4
<i>temer</i> 'fear'	8	0,9
<i>ter</i> 'have'	23	2,5
<i>valer</i> 'be worth'	49	5,4
<i>ver</i> 'see'	45	5,0
<i>viver</i> 'viver'	5	0,6
<i>Others</i> ⁷⁰	79	8,7

TABLE 3.10: NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES OF *rem* DISTRIBUTED BY VERB

Although the verbs that occur more frequently may be related to the original semantic field of the common noun *rem* or may be considered verbs with a very broad meaning, there are also cases of *rem* occurring with unrelated verbs such as *dormir* 'to sleep' in (72). Here *rem* can be considered to have an ambiguous interpretation, being interpreted as an optional pseudoargument referring degree/extent information or as an emphatic negation particle, as illustrated by translations a) and b), respectively.

(72)	E	quen	bem	quer	[o]	seu	tempo
	and	who	well	wants. ^{3sg}	the	his	time
	passar,	u	é	com	sa	senhor,	non
	spend	when	is. ^{3sg}	with	his	lady	NEG
	dorme	ren;					
	sleep. ^{3sg}	thing					

⁷⁰ I have grouped under the category *Others* the verbs with less than five occurrences.

- a) ‘And who wants to spend a good time, when they are with their lady, they do not sleep anything’
- b) ‘And who wants to spend a good time, when they are with their lady, they do not sleep at all.’

(TMILG, LPGP)

In the totality of the examples in the corpus, *rem* occurs with more than a hundred different verbs, which clearly shows its freedom of occurrence with verbs from different semantic fields.

Along with the absence of determiner, one of the most visible properties of *rem* is the lack of visible number or gender morphology. The presence of phi-features is an indicator of nominal behaviour, since common nouns usually display gender and number morphology. There are no registers in the corpus of the minimizer *rem* with visible gender or number features. It always occurs in its singular form. Since it is never anteceded by a determiner, nor does it occur with adjectival modification, as we will see, it is impossible to confirm whether there was gender agreement.

Due to the lack of phi-features, one can assume that *rem* was invariable in number, assuming a singular form by default. It was also unmarked for gender, as example (73) suggests.

- (73) E nom trazia vestido rem do mundo
 and NEG brought.^{3sg} dressed thing of.the world
 fora ãa pelle de ãu lobo que a
 except a fur of a wolf that her.^{3sg,acc}
 cobria mui mal.
 covered.^{3sg} very badly
 ‘And she did not wear anything in the world except a wolf’s fur that barely covered her.’

(DSG, cci)

In (73) we find the minimizer *rem* participating in a small clause. The past participle *vestido* ‘dressed’ establishes an agreement relation with *rem*, but it does not exhibit feminine gender, as one might expect, since the common noun *rem* was feminine. On the contrary,

the past participle displays masculine morphology, showing that the minimizer was already unmarked for gender. Hence, the past participle exhibits the default value – masculine.

The ability to take a modifier can be seen as a nominal propriety, since modification contributes to specify the reference of the noun. The observation of data seems to corroborate this assumption, since no examples of *rem* with adjectival modification by means of an AP in pre or postnominal position were found in the corpus. However, *rem* still allowed modification by means of a prepositional phrase (PP) and of a relative clause. PP modification was found in about 2,4% of all entries, which corresponds to 22 occurrences, all of them negative contexts. Example (74) illustrates a common context of PP modification.

- (74) Ally filhou Abderame todallas cousas que
 There took.^{3sg} Abderame all.the things that
 os mouros avyam em Espanha, pero
 the Moors had.^{3pl} in Spain but
 que lhes ãõ filhou casas nem villas
 that them.^{3pl.dat} NEG took.^{3sg} houses nor vilages
 nem rem do seu senhorio.
 nor thing of.the his property
 ‘There Abderame took all the things the Moors had in Spain, but he did not take houses, nor villages, nor anything of their property.’
 (CGE, 1, CCXXX)

In the example in (74), the PP modifying *rem* introduces a possessive reading. But that is not always the case. Let us observe example (75).

- (75) «Tolhede», disse ella, «vosso elmo e ver-vos-ei,
 Keep.away said.^{3sg} she your helmet and will.see.^{2pl}.you.^{2pl.acc}
 ca em outra guisa nom vos direi ren
 because in other way NEG you.^{2pl.Dat} will.say.^{1sg} thing
 do que quero.
 of.the what want.^{1sg}
 ‘Keep away, she said, your helmet and I will see you, because otherwise I will not tell you anything of what I want.’
 (DSG, CCLXXXI)

An example such as (75) enables a different reading from the one in (74). These cases are similar to partitive constructions, even though *rem* does not originate from a common noun taking a partitive complement. I consider that, in such cases, *rem* behaves as an adnominal quantifier, quantifying over a nominal contained in the PP, as in example (76):

- (76) [...] e levavam-no a ãu valle mui fundo
 and took.^{1pl.him.3sg.acc} to a valley very deep
 e mui scuro e mui negro u nom
 and very dark and very black where NEG
 avia rem de lume senam pouco
 there.was.^{3sg} thing of light except little
 ‘and they took him to a very deep, very dark and very black valley where
 there was no light except a little’
- (DSG, cci)

As far as clause modification is concerned, I found that in 10,6% of the overall occurrences, *rem* appeared with a clausal modifier, more specifically, a relative clause. From the 95 examples of *rem* being modified by a relative clause, only 9 were found in modal contexts, with the remaining 86 being found in negative contexts such as in (77):

- (77) «vos nom dizedes rem que eu por
 you.^{2pl} NEG say.^{2pl} thing that I by
 verdade nom soubesse peça há
 truth NEG knew.^{1sg} piece there.is.^{3sg}
 ‘you are not saying anything that I did not already know a long time ago’
- (DSG, xx)

As we can see, the relative clause modifying *rem* is a relative clause with the verb in the subjunctive mood. From all the cases of relative clause modification, only 15,8% exhibit the verb in the indicative mood, as in (78):

- (78) E el nom respondeu a ren que ela disse
 and he NEG answered.^{3sg} to thing that she said.^{3sg}

‘And he did not answer to anything she said.’

(DSG, DXXXVII)

The fact that *rem* allowed clausal modification could indicate a lower level of grammaticalization. Nevertheless, in the great majority of the cases, the mood selected by the relative clause is the subjunctive. According to Vester (1989), selection of the subjunctive in restrictive relative clauses is determined by purely semantic causes. Subjunctive is selected by restrictive relative clauses that exhibit the features [-Definite, -Specific]. In line with Vester (1989), Marques (1995:150) also argues that, in Portuguese, the subjunctive is selected by relative clauses modifying non veridical noun phrases. Whenever the noun phrase is non-referential and the existence of the entities referred by it is denied, only the subjunctive is allowed to occur (cf. Marques 2013:684). Modification by a relative clause with subjunctive mood is also admitted by other indefinite minimizers, such as *homem*, as we show in section in 3.3.4.5.

Examples such as (78) are, however, unexpected, since they display indicative mood in a relative clause that is modifying a non-referential noun phrase. It is worth noticing that these examples would be considered awkward or marginal in Contemporary European Portuguese if we replaced *rem* by the negative indefinite *nada*.⁷¹

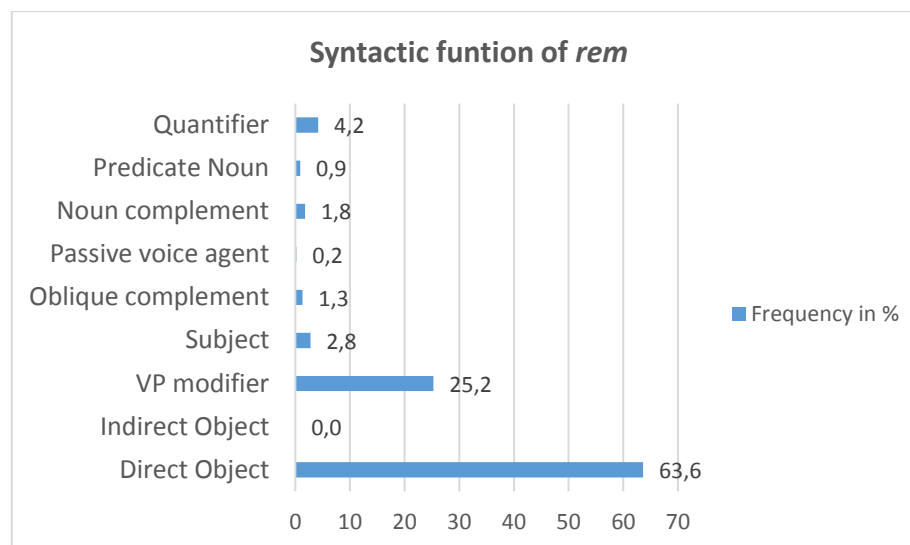
We can see that the two types of modification registered more or less the same frequency of occurrence in the corpus. Even though the possibility of admitting modification indicated that *rem* had not lost its nominal properties entirely, the type of modification found is compatible with a medium-level stage of grammaticalization. The modification structures found did not contribute to a referential reading of the item. On the contrary, they demanded a non-referential interpretation and, in the case of prepositional modification, we even find cases which can be considered examples of the change in the status of *rem* from nominal to quantificational.

Another good indicator of the level of grammaticalization of a minimizer (and consequently its nominal status) is its syntactic distribution within a sentence. Minimizers in an early stage of grammaticalization usually have an argument function, mainly that of

⁷¹ Notice, however, that example (a) is understood as marginal or even ungrammatical for most speakers, but example (b) is perfectly fine. They both exhibit the negative indefinite *nada* being modified by a restrictive relative clause with indicative mood, the difference between them being the fact that in (b) *nada* is not directly modified by the relative, but instead by a PP containing the relative clause.

- (a) ??Não gosto de nada que me compraste.
- (b) Não gosto de nada do que me compraste.

direct object. For *rem* we find the following distribution, as far as the syntactic function is concerned.



GRAPH 3.4: FREQUENCY OF *rem* WITH DIFFERENT SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

GRAPH 3.4 shows that in more than 63% of the occurrences, *rem* is a Direct Object, as in (79). The next most frequent syntactic function is that of a VP modifier, as in (80), with about 25% of the overall examples. All the other functions are statistically less relevant, apart from the one registered as Quantifier, which is found in 4,2% of the examples and which will deserve my attention further on.

- (79) «Daquella parte», disse Estor, «onde eu venho, nom
of.that part said.^{3sg} Estor where I come.^{1sg} NEG
acharemos rem [...] wil.find.^{3pl} thing

‘From where I came, said, Estor, we will not find anything.’

(DSG, cxli)

- (80) El respondeo: «Vos me conjurastes tanto que
He answered.^{3sg} you me.^{1sg.acc} begged.^{2pl} so.much that
por rem nom vos mentisse.
for thing NEG you.^{2pl.Dat} lied.^{1sg}

‘He answered: you have begged me so much that I did not lie to you at all’

(DSG, cxxxix)

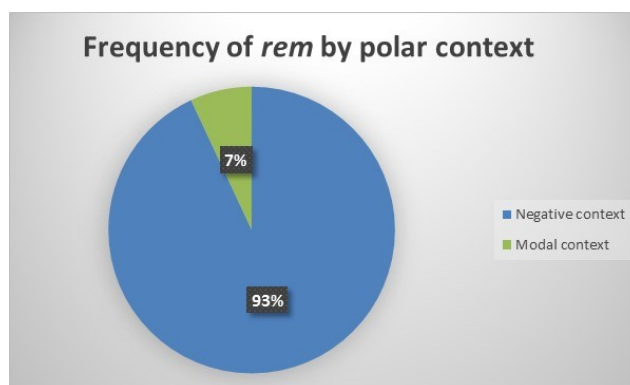
Also, as expected, *rem* is infrequent as a Subject, mainly due to its [- animated] feature. Its occurrence as a Subject is essentially restricted to unaccusative verbs, in post-verbal position, and under the scope of the negative operator, as example (81) illustrates.

- (81) Toda via nom vai rem.
 all way NEG goes.^{3sg} thing
 ‘Anyway, nothing goes’.

(DSG, CCXCIV)

Rem was an indefinite minimizer and, therefore, a weak negative polarity item. This roughly means that its interpretation was context-dependent and that it occurred in modal and negative contexts, but could not be licensed in affirmative-assertive contexts.

The majority of the occurrences are, as expected, in negative contexts (93%), and only a very small number of examples represents cases of *rem* in modal contexts (7%), as illustrated in GRAPH 3.5 below.



GRAPH 3.5: FREQUENCY OF *REM* BY POLAR CONTEXT

When occurring in a modal context, a weak NPI must be legitimated by a modal operator, which can be different according to the item in question. As far as *rem* is concerned, I have registered that it was licensed mainly in subordinate clauses such as comparatives (82), conditionals (83) and consecutives (84), but also in relative clauses with subjunctive mood (85).⁷² In most cases, we find the cooccurrence of more than one licensing operator, as in (84), where there is a consecutive clause, but also a modal verb. The subjunctive seems to be a frequent licenser since there are also examples of *rem* being

⁷² In the cases where *rem* appears inside a relative clause with subjunctive mood, there is also a negative marker in a higher position.

licensed by the expression *ante que*, which requests the use of subjunctive mood (86). Finally I have registered a few cases of *rem* with modal verbs, but they include a verbal form in the subjunctive mood, under whose scope *rem* was licensed (87).

- (82) «Esto nom farei eu», disse ella, «ca vos
 this NEG will.do.^{1sg} I said.^{3sg} she because you
 seriades mais spantados que rem que nunca
 would.be.^{2pl} more amazed than thing that never
 ouvistes [...] heard.^{2pl}

‘I will not do this, she said, because you would be more amazed than anything you have ever heard’

(DSG, CCLXI)

- (83) E per mi non vus falarei, | ca se vus
 and by me NEG you will.talk.^{1sg} because if you
 ren fiz sem rason, | dereit’ é de m’
 thing did.^{1sg} without reason right is.^{3sg} of me.^{Refl}
 eu padecer.
 I suffer

‘And I will not talk to you in my defense because, if I did anything to you unreasonably, it is right that I suffer.’

(TMILG, LPGP)

- (84) Quando esto viu Galvam nom ouve tanto de
 when this saw.^{3sg} Galvam NEG had.^{3sg} so.much of
 poder que podesse falar ren [...] power that could.^{3sg} talk thing

‘When Galvam saw this, he did not have so much power that he could say anything.’

(DSG, DCL)

- (85) [...] e nunca acharom quem lhes rem falasse
 and never found.^{3pl} who them.^{3pl.Dat} thing said.^{3sg}
 ‘and they never found anyone who would say anything to them’

(DSG, CCLXXXIV)

- (86) Entam meteo mão a espada e foi-se diretamente
 So put.^{3sg} hand to sword and went.SE.^{refl} straight
 aos tindhões e disse aa dona ante
 to.the tents and said.^{3sg} to.the lady before
 que ella rem podesse dizer:
 that she thing could.^{3sg} say
 ‘So he took his hand to the sword and went straight to the tents and, before
 the lady could say anything, he said:’

(DSG, CLXXIII)

- (87) [...] e ora non vos troban en razon |
 and now NEG you.dat sing in reason
 en que xi vos possa ren asconder [...]
 in that SE.^{Impers.} you.dat can.^{sg} thing hide
 ‘and now they do not sing to you in a such a way that anything can be hidden
 from you’

(TMILG, LPGP)

In all these contexts, *rem* assumes an existential reading, conveying an interpretation equivalent to ‘anything’.

Let me now turn to the most frequent contexts of occurrence of *rem*: negative contexts. *Rem* is mostly licensed by the regular negation marker *non* (in 82,9% of all negative contexts) as in (88) but it could also appear legitimated by *nunca*⁷³ ‘never’, as in (89) (in 9,4% of all negative contexts):

- (88) E pois eu entendo que *ren* non valho
 and therefore I understand.^{1sg} that thing NEG am.worth.^{1sg}
 ‘And I, therefore, understand that I am not worth anything.’

(TMILG, LPGP)

- (89) Bee(n)to seja Deus que nos ajuntou, ca
 holly be.^{3sg} God who us.^{Acc} joined.^{3sg} because

⁷³ In Old Portuguese, *nunca* seems to be ambiguous between a strong NPI and a modal polarity item (MPI). In the cases I am referring to, *nunca* is a strong NPI.

nunca ren no mundo tanto desejei como
 never thing in.the world so.much wished.^{1sg} as
 veer vossa companha
 see your company
 ‘Holly be God who joined us, because I have never wished so much for
 anything in the world as seeing your company.’

(DSG, DXXI)

In each case, it requires the presence of a negative operator at all times, despite being in pre-verbal or post-verbal position, as illustrated in (90) and (91), respectively.

(90) Assi ia pensando tam spantado *que* rem
 this.way went.^{1sg} thinking so amazed that thing
 nom falava.
 NEG said.^{3sg}

‘This way he went thinking, so amazed that he did not say anything’

(DSG, CCM)

(91) E Muça era vassalo de Miraamolim e nã
 and Mula was.^{3sg} vassal of Miraamolim and NEG
 quis fazer rem sem seu mãdado.
 want.^{3sg} do thing without his order

‘And Muça was Miraamolim’s vassal and did not want to do anything
 without his order.’

(CGE, 1, CXCVM)

As seen for other NPIs, we find *rem* occurring in exceptive constructions. These cases are an argument in favour of its polar nature, since exceptives require the presence of a NPI (weak or strong) in a negative context as the antecedent of the exceptive clause. Sentences (92) to (94) exemplify *rem* in exceptive constructions with *senão*, *fora* and *ergo* ‘except’, respectively.

(92) E o dono do gaado nom lhi dê
 and the owner of.the cattle NEG him.^{3sg.dat} give.^{3sg}

rem senon aquilo que lhe custou a guardar
 thing except that which him.^{3sg.Dat} costed.^{3sg} to keep
 ‘And the owner of the cattle must not give him anything except what
 costed him to keep it.’

(Matos Reis (ed.), *Foros de Santarém*)

(93) E nom cobria rem fora seus cabelos que
 and NEG covered.^{3sg} thing except her hairs that
 eram tam longos
 were.^{3pl} so long

‘And she did not cover anything except her hair which was so long’

(DSG, cxlix)

(94) [...] nem aujamos rem que beuer ergo leite
 nor had.^{1pl} thing that drink except milk
 de camelos [...]
 of camels

‘nor did we have anything to drink except milk from camels’

(CTA, *Vida do Cativo Monge Confesso*)

3.3.3.4. *Rem* in particular negative contexts

The most frequent occurrence of *rem* is as an argument in the scope of the regular negation marker *não*. Nevertheless, there are instances of *rem* with negative interpretation in contexts that suggest a more advanced stage of grammaticalization of the item. In this section I will explore the occurrences of *rem* in three different negative contexts: in negative sentences, without argument function, with transitive, optionally transitive and intransitive verbs; in negative sentences, introducing a partitive reading, and as the single negative element in the sentence.

In the great majority of the occurrences, *rem* has an argument function, frequently being a direct object. It is, however, in negative contexts that *rem* starts to occur more freely, with no argument function. These cases are of particular interest since they may indicate a more advanced degree of grammaticalization. I have pointed out that *rem* occurred as a direct object in more than 63% of the overall examples. Nevertheless, among these cases

there are registers of *optionally transitive verbs*, which allowed for an ambiguous reading of *rem* as an internal argument or an emphatic adverbial-like element (cf. Lucas 2007, Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis 2013).

The example in (90) above, which I reproduce in (95), illustrates a context with an optionally transitive verb. Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2013) consider that such contexts allow for two possible readings: one in which *rem* is the direct object of *falar* ‘talk’ (translation in a)) and another one in which the verb is understood as intransitive and *rem* is an adverbial negation reinforcement particle meaning something like *de todo* ‘at all’ (translation in b)).

- (95) Assi ia pensando tam spantado que rem
 this.way went.^{1sg} thinking so amazed that thing
 nom falava.
 NEG talked.^{3sg}
 a) ‘This way, he went thinking so amazed that he did not speak anything.’
 b) ‘This way, he went thinking so amazed that he did not speak at all.’
 (DSG, ccm)

From a language acquisition perspective these contexts were the trigger for the reanalysis of a minimizer as a more functional item (cf. Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis 2013; Lucas 2007; Willis 2006). We know that a non-argument interpretation was productive enough to allow for the presence of *rem* without an argument status in unambiguous contexts such as with intransitive verbs (96) or transitive verbs with the DO position filled by another item, as in (97).

- (96) - Senhor, esto uos direy eu que uos
 Lord this you.^{2pl.Dat} will.say.^{1sg} I that you.^{2pl.Dat}
 non menterei i rem.
 NEG will.lie.^{1sg} here thing
 ‘Lord, this I will tell you, I will not lie to you at all.’
 (DSG, cxx)

- (97) E, meus amigos, poys eu moyr[?] assy|
 and my friends so I die.^{1sg} this.way

pola melhor dona de quantas v_i,| non
 for.the best lady of how.many saw.^{1sg} NEG
 tem' eu ren mha morte, nem morrer.
 fear I thing my death nor die
 'And, my friends, I die this way for the best lady of all the ones I saw; I
 do not fear my death at all, nor dying.'

(TMILG, LPGP)

In (96) *rem* cannot be an argument of the verb *mentir* 'to lie', since it is an intransitive verb. Nevertheless, we can consider that ambiguity still holds if we take *rem* as a pseudoargument, conveying a degree/extent reading, as in Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020). The same thing happens in (97) where *rem* cannot be interpreted as the internal argument since that position is filled by the DP *mha morte* 'my death', but it can be interpreted as a degree/extent pseudoargument. Despite the possible ambiguous interpretations, we can argue that an interpretation of *rem* as an adverbial negation reinforcer is contextually favoured in examples such as (96). Sentence (96) is produced by the character Boorz after being accused by the king of killing his daughter. Boorz swears by his honour that he did not kill her and emphasizes the fact that he is not lying. This way, *rem* can be interpreted as a reinforcer of negation without scalar reading: it emphatically denies the truth value of the predicate *mentir* 'to lie', but it also conveys the speaker's attitude towards the predicate. In this particular case, the character Boorz rejects the indirect accusation made by the king that he was lying. This is also attested with other minimizers in potentially ambiguous contexts, with their use being related to previously known or presupposed information and the adverbial negation strengthener interpretation being favoured.

Let us now look at the possibility of *rem* occurring as the sole marker of negation. According to Garzonio & Poletto (2008, 2009), this possibility indicates that an item has reached the last stage of grammaticalization and is likely to be reinterpreted as an independent negation marker.

Although cases of *rem* as the unique negative element in the sentence are attested, I have looked at these instances with extreme caution. Firstly because these examples are not frequent in the corpus and secondly because I am dealing with diachronic data and I must not take for granted scarcely attested examples of a particular structure/construction without thoroughly verifying the accuracy of the attestations. As a matter of fact, most of

what I first considered attestations of *rem* as the unique negative element in a sentence turned out to be the product of transcription or edition errors in some cases and misjudgments in others.

An early screening of data had led me to consider examples from (98) to (100) as cases of *rem* as the single negative element of the sentence.

- (98) E Gallaaz nom soube que dissesse e
 and Gallaaz NEG knew.^{3sg} that said.^{3sg} and
 disse a donzella que, se se matasse como
 said.^{3sg} to lady that if SE.^{Reflex} killed as
 dizia e por tal razom, entendesse que
 said.^{3sg} and for such reason understood.^{3sg} that
 daria el rem por sua morte.
 would.give.^{3sg} he thing for her death

‘And Gallaaz did not know what to say and said to the lady that, if she killed herself as she said, she could be certain that he would not give anything for her death’

(DSG, cxv)

- (99) E u el tan gran coita jazia ||
 and where he so great pain suffered.^{3sg}
 que ja ren falava nen oya [...]
 that already thing talked.^{3sg} nor heard.^{3sg}

‘And where he suffered such a great pain that he did not say nor heard anything’

(TMILG, CSM)

- (100) [...] mais de tod’ esto ren m’
 but of all this thing me.^{1sg.dat}
 enchal| ca eles x’ o buscaron ben!
 matter because they SE.^{expl} him.^{3sg.acc} searched.^{3pl} well

‘but of all this, I do not care anything, because they have searched for it well.’

(TMILG, LPGP)

Example (98) seems to present *rem* as a direct object with negative interpretation. By appearing in post-verbal position, it could be an example of *rem* becoming a post-verbal negation marker, similarly to what is attested for other minimizers (for instance French *pas* or Italian *mica*). However, the maintenance of a clear argument function raised doubts on the legitimacy of the example. It was not surprising to find out that (98) was a case of transcription error. The example was extracted from the edition of DSG by Piel & Nunes (1988), who failed to transcribe the preverbal negation marker *non*. The confrontation of (98) with the facsimile of the manuscript showed that the accurate sentence is the one displayed by Toledo Neto (2012-2015) and transcribed in (101):

(101) “E Gallaaz nom soube que dissese e disse a dôzella que, sse se matasse como dizia e per tal rrazom, bem entendesse que nom daria el rrem por sua morte.”

(DSG, ed. Toledo Neto (2012-15))

The example in (99) seems to illustrate a case of *rem* in pre-verbal position without the presence of another negation marker, with *rem* behaving like a strong NPI. The example in question is taken from *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and was extracted from the corpus TMILG. Despite using the edition by Mettmann (1959-72), somewhere along the insertion of data into TMILG’s electronic platform, a *non* (NEG) was not included in the sentence. The sentence appears in Mettmann (1959-72) in its correct version, as reproduced in (102):

(102) E u el tan gran coita jazia | | que ja ren non falava nen oya [...]

(Mettmann 1959-72)

Finally, in (100) *rem* appears again in pre-verbal position as the only negative particle. Although this could be an example of *rem* behaving as a strong NPI, in reality it is an example of an edition that was not faithful to the original manuscript. The example in question is from a medieval song allegedly composed by Vasco Gil and the version that was introduced into our corpus was the one displayed in the corpus TMILG. TMILG made

use of the edition of medieval lyrics compiled by Brea (1996) who, by her turn, conserved the version of this particular song originally put forth by Carolina Michaëlis in the critical edition of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (cf. Vasconcellos (1904)). According to Ramos (2009:112), Michaëlis modified the original verse, despite the fact that the manuscript offered the clear morphemic sequence <*ne menchal*>. The edition offered by Piccat (1995) had already confirmed this by editing the verse as in (103), without the existence of the word *rem*.

(103) [...] mais de tod'esto ne m'én chal [...]

(Piccat 1995:229)

The previous examples have shown us that some apparent cases of *rem* as the sole marker of negation were actually the product of editing or typing errors of the sources. There are, however, other sets of examples that appear to present *rem* as the single negative particle of the sentence but they raise interpretation issues.

Let us observe examples (104) to (106):

(104) E pero que ben comian, | non tiyan
 and but that well ate.^{3pl} NEG had.^{3pl}
 que era ren, | | se daquele bõo vỹo
 that was.^{3sg} thing if from.that good wine
 non bevessen a seu sen
 NEG drunk.^{3pl} at their will

'And although they ate well, they consider it to be nothing unless they drunk'

(TMILG, CSM)

(105) E quando foi ã outro dia, fez Tarife
 and when was.^{3sg} in other day did.^{3sg} Tarife
 viir ante si o esbullho; e nõ acharon
 come before himself the spoliation and NEG considered.^{3pl}
 que rem valesse se nõ cavallos e armas.
 that thing was.worth.^{3sg} if NEG horses and weapons

‘And the next day, Tarife ordered that the spoliation was shown to him and they did not think that anything was valuable except horses and weapons.

(CGE, 2, CC)

- (106) E, quando elle soube como viinha Muça,
 and when he knew.^{3sg} how came.^{3sg} Muça
 sayo a o receber e ñõ lhe
 left.^{3sg} to him.^{3sg.Acc} receive and NEG him.^{3g.dat}
 mostrou que dava rē por quanto lhe
 Showed.^{3sg} that give.^{3sg} thing for how.much him.^{3g.dat}
 mandara dizer.
 ordered.^{3sg} say

‘And when he knew that Muça was coming, he went out to receive him and did not show him that he gave nothing for what he had been told.’

(CGE, 1, CCVI)

In the three sentences we find *rem* apparently as the sole marker of negation in a subordinate clause. Despite the presence of regular negation in the main clause, there is no place for long-distance negative concord (cf. Giannakidou & Quer, 1997), so we must assume that *rem* is not being licensed by main clause negation and subsides on its own.

In (104) I believe that *rem* cannot be interpreted as a polarity item (as is implied in the gloss and translation given) despite assuming the form of a bare noun. In his glossary of *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Mettmann (1959-72) lists *verdade* ‘truth’ as a possible meaning for the word *rem* in predicative structures with the verb *ser* ‘to be’.⁷⁴ A reading such as the one illustrated in (107) seems to make more sense in the overall interpretation of the poem and discards a negative interpretation of *rem* in this particular context.

- (107) ‘And although they ate well, they did not consider it to be true unless they drunk that good wine at their will.’

Sentence (105) presents a case that also seems to allow two possible interpretations. At first sight, one could consider that the correct interpretation was that of *rem* in the scope

⁷⁴ This example is not the only one in the corpus. I found other occurrences such as in (a):

(a) Unde ao Bispo | daquele bispado || en que el morava | foi end’ acusado; || e ant’ el chamado || e enpreguntado || foy, se era ren || o que oya || del. (TMILG, CSM)

of a complement clause. This interpretation would be based on a reading of the verb *achar que* as synonym to *consider* (which, by the way, was possible in the 13th century, according to Xavier *et al.* (1999:3)). The context, however, indicates that a more plausible interpretation is the one in which *achar* means ‘to find’ and for some reason (probably a distraction of the scribe) *rem* was written out of place, after *que*, instead of appearing immediately after the verb. We would, then, have *que* as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause with subjunctive, rather than a complement clause, as I exemplify with the alternative gloss and translation in (108).

- (108) E quando foi ã outro dia, fez Tarife
 and when was.^{3sg} in other day did.^{3sg} Tarife
 viir ante si o esbullho; e nã acharon
 come before himself the spoliation and NEG found.^{3pl}
 que rem valesse se nã cavallos e armas.
 that thing was.worth.^{3sg} if NEG horses and weapons
 ‘And the next day, Tarife ordered that the spoliation was shown to him
 and they did not find anything that was worthy except horses and weapons
 (CGE, 2, cc)

I believe that this last interpretation is more plausible since it presents the most common context of occurrence of *rem*: in the scope of regular negation with an argument function. The modification by means of a subjunctive relative clause is also found in the corpus, so it is a more familiar context than *rem* as the single negative element. Furthermore, a similar syntactic configuration, and corresponding interpretation, is found in a later manuscript of the CGE (manuscript P.; cf. Cintra 1951-1990) which contains the version *nã acharõ hi cousa que vallesse*, with *rem* being replaced by *cousa* and *que* introducing a relative clause modifying *cousa*. Manuscripts M. and E., which contain the Spanish translation of the text, also contain a version that assumes the interpretation presented in (108) – *e non falló cosa que algo valiese si non eran cavallos e armas* (cf. Vindel Pérez, 2015 :119). If what I argue is correct, *rem* is the direct object of the main clause and is, therefore, in the scope of pre-verbal negation marker *non*, constituting an expected pattern of occurrence.

Finally, example (106) seems to show *rem* as a direct object, in post-verbal position, with negative interpretation. In this particular example, we need to take into account the narrative context in which the sentence occurs. One of the characters, Muça, had written

offensive letters to Tarife. When they meet in person, Tarife receives Muça in a friendly way, not showing to give any importance to what Muça had previously said about him. Although the context clearly points to this interpretation, that is apparently not exactly what the sentence states, from a logical point of view. We find regular negation in the matrix clause, but no pre-verbal negation in the complement clause where *rem* appears as a direct object. If we take *rem* to be the only negative element, with a negative interpretation, we end up with an interpretation that is the opposite of what was intended. Saying that *Tarife did not show Muça that he gave nothing* would suggest that Tarife's behaviour was such that it did not allow to understand whether he was resented or not by Muça's letters. The same interpretation would prevail if we hypothesized that a preverbal negation marker was missing in the complement clause. If the sentence was *não lhe mostrou que não dava rẽ*, this would mean that Tarife had not shown his indifference to Muça's offenses, since a reading with negative concord is not possible to occur across clause boundaries. Two other possibilities arise then. The first is to admit that the preverbal negation marker was erroneously placed in the matrix clause rather than in the complement clause and the sentence should have been *lhe mostrou que não dava rẽ por quanto lhe mandara dizer*. This would be in consonance with the intended interpretation and, moreover, it would also maintain a regular construction, involving the verb *dar* 'to give' and an NPI, which frequently appears in the text – *não dar ren/nada/cousa por* – which stands for *não dar importância* 'not give importance'. Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence to sustain such an hypothesis. This leaves us with one final interpretation: the one which considers that *rem* has a positive interpretation and that the sentence could be paraphrased as *não lhe mostrou que dava alguma coisa por quanto lhe mandara dizer* 'did not show that he gave anything for what he had been told'. Here the interpretation is that Tarife might have been offended but he did not let it show. I believe that this is the most accurate reading and, therefore, we excluded this example from the negative occurrences of *rem*.⁷⁵

So far I have shown that promising examples of *rem* as the unique negative element in a sentence could not be considered as such for different reasons. I will now look at a couple of examples which seem to genuinely display *rem* as the single negative particle in the sentence.

⁷⁵ Example (106) suggests that *rem* also occurred as an indefinite pronoun, equivalent to 'something'. This is not surprising, since other indefinite minimizers (*al, cousa* and *homem*) also registered an homonymous form functioning as an indefinite/generic pronoun in OP.

In (109) *rem* is found with negative interpretation as an answer to a question.⁷⁶

(109) E, u foron polo vender | preguntarõ-no
 and where went.^{3pl} to.him.^{3sg.Acc} sell asked.him.^{3sg.Dat}
 en gran sen: |
 in great prudence
 - Ricom', que sabedes fazer? - |
 nobleman what know.^{2sg} do
 E o ricome disse:
 and the nobleman said.^{3sg}
 - Ren!
 thing

‘And where they went to sell him, he was asked with great prudence:

- Nobleman, what can you do?
- And the nobleman said:
- Nothing.

(TMILG, LPGP)

This is an example of *rem* as a negative fragment answer to a wh-question. This type of context has extensively been presented as an argument in favour of a negative quantifier status of n-words (against an NPI status).⁷⁷ According to Merchant (2004), a negative fragment answer corresponds to an elliptical structure. Giannakidou (2006) argues that, in these contexts, a n-word is licensed by a negative marker which belongs to the elided material of the answer. This way, the n-word would be licensed by an elliptical negation marker, which, however, cannot be lexically expressed. According to Giannakidou (2006), the n-word would then be a (weak) NPI.

A different position is defended by Iordăchioaia (2010) who claims that n-words occurring as negative fragment answers are negative quantifiers. She bases her claim on two main arguments: firstly, because languages such as English allow for the presence of n-

⁷⁶ An alternative interpretation of *ren* as an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘something’ cannot be completely discarded in this context, assuming an ironic answer from the character *ricome* ‘the nobleman’. Nevertheless, I have considered it to have negative interpretation based on the following sources: the entry of *ren* in Glossa (Ferreiro, 2014-), where this particular verse appears as an example of *rem* meaning ‘nada’ (<http://glossa.gal/glosario/termo/2924>); the English translation of the song by Zenith (1995:50), where *rem* appears translated as ‘nothing at all’; and the work by (Martins 1986:39) where an interpretation of *ren* as ‘coisa nenhuma’ e presented for this particular verse of the song in question.

⁷⁷ It is worth reminding that the label NPI alone is usually used in the literature to designate what we call weak NPI’s. As opposed to NPI’s (weak NPI’s) we would have negative quantifiers (strong NPI’s can be considered the equivalent in our terms, for this matter).

words as fragment answers to a wh-question, but exclude (weak) NPI's from this context; secondly because the n-word cannot be licensed by a negative marker contained in the elided answer. According to Merchant (2001), ellipsis is based on identity between the elided material and the antecedent. The n-word could only be licensed by a negative marker if the antecedent sentence was negative, which, in positive questions, does not happen.

The other example with *rem* as the single negation marker exhibits *rem* as the nominal complement of a preposition as we can see in (110):

- (110) [...] *mays Deus, senhor, non mi faça lezer,* |
 but God lady NEG me.^{1sg.Dat} do.^{3sg} pleasure
se eu já mui gram coyta tenh' en
if I already very big suffering have.^{1sg} in
ren, | *poys que vos vejo, meu lum' e*
thing because that you.^{2pl.Acc} see.^{1sg} my fire and
meu ben.
my good
 ‘but God, my lady, do not give me pleasure, if my big suffering is now
 nothing, because I see you, my light and my good.

(TMILG, LPGP)⁷⁸

In (110) *rem* seems to have a negative interpretation, although it appears in the scope of a conditional clause, without the presence of negation of any kind. Prepositional phrases are identified as possible contexts of occurrence of what is sometimes referred to in the literature as *freestanding n-words*. According to Fitzgibbons (2010), small clauses and prepositional phrases are the two contexts in which Russian n-words can appear with negative meaning, but without the presence of sentential negation. According to Fitzgibbons (2010), in these cases, n-words are licensed by a phonologically null negative head (and, therefore, they are not really freestanding). Since, in our corpus, I find no more than three clear examples of *rem* with negative meaning as the complement of a preposition

⁷⁸ This example is extracted from a song by Pero de Armea, a Galician poet. It is worth noticing that the form *rem* survived in Galician, as stated in Alvarez & Xove (2002:487): «A forma xeral para ‘non humano, non animado’ é *nada*, , pero tamén se empregan *ren* ou *res*, se bem só como OD, sempre tralo verbo e com frecuencia precedidas de *nin*. *Ren* e *res* son dúas variantes de fala, hoxe de escasso uso, aceptadas ambas na norma actual como opcionais: Falamos bastante tempo, pero non me quixo dicir (*nin*) *ren* / *res*.» The other two examples of *rem* inside a PP with apparent negative interpretation are from another Galician poet, Sancho Sanches, and from a Portuguese poet (and king of Portugal), Don Denis.

and without sentential negation, I will not elaborate on this here, but see the case of *nemigalha* in 4.3. in Chapter 4, for further discussion on the topic.

At this point, it has become clear that examples with *rem* as the single negation marker are extremely rare in the corpus and cannot be considered evidence that *rem* had become intrinsically negative. Even if the examples shown in (109) and (110) were proven to be free from any copy, transcription, edition or even interpretation mistake, they are statistically insignificant. They may correspond to a more advanced stage of grammaticalization of the minimizer *rem* in a particular speaker's grammar but they cannot be seen as evidence to support that *rem* had become intrinsically negative. I, therefore, argue against the conclusions put forth by Duarte (2012). The author concluded that *rem* could express negation on its own before it disappeared from the language, but, as I have shown throughout this section, that was not the case. *Rem* remained a weak negative polarity item and requested the presence of a regular negation marker in negative contexts.

One final topic that needs to be addressed concerning *rem* in negative contexts is related to word order. *Rem* is the item that occurs more frequently as an object in pre-verbal position and also at the left of the regular negation marker that licenses it, as illustrated in (111):

- (111) Maravilha pode ende avir, se rem eu nunca soube [...]
wonder can.^{3sg} of.that come if thing I never knew.^{3sg}
‘A wonder can come from that if I never knew anything’
(DSG, xviii)

From a total of 844 examples of *rem* in negative contexts, more than 16% display the item before the negative marker (usually *não*, but also *nunca*) and the verb. As shown in (111), *rem* appears in a subordinate clause before the subject, the negation marker *nunca* and the verb. *Rem* also occurs in pre-verbal and pre-negation position in configurations of interpolation. The example in (112) illustrates a case of interpolation of *rem* and the regular negation marker *não* between the clitic pronoun *vos* and the verb (on the position of the negation marker in clause structure in Old Portuguese, see Martins 1994).

- (112) [...] e con tod' esso, ja vos ren
and with all that already you.^{2sg.Dat} thing
non val [...]

NEG is.worth.^{3sg}

‘and with all that, nothing is worth to you anymore’

(TMILG, LPGP)

While (111) exhibits a configuration in which the minimizer *rem* is clearly left-dislocated (in a Topic or Focus position, since it appears to the left of the subject, which is assumed to be in Spec, IP), sentence (112) is compatible with a case of middle scrambling, as described for OP in Martins (2002, 2011). Scrambling is understood as a defocusing strategy of the scrambled object. According to Martins (2002, 2011), OP allowed a type of scrambling that is no longer grammatical in CEP: middle scrambling. This strategy enabled for constituents with a DO function to be moved to multiple positions higher than T (multiple Spec, AgrS positions in Martins 2002; multiple Spec, TP positions in Martins 2011) to escape focus. In a middle-scrambling structure as (112), *rem* would be first licensed by the regular negation marker *non* and only then moved. The fact that *rem* appears in such constructions does not seem to point to any relevant characteristic of the item itself, though.

3.3.4. The indefinite minimizer *homem*

It is well known that *homem* has its origin in the Latin word *homō*, *-nis* (cf. Corominas & Pascual 1980-91:379; Nascentes 1955:267 indicates the ablative *homine* for Portuguese), which was used to define a human being, as opposed to the word *vir*, which was the specific term for ‘man’. Similar to what was verified for *rem*, *homo* also appeared in a parallel construction with the past participle *nato*, in the expression *homo nato*, literally meaning ‘no born human being’, when in a negative context.

In the set of indefinite minimizers, *homem* ‘man’ was the only one which had a [+human] inherent feature, being used only to refer to indefinite entities with human properties. Its first occurrences in our corpus are from the 13th century and its disappearance is progressive, with an accentuated decrease after the 14th century and the last occurrences taking place until the end of the 16th century.

In this section I will try to describe the contexts of occurrence of *homem* solely as a minimizer, as well as its fundamental properties. The criteria followed for distinguishing the minimizer from the common noun were the ones already explained in Chapter 2,

section 2.4. Therefore, I will look only at the cases in which *homem* appears in the form of a bare noun with polar interpretation, as exemplified in (113):

- (113) E ela era tam fremosa dona e tam
 and she was.^{3sg} so beautiful lady and so
 pagadoira que no mundo nom acharia homem
 payer that in.the world NEG would.find.^{3sg} man
 outra tal de sa idade.
 other such of her age
 ‘And she was such a beautiful and satisfying lady that no one would find another like her of the same age.’

(DSG, DCXLII)

This section is organized as follows: in 3.3.4.1. I will present a summary of previous analyses of the item *homem* without a common noun interpretation. In section 3.3.4.2. I account for the existence of the homonymous item *homem* which functioned as a generic pronoun, while distinguishing both items. In 3.3.4.3. I will look at the frequency and distribution of the item in the corpus. Section 3.3.4.4. is dedicated to *homem*'s grammatical features. I will provide evidence to classify *homem* as a minimizer, in particular as a weak negative polarity item and I will determine its level of grammaticalization. In 3.3.4.5. I show that *homem* was deeply linked to some specific structures, namely existential constructions, degree clauses and modification by means of relative clauses with subjunctive mood. I will also investigate word order patterns, following the hints given in Faggion (2008).

Finally, in section 3.3.4.6. I aim for a comparative analysis of Old Portuguese minimizer *homem* in the context of man-constructions, giving particular emphasis to this type of constructions in Romance languages, from a diachronic perspective.

3.3.4.1. Previous analyses of *homem*

Even though the literature on Old Portuguese minimizers is almost inexistent, historical grammars usually include information on an item *homem*, independent from the common noun. In most cases, *homem* is said to be related to subject indetermination strategies and described as a generic or impersonal pronoun (Mattos e Silva 1989), but also as an indefinite pronoun along with *nenhum* and *ninguém* (cf. Veiga 1959). For instance, Said Ali (1931:122)

draws attention to the fact that *homem* may designate a vague and indeterminate agent («não já na aceção própria, mas para designar agente vago e indeterminado»), while Silva Dias (1918:89) establishes a parallel between *homem* and the French *on*, but with *homem* having a more restrict use («só tem lugar, por via de regra, quando se falla do que acontece geralmente»). Silva Dias (1918:92) also notices that the presence or lack of a determiner is responsible for a different interpretation of the word *homem* («com anteposição do artigo indefinido, *um homem*, *uma pessoa*, pertencem à linguagem corrente»).

Mattos e Silva (1989), on the other hand, describes the syntactic distribution of *homem* saying that it covers the distribution of a subject pronoun with an indeterminate referent. The author adds that it can refer to a masculine or feminine, singular or plural phrase without the corresponding morphological marks.⁷⁹

As we can see, there are no references to *homem* as a polarity item in none of these sources, except for Veiga (1959) who considers it an indefinite pronoun. In all the works above mentioned, there is only reference to a generic pronoun which, I argue, is independent from the minimizer *homem*, as will be shown in the next section (3.3.4.2.).

The first (and, to my knowledge, the only) work to present a classification of *homem* as a minimizer is Meleiro (2007). The author carries out a survey of the minimizers used in the texts of two Portuguese chronicle writers, Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eanes de Zurara, namely *Crónica de Dom Fernando* (CDF) and *Crónica de Dom Pedro de Menezes* (CDPM). Meleiro (2007) includes in his list the minimizer *homem*, alongside with other items such as *all*, *cousa*, *parte*, *pessoa* or *tall*, among others. The relevant examples given for *homem* are reproduced in (114) and (115).

- (114) [...] era muito braceiro, que nom achava homem
 was.^{3sg} very strong that NEG find.^{3sg} man
 que o mais fosse.
 who it.^{3sg,Acc} more was.^{3sg}
 'he was so strong that he did not find anyone who was stronger'
 (CDF:3, apud Meleiro, 2007:474)

- (115) [...] que numca se açertou passar por ally
 that never SE.^{Indef} agreed.^{3sg} pass by there

⁷⁹ «cobre a distribuição de um pronome sujeito cujo referente é indeterminado, pode referir-se a um sintagma masculino ou feminino, singular ou plural sem as marcas correspondentes» (Mattos e Silva 1989:232)

nenhũu homem, soomemte que vyrã passar per
 none man only that saw.^{3pl} pass by
 outro caminho ate XX mouros e mouras.
 other way to XX Moorish and Moorish
 ‘it was never agreed that any man passed there, only that they saw XX
 Moorish, man and woman, going through other path.’

(CDPM:344; apud Meleiro 2007:474)⁸⁰

In (114) we find *homem* in a negative context with polar interpretation and without referential meaning, just like in the contexts I have collected in the corpus. The author also includes as a minimizer the occurrences of *homem* with the negative indefinite *nenhum* (115), which I have set apart from my examples, since I do not consider that these are cases of *homem* as a minimizer. Although Meleiro does not present a description of the data for *homem*, its identification as a minimizer opened the door for the possibility of multiple values associated to a homonymous form.

Another important contribution to the study of the minimizer *homem* is offered indirectly by the work of Faggion (2008). The author studies several strategies of indetermination of the subject, including the pronominal form *homem*. The examples for *homem* are taken from the text *Demanda do Santo Graal*. The author concludes that *homem* was used as a vague and indeterminate subject, but she notices characteristics that are, in fact, typical of polarity items. Even though there is never reference to its polar behaviour, nor to the concept of minimizer, the author highlights the strong relation between *homem* and negation, as well as its frequent occurrence in subordinate clauses. The examples given to illustrate this behaviour are frequently contexts of occurrence of *homem* as a minimizer, as the one presented in (116):

(116) [...] nom podia homem achar no regno
 NEG could.^{3sg} man find in.the kingdom
 de Logres donzel tam fremoso nem
 of Logres young.nobel so handsome nor
 tam bem feito.
 so well done

⁸⁰ Although Meleiro (2007) includes this occurrence as an example of the minimizer *homem*, I disagree with his classification. According to my criteria, this is an occurrence of *homem* as a common noun.

‘no one could find in the kingdom of Logres such a handsome and well built young noble man’

(DSG, apud Faggion 2008:60)

Faggion (2008) states that the Old Portuguese item *homem* cannot be considered equivalent to the French *on* or to the German *man* due to its syntactic restrictions. The author claims that, differently from *on* and *man*, *homem* could not occur in simple or main clauses. Faggion (2008:63) concludes that *homem*'s occurrence is restricted to the following contexts: subordinate clauses, negative clauses, between the auxiliary and the main verb of an infinitive clause or postponed to a clitic pronoun.⁸¹ Finally, it is interesting that the author sets a comparison between *homem* and *rem*, considering both as indetermination strategies.

Although I think that Faggion (2008)'s conclusions on some of the syntactic restrictions pointed out are premature, it becomes clear that these results indicate that the various occurrences of *homem* studied by the author cannot correspond in all cases to the generic pronoun. The observation that *homem* appears very frequently in negative contexts or in subordinate clauses can be interpreted in terms of polarity since, as we know, most modal contexts correspond to instances of subordination. As for the other syntactic restrictions, namely the position of *homem* in relation to an auxiliary verb and an infinitive verb or to a clitic pronoun, I will assess them in section 3.3.4.4.

Finally, the work by Menon (2011) also presents a classification of *homem* as a way to express an indeterminate subject. Despite not adding anything new to previous works on *homem*, Menon (2011) presents a good insight to the apparent replacement of a pronominal form *homem* by the nominal form *o homem*. The author goes through two manuscripts of the text *Castelo Perigoso*, one from the first half of the 15th century and the other from the end of the 15th century or beginning of the 16th century. She observes that the occurrences of *homem* without determiner have not always been maintained in the more recent manuscript and have actually been replaced by the form *o homem* in a considerable number of occurrences.

This short overview of previous analyses of a non-nominal item *homem* in medieval texts shows us that its use as a polarity item went unnoticed by most authors, even in more recent work, the only exception being Meleiro (2007), as I have already mentioned.

⁸¹ «Ela deve aparecer em estrutura subordinativa, e/ou negativa, e/ou em meio a uma frase verbal, após o auxiliar, e/ou depois de pronome átono» (Faggion 2008:63)

Nevertheless, some of these works offered us valuable hints that I will pursue in the analysis of the collected data in the following sections.

3.3.4.2. Minimizer *homem* and generic pronoun *homem*: two independent items

In the previous section I have referred the fact that most authors which signaled the existence of an item *homem* independent from the common noun, referred to a generic pronoun, but never to a polarity item. This poses the question of knowing whether, apart from the common noun, there was only one or two homonymous items and what their nature was. Throughout this section I will argue that until the 16th century, the language had two items with the form *homem*, apart from the common noun: one was a minimizer, while the other was a generic pronoun. The first one was a weak negative polarity item, while the latter was a generic pronoun used as a subject indetermination strategy. Despite being similar in certain contexts, I argue that they behaved differently regarding the following topics 1) polarity; 2) indefiniteness/indetermination; 3) syntactic behaviour and 4) coordination. Let us first start by observing the distribution of both items in the corpus.

Type of Item			
century	Minimizer	Generic pronoun	Ambiguous
13 th	236	25	23
14 th	72	12	8
15 th	24	55	6
16 th	68	8	8

TABLE 3.11: OCCURRENCES OF *HOMEM* AS MINIMIZER OR GENERIC PRONOUN BY CENTURY

TABLE 3.11 presents the number of examples found in the corpus containing the minimizer or the generic pronoun in each century. The last column on the right contains the cases which I have considered ambiguous between a use as a minimizer or a generic pronoun. In some cases, both interpretations seem to be possible and, therefore, I have decided to set them apart. As we can see, the minimizer is more frequent in general terms but, contrary to all other centuries, in the 15th century I found a greater number of examples containing the generic pronoun. This is probably due to the predominant text typology in

this century, which seems to favour the use of the generic pronoun, due to its features, as we will see.

The first difference between the two items is related to polarity. As I have already said before and will make clearer in the following sections, the indefinite minimizer *homem* was a polarity item, more specifically, a weak NPI. It was, therefore, found in modal contexts, where it acquired an existential interpretation and in negative contexts, where it was interpreted with negative meaning. It was, however, ruled out from affirmative-assertive contexts. On the other hand, the generic pronoun did not present constraints as far as polarity is concerned. I found occurrences in all three polar contexts and without changes in the item's interpretation. Let us look at the examples from (117) to (120).

- (117) E deue homê côtinuar e ler ameude, cô
 and should.^{3sg} man continue and read often with
 perseuerança e por amor da uerdadeyra sabedorya.
 persistence and for love of.the real wisdom
 'And one should continue and read often with persistence and for love
 of the real wisdom'

(CIPM, OE)

- (118) Mas, do que falla que há de
 but of.the what talks.^{3sg} that there.is.^{3sg} of
 vïr, esto me pesa mui pouco per
 come this me.^{1sg.Dat} weights.^{3sg} very little by
 o coraçõn, ca nom he cousa de
 the heart because NEG is.^{3sg} thing of
 que se homen aja de catar.
 which SE.^{Reflex} man there.is.^{3sg} to search
 'But, from what you say it will come, this does not worry me much because
 it is not a thing that anyone should search for.'

(CGE, 2, CXCIIM)

- (119) Quando todo nõ poder homê comprir, melhor
 when everything NEG can.^{3sg} man accomplish better
 he orar que ler.

is.^{3sg} pray than read
 ‘When one cannot accomplish everything, it is better to pray than to read.’
 (*Virgen*, v, 217)

(120) E nom vos conselho que vades i
 and NEG you.^{2pl.Acc} advise.^{1sg} that go.^{2pl} there
 desta vez por lhis fazer mal, ca o
 this time for them.^{3pl.Dat} do evil because the
 castelo é tam forte que nunca homem cercou
 castle is.^{3sg} so strong that never man sieged.^{3sg}
 ‘And I do not advise you to go there this time to harm them, because the
 castle is so strong that no one has ever sieged it.

(DSG, DCLV)

The first pair of sentences opposes the generic pronoun (in 117) to the minimizer (in 118) in a modal context. As the translations illustrate, in the first sentence, the preferred interpretation is the one where *homem* is a generic pronoun that can be equivalent to an undetermined subject. On the other hand, sentence (118) also displays a modal context, but the preferred interpretation is the one of *homem* as a minimizer with the existential reading of *anyone*. When we look at negative contexts as (119) and (120), we realize that the generic pronoun in (119) maintains its undetermined subject reading, despite different polarity of the sentence. Differently, in (120) the minimizer no longer displays an existential reading. In the scope of the negative operator *nunca*, it is interpreted as equivalent to *no one*.

Additionally, only the generic pronoun can be found in affirmative-assertive contexts as the one illustrated in (121):

(121) «Sempre homem merca bem com o pobre
 always man negotiates.^{3sg} well with the poor
 ou com o coytado».
 or with the afflicted
 ‘One always makes good business with the poor and the afflicted.’

(CGE, 2, CDXCVI)

As the previous examples show, only the minimizer is polarity-sensitive, displaying different readings depending on the polarity of the operator which scopes over it.

To reinforce the distinction between the generic pronoun and the minimizer based on polarity issues, I draw attention to a specific context which clearly disambiguates the two items, since only one of them can take part in such constructions. I am referring to exceptive constructions⁸² as the one in (122). These constructions demand the presence of negation in the first term of the construction and a NPI (which can be realized or phonologically null) in the antecedent of the exceptive clause. The function of the NPI is to introduce a generalization, with the element introduced by the exceptive particle being the exception to that same generalization. Sentences (122) and (123) present exceptive constructions with the particles *senão* and *afora* ‘except’, respectively.

- (122) E desta lança de que tu es
and of.this spear of which you are.^{2sg}
ferido nom sera homem tocado senam ãu
injured NEG will.be.^{3sg} man touched except one
soo e este sera rei e decerá de
only and this will.be.^{3sg} king and will.descend.^{3sg} from
tua linhagem.
your lineage
‘And this spear that injured you will not injure anyone except one alone
and this will be king and descent from your lineage.’

(JAR, LVI)

- (123) Aquele Focaries era tam cruu que o
that Focaries was.^{3sg} so raw that him.^{3sg.Acc}
nom podia homem sofrer, afora os seus,
NEG could man stand except the his.^{3sg}
e morava naquela pena e fizera aquela casa.
and lived.^{3sg} in.that rock and did.^{3sg} that house
‘And that Focaries was so rude that no one could stand him, except his
family and he lived in that rock and had built that house’

(JAR, LXI)

⁸² I follow O’Neill (2011) and Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén (2012) in adopting the term ‘exceptive construction’. This designation accounts for the fact that this type of constructions introduces exceptions to a generalization, independently from coordination/subordination classifications. In the Portuguese literature, these constructions have been considered as instantiations of coordination by Matos (2003) and Colaço (2005).

Both sentences present *homem* in an exceptive construction. In (122) it is stated that no one will be touched by the spear except one person. The exceptive reading is only possible if we are in the presence of *homem* as a NPI in the scope of negation, since a zero quantity reading is demanded, in order for the cardinal expression *ñu soo* ‘only one’ to be interpreted as the exception. The same logic is applied in (123), where *homem* is the NPI setting the generalization, and involving a quantity reading equivalent to ‘no people’, to which the exception *os seus* ‘his family’ is opposed to. In both cases, an undetermined subject reading would not be possible, since the presence of the NPI is mandatory, even when it is not lexically present.

I turn now to the second point of divergence between both items: indefiniteness and indeterminateness. I adopt the perspective presented by Milanez (1982).

(...) a indefinição distingue-se da indeterminação pela natureza limitada dessa generalização. Ou seja, os recursos de indefinição sempre pressupõem um conjunto “fechado” de elementos que pode ser expresso ou na sua totalidade (através das ocorrências de todos, tudo) ou no seu esvaziamento (através de nenhum, nada) ou parcialmente (através dos indefinidos alguns, uns, etc).

(Milanez 1982:39)

According to the author, the two concepts are hard to distinguish, since both imply low generalization, but only indeterminateness can imply quantification of some sort. I consider, following (Milanez 1982) that an undetermined subject is an arbitrary subject, which can include both the speaker and the hearer (first and second person subjects), while an indefinite subject cannot. This idea of undetermined subjects being able to recover first and second person subjects is also put forth by Gast & van der Auwera (2013).

As Moltmann (2010) has argued, impersonal pronouns (of a specific type) are used for ‘detached self-reference’ – with ‘referential shift’ in terms of Malamud (2012). This means, roughly speaking, that a ‘center of consciousness’ (e.g. the speaker or hearer) identifies, or is identified, with the set of referents under discussion in a process of ‘generic simulation’.

Gast & van der Auwera (2013:25)

Based on these properties, I consider that the generic pronoun *homem* introduces an undetermined subject, while the minimizer realizes an indefinite subject. The fact that only

the minimizer can occur in exceptive constructions, as shown before, can be seen as an argument in favor of Milanez (1982)'s association of indefinite subjects to some kind of quantification. In the contexts presented to illustrate exceptive constructions, we found *homem* representing an empty set, from which the exception was drawn, by presenting a member of the set in a quantity higher than zero. I will try to exemplify the distinction between both items with the examples provided in (124) and (125) which correspond to uses of *homem* as a subject.

- (124) Passado aquele perigo, eis doutra parte os
 past that danger then of.other part the
 graciosos a querer práticas de mim. Não
 gracious to want practices of me.^{1sg.Dat} NEG
 pode homem viver neste mundo.
 can man live in.this world

‘After that danger, here are, on the other side, the gracious wanting practices from me. One cannot live in this world.

(cet-e-quinhetos, *Comédia dos Estrangeiros*)

- (125) Semelhava-lhe que chegava a ãu rio, o
 seemed.3^{sg.Dat} that arrived.3^{sg} to a river the
 mais feo e o mais espantoso que
 more ugly and the more amazing that
 nunca vira e que nom poderia homem
 never saw.3^{sg} and that NEG could.3^{sg} man
 entrar em elle que nom fosse morto.
 enter in it that NEG was.3^{sg} dead

‘It seemed to him that he reached a river, the ugliest and most amazing the had ever seen and that no one could enter in it without dying.

(DSG, cc)

In the first sentence I consider that *homem* is the generic pronoun, therefore allowing an indetermined subject interpretation that may comprehend the speaker itself. The use of a first person pronoun *mim* ‘me.dative’ in the sentence anteceding the relevant context can be seen as an argument in favour of this interpretation. Differently, in (125), the use of an

arbitrary subject that can include first and second persons is less probable, especially given the presence of the subjunctive relative clause. In this case, I consider *homem* to be the minimizer and to convey an indefinite subject interpretation.

This opposition between the generic pronoun and the minimizer based on the concepts of indetermination/indefiniteness seems to reflect itself in the distribution of examples from the corpus, as far as textual genre is concerned. TABLE 3.12 presents the number of occurrences of each item in two different sources, corresponding to different textual genres.

Source/ Item	DSG (13 th century) (Arthurian novel)	Virgeu (15 th century) (religious text)
Generic pronoun	12	23
Minimizer	139	8

TABLE 3.12: NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES OF THE MINIMIZER AND THE GENERIC PRONOUN IN TWO TEXTUAL SOURCES

The interpretation of TABLE 3.12 must take into account the fact that the minimizer is, in general, much more frequent than the generic pronoun, but the 15th century is the only period when the corpus displays more generic pronouns. Also, both items experience a tendency to decrease in frequency, until their disappearance around the end of the 16th century. If we consider the fact that the generic pronoun is used as a subject indetermination strategy, then the low number of occurrences of the item in an Arthurian novel is better understood. Due to the nature of the text, which tells the story of the twelve knights' quest for the Holy Grail, it seems unlikely to have a reading where a first or second person subjects could be available. On the contrary, when we take a religious text such as the *Virgen de Consolaçon*, which verses on codes of moral conduct, it seems comprehensible to have a greater number of indeterminate subjects. The generic pronoun allows for an interpretation in which both the speaker and the reader can be considered as subjects. This makes sense if we consider that moral conduct laws are to be followed by every men and both the speaker and the reader are members of the group.

Another point that can set apart the generic pronoun from the minimizer is their syntactic behaviour concerning syntactic function and modification. Indetermination strategies are mainly associated to the subject position (cf. Gast & van der Auwera 2013), whereas items expressing indefiniteness can fulfill other syntactic functions. Data collected in the corpus seems to confirm this prediction since the generic pronoun was only found as a

subject, as in (126), while the minimizer appears as subject (127), but also with other syntactic functions.

- (126) I nam há ouro sem fezes, nem
 and NEG there.is.^{3sg} gold without worries nor
 pode ser tudo como homem quer.
 can be everything like man wants.^{3sg}
 ‘And there is no gold without worries, nor can everything be like one
 wants.’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Comédia dos Estrangeiros*)

- (127) E ao doo da rainha nunca homem
 and to.the grief of.the queen never man
 viu par.
 saw.^{3sg} pair

‘And no one saw such a pain as the one the queen suffered’

(DSG, CCCCLV)

As far as modification is concerned, I also found differences between both items. While the minimizer seems to (still) admit modification by means of an adjective (although in a special configuration, as we will see later on) or a relative clause, the same is not verified for the generic pronoun, as there are no cases of it appearing with a modifier. This restriction of the generic pronoun seems to be in line with what is described by Gast & van der Auwera (2013) for *human impersonal pronouns* deriving from common nouns meaning *man*. The authors claim that, contrary to indefinite pronouns, pronouns expressing an indetermined subject cannot receive modifiers.

Another relevant difference between the generic pronoun and the minimizer seems to be the fact that the generic pronoun is frequently found with the modal verb *dever* ‘should’, as in (128). The occurrence with *dever* represents almost 36% of the totality of examples in the corpus, while the minimizer only occurs with the same modal verb in 1,8% of the contexts.

- (128) E por esto deve homem ensinar vossa
 and for this should.^{3sg} man teach your

vinda a de Jesu Christo, quanto em
 coming to of Jesus Christ how.much in
 semelhança, ca nom por alteza.
 resemblance and NEG by pride

‘and for this one should teach your coming as that of Jesus Christ, in their resemblances, but not for pride.’

(DSG, LX)

Finally, instances of coordination can also help distinguish the two items. On the one hand, only the minimizer can appear coordinated with another minimizer, as in (129). This kind of coordination reinforces the negative existential, by excluding, not only the existence of [+ human] entities, but also [- animated] ones.

(129) «Eu som Tristão, vosso companheiro da
 I am.^{1sg} Tristan your companion of.the
 Mesa Redonda, que me pesa aa
 Table Round that me.^{1sg.dat} weights.^{3sg} the
 maravilha porque vos meti mão; e
 wonder because you.^{2pl.Dat} put.^{1sg} hand and
 sabede que, se vos conhocesse, nom
 know.^{2pl} that if You.^{2pl.acc} knew.^{1sg} NEG
 ha no mundo homem nem cousa
 there.is.^{3sg} in.the world man nor thing
 por que vos eu metesse mão».
 for which you.^{2pl.Dat} I put.^{1sg} hand

‘I am Tristan, your companion from the Round Table, who suffers for having punished you for this wonder; and believe that, if I knew it was you, there would not be anyone nor anything in the world for which I would punish you.’

(DSG, CIV)

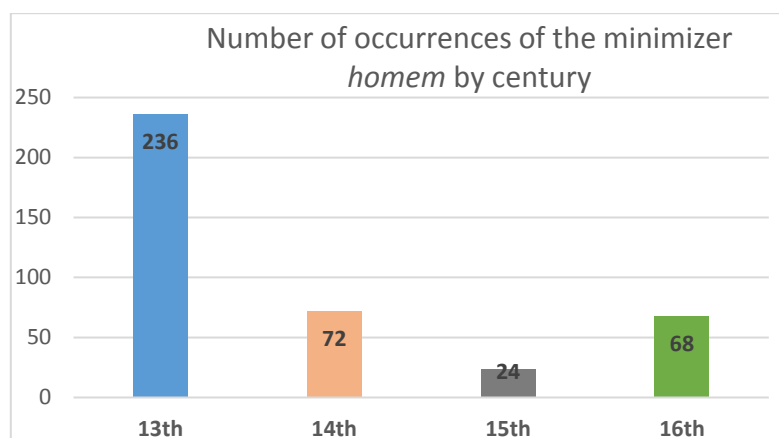
Apart from the features mentioned above, I also highlight the tendency verified in the corpus for the generic pronoun to occur in contexts that are understood as generic statements, rules or aphorisms. This is probably a reflex of the nature of the texts in which it occurs more often.

As I have tried to show, the minimizer *homem* is independent from the homonymous generic pronoun. That does not mean that the two items cannot share certain properties and display a similar interpretation in specific contexts, as the one illustrated in (130), which I have considered an ambiguous context between both items, with the two possible readings presented in a) and b).

- (130) E con todo esto, asi hé custyaada, | |
 and with all this this.way is.^{3sg} quiet
 que non pode homem saber seu talan [...]
 that NEG can.^{3sg} man know her will
- a. ‘And besides all this, she is quiet and no one can know her intentions.’ > *não pode ninguém saber*
 b. ‘And besides all this, she is quiet and one cannot know her intentions.’ > *não se pode saber*
- (TMILG, LPGP)

3.3.4.3. Frequency and distribution in the corpus

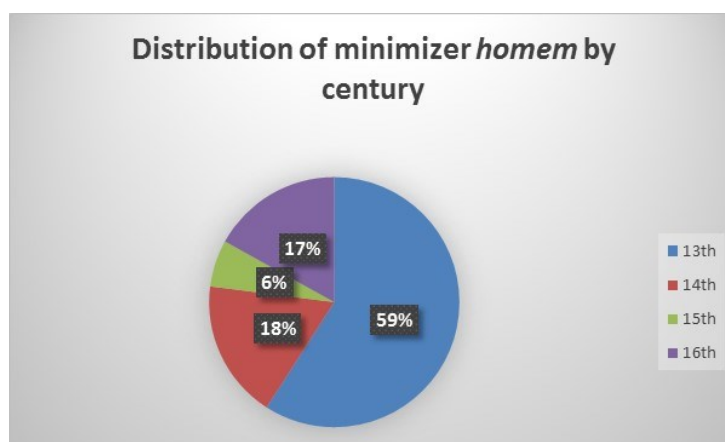
Before analysing the properties of the minimizer *homem*, it is important to look at data quantitatively. The distribution of the 400 occurrences of the minimizer *homem* in the corpus, from the 13th to the 16th century, is illustrated in GRAPH 3.6.



GRAPH 3.6: NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* BY CENTURY

As GRAPH 3.6 shows, the great majority of the examples is concentrated in the 13th century, with 236 cases, while in the following centuries we observe a decrease in this item’s

frequency, with only 24 examples attested in the 15th century. These values can be confirmed again in GRAPH 3.7, which shows the same data, but in percentage.



GRAPH 3.7: DISTRIBUTION OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* BY CENTURY

The values found for the 16th century seem to indicate an unexpected rise in the frequency of the item. However, when we take into consideration the source of the examples, we realize that the apparent increase in the frequency is actually a reflex of text typology and the decisions I have made concerning text dating.

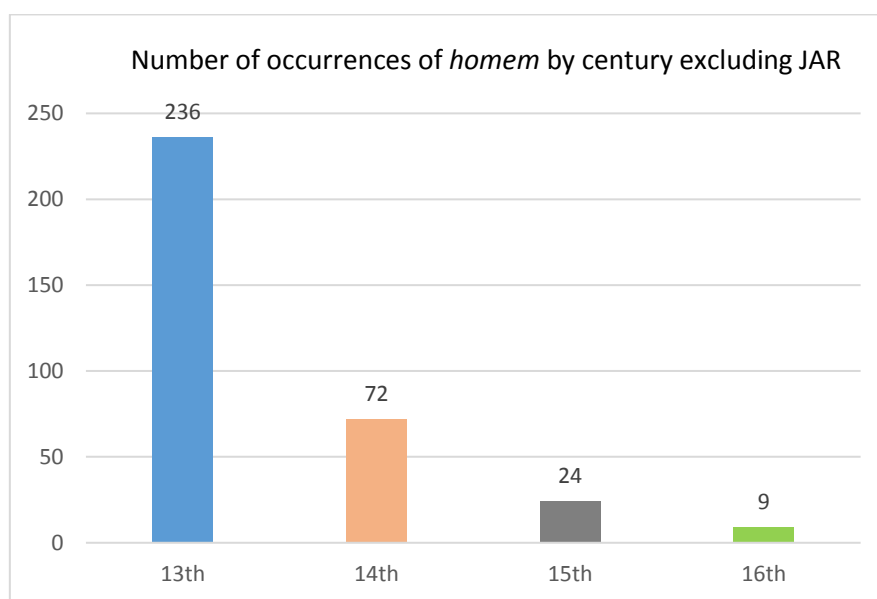
The distribution of the item by century and source is illustrated in TABLE 3.13 below and helps us understand the higher number of examples in the 16th century when compared with the preceding century.

Distribution of <i>homem</i> by source/century																						
13th century			14th century							15th century						16th century						
DSG	TN	CSM and LPGP	LPGP	TN	VHLJ	CGE	VS	DG	DC	CDPM	CFD	CDJ	CDAH	Exopo	Virgeu	OE	Doc Not	JAR	VFBM	CARDS/PS	cet-e-quinhe ntos	Total
139	6	91	1	3	2	48	9	8	1	4	5	1	1	1	8	3	1	59	1	2	6	400
236			72							24						68						

TABLE 3.13: DISTRIBUTION OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* BY TEXTUAL SOURCE AND CENTURY ⁸³

⁸³ The key for the abbreviations used in the table is as follows: DSG=Demanda do Santo Graal; TN=Texto Notarial; CSM=Cantigas de Santa Maria; LPGP=Lírica Profana Galego-Portuguesa; CGE=Crónica Geral de Espanha; DC=Dos Costumes de Santarém; VS=Vidas de Santos de um Manuscrito Alcobacense; DG=Díálogos de São Gregório; CDPM=Crónica de Dom Pedro de Menezes; CFD=Crónica de Dom Fernando; CDJ=Crónica de Dom João I; CDAH=Crónica de Dom Afonso Henriques; Exopo=O Livro de Exopo; Virgeu=Virgeu de Consolação; OE=Orto do Esposo; JAR=Livro de José de Arimateia; VFBM=Vida de Frei Bartolameu dos Mártires; CARDS/PS=Corpus Cards/Post Scriptum; cet-e-quinhe ntos=Corpus de Textos de Teatro Quinhentista

We can see that there is variation in the number of occurrences by century, but also great discrepancy when we look at the distribution by text, with some texts assembling a high number of occurrences while others display a residual number, even in the same period of time. The influence of text typology in the frequency and distribution of minimizers had already been highlighted for minimizer *rem*. Similarly to *rem*, *homem* is also scarce in legal documents, but quite productive in medieval lyrics and even more frequent in the DSG. Also, the unexpected number of occurrences of *homem* in the 16th century (when compared to the previous century) seems to be the result of considering the data of the 16th century copy of JAR, whose lost original manuscript dates from the 13th century, as representative of 16th Portuguese (see section 2.6.1, Chapter 2). If the JAR manuscript was excluded from the 16th century subcorpus, there would be only 9 attested examples of the minimizer *homem* in 16th century texts, compared with the 24 occurrences in 15th century texts. If we take this into account GRAPH 3.6 could then be reformulated as in GRAPH 3.8, which excludes the examples extracted from the JAR text.



GRAPH 3.8: NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* BY CENTURY, EXCLUDING EXAMPLES FROM JAR

3.3.4.4. Grammatical properties and features

In this section I will draw attention to the main features of *homem*, based on the observation of the 400 examples of *homem* extracted from our corpus.

The first obvious property one can observe is the fact that *homem* always appears in the form of a bare noun, like all other indefinite minimizers, as illustrated in (131):

(131) - Dom Rodrigo, a vos fez Deus a
 Sir Rodrigo to you.^{2pl.Dat} did.^{3sg} God the
 mayor mercee que nũca fez a homem
 biggest favour that never did.^{3sg} to man
 que possamos saber.
 that can.^{1pl} know

‘- Sir Rodrigo, God did to you the biggest favour ever done to anyone
 that we can know of’

(CGE, 1, CLXXXIX)

The fact that *homem* is not preceded by a determiner goes hand in hand with the loss of referential meaning (although the existence of bare nouns in OP also plays a role, as we will see). Unlike the common noun *homem*, which refers to a specific human being, in (131) the minimizer *homem* has lost part of its original semantic meaning and maintains only a [+human] feature. Due to the preservation of this [+human] feature, *homem* was used to refer exclusively to human entities.

As we have seen before, the loss of referential meaning is also related to the loss of phi-features. Gender and number marks are progressively lost in the process of a common noun becoming a polarity item and this contributes to a non-referential reading. It is not surprising, then, that there are no occurrences of *homem* as a minimizer with plural morphology. As far as gender is concerned, *homem* originates from a masculine common noun, and refers mainly to [+human] masculine entities. Even though most of the examples found in the corpus may favour a reading in which the minimizer refers to masculine entities (see 132), there are a few in which *homem* can be interpreted as referring to a human entity that could be either masculine or feminine, such as in (133):

(132) E nunca homem de nosso linhagem fez tam
 and never man of our lineage did.^{3sg} such
 gram deslealdade.
 big disloyalty

‘And no one of our lineage has ever done such disloyalty.’

(DSG, CCLIX)

- (133) Entom fezerom viir ante elle sua irmãa
so did.^{3pl} come before he his sister
que tinham os treedores presa, e tanto
that had.^{3pl} the traitors detained and so.much
que ella viu seu irmão e o
that she saw.^{3sg} her brother and him.^{3sg.acc}
conoceo, ouve tam gram ledice que o
knew.^{3sg} had.^{3sg} such big happiness that it.^{3sg.acc}
nom poderia homem contar
NEG could.^{3sg} man tell

‘And so they brought to his presence his sister, who had been arrested by the traitors and as soon as she saw her brother and recognized him, she was so happy that no one could tell.

(DSG, CCXCI)

Nevertheless, *homem* exhibits masculine gender, which is visible whenever there is adjectival modification (134) or a passive sentence (135):

- (134) Non ssey oj’ ome tan ben razonado,|
NEG know.^{1sg} today man so well wise
que podesse contar todo o bem| de Sevilha [...]
that could.^{3sg} tell all the good of Sevilha
‘I do not know today anyone so wise who could tell all the good of Sevilha.’

(TMILG, LPGP)

- (135) Eu creo outrosy que nunca homem assy
I believe.^{1sg} also that never man this.way
ffoy anojado por sseu filho como tu
was.^{3sg} vexed by his son as you
fezeste a ser a mĩ triste e nojoso
did.^{2sg} to be to me.^{1sg.dat} sad and unhappy

'I believe that no one has ever been vexed by his soon as you made me be sad and unhappy.'

(CTA, *Vida do Honrado Infante Jasafat*)

Since masculine gender can be seen as the default gender, assuming that *homem* still kept or had already lost its phi-features is not straightforward.

Another issue that was considered relevant to assess an item's grammaticalization was the semantic specialization of verbs, since the less referential an item is, the wider is the list of verbs with which it may occur. In TABLE 3.14 I present the list of the most frequent verbs with which *homem* occurs.

Type of verb		n.º	%	%
Transitives	achar 'think/find'	11	2,8	43,3
	saber 'know'	20	5,0	
	ver 'see'	62	15,5	
	others	80	20,0	
Intransitives	morrer 'die'	4	1,0	5,0
	vir 'come'	3	0,8	
	others	13	3,3	
Modals	poder (+Inf) 'can'	77	19,3	21,0
	dever (+Inf) 'should'	7	1,8	
Existentials	haver 'there be'	98	24,5	28,3
	ser 'there be'	15	3,8	
Copulatives	ser 'be'	5	1,3	1,5
	ficar 'stay'	1	0,3	
Verbless		4	4	1,0
Total		400		

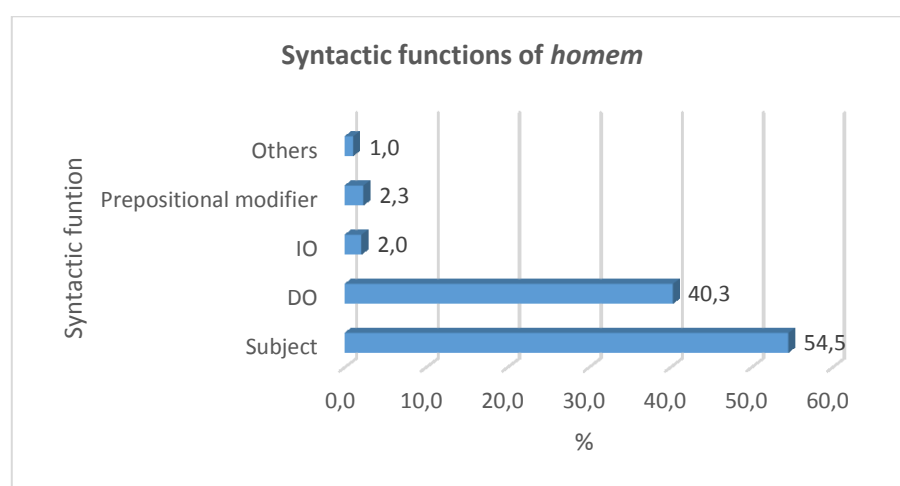
TABLE 3.14: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* WITH DIFFERENT VERBS

TABLE 3.14 shows that *homem* occurs most frequently with transitive verbs (43,3% of the overall examples). Among transitive verbs, there is a preference for the verb *ver* 'to see', which is associated to the semantic field of vision. The high frequency of this verb can be a reflex of *homem*'s [+ human] feature since it refers to an activity that requires animacy, but also intellectual properties (in the sense that the verb is used to express perception or acknowledgement by means of vision) that are intrinsically human.

It is also clear that there is a tendency for *homem* to occur with the modal verb *poder* 'can' (it represents more than 19% of the overall examples), mainly in structures involving an infinitival complement clause. Finally, and with the highest number of occurrences in the corpus is the existential verb *haver* 'there is'. As we will see in section 3.3.4.5.2., *homem*'s

frequent occurrence with an existential verb reinforces its non-referential nature and its generic reading.

Another important topic to be assessed is the syntactic function played by the minimizer *homem* in the sentence. As expected, due to its [+ human] feature, *homem* appears as a Subject in a great number of occurrences but, surprisingly, it is almost as frequent as a Direct Object (DO) than it is as a Subject. GRAPH 3.9 shows the distribution of *homem* according to the syntactic function it has in the sentences.



GRAPH 3.9: FREQUENCY OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* WITH DIFFERENT SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

The great majority of the examples displays *homem* in a Subject or Direct Object function. The high frequency of *homem* as a DO is a reflex of the high number of occurrences in existential contexts, where *homem* is the DO of impersonal verbs *haver* or *ser* (in its existential reading). Although with almost a residual frequency, *homem* is also found as an Indirect Object, a Prepositional modifier and the second term of a comparison. Contrary to what we observed for minimizer *rem*, there are no examples of *homem* with a quantificational reading or even as the DO of an optionally transitive verb. This indicates a less advanced stage of grammaticalization than what was described for *rem*, which is not surprising due to the [+ human] feature of *homem*.

Another important parameter that will help us evaluate the grammaticalization stage of *homem* is related to the possibility of accepting modification. The data show that *homem* admitted modification in almost half of the corpus attestations (there are 188 occurrences of *homem* with a modifier, which represents 47% of all entries). I find three different types of modifiers: a Prepositional Phrase, as in (136), an Adjectival Phrase, as in (137) and a relative clause as in (138).

- (136) Sabede que nunca a meu ciente matei
 know.^{2pl} that never to my aware killed.^{1sg}
 omem de vossa linhagem.
 man of your lineage
 ‘Know that, to my knowledge, I have never killed anyone of your
 lineage’
 (DSG, DLXI)

- (137) «Senhores, vos vos trabalhades em vão,
 Sirs you yourself.^{Reflex} work.^{2pl} in vain
 ca nom ha homem tam atrevido
 because NEG there.is.^{3sg} man so bold
 na vila que vos ouse albergar.
 in.the village that you.^{2pl.Acc} dare.^{3sg} shelter
 ‘Sirs, you work in vain, because there is no one so bold in the village that
 would dare to shelter you’
 (DSG, CCCXXVI)

- (138) «Vos me errastes tanto», disse Estor,
 You me.^{1sg.dat} fooled.^{2sg} so.much said.^{3sg} Estor
 «ca nom há homem no mundo
 that NEG there.is.^{3sg} man in.the world
 que tanto desame;
 that so.much dislike.^{1sg}
 ‘You have fooled me so much, said Estor, that there is no one in the
 world that I dislike so much’.
 (DSG, CXLIV)

Despite admitting modification of different sorts, the great majority of the cases are of clausal modification by a relative clause, which represents 81% of all the examples where *homem* appears with a modifier. Examples of *homem* modified by a PP correspond to 8,5% and the AP modifier is present in 10,1% of the cases of modification. In general terms,

modification by means of a PP or an AP is residual, representing only respectively 4% and 4,8% of all the occurrences. A restrictive relative clause is found in 38,3% of the totality of examples of *homem*, though.

Let us now look in more detail to each type of modification. Contrary to what we saw for *rem*, there are no cases of *homem* with a Prepositional Phrase that introduces a partitive reading. The PP modifier seems to introduce a reading of group/source to which *homem* belongs, as in (139), or its intrinsic properties as in (140).

- (139) «Pardeus, disse el-rei, «maravilhas me dizedes
 for.God said.^{3sg} the.king wonders me.^{1sg.dat} say.^{2sg}
 de seer tam bõo cavaleiro e
 of be so good knight and
 nom conhecer omem de seu linhagem
 NEG know man of his lineage
 ‘For God’s sake, said the king, you tell me wonders of being such a good knight and not knowing anyone of his lineage’

(DSG, CCCLVI)

- (140) [...] e cada dia ia sobr’ el fazer
 and each day went.^{3sg} upon he do
 seu doo tam grande que nom a
 his pity so big that NEG there.is.^{3sg}
 no mundo homem de tam duro coraçom
 in.the world man of so hard heart
 que lhe nom filhasse ende doo.
 that him.^{3sg.dat} NEG took.^{3sg} of.this pity
 ‘and every day he pitied him so much that there was no one in the world who was so cold hearted that did not feel pity of that.’

(DSG, DCVII)

On the other hand, adjectival modification is registered in very particular contexts. It is always associated to degree constructions such as comparative (141) or consecutive (142) clauses and, therefore, the adjective is never found in its normal degree.

- (141) E, se o é, nom há no
 and if it.^{3sg.acc} is.^{3sg} NEG there.is.^{3sg} in.the
 mundo homen tam poderoso como Nosso Senhor
 world man so powerful as Our Lord
 Jhesu Christo [...]
 Jesus Christ
 ‘And, if it is, there is no one in the world as powerful as Our Lord Jesus
 Christ’

(JAR, LXXXV)

- (142) [...] nom havia i homem tão ousado que
 NEG there.was.^{3sg} there man so bold that
 dentro ousasse entrar [...]
 inside dared.^{3sg} get.in
 ‘there was no one there so bold that dared to get inside’

(JAR, CXVII)

Finally, let us concentrate on modification by means of a restrictive relative clause. This type of modification occurs very frequently associated to existential and degree constructions. Since these two structures will be debated in section 3.3.4.5, here I will focus only in the general features of these relative clauses.

Modification by means of a restrictive relative clause is said to contribute to the referential reading of the NP it modifies, since restrictive relatives contribute to assign referentiality. This seems to be in contradiction with the non-referential reading I have claimed for minimizer *homem*. Nevertheless, when we go through the cases of relative clause modification, we realize that, in 91,5% of them, we find subjunctive mood being used in the relative clause, as in (143). Only a residual number of relative clauses displays indicative (144) or, in alternative, infinitive mood (145).

- (143) E esto podiam elles muy ligeiramente fazer,
 and this could.^{3pl} they very fast do
 ca nom era homen ãna villa que
 because NEG was.^{3sg} man in.the village that

armas podesse tomar [...]

arms could.^{3sg} take

‘And they could do this very fast, because there was no one in the village

that could take arms.’

(CGE, 1, CXCVIII)

(144) [...] poren dizen que nunca mais valrá | ome

but say.^{3pl} that never more be.worth.^{3sg} man

que filha sempr’ e que non dá [...]

who takes.^{3sg} always and who NEG gives.^{3sg}

‘but they say that anyone who takes and never gives will never be worthy’

(TMILG, LPGP)

(145) Estava o Arcebispo só, não tinha homem

was.^{3sg} the archbishop alone NEG had.^{3sg} man

de quem se valer [...]

of whom SE.^{Reflex} be.worth

‘The Archbishop was alone, he had no one to rely on’

(Tycho Brahe, VFBM)

The presence of subjunctive mood seems to be a key factor in these relative clauses. According to Giannakidou (2001), the subjunctive is a non-deictic mood which cannot receive a contextual value and, therefore, it is not odd that it can appear in these contexts. This way, Pompei (2011) argues that subjunctive is selected in restrictive relative clauses marked by the features [- Definite, - Specific] only. A similar idea has been defended by Marques (1995) for Portuguese restrictive relative clauses. Marques (1995:150) considers that the subjunctive mood can be selected in restrictive relative clauses whenever they occur in an opaque context, where the relativized NP may have a non-specific nature. Furthermore, subjunctive mood may be present even when the relativized NP appears in a transparent context if the main clause is negative. More recently, Marques (2013:684) has highlighted the fact that the mood selection is responsible for a different interpretation of the relativized NP. A relativized non-referential NP can only occur with subjunctive (but not with indicative mood) when we deny the existence of the entities it refers or when those

entities may or may not exist. We can, then, say that subjunctive mood is selected by restrictive relative clauses modifying non-veridic NPs. This idea has been put forth by Quer (1998) who claims that the reason for selecting subjunctive mood in a relative clause is to indicate that the clause needs to be evaluated in a non-veridical model.

The non-veridical nature of the minimizer justifies the use of subjunctive mood but does not give us clues to explain why the indefinite minimizer occurs relativized with such a frequency. Panzeri (2006) puts forward an interesting theory that may help understand the motivation of relative clause modification in the aforementioned contexts. The author considers that

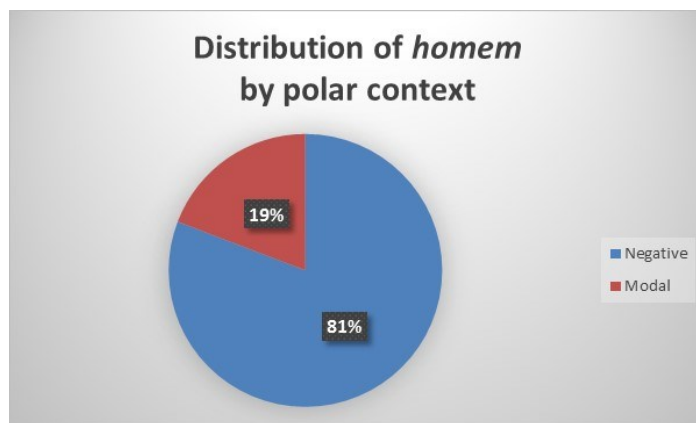
in “normal” environments the move of domain widening would lead to a weakening of the claim made, but in downward monotone contexts, such as negated sentences, this expansion of the domain leads to a stronger claim.

Panzeri (2006:67)

Panzeri (2006:67) also adds that, «since the relative clause combines with a noun, this has the effect of widening the domain of quantification from which the quantified expression picks its reference» and predicts that «in downward entailing environments, if the quantified expression is an indefinite, this enlargement of the domain strengthens the claim made». This means that, despite being a restrictive relative clause, it has the effect of broadening the domain of quantification of *homem*, which, by its turn, produces an emphatic interpretation of the predicate which is being negated.

In this section I have shown that *homem* admitted different types of modification, but with different frequency and, in the case of adjectival and clausal modification, there are special structures associated that need to be considered. Nevertheless, it is clear that *homem* was in an initial stage of grammaticalization as far as modification is concerned, since it could still occur with PPs, APs and relative clauses.

Homem appears in two polar contexts: modal and negative. There are no occurrences of *homem* in affirmative assertive sentences with polar interpretation. Furthermore, the distribution between modal and negative contexts is not even, with negative contexts being far more frequent, as GRAPH 3.10 illustrates.



GRAPH 3.10: DISTRIBUTION OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* BY POLAR CONTEXT

As we can see, in the great majority of the examples (81%) *homem* appears in the scope of a negative operator with negative interpretation, such as in (146). On the other hand, in 19% of the contexts we find *homem* in a modal environment, with existential reading, such as in (147).

- (146) E ela era tam freamosa e tam pagadoira
and she was.^{3sg} so beautiful and so affordable
que no mundo nom acharia homem outra
that in.the world NEG would.find.^{3sg} man other
tal de sa idade.
such of her age
‘And she was so beautiful and affordable that no one would find in the world another like her of her age.
(DSG, DCXLII)

- (147) E sabede que a sepultura de Lamorac
and know.^{2pl} that the grave of Lamorac
era tam rica e tam freamosa, que
was.^{3sg} so rich and so beautiful that
adur poderia homem achar milhor no mundo.
hardly could.^{3sg} man find better in.the world
‘And beware that Lamorac’s grave was so rich and beautiful than hardly could anyone find better in the world.’
(DSG, CXXXIII)

In face of what has been said, I consider that *homem* was a weak NPI already in the 13th century, but its level of grammaticalization was low throughout the 13th to 16th centuries period, as it still allowed different types of modification.

Finally, one last point involving word order patterns should be addressed in the description of the minimizer *homem*. Data show that, in contexts where *homem* is the subject and there is a verbal compound, it frequently appears with subject-auxiliary inversion.

The term subject-auxiliary inversion is usually used applying to the English language to refer to a phenomenon in English where the typical declarative word order subject-auxiliary-verb is instead realized as auxiliary-subject-verb. This inversion occurs in yes-no questions, for instance (questions that seek an answer of either “yes” or “no”) (Bruening 2017). I considered that there is subject-inversion in cases where the Subject appears after the modal verb, but before the infinitive (in what I encoded as medial position in the database). I am assuming here Gonçalves (1993) proposal for the classification of modal verbs. The author argues that modal verbs cannot assign a thematic role to the Subject of the infinitive, being that role assigned by the infinitive verb. However, the Subject moves to the left to receive Case, being its standard position the one on the left of the modal verb.

Before looking at word order patterns with auxiliary modal verbs, I will first look at sentences with only a main verb. Subjects usually occupy a canonical position on the left of the verb, since, in Portuguese, subjects raise to Spec, IP. This pattern was what I generally found for *homem*.

Let us look at TABLE 3.15:

Position of <i>homem</i> when Subject			
		n.º occurrences	%
Position	pre-verbal	102	75,6
	post-verbal	33	24,4
	Total	135	

TABLE 3.15: FREQUENCY OF *HOMEM* IN PRE AND POST-VERBAL POSITIONS WHEN SUBJECT

As one can see, *homem* frequently appears as a preverbal Subject, assuming a canonical position. These values contrast with the ones presented in TABLE 3.16, which only considers verbal complexes, formed by an auxiliary verb and a main verb (these are mainly cases of modal verbs followed by an infinitive complement).

Position of <i>homem</i> when Subject of auxiliary verbs			
Position		<i>n.^o</i> <i>occurrences</i>	%
		pré-verbal	25
	medial	54	65,1
	pós-verbal	4	4,8
		83	

TABLE 3.16: FREQUENCY OF *HOMEM* IN PRE AND POST-VERBAL POSITIONS WHEN SUBJECT OF AUXILIARY VERBS

When occurring as Subject in a sentence with only a main verb, *homem* appears more than 75% of the times in the canonical subject position, at the left of the verb. Nevertheless, in verbal complexes, with an auxiliary and a main verb, it tends to occur between the two verbs, in a subject-auxiliary inversion configuration in more than 65% of the times.

If we look at the type of verbs that appear as auxiliaries, we see a clear predominance of the modal verbs *poder* and *dever*. In fact, all the examples where *homem* appears post-verbally, in a subject-auxiliary inversion configuration, have a modal verb as an auxiliary.

The work by Silva (2003) about modal verbs in Old Portuguese shows that post-verbal subjects of infinitives selected by modal verbs started being more frequent in the 13th and 14th centuries. What is interesting in the data presented by Silva (2003) is the fact that most of these post-verbal subjects appear in contexts in which the left periphery of the sentence is occupied by elements receiving a Topic interpretation. The author gives as examples temporal and conditional clauses, adjunct prepositional phrases, relative clauses and direct complements moved by scrambling. Looking at data, I identify some of the contexts referred in Silva (2003), such as conditional (148) and temporal clauses (149):

- (148) Se fosse christão, muito devia homem prezar
 if was.^{3sg} Christian much should.^{3sg} man cherish
 sua cavalaria [...]
 his chivalry
 ‘If he was a Christian, anyone should cherish his chivalry’

(DSG, CCCLXVIII)

- (149) Quando as ostes foram assūadas no campo
 when the armies were.^{3pl} gathered in.the field
 de Salaber, ali poderia omem veer de

of Salaber there could.^{3sg} man see of
 bõos cavaleiros dũa parte e doutra.
 good knight of.one part and of.other
 ‘When the armies were gathered in the field of Salaber, there anyone could
 see good knights from each part.’

(DSG, DCLXXIII)

There is, however, a context not mentioned by Silva (2003) which stands out in a considerable part of the cases: consecutive clauses or alike, as in examples (150) and (151). Differently from temporal and conditionals, consecutives are not considered adverbial clauses (cf. Brito & Matos 2003:754).

(150) E estando catando acima della, teverom olho
 and being observing above of.her had.^{3pl} eye
 e virom ante si no pee della⁸⁴
 and saw.^{3pl} before SI.^{Reflex} in.the foot her
 tam preto do mar que poderia homem
 so close of.the sea that could.^{3sg} man
 i chegar com duas lanças
 there get with two spears

‘And watching over her, they had vision and saw before them, in her foot,
 so close from the sea that anyone could reach there with two spears’

(DSG, CCCXXI)

(151) Aquela besta era tal que ja de longe
 that beast was.^{3sg} such that already of far
 nom a poderia homem veer.
 NEG it.^{3sg.acc} could.^{3sg} man see

‘That beast was such that from a distance no one could see it.’

(JAR, II)

Both sentences display a consecutive clause with an intensity particle of the type *tão/tal* ‘so/such’, followed by the second member of the construction, in which *homem* is included. These constructions seem to favour a post-verbal position of the subject.

⁸⁴ The word “della” is my correction. The consulted edition (Piel & Nunes 1988) had “no pee **delta**”. After consulting the facsimile, I concluded it was probably a transcription typo.

According to Silva (2003), when infinitives selected by a modal verb display a post-verbal subject, we have movement of the modal auxiliary to T, while the subject remains VP internal, in its core position. I have not reached a conclusion as to why the minimizer *homem* appears as subject in post-verbal position with a high frequency, while other items such as *nenhum* [+hum] and *ninguém* seem to prefer pre-verbal positions. This is a topic that should be pursued in future work.

3.3.4.5. *Homem* and special constructions

In the previous sections, while describing *homem*'s grammatical properties, I have paid attention to its regular occurrence in special structures which deserve a detailed approach. I am referring to 1) degree constructions; and 2) existential construction. I will look in detail at these two different constructions which, as we will see throughout this section, are intimately related to each other and to the nature of this particular minimizer.

3.3.4.5.1. Degree constructions

The relation between minimizers and degree has been widely debated since the expression of a minimal degree is an intrinsic property of minimizers. It is also consensual that negation is itself an operator with the ability to reverse scales. In this section I will not debate the intrinsic scalarity of minimizer *homem*, but a different phenomenon: its frequent occurrence with what is generally known as *degree constructions*. I will start by clarifying what I have considered to be a degree construction and then I will address the issue of degree constructions in relation to *homem*.

Throughout this work I have used the expression *degree constructions* to refer to three types of constructions: consecutives, superlatives and comparatives. The first group contains consecutive clauses, more specifically consecutive clauses with an antecedent, which can display and adjectival, adverbial, nominal or verbal expression that, as highlighted by Brito & Matos (2016:45), is «affected by an overt degree or quantifying expression». In the second group I will refer to superlative constructions, more specifically sentences with an adjective in the superlative relative degree. I have finally considered a third group composed by comparative clauses, which contains a very scarce number of examples and, therefore, will not be subject to scrutiny.

Degree constructions are present in almost 40% of the corpus attestations of *homem* as a minimizer, which means they constitute a very relevant context for its occurrence. TABLE 3.17 shows the distribution of each type of degree construction involving *homem*.

Type of degree construction and polarity					
		Polarity	n.º occ.	total	%
Degree	consecutive	neg	102	108	66,3
		mod	6		
	superlative	neg	0	21	12,9
		mod	21		
	tão+adjective	neg	4	4	2,5
		mod	0		
Comparative	equality	neg	14	14	8,6
		mod	0		
	superiority	neg	8	8	4,9
		mod	0		
	pseudocomparative	neg	1	8	4,9
		mod	7		
				163	

TABLE 3.17: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* ACCORDING TO TYPE AND POLARITY OF THE DEGREE CONSTRUCTION

Looking at TABLE 3.17 we realize that consecutive clauses are, by far, the most frequent structure, representing 66,3% of all degree constructions. Therefore, I will start by looking at them first.

Consecutive constructions are said to express a consequence associated to a degree. According to Marques (2016), this consequence is expressed by a clause which is selected by a degree operator (the consecutive operator). The operator, along with the clause it selects, form a predication about a degree.

As presented in TABLE 3.17, there are 108 consecutive clauses involving the minimizer *homem*. Since 53,7% of all consecutive clauses also involve the presence of an existential construction, I will approach those examples with more detail when I address existential constructions in the following subsection.

The first thing to notice when observing the distribution of *homem* in consecutive clauses is the fact that it may appear in different positions within the construction. I found two patterns: one in which *homem* is modified by the adjective in the scope of the consecutive operator, as in (152), or, alternatively, modified by a PP that contains the

adjective scoped by the consecutive operator, as in (153); and another in which *homem* appears within the consecutive clause, as exemplified in (154).

- (152) E eu te mostrarei gram parte das
 and I you.^{2sg.Dat} show.^{1sg} big part of.the
 minhas palavras, que jamais nom acharás homem
 my words that never NEG find.^{3sg} man
 tão sesudo que possa entender o que
 so wise that can.^{3sg} understand the what
 te direi eu e farei dizer.
 you.^{2sg.Dat} will.say.^{1sg} I and will.do.^{1sg} say

‘And I will show you a great part of my words, that you will never find anyone so wise that can understand what I will tell you and what I will make say’

(JAR, XXIIX)

- (153) E, quando foram na camara, mostrou-lhe
 and when went.^{3pl} in.the chamber showed.him.^{3sg.Dat}
 ela Perrom, tam coytado que nom
 she Perrom so heartbroken that NEG
 havia homem de tam duro coração
 there.was.^{3sg} man of so hard heart
 que nom houvesse dele piedade.
 that NEG had.^{3sg} of.him mercy

‘And when they went to the chamber, she showed him Perrom, so heartbroken that there was no one so hard hearted that did not pity him.’

(JAR, CIX)

- (154) E, dentro ãna tenda, hya hũa
 and inside in.the tent went.^{3sg} a
 cadeira tam rica e assi boa
 chair so rich and this.way good
 que nũca homen vyo melhor.
 that never man saw.^{3sg} better

‘And inside the tent there was such a rich and good chair that no one had ever seen better.’

(CGE, 1, CCI)

The second pattern is, by far, the most frequent, while the first pattern appears in a limited number of examples. The distribution of *homem* in relation to consecutive clauses is illustrated in TABLE 3.18 below.

Distribution of <i>homem</i> in consecutive clauses	n.º occurrences	%
- <i>Homem</i> modified by the adjective in the scope of the consecutive operator ⁸⁵	12	11.1%
- <i>Homem</i> in the consecutive clause	94	87%
- <i>Homem</i> in the consecutive clause and modified by the adjective in the scope of a second consecutive operator	2	1,9%

TABLE 3.18: PATTERNS AND FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* IN CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES

In the cases where *homem* appears outside the consecutive clause, as in the first pattern, it is always licensed by a negative operator. The consecutive clause can either be affirmative, as the sentence presented above in (152), or negative as in (155) below. Interestingly, whenever the consecutive clause is negative, there is an existential construction involved.

(155) E eu lhe respondi que nom
 and I him.^{3sg.Dat} answered.^{3sg} that NEG
 haveria homem tam descrido e duvidoso
 there.would.be.^{3sg} man so discredited and doubtful
 que, tanto que me quiser ouvir, que
 that much that me.^{1sg.Acc} wants.^{3sg} hear that
 lhe nom fizesse entender como sam tres
 him.^{3sg.Dat} NEG made.^{3sg} understand how are.^{3sg} three
 pessoas da Trindade por isto que eu vi
 people of.the Trinity for this that I saw.^{1sg}

⁸⁵ I include here the cases of *homem* modified by a PP that contains the adjective scoped by the consecutive operator

‘And I answered him that there wasn’t anyone so discredited and doubtful that, as long as he wanted to hear me, I would not make him understand that the Trinity are three people, based on what I saw.’

(JAR, VIII)

As far as the second pattern is concerned, *homem* appears in the consecutive clause and, in more than 95% of the cases, it appears in the scope of negation, with negative interpretation as in (156). In only 6 examples do we find *homem* with modal interpretation, as in (157).

(156) [...] e aquelas candeas erão de tantas
 and those lamps were.^{3pl} of so.many
 cores que homem nom podia cuidar.
 colours that man NEG could.^{3sg} think
 ‘and those lamps were of so many colours that no one could believe’

(JAR, XI)

(157) [...] e sabede que sas armas eram taes
 and know.^{2pl} that his arms were.^{3pl} such
 que adur poderia homem melhores achar.
 that hardly could.^{3sg} man better find
 ‘and know that his arms were such that hardly could anyone find better ones’

(DSG, DLXV)

In the 6 examples with modal polarity, *homem* is licensed by the adverb *adur* ‘hardly’ and there is also a modal verb in the consecutive clause. Examples with modal and negative polarity produce different interpretations, as expected, but they also differ in what I will call *strength of the claim*. A positive interpretation is expected for *homem* in sentence (157), since the minimizer is here licensed by a modal operator, while in sentence (156) we expect to find a negative interpretation of the item, due to the presence of a negative licenser. Therefore, in sentence (156) it is claimed that the lamps were of so many colours that no one could believe, while in sentence (157) it is said that the weapons were so good that it would be hard for anyone to find better. Despite the obvious difference, both sentences

state that something or someone had a property in such a high degree that the stated degree could not be equated. While the negative consecutive strongly claims that impossibility, the modal consecutive, by means of the adverb *adur* ‘hardly’, narrows down that possibility to its minimum, therefore offering a weaker claim.

Negative consecutive clauses involving *homem* also very frequently display a comparative clause of equality (with *tanto* ‘so much’) without the second term of comparison as in (158) and (159):

- (158) E pois foi rei, fez fazer
 and then was.^{3sg} king did.^{3sg} do
 sobe-la tavoa u o santo Graal
 upon.the table where the holy Grail
 estava ãa volta da boveda d’
 was.^{3sg} a turn of.the dome of
 ouro e de pedras preciosas tam
 gold and of stones precious so
 ricas que nunca homem viu tanto.
 rich that never man saw.^{3sg} so.much

‘A when he became king, he ordered to be done, on the table where the Holy Grail was, a turn of dome made with gold and precious stones so rich that no one had ever seen such.’

(DSG, DCXXVII)

- (159) E ouve nome Vadaas o Negro e
 and had.^{3sg} name Vadaas the Black and
 era de mui gram guisa mas
 was.^{3sg} of much big manner but
 era tam bravo e tam envejosso
 was.^{3sg} so rough and so jealous
 que nom sabia homem cavaleiro tanto.
 that NEG knew.^{3sg} man knight so.much

‘And he received the name Vadaas, the Black, and he was of noble manners, but so rough and so jealous that no one knew a knight as such’

(DSG, DCLIX)

In sentence (158) what is being emphasized is the richness of the precious stones, with the adjective *ricas* ‘rich’ in the scope of the consecutive operator. However, the

consecutive clause also contains a comparative of equality without a lexically realized second term of comparison. It is assumed that the term of comparison is recovered from the main clause. The maximal degree of richness is highlighted by stating that no one had ever seen precious stones as rich as those. The presence of the negative indefinite *nunca* ‘never’ helps emphasize the maximal degree since it denies, not the pure existence of an equal (since the possibility of existing precious stones with the same degree of richness is not denied), but the fact that at least one person, in a given moment, might have seen precious stones with the same degree of richness. Here *nunca* sets a temporal boundary, predicting that there does not exist a moment in time (until the enunciation moment) when the maximal degree has met an equal. Sentence (159), on the other hand, is similar to the previous one but does not contain a temporal boundary introduced by *nunca*, thus being less emphatic.

Apart from consecutives, we also find *homem* in superlative constructions, although with much less frequency. Superlatives are an interesting topic of research due to their proximity with NPIs. In particular contexts, superlatives are said to be able to have a quantificational reading similar to a universal quantifier, as in (160), but they can also appear without any quantification reading as in (161).

(160) Peter cannot cook the simplest dish. (=Peter cannot cook any dish.)

(161) Peter can cook the simplest dish. (But he cannot make a sandwich.)

According to Israel (2011:49), this is so because «such superlative NPs are thus semantically polarized: their interpretation, though not their grammaticality, depends on a context’s polarity». Superlatives are usually described as expressing what Israel (2011) calls an “extreme value”, taking into consideration all the members of the relevant group. The members of the relevant group may not be explicit, but when they are, they assume the form of a PP or a relative clause. It is in the scope of the relative clause that the occurrences of *homem* take place. The sentence in (162) exemplifies *homem* in a superlative construction.

(162) E o filho era o mais fremoso donzel
 and the son was.^{3sg} the more handsome young.noble
 que omem visse em toda a terra [...]
 that man saw.^{3sg} in all the land

‘And the son was the most handsome young noble that anyone might see in the whole land’.

(DSG, CCCXVIII)

As we can see, the item *homem* appears inside the relative clause that modifies the superlative NP, contributing to set the members of the relevant group that need to be taken into account to interpret the superlative NP. In this context, *homem* receives a positive interpretation since it is in the scope of a degree operator and there is no negative element in the sentence. Nevertheless, most of the corpus examples actually contain the negative adverb *nunca* ‘never’ taking scope over the minimizer *homem*, as illustrated in (163). Contrary to expectations, even in those contexts, *homem* receives a positive interpretation.

- (163) «Eu achei a maior maravilha que nunca
I found.^{1sg} the bigger wonder that never
omem viu.
man saw.^{3sg}
‘I found the biggest wonder anyone had ever seen’.

(DSG, DLXXXIV)

Example (163) contrasts with (164), since, in this last example, *homem* has a negative interpretation and is legitimated by the negative adverb *nunca*.

- (164) E sem falta assi foy que
and without fail this.way was.^{3sg} that
nunca homem que i viesse a
never man that here came.^{3sg} it.^{3sg,acc}
pôde erguer, afora Lançarote do Lago,
could.^{3sg} rise except Lancelot of.the Lake
que a gram trabalho a ergueo.
who to big work it.^{3sg,acc} raised.^{3sg}

‘And without fail it was so that never anyone who came there could raise it except for Lancelot of the Lake who raised it with great effort.’

(JAR, CXIII)

The difference between examples (163) and (164) actually relies on the polarity of the adverb *nunca*. To the best of my knowledge, the status of *nunca* in OP has not been studied yet, but we find at least one entry in the DDMG (*Dicionário dos Dicionários de Galego Medieval*) where *nunca* appears as equivalent to *alguma vez* ‘ever’,⁸⁶ just as in superlative constructions. This, along with the examples found in the corpus indicate that, during a period of time in Portuguese, *nunca* remained ambiguous between a strong NPI and a Modal Polarity Item (MPI).⁸⁷ This means that, as a strong NPI it would be intrinsically negative and would be able to license a weak NPI such as the minimizer *homem*. However, as a MPI it would acquire a positive interpretation and would need to be licensed by a modal operator.

Going back to example (163), what we find is *nunca* as a MPI. Both the MPI *nunca* and the minimizer *homem* are licensed by the superlative clause, which is a modal context and, therefore, it is a licensing contexts for weak NPIs and MPIs. Since they are licensed by a modal context, they receive positive interpretation. On the contrary, in (164), *nunca* is a strong NPI which licenses *homem* with negative interpretation.

The adverb *nunca* did not survive as a MPI, though, as the example from CEP in (165) illustrates.

- (165) *Os termómetros atingiram hoje a temperatura mais alta que nunca se registou.

The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (165) shows us that CEP *nunca* appears only as a strong NPI and, therefore, can no longer be licensed by a modal context, as is the case of superlative clause.⁸⁸

Now that we have seen that the presence of *nunca* does not necessarily render the context negative, it seems important to determine its function within the relative clause when it is an MPI (instead of a strong NPI). We saw that the relative clause sets the relevant group of comparison, including all its members. Sentences that display *nunca* alongside

⁸⁶ *Nunca*. adv. XXX, 2, CXLIX, 5, etc., CXCIV, 13, CCIV, 5, CCXII, 9, CCCXVIII, 5, etc., CCCXXXII, 5, etc., *alguma vez*. (*Cantigas d' amigo*). In J. J. Nunes (1928): *Cantigas d' amigo dos trovadores galego-portugueses*. Vol. III \ (Glossário\). Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.

⁸⁷ In this sense, *nunca* in OP would behave as Spanish, Galician, French and Italian, in modern stages, whose negative indefinites are still ambiguous between strong NPIs and MPIs, according to the analysis by Martins (1997, 2000).

⁸⁸ Marques (2004:167) presents similar examples as grammatical, arguing that, in those cases the items *ninguém* and *nunca* are negative quantifiers (existential quantifiers under the scope of negation) and not negative polarity items.

homem reinforce the superlative degree by presenting as the reference group a group that does not indicate specific elements but allows for the consideration of the maximal number of elements (value conveyed by *homem*) and within the maximal temporal frame (conveyed by *nunca*). In a sentence such as (166), it is stated that the joy (*ledice*) made was the greatest while compared to the joy made by an indefinite number of human beings (which can comprise the totality of existing human beings) within an indefinite temporal window (which can comprehend every single moment from the creation of life to the enunciation moment). We can then assume that *a maior ledice que nunca homem viu* is, in terms of meaning, equivalent to a negative comparative *nunca ninguém viu maior ledice*.

- (166) Entom tenderam os braços e abraçaram-se
 so stretches.^{3pl} the arms and embrace.SE.^{Recip}
 e fezerom a maior ledice que
 and did.^{3pl} the bigger joy that
 nunca homem viu.
 never man saw.^{3sg}
 ‘ they stretched their arms and hold each other and did the biggest joy
 anyone had ever seen.’

(DSG, DXXI)

3.3.4.5.2. Existential Constructions

As pointed out before, *homem* occurs quite frequently in existential constructions with the existential verbs *haver* and *ser* ‘there.to.be’. In these sentences, *homem* always appears as the DO of the existential verb. When we look at these structures in more detail we realize that they follow very strict patterns. Firstly, they display, almost exclusively, negative polarity (there are only 3 non-negative examples in the corpus). Secondly, in 90,4% of the cases, *homem* appears modified by a restrictive relative clause, always with subjunctive mood (there are 2 exceptions to this rule in the corpus). And thirdly, in a considerable number of cases (44,4%) there is a degree-like construction involved.

But before looking at the data, let me introduce the notion of ‘existential construction’. Existential constructions have been long noticed as special structures and have received different analysis throughout the years (cf. Hazout 2004, McNally 1998, 2011, Bentley *et al.* 2013, Francez 2009, a.o.). According to McNally (2011:1829), «the term

‘existential sentence’ is used to refer to a specialized or non-canonical construction which expresses a proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something». It is generally assumed that an existential sentence displays the structure presented in (167), where the Expletive is an expletive subject (or non-referential notional subject), Preform is an adverbial locative form, Copula the existential verb, Pivot the NP immediately following the verb and Coda the expression which specifies the domain of existence of the element denoted by the Pivot. Codas are said to assume the form of a PP, an AP, a Participial or a Gerundive clause (cf. Francez 2009).

(167) (Expletive) (preform) (copula) pivot (coda)

(Bentley *et al.* 2013:1)

Works on existential constructions have focused not only on their syntactic analysis, but also in the semantic interpretation. One of the ongoing topics of research is the nature of the NP which functions as the Pivot. Even though examples with definite DPs are provided by some authors as perfectly grammatical in existential constructions, it is usually assumed, alongside McNally (1998:358), that:

‘There be’ is compatible only with necessarily quantificational NPs whose descriptive content ranges over nonparticulars in virtue of the hypothesis that the argument of the existential predicate is sortally restricted to non-particular.

(McNally 1998:358)

This means that, in general, existential constructions are not felicitous with definite DPs, as they are subject to the *definiteness restriction*, which prevents definite DPs (including proper nouns) and some quantificational DPs from being a Pivot. Existential constructions are, then, expected with indefinite DPs and bare nouns.

We can see that there is a clear relation between existential constructions and indefiniteness, which favours the occurrence of the indefinite minimizer *homem* as the pivot in these constructions, since it is non-referential. But why do we find *homem* almost exclusively in negative existential constructions? Existential constructions are intimately related to negation since they are one of the strategies languages use to replace indefinite pronouns (cf. Haspelmath 1997). Furthermore, the expression of negation by means of an existential sentence has been proven to represent an evolutionary cycle similar to the

Jespersen Cycle. Croft (1991) has called it the *Negative Existential Cycle* (also known as Croft's Cycle) and has shown that, in some languages, standard negation markers arise from existential negators by merger of the copula with a negative element. Veselinova (2013) has even shown that there are languages in which negative existential sentences are independent from standard negation, using different negation strategies.

Existential constructions represent an important part of the overall contexts of occurrence of the minimizer *homem*, since they are nearly a third of all corpus attestations (32%). Sentence (168) illustrates the prototypical occurrence of *homem* in an existential construction, while (168b) shows the correspondence between the schema presented in (167) and the elements contained in the sentence.

(168)	«Vos	me	errastes	tanto»,	disse	Estor,
	you	me. ^{1sg.acc}	mistaken. ^{2pl}	so.much	said. ^{3sg}	Estor
	«ca	nom	ha	homem	no	mundo
	that	NEG	there.is. ^{3sg}	man	in.the	world
	que	tanto	desame;			
	that	so.much	dislike. ^{1sg}			

'You have fooled me so much, said Estor, that there is no one in the world I dislike more'

(DSG, CXLIV)

(168b)	[]	[nom]	[ha]	[homem;]	[no mundo]	[que; tanto desame]
	(expletive)		NEG	copula	pivot	coda	

As we can see, we have a negative existential construction, where the existential verb *haver* corresponds to the copula, while the indefinite minimizer *homem* is the pivot. The coda assumes the form of a PP with locative interpretation.

It is generally assumed that all elements, except the pivot, are optional in an existential construction. This is verified in my corpus, since the great majority of the occurrences does not display a coda. Nevertheless, there is an element that seems to be almost mandatory in these constructions and which is present in (168) above: a restrictive relative clause.

The existential constructions with *homem* seem to exhibit two different patterns: one without a coda, but with a relativized pivot and another with a coda, which has, in most

cases a relativized pivot. I could not find any examples without a coda where the pivot was not modified by a restrictive relative clause, which suggests that at least one of the elements (the coda or the relative clause) must be present.

TABLE 3.19 shows the frequency rates of each pattern found.

Patterns of existential constructions with <i>homem</i>		n.ºocc.	%
with coda	Locative (PP or ADV)	1	0,9
	Adjective or Non-locative PP	3	2,6
	Locative + relative clause	43	37,7
	Adjective or Non-locative PP + relative clause	3	2,6
	Locative + relative clause + relative clause	3	2,6
	Locative (PP or ADV) + ADJ	7	6,1
	Locative (PP or ADV) + ADJ + relative clause	2	1,8
	Locative (PP or ADV) + relative clause + relative clause	1	0,9
	sub-total	63	55,3
without coda	relativized pivot	17	14,9
	relativized pivot + relative clause	34	29,8
	sub-total	50	44,7
	total	114	100

TABLE 3.19: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE MINIMIZER *HOMEM* WITH DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

As we can see, examples displaying a coda without a relativized pivot, such as in (169), are quite infrequent (only 11 cases). On the other hand, whenever there is no coda, the pivot is always modified by one or two restrictive relative clauses. The most frequent pattern is the one where a locative element (usually a PP, but also the archaic pronoun *í*) combines with a pivot modified by a restrictive relative clause with subjunctive mood, as in (170), or, more rarely, with a pivot modified by a sequence of two restrictive relative clauses as in (171). The second most frequent pattern is the one that does not involve a coda, but displays a pivot modified by a sequence of two restrictive relative clauses with subjunctive mood, as in (172). I also find cases in which the coda is an AP related to a degree clause in combination with a pivot modified by a restrictive relative clause (or a sequence of two restrictive relative clauses), as in (173). There is even an isolated example of a sentence containing a locative PP, a degree AP and the pivot modified by a restrictive relative clause with subjunctive mood as illustrated in (174).

- (169) [...] e era tam vivo e tam ligeiro
 and was.^{3sg} so alive and so fast
 que ia por eles como se nom
 that went.^{3sg} by they as if NEG
 ouvesse i homem
 there.was.^{3sg} there man
 ‘and he was so alive and so fast that went through them as if there wasn’t
 anyone there’

(DSG, ccccxvii)

- (170) Ca nom avia homem no mundo
 because NEG there.was.^{3sg} man in.the world
 que mais amasse.
 that more loved.^{3sg}

‘Because there wasn’t anyone in the world he loved more’

(DSG, dcxciii)

- (171) E fez entam tam grande pranto que
 and did.^{3sg} then such big weeping that
 nam ha homem no mundo que a
 NEG there.is.^{3sg} man in.the world that her.^{3sg,acc}
 visse que dissesse que escaparia de morte
 saw.^{3sg} that said.^{3sg} that would.escape.^{3sg} of death
 ‘And she did such a weeping that there wasn’t anyone in the world who
 night see her who would say she would escape death.’

(JAR, lxviii)

- (172) E nom houvera homem que o visse que
 and NEG there.was.^{3sg} man who that saw.^{3sg} that
 nom cuidasse que se nom vinha a fim.
 NEG thought.^{3sg} that SE.^{Reflex} NEG came.^{3sg} to end

‘And there was no one who saw it that did not think he would die.’

(JAR, lxvi)

- (173) [...] que nom havia homem tam enfermo que
 that NEG there.was.^{3sg} man so sick that
 nele fosse deitado que logo nam fosse são.
 in.it was.^{3sg} lying that soon NEG was.^{3sg} healthy
 ‘and there wasn’t anyone so sick who once lying in there wouldn’t soon
 become healthy’

(JAR, LXXXIV)

- (174) Tanto que el esto disse, vio
 soon that he this said.^{3sg} saw.^{3sg}
 que a donzela se tornou em
 that the lady SE.^{reflx} became.^{3sg} in
 forma de demo tam feo e
 shape of demon so ugly and
 atam espantoso, que nom ha, no
 so amazing that NEG there.is.^{3sg} in.the
 mundo homem tam ardido que o
 world man so brave who him.^{3sg,acc}
 visse que nom ouvesse a aver
 saw.^{3sg} that NEG had.^{3sg} to have
 gram medo.
 big fear

‘As soon as he said this, he saw that the lady took the shape of a demon,
 so ugly and so amazing that there wasn’t anyone so brave in the world who
 would see this and would not have great fear.’

(DSG, CCXLIX)

Even though the coda is said to be an optional element in existential constructions, it becomes clear that, at least in negative existential sentences, the indefinite minimizer cannot appear without a restrictive element, that is to say, an element that sets the boundaries of the domain in which it should be interpreted, being it a locative domain or a predicative one. The fact that *homem* never appears without this restrictive element suggests that it is fundamental in the interpretation of these sentences. An occurrence of *homem*

alone, in the scope of negation, without modification and without any coda element would be equivalent to an absolute non-existence reading. That is not the intended interpretation of negative existential sentences with *homem*, as we can see by observing examples (175) and (176).

- (175) E eu lhe respondi que não
 and I him.^{3sg.Dat} answered.^{3sg} that NEG
 haveria homem tão descredito e duvidoso
 there.would.be.^{3sg} man so discredited and doubtful
 que, tanto que me quiser ouvir, que
 that much that me.^{1sg.Acc} wants.^{3sg} hear that
 lhe não fizesse entender como são três
 him.^{3sg.Dat} NEG made.^{3sg} understand how are.^{3sg} three
 pessoas da Trindade por isto que eu vi
 people of.the Trinity for this that I saw.^{1sg}
 ‘And I answered him that there wasn’t anyone so discredited and doubtful
 that, as long as he wanted to hear me, I would not make him understand
 that the Trinity are three people, based on what I saw.’

(JAR, VIII)

- (176) Não há alguém que me entenda | como
 NEG there.is.^{3sg} man who me.^{1sg.acc} understands.^{3sg} how
 hoje eu vivo coitado [...] |
 today I live heartbroken

‘There is no one who understands me and how I live in suffering’

(TMILG, LPGL)

In (175) we find a negative existential construction with *homem* in the pivot position and the adjectives *descredito* ‘discredited’ and *duvidoso* ‘doubtful’ as the coda. The intended meaning is that there was no such person with the stated characteristics (discredited and doubtful) that could not be convinced of the existence of the Holy Trinity. The two adjectives set the scope in which the minimizer *homem* should be interpreted.

Similarly, in (176), what is implied is that there is no such person that is able to understand the poet. It is the restrictive relative clause that sets the domain of

interpretation, cancelling an absolute non-existence interpretation which would be equivalent to stating that there was no human being, in absolute terms (this would, ultimately, mean, there was no humankind).

It seems clear that both the coda and the relative clause constrain the interpretation of *homem*. This could be seen as an argument in favour of a more referential status of *homem*, since those elements contribute to narrow down the universe of reference of the minimizer. Nevertheless, I argue that the restrictive relative clause is actually responsible for reinforcing the non-referentiality of the item, but also for an emphatic reading of the clause that helps strengthening negation. In a previous section, while approaching the modification topic, we saw that *homem* appeared relativized by a restrictive relative clause with subjunctive mood and that it could be seen as a reinforcing strategy, following Panzeri (2006)'s idea that this type of modification widens the domain of quantification and contributes to a stronger claim. I believe that, in negative existential constructions, this effect is even stronger, especially when we have a relative clause combined with another relative clause or with a coda. I will start by looking first at PP-codas, since adjectival codas play a part in a much wider phenomenon that will be discussed afterwards. Take sentences (177) and (178) as examples.

(177)	Ca	nom	avia	homem	no	undo	que
	because	NEG	there.was. ^{3sg}	man	in.the	world	that
	mais		amasse.				
	more		loved. ^{3sg}				

‘Because there was no one in the world that I loved more.’

(DSG, DCXCIII)

(178)	E	nom	avya	homem	que	aquelle
	and	NEG	there.was. ^{3sg}	man	who	that
	aver	visse	que	al	podesse	dizer
	possession	saw. ^{3sg}	that	anything	could. ^{3sg}	say
	se	no	que	alli	era	o
	if	NEG	that	there	was. ^{3sg}	the
	aver	de	todo	o	undo.	
	possession	of	all	the	world	

‘And there was no one who saw those possessions that could say anything except that there there were all the possessions of the world.’

(CGE, 1, CCVI)

Sentence (177) presents *homem* as a relativized pivot and a PP-coda with locative meaning. The restrictive relative clause modifying *homem* displays subjunctive mood, which indicates that it must be interpreted as a non-veridical element that may not exist. The association of a subjunctive relative within a negative existential to express elements that are only possible is not a new idea. Farkas (1985:129) has been one of the firsts who observed that «subjunctive relatives in negative existential sentences are intensional because they are part of a description which applies to possible (but not actual) objects». Similarly, Bužarovska & Tomič (2009:215) refer that, in Bulgarian and Macedonian «negative existential sentences with subjunctive relatives express absence of the ‘desired’ referent [...] involved in a certain activity».

So, (177) denies the existence of any hypothetical human being who could meet the criterion stated in the relative clause. Since the relative clause displays Subjunctive mood, it expands the domain of quantification to every possible world (not just the real world) in which the predication may apply, reinforcing the empty set represented by the minimizer and contributing to emphasize negation (the idea is that the existence is not simply being denied, it is being denied in every possible world). The presence of the PP-coda seems, however, to set boundaries for the interpretation of the negative existential. What is interesting, though, is that in the majority of the examples with a PP-coda, we find the same PP-coda *no mundo* ‘in the world’, which sets as boundaries for the interpretation of the existential clause the exact same boundaries we would have if there was no coda in the sentence. This is so because we can only interpret existence in subsets of one larger set, which corresponds to what we consider the physical limits of human (or even non-human) existence – the world (or, in alternative, the universe/the galaxy). The presence of a coda of this nature can be seen as almost pleonastic, which reinforces the idea that negative existential constructions with the minimizer *homem* are marked structures with an emphatic interpretation. In sentence (178) we find *homem* being modified by two restrictive relative clauses. The first relative clause modifies the minimizer, while the second one modifies the constituent formed by the minimizer and the relative clause. Both relative clauses exhibit Subjunctive mood.

As I have mentioned earlier, existential constructions are very frequent with a particular type of degree constructions – consecutive clauses – occurring in almost 53,8% of the examples. Existential constructions involving also a consecutive clause are always negative and display the patterns already seen in subsection 3.4.5.1. for consecutive clauses, with *homem* either being modified by the AP in the scope of the consecutive operator, as in (179), or *homem* inside the consecutive clause, as in (180).

- (179) E tanto jouve ali el-rey que ãa
 and so.much stood.^{3sg} there the.king that a
 donzela o tirou, que nom havia i
 lady him.^{3sg.acc} took.^{3sg} that NEG there.was.^{3sg} there
 homem tão ousado que dentro ousasse entrar [...]
 man so bold that inside dared.^{3sg} get.in
 ‘And the king stood there so long that a lady took him, because there was no one so bold who would dare to get inside’

(JAR, CXVII)

- (180) [...] e fazia taes maravilhas entre eles
 and did.^{3sg} such wonders among they
 que nom há homem que o
 that NEG there.is.^{3sg} man that him.^{3sg.acc}
 visse que o tevesse por homem
 saw.^{3sg} that him.^{3sg.acc} had.^{3sg} for man
 terreal mas por alguma maravilha estranha
 earthly but for some wonder strange
 ‘and he did such wonders among them that there was no one who saw him that considered him an earthly man, but instead some strange wonder.’

(DSG, CCCCXXXVII)

In sentence (179) we find the adjective *ousado* ‘bold’, which is the coda of the existential construction, in the scope of the consecutive operator *tão* ‘so’. The minimizer *homem* appears as pivot element, which is being modified or in a predication relation (depending on the theory we adopt) with the AP. The intended meaning of the sentence is

to deny the existence of someone with a certain quality. It is stated that there was no one with such a high degree of boldness that was able to enter. The idea is that entering the castle requires such a high level of courage that it is impossible to meet. Therefore, by denying the existence of such a person who could meet such a high level of boldness/courage, we are emphasizing the degree to its maximal level, since there is not even a single element who could meet it. Just like I have observed for consecutive clauses in general, this type of construction is infrequent with only 4 occurrences in the whole corpus.

The pattern exemplified in (180) is, however, much more common. It displays *homem* as the pivot of a negative existential inside the consecutive clause but modified by one or two restrictive relative clauses with subjunctive mood. The relative clause modifying the pivot plays a crucial role in this type of pattern since it allows for two distinct interpretations.

Sentence (180) above displays *homem* as the pivot of the negative existential construction modified by a sequence of two relative clauses with subjunctive mood, both with non-negative modality. The intended meaning is that the wonders someone made were so extraordinary that no one who saw them could consider their creator as a common man. The purpose of the construction is to emphasize an element to such a high degree that the consequence is the inexistence of someone who considered that the person who made them could be an ordinary man. The two patterns can be combined in one sentence as shown in (174) above, reproduced in (181), where we find *homem* interacting in two consecutive clauses.

(181)	Tanto	que	el	esto	disse,	vio
	soon	that	he	this	said. ^{3sg}	saw. ^{3sg}
	que	a	donzela	se	tornou	em
	that	the	lady	SE. ^{reflx}	became. ^{3sg}	in
	forma	de	demon	tam	feo	e
	shape	of	demon	so	ugly	and
	atam	espantoso,	que	nom	ha,	no
	so	amazing	that	NEG	there.is. ^{3sg}	in.the
	mun-do	homem	tam	ardido	que	o
	world	man	so	brave	who	him. ^{3sg,acc}
	visse	que	nom	ouvesse	a	aver

saw.^{3sg} that NEG had.^{3sg} to have
 gram medo.
 big fear

‘As soon as he said this, he saw that the lady took the shape of a demon, so ugly and so amazing that there isn’t anyone so brave in the world who would see this and would not have great fear.’

(DSG, CCXLIX)

Sentence (181) combines two consecutive clauses, one where the existential construction with *homem* appears inside the first consecutive clause and another consecutive clause which is selected by a consecutive operator scoping the AP that modifies *homem* (or, in other words, which is the coda of the existential construction with *homem*). We also find *homem* being modified by the restrictive relative clause *que o visse*.

The examples which combine two consecutive clauses are residual, but they are quite interesting given the fact that both consecutive clauses are negative and the first consecutive containing the existential construction serves as the main clause of the second consecutive. According to Fonseca (1993), when both the main clause and the consecutive clause are negative, denying *p* implies the falsity of *p*’. It is considered that *p* is the clause containing the consecutive operator in its affirmative form – in this particular case, the existential clause *há no mundo homem tam ardido que o visse* – and *p*’ the consecutive clause *nom ouvesse gram medo*. The negation of *p* implies the falsity of *p*’. We are denying the existence of a person who was so *ardido* ‘bold’, and, therefore, *que nom ouvesse gram medo* is also false. Following Fonseca (1993:25), in sentences like (181), we admit a high degree of a certain property, but we refuse that the level of greatness reaches the necessary point to produce the consequence or measure stated in the consecutive clause. The consequence presented in the consecutive clause is, then, implicitly declared excessive and, therefore, it is rejected. It is denied that the degree evoked is enough to justify what is stated in the consecutive clause. In this sense, the intended meaning of (181) is actually a positive one, since, by the combination of a negative existential with a negative consecutive we state the non-existence of a person with such degree of braveness and, therefore, it is also false that there was no one who did not have fear. In other words, from a logical point of view, the sentence has a universal reading in the sense that it means that everyone who saw this, without exception, had fear.

I propose that a similar reading is produced when we have negative existentials with *homem* being modified by a negative relative clause. Modification by means of a relative clause in contexts that combine degree expression and negative existentials can produce two different interpretations: one which we already saw in example (181) above and another which is shown in (182) and (183).

(182) E, deitando-a assi, ouviu diante na
 and lying.down.it.^{3sg.acc} this.way heard.^{3sg} ahead in.the
 prosa da nao, em ãa camara,
 bow of.the ship in a chamber
 um braado tam grande e feo
 a scream so big and ugly
 e espantoso que nom houve homem
 and amazing that NEG there.was.^{3sg} man
 na nao que nom houvesse medo.
 in.the ship that NEG had.^{3sg} fear

‘And as he lied it down, he heard in the front of the ship, in a chamber, such a great, ugly and amazing scream that there was no one in the ship that did not have fear’.

(JAR, XCIX)

(183) [...] e começou a fazer tam gram
 and started.^{3sg} to do such big
 doo que nom há homem que
 pity that NEG there.is.^{3sg} man who
 a visse que se nom maravilhasse
 her.^{3sg.acc} saw.^{3sg} that SE.^{reflx} NEG amazed.^{3sg}

‘and she started pitying so much that there was no one who saw her that did not become amazed’

(DSG, XI)

In (182) *homem* is modified by a single negative relative clause while in (183) there is a sequence of two relative clauses, the last one being negative. Sentence (182) states that the scream heard was so loud, ugly and amazing that there was no one in the ship who was

not afraid. The combination of a negative existential with a negative relative clause modifying *homem* is a complex strategy that produces an interpretation equivalent to the one we would obtain with a universal quantifier: *everyone in the ship had fear*.

The same logic can be applied when there are two restrictive relative clauses as in (183). In this sentence, it is stated that the moan made by the lady was so great that there was no one who saw her who was not amazed. Once again, the negative existential combined with the two relative clauses is equivalent to a positive reading with universal interpretation: *everyone who saw her was amazed*.

For both sentences a positive reading with a universal quantifier was available as I try to illustrate in (182b) and (183b):

(182b) *um brado tão grande e feio e espantoso que todos na nau tiveram medo*

(183b) *um dó tão grande que todos que a viam se espantavam*

Choosing a complex construction that involves not only negation itself, but the presence of an existential construction and a minimizer to express a positive meaning can be seen as a way to express emphasis and reinforce the strength of what is being claimed.

I, therefore, conclude that the combination of a consecutive clause with a negative existential clause with *homem* has a very strong emphatic effect since, following Hoeksema (2010:206)'s words, «maximal degree is indicated through nonexistence of an equal». What seems to be striking, though, is the combination of consecutive clauses with negative existential constructions to express maximal degree but with a positive interpretation instead of a negative one, as we have seen with negative consecutives or negative restrictive relative clauses.

3.3.4.6. *Homem* in the context of *man*-constructions

The use of words meaning *man*, in a different sense from the common noun, seems quite a widespread phenomenon across Romance languages (cf. D' Alessandro & Alexiadou 2003, Ramat & Sansò 2007, Gast & van der Auwera 2013, a.o.) Being derived from the Latin form *homo*, we find the forms *uomo* in Old Italian, *on* in French, *omo* in Sardinian, *omine* in Old Spanish and *hom* in Catalan, among others. This is not, however, a phenomenon circumscribed to Romance languages, since we find, for instance, the forms *man* in Old English, *man* in Old and Contemporary German.

In this subsection I will draw the overall picture of man-constructions across Romance languages, bearing in mind the fact that items working as generic or indefinite pronouns with a man-form in different languages share the same origin but display different paths of evolution. I will also investigate the existence of a *man*-form with a minimizer use in Old Spanish.

The existence of a pronominal-like element independent from the common noun meaning *man* is registered in languages such as Portuguese, Italian, Spanish and even in English, but they all disappear around the 15th or 16th centuries. On the other hand, the French, Sardinian, Catalan and Abruzzese forms are kept with different features and register forms which are graphically distinct from the common noun. This may have contributed to maintain both items in the language, since there was no ambiguity, contrary to what is verified in Old Portuguese.

TABLE 3.20 below lists the forms for the common noun and the pronominal in different Romance languages.

<i>Language</i> ⁸⁹	<i>Common noun</i>	<i>Pronominal form</i>
(Old) Portuguese	homem	homem
(Old) Italian	uomo	Omo/om
French	homme	On
Sardinian	omine	Omo
Catalan	home	Hom
(Old) Spanish	omne/hombre	omne/hombre
Abruzzese	ommene	nome
Occitan	home	hom(e)

TABLE 3.20: LIST OF THE COMMON NOUNS AND PRONOUNS ORIGINATING FROM THE LATIN *HOMO* IN SOME ROMANCE LANGUAGES

When we look at data that include man-constructions, the classification of the pronominal form is usually uneven. It alternates between an indefinite pronoun, a personal pronoun or a generic pronoun. According to D'Alessandro & Alexiadou (2003), some of these pronouns kept their generic subject reading, while others continued the grammaticalization process, becoming first person plural personal pronouns. The French *on* sets the example of a case of reanalysis as a first person plural personal pronoun and the Abruzzese *nome* is claimed to be in the way to become a third person plural affix. Man-

⁸⁹ Data partially extracted from D'Alessandro & Alexiadou (2003).

forms described in the literature are usually associated to subject indeterminacy and, therefore, references to a use similar to the one observed for the Portuguese minimizer *homem* are hard to find. It does not seem plausible, however, that only in Portuguese the Latin *homo* may have given rise to a polarity item and a generic pronoun, both distinct from the common noun. At least in Old Occitan and in Old Spanish I believe there is enough evidence to claim for the existence of a polarity item with a man-form, as I will try to show. But first, let us go through the analysis of man-constructions starting with its origin.

As stated before, Latin *homo* is at the core of man-constructions in Romance,⁹⁰ but its use as an indefinite pronoun in Vulgar Latin is not consensual. While some authors consider that Latin *homo* already behaved as an indefinite pronoun in Vulgar Latin (cf. Brown 1931), others claim otherwise (Meillet 1921, Maurer 1959). An intermediate position is stated by Ernout & Thomas (1964), who consider that, despite the lack of examples of the use of *homo* in the sense of the French *on* in Latin texts, that use was announced by the construction *nemo homo*. Nevertheless, Classical Latin already displayed a negative pronoun *nemo* which was the result of the merge between the negative particle *ne* and the common noun *homo*⁹¹, literally meaning *no human being*. Fruyt (2011) draws attention to the fact that, later, the sequence *nemo homo* meaning *no one* was attested in Vulgar Latin, in the works of Plauto, as in the classical example displayed in (184).

(184) a. Plaut. Amph. 566-568: *tunc id dicere audes, quod nemo umquam
homo antehac / uidit nec potest fieri, tempore uno / homo idem duobus
locis ut simul sit?*

‘do you dare to say what nobody ever saw and what cannot happen, that
the same man should be at the same time in two different places?’

(Fruyt, 2011: 713)

The cooccurrence of the noun *homo* with a negative pronoun is interpreted as a possible reinforcement of *nemo* since, according to Fruyt (2011), speakers had, by then, ceased to interpret *nemo* as the result of the fusion between *ne* and *homo*, therefore allowing a new reinforcement strategy using *homo*.

⁹⁰ Ramat & Sansò (2007) argue differently. The authors suggest that man-constructions have their origin in Semitic languages

⁹¹ See Meillet (1982) and Fruyt (2011) on the debate concerning which form, *homo* or *homo*, gave rise to *nemo*.

Since the consciousness of the diachronic link between *nēmō* and *homō* had been lost, the same morpho-semantic structure was rebuilt a second time (a cyclic renewal) when *homō* was added to *nēmō*. On that occasion, *nēmō* itself was grammaticalized, since it was used as a negative modifier of *homō* (cf. *nūllus homō* ‘no man’).

(Fruyt 2011: 713)

Due to such data, the association of *homo* to negative constructions is drawn by a few authors. Meillet (1921) is one of the firsts to argue in favour of an indefinite interpretation of *homo* in negative, conditional and interrogative contexts, in a period posterior to Vulgar Latin. Later, Kärde (1943) also puts forth a similar proposal, arguing that the frequent association of an item to negative contexts may result in it acquiring a negative value.

Les mots qui sont constamment associés à la négation ont tendance à prendre une valeur presque exclusivement négative, par exemple *personne, pas*, qui parfois peuvent même se passer de la négation. *Homo* aurait probablement subi de même sort, si l’indétermination s’était produite exclusivement dans les propositions négatives.

(Kärde 1943:11)

A similar position is shared by Pozas-Loyo (2004), who considers that *homo* starts by reinforcing *nemo* in negative contexts, but ends up occurring in a much broader range of contexts, independent from negation. In this case, *homo* would not have followed a path in line with the Jespersen Cycle (Jespersen, 1917), since it would go from negative to non-negative.

Aunque en principio *homo* sólo reforzaba el sentido de *nemo*, poco a poco su uso fue extendiéndose hasta que se hizo común no sólo en frases negativas, sino también en oraciones con sentido positivo en las que incluso se prescindía del indefinido *nemo*.

(Pozas-Loyo 2004:12)

Assuming that an item *homo* in Vulgar Latin was used as a negation reinforcement particle could explain the high frequency of *homem* as a minimizer in Old Portuguese texts, by the maintenance of an inherited structure. Even though the use of man-forms is well

attested in the literature, they are commonly described as generic pronouns or subject indeterminacy strategies. Little or no reference is made to a use similar to what I have registered for *homem* as a minimizer⁹², which poses the question of determining whether Portuguese was the only language to temporarily display two homonymous items, a minimizer and a generic pronoun, or the first use was also present in other languages. In order to assess the existence of man-forms as polarity items in other Romance languages, I have compared Portuguese data with data available for Old Spanish. I mainly review the works by Kärde (1943), Pozas-Loyo (2004, 2010) and Company & Pozas-Loyo (2009), but I also present examples extracted from the two diachronic corpora of Old Spanish, CORDE and CODEA, and from the *Crónica de 1344*, edited by Vindel Pérez (2015).

Kärde (1943) presents the pronoun *omme* in Medieval Spanish as one of the strategies to express an indeterminate subject. Although there is never a reference to polarity items, the author highlights the high frequency of *omme* in negative contexts and, eventually draws its parallel with the indefinite *ninguno*, by stating the following:

L'emploi extrêmement fréquent de non – *omme* est une preuve évidente de ce que le sujet parlant utilise cette locution sans aucune intention particulière. Cette expression, qui, à l'origine, a sûrement été employée en vue de renforcer l'idée de 'ninguno', est donc devenue, par suite de son caractère de terme très usuel, un simple outil grammatical, un synonyme de *ninguno* (nadie).

(Kärde, 1943:11)

Non-negative contexts of occurrence of *omme* are also identified and include interrogative, conditional and comparative clauses. In this type of contexts, the item *omme* is said to have positive value, being synonym to *alguno*.

L'idée qu'exprime *alguno* (*alguien*), le pendant positif de *ninguno* (*nadie*), peut se rendre en ancien espagnol par *omme*. C'est avant tout dans les propositions interrogatives, conditionnelles et comparatives que *omme* est susceptible de prendre cette valeur.

(Kärde 1943:12)

⁹² Yoon (2006:241) states that «It sometimes takes the emphatic and generic meaning of 'anyone', whatever individual is chosen» while referring to the Old English pronoun *man*.

In more recent work, Pozas-Loyo (2004) presents the grammaticalization path of the common noun *omne* in Old Spanish, though without ever addressing polarity issues. Nevertheless, Pozas-Loyo (2004) identifies a non-nominal item *omne*, to which she attributes six different values: predicative, potential, generic, indefinite, ambiguous and pronominal. The last group is the one I will be interested in, since the pronominal *omne* is described as having different interpretations according to the context of occurrence. The issue is only explored further in subsequent work by Company & Pozas-Loyo (2009) who propose another division within the pronominal group, assuming that *omne* can have an impersonal⁹³ and an existential interpretation. The authors consider that *omne* is a generalizer pronoun (impersonal) in generic contexts, while it would assume an existential reading in episodic contexts. This determines an interpretation of *omne* equivalent to *alguien* in contexts such as conditional clauses, but a reading equivalent to *nadie* while in the scope of negation. These two interpretations are exemplified by Company & Pozas-Loyo (2009) with the following examples.

- (185) Sy omne el su tiempo em valde quiere
 if man the his time in vain wants
 pas[s]ar, non quere deste mundo otra cosa levar,
 pass NEG wants in.this world other thing take
 sy non estar vicioso e dormir e folgar.
 if NEG be vicious and sleep and play
 ‘If one wants to spend his time in vain, one does not want anything else
 from this world, rather than being vicious, sleeping and have fun’

(FG, 348^a, apud Company & Pozas-Loyo 2009:1174)⁹⁴

- (186) que nunca estas dos cosas se allegaron a
 that never these two things SE.^{Reflex} arrived.^{3pl} to
 ome que non lo llegasen a punto de
 man that NEG him.^{3sg.dat} get at point of
 morte.
 death

⁹³ The authors use the term *omnipessoal*, referring to «aquellas construcciones consideradas impersonales no por carecer de sujeto sino porque “no actualizan en su referencia a un individuo o grupo de individuos concreto sino a cualquiera de los posibles”».

⁹⁴ The gloss and translation are mine.

‘that never these two things arrived to anyone that did not result in his death’

(Calila, 97, apud Company & Pozas-Loyo 2009:1176)⁹⁵

The analysis by Kärde (1943), but also Pozas-Loyo (2004) and Company & Pozas-Loyo (2009) clearly points to a use of the Spanish *omne* which is independent from the generic/impersonal pronoun but quite close to the Portuguese minimizer *homem*. There is enough evidence to consider that Old Spanish also displayed a minimizer *omne*, which behaved similarly to the Portuguese counterpart. Below I illustrate the similarities between the Portuguese and the Spanish items, based on examples presented by Kärde (1943), Company & Pozas-Loyo (2009), but also taken from other sources.

As I have previously shown, the minimizer *homem* occurred in its bare form in negative and modal contexts only. Examples (187) and (188) show Old Spanish *omne* in a modal and in a negative context, respectively.

(187) Alimpiava su cara Guirald el degollado, Estido
 cleaned his face Guirald the beheaded dressed
 un ratiello como qui descordado, Como omne
 a bit like that unconscious like man
 que duerme e despierta irado.
 that sleeps and wakes.up angry
 ‘Guirald, the beheaded, cleaned his face, poorly dressed as if unconscious,
 like anyone who sleeps and wakes up angry.’

(Milagros 210, apud Kärde (1943:17)⁹⁶

(188) E Nunca ome tal alegria vio como
 and never man such joy saw.^{3sg} like
 conellos fizieron e todas salieron contra ellos
 with.them did.^{3pl} and all went.out.^{3pl} against them
 muy bien guarnidas.
 very well armed

⁹⁵ The gloss and translation are mine.

⁹⁶ The gloss and translation are mine.

‘And no one ever saw such a joy like the one they made with them and they all went out against them very well armed.’

(Corpus Corde, *Lanzarote del Lago*)

As the examples illustrate, depending on the polar context of the sentence in which it occurred, *omme* could have an existential reading as in (187) or a negative interpretation, as in (188). Example (189) reinforces the classification of *omme* as a NPI, since it occurs in an exceptive construction introduced by the particle ‘fuera’, similarly to the constructions seen for Portuguese. In this case, the exceptive also requires the presence (overt or covert) of an NPI, which is *homme*.

- (189) [...] ca bien deuia yo de saber que
 because well should I of know that
 no ha enel mundo homne que lo
 NEG there.is.^{3sg} in.the world man that it.^{3sg.acc}
 fiziese fuera vos.
 did.^{3sg} except you
 ‘because I should know that there is no one in the world who would do it
 except you’

(Corpus Corde, *Lanzarote del Lago*)

Furthermore, the example given in (189) is quite similar to the ones seen for *homem* in Portuguese data, also presenting a man-form modified by a restrictive relative clause with subjunctive mood. Also, similarly to *homem*, Spanish *omme* can also be found with modal verbs, as in (190) and participating in other structures such as negative existential constructions (191) and also in degree constructions (192). These three contexts were identified as being frequent contexts of occurrence of Portuguese *homem*.

- (190) Entonçes fue alegria muy grande enla Corte
 so there.was.^{3sg} joy very big in.the court
 mas la alegria dela Reyna non la
 but the joy of.the queen NEG it.^{3sg.acc}
 podria home decir tanto fue grande ca
 could man say so.much was.^{3sg} big because
 mucho le tardaba de ver aquel que

much her.^{3sg.dat} delayed of see that who
 tanto mucho amaua.
 so.much much loved.^{3sg}

‘So there was great joy in the court, but the joy of the queen was bigger than anyone could tell because it had been a long time since she had seen the one she loved so much.’

(Corpus Corde, *Lanzarote del Lago*)

- (191) [...] e no me ayude dios si me
 and NEG me.^{1sg.acc} help.^{3sg} god if me.^{1sg.reflx}
 non plaze mucho deste golpe que me
 NEG pleases.^{3sg} much of.this blow that me.^{1sg.dat}
 distes agora se yo bien por mi
 gave.^{2sg} now know I well for me
 que no a home enel mundo que
 that NEG there.^{is.3sg} man in.the world that
 vos pudiese durar.
 you.^{2pl.dat} could resist

‘and may God not help me if I am not pleased with this blow that you gave me; now I know by myself that there is no one in the world who could resist you.’

(Corpus Corde, *Lanzarote del Lago*)

- (192) E tanto fue sotilmente labrada que nunca
 and so.much was.^{3sg} subtly built that never
 ome pudo asmar com verdat outra tan
 man could consider with truth other so
 buena aya fecha en España.
 good already done in Spain

‘And it was so well built that no one could ever, with truth, consider that another so good could be done in Spain.’

(Vindel Pérez 2015:65, *Cronica 1344*)

Although I do not have quantitative data concerning the occurrence of a man-form minimizer in Old Spanish, the examples presented so far clearly show a parallel between the items in the two languages. There are, however, other issues that can contribute to these similarities and that cannot be disregarded. One of them is related to text typology in general terms, while the other has to do with the nature of some of the texts from which the examples were extracted. I will start by assuming there is a parallel between the Old Portuguese generic pronoun and minimizer, on the one hand, and two of the subtypes of *omne* described by Company & Pozas-Loyo (2009), on the other. Based on the data presented by Company & Pozas-Loyo (2009), the form *omne* with an impersonal reading (“omnipessoal”, in the authors’ own terms) occurs much more often than when it has an existential interpretation (this one corresponding to the minimizer *homem*). When it displays an impersonal interpretation, *omne* is said to occur mainly in highly moralizing contexts, such as doctrinal literature, proverbs, sayings and commandments. Those are also the contexts in which I found the generic pronoun more frequently in my data. Therefore, the higher frequency of the impersonal pronoun in the data by Company & Pozas-Loyo (2009) may be related to the nature of the texts that the authors have consulted.

On the other hand, in our corpus, the minimizer *homem* is very productive in a particular text, the DSG, which is part of the Post-Vulgata Cycle. It is not surprising, then, that examples extracted from CORDE are mainly from *Lanzarote del Lago*,⁹⁷ a Spanish translation from the French original belonging to the Vulgate Cycle. This can indicate an influence from the French original, both in Portuguese and Spanish data. A very brief search in the French annotated text of *Queste du Graal* (Martineau *et al.* 2009) shows that French also displayed a polar item with *man*-form, as in (193), but it seems less frequent than the Portuguese counterpart.

- (193) [...] car il n’ a home ou monde qui
because EXPL. NEG there.is.^{3sg} man in world that
la moitié poïst soffrir qu’ il a soffert.
the half could suffer that he has.^{3sg} suffered
‘because there is no one in the world that could suffer half of what he has
suffered.’

(Martineau *et al.* 2009, ID 12XX-QUESTE,48.1704)

⁹⁷ According to Contreras Martín (2015:290-291), «Lanzarote del Lago is preserved in a XVI-th century manuscript (BNE MS 9611). This was copied from a codex dated from 1414, according to its *explicit*, but this in turn was without doubt a copy of an earlier version»

Despite the relevance of this topic do the analysis of the data, a study of the influence of text typology is outside the scope of the present dissertation and, therefore, I remit it to future work.

We have seen so far that, at least for Old Spanish, there are enough data to support the idea that the existence of a *man*-form behaving as a NPI was not an exclusive phenomenon from Portuguese. In very recent work (Nkollo 2020) also argues for the existence of a *man*-form in Old Occitan which behaved as an *n*-word, in the author's terms. Nkollo (2020:266) also states that «in Old Occitan *hom(e)* is also a stressed pronominal *n*-word ('nobody')» and highlights the fact that this usage had already been recorded by Jensen (1986) with the following examples:

- (194) no deuria esser hom temeros de suffrir mort
 NEG should be man afraid of suffer death
 'no one ought to be frightened when suffering death.'

(Jensen 1986:65, quoted by Nkollo 2020:266)⁹⁸

- (195) [...] meyllor vassal non vid ainz hom.
 better vassal NEG saw still man
 'nobody has ever seen a better vassal'

(Jensen 1986:65, quoted by Nkollo 2020:266)⁹⁹

Nkollo (2020:266) accounts for the fact that Old Occitan *hom(e)* appeared mainly as a subject (pre or post verbal) but only in negative sentences, since «a clausal negative marker is a prerequisite for this usage», as the author illustrates in the example reproduced in (196).

- (196) Pero en questio de raubaria ni de
 but in matter.^{sg.obl} of robbery.^{sg.obl} and-not of
 crim no deu hom aver dia
 crime.^{sg.obl} NEG must.^{prs.ind.3sg} man.^{fc} have.^{inf} day.^{sg.obl}
 'But in cases of robbery or crime nobody must be allotted (another) date
 / no other date should be allotted,'

(Nkollo 2020:267)¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ The gloss is mine, the translation is from the author.

⁹⁹ Idem

¹⁰⁰ Both the gloss and the translation are from the author.

From what has been seen in this section, the existence of *man*-forms behaving as NPIs was not exclusive from Old Portuguese, but it seems to have been a more widespread phenomenon, probably affecting other Romance languages besides Old Spanish and Old Occitan.

3.4. Summing up

In this chapter I have provided a detailed description on minimizers in OP. As we saw, OP displayed two groups of minimizers: the partitive/evaluative and the indefinite.

Partitive/evaluative minimizers contained items originating from nouns that refer to low endpoints in scales of size as well as value. Although this group contained a diversity of minimizers, they were not very frequent in OP data. They behaved as weak NPIs, and most of them exhibited nominal properties, visible in the possibility of taking a modifier, but also occurring in a plural form. There were, however, items from this group that reached a more advanced stage of grammaticalization, namely the minimizer *ponto*. We saw that it could occur without argument function and take a partitive PP that did not correspond to the original complement of the noun *ponto*. This indicates that it was no longer a nominal element.

Contrary to partitive/evaluative minimizers, the group of indefinite minimizers was very productive in OP, but they did not survive in the language. This group contained the items *al*, *cousa*, *rem* and *homem*, all of which behaved as weak NPIs. I have focused with more detail in two of these minimizers: *rem* and *homem*.

The indefinite minimizer *rem* was very productive in 13th century texts, but it does not survive after the 14th century. Nevertheless, *rem* achieves a quantifier-like status, being able to occur without argument function and quantify over a noun contained in a partitive PP. It also occurred in ambiguous contexts, where it could be interpreted as a negation reinforcement particle, conveying the reading ‘at-all’.

The minimizer *homem* also deserved my attention in this chapter. I have shown parallel to the common noun *homem* and the minimizer, there was also a generic pronoun *homem*, which was used mainly as a strategy to encode an impersonal subject. Going back to the minimizer *homem*, we saw that it also behaved as a weak NPI, but probably due to its [+ human] feature, it did not achieve an advanced stage of grammaticalization. In fact, in comparison with *rem*, it was clearly in an early stage of grammaticalization, since it allowed modification, in particular by restrictive relative clauses with subjunctive mood and its

behaviour indicates it was still a nominal element. Its occurrence seems to be favoured by particular contexts, namely existential clauses and degree constructions. Similar to what was verified for *rem*, after the 13th century its frequency drops abruptly and it disappears after the 16th century.

When we compare data from other Romance languages, we come to the conclusion that the existence of a minimizer originating from the noun *homem* was not exclusive from OP. The existence of constructions based on the word meaning *man* has been studied by several authors (cf. Pozas-Loyo 2004, 2010; Ramat & Sansò 2007, D' Alessandro & Alexiadou 2003, a.o.). The data presented in section 3.3.4.6 indicates that, at least Old Spanish and Old Occitan also made use of a *man*-form that behaved as an NPI, just like *homem* in OP. Interestingly, these uses disappeared in those languages too.

Chapter 4

The rise and fall of minimizers

4. THE RISE AND FALL OF MINIMIZERS

- 4.1. Introduction
- 4.2. Minimizers and other competing items
 - 4.2.1. Items with a [- animated] feature
 - 4.2.2. Items with a [+human] feature
- 4.3. *Nemigalba*: from full grammaticalization to obsolescence
 - 4.3.1. *Nemigalba* vs. *nada* in particular contexts
- 4.4. Summing up

4.1. Introduction

In Chapter 3 I have presented a detailed description of both groups of minimizers, following the idea that certain nominal properties cease to be verified the more a minimizer grammaticalizes into a more functional element.

Although some minimizers (for instance *rem* or even *ponto*) were described as having reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization, we know that none of them replaced the preverbal negation marker, completing all stages of the *Jespersen Cycle*. Nevertheless, the fact that an item does not replace the canonical negation marker does not mean it could not become a productive negative element. In fact, that is the case of CEP negative indefinites *nada*, *nenhum* and *ninguém*, which can occur as the sole markers of negation, but did not replace the pre-verbal negation marker *não* (according to Martins 2000, they evolved from weak to strong NPIs; other authors would say they evolved from NPIs to n-words).¹⁰¹ It is, therefore, curious, that none of the minimizers from Old Portuguese reached a strong NPI status, following the steps of negative indefinites. All indefinite minimizers progressively disappear until the 16th century and the more productive partitive/evaluative minimizers from OP also disappeared or acquired new features, as is the case of *bocado* (cf. Amaral 2020). In order to explain this apparently unexpected evolution, I will rely on the idea of grammar competition proposed by Kroch (1989, 2001) and collaborators (Pintzuk 1991, Santorini 1993, a.o.) and more recently recovered by De Smet *et al.* (2018). Nevertheless, due to lack of a balanced and consistent corpus, I will not be in a position to check whether the *constant rate effect* proposed by Kroch (1989) applied in this particular case. I will, therefore, contribute to the topic by presenting data to support the hypothesis of grammar competition between minimizers and negative indefinites, despite the lack of statistical data, which I remit to future work.

This chapter, is organized as follows: in 4.2 I will present empirical data that indicates there was a period of competition between several elements as strategies to reinforce negation. I will divide them into two groups, according to their most prominent feature. In 4.2.1. I will address competition between items with a [- animated] feature (*rem*, *cousa* and *nada*). In 4.2.2. I will look at items with a [+ human feature], (*homem*, *algum*, *alguém*, *nenhum* and *ninguém*). In Section 4.3 I will approach the specific case of *nemigalva*, a grammaticalized item that disappeared, probably due to competition with *nada*. Finally, in 4.4 a brief summary of the chapter is presented.

¹⁰¹ *Nada* appears as an independent negation marker in contemporary Portuguese, but in structures which are independent from logical negation. It is registered as a metalinguistic negation marker (cf. Pinto 2010)

4.2. Minimizers and other competing items

The broad variety of items participating in negative concord structures until the 16th century clearly contrasts with the list of equivalent items in Contemporary Portuguese. Until the 16th century we could find two groups of minimizers, the partitive/evaluative and the indefinites, but only the first one survives as a group (with addition or disappearance of particular members) until our days. Indefinite minimizers disappear from the language, but their items know different paths of evolution. For instance, the forms *al* and *rem* disappear not only as minimizers, but also as common nouns or with other usages. On the other hand, *homem* ceases to appear both as a minimizer and a generic pronoun but a homonymous form persists as a common noun. Finally, *cousa* suffers a morphophonological change to *coisa* and is kept as a generic common noun, also participating in polarity-related expressions (such as *coisa alguma/nenbuma*).

I assume that the case of Portuguese can be approached on the basis of grammar competition. Nevertheless, this option needs to be justified, since the case of Portuguese NPIs (let us address them this way, for simplicity reasons, to use an expression that includes all polarity items available to negative concord structures) is not a straightforward case of syntactic or even doublets competition. Doublets are defined by Sesterhenn (2016:3) as «instances of two or more varying forms from the same original source found in a single language at the same time». This means that morphological/lexical doublets share the same source, but differ in terms of morphology. This is the case of English past tense forms (cf. Kroch 1994) such as *dived* and *dove* which have the same origin, but are formed through different paths. The example of English past tense forms cannot be paralleled to opposing the items *rem* and *nada*, for instance, since these two forms are not derived from one morphological common source. The same situation is verified for all other items in competition. The minimizer *homem* has a different origin from negative indefinites *nenhum* or *ninguém*. In fact, *rem* and *cousa* are registered in Late Latin (and in residual examples in the 13th century) in the expressions *res nata* and *causa nata*, which shows that they were both allowed to combine with *nata*, giving place to probable competing forms. The frequency and meaning attributed to those expressions are even claimed to be in the basis of those items' reinterpretation as minimizers. Additionally, I register in the corpus combinations between the items *al* and *rem* and also between *al* and the negative indefinite *nada*, as in *al nada*, *al ren* and *ren al*¹⁰² which apparently illustrates compatibility between competing forms.

¹⁰² In these forms, *al* does not seem to behave as a minimizer, but rather as an indefinite determiner, while *rem* seems to be a nominal form. Nevertheless, all contexts of occurrence correspond to negative

These facts roughly mean that competition between indefinite minimizers and negative indefinites is not a case of ‘doublets’ competition as described in the literature.

On the other hand, one can consider that this is a case of syntactic competition between two syntactic structures with similar functional behaviour and similar interpretation and which are interchangeable more or less in the same contexts. But according to Kroch (1994:183), «variation in the course of syntactic change is between options that are grammatically incompatible» and «syntactic change proceeds via competition between grammatically incompatible options which substitute for one another in usage», as argued by Kroch (1994:180). The competition I describe is not verified regarding just two competing items. On the contrary, it seems to be a competition between two groups of parallel items, which produces competition between several items simultaneously, with items being progressively excluded from the competition and being temporarily replaced by other competitors until a final winner is reached.

The corpus data show that in the group of items that could undergo negative concord, there is competition between several items with a [-animated] feature, on the one hand, and items with a [+ human] feature on the other. All items under competition in each group were able to occur, at first, in both negative and modal environments. The winning items are also the ones which undergo a change in their features’ values – the negative indefinites. It is also curious that, despite the two sets of minimizers (partitive/evaluatives and indefinites) and the negative indefinites being weak NPIs, competition is only visible between indefinite minimizers and negative indefinites. Furthermore, only negative indefinites become intrinsically negative, while partitive/evaluative minimizers continue to be weak NPIs.

environments, many of them involving an exceptive construction which recovers the compound as the required NPI. The intended meaning of the compound differs, however, from that of the items involved when they appear unambiguously as minimizers. Since I did not deepen the study of the minimizer *al*, I remit the study of these compounds to future work. Relevant examples are illustrated below:

i) nen desejei al nada senon vosso bem
 not.even wished.^{1sg} other nothing if.not your good
 ‘I did not even wish any other thing but your well-being.’
 (TMILG, LPGP)

ii) non deseja al ren senon morrer
 NEG wish.^{1sg} other thing if.not to.die
 ‘he does not wish any other thing but to die.’
 (TMILG, LPGP)

iii) nen sei de mí ren al senon atanto que eu sofr’
 not.even know.^{1sg} of me.^{1sg.reflx} thing other if.not as.much that I suffer
 ‘I do not even know any other thing of me apart from my great suffering.’
 (TMILG, LPGP)

The opposition of items within the two subsets ([+ human] and [- animated]) and the final outcome of the competition seem to confirm the influence of constructional families proposed by Smet *et al.* (2018). Contrary to indefinite minimizers, negative indefinites were never nominal items and, in this sense, they were one stage ahead, since they did not start in a nominal position inside the DP. Also, as far as the elements with a [+human] feature were concerned, *nenhum* [+human] and *ninguém* could also be seen as members of the same constructional family and, therefore, competing as a group against an isolated independent item *homem*.

4.2.1. Items with a [- animated] feature

The Latin expression *res nata* gave rise to two different groups of polarity items in Romance languages. On the one hand, some languages developed a polarity item inherited from *res*, such as French *rien*, Catalan *res* or Occitan *res*. Other languages, on the contrary, developed their polarity items from the past participle *nata*, as is the case of Portuguese *nada* or Galician *nada*. In earlier historical stages, some of these languages actually displayed the two items, but, eventually, only one remained. This is the case of Portuguese and Spanish, which both displayed an item *rem* that did not thrive, but maintained the items derived from the form *nata*. Most languages which developed a polarity item originated in the Latin *res* did not conserve the form derived from the past participle *nata* and vice versa. Nevertheless, in languages such as Galician, both forms *res/ren* and *nada* still coexist (cf. Ferreiro 1999; Álvarez & Xove 2002). A similar situation is reported for Occitan, where both forms *res/rem* and *nat/nada* are still found as productive items, but display some differences. According to Alibèrt (1976) and Conde (1999), *res/rem* is an invariable indefinite pronoun equivalent to Portuguese *nada*, while *nat* is a two gender indefinite pronoun (*nat* in the masculine and *nada* in the feminine) used as equivalent to *nenhum*.

The last paragraph suggests that competition between two or more items with a [- animated] feature (mainly counterparts of *rem*, *cousa* and *nada*) took place in several Romance languages, with only one of the items winning the competition. In the remaining of the current section I will show evidence to support the observation that the items *rem*, *cousa* and *nada* could occur in the same type of contexts with similar meaning in Old Portuguese.

As already shown, *rem* was the most productive item in the corpus in the 13th century, but its frequency drastically decreases in the next century. After its disappearance,

the items *cousa* and *nada* know a rise in their frequency, but, in the case of *cousa*, that is only temporary, with *nada* rapidly winning the race.

Examples (197) and (198) are extracted from the same source – DSG – and illustrate the use of *rem* and *cousa* in the exact same context, as the DO of a negative existential construction with the verb *haver* ‘there to be’. In both sentences the items are modified by a relative clause with subjunctive mood and the verb *fazer* ‘to do’.

(197) «Dizede», disse Blioberis, «ca nom ha rem
 say.^{2pl} said.^{3sg} Blioberis because NEG there.is.^{3sg} thing
 no mundo que eu por vos nom faça.
 in.the world that I for you NEG do.^{1sg}
 ‘Say it, said Blioberis, because there is nothing in the world that I will not
 do for you.’

(DSG, CCCLXXVIII)

(198) «Senhor», disse ella, «nom ha cousa no
 Sir said.^{3sg} she NEG there.is.^{3sg} thing in.the
 mundo que por vos nom faça [...]
 world that for you NEG do.^{1sg}
 ‘Sir, she said, there is nothing in the world I will not do for you’

(DSG, CCXLVIII)

The existence of pairs of sentences such as (197) and (198) shows that *rem* and *cousa* were seen as interchangeable, at least in some contexts.

Similarly, (199), (200) and (201) show *rem*, *cousa* and *nada* in very identical contexts and conveying the same meaning. All three items appear in the scope of negation, with the verb *achar* ‘to find’ and they can be translated as ‘anything’. Again, this apparent interchangeability suggests they were seen as equivalent items during a specific period of time and they could appear more or less in the same type of contexts.

(199) Ainda que dessem todo o ouro do
 even that gave.^{3pl} all the gold of.the
 mundo, nom achariam cousa pera comerem.
 world NEG would.find.^{3pl} thing to eat.^{3pl}

‘Even if they gave all the gold in the world, they would not find anything to eat.’

(JAR, LXXX)

- (200) «Dom Galvam, vos andastes ataa ora soo,
 Sir Galvam you walked.^{3sg} until now alone
 e eu outrosi, e nom achamos rem.
 and I also and NEG find.^{3pl} thing
 ‘Sir Galvam, you have walked alone until now and so have I and we did not find anything.’

(DSG, CXXI)

- (201) Pero aquela noite nom acharã nada e no
 but that night NEG found.^{3pl} nothing and in.the
 outro dia pella manhã foram fallar.
 other day by.the morning went.^{3pl} talk
 ‘But that night they did not find anything and the next day, in the morning, they went to talk.’

(CDPM, LIX)

An interesting case that best illustrates the competition between *rem* and *cousa*, for instance, is the confrontation of two different versions of one same text. *Crónica Geral de Espanha* is claimed to reflect 14th century Portuguese, since the original manuscript is considered to have been written in the 14th century. There are two surviving manuscripts, which we will refer to as ms. L and ms. P, adopting Cintra (1951-1990)’s designations. According to Cintra (1951-1990) ms. L is the oldest, dating from the first quarter of the 14th century, while ms. P was composed after 1459. The edition used for our corpus is based on ms. L, where we could find ten occurrences of *rem*. TABLE 4.1 bellow compares the versions of both manuscripts in these ten contexts, according to the notes provided by Cintra (1951-1990).

ms. L (ed. Pedrosa e Miranda 2012)	ms. P (footnotes by Lindley Cintra 1951-1990)
E Muça era vassallo de Miraamolim e ñ quis fazer rem sem seu mädado. (I, CXCVIII)	rem] cousa (vol.II, p.322)
E entom lhes contou como el rei dom Rodrigo jouvera con sua filha e quanto con elle passara e o pesar que dello ouvera sua filha, que rem ñ lhes negou. (I, CXCIV)	que rem ñ lhes negou] omitted (vol II, p.316)
Depois que o conde aquello disse a seus parentes e amigos e vassallos e lhes demandou consselho, elles todos se cataron huus os outros e nom ouve hi tal que rem dissesse, ca lhes semelhou o feito duvydoso. (I, CXCVI)	rem] cousa (vol. II, p. 318)
E, quando foi ã outro dia, fez Tarife viir ante si o esbulho; e ñ acharon que rem vallesse se ñ cavallos e armas. (I, CC)	ñ acharon que rem valesse] ñ acharõ hi cousa que vallesse (vol. II, p. 328)
- Senhor, Deus, que sabe todas cousas, a que se rem ñ esconde, sabe bem que, desde eu fuy teu vassallo, sempre te dei aquelle melhor consselho que eu entendi. (I, CXCVI)	a que se rem ñ esconde] omitted (vol. II, pp. 319)
Ally filhou Abderame todas cousas que os mouros avyam em Espanha, pero que lhes ñ filhou casas nem villas nem rem do seu senhorio. (I, CCXXX)	Ally filhou Abderame ... e chamavam sanctos e queimavaos todos] (vol. II, p.367)
E Muça se guisou logo toste e tam ben que lhe non fallecia rem de quanto avya mester pera a guerra. (I, CXCVIII)	rem] cousa (vol.II, p. 322)
E, por esto que disse, lhe mandou dom Mudarra Gonçalvez dar tantas pãacadas que ñ fallava rem. (II, CCCLXXVII)	rem] omitted (vol. II, p.156)
E, quando eu esto vy, pesoume muyto, ca son assaz temudo e honrrado per ella; e nom soube rem que lhe dizer.(I, CXCIV)	rem] cousa (vol. II, p. 314)
E, quando elle soube como viinha Muça, sayo a o receber e ñ lhe mostrou que dava rẽ por quanto lhe mandara dizer (I, CCVI)	rẽ] cousa (vol. II, p. 338)

TABLE 4.1: OCCURRENCE OF THE MINIMIZER *REM* IN TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF CGE

As TABLE 4.1 shows, ms. P does not preserve *rem* in the contexts in which the item appears in ms. L, except once. In the rest of the cases, *rem* is replaced by *cousa* or, in alternative, it is omitted from the sentence. This clearly shows that *rem* and *cousa* could occur in the same contexts, but also that by the second half of the 14th century, *rem* was seen as an archaism and the scribe felt the need to replace it by an equivalent item.

The increase in the frequency of *cousa* as a minimizer was, however, temporary, since this particular item never reached the level of grammaticalization of *rem*. In the same text, CGE, parallel to the marginal number of occurrences of *rem* and a relatively small number of cases of *cousa*, we find a very high number of examples of the compounds *alguma cousa* and *nenhuma cousa*. TABLE 4.2 below shows the distribution of each form in a 13th century text, DSG, and in a 14th century text, CGE.

	<i>DSG</i> 13 th century		<i>CGE</i> 14 th century	
	n.º occur.	%	n.º occur.	%
<i>rem</i>	237	62,5%	10	3,1%
<i>alguma/nenhuma rem</i>	23	6,1%	0	—
<i>cousa</i>	72	19%	48	14,9%
<i>alguma/nenhuma cousa</i>	20	5,3%	197	61,2%
<i>nada</i>	27	7,1	67	20,1%

TABLE 4.2: FREQUENCY OF *REM*, *COUSA*, *NADA*, *ALGUMA/NENHUMA REM* AND *ALGUMA/NENHUMA COUSA* IN TEXTS FROM THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

Considering the universe of the five possibilities listed in the table, it becomes clear that, with the loss of *rem*, the strategy adopted in CGE is the one involving the combination of *cousa* with an indefinite determiner, rather than resorting to the minimizer *cousa* itself. This clearly points to the fact that *cousa* was not a strong competitor as a minimizer and, with the loss of *rem*, there was a period of instability until *nada* became the most frequent strategy.

The inevitable ambiguity between these minimizers and their homonymous common nouns also played a major role in their replacement by the unambiguous item *nada*. While the lexical item *rem* ceased to appear in all its possible interpretations (both as a minimizer and a common noun), the form *cousa* also underwent changes. As a minimizer in bare form, it progressively lost frequency, but, on the other hand, the strategy including the indefinites *algum/nenhum* to the left or to the right of *cousa* became a frequent option and it is actually still quite productive in CEP. In fact, the combinations displaying *algum* and *nenhum* at the right of *cousa* (*cousa alguma* and *cousa nenhuma*) seem to function as independent NPIs (cf. Martins 2015a, 2015b). These compounds cannot be analysed under the perspective of a noun combined with an indefinite determiner/quantifier, but the whole unit should be considered an independent NPI. This topic deserves further investigation in future work.

A final point needs to be addressed when we talk about competition. As I have shown earlier, the three items – *rem*, *cousa* and *nada* – could occur in the same contexts.

Nevertheless, there are specific contexts of occurrence of *nada* where we do not find the items *cousa* or *rem* (or, in the case of *rem*, examples are very scarce). These are essentially the cases known as contexts of *free-standing n-words* and presuppositional denial. I will address these two cases in section 4.3 of this chapter. In any case, the fact that *rem* and *cousa* could not compete for these particular contexts constitutes another disadvantage to the overall competition.

The data presented for the three OP [- animated] NPIs allow us to conclude that they were considered equivalent strategies for the same functions and were interchangeable in both modal and negative contexts (although two of them failed to occur as free-standing n-words or in contexts of presuppositional denial). Being *rem* the most frequent item, when it ceases to occur, its competitors took its place, with *cousa* being the most frequent item for a short period of time. *Cousa* was at an early stage of grammaticalization and was highly ambiguous, since it coexisted with the homonymous common noun. This is perceived by the need to use disambiguating strategies involving *cousa*, such as the compound forms *alguma/nenhuma cousa*. Eventually, the form *nada* gains strength and becomes the preferred [- animated] NPI, benefiting from the fact that, despite not originating in a negative element, it shared the initial /n/ of all other negative indefinites and could be interpreted as part of the same morphological paradigm.

4.2.2. Items with a [+human] feature

This subsection will be dedicated to the comparison of minimizers displaying a [+ human] feature. I will here oppose the minimizer *homem* against two sets of items, the indefinites *nenhum/algum* with a [+ human feature], on the one hand, and *ninguém/algum* on the other. Contrary to their behaviour in contemporary data, the pair *nenhum/algum* could be used to designate the existence or absence of a [+ human] element. Furthermore, as I will show, the opposition we find in contemporary data concerning the polarity of each item was still being established. Contrary to nowadays, *nenhum* and *ninguém* were not intrinsically negative and *algum/algum* were not limited to positive contexts (that is, affirmative-assertive and modal contexts).¹⁰³ Therefore, the four items could potentially compete with the minimizer *homem*, both in modal and in negative contexts. Before moving on to the data compiled in the corpus, I will start by presenting each of the items under discussion.

¹⁰³ This had already been noticed by Martins (2003b)

I first address the negative indefinite *nenhum*, which derives from the Latin *ne(c) unu*, meaning ‘not one’ or ‘not even one’. Although Classical Latin is described as a double negation language, several authors (Väänänen 1981; Gianollo 2018) claim that Vulgar Latin was already a negative concord language which exhibited strategies of negation reinforcement. The Latin *ne(c) unu* was used as reinforced negation in Vulgar Latin, as examples such as (202) suggest.

- (202) Ramessen civitas nunc campus est, ita ut
 Rameses:NOM city:NOM now field:NOM is so that
 nec unam habitationem habeat
 not.even one:ACC dwelling:ACC be:3SG
 ‘the city Rameses is now a level site without a single dwelling’

(from Bertocchi *et al.* 2010: 82, quoted by Gianollo, 2016:131)

According to Gianollo (2016:131) «*nec* (here ‘not even’) functions as a focus particle, and the ensuing indefinite» – in this case the cardinal number ‘one’ – «can be argued to have originally been an emphatic reinforcer of negation» with the pragmatic function of scalar endpoint (similar to minimizers). Until around the end of the 16th century, *nenhum* could exhibit a [+human] feature (cf. Martins 2003b), in contexts such as (203). This particular use of *nenhum* was different from the non-pronominal use illustrated in (204) (preceding a noun) which survived until Contemporary Portuguese and which I will not take into account in the present comparison.

- (203) E sia pensando tanto que nenhũu o
 and was.^{3sg} thinking so.much that none him.^{3sg.acc}
 nom podia acordar de seu pensar.
 NEG could.^{3sg} wake.up of his thinking
 ‘And he was thinking so much that no one could wake him up from his thoughts.’

(DSG, IX)

- (204) Por esta palavra ficou que nenhũu cavalleiro
 by this word stayed.^{3sg} that none knight

nom levou comsigo sua amiga.
 NEG took.^{3sg} with.him his friend

‘By this word, it was decided that no knight could take with him his lady friend.’

(DSG, xxxv)

The indefinite *algum* is considered the existential counterpart of *nenhum* in CEP. It derives from the Latin *aliqu’unu* or *alicunnu* (cf. Nascentes 1955). Similarly to *nenhum*, it also contained a [+ human] feature, which was progressively lost until the 18th century (cf. Martins 2016), and could be used pronominally as in (205). The coexistent non-pronominal use, which survived until our days, is illustrated in (206). I will, again, only be interested in the first use.

(205) E por isso queríamos que algum
 and for this wanted.^{1pl} that some
 ali se assentasse, porque então saberíamos
 there SE.^{reflx} sit.down.^{3sg} because then would.know.^{1pl}
 se é verdade o que ele disse.
 if is.^{3sg} truth the what he said.^{3sg}

‘And, therefore, we wanted someone to sit there, because we would then know if it is true what he said’

(JAR, ciii)

(206) [...] em isto os Mouros, que com algum
 in this the Moorish that with some
 esforço, ou vergonha de ver ainda seu
 effort or shame of see still their
 pendão levantado, sustinham a peleja
 flag raised sustained.^{3pl} the fight

‘in this, the Moorish, who, with some effort or shame of still seeing their flag raised, sustained the fight [...]’

(Tycho Brahe, CDAH)

The use of both *algum* and *nenhum* as equivalents of *ninguém* and *alguém* is commented by Said Ali (1931), who observes that in Old Portuguese, these pronouns could be used not only as adjuncts but also as absolutes to designate someone or no one, respectively.¹⁰⁴

As far as the indefinite *ninguém* is concerned, it originated from the Latin *ne(c)quem* but it does not become frequent in the language until the 16th century, when the [+ human] *nenhum* dramatically falls in frequency. Contrary to *nenhum*, it exists only as a pronominal form and cannot antecede a noun. Its use is illustrated in (207).

- (207) E por evitar mumurações de maldizentes que
 and to avoid murmurs of gossipers who
 falam sem medo quanto lhe vem à
 talk.^{3pl} without fear how.much him.^{3sg.dat} comes.^{3sg} to.the
 boca, mandei lançar pregão que ninguém falasse
 mouth sent.^{1sg} throw clamour that no one talked.^{3sg}
 ‘And to avoid whispering of the gossipers who say without fear whatever comes to their mouths, I have ordered that no one spoke.

(Tycho Brahe, *Peregrinação*)

Finally, the positive counterpart of *ninguém*, *alguém*, has its origin in the Latin form *aliquem* (cf. Nascentes 1955). It is exclusively used as a pronominal form with a [+ human] feature as in (208).

- (208) E se alguem me perguntasse quem
 and if someone me.^{1sg.dat} asked.^{3sg} who
 era o cavalleiro, eu lhe d(i)ria
 was.^{3sg} the knight I him.^{3sg.dat} would.say.^{3sg}
 que era Tristam, o sobrinho de
 that was.^{3sg} Tristan the nephew of
 rei Mars de Cornoalha.
 king Mars of Cornwall

‘And if someone asked me who that knight was, I would say he was Tristan, the nephew of king Mars of Cornwall.’

(DSG, LXXXV)

¹⁰⁴ In the original: «No português antigo porém os pronomes *algum*, *nenhum* usavam-se não somente como adjuntos mas ainda como absolutos e, neste caso, na acepção de “alguém”, “ninguém”» (Said Ali: 1931:123)

In order to compare the two sets of items with the minimizer *homem*, I have taken into account the distribution of their occurrences in my corpus, as shown in TABLE 4.3.

Item / Century	13th	14th	15th	16th	Total
<i>homem</i>	236	72	24	68	400
<i>algum</i> [+hum]	26	10	28	8	72
<i>nenhum</i> [+hum]	79	64	125	29	297
<i>alguém</i>	189	29	26	201	445
<i>ninguém</i>	2	0	6	350	358 ¹⁰⁵

TABLE 4.3: FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ITEMS *HOMEM*, *ALGUM*, *NENHUM*, *ALGUÉM* AND *NINGUÉM* BY CENTURY

As we can see, the distribution of these items is not even along the centuries. In the 13th century, *homem* is the most frequent item, followed by *alguém*, while *ninguém* was registered only twice.¹⁰⁶ These values are inverted in the 16th century, with a huge rise in the number of occurrences of *ninguém*, while *homem* and *nenhum* diminish their frequency. The data in TABLE 4.3 does not allow us, however, to accurately determine the real frequency of these items, since, as I have highlighted several times so far, the corpus is unbalanced as far as text typology is concerned.

Leaving aside statistical considerations, the data collected in the corpus allow me to draw some conclusions related to the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the four items, in comparison with *homem*. I will try to argue that all five items competed between them, but, as expected, some items were preferred in specific contexts and the competing NPIs followed different evolutions.

I will start by looking at the contexts of occurrence of the items. As already shown in Martins (1997, 2000), negative indefinites *nada*, *nenhum* and *ninguém* first started as weak NPIs, therefore appearing in both modal and negative contexts, although with different frequencies. Examples (209) and (210) illustrate the occurrence of *nenhum* and *ninguém* in modal contexts with positive interpretation, while (211) and (212) present them in a negative environment. They were never found in affirmative assertive contexts, though.

¹⁰⁵ There is a total of 748 occurrences of *ninguém* in the corpus. I have decided not to include them all for comparison purposes since the remaining entries were all from the 16th century and extracted from theatre plays. Therefore, I have considered 358 examples, a number that is close to the totality of examples for *homem*. It should be noted, though, that for the remaining items (*algum*, *nenhum* and *alguém*) the number of examples considered in Table 4.3 corresponds to the totality of examples found while compiling the corpus.

¹⁰⁶ The two occurrences were found in the DSG and, since the manuscript is a 15th century copy, the use of *ninguém* may have been introduced by the 15th century scribe.

- (209) [...] e ian-se por folgarem na foresta,
 and went.SE.^{reflx} for playing.^{3pl} in.the forest
 mas nom iam armados por pavor
 but NEG went.^{3pl} armed for fear
 que ouvessem de *nenhũu*, mas aquele
 that had.^{3pl} of no one but that
 tempo tiãam-no por vilania ao cavaleiro
 time had-it.^{3sg.acc} for vilany to.the knight
 se cava(l)gasse sem armas.
 if ride.^{3sg} without armas

‘and they went to have fun in the forest but they were armed, not because they feared anyone, but because in that time, it was considered vilany if the knight rode without arms.’

(DSG, DXXVII)

- (210) Isabel: Dize, tu viste-me a mi hoje
 Isabel say.^{2sg.Imp} you saw.^{2sg}-me.^{1sg.Dat} ti me.^{1sg.Dat} today
 falar com ninguém?
 talk with no one

‘Isabel: Say it, did you see me today talking to anyone?’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto de Dom Fernando*)

- (211) E bem queria, se podesse, que estas
 and well wanted.^{3sg} if could.^{3sg} that these
 letras nom visse *nenhũu* [...]
 letters NEG saw.^{3sg} no one

‘And he wanted, if he could, that no one saw these letters.’

(DSG, XIII)

- (212) Mas venhamos aa enliçom, disse elle,
 but come.^{1pl} to.the election said.^{3sg} he
 enquanto nos neguem nom torva, e
 while us.^{1pl.dat} nobody NEG disturbs.^{3sg} and

nom	curemos	do	clamor	do	poboo [...]
NEG	care. ^{1pl}	of.the	cry	of.the	people

‘But let us go to the election, he said, while nobody disturbs us, and let us not care about the cries of the people.’

(Tycho Brahe, *Peregrinação*)

On the other hand, both *algũm* and *alguém* could be found in affirmative-assertive contexts as the ones in (213) and (214), and also in modal environments, such as in (215) and (216). Additionally, both items were also found with a negative interpretation in the scope of negation, as documented by examples (217) and (218).

(213)	Costume	he	que	quando	o	mordomo
	custom	is. ^{3sg}	that	when	the	butler
	demanda	algum	de	cooymha	que	fezesse
	demands. ^{3sg}	some	of	crime	that	did. ^{3sg}
	e	a	quer	prouar	que	a
	and	it. ^{3sg,acc}	wants. ^{3sg}	prove	that	it. ^{3sg,acc}
	fez	que	deue	logo	nomear	en
	did. ^{3sg}	that	should. ^{3sg}	right.away	nominate. ^{3sg}	in
	conçelho	três	testemuyinhas.			
	council	three	witnesses			

It is custom that, when the butler accuses someone of a crime and wants to prove that he did it, he should nominate in the council three witnesses.’

(Matos Reis (ed.), *Foros de Beja*)

(214)	Costume	he	quer	seja	peom	quer
	Custom	is. ^{3sg}	wants. ^{3sg}	is. ^{3sg}	citizen	wants. ^{3sg}
	caualeiro	o	queira	responder	alguem	que
	knight	it. ^{3sg,acc}	wants. ^{3sg}	answer	someone	that
	o	demanda	no	concelho	possa-o	fazer
	it. ^{3sg,acc}	demands. ^{3sg}	in.the	council	can- it. ^{3sg,acc}	do
	ainda	que	o	moordomo	non	queira.
	even	that	the	butler	NEG	wants. ^{3sg}

‘It is custom that, being it a citizen or a knight, if someone demands to answer in the council be allowed to do it, even if the butler does not want to’.

(Matos Reis (ed.), *Foros de Beja*)

- (215) Outrossi, se *algũu*, por cobiça ou
 also if some for greed or
 por *ẽveja* ou por outra qualquer
 for envy or for other any
 malicia, quiser passar e quebrantar os
 malice wants.^{3sg} pass and break the
 termos que ali foron postos e
 terms that there were.^{3pl} put and
 compartidos dos bispados, que fosse maldito
 shared of.the bishoprics that was.^{3sg} cursed
 e excomungado pera todo sempre
 and excomungated for all always

‘Also, if someone for greed, envy or any other malice wants to pass and break the terms that have been settled and shared by the bishoprics, may he be cursed and excomungated forever.’

(CGE, *CLXXVI*)

- (216) E se alguem me perguntar, quem é,
 and if someone me.^{1sg.dat} asks.^{3sg} who is.^{3sg}
 diria-lhe eu que era Elaim, o
 would.say-him.^{3sg.Dat} I that was.^{3sg} Elaim the
 Branco, o filho de Boorz.
 white the son of Boorz

‘And if someone asks me who he is, I would say he was Elaim, the White, son of Boorz.’

(DSG, *CXLII*)

(217) E sobre todo nom avia hy *alguã*
 and above all NEG there.was.^{3sg} there some
 que não tivesse que chorar [...]
 who NEG had.^{3sg} that cry
 ‘And most of all, there was no one there who did not have a reason to cry’
 (CDPM, xiii)

(218) [...] e foy po]to por Edictor geral pera
 and was.^{3sg} put for editor general for
]empre, que dahy em diante alguém nom
 always that from.there in front someone NEG
 entra]e mais na dicta Ordem [...]
 entered.^{3sg} more in.the said Order
 ‘and he was put as general editor forever, so from that moment on no one
 would enter in the referred Order.’
 (Tycho Brahe, CDD)

TABLE 4.4 below presents the frequency of each item in the different polar environments.

		Homem		Algun [+hum]		Nenhum [+hum]		Alguém		Ninguém	
		n.º	%	n.º	%	n.º	%	n.º	%	n.º	%
Polarity	Total	400		72		297		445		358	
	Negative	324	81	11	15,3	291	98	21	4,7	333	93,0
	Affirmative assertive	0	0	14	19,4	0	0	109	24,5	0	0
	Modal	74	19	47	65,3	6	2	306	68,8	25	7

TABLE 4.4: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE ITEMS *HOMEM*, *ALGUM*, *NENHUM*, *ALGUÉM* AND *NINGUÉM* ACCORDING TO POLARITY

As expected, *algun* and *alguém* were preferred in positive contexts, with the modal ones being the most frequent. Both items occurred in this type of contexts in more than 60% of the totality of examples in the corpus. On the contrary, *nenhum* and *ninguém* occurred with much more frequency in negative contexts, in more than 90% of the cases. Only a few examples were found in modal contexts. *Homem*, on the other hand, was also more frequently found in negative environments (in 81% of the times), but occurred in modal contexts much more often than *nenhum* and *ninguém* (19% against 2% and 7%).

Even though the four items did not occur with the same frequency in the same contexts, they were all attested in the two polar environments where *homem* occurred. This means that, in modal and negative contexts, the five items were possible and received the same interpretation. A closer look at the data reveals, however, that some items were favoured by certain constructions. I will draw attention to conditional, degree clauses and existential constructions.

From the four items, *algum* and *alguém* were the ones occurring more frequently in modal contexts, therefore, being stronger competitors in this environment than *nenhum* and *ninguém*. Data show that especially *algum*, but also *alguém* were preferred in modal contexts, with a conditional clause. While I only register 5 examples of *homem* in a non-negative conditional clause, which corresponds to about 9,3% of all the examples with modal polarity, *algum* seems to be highly specialized in this type of environment, appearing 41 times out of the 46 examples with modal polarity. This corresponds to 89,1% of all the occurrences in a modal context. As for *alguém*, I also registered 175 examples of this item in a conditional clause, which corresponds to 61% of the total amount of modal contexts for this item.

As I have argued in section 3.3.4.5. in Chapter 3, the minimizer *homem* occurs with high frequency in existential and degree constructions. The comparison of data with *homem* and the two sets of competing NPIs enable us to verify whether these constructions favoured the use of the minimizer in particular or any other of the relevant NPIs. Among the five items, *homem* is the one that occurs more frequently in association with a degree construction, especially with consecutive clauses. TABLE 4.5 below shows the frequency of this type of constructions in the overall examples of each item.

	Homem		Algum [+hum]		Nenhum [+hum]		Alguém		Ninguém	
	n.º	%	n.º	%	n.º	%	n.º	%	n.º	%
Degree constructions -total	163	40,8	3	4,2	27	9,1	4	0,9	26	7,3
comparatives	30	7,5	1	1,4	7	2,4	3	0,7	15	4,2
degree	133	33,3	2	2,8	20	6,7	1	0,2	11	3,1

TABLE 4.5: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE ITEMS *HOMEM*, *ALGUM*, *NENHUM*, *ALGUÉM* AND *NINGUÉM* IN DEGREE CONSTRUCTIONS

From all the occurrences of *homem* (a total of 400 sentences), a degree construction is present 163 times, which corresponds to 40,8% of the cases. For all the other items, the presence of a degree construction is not significant, with the higher number of cases being

registered for *nenhum*, which is involved in such construction in less than 10% of the examples (only 27 cases were found in a universe of 297 examples). If we consider only the degree constructions that contain the item *nunca* ‘never’, then the presence of *homem* is almost exclusive, since there are only two occurrences of *ninguém* in this context in the corpus and no occurrences at all for the remaining items. Finally, the cooccurrence of the MPI *nunca* in degree constructions, as attested in 3.3.4.5.1 in Chapter 3, is verified exclusively with *homem*.

All this points to a preference of the minimizer *homem* in relation to degree constructions, but this is not the only context in which *homem* seems to occur more frequently than its competitors.

In the corpus I count a total of 372 entries with an existential construction involving a polarity item as the direct object, or, using the proper terminology, as the pivot. About 59% of those occurrences (219 examples) involve a pivot with a predominant [- animate] feature. The remaining 41% of the entries (153 examples) display a [+ human] pivot and constitute the relevant cases for the present discussion. TABLE 4.6 summarizes the distribution of the [+ human] element present in the examples.

	Homem	Algum [+hum]	Nenhum [+hum]	Alguém	Ninguém
Pivot of an existential construction	74,8%	7,28%	8,05%	6,04%	4,02%

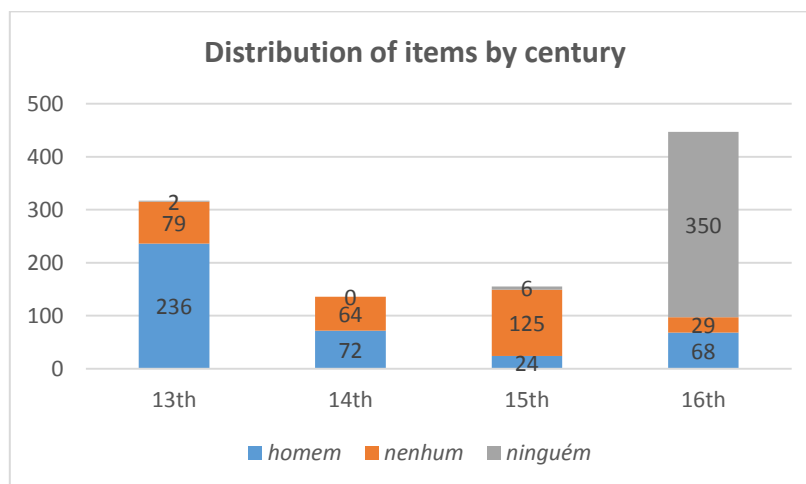
TABLE 4.6: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF *HOMEM*, *ALGUM*, *NENHUM*, *ALGUÉM* AND *NINGUÉM* AS PIVOTS OF AN EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTION

It becomes clear by the observation of TABLE 4.6 that existential constructions favoured *homem* as the pivot element in almost 75% of the times, while the remaining items were chosen for the same position with very low frequency. If we consider only negative existentials (137 cases out of the 153 total existentials), as presented in TABLE 4.7, then *homem* is the chosen form in more than 80% of the examples and the gap between *homem* and *algum/alguém* becomes even bigger, with *homem* being the item chosen to appear as a pivot of a negative existential construction.

	Homem	Algum [+hum]	Nenhum [+hum]	Alguém	Ninguém
Pivot of a negative existential construction	80,8%	4,4%	8,8%	1,5%	4,4%

TABLE 4.7: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF *HOMEM*, *ALGUM*, *NENHUM*, *ALGUÉM* AND *NINGUÉM* AS PIVOTS OF A NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTION

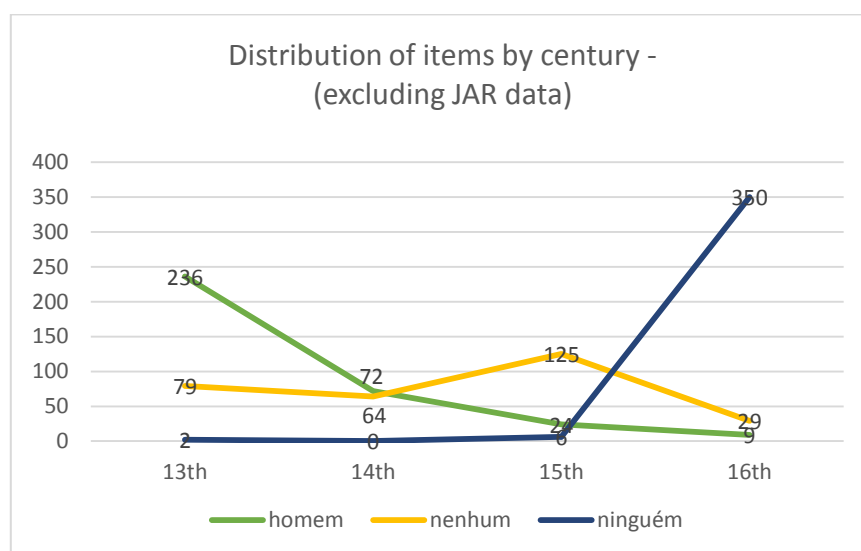
So far we have seen that, despite being able to occur in both modal and negative contexts, therefore, being possible competitors with *homem*, some of these items were preferred over others in certain contexts. The item that presented itself as the strongest competitor with *homem* was *nenhum*, as we can see by its higher frequency in negative contexts, which were also the most frequent contexts of occurrence of the minimizer. When we compare *homem* with *nenhum*, we realize that *nenhum* was a much freer item than *homem*, being able to occur in any context (excluding, of course, the restrictions related to polarity), including the subset of contexts in which *homem* was preferred. This was, most likely, due to its more advanced stage of grammaticalization. It did not have any nominal properties, it could freely occur with verbs from any semantic field and its occurrence in modal contexts was residual. Furthermore, it is registered as the sole negative element in negative sentences. This is probably because it derives from a Latin expression which was already used as a negation reinforcer. GRAPH 4.1 below shows the distribution in the corpus of *homem* and *nenhum*, but also of the item *ninguém* ‘nobody’,¹⁰⁷ by century.



GRAPH 4.1: DISTRIBUTION OF THE ITEM *HOMEM*, *NENHUM* AND *NINGUÉM* BY CENTURY

¹⁰⁷ Bear in mind that the unbalance in the corpus typology may influence the results displayed in Graph 4.1. The high percentage of *homem* in the 13th century may be due to DSG, an Arthurian novel. Similarly, the sudden increase in the occurrences of *homem* in the 16th century may be motivated by the inclusion of another Arthurian novel, JAR, in this century.

We see in GRAPH 4.1 that the item *homem* is more frequent than *nenhum* in the 13th century, but in the 14th century both items reveal even percentages. The 15th century seems to be a turning point, since the number of occurrences of *nenhum* largely outnumbers those of *homem* (125 examples against 24). In fact, if we exclude data from the JAR text (which, as we have seen, raises problems due to the fact that it is a 16th century copy of an earlier text) we clearly see that *homem* suffers a sharp decrease from the 13th to the 14th century and it continues to decrease in the following centuries. In the 16th century it is only residual. GRAPH 4.2 presents a better overview of the frequency of each item through the four centuries, when we exclude the occurrences of JAR in the 16th century. It is clear that *homem* was already a residual element when *ninguém* starts being highly frequent.



GRAPH 4.2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE ITEM *HOMEM*, *NENHUM* AND *NINGUÉM* BY CENTURY, EXCLUDING DATA FROM JAR

We can, then, assume that the major competition was between *homem* and *nenhum* [+hum] and, even though the appearance of *ninguém* may have contribute to the disappearance of *homem*, it was not the main reason.

What diachronic data show concerning the four competing items *algum/algúem*, *nenhum/ninguém* is that competition was progressively solved through both disappearance and specialization of the competing items. We can see here that competition was solved through substitution and differentiation (cf. Smet *et al.* 2018). Both *algum* and *nenhum* with a [+human] feature progressively disappear. *Ninguém* seems to replace [+human] *nenhum* and becomes exclusive of negative contexts, while *algúem* specializes in affirmative-assertive

and modal contexts. The two sets of items – *nenhum/algum* and *ninguém /alguém* – can be seen as members of the same constructional family, if we adopt the theory proposed by Smet *et al.* (2018). The first set of items is progressively replaced by the second set, but they are all members of one same network which makes them stronger in relation to *homem*. Furthermore, two of the items of the competing constructional family (*nenhum* and *ninguém*) benefited from a negative origin. If we assume that the two sets of items are members of the same constructional family, this puts *homem* in a volatile position, since it belonged to a different competing constructional family which did not have any other members with a [+ human] feature. In addition, assuming that *homem* belonged to the same constructional family of other indefinite minimizers, this puts it in disadvantage. Not only its constructional family included items with different origin and different levels of grammaticalization, but, by the end of the 14th century, it had already lost its stronger element – the minimizer *rem*.

On the one hand, *homem* presents a level of grammaticalization that makes it closer to common nouns, contrary to what happens with its competitors. This is reflected in the maintenance of a nominal behaviour and also in the fact that it did not become intrinsically negative, therefore being unable to occur as the single marker of negation in pre-verbal position. On the other hand, *homem* is an ambiguous item throughout its period of existence as a minimizer. As I have signaled before, the form *homem* is used as a common noun and continues to exist with that function until nowadays. A homonymous form was also attested, until the 16th century, as a generic pronoun.

4.3. *Nemigalha*: from full grammaticalization to obsolescence

In this section, I will present the case of the item *nemigalha* (lit. ‘not even crumb’), which constitutes a successful case of grammaticalization from common noun to strong NPI, equivalent to the negative indefinite *nada*. It seems to be the only item that reaches the status of an adverbial negation reinforcer. Even though it can be considered as another competing element from the [- animated] series, being able to occur in the same contexts I have described for *rem*, *cousa* and *nada*, it presents a few particularities. As I will show, *nemigalha* competed in contexts in which we do not find *rem* nor *cousa*, which makes it the only competing form against *nada* in those contexts.

The Latin form *mica*¹⁰⁸ gave rise to minimizers in several Romance languages (*mie* in French, *miga/mica* in several Italian dialects, *(ne)migalba* in Portuguese, a.o.). According to Schwegler (1990), following the work by Väänänen (1981), the occurrence of Latin *mica* in negative sentences as a negation reinforcement strategy was already registered around the time of Plautus, as example (219) illustrates:

- (219) Non micam mentis sanae habere.
not a crumb of.mind healthy have
‘To be entirely out of one’s mind.’

Schwegler (1990:15)

This can explain that in very early stages of some Romance languages, the heirs of Latin *mica* were not only found as negation reinforcement strategies, but they were also being the target of reinforcement strategies. Based on Italian data, Parry (2013) describes a frequent strategy found in medieval Romance languages to reinforce a minimizer: the addition of a particle equivalent to *nem* ‘not.even’ (*né* in Italian). In 12th century Italian dialects, the minimizer *mica* already appeared emphasized by the particle *né*, resulting in the form *né mica*. Formations such as *niente* and *negota* are said to have occurred even earlier than *né mica* and resulted from the same process. In dialects such as Venetian, the emphatic form *né miga* failed to lexicalize with the meaning *nothing*, constituting what Parry (2013) considered a univerbation that did not ensue.

A similar process to the one described by Parry (2013) is found in Old Portuguese for the item *nemigalba*. Due to its scalar properties, the common noun *migalba* ‘crumb’ eventually started being used as a partitive minimizer and was later reinforced by the negative particle *nem* ‘not.even’.¹⁰⁹ The frequent occurrence of the emphatic particle with the minimizer resulted in the formation of *nemigalba* in a very early stage of the language. *Nemigalba* became an independent item, behaving as a strong NPI, as I will tentatively show. Even though there are examples in the corpus of *nem* and *migalba* written separately,¹¹⁰ there

¹⁰⁸ Meaning «partícula, migaja, especialmente la de pan’, ‘grano de sal’» (cf. Corominas & Pascual 1980-91:74)

¹⁰⁹ As we have already seen, OP also witnessed the frequent cooccurrence of *nem* with the minimizer *ponto*, but it did not result in an univerbation.

¹¹⁰ In most cases of *nemigalba* written separately, the emphatic marker assumes the form *ne* or *ni*, with vowel denasalization, as in (i):

- i) El fez tanto por ti e tu por el ni migalha
he did so.much for you and you for him not.even crumb
‘He did so much for you, and you did nothing for him.’

(DSG, DLXIII)

are no registers of the minimizer *migalba* occurring without the presence of *nem* until the end of the 16th century, when *nemigalba* ceases to occur.

Let us now look at data from the corpus concerning the item *nemigalba*. The corpus contemplates a total of 148 occurrences of *nemigalba*, with the following distribution:

Occurrences of <i>nemigalba</i> by century					
Century	13 th	14 th	15 th	16 th	17 th
n.º of occurrences	33	50	16	48	1

TABLE 4.8: OCCURRENCES OF *NEMIGALHA* BY CENTURY

As TABLE 4.8 shows, *nemigalba* does not have a high frequency in general and most occurrences are concentrated in the 13th, 14th and 16th centuries. Again, similarly to what we saw for other items, this distribution is highly conditioned by text typology. In TABLE 4.9 I present the occurrences of *nemigalba* distributed by century and text type.

		Distribution of <i>nemigalba</i> by source/century																			
century	13th					14th							15th				16th				17th
Source	CSM /LP GP	DSG	Legal texts	other	DCS	Legal text	Epistolary	VS	DG	CGE	other	IC	OE	VFJC	Other	act-e-quincentos	CGG R	JAR	MP	Poetry	act-e-seiscentos
N.º occurrences	9	5	18	1	6	7	1	1	28	4	3	9	1	2	4	30	15	1	1	1	1
Total	33					50							16				48				1

TABLE 4.9: DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCURRENCES OF *NEMIGALHA* BY TEXTUAL SOURCE AND CENTURY

Contrary to what was observed for other items, *nemigalba* occurs more frequently in legal texts than in any other type of text in 13th century data. This is unexpected, since legal texts were seen as not favouring the occurrence of minimizers. I can only tentatively guess that this high frequency of *nemigalba* in legal texts is due to the loss of its emphatic force. *Nemigalba* was probably not interpreted as a marked strategy anymore, which suggests that its use as a NPI started in a very early stage of the language (presumably inherited from Late Latin). On the other hand, in 16th century data, *nemigalba* follows the tendency observed for other minimizers, being more frequently found in the corpus of theatre plays. In this case, it can be argued that *nemigalba* is used as a marked strategy to help building certain characters. For instance, some examples of *nemigalba* extracted from theatre plays by Gil Vicente correspond to the speech of characters that use a rustic vocabulary (cf. Teyssier 2005), as is the case of the following characters: Lavrador, from *Purgatório (Barca Segunda)*, João Mortinheira from *Tragicomédia Romagem dos Agravados* or Gonçalo from *Farsa do Clérigo*

da Beira. This topic would need a deeper investigation to allow us to understand whether there is some relation between the use of *nemigalha* (and additionally other minimizers) and the social status of characters, not only from Gil Vicente's theatre plays, but from other 1500's plays. I postpone this investigation to future work.

Similarly to the description presented for partitive/evaluative and indefinite minimizers, I will give special attention to the presence or absence of nominal properties in *nemigalha*'s behaviour. I will start by stating that the form *nemigalha* was fully lexicalized, corresponding to a single item, and, therefore being different from other occurrences of minimizers reinforced by *nem* 'not.even', as is the case of *tostão* 'red cent' in example (220).

- (220) Meijengra é mais rica qu' ela/ qu' essa nam
 Meijengra is.^{3sg} more rich than she because that NEG
 tem nem tostão.
 have.^{3sg} not.even penny
 'Meijengra is richer than her because that one doesn't have not even a red cent.'

(Cet-e-quinientos, *Tragicomédia da Serra da Estrela*)

This can be seen in example (221) where we find *nemigalha* being licensed by the negative coordinative conjunction *nem*, showing that the particle *nem* merged with *migalha* is no longer interpreted independently.

- (221) E a mi constringes entrar/ em regorosa
 and to me.^{2sg.Dat} constrains.^{2sg} get.in in rigorous
 batalha sem armas nem nimigalha
 battle without weapons nor not.even.crumb
 'And I am constrained to entering such a demanding battle without weapons or anything else.'

(Cet-e-quinientos, *Auto de Santa Caterina*)

In (222), the presence of the adverb *mais* 'more' occurs before the whole form instead of splitting it, as would be the case if we were in the presence of two independent items (*nem mais migalha*).

- (222) A Mula: Nam como mais nimigalha
 The Mule: NEG eat.^{1sg} more not.even.crumb
 ‘The Mule: I will not eat anything else.’

(Cet-e-quinientos, *Mula*)

Nemigalha always appears in the corpus in its singular form, therefore not displaying visible number features. It also appears as a bare form, with no determiner, as illustrated in example (223).

- (223) E de preço apres de uós nemigalha nom
 and of price known of you.^{2pl} not.even.crumb NEG
 remãece por dar.
 remains for give
 ‘And nothing was left unpaid of the agreed price.’

(CIPM, *Cartas portuguesas de D. João de Portel*)

Since *nemigalha* originates from the noun *migalha*, which takes a PP with partitive reading (as in *migalha de pão* ‘a crumb of bread’), the maintenance of a PP complement could be seen as an indicator of an initial stage of grammaticalization. From the universe of 148 examples, only 15 contained a PP. Nevertheless, in the examples found, I argue that these PPs cannot be considered real complements of the noun, since they do not complete information regarding the noun *migalha* ‘crumb’. First, because the occurrences of *nemigalha* cannot be interpreted as instances of a common noun and they do not maintain the original referential meaning. And second because the PPs themselves are not semantically compatible with being the unit from which a crumb can be extracted. This can easily be attested with an example such as (225), where the noun *azeite* ‘olive oil’ cannot logically be fractionable into crumbs. But let us look at examples (224) and (225) which illustrate the type of context where *nemigalha* appears with a PP.

- (224) Et mando que neuun destes moesteyro
 and order.^{1sg} that none of.these monastery
 de suso ditos non tomen nen
 of above said.^{masc.Pl} NEG take.^{3pl} not.even
 migalla desto que lles leixo.

crumb of.this that them.^{3Pl.Dat} leave.^{1sg}

‘And I order that none of the aforementioned monasteries inherits anything of what I leave them.’

(TMILG, Prosa Notarial)

(225) E pois o santo homen vio que das
and then the saint man saw.^{3sg} that of.the
olivas que jazian apremudas pelo peso do
olive trees that stood.^{3pl} squashed by.the weight of.the
lagar non saia nemigalha d’ azeite.
oil press NEG came.out.^{3sg} not.even.crumb of olive oil

‘And then the saint man saw that no olive oil came out of the olive trees that were squashed by the oil press.’

(*Diálogos de São Gregório*)

In both cases, *nemigalha* quantifies over the noun inside the PP, which happens to be the noun that satisfies the semantic selection properties of the verb. Both sentences can exist without the presence of *nemigalha*, as I illustrate in (226) and (227).

(226) Et mando que neuun destes mosteyros de suso ditos non tomen esto que lles leixo.

‘And I order that none of the aforementioned monasteries inherits what I leave them.’

(227) E pois o santo homen vio que das olivas que jazian apremudas pelo peso do lagar non saia azeite.

‘And then the saint man saw that no olive oil came out of the olive trees that were squashed by the oil press.’

Again, this had already been seen for other minimizers and can be used as evidence of grammaticalization. I consider that the PP at the right of *nemigalha* in (224) and (225) is not a complement (nor a modifier) of *nemigalha*, but a partitive PP, which should be interpreted as a complement of an adnominal quantifier (this topic will be address in Chapter 5).

According to Garzonio (2008), the loss of phi-features is the first step into grammaticalization, since an item can only receive a negative feature when it no longer presents inflection marks. The absence of phi-features goes hand in hand with the loss of referential meaning. As examples such as (228) show, *nemigalha* was no longer interpreted as the negation of the common noun *migalha* ‘crumb’, since it could occur with a verb unrelated to eating or the culinary field. In (228) it occurs with the verb *falar* ‘to speak’.

- (228) E esta dona Marinha nom falava nemigalha.
 and this lady Marinha NEG speak not.even.crumb
 ‘And this lady Marinha did not speak.’

(CIPM, *Narrativa de Livro de Linhagens*)

Its occurrence with all types of verbs clearly indicates there was no longer semantic restrictions concerning verb selection. If we look at (228), we see that *nemigalha* could no longer be interpreted as meaning ‘not even the smallest crumb’, as becomes clear from the grammaticality contrast between the translations in a) and b) in (229).

- (229) a) And this lady Marinha did not speak (at all).
 b) *And this lady did not speak a crumb.

In a hypothetic syntactic analysis of (228) in which the verb *falar* is a transitive verb and *nemigalha* its direct object (assuming that *falar* is an optionally transitive verb), preserving the nominal meaning of *migalha*, the result would be an ungrammatical sentence (as in (229b)), because the selection properties of the declarative verb *falar* would be violated. The fact that *nemigalha* can appear with the verb *falar* shows that it was already emptied from its original referential meaning. This is reinforced by the fact that *nemigalha* could occur with a meteorological verb such as *chover* ‘to rain’, which does not take an object, as illustrated in (230).

- (230) tam grande foy a chea, pero que ñõ chovera
 so big was the flood but that NEG had.rained
 nemigalha.
 not.even.crumb
 ‘The flood was so big, but it didn’t rain a drop’

(CGE,2,ccxxx)

The example above brings into the discussion another property of grammaticalized minimizers: the possibility of occurring without argument function. As seen before, Lucas (2007) was the first to draw attention to the importance of contexts with optionally transitive verbs or alike in processes of reanalysis originating minimizers, since they are considered bridging contexts capable of triggering the reanalysis of a minimizer from argumental to reinforcement particle. The data concerning *nemigalha* clearly show that it could appear without argument function, assuming an adverbial-like status. I will consider examples (231) and (232) to illustrate this property.

(231) Sobrinho, tu tem o embuço e nam fales
 Nephew you have.^{2sg} the disguise and NEG speak.^{2sg}
nemigalha.

not.even.crumb

a) ‘Nephew, take the disguise and do not speak anything.’

b) ‘Nephew, take the disguise and do not speak (at all).’

(Cet-e-quinientos, *Auto das Capelas*)

(232) Quando Lionel esto ouvio, nom quis tardar
 When Lionel this heard.^{3sg} NEG wanted.^{3sg} delay
nimigalha.

not.even.crumb

‘When Lionel heard this, he didn’t want to be late (at all).’

(DSG, CLXXVII)

In (231), the verb *falar* ‘speak’ is considered an optionally transitive verb, allowing two interpretations: one in which *nemigalha* is a direct object NPI (translation a)) and another in which it is not (translation b)). In the last interpretation, *nemigalha* acts as a reinforcement particle, reinforcing negation. In (232), the verb *tardar* is considered intransitive, therefore not allowing an argument interpretation, differently from (231). It can, though, be considered that *tardar* allows a degree scale which measures the degree of the delay. In this sense, it can be related to what Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2013, 2020) call verbs of succeeding or verbs of caring, which admit an optional element that would indicate the extent or degree of success/caring/indifference. They function in a similar way to optionally transitive verbs, therefore creating ambiguity between a reading of *nemigalha* as

quantifier expressing a degree extension (a degree pseudoargument) or as an adverbial negation reinforcer. Although these ambiguous contexts do not seem to favour a particular interpretation of *nemigalha*, we also find in the corpus examples that introduce another variable into the equation, as is the case of (233) below.

- (233) Florença: Senhor em mi não há falha
 Florença: Sir in me NEG there.is.^{3sg} flaw
 Pai: O que Martinho xerimicou/ ele não
 Father: the what Martinho gossiped.^{1sg} he NEG
 o adevinhou.
 it.^{3sg.acc} guessed.^{3sg}
 Martinho: Eu não xerimiquei nemigalha/ senão
 Martinho I NEG gossiped.^{1sg} not.even.crumb except
 quanto ela falou.
 how.much she spoke.^{3sg}
 ‘Florença: Sir, the flaw is not mine.
 Father: What Martinho gossiped was not by guessing.
 Martinho: I did not gossip anything except what she spoke.

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto da Florença*)

In the example in question, *nemigalha* seems to be interpreted as an NPI conveying an extent/degree pseudoargument due to the exceptive construction (*senão quanto ela falou*), which demands the presence of a NPI and, therefore, puts aside an interpretation of *nemigalha* as a negation reinforcement particle. However, this example illustrates the fact that some contexts involve a pragmatic component. In (233) we find negation of information previously introduced in the speech. The combination of negation with the minimizer *nemigalha* is responsible for rejecting the truth value of a previous statement. The character Martinho denies the information stated by the Father (Pai), recovering the same verb used by him.

I started this section by referring to *nemigalha* as a strong NPI. Nevertheless, I still have not presented evidence for my statement. I will address this issue in the next paragraphs.

I begin by saying that, in the corpus, there are no occurrences of *nemigalha* in positive contexts, being them affirmative-assertive or modal environments. *Nemigalha* always appears with negative interpretation in negative contexts, and almost always in the scope of a negative operator, as in (234).

- (234) Como ElRey manda que nom leuem nemigalha dos
 how the.king orders that NEG take.^{3pl} not.even.crumb of.the
 que forem acusados en casos de treyçom
 which are.^{3pl} accused in cases of betrayal
 ‘How the King orders that nothing is taken from the ones who are accused
 of betrayal.

(*Livro das Leis e Posturas*)

Nevertheless, there are also a few examples where *nemigalha* has a clear negative interpretation, but appears as the unique negative element in the sentence. These are the contexts I am interested in exploring, since they constitute evidence of its status as a strong NPI. *Nemigalha* can be found with negative meaning and without the presence of a negative operator in different situations. In (235) *nemigalha* is the DO in pre-verbal position, and appears as the unique negative element in the sentence, with negative interpretation.

- (235) Em mil vergonhas me vi com
 in one.thousand shames me.^{1sg,Reflex} saw.^{1sg} with
 homens que m’apartaram e de quanto me
 men who separated.me.^{1sg,Acc} and of much me.^{1sg,Reflex}
 contaram nemigalha lhes ouvi.
 told.^{3pl} not.even.crumb them.^{3sg,Dat} heard.^{3sg}

‘I was deeply embarrassed by men who isolated me and I heard nothing of
 what they said.’

(CGGR, 154)

Similarly, in examples (236) and (237) *nemigalha* appears as the sole negative marker, with a negative interpretation, but in a particular type of context. It either occurs in a predicative structure with the verb *ser* ‘to be’, as in (236), or within a PP, as in (237).

(236) Mas esguarda aos bees çelestiaaes e veeras
 but look.^{2sg.Imp} at.the goods celestial and will.see.^{2sg}
 que todas estas cousas temporaaes som nemigalha
 that all these things mundane are.^{3pl} not.even.crumb
 ‘But look at the celestial goods and you will see that these mudane things
 are nothing.’

(*Imitação de Cristo*, fol.90)

(237) Ai Deos, como oje é abaixada e tornada
 Oh God how today is.^{3sg} lowered and turned
 a nemigalha a cavallaria!
 to not.even.crumb the cavalry
 ‘Oh God, how the army is now reduced and turned into nothing!’

(DSG, CCXXX)

As the examples (236) and (237) above illustrate, *nemigalha* is interpreted as meaning ‘nothing’, but there is no other negative operator in the sentence to license it, as one would expect. The phenomenon of *free standing n-words* has first been noticed by Progovac (1994), Herburger (1998, 2001, 2003) and later analysed by Fitzgibbons (2010) concerning Russian data. It describes the possibility of n-words (using the authors’ terms) to occur without the presence of a negative licenser in predicative contexts as is the case of copulative verbs and inside PPs. The occurrence of NPIs in this type of contexts is only verified in the corpus for the negative indefinites *nada*, *nenhum*, *ninguém*, and *nelbur*, which indicates that *nemigalha* displayed similar behaviour to other elements now considered strong NPIs. This is reinforced by the occurrence of *nemigalha* as a negative answer to an interrogative, without any other negative particle.

(238) Mas que aproveita a scientia sem o temor
 but what enjoys.^{3sg} the science without the fear
 de Deus? A la fe, nemigalha [...]
 of God? to the faith not.even.crumb
 ‘But what does the science enjoy without the fear of God? In good truth,
 nothing.’

(*Imitação de Cristo*, fol. 96v)

There are also occurrences in the corpus of *nemigalha* as the single negative element in post-verbal position. I present two examples in (239) and (240):

- (239) Item me levem d' oferta/ dous ou tres
 Item me.^{1sg.Dat} take of offert two or three
 cestos de palha,/ que pois custa nemigalha [...]
 baskets of straw that then costs.^{3sg} not.even.crumb
 'Item, bring me an offert of two or three baskets of straw, which cost nothing.'

(CGGR, 607)

- (240) Briatiz: Eu lavar e esfregar/ varrer e
 Briatiz: I wash and scrub sweep and
 esfolinhar/ e por dai-me cá aquela palha
 clean.soot and for give.me.^{2sg.Dat} here that straw
 Velha: E tu fazes nemigalha/ senão comer
 Old Lady: and you do.^{2sg} not.even.crumb if.not eat
 e folgar/ e palrares como gralha.
 and play and chatter like rook
 'Briatiz: I wash and scrub, sweep and clean soot and for no reason...
 Old Lady: And you do nothing but to eat and chatter like a rook.'

(Cet-e-quinientos, *Auto das Regateiras*)

In both cases, *nemigalha* is the DO of a transitive verb and the intended interpretation is negative, equivalent to 'nothing'. In (240), not only is *nemigalha* the only negative element in the sentence, but it is also followed by an exceptive construction, which reinforces its negative interpretation, since, as we have already seen, this type of construction requires the presence of a NPI as its antecedent (it does not assess, however, whether the NPI is weak or strong).

The last context in which *nemigalha* appears as the unique element in the sentence seems to be related to what is described for other Romance languages and where pragmatics plays a fundamental role. According to Hansen (2013), bipartite structures of the type *non...mica* are subject to discourse-functional constraints and connected to presupposed information, not occurring in *out of the blue* contexts. We find examples of emphatic uses of

the *mica* heirs in other languages as the one in (241) where Old Lombard *mica* is said to be totally independent from an argumental function. It is described as an emphatic marker but can only occur in reference to discourse-old information.

- (241) Cotal menestra' l patre no aspegiava miga
 such soup the father NEG expected mica
 'His father did not expect such a dish at all! (quite the contrary)'

(Bonvesin, *Vulgare de elymosinis*, p. 269, l. 868, 13th c., apud Parry: 2013:81)

The relation between these uses and discourse-old information had already been noticed by Zanuttini (1997), for Italian *mica*, which is claimed to only be possible in contexts where relevant information has been previously activated. This is the case of examples (242) and (243). The use of *mica* is only possible in (243), where *mica* is used to reject previously known information. On the other hand, *mica* cannot occur in (242) since it constitutes an *out of the blue* context.

- (242) A. Chi viene a prenderti?
 B. Non so. Ma Gianni non a (*mica) la macchina.
 (243) A. Chi viene a prenderti – Gianni?
 B. Non so. Ma Gianni non a mica la macchina.

Zanuttini (1997:61)

Examples as the ones illustrated above are also found for *nemigalha* in the corpus. They constitute cases in which only an emphatic reading of *nemigalha* is available. This is the case of (244), where *nemigalha* cannot have an argumental function, since the DO of the existential verb *haver* 'there.to.be' is filled by *verdade* 'truth'.

- (244) Ca non á verdade | nemigalha em sonho,
 because NEG there.is.^{3sg} truth not.even.crumb in dream
 nen sol non é ben nen mal
 nor only NEG is.^{3sg} good nor evil

'Because there is not truth in dream at all, not even good or evil (quite the contrary)

(TMILG, LPGP)

The use of *nemigalha* here cannot have a quantificational interpretation (as an extent/degree pseudoargument), which excludes its categorization as a quantifier. On the contrary, it appears as an adverbial particle that reinforces negation, but exhibits a presuppositional dimension. It seems to express some sort of evaluation/point of view of the speaker regarding previously introduced information. In fact, going back to the medieval song from which the relevant example was extracted, it becomes clear that in (244) there is old-information being invoked by the speaker. Example (245) presents the verses that antecede the use of *nemigalha*.

- (245) Ora vej' eu que non ha verdade/ en
 Now see.^{1sg} I that NEG there.is.^{3sg} truth in
 sonh' amiga, se Deus me perdón
 dream friend if God me.^{1sg.Acc} forgive.^{3sg}
 'Now I see there is not truth / in dreams, friend, if God forgives me.'
 (TMILG, LPGP)

As we can see, the expression *non ha verdade* had been previously introduced in the song, constituting old information, which is later reinforced by the speaker. *Nemigalha* is used to emphasize negation, but it also translates the speaker's point of view in rejecting the truth value of the existential premise *there is truth*. We can claim that this example illustrates an unambiguous occurrence of *nemigalha* as an adverbial negation reinforcer.

The use of *nemigalha* in contexts involving presupposed information and pragmatic constraints is very clear in example (246).

- (246) Nam vem a Meijengra a conto/
 NEG comes.^{3sg} the Meijengra the tale/
 que é descuidada perdida/ traz a
 because is.^{3sg} sloppy lost brings the
 saia descosida e nam lhe dará
 skirt disjointed and NEG it.^{3sg.Dat} will.give.^{3sg}
 um ponto. Oh, quantas lendens vi
 one stitch Oh how.many nits saw.^{3sg}
 nela/ e pentear nemigalha
 in.her and comb not.even.crumb

e	por	dá-me	aquela	palha	é
and	for	give.me. ^{1sg.Dat}	that	straw	is. ^{3sg}
maior	o	riso	qu'	ela.	
bigger	the	laughter	than	her.	

‘Let’s not talk about Meijengra/ who is a lost sloppy/ She brings her skirt disjointed and doesn’t even stitch it/ Oh, how many nits have I seen in her and nothing of combing / and for the smallest thing/ she laughs unmeasuredly.’

(cet-e-quinientos , *Tragicomédia da Serra da Estrela*)

A first interpretation of this context could lead us to consider that *nemigalba* was being used as an independent negation marker, replacing the standard preverbal negation marker *não/nom*. If this was true, an utterance such as *pentear nemigalba* would be equivalent to an utterance with the negation marker *não* (*não pentear*), but that does not correspond to the intended meaning. Additionally, in the same utterance *nemigalba* cannot be interpreted as a negation reinforcement particle as it would be in an utterance with both the pre-verbal marker and *nemigalba* (*não pentear nemigalba*). This clearly indicates that we do not have in hands an example of replacement of pre-verbal negation marker *não* (NEG) by *nemigalba* as it is claimed to happen with the French *pas* in sentences such as ‘je mange pas’, where the preverbal negation marker *ne* is no longer needed (‘je mange pas’ and ‘je ne mange pas’ are interpreted the same way). In fact, this example seems to illustrate a use which is independent from plain negation reinforcement but intimately relates to pragmatic and presupposition issues. In (246) *nemigalba* seems to be used as a strategy to convey the speaker’s disapproval towards another person’s attitude. The speaker is referring to a character named Meijengra, who does not comb her hair, despite the fact that it is full of nits. General knowledge of the world makes us assume and expect that people who have nits should comb their hair. We can, then, analyse the sentence containing *nemigalba* in a topic-comment perspective. The topic would be to comb the hair and *nemigalba* is the comment, translating the speaker’s disapproval towards presupposed information which is generally shared and, therefore, belongs to a common ground. It is presupposed that people who have nits should comb their hair and the speaker does not agree on the fact that Meijengra did not comb her hair.

So far, I have presented data to support the claim that *nemigalba* behaved as a strong NPI already in the 13th century and it appears also as an adverbial negation reinforcer,

suggesting its full grammaticalization, despite the scarcity of these last contexts. This would put *nemigalba* in a privileged position regarding other elements with a [-animated] feature, especially the negative indefinite *nada* and the indefinite minimizer *rem*. Even so, *nemigalba* does not survive any further than the 16th century, similarly to other items. I will show in the next paragraphs that *nemigalba* directly competed with *nada* in two specific contexts where *rem* and *cousa* did not occur (or, in the case of *rem*, occurred scarcely): in contexts without a negative licensing operator and in contexts of presupposition denial.

4.3.1. *Nemigalba* vs. *nada* in particular contexts

Nemigalba is found in the corpus only in negative contexts, where it behaves similarly to other items with a [-animated] feature. Examples (247) to (250) illustrate this interchangeability, with the items *rem*, *cousa* and *nada*, in a context where they are all the internal argument of the verb *dizer* ‘to say’, receiving a negative interpretation.

- (247) mays depoys q(ue) a ferida he negada
 but after that the wound is.^{3sg} denied
 & o a p(ar)te faz p(er) seu
 and it the part does.^{2sg} by his
 iúramêto nõ pode o outro diz(er) nímígalha.
 oath NEG can the other say not.even.crumb
 ‘but after the wound is denied and the part makes his oath, the other cannot say anything’

(CIPM, *Dos Costumes de Santarém*)

- (248) Mas de todo esto nom lhes disse nada,
 but of all this NEG them.^{3pl.dat} said.^{3sg} nothing
 ca nom queria que lho soubesse
 because NEG wanted.^{3sg} that him.^{3sg.dat} -it.^{3sg.acc} knew.^{3sg}
 nenhũu.
 no.one

‘But from all this, he did not tell them anything, because he did not want anyone to know.’

(DSG, ccccvii)

(249)	[...] e	disse	a	Joseph	que	nom	dezia
	and	said. ^{3sg}	to	Joseph	that	NEG	said. ^{3sg}
	cousa	ca,	se	o	Padre	e	o
	thing	because	if	the	Father	and	the
	Filho [...]	nom	havião	senam	ua	soo	deidade,
	Son	NEG	had. ^{3pl}	except	a	only	deity
	nom	era	cada	uu	deles	Deos,	nem
	NEG	was. ^{3sg}	each	one	of.them	God	nor
	perfeito	em	si.				
	perfect	in	himself. ^{3sg.Reflx}				

‘and he said to Joseph that he did not say anything, because if the Father and the Son had only one deity, each one of them was not God nor perfect in himself.’

(JAR, XLIV)

(250)	«Assi	Deos	me	salve»,	disse	ella,	«nom
	this.way	God	me. ^{1sg.acc}	save. ^{3sg}	said. ^{3sg}	she	NEG
	sei	que	i	cuidar,	e	por	esso
	know. ^{1sg}	what	here	think	and	for	that
	vos	nom	digo	ende	rem».		
	you. ^{2sg.dat}	NEG	say. ^{1sg}	of.that	thing		

‘«May God save me», she said, «I do not know what to think and therefore I will not tell you anything.»’

(DSG, CXCVIII)

Despite the possibility of having the four items in similar contexts, two other contexts were disputed mainly by *nemigalba* and *nada*. Those contexts are the ones I will approach with more detail in this section, to show that *nemigalba* was a direct competitor of *nada*, even in the contexts where the items *rem* and *cousa* did not occur (at least with relevant frequency).

As I have previously shown, *nemigalba* is found as the unique negative element, with negative interpretation, in the contexts of *free-standing n-words*, more specifically inside a PP or with copulative verbs, in a small clause. The comparison between the pairs (251)/(252)

and (253)/(254) shows us that, similarly to *nemigalha*, *nada* also appeared as a *free-standing n-word* in both the aforementioned contexts.

- (251) - Senhora, contar-vos-ei, preguntai a Vasco Palha, de
 Lady will.tell-you.^{2sg.Dat} ask.^{2sg} to Vasco Palha of
 um sonho que sonhei, e do prazer que
 a dream that dreamt.^{1sg} and of.the pleasure that
 tomei tornou-se-m' em namigalha.
 took.^{1sg} became.^{3sg.-SE.Reflx}-me.^{1sg.Dat} in not.even.crumb
 ‘Lady, I will tell you, ask Vasco Palha about a dream I’ve dreamt and the
 pleasure that I took became nothing to me.

(CGGR, 183)

- (252) Oo maldito Vetiza, que as armas dos
 the cursed Vetiza that the arms of.the
 Godos, que foron as mais honrradas e
 Godos that were.^{3pl} the more honoured and
 temudas do mundo e que todollos homeens
 feared of.the world and that all.the men
 mais receavã, tu as mandas desfazer e
 more feared.^{3pl} you them.^{3pl.acc} order.^{2sg} destroy and
 tornar em nada!
 turn in nothing

‘Oh, damned you Vetiza, who ordered to destroy and turn into nothing the
 arms of the Goths, which were the most honoured and feared in the world
 and which were the ones men feared the most!’

(CGE, 1, CLXXXVI)

- (253) Mas esguarda aos bees çelestiaaes e veeras
 but look.^{2sg.Imp} to.the goods celestial and will.see.^{2sg}
 que todas estas cousas temporaaes som nemigalha
 that all these things worldly are.^{3pl} not.even.crumb
 ‘But pay attention to the celestial goods and you will see that all the
 worldly thins are nothing.’

(*Imitação de Cristo*, fol. 90r)

(254) Eu disse que as riquezas eram nada
 I said.1^{sg} that the riches were.^{3pl} nothing
 em comparação da sabedoria.
 in comparison of.the wisdom
 ‘I said that the riches were nothing when compared to wisdom.’

(CIPM, *Orto do Esposo*)

Both items could display a negative interpretation within a PP and in a small clause, despite the inexistence of another negation marker to license them. In such contexts, I assume they were intrinsically negative, following the idea argued by Tovená (1998:244), that «the free-standing meaning can be viewed as the core meaning of an item».

In addition, they are both registered in contexts which are said to favour reanalysis of items as more grammaticalized elements. Not only do they occur as optional arguments in contexts with optionally transitive verbs, but they also appear, without an argument function, assuming the role of an emphatic particle which reinforces negation, as in (255) and (256).

(255) Veendo el rey esto, como non aproveitava
 seeing the king this since NEG enjoy
 nada o combate, ante era perda, mandou
 nothing the fight before was.^{3sg} loss ordered.^{3sg}
 que se afastassen todos afora [...]
 that SE.^{reflx} moved.away.^{3pl} all out

‘Seeing this, the king, who did not enjoy the combat at all and considered it a loss, ordered everyone to step aside.’

(CGE, 2, DCCCXLIII)

(256) Verdade: O que te eu digo é
 Truth: the what you.^{2sg.dat} I say is.^{3sg}
 assi/ não duvides nimigalha.
 this.way NEG doubt.^{2sg} not.even.crumb
 ‘Truth: What I tell you is this way, do not doubt at all.’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto da Festa*)

This type of context where the two items were interpreted as emphatic negation reinforcement elements may have been the base to the emergence of other contexts in which we find both *nada* and *nemigalha*. I refer to the contexts related to presupposition denial. In (257) and (258) I illustrate the presence of *nemigalha* and *nada* in that type of contexts, where these items seem to encode the speaker's attitude concerning known information previously introduced (or implied) in the speech. They do not correspond to regular negation straightforwardly, but they seem to express rejection of what has been previously stated.

- (257) Pai: Eu hei de ver a baralha.
 Father I will of see the game
 Fernão: Não vejas, pai.
 Fernão NEG see.^{2pl} father
 Pai: Nimigalha, ficam cá dous bem pequenos.
 Father not.even.crumb stay.^{3pl} here two well small
 Fernão: Tá, não digais o que fica.
 Fernão is.^{3sg} NEG say.^{2pl} the what stays.^{3sg}
 'Father: I will see the game.
 Fernão: Do not see it, father.
 Father: The hell I won't! Two very small remain.
 Fernão: Ok, do not say what remains.

(cet-e-quinhento, *Auto do Mouro Encantado*)

- (258) Mendo: Pois que vai?
 Mendo what that goes.^{3sg}
 Mestre: Que vai nada/ enfadou-se d'
 Master What goes.^{3sg} nothing indisposed.SE.^{REFLX} of
 esperar/ deixou-me, foi-se deitar.
 wait left.me.^{1sg.dat} went. SE.^{REFLX} lay.down
 'Mendo: So, how is it going?
 Mestre: How is it going, my butt! She got tired of waiting, left me and went to bed.'

(cet-e-quinhentos, *Auto de Rodrigo e Mendo*)

In (257), *nemigalha* appears isolated, as a negative reaction to a request from the character Fernão. The two characters are playing cards and the Father insists on spying other players' set of cards. The son, Fernão, asks the Father to stop seeing the cards, but the Father rejects this request. The rejection or disapproval of the request is done by using the item *nemigalha*, which simultaneously encodes the Father's disapproval of the son's request and the statement that he will not comply with it, which becomes visible with the revelation of the cards he saw (*ficam cá dous bem pequenos*). On the other hand, in (258), the item *nada* is used by the Master as an answer to Mendo's question *Pois que vai?*. The character Master is waiting to meet a lady and is in doubt of whether to go out to look for her. Mendo asks him what happened and the Master rejects the question, since it can only have a negative answer because, in his opinion, the lady got tired of waiting and went to sleep, failing the encounter. The item *nada* is here used not only as a negative answer to the question, but also as a way to show the character's attitude of denial towards the supposition that something was happening, which is implied in the question. The configuration presented in (258), with the recovery of the lexical material contained in the question before *nada* resembles the structures described for *nada* as a metalinguistic negation marker in Pinto (2010).

Examples (257) and (258) are scarce and I only find them in the 16th century, mainly in theatre plays, probably due to the nature of the construction. As is visible in both examples, the items *nemigalha* and *nada* are used to introduce the speaker's disagreeing attitude towards a presupposed or stated information. They could not occur in out of the blue contexts, since they are not instances of standard negation and none of the items is replacing the standard negation marker *não*. Unfortunately, this kind of examples is scarce in my data and does not allow me to elaborate further on the topic. In any case, only *nemigalha* and *nada* are registered in pragmatic contexts such as these,¹¹¹ which indicates that, when *nemigalha* ceased to occur, these contexts became exclusive of the item *nada*.

The comparison between *nemigalha* and *nada* points to the fact that both items could appear in the same contexts, functioning as items competing for the same function. Even though *nemigalha* seems to behave as a strong NPI from an early stage, according to the corpus data, that was not a sufficient condition to overlap the negative indefinite *nada*. This is probably due to the fact that *nada* was part of a strong constructional family, which included other negative indefinites that also succeeded in the competition with other items (for instance, [+hum] *nenhum* and later *ninguém*). On the other hand, *nemigalha* did not benefit

¹¹¹ There is an example with *ponto*, but anteceded by the emphatic negative particle *nem*.

from the support of a strong constructional family, since partitive/evaluative minimizers were not a cohesive group.

With the disappearance of *nemigalha*, *nada* became the only item available to occur in the contexts described in this section. OP *nada* has given place to multiple structures in CEP, which involve its presence as a strong NPI, but also as a negative emphatic particle and a metalinguistic negation marker.¹¹²

4.4. Summing up

This chapter focuses on the idea that the incipient development and disappearance of indefinite minimizers can be explained under the concept of grammar competition (cf. Kroch 1989, 1994). In fact, the comparison of the indefinite minimizers *rem* and *homem* with other competing forms, shows us that there was a variety of elements that could occur in similar contexts, assuming modal or negative polarity.

For the item *rem*, we verified that competition was first internal to the group, with *cousa* temporarily taking the place of *rem*, after it ceased to occur. The negative indefinite *nada* wins the competition, though. The three items, *rem*, *cousa* and *nada* are registered in similar contexts, which suggests they were interchangeable (at least partially).

On the other hand, *homem* competed against other items with a [+human] feature. The direct competitor was the [+human] *nenhum*, which could appear in most of the contexts where *homem* was also found. The disappearance of [+human] *nenhum* gives space to the widespread of the negative indefinite *ninguém*, which wins the competition. By the time *ninguém* became frequent in the data, *homem* was already disappearing.

The observation of the data concerning both *rem* and *homem* and their competitors shows us that we cannot consider the existence of grammar competition. What we verify is competition between constructional families, in the sense of Smet *et al.* (2018). There seems to have been two strong constructional families in OP fighting for the same function: the family of indefinite minimizers and the family of negative indefinites. The outcome of the competition is that negative indefinites become the chosen items and they become strong NPIs. Contrary to indefinite minimizers, they were a cohesive group whose members displayed a similar stage of grammaticalization. They also benefited from the fact that two related directly to negation with the incorporation of a negative element in their formation.

¹¹² On different CEP uses of *nada*, see Haegemeijer & Santos (2003), Pinto (2010), Cavalcante (2012)

Indefinite minimizers lacked cohesion, its members were in different stages of grammaticalization and none of them benefited from the <n> factor.

Finally, I have presented the case of the item *nemigalba* as a successful example of grammaticalization. *Nemigalba* originates from the common noun *migalba*, which was reinforced by the negative emphatic particle *nem*. It reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization, visible in its occurrence without argument function, but also as the sole negative element in a clause. It is also registered as an unambiguous negative reinforcement particle in contexts involving presupposed information. *Nemigalba* can be considered to belong to a third constructional family. Due to its advanced stage of grammaticalization, it competed against *nada* in contexts where *rem* and *cousa* did not occur. In any case, it does not survive after the 16th century.

Chapter 5

The internal structure of minimizers

5. THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MINIMIZERS

- 5.1. Introduction
- 5.2. Theoretical assumptions
 - 5.2.1. Adopting the DP hypothesis and other projections internal to DP
 - 5.2.2. Quantifier Phrase as a functional category
- 5.3. Proposals for the internal structure of minimizers crosslinguistically
 - 5.3.1. English minimizers – Tubau (2016)
 - 5.3.2. French minimizers and n-words – Sleeman (1996), Déprez (2011), Roberts & Roussou (2003)
 - 5.3.3. Italian minimizers – Garzonio & Poletto (2008), Garzonio (2008)
 - 5.3.4. Minimizers crosslinguistically – Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020)
- 5.4. The internal structure of minimizers in Old Portuguese
 - 5.4.1. On the cardinality of Um/Uma
 - 5.4.2. Minimizers as nominal heads
 - 5.4.2.1. The internal structure of *Homem*
 - 5.4.2.2. On bare nouns in OP
 - 5.4.3. Minimizers as quantifiers
 - 5.4.3.1. Minimizers as adnominal quantifiers
 - 5.4.3.2. Minimizers as intransitive bare quantifiers
 - 5.4.4. A few remarks on *nemigalba* and the role of FocP
 - 5.4.4.1. On topic-comment structures with *nemigalba*
- 5.5. Changes in the internal structure of minimizers
 - 5.5.1. Loss of bare singulars and (in)definite determiner widespread
 - 5.5.2. Lexicalized D and minimizers' internal features
 - 5.5.3. Insights from CEP minimizers
 - 5.5.3.1. Minimizers in CEP as intransitive bare quantifiers
 - 5.5.3.2. The cases of *um boi* and *um caraças*
- 5.6. Summing up

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the internal structure of minimizers, from a cartographic point of view. I have previously presented a detailed description of the two main groups of minimizers and their evolution path. Here I will present a proposal for their syntactic analysis as far as their internal structure is concerned. To do so, I will start by adopting Abney (1987)'s DP hypothesis, as well as a series of functional projections needed for the argumentation.

This chapter is organized as follows: in section 5.2 I will present the projections I will assume for my analysis, as well as their cartographic representation. I will start by presenting a brief overview of the motivations behind the adoption of the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987) and I will also present the DP structure I will adopt, motivating the choice of other functional projections, namely, Number Phrase (NumP) as well as an independent Quantifier Phrase.

Section 5.3 will be dedicated to a review of literature on the internal structure of minimizers presented by several authors for different languages. The most known proposals are those of Tubau (2016) for English, Sleeman (1996) and Déprez (2011) and Roberts & Roussou (2003) for French, these last two assuming a diachronic motivation. I will also present Garzonio & Poletto (2008) proposal for Italian data and finally I will go through the crosslinguistic view of Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020).

In section 5.4 I will then present my proposal for the internal structure of Old Portuguese minimizers, dividing them into two main types: nominals and quantifiers. I will also present an internal structure for the item *nemigalha*. In subsection 5.5 I will approach some of the changes suffered by minimizers, while trying to find their motivations and I will introduce some CEP data for comparison purposes.

Finally, in section 5.6. a brief summary of the chapter is offered.

5.2. Theoretical assumptions

5.2.1. Adopting the DP hypothesis and other projections internal to DP

Until 1987, Noun Phrase (NP) was assumed to be a maximal projection headed by a lexical noun. The determiner was considered to occupy the specifier position of the NP. Nevertheless, this NP configuration determined that very different elements such as determiners, on the one hand, and genitive phrases, on the other, could occupy the Spec, NP position. An early defender of the existence of a DP projection was Brame (1982:321), who argued that «it is a mistake to think of N as the head of an NP». He considered that, just like P is the head of a PP, the same should occur with determiners selecting a NP. Nevertheless, it was only a few years later with Abney (1987) that the idea was materialized as the *DP hypothesis*.

The *DP hypothesis*, as it came to be known, translates the idea put forth by Abney (1987) (but previously tackled by authors such as Brame 1982, Szabolcsi 1983) that NP is headed by a functional element D and that this element D parallels sentence structure in many aspects. The parallelism between DP and the sentence (in the form of IP or CP) has been explored by several authors afterwards. The main reason for drawing a parallel between D and I(nflection) is the assumption that both heads display a similar function. For instance, it is assumed that there is a parallelism in case assigning function. Genitive case is considered to be encoded in D and assigned to the noun the same way I(nflection) assigns nominative case to a verbal subject. Similarly, one can compare D with C in assuming that the noun phrase displays a sentence-like structure with Inflection and a peripheral position. Authors such as Horrocks & Stavrou (1987) postulated a Complementizer position within the noun phrase, in the case of Greek nouns, to account for movement of focalized constituents to Spec, DP, in consonance with what happens to focalized constituents moved to Spec, CP. Also, interrogative clauses and interrogative DPs in Greek are presented as evidence to support the proximity of the two functional projections.

In this work I assume the functional projection DP in replacement of the traditional NP due to the need to encode certain aspects of minimizers' syntax that a NP projection would not allow. I will be adopting a split-DP configuration, contemplating several functional projections within DP, namely, NumberPhrase (NumP), PluralPhrase (PlP) and Noun Phrase (NP). When justifiable, I will also postulate the presence of a Focus Phrase

(FocP). In FIGURE 5.1 below I present the full DP structure I have adopted. In addition, I will also make use of a Quantifier Phrase (QP) as an independent projection, as it was proposed by Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992, 2006).

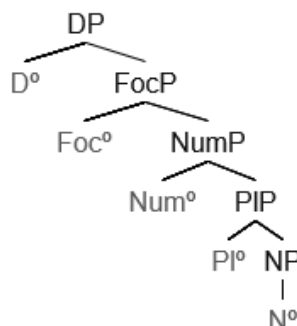


FIGURE 5.1: THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE ADOPTED FOR DP

NumberPhrase (originally referred to as NBR) was first proposed by Ritter (1991:50), and constitutes a functional head between D and N which «is, inter alia, the locus of the number specification (singular or plural) of the noun phrase, but not of the grammatical gender (masculine or feminine)». NumberPhrase appears, then, as a functional projection that encodes number features, which, contrary to gender features, are optional. Ritter (1991) also states that quantifiers are Number Phrases which take no lexical complement, i.e., no NP. After Ritter's first proposal, a NumP projection has been adopted not only to encode pure grammatical features, but also to host cardinal numbers and weak quantifiers (cf. Déprez 2005). The proposal to encode grammatical number in an independent projection is put forth by Heycock & Zamparelli (2005) with the creation of a PluralPhrase (PIP) projection, below NumP.

I will follow Déprez (2005) in considering NumP as the host for cardinal numbers and weak quantifiers. I will also make use of a PIP projection, as proposed by Heycock & Zamparelli (2005) in specific points of the argumentation.

In order to determine the positions of some minimizers in the structure I will be looking at the presence of adjectival modification and the clues it brings to the discussion. Therefore, the position in which Adjectival Phrases (AP) can appear within DP is a matter of interest to which I dedicate the next paragraphs, exposing my main assumptions on the issue.

The position in which Adjectival Phrases are generated is still an ongoing topic of research which has resulted, so far, in the proposal of several different solutions.-It has been generally assumed, following Cinque (1994) that APs can be generated in different

specifier positions of functional projections located between D and N (for instance, FP as in Zamparelli 1995). Nevertheless, the nature of these projections is not specified by the author. It is also assumed that the surface order noun-adjective, which is found as a rule in some Romance languages such as Portuguese, is obtained by cyclic leftward movement of the noun to a higher functional head in the nominal domain (cf. Cinque 1994, Bernstein 1993, Longobardi 1994, a.o.). The order adjective-noun assumes that the noun remains *in situ*.

Specifically for Portuguese, Gonzaga (2004) has argued that «adjectives that directly change the noun are base generated inside the NP». They can be specifiers or complements of NP. However, prenominal adjectives like *verdadeiro* ‘true’, *mero* ‘mere’ or *suposto* ‘supposed’ are said to be base generated in a high position inside DP. Following Gonzaga (2004), I will assume that, in Portuguese, APs are base generated within NP, but some particular prenominal adjectives may occupy a position higher than NP, eventually above NumP (as defended by Bernstein). The possibility of having APs located higher than NP is also put forth by Brito & Lopes (2016), who consider that some adjectives have a quantifier or determiner-like interpretation (the authors include in this category the adjectives *outros*, *diversos*, *certos*, *raros*, *próprio*, *qualquer*, *único*), while in prenominal position. In those cases, they are projected as specifiers of NumP (in postnominal position they are considered qualifying gradable adjectives). This being so, it is necessary to contemplate at least two positions for adjectives: one which is internal to NP and another which is a high position in DP. While within the NP, adjectives can be complements or specifiers. The most common position is that of specifier of NP and it may result in the configurations *noun-adjective* and *adjective-noun*, depending on noun movement and resulting in different readings of the adjective. On the other hand, some particular adjectives may be located in a higher position, namely as specifiers of NumP or even above NumP (as in Bernstein 1993), always producing an *adjective-noun* configuration.

5.2.2. Quantifier Phrase as a functional category

Quantifiers have been an intriguing topic of research due to the plurality of behaviours found within and across languages. In a traditional perspective, quantifiers are seen as elements whose function is to quantify over nouns and, therefore, they have been considered to belong to the nominal domain, within DP. They are frequently said to occupy the head of Number Phrase, in pair with cardinal elements (according to Zamparelli 1995,

quantifiers can occupy two different positions in DP, depending on their weak or strong status). Proposals such as the one from Abney (1987) present quantifiers as modifiers of the noun, in line with adjectives, but the author fails to recognize that quantifiers may precede determiners. In fact, the puzzling thing about quantifiers is that some of them can be preceded by a determiner, therefore within the DP domain, while others appear above the determiner and, finally, there are others that cannot occur with a determiner. See the contrast between (259), (260) and (261) for English *many*, *all* and *some*, respectively.

(259) (The) many (*the) boys

(260) (*The) all (the) boys

(261) (*The) some (*the) boys

Furthermore, quantifiers can also be bare. In a broad sense, one can say, following Szabó (2011:250), that «a quantifier is bare in a sentence *iff* its domain is not restricted by the extension of any expression in the sentence». Under a syntactic perspective, bare quantifiers do not occur with a nominal element to their right, over which domain they quantify. In fact, bare quantifiers are not only a linguistic but also a philosophical jigsaw, since they raise the question of whether it is possible for natural languages to express absolute quantification. From the syntactic perspective, the problem is essentially that bare quantifiers would occur in a DP that would lack a nominal head. This problem has motivated several proposals, in order to account for the internal structure of quantifiers that were able to occur alone, as the example in (262), in contrast with (263).

(262) Someone told her the truth.

(263)* Someone boy told her the truth.

Just like English *someone* can be decomposed into the quantifier *some* and the cardinal *one* (or, most likely, the pronominal *one*), many of these bare quantifiers (with pronominal status) are univerbations formed in early stages of the language involving quantifiers plus a cardinal or a noun (for instance, *alguém* for Portuguese, *alguien* for Spanish (from Latin *ali+quem*), *quelq'un* (quelque+un) for French, *qualcuno* (qualc+uno) for Italian, a.o.). This fact has motivated analyses that decompose the quantifier into independent parts and argue in favour of an internal structure of the type quantifier+restrictor (*some+thing* for *something*) (cf. Leu 2005, a.o.)

In their paper from 1992, Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992) have proposed the analysis of quantifiers as heads of an independent functional projection, Quantifier Phrase. The authors abandoned the idea that quantifiers in general are generated as elements within the DP projection and considered that Quantifier Phrase (QP) should be postulated as a projection above DP, with quantifiers being heads of QP and taking an obligatory nominal complement. Q is to be understood as a lexical category selecting a full extended projection, namely, the noun phrase marked as DP. In the case of bare quantifiers, that nominal complement corresponds to a [DP pro] element, since it is not lexically realized. In more recent work Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006) have considered the existence of two types of bare quantifiers: one which takes a covert DP complement and another which they call ‘intransitive’ quantifier and that never takes any complement, resembling (personal) pronouns.

More recently, Garzonio & Poletto (2017) have also argued against the existence of a [DP pro] in the internal structure of bare quantifiers, but assume Cardinaletti & Giusti’s (2006) proposal for all bare quantifiers (including the distinction between transitive and intransitive bare quantifiers). Garzonio & Poletto (2017) argue in favour of QPs being paired with light nouns, therefore taking a classifier-like N which lacks all the functional projections contained in regular DPs. The presence or absence of the classifier element is attributed to the occurrence of the quantifier in argumental or adverbial position. Bare quantifiers with a lexically realized classifier occupy argument positions, while the adverbial position is reserved for cases in which the classifier does not need to be spelled out. The mechanism behind the licensing of null classifiers involves movement from the edge of vP to a higher position, namely the projection encoding completive aspect (for the technical details, please see Garzonio & Poletto 2017).

As this summary shows, quantifiers and especially bare quantifiers do not reunite consensus in their analysis which swings between that of an element belonging to the DP or with an independent status, above DP. From this point on, I will refer to two different projections as host places for minimizers reaching a quantifier status. I will assume, in line with other authors, that minimizers first raise to a projection internal to the DP, that being NumP, from where they may later be reanalysed as quantifiers, responsible for their own projection, QP. In other words, I assume that NumP is internal to DP but QP is higher than DP. Nevertheless, a minimizer needs to raise to NumP before being reanalysed as a QP.

I will be adopting the QP architecture proposed in Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992, 2006) for adnominal quantifiers and the one proposed in Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006) for bare (intransitive) quantifiers. The relevant structures are presented in FIGURE 5.2 and FIGURE 5.3, respectively.

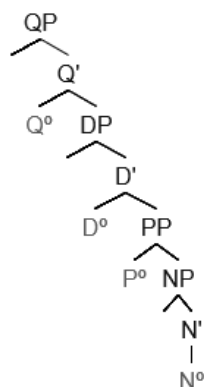


FIGURE 5.2. THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE ADOPTED FOR QP

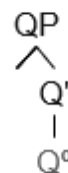


FIGURE 5.3: THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE ADOPTED FOR BARE INTRANSITIVE QP

5.3. Proposals for the internal structure of minimizers crosslinguistically

5.3.1. English minimizers – Tubau (2016)

Tubau (2016) proposes an internal structure for English minimizers such as *a word* or *a finger*. The author considers that minimizers are nominals that project three fundamental levels above NP: NumP, FocP and NegP.

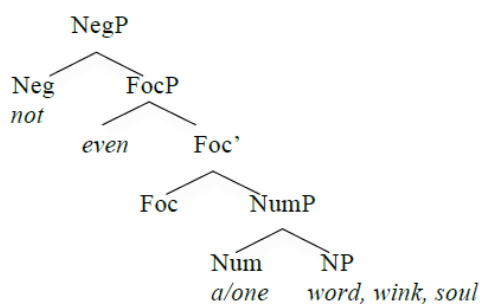
Tubau (2016) assumes that the determiner which accompanies the minimizer must be treated as a numeral. Given the fact that minimizers tend to accept both the indefinite determiner *a* and the numeral *one* (as in *a/one finger*, *a/one soul*), both elements are considered to be heads of a number phrase, namely, NumP, instead of heads of a DP (this is in line with previous works by Déprez 2005, Labelle & Espinal (2014), a.o.).

Following authors such as Linebarger (1980), Heim (1984), Horn (1989) and Giannakidou (2007), Tubau (2016) assumes that minimizers are linked to the focus particle *even* and, therefore, postulates that minimizers contain in their structure a mandatory *even* Focus Phrase (FocP). The focus particle is responsible for the scalar reading associated to minimizers. This FocP is said to be headed by a covert focus element and may optionally

host an *even* particle as its specifier. Since minimizers contain a focus element, they are said to be able to undergo Quantifier Raising (QR), which, as Tubau (2016) argues, enables negation to take sentential scope and give minimizers an idiomatic interpretation.

Tubau (2016) also proposes the existence of a NegPhrase which, contrary to NumP and FocP, is optional. The optionality of a NegP associated to the minimizer tries to account for the fact that minimizers do not occur exclusively in negative environments, but may also be licensed in the non-assertive and non-veridical contexts (following Giannakidou 2006).

Leaving aside the specifics of Tubau (2016)'s proposal, in the essential, its innovative character relies on the assumption of an obligatory FocP, which is inherent to all minimizers and enables to set them apart from a common noun reading. In its fundamental aspects, the internal structure of minimizers proposed by Tubau (2016) is represented in FIGURE 5.4.



(Tubau 2016:753)

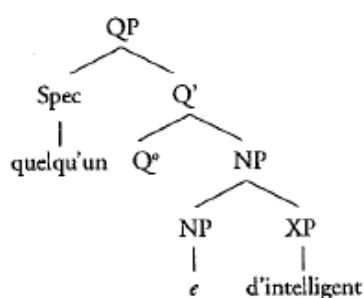
FIGURE 5.4: THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MINIMIZERS BY TUBAU (2016)

5.3.2. French minimizers and n-words - Sleeman (1996), Déprez (2011), Robert & Roussou (2003)

Due to the particular case of French *pas*, which is one of the best-known examples of success of the Jespersen Cycle, the French n-words have received a great amount of attention and a series of studies tried to account for the evolution of *pas*, as well as other related items.

Although the central topic of research of Sleeman (1996) is the licensing of empty nouns in French, the author dedicates some attention to the French pronouns *personne* and *rien*. Sleeman (1996:125) proposes that pronouns of the type of *quelq'un*, which also include *personne* and *rien*, «are generated in the QP projection of NP and involve an empty noun».

Sleeman (1996:124) argues that the assumption of the existence of an empty noun is due to the fact that «these kinds of pronouns can be combined with *de*+adjective». The second argument put forth is the fact that there is no gender agreement with the adjective introduced by *de*, contrary to what is verified with real nouns. Due to the nature of her work, Sleeman (1996) does not elaborate further on the topic, but proposes the structure in FIGURE 5.5 for French n-words.



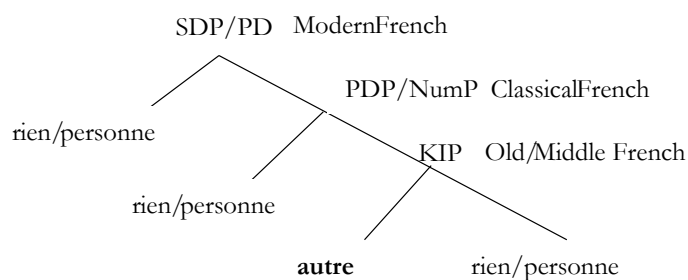
(Sleeman 1996:125)

FIGURE 5.5: THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF FRENCH N-WORDS BY SLEEMAN (1996)

The works by Déprez (Déprez 2000, 2005, 2011, 2012, a.o.) have been central for the understanding of French n-words and have inspired subsequent authors to adopt a vision of n-words' grammaticalization as leftward movement. Here I will focus on Déprez (2011), where the author analyses the diachronic path of French items such as *rien* and *personne* from nouns into n-words. Déprez (2011) describes the occurrence of both *personne* and *rien*, in early stages of French, as common nouns with gender and number inflection and referential meaning, which could appear preceded by a determiner. These nouns gradually lost their gender and number features, becoming unmarked for that type of information. They also progressively ceased to allow modification. Déprez (2011) notices that *rien* stops occurring with pre-verbal modification after 1606, but still allowing post-verbal modification, for instance with *autre* (as in *rien autre*). The possibility of direct post-verbal modification with *rien* is still registered around the 19th century, and then it ceases to occur and gives rise to indirect modification by *d'autre* as in *rien d'autre*. In the case of *personne*, Déprez (2011:277) refers that «indirect modification with *d'autre* does not occur with bare *personne* until the very beginning of the 20th century».

Déprez considers that the evolution of French n-words goes through three stages, each of them involving upward movement within DP. In a first step, what she calls n-expressions occurred within the NP layer. In a second stage, which involved loss of nominal features, including gender and number features, as well as the loss of prenominal

modification (but maintenance of direct postnominal modification) n-words are said to have moved from inside NP to a higher functional position, namely NumP. Finally, stage three is signaled by the appearance of indirect modification with *de* and the impossibility of direct modification, both pre and post-nominally. Déprez (2011:278) interprets modification with *d'autre* as «quantity or degree modification», which she considers to be an argument in favour of n-words acquiring quantificational nature. The author, therefore, defends that «the evolution of n-word corresponds to a gradual step by step movement up the DP structure». Adopting the DP structure proposed by Zamparelli (1995), Déprez (2011) argues that nowadays French n-words have reached the upmost position within DP, reaching the level of strong quantification or SDP. In FIGURE 5.6 the author exemplifies the position occupied by n-words in the three different historical periods of the language.



Déprez (2011:278)¹¹³

FIGURE 5.6: THE EVOLUTION OF FRENCH N-WORDS IN TERMS OF INTERNAL STRUCTURE BY DÉPREZ (2011)

As FIGURE 5.6 illustrates, *rien* and *personne* occupied a low position, as complements of a Kind phrase (KIP)– which corresponds to being heads of an NP – in Old/Middle French period. They then moved up to a Predicate determiner phrase or Number phrase in Classical French and, in Modern French they have reached the upmost position within DP, in a Strong determiner phrase (SDP).

Another important contribution for the internal structure of French n-words is made by Roberts & Roussou (2003), who depart from previous insights by Déprez (1997, 1999, 2000), arguing in favour of an N to Neg reanalysis. Roberts and Roussou’s (2003) proposal is based on two fundamental ideas: the first is recovered from Déprez (1999) and relies on the assumption that Old French displayed a class of null indefinite determiners

¹¹³ The DP structure adopted by Déprez (2011) is that of Zamparelli (1995), where SDP= Strong determiner Phrase, PD=Predicative determiner phrase and KIP=Kind determiner phrase.

that ceased to exist; the second one is that polarity items became n-words by acquiring a negative feature. According to Déprez (1999), Old French allowed the occurrence of bare nouns but that possibility ended when the filling of Ds became mandatory in the language. N-words *rien* and *personne* were able to survive to this change by being incorporated in D. These items, Roberts & Roussou (2003) argue, were interpreted as quantifiers and became functional items, losing their phi-features and descriptive content. The change in these items is summarized by the authors as being «structurally upward and the mechanism is the loss of movement», which means that, diachronically, these items moved upward in the DP structure, then started to be merged directly in Num, therefore, *N-to-Num movement* was lost.

Roberts & Roussou (2003) dedicate a great part of their analysis to the French item *point*, which, as they observe, fits into the definition of minimizer. *Point* was a common noun that literally meant ‘point’. It could occur in positive (in *if*-clauses) and negative contexts, it could be the DO of a transitive verb and take a partitive PP complement. Roberts & Roussou (2003) argue that since *point* occurred as a bare noun, when Ds stopped occurring with a null determiner, it was reanalysed as Num and, consequently, N-to-Num movement was lost. The grammaticalization process for *point* seems to be similar to that described for *rien* and *personne*. Nevertheless, Roberts & Roussou (2003) argue that *point* have two particular features that allowed it to be reanalyzed as a clausal negator. The first one was the fact that *point* could be separated from its PP partitive complement. The second one, as argued by the authors, was the «lack of semantic content beyond ‘pure’ negation». These two features combined determined that *point*’s reanalysis as a clausal negator and «the reanalysis of the DP headed by the null article as negative» this being what they call «the origin of the null negative Determiner». French null D then changed from indefinite non-specific to negative. These changes were accompanied by the loss of phi-features, as expected and also the loss of movement.

Roberts & Roussou (2003:150) consider that the main difference in the evolution of *rien* and *personne*, as opposed to *pas*, *point* and *mie* was the fact that for the first ones, «the ‘generic’ descriptive content of these Nouns was reinterpreted as the restriction on a quantifier», while the last ones lacked semantic content that enabled that reading.

Roberts & Roussou (2003) propose that the reanalysis of *point* (and also *pas* and *mie*) follows the scheme bellow (with the *de*-phrase only present for *point* and *mie*):

$$(264) \quad V \text{ [DP mie/pas/point ([PP de DP])] } > V \text{ [Neg mie/pas/point] [VP ([DP } \emptyset \text{ del roi)]}$$

Roberts & Roussou (2003:157)

According to Roberts & Roussou (2003), the former DP becomes a Neg-element, which implies that what was once a phrase (the DP) became a head (NEG). The authors argue that, with intransitive verbs, the object DP is eliminated, while with transitive verbs it is simplified (no longer containing a DP whose Noun took a PP complement).

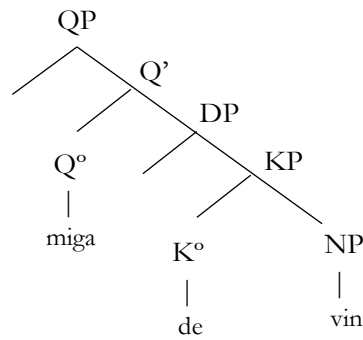
5.3.3. Italian minimizers - Garzonio & Poletto (2008), Garzonio (2008)

In their analysis of Italian minimizers, Garzonio & Poletto (2008) distinguish between two main classes of elements that interact with negation: minimizers, which include standard and vulgar minimizers and is referred to by the authors as *m-negation* and negative quantifiers, also referred to as *q-negation*. Similarly to other authors, Garzonio & Poletto (2008) also assume that the grammaticalization of minimizers involves a change in the internal structure of these items, with the loss of nominal features corresponding to upward movement within DP.

Referring to Old Milanese data (but with similar cases in other dialects, such as Old Florentine in Garzonio (2008)), the authors consider that minimizers such as *crumb* or *drop* started as nominal elements, in the form of an indefinite DP with a prepositional complement which contained another DP. The authors follow the proposal by Roberts & Roussou (2003) and argue that the first step of the grammaticalization is the movement of the minimizer from N to NumP, as illustrated in (265). The next step is the reinterpretation of the whole structure as a single QP, with the minimizer being a classifier-like quantifier above DP, the preposition as the realization of partitive case (K^o) and the noun inside the KP as the head of the NP, as illustrated in FIGURE 5.7.

(265) [DP [D Ø [NumP [Num miga][NP miga [PP de vin]]]]

Garzonio & Poletto (2008: 63)



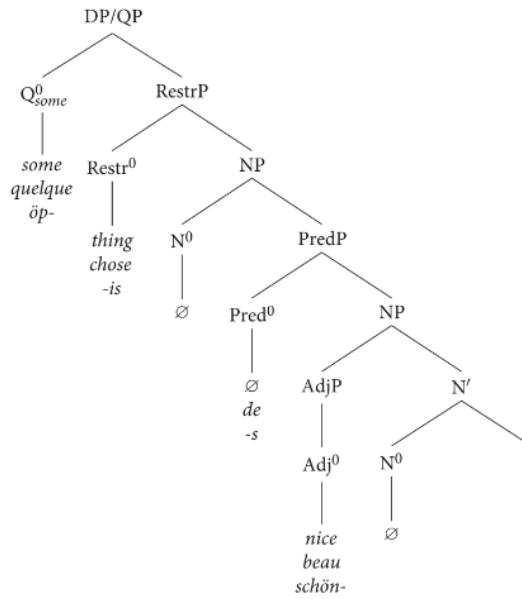
Garzonio & Poletto (2008: 63)

FIGURE 5.7: INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF A MINIMIZER REANALYSED
AS A QUANTIFIER BY GARZONIO & POLETTI (2008)

5.3.4. Minimizers crosslinguistically - Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020)

In a recent proposal, Breitbarth, Lucas and Willis (2020) offer new insights to the internal structure of (negative) indefinite pronouns and minimizers (as well as other NPIs), taking into account their historical evolution and the different grammaticalization paths attested for the several minimizers described in the literature up to now.

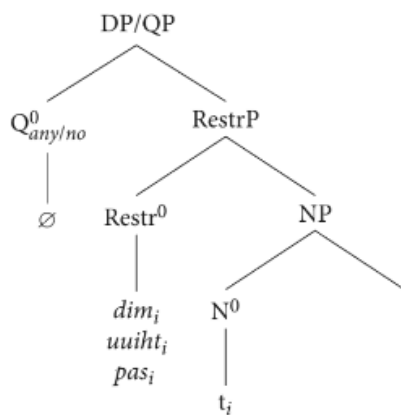
Their cartographic approach to the internal structure of indefinites and NPIs consists in an adaptation of Leu's (2005) proposal for the English indefinite pronoun *something* and other elements belonging to the *-thing* series paradigm. The authors start from the assumption that the grammatical behaviour of indefinite pronouns and polarity items does not directly depend on their polarity value and that grammaticalization can stop at any stage of the process for different items in one same language. They therefore adopt Leu's (2005) idea that pronouns from the *-thing* series are internally composed by a quantifier element and a Restrictor Phrase above NP, with *de*-phrases containing adjectival modification (as it was described for *rien* in *rien de beau*) generated as secondary predication. The relevant structure is reproduced in FIGURE 5.8.



Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020:83)

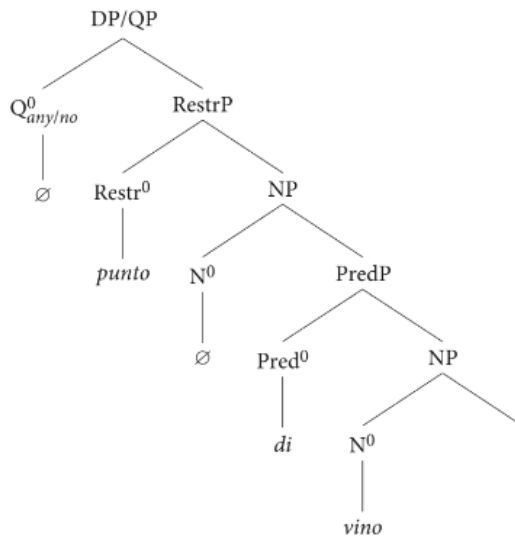
FIGURE 5.8: INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MINIMIZERS AND QUANTIFIERS ADOPTED BY BREITBARTH, LUCAS & WILLIS (2020)

Adopting this structure, the grammaticalization attested for minimizers would then be explained with movement from N^0 to the head of the Restrictor Phrase, in a similar model to what is proposed by Déprez (1999) and Roberts & Rousseau (2003) with N-to-Num movement. In FIGURE 5.9 and FIGURE 5.10 I present the relevant structures proposed by the authors, concerning indefinite pronouns and minimizers with partitive complements, respectively.



Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020:84)

FIGURE 5.9: INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF INTRANSITIVE MINIMIZERS/QUANTIFIERS IN BREITBARTH, LUCAS & WILLIS (2020)



Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020:85)

FIGURE 5.10: INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MINIMIZERS/QUANTIFIERS TAKING A COMPLEMENT IN BREITBARTH, LUCAS & WILLIS (2020)

As FIGURE 5.9 shows, indefinite pronouns have moved from the head of N° and occupy the head of the Restrictor Phrase. They occur with an empty quantifier. This Q° position may be filled, though, by a determiner-like element, in the cases where incipient grammaticalization takes place, or by a focus particle. The cases of minimizers taking a partitive PP are accounted for in the representation in FIGURE 5.10 where the PP is projected as a secondary predicate, just as proposed for adjectival modification introduced by *-de*. This representation allows to unify the treatment given to both adjectival modification with *-de* and partitive PPs. It also structurally approaches (negative) indefinite pronouns and NPIs regardless of their polarity value and licensing conditions.

5.4. The internal structure of minimizers in Old Portuguese

In Chapter 3 I have presented a detailed description of two different types of minimizers, namely partitive/evaluative and the indefinite minimizers *rem* and *homem*. I have also presented a detailed description of *nemigalha*, a minimizer that reached the stage of a negative indefinite pronoun/adverb before disappearing from the language. In this chapter I propose an internal structure for these items, based on their behaviour from early stages of the language until around the 16th century. The main goal here is to track the possible

evolution path of these items, from a cartographic perspective, pursuing the general idea that grammaticalization from common noun to minimizer, and eventually to sentential negators, corresponds to upward movement to functional projections within the DP or beyond.

The first general observation that needs to be made is that not all minimizers displayed the same level of grammaticalization in Old Portuguese. I distinguish, at least, two main situations: minimizers which were still nominal, therefore maintaining at least some of their nominal properties and minimizers which I have considered non-nominal.

I will, therefore, be arguing in favour of different structures for minimizers, which reflect different stages of evolution. I will claim that most items were still nominal heads in a bare noun configuration or with a numeral specifier at their left. Nevertheless, more grammaticalized items present a quantifier-like behaviour, occupying a position higher than NP and taking a partitive PP. This adnominal quantifier behaviour may give rise to the reanalysis of the structure as an independent QP and eventually to an occurrence without complements, as a bare intransitive QP. Bare intransitive QPs can receive argument or non-argument interpretations, depending on their position within VP. It is the ambiguity in their interpretation that favours reanalysis as adverbial elements behaving as negation reinforcers. I, therefore, claim that these minimizers followed a path with these steps: [noun > adnominal quantifier > bare quantifier > negative adverb], but the few items that may have reached the final stage did not survive in the language.

A second observation is that I share Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis' (2020) idea that the internal structure of minimizers is not a direct translation of their polarity status, in the sense that two items with the same internal structure may have distinct polarity status (one may need to be licensed by a negative operator, while the other may stand on its own with negative interpretation). It is, however, visible that there is a direct relation between their functional status and the increasing occurrence in negative contexts. The more functional an item becomes, the more likely it will appear in negative contexts only and, eventually, as the sole marker of negation (cf. Garzonio 2008). In fact, OP data attest this correlation since the most functional item is actually the one which benefited from the incorporation of a negative feature by merging with the negative emphatic particle *nem*.

5.4.1. On the cardinality of UM/UMA

So far, I have referred to the elements *um/uma* preceding minimizers broadly as indefinite determiners. In this subsection I present the reasons for assuming that these items correspond to the cardinal numeral and not to the homonymous indefinite determiner *um*, therefore being inserted in the structure as heads of a NumP projection.

Most Romance languages gained their indefinite determiner *um* from the Latin cardinal number UNUM, with languages such as Portuguese displaying ambiguity between the forms for the cardinal and the indefinite determiner. The use of *um* as an indefinite determiner is said to have systematically widespread in most Romance varieties only around the fourteenth century (cf. Rohfls 1968, Selig 1992, Pozas-Loyo 2010, Rinke 2010, Ledgeway 2012). According to Ledgeway (2012:85) «before then the use of the indefinite article is usually reserved for particularized new referents, presumably a residue of its numeral origin».

Contrary to other languages which display different items to refer to the indefinite determiner and the numeral *one*, in Portuguese they are homonymous, making harder to distinguish the two elements. Furthermore, they are historically related, with the indefinite conserving singularity reading. The distinction between both elements can be made by assuming, alongside Pozas-Loyo (2010), that:

in the cardinal reading the emphasis is put on the fact that the number of elements referred to equals 1, while in the article, although singularity is also asserted, what is highlighted is, first, the class to which the referent belongs, and second, that the referent is not familiar to the hearer.

(Pozas-Loyo 2010:149)

In our data, only a small percentage of all minimizers appears preceded by the elements *um/uma*. Indefinite minimizers always occur under a bare form and only less than 33% of all partitive and evaluative minimizers is preceded by the elements *um/uma*. I argue that, whenever a minimizer appears preceded by *um* or *uma*, these elements correspond to the cardinal numeral. Firstly, they express quantity instead of indefiniteness, the quantity being fundamental for the scalar interpretation as minimizers. In example (266) if something is not worth *one fig*, it is inferred that it is not worth anything at all, since one is the minimal unit of value. If we assume the interpretation of *um* as an indefinite with non-specific reading, therefore equivalent to *um qualquer* ‘any’ (‘any’ here with the interpretation

of a free choice item), *figo* can no longer be interpreted as a minimizer, but only as a common noun. The same happens if we consider a specific reading of the indefinite determiner (*a certain fig*), as in translation c).

- (266) Este programa não vale um figo.
 this show NEG is.worth.^{3sg} one fig
- a) ‘This show is not worth one fig’ - (cardinal interpretation enabling scale-reversing interpretation: *it is not worth anything*)
- b) ‘This show is not worth any fig’ - (indefinite non-specific interpretation)
- c) ‘This show is not worth a fig (from the ones I saw in the market)’ - (indefinite specific interpretation)

A second argument in favor of the cardinality of *um/uma* is the fact that it is not interchangeable with a definite determiner.¹¹⁴ Sentences such as (267) and (268) do not

¹¹⁴ There is only one example in the corpus of a definite determiner preceding the minimizer *caralhoto* ‘little dick’. However, in CEP there is a frequent exception to this generalization: the minimizer *ponta* is usually used with the definite determiner *a*, as in (i), but it can also occur with the cardinal *um*, as in (ii), although this seems to be rare and not consensually accepted by speakers. *Ponta* can also appear alone, without being preceded by a determiner of any kind as in (iii). Despite frequently occurring followed by the PP *de um corno* ‘of a horn’ (which seems to be a frozen complement) it also occurs without it, as in (iv), and it may appear with both the complement *de um corno* and a partitive PP, as in (v).

- (i) Os deputados subscritores da redução do IVA da
 the congresspersons subscribers of.the reduction of.the IVA of.the
 tauromaquia não valem a ponta dum corno.
 bullfighting NEG are.worth.^{3pl} the tip of.a horn
 ‘The congresspersons who subscribed the reduction of taxes (IVA) of bullfighting are not worth a thing.’
 (Twitter, 15/11/2018, consulted on 21/06/2019)
- (ii) A Juventus não joga uma ponta dum corno.
 The Juventus NEG play.^{3sg} one tip of.a horn
 ‘Juventus does not play a thing.’
 (Twitter, 22/04/2015, consulted on 21/06/2019)
- (iii) Ha sempre alguem que se vai aproveitar de a
 There.is.^{3sg} always someone that SE.inherent goes.^{3sg} take.advantage of the
 boa vontade de os outros para não fazer ponta de um corno
 good will of the other to NEG do tip of a horn
 ‘There is always someone who will take advantage of other’s good will to not do a thing.’
 (Corpus do Português, 12/07/2010, consulted on 20/01/2021)
- (iv) Gosto de cozinhar mas sem ponta de sal
 like.^{1sg} of cooking but without tip of salt
 ‘I like cooking but with no salt’
<http://cintesis.eu/pt/jorge-polonia-gosto-muito-de-cozinhar-mas-sem-ponta-de-sal/> (Consulted on 19/02/2021)
- (v) Isso não tem a ponta de um corno de lógica
 that NEG has.^{3sg} the tip of a horn of logic
 ‘That does not have any logic’
 (Corpus do Português Web/Dialects, 12/07/2010, consulted on 19/02/2021)

display a minimizer reading. On the contrary, they can only be interpreted as containing referential common nouns.

(267) # O Pedro não mexeu a palha
 the Pedro NEG moved the straw
 ‘Pedro did not move the straw’

(268) # Este restaurante não vale o figo.
 this restaurant NEG is.worth.^{3sg} the fig
 ‘This restaurant is not worth the fig’

Furthermore, minimizers preceded by *um/uma* can occur with the adverb of exclusion *só* ‘single’, as a cardinality reinforcer, maintaining the minimizer reading. The adverb *só* forces a cardinal interpretation of *um/uma* and seems to block an interpretation as indefinite determiner, as illustrated in (269). The cooccurrence of *só* and *qualquer* ‘free choice *any*’, this last element forcing the reading of *um/uma* as indefinite, gives place to an ungrammatical sentence. In (270) we see that a cardinal reading (produced by *só*) is incompatible with an indefinite reading (produced by *qualquer*).

(269) Ela não disse uma só palavra.
 she NEG say one single word
 ‘She did not say a single word’

(270) *Ela não disse uma só palavra qualquer.
 she NEG say one only word any

The occurrence of the adverb of exclusion *só* with minimizers introduced by cardinal elements is also found in the corpus, in examples such as (271), where *só* appears between the cardinal and the minimizer, but also (272), at the left of both elements.

(271) Melhor matais vós a fome/ nam vai nesta
 better kill.^{2pl} you the hunger NEG goes.^{3sg} in.this
 nau grumete/ que valha um só caracol.

ship cabin.boy that be.worth.^{3sg} one single snail
 ‘You kill the hunger better, in this ship there is no cabin boy who is worth
 a thing’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Tragicomédia do Inverno e Verão*)

(272) [...] mais tanto cobiiçava | a fazer locura, | | que non
 more so.much greeDED.^{3sg} to do madness that NEG
 dava por matalo | sol hua formiga.
 give.^{3sg} for killing-him.^{3sg.acc} only one ant
 ‘but he aspired so much to do madnesSES that he did not give a thing for
 killing him’

(TMILG, CSM)

In both cases, the presence of the adverb *só* blocks the interpretation of *um* as a plain indefinite determiner, as already evidenced in (270) above. It forces a quantity reading associated to the element *um/uma*. The reinforcement of the cardinal number is also visible in other languages such as Spanish, where the use of ‘solo’ is documented by Coterillo-Díez (2007:354) in 16th century minimizers as being «empleado junto al numeral para hacer hincapié en la noción mínima del sustantivo».

It is not by chance that we find in the corpus an example of prenominal modification by the adjective *meio* ‘half’, as shown in (273), which clearly points to the idea of quantification. In replacement of the cardinal numeral UM, the example presents the quantificational adjective *meio*,¹¹⁵ which indicates a part of a unit, in this case, half of a unit.

(273) [...] que os homens sem ser ricos/ nam
 that the men without being rich NEG
 lhe val meio vintém/ ser sabidos.
 them.^{3sg.dat} is.worth.^{3sg} half penny be wise
 ‘because men who are not rich, it is not worth a thing for them being wise’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Obra da Geração Humana*)

¹¹⁵ The element *meio* is ambiguous between an adjective with quantificational properties and a numeral with gender and number agreement. In any case, its interpretation indicates quantification. Even if one considers it an adjective, it would still be considered under the group of adjectives with quantificational properties, which is presumably occupying Spec, NumP or a higher position.

The cardinal nature of *um/uma* is also visible in examples such as (274) where we find coordination between two minimizers preceded by cardinal elements, one of them in its plural form. The interpretation of *um* as an indefinite determiner here, although not impossible, is quite unlikely.

- (274) Que dous soldos nem um figo/ possam herdar
 that two coins nor one fig can.^{3pl} inherit
 do qu' eu herdo.
 of.the what I inherit.^{1sg}
 'That they cannot inherit anything from what I inherit.'
 (cet-e-quinientos, *Auto dos Dous Irmãos*)

In addition, minimizers preceded by *um* are also incompatible with markers of indefinite specific NPs, such as *certo* 'certain', whose occurrence is limited to indefinite NPs, as (275) suggests.

- (275) #Ela não disse uma/duas certa(s) palavra(s)
 she NEG say one/two certain word(s)
 'She did not say a certain word/two certain words'

A sentence such as (275), which does not allow a quantity reading, would result in an awkward production if a minimizer reading was forced by a previous context such as illustrated in (276).

- (276) A Maria ficou em silêncio total e não
 The Maria stayed.^{3sg} in silence total and NEG
 disse uma certa palavra.
 said.^{3sg} one certain word
 #'Maria was in total silence and did not say one certain word'

The context of (276) results in a logic contradiction if we assume a reading of *um* as a cardinal element and *palavra* as a minimizer. If Maria was in total silence, that implies that she did not say not even one word (minimal speech unit, therefore minimizer reading). The presence of preverbal *certo* 'certain' forces an indefinite reading, which allows an

interpretation in which Maria was in total silence, but she said other words except a specific one, therefore breaking the silence. This illustrates the fact that, with minimizers, the element *um* must convey a quantity reading and be handled as a cardinal element.

Considering the arguments above, I take the elements *um/uma* to correspond to cardinal numerals and not to the realization of the indefinite determiner *um*. This poses one final question which is related to the merging position of the cardinal numeral. There are two possibilities. The first is that the cardinal numeral UM is merged as the head of DP, similar to the definite determiner *o/a* and the indefinite determiner *um*. In alternative, we can consider it to be directly inserted as head of the NumP projection, like other cardinals. In the next paragraphs I will present syntactic evidence based on the position of the prenominal adjective *único* ‘single’ to argue in favour of the latter option.

As stated in section 5.2.1, I have assumed, following Gonzaga (2004), an NP internal position for adjectives, but also contemplating a higher position for prenominal adjectives with quantificational reading. Several authors have proposed a high position for these adjectives, possibly above NumP. Brito & Lopes (2016) consider that some adjectives have a quantifier or determiner-like interpretation (the authors include in this category the adjectives *outros, diversos, certos, raros, próprio, qualquer, único*), while in prenominal position. In those cases, they are projected as specifiers of NumP.¹¹⁶

Although I do not wish to focus on the syntax of prenominal adjectives, since that is not my research topic, I will dedicate a few paragraphs to the issue and will make a few considerations regarding a particular prenominal adjective, which will be crucial for my argumentation. I will look at the prenominal adjective *único*, which seems to be able to occur with minimizers preceded by the cardinal. Example (277) illustrates its occurrence with the minimizer *palavra*, and shows the contrast between a prenominal and a postnominal position.

- (277) a) Ele não disse uma única palavra
 He NEG said one single word
 ‘He did not say a single word’
- b) #Ele não disse uma palavra única
 He NEG said one word unique
 ‘He did not say a unique word’

¹¹⁶ Bernstein (1993) and Miguel (2004) claim for a position higher than NumP.

The adjective *único* seems to be acceptable in a prenominal position, with quantificational reading, but not in a postnominal position, with qualifying reading, as illustrated in (277b). Contrary to most adjectives, which directly qualify the noun they modify and are generated in the NP field, the adjective *único* distinguishes itself from them.

For instance, the adjective *único* is considered an intentionally oriented adjective (cf. Demonte 1999), receiving a more subjective interpretation when occurring in prenominal position.¹¹⁷ This is not the same interpretation it gets in a postnominal position, as I have illustrated with both the glosses and the translations in (277 a) and (277b).

First of all, let us bear in mind that the prenominal adjective *único* is equivalent to a quantifier, according to the analysis by Brito & Lopes (2016). Despite the same classification, it behaves differently from the adjectives listed by the authors. Some of them have a quantifier interpretation when occurring in their bare plural form, but they cannot occur with a cardinal (at least not maintaining their quantifier status).

(278) Já fui a Roma diversas vezes.
 already went.^{1sg} to Rome several times
 ‘I went to Rome several times’

(279) Raras vezes fui a Roma
 Rare times went.^{1sg} to Rome
 ‘I rarely went to Rome and saw the Pope.’

(280) *Já fui a Roma uma(s) diversa(s) vez(es).
 already went.^{1sg} to Rome one/some several time
 #‘I already went to Rome some several times’

(281) *Uma(s) rara(s) vez(es) fui a Roma
 one/some rare time went.^{1sg} to Rome
 #‘I went to Rome some rare times’

On the contrary, *único* cannot occur in bare plural form (282) and it requires the presence of a quantifier preceding it as in (283).

¹¹⁷ Prenominal adjectives in Romance have been argued to be categorially distinct from postnominal adjectives in being heads rather than maximal projections. Postnominal adjectives cannot be heads since they allow N-movement past them.

(282) *Fui única(s) vez(es) a Roma
 went.^{1sg} single time(s) to Rome
 I went single time(s) to Rome.

(283) Fui uma única vez a Roma
 went.^{1sg} one single time to Rome
 I went one single time to Rome.

These differences point to the fact that the prenominal adjective *único* does not work as a quantifier on its own. In fact, it seems to demand the presence of a cardinal element. Nevertheless, the possibility of occurring with a noun preceded by a definite determiner seems to be a counterexample. Examples (284) and (285) show the presence of the adjective *único* in pre-verbal position with a definite DP and a DP with the cardinal numeral *um*, respectively.

(284) Ele comeu a única bolacha.
 He ate the only cookie
 He ate the only cookie.

(285) Ele comeu uma única bolacha.
 he ate one single cookie
 He ate one single cookie.

The translation clearly shows that the first example corresponds to *único* in the sense of the adjective *only*, while the second example is equivalent to *single*. In (284) the adjective qualifies the noun by attributing it a status of uniqueness. There were no other cookies to be eaten, apart from the one which is identified, so the existing amount of cookies equals the amount that was eaten. This is not the case in (285), where the adjective *único* does not seem to attribute a feature to the cookie, but, instead, it reinforces the unicity of the numeral. There may have been many cookies, but the amount eaten was one. If we omit the adjective in both sentences, sentence (284) will have a different interpretation (stating that he ate the cookie does not imply that there was only one) while sentence (285) will maintain the same interpretation (the amount of cookies eaten does not change when the adjective is inserted). Furthermore, in sentence (285), but not in sentence (284), we can

replace the adjective *único* by the adverb of exclusion *só* ‘only’, as exemplified in (285) and (287).

- (286) *Ele comeu a só bolacha.
 He ate the only cookie
 He ate the only cookie.
- (287) Ele comeu uma só bolacha.
 he ate one single cookie
 He ate one single cookie.

The contrast of interpretation between (284) and (285) and the aggramaticality of (286) clearly indicate that the prenominal adjective *único* displays a different syntactic behaviour in the presence of the cardinal numeral UM. If we assumed the cardinal numeral UM to be base-generated as the head of the DP, the contrasts above cannot be explained. I claim that the contrasts result from the fact that prenominal *único* is a quantifier-like element which associates with the cardinal numeral UM.

The close relation established by this particular adjective and the numeral has been noticed by Kayne (2017, 2020) for English. Kayne (2020:343) suggests that the numeral *one* is accompanied by a «silent adjective corresponding to *single*», which can be overtly realized. Kayne (2017, 2020) does not, however, elaborate much on this topic, leaving the syntactic details undiscussed. I will tentatively suggest that whenever the prenominal adjective *único* is used as a reinforcer of the numeral UM, it is base-generated in a position higher than NumP (following Bernstein). Since it is used as an intensifier, I suggest its base position is the head of a Focus projection. On the other hand, the cardinal numeral must be in a lower position, namely as head of NumP. The numeral raises from its base position as head of NumP to adjoin the adjective *único* in Foc and they form a syntactic compound as illustrated in (288). The same structure can be applied to the adverb of exclusion *só* ‘only’. This configuration would be impossible if we assumed the cardinal numeral UM to be directly merged in D, as it is verified for definite determiner *o/a* ‘the’.

- (288) [DP [FocP [Foc´[uma; única] [NumP [Num´ [~~uma~~] [NP [N´ palavra]]]]

All things considered, it seems clear that the cardinal numeral *um* cannot occupy the head of DP. I will follow Epstein (1999) and Borer (2005) in assuming that UM/UMA are

base-generated as heads of NumP. This is also the position proposed by Tubau (2016) for the indefinite determiner *a* and the numeral *one* in English minimizers (e.g., *a/one* word). This NumP projection then takes an NP as its complement, whose head is the minimizer itself.

The structure in (288) can be reformulated into (288a), assuming final movement of the compound *uma única* to the head of DP, in order to possibly satisfy the need to have a filled D in CEP.

- (288) [DP [D' [uma_i única]_y [FocP [Foc' [uma_i única]_y [NumP [Num' [~~uma_i~~] [NP [N' palavra]]]]]]]]

I will go back to this topic in section 5.5.

5.4.2. Minimizers as nominal heads

Minimizers with low levels of grammaticalization are expected to still behave as nouns, therefore conserving some of the noun's original semantic meaning, number and gender features and allowing modifiers. Their classification as nominal elements poses, however, a problem due to the existence of bare singular nouns in an early period of Portuguese and, at least, until the 16th century. This means they did not assume an unambiguous DP form, with a lexically realized element occupying D. On the contrary, they assume two configurations: one in which they occurred with a lexically realized cardinal element to their left, and a second one corresponding to an occurrence under a bare form. In their bare form they can be considered structurally ambiguous since the occurrence of the minimizer alone can correspond to both a bare nominal and a bare quantifier/adverbial element. Nevertheless, only in the first case the minimizer retains unambiguous nominal properties. In any case, the most common pattern for OP minimizers with nominal behaviour was the one without a cardinal element.

The observation of data from the 13th century reveals that there was an initial structural difference between partitive and indefinite minimizers on the one hand, and evaluative minimizers on the other. Both indefinite and partitive minimizers occur exclusively under a bare form in the 13th century data. While indefinite minimizers maintain this configuration, partitive minimizers start occurring more frequently with a cardinal element in the 16th century data. On the contrary, evaluative minimizers appeared almost

exclusively preceded by a cardinal numeral¹¹⁸ until the 16th century. This difference in their initial behaviour is also reflected in the fact that only partitive and indefinite minimizers register cases of quantifier-like behaviour without argument function, which suggests that the presence of a cardinal element may have been a restriction to the grammaticalization of minimizers which occurred with this element.

TABLE 5.1 below shows the structure assumed by minimizers throughout the centuries, based on the input of the corpus. Although TABLE 5.1 displays data for the period comprehended between the 13th and the 19th century, recall that the searches for the 17th to 19th centuries were not systematic, so I will limit my comments to the period between the 13th and the 16th century.

	13th		14th		15th		16th		17th-19th	
	Bare	Card+ Min ¹¹⁹	Bare	Card+ Min	Bare	Card+ Min	Bare	Card+ Min	Bare	Card+ Min
Partitive	21	0	29	2	21	1	50	14	10	6
Evaluative	5	16	0	1	0	0	26	36	3	5
Indefinites (<i>rem+homen</i>)	1074	0	92	0	30	0	65	0	1	0

TABLE 5.1: DISTRIBUTION OF MINIMIZERS WITH AND WITHOUT A CARDINAL NUMERAL BY CENTURY

As is visible in TABLE 5.1, only evaluative minimizers are preceded by UM/UMA ‘one’ in the 13th century and the presence of the cardinal numeral only becomes significant with partitive minimizers in the 16th century, although there are two examples from the 14th century. On the contrary, there is a temporary change in the pattern of evaluative minimizers in the 16th century too, with the increase of these items in their bare form.

Having these differences in mind, the presence of a cardinal element preceding the minimizer was not an available criterion to assess the nominal nature of the items, so I have considered other criteria as well. In the following paragraphs I will demonstrate that most OP minimizers maintained their structural position as heads of a Noun Phrase, since they displayed nominal behaviour.

A first indicator of nominal nature is the maintenance of an intrinsic semantic meaning. This is visible in the occurrence of minimizers with verbs from the same semantic field of the original common noun. Let us observe the example in (289). The scalar reading

¹¹⁸ In 13th century data, there are only 5 occurrences of evaluative minimizers occurring in bare form. Three examples are from the minimizer *palavra* ‘word’, while the remaining two are for *mosca* ‘fly’ and *mealha* ‘currency unit corresponding to half a *ceitil*’.

¹¹⁹ Card= cardinal numeral; Min= minimizer

of the item *palavra*, which produces the interpretation conveyed by the translation, is obtained by evoking semantic information associated with the common noun *palavra*. If a person does not say *uma palavra* ‘one word’, it is inferred that he/she did not say anything at all, since one word is considered the minimal speech unit one can produce.¹²⁰ The minimizer *palavra* still needs to denote a set of properties that allow it to be interpreted as a possible unit of speech, in this particular case, the smallest one. Only then can one infer that the negation of minimal quantity of speech is equivalent to no speech production, by means of scale reversing.

- (289) [...] e o seu reposteiro foi tão espantado, que
 and the his official was.^{3sg} so amazed that
 nom podia falar ua palavra.
 NEG could.^{3sg} talk one word
 ‘And his dining room official was so amazed that he could not say anything’
 (JAR, xxxvii)

The same interpretation seems to be available even when *palavra* is not preceded by the cardinal element, as in (290), extracted from the same textual source. In this case, the verb *tirar* ‘to take’ is of broader sense and not directly related to speaking actions, but it is used in a figurative sense. In any case, the whole context shows that the minimizer is still used as referring to a minimal speech unit.

- (290) E Galat o perguntou muito, mas nom lhe
 and Galat him.^{3sg.acc} asked.^{3sg} much but NEG him.^{3sg.dat}
 pôde depòys tirar palavra.
 could.^{3sg} after take word
 ‘And Galat asked him many times but could not make him say anything.’
 (JAR, cxiii)

But the maintenance of semantic content of the original common noun should, therefore, reflect structural properties attributed to nouns, as is the case of number inflection. Minimizers occurring in the plural are quite scarce. Yet, there are two cases in

¹²⁰ Of course this is not entirely true, since there are speech units smaller than a word that can be produced by a speaker and can themselves be interpreted as minimizers: *uma sílaba* ‘a syllable’, *um ai* ‘an ohh [interjection]’

the corpus, corresponding to two evaluative minimizers, *caracol* ‘snail’ and *soldo* ‘currency unit’ in its plural form, dating from the 16th century (the example already presented in (274) and the example in (291)) Similar examples are still found in contemporary data, as proven by example (300) :

- (291) Tomé: Já que esse nom foi tão
 Tomé: already that that NEG was.^{3sg} so
 sóis/ quem era o encavalgado?
 alone who was.^{3sg} the horse.rider
 Brás: Um Manuel Marques coitado/ que nom
 Brás: A Manuel Marques poor that NEG
 vale dous caracóis.
 is.worth.^{3sg} two snails
 ‘Tomé: Since that one did not go alone, who was the horse rider?’
 Brás: A Manuel Marques, poor man, who is not worth anything.’
 (cet-e-quinientos, *Prática que Tiveram Brás e Tomé*)

- (300) agora matar-se um homem a troco de uma
 now kill.^{REFL.3sg} a man to change of a
 chalaça que não vale dois caracóis, isso é
 joke that NEG is.worth two snails that is.^{3sg}
 a bestialidade maior que pode praticar um homem
 the stupidity biggest that can practice a man
 ‘Now, a man killing himself over a joke that is not worth anything, that is
 the biggest stupidity a man can do.’

(Corpus do Português: Web/Dialects)

Both *caracol* and *soldo* appear in their plural form and are preceded by the cardinal element *dois* ‘two’, but they show their minimizer status by establishing negative concord, as the translations clearly show. This indicates that, at least these two minimizers could display number features. In the case of *caracol*, that possibility is still kept, as (300) exemplifies. The two examples show that, in terms of internal structure, the two minimizers must be in the scope of a projection which is responsible for verifying plural features, but which must be below NumP, since the cardinal element *dous* occupies the head of NumP. I consider, following Heycock & Zamparelli (2005), that the projection in question is Plural

Phrase – PIP – which is an optional complement of NumP, where plural features of a nominal element are checked. The possibility of exhibiting plural features is also an indicator of the nominal nature of some minimizers.

Another important element that can help us draw a cartographic picture of minimizers is modification, in particular adjectival modification. Adjectival Phrases (APs) are nominal modifiers by nature and, therefore, they must occupy a position that enables their scope over nouns. On the other hand, if some minimizers may occur with adjectival modification, they must be generated in a position that enables it. As I have said before, I follow Gonzaga (2004)'s proposal for Portuguese in considering two positions for APs which are internal to NP (in Spec, NP and as complements of NP) and a position external to NP for pre-verbal adjectives with quantificational properties (which has been argued to be Spec, NumP or higher).

There are only three examples of adjectival modification with partitive/evaluative minimizers in the whole corpus. This is a strong indicator that minimizers hardly ever admit adjectival modification. In (301) to (303) I present the relevant examples:

(301) e digo | | que o que me consellades | sol
 and say.^{1sg} that the what me.^{1sg.dat} advise.^{1sg} only
 non val un mui mal figo.
 NEG is.worth.^{3sg} one very bad fig
 ‘and I say that your advice is not worth anything’

(TMILG, CSM)

(302) [...] e nem em um mínimo ponto nos
 and not.even in one minimum point ourselves.^{1pl.reflx}
 desviemos da verdade
 deviate.^{1pl} of.the truth
 ‘and let us not deviate from the truth one bit’

(Tycho Brahe, VFBM)

(303) [...] sempre folgais de zombaria/ porém essa zombaria/
 always have.fun of mockery but that mockery
 nam val um meio real.

NEG is.worth.^{3sg} one half real¹²¹

‘You always have fun with mockery, but that mockery is not worth a thing’
(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto dos Dous Ladrões*)

In all the examples, the adjectives appear in prenominal position, but they are qualifying gradable adjectives, therefore generated in Spec,NP, as proposed by Gonzaga (2004). A cardinal element is also present in the three examples, occupying Num°. This configuration demands the minimizer to be below Num°, but in a position where the AP can take scope over it. Once again, the minimizer needs to be the head of the NP whenever there is adjectival modification.

I did not find in the corpus any other type of modification, apart from an occurrence of an evaluative minimizer with a sentential modifier, namely, a restrictive relative clause with subjunctive mood, as exemplified in (304).

- (304) [...]que me non destes, como x’ omen diz
that me.^{1sg.dat} NEG give.2sg how himself.^{3sg.reflx} man say
sequer un soldo que ceass’ un dia.
not.even one cent that eat one day
‘that you did not give me, as people say, not even a cent to eat one day’
(TMILG, LPGP)

Finally, the nominal nature of some minimizers can also be assessed by the syntactic function they play in a sentence. Most minimizers appear as arguments, in particular as internal arguments (direct objects). The great majority of minimizers in the corpus contain an [- animated] feature, and therefore, they cannot occur with verbs that select an animated object or a human subject. They do not occur as Subjects, except in very limited circumstances such as with unaccusative verbs, in which case they are generated as internal arguments as well. The fact that they hardly ever occur without argument function is a good indicator of their nominal status. Only adverbial particles or similar items could operate at sentence level as reinforcers of negation, in which case they would not display the nominal properties referred above.

Based on what has been already presented, I consider that all evaluative minimizers attested in the corpus, as well as most partitive minimizers, corresponded to the structure

¹²¹ *Real* is a currency unit.

in FIGURE 5.11 below, with a cardinal numeral occupying the head of NumP, when available, and the minimizer base-generated in N⁰. In the case of partitive minimizers with a PP complement, it should be considered a complement of the minimizer occupying the complement position of NP if i) the common noun giving place to the minimizer already took a complement; ii) the complement is semantically related to the original meaning of the minimizer; iii) the minimizer maintains most nominal properties.

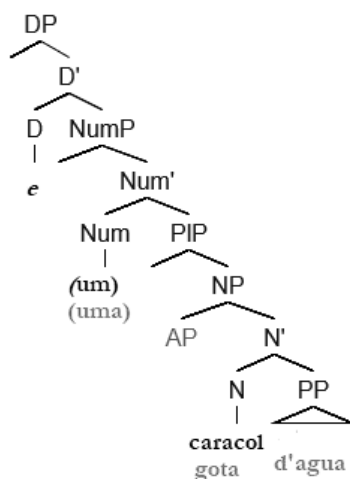


FIGURE 5.11: INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MINIMIZERS AS NOMINAL HEADS

The architecture proposed in FIGURE 5.11 allows to account for the possibility of the minimizer to display plural features, which would then be encoded in a Plural Phrase, selected by NumP.¹²² The position of the minimizer in N⁰ also contemplates the possibility of being modified by a prenominal or postnominal AP or the existence of a PP complement in the case of partitive minimizers inheriting a PP from the common noun. Being generated as Ns also explains the maintenance (partial or full) of intrinsic semantic meaning. Finally, D is considered to be an empty element, at least until its lexical realization becomes mandatory.

Considering what has been said so far and the nature of the examples contained in the corpus, I claim that, at least until the 16th century, evaluative minimizers should be

¹²² It may seem, at first sight, that minimizers in their plural form cannot occur with prenominal adjectives, under the proposal by Gonzaga (2004) since the movement of the minimizer to check plural features would put it in a position higher than the adjective (which is base generated in Spec,NP). Nevertheless, as argued by Gonzaga (2004), adjectives that can alternate between a postnominal and a prenominal position acquire an evaluative interpretation when in prenominal position. This evaluative interpretation requires the adjective to move upwards, leaving its base position. In any case, I did not find cases of plural minimizers with adjectival modification and, in CEP, I consider instances such as *Não vales dois grandes caracóis* ‘You are not worth two big snails’ to be unacceptable.

analysed as nominal heads at all times, even in cases where they appear under a bare form. The first reason to assume this is the fact that there are no examples in the corpus of evaluative minimizers occurring with a quantifier reading in the form of adnominal quantifiers with a partitive PP (nor with a nominal complement), as opposed to partitives and to some contemporary evaluative minimizers (I will approach CEP minimizers in section 5.5.3). This indicates that they did not raise to a functional position, such as Num. The second reason is that they occurred with an argument function only, contrary to quantifier uses. There are no examples of evaluative minimizers as emphatic particles or adverbial elements operating at sentence level. Furthermore, the vast majority of the examples of evaluatives under a bare form corresponds either to currency units or to the item *palavra*. Evaluative minimizers occur with verbs related to their original meaning, which indicates maintenance of nominal nature with original semantic meaning.

Thus, it is clear that evaluative minimizers remained nominal elements until the 16th century and only a few partitive minimizers reached a different status. Being base-generated as nominal heads, it is not surprising that they mainly appear as internal arguments of transitive verbs. Nevertheless, this raises an issue concerning the occurrence of these minimizers as direct objects, while under a bare form. Romance languages, such as European Portuguese are said to be [-arg, +pred] (cf. Chierchia 1998), which means they cannot be arguments, only predicates. But the data shows that in Old Portuguese, minimizers in a bare form were frequently found as internal arguments. This apparent incompatibility poses some questions, which I will address in section 5.4.2.2.

5.4.2.1. The internal structure of *Homem*

In the previous section, I have argued that most OP minimizers remained as NP heads, either preceded by a cardinal element or in their bare form. The case of *homem* deserves here special attention since it differs from other minimizers in a few aspects, the most significant being the lack of intrinsic quantificational properties (a [+quantification] feature) and the presence of a [+human] feature, which is absent from all other items (*rem* could appear referring to [+human] entities, but only marginally).

Contrary to other bare form minimizers, *homem* is the one that systematically occurs in existential constructions. Furthermore, it is also the one which more frequently appears with adjectival and sentential modification. In the next paragraphs I will look at the main

syntactic properties of *homem*, in order to show that, until its disappearance, it behaved as a nominal head, similarly to most minimizers.

Let us first recall that this minimizer appears solely in its bare form and seems to alternate between being an internal or an external argument (DO or subject), but also the DO of existential constructions. Its occurrence in canonical predicative constructions (with *ser/estar* ‘to be’, *parecer* ‘to seem’, a.o.) is incipient, though. It does not occur in its plural form, exhibiting singular number by default. It is also able to take modifiers, but it never appears with a partitive PP, therefore not being able to quantify over a nominal. All of these factors seem to put it in a very low stage of grammaticalization. Nevertheless, *homem* seems to behave as a pronominal-like element, distinct from personal pronouns, but similar to the pronominal negative indefinites *nenhum/ninguém*. Due to its bare configuration, at least two hypotheses can be considered relative to its structural position: the first one would place *homem* as the head of DP, therefore with a pronominal status, assuming that it cyclically raised to that position departing from the head of NP. The second possibility is to consider that *homem* never left the head of NP and was a bare noun.

Although *homem* was allowed to occur in most of the contexts where we also found *nenhum/ninguém*, sentences such as the one in (305) are incompatible with a pronominal status.

- (305) E colhe-lhe ãa tal sanha que nunca
 and picks-him-^{3sg-dat} a such anger that never
 homem mais mortalmente desamou outro.
 man more deadly disliked.^{3sg} other
 ‘And he was taken by such an anger that no one has ever disliked
 another in such a deadly way.

(DSG, CCCXIII)

In the context of (305), the presence of an indefinite pronoun would be ruled out due to the presence of the indefinite determiner *outro*,¹²³ whose reading implies there has been ellipsis of the noun with the antecedent of the elided noun being the minimizer *homem*.

Let us start by assessing the possible position for *homem*, based on modification. The indefinite minimizer *homem* occurs with adjectival modification while occurring in its bare form. In this particular case, adjectival modification is restricted to APs introducing a

¹²³ I am using the designation “indefinite determiner” in a very broad sense to avoid entering a discussion about the nature of *outro* ‘other’.

consecutive clause or preceded by the degree particle *tão* ‘so’, as illustrated in (306) and (307), respectively.

- (306) [...] e non sei ome tan entendudo | que
 and NEG know.^{1sg} man so wise that
 m’ og’ entenda o por que digo.
 me.^{1sg.acc} today understands.^{3sg} the for that say.^{1sg}
 ‘and I do not know anyone so wise that understands today the reason I
 say it.’

(TMILG, LPGP)

- (307) [...] ca nunca home tan sanhudo vi.
 because never man so angry saw.^{1sg}
 ‘because I have never seen anyone so angry.’

(TMILG, LPGP)

In these cases, we cannot assume a simple AP projection. There have been different proposals in the literature concerning the issue. Bresnan’s (1973) proposal contemplates the idea of the AP having a QP specifier, while, for instance, Jackendoff (1977) suggests the existence of a Deg Phrase as specifier of the AP. Abney (1987), on the other hand, goes further in proposing that DegP is a functional projection whose head selects itself the AP as its complement. On the other hand, for Portuguese, Martinho (2007) follows previous work by Bresnan (1973) and Corver (1997) and proposes a structure as the one in (308), which has been proposed by Corver (2013) and which I will follow here.

- (308) [DegP Deg [QP Q [AP]]]

The structure in (308) reflects a *split degree system* and accounts for the existence of different degree expressions, which may involve a degree particle such as in *tão alto* ‘so tall’ (the DegP) or a quantity particle, as in *menos alto* ‘less tall’ (the QP). The structure in question assumes the presence of a DegP projection, which can have a phonetically null head, whenever QP is present.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Please notice that this QP projection is internal to DegP and does not correspond to the QP projection advocated for quantifiers, which is higher than DP.

Since the examples of modification by means of an AP found in the corpus always involve the particle *tão* ‘so’, the DegP projection will always have a filled head. Sentences presented above in (306) and (307) can be represented with a structure as the one in (309). In the case of (307) the presence of the CP is not observed.

- (309) [DP [D *ê*][NumP [Num^o *homem*_i] [NP [DegP [DegP [Deg’ *tão*] [QP [Q *ê*] [AP *entendudo*]]]]][CP *que ...*]]][N’ [N^o *homem*_i]

The DegP is in Spec,NP, a possible position for postnominal adjectives, according to Gonzaga (2010), and the minimizer is generated as the head of NP. I follow the consensual idea that the head of NP moves to the head of NumP for feature checking, passing over the degree projection. This results in the noun-adjective word order observed in the majority of the sentences with this configuration.¹²⁵

In any case, the position of the AP within the DP is not affected by the projection of DegP. I, therefore, take these cases of adjectival modification of *homem* as an indicator that the minimizer was the head of NP, in which position it could be scoped by the DegP/AP.

Homem also frequently appears modified by a relative clause with subjunctive mood, especially in negative existential constructions, as in (310). This means it needs to occupy a position within the DP, so that it can be scoped by its modifiers.

- (310) [...] *ca depois da morte de rei Artur nom*
 because after of.the death of king Arthur NEG
acharemos nos homem que nos possa contrastar.
 will.find.^{1pl} we man that us.^{1pl.dat} can.^{3sg} oppose
 ‘because after king Arthur’s death, we will not find anyone that can
 oppose to us’

(DSG, CCCCLIV)

¹²⁵ There are, however, three occurrences which present the order adjective-noun-CP, as illustrated below in (i). This configuration seems to involve movement of the DegP containing the AP to a focus projection (FocP) above NumP, but a proposal as this requires further investigation concerning consecutive/comparative clauses that outscopes the present work.

(i) *non a ora, a meu ciente tam alto omem no*
 NEG there.is.^{3sg} now to my knowledge so important man in.the
mundo que lhis podesse muito nuzir
 world that them.^{3pl.Dat} could.^{3sg} much harm
 ‘there is not, to my knowledge, anyone so important in the world that could harm them.’ (DSG)

The syntax of restrictive relative clauses has been vastly debated and is still a controversial topic, with the emergence of two main analyses: an adjunction analysis (cf. Ross 1967, Jackendoff 1977, and Brito 1991 specifically for Portuguese) and a raising analysis (Kayne 1994, Vries 2002, a.o.). While in the first analysis the modified noun is said to be generated outside the relative clause with the relative clause being c-commanded by D°, in the raising analysis, the relative CP is a complement of D° and the head noun is originally generated inside the relative clause, then raising to [Spec, CP]. Even though the raising analysis has been most frequently adopted in recent years, I am not assuming it here, as far as minimizers are concerned. As Cardoso (2011:211) draws attention to in a footnote, the raising analysis puts an unsolved problem to the licensing of minimizers. Take as an example the sentence (310) above, where the minimizer is modified by a restrictive relative clause. In very general terms, what the raising analysis proposes is that the minimizer *homem*, being the modified nominal element, would be first generated inside the relative clause before raising to [Spec, CP]. If we consider the general assumption that moved elements are to be interpreted in their original position, then the minimizer would be licensed outside the scope of negation, since the negative operator does not have scope over the relative clause. One of the mandatory principles regarding weak NPIs is precisely the need to be licensed under a negative operator in order to be negatively interpreted. Under the raising analysis, the licensing of *homem* rests unexplained, since its interpretation is that resulting from negative concord and not an existential one. I will not elaborate on this topic further, but I consider it is reason enough not to adopt a raising analysis at this point. In alternative, I will be considering Rinke & Aßmann's (2017) proposal that is based on what the authors call the *Determiner Hypothesis of Relativizers* (DHR). The authors consider that restrictive relative clauses compete for the same structural position occupied by demonstratives within the DP spine. In their proposal, the relative CP occupies a low position inside the DP, which is argued to be «a functional projection hosting restrictive elements between NumP and NP».¹²⁶

A configuration such as the one in (312) would then be possible for an occurrence of *homem* as the one in (311).

¹²⁶ Rinke & Aßmann's (2017) represent the projection in question as Spec#P. To avoid adopting, at this point, the functional projection #P, I will consider it to be a xP functional projection between NumP and NP. Some authors defend that singular bare nouns do not project NumP (cf. Munn & Schmitt, 2000). In the absence of NumP, the xP projection sheltering the relative CP would be projected between AgrP and NP, with word order deriving from movement of the minimizer to AgrP.

- (311) E tanto vos digo que nom he
 and so.much you.^{2pl.Dat} tell.^{1sg} that NEG there.is.^{3sg}
 no mundo homẽ que podesse cõtar compridamente
 in.the world man that could count in.detail
 to-dallas maravylhosas cousas de Merida
 all.the wonderful things of Merida
 ‘And I tell you that there isn’t in the world anyone who could tell in detail
 all the wonderful things of Merida.’

(CGE, xxxv)

- (312) [DP [NumP [Num° *homem*_i] [xP [CP_{rel} que *e*_i ...] [x' [x° *homem*_i] [NP [N'
 [N° *homem*_i]]]]]]]

The structure proposed by Rinke & Aßmann’s (2017) implies that the modified noun occupies the head of NP.¹²⁷ This means that, in order to allow modification by a restrictive relative clause, *homem* needs to be generated as the head of NP. The word order, as verified for AP modifiers, derives from cyclic movement of N leftwards for feature-checking.¹²⁸

Contrary to other minimizers, I argue that *homem* did not become an adnominal quantifier directly merged as the head of NumP. First of all, it does not allow a partitive complement and secondly, the fact that it frequently occurs with adjectival and sentential modification requires that it is base-generated under NP.

Homem does not show signs of becoming a quantificational element, contrary to other minimizers which go from NP heads to more functional items, in Num° (or higher).

¹²⁷ It is also compatible with the absence of examples of modification by means of a relative clause with minimizers that I have considered to be adnominal quantifiers and, therefore, initially base generated as heads of NumP. Such position stands outside the scope of the relative CP, since it is generated below NumP.

¹²⁸ There are also some attestations of *homem* being modified by more than one restrictive relative clause, as in example (i). This type of configuration is known as *multiple relatives* (also *relativas empilhadas* in Brito 1988) and was signalled by Jackendoff (1977). Given the complexity of multiple relatives, which fall outside the scope of my work, I will not enter in a detailed analysis of these cases. For general insights on the topic see Brito (1988) and Jackendoff (1977).

- (i) [...] nom avia homem que as ouviu que nom
 NEG there.was.^{3sg} man who them.^{3pl.acc} herd who NEG
 ouvesse d’ ellas compaixom e doo
 had.^{3sg} of them compassion and pity
 ‘there wasn’t anyone who heard them who did not feel compassion and pity for them’
 (CDF, xix)

Since there are counter-examples to a pronominal status and the existent contexts do not allow us to test coreference issues, I will postulate that the minimizer *homem* remained base-generated as the head of NP. The main arguments in favour of its nominal status are: first, the frequent occurrence with modification (sentential, adjectival or prepositional); and, second, the fact that it never occurred with a quantifier reading, taking a partitive complement, which would put it in a higher position than N^o.

The classification of *homem* as a bare noun, similarly to what I postulated for other bare form minimizers that maintained some nominal features, poses some interesting questions, which I list below and which will be analysed in the following section.

- a) Bare nouns are predicates, but *homem* frequently occurs as a direct object of a transitive verb and does not commonly appear as a canonical predicate with copulative verbs such as *ser/estar* ‘to be’ (the number of occurrences is marginal). On the other hand, it is registered in existential constructions with *haver* ‘there to be’;
- b) Bare singulars are unlikely to be licensed as pre-verbal subjects, but *homem* occurs in such position.
- c) Bare nouns are predicates and, therefore, are said to be incompatible with relative clause modification (for instance, the sentence **O Pedro é médico que se dedica ao pacientes* ‘Peter is doctor that dedicates to his patients’ is ungrammatical in CEP). Modification by means of a relative clause is frequent with *homem* mainly, but not only, in existential constructions.

5.4.2.2. On bare nouns in OP

Assuming that bare minimizers such as some evaluative minimizers or the indefinite minimizer *homem* are base generated as bare nouns (since they display nominal properties) seems to conflict with their almost exclusive argumental function.

It is extensively assumed, following Longobardi (2001:581) that «DPs can be arguments, NPs cannot». This difference relies on the theory that D has a referential feature that needs to be checked and that is the motivation for considering the existence of N-to-D movement verified for proper nouns in some Romance languages (Longobardi 1994). According to Longobardi (1994:64), «bare nouns are predicative categories. They cannot be mapped onto arguments and they are not expected to appear in argument positions». This derives from the fact that determiners (that is to say, definite determiners) are said to

encode referentially¹²⁹(cf. Longobardi 1994) and they assign argumental status to their NP complement (cf. Abney 1987, Stowell 1989). Argumenthood is then seen as the syntactic result of referentiality. When there is no referential feature being checked by a determiner, there is no argumenthood to be assigned to the NP.

According to Chierchia's (1998) *Nominal Mapping Parameter*, Portuguese is said to have bare nominals of type [-arg,+pred]. This means that bare nouns should only be able to occur in predicative position, but empirical evidence has shown that bare nouns can be arguments. Therefore, departing from the principle that a 'nominal expression' is an argument only if it is introduced by a category D, Longobardi (1994) argues that, with determinerless nouns, the DP layer is projected with a null D. This null D has a default existential interpretation; it is subject to a lexical government requirement; and it is restricted to mass or plural nouns.

The projection of a DP with an empty D is not consensual, though. Referring to bare plurals, Müller & Oliveira (2004:18) consider that they are predicates whose variable gets bound either by a sentential unselective operator or by existential closure (see Heim, 1982). They, therefore, conclude that «there is no need to pose an empty determiner that acts as a type-shifter turning the predicative bare nominal into an argumental kind-denoting nominal.»

An alternative proposal is presented by Munn & Schmitt (2000), based on Brazilian Portuguese (BP) bare nouns. The authors propose that singular bare nouns do not project NumP, despite projecting a DP. Munn & Schmitt (2000) take the possibility of splitting IP into Agr and T in some languages (known as the *Free Agreement Parameter* by Bobaljik 1995) and apply it to the nominal domain, therefore proposing that AgrP and NumP within DP can be independent projections in some languages, namely in BP.

I follow here Longobardi (1994:64) in assuming the existence of a null determiner ([D \emptyset]) in the structure presented for bare nominal minimizers. As for minimizers displaying a cardinal element, there are two possibilities: the first is to assume movement of the cardinal element from Num^o to D^o, following Bayer (1995); the second option is to also postulate a null determiner, considering that cardinals cannot check referential features.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ The idea that D^o is limited to referential features has been argued against by Déprez (2000).

¹³⁰ Cooccurrences such as the one in i) may be an argument against the hypothesis that numerals moved to D^o in OP, since this position could be filled by a lexical determiner preceding a cardinal numeral (*o hũu*). This is no longer possible in CEP.

i)	E,	destes	tres	ãnos	que	dizemos	que	el	rey
	And	of.these	three	years	that	say. ^{3pl}	that	the	king
	Luyba	reynou,	o	hũu	deles	he	contado	a	elle
	Luyba	reigned	the	one	of.them	is. ^{3sg}	told	to	he

For the time being, I will assume the existence of a null D for both configurations in OP. This null D seems to be inexistent in CEP, in which case I consider that movement of the cardinal to D is likely to occur to satisfy the requirement of a lexically filled D.

I adopt two ideas from the literature. The first is that only DPs can be arguments (Longobardi 1994) and the second is that there is no N-to-D movement in Portuguese (cf. Soares 2018). This roughly means that, in order for a bare singular to be an argument, DP must be projected. CEP, along with other Romance languages, have strict restrictions in the usage of argumental bare nouns, especially singular bare nouns. Although they are not entirely banned from grammar, they are used in very restricted contexts.

The occurrence of bare nominal minimizers as arguments in Old Portuguese data deserves particular attention since it differs from CEP data. In CEP bare singulars are generally ruled out from argument positions and bare plurals are only accepted under special circumstances. But, if we look at Old Portuguese partitive and evaluative minimizers, we realize that bare minimizers were almost exclusively arguments¹³¹ and occur scarcely as predicates, which contradicts expectations based on what we know about CEP bare nouns (cf. Soares 2018). From the universe of all partitive/evaluative minimizers in the corpus that appear as bare forms without quantifier or adverbial behaviour, only 4% appear in predicative constructions (with copulative verbs *ser/estar* ‘to be’). On the other hand, 94% of the examples correspond to direct objects (with only one example of a subject); the remaining 2% appear as PP modifiers. A similar pattern is found with the indefinite minimizer *homem*, which appears as an argument, internal or external, but scarcely as a predicative.

The fact that OP minimizers in their bare form occurred as arguments does not seem to be a specific feature of minimizers, though. In fact, it was widespread to singular bare nominals in general. In order to determine whether minimizers (with nominal behaviour and bare form) simply behaved as other bare nouns or exhibited a particular behaviour, a few automatic searches were performed in syntactically annotated texts, from different centuries. Before presenting the data I have collected, a few points need clarification. Firstly, I have selected a text for each century, from the 13th to the 18th

e	os	dous	a	seu	irmãos	Leonagildo
and	the	two	to	his	brother	Leonagildo

‘And from these three years we said king Luyba reigned, one of them is attributed to him and the other two to his brother Leonagildo.

(CGE, 1, cxxvi)

¹³¹ I am excluding here bare minimizers which behaved as quantifiers or adverbs, since I do not consider them nominal elements anymore.

century.¹³² The texts in question have received part-of-speech and syntactic annotation under the Penn-Helsinki annotation system (Kroch, Taylor & Santorini 2000), following specific annotation guidelines for Portuguese historical and dialectal corpora.¹³³ The choice of these texts (and not others) was motivated by the scarcity of syntactically annotated texts for Old Portuguese. I could not find a syntactically annotated text for the 15th century, which is the reason why the 15th century is absent from the table. As for the 16th century, I opted for the VFBM text instead of the JAR text, due to the dating problems posed by JAR and already referred along this work. As for the 17th and 18th centuries, due to the scarcity of annotated texts, I have opted for the less compromised ones in terms of textual genre. The available options were also conditioned by the need to have texts that were syntactically annotated with the same annotation model and following the same annotation guidelines (which makes data comparison easier). Secondly, the results presented in the table were obtained automatically by running general search queries using the tool Corpus Search (Beth Randall).¹³⁴ The main goal was to determine the frequency of singular bare nouns in general and how frequently singular bare nouns occurred as internal arguments of transitive verbs across centuries. Thirdly, in the syntactic annotation system used, the label NP-ACC is used for internal arguments of transitive verbs, but also for predicatives of copulative verbs SER and ESTAR (and possibly others with much lower frequency). Only singular nouns were searched, therefore bare plurals are excluded from the data in TABLE 5.2. Finally, and most important, I would like to highlight the fact that, although the data presented in TABLE 5.2 cannot be seen as representative of each century, it can give us a few hints regarding the functioning of singular bare nouns.

Century	13 th century		14 th century		16 th century		17 th century		18 th century	
Source/Text	DSG		CGE		VFBM		VAPV		MM	
	n.º occ.	%	n.º occ.	%	n.º occ.	%	n.º occ.	%	n.º occ.	%
NP (full DP or bare N) (s.g.)	9368	–	6068	–	1856		1561		1279	

¹³² I have used the syntactically annotated versions of the texts DSG (*Demanda do Santo Graal*) and CGE (*Crónica Geral de Espanha*) made available by the WochWel project at <http://alfclul.clul.ul.pt/wochwel/oldtexts.html>, and VFBM (*Vida de Frei Bartolameu dos Mártires* by Frei Luís de Sousa), VAPV (*A Vida do apostólico Padre Vieira*, by André de Barros) and MM (*Maria Moisés*, by Camilo Castelo Branco) made available by the Tycho Brahe project (Galves, Andrade & Faria 2017) at <http://www.tycho.iel.unicamp.br/corpus/>.

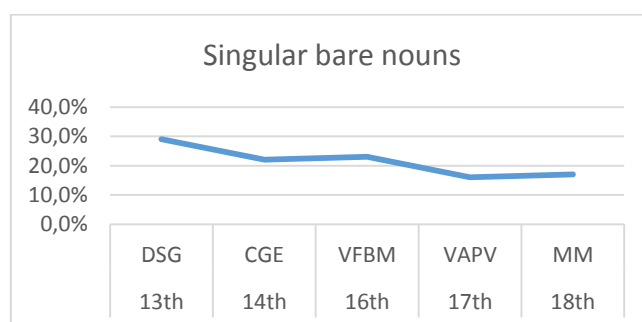
¹³³ Texts available through the Wochwel project and the Tycho Brahe project share the same annotation guidelines, which are also followed for other historical and dialectal texts (for instance, texts available through the *Post Scriptum* project and CORDIAL-SIN). Syntactic annotation guidelines can be consulted here: <https://sites.google.com/site/portuguesesyntacticannotation/>.

¹³⁴ Open source software, [downloadable from Sourceforge](#)

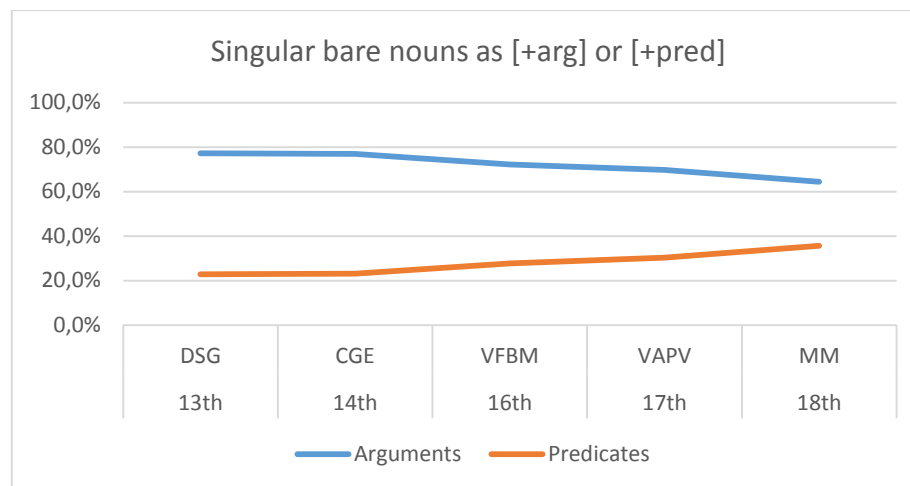
NP bare (s.g.)	2723	29.1	1315	21.7	418	22.5	247	15.8	218	17.0
NP-ACC (full DP or bare N)	4753	50.7	2999	49.4	975	52.5	657	42.1	509	39.8
NP-ACC bare	1181	24.8	385	12.8	162	16.6	66	10.0	73	14.3
NP-ACC bare argumental	921	77.2	296	76.9	117	72.2	46	69.7	47	64.4
NP-ACC bare predicative	269	22.8	89	23.1	45	27.8	20	30.3	26	35.6

TABLE 5.2: DISTRIBUTION OF FULL DP AND BARE NP WITH PREDICATE/ARGUMENTAL FUNCTION IN TEXTS FROM THE 13TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

As one can see, in the DSG, here representing the 13th century, from a universe of 9368 singular nouns, the majority registered the presence of a determiner, while 29,1% corresponded to bare nouns. Bare nouns also represent almost 25% of all the nouns labelled as accusatives (NP-ACC), with real arguments being the majority of the cases (77,2%) while predicative uses represented 22,8%. In the 14th century these values seem to drop, with bare nouns representing 21,7% of all singular nouns found and 12,8% of accusatives. The distribution of NP-ACCs between arguments or predicates maintains similar values to the previous century. From the 16th century onwards, there is a decrease in the percentage of bare nouns, as well as bare nouns as arguments. Even though the frequency of bare nouns as arguments is always higher than the frequency of bare nouns as predicates, it is possible to see a tendency to invert these values in the 18th century data. GRAPHS 5.1 and 5.2 bellow help illustrate the tendency for bare nouns to become less frequent and the increase of their use as predicates instead of arguments.



GRAPH 5.1: EVOLUTION OF THE FREQUENCY OF BARE NOUNS IN TEXTS FROM THE 13TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY



GRAPH 5.2: EVOLUTION OF THE FREQUENCY OF BARE NOUNS AS [+ARG] OR [+PRED] IN TEXTS FROM THE 13TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

The data presented above allow us to confirm that there was a change in the pattern of occurrence of bare nouns, which most likely also affected minimizers.

Given the decrease in the frequency of singular bare nouns, I have also looked into the occurrences of singular nouns preceded by an indefinite determiner, pursuing the idea that the widespread of the indefinite determiner/cardinal numeral UM may be correlated to the decrease of bare nouns. TABLE 5.3 below summarizes the results for each text/century, as far as the sequence UM¹³⁵+singular Noun is concerned.

Century	13 th century		14 th century		16 th century		17 th century		18 th century	
Source/Text	DSG		CGE		VFBM		VAPV		MM	
	n. ^o occ.	%	n. ^o occ.	%	n. ^o occ.	%	n. ^o occ.	%	n. ^o occ.	%
UM(A)+NP (sing.)	1162	12,4	727	12,0	322	17,3	237	15,2	218	17

TABLE 5.3: FREQUENCY OF SINGULAR NOUNS ANTECEDED BY UM/UMA IN TEXTS FROM THE 13TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

TABLE 5.3 shows the weight nouns preceded by UM/UMA have in in the global number of singular nouns found in each text. We can see that there is a slight increase in the percentage of UM+Noun from the 13th to the 18th century, which does not entirely explain the decrease in singular bare nouns, but we also need to account for the increase of other determiners, which I have not tested for, since that is not the main purpose of the present work.

¹³⁵ I did not distinguish here the occurrence of UM/UMA as determiners or as cardinals.

Since the minimizer *homem* also occurred as an external argument quite frequently, I have also searched for singular bare nouns with subject function in the same texts and centuries. TABLE 5.4 below summarizes the results obtained by search queries.

Century	13 th century		14 th century		16 th century		17 th century		18 th century	
Source/Text	DSG		CGE		VFBM		VAPV		MM	
	n.º occ.	%	n.º occ.	%	n.º occ.	%	n.º occ.	%	n.º occ.	%
NP-Subjects (sing.)	3365	35,9	2966	48,9	542	29,2	684	43,8	478	37,4
NP bare Subjects (sing.)	1042	31	770	26	108	19,9	57	8,3	29	6,1

TABLE 5.4: FREQUENCY OF SINGULAR NOUNS AND SINGULAR BARE NOUNS AS SUBJECT IN TEXTS FROM THE 13TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

I have searched for singular nouns considered to be subjects and, therefore, labelled with the tag NP-SBJ. In the DSG, from a universe of 3365 singular nouns with subject function, 31% corresponded to cases of bare nouns, which represents a value higher than the number of bare nouns as direct objects. This percentage drops in the 14th century text, and consistently decreases along the centuries, representing 6,1% of all singular NP subjects in the MM text, here representing the 18th century. This seems to be consistent with what is described for CEP, with bare nouns (and mostly singular bare nouns) rarely ever occupying a subject position.

Even though the data presented for singular bare nouns needs validation with the observation of more data from different texts and of different typologies, it is enough to draw some preliminary conclusions. The behaviour observed for singular bare nouns seems to be consistent with what we saw for minimizers under a bare noun configuration, which allows us to conclude that minimizers did not behave differently from singular bare nouns. They both appeared mainly as arguments, contrary to CEP, where they are said to be more frequent as predicates. As for singular bare nouns as external arguments, the data above points to an expected decrease in their frequency, showing that earlier stages of Portuguese allowed more freely singular bare nouns as subjects than nowadays.

In light of the data presented above, it seems clear that singular bare nouns behaved differently in previous stages of Portuguese, although further investigation is needed in order to reach solid conclusions. That is not the aim of the present work, so I will leave it for future research. Nevertheless, I would like to put forth two ideas for the discussion of minimizers that are intimately related to the behaviour of singular bare nouns:

- i) Considering the available data, can one hypothesize that Old Portuguese D system contemplated the existence of a null determiner that was progressively lost with the generalization of indefinite determiners?
- ii) Can the loss of the default null determiner be related to the disappearance of some minimizers, following a path contrary to the one observed for French?

5.4.3. Minimizers as quantifiers

Although most minimizers in the corpus seem to have kept their nominal status, there are examples of others that have reached a higher level of grammaticalization, ceasing to be nominal heads. In fact, that is precisely the expected evolution path for minimizers, which has been largely described in the literature (cf. Déprez 1999, 2011, Roberts & Roussou 2003, Garzonio & Poletto, 2008, 2009; Garzonio 2008; a.o.). The first step of grammaticalization involves movement of the minimizer from its nominal head position to a position usually occupied by some quantifier elements, namely the head of NumP. In this position, the minimizer typically takes a partitive PP, which can cease to appear when the item becomes even more functional.

I consider that there are two configurations for minimizers with quantifier behaviour, each corresponding to two different levels of grammaticalization. We find adnominal quantifiers, which take a partitive PP, but also bare quantifiers, which are intransitive. In order to be reinterpreted as quantifiers, minimizers first need to move from N to the head of NumP, quantifying over a noun contained in a partitive PP. If grammaticalization proceeds successfully, they will be reinterpreted as quantifiers, projecting an independent QP. In a few cases, they reach an intransitive bare quantifier status, which enables them to appear in ambiguous contexts where they can be reanalysed as adverbial elements reinforcing negation. Both configurations (adnominal and bare intransitive quantifiers) coexist in the corpus, although with different frequency, as illustrated for the items *ponto*, *rem* and *nemigalha*, in TABLE 5.5 below.

	Bare quantifier		Adnominal quantifier	
	N.º occur	%	N.º occur	%
<i>rem</i>	700	78,3	60	6,7
<i>nemigalba</i>	105	87,5	10	8,3
<i>ponto</i>	22	42,3	13	25

TABLE 5.5: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF *REM*, *NEMIGALBA* AND *PONTO* AS BARE OR ADNOMINAL QUANTIFIERS

As expected, the item occurring more frequently in the form of an intransitive bare quantifier is *nemigalba*,¹³⁶ which was also the item in a more advanced stage of grammaticalization. On the other hand, the item occurring more frequently as an adnominal quantifier is *ponto*, which is also the less grammaticalized item. I will discuss the three items in more detail in the following sections.

5.4.3.1 Minimizers as adnominal quantifiers

Looking at the three elements which have reached a more advanced stage of grammaticalization, *ponto*, *rem* and *nemigalba*, we see that they all present examples with a partitive PP (the frequency is not the same, though, for the three items), which indicates that there must have been an intermediate stage from nouns to intransitive bare quantifiers. I refer here to *adnominal quantifiers* as items which indirectly quantify over a noun contained in a partitive PP, as illustrated in (313).

- (313) [...] não quisesse Deus que ele perdesse ponto
NEG wanted.^{3sg} God that he lost.^{3sg} point
da opinião que todos tinham dele
of.the opinion that everyone had.^{3pl}
‘that God would not want him to lose none of the opinion they had about him’

(Tycho Brahe, *Peregrinação*)

Minimizers behaving as adnominal quantifiers occur under a bare form (they are not preceded by a cardinal element), but take a PP with partitive reading. They are interpreted as elements which quantify over a nominal that sets the domain of quantification. This nominal is contained inside the selected PP.

¹³⁶ I have included here as bare quantifier the occurrences which have an ambiguous interpretation between an argument/pseudo-argument/negative adverb reinforcer.

Traditionally, adnominal quantifiers take nominal complements or they may alternate between a nominal complement and a partitive PP (as in the alternation *some boys/some of the boys*, in English). In the latter case, it is considered the existence of a null nominal complement (cf. Doetjes 1997, Cardinaletti & Giusti 1992 a.o). However, in OP data concerning minimizers, none of the items behaving as an adnominal quantifier directly took a nominal complement. They appear exclusively with a partitive PP. A configuration in which a partitive minimizer is followed by a PP can actually correspond to a) a partitive minimizer base generated as head of NP and taking a PP complement, or b) a minimizer which behaves as an adnominal quantifier taking a partitive PP and which is no longer generated as the head of NP. In the case of partitive minimizers, the two situations correspond to two stages of evolution and, therefore, their distinction is not always crystal clear. However, the PP complement of a partitive minimizer is different from the partitive PP found in adnominal quantifiers, as I will try to show. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to the PP selected by an adnominal quantifier as a *partitive PP* and to the PP selected as complement of the noun as *PP complement*, even though it has a partitive reading too.

First of all, the presence of a partitive PP does not seem to depend entirely on the previous existence of a PP complement. For instance, the indefinite minimizer *rem* occurs with a partitive PP in the corpus and contemporary data also show that evaluative minimizers can appear with a partitive PP, regardless of the fact that the common noun behind them has never selected a PP complement. Let us, therefore, look at the data carefully.

In the corpus we find partitive minimizers occurring with a PP both as bare minimizers, as in (314), and preceded by a cardinal numeral as in (315). This last configuration is first attested in the 14th century but it remains infrequent at least until the 16th century.

- (314) [...] et as naues mouudas et ydas ao meyo do
and the ships moved and gone to.the middle of.the
cusso, quedo[u] o uento, que nom fazia ponto del.
way stopped.^{3sg} the wind that NEG did.^{3sg} point of.it
‘and when the ships had reached half of the way, the wind stopped since
it did not blow one bit of it.’

(CGCC, TMILG)

- (315) Nunca puderam, nunca poderão comprar um ponto deste
 never could.^{3pl} never will.can.^{3pl} buy one point of.this
 tempo livre.
 time free
 ‘They could never and will never be able to buy one bit of this free time.’

(Castro, *cet-e-quinientos*)

I consider that, despite producing a similar interpretation, due to the partitive reading associated to both PPs, the example in (314) displays a more advance stage of grammaticalization, since it does not correspond to a nominal head taking a PP complement, contrary to what is verified in (315). While in (315) there is a semantic relation between the minimizer *ponto* and the PP, that is not the case in (314). In (315) the expression *um ponto deste tempo livre* seems to recover one of the possible meanings of the noun *ponto*, which is associated to time.¹³⁷ Also in (315), but not in (314), a scalar reading is available and the minimizer reading is obtained by scale reverse of the cardinal numeral UM.

In order to circumvent the partitive interpretation inherent to both configurations, and be able to distinguish the partitive PP from an ordinary PP complement, let us compare examples (316) and (317) where we find a common noun with a PP complement and a minimizer followed by a partitive PP.

- (316) E havendo já sete dias que velejávamos por
 and there.being already seven days that sailed.^{1pl} by
 nossa derrota havemos vista de uma ilha.
 our defeat had.^{1pl} sight of a island
 ‘And having past seven days since we sailed due to our defeat, we had the sight of an island’

(Tycho Brahe, *Peregrinação*)

- (317) [...] et os que en Tiriana outrosi estauã,
 and the that in Tiriana also were.^{3pl}
 aquella ponte era o seu guarnimento et
 that bridge was.^{3sg} the their aid and

¹³⁷ The DDGM lists in several dictionaries the acception of *momento/ocasião* ‘moment/occasion’

todo	o	seu	feyto,	et	sen	acorro
all	the	their	deed	and	without	help
dela	nẽ	ponto	de	uida	[auian]	
of.her	not.even	point	of	life	had. ^{3pl}	

‘and for those who were in Tiriana, that bridge was their aid and their deed
and without its help they would be dead’

(Tycho Brahe, *Peregrinação*)

Both elements *vista* ‘sight’ and *ponto* ‘point’ are followed by a PP which seems to be their complement and they are both the internal argument of the main verb *haver* (here with transitive reading, meaning ‘to have’). Nevertheless, in the case of (317), the minimizer is not the element satisfying the selection restrictions of the verb; that role is played by the NP contained in the PP complement. The same is not verified in (316), as we can see by the contrast between the pairs a) and b) in (318) and (319).

- (318) a) *houvemos vista de uma ilha* > we caught the sight of an island
 b) *#houvemos uma ilha* > we caught an island
- (319) a) *#et sen acorro dela nẽ ponto [auian]*. > without its help they would not have point
 b) *et sen acorro dela nẽ uida [auian]*. > without its help they would not have life (meaning, they would not be alive)

In the case of (318), the NP inside the complement PP cannot be the s-selected internal argument of the verb (at least producing the intended meaning). What is said is that the sailors caught sight of an island, but they did not catch the island itself. On the contrary, in (319) it is stated that, without the bridge, people on the other side would not survive (not have life). An interpretation where *ponto* is the semantic direct object - *without the bridge people would not have even a point* - would not make much sense in the given context. The most likely interpretation is the one in which the NP inside the partitive PP is the semantic direct object and the minimizer assumes a semi-functional status, quantifying over that NP.

The differences between *vista* and *ponto* as far as their PP is concerned show that the PP occurring with the minimizer cannot be a standard complement. On the other hand, although the partitive PP may be seen as a heritage from the common noun behind the

minimizer, there are two facts to be considered. One is related to the possible lack of semantic relation between the minimizer and the PP; the other concerns the impossibility of the PP being a heritage when it appears with minimizers that do not originate from nouns taking a complement.

The example in (320) below shows that the noun *guerra* ‘war’ contained in the partitive PP has no semantic relation with the partitive minimizer *ponto*, originally meaning ‘point’. The expression *ponto de guerra* ‘point of war’ is meaningless when interpreted literally, since the noun *guerra* cannot be fractionable into points. A semantic relation between the nominal element and its complement would be expected, but it is not verified in a large part of the cases, which is also an argument in favour of the partitive PP not being a complement of a nominal element and, by consequence, the minimizer not being base-generated as a noun.

- (320) Con pretos e con pedidos, | eles van
 with promises and with requests they go.^{3pl}
 apersebidos; dizem: “non há ponto de guerra.”
 perceived say.^{3pl} NEG there.is.^{3sg} point of war
 ‘With promises and requests they are perceived; they say: there is no war’
 (TMILG, LPGP)

The second fact that needs to be considered is the existence of examples where the minimizer quantifies over the nominal contained in a partitive PP, but the original common noun from which it derives never selected complements of any nature. It is the case of the minimizer *rem*, which does not originate from a noun with a partitive complement, but occurs in examples as (321), where it clearly selects a partitive PP whose NP satisfies the selection restrictions of the verb, as evidenced by the contrast between a) and b).

- (321) [...] e levavam-no a ãu valle mui fundo
 and took.^{1pl}.him.^{3sg.acc} to a valley very deep
 e mui scuro e mui negro u nom
 and very dark and very black where NEG
 avia rem de lume senam pouco
 there.was.^{3sg} thing of light except little

‘and they took him to a very deep, very dark and very black valley where there was no light except a little’

(DSG, CCI)

- a. #nom avia rem senam pouco
- b. nom avia lume senam pouco

These examples where the minimizer selects a PP but operates as an adnominal quantifier can be seen as an indicator that the minimizer no longer occupies the head of NP, since the PP does not behave as a standard complement generated in the scope of the NP. In addition, the adjacency between the minimizer and its partitive complement seems to be less strict than what is observed for nouns and their complements. I find in the corpus several cases in which the partitive PP is not adjacent to the minimizer, but appears left dislocated.

- (322) E daquelas aventuras que entom acharom nom
 and of.those adventures that then found.^{3pl} NEG
 conta a Estoria do Santo Graal ren [...]
 tells.^{3sg} the story of.the Holy Grail thing
 ‘And of all those adventures they found, the story of the Holy Grail does not tell anything.’

(DSG, DXXII)

Example (322) illustrates a configuration that has been described for other languages, such as French. Roberts & Roussou (2003) draw attention to a structural simplification with *point* and *mie*, which is attested in the fact that the partitive PP (*de-phrase* in the authors’ terminology) frequently occurs separated from the minimizer.

I assume, following Roberts & Roussou (2003), Garzonio & Poletto (2008, 2009) and Garzonio (2008), that identically to what has been attested for other Romance languages, in OP some minimizers such as *rem*, *ponto* and *nemigalha* have also raised from the head of NP to the head of NumP, this being the first step to their reanalysis as quantifiers.

The scheme in FIGURE 5.12 shows us the first step of the process, with a nominal head raising to the head of a projection that shelters adnominal quantifiers.

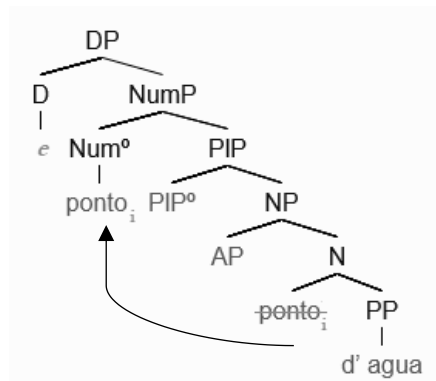


FIGURE 5.12: FIRST STEP OF GRAMMATICALIZATION – FROM N° TO NUM°

Assuming that movement is motivated by the need to check uninterpretable features, what FIGURE 5.12 implies is that the NumP projection probes for a constituent that can check its uninterpretable quantificational features. This means that, at this point, the minimizer starts being capable of checking the quantificational features of NumP, motivating its movement to Num°. In a second step, N-to-Num movement ceases to occur and the minimizer is directly inserted in Num°, indirectly taking a partitive PP.¹³⁸ By then, it has lost the ability to display plural features, since it occupies a higher position in the structure, as FIGURE 5.12 shows. It cannot be modified by APs which, as we have seen previously, occupy Spec, NP, a position that does not allow the AP to have scope over a minimizer directly merged in Num, as also illustrated in FIGURE 5.12, where the AP has no scope over NumP.

Finally, the minimizer is reinterpreted as a quantifier element, projecting an independent QP, which selects a DP containing the restriction of the quantification. Following Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992), the adnominal quantifier always selects a DP complement, which may be empty, as it is the case. In FIGURE 5.13 the relevant structure is provided.

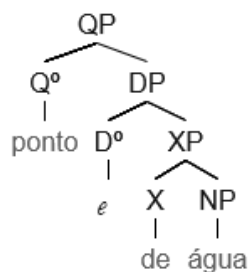


FIGURE 5.13: INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF ADNOMINAL QUANTIFIER AFTER GRAMMATICALIZATION

¹³⁸ Garzonio & Poletto (2008) and Garzonio (2008) consider this XP to be a Kase Phrase (KP), whose head is a partitive case maker preposition.

This evolution goes in line with what is described for French *point* and Italian *punto*, both of which reached a quantifier status, having raised from the head of NP to the head of NumP, in a first step, and later being reinterpreted as head quantifiers in QP with a nominal complement (or no complement, as argued by Garzonio 2008 for adverbial *punto*).

In the next paragraphs I will show that a few OP minimizers followed a similar path to what is described for Old Florentine *punto*, but they never became quantifier heads taking a nominal complement, as described for Modern Florentine (Garzonio, 2008). Instead, they appeared only as quantifiers taking a partitive PP or as intransitive bare quantifiers without any complement until the 16th century, as will be shown in the following section.

In some Italian varieties, for instance, Parry (2013) claims that minimizers start occurring as quantifiers with a partitive PP, but the preposition is lost as a result of grammaticalization, going from the structure exemplified in (323) to the one in (324).

- (323) Lá no se sente mica de male.
 there NEG REFLX feels mica of ill
 ‘There not a bit of ill is felt.’

(Pietro da Bescapè, Sermone, p. 72, l. 2435, 13th c., apud Parry 2013:80)

Lombard

- (324) Fioli mie’, non abié mica paura.
 sons mine NEG have.imp mica.det/adv fear
 ‘My sons, do not fear at all.’

(Navigatio Sancti Brendani, p. 74, ll. 22–3, 13th c., apud Parry, 2013)

Venetian

In the Tuscan variety there is register of minimizers acquiring a quantificational status taking a nominal complement with which they agree in number and gender, as illustrated in (325), where the minimizer assumes feminine gender and plural number to agree with the noun *strade*.

- (325) in punte strade
 in PUNTO.^{F.PL} streets
 ‘in no streets’

(Rohlf 1968: 217)

Tuscan

This is also the path taken by Florentine *punto* which is said to occur in Old Florentine with a partitive PP (326) that gives place to a nominal complement, triggering number-gender agreement in Modern Florentine, as in (327).

- (326) Il re d' Inghilterra fu a gran pericolo con
 the king of England was at great peril with
 sua oste [...] che 8 dì stettono, che non ebbono
 his army that 8 days stayed that NEG had
 se non poco pane né punto di vino.
 but NEG little bread and-NEG PUNTO of wine
 'The king of England was in great peril with his army, since for 8 days
 they had not but a little of bread and had no wine.'

(G. Villani – Nuova Cronica 13.66) apud Garzonio (2008:120)

- (327) Un ho punto sonno.
 NEG have PUNTO.^{MSG} sleep
 'I do not feel sleepy.'

(Garzonio 2008:125)

OP minimizers do not follow this path of change, since there is no register of a minimizer becoming an adnominal quantifier taking a lexical nominal complement. The only possible exception is the weak pronoun *en(de)* 'of him/it/there', which, along with *i* 'in him/it/there', is frequent in Old Portuguese until the 15th century.¹³⁹ *En(de)* disappears from the language and *i* is reinterpreted as a locative adverb, after merging with the preposition *a*, given place to the form *ai* 'in.there'.

Both *i* and *ende* have traditionally been considered anaphoric pronouns (Teyssier 1981) or, in more recent studies, weak pronouns (Martins 2003a), under the terminology proposed by Cardinaletti & Stark (1999). These pronouns were used anaphorically, recovering only referents that had been previously introduced in the discourse. Furthermore, they presented oblique case, despite the fact that they were not selected by a PP. Authors such as Machado Filho (2004) consider that Case was morphologically encoded in the lexicon. The author argues that this was a possibility available in Old

¹³⁹ Both *i* and *ende* are considered the OP counterparts of the French *y* and *en*, which have survived until Contemporary French under the form of clitic elements. The clitic *en* displays partitive case.

Portuguese that dismissed the need to insert a preposition. Being weak pronouns (and not clitics) both *i* and *ende* are considered to project a XP and not a X^o, but the nature of the maximal projection is not consensual. For Old Spanish data, for instance, Rivero (1986) assumes a PP projection for the pronoun *ende*, while Machado Filho (2004) argues in favour of a DP. Both *i* and *ende* are said to occur as adjuncts and arguments of VP, but they are also attested by Machado Filho (2004) as what the author considers an adjunct of a DP. This last occurrence is the one I will be interested in, since I consider that, when occurring with minimizers and other nouns with partitive interpretation, the pronoun *ende* is not necessarily an adjunct of the DP, but it can be, at times, interpreted as a partitive complement, similarly to what is described for its French contemporary counterpart *en* (Cardinaletti & Giusti 1992). It is not random that the pronoun *ende* is never found in the corpus with evaluative minimizers which, as I have said before, also never take a partitive PP. Furthermore, and according to Giusti (1991:446), «partitive case assignment appears to be a selectional property of a certain class of quantifiers, namely indefinite quantifiers, completely parallel to their semantics». Although I have found four cases of *ende* with partitive minimizers, the remaining occurrences are almost all attested with the indefinite minimizer *rem*.¹⁴⁰

Let us consider examples from (328) to (330):

- (328) E o dito váasco rrebolo que nũca aquela
 and the said vasco rebolo who never that
 carta mãdara fazer nẽ sabya ãde parte.
 letter ordered.^{3sg} do nor knew.^{3sg} of.it part
 ‘And the mentioned Vasco Rebolo who never ordered that letter to be
 made nor knew anything of it.’
 (CHEL13)

- (329) Quando Menalao soube estas nouas nõ lle
 when Menalao knew.^{3sg} these news NEG him.^{3sg.dat}
 prouue ende nẽ ponto [...]
 please.^{3sg} of.it not.even point
 ‘When Menalao found out these news, he was not pleased at all with
 them’
 (TMILG, CT)

¹⁴⁰ Except an occurrence with the indefinite minimizer *al* and another with *nemigalba*.

- (330) Muito preguntou aquele dia o-rei e a rainha
 much asked.^{3sg} that day the.king and the queen
 por Lançarot, mais elles nom lhes souberam
 for Lancelot but they NEG them.^{3pl.dat} knew.^{3pl}
 en dizer rem.
 of.him say thing
 ‘That day, the king and the queen asked many times about Lancelot, but
 they could not tell them anything of him.

(DSG, CCCCLXXVIII)

In the first two examples, *ende* refers anaphorically to a DP contained in the previous clause, but it can be interpreted as the partitive PP of the minimizers *parte* in (328) and *ponto* in (329), as illustrated in (331) and (332).

- (331) nẽ sabya ãde; parte = nẽ sabya parte [de aquela carta];

- (332) nõ lle prouue ende; nẽ ponto = nõ lle prouue nẽ ponto [de estas nouas];

As for the last example with *rem*, *en* refers to the proper noun *Lançarot*, the DP contained in the PP *por Lançarot*. The interpretation of the relevant part of the sentence would be as follows:

- (333) nom lhes souberom en; dizer rem= nom lhes souberom dizer rem [de
 Lançarot];

In the three sentences, an interpretation in which *ende* is the complement of the verb seems unlikely. In the absence of the minimizer, the interpretation of the sentences would be as illustrated below, with the three verbs taking an oblique complement. According to the *Dicionário de Verbos do Português Medieval* (DVPM) the verbs *saber* ‘to know’, *prazer* ‘to please’ and *dizer* ‘to say’ are not registered as taking oblique or partitive complements, but select, instead, an accusative complement.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ According to the information in the DVPM, the argumental structures registered for the verbs in question are the following:

DIZER ‘to say’: (Xavier *et al.* 1999:118)

1. alguém diz algo a alguém: [- SN (SP)] / ‘someone says something to someone’: [- NP (PP)]

- (334) *nẽ sabya ěde*_i *parte* = #*nẽ sabya* [de aquela carta]_i;
 (335) *nõ lle prouue ende*_i *nẽ ponto* =#*nõ lle prouue* [de estas nouas]_i;
 (336) *nom lhes souberom en*_i *dizer rem*= #*nom lhes souberom* [de Lançarot]_i;
*dizer*¹⁴²

For the examples above, one can assume that *ende* projects a DP or, alternatively, that it projects a PP without a lexically realized prepositional element. I consider that these examples cannot constitute a solid argument to assume that minimizers behaving as adnominal quantifiers could take a nominal complement. In any case, none of the possibilities compromises the position occupied by the minimizer in these structures.¹⁴³

5.4.3.2. Minimizers as intransitive bare quantifiers

In the previous section I have shown that, at least the items *rem*, *nemigalba* and *ponto* have reached an adnominal quantifier status, indirectly quantifying over a noun contained in a partitive PP. I consider that their grammaticalization went further and they have also become intransitive bare quantifiers as in (337).

- (337) E Lançarot nom lhe respondeo rem [...]
 and Lancelot NEG him.^{3sg.dat} answered.^{3sg} thing
 ‘And Lancelot did not answer him anything.’
 (DSG, ccm)

2. *alguém diz a alguém que/como/se... : [- (SP) que/como/se Finf/conj] / ‘someone says to someone that/how/if...’; [- (PP) that/how/if ind/sub]*

PRAZER ‘to please’: (Xavier *et al.* 1999:234)

1. *praz algo a alguém: [- SN SP] / ‘to please something to someone: [- NP PP]*
 2. *praz a alguém de fazer: [- a SN de Vinf] / ‘pleases to someone to do’: [- to NP of Vinf]*

SABER ‘to know’: (Xavier *et al.* 1999:265)

1. *alguém sabe se/que/como... : [- se/que/como Finf] / ‘someone knows if/that/how...’; [- if/that/how Finf]*

2. *alguém sabe fazer: [- Finf] / ‘someone knows doing’: [- Finf]*

3. *alguém sabe (de) alg: [- (P) SN] / ‘someone knows (of) something’: [- (P) NP]*

¹⁴² An interpretation of *en* as the complement of the verb *dizer* is also possible through scrambling.

¹⁴³ The possibility of having a PP or a DP in these structures resembles the case of pseudo-partitive constructions with and without the preposition ‘of’ (cf. Corver 1998).

Since the minimizers under analysis can occur as quantifiers without a nominal or a prepositional complement, I will refer to them as *intransitive bare quantifiers*, having in mind intransitive quantifiers as in Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006).

In fact, the difference between adnominal quantifiers and intransitive bare quantifiers relies on the presence or absence of the complement. But there seem to be implications created by the absence of the complement, as I will show.

The passage from an adnominal quantifier configuration to an intransitive bare quantifier can be attested by the more functional nature of the items involved. For instance, the minimizer *rem*, which originally comes from a feminine common noun, is never modified by an AP, but it presents some gender agreement alternation when it occurs in passive constructions. In (338) there is still feminine agreement, but in (339) we find masculine agreement, which becomes the default gender, when *rem* acquires bare quantifier status, as in (340).

- (338) [...] *nem* *ren* *de* *mia* *oferta* *non* *seria* *fillada*
 nor thing of my offert NEG would.be.^{3sg} taken
 ‘nor anything of my offer would be taken’
 (TMILG, CSM)

- (339) *E* *nom* *trazia* *vestido* *rem* *do* *mundo* *fora*
 and NEG bring.^{3sg} dressed.^{Masc} thing of.the world except
 ãa pelle [...] a fur
 ‘And he did not bring anything dressed except a fur.’
 (DSG, CCI)

- (340) [...] *per* *com’* *eu* *sei* *que* *me’* *ela* *quer,* |
 for since I know.^{1sg} that me.^{1sg.acc} she wants.^{3sg}
non *tenho* *começado* *ren.*
 NEG have.^{1sg} started thing
 ‘since I know that she wants me, I have not started anything’
 (TMILG, LPGP)

Minimizers as intransitive bare quantifiers are found in the corpus mainly as internal arguments of VP, as in (341). But the contexts that indicate a change in progress are the ones in which they appear with ambiguous interpretation such as (342) and (343).

- (341) Item husamos que o que se for da
 Item use.^{1pl} that the what SE.^{Reflex} goes.^{3sg} of.the
 nossa vila morar a outra terra nom dam
 our village live to other land NEG give.^{3pl}
 porém a ElRey nimigalha.
 for-that to the.king not.even.crumb
 ‘Item: it is costum that someone who leaves our village to live in another
 land does not give anything to the king.’

(Matos Reis (ed.), Foros de Évora)

- (342) Entom começou a pensar e esteve asi gram
 so started.^{3sg} to think and was.^{3sg} like.this big
 peça que nom falou ren.
 time that NEG spoke.^{3sg} thing

a) ‘So he started to think and was like this for a long time, not speaking anything.’

b) ‘So he started to think and was like this for a long time, not speaking at all.’

(DSG, DCXXXVI)

- (343) [...] tam grande foy a chea, pero que nō
 so big was.^{3sg} the flood but that NEG
 chovera nemigalha.
 rained.^{3sg} thing

a) ‘the flood was so big, but it did not rain one bit/anything’

b) ‘the flood was so big, but it did not rain at all’

(CGE, 1, CCXXX)

The examples above show that in an argumental reading as in (341) the minimizer never carries referential features, which is compatible with its quantifier nature, but it is

interpreted as a [+N] element, since it receives accusative case. In fact, its interpretation expresses quantity of some abstract thing, representing the lowest point of the same scale. In example (341), for instance, *nimigalha* is the internal argument of *dar* ‘to give’, which means it is interpreted as the lowest quantity (or no quantity) of any element that can be object of gift. On the other hand, sentences (342) and (343) constitute cases in which the role of the minimizer is not clear and these are the contexts which are claimed to be the basis for reanalysis of the intransitive bare quantifier as an adverbial element.

In (342) we find the so-called cases of optionally transitive verbs or verbs which allow a pseudoargument of degree/extent. In both cases, they allow for two possible interpretations. The first one is equivalent to example (341) and the minimizer is a [+N] element receiving accusative case and being the internal argument of the verb *falar* ‘to speak’. In the second interpretation, the minimizer may be seen as an adverbial negation reinforcer, producing an emphatic negation reading of the type *at-all* (cf. translation in a) and in b)).

Also in (343) two readings are possible, despite the fact that the verb is an intransitive one and, therefore, no internal argument is selected. In this case, the minimizer can constitute what Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020) call an ‘optional extent pseudoargument’ or a ‘degree pseudoargument’, since it seems to quantify over the event ‘to rain’.¹⁴⁴ In alternative, it can be seen as an adverbial negation strengthener supporting a reading of the type *at-all*.

Occurrences such as the ones illustrated in (341), (342) and (343) seem to reinforce the claim that these minimizers were intransitive bare quantifiers, even without argument function. For example, we find the presence of minimizers under a bare form coordinated with other quantifiers (*mais*, *menos*, and *pouco*). These contexts of coordination are also found with the negative indefinite *nada*, as it becomes visible from the comparison between (344), (345) and (346).

(344)	E	muitas	cousas	som	que	pouco	ou	nemigalha
	and	many	things	there.are. ^{3pl}	that	little	or	not.even.crumb
	aproveitam	pera	a	alma	de	as		saber.
	use. ^{3pl}	for	the	soul	of	them. ^{3pl.acc}		know

¹⁴⁴ Fleischhauer (2016:64) argues that there is a difference between verbs allowing a quantity and a degree gradation. With a verb such as *chover* ‘to rain’, it is not the event that is being quantified but “the quantity of an implicit argument of the verb, namely ‘rain’, which is measured on the quantity scale”. I do not adopt this distinction here, mainly because there are also occurrences of minimizers with intransitive verbs that do not seem to have a possible implicit argument (for example, *sair* ‘go out’).

‘And there are many things whose knowledge contributes little or nothing to our soul’

(*Imitação de Christo fol. 77*)

- (345) Também eram nossos padres,/ entrando por outro
 Also were.^{3pl} our.^{2pl} fathers getting.in by other
 conto,/ maridos de nossas madres,/ nem mais,
 tale husbands of our.^{2pl.F} mothers no more
 nem menos, nem ponto.
 no less no point

‘There were also our fathers, on the other side of the story, husbands of our mothers, no more, no less, no nothing.’

(CGGR, 89)

- (346) [...] e posto que per vezes fosse dito
 and put that by times was.^{3sg} said
 a el-rrei, a que Deus perdoe, pose
 to the.king to who God forgives.^{3sg} put.^{3sg}
 sobr’ ello suas temperanças que pouco ou
 on he his restraints that little or
 nada prestarom
 nothing are.good.^{3pl}

‘and even though the king, who God forgives, was sometimes asked to apply on him his restraints which worked little or nothing.’

(Tycho Brahe, CFD)

According to Matos (2003:578), we should expect to have parallelism between the syntactic function and the categorial nature of the coordinated items.¹⁴⁵ Under this assumption, the minimizers integrating the coordination are likely to share the same syntactic function and categorial nature of the items *mais* ‘more’, *menos* ‘less’ and *pouco* ‘little’. Nevertheless, contrary to other quantifiers which display both a transitive and an

¹⁴⁵ «As estruturas coordenadas apresentam tipicamente paralelismo entre os termos coordenados tanto do ponto de vista das funções sintáctica e semântica que desempenham como do ponto de vista da sua natureza categorial.» (Matos 2003: 578)

intransitive version, as illustrated for *pouco* below, minimizers as bare quantifiers only occur under an intransitive form.

- (347) a) O João comeu pouco.
 The João ate.^{3sg} little
 ‘João ate a lot.’
- b) O João comeu pouco pão.
 The João ate.^{3sg} little.^{sing} bread
 João ate a lot of bread.’
- c) O João comeu poucos pães.
 The João ate.^{3sg} little.^{pl} breads
 ‘João ate many/few (loaves of) bread.’

For the purpose of the present analysis I will adopt Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006) architecture of bare quantifiers as QP heads that do not select any type of complement. Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006) do not postulate the existences of a [DP *el*] element as complement of the quantifier, as illustrated in (348).

- (348) [QP [Q *pouco*]

Although a structure such as (348) allows to account for the intransitivity of bare quantifiers, the authors do not elaborate on their proposal, leaving undiscussed how exactly can quantification subside without a complement of the restriction conveyed by the quantifier. It is not my goal to formulate an alternative proposal for the internal syntactic structure of QPs, nor to argue against the existing analysis. Nevertheless, thinking of a diachronic evolution of minimizers into quantifiers, it is not clear how ‘intransitive quantifiers’ go from being adnominal quantifiers selecting a partitive PP to quantifiers which are incompatible with complements.¹⁴⁶ In the absence of a complement providing

¹⁴⁶ An interesting case that can shed some light into this idea in future work is the negative indefinite *nenhum*. It lost its [+ human] feature around the 18th century and has remained in the language as a quantifier selecting a DP complement (i) and also being able to display a partitive PP (ii). It also occurs in bare form with NP ellipsis (iii). Apart from these uses, *nenhum* recently started occurring as a bare quantifier with a [- animated] feature, equivalent to *nada* (iv). I call attention to the fact that in (iv) there is no NP ellipsis. The presence of a nominal complement is ruled out, in order to maintain the absolute reading. The passage from (i) to (iv) can be of some interest for the study of bare QPs.

- (i) [...] não tem nenhum ingrediente de origem animal [...]
 ‘does not have any ingredient of animal origin’
- (ii) Não estou a reclamar nenhum dos triunfos de ele

the universe for measurement, what exactly is being quantified? I am guessing that ‘intransitive’ bare quantifiers somehow incorporate specific features that enable them to combine the quantification function and the quantifiable universe. They would, therefore, not need to directly or indirectly select a DP over which they measure or quantize because they already contain that information in their semantics. In alternative, we can consider them as pronominal elements with absolute quantificational properties. I will expand this idea in section 5.5.2.

Contexts in which bare quantifiers may be interpreted as adverbial negation reinforcers have been pointed out several times along this work, but they deserve special attention here since the adverbial reading seems to originate in the bare quantifier. In contexts such as the one reproduced in (349) below, we know that *nemigalba* can assume an argument function or be non-argumental. In this last case, *nemigalba* is interpreted as a particle that reinforces negation, but does not hold quantificational import, therefore not allowing a scalar reading (see translation in b)).

- (349) [...] e o que vos diziades entẽdiao eu
 and the what you said.^{2pl} understood.^{1sg.it.3sg.acc} I
 moy bẽ, mais nõ podia rresponder nemigalla
 very well but NEG could.^{1sg} answer not.even.crumb
 a) ‘and I understood very well what you said, but I could not answer anything’
 b) ‘and I understood very well what you said, but I could not answer at all’

(TMILG, *Milagres de Santiago*)

Although contexts such as (349) appear with some frequency in the corpus, unambiguous examples of the relevant items operating as adverbial negation reinforcers are quite scarce or inexistent. This is not unexpected, though, since we know that most minimizers disappeared from the language before completing the grammaticalization cycle

-
- (iii) ‘I am not claiming any of his triumphs’
 [...] um come dois frangos e outro não come nenhum.
 ‘one eats two chickens and the other does not eat any’
 (iv) São exactamente os que não querem fazer nenhum, que passam a vida a lamentar- se [...] ‘They are exactly the ones who do not to do anything, who spend their life complaining’.
 (Corpus do Português, consulted on 23/07/2020)

into negative adverbs, except for *nemigalha*. The few examples found for this last item only indicate that it may have reached the status of an adverbial negation reinforcer, but this function was not generalized.

The case of the negative indefinite *nada*, which is still quite productive in CEP, shows us that the interpretation of an argumental or pseudo-argumental intransitive bare quantifier is different from that of a negative adverbial particle expressing emphatic negation or reinforcement. I will, therefore, make use of the negative indefinite *nada* to better illustrate the difference between the contexts we have seen so far (argumental) and an adverbial use. In the examples from (350) to (353), *nada* can be found as an internal argument of a transitive verb in (350), with optional argument function with an optionally transitive verb (351), as a degree adjunct with an intransitive verb (352) and finally in a negation reinforcement context as in (353).

(350) Não ofereci nada ao Pedro nos anos.
 NEG offered.^{1sg} nothing to.the Pedro in.the years
 ‘I did not give anything to Pedro on his birthday’
 [quantifier, internal argument]

(351) Não comi nada ao jantar
 NEG ate.^{1sg} nothing to.the diner
 ‘I did not eat anything at diner’
 [quantifier, optional internal argument]

(352) Não choveu nada esta noite.
 NEG rained nothing this night
 ‘I did not rain at all this night’ [degree adjunct]

(353) A: Acho que o tio da Maria morreu.
 A: think.^{1sg} that the uncle of.the Maria died
 A: ‘I think Maria’s uncle died.’
 B: Não morreu nada.
 NEG died nothing
 a) ‘He did not die at all’
 b) * ‘He did not die, not even a bit’
 [adverbial negation reinforcer]

As the comparison between (350), (351) and (352) with (353) shows, only in the last example is the quantificational interpretation unavailable. The item *nada* is not acting as a quantifier, but as a particle that reinforces negation in a particular way, by firmly reinforcing the negative statement, usually following previous discourse. In (353) a quantificational/scalar reading is actually ruled out, as we can see by the inadequacy of a translation as the one in b). The minimizer/scalar/quantifier interpretation is not available, since the item no longer displays quantificational features and it is interpreted as an adverb that reinforces negation.

The examples of adverbial negation reinforcement found in the corpus are quite incipient. In any case, they do not seem to appear in *out of the blue* contexts, but are used following previous assertions/presupposed information to which they relate. I illustrate it with an example of *nemigalha*, which had been presented before.

- (354) Ora vej' eu que non ha verdade/ en
 Now see.^{1sg} I that NEG there.is.^{3sg} truth in
 sonh' amiga, se Deus me perdón [...]
 dream friend if God me.^{1sg.Acc} forgive.^{3sg}
 Ca non á verdade| nemigalha em sonho,
 because NEG there.is.^{3sg} truth not.even.crumb in dream
 nen sol non é ben nen mal
 nor only NEG is.^{3sg} good nor evil
 'Because there is not truth in dream, not even good or evil [...] Now I see
 there is not truth / in dreams, friend, if God forgives me.'

(TMILG, LPGP)

Example (354) clearly illustrates an unambiguous occurrence of *nemigalha* as an adverbial negation reinforcer, as I have previously argued in Chapter 4, section 4.3. Here an interpretation of *nemigalha* as degree argument or a pseudo-argument of other nature seems to be ruled out.

I did not find any significant differences in word order that could indicate a structural distinction between an argumental interpretation or an adverbial interpretation regarding of the three items *rem*, *nemigalha* and *ponto*. In any case, these minimizers, with an intransitive bare quantifier interpretation, display frequent patterns of occurrence regarding

their position in the sentence. They appear, by default, in right adjacency to the verb, in the absence of other arguments or modifiers, including verbs in the infinitive (355), suggesting a low position, most likely in VP.

- (355) E pois catou gram peça e viu que
 and then searched.^{3sg} big piece and saw.^{3sg} that
 por si nom podia saber rem
 by si.^{3sg.Reflx} NEG could.^{3sg} know thing
 ‘And then he searched for a long time and realized that he could not now
 anything by himself.’

(DSG, CCLXI)

When they appear without a clear argument position, only allowing a pseudo-argument or adverbial interpretation, they can occur both at the left or at the right of the argument, as illustrated in (356) and (357), respectively.

- (356) [...] non tem’ eu ren mha morte
 NEG fear I thing my death
 ‘I do not fear my death at all’

(TMILG, LPGP)

- (357) [...]nom falava destes feitos rem com os ricos
 NEG talked.^{3sg} of.these deeds thing with the rich
 homees seus.
 men his
 ‘and did not talk about these deeds at all with the noble men’

(CIPM, NLL007 - *Livro de Linhagens*)

In (356), the minimizer *rem* has a degree argument reading and appears before the internal argument, while in (357) it appears after the oblique complement. In both cases, if interpreted as an argument, it can only be a pseudo-argument expressing degree. It also appears at the right of small clauses as in (358) below:

- (358) Et aquele caualeyro que o vosso tem nã
and that knight who the yours has.^{3sg} NEG
he cobardo nã ponto
is.^{3sg} coward not.even point
‘And that knight who has yours is not coward at all.’

(TMILG, HT)

Furthermore, when occurring as a pseudo-argument and in the presence of a modifier, it predominantly occurs at its left, therefore privileging the adjacency to the verb. This is not true, though, whenever we have the weak pronoun *hi*, in which case the most frequent pattern is the one in (359), where the minimizer follows the pronoun.

- (359) -Senhor, esto vos darei eu que nom menterei
lord this you.^{2pl.dat} will.tell.^{1sg} I that NEG will.lie.^{1sg}
i rem
here thing
‘- Lord, I will tell you this, that I will not lie to you at all’

(DSG, cxx)

Even though we can find these minimizers occurring in other positions within the clause, the examples above exemplify the most common orders. This indicates that they occupy a VP internal position, compatible with an internal argument status. However, they frequently occur as pseudo-arguments, both to the left and the right of an internal argument. I consider that these minimizers, under a pseudo-argument function, can be generated as complements of VP in the absence of a legitimate internal argument. In any other case, they are most likely generated as adjuncts to VP, both at the right and left, as in (358) and (359), respectively. The relevant structure is presented in FIGURE 5.14 bellow.

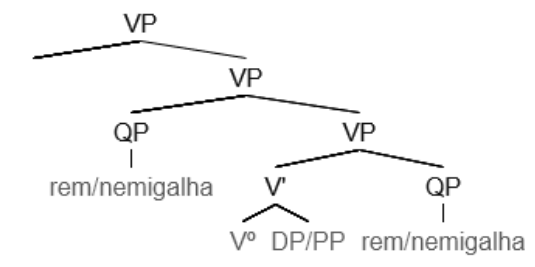


FIGURE 5.14: STRUCTURAL POSITION OF NON-ARGUMENTAL MINIMIZERS AS ADJUNCTS TO VP

A position within VP allows these items to be in the scope of the negative operator, which I consider to be in a NegP/ Σ P projection (cf. Laka 1990; Zanuttini, 1997; Martins, 1994), above IP. Since in most cases, they fulfil an internal argument position, being assigned accusative case, it seems logical that they should be generated as complements of VP. Nevertheless, the occurrence of these items with some degree/extent reading both at the right and left of other arguments or modifiers suggests that they can appear as a VP adjunct to the left and also to the right.

A VP-internal position has also been defended by Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020:86). The authors consider that Negative Polarity Adverbs (NPAs) can be degree arguments inside VP or adverbs adjoined to VP. A similar conclusion had been reached by Doetjes (1997:118) regarding French degree quantifiers which are considered to occur freely inside VP but they do not seem to occur to the left of the inflected verb. A higher position is contemplated for some Italian items in the works of Garzonio & Poletto (2008, 2009) and Garzonio (2008). The authors indicate that, for instance, minimizers that became quantifiers raise to a position between TP and vP, where they encode Completive aspect.

The corpus does not contain enough examples of minimizers occurring strictly and unambiguously as adverbial particles expressing negation reinforcement. For this reason, I cannot further elaborate on a position for them in clause structure.

5.4.4. A few remarks on *nemigalha* and the role of FocP

The adding of the emphatic negative particle *nem* ‘not.even’ to minimizers has been described as a common strategy in Old Romance languages to emphasize negation. Parry (2013:82) offers the examples of unsuccessful mergings such as the Venetian *né mica* or the Lombard *no mica*, but also of successful cases of univerbations like *niente* and *negota*.

In Old Portuguese, there is a clear case of temporary success of merge between *nem* and the minimizer *migalha*, resulting in the item *nemigalha*. This particular item assumes a high level of grammaticalization and appears alone with negative interpretation. According to the description presented in Chapter 4 (section 4.3), there is enough evidence to consider that *nemigalha* was the result of merge between the emphatic negative particle *nem* and the common noun *migalha* in a very early stage of the language. The minimizer inherits the

negative feature of *nem*, which allows it to express negation on its own, in particular contexts. Since the occurrences of *nemigalba* are already attested in the earlier documents I consulted to create the corpus, I can only assume that its composition took place before the 13th century.

The grammaticalization path from common noun to bare quantifier went through four steps, which I will comment in the next paragraphs. I consider that the starting point is the one in which the minimizer *migalba* is base-generated as the head of NP. It very frequently occurs with the emphatic negative particle *nem*, which I consider to be encoded in a FocusPhrase (FocP) projection, internal to the DP. The first step is common to other items and consists in the movement of *migalba* from its base position in N^o to the head of NumP. This is, *migalba* undergoes N-to-Num movement, as documented for many other minimizers crosslinguistically. This process is represented in in FIGURE 5.15.

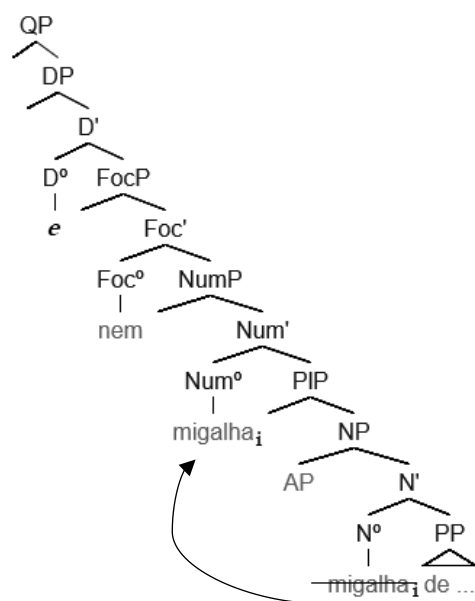


FIGURE 5.15: GRAMMATICALIZATION STEPS OF NEMIGALHA: N-TO-NUM MOVEMENT

In a second step of the process, *migalba* starts being directly merged in Num^o and, therefore, N-to-Num movement ceases to occur. This determines the impossibility of *migalba* occurring modified by an AP or with plural features, since it is base-generated above Spec,NP and PIP. The emphatic negative particle *nem* continues to precede *migalba* with very high frequency (or probably always).

Once *migalba* starts being base-generated in Num^o, it is reanalysed as a quantifier. This motivates step three of the process, with FocP moving up to Spec,QP, as illustrated in FIGURE 5.16.

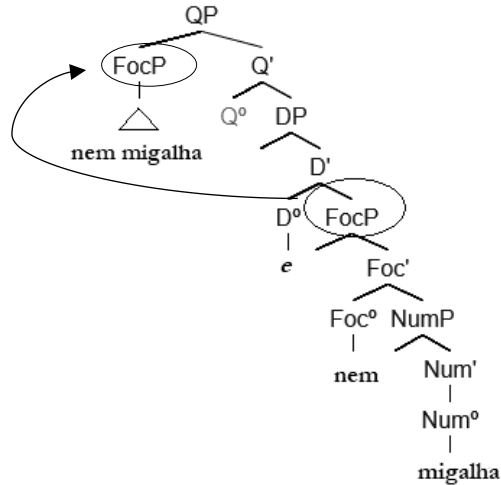


FIGURE 5.16: GRAMMATICALIZATION STEPS OF *NEMIGALHA*: MOVEMENT OF FOC_P TO SPEC, QP

Finally, the last step constitutes an example of Gelderen (2004)'s *Head Preference or Spec to Head Principle* which stipulates the following: *be a head rather than a phrase*. The phrase FocP is reanalysed as the head of QP, with the phonological reduction of *nem migalha* to *nemigalha*, giving place to the structure illustrated in FIGURE 5.17. The brackets around DP signal the possibility of *nemigalha* selecting a partitive PP,¹⁴⁷ even though it appears in its intransitive form in most cases.

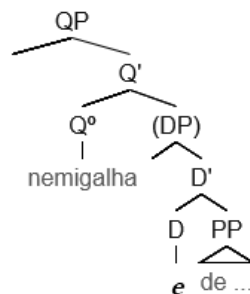


FIGURE 5.17: GRAMMATICALIZATION STEPS OF *NEMIGALHA*: FINAL ARCHITECTURE AS HEAD OF QP

5.4.4.1. On topic-comment structures with *nemigalha*

As has been demonstrated, *nemigalha* was the only item that started as a minimizer and reached a strong NPI status, due to the incorporation of the negative emphatic particle *nem*. It is also the only item for which I could find unambiguous contexts as an independent negative element, being able to appear in contexts of presuppositional denial, as the ones

¹⁴⁷ As it was previously mentioned, Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992) postulate the presence of an empty DP complement in the cases where there is only the partitive PP.

we saw in chapter 4. In contexts as the one I reproduce again in (360), *nemigalha* does not hold an argument role, nor even a pseudo-argument function, since it cannot be interpreted as a quantifier anymore.

- (360) Nam vem a Meijengra a conto/
 NEG comes.^{3sg} the Meijengra the tale/
 que é descuidada perdida/ traz a
 because is.^{3sg} sloppy lost brings the
 saia descosida e nam lhe dará
 skirt disjointed and NEG it.^{3sg.Dat} will.give.^{3sg}
 um ponto. Oh, quantas lendens vi
 one stitch Oh how.many nits saw.^{3sg}
 nela/ e pentear nemigalha e por
 in.her and comb not.even.crumb and for
 dá-me aquela palha é maior o riso
 give.me.^{1sg.Dat} that straw is.^{3sg} bigger the laughter
 qu' ela.
 than her.

‘Let’s not talk about Meijengra/ who is a lost sloppy/ She brings her skirt disjointed and doesn’t even stitch it/ Oh, how many nits have I seen in her and nothing of combing / and for the smallest thing/ she laughs unmeasuredly.’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Tragicomédia da Serra da Estrela*)

These contexts, although rare, are examples of *nemigalha* as the single negative element and translate the speaker’s attitude towards a statement previously introduced in the speech or presupposed. A similar example is also found for the minimizer *bocado* preceded by the negative emphatic particle *nem*, as in (361) and also for the negative indefinite *nada*, as in the example reproduced again in (362).

- (361) Doutor: O que daqui vou notando
 Doctor: the what from.here go.^{1sg} noticing
 que coisa é vosso intento.
 that jealous is.^{3sg} your intent

Molher:	Não,	por	certo	está	enganado.
Wife	No	for	certain	is. ^{3sg}	mistaken
Fernando:	Ciosa?	Guarde-nos	Deos.	Ciar	a
Fernando:	Jealous	Keep-us. ^{1pl.acc}	God	have;jealous	to
meu	senhor	dos	céus	si,	ciosa
my	lord	of.the	skies	yes	jealous
nem	bocado				
not.even	bit				

‘Doctor: What I see from here is that being jealous is your purpose.

Wife: No, you are mistaken for sure.

Fernando: Jealous? God forbid! Being jealous of my Lord in heaven, yes, jealous not at all!’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto da Ciosa*)

(362)	Mendo:	Pois	que	vai?	
	Mendo	what	that	goes. ^{3sg}	
	Mestre:	Que	vai	nada/	enfadou-se d’
	Master	What	goes. ^{3sg}	nothing	indisposed.SE. ^{REFLX} of
	esperar/	deixou-me,	foi-se	deitar.	
	wait	left.me. ^{1sg.dat}	went. SE. ^{REFLX}	lay.down	

‘Mendo: So, how is it going?’

Mestre: How is it going, my butt! She got tired of waiting, left me and went to bed.’

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto de Rodrigo e Mendo*)

What these three contexts have in common is that the items *nemigalba*, (nem)*bocado* and *nada* appear at sentence-final position and in a minimal structure, with a Topic-Comment architecture. I follow Rizzi’s definition that states that

The topic is a preposed element characteristically set off from the rest of the clause by “comma intonation” and normally expressing old information, somehow available and salient in previous discourse; the comment is a kind of complex predicate, an open sentence predicated of the topic and introducing new information.

(Rizzi, 1997: 285)

In example (360), for instance, the topic is constituted only by an infinitive verbal form, while in (361) the topic is an adjective. In (362), on the other hand, the topic contains a whole CP. The comment relies on the minimizer, which seems to express the speaker's disagreement regarding the presupposed or stated information conveyed by the topic. I start by proposing a position for the element which is the topic of the construction. I consider that the Topic occupies a position of a topicalized element. According to Duarte (1987), topicalized constituents are associated to a contrastive value.

O valor textual da Top em Português depende, pelo menos parcialmente, do tipo de expressão 'topicalizada'. Mas de um modo geral, está associado a esta construção um valor contrastivo – i.e., a predicação expressa pelo comentário acerca da entidade designada pelo tópico é contrastada com outra predicação contida no discurso anterior envolvendo a mesma entidade.

(Duarte 1987:88)

The author considers that, in European Portuguese, there are two structural positions for topicalized elements: as adjuncts to IP or to CP.

As far as the minimizer/NPI is concerned, it has no argumental function, in which case it cannot be generated as a VP complement. I have postulated before an adjunct position to VP for minimizers with a pseudo-argument reading, in which case we would have a configuration such as the one in (363).

(363) [TopP [_{VP} *pentear*]_i] [IP [VP [V' ~~*pentear*~~]]_i] [VP [QP *nemigalha*]]
 [TopP [_{VP} *pentear*]_i] [IP [VP [QP *nemigalha*] [VP [V' ~~*pentear*~~]]_i]]

It is obvious that (363) cannot represent these structures. This would mean that any minimizer occupying an adjunct position could occur in the relevant structures, which does not correspond to the data. Furthermore, an adjunct position would not translate the non-argumental and non-quantifier reading which is associated to these structures either. It is clear that the minimizer must be in a higher position in the structure, where it can scope over the elements that have been topicalized. A first option would be to consider that these items occupy the head of ΣP, the projection which is responsible for encoding polarity. It is the position of the regular negation marker *não*, but it can also contain other items. ΣP was first proposed by Laka (1990:106) as a projection that sheltered elements which «relate

to the truth value of the sentence: they either reverse the truth value (neg), or they affirm it (aff), or they deny that it is false ('so', 'ba')». ¹⁴⁸ But the author also states that:

Alternatively, we could characterize the nature of Σ in terms of the speaker's presuppositions: Neg cancels an affirmative presupposition, Aff cancels a negative presupposition, and *so/ba* cancels the cancelation of an affirmative presupposition.

(Laka 1990:106)

Considering that the examples under analysis do not contain the regular negation marker *não*, a possibility would be to assume that these items may be occupying the head of Σ P, although not replacing the regular negation marker. They could be seen as particles that cancel an affirmative or negative presupposition, while encoding some pragmatic features. This proposal is not satisfactory, though. First of all, it is not very clear to me that the examples with *nemigalha*, *nem bocado* and *nada* can actually express the truth/falsity values of a statement (or a fragment of the statement). Secondly, assuming a position as heads of Σ P leaves the example with *nada* unexplained, since the item would be in a lower position and would not have scope over a sentence containing a Wh-element. In fact, these items convey pragmatic information, which is usually associated to the CP field. The fact that in (362) the item *nada* can scope over the sentence *Que vai?*, which contains a clear Wh-element, indicates that it needs to be above CP. We also need to account for the fact that, as a particle expressing rejection/disagreement, these items also appear without a topicalized element, although the Topic-Comment structure is maintained, as in (364). In this case, the item is used to reject/disapprove a topic that is only recovered by context. The use of *nemigalha* can be considered the comment to the previous assertion made by Fernão (*Não vejais*).

- (364) Pai: Eu hei de ver a baralha.
 Father I will of see the game
 Fernão: Não vejais, pai.
 Fernão NEG see.^{2pl} father
 Pai: Nimigalha ficam cá dous bem pequenos.

¹⁴⁸ The particle 'so' and 'ba' referred by Laka (1990) are emphatic particles. 'So' corresponds to an English emphatic particle (cf. Klima 1964 for a detailed description) and 'ba' to a Basque emphatic particle (cf. Urbina 1989).

Father not.even.crumb stay.^{3pl} here two well small
 Fernão: Tá, não digais o que fica.
 Fernão is.^{3sg} NEG say.^{2pl} the what stays.^{3sg}
 ‘Father: I will see the game.
 Fernão: Do not see it, father.
 Father: The hell I won’t! Two very small remain.
 Fernão: Ok, do not say what remains.

(cet-e-quinientos, *Auto do Mouro Encantado*)

I propose that the examples displayed above should have a configuration with the relevant item occupying a position in the CP field. In face of such scarce data, I am not in the position to propose a more fine-grained structure, and I therefore will adopt a simple CP structure. I am considering here that only the relevant projections are topicalized, but we can assume that an entire IP or CP is topicalized and the irrelevant information is elided. In (365) to (368) I present what I consider to be a possible representation for the examples we saw before.

- (365) [TopP [VP *pentear*]_i [CP [C’ *nemigalha*] [IP [VP [V’ ~~*pentear*~~]]_i]]]
 (366) [TopP [AP [A’ *ciosa*]_i [CP [C’ *nem bocado*] [IP [VP [AP [A’ ~~*ciosa*~~]]_i]]]
 (367) [TopP [_{CP1} *Que vai*]_j [CP2 [C’ *nada*] [CP1 ~~*Que vai?*~~]_j]]]
 (368) [TopP [IP ~~*Não veja*~~]_i [CP [C’ *nemigalha*] [IP ~~*Não veja*~~]_i]]]

The fact that the items *nemigalha* and *bocado* are found in this type of contexts alongside *nada* is also an argument in favour of the existing competition between the more advanced items in the grammaticalization path. The existence of contexts where these items start assuming a pragmatic dimension seems to constitute the foundations for their reanalysis as metalinguistic negation markers (cf. Horn 1989, Martins 2014). We know that the negative indefinite *nada* develops into an unambiguous metalinguistic negation marker (cf. Pinto 2010), but still maintains an argumental function and it is used as a quantifier (bare or transitive). I will not elaborate on this topic here, since it would constitute a whole different work by itself, but I want to draw attention to the relation that has been pointed out by several authors (Hansen 2013, Larrivé 2010, 2014, a.o.) (and that I have mentioned earlier in Chapter 4 regarding *nemigalha*) between minimizers and presupposition denial and which seems to find some echo in the data I have presented. In any case, this proposal still

needs more empirical confirmation, since the amount of data is quite scarce for these constructions which I believe only started to be more frequent after the 16th century.

5.5. Changes in the internal structure of minimizers

5.5.1. Loss of bare singulars and (in)definite determiner widespread

In this section I will try to relate the progressive loss of singular bare nouns and the widespread of indefinite determiners from the 14th century onwards with the incipient evolution or disappearance of minimizers in OP.

As I have previously referred, although the definite determiner has spread in a very early stage in Romance, the indefinite determiner *um* 'a' is said to only have become more frequent after the 14th century (cf. Ledgeway 2012). In her study on the development of the indefinite article in Medieval and Golden-Age Spanish, Pozas-Loyo (2010) observes that the indefinite *uno* gains several interpretations and its occurrence with generic reading becomes available only in the 16th century. This had already been pointed out by Kärde (1943:31) and later confirmed by Garachana (2009). Pozas-Loyo (2010) also argues that

the generalization of 'un' is closely linked with the decrease in frequency of BPs and with the evolution of two other indefinite determiners, namely 'algún' and 'cierto'.

(Pozas-Loyo 2010:273)

As for French data, a rise in the use of *un* is also attested from Old French to Modern French, as well as its progressive use with an interpretation different from the numeral *one* (cf. Carlier 2013). Based upon a quantitative study for Old French, Dufresne, Tremblay & Déchaine (2018:39) conclude that the decrease of bare indefinite N «reflects a re-organized D-paradigm», «where number supplants case».

In what concerns OP, there is no data concerning the evolution in the use of determiners, especially as far as the indefinite determiner *um* is concerned. Data presented in TABLE 5.3, in section 5.4.2.2., indicated an increase in the use of indefinite *um*, parallel to the decrease in the frequency of singular bare nouns. Nevertheless, the rise in frequency of the indefinite determiner was not enough to cover the drop of singular bare nouns, which

suggests that the higher frequency of indefinite *um* was not entirely responsible for the replacement of singular bare nouns and other indefinite determiners must have also become more frequent. This is what Pozas-Loyo (2010) verifies for Old Spanish, with an increase in the use of the indefinites *algún* and *cierto*.

Parallel to the rise of the indefinite determiner, Déprez (1999, 2011) and Roberts & Roussou (2003) argue in favour of the existence of a class of null indefinite determiners in Old French that disappeared from the language. The authors argue that this null indefinite determiner was replaced by the *un(e)*, *des* and generic plurals when French Ds developed the need to be lexically filled. Déprez (2011) argues that the change of status of French n-words was highly promoted by the progressive intolerance of bare NPs in French between the end of the medieval period and the beginning of the Classical period. As Hansen & Visconti (2012:475) mention, «this is highly likely to have been instrumental in triggering reanalysis of the nominals *personne*, *rien*, and *aucun* when used without a determiner in connection with a preverbal negative marker.»

For Germanic languages, Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020:38) also notice that they «only began to develop obligatory overt indefinite determiners after the eleventh century», highlighting that this period «coincides conspicuously with the rise of NPA's, and soon after full-scale stage II of Jespersen's cycle». The authors generally conclude that

the rise of overt indefinite determiners left the incipient negators as the only determinerless elements, therefore dissimulating them more quickly from nominal elements, and presumably facilitating their reanalysis as non-nominal

Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (2020:38)

Other authors such as Stark (2008) also point to the interaction between the rise of indefinite determiners and partitive determiners in Romance, and the simultaneous loss of nominal morphology being sensitive to mass/count distinctions.

We know that in earlier stages of Portuguese, bare nominals in general occurred much more frequently than in CEP, even as arguments. They progressively decrease, especially after the 16th century, while there is a small increase in the frequency of the indefinite determiner *um*, as we saw earlier in our data sample. This suggests that, perhaps the D system in Portuguese has also suffered a similar change as the one that occurred for French and which allowed the emergence of French n-words, as argued by Déprez (1999). As hypothesized by Soares (2018:186), «shall a null determiner [...] be considered to be a part of the Portuguese Determination strategies, a trace of an old grammar?». We lack data

on the evolution of bare nouns as well as on the evolution of determiners in OP to be able to reach any conclusions. Nevertheless, I list below some of the facts gathered in this work or in the literature that can help us draw a bigger picture:

- i) In our data sample, singular bare nouns were quite frequent and occurred mostly as arguments instead of predicates, suggesting the existence of a null D to comply with the *argument DP hypothesis* that states that DPs can be arguments, NPs cannot (Longobardi 1994). Minimizers under a bare noun form displayed the same distribution;
- ii) In earlier stages of the language, partitive minimizers lack the cardinal numeral UM, which only became more frequent after the 16th century, precisely when bare singular nouns started to become less frequent and indefinite *um* more productive;
- iii) The 16th century seems to be a turning point in the internal structure of minimizers, since it is in this period that evaluative minimizers are more frequently registered in bare form, while partitive minimizers start occurring more frequently with the cardinal numeral UM. This seems to point to a period of change, translated into instability, with the final architecture being the one with a cardinal numeral preceding the minimizer, regardless of its semantics;
- iv) Other changes in the OP D system are also attested. According to several authors (Said Ali 1931, Mattos e Silva 1989, Rinke 2010, a.o.), nouns anteceded by a possessive determiner usually occurred without the need to have a definite determiner at their left. This state of affairs later changes, with the determiner becoming mandatory in these contexts (with a few exceptions being registered, such as with kinship degrees). Rinke (2010:136) states that, from the 14th century onwards, there is a variation phase in which the use of the article is optional. Its generalization happens only between the 18th and the 19th centuries. This change in the use of possessives reflects a change in the D system which is most likely the one affecting singular bare nouns (and minimizers with nominal properties as well) (cf. also Martins 2015b).

Considering all these points, one can hypothesize that a change in the D system restrained the occurrence and frequency of singular bare nouns, with the need to have a

lexically filled D with a determiner. In parallel, the widespread of the indefinite determiner *um* could have been responsible for replacing occurrences of bare nouns with a generic/indefinite reading. How does this relate to minimizers, though? It seems logical to assume that minimizers under a bare form which were base-generated as nominal heads suffered the same restriction than bare common nouns and started occurring with a specifier to their left.

The possible insertion of a determiner in cases where only a bare noun existed is hard to track and would ideally require the comparison of two editions of one same text, but from different chronologies. The work by Menon (2011), which I have already referred in a previous chapter, gives us some empirical evidence of the alternation that is registered around the 15th and 16th centuries, regarding the generic pronoun *homem*.¹⁴⁹ Let us recall that Menon (2011) compares two manuscripts of the text *Castelo Perigoso*, one which was compiled in the first half of the 15th century (Manuscript Alcobacense 199 (A)) and another which dates presumably from the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century (Manuscript Alcobacense 214 (B))¹⁵⁰. In TABLE 5.6 I reproduce some of the relevant contexts presented by Menon (2011) with the version of each manuscript.

Ms. Alcobacense 199 (A) <i>1st half of the 15th century</i>	Ms. Alcobacense 214 (B) <i>end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century</i>
Per luxuria peca homem per desvairados modos.	Per luxuria peca o homem per desvairados modos.
E assy peca homẽ per outras maneiras como pollo feito	E assy peca o homẽ per outras maneiras como pollo feito
Des y, quando homem consente d'estar longamente nos çujos pensamentos e maas deleitações de luxuria [...]	Des y, quando o homem consente d'estar longamente nos çujos pensamentos e maas deleitações de luxuria [...]
Silva, Elsa (ed.) (2001). <i>Castelo Perigoso</i> , <i>apud</i> Menon (2011)	

TABLE 5.6: COMPARISON OF OCCURRENCES OF THE GENERIC PRONOUN *HOMEM* IN TWO MANUSCRIPT OF THE TEXT *CASTELO PERIGOSO*

¹⁴⁹ Menon (2011) does not distinguish between the generic pronoun *homem* and the minimizer, considering both occurrences as the generic pronoun. Nevertheless, none of the examples given by the author corresponds to a use of *homem* as the minimizer.

¹⁵⁰ The text *Castelo Perigoso* is a translation from the original French text *Chastel Perilleux*, whose authorship is attributed to a monk named Robert from the Order of Carthusians (Ordre des Chartreux). There are two known manuscripts of the Portuguese translation, both belonging to the Alcobacense fund from The National Library of Lisbon, under the codes Alc. 199 and Alc. 214). The Alc. 214 manuscript is said to be a direct copy of the earlier manuscript, Alc. 199. While Alc. 199 was copied by one hand and it is complete, the Alc. 214 is not finished and it was copied by several hands.

The examples in TABLE 5.6 show that the copy produced in the end of the 15th century or beginning of the 16th century introduced a determiner where the generic pronoun *homem* occurred in the older manuscript. One can legitimately argue that this replacement takes place because the scribe(s) from manuscript B (the earliest) no longer recognized the generic pronoun *homem* and assumed it to be the common noun or that it extended the insertion of the determiner to the pronoun. A same path can be hypothesized for the minimizer *homem*, for instance, since the three items share a homonymous lexical form. An indefinite determiner may have been added at the left of the minimizer *homem*, making harder to distinguish it from the common noun. Nevertheless, when consulting the edition of *Castelo Perigoso* by Silva (2001) I could not find any unambiguous occurrences of *homem* as a minimizer, making it impossible to confirm such a hypothesis¹⁵¹.

What seems interesting, though, in the comparison between manuscript Alc. 199 (A) and manuscript Alc. 214 (B) is the instability found in the use of determiners. Silva (2001) follows manuscript A for her edition, but registers in the form of critical apparatus the differences regarding manuscript B, which is an earlier copy. Even though most of the changes observed in manuscript B are consistent with known changes in syntax and in the lexicon¹⁵² (with manuscript B being the innovative one), the insertion or omission of determiners does not follow the expected pattern. Due to the progressive loss of singular bare nouns and the widespread of definite and indefinite determiners, one would expect manuscript B to add a determiner to bare nouns in manuscript A, just like it is documented for the generic pronoun *homem* in Menon (2011). Nevertheless, what I found were several cases in which manuscript B omitted the determiner already present in manuscript A.¹⁵³ TABLE 5.7 below illustrates some of the cases found.

¹⁵¹ There are, however, examples with the minimizer *homem* where alternation between a bare form and a form with determiner can be found. In the text *Orto do Esposo* from the 15th century, we find examples such as the ones illustrated in i), ii) and iii), where we have the form *homem*, *o homem* and *nenhum*, respectively with the same syntactic structure and the same interpretation.

- i) e porẽ nõ se deue homẽ gloriar ã ella ã se deue anojã
- ii) nõ se deue o homẽ gloriã em ella quando bem pensar o pouco proueyto della
- iii) ca ante delle nõ se deue nehũũ de gloriã

¹⁵² Some of the differences found between Alc. 199 (A) and Alc. 214 (B) are consistent with what we know about language change and several linguistic phenomena already described in the literature. Below I list a few examples of the changes found:

- i) loss of clitic interpolation with negation (cf. Silva 2001:279 footnote 1)
- ii) replacement of *baver* by *ter* when expressing possession (cf. Silva 2001:256 footnote 8)
- iii) replacement of past participles in *-udo*, as *tendo* by *tido* (cf. Silva 2001:133 footnote 2)

¹⁵³ We cannot exclude the hypothesis of this being the result of errors introduced by the scribe. However, the omission of determiners is not the only unexpected difference in the manuscript. There is also an expected difference in what concerns pre-verbal negative indefinites. One would expect manuscript B to present more cases of negative indefinites in pre-verbal position without the presence of the negative marker *não*.

	Ms. Alcobacense 199 (A) <i>1st half of the 15th century</i>	Ms. Alcobacense 214 (B) <i>end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century</i>
Addition of definite determiner <i>o</i>	A primeira he vergonha, mes vergonha da danação perdurável a deve de vencer. (p.117)	A primeira he vergonha, mes a vergonha da danação perdurável a deve de vencer.
Addition of indefinite determiner <i>um</i>	E emvorilhae o em hũu lençol, scilicet, em coração linpo e puro se longamente o querees guardar. (p.162)	E emvorilhae o em hũu lençol, scilicet, em hũ coração linpo e puro se longamente o querees guardar.
Omission of definite determiner <i>o</i>	E, se assy, este combate non he defendido, o castello nom se poderá longamente teer. (p.133)	E, se assy, este combate non he defendido, \emptyset castello nom se poderá longamente teer.
	E, disto esto, encrynou a cabeça e deu a alma. (p.159)	E, disto esto, encrynou a cabeça e deu \emptyset alma.
	Por isso se diz amehude: o que ho olho nom vee, coração nom cobiiça. (p.169)	Por isso se diz amehude: o que \emptyset olho nom vee, coração nom cobiiça.
Omission of indefinite determiner <i>um</i>	[...] ca se algũu tener tanto bem fecto como o mayor santo do paraiso e morresse em hũu pecado mortal, assy seria sem fim no Inferno como Deus he no paraiso. (p.256)	[...] ca se algũu tener tanto bem fecto como o mayor santo do paraiso e morresse em \emptyset pecado mortal, assy seria sem fim no Inferno como Deus he no paraiso.
	[...] nom he senom assi como homem vee em hũu espelho e ainda escuramente. (p. 304)	[...] nom he senom assi como homem vee em \emptyset espelho e ainda escuramente.
	Silva (ed.) (2001). <i>Castelo Perigoso</i>	

TABLE 5.7: COMPARISON BETWEEN TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF *CASTELO PERIGOSO* CONCERNING THE USE OF DETERMINERS

The examples presented in TABLE 5.7 suggest some instability in the use of definite and indefinite determiners. While the addition of a definite or indefinite determiner in the latter copy (manuscript B) is consistent with a progressive loss of singular bare nouns, cases of omission are unexpected, but also more frequent in manuscript B. The examples where manuscript B omitted the determiner contained in manuscript A are cases where the noun has a generic reading and, therefore, cases in which a singular bare noun would be found. The contexts in question also include proverbial or law-like sentences, favouring the use of

Nevertheless, manuscript B registers several times the insertion of the pre-verbal negation marker in contexts where the negative indefinite already appeared pre-verbally as the unique negative element in manuscript A (cf. Silva 2001:132 footnote 5)

singular bare nouns with kind-level interpretation as argued for by Lopes (1992) and Soares (2018:75) for CEP.

What can be concluded from the data above is that the loss of singular bare nouns did not occur at once and probably went through a period of instability before bare singulars became confined to very strict contexts. It is legitimate to assume that the changes in the use of singular bare nouns and the gradual spread of determiners affected minimizers which were still nominal elements. In any case, the selection of a cardinal numeral instead of a determiner (definite or indefinite) still lacks motivation.

5.5.2. Lexicalized D and minimizers' internal features

In the previous section we saw that Portuguese went through an important change as far as the D system is concerned, with bare nouns progressively being lost and a lexically filled D becoming mandatory. With most minimizers still being nominal heads, they are affected by the need to have an element in D. The question remains in knowing the reason for these minimizers to select a cardinal numeral instead of a definite or indefinite determiner.¹⁵⁴ Before providing a possible answer to this question, let me introduce a feature system that can help describe minimizers and their different configurations.

Since minimizers function as a sort of a measurement element, we can consider the existence of three main features that allow them to be interpreted quantitatively: [quantification], [restriction] and eventually a [domain of restriction]. The [quantification] and the [restriction] features are mandatory and can have a positive [+] or a negative [-] value, depending on whether they are intrinsic to the item or not. Any noun that is reinterpreted as a minimizer must always be [+restriction], but it may not be able to positively convey [quantification] itself. In any case, [quantification] must be positively encoded somewhere in the DP containing the minimizer: it can either be encoded in the minimizer itself or by means of a specifier preceding it. Therefore, minimizers which can only positively encode the [restriction] feature will require the presence of the cardinal numeral to positively encode [quantification].

Minimizers reaching the status of an intransitive bare quantifier (projecting a QP) will positively encode the three features, being able to express quantification, restriction

¹⁵⁴ English, for instance, displays alternation between the indefinite determiner and the numeral as in the pairs *a bit/one bit*, *a drop/one drop*, but not with the definite determiner (**the bit*, **the drop*) unless modified by a superlative (e.g. *the slightest bit*)

and the domain of restriction. As far as the [domain of restriction] is concerned, it is only present with certain items and translates a more advanced stage of grammaticalization. The [domain of restriction] is positive [+] in the case of intransitive bare quantifiers, and therefore, they do not need to select a complement. On the other hand, minimizers with an adnominal quantifier status will have a [- domain of restriction] feature, meaning that they need to select a [+domain of restriction] complement. If the domain of restriction is [Ø], it means it is impossible to select a complement to set the domain over which the restriction applies, since the item in question cannot quantify over a noun. This is the case of OP evaluative minimizers which cannot take a nominal complement or a partitive PP. In TABLE 5.8 below I illustrate the different possibilities, with OP items.

	<i>nemigalha</i>	[+quantification][+restriction] [+domain of restriction]	
<i>um</i>	[+quantification]	<i>bocado</i>	[+quantification][+restriction] [-domain of restriction] <i>de X</i> [+domain of restriction]
<i>um</i>	[+quantification]	<i>caracol</i>	[-quantification][+restriction] [Ø domain of restriction]

TABLE 5.8: EXAMPLES OF FEATURES ENCODED IN DIFFERENT MINIMIZERS

As TABLE 5.8. shows, an item such as *nemigalha*, which reached the status of an intransitive bare quantifier could positively encode the three features. An item such as *bocado*, positively encoded a [+quantification] feature, but it starts to occur preceded by the cardinal numeral, which also contains an agreeing [+quantification] feature. *Bocado* could also take a complement that served as a [+domain of restriction]. Finally, the case of *caracol* illustrates a minimizer which did not contain a [+quantification] feature, with that value being positively encoded by the cardinal numeral on the left. It could not select a complement as its domain of restriction.

I propose that the choice of a cardinal numeral at the left of nominal minimizers actually serves two purposes. On the one hand, the cardinal numeral fulfils the need to have a lexically realized D, when it becomes mandatory, if we assume that it started to rise from Num to D to meet that requirement. I assume, alongside Crisma (2014), that in the absence of an overt element merged in D, the cardinal numeral can rise and occupy the DP head in order to satisfy the need to have a filled D. On the other hand, the cardinal numeral encodes a [+quantification] feature that may also be positively encoded in the minimizer, in which case there is feature agreement.

Going back to OP data, let us recall that all 13th century partitive minimizers occurred under a bare form, while evaluative minimizers were frequently preceded by the

cardinal numeral. I consider that some partitive OP minimizers contained an intrinsic [+quantification] feature encoded in their lexicon, while most OP evaluative minimizers did not. When a lexically filled D became mandatory, the cardinal numeral was chosen to fulfil that requirement, since, contrary to the minimizer, it could rise to D, but also because the numeral contained an intrinsic [+quantification] feature which is necessary to interpret minimizers scalarly. This resulted in two situations: in the case of minimizers which contained a [-quantification] feature, the numeral filled the D position and encoded itself the [+quantification] feature. This was already the case of most evaluative minimizers in the corpus, which did not occur under a bare form. In fact, most evaluative minimizers that alternate between a bare form and a form with the numeral originate from currency units which are intrinsically related to some level of quantification (for instance, *cornado*, *ceitil*). Minimizers such as *figo* or *caracol* never appear under a bare form, though. As for the case of minimizers exhibiting a [+quantification] feature, as was the case of many partitive minimizers, we verify the progressive insertion of the cardinal numeral to meet the filled D requirement. Also, there is agreement between the [+quantification] feature of the cardinal numeral and the [+quantification] feature of the minimizer.

Therefore, the main change verified for nominal minimizers was the insertion of a mandatory cardinal numeral, even in the cases where the [+quantification] feature was already present in the minimizer, leading to feature agreement. The mandatory insertion of the cardinal numeral does not allow minimizers to be directly merged in Num, since that position became unavailable. This may have prevented some nominal minimizers from grammaticalizing once the filled D became mandatory. As we will see, in CEP the items reaching a more advanced stage of grammaticalization are recruited under a bare form and the ones displaying a UM+MINIMIZER configuration do not seem to contain a real cardinal numeral.

5.5.3. Insights from CEP minimizers

When we compare OP minimizers to the ones found in CEP, we find some similarities but also considerable differences. In this section I will provide a brief comparison between OP and CEP minimizers, in order to figure out whether minimizers have suffered significant changes from OP until nowadays.

First of all, I would like to draw attention to the fact that both OP and CEP minimizers share an important common property: they tend to behave as nominal heads,

in most cases. Another important similarity is the relation between bare forms and grammaticalization, since the items reaching more advanced stages of grammaticalization are recruited under a bare form, both in OP and in CEP.

However, they also display differences in many aspects. In lexical terms, a first clear difference between OP and CEP is related to the frequency and diversity of minimizers. OP had three different groups of minimizers, which were reduced to two in CEP. As we know, CEP only has partitive and evaluative minimizers. Furthermore, partitive minimizers were more frequent than evaluatives in OP, but in CEP the situation seems to be the opposite. Most of the partitive minimizers found in CEP are inherited from previous stages of the language, whereas the evaluative group is currently the most productive in the creation of new minimizers. This is not unexpected, though, since partitive minimizers originate from nouns with partitive reading, and these are not a common source of lexical innovation. On the other hand, in theory, any common noun can become an evaluative minimizer. Also, contrary to what we observe in OP, where minimizers with partitive reading were the best candidates to reach higher levels of grammaticalization, this tendency has changed in CEP, with evaluative minimizers rapidly grammaticalizing into quantifiers and beyond.

In terms of internal structure, another visible difference is related to the presence of the cardinal numeral UM as specifier. Contrary to OP, which allowed bare nouns, therefore allowing minimizers with nominal behaviour to appear under a bare form, in CEP all minimizers with nominal properties are preceded by the cardinal numeral UM. Apart from the mandatory cardinal numeral, minimizers which are nominal behave the same way they did in OP, allowing modification and some of them being able to occur in the plural, as illustrated before with example (300), here reproduced as (369).

- (369) agora matar-se um homem a troco de uma
 now kill.^{REFL.3sg} a man to change of a
 chalaça que não vale dois caracóis, isso é
 joke that NEG is.worth two snails that is.^{3sg}
 a bestialidade maior que pode praticar um homem
 the stupidity biggest that can practice a man
 ‘Now, a man killing himself over a joke that is not worth anything, that is
 the biggest stupidity a man can do.’

(Corpus do Português: Web/Dialects)

The most interesting cases of change are the ones concerning evaluative minimizers. Although we know that bare nouns are no longer productive in CEP, evaluative minimizers reaching higher levels of grammaticalization seem to be recruited directly as bare forms and then rapidly grammaticalize into quantifier elements, as we will see in the next section.

5.5.3.1. Minimizers in CEP as intransitive bare quantifiers

In OP data, we found a few minimizers reaching the status of an intransitive bare quantifier without argument function. In CEP we also find the same configuration. Data from CEP confirm that minimizers reaching an intransitive bare quantifier status do not result from the loss of the cardinal numeral element, but originate in a bare configuration. In this section I will look into some CEP minimizers which seem to have highly advanced stages of grammaticalization, but for which there are no examples of ever occurring as polar items with a UM+MINIMIZER configuration. This reinforces the idea already advanced that, in order for minimizers to become quantifier-like elements, the Num^o position cannot be occupied by a cardinal numeral.

In CEP we find several minimizers which appear under a bare form only. Despite assuming a similar form, they do not all behave alike, with some items being able to occur as sole markers of negation in specific contexts. I will briefly look at the following items:

- i) *puto*, which originates from the common noun *puto*, meaning ‘kid’
- ii) *peva(s)*, whose origin is uncertain but it might be a short form of the noun *pevide* ‘seed’.
- iii) *bola*, originating from the common noun *bola*, meaning ‘ball’.

As minimizers, they can appear as adnominal quantifiers with a partitive PP and as intransitive bare quantifiers. In terms of polar value, they are weak NPIs, being able to appear in non-negative modal contexts, even though they are massively used in negative contexts and there are a few attestations as single negative elements in the sentence.

None of these minimizers is attested with a cardinal numeral at their left, nor can they be modified by an AP or take a PP modifier. In an example as (370) the items *bola* and *puto* are not recognized as minimizers and would only be accepted as common nouns. The variant sentences with *peva* would be uninterpretable since *peva* does not have a common noun interpretation. As for example (371), it shows that none of the minimizers can take

an adjectival modifier and that an interpretation of *bola* and *puto* as common nouns is also ruled out, since CEP does not allow bare nouns.

(370) #Não vi um(a) bola/ peva/ puto.
 NEG saw.^{1sg} one ball/ PEVA/ kid
 ‘I did not see one ball/seed/kid.’

(371) *Não tenho bola/ peva/ puto furado(a).
 NEG have.^{1sg} ball/ PEVA/ kid punctured
 ‘I do not have punctured ball/seed/kid.’

Despite being recent minimizers in Portuguese, there are no registers of *bola*, *peva* or *puto* ever appearing with a cardinal numeral in corpora, which indicates that they became minimizers already in a bare form.

The minimizers *bola*, *peva* and *puto* can take a partitive PP, despite the fact that they do not originate from common nouns taking a PP complement. In cases such as (372) and (373), a minimizer reading is unambiguous, since the reading of *bola* or *puto* as common nouns taking a PP modifier would be awkward if not nonsensical (*a kid of idea*, for example, is an unnatural sequence).

(372) Por outras palavras, não fazes puto de ideia como
 by other words NEG make.^{2sg} kid of idea how
 testar a trindade.
 test the trinity
 ‘By other words, you have no ideia how to test the trinity’

(Corpus do Português:Web/dialects – 30/09/2020)

(373) Sinceramente acho que não fazes peva de ideia de
 honestly think.^{1sg} that NEG do.^{2sg} PEVA of idea of
 o que para aí falas.
 the that for there say.^{2sg}
 ‘I honestly think you have no idea of what you are saying’

(Corpus do Português:Web/dialects – 30/09/2020)

In (372) and (373), both *puto* and *peva* quantify over the noun *ideia* ‘idea’, which is contained in the NP complement of the partitive PP.

Contrary to most minimizers, at least *peva* and *bola* are attested with negative interpretation as confirmative answers to rhetorical questions with negative force, as illustrated in (374) and (375).

- (374) O Marcelo já disse alguma coisa sobre o
the Marcelo already said.^{3sg} some thing about the
assunto? Peva!
issue PEVA
‘Did Marcelo already say anything about the issue? Nothing!’
(Corpus do Português:Web/dialects – 30/09/2020)

- (375) E o que é que eu percebo
and the what is.^{3sg} that I understand.^{1sg}
disto? Bola! Nem sequer fui à universidade.
of.this ball not even went.^{1sg} to.the university
‘And do I know about this? Nothing! I did not even go to the university.’
(https://www.facebook.com/ruindades/posts/2758810667737527?_tn=K-R –
27/07/2020)

In the case of *peva*, it is also attested in corpora in other contexts as the sole marker of negation with negative interpretation, as illustrated in (376).

- (376) Como os meios de comunicação portugueses,
since the means of communication portuguese
salvo raras exceções, ligam peva às
except rare exceptions pay.attention.^{3pl} PEVA to.the
modernices e menos respeito têm pelos
innovations and less respect have.^{3pl} for.the
que a usam, não estranhei [...]]
that it.^{3sg.acc} use.^{3pl} NEG wonder.^{1sg}

‘Since the Portuguese social media, apart from rare exceptions, pay no attention to innovation and have even less respect for those who use it, I did not find it odd...’

(Corpus do Português:Web/dialects – 30/09/2020)

The examples of *peva* and *bola* suggest a rapid grammaticalization of these items and also a rapid change in their polarity values. Even though we cannot say these items are already intrinsically negative, the existence of contexts as the ones in (374), (375) and (376) points to an evolution in that direction. Furthermore, when compared to minimizers that have reached such a high level of grammaticalization through the history of Portuguese, these are the only items which do not benefit from the *n*-factor. The OP negative indefinites that have become strong NPIs all start with the letter <*n*> regardless of containing a negative morpheme, as pointed out by Laka (1990) when coining the term *n-word*. In OP, the items that became negative indefinites and which survived until contemporary data all start with an <*n*>. ¹⁵⁵

A possible interesting innovation in CEP minimizers is presented by the item *puto*. *Puto* can appear as an adnominal quantifier taking a partitive PP, as in (377). In addition, *puto* also occurs in contexts of optionally transitive verbs, giving rise to two possible interpretations: one as the DO and the other as a negation reinforcement particle, this last interpretation illustrated in (378). ¹⁵⁶

- (377) [...] é trabalho, não tem puto de interesse.
is.^{3sg} work NEG has.^{3sg} kid of interest
‘it is work, it does not have any interest’

(Corpus do Português:Web/dialects – 30/09/2020)

¹⁵⁵ *Nenhum* and *ninguém* were formed with a negative morpheme, but *nada* was not. Also, the only minimizer that became a strong NPI in OP was *nemigalba*, which actually benefited from the merge with the negative reinforcement particle *nem*. In CEP the item *népia* is not linked to negative morphemes, even though its etymology is not clear, but it behaves as a strong NPI, equivalent, in many contexts, to negative indefinite *nada*. A similar situation is attested with *nicles*, although there are divergent theories regarding the origin of the word. It is commonly assumed it came from the form *nichil* in replacement of the Latin *nihil*, but a different etymology coming from the noun *níquel* (name of a metal of which some coins were made) should also be considered. This would be more in consonance with the existence of counterparts in other languages, such as the English minimizer ‘a nickle’ (equivalent to a currency unit).

¹⁵⁶ Although the verb *cantar* ‘sing’ in (378) is an optionally transitive verb, in this particular context, an interpretation of *puto* as the DO is not possible. The use of *puto* conveys the speaker’s point of view and is used to state that the person does not have any singing skills (and not that he sang zero songs).

(378) Tu não sabes cantar! Tu não cantas puto.
 you NEG know.^{2sg} sing you NEG sing.^{2sg} kid
 ‘You can not sing! You do not sing at all’

(Corpus do Português:Web/dialects – 30/09/2020)

Nevertheless, it is the context illustrated in (379) below that constitutes unexpected data. Contrary to what we have seen for OP, where none of the minimizers appeared as a quantifier with a nominal complement, *puto* seems to alternate between taking a partitive PP as in (377) above or taking a nominal complement as in (379).

(379) Tb acho que o Hendrix é só barulho
 also think.^{1sg} that the Hendrix is.^{3sg} only noise
 e não tenho puto paciência para os solos
 and NEG have.^{1sg} kid patience for the solos
 de 3 dias de o gajo.
 of 3 days of the guy
 ‘I also think Hendrix is only noise and I have no patience for the 3 days solos of the guy.’

(Corpus do Português:Web/dialects – 30/09/2020)

In this latter context, *puto* seems to be an adnominal quantifier taking a lexical NP complement, in this case, it quantifies over the noun *paciência* ‘patience’. It does not, however, establish gender agreement with its nominal complement, as other quantifiers do (for instance *algum/nenhum*).¹⁵⁷ These examples are not frequent and require further investigation.

It might be the case that *puto* is rapidly losing its partitive PP and directly quantifying over the complement noun, similarly to what is registered in other languages/dialects such as Modern Florentine with the example of *punto* (cf. Garzonio 2008).¹⁵⁸ Since this minimizer

¹⁵⁷ A reading in which *puto* is equivalent to ‘not-at-all’ cannot be completely discarded in these contexts.

¹⁵⁸ In CEP we also find this alternation between taking a PP complement and a NP complement with the emphatic adverb *bue*, illustrated below. Notice that *bue* is not an NPI and it can quantify over APs and ADVPs.

(i) ela é lindaa e tem bue estilo
 she is.^{3sg} beautiful and has.^{3sg} a.lot style
 ‘She is beautiful and has a lot of style.’

(Corpus do Português:Web/Dialects – 01/10/2020)

(ii) quando eu era nova diziamos bue de estilo, ainda se diz???
 when I was.^{1sg} young said.^{3pl} a.lot of style still IMPERS. say.^{3sg}

seems to be recent in the language, there is no way of telling how it will evolve, but considering the present data, we may have a case of a minimizer that becomes a quantifier taking a nominal complement, an evolution that has not been registered in previous stages of Portuguese.

In terms of internal structure, *puto*, *peva* and *bola* seem to be heads of a QP, which can be intransitive or take a partitive PP (or eventually a DP complement in the case of *puto*, if my analysis is on the right track), just like OP items reaching this level of grammaticalization. The grammaticalization mechanism which allowed them to circumvent the mandatory cardinal numeral stage is yet to be explained.

The CEP data points to some differences in the emergence and grammaticalization of minimizers, when compared to OP. Contrary to OP, the more productive source of new elements is the class of evaluative minimizers. In any case, one condition seems to be required in order for a minimizer to climb up in the DP structure and, eventually, reach NumP or higher: the NumP head needs to be empty.

5.5.3.2. The cases of *um boi* and *um caraças*

In this section I will present one last example from CEP data, which concerns two minimizers that do not fit any of the patterns presented above. They always occur preceded by the cardinal numeral UM, but they do not behave as nominal heads, contrary to other minimizers with the same configuration. On the other hand, they do not behave entirely as the items from the previous section.

Both minimizers *boi* and *caraças* originate in the homonymous common nouns *boi*, meaning ‘ox’ and *caraças*¹⁵⁹, meaning ‘mask’, but they do not maintain the intrinsic semantic meaning of the common nouns. Let us consider examples (380) and (381), where a) translates the minimizer reading and b) a possible/impossible common noun reading.

(380) O Pedro não comeu um boi.
 The Peter NEG eat.^{3sg} one ox

- a) Peter did not eat anything (narrow scope reading)
- b) There was an ox that Peter did not eat.

‘when I was young, we would say ‘a lot of style’; do you still say it?’
 (Corpus do Português:Web/Dialects – 01/10/2020)

¹⁵⁹ For a detailed description of the origin and uses of the item *caraças*, see Pinto (2020)

- (381) O Pedro não usou um caraças no Carnaval
 The Peter NEG wear.^{3sg} one mask in.the Carnival
 a) Peter did not wear anything during Carnival
 b) Peter did not wear a mask during Carnival

In (380) the minimizer reading illustrated in a) cannot be obtained by denying the minimal unit one can eat. If a person does not eat an *ox*, that does not mean that one did not eat anything. Therefore, the minimizer *boi* is no longer interpreted as a nominal element with intrinsic semantic meaning. As for (381), the fact that the common noun *caraças* is feminine and the minimizer is anteceded by the masculine *UM* blocks the interpretation as a common noun. In other words, if b) was the intended reading, sentence (381) would be ungrammatical. Hence, the only possible reading for *um caraças* is the one given in translation a), showing that the minimizer no longer allows a reading based on the original semantic meaning of the noun.

Contrary to other minimizers such as *caracol* ‘snail’, which also occurs preceded by the cardinal numeral *UM*, *boi* and *caraças* cannot occur with a plural form. In example (388), the presence of plural features blocks the interpretation of both items as minimizers, only allowing the common noun reading.

- (388) Nunca comprei dois/duas bois/ caraças nessa loja.
 never bought.^{1sg} two.^{masc} / two.^{fem} oxen / masks in.that shop
 ‘I have never bought two oxen/masks in that shop.’

Despite displaying plural morphology, *caraças* has singular number, confirmed by the occurrence with the singular cardinal numeral *UM*. The presence of plural morphology but singular number is not exclusive of the minimizer *caraças*. Other minimizers such as *peva(s)* and *népia(s)* alternate between a form with and without the <s>.¹⁶⁰ This indicates that

¹⁶⁰ See the alternation in the examples below:

- i) [...] há muitos que não entendem peva de política
 there. are.^{3sg} many that NEG understand.^{3pl} PEVA of politics
 ‘there are many who do not understand anything of politics’
- ii) Sou uma nulidade completa não percebo pevas de plantinhas
 am.^{1sg} a nullity complete NEG understand PEVA of little.plants
 ‘I am a complete nullity, I do not understand anything of little plants.’
- iii) A minha sogra não fazia népia em casa.
 the my mother.in.law NEG did.^{3sg} NEPIA at house

there is no number agreement with *caraças* and the final morpheme should not be considered as conveying plural number.

The case of *um caraças* is also interesting since there is no gender agreement (along with no number agreement), between the cardinal numeral and the minimizer. If we take as a possible origin of the item *caraças* the common noun *caraça* ‘mask’, which is feminine, we would expect feminine agreement, but that is not the case. This shows that this particular minimizer has lost its phi-features and displays masculine gender by default (corresponding to neutral gender).

In addition to the lack of intrinsic semantic meaning and lack of phi-features, both items can take a partitive PP, despite not originating from nouns with a partitive reading, as exemplified in (389).

- (389) [...] uma pessoa que não sabe um boi de
a person that NEG knows.^{3sg} one ox of
internet, ficar milionária com a internet.
internet become millionaire with the internet
‘a person that does not know anything of internet, becoming millionaire
with the internet.’

(Corpus do Português:Web/Dialects)

The minimizer interpretation of example in (389) is the only available interpretation, which shows that the PP is partitive. The fact that these minimizers take a partitive PP which does not originate as a complement of the former common noun poses a problem concerning their internal structure. These items occur with a cardinal numeral which, as I have argued before, must be base-generated as the head of NumP. On the other hand, both *boi* and *caraças* do not behave as nouns and they can take a partitive PP, which indicates that they are not merged as heads of NP.

Additionally, both minimizers cannot occur with adjectival modification. Examples from (390) to (393) illustrate this impossibility with a postnominal adjective, but also with the prenominal adjective *único*.

‘My mother in law did not do anything at home.’

- iv) [...]Jeu sei que não há népias a herdar [...]
I know.^{1sg} that NEG there.is.^{3sg} NEPIA to inherit
‘I know there is nothing to inherit ...’

(Corpus do Português:Web/Dialects – 8/05/2020)

(390) #Não estudei um boi furado.
 NEG studied.^{1sg} one ox punctured
 ‘I didn’t study one punctured ox.’

(391) #Não estudei um único boi.
 NEG studied.^{1sg} one single ox
 ‘I didn’t study one single ox.’

(392) *Nunca comprei um caraças furado nessa loja.
 never bought.^{1sg} one mask punctured in.that shop

(393) *Nunca comprei um único caraças nessa loja.
 never bought.^{1sg} one single mask in.that shop

The examples above clearly show that these minimizers are incompatible with adjectival modification, regardless of the pre or postnominal position of the AP. Thus, sentences (390) and (391) only allow a common noun interpretation for *boi* (awkward as it might be), and sentences (392) and (393) are ungrammatical, since phi-features agreement (feminine and plural) would be required if *caracaças* was to be taken as the common noun and the minimizer option is blocked by the presence of the adjective.

The rejection of postnominal adjectives seems in consonance with the fact that, as I have claimed, these minimizers are not heads of NP. But the incompatibility with the prenominal adjective *único* still needs some explanation. I have argued that the prenominal adjective *único* is hosted in the head of FocP and it combines with the cardinal numeral UM after this last element moves to Foc. Both *caracaças* and *boi* are preceded by UM but, contrary to other minimizers, they block the prenominal adjective. How can one explain the blocking of a prenominal adjective sitting above NumP? One could argue that this is so because adjectives only modify nouns and these minimizers no longer behave as nouns nor are they generated as nominal heads. The problem here relies on the fact that, according to my proposal, the adjective *único* combines, not with the noun, but with the cardinal numeral UM. Furthermore, examples such as (394) and (395) are also ruled out, despite the fact that *só* is an adverb.

(394) #Não estudei um só boi.
 NEG studied.^{1sg} one single ox
 ‘I did not study a single ox’

(395) *Não comprei um só caraças.
 NEG bought.^{1sg} one single mas
 ‘I did not buy a single mask’

As the examples show, whenever the minimizers *boi* and *caraças* occur in a sentence, the sequence UM+MINIMIZER cannot be interrupted by an adjective (with quantificational status) nor by the adverb of exclusion *só* ‘single’.

Although this topic requires further investigation, it seems likely that the impossibility of cooccurrence with the pronominal adjective *único* and the adverb *só* may be related to the nature of the specifier UM. Contrary to the general rule, one can hypothesize that *caraças* and *boi* do not combine with a cardinal numeral. The element UM can be thought of as an expletive determiner that lacks quantificational value and cannot check number features. It would then be directly inserted as the head of DP to satisfy the requirement of having a lexically filled D. A similar situation seems to occur with the expressions *um tanto* and *um quanto* (lit. ‘one so much’ and ‘one how much’) where an element UM combines with a non-nominal element forming a quantificational expression.¹⁶¹ None of them admits modification by the pronominal adjective *único* nor by the adverb of exclusion *só*, as illustrated in (396).

(396) Este filme é um tanto/quanto aborrecido.
 this film is.^{3sg} one so.much/how.much boring
 ‘This filme is a bit boring’
 *Este filme é um único tanto/quanto aborrecido.
 this film is.^{3sg} one single so.much/how.much boring
 ‘This film is one single bit boring’
 *Este filme é um só tanto/quanto aborrecido.
 this film is.^{3sg} one only so.much/how.much boring
 ‘This film is only one bit boring’

¹⁶¹ None of the expressions is a minimizer, though. They seem to quantify only over adjectives or adverbs.

The notion of expletive has mainly been associated to the definite determiners (cf. Vergnaud & Zubizarretta 1992, Espinal & Cyrino 2017, Fábregas 2018, a.o.) but Crisma (2014) has argued for an expletive status of the English indefinite determiner. In a diachronic study of the English indefinite determiner ‘a/an’, Crisma (2014) considers that it has become an expletive element directly inserted in D and that its emergence was probably motivated by the need to lexically fill D when bare nouns stopped being possible.

Let us hypothesize that the minimizers *boi* and *caraças* combine with an the expletive UM instead of the cardinal numeral. Since the expletive UM is directly merged in D, this would explain why modification by the adjective *único* or de adverb *só* is not possible. Both the adjective and the adverb do not have scope over D. In this case, we could consider a structure as the one in (397), where the expletive UM sits directly in D, and the minimizer can be directly inserted as the head of NumP. In any case, this topic requires further research with a deeper study of CEP minimizers.

(397) [DP [D' *um*] [NumP [Num' *caraças*] [NP [XP *de x...*]]]

A possible evolution of the DP in (397) is its reanalysis as the head of a Quantifier Phrase, but that is a prediction that only time may confirm.

5.6. Summing up

This chapter was dedicated to discuss the internal structure of minimizers, adopting a cartographic perspective. Making use of an expanded DP, under the DP-hypothesis, I have proposed different representations for OP minimizers, according to their level of grammaticalization.

Based on the description of the data presented in Chapter 3, I have considered three different structures for OP minimizers. The first one, which can be applied to the majority of the items, takes minimizers to be heads of NP, due to their nominal properties, reflected in the presence of phi-features and modifiers. I have considered that in OP, minimizers occupying the head of NP occurred mainly under a bare form, but they could also be preceded by the cardinal numeral UM, base-generated as the head of NumP. This was the case of evaluative minimizers which occurred frequently with the cardinal.

For minimizers reaching a quantifier status I have proposed the projection of a Quantifier Phrase. In the case of minimizers occurring with a partitive PP, they should be represented as heads of QP taking a null DP complement and a partitive PP, following the proposal by Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992). However, items such as *rem* also occurred under the form of an intransitive bare quantifier, in which case, I have postulated that they projected an intransitive QP. Minimizers reaching the status of a quantifier element result from a grammaticalization process involving the raising of the minimizer from N to Num, as proposed in Roberts & Roussou (2003). The minimizer would then start being directly merged as the head of NumP. In the next step of the grammaticalization process, the minimizer comes to be interpreted as a Q head, projecting its own QP.

In section 5.4.4. I presented the internal structure of the item *nemigalba*, postulating that the minimizer underwent N-to-Num movement and cooccurred with a negative emphatic particle *nem*, sitting in DP-internal Foc. The whole FocP moved to Spec,QP and eventually was reanalysed as a head, following the specifier-to-head principle postulated by Gelderen (2004) which predicts that phrases can be reanalysed as heads based on economy principles.

The occurrence of minimizers as bare nouns was the rule in OP, but this pattern changed when a lexically filled D became mandatory. The data extracted from annotated corpora led us to conclude that, contrary to CEP, OP allowed bare nouns as arguments. A change in the D system requiring D to be filled makes bare nouns unavailable. This change also affected minimizers which were nominal heads. Hence, they stopped occurring under a bare form and acquired a mandatory cardinal element preceding them. I have proposed that the insertion of the cardinal numeral fulfils two needs: first, it can satisfy the requirement of a lexically filled D by raising to that position; second, it validates a [+quantification] feature whenever it is absent from the minimizer or it agrees with a [+quantification] feature already encoded in some minimizers.

Finally, I have compared data from OP minimizers with data from CEP minimizers. Minimizers with nominal behaviour in CEP display a different configuration that resulted from the insertion of the cardinal numeral. We also saw that, in order for a minimizer to reach a more advanced stage of grammaticalization, it needs to be recruited under a bare form, in order to be able to rise to Num and eventually be reanalysed as a quantifier. This is the first step of grammaticalization that cannot be accomplished if the head of NumP is occupied by the cardinal. The contemporary minimizers *puto*, *peva* and *bola* point in that direction, since they are not registered with a cardinal numeral element and they show signs

of rapid grammaticalization, indicating that they are no longer nominal elements in N, but they must occupy a position higher than DP, in order to escape the mandatory filled D (in which case they would occur with the expletive UM). They should, then, be considered heads of QP.

One final argument is the fact that the minimizers *um boi* and *um caraças* do not behave as nominal elements. In this case, the element UM preceding them seems to function as an expletive determiner. The more advanced stage of grammaticalization of these two items would then be explained by the fact that *caraças* and *boi* are directly merged in Num, while the element UM is in D.

6. CONCLUSION

Throughout this work I have presented a detailed description of minimizers in Old Portuguese, while trying to track down their evolution up to Contemporary Portuguese.

This work started with the compilation of a work corpus that gathered examples of occurrence of minimizers comprehended between the 13th and the 16th century. This task faced the challenges of all diachronic corpora, namely the scarcity of the sources, especially for the earlier centuries, and difficulties in dating certain texts, since they correspond to copies of earlier manuscripts and may have been subject to modifications introduced by the scribe to the original manuscript. Frequently, diachronic sources also raised transcription and edition challenges, as well as interpretation difficulties. Nevertheless, the first outcome of this work is a database that can be used in subsequent works on NPIs and negation, despite its limitations.

One of the major questions that the evolution of minimizers poses is why an entire class of items went from being extremely frequent in the 13th century data to completely vanishing from the language after the 16th century. This evolution can be considered unexpected when we look at successful cases of grammaticalization of counterparts of these items in other Romance languages such as French (for instance the item *rien*). Although none of the indefinite minimizers under study reached the status of a strong NPI, surviving until Contemporary Portuguese, it is fallacious to consider that Portuguese does not register successful cases of polarity items grammaticalizing into strong NPIs with intrinsic negative meaning. Contrary to what we find in French, or even in some Italian dialects, the constructional family that proved to be stronger in Portuguese was that of negative indefinites, instead of the one composed by indefinite minimizers or partitive/evaluative minimizers. The idea that there was grammar competition between at least two constructional families gains relevance, not only when Old Portuguese is considered, but also when other Romance languages are brought into the picture. Languages in which the counterparts of indefinite minimizers have won the competition did not maintain polarity items from other constructional families and vice-versa.

Nevertheless, the competition between constructional families does not fully explain the change in the pattern of occurrence of partitive and evaluative minimizers, which are always preceded by a cardinal numeral in CEP, whenever they are still nominal. It seems reasonable to consider that this change is directly related to two phenomena. On the one hand, the disappearance of bare nouns and on the other the need minimizers have

to encode a [+quantification] feature. There are reasons to think that, similar to what happened in French, Old Portuguese also allowed the existence of a lexically null D, which was later lost. CEP, as we know, disallows bare nouns and lexically realized Ds are mandatory. I believe this change affected the configuration of minimizers which previously occurred as bare forms, but it also affected their potential grammaticalization by blocking it. Roberts & Roussou (2003) have postulated that the grammaticalization of minimizers implies leftward movement of the noun to a functional projection, namely the head of NumP. The generalization of the cardinal numeral with nominal minimizers resulted in the filling of the head of NumP with the cardinal numeral, making impossible for the noun to reach the stage in which it could be directly merged in Num, since this position is now filled with the cardinal.

The analysis of OP data demonstrates that most minimizers remained nominal elements, therefore directly merged as heads of NP, even when they occurred under a bare form. However, OP also registers cases of ongoing grammaticalization and a successful case of grammaticalization into a strong NPI with adverbial-like behaviour: the item *nemigalha*. The grammaticalization path of OP minimizers seems to follow what has been described in the literature for other languages, with nominal items becoming more functional and rising to higher positions in the DP spine. I have considered that a few minimizers have reached an adnominal quantifier status, being capable of indirectly quantifying over a NP, by selecting a partitive PP. The items *ponto*, *nemigalha* and *rem* also register occurrences as intransitive bare quantifiers. In specific contexts as the ones with optionally transitive verbs (cf. Lucas 2007, Breitbarth *et al.* 2020), items with an intransitive bare quantifier status are ambiguous between a quantifier reading and a reading as a negation reinforcement particle of the type ‘at all’. In the specific case of the item *nemigalha*, not only can it be found as a negation reinforcement particle, but it is also registered in cases of presupposition denial, in contexts resembling metalinguistic negation (cf. Horn 1989). Although the data covering the period until the 16th century contains very few examples of this use of minimizers, the research in subsequent centuries may shed some light into the relation between minimizers and presupposition denial/metalinguistic negation. Therefore, this presents itself as a topic of major importance in future work.

An important conclusion we can draw from the present work is that, structurally, there are no significant differences between OP minimizers and CEP minimizers. In general, minimizers maintained their weak NPI status and remained nominal elements. Nevertheless, there are considerable aspects that set OP and CEP apart. One of them is

the disappearance of the indefinite minimizers group. The other is the change in the configuration of nominal minimizers, with the insertion of a mandatory cardinal numeral. Similar to OP, CEP also registers minimizers which have reached advanced stages of grammaticalization. What seems to occur in CEP is actually the type of grammaticalization path found in OP and documented for other Romance languages, where items reaching higher levels of grammaticalization need to be recruited under a bare form. Some CEP minimizers, such as *puto*, seem to attest a rapid grammaticalization process from common nouns to intransitive bare quantifiers, while others (*boi* and *caraças*) attest an innovative pattern, exhibiting an expletive element in D instead of the cardinal numeral.

Based on OP and CEP data, it seems reasonable to assume that the movement of a nominal minimizer to a higher position in the DP requires the availability of a landing site which can later be a merging site and which I have identified as Num, following other authors (Roberts & Roussou 2003, Garzonio 2008, a.o).

The data presented throughout this work constitute an indicator, among others in the literature, that there was a change in the D system that may have affected several other Romance languages (cf. Roberts & Roussou 2003, Déprez 2011). It also shows that minimizers were a widespread phenomenon and that these items were frequent in early stages of different languages, such as French, Italian, Spanish or Occitan. What seems to set Romance languages apart from each other is the way each language solved apparent competition between different constructional families with the potential to become strong NPIs and, eventually, independent negation markers. Unfortunately, due to the nature of diachronic data, it is not possible to statistically relate the disappearance of indefinite minimizers with the rise in frequency of negative indefinites in OP. In any case, I consider that the foundations for future work on the topic are set.

I also remit to future work a detailed study of minimizers in CEP, having in mind the rapid grammaticalization of some items, but also the existence of what seems to be a new configuration, with minimizers being preceded by an element that does not seem to correspond to the cardinal numeral UM, but rather to an expletive indefinite determiner. It has also been postponed to future work the exploration of the relation between the use of minimizers and textual genre, based on the suggestion presented in this work that texts representing informal oral speech are contexts favourable to the presence of minimizers. This investigation can actually help understand the presumed relation between minimizers and pragmatic contexts which include presupposition denial/ metalinguistic negation contexts.

Finally, I consider that it is important to investigate the evolution of bare nouns, in order to confirm the hypothesis I have put forth that OP allowed a null D, but the D system suffered a change that affected nouns in general and minimizers with nominal behaviour by default.

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Other Sources

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APPENDIX 1

Distribution of texts by typology

	13th century	14th century	15th century	16th century
Legal documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mosteiro de Chelas - Mosteiro de Moreira A - Mosteiro de Moreira B 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partidas: Quarta Partida (Afonso X) 		
Notarial documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Notícia de Torto - Auto de Partilhas - Notícia das Malfeitorias - Testamento de D. Afonso II - Testamento de Elvira Sanches - Chancelaria D. Afonso III - Foros (Guarda, Beja, Santarém) - Textos Notariais do Arquivo de Textos do Português Antigo - Documentos Gallegos de los siglos XIII al XVI-Querela - Livro de Linhagens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dos Costumes de Santarém - Documentos notarias não editados (da cadeira de Introdução à Paleografia-FLUL) - Foros de Évora- Alcáçovas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentos notarias não editados (textos da cadeira de Introdução à Paleografia-FLUL) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentos notarias não editados (textos da cadeira de Introdução à Paleografia- FLUL)
Religious prose		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vida do honrado Infante Josafat, filho d'el Rei Avenir - Vidas de Santos de um Manuscrito Alcobacense - Diálogos de São Gregório 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trasladação de São Nicolau - Orto do Esposo - Corte Enperial - Imitação de Cristo - Os miragres de Santiago - Virgeu de Consolaçon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A Vida de Bartolameu dos Mártires - Evangelos e Epístolas com suas exposições em romãce - Memorial da Infanta Santa Joana
Historical prose		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crónica Geral de Espanha - Narrativa de livro de Linhagens (CIPM) - Geral História - Historia Troyana (TMILG) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crónica de D. Pedro de Menezes - Crónica de D. João I - Crónica de D. Fernando - Crónica de D. Dinis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crónica dos Reis de Bisnaga (CIPM) - Marco Polo

		Crónica General y de la Crónica de Castilla (TMILG)	- Crónica del-rei Dom Afonso Henriques - Vida e Feitos de Júlio César	
Chivalry romance/ Literary prose	- Demanda do Santo Graal		- O Livro de Esopo	- Peregrinação - José de Arimateia
Technical prose		- Tratado de Albeitaria		- Discursos Vários Políticos (Tycho Brahe) - Livro das Leis e Posturas
Poetry	- Lírica Profana Galego-Portuguesa - Cantigas de Santa Maria		- Cancioneiro Garcia de Resende	- Trovas “Se não quereis padecer” Camões
Theatre				- A Conceição de Nossa Senhora - Alfaiate - Ao Nascimento - Auto da Alma - Auto da Ave Maria - Auto da Barca do Inferno - Auto da Bela Menina - Auto da Cananea - Auto da Feira - Auto da Giosa - Auto da Fé - Auto da Festa - Auto da Mofina Mendes - Auto das Capelas - Auto das Fadas - Auto das Padeiras - Auto das Regateiras - Auto de Deos Padre - Auto de Dom André - Auto de Dom Fernando - Auto do Filodemo

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auto de Florença - Auto de Florisbel - Auto de Rodrigo e Mendo - Auto de Santa Catarina - Auto de Santo Aleixo - Auto de Santo António - Auto de Vicente Anes - Auto del Rei Seleuco - Auto do Caseiro de Alvalade - Auto do Desembargador - Auto do Escudeiro Surdo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auto do Filodemo - Auto do Físico - Auto do Mouro Encantado <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auto do Nascimento - Auto do Procurador - Auto do Velho da Horta <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auto dos Anfatriões - Auto dos Cantarinhos - Auto dos Dous Imrãos - Auto dos Dous Ladrões <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auto dos Enanos - Auto dos Escrivães do Pelourinho <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auto dos Físicos - Auto dos Sátiros - Auto e Colóquio do Nascimento <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auto Florisbel - Breve Sumário da História de Deos - Cena Policiana/Auto de Estudante <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comédia Aulegrafia - Comédia da Pastora Alfea - Comédia de Bristo/Fanchono
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				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comédia de Rubena - Comédia do Cerco de Diu - Comédia do Cioso - Comédia dos Estrangeiros - Comédia Vilhalpandos - Comédia Eufrosina - Comédia Ulissipo - Diálogos de uns Judeus e Centúrios sobre a Ressurreição de Cristo - Farsa da Índia - Farsa da Lusitânia - Farsa de Inês Pereira - Farsa do Clérigo da Beira - Farsa do Juiz da Beira - Farsa dos Almocreves - Marquês de Mântua - Mula - Nascimento de São João e Visitação de Santa Isabel - Obra da Geração Humana - Obra da Muito Dolorosa Morte e Paixão de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo - Passo de Cristo com a Samaritana no Poço de Jacob - Passo del Rei David com Berzabé - Pranto de Maria Parda - Prática de Três Pastores - Prática que tiveram Brás e Tomé - Purgatório - Quem tem Farelos? - Romance à Morte del-rei D. Manuel - Tragédia da Vingança de Agamenon
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				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tragicomédia Cortes de Júpiter - Tragicomédia da Serra da estrela - Tragicomédia de Exortação de Guerra - Tragicomédia do Inverno
Epistolary		- Cartas portuguesas de D. João de Portel		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cartas de D. João III - CARDS/Post Scriptum

