

Article

# On the Emergence of Portuguese FCI *qualquer*: A Diachronic Perspective

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**Abstract:** Romance free choice items (FCIs) are frequently pointed out as resulting from the grammaticalization of the relative determiner *qual* ‘which’ and an element derived from a volition verb, such as *querer* ‘want’. Contrary to other Romance FCIs, Portuguese *qualquer* ‘any’ remains understudied, therefore motivating the current research. In this article, I investigate the syntax and semantics of *qualquer*, from a diachronic perspective, based on examples extracted from 13th and 14th century texts. Analysis of contexts of occurrence of *qualquer* showed that, in Old Portuguese, the elements *qual* and *quer* could combine in different configurations, corresponding to different structures. On the one hand, the relative determiner *qual* could combine with a form of the volition verb in *ever* free relative clauses. On the other hand, *qual* and *quer* were also combined in appositive relative clauses, which seem to be at the core of postnominal *qualquer*. However, similar to what is argued for Old Spanish, *qualquer* was also a quantifier-like element, occurring in prenominal position and giving rise to universal interpretations. The different origins of prenominal and postnominal *qualquer* may help explain the different readings in contemporary data.

**Keywords:** free choice item; indefinite compounds; Old Portuguese; relative clauses; *qualquer*



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## 1. Introduction

The term free choice item (FCI) was first coined by Vendler (1967) to refer to a particular property of the English item *any*: its freedom of choice. The term has been used to refer to items that can express both quantification and indetermination, giving rise to universal and existential readings, as illustrated with the English FCI *any* in (1) and (2), respectively:

- (1) Any student will pass the exam.
- (2) Take any apple from the basket.

In (1), *any student* can be considered equivalent to *every student*, therefore conveying a universal reading, while in (2), *any apple* carries an existential reading. This seems to be a feature of FCIs in general and not exclusive of English *any* and has been a central topic of debate within the semantic analysis of FCIs (cf. Giannakidou 2001).<sup>1</sup>

The fact that these items allow both universal and existential readings poses the problem of knowing whether they should be considered universal quantifiers (cf. Dayal 2004) or existential indefinites (cf. Giannakidou 2001).

Despite the considerable amount of literature on the topic, FCIs have been mainly studied from a synchronic point of view and the diachronic perspective is still roughly explored. Nevertheless, the origin and syntactic/semantic features of FCIs in old stages of a language can help shed some light on their synchronic interpretation.

The comparison of some FCIs in Romance languages shows that these items share a common origin: they frequently result from the combination of a relative determiner or pronoun with a verbal form, most likely a volition or a copula verb, in the early stages of the language (cf. Lombard 1938; Haspelmath 1995). This is the case of Spanish items *cualquier(a)* ‘whatever’, *quienquiera* ‘whoever’, and *dondequiera* ‘wherever’ (cf. Rivero 1986,

1988; Company Company and Pozas Loyo 2009; Company Company 2009; Mackenzie 2019; Elvira 2020); Italian *qualsiasi* and *qualunque* ‘whatever’ (cf. Degano and Aloni 2021; Kellert 2021); and Catalan *qualsevol* (cf. Colomina I Castanyer 2002) and Galician *calquer* ‘whatever’ (cf. Ferreiro 1999), among others.

Old Portuguese data show that the relative determiner *qual* ‘which’ was frequently combined with a form of the volition verb *querer* ‘want’ in *ever* free relative clauses. Nevertheless, I argue that this is probably not the direct source of Portuguese FCI *qualquer*.

This paper aims to (i) provide empirical data on early uses of the FCI *qualquer*, while offering a syntactic and semantic description of its properties; (ii) argue against the idea that Portuguese *qualquer* directly results from *ever* free relative clauses with an additional internal head; (iii) put forth the hypothesis that prenominal and postnominal uses of *qualquer* have different origins and emerge in different chronological periods, resulting in the existence of a prenominal *qualquer* with quantifier-like properties and a postnominal *qualquer* with adjectival properties in Old Portuguese.

### FCI *qualquer* in Synchrony

Before looking at the properties of *qualquer* in Old Portuguese, I briefly refer to the values and uses associated with the contemporary item *qualquer*, in order to highlight the possible differences regarding diachronic uses of the item.

First of all, it is worth mentioning that contrary to the vast literature surrounding the English FCI *any*, there are not many studies on Portuguese *qualquer*. We highlight the work by Mória (1992a), Peres (1987, 2013), and Moreno (2009), which offer mainly a semantic description of the item; and the works by Pires de Oliveira (2005) and Medeiros (2022), which analyze *qualquer* in the Brazilian variety. All of these works have in common the need to account for the several different interpretations displayed by *qualquer*, according to its position regarding the noun and the combination with other indefinite elements.

*Qualquer* associates with nouns and is traditionally paired either with indefinite pronouns or with quantifiers due to the different interpretations it may trigger. Nevertheless, as Peres (2013) observes, none of the classifications seems to totally translate the behaviour of *qualquer*.

Let us look at examples (3) and (4):

(3) *Qualquer* criança faz birra quando lhe dizem ‘não’  
any child do.<sup>3SG.PRES.</sup> tantrum when her.<sup>3SG.DAT</sup> say.<sup>3PL.PRES.</sup> ‘no’  
‘Any child will make a tantrum when told ‘no.’

(4) Não devias conduzir tão depressa. *Qualquer* dia apanhas  
NEG should.<sup>3SG.IMP.</sup> drive so fast any day catch.<sup>2SG.PRES.</sup>  
um susto.  
a fright  
‘You shouldn’t drive so fast. One of these days you will be given a fright.’

As can be seen from the comparison between the two contexts, *qualquer* can trigger a universal reading as in (3), being interpreted as *every child*. On the other hand, it can also convey an existential reading, as in (4), where it is equivalent to *a day, does not matter which*. This duality of meanings is usually a feature associated with other FCIs, as we have mentioned before.

Apart from the universal and the existential readings, *qualquer* may also trigger other values and combine with other elements within the determiner phrase (DP). Peres (2013) accounts for three different values associated with *qualquer*, namely ‘equivalence’, ‘unknown’, and ‘restriction’ values,<sup>2</sup> as exemplified below:

- (5) Será que ele tem *quaisquer* hipóteses de vencer (por poucas que sejam)?  
‘I wonder if he has any chances of winning (no matter how few).’  
(6) Eu já li *qualquer* livro desse autor (não sei qual).  
‘I already read some book by this author (I don’t know which).’

- (7) O presidente não recebe *qualquer* pessoa.  
'The president will not receive anyone.'

(Peres 2013, p. 798)<sup>3</sup>

The examples above all display *qualquer* in the prenominal position. However, contrary to FCIs such as *any*, *qualquer* may also occur in the postnominal position. In this last configuration, there is usually the presence of the indefinite determiner *um* 'a' before the noun and a tendency to favour readings with depreciative flavour as in (8).<sup>4</sup>

- (8) Ela não era uma rapariga *qualquer*.  
'She was not an ordinary girl.'

The combination with the indefinite determiner *um* 'a' and the values assumed by *qualquer* under such a configuration have motivated the proposal by Mória (1992a), with the distinction between three values for *qualquer*: universal, existential, and cardinal.

*Qualquer* also combines with the indefinite *outro* 'other', allowing different word orders, as illustrated from (9) to (11):

- (9) *Qualquer* outra pessoa teria sido mais simpática.  
'Any other person would have been nicer (apart from this one).'
- (10) Outra *qualquer* pessoa teria sido mais simpática.  
'Any other person would have been nicer.'<sup>5</sup>
- (11) Outra pessoa *qualquer* teria sido mais simpática.  
'Another person, no matter who, would have been nicer.'

The major difference in meaning is found between (9) and (11), showing that prenominal and postnominal *qualquer* do not always produce the same interpretation. While in (9), prenominal *qualquer* can refer to every single person, except a particular one, in (11), the existence of at least one person apart from the one at stake is presupposed. I will not elaborate on the issue here (but cf. Peres 1987 and Mória 1992a for a detailed description of contemporary data).

*Qualquer* does not occur with absolute pronominal reading, as, for instance, the indefinites *alguém* 'someone' or *ninguém* 'anyone/no one'. Instances such as (12) are considered ungrammatical<sup>6</sup> in contemporary data (agrammaticality is indicated by \*), even though they are registered in 13th and 14th century texts. It can, however, occur in partitive constructions both in prenominal and postnominal positions as in (13) and (14), respectively:

- (12) \**Qualquer* que seja corajoso vencerá a batalha  
'Whoever that is brave will win the battle.'
- (13) *Qualquer* (um) dos vestidos te fica bem.  
'All of the dresses suit you well.'
- (14) Um vestido *qualquer* dos que compraste ontem fica-te bem.  
'Any random dress from the ones you bought yesterday suits you well.'

In (13) and (14), *qualquer* occurs with a partitive prepositional phrase (PP). According to Pires de Oliveira (2005), the presence of the partitive construction determines that the set of alternatives underlying the freedom of choice of *qualquer* must be known to the speaker. This type of context lacks investigation and raises several questions regarding the indefinite or quantificational nature of *qualquer*.

Despite the presence of the partitive PP in (13) and (14), there are crucial differences, resulting from the position occupied by *qualquer*. First of all, only in (13) is the presence

of the indefinite *um* 'a' optional. Secondly, only in (13) is the partitive PP being directly selected by *qualquer*. Partitive complements are traditionally selected by quantifiers, which would position prenominal *qualquer* as a quantifier-like element.

As far as sentence (14) is concerned, the quantificational reading of *qualquer* in such contexts is frequently associated with the presence of *um*. However, the exact nature of *um* remains undetermined, since we can be in the presence of the indefinite determiner or the cardinal numeral. I am inclined to consider that the element *um* that combines with *qualquer* is an indefinite determiner instead of the cardinal element. The reason why I argue in this direction is related to the agrammaticality of contexts such as (16) and (17) where the adverb of exclusion *só* 'only' or the (prenominal) adjective *único* 'single' force a cardinal interpretation of *um*.<sup>7</sup> If *um* was interpreted as a cardinal, we would expect these contexts to be felicitous, but they are not, suggesting that *um* is the indefinite determiner. Furthermore, cardinal *um* is incompatible with the idea of freedom of choice, since it is impossible to choose if the set only contains one element.

- |      |                                 |     |        |                   |                   |
|------|---------------------------------|-----|--------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (15) | Escolhe                         | uma | maçã   | <i>qualquer</i> . |                   |
|      | Choose                          | a   | apple  | any               |                   |
|      | 'Choose any apple.'             |     |        |                   |                   |
|      |                                 |     |        |                   |                   |
| (16) | *Escolhe                        | uma | só     | maçã              | <i>qualquer</i> . |
|      | Choose                          | a   | only   | apple             | any               |
|      | *'Choose just one any apple.'   |     |        |                   |                   |
|      |                                 |     |        |                   |                   |
| (17) | *Escolhe                        | uma | única  | maçã              | <i>qualquer</i> . |
|      | Choose                          | a   | single | apple             | any               |
|      | *'Choose one single any apple.' |     |        |                   |                   |

Finally, one last note on *qualquer* is related to the existence of the plural form *quaisquer*. The morpheme *-s* marking plural is still added after *qual* and not at the end of the word.<sup>8</sup> This fact is still a reminder of the compositional nature of *qualquer*, as will be shown in the next sections.

## 2. Materials and Methods

In this section, I present a few considerations concerning the sources and methodology on which the present work relies.

The data under analysis are circumscribed to the chronological period corresponding to Old Portuguese, which comprehends the 13th and 14th centuries, roughly following the periodization proposal for Portuguese by Cintra (cf. [Castro 1999](#)).<sup>9</sup> This short timespan seems to be crucial for the development of the FCI *qualquer*, since it is only during this period that we find different configurations of the construction involving the relative *qual* and a form of the volition verb *querer* 'want'.

In order to constitute a sample corpus, searches were performed semi-automatically, by searching the word *qual* and extracting only the relevant examples. All sentences containing a form of *qualquer* were then inserted in a database, using the program *FileMaker Pro 12 Advanced*,<sup>10</sup> and they were annotated with relevant information, such as the order of the elements in the compound and their position in relation to the nominal element; the presence of modifiers; tense of the verbal form *querer* 'want'; and other relevant features. The encoding of the examples and the annotation of relevant parameters allowed an easier comparison of the contexts.

As far as the textual sources are concerned, for the 13th century sample, I have considered the following texts:

*Demanda do Santo Graal* (DSG)—the full version of the edition by [Piel and Nunes \(1988\)](#), in an electronic format;

*Foro Real* (FR)—the full version of the edition by [Ferreira \(1987\)](#), available online through the corpus CIPM (cf. [Xavier 1993–2003](#));<sup>11</sup>

Legal documents edited by [Martins \(2001\)](#) in Documentos Portugueses do Noroeste e da Região de Lisboa (DPNRL);

Medieval Galician-Portuguese poetry (GP-poetry), in the edition compiled by [Brea \(1996\)](#), and available through the TMILG<sup>12</sup> corpus platform (cf. [Varela Barreiro 2004](#)).

For the 14th century sample, I have chosen the sources below:

*Crónica Geral de Espanha* (CGE)—the full version of the editions by [Pedrosa \(2012\)](#) and [Miranda \(2013\)](#), as part of their masters’ thesis;

*Diálogos de São Gregório* (DG)—the full text of the electronic edition by [Machado Filho \(2013\)](#);

*Dos Costumes de Santarém* (DCS)—the texts written between 1340–1360, in the edition by [Rodrigues \(1992\)](#), available online through the corpus CIPM.

Due to the scarcity of sources for Old Portuguese, I have considered some texts which have been transmitted by later copies. That is the case of *Demanda do Santo Graal* (DSG), *Crónica Geral de Espanha* (CGE), and *Medieval Portuguese-Galician poetry* (GP-poetry) on which some clarifications should be added.

Starting with the DSG text, it corresponds to a 15th century copy of an allegedly early 13th century translation from French. Despite the dating issues, I have considered it to be representative of 13th century Portuguese, based on the works by [Castro \(1993\)](#), [Toledo Neto \(2012\)](#), [Martins \(2013\)](#), and [Pinto \(2021\)](#), among others.

As far as the CGE text is concerned, the edition used is based on manuscript L, which is from the first quarter of the 15th century (cf. [Cintra 1951–1990](#)) and closer to the original text from 1344 (the original manuscript, called manuscript Y by [Cintra \(1951–1990\)](#), was lost).

Finally, Medieval Galician-Portuguese poetry is transmitted by three manuscripts, two of which are from the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century (*Cancioneiro da Vaticana* and *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional*) and one from the end of the 13th century (*Cancioneiro da Ajuda*). The edition used by the corpus TMILG, and which we have consulted here, is based on the three manuscripts. Despite the chronology of the manuscript, they are said to reflect 13th century Portuguese.

Table 1 shows the estimated number of words contained in each text and the total number of words per century.

**Table 1.** Number of words per century and text.

Text	13th Century					14th Century			Total	
	DSG	GP-Poetry	DPNRL	FR	Total	CGE	DG	DCS		
Number of words	212,145	?	29,847	51,022	293,014	403,580	106,166	33,690	543,436	836,450
Forms of <i>qualquer</i> (in percentage)	0.008%	-	0.04%	0.098%		0.008%	0.014%	0.08%		

As one can see, the total number of words is higher in the 14th century, due to the nature of the sample, which contains a very long text (the CGE text). On the other hand, textual sources for the 13th century are not abundant, resulting in a lower number of words. I was not able to determine the number of words for the 13th century part constituted by Galician-Portuguese poetry. Searches were performed using the corpus TMILG, which contains the edition compiled by [Brea \(1996\)](#), but to which there is no indication of the exact number of words.

I have collected the occurrences where *qualquer* takes the exact same form as in contemporary Portuguese,<sup>13</sup> but I have also considered the occurrences displaying (i) the elements *qual* and *quer* in adjacency but graphically separated (that is *qual quer*); (ii) the elements *qual* and *quer* separated by a lexical element (as in *qual X quer*); and (iii) the elements *qual* and *quer* with the previous two configurations, but with the verbal element displaying variable inflection (as in *qual quiser* or *qual X quiser*).

As Table 1 also shows, the FCI *qualquer* is not a frequent item in any of the texts, being, however, more expressive in the text of *Foro Real* (FR), representing 0.098% of all the words in the document.

The corpus has a total of 166 occurrences of *qualquer*, with 90 belonging to the 13th and 76 to the 14th century. It should be noticed that, despite having a higher number of total words in the 14th century, the number of occurrences found for *qualquer* is lower than the one for the 13th century<sup>14</sup>.

In the next sections, I present the data collected for medieval *qualquer*. The description of some particular syntactic features of *qualquer* is made under a generative grammar perspective. I very briefly refer to classical projections, such as determiner phrase (DP) (cf. Abney 1987), complementizer phrase (CP) (cf. Rizzi 1997), and quantifier phrase (QP) (Cardinaletti and Giusti 1992).

### 3. *Qualquer* in Medieval Portuguese

#### 3.1. General Distribution and Patterns of Occurrence

The data collected shows that medieval *qualquer* displayed different behaviour from the contemporary item, being able to occur in some syntactic configurations that seem to have been lost after the 14th century.<sup>15</sup>

Looking at the data, we identify three main configurations for *qualquer*, in terms of word order. The first one corresponds to *qualquer* preceding a nominal element and which we call prenominal. The second configuration presents *qualquer* following a nominal element, therefore in postnominal position. The third configuration presents the two elements *qual* and *quer* separated by a lexical item, which, in most cases, is a noun. These cases are illustrated from (18) to (20), respectively. To these three patterns, we add a pronominal use, therefore without the presence of any nominal element, as in (21).

- (18) [...] e rogamos a *qualquer* Tabellion que esta carta ujr  
 and ask.<sup>1PL.PRES</sup> to any notary that this letter see  
 que faça ende a carta da dita partiçõ.  
 that do.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> of.that the letter of.the said division  
 ‘and we ask any notary who sees this legal document that writes the legal document of the aforementioned division.’  
 (DPNRL)
- (19) [...] que nenhua das pessoas sobredictas  
 defendemos  
 prohibit.<sup>1PL.PRES</sup> that none of.the persons aforementioned  
 nõ possa meter a juyzo nenhua villa  
 NEG can.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> put to judgement none village  
 nen castello nen outro herdamẽto *qualquer*  
 nor castle nor other property any  
 ‘we prohibit that none of the aforementioned people can put under trial any village, nor castle, nor any other inheritance.’  
 (*Foro Real*)
- (20) [...] e manda seu cavallo a *qual* parte *quer*  
 and send.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> your horse to which part want  
 pello freo e o faz star quando *quer*  
 by.the bridle and it make.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> be when want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup>  
 ‘and sends his horse where he wants by the bridle and makes it stand when he wants.’  
 (*Demanda do Santo Graal*)

(21)	E	por	esto	maldicto	he	qualquer	que
	and	by	this	cursed	be. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>	anyone	that
	treiçom	faz,	ca	des	ally	adiante	nunca
	betrayal	do. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>	because	since	there	forward	never
	se	nê huu	quer	chamar	do	seu	linhagem,
	se. <sup>REFLX</sup>	no one	want. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>	call	of.the	his	lineage
	assy	como	foy	deste.			
	this.way	as	be. <sup>3SG.PAST</sup>	of.this			

‘And for this reason, anyone who commits betrayal is cursed, because from that moment afterwards, no one wants to be called from his lineage, as it happened with him.’

(Crónica Geral de Espanha)

These configurations reflect different syntactic structures and may be assigned to three different groups, which are adopted from this moment on. I refer to prenominal *qualquer*, where pronominal uses are included; postnominal *qualquer*, which includes instances of an already lexicalized *qualquer* modifying a nominal element; and finally, I refer to relative *qualquer* to account for the cases where the underlying structure is still a relative clause. This group includes all the examples of discontinuous *qual* and a verbal form of *querer* (which we identify as *ever* free relative clauses and appositive relative clauses). Table 2 presents the distribution of each pattern in terms of number of occurrences, as well as in percentage.

Table 2. Distribution of occurrences of *qualquer* by source and century.

	13th Century									
	DSG	%	GP-Poetry	%	DPNRL	%	FR	%	TOTAL	%
postnominal <i>qualquer</i>	0	0	2	17	0	0	19	38	21	23
prenominal <i>qualquer</i>	5	31	2	17	12	100	19	38	38	42
relative <i>qualquer</i>	11	69	8	67	0	0	12	24	31	34
Total	16		12		12		50		90	
	14th Century							TOTAL		
	CGE	%	DG	%	DCS	%	TOTAL	%	13th + 14th	%
postnominal <i>qualquer</i>	1	3	8	53	12	44	21	28	42	25
prenominal <i>qualquer</i>	30	88	4	27	11	41	45	59	83	50
relative <i>qualquer</i>	3	9	3	20	4	15	10	13	41	25
Total	34		15		27		76		166	

When we compare the frequency of each pattern in the two centuries, we see that there are some changes from the 13th to the 14th century, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows that prenominal *qualquer* was the most frequent configuration in 13th century data, followed by relative clauses with the elements *qual* and *quer*. However, while occurrences of prenominal *qualquer* continued to increase in the following century, the relative clause configuration decreased. Finally, there was also an increase in postnominal *qualquer* (N *qualquer*) from the 13th to the 14th century, although it is not as accentuated as in the previous configurations.

The frequencies presented above show that relative clauses with *qual* and *quer* started declining after the 13th century and *ever* free relatives disappeared from the language after the medieval period. On the other hand, prenominal and postnominal occurrences become the widespread patterns, probably filling in the gap left by the disappearance of the relative clause pattern.

In the following sections, I argue in favour of the existence of two items *qualquer* in Old Portuguese. There was a use of *qual* and *quer* associated with relative clauses (both *ever*

free and appositive relatives) and displaying different levels of grammaticalization; and there was also a specifier *qualquer*, which already behaved as an independent constituent (even though it may have originated in a relative clause in a much earlier period).

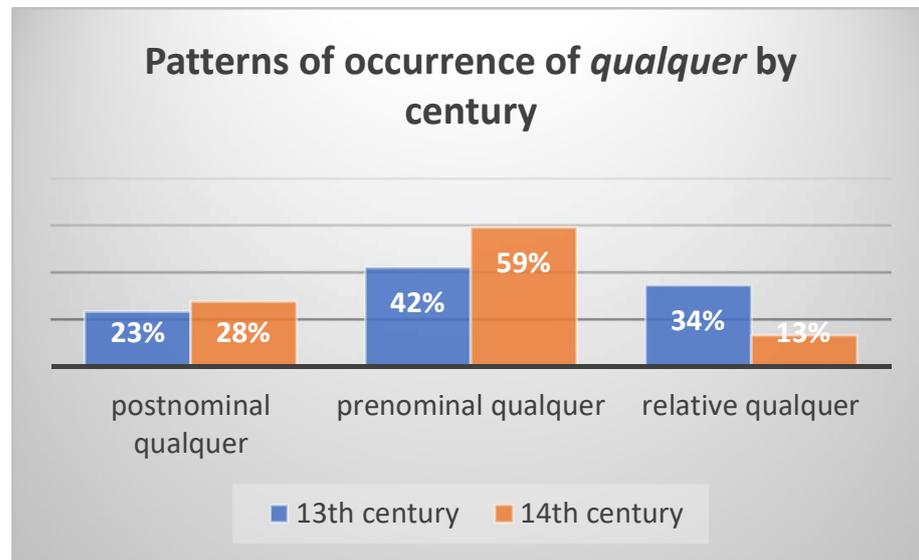


Figure 1. Patterns of occurrence of *qualquer* by century.

### 3.2. Relative *Qualquer*

Medieval Romance FCIs are said to originate in relative clauses (cf. Rivero 1984, 1988; Haspelmath 1995; Company Company 2009). Old Portuguese also displayed relative clauses involving the relative *qual* and a verbal form of *querer*, both in adjacency and in a discontinuous configuration. In this section, we look at occurrences of *qualquer* that correspond to instances of relative clauses.

The relative determiner *qual* is said to originate in the Latin form *QUALIS*, which was used as a *wh*-element in interrogative and exclamative clauses, but also participated in correlative constructions with the form *QUALIS...TALIS* (cf. Ernout and Thomas 1972, p. 156). Its use as a relative element is not registered in Latin, though. It has, therefore, been considered a Romance innovation, but this is a question still open to debate, since some authors situate its emergence already in Latin (cf. Ramat 2005).

In Old Portuguese, *qual* is registered in the corresponding contexts listed for Latin *QUALIS* and as a relative determiner/pronoun, introducing relative clauses.

Data from our corpus attests the possibility in Old Portuguese, with *qual* being a relative determiner in combination with a form of the volition verb *querer* ‘want’, as illustrated in (22) and (23) below:

- (22) «Certas gram folia buscades.» «Qual folia quer  
 certainly great amusement search.<sup>2PL.PRES</sup> which amusement want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup>  
 que seja», disse Ivam o Bastardo, «a  
 that be.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> say.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup> Ivam the Illegitimate to  
 mim teer me convem pois que o  
 me have me suit.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> because that it  
 comecei  
 start.<sup>1SG.PAST</sup>  
 ‘You certainly search for great amusement. Whichever amusement that is, said Ivam, the Illegitimate, having it suits me since I have started it.’

(Demanda do Santo Graal)

(23)	mais but quiseres want. <sup>2SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup> 'but choose any death you want and we will give it to you'	escolhi choose:2SG.IMP e and	tu you darch'a-emos give. <sup>1PL.FUT_it.ACC</sup>	huma a	morte death	qual which
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(Diálogos de São Gregório)

In (22), the element *qual* introduces a relative clause and combines with a verbal form *quer*, but the two items are separated by lexical material, namely the noun *folia* 'amusement'. In fact, *qual folia* 'which amusement' corresponds to the head (that is, a head and an additional internal head) of the relative clause, while *quer* is the verbal form, initially selecting a clausal complement introduced by *que* 'that'. This relative clause seems to be a free relative clause since there is no lexical antecedent.

On the other hand, in (23), the relative determiner *qual* is immediately followed by the verbal form *quer*, but contrary to (22), there is a nominal antecedent, which indicates that this is an appositive relative clause, modifying the noun. The two examples show us that *qual* and *quer* could combine in two types of relative clauses—free relatives and appositives.

Let us start by looking at free relative clauses. There are two different types of free relatives described in the literature: plain free relatives and *ever* free relatives. While it is generally assumed that plain free relatives have a definite interpretation, *ever* free relatives are associated with universal readings (cf. Dayal 1997). Examples (24) and (25), taken from Dayal (1997, p. 99), illustrate the two types of free relatives:

- (24) I ordered what he ordered for dessert. (=the thing he ordered for dessert);
- (25) John will read whatever Bill assigns. (=everything/anything Bill assigns).

The plain free relative in (24) produces an interpretation similar to a definite determiner phrase (DP), while the *ever* free relative in (25) has a prototypical universal reading.<sup>16</sup>

It is not my goal to investigate the semantics of plain and *ever* free relatives here (cf. Šimik 2020 for a semantic analysis), but a few comparative considerations should be made regarding *ever* free relatives, due to their parallel with free relatives with volition verbs in Romance languages, such as Portuguese. In Portuguese, the equivalent structure of *ever* free relative clauses involves the presence of an element originating from a volition verb meaning want,<sup>17</sup> that is, the case of the element *quer*, which results from the third person singular form of the verb *querer* 'want' in the Simple Present Indicative, as in (26b). The pairs in (26) and (27) illustrate the differences between a plain free relative and a relative with *quer* in Portuguese.

(26)	a.	Quem who 'Who comes to the party will have fun.'	vier come: <sup>3SG.FUT-SUBJ</sup> to.the	à to.the	festa party	irá will	divertir-se have.fun
	b.	Quem who 'Whoever comes to the party will have fun.'	<i>quer</i> <i>ever</i> que that	venha come: <sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> to.the	à to.the	festa party	irá will divertir-se have.fun
(27)	a.	Vou go. <sup>1SG.PRES</sup> 'I will go with you where you go.'	contigo with.you	onde where	fores. go. <sup>2SG.FUT</sup>		
	b.	Vou go. <sup>1SG.PRES</sup> 'I will go with you wherever you go.'	contigo with.you	onde where	<i>quer</i> <i>ever</i>	que that	vás. go. <sup>2SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>

Although the relative clauses in each pair (26) and (27) may refer to the same entity/place, there are differences in meaning, as well as in the syntax, with free relatives with *quer* being modified by a restrictive relative clause with the subjunctive mood.

*Ever* free relatives can be considered semantically equivalent to free relatives with *quer* 'ever' in Portuguese, as seems clear from the comparison between the pairs in (28) and (29).

- (28) a. I will do whatever the teacher asks me.
- b. I will do anything/everything the teacher asks me.

- (29) a. Farei *o* *que* *quer* *que* *a* *professora* *peça.*  
do.<sup>1SG.FUT</sup> the what ever that the teacher ask.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>
- b. Farei *qualquer* *coisa/* *tudo* *o* *que* *a* *professora* *peça.*  
do.<sup>1SG.FUT</sup> any thing/ everything the that the teacher ask.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>

As shown in (28b) and (29b), it is possible to assume both a universal and an existential reading for the two sentences since the relevant strings ‘whatever’/‘o que quer’ can be replaced by *anything/qualquer coisa*, activating a free choice reading or by *everything/tudo*, which corresponds to universal quantification.

This seems to show that free relatives with *quer* are parallel to *ever* free relatives. Therefore, I adopt the term *ever* free relative to refer to free relatives combining the relative determiner *qual* and the particle *quer* resulting from a volition verb, whenever there is no nominal antecedent. This type of free relative clause is also known as a non-specific free relative (cf. Haspelmath 1995).

### 3.2.1. Ever Free Relative Clauses in Old Portuguese

*Ever* free relative clauses with a volition verb are frequently found in Old Portuguese texts as a strategy to introduce non-specific or indefinite references.<sup>18</sup> Relative elements in *ever* free relatives can refer to [+/-human] or [+/-animate] entities, but they can also have a [+locative], [+temporal], or a [+manner] reading. Examples (30) to (35) illustrate these possibilities, with the following relative elements: *quē* ‘who’, *que* ‘what’, *u* ‘where’, *quando* ‘when’, *como* ‘how’, and *qual* ‘which’ in Old Portuguese:

- (30) E *quē* *quer* *que* *contra* *isto* *ueer* *ou*  
and who want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that against this see.<sup>3SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup> or  
fazer *algũa* *cousa* *moyra* *porende* *e* *nõ* *seya*  
do some thing die for.that and NEG be.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>  
leyxado *uiuo.*  
left alive

‘And whoever sees or does something against this, must die for it and not be left alive.’

(*Foro Real*)

- (31) Mais *nom* *me* *chal,* *que* *quer* *que* *me*  
more NEG me.<sup>1SG.DAT</sup> heat what want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that me.<sup>1SG.DAT</sup>  
avenha *desta* *batalha,* *ca* *ataa* *aqui* *ouve*  
come.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> of.this battle because until here have.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup>  
ende *a* *honra* *e* *vos* *a* *desonra.*  
of.that the honour and you the dishonour

‘But it doesn’t matter whatever comes to me from that battle because until now I only had the honour and you the dishonour.’

(*Demanda do Santo Graal*)

- (32) «Nom», *disse* *el,* «mas *Deos* *os* *garde*  
No say.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup> he but God them protect.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>  
todos, *u* *quer* *que* *elles* *sejam!*»  
all where want.<sup>3SG.PRES.</sup> that they be.<sup>3PL.PRES.SUBJ.</sup>

‘No, he said, but God protects them all, wherever they are!’

(*Demanda do Santo Graal*)

- (33) E todos (co)munalmente seyã teodos de fazerlhy  
 and all communally be.<sup>3PL.PRES.SUBJ</sup> have.<sup>Past.Part.</sup> of do.him.<sup>3SG.DAT</sup>  
 menagẽ a el ou a quẽ el mandar  
 homage to he or to who he send.<sup>3SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup>  
 en seu logo quando quer que mãe.  
 in his place when want.<sup>3SG.PRES.</sup> that order.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>

'And all should pay him homage, to him or to whom he sends on his behalf, whenever he orders.'

(Foro Real)

- (34) [...] a [ey]greia receba todo o seu como  
 the church receive.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> all the his as  
 quer que seya achado  
 want.<sup>3SG.PRES.</sup> that be.<sup>3PL.PRES.SUBJ</sup> found.

'may the church receive all that belongs to it, however it is found.'

(Foro Real)

- (35) [...] outorga-me que a minha alma seja  
 grant.me.<sup>1SG.DAT</sup> that the my soul be.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>  
 com a sua de pos minha morte  
 with the your of after my death  
 e de pos a sua em qual  
 and of after the your in which  
 lugar quer que el seja  
 place want.<sup>3SG.PRES.</sup> that it be.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>

'and grant me that my soul be with hers after our deaths, whichever place it might be.'

(Demanda do Santo Graal)

As is visible in the examples above, these *ever* free relatives display a universal/existential interpretation due to the maximality effect observed for free relatives (cf. [Jacobson 1995](#)).

*Ever* free relatives with *querer* were frequent in Old Portuguese and were kept in the language with all relative items (*quem, onde, quando, o que*), as attested by examples (36) to (40).<sup>19</sup> The exception is the relative *qual*, which is ungrammatical in constructions such as (41a), which were attested in Old Portuguese. This is so because in CEP, *qual* cannot occur as a relative determiner taking an internal head.<sup>20</sup> It is, however, possible to have a context such as (41b), but in this case, the relevant constituent is no longer a relative element, but the FCI *qualquer*.

- (36) Quem quer que use este vestido ficará ridículo  
 who want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that wear.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> this dress be.<sup>3SG.FUT</sup> ridiculous  
 'Whoever wears this dress will be ridiculous.'

- (37) Onde quer que vás, irei contigo.  
 where want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that go.<sup>2SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> go.<sup>1SG.FUT</sup> with.you  
 'Wherever you go, I will go with you'

- (38) Esperarei por ti, quando quer que venhas.  
 wait.<sup>1SG.FUT</sup> for you when want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that come.<sup>2sg.Pres.Subj</sup>  
 'I will wait for you whenever you come.'

- (39) O que quer que digam não é verdade.  
 the what want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that say.<sup>3PL.PRES.SUBJ</sup> NEG be.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> truth  
 'Whatever they say, it is not truth.'

- (40) Venderei o carro como quer que esteja.  
 sell.<sup>1SG.FUT</sup> the car how want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that be.<sup>3SG.SUBJ</sup>  
 'I will sell the car how ever it is'.

- (41a) \*Qual problema *quer* que seja, será resolvido  
 what problem want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that be.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> be.<sup>3SG.FUT</sup> solved  
 ‘Whatever problem it is, it will be solved.’
- (41b) *Qualquer* que seja o problema, será resolvido  
 whatever that be.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> the problem be.<sup>3SG.FUT</sup> solved  
 ‘Whatever the problem is, it will be solved.’

An anonymous reviewer called attention to the possibility of *ever* free relatives with *qual* involving a referentially vague noun to have competed with other relative items. Although we find different nouns in *ever* free relatives, Table 3 shows that some nouns with generic interpretation appeared more often.

**Table 3.** Nouns occurring between *qual* and *quer* in *ever* free relative.

andança ‘wandering’	clérigo ‘cleric’	cousa ‘thing’	desventura ‘misfortune’	dona ‘lady’	feito ‘deed’	folia ‘amusement’	guisa ‘manner’	homem ‘man’	hora ‘hour’	judeu ‘jew’	juiz ‘judge’	justiça ‘justice’	lugar ‘place’	ordem ‘order’	parte ‘part’	pecador ‘sinner’	tempo ‘time’	terra ‘land’	vilania ‘vilany’	total
1	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	2	1	30

For instance, occurrences of *qual cousa quer* ‘which thing want’ or *qual tempo quer* ‘which time want’ may be considered equivalent to *o que quer* ‘what (you) want’ and *quando quer* ‘when you want’, respectively.

Although there are no grammaticalized forms involving *ever* free relatives headed by other relatives in Portuguese, in such contexts, the volition verb is not interpreted as a full lexical verb anymore. It seems to correspond to what Haspelmath (1995) called an *indefiniteness marker* since it occurs under the frozen form *quer* at all times and it is emptied from its original lexical meaning.<sup>21</sup> Contrary to Portuguese, in other Romance languages, such as Spanish, we find grammaticalized forms such as *cualquier*, as well as also *quienquier*.

In fact, Romance FCIs from the WH-*quer* series have similarities with WH-*ever* FCIs in English, or with WH-*immer* constructions in German, showing that the emergence of FCIs from relative constructions is a much broader phenomenon. However, unlike Portuguese *qualquer* and its Romance cognates, English WH-*ever* FCIs keep their clausal status, not being able to take an NP argument (cf. Giannakidou and Cheng 2006).<sup>22</sup>

### 3.2.2. Ever Free Relative Clauses with *Qual* and *Quer*

In (42), we find *qual* introducing an *ever* free relative clause, in association with a form of the volition verb *querer* ‘want’,

- (42) [...] devo encobrir a todo meu poder minha  
 should hide to all my power my  
 catividade, *qual* pecador *quer* que eu seja.  
 captivity which sinner want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that I be.<sup>1SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>  
 ‘I should hide my captivity by all means, whichever sinner I may be.’

(Demanda do Santo Graal)

*Ever* free relative clauses with *qual* distinguished themselves from similar relatives headed by other elements due to the possibility of selecting a nominal additional internal head. Free relative clauses are usually considered headless relatives since they do not have a lexical antecedent.<sup>23</sup> In an *ever* free relative like (42) above, *qual* is a relative determiner

followed by a nominal internal head—the noun *pecador* ‘sinner’. The sequence *qual pecador* ‘which sinner’ can then be considered a wh-phrase, in the sense of Caponigro (2019).

Sentences such as (43) below indicate that variable verbal inflection was possible in earlier uses of the construction, confirming its clausal status.

- (43) -Vai per teu conto a qual terra quiseres [...]  
 go.<sup>2SG.IMP</sup> by your tale to which land want.<sup>2SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup>  
 ‘-Go by your means to whatever land you want’  
 (Diálogos de São Gregório)

Despite the high frequency of *ever* free relative clauses in 13th century corpus, data already point to the ongoing grammaticalization of the volition verb *querer* into an indefiniteness marker (cf. Haspelmath 1995). In (43), the volition verb is inflected in the second person, Future Subjunctive,<sup>24</sup> but the majority of the examples in the corpus already display the fixed form *quer*, which may have been ambiguous during this period between a verbal form and non-verbal marker expressing indefiniteness.

For instance, in (44), the form *quer* that follows the noun *hora* ‘hour’ can no longer be interpreted as the lexical verb. *Hora* ‘hour’ cannot be the subject or object of *quer*; in other words, there are no arguments of *quer* in this sentence. In (44), it seems that *qual hora quer* is being interpreted as a nominal constituent with a free choice reading, followed by a restrictive relative clause. The form *quer* functions as an indefiniteness marker, rather than a full lexical verb, not selecting a complement.<sup>25</sup>

- (44) Mays qual hora quer que sabhia dalguu  
 but which hour want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that know.<sup>3SG:PRES.SUBJ</sup> of.some  
 erege logo o faça a saber ao  
 heretic soon it.<sup>ACC</sup> do.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> to know to.the  
 bispo da terra  
 bishop of.the land  
 ‘but at whatever time you learn of a heretic, tell it to the bishop of that land right away.’  
 (Foro Real)

This takes us to another particular feature of *ever* free relative clauses with *qual* and the volition verb—the frequent presence of *que* clauses after the verb, as in (45):

- (45) «qual vilani(a) quer que eu faza i  
 which villainy want.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> that I do.<sup>1SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> there  
 contra vos, a justar vos convem ou  
 against you.<sup>2PL-ACC</sup> to fight you.<sup>2PL-DAT</sup> suit.<sup>3SG.PRES.</sup> or  
 queirades ou nom.»  
 want.<sup>2PL.PRES.SUBJ</sup>br NEG  
 ‘Whatever villainy I do against you, you should fight it, whether you want it or not.’  
 (Demanda do Santo Graal)

The nature of these *que* clauses is not consensual due to the initial ambiguity between a complement clause of the volition verb and a restrictive relative clause introduced by a relative pronoun. In early examples, the exact nature of the element *quer* (still a verb or already an indefiniteness marker) may not be straightforward.

Based on Old Spanish data, both Rivero (1988) and Company Company (2009) consider these *que* clauses to be dominantly restrictive relative clauses already in the medieval period. However, a different analysis is suggested by Mackenzie (2019), with the interpretation of *que* clauses still as complement clauses selected by the volition verb. Mackenzie (2019, p. 195) considers that contexts with a *que* clause represent «a violation of Chomsky and Lasnik’s (1977) ‘doubly-filled Comp’ filter, a constraint requiring the complementizer to be silent if an overt wh-word is also present in the same area of clause structure». I will comment on this later.

Even though *que* clauses have allegedly started as complement clauses of the volition verb, data from our corpus fails to attest this construction, since sentences displaying the volition verb with different inflection from the ambiguous third person singular Present tense *quer* do not occur with a *que* clause.

Additionally, the large majority, if not all, of the examples with a *que* clause seem to favour its interpretation as a restrictive relative. This aligns with the idea that the verbal form *quer* was losing its lexical properties and becoming an indefiniteness marker. Sentences such as (46) below rule out the complement clause interpretation.

(46)	Porque	os	comendadores de	qual	ordī	<i>quer</i>
	because	the	commanders of	which	order	want. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>
	que	sō	postos enas	baylias	nō	poden
	that	be. <sup>3PL.PRES.IND</sup>	put in.the	<i>bailia</i> <sup>26</sup>	NEG	can. <sup>3PL.PRES</sup>
	auer	seus	mayores pera	demandar	seus	dereytos
	have	their	superiors to	demand	their	rights
	sobellas	cousas	que perteeçen	as	baylias	
	over.the	things	that belong	to.the	bailias	

'Because the commanders of whatever order who are assigned for the *bailias* cannot have their superiors to demand their rights over things belonging to the *bailias*.'

(*Foro Real*)

In (46), the *que* clause is a restrictive relative clause modifying the noun *comendadores* 'commanders' (i.e., it restricts the set of commanders to the subset of those who are assigned to the *bailias*). In this particular context, the form *quer* is no longer interpreted as the volition verb, therefore not selecting a complement anymore. Furthermore, if the *que* clause was a complement clause of *querer*, we would expect the main verb to be in the subjunctive mood, as in sentence (45) above. However, '*sō postos*' displays an indicative mood.

It seems that in the 13th century, *ever* free relative clauses were no longer unambiguously clausal instances since in most, if not all, of the examples, the volition verb is not fully behaving as a lexical verb anymore. The grammaticalization of the volition verb into an indefiniteness marker could have been the trigger for the reanalysis of *ever* free relative clauses such as the FCI *qualquer*. However, this proposal faces some challenges as far as Portuguese data are concerned.

In their analysis of Old Spanish data, [Company Company and Pozas Loyo \(2009\)](#) propose a three-step grammaticalization path for FCI *cualquier*. The authors consider that the first stage consisted of an *ever* free relative clause with an additional internal head, like the one presented in (46) for Portuguese. In a second stage, the free relative would occupy a prenominal position, but with the nominal element remaining *in situ* (as in *cual quiera castigo* 'which want.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> punishment'), until it was reanalyzed as a non-clausal element, therefore reaching the third stage.

Also referring to Old Spanish, we find the proposal by [Mackenzie \(2019\)](#), who gives as an example of an *ever* free relative clause with *qual* and a form of the volition verb, the context presented in (47).

- (47) que por [CP de quales quier malas costumbres que ell omne sea].  
'... that whatever bad habits a man might be prone to [. . .]'

([Mackenzie 2019](#), p. 194, *General estoria I*, fol. 272v)

At this point, I would like to address the problem of the violation of the 'doubly-filled Comp' filter introduced by [Mackenzie \(2019\)](#) that has been referred to earlier in this section. The context presented below in (47) is given by [Mackenzie \(2019\)](#) as an example of the violation of the 'doubly-filled Comp' filter involving *ever* free relatives with *qual* and a volition verb in Old Spanish. I consider that there is no violation of the 'doubly-filled Comp' filter here since *quales quier* does not correspond to an *ever* free relative but to a specifier of the noun, as we will see later on.

The example in (47) raises, however, a crucial question relative to the emergence of an independent item *qualquer*. Is it possible that *ever* free relative clauses with *qual* and *quer* taking an additional nominal head gave place to both prenominal and postnominal *qualquer*? This has been the evolution initially proposed by Cuervo (1893) and which has been followed by some authors (cf. Company Company and Pozas Loyo 2009) but rejected by others (cf. Elvira 2020) for Old Spanish.

Let us assume that the starting point of *qualquer* in (47) was an *ever* free relative clause like (46), with *qual* selecting an additional internal head. This configuration would determine that two relevant elements—*qual* and *quer*—would have first been separated by a nominal item, as in *qual maneyra quer* ‘which manner wants’. The presence of the nominal element between the relative determiner and the verbal form/indefiniteness marker would block the adjacency required for reanalysis. The nominal element could not be interpreted as the additional internal head anymore since it would occur after the verbal form, and therefore already under inflection phrase (IP), as the hypothetical representation in (48) illustrates.

(48) [DP [CP [C *qual*[IP *quer* [NP *maneyra*]]]]

Following Company Company and Pozas Loyo (2009), Kellert (2021, p. 17) considers that a configuration such as (48) corresponds to a relative clause with the NP *in situ*, which would be the second stage of grammaticalization of Spanish *cualquier(a)* and Italian *qualunque*. Although such a hypothesis should not be ruled out for Portuguese, I found no empirical evidence in the data to sustain such a stage.<sup>27</sup> Even though split DPs are registered in Old Portuguese (cf. Martins 2004), this configuration seems to apply mainly to modifiers and not to the splitting of the relative determiner and the additional internal head (cf. Cardoso 2011), as would be the case for (48). Furthermore, for the same chronological period, I did not find cases of NP *in situ* with the only other relative determiner taking an additional internal head: the relative *quanto(s)* ‘how.many/much’. Finally, *ever* free relative clauses with the NP *in situ* seem incompatible with the cases where *qualquer* combines with the indefinite element *outro* ‘other’ to its left as in *outro qualquer N*.<sup>28</sup> We look at these examples further on.

Germanic constructions with WH-*immer* seem to parallel *ever* free relatives with *qual*, due to the presence of an additional internal head, despite the non-verbal origin of *immer* ‘ever’. According to Bossuyt and Leuschner (2020, p. 207), WH-*immer* constructions in German are still not grammaticalized due to the impossibility of splitting the complex WH formed by the relative *welcher* ‘which’ and the nominal element (*welches \*immer Buch* ‘whichever book’), similar to what we saw in *ever* free relatives with *qual*.

So far, we have argued that a merge of *qual* and *quer* seems unlikely due to the presence of an additional internal head. However, it is also relevant that *ever* free relative clauses with *qual* and *quer* ceased to be available after the 14th century. Elvira (2020) claims that the relative *qual* disappears from Old Spanish and that is the reason why *ever* free relatives with *qual* cease to occur. The same explanation fits the Portuguese case. As we have seen previously, *ever* free relative clauses existed in Old Portuguese introduced by different relative items. They all continue to occur in CEP, except for the ones introduced by *qual*. As such, it is not the case that the paradigm of *ever* free relatives disappeared or changed, but only that *qual* stopped being available. In fact, all instances of bare *qual* as a relative element have disappeared from the language. Only the relative pronoun *o-qual* is kept, but contrary to what was verified in Old Portuguese, it stops occurring with an additional internal head (cf. Cardoso 2008, 2011)<sup>29</sup>.

In the next subsection, we look at appositive relative clauses, which were another clausal context of occurrence of *qual* and *quer*. Appositive relative clauses seem more likely to have favoured the reanalysis of the two elements.

### 3.2.3. Appositive Relative Clauses with *Qual* and *Quer*

Apart from *ever* free relative clauses, the relative determiner *qual* also combines with a form of the volition verb *querer* in appositive relative clauses as the one illustrated in (49):

(49)	Custume	h(e)	do	peõ	q(ue)	uêde	o
	Custom	be. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>	of.the	peasant	that	sell. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>	the
	vio	da	jugada	q(ue)	deue	a	el
	wine	of.the	tax	that	owe. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>	to	the
	Rey	a	dar	q(ue)	en	pod(er)	seía
	king	to	give	that	in	power	be. <sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>
	do	íugadeyro	de	demãdar	o	vinho	ou
	of.the	land.owner	to	demand	the	wine	or
	os	dín(hei)r(o)s	<i>qual</i>	<i>quís(er)</i> .			
	the	money	which	want. <sup>3SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup>			

'If the peasant sells the wine with which he would pay his tax to the king, may the land owner have the right to demand the wine or the money, whichever he wants.'

(*Dos Costumes de Santarém*)

It is quite clear that in (49), we are in the presence of a clause since we still find the volition verb inflected—in this case, in the future subjunctive. Furthermore, despite the presence of a coordinated DP with the last DP in the chain being plural, there is no number agreement between the DP and *qual*, which points to a parenthetical status of the clause. In this particular example, the sequence *qual quís(er)* corresponds to an appositive relative clause (or a parenthetical clause), which I argue to be a relevant context for the emergence of postnominal *qualquer*.

We find in the corpus only five examples where the verb did not correspond to the form *quer* but displayed different tense/mood (subjunctive mood, either future or imperfect tenses) and person/number inflection, as in (23), repeated below as (50).

(50)	[...] mais	escolhi	tu	huma	morte	qual	quiseres [...]
	but	choose. <sup>2SG.IMP</sup>	you	a	death	which	want. <sup>2SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup>
	'but choose a death, whatever you want.'						

(*Diálogos de São Gregório*)

Examples (49) and (50) correspond to additional information on the nominal item on the left and they usually constitute a comment on the existing freedom to choose any element from a list presented before.

Appositive relative clauses could also display discontinuity between the relative determiner *qual* and the volition verb *querer*, as in (51) and (52), but differently from *ever* free relatives, the element in between does not correspond to an additional internal head selected by the determiner. Both in (51) and (52), it is the subject of the clause, which could be lexically empty. As expected, appositive clauses always associate with a nominal element, which they modify.

For example, in (52), the relative appositive clause introduces a comment regarding the set of possible drinking choices presented before, reinforcing the freedom of choice.

Occurrences of *qualquer* as a postnominal modifier of the noun may have originated in appositive relative constructions as the ones presented in (50), with a null subject.

At this point, we hypothesize that instances of *qualquer* in postnominal position may have first originated in appositive relative clauses, instead of *ever* free relatives. Contrary to what we saw for *ever* free relatives, there is no additional internal head, leaving space for the reanalysis of the two elements as a non-clausal adjectival modifier of the noun.

(51)	e	que	eu	mande	lavar	moeda	<i>qual</i>	eu	<i>quiser</i> .
	and	that	I	order. <sup>1SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>	mint	coin	which	I	want. <sup>1SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup>
	'and that I order to mint coin, whatever I want.'								

(*Crónica Geral de Espanha*)

(52)	E,	cō	cada	huu,	devẽ	dar	ao
	and	with	each	one	should. <sup>3PL.PRES</sup>	give	to.the
	retador	cavallo	e	armas	e	de	comer
	challenger	horse	and	weapons	and	of	eat
	e	de	bever	vinho	ou	auga	qual
	and	of	drink	wine	or	water	which
	elle	quisesse.					
	he	want. <sup>3SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup>					

‘And with each other, you should give the challenger horse and weapons and food and drink, wine or water, whichever he wants.’

(Crónica Geral de Espanha)

Although the scarcity of examples does not allow one to present solid arguments for this hypothesis, the comparison with other Romance FCIs may add some strength to the discussion. The Italian FCI *qualsiasi* contains the pronoun *si* in postverbal position. However, according to (Kellert 2021, p. 17), it originated in the relative clause *qual si sia*, with the pronoun *si* between the relative determiner and the verb.<sup>30</sup> Degano and Aloni (2021) also argue in the same direction, stating that the forms *qualsiasi* and *qualsivoglia* occurred in medieval Italian as relative clauses, before being reanalyzed as independent items. The presence of the pronoun between *qual* and the verb in the first stage shows that, at least for Italian, the origin of the two FCIs could not have been an *ever* free relative clause with an additional internal head since the reflexive pronoun does not correspond to the nominal internal head.

Examples with a pronoun appearing between *qual* and *quer*, as exemplified in (53), are rare in Portuguese data, showing that this was not a productive construction.

(53)	Mais	en	grave	dia	naci, l	se	Deus
	but	in	unhappy	day	be.born. <sup>1SG.PAST</sup>	if	God
	conselho	non	m’	i	der’; l	ca	
	advice	NEG	me. <sup>1SG.ACC</sup>	here	give	because	
	d’estas	coitas	qual-xe-quer l		m’	ca	
	of.these	pains	which.SE.Expl.want. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>		me. <sup>1SG.ACC</sup>	because	
	é	min	mui	grave	d’endurar	min	
	be. <sup>3SG.PRES</sup>	me. <sup>1SG.DAT</sup>	very	hard	of.endure	me. <sup>1SG.DAT</sup>	

‘But I was born in an unhappy day if God does not give me here advice, because of these pains, no matter which, are very hard for me to endure.’

(Galician-Portuguese poetry, TMILG)

The pronoun *xe* (SE) is usually associated with an expletive use or is interpreted as an ethic dative (Huber 1933, p. 176). It does not correspond to an additional internal head of the relative clause but seems to correspond to an expletive item. What is interesting here is the fact that, contrary to Portuguese, other Romance languages present grammaticalized FCIs that contain the expletive pronoun, as is the case of Old Italian.

Example (53) is the only occurrence found in the sample corpus, though. Due to the scarcity of examples, we may assume that this was not a frequent construction in Old Portuguese and, therefore, it seems logical that the grammaticalized form of the FCI does not preserve the pronoun in its interior. This does not invalidate the emergence of postnominal *qualquer* from appositive relative clauses, similar to what is argued for Italian by Degano and Aloni (2021).

In any case, unambiguous occurrences of *qual quer* as an appositive relative clause are not frequent in the corpus. Most cases of *qualquer* in the postnominal position can already be interpreted as non-clausal, resulting from the merge between the relative determiner *qual* and *quer*, which was already an indefiniteness marker. However, assuming that postnominal *qualquer* originates from reanalysis of appositive relative clauses poses a problem to prenominal occurrences of *qualquer*. We could consider that, after lexicalizing as an independent item, postnominal *qualquer* starts to occur in prenominal position. Under

this hypothesis, we would expect to find a higher frequency of postnominal *qualquer* in the 13th century, but what we find is prenominal occurrences as the most widespread pattern. In the next section, I investigate prenominal and postnominal occurrences of lexicalized *qualquer* and I argue in favour of the existence of two different items: a prenominal *qualquer* that was a quantifier-like item and postnominal *qualquer*, functioning as an adjectival-like modifier.

### 3.3. Prenominal and Postnominal Instances of *Qualquer*

In this section, I look at prenominal and postnominal occurrences of *qualquer* as a lexicalized item. I argue that prenominal *qualquer* was already a quantifier-like element in 13th century texts, while postnominal *qualquer* behaved as an adjectival element, resulting from the reanalysis of appositive relative clauses, as we have seen before.

Examples (54) and (55) show the most common patterns of occurrence of *qualquer* in prenominal position<sup>31</sup>, where it is the only specifier for the nominal element.

- (54) E            ella            disse        que            ante            *queria*            morrer        de  
 and            she            say.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup>    that            before        want.<sup>3SG.IMPERF</sup>    die            of  
*qual*        *quer*            morte        ante            que            seer            christãa.  
 which        ever            death        before        than            be            Christian  
 ‘And she said that she would rather die of any death rather than being a Christian.’  
(Demanda do Santo Graal)

- (55) [...] e            rogamos            a            *qualquer*            Tabellion            que            esta  
 and            ask.<sup>1PL.PRES</sup>            to            whichever            notary            that            this  
 carta            uj’r            que            faça            ende            a            carta  
 letter        see.<sup>3SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup>    that            do.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>    of.this            the            letter  
 da            dita            partiçõ  
 of.the        said            partition  
 ‘and we ask any notary who sees this letter that he makes the letter of the aforementioned partition.’  
(DPRNL)

Prenominal *qualquer* also occurs more than half of the times with a *que* clause, but the *que* clause in question is always a restrictive relative clause that modifies the DP in which *qualquer* occurs, as in (56).

- (56) Mas,            per            qual        *quer*            maneyra        que            elle            morresse,  
 but            by            which        ever            manner        that            he            die.<sup>3SG.IMPERF.SUBJ</sup>  
 ouve            o            poboo        delle            grande        perda.  
 have.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup>    the            people        of.he            great        loss  
 ‘But, by whatever manner he died, the people suffered a great loss.’  
(Crónica Geral de Espanha)

The examples above seem to indicate that 13th century prenominal instances of *qualquer* were independent of any possible clausal origin.

Prenominal *qualquer* seems to behave as other quantifier-like elements, as I try to demonstrate in the next paragraphs.

While in prenominal position, *qualquer* usually precedes a noun, as in (57), or a prepositional phrase, as in (58).

- (57) E            ella            disse        que            ante            *queria*            morrer        de  
 and            she            say.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup>    that            before        want.<sup>3SG.IMPERF</sup>    die            of  
*qual*        *quer*            morte        ante            que            seer            christãa.  
 which        ever            death        before        than            be            Christian  
 ‘And she said that she would rather die of any death rather than being a Christian.’  
(Demanda do Santo Graal)

- (58) E            *qualquer*        de                            vos,            meus            filhos,        que  
 and            whichever        of                            you            my            sons            that  
 as            herdar,            delhe                            Deus            a            minha        beençõ.  
 them.<sup>3PL.ACC</sup> inherit        give.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> .him.<sup>3SG.DAT</sup> God            the            my            blessing  
 ‘And whichever of you, my sons, inherits them, may God give you my blessing.’

(Crónica Geral de Espanha)

Both configurations are compatible with its classification as a quantifier. According to [Cardinaletti and Giusti \(1992, 2006\)](#), quantifiers should be seen as an independent projection—quantifier phrase (QP)—above DP. Quantifiers select DP as their complement, but the nominal element may be lexically null. The structure in (59) represents the internal architecture of QP:

- (59) [QP [Q *qualquer*] [DP [PP [NP [N maneyra]]]]]

Assuming the structure in (59), we can assume that prenominal *qualquer* is the head of the QP and it takes a nominal complement as in the case of example (57). However, the nominal element may be null, and we can find *qualquer* taking a partitive PP, as is the case of (58) above. In such contexts, *qualquer* is a quantifier-like element, taking scope over the noun (or pronoun) contained in the PP. This is the type of configuration where other quantifiers/indefinites, such as *nenhum* ‘none’ and *algum* ‘some’ also appear in Old Portuguese texts. Examples (60) and (61) show these items in a similar configuration, where they select a lexically empty noun and quantify over the noun/pronoun contained in the PP.

- (60) -Como        daria            *nenhum*        de                            nos            outros        semelhante    voz,  
 how            give.<sup>3SG.COND</sup> no one        of                            us.<sup>1PL.DAT</sup> others        similar        voice  
 se            nos            nom            sabemos        parte        da            outra        çillada?  
 if            we            NEG            know.<sup>1pl.IMPERF</sup> part        of.the        other        trap  
 ‘- How would any of us give similar voice if we did not know part of the trap?’

(CDPM)

- (61) Quando    elle            esto        ouviu,        deteve        seu            golpe,        ca  
 when        he            this        hear.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup> hold.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup> his            his            coup        because  
 ouve        gram        pavor        de            seer        *algũu*        de            seus            irmãos.  
 have.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup> great        fear        of            be            some        of            his            brothers  
 ‘When he heard this, he held his coup, because he was afraid it was one of his brothers.’

(Demanda do Santro Graal)

Apart from these two configurations, quantifiers can also assume a bare form, as argued by [Cardinaletti and Giusti \(2006\)](#). The authors considered the existence of two types of bare quantifiers: one that takes a covert DP complement and another that they call ‘intransitive’ quantifier and that never takes any complement, resembling (personal) pronouns. Examples such as (62) and (63) seem to correspond to a bare quantifier configuration.<sup>32</sup>

- (62) E            por                            esto            maldicto        he            *qualquer*        que  
 and            by                            this            cursed        be.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> anyone        that  
 treiçom        faz,  
 betrayal        do.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup>  
 ‘And for this reason anyone, who commits betrayal is cursed’.

(Crónica Geral de Espanha)

Notice that in (62) and (63), *qualquer* functions as a pronominal element, referring to a human entity. It seems to be equivalent to other indefinites, such as *algum* ‘someone’ or *nenhum* ‘nobody’ with a [+human] feature. Interestingly, during earlier stages of Portuguese, the indefinites *algum* ‘someone’ and *nenhum* ‘no one’ could also occur as full pronouns with

a [+human] feature. This possibility was lost until the end of the 16th century. Although I cannot indicate the exact period in which *qualquer* stops occurring as a bare quantifier, the loss of the [+human] feature can likely be paired with the same event affecting *algum* and *nenhum*.<sup>33</sup> Galician *calquera* and Spanish *cualquiera* have kept that possibility though (cf. [Álvarez and Xove 2002](#), p. 5005; [Company Company and Pozas Loyo 2009](#)).

- (63)     [...] e     começou     de     ferir     dhua     e     da  
 and     start.<sup>3SG.PAST</sup>     of     hurt     of.one     and     of.the  
 outra     parte,     de     tal     guisa     que     *qualquer*  
 other     part     in     such     manner     that     anyone  
 a     que     elle     dava     hua     paancada     nõ  
 to     who     he     give.<sup>3SG.IMPERF</sup>     one     hit     NEG  
 avia     mester     mais     ferida.  
 have.<sup>3SG.IMPERF</sup>     need     more     wound  
 ‘and he started to attack in all directions in such a way that anyone whom he hit would be knocked out’  
(Crónica Geral de Espanha)

Occurrences of *qualquer* as a bare quantifier are, however, always followed by a *que* clause, which is unambiguously a restrictive relative clause. The presence of the preposition *a* ‘to’ between *qualquer* and the element *que* in (63) indicates that it is a relative clause due to preposition pied-piping (the preposition introduces the dative selected by the verbal form *dava* ‘give.<sup>3SG.IMPERF</sup>’). In these cases, the relative clause seems to set the domain of restriction of the quantifier since *qualquer* appears in a bare configuration.

The examples presented so far seem to point to the existence of a quantifier-like element *qualquer*, which could be paired with other quantifiers/indefinites available in Old Portuguese and which seems to be independent from the clausal instances we have seen before.

Although quantifier *qualquer* occurs mostly as the only specifier of the nominal element, there are a few examples that require some clarification. I refer to the cases where prenominal *qualquer* coocurs with the indefinite *outro* ‘other’ before the noun (cf. [Brugè 2018](#); [Brugè and Giusti 2021](#)). There is a total of nine occurrences of prenominal *qualquer* with *outro* ‘other’ in the corpus (it represents 20% of all prenominal entries). In two examples, *qualquer* precedes *outro* ‘other’, while in the remaining entries, *qualquer* appears after *outro* ‘other’, as illustrated in (64) and (65), respectively.

- (64) [...] e     carta     ou     cartas     ende     fazer     pelos     tabellioes     de     Lixbõa  
 and     letter     or     letters     of.this     do     by.the     notaries     of     Lisbon  
 ou     de     *qualquer*     *outro*     logar  
 or     of     whichever     other     place  
 ‘and make letter or letters of this through the notaries of Lisbon or any other place’  
(DPRNP)

- (65) [...] ou     desse     alguu     aver     por     alguu     beneficio  
 or     give.<sup>3SG.IMPERF.SUBJ</sup>     some     good     by     some     benefit  
 da     Sancta     Igreja  
 of.the     Saint     Church  
 prellado     ou     a     *outro*     *qualquer*     padroeiro,     asi  
 prelate     or     to     other     whichever     patron     like.this  
 eclesiastico     como     sagral  
 ecclesiastic     as     sacred  
 ‘or give any good by any benefit from the Holy Church to the king or the prelate or any other patron as ecclesiastic as sacred.’  
(Crónica Geral de Espanha)

The combination with *outro* is usually found as a way to introduce the last nominal item of a coordination displaying two or more nouns in alternative. Although the sequence

in (64) does not pose problems to a quantifier-like interpretation, sentences such as (65) seem incompatible with *qualquer* being the head of QP because we have *outro*, an adjectival element, preceding the quantifier. This may be a reflex of the different nature of *qualquer* in sentences (64) and (65)<sup>34</sup>. I return to this point in Section 4.

Let us now look at occurrences of lexicalized *qualquer* in the postnominal position.

While in the postnominal position, *qualquer* is almost always part of an indefinite DP. The most frequent pattern (it represents 66% of the occurrences) is the one containing the indefinite *outro* ‘other’ in the prenominal position, as illustrated in (66). Other elements such as *um* ‘a’ or *algum* ‘some’ can also be found, as in examples (67) and (68), respectively, but they are infrequent. There are only three occurrences of *um* ‘a’ and one of *algum* ‘some’.

(66)	E	se	iustiça	fezer,	aya	a	pēa
	and	if	justice	do. <sup>3SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup>	have. <sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>	the	penalty
	que	auerya	outro	ome	qual	quer	que
	that	have. <sup>3SG.COND</sup>	other	man	whichever		that
	tal	feyto	fezesse.				
	such	deed	do. <sup>3SG.IMPERF.SUBJ</sup>				

‘And if justice is made, may he have the same penalty any other man would for such a deed.’

(Foro Real)

(67)	[...]	nō	lhe	daram	mayor	corrigimento	q(ue)
	NEG		him. <sup>3SG.DAT</sup>	give. <sup>3PL.FUT</sup>	bigger	correction	than
	dua	pinquada	que	que	lhe	dem	nos
	of.one	stroke	that	that	him. <sup>3SG.DAT</sup>	give. <sup>3PL.PRES</sup>	in.the
	narizes	de	que	saya	go.out. <sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>	sangue	ou
	noses	of	that	go.out. <sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>	blood	blood	or
	dua	chaga	simplx	qual	whichever	q(ue)r	
	of.one	wound	simple	whichever			

‘they will not give him any correction other than a stroke in the nose, from where blood runs or from any simple wound.’

(Dos Costumes de Santarém)

(68)	E	vós	mentes	non	metedes, l	se	ela	filho
	and	you	minds	NEG	put. <sup>2PL.PRES</sup>	if	she	son
	fezer, l	andando,	como	veedes, l	con	algun	peon	qual
	make	walking	as	see. <sup>2PL.PRES</sup>	with	some	peasant	which

quer  
ever

‘And can you not notice that she may get pregnant, going out, as you see, with some ordinary peasant.’

(Galician-Portuguese poetry)

Postnominal *qualquer* also occurs with modification using a restrictive relative clause with the subjunctive mood in 23% of the contexts. The relative clause frequently displays the copula *ser* ‘be’, as in (69).

(69)	Os	scriuaans	publicos	tenhã	as	notas	primeyras
	the	scribes	public	have. <sup>3PL.PRES.SUBJ</sup>	the	notes	first
	de	todalhas	cartas	que	fezerẽ,	assy	
	of	all.the	letters	that	make. <sup>3PL.FUT.SUBJ</sup>	this.way	
	as	dos	juyzos	coma	das	uendas	
	the	of.the	judgments	as	of.the	sales	
	come	doutro	preyto	qual	quer	que	seya
	as	of.other	contract	whichever		that	be. <sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup>

‘The public scribes must have the first notes of all letters they do, the ones from the judgments, as well as the ones from the sales or from other contract, whatever may be.’

(Foro Real)

Apart from the examples above, postnominal *qualquer* is also registered in what we can call a bare noun configuration, without the presence of any pronominal element, as illustrated in (70). This pattern corresponds to approximately 17% of the occurrences of postnominal *qualquer*.

- (70) Se alguu ome fezer demanda a outro  
 if some man do.<sup>3SG.FUT.SUBJ</sup> demand to other  
 sobre casa ou uinha ou herdade *qualquer*,  
 over house or vineyard or property whichever  
 ((demande)) an(te) aquel alcayde u é morador  
 demand.<sup>3SG.PRES.SUBJ</sup> before that mayor where be.<sup>3SG.PRES</sup> resident  
 aquel a quē demandē  
 that to whom demand.<sup>3PL.PRES.SUBJ</sup>  
 ‘If any man makes a demand to other over a house or vineyard or any property, ask before the mayor where lives the man to whom demands are made.’

(Foro Real)

Sentences such as the one above are ruled out in contemporary Portuguese due to the fact that CEP does not allow singular bare nouns, except in very specific contexts. Singular bare nouns (and bare nouns in general) have been pointed out as occurring more freely in earlier stages of the language, which can explain examples such as (70). The combination with bare nouns is also registered for Old Italian *qualunque*, with this pattern being more frequent than the one including an indefinite determiner (cf. Kellert 2021). In any case, bare nouns are usually associated with an indefinite or generic interpretation.

#### 4. On the Emergence of Two *Qualquer*: General Discussion

Up to this point, I have argued that postnominal instances of *qualquer* most likely originated in appositive relative clauses. I have therefore rejected the assumption that they resulted from *ever* free relative clauses with the nominal additional internal head *in situ*.

On the other hand, I have claimed that postnominal *qualquer* seems to behave as an adjective-like modifier of the noun, while pronominal *qualquer* is close to a quantifier-like item. However, it is yet to be explained how pronominal *qualquer* emerged.

I follow the insights by Rivero (1984, 1988) for Old Spanish. The author suggests that the relative *qual* had “a double lexical classification” in medieval Spanish, still occurring in *ever* free relative clauses with the volition verb, but also occurring as part of the word *qualquer*, a member of the quantifiers’ paradigm. To *ever* free relatives, I also add the intervention of relative *qual* and the volition verb in appositive relative clauses.

Nevertheless, the ambiguity of relative *qual* is not enough to explain the emergence of pronominal *qualquer*. Data from medieval Italian *qualsisia* show us a context of use that we did not find in Portuguese data, namely the occurrence of a relative clause in pronominal position, as illustrated in (71) and (72), to which Degano and Aloni (2021) associate different interpretations: a *no matter* (71) and an *FC indefinite* interpretation (72).

- (71) Qual si sia la cagione, oggi poche o non  
 what CLITIC is.SUBJ the reason today few or not  
 niuna donna rimasa ci è la qual...  
 no-one women left to-us is the who  
 ‘Whatever the cause is, today few or no women felt is such that ...’

(Boccaccio, *Decameron* VI: 1–10, 1353; apud Degano and Aloni 2021, p. 464)

- (72) i quali sì timorosamente mostrano di dare le openioni sopra  
 the WHO so timidly show to say the opinions on  
 qual si sia proposta.  
 What clitic is:SUBJ proposal  
 ‘who so timidly show that they say their opinions on any proposal’

(Della Casa, *Galateo ovvero de’ costume*, 1558; apud Degano and Aloni 2021, p. 464)

I hypothesize that Old Portuguese may have had similar structures, involving the volition verb *querer*, and those may have been reanalyzed as independent prenominal *qualquer*. In *Foros de Castelo Rodrigo*, a collection of local laws written in the first half of the 13th century, Cintra (1984) accounts for the occurrence of a construction with the form *qual que quer eglesia* ‘what that want church’, with the relative clause preceding the nominal element. In any case, if this type of relative is at the core of prenominal *qualquer*, reanalysis must have occurred very early in the language, prior to the reanalysis of postnominal *qualquer*.

Finally, one last question that needs to be addressed is related to differences in meaning associated with the prenominal or postnominal position of *qualquer*. Even though prenominal and postnominal *qualquer* seem to originate in a relative clause, the clauses were different, and the chronology of the reanalysis was also different. This may have had some implications for the meanings associated with *qualquer*, depending on its position in relation to the noun. In CEP, when occurring in the postnominal position, *qualquer* never displays a universal reading, while in the prenominal position, it is usually interpreted as a universal quantifier, but it can also be associated with an existential interpretation.

I start by recalling that prenominal *qualquer* was paired with quantifiers, while postnominal *qualquer* was associated with an adjectival-like nature. However, examples such as (73) were considered problematic for a quantifier-like status due to the presence of the indefinite *outro* to the left of the quantifier.

(73)	E	guareceu	daquella	gordura	tam	bem	que
	and	protect. <sup>3SG.PAST</sup>	of.that	grease	so	well	that
	tornou	a	seer	assi	delgado	como	outro
	become:3SG.PAST	to	be	this.way	thin	as	other
	qualquer	homen	que	delgado	fosse		
	whichever	man	who	thin	be. <sup>3SG.IMP-SUBJ</sup>		

‘And he avoided that grease so well that he became thin again, as any other thin man.’

(Crónica Geral de Espanha)

I hypothesize that in contexts such as (73), *qualquer* does not correspond to a quantifier, but is adjectival, just like when it occurs in the postnominal position. I agree with the insights by Elvira (2020), who claims that prenominal uses of *cualquiera* result from its reinterpretation from an adjective into a determiner, similar to what had occurred with other adjectives, such as *cierto* ‘certain’. However, contrary to Elvira (2020), I consider that *qualquer* is not exactly reinterpreted as a determiner. Similar to other adjectives, it starts occupying two different positions within the syntactic structure: one which is the basic position for adjectives (under the scope of noun phrase (NP), for Portuguese, as argued by Gonzaga 2004) and another which is dedicated to adjectives with quantificational interpretation. This last position is said to host adjectives such as *certo* ‘certain’, which assume different meanings, when appearing before or after the noun (cf. Gonzaga 2004), as illustrated in (74) with *várias* ‘several/diverse’.<sup>35</sup>

(74)	a.	Várias	peessoas	estiveram	presentes	na	festa.
		several	persons	be. <sup>3PL.PAST</sup>	present	in.the	party
		‘Several people were at the party’					
	b.	Pessoas	várias	estiveram	presentes	na	festa
		persons	diverse	be. <sup>3PL.PAST</sup>	present	in.the	party
		‘Different people were at the party’					

Brito and Lopes (2016) suggest a position higher than NP, as specifiers of a number phrase (NumP) projection,<sup>36</sup> as the hosting site for these adjectives.<sup>37</sup> Following both Gonzaga (2004) and Brito and Lopes (2016), we can assume three different positions for adjectives, as illustrated in (74):

$$(75) \quad [DP [D^\circ] [NumP [AP_3] [Num' [Num^\circ] [NP [AP_2][ N' [N^\circ] [AP_1]]]]]]$$

The positions AP1 and AP2 correspond to the basic position. Following [Gonzaga \(2004, p. 24\)](#), «adjectives that directly change the noun are base generated inside the NP». They can be specifiers or complements of NP.<sup>38</sup> As for the position AP3, it corresponds to a position dedicated to the aforementioned adjectives with quantificational interpretation. The architecture in (75) can host the orders *um qualquer N*, as well as *um N qualquer*, while the structure previously presented in (59) accounts for the order *qualquer N*, where *qualquer* is a quantifier.

This hypothesis would, in principle, allow one to explain the fact that postnominal *qualquer* is never assigned a universal interpretation, while *qualquer* may display a universal reading, but also an existential reading, if in the prenominal position. The universal reading would be conveyed by instances of *qualquer* as a quantifier, while existential readings would result from adjectival *qualquer* in the prenominal position, sitting in a position dedicated to adjectives with quantificational reading. An anonymous reviewer draws attention to the fact that other quantifiers also present variation relative to prenominal and postnominal positions. However, only *qualquer* requires the presence of a determiner in the postnominal position (cf. contrast between 76d and 76e), but rules it out in the prenominal position (cf. 76), pairing with other quantifiers. This suggests that there are two different instances of *qualquer* at stake.

(76)	(a)	Qualquer Algum Nenhum <i>Any/none</i>	rapaz   <i>boy</i>	
	(b)	*Qualquer *Algum *Nenhum <i>Any/none</i>	um   <i>a (DET)</i>	rapaz   <i>boy</i>
	(c)	Um   <i>a (DET)</i>	qualquer *nenhum *algum <i>any/none</i>	rapaz   <i>boy</i>
	(d)	Rapaz   <i>boy</i>	*qualquer algum <sup>39</sup> nenhum <i>any/none</i>	
	(e)	Um   <i>a (DET)</i>	rapaz   <i>boy</i>	qualquer *algum *nenhum <i>any/none</i>

Unfortunately, such a theory needs empirical validation that I am not in a position to offer here. I postpone such an analysis to future research.

### 5. Conclusions

This paper has presented the development of the FCI *qualquer* in Portuguese, constituting, to the best of my knowledge, the first in-depth study on the diachrony of *qualquer*.

Based on texts of the medieval period, I have argued in favour of two different origins for *qualquer*. Following the proposal by [Rivero \(1986, 1988\)](#) for Old Spanish, I have defended the existence of a quantifier *qualquer*, occurring only in prenominal position and associated with universal interpretations, already in the 13th century. On the other hand, *qualquer* also develops as an adjectival-like element. I have suggested that this use originated in

appositive relative clauses through merge of the relative determiner *qual* ‘which’ and the indefiniteness marker *quer*, a former form of the volition verb *querer* ‘want’.

In this paper, I have also put forth the idea that different diachronic origins for the two instances of *qualquer* may be at the core of different interpretations in contemporary uses. I have hypothesized that universal readings are conveyed by the quantifier, which can only occur in the prenominal position. On the other hand, instances of adjectival *qualquer* usually occur in the postnominal position. Nevertheless, an existential interpretation can be assigned to adjectival *qualquer* when it occupies a position dedicated to adjectives with a quantifier or determiner-like interpretation, as proposed by Brito and Lopes (2016). This idea, however, lacks empirical evidence, and I will, therefore, postpone it to future work.

This paper offered an important contribution to the study of FCIs by presenting a detailed description of Portuguese *qualquer* and enabling the comparison with other similar items in other Romance languages. It also tried to establish a relation between the diachronic development of *qualquer* and its synchronic behaviour, contributing to the general understanding of polarity items in contemporary data.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The English FCI *any* is problematic, though, because it can also be a negative polarity item (NPI). The literature on the nature of *any* is vast and some authors advocate in favour of two items *any* (cf. Dayal 2004), while others have tried to pursue a unifying approach (cf. Kadmon and Landman 1993; Horn 2005). I will not enter this discussion here.

<sup>2</sup> Peres (2013) considers as cases of ‘equivalence’ the contexts where *qualquer* displays a free choice reading. This means that all the elements in the set are seen as equivalent. The ‘unknown’ value refers to interpretations where it is not possible to determine the identity of the element being referred to by *qualquer*. Finally, the ‘restriction’ value applies when *qualquer* is used to isolate a subset within the set of elements introduced by the noun.

<sup>3</sup> Examples are from Peres (2013), the translation is mine.

<sup>4</sup> This interpretation seems to be recent in the language and resembles what is described by Kellert (2021) as an evaluative meaning for Italian postnominal *qualunque*.

<sup>5</sup> An anonymous reviewer has drawn attention to the fact that the word order ‘outro+qualquer+N’ does not sound natural. There is probably variation among speakers in the acceptance of such order. A brief search in *Corpus do Português* (cf. Davies 2006) returns several entries with such word order pattern, as example (i).

(i) Amanhã      poder      em Espanha, Portugal ou      em outro qualquer país      europeu  
tomorrow      can be      in Spain Portugal or      in other any country European  
‘Tomorrow it can be in Spain, Portugal or any other European country’  
*Corpus do Português*, <https://www.corpusdoportugues.org/web-dial/> (consulted on 2 October 2023)

<sup>6</sup> According to Company Company and Pozas Loyo (2009), the Spanish equivalent is still possible as a pronominal.

<sup>7</sup> The close relation established by the adjective *single* and the numeral has been noticed by Kayne (2020) for English. Kayne (2020, p. 343) suggests that the numeral *one* is accompanied by a «silent adjective corresponding to single». For Portuguese data, Pinto (2021) suggests a similar relation between the adjective *único* ‘single’ and the cardinal *um* ‘one’.

<sup>8</sup> Given the fact that *qualquer* is a fully grammaticalized item, we would expect the plural morpheme *-s* to be added at the end of the word, but the form *quaisquer* is still preserved, mostly due to scholarisation. However, in informal oral speech, we frequently find the form *quaisqueres*, with two *-s* morphemes. The internal *-s* after *qual* is most likely not being interpreted as a plural morpheme anymore, and the form *quaisquer* is seen as a fully grammaticalized word. Interestingly, Modern Galician does not allow number variation of *calquer(a)*, despite deriving from the same medieval form *qual quer* (cf. Ferreiro 1999).

<sup>9</sup> Cintra considers as Old Portuguese the period between 1214 and 1420.

<sup>10</sup> Available at <https://www.claris.com/filemaker/> (accessed on 5 June 2023).

<sup>11</sup> Full reference in the *References* section of this paper.

12 *Idem.*

13 This includes both singular *qualquer* and plural *quaisquer*.

14 This could simply be a consequence of text typology, but it is probably a reflection of the progressive loss of the relative pattern. While in the 13th century, there were three different possible patterns of occurrence of *qualquer*, by the end of the 14th century, only two were possible.

15 A brief search in two texts from the 15th century—*Crónica de D. Pedro de Menezes* (cf. Brocardo 1997) and *Orto do Esposo* (cf. corpus CIPM)—did not return occurrences of *qual. . . quer* as an *ever* free relative or appositive relative.

16 Dayal (1997, p. 99) draws attention to the fact that these values can be reversed in specific contexts.

17 Portuguese also displays an equivalent strategy involving a relative clause and the copula *ser* ‘to be’, as illustrated in sentence (c). Both the *ever* free relative in (b) and the relative clause with *ser* are equivalent to (a).

(a)—*Whoever that is, do not open the door.*

(b)—*Quem quer que seja, não abras a porta.*

(c)—*Seja quem for, não abras a porta.*

18 Huber (1933) refers to them as generalizer relative pronouns.

19 It should be mentioned that *ever* free relatives with bare *que* ‘what’ are no longer possible. They were replaced by the relative compound *o-que* ‘the.what’.

20 Only the compound *o-qual* is possible in CEP and it is said to only marginally allow internal heads (cf. Cardoso 2011). In Bechara ([1961] 2001) we still find examples of relative clauses introduced by *o-qual* and exhibiting an internal additional head. On the other hand, Brito (1991) presents these constructions as marginal.

21 The form *quer*, descendant from the volition verb *querer* ‘want’, is also present in the formation of the adverbial item *sequer* (from Latin SI QUAERIT) and the correlative disjunctive conjunction *quer. . . quer*.

22 On *wh-ever* words in English, see Larrivé and Duffley (2020).

23 This is not such a straightforward assumption, though. The existence of a lexically null antecedent has been proposed by several authors (Brito 1991; Móia 1992b; van Riemsdijk 2006). For instance, Móia (1992b) uses the term *relatives without an expressed antecedent* to refer to free relatives.

24 In the cases where there is variable verb inflection, the person/number does not always match the person/number of the verb in the main clause.

25 For sake of simplicity and to avoid attributing a chronology to the grammaticalization of *quer* as an independent marker, I gloss it as a verbal form regardless of its status in examples from medieval Portuguese.

26 A *bailia* was the jurisdiction given to clergy members or knights from military orders.

27 As stated by Kellert (2021, p. 17) the proposed grammaticalization path “has not been empirically testified for Spanish *cualquiera* due to the fact that the first Old Spanish data already contain the lexicalised item *cualquiera*”. This puts Spanish *cualquiera* in the same situation as Portuguese *qualquer*.

28 In case we assumed the NP to be *in situ* and the relative *qual* to be in Spec, CP, this would require the indefinite *outro* ‘other’ to have moved from the DP (and under what motivation?) and occupy a position higher than Spec, CP to respect word order. Also, there are no registers in the corpus of *ever* free relatives preceded by *outro* (as in *outro qual N quer*).

29 CEP still allows relative clauses headed by *wh*-phrases. It is the case of *quanto(s)* ‘how.many/much’, which can still occur with an additional internal head, as illustrated in (i):

(i) O Paulo bebeu quanto leite quis (beber). (Cardoso 2008, p. 88)

‘Paul drunk as much milk as he wanted.’

30 Palomo (1934) and Rivero (1986) also account for the existence of the form *qualsequier* in Old Spanish data.

31 It is worth mentioning that the writing of prenominal *qualquer* separately (63) or as one single graphic unit (64) does not determine any differences in terms of syntactic/semantic properties.

32 Whether *qualquer* takes a covert DP or no complement at all is a question I cannot address here.

33 On the [+human] feature of the indefinites *algum* ‘someone’ and *nenhum* ‘no.one’ in Old Portuguese, see Martins (2016) and also Pinto (2021).

34 Sequences of *qualquer* + OUTRO (as Q > *altri*) may, eventually, correspond to complex quantifiers, following the recent proposal by (Brugè and Giusti 2021).

35 For instance, the adjective *certo* ‘right/certain’ triggers different readings depending on its position within the DP structure. In the postnominal position, it is a qualitative adjective (i), while in the prenominal position it activates an existential meaning (ii).

(i) Devias valorizar mais as pessoas certas.

‘You should give more value to the right people.’

(ii) Certas pessoas não merecem a nossa atenção.

‘Certain people do not deserve our attention.’

- <sup>36</sup> Number Phrase (NumP) is a projection between D and N, which was first proposed by Ritter (1991) to encode number features. After Déprez (2005), it has also been argued to be the host position for cardinals and weak quantifiers.
- <sup>37</sup> Bernstein (1993) advocates for a position higher than NumP for such adjectives.
- <sup>38</sup> It is assumed that attributive adjectives are universally inserted in a prenominal position, and in languages with surface order ‘noun-adjective’, it is derived by cyclic leftward movement of the noun to a higher functional head in the nominal spine (cf. Cinque 1994, a.o.).
- <sup>39</sup> It should be mentioned that postnominal uses of *algum* ‘some’ produce negative readings due to nominal negative inversion (cf. Martins 2015).

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